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# Europe and Beyond: Boundaries, Barriers and Belonging

European Sociological Association 14th Conference

View from Russia

**Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology  
of the Russian Academy of Sciences and  
Russian Society of Sociologists**

**Europe and Beyond: Boundaries, Barriers and Belonging.  
View from Russia**

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**Europe and Beyond: Boundaries, Barriers and Belonging.**

**View from Russia** is a collection of papers of Russian sociologists from different regions of the Russian Federation. 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 Childhood and Youth, Education and Religion; the important sociological aspects of Migration, Population, Deviance and Ecology; the sociology of professions and professionalism; actual problems of the social communications, problems of regions and cities 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 I. General Problems and Metodology



## **The Europe and Beyond: the Conflicts, Uncertainties and Hybrid Risks**

### **ABSTRACT**

*Recently, the Europe as sociocultural phenomenon and the EU as the institutional one are in the period of transition, the condition in which the old values and structural-functional underpinnings of this conglomerate have become obsolescent, while the new ones are only at the designing or testing stages. This transition stage is full of complexities, uncertainties and unintended consequences. The influx of mass involuntary migrants from the North Africa and the Near East as the outside causes haven't been the trigger of the above interregnum, it only strengthen the inward instabilities and contradictions and a political struggle between the left and the right. The further the more the inner EU crisis as social institution is generating by an oposing interests of the US top-bureaucracy and a diversity of its old and new member-states and their inhabitants. The 'iron cage' of the EU top-bureaucracy is now in a tough struggle with the interests of the bureaucracy of the member-states on the one side, and the needs of ordinary people, on the other. Simultaneously, the EU is incapable to find the balance of its interests in relation to the US, China and Russia. All this clearly shows that the sociological studies of such complex subcontinental and global issues have to be coupled with an interdisciplinary and geopolitical analysis.*

**Keywords:** Europe; the EU; the US; geopolitics; globalization; hybridization; Internet; member-states; mobility; Russia; sociobiotechnical systems; sociology; theory; transition

### **Introduction**

The Europe now is in a transition, but in which way definitely that is the question. One is more or less clear: the Europe is now is in the crisis, and it's in a transition period toward unknown future (Bauman, 2017). The unknown future because the project of the Big Europe constructed by the leaders of some core countries, like Germany and France and some other countries failed. It's failed because this ambitious transboundary project had been initiated and constructed by the Europe's political elite only without any multisided studies of all its possible consequences, local, continental and global ones. Why? Because of the political will of the above leaders took over a geopolitical knowledge the common sense.

Now it's clear that the very term a postmodern means nothing but the signifying that after the modern period will come the 'postmodern' one only. It's indicative that there were no one research project concerning a specificity of the coming transition period. The book titled 'The next fifty years' [Fraser, 2007] is neither the prognosis nor the project of the desired future but a kind of political banquet. Much more serious and long-term international project titled 'The Limits to Growth' summarised in 40 reports to the Club of Rome initiated by a group of systemic researchers headed by D. Meadows from the Massachusetts Technological Institute (the US) gave no definite results as well.

It's impossible in one article to comprehend all aspects of the current situation in the European Union (hereafter the EU) and the reasons of its crisis. The task of this article is to attempt to find out the roots of this 'transition crisis' and to lay down some necessary methodological and theoretical instruments for the analysis of its current state of affairs and for possible prospects developments. The place and role of Russia and Russian sociology in the resolving of this crisis is of a paramount importance.

### **Method and resources**

All existed transboundary i.e. global research projects are dealing with the global community as a whole with no particular focus of the EU. There were several reasons of such escape.

*First*, all European sociologists have been concerned with the globalization processes. It has been necessary methodological stand but insufficient one. All outstanding European sociologists such as Z. Bauman (2001, 2003 and 2017), U. Beck (1992, 1999), Beck et al. (1995), A. Giddens and J. Urry (2003, 2008) have been attempted to interpret the globalization phenomenon in sociological terms.

*Second*, the predominance of global approach initiated by the Club of Rome and a regular series of the research projects had been actually initiated by the US scientists, and in particular by J. Forrester, world-known systemic theorist and its young followers. But after 50 years of intensive collective work it didn't give any promising results [Von Weizsäcker and Wijkman, 2018].

*Third*, to my mind, in the EU the businessmen coupled with politics took over the sociologists. U. Beck (1992, 1999) was absolutely right saying that we are all lining in a society of the side-effects. Some prognoses had been made by A. Toffler (1970) but they had no substantial impact on the mainstream of the European sociological thought. The initiative of the European businessmen of the 1960s (the coal-mining agreement) had been maintained by them until now.

*Fourth*, the methodological-and-theoretical course that globalization is going first had been supported by two fundamental research named as the 'Information Age' and the 'Information Galaxy' made by M. Castells (1996, 2004). It had been very important theoretical shift but mainly based on the US empirical data.

*Fifth*, this course still now prevailed in the works of European sociologists in spite of the fact that local-global nature of globalization processes had been shown even on the edge of XX-XXI centuries [Robertson, 1994; Waters, 1995; Bauman, 2001].

*Sixth*, the Soviet and Russian philosophers and sociologists followed the same way even from the early 1970s but trying at the same time to understand how the information processes will affect local-global life, and first of all an urban one [Yanitsky, 1970, 1982; Akhiezer at al., 1969].

*Seventh*, as for me, I'm following the works of Russian adherents of the Euro-Asian concept of our society as N. Berdyaev, A. Chizhevsky, K. Tsiolkovsky, Vl. Vernadsky. I tried to comprehend the EU-Russia's relationships in the context of the globalisation processes.

*Eighth*, in this respect my regular presence at the UNESCOs headquarters in the 1970-90s, a real melting pot of theoretical approaches and cultures gave me a valuable experience for the understanding of a dynamics of local-global relationships.

This particular study is based on a secondary (i.e. discourse) analysis of the works of leading scholars, and on two research projects 'Cities of Europe: The Public's Role in the Shaping of Urban Environment' [Deelstra and Yanitsky, 1991] and 'Russian Greens in A Risk Society: A Structural Analysis' [Yanitsky, 2000, 2000a] as well as on the results of some other research projects and on the study of the reports and abstracts of some previous the ESA conferences.

In sum, my principled position is as follows: in the context of still globalising, nonlinear, and uncertain and risky development global whole the Europe can't be a sustainable system. On the contrary, during last decade this 'whole' is permanently changing either expanding or shrinking, that is it can exists in such unpredictable and pulsing manner only. Keeping in mind the Brexit and the Catalonia cases, the very existence of this 'whole' is now questioned.

### **An impact of high-tech technologies**

It should be taken into account that the EU is mostly uses IT-technologies developed in the US, and therefore the Microsoft International is main driving force of the EU industry and IT-communities development. It's quite understandable that the top-managers of this and other the IT-companies insisted on the more investment in upgrading and education of people in all spheres of political and social life of the EU. These managers did their best in encouraging young people to choose a science and IT-technologies as their future carriers.

But as all could see, the mass protests of the 'yellow jackets' and other mass manifestations of young people an everyday reality of the EU large cities is quite different from these aspirations and apeals. The top officials of the EU are much more concerned with their inside and outside political relationships like the Brexit or the EU - US relationships than with the needs of young generation and the elderly. A massive

pressure on their consciousness and everyday behaviour exerted by the mass-media generate not only the resistance but a relatively new phenomenon: a virtual alienation.

Besides, as M. Castells clearly showed, the access to the IT-technologies generated the new social inequalities produced by the different level of wellbeing and ethno-confessional belonging of the aborigines and migrants [Castells, 1996, 2004]. At the same time the Internet-based learning is not only one more tool for rapid education. As Castells wrote, such learning 'changes the kind of education that is required both to work on the Internet and to develop learning ability in the Internet-based economy and society. The critical matter is to shift from learning to learning-to-learn, as most information on-line, and what is really required is the skill to decide what to look for, how to retrieve it, how to process it, and how use it for the specific task that prompted the search for information.' If such requirements will be confirmed, 'in the absence of corrective measures, the use of the Internet, both in the school and in professional life, could amplify the social differences rooted in class, education, gender, and ethnicity. This may be the most fundamental dimension of the digital divide emerging at the dawn of the Internet Age' [Castells, 2004: 258-259].

At the same time, the new social movements have emerged. I mean in particular the environmental movement of the senior schoolchildren initiated and directed by a girl Greta Thunberg (Sweden) which has a great success in the EU and Russia. This fact signifies that the teenagers are becoming the real participants of new social movements, both political and environmental in the EU.

### **From sociology to geopolitics**

Of course, sociologists should to study European issues by the sociological methods but the key EU problems have a geopolitical and systemic character. Even in the early 2000s, long before the events in the Ukraine the EU theorists and politicians underscored that the EU is a community of liberal democracies whereas the majority of its neighbours are unstable and authoritarian regimes, and this is a source of a multiple risks to the EU and its inhabitants. These theorists stated that in the coming decades Turkey, Ukraine, Belarus and Serbia have to become the inseparable parts of the future EU. But the reality went quite another way.

*First*, the very essence of Europe cannot be understood only in the sociological terms because of its inclusion in a variety of relationships with many other states, societies and local communities that in turn have economic, social, cultural and military character.

*Second*, according the Maastricht Treaty the European Union is the alliance of the independent states, but at the same time the union which is obliged to follow the common EU rules of games.

*Third*, the very term of the geopolitics implies that the EU is a union of many states (not only on the subcontinent called Europe the like Israel and the Turkey) included in a set of transnational unions and alliances like the NATO.

*Fourth*, the EU and its political leaders suggest that an economic and political influence of this union will be gradually territorially expanded. For example I mean its concept of the 'Big Black Sea.' In turn, some member of the union has their own plans of geopolitical expansion like Poland of some Baltic states.

*Fifth*, on the other hand, the EU is dependent on energy resources from Russia, the US and from other countries. For example, the North Stream is an object of tough political struggle between the EU, Russia and the US. In general, the further the more an access to gasoil and other resources is becoming the essence of modern geopolitics.

*Sixth*, from the viewpoint of the EU and the US politicians the Crimea and Donbass issues are not the subjects for peaceful dispute and then their resolving but as an example of the RF 'aggression.' A manipulation of international agreements is an instrument in the geopolitical struggle.

*Seventh*, as many EU politicians pointed out, the union security requires from the EU to act on the global arena, especially in the zone of armed conflicts in order to reduce international tension and world's uncertainty.

*Eighth*, by and large the EU politics are more and more concerned with global geopolitical issues and much less with the life of the inhabitants of its cities and towns. And they are concerned nearly nothing with the EU grassroots and civil initiatives. It's quite understandable because a privacy of their inhabitants has actually been destroyed by the IT-hackers attacks.

Unfortunately, both the EU and Russian sociologists are not well prepared to study large geopolitical conflicts and wars [Yanitsky, 2015].

### **A dark side of growing mobility and inversion of space**

Social and spatial mobility have two sides. On the one hand, they are both the products of the Internet-based global community in which hapened *an inversion of the space into a time*. Under modern digital conditions the time is a critical precondition of every social activity, military and peaceful. Then, the Internet has compressed this community into a village, using the image offered by A. Toffler. Such compression means that an individual is interested in the time of a departure and arrival. What is going between the starting point and the place of its destination is not really exists except the comfort of his/her travel. That is the individual is becoming more and more uprooted in relation to his/her aims of business or rest travelling. The Motherland, its culture, local peculiarities and uniqueness doesn't interesting for such permanently travelling individuals.

Besides, the very tempo-rhythms of everyday life are permanently speeding up and it follows by the growing dependence of the EU population from the smart machines.

Accordingly the man's perception of life is becoming collage-like, and man's brain becomes more and more lazy. Thus, an excessive mobility has its dark side.

The other side of the same coin is a growth of a multiplicity of time-tables and other means of our time use. In other words, we are living in the world of many interconnected and interdependent logistics. Any break in this chain of interconnected actions may destroy of the functioning of a city or social institution. More than that, such break in the logistics chain may generate a cascade effect. In the forthcoming perspective the global inhabitants will be forced to follow many instructions, norms, codes and protocols generate by the smart machines. Such submission may suppress a human creativity.

A spatial outcome of overall mobility is not so optimistic as well. The matter is that the perception of particular space be it social or natural will become as an empty one. Thus, a man is alienated from a diversity of natural and social processes and therefore isn't interested in their protection or cultivation. And a very important quality of human reflexivity is gradually diminished [Beck et al., 1995].

### **The EU young generation: aspirations and reality**

This section is written on the materials of short interviews with some young people in the 2003 taken from the Fraser's book (2007:98, 104-105). It's very significant period, about 8-10 years after the collapse of the so-called 'socialist camp' and just before the economic crisis of the 2008. We may see the attitudes of the EU young people 10 years before.

In general all respondents whose interviews have been included in this book were full of enthusiasm and hopes. Let me to cite some of them. RM (Lithuania): for her the respect and understanding were the most important things. "Why does Lithuania want to be with you? The main reason is security – to feel safe materially, psychologically, economically, culturally, and educationally" I want to feel me as the 'members of your family, to be active decision-makers, to have free choices for work and study, to participate in the creation of common future. We believe in a united as a guarantee of stability and quality of life, because unity is the strength... We have watched how your union, based on free markets and fiscal prudence, and essentially technocratic in nature, has evolved into a system that gives each country and every individual the opportunity to preserve their differences, because everyone is welcome.' But it's 'extremely important that we preserve our individuality so that we can play our small part enriching your diversity as family of different children, where every child is individual and special' [Fraser, 2007: 98-99].

PB (Czech Republic): 'The EU not, and should not, be a super-state. It should be a means to an end: a peaceful and prosperous Europe.' MN (Poland): "The EU is us and for us. We can create the European reality. The more ideas are the better; small, local and different; elderly and young. Create politics and local issues... We are united in diversity.



Let's do it by talking, writing, participating, organizing events or explaining what the EU is about. The simpler is the better."

JC (Portugal): "I believe that the EU's strength lies in its diversity. The EU allows me to take part in this diversity and to carry with me, whatever I go in the world, a bit of Portugal, Britain, France, Greece, Italy...and Bulgaria."

But there were rather critical comments such as Marko Lepik (Estonia) did: 'The EU will have to change, or it will disintegrate. We have a rather black-and-white choice between two parts. Either we decisively do away with the rigidity and alienation, or we let it slowly but steadily follow the humiliating path of degradation laid down by the USSR.'

In some respects the BG (Spain) followed the previous respondent: 'I hate bureaucracy, official formats, unnecessary legislation... so I pretty much hate the EU's swarm of civil servants. But I'm grateful to them for helping me move, work, study, love and live across Europe's borders.'

OK (Germany): 'The European "project" should be about spreading an ideal of common values: peace, tolerance and unity. We have lived the longest period of peace, combined with the strongest economic growth in the past thousand years. Thanks to free movement of people and programs such as Erasmus, one's prejudices are slowly making this part of the world a better place!' (It seems to me that this young men has no the slightest idea of the real history of Europe – O. Yanitsky).

All other respondents usually demonstrate the same optimism and confidence in a 'bright' future of the EU. They were inspired by the very fact of the EU existence but didn't think about possible economic and social consequences of its construction and development.

What we see now, ten years later? The optimism of the young has been replaces by pessimism, lack of self-confidence and of waiting for a new social and economic crises. We really see the Europe of 'different speeds', excessive centralization, conflicts of the aborigines and newcomers, the worsening relationships with the US on the one side, and with Turkey and Israel on the other; the fear of terrorist and hackers' attacks, growing disagreement between the right and the left, seeds of separatism, etc. Conclusion: great hopes and alienated reality of the new transition period; and less freedom and more the US military bases.

But it's the general trends. And what is about a work and wellbeing for the young Europeans? Let me quote from Z. Bauman's last book. "During most of the modern era, managerial strategies...were focused on rendering behavior of their subordinates utterly predetermined and therefore predictable through eliminating or supressing all and any factors of influence other than the commands issued by the superiors...The liquid phase of modernity brought in its wake *a sui generis* "return of depressed." In the proceeding 'solid' phase, the managers used to record individual idiosyncrasies of the managed on the side of *liabilities*.' Managers tried to 'repress those liabilities and better still to extirpate them

altogether, as factors throwing out of balance routine and uniformity, the two pillars of an instrumentally-rational performance...”

The essence of postmodern managerial strategy ‘is the shifting of the responsibility *for the results* onto the shoulders of the managed, simultaneously reducing the responsibilities of the managers to the selection of profitability they hold for the enterprise and to the evaluation of quality (measured first and foremost in financial terms) of what they deliver’ [Bauman, 2017:114-115].

The negative outcomes are clear. First, the management of permanently emergent uncertainty inside and outside an enterprise is now shifting to the shoulders of the workers instead of the managers. Second, the workers have been cast in the settings in which competition and rivalry took over the solidarity. And third, the ties between the supervisors and the managed have been substantially weakened.

On May 24-26, 2019, the conservators took over in the elections to Euro-parliament. That is, the politics of domination of the “center” over the “periphery has remained. Partial success of the European Greens doesn’t mention that the EU will continue its international and domestic politics. It’s indicative that politically-created scandal in the Austrian government has played a substantial role in the disposition of forces at the parliament of the EU.

### **Acute social issues**

From the sociological viewpoint, the decade of the 1960-70s, except the so-called May revolution in France in the 1968 it was the times of relatively calm social atmosphere. Ex-prime minister of the Norway G. H. Brundtland has introduced in the global political practice the notion of a sustainable development [Brundtland and Khalid, 1987]. Although, nobody knows what does it means in relation to each particular country across the world but the very term appeared quite acceptable to the world political community.

Though, I. Wallerstein (1994, 1995) stated that after this relative and short calm time a capitalist world-system will fall into a deep economic and social crisis. In spite of soon coming the so-called turbulent times the term is still alive nowadays, I think because of it put together two usually adversarial essences: a sustainability and development. It’s one more example how often the politicians manipulate the terms without the explanation how to reach such Janus-like state.

I see several processes that maintained the EU permanent social instability. *First*, it’s of course the in-migration generated by the wave of flows of the migrants from North Africa and the Near East. As it’s now absolutely clear this influx was a result of the tolerance politics designed and implemented by A. Merkel and her like-minders.

*Second*, it’s a resettlement of masses of people from the Baltic States, Poland and other new member-states of the EU to the Brussels and Germany. As a result, for example, the Baltic States have seriously been depopulated. More than that, as my personal

investigations showed as an insider, the Finland pretended on some best rest areas along with the sea shore of Estonia and other Baltic States.

*Third*, according to various calculations, about 6-8 millions of European aborigines have lost their Motherlands and immigrate to Australia, the US and other American countries.

*Fourth*, in the end there was a double-edged result. On the one hand, an initial qualification of all categories of migrants has been seriously questioned. On the other hand, the majority of them turned into the shuttle or shift workers, and as a result they lose their selfhood.

Nevertheless, A. Merkel stated that ‘the European Union is a unique success story. And I hope that, 50 years from now, it will continue to serve as a community of peace, freedom and prosperity for its citizens is worth effort...That is what Europe is all about – succeeding together’[in Fraser, 2007:3]. But there were not so optimistic ideas and suggestions. Say, Prof. M. C. Couturier from Barcelona argued that some urgent issues emerged 90 years ago still not resolved. It’s a national problem, the social problem, and the moral problem. Couturier stressed the moral issues because the role of religion and the family is still unclear, and said that ‘it means talking values; and equipping ourselves to do this though education – life-long education’ [in Fraser, 2007:84-85].

Therefore, prof. Couturier had been absolutely right: It’s they the national interests of various member-states coupled with mass influx of involuntary migrants from Africa and the Near East are now blow up the EU unity simultaneously both from inside and outside.

### **A time of the hybrid wars and creative education**

I put these adversarial topics together not accidentally but because they are actually tightly interconnected. Our world, global, regional and local is now tightly interconnected by many networks, economic, information, social and cultural ones. A creative power of humans rapidly converts early separated an inertial, natural, social and cultural things, structures and processes into hybrid ones. This thesis equally relates to the wartimes and peace ones. The hybridization processes and complex structures are both the products of long-term evolutionary processes and socially-constructed ones. And the hybridization is hapened at all levels of social and other processes. Even our everyday routine, say, a work-restwork, etc. is in essence the hybrid process, or so-called a ‘dynamic stereotype’ of the sociobiotechnical systems coupled together. Taking this issue in general, I’d say that we are living in a world of sociobiotechnical systems of different structures and functions. Humanity and such systems are in the processes of mutual transformation. All hybridization processes are sharply raising a comprehensive uncertainty of the world in which we live in.

At the same time, the upbringing and education processes are mainly have one-dimensional character. Many learning processes including in the higher school one are still have too academic or scientifically-distillated character. It's usually oriented to supply the students with certain knowledge in itself without an analysis of it relationships with economic, social and natural environment. That is why the majority of postgraduates are not well-prepared to a life in our very complex and turbulent living milieu. When the teachers said to the students that their following life will be a permanent learning, these teachers are usually have no idea what this future living environment will exactly be. Therefore my final thesis is that any learning process has to follow the changing living environment, or better to predict and to outstrip it as much as possible [Yanitsky, 2019, 2019a].

### **Conclusion**

Modern Europe is in a multisided transition period, geopolitics, economic, social and cultural ones. Bauman called this period as an interregnum, the "condition in which the old ways and means of getting things done have stoped already working properly yet the new, more effective ways and means are still in at the designing stage or at best in the stage of experimentation" [Bauman, 2017:119]. This period has its still unknown time-span as well as a morphological i.e. structural-functional organization and spatial configuration.

Nowadays, the EU is in a true hybrid of crises. The more the appetites of the EU leaders are directed outside the more urgent problems are emergent inside the EU as well as in its relation with the neighbor-states, and the US and Russia. Those theorists who think in civilizational terms state that the Europe as a project and as the socio-economic complexity is undergo the civilizational crisis. Its essence is the rejection from the civilizational model developed by the Fathers of the Enlightenment and transition to a very pragmatic (if not a conquistador) model of the EU development. Some of the theorists of the European civilization argued that it's now mutates i.e. in the process of radical change.

The social crisis as such is multisided and multileveled as well. Its core issue is defined by the information and communication revolution coupled with unresolved issues of the migrants' influx and unsatisfied needs of aborigine, mainly young EU inhabitants. The European culture could only survive if it becomes more diversified and tolerant to its local and regional minorities. These islands of national culture have to be protected by all possible means. During last ten years, the EU aborigines as well as voluntary and involuntary migrants have been disoriented by the EU and the US propaganda machines.

The reverse side of current social crisis is the crisis of utmost European individualism and the attempts to preserve specific confessional and national peculiarities of a majority of the EU member-states. If new EU parliament will continue its

“universalistic” politics this stand is fraught with serious political and social consequences as it already hapened in Catalonia (Spain).

The geopolitical stand of the EU leader is contradictory as well. On the one hand, they feel a growing pressure from the US and the NATO. On the other hand, they understand the necessity to collaborate with China and Russia. In addition they afraid the China’s pressing will to realize their transboundary project the ‘One Belt—One road’ that undoubtedly will transform overall geopolitical map of the Eurasian continent.

One more geopolitical issue to be resolved is the normalization of the political relationships within the “EU-Russia—Ukraine”riangle. It signifies that the EU has to do its best in the changing of the US stand in its relation to this issue. As to the EU-Russian relationships as such in general, they are still not just. The EU under the pressure of the US and the NATO continues the politics of sanctions blocking the policy of equal rights. At the same time the EU theorists and politicians are right saying that “the triple-E – economy, energy, ecology – is a decisive challenge for Europe” [Fraser, 2003:44]. But again: the decisive but not only them. The further the more the geopolitics comes to the forefront.

Finally, all participants of the EU current conflict have to realize that the current geopolitics based on the struggle with and resolng of the “side-effects”of already hapened conflicts and risks is insufficient, and it has to be replaced by permanent monitoring and predictions of the structures and processes which may be the sources of possible contradictions, conflicts and risks in the near and remote future. As Von Weizsäcker and Wijkman (2018) are rightly predict the EU and he world at large are suffered from the “short-termism.”

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## Globalization: its History and current Trends

### ABSTRACT

*The globalization and the sciences studied are the historically-developing phenomena but with their particular starting points, the tempo-rhythms and phases of development. In this article the author attempts to trace and analyze the main steps of globalization evolution across the time and space, and to reveal its interpretation by the sociology and other social sciences. From the author's viewpoint, the globalization process has a long history and guided both by growing human needs and their ideas and concepts related to their outlook. It's stated that globalization process has passed several qualitatively different steps, from spot-like to all-embracing and all-encompassing forms, and from its extensive to intensive form, and from mainly spatial forms to both top-down and bottom up forms. The driver of the qualitatively new essence of globalization that is a transition to the Fourth industrial revolution featured not only by its all-embracing character but by the growing influence of the feedback from an environment which makes the globalization process even more uncertain and risky. A typical feedback is the growing resistance of nationalism and right-wing political parties and civil organizations. Another feedback is generated by the shaping highly integrated forms of life which I called as the sociobiotechnical systems forms by various forms of metabolic processes. Recently the globalization is entering into a new phase characterized by the construction and implementation of transcontinental and transboundary international projects like the "One Belt–One Road." Simultaneously due to voluntary and sudden decisions taken by some leaders of global superpowers an ongoing globalization is becoming extremely risky burdened by total annihilation of all living species of our planet. In Conclusion the results of the above study are summarized in twelfth theses.*

**Keywords:** feedback; geopolitics; globalization; human history; hybridization; metabolic processes; Nature; the Fourth industrial revolution; sociobiotechnical systems; voluntarism, risks

We note a number of important areas of the scientific research of a globalization processes in the modern society:

- *Are there the differences between micro and macro-processes?*
- *Globalization as a set of geopolitical transboundary projects*
- *A tough struggle for deficit resources and geopolitical domination*
- *The relationships between global and strategic cultures*

- *Strategic patience: As the waiting of an opportunity window*
- *New (global) conditions – new political practices (a bottom—top transformations)*
- *Is global mass conscious is really exists?*
- *Beck to nationalism or a step to a nationally and culturally-diversified world?*
- *Toward an uncertain futures?*
- *A global man: Is it really possible? (The networks as his living space)*

### **The main phases of its historical dynamics**

Western researchers of a globalization process usually launch their studies from recent times [Bauman, 2001, 2001a, 2001b, 2004, 2017; Beck, 1999; Beck et al. 1994; Castells, 1996; Fisher-Kowalski and Haberl, 2007; Haberl et al. 2016; Keen, 2008; Prades, 1999; Robertson, 1994; Schwab, 2016; Urry, 2003; Waters, 1995] and only some of them interested in the history of this process [Mumford, 1961; White, 1967]. But from my viewpoint, the globalization process has a long history and guided both by growing human needs and their ideas and concepts related to their understanding of the world in which they were lived in.

At best, the history of the globalization processes is divided into three phases, the premodern, the modern, and the postmodern ones. Accordingly, the modern concepts of the globalization processes are relied upon not only on the base of network analysis but built more or less complexly i.e. taking into account a variety of factors ranging from the territorial aspects of humanity dynamics till its economy, social, ideological and cultural needs and aspirations.

Roughly speaking, the globalization is a long-term historical process ranging from an individual or small team long trip of the pioneers and the pathfinders who explored the unknown seas and lands with the aim of further colonization of these new land till the crusade in the name of liberation of the Holy sepulchre (i.e. tomb) that may be considered as an example of early cases of ad hoc and temporary globalization. To my mind, the globalization as a systemic process of mastering of new lands with the aim of gaining new resources began in the end of XV century but in those times the globalization had the ad hoc and island-like character.

### **A brief outlook of the global history and its geopolitical motives**

The aim of this section isn't to lay systematically down the history of globalization process but I'd like to draw the reader's attention to some turning points of it.

For centuries the process in question hadn't systemic character. For years, the globalization process had extensive and spot-like mode aimed at a mastering of particular

resources or territories and their annexation to the most powerful European states. Thus, the division on the mother country and its periphery has emerged. That is from the very beginning the globalization process had unequal character dividing the world on the governing center and a subaltern periphery.

It's important to mention that a science and technical devices constructed on the knowledge about our earth and the space system as a whole had played a very substantial role.

The reverse side of the same coin is periodical struggle for the political economic domination within the Europe which had been going on from the Middle Ages till now within the European Union. Such struggle had been equally cruel within the European continent and between the European countries and their colonies. Therefore, from the XV century and onwards until the WWII the Europe had indeed been the "Big Europe" because the tough military colonialism had been its main instrument for the mother country rapid development and geopolitical domination over the rest periphery.

It's indicative that the majority of western politicians, including the European ones saw such inequality not only "normal" state of affairs. They consider this unjust and one-sided globalization as the indispensable features of economic development and social progress. Moreover, the European colonizers had been convinced that they brought a "civilization" in such countries as India with its ancient and diversified culture.

### **From the WWI to the WWII**

One again: it's a brief outlook with the fixation of the reader's attention on some turning points of the globalization processes inside the Europe, no more.

In the period from the second half of XIX century to the first half of the XX century we see an intensive and multi-vector globalization processes i.e. inside the Europe itself and across the rest world. It's a time to mention that contradictions between the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Great Britain, Germany, France and Russia had reached its peak. Besides, these European countries began to design plans how to divide the rest world between them. The struggle of European countries for new territories and their natural, human and cultural resources began. But the leaders of these countries didn't take into account that the struggle for more just access to living resources including access to education and other social resources already began within of all of them.

Russian communists had been right said that Russian empire is the weakest element in the European capitalist system. The communists planned to undermine the capitalist system and to establish the world of equity and brotherhood. The Russian revolution of the 1917-1922 years had been realized by the Russian Bolshevick party under the slogans of international liberation revolution. But after this revolution the civil war had begun. This war had divided the former Russian Empire into many competing parts. It gave a chance to attempt to colonize Russia by the US, Great Britain and France military troops but all

them failed. It was another example that the globalization and colonization processes are closely interrelated.

The Bolsheviks' party leaders did their best to build a socialist state and society in a one particular country surrounded by European countries plus the US which had been built not only on the principles of capitalist exploitation but do wanted to use a plenty of mineral and other resources of the Soviet Union. In the 1920-30s, despite the contradictions between the Soviet Union and other capitalist world the intensive and two-ways globalization processes in economics and cultural sphere had begun including the exchange of the resources, goods and specialists.

After the Third Reich emergence with its pretension on a global domination the division of forces on European arena had changed again.

### **The WWII and afterword**

The WWI had been the first repetition of global war before which the attempt to develop the All-European rules of games had failed the WWII had been a real war for restore the principles of an imperialism i.e. of full economic, political and ideological domination of some over the others. After the end of the WWII the leaders of winning countries attempted to define the zones of domination and responsibility across the world between these countries (the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the US).

The establishing of the Organization of the United Nations had been considered by these leaders as the generator of rules of games on global newly shaping arena. Besides it had been the times of the beginning of the development of global principles of co-existence of nations.

In spite the construction and adoption of some basic principles such co-existence the phase of tough competition between the above winning countries continued across the world. The wars in the South Korea and Vietnam are a typical example. The emergence of nuclear weapons signified the emergence of new battlefield for global domination. A division of the world on two-three superpowers and all the rests had remained.

The "Cultural Revolution" in the Communist China (the 1966-76 years) had been the most blood event in the history of the modern world. After it the new plans of re-division of the world began. Though, in the run of last two-tree decades China had become a superpower. At the same time it had been the beginning of national-liberation social movements in so-called the Third world, and first of all in Africa. In the South Latin America, Greece and in some other countries across the world it had been the times of permanent changes of political regimes. As a result, the colonization process had been gradually replaced by the world's division into a set of "zones of the influence."

The period of the 1960-70s years had been relatively calm in the EU, there were the great hopes that the United Europe will flourish. Nevertheless, the May revolution of the 1968 in France and in some other European countries showed that the European wellbeing

is a very fragile and temporary phenomenon, especially in the periods of the coming of new generations. Recently, to my mind the EU is in institutional crisis burdened by the ungoverned mass influx of involuntary migrants.

The substantial changes have been going on the global arena: the strengthening of the US and European Union and the weakening of the Soviet Union and so-called the “socialist camp”. It meant that the new circle of changes in the disposition of political forces on the global political arena began.

In the years of the 1988-92 years that is in the period of collapse of the Soviet Union and the beginning of so-called *perestroika* the new attempts to “colonize” the Russia by the US and the EU and the beginning of a new disposition of global forces on global arena. In the period of the next twenty years Russia had restored and renewed its industrial and military potential and it’s now in the transition period to the radical restoration of its economic and social potential on the principles of the Fourth industrial revolution.

In parallel, the disposition of forces on the global arena has changed once again. In particular, these changes are reflected in opposition between global agreements like the movement to a sustainable future and one-sided voluntary decisions taken by the US and EU leaders that signifies a new phase of struggle between the US, the EU, China and the RF for the establishment of a more just global order. But each of these countries and their alliances has its own geopolitical model of global social order.

### **The information-communication revolution and hybrid wars**

The information-communication revolution, its global-local character signifies the emergence of entirely new situation on the world arena and in the space. Now the space is inverted into time of access (destination). The beginning of the space colonization as an inseparable part of globalization processes. Like the previous periods of human history the new, informational phase of globalization is Janus-like because for some it brings the goods and extra-profit while for the others – poverty, jobless, hunger and physical and moral sufferings;

The hybridization of global processes marks not only a new qualitatively new phase of it but it’s becomes necessary to synchronize various types of activity. At the same time the beginning of the era of hybrid globalization has opened a beginning of the new forms of international conflicts and wars with the use of the land and space means of monitoring. A permanent and all-penetrating monitoring by the drones and other small devises is a new and absolutely important weapon of any hybrid war.

A global market, mass-media and political voluntarism are simultaneously the “peaceful” mechanisms and weapons of hybrid global wars. The question is: What is the role of global market in them? Is it a self-regulated or a guided mechanism, tamed by the US or be any other super-power?

Main features of the current wars: they are hybrid, permanent, mobile in the use of its instruments, and have an all-embracing character. As a result, a difference between the war and peace is effaced. The adversarial side of the same coin is the spread of the weapons of mass distraction across the world, and therefore the difference between large and small countries is effaced as well. All population of the world is in one way or another becoming involved in this hybrid process.

The involvement in these wars the military volunteers and their private troops are one more risky feature of a current phase of global hybrid wars. Such involvement means that the national states are no more responsible for the activity of such troops. On the other hand, it signifies that a protection of civil population is an issue of second necessity, especially now when the people may be replaced by various kinds of robots and other technical devices.

The essence of current hybrid wars: a complex, all-embracing pressure on the potential adversary by means of sanctions, exclusion from global decision-making processes, a search of so-called “vulnerabilities”, disorganization by mass-media-pressure, and so on and so forth;

Such features of the new phase of globalization as the space-time inversion, permanently growing mobility of goods, arms and peoples, a dominating role of the mass-media in the shaping the life-trajectories of the population mobility seriously changed an individual value system and his/her way of life, and generated a new wave of mass migration from the South to the North. Some authors call such individuals as uprooted and cosmopolitan ones but I cannot agree with this thesis.

Recently, we all witnessing the beginning of an entirely new stage of globalization by means of designing and construction *transboundary mega-cities and infrastructures* like the “One Belt – One Road.” How such global constructions will be institutionalized and governed is a new arena of economic and political struggle and bargaining, and what kind of side-effects the implementation of such projects will exert on the countries that such transboundary road will cross.

My short-term prognosis: either self-annihilation of the planet and its population, or the beginning of a self-braking of the globalization process by means of the growth of resistance of national political forces and a necessity of natural ecosystems and national cultures diversity protection.

If such multi-sided and chaotic processes will continue how it'll be possible to govern it globally? It's rather important question because any uncertainties are burdened with risks. If a particular person is capable to take decisions that may immediately crash the global system as a whole, maybe it's a time to create a new system of the checks and balances? But it seems to me that we are needed in a very mobile global institutional system which will be more sensitive to quick and permanent transformations of global geopolitical architecture and its individual member-states. The painful and long-term Brexit is a good example.



But it's not all. If current trends will continue that is I mean the established system of industrial production and social reproduction will remain unchanged i.e. the world population growth, an expanded production of various arms etc. humanity will encountered with a growing resource deficit, and first of all of drinking water. Already now there is a growing lack of such water. Don't forget that such water exists in some places only but usually drinking water is an artificial end-product of very complex industrial systems that requires knowledge, investments, time and space as well as the logistic systems for a delivery in time, etc.

Besides, the maintenance of a turnover of the moisture in its various forms (water, ice, snow, etc.) in the Biosphere is of a paramount importance because it's a key precondition of the maintenance of the Biosphere sustainability. The moisture turnover and its transformations is the best argument in favor of the statement that under modern conditions of a network-built global whole the administrative i.e. territorial borders mean nearly nothing.

## Conclusion

The globalization process and the sciences that studied it are both historically-developing phenomena but with their particular starting points, the tempo-rhythms and phases of development. From my viewpoint, the globalization is inseparable part of natural and human history and therefore a historical approach to the studies of these interrelated processes are absolutely necessary.

*First*, the globalization is a historically-developing process which has its steps (phases) conditioned by a particular mode of production and social-cultural reproduction. Each particular historical period had two modes of comprehension, practical defined by the degree of the given mode of production, and ideological-cultural or religious that allowed to people to orient in the given social space.

*Second*, for a very long period of human history an ancient people had been convinced that they have been living and acting in accordance with norms and rules established by their Gods and another "supreme forces."

*Third*, in the run of human history the globalization processes has shifted from the island-like and temporary invasions often conditioned by an individual or group interests toward an all-embracing processes conditioned by the economic and political interests as it hapened in middle-ages Europe in which the Portuguese, the Spain, the Netherlands and the Great Britain had been alternatively marine super-powers. That is, in those times a navy had been a real superpower force.

*Fourth*, what had been really new in globalization processes in the times of the period of the Third industrial revolution? The European superpowers felt the growing lack of various resources, material and human ones as well as new territories for their spatial expansion and geopolitical domination. It's' not accidental that the geopolitics as a new

scientific discipline had emerged in the second half of the XIX century. I'd underscore that from the very beginning the geopolitics developed as multidisciplinary discipline.

*Fifth*, since the majority of the above extensions of living space of the leading European countries had a conquistador character the further the more the geopolitics had been developed by high-level military specialists well-informed about the main trends in globalizing economic processes. As a result, the geopolitics has quickly become a permanently-developing multidisciplinary branch of economic, political and military knowledge.

*Sixth*, under conditions of the world's transition from the Third to the Fourth industrial i.e. an information-communication revolution a structural-functional organization of this processes have changed again. It becomes more mobile, uncertain and undergo to unintended natural and man-made disasters.

*Seventh*, it appears that the shaping of the Internet galaxy offered more just access to the goods of the Internet civilization to all social layers. But actually it hapened to some but not to an entire global population. The Internet permanently generates new social inequalities an access to the Internet means nothing without the adequate skills of a selection, processing and use of gained information. As M. Castells stated, "the critical matter is to shift from learning to learning-to-learn" [Castells, 2004:259]. But there is a difference between the global information network space as a technical construction and the mental global milieu shaped in the run of myriad social, economic and political interactions, interests, apeals, etc. The former is a technical instrument while the latter is a mental phenomenon capable to direct a mass behavior in a certain direction which is needed to one or the other stakeholders.

*Eighth*, recently peoples and the enterprises are living in a highly hybrid world in which the differences between a front and the rear, we and they, war and peace are effaced. On the first glance, it seems abnormal but if one looks around himself or herself he/she will realize that the immediate and distanced environment in which he/she lives in has a hybrid character. In other words, the hybridization is a norm of our living environment and we have to perceive it as such.

Nevertheless, this phase of interrelations of the actors is rather a coordination of activity of several actors or institutions. *The basement of a true hybridization processes are the multisided metabolic processes.* Another feature of the issue in question is the difference between global and strategic cultures. The former is a characteristic of the culture produced by the mass use of the Internet while the latter is an optimal culture for its use in various circumstances with the accent on maximum preparedness of a society to critical situations and hybrid wars.

*Ninth*, now our social world and its researchers are entering in a new phase of globalization, the constructivist one. Nowadays, the globalization is not only natural geopolitical process guided by the most powerful countries and their alliances but politically and socially constructed process. From the scientific and geopolitical viewpoint,

it's a new frontier for reflection for those who want to continue the studies this complex and nonlinear global processes. At the same time we see an oposite trend. It's the attempts to protect the nation-states as the key geopolitical actors and a mean to defend a diversity of the species and human cultures.

*Tenth*, it seems quite natural that such studies require the interdisciplinary and multilevel aproaches taking into account the tempo-rhythms of transformations and metabolic processes in question simultaneously at all levels, macro, intermediate and micro ones. Anyhow, a quick, complex and well coordinate response in time and space of both sides of any conflict come to the forefront.

*Eleventh*, recently the natural or socially-constructed globalization process together with the earth and space environment represents an inseparable whole (from my viewpoint, a sociobiotechnical system). It means that parts of it (the natural ecosystems, social and technical ones) can be studied separately only conditionally. The further the more the environment generates the feedbacks which may transform the direction and character of activity of global actors.

*Twelfth*, under the above conditions the voluntarism of personal decision-making is the most risky enterprise. The sudden and voluntary personal decision made by the leading world politicians has already forced the global community to balance on the edge of abyss of total nuclear war. In sum, the globalization process had never been the same across the world. We are now in face of uncertain future of humanity and its living environment.

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## **Spontaneous Volunteering in Emergency**

### **ABSTRACT**

*The purpose of this article is to describe the main characteristics of the new phenomenon of spontaneous volunteering in emergencies which definitely has already become an important feature of modern disasters. These characteristics are observed and analysed on the basis of English and Russian sociological literature and three Russian cases (fires in Central Russia in 2010, floods in Krymsk in 2012, and a fire in the library of the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences in 2015). The key characteristics of emergent volunteer groups in disaster situations are new forms of collective action; these groups can take different forms and have different number and qualification of participants; they are often set of the local residents.*

**Keywords:** spontaneous volunteering; disaster, emergency

### **Introduction**

Over the last few decades, there have been hapening many catastrophes in the world, and the actions of spontaneous volunteers groups, usually consisted of local people, have shown their powerful potential in rescuing the victims. Examples from the sociological literature: fundraising after the earthquake in Port-au-Prince, Haiti in 2010, rescuing the people from the debris after the earthquake in Mexico in 1985, in Kobe, Japan in 1995, in southern Italy in 1980, in the Marmara Sea region in Turkey in 1999, after Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans in 2005, after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in the Twin Towers in New York. The scale of volunteer participation is impressive. For example, after the earthquake in Mexico City in 1985 approximately 10% of the city's population or about 2 million people were engaged in volunteering [Dynes et al., 1990].

The experience of volunteers training for emergency situations is already gained in the world (in the USA, Australia, Japan, emergency services even have guidelines for managing independent volunteers in disaster situations), but spontaneous groups of volunteers are still rarely integrated in a formal emergency action plan, due to many challenges caused by their participation in disaster response which are mentioned by professional public emergency services.

Over the last decade we are just starting to monitor and analyse this experience in Russia. The most remarkable examples of volunteer's participation in responding to disasters are at least three cases: fires in Central Russia in 2010, floods in Krymsk in 2012,

and fire in the library of the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences in 2015. After these disasters followed by mass mobilization of citizens who helped the victims, Russian society is in the process of institutionalizing volunteering as an emergency services reserve of the state. This process is double-edged: on the one hand, greater state control of civil initiatives, and on the other one – more effective cooperation and resolution of crises and all sorts of challenges.

The article represents an attempt to conceptualise the phenomenon of spontaneous volunteering in emergency situations. It is based on the analysis of three cases mentioned above. Within the framework of this analysis there were conducted and examined semi-structured interviews with employees of NGOs, volunteers, representatives of public services (the Ministry of Emergency Situations, the Ministry of Ecology and Natural Resources of Nizhny Novgorod, the executives of Kerzhensky Nature Reserve in Nizhny Novgorod Region), rangers and foresters in Beloomut, Moscow region), as well as disaster victims in the Moscow and Ryazan regions. The Russian media and social networks were studied too, as well as the literature on the topic.

### **Specific aspects of spontaneous volunteering as a new type of volunteering**

Firstly, it should be said, that the considered topic is rather new. In 2017, John Twigg and Irina Mosel noticed in their review on spontaneous volunteering that they found only 120 works about spontaneous groups in disaster situations, self-organization and spontaneous volunteering in natural disasters [Twigg, Mosel, 2017] by Google Scholar system. However, it is known that such works began to appear since the 1950s, and almost all of them were about urban disasters. Most of these works are surveys or contain only empirical data (concerning management, motivations, retention of volunteers, etc.).

Secondly, we assume that, in general, spontaneous volunteering can be defined as well as organized volunteering, that is, “any activity in which time is given freely to benefit another person, group or cause” [Wilson, 2000:215] and as “work for other people, organizations or society as a whole that is carried out in an unpaid, non-compulsory way and within an organizational context” [Hustinx et al.; 2003:167]. However, participation in volunteering activity can be unexpected even for the newcoming spontaneous volunteers themselves. As a rule, they do not have any previous experience of participation in emergency volunteering, although they could be involved in other types of voluntary activities.

Thirdly, spontaneous rescuing groups (emergent groups) consist of individual citizens joining together to deal with natural disasters, forming new formal and informal groups for this purpose [Twigg & Mosel, 2017:445]; or they are different local groups and organizations (formal or informal) that are not usually involved in emergency response, but can respond to a disaster by carrying out more tasks than usually: for example, a



restaurant that gives the food out to the victims of natural disasters, or a jeep club members who have the necessary equipment to put out the fire.

Fourthly, the key characteristics of emergent groups in disaster conditions are appearing of new forms of collective action, in terms of their structure and actions: in most cases the group did not exist before the situation, therefore the contacts between group-mates are novel for each participant; people in a group perform tasks that are new to them, and perform them in a manner that is unplanned and unforeseen [Stallings and Quarantelli, 1985; Yanitsky, 2010].

Fifthly, groups of spontaneous volunteers can exist in various forms: from groups of local residents gathering together spontaneously in the place of disaster to provide any possible assistance, to networks of individual volunteers delivering humanitarian aid and professional ad hoc groups from various official organizations uniting to manage the disaster response [Drabek and McEntire, 2003]. Their volunteering is spontaneous in contrast to official or organized volunteers who were recruited, trained and received instructions from the government or non-profit organizations, although during a crisis two types of volunteers work together very often [Alexander, 2010; Whittaker et al., 2015].

Sixthly, the activity of spontaneous volunteers in emergency is based on improvisation and creativity, since the groups themselves and their tasks are new to those who perform them. Their groups are not controlled by public services: they reflect and adapt quickly in an emergency response [Kendra and Wachtendorf, 2002]. Emergent groups of spontaneous volunteers, in contrast to formal organizations, are unstable. They often show the following features: (1) their activities may change as far as needs and priorities change during a crisis; (2) groups can form and break up suddenly (some of them can exist only a few days or even a few hours), and most of them might cease to exist after the crisis resolution; (3) the number and qualification of their members is constantly changing as participants come and go; (4) the groups usually have unprecise or no management structure (it is the reason of difficulties for external groups to determine who they need to communicate with); (5) they give priority to short-term decision making, not long-term planning [Twigg & Mosel, 2017].

This kind of groups often consists of residents of the damaged territories, but spontaneous volunteers, as well as all assistance in general, usually come from neighbour areas and from far away.

Seventhly, the types of activity of spontaneous volunteers during disasters are completely various: search and rescue activities; collection, transportation and distribution of humanitarian aid; providing food and drink to disaster victims and rescuers. Much of this activity is unskilled labor. For example, they free professional rescuers to perform more skilled actions by performing simple actions such as filling bags with sand during a flood [Sauer et al., 2014]. However, volunteers are also involved in resolving more complex problems, if there is a lack of professional rescuers to deal with the crisis.

Eighthly, spontaneous groups emerge if people see the need for urgent action that has not been undertaken by others, especially official organizations. They are likely to emerge when people believe that the existing emergency services are not able to deal with all the problems and needs which encounter during a disaster, or their structures and capabilities are not sufficient to respond correctly to the situation, and then citizens have to respond independently. But it usually happens immediately after a disaster, even before emergency services mobilizing; when problems of interdepartmental coordination interfere; when decision making is delayed; when the needs encountered during a disaster are too great for current official organizations to deal with them effectively [Stallings and Quarantelli, 1985; Drabek and McEntire, 2003]. Examples include the actions of volunteers and Emergency Ministry employees in the aftermath of fire at the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Science in Moscow in 2015. The Emergency Ministry rescued the damaged building, the volunteers saved an invaluable library fund: “EMERCOM employees were engaged in eliminating the fire and the building collapse, we were not allowed to go there” [Maria Plotnikova, photographer, journalist, volunteer]; “<EMERCOM> interested in the building, not books” [Volunteer...]; “If we are talking about a fire, the firefighters and the Ministry of Emergency Situations <should work>, if we are talking about evacuating books – all concerned, but first of all – the management of the institute” [Semen Sheshenin, researcher] [Basheva, 2018].

Ninthly, an interesting point is that, depending on the type of a disaster, different people are involved in responding to it. There is no such thing as a “typical” spontaneous volunteer in a disaster. Their portrait varies from one event to another, depending on the social, economic, cultural and political context and requires further studies. The balance of men and women varies considerably depending on the situation and place. Also there is some evidence about the age factor, that is, that younger people are more often involved in spontaneous volunteering (probably because it is more difficult for the older generation to make such physical efforts). Motivation is a product of shared values and a culture of responsibility to community. That is the reason why the previous experiences of disasters or risk awareness are also likely to stimulate greater volunteer spontaneous engagement [Dynes et al., 1990; O’Brien and Mileti, 1992; Sargisson et al., 2012].

As it was reflected in our survey of a project of the sustainability of Russian megalopolises study in the autumn of 2018 (the research was supported by Russian Fundamental Research Fund under grant “Russian megacities in the context of new social and environmental challenges: Building complex interdisciplinary model of an assessment of “green” cities and strategies for their development in Russia”, project No 17-78-20106), about a third of Moscow (32,8%) and Kazan residents (31,7%) responded that they had ever participated in volunteering. The portrait of people who have ever been involved in volunteering in Moscow and Kazan is similar. Traditionally, it is more often women (60% versus 40% among men) under 49 years old (in Moscow 66% of people in this age group answered that they had ever volunteered, in Kazan – 77%), with incomplete and completed

higher education (78% in Moscow, 76% in Kazan). Most of them are working, managers and employees of enterprises. The portrait of volunteers who have ever participated in the improvement and cleaning of territories coincides with the general portrait of a volunteer. The portrait of coordinator of sports and cultural events is almost the same, only slightly more youthful. However, among the volunteers who search for missing people there are already more men, and among those providing assistance to the population during natural and man-made disasters there are significantly more men. In most cases, these people are married and more mature (in Kazan, 76% of people are 30-59 years old, in Moscow – 48% among those are over 60 years old).

An undertaken survey of volunteers participating in the rescue of the library funds of the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 2015 showed that among them there were mainly representatives of creative and intellectual jobs working in a flexible schedule, often related in any way either by family history or their professional experience, or values with the Institute. At the same time, it was a completely heterogeneous group by gender and age characteristics.

The factors of participation of such groups are still poorly examined. Social capital and related characteristics, such as trust, norms of behavior, mutual obligations, probably also influence the decision of participation [Dynes, 2002; Aldrich, 2012], as well as the already existing social relations and their organization (family, neighbours, working groups). The neighbours, relatives and friends involved in the search for survivors in the first hours after a disaster know as the usual activities and habits of people and their likely location, as the location of local streets and buildings. People may feel affected by the disaster that hapened next door to their place of residence. Higher level of damage seems to stimulate more mass participation of people in responding to disasters.

In the tenth, local people are important actors in responding to urban disasters and in dealing with the effects of disasters in cities. When a catastrophe occurs, an immediate response, namely search and rescue, first aid to injured people and those who lost shelter is most often carried out by family members, friends and neighbors. It can hapen many hours before the arrival of emergency rescue services, depending on the scene of the disaster, physical disruption of transport and communication systems, and ability of official organizations to respond. In a crowded urban environment, another obstacle to the response of emergency services is the destruction of buildings and infrastructure collapse, especially in the case of major disasters such as earthquakes and hurricanes. When streets and roads are flooded or blocked by debris; bridges and railway lines are destroyed or damaged; electricity and water suply systems, as well as other communication systems are off.

In the eleventh, very often volunteer groups are given more confidence from those who suffered than the professional rescuers or government officials. For example, after the floods in Krymsk (Russia, Krasnodar region) in the summer of 2012, the affected local residents had more confidence to volunteers and suported their rescuing activities, rather than actions performed by authorities and even public organizations [Kostyushev, 2012].

In the twelfth, situations of catastrophe create the conditions for encountering of altruism and solidarity. Although the media often emphasize panic, looting and other forms of anti-social activities during disasters, communities usually become more united, connected and altruistic in these situations [Twigg and Mosel, 2017]. According to the conclusions of the researchers, it is a myth that the affected communities are inherently passive in a disaster situation, waiting for help from emergency services and organizations and unwilling to participate in the disaster response measures [Eyre, 2006; De Ville de Goyet, 1999; Drabek and McEntire, 2003; Quarantelli, 1998; Quarantelli, 2008]. Natural disasters encourage citizens to postpone their daily activities and take on new roles and responsibilities in responding to the disaster and restoring the damaged areas. The desire to help in a crisis situation is very strong, often it is even the need to do something [Lowe and Fothergill, 2003]. This manifestation of the individual and collective efforts of members of the affected and unaffected communities in the interests of disaster victims is a feature of disaster.

In the thirteenth, participation in a catastrophe response can bring emotional and psychological benefits to spontaneous volunteers, effect transformingly on volunteers, stimulate self-confidence, feelings of interrelationship, empowerment and the extension of connections. It can lead to greater involvement in the community and volunteer work, increasing a sense of solidarity in the community, as well as changes in individual life choices, such as finding a community-oriented job [Lowe and Fothergill, 2003; Steffen and Fothergill, 2009; Clukey, 2010; Karanci and Acaturk, 2005]. Conversely, spontaneous participation can lead to negative consequences for individuals: it can cause stress reactions such as depression, sleep problems, anxiety, and vulnerability. Such feelings may appear in a few time after the events completion. High levels of stress, including post-traumatic syndrome require the suport of mental health professionals [Usacheva, 2013].

In the fourteenth, the emergence of spontaneous volunteer groups stimulate the media and social networks. It should be highlighted that now social networks are a new environment for the formation of volunteer networks. New information and communication technologies have made available new forms of spontaneous volunteering facing disasters for people far from the scene of the disaster. Such digital volunteering is focused on collecting and exchanging data to suport field response, decision making, fundraising (crowdsourcing), suport of communication between volunteers (coordination). In some cases, we can talk about inclusive volunteering, when bedridden people, for example, can coordinate fundraising and distribution of volunteers from their room, as it was during the fires in central Russia in 2010 [Usacheva, 2012].

Fifteenth, in spite of the above, spontaneous groups of volunteers still are rarely included in a formal emergency action plan. Although some countries already have experience in preparing civilians for participation in primary post-disaster rehabilitation.

The participation of spontaneous volunteers in disaster response leads to many challenges that professional public emergency services have to face. The scale of

spontaneous volunteering can cause significant problems in coordination, integration, communication, logistics and health security for professionals: from breaking the formal rules for assisting victims, lack of necessary resources and uniforms, and ending with the fact that volunteers can put themselves at risk and even death, trying to save others, for example, from the collapsing buildings [Twigg and Mosel, 2017].

Nevertheless the main conclusion that can be made is that the spontaneous response of self-organizing voluntary groups and individuals is a common feature of modern (urban) disasters.

## **Conclusion**

Disasters stimulate spontaneous responses to them – even before mobilizing of formal organizations – through self-organization of voluntary groups and individuals both inside and outside the communities affected by the disaster. These emergent groups and spontaneous volunteers are a common feature of disasters. They form a part of a wide range of reactions of various organizations and groups that often have to improvise in crisis situations. Informal voluntary action in an individual form or form of emergent groups is an important emergency response resource. It is likely to become even more important in the future, with the growth of urban centers and population, as well as in view of the high density of the urban population, buildings and infrastructure.

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## Value Consequences of the Armed Conflict

### ABSTRACT

*The article discusses the destructive and transformational consequences of an armed conflict, using the example of conflicts in different countries to reveal the dependence of the nature of the consequences on the type of conflict, the level of sociocultural development of the people and society. The study used methods of sociological and statistical analysis, reveals the relationship of value changes in the conflict process with the pre-crisis state of society. The conclusion is made about the external and internal, hidden consequences of the conflict, the need to implement state and international comprehensive rehabilitation programs.*

**Keywords:** conflict; war; values; security; adaptation; trust; survival; refugees

In the modern world, economic, technological, informational links and relations are intensively developing, and international and domestic conflicts in some regions are periodically sharpened. Armed conflicts arising in different parts of the world pose a threat to regional and world security, their consequences need a sociological understanding.

**Subject:** social and cultural consequences of the armed conflict.

**Objective:** To identify the general and particular consequences of military conflicts in different regions and countries.

**Method:** The study used conflictological and sociocultural approaches, methods of quantitative analysis of sociological and statistical indicators, the principle of comparative study of the consequences of different types of armed conflicts in different regions and countries.

### Result

Armed conflicts, intrastate and interstate, arise for various reasons, but their common feature is the devastating consequences and human losses. War is a continuation of politics with the help of violent means, it leads to conditions of mass upheaval, changes in the state structure [Clausewitz, 2007].

The classics of sociology expressed different points of view on the nature and significance of war in the development of society. Giddens E., for example, singled out two aspects of war, on the one hand it accelerates the integration of society, on the other hand it prevents or delays the emergence of more complex and infinitely diverse forms of adaptation [Giddens, 1999]. P. Sorokin believed that the possibility of peace is directly

dependent on the assimilation of an integral system of higher values and their mutual compatibility. He emphasized that the weakening of unity, assimilation and harmony of values increases the chances of an international or civil war [Sorokin, 1993].

One of the most tangible consequences of the war is its influence on demography; in the past, the warriors themselves were more likely to die; in modern armed conflicts, civilians mostly died. This is evidenced by conflicts in Afghanistan, Syria and others. So, in Chechnya in 1994-1996. the armed forces and other military formations of the Russian Federation lost 5.6 thousand people killed, died from wounds, missing and captured, and sanitary losses amounted to 51.4 thousand people [Goryushina, 2018]. Much more was the loss among the civilian population.

Another serious consequence is the post-traumatic stress disorder of war veterans and civilians in the war zone. A study of the state of contract servicemen who took part in the hostilities in Chechnya revealed that they were characterized by “neuroticism” (37.26%), “schizoid” (25.33%), “psychasthenia” (20.55%) [Roerke, 2014]. Neurological diseases affect quite a few residents of the Chechen Republic, only 100-200 people come to the Islamic Medical Center every day.

The war, along with human life, devalues the historical and cultural heritage, destroys the objects of health care, education, and municipal infrastructure.

The study of conflicts in African countries from 1950 to 2010 showed that children who did not attend school grew enormously. By the way, the share of such children is reduced by 1.7%, with the direction of 1% of GDP for educational expenses [Poirier, 2011].

Conflicts, especially civil, define the changing system of values, the vector of State and public institutions. For example, the civil war in America, contributed to the development of democratic institutions, overcome racism [Bourque, 2019]. The October revolution, the Russian civil war to the present affect the value perception, socio-political life of the country.

The conflict laid bare a systemic crisis between traditional values and postliberal of a globalizing world, the contradiction between secular-humanistic and rooted in tradition and religious and cultural life of the device [Mishukov, 2017]. This is clearly visible in the post-conflict revival of Chechnya, realization of internal regional policy.

It is characteristic that differently are perceived by the public opinion the actions included in the conflict. So, officially the first war was called “prompting of a constitutional order”, the second “counter-terrorism operation”. In the views of those interviewed civilians region military events are perceived as war with the Chechen people (41.2%), with all the people of Chechnya (44.7%), with bandits and terrorists (2.9%) [Interests, values, norms, 2003]. Such a contrasting assessment of war due to significant losses among innocent civilians.

In troubled space declining social trust in Syria compared to pre-crisis conditions share confidence fell by 47 per cent. Interpersonal distrust levels were highest in the besieged, devastated and disputed areas such as Rakka, followed by Hasaka, Idlib, Deir ez-

Zor and Aleppo. This reduction is primarily due to the fall of confidence that at the national level fell by 59 per cent. [Social Degradation in Syria..., 2017].

As a result of the armed conflict have reduced levels of social trust in Chechnya, believe that you can trust all the people less than 5% of respondents-Chechens, most people-23.4%, minority-53.3%,-21.1%; Russians respectively-16.5, 53.6, 26.8%; [Sociocultural problems of the region, 2009].

And men are more prone to trust all men than women. In the middle and older age trust on 10-17% more than young. More trusted people with secondary and tertiary education, less with incomplete secondary and secondary education.

During the conflict and post-conflict situations are folded conditions of anomie. But people in protected anomy sustainable and cohesive society [Kara-Murza, 2013]. In Chechnya despite the severe consequences of the war are not widely spread anomie, but only some of its manifestations, traditional society turns out to reciprocity, kinship, strong religious values.

## Conclusion

In conflicts, violations of the right to life, shelter, mobility, allowed arbitrary violence committed against defenseless populations. The outer side of the conflict and its consequences are a loss of life, the destruction of the economy, life-suport facilities, cultural monuments, environmental pollution Wednesday, the flow of refugees. Internal or latent side should recognize the deformation and destruction of social structures, civil institutions, changing hierarchy of socio-cultural values. In society reduces faith in fairness, trust each other and to the authorities. In post-conflict situations are inevitable changes in social and cultural values, post-traumatic injuries, requires national and international integrated programme for the rehabilitation of the population and reviving the region.

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**Larissa S. Ruban**

## **Geopolitical Challenges, Leadership and Forming energy Security in APR. Difficult Way to Cooperation**

### **ABSTRACT**

*The aim of the research described in the article is to create a database for the decision-makers to implement Russia's eastern policy in the Asia-Pacific Region. To that end, a sociological method was used for interviewing experts from the 16 APR countries that shows how the representatives of these countries see the situation of the APR. The result of the research is to describe the situation of the APR in its entirety. The conclusions of the experts are as follows: Russia may cooperate successfully with the APR countries on security protection and conflict prevention, strengthen energy cooperation not only supplying oil and gas, but also exploring, extracting and transporting hydrocarbons, thereby ensuring the region's energy security.*

**Keywords:** Asia Pacific region; energy security; fuel energy complex; process of the integration; economical and energy cooperation; oil and gas resources

Main geopolitical challenges are changing world order and energy security system, changing world oil and gas markets and oil prices. These challenges are results of the shale revolution in USA, the American energy expansion in Europe and in the world (changing US position in the world: from greater importer oil and gas to exporter – oil, gas and coal.

But the shale revolution swept not only the United States. A number of countries have significant shale oil and gas resources, the development of which may change the balance of power in the energy market over the next while. Table 1 shows the technically recoverable resources of shale oil and gas. Ten leaders in shale oil are headed by Russia, the US and China, in shale gas – China, Argentina and Algeria.

**Table 1: Top 10 countries with technically recoverable shale oil and gas resources**  
[Vysotsky, 2015:12]

<b>Top 10 countries with technically recoverable shale oil resources</b>			<b>Top 10 countries with technically recoverable shale gas resources</b>		
Rank	Country	Shale oil (bbl)	Rank	Country	Shale gas (bbl)
1	Russia	75	1	China	1,115
2	US*	58 (48)*	2	Argentina	802
3	China	32	3	Algeria	707



Continuation of table 1

Top 10 countries with technically recoverable shale oil resources			Top 10 countries with technically recoverable shale gas resources		
4	Argentina	27	4	US*	665 (1,161)
5	Libya	26	5	Canada	573
6	Venezuela	13	6	Mexico	545
7	Mexico	13	7	Australia	437
8	Pakistan	9	8	South Africa	390
9	Canada	9	9	Russia	285
10	Indonesia	9	10	Brazil	245
World Total		345 (335)	World Total		7299 (7795)

\*ESIA estimates used for ranking order. API estimates in parenthesis.

Hydrocarbon production from unconventional sources in volumes sufficient for the essential redistribution of world export–import flows is only possible in countries with extremely large unconventional hydrocarbon resources and with, mature oil and gas sector (large rig fleet) and favorable natural conditions (large freshwater resources).

Being the largest energy importer, China could solve its problems about oil and gas supplies on account of these resources; however, a lack of available land and much water needed for mining will provide a limiting factor.

The United States pursue the aggressive export hydrocarbon policy through unfair competition and tough sanctions against Russia (in banking, the technical support for oil and gas deep sea supply, transport and supplies of dual-use products) with a view to exclude our country out of the European energy market.

Increased competition reduced oil and, especially, gas prices. At the present moment we need new system of world energy security, based at the energy cooperation.

From 2005 during international project “Dialogue Partnership as the Factor of Stability and Integration” we prepare international expert’s polling (interview) about economic and security situation in Far East and Asia-Pacific region, risks, threats and energy potential of the APR, possibility war conflicts in APR, optimal routes for export of the Russian hydrocarbons etc.

Main point of the researches is Asia-Pacific region. In these interviews participated high qualities specialists and VIP-persons from 16 countries of the Asia-Pacific region: Brunei-Darussalam, China, Japan, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Mongolia, Nepal, Philipines, Republic of Korea, Russia, Singapore, Thailand, USA, and Vietnam.

### **First of all, we will explain why we are investigating the Asia-Pacific Region?**

- The Asia-Pacific region is the most rapidly developing region in the world  
It consumes about 30% of world energy resources

- The crude oil and natural gas market is very dynamic

In APR the main regional consumer are USA, China and Russia

## Why Asia-Pacific region need oil and gas resources?

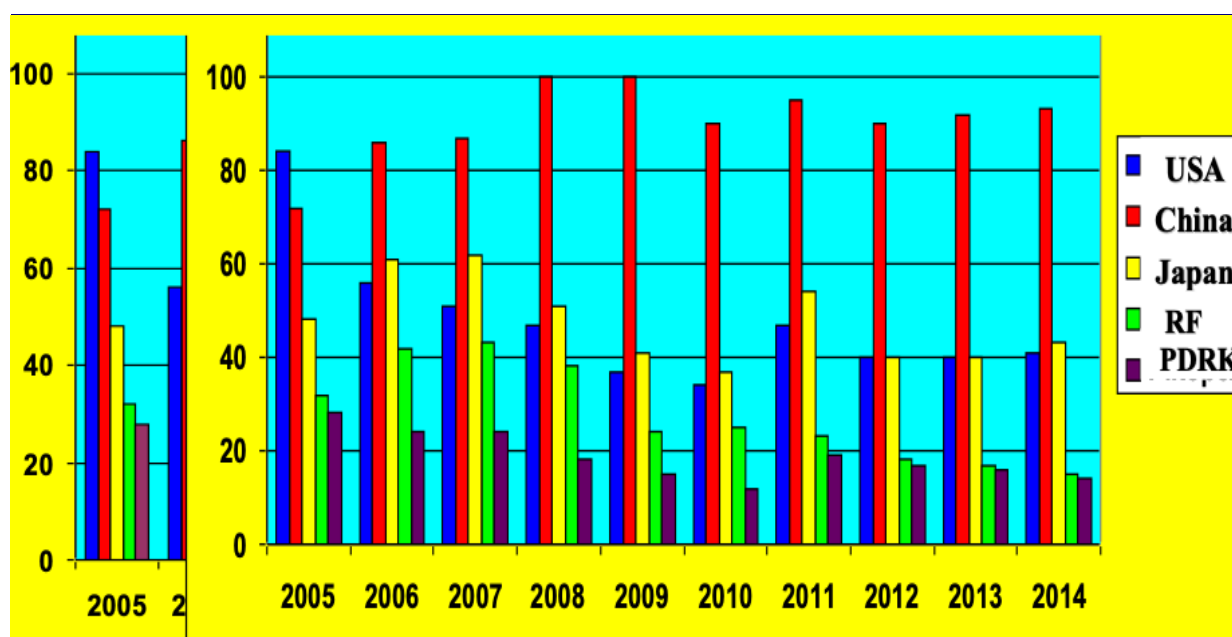
- Grows of population in APR- countries and grows of demand oil and gas inside of countries for needs of the population
- Development of the economics and grows of GDP
- Development and using of new technologies. For которых need oil and gas
- Development of the military sector
- Protection of Environment

Since 1965, crude oil consumption increased by a factor of six in the Asia-Pacific region and less than twofold in the world. During the last 12 years, production of crude oil rose by 17% and demand by 50%. Presently, major oil producers in APR are China, Indonesia, and Malaysia only. Presently, major gas producers in APR are Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand.

Table 2 shows the results of interviews with the experts regarding the leadership of the APR countries and a cross-country hierarchy in the region.

**Table 2: Leadership in APR** [Ruban, 2018:49].

Countries – Leaders in APR	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
<b>USA</b>	1)84	3)56	3)51	3)47	3)37	3) 34	3) 47	2-3)31	2-3)30	3)41	3)40	3)40
<b>China</b>	2)72	1)86	1)87	1)100	1)100	1)90	1)95	1)96	1)95	1)93	1)92	1)92
<b>Japan</b>	3)48	2)61	2)62	2)51	2)41	2)37	2)54	2-3)31	2-3)30	2)43	2)43	2)43
<b>Russia</b>	4)32	4)42	4)43	4)38	4)24	4)25	4)23	4)18	4)17	4)15	4)14	4)14
<b>Republic of Korea</b>	5)28	5)24	5)24	5)18	5)15	5)12	5)19	5)17	5)16	5)14	4)14	4)14



**Fig. 1: Important players (leaders) in APR**

Experts characterized geostrategic, military and economic situation in APR as:

- as stable – 42% (2005) and 53% (2016):
- as full stable – 42% in 2005 r. and 39% in 2016,
- as no full stable, very developing – 14% (2016). Experts told about possibility local conflicts.

54% experts in 2005 and 18% in 2016 characterized situation as not stable:

- big differentials of the economical and political development of the APR-countries, nationals and religions, discussion questions and discussion territories,
- from big competition in South Asian region for sea territories with HC in South-Chinese, Yellow and Andaman Seas and nuclear weapon North Korea.

**Table 3: What are risks and threats in APR? [ATP, 2016, p. 77].**

Answers (in %)	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
1. Nuclear weapons of North Korea	54	64	73	31	37	33	50	46	39	38	40	44
2. Competition for energy resources	13	40	51	62	29	33	46	54	60	62	64	64
3. Technogenic catastrophes	-	-	-	-	-	-	26	26	28	30	30	30
4. Natural disasters	-	-	-	-	-	-	26	26	27	27	27	27
5. Taiwan problem	30	40	54	18	17	10	18	12	6	3	-	-

Continuation of Table 3.

Answers (in %)	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
5. Taiwan problem is not risk now	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	12	16	16	16
6. Competition between USA and China in APR	-	-	-	16	11	-	16	8	3	3	-	-
7. Unauthorized migration from China to Russia	26	28	36	22	16	12	9	8	9	10	8	8
8. China's militarization	13	36	30	9	8	10	5	13	15	19	15	16
9. Possible socio-economic crisis in China, if the pace of its development slows down	2	-	-	-	8	-	5	7	8	8	10	12
10. Climate change	-	-	-	-	-	6	5	5	6	6	5	5
11. Environmental pollution	13	13	15	20	4	6	5	8	9	9	14	14
12. The degradation of the Russian Far East	8	24	38	22	17	3	3	-	-	-	-	-
13. The threat of separatism, ethnic and religious conflicts	-	-	-	-	7	-	3	4	4	7	-	-
14. International organized crime: drug traffic, piracy	22	8	12	12	6	6	2	6	6	7	6	6
15. Infectious disease	9	4	9	4	5	3	2	-	-	-	-	-
16. Militarization of Japan	13	12	9	9	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
17. The Problem of the South Kuril Islands	4	18	18	7	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-

We give in dynamic answers at the question about security situation in APR (“Is it possible today a military conflict in the region or the situation is stable?”)

Answers see table 4:

*1 group* – No, *military conflict is not possible now* – 42% (2005) and 68% (2016).

*2 group* – Yes, *military conflict is possible now*– 54% (2005) and 10% (2016).

*3 group* – middle opinion: *Military conflict is not possible in APR now, but situation can change* - 4% (2005) and 22% (2016).

**Table 4: Possibility a military conflict in the APR [Ruban, 2017:72].**

Is it possible a military conflict in the region or situation is stable now?	2 0 0 5	2 0 0 6	2 0 0 7	2 0 0 8	2 0 0 9	2 0 1 0	2 0 1 1	2 0 1 2	2 0 1 3	2 0 1 4	2 0 1 5	2 0 1 6
<b>1 group:</b> No, military conflict is not possible now. The situation is stable	42	40	39	58	67	68	60	74	72	70	70	68
<b>2 group:</b> Yes, military conflict is possible in APR now	54	52	51	22	16	3	10	13	13	10	10	10
<b>3 middle opinion:</b> Military conflict is not possible in APR now, but situation can change	4	8	10	17	16	20	30	13	15	19	20	22

**One of the main problems** in energy cooperation for the oil and gas transportation is the problem of communication. For transportation of oil and gas two fundamental moments must be taken into account:

- 1- the loss of the realization of the project and
- 2- the guarantee of security.

**The main characteristics of routes are:**

- the security of the transportation;
- capacity;
- cost of building and modernizing of the pipelines.

To hedge the risks connected with implementing export of hydrocarbons to Europe, the Russian Federation is actively developing its eastern energy policy towards the APR countries, primarily China.

– Writing of the agreement in January 2005 between “Rosneft” and CNPC for exporting 48 b t by railway was base of the great agreements between Russia and China.

– In February-April 2009 wrote packet of documents about pipeline ESPO, building refining manufacture in Tianjin (15 b t), etc.

– In April 2009 wrote agreement about cooperation between Russia and China in energy sphere and Bank of the Development of China gave credit \$ 25 b for 23 years to “Rosneft” (\$15 b for extracting oil in Easter Siberia) and “Transneft” (\$10 b for 1-st line ESPO for export 15 b t (Taishet-Skovorodino and branch to Daqing).

– ESPO Pipeline-1 was put into operation in December 2009, an offtake to Daqing in 2010.

– From January 2011 Russia exported oil to China (20 years) for credit.

– In November 2014 “Rosneft” and CNOOC wrote agreement about buying 10% Vankor. In 2013 “Rosneft” and CNPC wrote agreement about Russian oil export during 25 years to China.

Russian president Vladimir Putin remarked in 2003: “Russia is prepared to make its contribution to creating a new energy configuration in the APR”, and conclusions of the Russians specialists is next: Russia has hydrocarbon resources for the effective export to North East Asian regions

ESPO Pipeline -2 was constructed in 2014. From 2014 Russian eastern energy policy was more active.

– In June 2009 Russia and China wrote Memorandum o cooperation. In September 2010 Russia and China wrote agreement about Russian gas-export (30 bcm) from end 2015 during 30 years.

– In May 2014 in Shanghai Gasprom and CNPC wrote agreement about Russian gas-export (38 bcm) during 30 years. Biggest gas project is “Power of Siberia”:

- Deal signed on May 21, 2014: 30–year GSA (plateau – 38 bcma). Operational as of 2019 (5 bcma), plateau – in 2024 (38 bcma).

- Resource base: Chayanda (1.2 tcm) & Kovykhta (1.5 tcm).

- Construction company: “Stroytransgaz”.

- Russia’s goal: unlocking East gas for China, Vladivostok LNG and Eastern Gas Programme.

- Good deal for China: geography, price, security of suply.

- Project cost: \$55 billion.

All expert prepare next conclusion, that main problems are resources and energy security in APR. Experts opinions: cooperation in energy sphere is base for integration, prosperity and stability in region, and Russia can be a responsible partner.

Experts called the most active and effective international organizations operating in the Asia-Pacific region: ASEAN, APEC and the SCO.

The SCO countries’ energy cooperation is a key part of their interaction. We will show not only the prospects, but also the difficulties and problems of this process.

The energy cooperation between a majority of the SCO countries is “*Sino-centric*” that shows an oil export route direction (the Eastern-Siberia-Pacific Ocean Pipeline, an offtake to Daqing, the “Power of Siberia (Russia), the Turkmenistan-Uzbekistan-Kazakhstan-China Gas Pipeline (Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan)).

Energy relations between Kazakhstan and China are being vigorously developed, only in the production of Kazakhstan’s oil China accounts for around 24%. Each country tries to meet its interests. For instance, in 2006 the Atasu-Alashankou oil pipeline with the



capacity of 10 million tons per year was brought in. This oil pipeline is a second phase of the project “Kazakhstan-China”. In 2013 the capacity of the oil pipeline was increased to 20 million tons, but it was underloaded more than half. This problem was solved by the “Rosneft”, the “KazMunayGas” and the “KazTransOil” having signed an agreement on Russia’s oil transportation through Kazakhstan for a five-year term in 2013, except but the “Rosneft” paid about \$55 million for the transit as early as 2014.

China has been interested in the route through Kazakhstan, as the CNPC is the owner in 50% of the Atasu-Alashankou oil pipeline. Russia’s oil allows Kazakhstan to load the oil pipeline into China. This raised the question: “How is it profitable for Russia to pay \$55 million for the transit per year?”

At present time the pipeline gas is exported into China through the Turkmenistan-Uzbekistan-Kazakhstan-China gas pipeline, but Russia and China signed the largest contract to supply 38 billion cubic meters of pipeline gas per year in 2014. And the construction of the “Power of Siberia” gas pipeline was under way in September 2015.

The project “Turkmenistan-Uzbekistan-Kazakhstan-China gas pipeline” is not being implemented without cause for concern: at first Uzbekistan increased the prices of gas for Tadjikistan, then it ceased exporting gas to Tadjikistan fully in April 2012 and did not agree on the transit of Turkmenistan’s gas and energy to this country having caused energy crisis in Tadjikistan. In 2017 China imported 95,4 billion cubic meters of gas; almost half out of them was imported at the territory of Central Asia. But there have been serious problems about this energy cooperation, because gas from Uzbekistan to China ceased supplying fully in January-April 2017 that has challenged to China’s gas market. Russia nevertheless remains China’s reliable energy partner [Ruban, 2018:-18].

Thus, the eastern direction of the SCO countries’ energy policy is increasing its momentum; therefore the task is to amalgamate the SCO countries’ interests, which stiff competition may do harm to, and have a negative influence on their mutual relations.

I would like to finish the article with the words of the ancient Chinese poet Bay Jui, who called for close cooperation:

“Different plants, intertwined roots,  
Grow together  
Using the benefit of each other  
And their stems, and leaves”.

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## **Integrated Sociology of Digital Society: Socio-Managerial, Science-Education and Socio-Cultural Problems**

### **ABSTRACT**

*The article highlights model of digital society, socio-managerial, science-education and socio-cultural problems of integration of education, science and business in a digital society; digital society, defines the role of information technology in the development of intercultural interaction within current higher education in the context of a digital society. An integrated social and management model of interaction between science, education and business in the context of the modern paradigm of digital society is presented. The main outcomes of the sociological research “Science, education and business in a digital society” are described.*

**Keywords:** digital society; integration of science, education and business intercultural interaction; information technologies

The article reveals social and managerial problems of enhancing integration of education, science and business in the digital economy and defines the role of information technology in the development of intercultural interaction in modern higher education in the digital society. An integrated social and managerial model of interaction between science, education and business in the context of the modern paradigm of digital society has been developed. The main results of the sociological research “Science, education and business in the context of digital society” are presented.

The current development and improvement of digitalization processes of intercultural interaction in the educational environment is of particular importance in the context of digital society [Bowen W. G., 2018]. Graduates of universities work in international companies, in multinational groups. Therefore, the skills of intercultural interaction acquired at the university are becoming popular at Russian and international labor markets [Glagolev V S., 2016].

The efficiency of managing intercultural interaction of students at the university increases with development of digital society in modern Russia. Modern information technologies, the general level of information literacy among the population opens up opportunities for the development and perfection of the innovative educational information environment at the university [Lebedeva T. P., Mikhailova O. V., 2011; Sheregi F. E., Popov M. S., 2016; Sidorova A. A., 2015].

In the information and educational environment of the university students, teachers, researchers, administrative staff use the Internet for intercultural interaction with

colleagues, overseas students and students from neighbouring countries (Europe, Australia, USA, China, Japan, etc.)

Students, teachers, and scholars participate in international scientific and educational Internet conferences and webinars, and use the services of electronic libraries all over the world [Narbut N. P., Puzanova J. V., Larina T. I., 2017]. The informational environment is increasingly used to integrate the university's research and education into the international innovation space. Intercultural interaction at the university is crucial for effective social interaction in the system of higher education. The development of a digital society can contribute to social justice, and joint efforts of the world community to create equal opportunities for students [Kazarenkova T. B., Kazarenkov V. I., 2018].

We conducted a sociological study "Science, education and business in a digital society." It lasted 5 years (2014–2019) and involved 1,450 people who took part in the expert survey (students, teachers, researchers, administrative and management staff of higher education institutions, entrepreneurs, and heads of organizations).

The main goal of the research was to develop an integrated model of interaction between science, education and business in the context of developing digital society.

The objectives of the study are as follows: to reveal the main theoretical and methodological approaches to the problem of digital society; to analyze the development trends of Russian society in the digital economy; to identify factors that underlie formation and development of the international information environment; to analyze the conditions for the creation of international scientific and educational platforms in a digital society; to determine the degree of influence of the digital economy on science and education; to identify peculiarities of the interaction of science and education in the current context of Russian society; to determine the priorities of development of innovative university research and educational domains; to identify the specifics of the interaction of science, education and business in Russian society; to develop recommendations for the effective implementation of scientific and educational programs in the field of digital economy at the level of educational institutions, municipal, regional, federal, international levels. Current scientific achievements in the field of information and communication technologies have changed the design of higher education. The innovation and educational environment allows students, teachers, scholars, entrepreneurs to develop effective intercultural interaction in a digital society.

We conducted a sociological survey of respondents from Moscow universities. The outcomes of the survey are presented here in brief.

In response to the question "*Evaluate the impact of innovation activity at your university on intercultural interaction between universities in a digital society*" the answers were distributed as follows: 25% of respondents noted a high degree of influence of innovation on intercultural interaction between Russian universities and the rest of the world; 48% of respondents believe that innovation activity has a positive effect on the processes of scientific and educational interaction between universities of Russia and

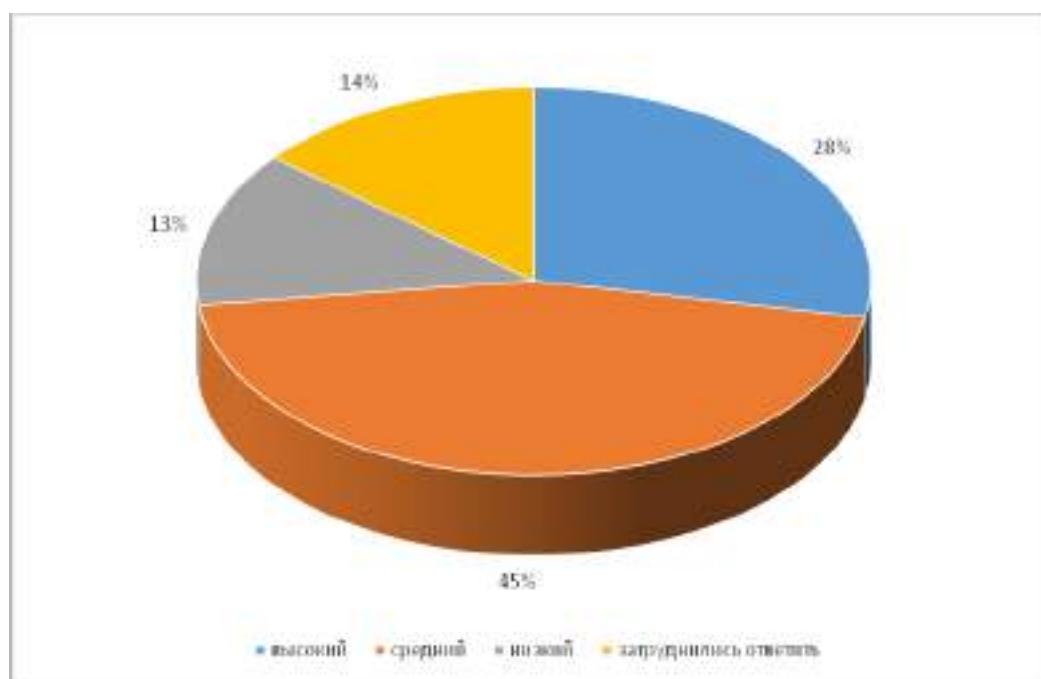
foreign countries and contributes to student mobility (medium degree of influence); 27% of respondents noted some impact of innovation on intercultural interaction between universities (a slight degree of influence).

When answering the question “*Rate the degree (level) of integration of science, education and business in the context of developing digital society*”, the answers were as follows: 54% of respondents rate the level of integration as high, 28% as medium, 10% as low, 6% of respondents found it difficult to reply.

Students were also required to rate the main criteria for intercultural interaction at a university in a digital society on a 10-point scale.

In response to the question “*Evaluate the main criteria (indicators) of intercultural interaction at university in the context of digital society*” criterion 1 “The place of universities in the ranking of universities according to their internationalization” was evaluated in the following way: 38% of students rated this criterion by 5 points; 35% of students rated this criterion by 10 points; 10% of students rated this criterion by 8 points; 8% of students rated this criterion by 7 points; 7% of students rated this criterion by 6 points.

When answering the question “*Assess the impact of the Internet on the development of international student mobility*” the answers were distributed as follows: 28% of respondents consider the level high, 45% as medium, 13% as low; 14% found it difficult to answer.



**Fig. 1:** “*Assess the impact of the Internet on the development of international student mobility*”

In response to the question “*Assess the impact of the Internet on the development of international mobility of teaching and research staff*” the answers were distributed as

follows: 25% of respondents consider the level high, 39% medium, 26% low; 10% found it difficult to answer.

When answering the question “*Assess the level of use of the Internet for educational, scientific and educational purposes (educational, scientific and instructional information on the teacher’s personal page, information on scientific and educational events, etc.)*” the answers were distributed as follows: 85% of respondents consider the level high, 10% medium, 2% low; 3% found it difficult to answer.

The Internet has a significant impact on the development of international mobility of students, teachers, and scholars from different countries. The renewal of Russian society affects all its social institutions, including higher education [Foresight of scientific and technological development of Russia 2030 / edited By L. M. Gokhberg; 2014]. Perfect training of students in a modern university implies the development of intercultural interaction skills. Intensive development of partnerships with foreign universities attracts undergraduate and graduate students and young researchers from Europe, Asia, America and Africa into Russian higher education institutions.

Education as a powerful factor of culture provides a holistic multidimensional self-realization of a person. It facilitates unveiling of a person’s aptitudes, and contributes to the discovery of the learner’s talents. Higher education is a necessary condition for the development of society [Parsons T., 1998]. Disclosure of intellectual and moral potentials of a person in educational institutions contributes to intensive and humane usage of the reserves of nature and society.

Changes in the modern structure of Russian society caused the emergence and development of new forms of social environment.

In the scientific literature there are various concepts for the development of modern society (post-industrial, global, informational, knowledge society, etc.)

Let’s examine the essence of the concept of digital society.

Integration of the social environment of a person, social groups has a leading role in social interaction.

When considering the basic levels of functioning and development of the digital society it should be noted that the separation of these levels is tentative since it is difficult to “divide” the whole of this concept.

The main levels of development and functioning of the individual in a digital society are highlighted:

1) *The individual level* reflects the processes of self-improvement of the individual (self-realization, self-education, self-development, etc.), which are formed both on the basis of external influences of society, and individual characteristics (biological, psychological, spiritual, etc.) of the personality, coupled with the image of social environment which is manifested in social and interpersonal interaction, as well as in the processes of interaction of personality and society.



2) *The family level* is characterized by factors that influence the formation and development of the individual in the family in the context of digital society, and by the processes of interaction between the individual and the family as a social institution of society.

3) *The group level* is shaped by the specifics of the life of a person of a certain social group, as well as by the dynamics of social groups. This level reflects entities that influence the formation of the integral activity of a person or a social group in the process of education, labour activity, and other forms of intergroup interaction. The group level largely determines the status-role structure of the individual in a digital society.

4) *The social level* reflects the integral system of socio-political, socio-economic, spiritual relations existing in society, and their influence on the formation of social beliefs. How an individual can realize oneself among other people depends on his or her behaviour and activity in society and correct perception of realities of the modern world.

5) *The civilization level* embodies the whole range of qualitative manifestations of personality traits in certain socio-cultural conditions and ensures optimal development and interaction of civilization structures of the planet. The integral nature of the digital society is largely determined by the level of civilization development.

6) *The cosmoplanetary level* considers the integral nature of digital society in the system of integral thinking and takes into account the interrelation and interdependence of a person (the whole society) and the Universe in which he or she was created.

It should be noted that there are no major and minor levels. Each of them reflects certain functions peculiar only to this or that level, but at the same time each level is part of the whole with its own set of integrative properties and qualities.

The interaction of the levels of this system is provided by a whole range of diverse qualitative links:

*interaction links* – this type of links ensures optimal interaction of various levels of the digital society system in the process of their functioning both within the system itself and its interaction with the natural and social world;

*links of complementarity* – this type of links ensures the complementarity and, in some cases, the interchangeability of one level with another level which is more complex (or simple) in structure. This type of communication ensures the “quality” of the system development;

*organization links* – this type of links ensures the organization of the system’s integral nature of man and society;

*management links* – this type of relations ensures the optimal management of the system of the integral nature of man and society at various levels of its structural organization.

The integral nature of society has an integrating role in social interaction in the context of digital society and ensures optimal functioning of both man and entire world civilization.

The integral nature of the digital society is a qualitative indicator and a kind of “social barometer” of this civilization. Culture is the leading determinant factor of personal development in the context of digital society.

Human nature is not something fixed and immutable, it experiences a constant rebirth in deeds, actions, and creativity. At the same time a person, however much historically changed, does not cease to be a human being. Therefore, it is advisable to create favorable conditions and opportunities for the unlimited development of truly human traits in a person in the context of a digital society. The creation of the necessary sociocultural conditions for the improvement and development of the integral nature of man and society has become one of the main goals of innovative development of higher education in the context of digital society.

Of particular interest is consideration of the many types of interactions carried out at various levels of functioning of the system of digital society. Modern society requires a person to master new knowledge and skills that allow him to feel comfortable in the context of the development of digital information technologies. The importance of social digitalization of a person increases since it allows a person to “function” optimally in various social structures of society such as university’s scientific and educational environment.

It is noteworthy that the term “*social digitalization of a person*” means multi-quality manifestations of personality traits in certain socio-cultural contexts that provide a person with an optimal level of life activity in a digital society.

For a more complete study of this problem, we should consider the main types of social interactions that influence the social digitalization of the individual.

What does the type of social interaction in a digital society depend on?

*First*, it depends on the goals of the interaction;

*secondly*, on the state of the structure itself, that is, on the quality indicators of each level that take part in a certain social interaction;

*thirdly*, on the number of levels involved in this particular social interaction;

*fourthly*, on the duration of social interaction and its focus (interaction vector);

*fifthly*, on the “phase” of social interaction.

This classification reflects only the main indicators of possible options for social interactions. In real life they are numerous since each person is a unique personality.

Let’s outline the model of interaction between different levels of the functioning of the system of “*integral social digitalization of society*”. The individual, group, family, social, civilization, cosmoplanetary levels are integrated to ensure the optimal functioning of the digital society system.

Each level has an even more complex structure of intra-level organization.

The following types of social interactions can be distinguished:

*interindividual (individual - individual),*

*intergroup (group - group),*

*inter-societal (society - society), etc.*

These types are *monostructural* and are characterized by the presence of interaction between elements that have the same “values”. These are the so-called intra-level interactions. They relate to horizontal interactions in a digital society.

There are *heterostructural* types, which are characterized by the presence of interaction between elements with different “values”. These are so-called *inter-level* interactions. They refer to vertical interaction links.

Types of links which are characterized by the presence of interaction between two or more different-quality levels are referred to the section of *multi-structural interactions* which most often take place in modern social environment.

The main characteristics of social interaction in a digital society are diverse.

The importance of the direction of the ongoing interaction (i.e., the direction of the *interaction vector*) and the *interaction phases* is not to be underestimated. The integral nature of the digital society is considered not only as an open multi-level system but also as an *oscillatory* system that allows a person to smooth out the processes of social adaptation in the context of the development of modern civilization.

The *vector of social interaction (VSI)* of the system is viewed as the direction of social activity which characterizes the dynamic state of the interacting levels.

Thus, when considering the anthropological-social level (man-society) of interaction, one should take into account the level from which the activity proceeds. If the activity level is an individual level, the vector is directed to the level where this activity is observed.

If the vector arrow is directed towards increasing activity, it can be concluded that the activity is determined by the state of its “social core”. In this case the “core” can be an individual person, family, society, and their quality is determined by the level of the integral nature of digital society.

Another concept used in describing the social nature of digital society is the *interaction phase*. This is one of the key concepts, since it determines the development of interaction.

The *phase of social interaction (PSI)* is defined as the qualitative state of social interaction which depends on the moment of the committed interactions.

Thus, when considering anthropological-social interaction, one should take into account not only the level where social activity proceeds, but also the social moment when this social activity takes place. If the “moments” of the levels coincide, the vector of social activity increases both in direction and in magnitude (resonance effect).

Let's examine possible types of phase social interactions (PSI) in a digital society.

*Coincidence of phases of social interactions* is a state which corresponds to the previously described “resonance effect”. It can be said that in this case phases of interpersonal interaction are the same, i.e. people “understand” each other. Interpersonal contact corresponds to the optimal level of functioning. This process can be attributed to

the creative perception of a particular phenomenon. A sound example of a “resonance effect” in this case is “Archimedean Eureka,” “Newton's Aple,” and a number of other “miraculous” discoveries.

It is important that not only the vectors of social activity but also the phases of interaction between different levels of the system of “integral digitalization of society” coincide.

In the context of digital society the role of university leaders in solving the problems of forming an innovative scientific, educational and socio-cultural environment of modern higher education is increasing.

Let's look at possible options for social interaction in developing the concept of forming a digital environment in universities at various levels of university management.

*Macro-level* (rector, president, vice-rector, directors of institutes, members of the board of trustees of the university, etc.) has the main goal *to develop an innovative strategy for forming a digital scientific, educational and socio-cultural environment of universities in the context of the development of digital society.*

To cite an example, the strategy of forming a digital environment in Russian universities (Moscow State University named after MV Lomonosov, RUDN University and other Russian universities) will differ from that in foreign universities (Cambridge, Oxford and other foreign universities) as “messages” of universities are different [Altbach P. G.2018; Crow M M.,Dabars W. B. 2017].

However, they have something in common: the presence of foreign students, visiting professors, joint research projects, etc. Therefore, the leaders and managers of international higher education institutions, both in the Russian Federation and foreign countries, should adhere to a single concept of the development of intercultural interaction in their work and the innovation strategy of forming a digital scientific, educational and socio-cultural environment of universities in the context of the development of digital society.

*The meso-level* (deans, deputy deans, department heads, etc.) had the main goal *to develop mechanisms for implementing strategies to form a digital scientific, educational and socio-cultural environment of universities according to the specifics of departments.*

The mechanisms for implementing the strategy for the formation of a digital environment at a sociological department will differ from those at the engineering or law department. There will be different approaches to adapting the concept to different courses, and one should take into account the target audience (bachelor, master, trainees, etc.)

*The micro-level* (heads of chair, etc.) has the goal of *direct implementation of the planned strategy, the development of scientific and methodological tools for the project on the formation of the digital scientific, educational and socio-cultural environment of universities in the context of the development of digital society.*

In the context of developing digital society the role of management decisions in the formation of the digital scientific and educational university environment is increasing.

After all, it is the manager who determines priorities of the university's innovative development, and defines the strategy of university activities in the context of digital society. In higher education opportunities are created for initiation of personal qualities and professional abilities of future specialists, since each student is the subject and object of a system of relations in a given educational setting that represents the social environment. Being a subject of interaction with teachers and fellow students, as well as members of staff from other services of the university, the future specialist seeks to achieve high-quality results in interpersonal and corporate communication [Tishkov V. A., Barash R. E., Stepanov V. V., 2017]. Since the higher education setting is a multicultural environment, the student needs intercultural skills. Therefore it is necessary for the university management and teachers to carry out socially and pedagogically sound management of subjects of interaction, and create opportunities for their friendly business communication in a digital society.

In a modern university there is a wide range of opportunities for the development and improvement of business social interaction. The educational environment of a higher education institution is a complex multinational, multi-religious structure in which various forms of social interactions are closely intertwined. Students, teachers, researchers, administrative and managerial staff of the university can simultaneously be participants in various types of social educational interaction (interpersonal, intergroup, intercultural, inter-ethnic, interfaith, business and other types of interactions).

A modern university is a complex educational corporation where new ideas are constantly generated, models of scientific innovation research are developed, and complex management mechanisms are implemented. Business communication of university staff, students, teachers, researchers, administrative and management staff with representatives of the business community contributes to the development of the university in a digital society.

*A modern university is a complex multi-level socially-oriented corporation whose activity is primarily aimed at training specialists for Russian digital economy and developing scientific research that supports this process.*

But the real activity of the university is much more complicated; in the context of a digital society the university becomes a “start-up” for talented youth. While studying at university students are involved in various international research and public projects requiring business communication skills.

Communication is a complex mechanism of human interaction with the natural and social world.

Very often we talk about the creative nature of human activity. In this context it should be noted that a person draws inspiration from communicating not only with people but also with nature in its broad sense. Probably that is why it is so interesting for us to read literary works, to look at beautiful pictures, to be captivated by the art of nature itself in the creation of the world around us.



In the modern world people have unique opportunities to expand their range of communication. In a digital society the requirements for the quality of social communication are increasing.

The system of higher education when perfectly organized and skillfully managed creates unique opportunities for students to obtain necessary communicative knowledge and skills and communication experience. Its uniqueness resides in its large variability of models of training specialists based on a positive innovative team spirit, climate of cooperation, and the overall awareness of the importance of intercultural interaction [Kazarenkov V. I., 2009; Kazarenkov V. I., Kazarenkova T. B., 2010].

The main mission of the International Scientific Center “SOCIUM 2035” is to combine the creative energy of scholars from different countries for the implementation of innovative research and educational projects in a global digital society. One of its main objectives is to actively involve the scientific community and young people in participation in scientific, educational, social, managerial and business projects at the municipal, regional, federal and international levels.

Social and managerial problems of the developing integration of education, science and business become important in the digital economy. Knowledge becomes the basis for the effective interaction of managers, teachers, scientists, entrepreneurs for solving problems of developing Russian society.

The process of mastering the knowledge on economic development is rapidly becoming younger. Today students strive to obtain not only common competencies in a particular domain of knowledge but act as “young entrepreneurs” who are ready to take responsibility in implementing ideas on economy development of their district, city, country, and the world community as a whole [Chepurenko A. Y., 2007]. The system of higher education provides opportunities for participation in project management for solving entrepreneurial tasks (university business incubators, a scientific and educational environment for interacting with entrepreneurs, managers, etc.), obtaining theoretical knowledge. Students and schoolchildren are one of the most creative groups of the population who actively master information technologies, discover new economic opportunities, and realize their creative abilities. However, they lack specific practical skills and communication with entrepreneurs, economists and scholars which are necessary to build up their interaction with social institutions and to embark on decision-making about their future profession and individual social mission [Kazarenkov V. I., Kazarenkova T. B., 2014]. The administrative and management bodies encourage young people to be actively involved in managing Russian economy and social processes in society (innovative projects “Leaders of Russia”, “Leader in Education”, “Young Entrepreneurs”).

To develop Russian society in a digital economy we need specialists with an integrated approach and creative thinking. It is in higher education that the formation of “basic competencies” is carried out in all spheres of society’s activities. It is advisable to enlarge and broaden students’ expertise in the field of business competencies that will



undoubtedly be useful for young people in their further professional development, no matter where a graduate of higher education is going to work.

The integrated social and managerial model of interaction between science, education and business in the context of the modern concept of development of digital society lay the groundwork for a study course “The Basics of Interaction between Education, Science and Business in a Digital Society”, which can be implemented in the context of continuing education programs at universities, and in the system of corporate training.

The main objective of the course is the innovative development of social and managerial competencies of young people in a digital economy.

The objectives of the course are as follows: to foster a set of values which contribute to development of young people in a digital economy; to facilitate interaction of representatives of science, education and business for work with young people at the municipal, regional and federal levels of government; to develop an integrated model for the development of intercultural interaction in education, science and business; to outline criteria for entrepreneurial (business) literacy of university students.

For effective implementation of the project it is desirable to increase the level of business competencies of the administrative and management staff and university professors who will participate in creating the university business environment in a digital society. The interaction of educational institutions with the business community, scientists, and representatives of municipal, regional and federal organizations is made possible by permanent working groups in which students are involved [Klyucharev G. A., Popov M. S., Savinkov V. I., 2017; Kudina M. V., 2012; Osipov G. V., Strikhanov M. N., Sheregi F. E., 2014].

To determine the level of economic and business literacy of students in a digital society and to improve the entrepreneurial culture of young people it is advisable to conduct a sociological survey of graduates of the MBA program.

Effective implementation of this project implies joint efforts of business community, scientists, teachers, administrative and management staff of educational organizations, heads of municipal, regional and federal authorities, public organizations. These efforts are aimed at developing and defining strategic tasks, designing the curriculum of training courses for continuing education, selecting methods and forms of activities with young students. The success of the project depends on coordination in the organization of the above-mentioned work and definition of specific forms of activity for each of the participants. It requires general project management which can be carried out by a successful entrepreneur in cooperation with high school scholars.

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## Modern Western Theories of Studying Digital Activism

### ABSTRACT

*The article introduces some modern international theories that study digital activism. Theories of “cute kittens”, the problems of civic participation in the digitalization of cities, the concept of mobile management, digital ethnography are considered.*

**Keywords:** online activism; digital activism; civic participation; citizens science; m-governance; smart cities

Internet activism (also known as web activism, online activism, digital campaign, digital activism, online organization, electronic propaganda, e campaign and electronic activity) is the use of electronic communication technologies such as social networks, email and podcasts for various forms of manifestation of activity, to ensure faster and more effective promotion of civil movements, to ensure the delivery of specific information to a large and specific audience, and also to coordinate between social groups. Internet technologies are used to raise funds, create communities, lobbying. The digital activism campaign is “organized public work collectively targeted by targeted authorities in which civic initiators or supporters use digital media.” One of the earliest books on activism was Ekoling Don Rittner's book, *A Comprehensive Guide to Environmental Information on the Internet*, published by Peachpit Press in 1992.

### Theory of “Cute cat”

In the context of Internet activism, it means any actions of little value in order to fill time from boredom (humor, kittens, beautiful girls), was born to Ethan Zuckerman [Zuckerman, 2008]. Most people are not inclined to solve social problems using the Internet with an active attitude; instead, they use it for routine daily activities or as a means of entertainment. However, with the spread of social networks, the audience is changing, which includes activists who disseminate information. Zuckerman notes that the more activist content is presented as “kind, sweet” (like kittens), the more citizens are involved in the process of making certain decisions. Facebook, Flickr, Blogger, Twitter and similar platforms are very useful for activists of social movements who may not have enough resources for independent development of specialized tools. Social networks make activists more protected from government repression than if they used a dedicated activism platform, because the closure of the popular public platform has more public resonance than the closure of the little-known [Bright Green, 2012].

When Google Maps became available in Bahrain, this allowed activists to answer a vital question in this small, crowded country - who owns the whole earth? From the air it is pretty clear that large chunks of the nation are reserved for royal family palaces. [Zuckerman, 2008] This document was distributed by mail to citizens. The authorities could not block the mail, but instead blocked google maps, which provoked even more discontent among bloggers, the well-known advocate for freedom of speech, Mahmoud al-Ussif, made several mass publications. After a short bloc, the authorities surrendered and allowed citizens to browse the site.

### ***Digital anthropology***

Miller and Horst list six principles of digital anthropology [Horst, Miller, 2012]:

- 1) digital elements are defined as participants in the interaction;
- 2) digital anthropology reveals the indirect nature of the non-digital world, where online worlds are another arena of social interaction;
- 3) no one lives a completely digital life, but digital life penetrates into different categories of real life, and becomes its integral part. So, all media are part of a broader media ecology with interdependent relationships. Media ecology [McLuhan, 1964] suggests that communication technologies not only strongly influence society, but can be the main cause of social changes in the modern world;
- 4) digital research opens up new possibilities for solving various social issues, where there are many discussions about democracy and manifestations of cultural differences, equality and differentiation, which are reflected in digital interaction;
- 5) a variety of openness and confidentiality. The importance of the role of social media in the Arab countries was shown by Facebook, WikiLeaks and Twitter helped the flow of the “Arab spring” in late 2010;
- 6) digital culture is no more or less material than non-digital. Without possession of both categories of material culture and digital skills, it has become more difficult to consider yourself a “civilized” person. Materiality, therefore, is the basis of digital anthropology. Materiality can be seen in digital technology, digital content and in a digital context.

Studies of performative practices can expand the study of cultural heritage, clarify the concept of “intangible heritage” (“intangible heritage”). The invention of digital technologies made it possible to transfer both production and consumption processes to social networks [Krutkin, 2017].

## Digital cities and digital civic participation

world practice allows us to distinguish three conditional phases of development (generation) of smart cities that reflect infrastructural changes [Bridging Global Infrastructure Gaps, 2016].

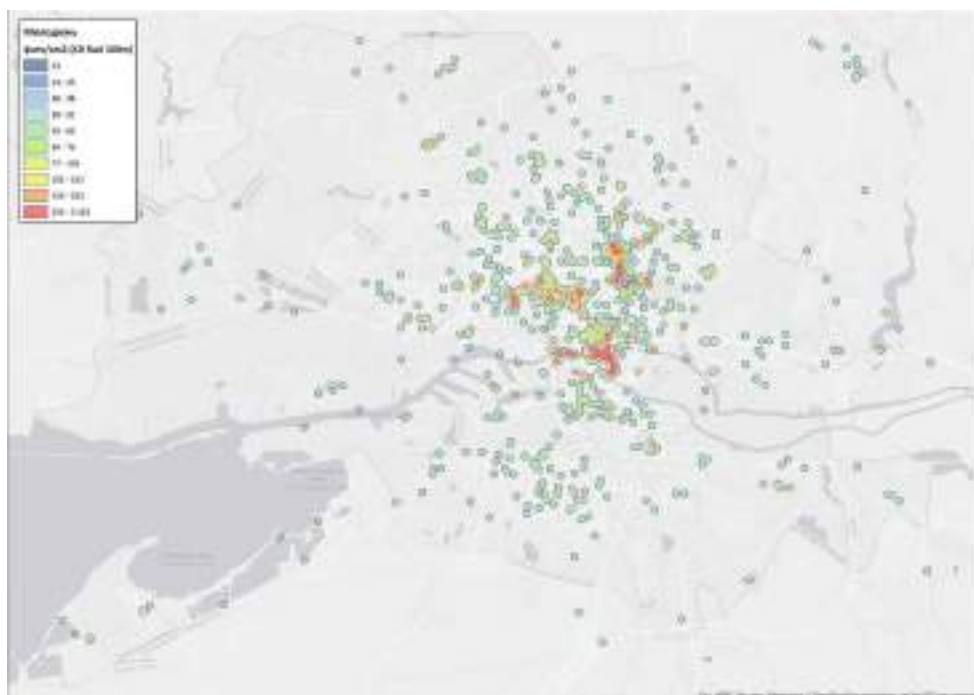
- SMART CITY 1.0 is a technology-oriented city. Characterized by the use of technology in order to increase its stability, vitality and controllability. There is an electrification and re-equipment of the physical infrastructure, isolated IT solutions are being introduced, a semi-automatic infrastructure is being formed. The main stakeholders are companies - suppliers of technological solutions and services.

- SMART CITY 2.0 is a high-tech managed city. Technologies are used to improve the quality of life and solve problems in the field of healthcare, transport, the environment and ecology, the advent of the Internet of things, 3G / 4G. The main role in the development of the city is assigned to the city authorities, residents are involved in a limited way.

- SMART CITY 3.0 is a highly intelligent integrated city. It is characterized by a combination of technologies that stimulate the development of social integration and entrepreneurship. A smart ecosystem promotes the involvement of citizens, making them active participants in the development of the city, the integration of online and offline methods, the development of adaptive and mobile learning technologies, augmented and virtual reality (for example, as part of the gamification of education), etc. electronic document management technology and electronic signature. [Gartner Highlights, 2016]. Thanks to the development of crowd technologies, residents have the opportunity to finance urban (for example, infrastructure) projects of interest to them, and the urban economy thereby receives significant previously unused resources. There are also numerous sharing services that can satisfy an existing need [Frost, Sullivan, 2017].

In Rotterdam, crowdfunding funded the construction of a bridge that connected parts of the city cut off from one another by a busy highway. As a result, economic growth of both parts was achieved. Informal social channels are becoming an important factor in urban development, residents are able to influence the development of the city through electronic platforms and other solutions. In fact, we are talking about the transition from the P model (public-private partnership, or public-private partnership) to the 4P model (public-private-people partnership), the full-fledged participants of which are the townspeople. [5 creative urban projects realized via crowdfunding, 2016] Before the World Cup in 2018, Strelka Design Bureau developed design projects for the improvement of public spaces in Kaliningrad. Question - which urban spaces do young users prefer? The map shows the number of photographs taken in different parts of Kaliningrad. Thanks to the digital footprints, it became clear which green areas are most positively perceived by residents.





**Fig. 1. The map shows the number of photographs taken in different parts of Kaliningrad. [Jeleznova A.]**

Mobile management (M-Governance) [Ermolaeva, 2018] is a concept that covers a number of initiatives in solving problems using mobile technologies with the participation of citizens, it boils down to informing the public, managing in emergency and critical situations, and providing public services, information [Raj, Melhem, Cruse M, Goldstein, Maher, 2011]. M-management provides many opportunities for saving money for both the government and citizens, the private sector (data collection, sending a template letter for the price of one SMS). Due to their high access, coverage, technology adoption and real-time collaboration, even in poor regions of the world, mobile phones offer effective solutions to communication problems [Manzini, 2002]; [Horst & D. Miller, 2002].

In a world where the economy plays an important role, consumer desires and requirements for modern communications and services are constantly growing and changing, mobile phones provide a quick and economical solution for people all over the world. For example, a successful example of using applications was recorded on January 12, 2010, when an earthquake of magnitude 7.0 occurred and more than a million people suffered a disaster in Haiti. On-line campaign “Day of Action” began through Facebook and Twitter, which allowed people to donate money to the Red Cross by their mobile number. This event brought in more than 3 million US dollars in just 48 hours and a total of more than 41 million dollars for the entire campaign [Sagl, Resch, Hawelka, 2012].

Mobile Ap Features:

- enlightenment on environmental issues and the impact of waste on human health and the environment;

- consolidation of civic and activist community \-collection of information from different geographical points;

- assistance to various authorities in decision-making on environmental protection;

- statistical model allows you to track activity and adjust application functions;

- planning and organization of domestic space applications should create the following:

- provision of open spaces for interested parties of users, suppliers and government;

- financial sustainability, cost-effectiveness and affordability;

- institutional joint development of the communications and technology industry.

Types: Information / educational, Interactive / Collaboration, functional applications - these applications are tools that are designed to solve specific problems.

The social mechanism of action can be direct (aimed at changing a specific social problem) and indirect (as an additional element in the chain of decisions and mutual influence). The following principles are formed within the communication system:

1. The principle of feedback. Mobile applications are focused on the consolidation or adjustment of social actions through which it is planned to change the ecological state of the environment, since the development of social systems is associated with a change in natural systems.

2. Mobile applications are development-oriented-social elements should be considered as a catalyst for the development of society and nature Social principles by which social actions and interactions are carried out:

- win-win principle all parties involved in the process win. Formation of external (social, natural) benefits and internal personal (receiving dividends, points, forms of alternative exchange or currency);

- the principle of the optimal combination of centralization and decentralization - that is, the administrative principle and the principle of self-management, self-organization are included;

- horizontal interaction as opposed to hierarchical distribution of management roles

- formation of civic participation;

- positive sanctions (reinforcing environmentally oriented behavior).

### **Dictator's dilemma**

Repressive regimes increase costs when they decide to reduce access to the Internet and / or mobile phone. The theory suggests that this entails financial and ultimately political losses. This term was coined by Christopher Keji, who wrote that increasing the relevance of digital / network technologies will cause repressive regimes to face a dilemma when they have to choose between open communications, which stimulate economic development, and closed communications, which can help control "dangerous" ideas, but may hamper access to the information economy. Collaborative actions aimed at explaining

“controversial political actions in the digital age” that include a new element of organization and shared content can help, [Vitak et al., 2011].

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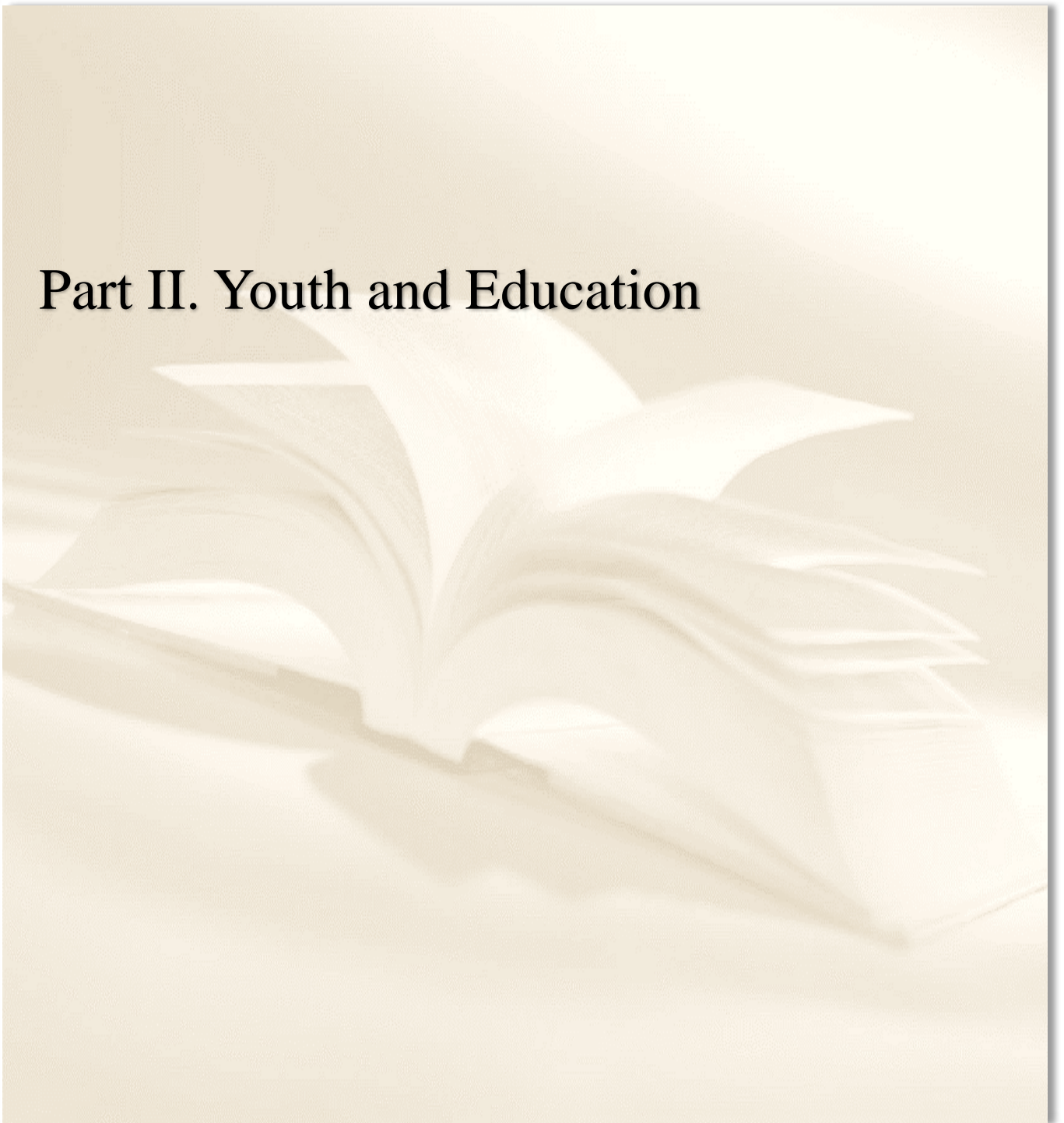
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## Part II. Youth and Education





**Marina V. Rybakova**  
**Dmitriy S. Klementiev**

## **Human Capital Development of Student Youth**

### **ABSTRACT**

*This work is written in order to identify the main elements of the human capital of modern Russian students. The analysis of the literature showed that human capital should be considered as a set of physical, intellectual and creative components of human personality. The main problems of formation and development of human capital of Russian students were identified.*

**Keywords:** human capital; Russian students; education system

The development of modern society, the transition to a new sixth technological order requires a rapid increase in the pace of scientific and technical innovation, increasing the importance of intellectual, information component in various spheres of society from social, political, cultural, the formation of innovative and digital economy, in which the role of experts, specialists of intellectual labor is significantly increased, and the importance and share of unskilled labor, on the contrary, decreases. The competitiveness of States is currently determined by knowledge, education, training, investment in human capital, largely determining the position of the country on the world stage.

All these factors contributed to the emergence, development and mass dissemination of the concept of human capital in the scientific discourse and management practice.

The prerequisites of the concept of human capital are noted in the works of A. Smith, who considered the economic opportunities of people depending on their education. The founder of the concept of human capital T. Schultz noted that: education as a social institution “properties that are valuable and that can be developed through appropriate investments will be human capital” [Armstrong, 2009]. Continuing to develop the ideas of human capital, using an economic approach, in the analysis of education as a social institution, migration, religion and marriage, G. S. Becker concluded that “human capital is beginning to be considered as a valuable resource, much more important than natural resources and accumulated wealth. It is human capital, not equipment or production stocks, that are the cornerstone of competitiveness, economic growth and efficiency.” G. S. Becker noted the high importance of education within organizations, health care costs, professional mobility.



In the framework of the modern concept of human capital and work of the Russian scientist A. S. Dyatlov, M. M Cretan, N. N. Koshel, I. A. Krutiy they include in the construct areas of science, healthcare, culture, education, as well as a set of accumulated professional knowledge, skills, abilities, motivations, types and forms of active activities of many others. Cycles at the local level, micro-level, macro-level are distinguished in the process of reproduction of human capital. [Dyatlov, 2006:39], [Krutiy, Krasina, 2007:127- 130], [Cretan,1991], [Koshel, 2005].

At the moment, the goal of human capital formation is to provide such a level of personal, professional qualities, skills, abilities of a person, which ensures the effective functioning of the production system, the movement to sustainable development of society. Human capital is considered a set of several assets:

- physical (primarily human health);
- intellectual (skills, knowledge, etc.);
- creative (ability to innovate).[Melnikov, Abramov, 2006].

In human capital there are three main components: health, which becomes not only a physiological, psychological state of a person, but also a healthy lifestyle; culture, which largely determines the values and behavior of a person, the nature of his work; education, which determines the social status of a person, the basis of career development, includes the requirements for a certain activity, the ability of a person to apply in practice the skills acquired in the process of education, skills that increase his ability to creativity, innovation. [Krutiy, Krasina, 2007:127-130].

Sources of human capital accumulation are science, education, information, health, culture, art.

Reproduction of human capital consists of such stages as: formation, distribution, use (functioning), replenishment (development), investment. Each stage is implemented through certain social institutions, social and economic systems.

The modern development of society dictates high requirements for the formation of human capital - is to provide a level of personal, professional qualities, skills, abilities, which ensures the effective functioning of the production system, the movement to sustainable development of society.

Nanotechnology, cognitive Sciences, socio-humanitarian technologies are the basis of the sixth technological order and require special attention to the development of human, intellectual, creative capital and, accordingly, it becomes necessary to form the cognitive, creative abilities of man, the creation and effective use of new knowledge. There is a formation of a person with diverse social and intellectual needs, relevant to modern society, the role of highly skilled labor becomes the determining factor in the formation and development of a new quality education system aimed at the development of human abilities.

In this regard, great importance is attached to students as a special social group that is directly related to the formation of the future intellectual basis on which the

competitiveness of States and the determining position of the country on the world stage largely depends. The number of students in Russia is quite high 4246 million. [Russia in numbers, 2018:141] UNESCO predicts that the number of students in the world is increasing every year, and by 2025 the total number of students will increase to 260 million [Russian reforms in facts and figures].

The increasing number of students around the world suggests that this social group will increasingly increase its importance in society and is able to have a different impact on the course of social change: acting as their subject, it can accelerate or slow down social progress [Rybakova, Zernova, 2015:125-132].

In this context, of great importance are its main functions: reproductive, translational and innovative, as well as characteristics, allocated by various scientists, as a special socio-demographic group, which is part of the student youth with age uniformity, consisting of various structural units with special conditions, factors and criteria of existence, work and life, common interests, subculture and lifestyle, a specific type of interaction within the group, as with other elements of society, mobility, high communicative abilities, social prestige, high level of cohesion, with a unique system of traditional and modern pragmatic values formed under the influence of global changes, with a special psychology and activity in obtaining knowledge and preparing for the upcoming work, common goals, the main social role and status as a reserve of human capital.

The system of values of young people is in the focus of study. In modern society, knowledge is becoming one of the most important factors of personal development, a condition for improving the quality of life and the level of development of society, the growth of human capital and the proportion of young people for whom the value of higher education is becoming increasingly important. Throughout the world, the goal of higher education has become the norm, according to UNESCO forecasts, the number of students in the world is increasing every year, and by 2025 the total number of students will increase to 260 million. [Russian reforms in facts and figures]

The main accumulations of human capital, such as a set of creative qualities, knowledge gained as a result of educational and practical activities, abilities and skills of professionally trained professionals with systemic thinking and ready to adopt, create and develop innovations, turning them into a product that can bring commercial effect, as well as maximum career development opportunities, are also associated with education.

Scientists note that culture and art are also sources of human capital formation. The result is largely a system of values, it is regulatory and Supervisory in nature, determines the purpose, content and focus of the individual and society as a whole. The data of the Russian Public Opinion Research Center on the system of values of young people are interesting, in the hierarchy of values of young people the first three places are occupied by income (15%), order and stability (11%), self-realization (8%). The “perestroika generation” experiences the most acute violation of values: they face it even more often

than older generations. The main “pain points” (areas where often there is a violation of values) for different groups of young people (after housing and public utilities and medicine): for generation 00-x (18-20 years) – education (27%) and policy (27%); for the generation of the 90s (21-28 years old) – receipt of public services (33%), politics (32%); for the generation of perestroika (29-34 years) – work (32%) and politics (35%). It can be noted that the “older youth” (29-34 years) often perceives the violation of values as a political topic. [Molodezh' i politika: tochki soprikosnoveniya..., 2017].

Human capital largely depends on the ability of graduates to apply their knowledge within the educational system. But unemployment and poverty among young people are increasing in Russia, as domestic organizations and enterprises do not meet modern requirements and are in conflict with the knowledge and ambitions of young people. In 2015, the unemployment rate reached 15.1% at the age of 15-24. This is probably due to education in this age group [Tyurin, 2016].

Youth unemployment is very high among University graduates. According to the search resource Head Hunter for 1 vacancy for young graduates, employers receive 10 resumes, on the market average, this figure is 6.8 [Unemployed among young people, 2015].

One of the sources of human capital is the health of students, its deterioration is manifested in delayed childbirth, reducing the number of children in young families, which leads to a drop in fertility in the XX-XXI century, a decrease in population, depersonalization of large areas and a threat to the security of the country as a whole. The extended interpretation of human capital sources includes: security, science, knowledge, education, education, culture and art, values, training of the elite, inflow of human capital, institutional and information services, entrepreneurship, civil society, health care [Kudina:19].

Increasing the human capital of students is an important task of state policy as the main factor of innovative development of the country.

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## Factors Affecting Students' Attitudes to the Social Roles of Men and Women

### ABSTRACT

*The article describes the results of a study of 1408 students, which conducted in 2018 in Moscow and Stavropol. It shown that the attitudes of students to the social roles of men and women differ by sex. As in other countries, there are more “liberals” among young women and “conservatives” among young men. At the same time, in comparison with the author's data for 1979, there is a convergence of attitudes of male and female students. Main differentiating factors are the religious and ethnic identity of students, the level of education of the father, the place of residence in school years.*

**Keywords:** students; attitudes; social role, gender; religious/ethnic identity

The actuality of studying the attitudes of students towards the relationship between the sexes is due to the fact the students are the carriers of the new gender ideology, which will spread among the educated segments of the population. The purpose of this article<sup>1</sup> is to compare the results of foreign studies with those obtained in the Russian study 2018.

The study of 1408 of young men and women undergraduates of specialists in various fields of training at the age of 20-24 years held at the end of 2018 in Moscow and Stavropol cities. In every city surveyed for 704 students in accordance with quota. For forming the quotas of the sample of students by sex and specialties, the data published by Rosstat on the release of bachelors, specialists, masters by educational organizations of higher education in groups of specialties and areas of training in 2015-2016 used [Zhenshchiny, 2016:72-73].

In Russia, the level of education of women is higher than that of men, as in most countries of the world. In 2010, the proportion of women with higher education aged 25-29 years was higher than of men in 139 countries, i.e. among 86% of the world's population [Esteve et al., 2016:1]. The sample in Moscow and Stavropol includes 22% of students enrolled in technical specialties (78% of men and 22% of women), 38% of students in humanities (33% of men and 67% of women) and 40% of students in economics and management (48% of men and 52% of women). Students filled out test questions, the rest of the answers recorded on the tape. The results processed in IBM SPSS Statistics 23.

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**Table 1: Students “strongly agree and agree” with the statements, %**

<b>Students</b>	<b>Young men n = 652</b>	<b>Young women n = 703</b>
<b>Public sphere</b>		
Only some kinds of job are equally appropriate for men and women	50	44
In many important jobs it is better to contract men than women	35	22
Women should not engage in politics	24	10
When jobs are scarce, men should have advantage over women in employment	16	9
“conservatives”	<b>29</b>	<b>12</b>
“liberals”	<b>27</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>Everyday practices</b>		
People can be aggressive and caring regardless of their sex	82	88
Boys should be brought up differently than girls	74	58
Women should be more concerned than men about, how they are dressed and how they look	40	34
A woman should not contradict her partner	22	9
“conservatives”	<b>24</b>	<b>11</b>
“liberals”	<b>20</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>Family sphere</b>		
The main destination of men – material security of his wife and children	49	33
Household chores should be allocated by sex of family’ member	31	24
The husband is responsible for the family so the wife must obey him	19	7
Mothers, not fathers, should make the majority of decisions regarding the upbringing of their children	7	9
“conservatives”	<b>23</b>	<b>10</b>
“liberals”	<b>35</b>	<b>47</b>

The concept of “gender role” is widespread in sociological researches. However, it is fairly criticized in feminist literature because it assumes a dichotomy (as well as sexual roles) and links certain social activity to gender. As a counterpart, will use the term “attitude on the social roles of men and women”.

For measuring students’ attitudes on relations between the sexes, the short version of Attitudes toward Gender Role Scale (ATGS) and Gender Role Attitudes Scale (GRAS) used. Statements were selected in three areas of gender relations: in the public sphere, in



everyday practices and in the family.

About half of the students support gender segregation, i.e. they believe that most jobs are “male” and “male” (see table 1). In the socio-professional structure of the Russian Federation, the proportion of women with high incomes and social status increases annually. Thus, the proportion of women increased among the specialists of the highest qualification level (from 58% in 1999 to 63% in 2017), among the “heads of bodies of authority and management at all levels, leaders of organizations” (from 36% to 41%). However, occupational segregation persists. There are many women workers in the preparation of information (84%), in the service sector (69%), and men among operators, drivers (89%) and workers (83%) [Zhenshchiny, 2000:61; Zhenshchiny, 2018:99].

The majority of students believe that psychological features of people do not depend on the sex (see table 1). Nevertheless, the main stereotype in everyday practices that hold by Russian students is “boys should be brought up differently than girls”. In family sphere about half of young men and only 33% of young women support conservative opinion that “the main destination of men – material security of his wife and children”. This stereotypes largely related to parental attitudes [Gurko, 1997:76] and the large number of women in education who, in turn, treat girls and boys differently [Popova, 2001:45].

Analysis of foreign studies of students' attitudes allowed us to formulate several hypotheses that checked on the data of the research in Moscow and Stavropol. Studies in both developed and developing countries have shown that female students are more liberal about the social roles of men and women than male students are. However, there is a convergence of attitudes, the opinions of male students become more liberal [Fényes, 2014:65-66; Frieze et al., 2003:256; Ifechukwu, 2013; LaFont, 2010:22; Pepin et al. 2018:16; Utomo, 2016:421]. These facts confirmed in the Russian research of students.

Based on the answers, the students were divided in each sphere in to “conservatives” who hold sexist views, “liberals” who support social equality of the sexes, and the intermediate type. Largely the views of male and female students differ in relation to the roles of men and women in the public sphere (Kramer' coefficient ( $V$ ) = 0,236,  $p < 0,0001$  here and further) and in everyday practices ( $V$  = 0,226). Least of all this views differ with regard to the family roles of men and women ( $V$  = 0,187), which inspires optimism in terms of compatibility in future family life.

As expected, at hole there are fewer conservatives among young women than among young men ( $V$  = 0,248). There are 21% of “conservatives” among young men and only 7% among young women, 23% of “liberals” among young men and 41% among young women. In 1979, according to the author, the discrepancy between the attitudes of male and female students to the social roles of men and women in Moscow was more significant ( $V$  = 0,295). Thus, it can be concluded that the convergence of attitudes of students in the capital.

According several foreign researches students' religious identity is linked to their more conservative beliefs in relation of marriage and parenthood [Frieze et al., 2003: 256; Petrovic et al., 2015:3; Utomo, 2016:421]. In accordance of Russian data religious

( $V=0,264$ ) and ethnical ( $V=0,204$ ) identity connect with the conservative' and liberal' attitudes of students in particular, with regard to the social roles of men and women. There are fewer "liberals" (9%) and more "conservatives" (38%) among Muslims. Among Orthodox students, a third of "liberals" and only 11% of "conservatives". Least of all "liberals" (10%) and more "conservative" (37%) among the students of the representatives of the peoples of southern Russia (North Caucasus Federal district).

According to the study in Hungary, students born in rural areas, adhere to modern views as often as urban, as a long time living in the city during training [Fényes, 2014: 65]. In our research there are slightly more "conservatives" among those students who lived in rural areas during school years (21%) compared to those who grew up in cities (13%), but this connection is small ( $V= 101$ ).

The attitudes of male students are also influenced by the education of the father ( $V= 193$ ), more conservatives among those whose fathers have secondary education (43%). The structure of the parent' family (normative, stepfamily, single parent family, without parents), the education of the mother, as well as the specialty of students are not related to their views on the social roles of men and women.

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## **Ural Youth in Anticipation of the creation of their own Family: Confidence and Doubt**

### **ABSTRACT**

*In the article the authors analyze some actual problems of premarital behavior of Ural youth. Particular attention is paid to the prevalence of forms of life activity of non-family young people in the youth subculture, which are not consistent with the traditional matrimonial culture of behavior of the older generation of Russians. The empirical basis for the analysis of the stated problem for the authors is the results of a number of sociological surveys conducted by them in 2003-2018 in the urban and rural settlements of the Urals.*

**Keywords:** family; children; socialization; pre-marriage; matrimonial behavior; values; asocial manifestations of social expectations

Originally, our contemporaries believe that children need a parent family, mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, relatives. Much less often we think about such an aspect of matrimonial relations, as the process of formation of needs, interests, value orientations in children themselves (as they grow up) to create their own family, the birth of their own children. In other words, it is a natural process of reproduction of mediocre life, the birth and upbringing of their own children. The opinion that this process is traditionally immutable, that in the new, nascent generations, “automatically” reproduces the craving for a family lifestyle, for the birth and upbringing of offspring, “eternal care for the reproduction of the genus” has been established and supported in the public consciousness. This position is strengthened, for example, by the affirmation of the natural and biological essence of the “maternal instinct” and its obligatory reproduction in new female generations.

At the same time, the problem of purposeful activity of the public-parents, teachers, children themselves to prepare (self-training) for the “mandatory” stage of life of each normal person – the creation and normal socio-biological development of their own family is in the shadow of researchers – family scientists. Let us call this stage in the life of young people – the stage of family socialization of offspring [Pavlov, 1984; Taradanov, 2004].

In our subsequent discussions on some aspects of the stated problem, we will use the materials of a number of comprehensive regional studies on the problems of premarital behavior of young uralians, conducted by the authors in 2003-2017 at the Institute of Economics of the Russian Academy of Sciences, in particular:

– 2003 – survey of 2900 young spouses in five regions of the Russian Federation, including 1850 respondents from families of Sverdlovsk region – in the future, conditionally – “Ural-Family-2003”;

– 2004 – The Urals Institute of state fire service of EMERCOM of Russia has implemented a survey of 500 applicants (“Abit”) and 250 students of Higher school courses (“KEP”). Opinions of young single men concerning professional study and education of own family – “Ural-UNIVERSITY-2004” were found;

– 2005 – in Yekaterinburg, 880 young spouses were interviewed on the problems of stabilization of relations in young families (362 men and 518 women) – “Ural-Family-2005”.

– 2008 – in 7 cities and 14 rural settlements of Perm, Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk regions on author's questionnaires five categories of respondents are interrogated: a) pupils of secondary and senior classes of city schools – 900 people; b) pupils of secondary and senior classes of rural schools – 540 people; c) parents of pupils of city schools – 770 people; d) young workers (aged till 25 years) from 32 city enterprises of Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk regions – 570 people – “Ural-School 2008”;

– 2010 – survey of 680 senior students of Ural state University at technical and humanitarian faculties. The subject of research – the level and nature of the involvement of young people in religious culture – “Ural-UNIVERSITY-2010”;

– 2015 – according to the quota sample in eight institutes of the Ural Federal University (Ekaterinburg) conducted surveys of 450 senior students who were going to become young professionals in enterprises and organizations. “Ural-UNIVERSITY 2015”;

– 2017 – an interregional study on the problems of professional socialization of engineering personnel in the Ural region was carried out, which included, in particular, a survey of 1000 students of the first and fourth courses of four Ural universities in the field of engineering and technical orientation, in particular: a) in three institutes of the Ural Federal University (Yekaterinburg) – 300 people; b) in the South Ural state University (Chelyabinsk) – 100 people.; c) in the Ural state agrarian University – 100 people.; d) in the Ural state University of railway transport – 100 people; e) in the Astrakhan state University of architecture and construction (Astrakhan) – 400 people – “Ural-UNIVERSITY-2017”.

“What would you say about an architect who, when laying down a new building – would not be able to answer you the question of what he wants to build?” – asked K.D. Ushinskiy [Ushinskiy, 1948:17]. Naturally, such a situation would cause, at least, bewilderment in competent in construction man. However, our appeal to this self-evident fact, is not pointless. In the Federation Council the state Duma has proposed to introduce in schools Family Studies. As it turned out, this subject is already taught and there are textbooks on it. Senator Elena Popova (member of the Committee on social policy) proposed to introduce the subject “family studies” in schools. The goal is good “to teach communication in the family, the correct resolution of possible conflict situations.”

“Family Studies” course is proposed to study in younger and in high school. According to the Senator, the commissioners for the rights of the child from different regions supported the introduction of this subject on an optional basis. And now the office of the Ombudsman for the rights of the child is waiting for the regions where such lessons were already introduced to share their experience and suggestions in order to transfer a full project to the Ministry of education [Uroki braka...].

The success of preparing young people for family life presupposes, first of all, the choice of the main parameters of the optimal family model, the construction of which should be ready and strive for every young adult. As such, we suggest choosing at least three:

- 1) first, it is obligatory for a normal person to have a family lifestyle;
- 2) secondly, the choice of the optimal age of marriage and family education;
- 3) third, – the desire for birth and upbringing in their own family, at least 2-3 children [Pavlov, 1992].

The parameters chosen by us are determined, first of all, socially-biologically. The period of reproduction of their own offspring for each person should be “inscribed” in its limited nature, the life cycle. At the same time, it is important to observe the conditions under which the process of birth and upbringing (socialization) of children, on the one hand, was most favourably provided by the natural resources of their parents, on the other hand, these conditions, as far as possible, contributed to the solution of two contradictory circumstances. First, they would take into account the tactical and strategic social and biological interests of society and the family and, secondly, the complex and largely contradictory interests of parents and their offspring, at least in the next two generations.

Let's try to answer the above first, root question: “does a young man need to create his own family?”. We agree that almost the entire range of socio-biological needs of modern man (as well as men and women) can be met without a family, having a non-family lifestyle. The commercial sector (primarily in the big city) provides people with everything – that is only money question.

What is the attitude to the institution of family and to the family lifestyle of young people and their parents? According to sociological surveys conducted in major cities of Russia (including the results of our research), the respondents give the first and second places to the family among the most important life priorities and goals. According to our survey, the four values of life, such as “family”, “health”, “work” and “material well-being”, underlie the understanding of the well-being of different social groups, including adolescents and their parents. Another thing is interesting: the hierarchy of life values of boys and girls, young people living in the city and in the countryside, is almost identical. Today, the desire to increase the standard of living, consumer enrichment, social status often excludes from the idea of well-being the true value of human life – a family with several children [Pavlov, 2010; Tatarkin, Pavlov, 2009].



Let's turn to the results of one of our surveys. "Can you say how many children will be in your family? What are your family plans"? – this question of the questionnaire ("Ural- 1") the answers of the young Ural spouses of one-child and two-child families were as follows: 20% of respondents, representatives of one-child families (at the time of the survey) of parents plan to "stay" in their reproductive activities and leave their only son (daughter) with no younger brothers and sisters. More than half of the respondents from the same group (51 %) considered that their family will have two children, and each fourth (24 %) – "three or more". In other words, today we are not talking about the expanded reproduction of Russian society or even its simple reproduction. Currently, the population reproduction is in depopulation mode [Pavlov, Belkin, Kozlov, 1990]. Only a special impact can revive the need of a young family for several children, therefore, on the agenda – the family policy of the state and, which is largely synonymous, – the policy towards a young family, the transformation of the economy in the interests of families with children [Pavlov, Belkin, Kozlov, 1990].

It is known that in Orthodoxy to number of eight sinful passions are carried: gluttony, fornication, greed, anger, grief, despondency, vanity, pride. Sin for Christians is not just a misdemeanor or fault, but also the very desire not to follow the commandment. Sinful behavior is regarded as contrary to human nature, the depravity of the human being, the manifestation of his fallen nature, which he acquired during the fall [Tatarkin, Pavlov, 2009].

In order to clarify the views of young people about sin, in the study respondents were asked: "Which of the following actions, in your opinion is a sin?". The study showed that the relative difference between value orientations and moral assessments of the majority of social manifestations in different socio-demographic groups is very small. Thus, "drunkenness" is not considered a sin by 57% of all students surveyed, including 50% – "Orthodox". The answers to the same question are also interesting for two groups of students: men and women. "Abortion" is considered a sin – 66 % of male respondents and 78 % – women; "Homosexuality" – respectively – 64/ 41 %; "Prostitution" – 59 / 69 %; "Treason (wife/husband)" – 57/ 65 %%; "Alcoholism" – 37/ 48 %%, etc. [Pavlov, Pavlova, Kamskova, Saraykin, 2013].

New trends of sexual morality is very significantly affected the nature of pre-marital behavior of young people, changes in public consciousness in relation to sexual extramarital relations. We have already cited the results of a survey of Polytechnic students: only 6 % of young men (future grooms) condemn "gender relations before marriage for a young man." Among girls supporters a-tricky premarital behaviour, possible suitors-fellow students is slightly higher – 12 %. Less loyal to the premarital sexual relations of children, adolescents, young their parents. According to the survey "Ural-Family-2005", the vast majority of fathers and mothers (about 65-80 %), does not see anything wrong with the fact that their sons and daughters receive "first lessons of love" will receive before entering into official marriage. Only 4 % of parents of boys and 14 %

of parents of girls consider premarital sexual relations to be sexual promiscuity, which should not be allowed “in any way”. As practice shows, such prohibitive positions of this part of parents, as a rule, remain good wishes against the background of independent decisions and actions of their sons and daughters.

The extent to which the family-marriage relations of Russians were deformed by the beginning of the new 21st century can be judged by the state of public opinion regarding the spread in Russian society of the so-called “new, unusual for Russian traditional morality, forms of marriage. “How do you feel about the non-traditional forms of marriage currently available?” – this question was asked by us to various categories of non-family and family Ural youth, including in surveys: “Ural-UNIVERSITY 2004” and “Ural-Family 2003” Opinions of young unmarried male cadets (1st and 4th year), on the one hand, and, on the other, young spouses who have one or two young children (2900 pers.). The main conclusion that can be drawn from the data obtained, we formulate as follows: the satisfaction of sexual needs in young men (they make up the contingent of cadets of paramilitary Universities) in modern conditions can be a fairly significant period of individual life (say, up to 30-35 years) outside their own family, outside the officially registered marriage in the so-called “civil marriage” (it is not condemned 83-90 % of cadets) [Mironov, Pavlov, Popov, 2005].

In the survey, “Ural-UNIVERSITY-2015” future young professionals were asked: “What plans do you personally have after graduation (within the next 3-5 years)? The survey showed that in the medium term (5-10 years) in the life plans of students two main objectives dominate. The first – material and economic self-assertion associated with professional activities. And, the second – the creation of “normal” own family, including the birth of children. It is important to note that the majority of our respondents are confident in the implementation of their life plans. To the question “Are you confident in the implementation of your life plans?” noted option “Yes” – 43 % of the total number of respondents, and the option “rather yes than no” – 56 %.

Psychological studies of recent decades, both in our country and abroad have shown that maternal feelings, skills are not innate, biologically inherited. They are not incorporated in the genetic program of behavior, but are formed in vivo by socio-psychological formations that are entirely dependent on the social environment, the system of culture, the system of education. Unfortunately, in the broad public consciousness there is an opinion about the notorious “maternal instinct”, which allegedly automatically manifests itself in every woman at the time when she becomes a mother. It follows logically from such perceptions that millions of girls can become mothers spontaneously, quite “naturally”, that there is no need to educate and prepare them for the performance of family and maternal duties. These widespread opinions are not as harmless as they might seem at first glance. There is no so-called “maternal instinct” in man. The girl's maternal feelings are formed through play, imitation, suggestion, learning, through the assimilation of social standards and stereotypes of behavior.

Sociology, provided that it's done properly – said E. Giddens, is doomed in a way to always remain a science, making misunderstanding in the minds. We were forced to be subjected to a radical reassessment of their understanding of the nature of the present family institutions under the influence of a deeper study of their past. The study of the family, which was considered to be the most boring occupation, turned out to be one of the most exciting enterprises [Mironov, Pavlov, Popov, 2005:57].

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## School and its Role in the Socialization of High School Pupils in the Conditions of Modernization of the Education System

### ABSTRACT

*This article presents the results of a sociological study “Study of modern tendencies of personality formation in the field of education”, conducted in 2018 by employees of the Group studying the current trends of personality formation in the field of education. Studied the possibility of using sociological methods in order to improve the efficiency of educational work. Based on the analysis of the data obtained, the author comes to the conclusion that in the modern Russian megalopolis, senior pupils in general education schools are members of a cohesive team, within which most of the students are satisfied with communication. In general, the school has a positive effect on the development of many socially significant skills and qualities among high school students. The exception is the development of independence and self-esteem among high school students. According to respondents, the school does not have enough influence on the development of stress tolerance. It was noted that there are a number of questions, in search of answers to which high school students prefer the Internet, a conclusion is made about the significant impact of the Internet on the socialization of high school students.*

**Keywords:** vital problems; school world; values; sociological survey; education

Prospects for the development of the modern school system of the country are outlined by the program documents, which set requirements for personal, metasubject, subject results of students who have mastered the basic educational program of secondary (complete) General education. Among other requirements, the problem of effective socialization of the graduate, the formation, development during the educational process of his personal qualities as a key in the consideration of the processes and results of the educational institution [Milekhin, 2011]. In this regard, the problem of studying the features of socialization of high school students, their ideas about themselves and the world around them is very relevant. It should be noted that this problem is part of the research interests of the Group for the study of modern trends in the formation of personality in the field of education of is RAS for a long time (since 2000), the group conducts monitoring, the results of which are regularly submitted for public discussion (see, eg.: Bestuzhev- Lada, 2000, Practices..., 2017, Modern problems..., 2016).

At the end of the academic year (2018) among high school students of Moscow schools held an annual study “the Study of modern trends in the formation of personality in education.” Among the objectives of the study were the following: the Study aimed to

identify: the attitude of high school students to school and peers; the impact of school on the well-being of adolescents; the formation of values; attitudes to independent decision-making; as well as plans for the future of adolescents. The study involved high school students aged 15 to 18 years, students in grades 9-11. It is clear that it is impossible to present all the results in a separate article, so we will present only some of them.

The world of high school student includes the world of school, where the student spends a significant part of his time. How comfortable does he feel in the world of school? According to our sociological survey, 56% of pupils feel themselves comfortable in school.

A little more than half of high school students feel part of the team (class). In addition, it should be noted that almost every 12 of the total number of respondents could not Express their attitude to participation or its absence from the class. Note that in the previous waves of monitoring a greater number of respondents indicated a sense of belonging to the team. The majority of respondents tend to positively assess their communication with classmates, but note that the percentage of respondents who are not satisfied with their relations with classmates remains approximately the same in recent years, according to our data.

As we have already mentioned above, one of the indicators of the effectiveness of the school is the successful socialization of graduates, the formation of their socially significant personal qualities. Do students think that the modern school is coping with this task? Respondents' answers to questions about how the school affects the development of their various skills are presented in the table 1.

**Table 1: Respondents answers to the question: “How does education in school affect the development of your skills...?”**

Skills	Answers		
	Affects positively	Doesn't affect	Affects negatively
Creativity	56,5	32,2	6,2
To debate and defend their own opinions	59,9	29,4	5,1
To carry out routine work	49,2	33,9	10,2
To be initiative	55,4	34,5	5,1
Communication skills	68,4	23,7	2,3
To solve problems	55,9	32,8	5,6
To set and reach aims	53,7	37,3	4,0
To obey the rules	52,0	28,2	13,0

The data in the table show that in general, the school has a positive impact on the development of high school students of each of the proposed assessment skills. Among the



positive assessments, the respondents rated the ability to communicate the highest (68.4 %), the lowest rating was given to such ability as performing routine work (49.2 %).

The school develops not only certain skills, but also qualities. According to the respondents, the three most significant positions of positive and negative impact of the school on the development of certain qualities are highlighted in the table. Significantly inferior to the three leaders of positive influence such qualities as stress resistance, independence, honesty. As for stress resistance, we suggest that in high school students are faced with such non-trivial situations as the need to take exams. For many high school students, as practice shows, even the procedure of OGE and exam is a highly stressful situation [see, e.g.: Volkova, Sirotina, 2004, Gaponova, Romanova, 2012, Kostroma, Pisarev, 2017, etc.]. Recognition of the stress of the situation is the fact that school psychologists in the preparation of high school students and their parents (!) for the exam write multi-page programs of psychological and pedagogical support of graduates for the period of their preparation for exams.

It is clear that not only the school acts as an agent of socialization, developing different qualities and skills of high school students. Moreover, more than once it is shown that different agents of socialization with different degrees of intensity affect the formation of personality. The model of socialization of a particular individual is determined by which agents of socialization he trusts to a greater extent, in other words, who is able to exert the greatest influence on the individual's assimilation of social norms, cultural values and patterns of social behavior. The answers of high school students to the question of whom they would address the question in the first place show that most of the topics students discuss with their parents (as a rule, these are issues of education, future profession and financial).

However, it should be noted that quite often the school in the discussion of issues important to the respondents, concedes its position to their friends, which are mainly solved leisure issues. This situation, in General, is also expected, given the adolescence and belonging of high school students to the class team, high satisfaction from communicating with classmates, which we mentioned above. But worse, in our opinion, that in the choice, in what door “to knock” – school or the Internet – quite often high school students make the choice not in favor of school.

Over the years, it has been easier for young people to turn to the faceless Internet, which makes no value judgements, than to friends or parents on matters relating to sex information.

Summing up the General result of the part of the results obtained in the course of the study of 2018 presented in the article, we can conclude that in the modern Russian metropolis in secondary schools “school world” of high school students is mainly represented by cohesive teams, communication in which suits most of them. The school has a positive impact on the development of high school students of many socially significant skills and qualities, except for independence and self-esteem, and has a negative

impact on the development of stress resistance. It should be recognized that there are a number of questions in search of answers to which high school students prefer the Internet. It can be argued that the Internet is increasingly “intervenes” in the life of adolescents, but the school, along with other agents of socialization in a rather complex environment of constant reform and modernization copes with its functions, forming in high school students the quality and skills necessary for independent adult life.

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## **Comparing of Internet Technologies and Consumer Behavior Practices in the Childhood of the Generations Y and Z**

### **ABSTRACT**

*One of the most controversial areas in applied research today is the topic devoted to the comparison of generations. In 2018 in order to fix the age of the most important events of the inclusion in society of representatives of two different generations was conducted a sociological study “Childhood Events of Generation Z” by young people from 18 years old and older (N=774) using the online-survey method. This article presents the results of a study relating to two areas of socialization of today's youth (digitalization and consumer behavior). The authors consider the main distinctive features of practices of children and adolescents of the generations Y and Z in relation to the use of the Internet and consumer activity.*

**Keywords:** children; teens, internet; consumer behavior; generations

The study of generations abroad and in our country is a fairly developed area of research. However, for the most part, they are focused on youth and older generations. The most commonly reviewed dichotomy: young - adults. Childhood of generations is studied to a much lesser extent, despite the fact that values and ideas about the world are laid precisely in the childhood period of personality development [Childhood..., 2017].

Currently the changes taking place in the world and society cover all spheres of human life and all generations, the pace of change is constantly accelerating and therefore it's necessary for man to forced adapt to new conditions. Today for the first time in the history of mankind not adults but children and adolescents play the leading role in the adaptation process.

Information technologies entered human life in a such short period of time that parts of the adult population had difficulties at adapting to changes, while children are currently the most active users of the whole spectrum of modern information and communication technologies [Gubanova, 2017]. On average, at the age of 4-5 years children are already beginning use Internet; while more than a third do it themselves; a child's own smartphone appears in children as young as 5-7 years old (44%), as they grow older, the number of children owning gadgets increases to 74% in primary school children [Detskiy Runet; 2018]. In this regard, it is important to emphasize that technology not only complements and extends the life of a child, but also influences the entire structure of its activities both in real life and in a virtual environment. In this regard, it is important to emphasize that

technology not only complements and extends the life of a child, but also influences the entire structure of its activities both in real and virtual life. The Internet contributes to the emergence of new, different from the usual methods of cultural practices, phenomena, significance and meanings which creates in a complex interaction with traditional life-activity a special social situation of development and a new way of modern children's life [Soldatova, 2018:72-73].

Technological system includes the interaction of the child with live (for example, peers) and non-living (electronic devices, programs, applications, the Internet itself, artificial intelligence) its elements. In the information society this element is mediated among other things by the techno-system that becomes the most important part of modern culture and part of the ecosystem of an emerging personality and influences other systems, reflected, in particular, in the specifics of the experiencing of online activity, as well as the cumulative mutual influence of all subsystems on child development and the processes of its socialization.

Also in modern society, one of the leading roles is played by the consumption system, as well as individuals and products of production formed with its help. The goal of consumer socialization of children is to acquire skills in consumer behavior and knowledge of economic concepts that characterize various aspects of consumption: the subject of purchase, place of purchase, use of purchase.

Consumer behavior of children consists of inherited social and economic differences between adults (parents) and, accordingly, their patterns of consumer behavior, on the other hand, individually gained experience is added in the process of personal activity and interaction with society and its social institutions. Social norms governing the role-playing actions of children-consumers are certain regulatory patterns of this role, rules governing the performance of the role of consumers by children, rules of behavior of children-consumers [Kolosova, 2017].

The hypothesis that the representatives of the new generation Z (born in the 2000s) differ in the dominance of a different format of the used socialization resources in childhood. In 2018, a study was conducted on "Generation Z childhood events" (N = 774), during which questions were asked about Internet-practices and consumer behavior.

Young people at the age of 18–20 were asked in what age they had got their first phones, computers, tablets, first web-accounts etc. The results of the study show that, in general, all events related to the reclamation of information and communication technologies occurred earlier in the generation Z. Thus, the average age of the appearance of mobile phones for all respondents is 9.4 y.o., whereas for generation Z it's 8.9 y.o.; generation Y had got their own computer at almost 12 y.o., whereas at generation Z only at 11 y.o. Note that the passage of various online tests took place in the upper classes among the representatives of both generations: at 14.1 y.o. for generation Y and at 13.4 y.o. for generation Z. As well as the emergence of gadgets with the ability to go online: the average

age of all respondents is 13.5 y.o., for the Z generation it is 12.9 y.o., more than a year earlier than the generation Y (14.1 y.o.).

The hypothesis about the dependence of the beginning of the use of Internet technology on the place of residence of the respondents in childhood is partially confirmed: in the countryside, the vast majority of information and communication practices began to be applied later than in the cities. Thus, its own telephone, on average, appears in rural residents almost a year later (at 10.4 y.o.) than among residents of small cities (at 9.5 y.o.) and 1.5 years later than in large cities (8.9 y.o.) and million-plus cities (8.9 y.o.).

Nevertheless, the results of the study showed that the difference in the average age of having your own computer and starting to search for information on it is minimal depending on the type of settlement and is not more than six months – on average, by the age of 12 children started using computers terrain.

Despite the fact that generation Z is considered to be a generation immersed to the Internet reality and not representing life without it, so-called “generation of Google”, however, the results of the study showed that not all events associated with the information and communication technologies usage occurred in childhood. Thus, 10.4% of girls said that they did not play computer games in childhood, and 10.4% of young people did not have their own gadget with the ability to access the Internet. A tenth of the girls (11.5%) and 15% of the young men did not pass online tests in childhood.

So, let us now consider the specifics revealed in the childhood of two of the interrogated generations – Z and Y, considered their consumer behavior. Thus, it can be said that there are some differences in the practices of consumer behavior of representatives of different generations, including depending on gender (boys are more independent in spending, girls start earning earlier), and also depending on where they live in childhood (residents of large cities are more actively included in family consumption and have more opportunities to spend money on themselves, whereas residents of small towns and villages are previously included in consumer behavior to provide for the family (food and leisure earnings). Representatives of both generations began to spend money at their own discretion at 11-12 years of age, whereas representatives of generation Z were found who lived in rural areas in childhood, and later began to implement this practice (at 13.1).

Practitioners of self-consumption (going to the cinema, hairdresser) earlier than others were shown by residents of million-plus cities and big cities, both among the representatives of generation Z and Y.

We will separately consider the general and the particular in the practices of consumer behavior depending on the gender of the respondents. Girls started earning their own money earlier than boys, representatives of the generation Z, this practice appeared earlier at 13.6-13.8 years, and they began to receive their own pocket money almost a year later than representatives of generation Y (10.3-10.5 years old).

The opinion of the child was taken into account when buying clothes and large things for the home, regardless of gender and on average for both generations, starting from



the same period (9.2-9.6 years - buying clothes, 13.3-13.4 years - buying large things for the home). Generation Z is slightly more included in consumer practices due to their greater prevalence in modern society, however, later the previous generation began to get pocket money and spend it on their own.

Thus, the obtained results suggest that there is a change in the prevalence of various socialization practices in different periods of childhood. Life events in the childhood of the modern young generation depend on a number of factors, including gender and age characteristics, differences in the resource base and availability of new technologies, types of settlement.

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*Irina S. Ipatova*

## **Educational Environment of the National Cultures Communication**

### **ABSTRACT**

*The article is devoted to the problems of communication between the representatives of different national cultures in the foreign languages studying process. Social adaptation experience of national language personality is analyzed from the point of view of the fact who is the citizen of a foreign country – a teacher or a student.*

**Keywords:** foreign language study; national language; national culture; social adaptation; language personality

Learning foreign languages is connected with a wide range of subject and object conditions, the most important of which is the fact what country citizens study a foreign languages? Therefore, we can teach a Chinese student the Russian language in Russia, at the same time he can be taught Russian as a foreign language in China. The basic question here is who is a foreigner in the country where studying process takes place – a student or a teacher? In the first case the social adaptation of a student can contribute the speed of language units learning, primarily, the elements of communication; but at the lessons the pupil is sure to be dependent; secondly – he is an active participant of the communication but the process of language learning is less effective as all the interactivities take place in his native "language field".

Moreover, the pedagogical communication except social roles of a teacher and a student is seen as a complex multilevel dialogue of the representatives from different nationalities. In linguodidactics (and not only) the notion of "a language personality" is closely related to the notion of "a national culture". And while teaching a foreign language a teacher can't do without taking into consideration such factors as the nationality of the students, what language they speak and what ethnos they present, their belonging to a religious confession.

These objective data are closely connected, that prevents making priorities. For example, a student's nationality, i.e. his belonging to "historic entity of people created within the process of their territory entity, economic links, literary language formation, some culture and personality peculiarities" [Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary, 1990:881], is related to his country and its national language as a social-historic category, characterizing the nation formation. At the same time there are about 30 000 thousand languages and dialects in the world [Languages and dialects of the: Prospectus and Glossary, 1982:11] and only about 1000 different nations [The Population of the world: Ethnographic Reference book, 1986:90]; in one country some state languages exist (for instance: in

Switzerland – 4, in Ireland – 2, etc.), and on the contrary – one and the same language can play the role of a state one in several countries (for example, English is recognized as the official language in England, the USA, Canada, Australia, South Africa; Spanish besides Spain, - in 20 countries of Latin America and in the Philipines as well).

Religious-denominational world view also testifies that one and the same religion is practiced by different nations as well as one nation can have some equitable denominations (however, fair to say: one and the same religion in different countries can be various according to national traditions).

If to see the problem of teaching students a foreign language with a view to a student's identity to the definite ethnic group it should be noted that the fundamental feature of any ethnic group (it doesn't matter whether it is a small or the whole nation) is considered to be its self-consciousness which is defined not only by these or those formation factors but by its unique way of historic formation including the history of language development. Ethnic identity is vividly reflected in cultural traditions and language mentality.

It makes its corrections not only into the process of a teacher's communication and methodological subject suply when teaching a foreign language but also extends to the examples when both language and speech material is given. Moreover, the simplest communication formula sometimes need explanation containing ethic markers because, for example, the interpretation of nonverbal etiquette used by representatives of different nationalities can be various in contrast. Classical literature needs to be selected carefully as well. It is rather hard to explain "Lefty" written by Leskov to Muslim students as the left hand is considered to be "unholy" for them.

Besides, costumes play a great role in attaching to cultural national traditions. For example, in Mexico at the festival of national cultures students who study the Russian language wear Russian national costumes or accessories of Russian identity. Thus, Russian kokoshniks became popular all over the world after the World Football Championship in 2018 and they are now recognizable as well as Russian hohloma and matrioshkas.

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## **Expectations of Parents from Preschool Educational Organizations for their Children**

### **ABSTRACT**

*This paper describes the problems of pre-school education in Russia in the form of kindergarten organization. There are various ways of dealing with that problem that can be discussed. Likewise, this paper brings up a phenomenon Russian education of teaching a child at home. This way, it may come obvious, that we need to understand, what person could be the best teacher.*

**Keywords:** kindergarten; preschool; teacher

The modern system of preschool education is characterized by significant positive changes in the sphere of legislative regulation. Activation of processes of application of alternative practices of financing and the organization of process of preschool education and education is noted. On the other hand, there is a certain shortage of places in pre-school organizations in some regions, the lack of teachers of appropriate qualifications. The intensified process of unification of secondary schools and pre-school institutions has provoked tension between pre-school institutions and schools, parents and authorities of pre-school education. The hasty introduction of inclusion in the preschool educational space, not always supported by the necessary material base, pedagogical competence and willingness of society to adopt a new paradigm of education, leads to the destruction of an effective system of correctional pre-school institutions. Increasing the cost of educational services without improving their quality provokes the growth of conflict situations around pre-school education. All this, to a large extent, affects the nature and forms of interaction of actors or subjects of the educational process (children, parents, teachers, managers), as well as the processes taking place within the professional group of teachers of preschool organizations. Within the framework of the project "Actual dynamics of social and professional status of teachers of preschool education" interviews were conducted with parents of preschool children in Moscow and the Moscow region. In the sphere of interests of the researchers were the following aspects of the functioning of preschool educational organization: •systematization of criteria for the choice of parents of a particular preschool educational organization; •determination of the status positions of the profession of a preschool teacher; •tracking the criteria by which parents distinguish a professional from a non-professional; •characteristics of the relationship between parents and teachers of preschool children; •fixation of subjective parameters relating to the views of parents about

the profession of preschool teacher. Sociological studies have shown that children go to kindergarten (when they are not forced to go there), first of all, in order to play and communicate with their peers. Parents are usually less interested in how exciting pastime of the child outside the home. They are much more concerned with three things: reliable child care (“child storage”); health of the child – that he was ill as little as possible; good preparation for school. The need of parents in the public education of children reaches its maximum during the preparation of the child for school. The attitudes of children and parents, as it turned out, are largely opposite, which stimulates the processes of optimization of education and its differentiation, taking into account the needs of families of different types. The analysis of experts' opinions on the changes (both positive and negative) that have occurred in Russia in recent years showed that most experts note the transition to variability, alternative programs and forms of education. There is a real opportunity to work on the author's programs developed by our compatriots, as well as to adapt the best examples of foreign experience of education. About half of parents understand that the choice of a certain program of preschool education is the planning of the educational trajectory of the child. In the context of organizational reform of the system of preschool education, standardization of the educational process, such a conscious choice by the parent is very problematic. It is known that there are different forms of upbringing and education of preschool children in the framework of preschool organization. The most common educational technology programs “Origins”, “Rainbow”, “Development”, “Gifted child”, “Childhood”, “Golden key”; “kindergarten house of joy”, Montessori-pedagogy, Waldorf pedagogy, etc. differ in the construction of the educational process; philosophy of education, which is the basis of the program; priorities of the educational process; features of the developing environment.

Meeting the needs of the population in kindergartens can be achieved in various ways. Extensive way – the construction of new buildings, which is necessary in the current situation. Or intensive way – on the basis of increasing the efficiency of the use of existing gardens and nurseries, i.e. the organization on their basis of new alternative types and types of preschool groups, mini-schools, kindergartens at home, walking groups, short-term stay groups, groups of harmonious development. This, in turn, does not exclude the existence of other, non-governmental, cooperative pre-school organizations. Russia is reviving a so-called “guvernerstvo”, professional education at home. We were interested in the opinion of parents who have chosen a specific preschool organization for the education of the child. It was interesting to analyze why in one case the preference is given to the state, and in another case to a private preschool institution. From the data obtained, it can be concluded that they use the services of a pre-school educational institution in the event that: grandmothers work and can not help to the full; there is distrust towards nannies; both parents must work; there is a desire to develop or satisfy the child's communication and other social skills necessary in his later life. Most often parents listed several of these reasons. Among the parents interviewed, the majority preferred the state preschool

institution. Their arguments were that the state institutions have an approved program, there is a state control of the quality of education and training, the most effectively trained personnel, the most implemented program of education and training. Further, among the criteria for choosing a state preschool organization, there was a small amount of monthly payment, as well as the fact of proximity to the home of a preschool institution. Thus, if a good state garden is located near the house, the absolute majority of parents will prefer it. Naturally, there are other conditions, in particular, a small occupancy of groups and others. The most typical point of view of parents who prefer a public kindergarten of the usual kind is formulated as follows: "the child should be socialized in the environment in which he will continue his education in the future." And for most families, the educational trajectory of children is associated with the state secondary educational institution. When choosing a kindergarten, the following parameters are still important: proximity to the place of residence, territorial accessibility, educational program, good advertising, professionalism of teachers, etc. This takes into account the age of the child, the availability of resources in the family to pay for his stay in an educational institution. The younger the child, the preferable institution around the house [Bestuzhev-Lada, 2000].

Naturally, special motives apply in the case of choosing preschool education for a child with special needs. If a child is sick or disabled, it is the presence of this disease and its nature, determines the choice of form and type of preschool educational organization: The question: "What is the name of a specialist who works directly with children?" – parents often answer simply: "Teacher". However, there are such options: a specialist in the education of preschool children, preschool teacher, preschool teacher. Also there were answers: "Educator, teacher, preschool teacher". Thus, depending on the priorities of parents (upbringing or education), the essence of professional tasks of a kindergarten worker working directly with children is formulated. During the study, we had the opportunity to get acquainted with the associative-figurative perception of the profession of preschool teacher (teacher) by parents. The respondents in most cases were born the following associations: a nice woman, and around the happy children; the person around whom the circle gathered children listening to teachers, sunflower; fairy tales; matinees; books; games; heart; warmth; sweet and kind, quivering. Another image – the book as an open world and opens his teacher, educator. It should be noted that such associations, which met many years ago, for example, "a good grandmother, a middle-aged woman who loves children, warm, hospitable", have not met. Analyzing the answers of parents to the question: "How do you consider the profession of a preschool teacher - what is its meaning, essence, and mission?" - we were able to "collect" a typical image formed in the parent community. A caregiver is a person who loves children and supports his work. It was noted that this is a sacrificial profession, the mission of a preschool teacher is to open a window to the big world for kids, to show its diversity, to teach them to live in harmony with others, to teach them to learn (to lay the foundations of this ability). It was also important that the profession is ideally associated with continuous development. The study revealed that



parents consider representatives of such professions as psychologists, speech therapists, teachers, speech pathologists to be close to the profession of a preschool teacher. The proximity of these professions is explained by the fact that all these specialists work with children and for children. They differ in that the teacher is a versatile specialist, and all the others are “narrowly” specialized. For parents, important differentiating qualities were the following: the school teacher pays more attention to learning, not education; psychologists and teachers away from children, and the teacher – a person who spends most of the day with children, knowing their worries, good luck and failure, constantly directing, protecting, resolving conflicts, uniting children's team. It is known that parents tend to choose a preschool institution, which employs “good” teachers. What criteria determine the professionalism of the teacher, who is called good in the parent environment? Important for parents were the following qualities of the teacher: •he has smart and educated children (in a group of kindergarten); •he loves children; •he loves the children themselves; •he helps the child to master the world and find his place in it. It is important for parents that the teacher himself was in constant search and developed, having creative potential. Also, an individual approach to the child is important. How does a modern parent present attractive features of the profession of a preschool teacher?

What can attract and what can alienate a young person when choosing a teaching profession? According to the survey may attract the feeling of being wanted, high salary, social package, benefits, repelling the oposite. Parents understand the complexity of this profession, which distinguishes it from others. The most difficult parents believe constant responsibility for the health of children and their lives. Attention is also drawn to the possible difficulties in interaction with parents, disagreements in the team, low wages, large fullness of the group. Attractive features of any profession is its prestige, high social status. But the vast majority of parents interviewed could not advise their friends or children to choose the profession of a preschool teacher. It is known that a significant part of the professional activity of a preschool teacher is communication with parents about the upbringing of the child. Parents noted that the relationship with the teaching staff they are formed in different ways. We did not conduct a thorough study of the reasons for the different attitudes of parents and teachers in various pre-school institutions. But, we noted that, despite the difficulties, the recommendations of teachers who paid attention directly to their child, parents try to listen. Many perceive these recommendations as an authoritative opinion about the child. The study revealed the presence of conflicts between parents and teachers. However, it is interesting that, in talking about a particular conflict case are in kindergarten, respondents distanced themselves from “their” children's garden, and talked mainly as if differences occur more frequently in other institutions, with people they know. In our opinion, such answers indicate the unwillingness of parents to harm their children, describing the real situation in the kindergarten. This confirms the power resource of a preschool teacher in the space of a kindergarten group. It was easy to describe the Ideal preschool teacher from the position of parents. It is a sensitive, kind, responsive, cheerful,

intelligent, humane, all-knowing, fully developed, creative, etc. And also – friendly, intelligent, competent, loving children people.

Discussion who is the perfect teacher – a favorite topic of Internet forums. On a question “What should the ideal teacher for your child be like?” the answer was “the ideal teacher: – picks up your child directly from the house and leads to the garden; – at the end of the day, repents of his pedagogical mistakes and not complaining about your child's behavior; – tells the kids that he hated porridge and resolves to throw it to waste; never asked about the sponsorship (and quietly puts it out of his pocket); – with pleasure sits with your child after seven o'clock in the evening (and if the kid gets tired, then he takes him home) – and considers all parents ideal”. This answer shows only that the ideal for each person is different and it is almost impossible to achieve it in each specific situation. It is also obvious that the ideal teacher from the point of view of the manager, parent, child has a different set of personal and professional skills.

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## **Implementation of Project Activities in the System of Higher Education**

### **ABSTRACT**

*The article focuses on the transformation of academic and applied science in universities into project activities. Project management has its own peculiarities and difficulties in the implementation of the basic principles in higher education. The main scientific projects and directions in Russian universities are analyzed.*

**Keywords:** project management; scientific and project activity; management in the system of higher education

In the conditions of global and large-scale changes that have occurred in the history of society over the past few centuries, one of the important and significant phenomena was the transformation of the role of science in society. Science is becoming a decisive force for the development of the country on the world stage. Many sociologists of the 20<sup>th</sup>- 21<sup>st</sup> century noted the important role of science in the development of society.

Today science is an integral part of every individual's daily life. It is becoming an important sphere of human activity penetrating into all areas of industrial production, agriculture and other spheres. In the information society, science is becoming the most important component of the economic, political and public sector. G. Behmann noted that “there is a new assessment of science and scientific potential, as a result of which even fundamental research should be relevant and subordinate to the public interest. Production of scientific knowledge should be directly integrated into the processes of economic and political decision-making”[Behmann, 2016:5-16]. In many ways, the assessment of scientific achievements and approaches to their production depend on the dominant paradigms in society.

Russian science currently has been transformed from academic to applied science, aimed at finding solutions to domestic and global problems, as well as innovative developments for the economic development of the country. The transformation of relations between science and society has had a negative impact on fundamental research, which is not able to reflect the need for advanced development of scientific production. According to the Federal service of state statistics in 2017, applied research was allocated 2 times more funds than basic research: 117.0 billion rubles for fundamental and 260.9 billion rubles for applied [Financing of science, 2018]. There is a contradiction due to the huge difference in funding: once the applied research is finished, the results are very

difficult to explain, as less budget is invested in basic science, therefore it develops more slowly. According to Russian Statistics Committee internal expense on research as a percentage to gross domestic product was 1.1% in 2018 domestic [Indicators of science, 2018:19].

Today scientific research has certain characteristics. In the conditions of knowledge society the question of availability of knowledge, its production and consumption becomes essential. The accessibility of the development and utilization of scientific knowledge is specifically provided by activities of applied research. In the conditions of destabilization and compressed material and intangible resources, applied activities become more specialized and transformed into a project that is able to provide a solution to existing local problems.

In higher educational establishments research activities are also transformed into project activities and ensure the implementation of public and private research projects. It is worth noting that the method of projects appeared in the second half of the 20th century in the United States as part of the educational and pedagogical approach, which was based on the ideas of the American teacher and philosopher D. Dewey [Dewey, 1924]. Follower of J. Dewey, the American educator William Kilpatrick continued the development of the project method and integrated it into the learning process. U. Kilpatrick noted that the project method gives students the freedom to choose the problem, its solution and implementation, which contributes to the formation of an active position of students [Govorkov, 2009]. Scientific projects, in contrast to projects implemented in business or government agencies, stand out for their purpose. Since scientific projects are currently one of the main forms of organization of scientific activity, the main purpose of scientific projects is to obtain and implement new knowledge. The process of obtaining and applying new knowledge is implemented through fundamental and applied research in a fairly short time. Any project is primarily a dynamic open system that interacts with the environment through various channels. The project environment consists of a set of factors and objects that exist indirectly, but have a direct impact on the project and interact with its elements. All factors can be divided into two groups: the immediate environment and the distant environment of the project. It should be noted that the environment is the main source of project risks and has a direct impact on the formation of the project structure.

The wide spread of project activities in the field of science in recent years can be associated with the most effective use of available limited resources and achieve their goals in a shorter time. F. Behluli said: "... we become more aware of the importance of projects, because they allow you to create something new and use our resources most effectively" [Bahuli, 2002:202]. Management of scientific projects has certain features and is carried out by means of certain social and management mechanisms, which include: incentive mechanisms, competitive mechanisms, non-manipulated mechanisms of exchange in active systems, mechanisms of aggregation, synthesis of organizational structure, optimization of exchange production schemes, and many others. In the management of

scientific projects it is necessary to use a set of management mechanisms for a coordinated management decision concerning the change of a number of parameters. Nowadays the use of various mechanisms of project management is increasingly expanding and covers various areas of activity, due to the new course of the Government of the Russian Federation on innovative developments implemented in the real sector of the economy.

The transformation of scientific activity into a project has led to a change in the management structure of Higher Educational establishments. Management of scientific projects in universities can be divided into two levels: the state and the level of scientific organizations (in particular universities). In modern conditions of society development, at the state level, the development of macro - and microeconomics depends on high-tech scientific products, the direction of development of science and research projects.

The management of scientific projects is divided into several levels within universities:

- the first level - the organization of all areas of the University – rector, Vice-rector;
- the second level - management at the level of the pedagogical process – Dean of the faculty;
- the third level - organization and coordination of the group of teachers, United by educational areas – departments - heads of departments;
- the fourth level - the level of the direct educational process – teacher [Solntseva, 2002:92].

Management of the University is carried out on the basis of the legislation of the Russian Federation, the Model regulations on the educational institution of higher education (higher educational establishment) [Model regulations] and the Charter of the University, aproved by the Ministry of education of the Russian Federation. Thus, the project activities at the University are primarily aimed at ensuring the social order of the society and the solution of national tasks and problems set by the state. To explore research and project activities in top-rated Russian universities and identifying the most significant projects following universities ranked in the international rankings were selected, and the analysis of their official websites is undertaken: Moscow State University, Saint Petersburg State University, MIPT, Moscow Engineering Physics Institute, Novosibirsk State University Bauman Moscow Technical University and ITMO University, Higher School of Economics, Kazan Federal University, Tomsk State University, Tomsk Polytechnic University.

Each University is actively engaged in scientific work. For example, in the Moscow State University named after M. V. Lomonosov is one of the biggest technological parks of the Russian Federation [Moscow state University Science Park]. On the basis of the science Park implemented various significant government programs and research projects, which include Biotechnological business incubator, technology Transfer Center of Moscow state University, Center for Youth innovation Creativity (CMIT), the Program

“SMART”, Technopolis “Moscow”, International Association of Science Parks and Areas of Innovation (IASP) and more. The science Park has created a special acceleration and educational program “Formula for Success”, which has been operating since 2004, for young people seeking to open a startup.

St. Petersburg science Park differs from Moscow in its strategic goals and research areas. “The Scientific Park of St. Petersburg state University includes 26 resource centers, the cost of equipment of which is more than 7 billion rubles. The total area of the Science Park is more than 30 thousand square meters” [SPBU Science Park]. Today the Scientific Park has more than 26 resource centers, which are combined in groups and areas of University Development programs: “Nanotechnology and materials science”, “Biomedicine and human health”, “Ecology and environmental management”, “Information systems and technologies” [Science Park SPBU].

On the basis of the Novosibirsk state University a unique project “With the world on the thread is implemented. This is the first in Russia open platform of national funding of creative projects” [Boron neutron capture therapy (BNCT) in NSU], in which the financing of creative projects is due to fundraising from the project participants.

The Bauman Moscow state technical University is the world's only student flight control center- “Baumanets-2”, which is a scientific and educational project of the student microsatellite. With the support of ITMO, on January 12, 2018 in St. Petersburg opened the Center for time travel KOD, which is an interactive portal in time and space. [Kod time travel center].

The implemented scientific projects are responsible and implemented within the framework of the strategic scientific directions designated by the state. All universities are being implemented quite unusual, innovative and necessary scientific projects, resulted in new techniques, technologies, techniques, theories and concepts necessary for society. Brighter and more interesting projects are presented on the websites of technical universities. There are various research centers, parks, laboratories and departments at the universities. Business platforms and startup projects are being actively developed. Thus, scientific activity in universities is developing quite efficiently. Many projects implemented within the walls of laboratories play an important role for the future development of countries. Funding for the implementation of scientific projects is largely allocated from the Federal budget. Various competitions and grants also play an important role. The directions of scientific activity in all universities correspond to the strategic directions indicated by the internal policy of the Russian Federation and are aimed at improving and creating innovative developments for future implementation in the real sector of the economy to ensure the country's competitiveness in the world arena.

Management of scientific projects has a number of features that are based on the key difference of scientific projects – management is carried out by a scientific, creatively oriented team that works on innovative products. Good and effective governance should use a variety of material and non-material incentives to engage in scientific work, and



should be based on a symbiosis of authoritarian and democratic governance. Science in the supporting universities is developing at a high level – a lot of different interesting research projects in all areas of scientific research.

The successful development of Russian science and the transition of our country from the raw material path to innovation, building a digital economy based on knowledge, internal state reform alone will not be enough. Radical changes in the relationship between society and science are required. It is necessary to rationalize the mass consciousness, the transformation of value orientations from mass consumption to the values of the knowledge society. At the local level, the successful development of the scientific sphere will be facilitated by the development and promotion of light and heavy industry, increased funding of the scientific sphere, the use of social partnership (research projects and salaries of researchers), support and development of scientific schools, which will contribute to the implementation of the main promising areas of development.

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## Managing the Formation of Patriotism among Students

### ABSTRACT

*This article represents the results of the qualitative research conducted at Lomonosov Moscow State University (N=76, November, 2017). During the research the following methods were used: cocultural approach which defines patriotism as the spiritual designer, the axiological approach allowing to consider patriotism as the valuable relation of the subject to the Homeland, constructivist approach are used gives the chance to analyse patriotism as result of social designing. It is noted that the low level of patriotism at youth represents a real challenge for the security of the country.*

**Keywords:** values; patriotism; students; motherland; youth

The developed valuable space of modern Russia is rather stable, at the same time is characterized by a set of internal contradictions and in many respects depends on the existing situation and occurring in the world and society of events. The last decade brought new transformational processes along with already existing in structure of patriotic values of youth that allows to say that the modern principles of formation of patriotic values among young people need serious completion.

Various approaches to determination of patriotism reveal in numerous works of scientists [Efimenko, 2011; Eshev, 2013; Kashapova, 2014; Onions, 2012; Lutovinov, 2013; Magaril, 2016], a part of researches mentions influence of socio-political events on process of formation of patriotic values, patriotic education of youth [Podjyachev, 2016]. Traditionally in determination of patriotism the emotional aspect, such as love for the country dominates. Axiological approach allows to consider patriotism as the valuable relation of the subject to the Homeland. In turn constructivist approach allows to analyse patriotism as result of social designing, purposeful activities for its formation. Such approach promotes identification of mechanisms by means of which the image of the Homeland and to determination of the principles of management of formation of patriotic values is formed. Some researchers define three types of the relation to the Homeland: unconditional patriotism, converting love, indifferent relation [Haly, 2017:72]. Even more often scientists come to a conclusion that in the conditions of increase of social and economic difficulties at the same time there is a shift of the world of values and a vector of civilization development towards traditionalism, patriotism and national consolidation [Selivanova, 2018:161].

Ideas of patriotism and patriotic valuable orientations among young people are unstable and tend to change eventually as valuable orientations of youth do not possess such degree of stability, as at more age groups, owing to, actually, age features and also features of youth consciousness. Besides, the generations at the moment entering the standard age range from 14 to 30 years in domestic science were brought up during the period which is transitional for our country and were influenced by transformational processes of the new social reality other than the social reality existing during the Soviet period. As an object of our research, thus, the youth as representatives of young people bear in themselves transformational influence of the changed social reality is accepted.

Definition of a role of patriotism for student's youth became one of problems of the sociological research conducted in November, 2017. Students final 4 courses of faculty of calculus mathematics and cybernetics of Lomonosov Moscow State University acted as an object of an empirical research (N=76). When carrying out a research this faculty as during an informatization era future experts in the field of IT technologies have to possess steady civil and patriotic valuable installations was chosen.

Students note that the modern world is characterized by change of hierarchy of values, moral guidelines in society. So, for representatives of the senior generation collectivism values act as the most priority, for representatives of the younger generation are, on the contrary, values of individualism. Thus, the concept of patriotism (from a position of valuable category) nevertheless finds new, a bit different sense. Now students put in this concept not only only love to the country, the Homeland and desire to serve the interests of the country, but also and value directly the personality, each person who lives in the country. Patriotic views and feelings are formed under the influence of a huge number of factors and perform, on the one hand, as a component of personal identity of the person, and with another – as result of socialization of the person.

During the research it was established that scientific determination of patriotism is offered to be considered as the valuable relation of the subject to the homeland which characteristics are attachment to the place of residence, cultural values, awareness of responsibility for the future of the Homeland. It should be noted that the main basis for pride and a powerful source of patriotic sentiments at the moment is the historical past, and one of the main values acknowledges a victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War.

Answering a question of a patriotism role, students adhere to the following points of view: “the purposes of people, thoughts and desires are directed more to improvement of own standard of living than to improvement of welfare and status of our country”, “the patriotism is necessary, but its value dies away every year”, “the patriotism has to be moderate, too active patriots can not see differences between patriotism and nationalism”, “the patriotism remained in the past”. At the same time other students realize that during an era of globalization of people is lost in the gray faceless weight therefore “the appeal to

sources of national culture becomes very relevant, only this way themselves can be felt as a part of the people”.

Formation of civil identity at young people acts as a national security issue [Magranov, Detochenko, 2018:109]. Therefore the state, understanding importance of patriotism, supports programs for formation of patriotic education of the population. Now money is allocated for development and formation in the population of the classical ideas of patriotism which are values, uniting the people in the uniform nation. At the same time students note the following shortcomings of this direction. First, in Russia standard, legal and theoretical bases of patriotism are strongly indistinct that, in particular, is confirmed by inability of respondents unambiguously to define this concept. Secondly, there is an obvious distortion towards militarization of patriotic education. As the mechanism of formation of patriotic values students see not imposing of any ideas and values, and it is rather a demonstration of a different palette of relationship of people between the different countries, relying on historical experience. In the modern world it is necessary to look for new approaches to formation of patriotism. It is necessary to cultivate patriotism, relying on new technologies and possibilities of information and communication technologies.

Management of process of formation of patriotic values is inseparably linked with studying of components of this process: factors and channels of formation of values. Development and implementation of the state and public initiatives of formation of patriotic valuable orientations are rather complicated. Often during development of programs of this orientation attempts of judgment of views of youth of patriotic values do not become that quite often leads to rejection of the offered ideas and rejection of the imposed line of action. Social practice shows that many decisions made at the federal level not completely are implemented on places. Therefore there is a need of improvement of programs of youth policy, in particular regarding its realization on places. Thus, modern approaches to formation of valuable orientations of student's youth demand adoption of non-standard decisions and search of new ways of result achievement.

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## **The Educational Potential of School Students and the Conditions of its Forming in the Novosibirsk Region<sup>2</sup>**

### **ABSTRACT**

*One of the promising courses of action in the system of Russian school education is focusing on the students' personality growth, the development of their cognitive and creative abilities and their further capability to successfully adapt to society and the labor market. The developed system of education is the potential for the economic growth of the territory, the factor responsible for personal success and well-being of its residents.*

*The article presents the results of surveys conducted by IEIE SB RAS in the Novosibirsk region: 1) the fifth "wave" of the monitoring survey of the educational behavior and career guidance of high-school students (in 2016-17 years); 2) the opinion poll of pupils' parents (506 respondents, in 2018 year). In the first one each school type (regular city and rural schools, grammar schools like lyceums and gymnasiums, Physics-and-Mathematics School now called Specialized Educational and Scientific Center of Novosibirsk State University - SESC NSU) has its character features, its strengths and weaknesses. The strengths related to the quality of education and to the achievements in Olympiads and scientific conferences for school students were more often mentioned by the respondents in grammar schools and in SESC NSU. Rural schools take first place in socialization of children and teenagers. At the same time, the emotional component indicative of psychological discomfort ("I feel negative emotions at school; I am at school because it is required") is expressed stronger in the answers of the students of lyceums and gymnasiums, and least of all – in the answers of the students of SESC NSU and regular rural schools.*

**Keywords:** education system; educational potential; high-school students; modernization; specialized training

The modernization of the education system is done not only through state reforms, but it is also an objective social process. National educational initiative "Our New School" defines a modern school as an institution that is consistent with the purposes of forward-looking development. The era of rapidly changing technologies requires shifting to an entirely new system of continuing education with constant renewal, individualization of demand and the opportunities of meeting it, as well as forming willingness to re-education.

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[National educational initiative, 2010]. At the same time there are several contradictions in the purposes, content and methods of the educational reforms:

- The methods of Russian reforms of education are generally in line with the changes of education systems in the world. According to Pasi Sahlberg (Finland), who calls them the Global Educational Reform Movement, these trends are *standardization, accountability, and fixed result*. As opposed to it, the economic environment of a country requires *flexibility, creativity, and willingness to take risks*, to be able to increase the competitiveness of the national economy. [Sahlberg, 2006:289];
- In our country, the modernization of general education, higher education and vocational training system is mostly done “from above”, which has led to some unplanned consequences (such as so called “optimization” of expenditures, regular conflicts of interest of population and local authorities, growing formalization of management, opaqueness of the criteria and tools of management and estimation “from above” and so on);
- There are different viewpoints on whether Russian educational system should follow a western model;
- There are various viewpoints in the modern Russian society on what a “model” school should be like.

As our country is moving towards information society, the number of various forms and levels of education is increasing. The requirements of employers to the quality of education and professionalism of their workers are growing too. The research of the educational potential of young people and their motivation to continue education and choose a career has drawn such interest owing to the needs of the effective cooperation between the education system and labor market. In our work, we are looking at the concept of “educational potential” as one of the components of human potential. In our work *educational potential of high-school students* is considered as accumulated knowledge and skills, as well as motivation, personal experience and their successful use and development. With this approach, educational potential is viewed along with the conditions that have formed it. “Educational potential...allows to introduce innovations, adapt to the conditions of the globalization of the world economy, achieve high competitiveness.” [Plutova, 2014:3]. Researches in this direction are relevant because the constantly developing human being is becoming the main source of the development of the society.

The issues of the modernization process of the system of general education, educational behavior and educational potential of high-school students in the schools of the Novosibirsk region were studied on the empirical database of the sociological monitoring research. The fifth “wave” of the research was done by the Institute of Economics and Industrial Engineering Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IEIE SB RAS) assisted by SESC NSU in 2016/17 studying year. 1965 students of grades 9 and 11 from general education schools of the regional center and the municipal districts of the region were asked questions from the developed questionnaire “Social

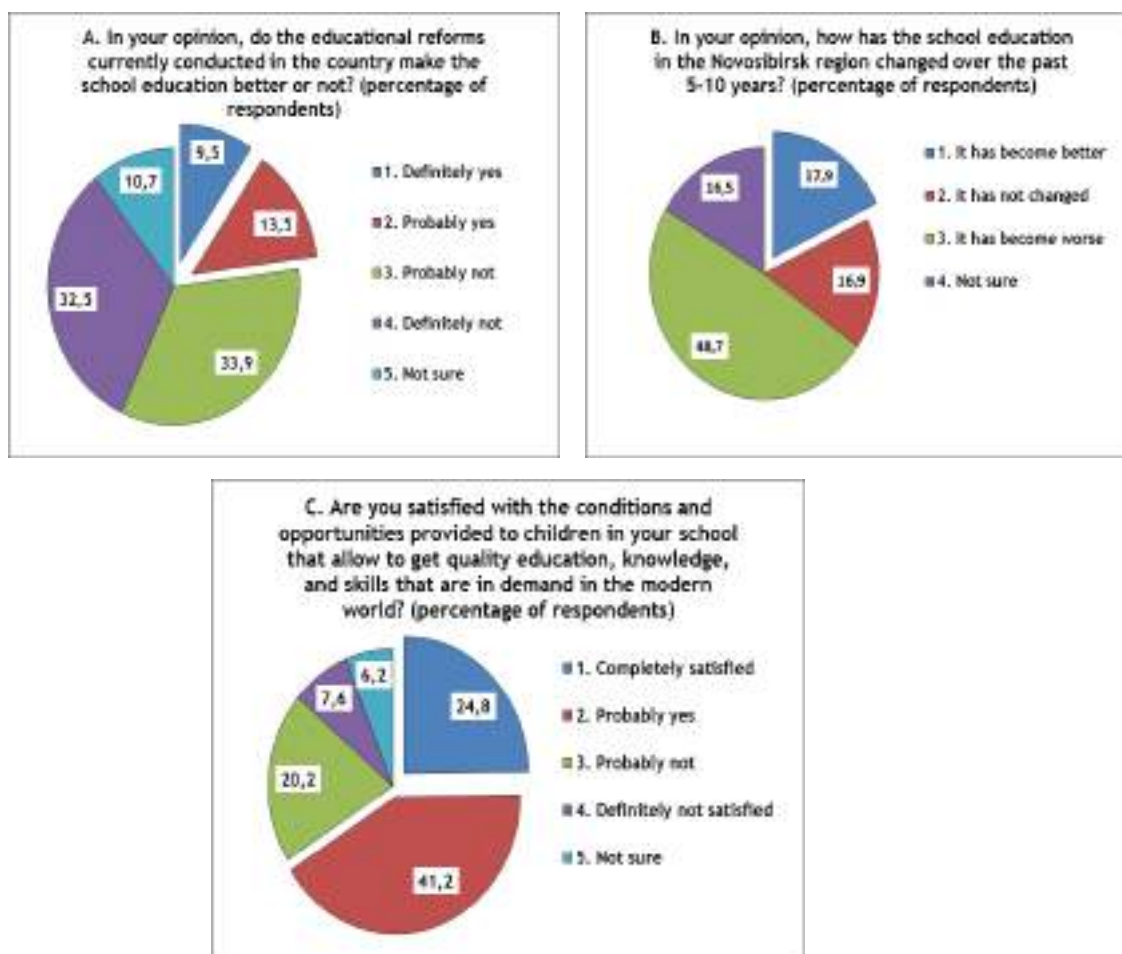
environment and the opportunities for the development of school students”. (The previous stages of the monitoring research were made by us in 1990, 1996, 2000, and 2006). Semi-formalized interviews with experts – representatives of institutions of general education, educational governing bodies and others were documented. Objective information about the selected educational organizations was gathered (school profiles in the form of so-called “school passports” were filled, and the information from sites was studied). The official statistical data about the education system in the country and region were analyzed.

Goals and objectives of the study: 1) Monitoring of new processes and events in the system of general education in the recent years and evaluation of some results of its work; 2) Studying of educational behavior and career orientation (including in the dynamics) of high-school students, their opinion about the learned skills and quality of education; 3) Identification of conditions and stimuli facilitating the creation and fulfilment of the educational potential of the studying youth.

This publication draws attention to the differences in opportunities for quality education provided by schools of various kinds, based on the evaluations of their students. The following types of schools were selected for the analysis: 1. “regular schools in Novosibirsk”, 2. “regular schools in other urban areas”, 3. “regular rural schools”, 4. “grammar schools like lyceums and gymnasiums”, 5. “SESC NSU” – Physics-and-Mathematics School.

**Table 1: The response rate of the answer “Will get (Have already got)” to the question: “In your opinion, what knowledge and skills will you acquire by the time you graduate from school? What opportunities will you get?” (percentage of respondents) depending on the school type.**

Schools	Regular schools in Novosibirsk	Regular schools in other urban areas	Regular rural schools	Grammar schools: lyceums and gymnasium	SESC NSU	Total
I will be prepared to pass state graduation exams	56,2	66,2	64,5	72,6	88,9	65,7
I will be prepared for further education, for self-education	70,3	80,8	74,6	83,4	95,7	77,8
A wide range of interests, a good understanding of various spheres of life of the society	48,0	55,6	59,2	57,3	72,9	55,5
Good command of a foreign language	23,5	24,6	20,1	38,3	59,2	28,3
Computer and IT proficiency	44,4	56,0	58,0	55,3	50,7	53,0
Work skills essential for everyday life	52,6	66,8	76,8	48,7	42,9	59,5
Knowledge that will help make the right choice of a future job career	53,8	70,4	77,0	48,1	71,8	61,5
Creative skills (art, music, others)	30,0	43,8	41,3	29,6	28,2	35,0
The knowledge of my rights and responsibilities in the society	75,7	83,9	86,0	76,6	53,5	79,1



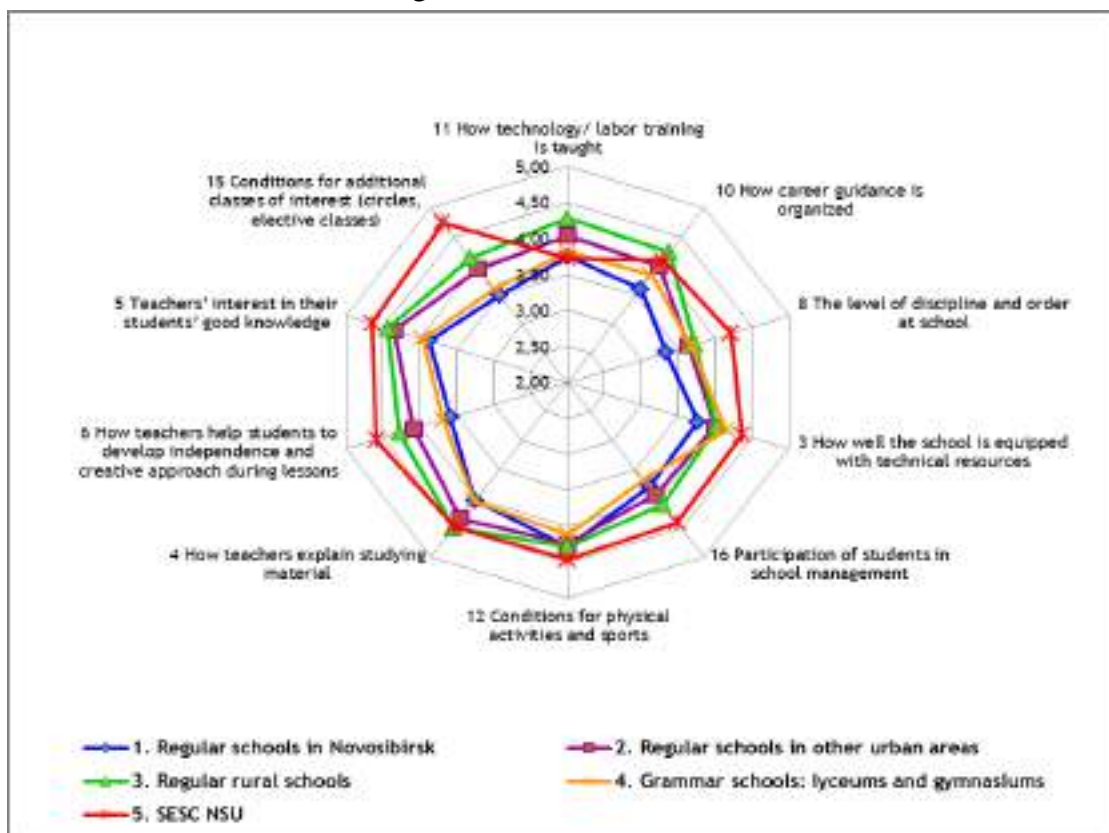
**Fig. 1: (A, B, C). Opinions of pupils' parents about the educational reforms conducted in the country and the quality of school education (Novosibirsk region, 2018 year, N=506), percentage of respondents**

General education schools encounter similar problems that are common to the national education system:

- The society is not satisfied with the quality of general education and vocational training, with the current reforms that do not improve the situation [AKSIO-6, 2015]. Public opinion polls (Public Opinion Fund, 2017) show that almost half of the respondents (45-46%) are dissatisfied with the quality of the current Russian school education, and in addition 66% of the respondents do not approve of the main educational innovation – Unified State Exam [EGE i shkolnoe obrazovanie, 2017].
- The research we conducted in the Novosibirsk region also shows that people are not satisfied with the school education in the country and region. The results of the opinion poll of the pupils' parents (through the questionnaire “Opportunities for the development of school children and their life prospects”, 506 people interviewed) show that the majority of the respondents were very critical of the results of the conducted educational reforms, despite the fact that their opinion about the specific school of their child/children was

relatively positive (Figure 1 A, B, C). Other received data show parents' request for the improvement of the quality of school education, decrease of formalism in education, raised professionalization of teachers, and a wider choice of additional classes that would develop students' interests. The vast majority of the parents were sure that in modern Russian society the financial situation of the family is not the defining factor for the intellectual development of children; also, it is not necessary to live in a big city in order to have the opportunities for such development. In their opinion, the child's abilities and his/her desire to study, the family's efforts to help the child grow and develop, and the quality of school education are much more important.

- The poll results of the high-school students highlight differences in the quality of education in different types of schools. Thus, even according to their own evaluation, students of lyceums/gymnasiums and SESC NSU are better prepared for the Unified State Exam and further education (table 1). At these 2 types of schools respondents noted also more significant achievements in Olympiads and scientific conferences for school students. The same students have evaluated very highly the level of equipment of the educational process in their schools. However teachers' efforts in regular schools have also been highly evaluated by the respondents. (see Figure 2). Rural schools (according to answers of the pupils) give on average the good level of knowledge and besides good results in socialization of children and teenagers.



**Fig. 2: Mean values of how high-school students evaluated the conditions in their schools by various positions, depending on the school type (on a five-point scale from 2 – “poor” to 5 – “excellent”).**



- The emotional component of the studying process also requires attention, because, according to our data, more than every fourth student experiences negative emotions at school and attends it only because it is obligatory (table 2);
- Pre-career and career training are not part of the new educational standards. The law “On Education in the Russian Federation” does not include “technology” and other labor-oriented programs into the school compulsory curriculum (labor practice is also done in accordance with parents’ choice);
- Traditional older forms of career guidance through polytechnic education have been implicitly deemed outdated, whereas the new ones are just appearing and are hardly available. The material infrastructure for pre-career training of school students has diminished significantly, and so have the opportunities for schools to collaborate with institutions of vocational education amid the general decrease of the number of such educational institutions;
- When the situation in the society and economy is uncertain and there is no effective system of career guidance and labor-oriented education, there is a growing number of high-school students who have not chosen a future profession and consequently the direction of their further professional education) by the time they are graduating from school.

**Table 2: Answers of students to the question: “School for you is a place where you...”, depending on the type of school (there were 2 variants of answer allowed).**

<b>The high-school students’ answers:</b>	<b>Regular schools in Novosibirsk</b>	<b>Regular schools in other urban areas</b>	<b>Regular rural schools</b>	<b>Grammar schools: lyceums/gymnasiums</b>	<b>SESC NSU</b>	<b>Total</b>
At school I get knowledge, develop myself	82	88	90	86	97	87
At school I have friends, experience positive emotions	58	55	53	60	60	57
At school I experience negative emotions, I am at school because it is required	30	26	19	34	17	27

The analysis depending on the type of school showed that every type has its character features, strengths and weaknesses (see also table 1). First of all, a school is seen as strong when its pupils are satisfied with its studying process, the quality of the gained knowledge and skills which allow students to pass Unified State Exam well, and provide the opportunity for increasing their educational potential (participation in academic Olympiads, conferences, a choice of additional classes of interest and other activities). In general, based on the evaluations made by the high-school students on the characteristics mentioned above all schools can be ranked this way: the highest rank – type 5 (SESC NSU),



high rank – type 4 (lyceums and gymnasiums), and types 2, 3 and 1 make up medium rank (regular schools in urban and rural areas), and the differences between students of lyceums/gymnasiums and regular schools lessen from grade 9 to grade 11.

The results of the conducted monitoring research (according to the students' survey) helped to identify both the ongoing and new tendencies compared to our surveys done at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s:

- Students of all school types show a massive (very widespread) desire to get higher education after graduating from school. Even in rural schools this number grew from 36% in 2000 to 56% in 2016-17 among grade 11 students.

- In all school types, approximately every other responding high-school student had difficulty choosing a future career and consequently choosing an university or college where to continue education.

- It is common for lyceum/gymnasium students to hire private tutors. They also tend to have the highest ambitions about the use of their education in future (high salary, promising career, job image).

- High-school students of the final school year generally tend to actively participate elective classes in addition to the compulsory school program. High-school students of SESC NSU and lyceums/gymnasiums are involved in such additional studies to the highest extent.

- Problems and/or dissatisfaction with career guidance at school were mentioned everywhere. Rural schools seemed to handle this problem more successfully.

- High-school students of SESC NSU showed the highest interest towards gained knowledge and willingness to work in science and the sphere of innovations.

- SESC NSU students are different in that by the time of graduation from school they are better equipped with the following knowledge and skills:

1. readiness to pass Unified State Exam;
2. readiness to continue education in future;
3. good command of a foreign language;
4. there is higher percentage of students who have first prizes in academic Olympiads and intellectual competitions;
5. higher percentage of students who have their own developed computer programs;
6. they take part in scientific conferences more actively;
7. there are more students who have various certificates of merit, prizes and scholarships.

One of the conditions forming the educational potential is specialized training in high-school classes introduced along with educational reforms in the middle of the 2000s. Our research has shown enough evidence that this process is taking place with serious difficulties and contradictions. Experts have named the following difficulties of organizing specialized training in general education schools:

- Great optimism gave way to moderate realism. It is clear now, that introducing specialized training does not cancel the need to provide all school students of the country with quality education despite the type of their school and the place where they live (in accordance with state educational standards and guaranteed by the law “On education in the Russian Federation”).
- Specialized training has both advantages and disadvantages, and its main disadvantage is that a teenager student must make an early choice of the field of his/her future career.
- Organization of the studying process and material infrastructure for specialized training and in-depth studying of subjects require big investments. It is necessary to have highly skilled teachers and invite professors from universities and colleges. Schools need to collaborate closely with universities, colleges, institutions of vocational education and supplementary education for children, if possible, with scientific research institutes and so on. A higher level of academic motivation of students is required and a better collaboration of school, students and parents is needed.

In the interviews with representatives of school administrations and specialists of education government departments of several municipal districts of the Novosibirsk region about the organization of specialized training in schools of semi-urban and rural areas, the following problems were identified:

- Poor logistical basis of educational institutions that fits general education but is not strong enough for specialized classes. Not enough classrooms or other necessary premises;
- A small number of high-school students which does not allow to divide them into specialized classes;
- Absence of teachers of the “university level”;
- Parents’ desire to prepare their children for Unified State Exam in all major subjects of general education (but not only in specialized ones);
- Some areas are too far away from the center of the region where most often all the events are conducted such as competitions, academic Olympiads, conferences, science festivals and Open Doors Days of universities, colleges and research institutes for school students;
- The need to create a team of teachers united by the idea of specialized training;
- Schools have a limited number of partners among universities and colleges;
- In one gymnasium they indicate financial problems and lack of material resources:
  1. for the current renovations of the school building and its facade,
  2. for the proper sanitary and hygienic maintenance of all school premises and the school building,
  3. for the restocking and renewing of the school library fund,

4. for the proper maintenance of the school's sports facilities,
5. it is stressed that subjects and circles of the technological field need to be equipped better.

Nevertheless, given the right conditions, specialized training can become massive. Nowadays specialized schools are not widespread, and it is not likely it will be currently possible to achieve it, although they do show the real potential of the intellectual development of children.

Beginning with the creation of specialized physics and mathematics schools (1963-1964), Russian experience of specialized education has shown that its principle is to develop students' talents and capabilities through the skill of solving hard and unusual problems. The "sharp point" of teaching is aimed at developing the original creative way of thinking along with the practical skill of solving serious tough problems that first seem unsolvable. Nowadays the system of specialized educational scientific centers is reacting very flexibly to the changes in society. The forms and methods of class organization are changing: teaching is becoming more action-oriented, individual studying trajectories are built, teaching is done through productive work in groups, students are learning to become more independent and responsible for making their own decisions, the principles of free access to studying resources, motivated self-preparation and others are being realized. The experience of SESC NSU plays a guiding role in developing the educational potential of its students. In accordance with the demands of the National educational initiative that defines new "school as an institution that is consistent with the purposes of forward-looking development" [Nacionalnaja obrazovatel'naja iniciativa, 2010], specialized educational scientific centers are actively working on developing and improving the qualification of teaching personnel (skills development courses, scientific and practical conferences, involving university students of older university years in the teaching process and so on).

While there are some contradictions in the goals, content and methods of the educational reforms, and while there are problems and contradictions in the process of modernization of the Russian education system, this system's condition can be estimated as stable functioning with elements of growth. Data related to the specialized school, as well as to lyceums and gymnasiums show that the educational potential of teenagers in mass general education schools is not engaged to its fullest extent.

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## Managing Development of Student's Creativity: Evaluation of Experts

### ABSTRACT

*The article shows that in the context of higher education, creativity is considered as an integrative property, the key characteristics of which are the ability to produce original ideas and implement them. Based on the analysis of the author's research data, factors, conditions, levels and content of the process of managing the development of students' creativity at the university are highlighted. The decisive factor in managing the development of students' creativity is the use of a comprehensive, systemic concept of managing the development of students' creativity at a higher educational institution.*

**Keywords:** creativity; human capital; education; students

The relevance of the research management of the development of creativity of modern Russian students is associated with transformations occurring in the economic, political, social, cultural spheres of society, the tendency to transition to a “knowledge society”, the increasing importance of education and science in the modern world, increasing employers' requirements for the level and quality training workers. The subject of creativity today is one of the most popular areas of scientific research by sociologists, specialists in the field of psychology and management. The significance of such research is hard to overestimate, since the formation and development of a post-industrial economy is based on the manufacture of innovative products and the production of new ideas. Behind the production of any product or the production of an idea is a person, the result of applying his abilities and skills. Accordingly, the management of the development of creativity is a prerequisite for the financial and social success of the company in the market, and at the state, global level - the competitiveness of national economies.

Interest in the problems of managing the development of creativity is formed in various fields. Thus, in the human development report (UN Development Program), the key human qualities of the 21st century are named, among which creativity is one of the qualities that form the 4K model - critical thinking, collaboration, creativity, and communication. The International Labor Organization calls creativity one of the basic skills needed in modern life, and emphasizes the need to manage the development of creativity as part of its integration into the process of academic education and training of professionals. Russian and foreign studies of the labor market, the nature of demand for professionals clearly demonstrate the relevance of such skills and qualities as creativity, ability to work in a team and independently, solve problems, find new ways of

development, critical information analysis, openness to new experience, responsibility for making decisions.

At the present stage of development of society, one of the main functions of education is the development and management of human capital as the most important resource of the modern economy. Despite the fact that one of the most important factors for the growth of human capital is its creative component, in science there is still no consensus regarding the conceptualization of the concept of “creativity”.

J. Guilford defines creativity as a multi-purpose cognitive creative ability, highlighting its four main characteristics: fluency, flexibility, accuracy and originality [Guilford, 1965:14]. E. P. Torrance, continuing and developing the ideas of J. Guilford, called creativity the process of manifestation of sensitivity to problems, lack of knowledge, disharmony, searching for answers and solutions, putting forward hypotheses, checking them and forming results [Torrance, 1988:58].

A. Maslow considers creativity in connection with the needs of the individual: the higher the level of needs, the higher the creativity. According to the scientist, creativity is inherent in every person, but most people lose it as a result of the influence of various factors [Maslow, 1999:152].

The connection of creativity with social values is emphasized by C. R. Rogers. According to the scientist, one of the most important and leading needs and values of a person is the desire for self-development, self-expression, development of its potential. Realization of such needs and aspirations is impossible without openness, the conditions for the realization of potential, self-development, is openness to new things, ability for non-standard solutions, safety of the external environment, freedom of expression [Rogers, 1994:98].

M. Csikszentmihalyi notes that creativity is always specific to a particular field, experts influence what is considered useful and new in this field. The creative act, in his opinion, consists of three systems: the individual, the area of activity (general practices, values, knowledge) and the expert community, that is, the society of people who carry out their professional activities in this area [Csikszentmihalyi, 1996:122].

D. Simonton suggests that the basis of creativity is the production of a certain number of ideas that can be options for solving a particular problem. Based on existing experience and knowledge, a person selects the most appropriate solution, which eventually becomes the final product [Simonton, 2007:335].

In the context of education, creativity can be viewed from different perspectives. One of the approaches to the study of creativity in education is associated with the implementation of the competence-based approach and is based on the consideration of creativity as the ratio of several structural components: methodical, procedural, personal, panoramic [Erpenbeck, 2000:8]. In the framework of this approach, creative competence is defined as the ability to work effectively and inventively, actualizing knowledge and experience in conditions of uncertainty in order to solve specific practical problems,



readiness for adaptive use of acquired knowledge, self-education and self-improvement [Epstein, 2005:11]. Depending on the subject, creativity in education is studied in four aspects: personal (creativity of staff and students), group (communication, cooperation), procedural, institutional (factors and environmental conditions).

Summarizing the main provisions relating to the study of the development of creativity in education, we can conclude the following:

- development of creativity to the most significant extent depends on the factors, conditions and needs of the environment [Ermolaeva-Tomina, 2003:221];
- “specialized” creativity developing among students is particularly influenced by the environment, example, model [Ilyin, 2013:184];
- the development of creativity depends on the nature and type of the surrounding culture [Torrance, 1988:61];
- the development of creativity should take into account not only intrapersonal processes, but also a system of external interactions [Dilts; 2003:305];
- the formation of personality traits, qualities, the formation of value orientations occurs when a person interacts with the social and cultural components of the educational environment [Csikszentmihalyi, 1999:322].

The need for specialists with such skills as the generation of original ideas and ways to solve problems that have well-developed skills for the synthesis and analysis of information, forecasting, and work in conditions of uncertainty becomes obvious. It is difficult to overestimate the influence and significance of education for the development of creativity, since it is in the process of receiving education that the general level of human culture increases, the skills and abilities necessary for successful activity, scientific, cultural, social and economic progress of society develop.

According to many specialists in the field of education, the integration of the development of creativity as one of the basic analytical skills necessary for evaluating information and choosing the most effective ways to solve problems in the process of training and mastering academic disciplines provides the necessary quality level of modern education. Changes in the educational environment, along with the scientific and innovation-production are the factors for the formation of the creative environment necessary for human development. In this regard, there is an increasing interest in the study of the specifics, factors, and conditions governing the development of the creativity of modern students in the process of learning at the university. Managing the development of creativity in the educational environment is considered as one of the most important factors in the reproduction and accumulation of human capital. There is a need to reorient students to practical creativity, whose development management depends on many factors and conditions.

In order to study the specifics of managing the development of creativity of modern students, expert in-depth interviews were conducted with specialists in higher education. The size of the expert group was 15 people. Age of experts: up to 30 years 1; 30-39 years

old 3; 40-49 years old 5; 50 years and older 6. Work experience of experts: less than 5 years 1; 5-7 years 2; 8 and more years 12. Distribution of experts by sex: men 10; women 5.

Analysis of the research results shows that the importance of managing the development of student creativity is highly appreciated by experts. Creativity, according to experts, is important, first of all, for solving the main problem of modern society creating a new type of production based on the economy of information and knowledge, the essence of which is the creation and development of innovative technologies, goods, works, services.

Experts agree in opinion that creativity is necessary for a person as a quality inherent in mobile professionals demanded in the modern labor market, requiring a combination of fundamental knowledge, highly specialized skills and universal human qualities from a person. The experts focused on the fact that the restriction within the framework of the specialty calls into question the general level of student training, since many scientific achievements lie in an interdisciplinary plane.

According to experts, education is of critical importance in the conditions of the development of the knowledge economy, since the main content of the activity shifts to the sphere of the processes of creation, analysis, development, dissemination and use of knowledge and information.

The following is indicative: despite the fact that, in general, experts assess the level of development of modern domestic science and education as insufficient, they believe that in the process of creating and integrating new knowledge into production processes, the role of education and higher educational institutions is extremely large. Realization of such trends and trends as technical modernization, import substitution, decentralization of production can be realized only under certain social and economic conditions directly dependent on higher education: *"... you can ensure your own technological capacity only if young professionals come with innovative, innovative ideas"*.

Experts who took part in the study formulated the main problem that underlies the education crisis, which arose as a result of global changes in the economy, production, science, technology - the discrepancy between the educational system and social, cultural, political, economic conditions of life. According to experts, many of the implemented standards in higher education do not meet the needs of modern society. In addition, the unstable position of the education system is connected by experts with the lack of a systematic, conceptual approach to education.

At the same time, experts note that, despite the increasing value of the creative abilities of specialists, the accelerating globalization processes in all spheres of society's life, creativity must be developed on the basis of the received fundamental education, to be an essential complement to professional skills.

Experts believe that managing the development of students' creativity is a multifactorial process that includes many factors and conditions that are inextricably linked.

Experts say that the use of interactive, gaming, training methods and forms of classes in the educational process is a significant factor in managing the development of students' creativity. According to experts, the most effective of such methods and forms are those that are as close as possible to practical activities: applied tasks, cases, business games, conferences, strategic sessions, coaching, business conversations, seminars, and conferences. In addition, the experts formulated a proposal concerning the implementation of course plans, diploma, qualification works of business plans, strategies, and their subsequent evaluation not only by teachers, but also by experts and specialists in a particular field.

Separately, it should be noted that, according to experts, one of the highest potentials for managing the development of creativity is the research work of students, in which the practice-oriented, problem-based approach is most fully realized. Research activities of universities, according to experts, is one of the key elements, along with the activities of scientific institutions and organizations, in the mechanism of production and accumulation of new knowledge. At the same time, all experts are concerned about the insufficient amount of attention to scientific activity, insufficient investment in science: *“science does not receive the amount of attention that it develops at a level like in Europe or in the world”*.

The next significant factor, experts called the study of humanities disciplines. According to experts, creativity is inseparable from the value, ideological component of the personality, which is greatly influenced by humanitarian disciplines. Experts noted that the study of humanitarian disciplines develops the ability to think creatively, raises the cultural level, forms the value-sense base of a person.

Experts called interpersonal interaction, especially with teachers, a significant factor in managing the development of creativity. Experts believe that the effectiveness of the educational process depends on how much the teacher is interested in his activity, he is passionate, because the attitudes of students, involvement in the educational process in correlation with the personal and professional qualities of the teacher: *“the youth are involved through a mentor”, “the best form of learning is do like me”, “effective managerial influence at the person’s level, in this case, the teacher is the most correct level when a person gives something to others”*.

In addition, many experts argued the importance of personal influence by the fact that, despite the tendency of the development of society and the economy at the present stage is the focus on innovation, the labor market requires professionals with such well-developed capabilities as the production of ideas and strategies, originality of thinking, ability to analyze, synthesize information and make decisions, at the global, systemic level, it is difficult to change educational processes. At the same time, it is possible to carry out

a fragmentary managerial impact on the personal level: “*creativity is a contribution to the future, the system has no incentives, there are individuals*”, “*it is necessary to revise the model of the university, to stimulate innovative projects*”.

Also an important factor in managing the development of creativity in higher education, experts called the creation of conditions in the environment of the university, contributing to the stimulation of creative processes. Experts note that the process of managing the development of creativity must include the creation of conditions consisting of social reinforcement of creativity, communication with people with creative abilities, the presence of a positive pattern of creative behavior. Experts attributed such conditions to interpersonal and intergroup communication of participants: excursions to enterprises, organizations, meetings with experts, conferences, and round tables.

Thus, the study allowed to reveal the opinions of experts on the specifics of managing the development of creativity of students in high school. Based on the study, it can be concluded that it seems logical to build a comprehensive, systematic concept for managing the development of students at the university in accordance with the three levels of possible managerial influence: personal, procedural, and environmental.

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## Part III. Professions and Professionalism



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## Professional Dynasties as a Social Mechanism for the Reproduction of Professional Identities<sup>3</sup>

### ABSTRACT

*Project Professional Dynasties as a Social Mechanism of the Reproduction of Professional Groups is directed towards the studies of reasons and circumstances of the rise and fall of professional dynasties. By dynasty we understand a social group localised in the industrial and socio-economic sphere characterised by kindred relationships, where several generations do their professional work in the same sphere. We have studied the professional dynasties of doctors, teachers, lawyers and engineers under contemporary conditions of work. In this paper we shall present the preliminary results of the research taking engineers as an example. We have undertaken in-depth interviews with the members of these professional dynasties engaged in the public and private sector in Moscow, Moscow region, Ekaterinburg, Ufa and Samara in 2016-2018. The phenomenon of 'professional dynasty' was brought to life by the Soviet state in the 1920-s. Dynasties were social constructs done by the state that aimed at producing elite professions and professional layers. Later, professional dynasties were formed in various spheres by professionals themselves through parents' expectations and passing down of professional knowledge. Contemporary dynasties still constitute professional identities and provide the passing down of knowledge from parents to children. Dynasties may become a resource for a family professional mobility. The members of dynasties use various informal methods and practices for the upbringing of next generation in the context of changing economic, technical and social realities. Dynasties may provide conditions for the effective professional adaptation and career realization of young generations. Dynasties no longer guarantee an elite professional standing. However, dynasty professionals have a stronger professional identity and they report to be better adapted to the changes in the labour market.*

**Keywords:** professional dynasties; sociology of professions; engineers

The scope of interests of the scientific community ought to include social, philosophical and methodological challenges related to the specifics of engineering, such as the nature and character of professional dynasties phenomenon; educational and cultural resource, professional capacity of engineering dynasties; psychological and mental factors of professional continuity; challenges of professional self-determination of the younger

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generation in a dynastic family; challenges of mutual relations of professionals of different generations, etc.

The scientific novelty is based on the fact that there has been almost no research in the following spheres:

(1) Dynasties as social constructs that reveal the social demand for producing elite professions and professional layers.

(2) How professional dynasties are formed in the various spheres of the professional landscape (parents' expectations, passing down of educational trajectories, passing down of professional skills, etc.).

(3) What is professional and social standing of dynasties to date.

(4) How professional mobility is accomplished, what enhances professionalization and what hinders it.

Here we shall present the preliminary results of the research based on the studies of engineer dynasties. We are interested in the professional continuity of generations, the emergence and extinction of dynasties as a historical process, understood in a changing socio-cultural context, taking into account the unbiased patterns of the social process. When examining the dynasties of engineers' emergence features in Russia, one cannot ignore the influence of various national cultures such as Swedish, German or Dutch on the emergence and formation of the Russian engineering community and the emergence of domestic dynasties. A multidimensional study of engineering dynasties in Russia, the determination of economic and political reality impact on the existence of this phenomenon is one of the main fields of our research.

In all dictionaries, reference books and encyclopedias, the definition of the "dynasty" term is nothing but continuously reigning monarch families. Only in the Ozhegov's Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language, since its 5th edition, a different meaning of the dynasty appeared as follows: "the dynasty are workers who transfer their skill and labor traditions from generation to generation, like merchant, military, artistic and other families" [Mansurov et al., 2016].

After the Russian Revolution of October 1917, there have been significant changes in the non-linguistic reality connected with changes in the sphere of ideology, industrial relations, social and administrative institutions. "... The destruction of social strata and privileges caused not only the dropout of a number of corresponding names from the updated vocabulary but also the rethinking of some of them with reference to the new reality phenomena. For example, <...> a nobleman, instead of the "belonging to the aristocracy or to the nobility" meaning, is currently used in the sense of "famous, distinguished by its activity" like a noble steel maker or a noble innovator, etc; while the dynasty <...> has been more and more frequently used as an identification of representatives of different generations from the same family and the same kind of people who are doing the same job, having the same profession like working dynasty, etc." [Posuchova, 2013].

The metaphor of the dynasty reflected the need of the creation of new elites that match the new society. The dynasty of the ruling working class came to replace the imperial dynasty. As time goes by, that concept of dynasty spread to other professions [Eberharter; 2012]. Professional dynasty as a social institution, cleared of ideological background, is, after all, a form of professional continuity. “Continuity is a special mechanism of the “memory of the society”, which accumulates and stores cultural information of the past, on the basis of which new values shall be created. <...> The continuity can be ongoing when the cultural values of the past constantly function in the society, but it is interrupted as soon as any values disappear from cultural life... The continuity also means traditions that reproduce norms of social behavior for the past social reality ... All social institutions of education and education principles are based on the concept of continuity” [Saprykin, 2012].

As presented above, there are the general factors that influence the emergence of dynasties, but there is a certain feature with regard to the formation of engineering dynasties. The following classification of engineering dynasties is proposed:

- by the type of activity i.e. engineers-entrepreneurs, mechanical engineers, engineers-researchers, etc., by industry i.e. mining, construction, engineering, etc.;
- by the number of generations in the dynasty i.e. two-generation, three-generation, four-generation;
- by spheres of activity in accordance with established competencies: definition of technical policy and technical development; management of the creation and reconstruction of machines, apparatus, instruments; maintenance of technical facilities in working order.

It seems possible to identify several stages associated with the extinction and revival of engineering dynasties in Russia. The history of the formation of engineering dynasties is closely connected with two key factors: the economy development level which shall demand the professional work of engineers, and the formation of an engineering education which shall be adequate to these needs. A favorable combination of these two factors contributes to the continuity of engineering work and the formation of the dynasties of engineers.

### **Russian engineer: public perception, social role and identity**

In this paper, we shall articulate the main professional features of engineering activities. Unlike modern engineers, engineers in the past relied on their own experience and experience gained by others, common sense, experiment and ingenuity, rather than on scientific achievements. Professionals appeared with a written language, a system of information preservation and when there was a possibility to transfer information not only verbally. The main feature of a modern engineer is a scientific approach to solving

engineering problems. “A scientist studies what exists, and an engineer creates something that has never existed before” [Krick, 1970]. The process of creating in engineering, based on scientific research and often directly involved in scientific research, has much in common with the arts.

The engineer's activity depends to a great extent on the social usefulness of his work, which makes his work, apart from the technical and technological orientation, socially important. A task set for an engineer to solve, or an engineering task, is something more than finding one solution. It requires finding the preferred method of achieving the desired result in the conditions of limited material, labor, time, economic, political resources available with the highest efficiency [Krick, 1970]. If there are no different ways to achieve the required result, there is no engineering task.

Engineers often must create their own knowledge systems, techniques and methods of work, which very often do not correspond to the traditions of the classical natural-scientific fields of research, while solving the most complicated practical problems in the absence of the necessary support in the basic sciences. In engineering, so-called “empirical” and “semi-empirical”, “traditionalist” and intuitive approaches are commonly used, which are used in together, instead of, or in addition to currently available rigorous scientific approaches, if any.

Engineering activity is based on a sufficiently clear and precise technology which ultimately helps to integrate all known and applied schemes to achieve the goals - the creation of new machines, mechanisms, structures, etc. It is this technological precision in the organization of design activities, the ability to combine all known methods from strict formal to purely intuitive. It is the main advantage of engineering culture, which explains the expansion of engineering methods in other areas of human activity.

The central workflow in any engineering is the development of a results-oriented project (design). Design engineers often have to, in the absence of more or less satisfactory theory of the object and the impossibility to develop it for the time limited by the need for a specific, practical creation of the object, to develop a constructive concept on the basis of which engineering methods to develop the project and its implementation program. The project starts to be implemented according to the program, and as it is implemented, the plan (project) and the programs are often adjusted.

The culture of engineering also influences the organization of the project's management sphere, and unites different areas of scientific research, practical implementation experience, human resources and material support. Thus, based on the analysis of engineering processes, we can identify the following functions of a modern engineer, which are implemented in separate or related professional roles: a creator; a technologist and a designer; an operator; a manager and a teacher (Mansurov, 2017). Every professional in any field has his or her own field of professional competence. In addition, professional competence is carried out in a certain subject area such as images, experience, personalities, continuity, situations, environment, relationships, information etc. The

documents in which professionalism is manifested are denoted and assessed. For professional teams, including engineering teams, the task of maintaining and developing professional competence and subject knowledge is always relevant. According to experts, without a professional team, without a certain social environment, an engineer cannot establish himself or herself as a qualified specialist.

The development of the qualities required for a professional engineer depends to a large extent on the family. Professional dynasty is a special world which transmits the professional culture and attitudes to the profession. There is a constant communication, sharing of views and ideas, examples of attitude to business, a conversation in a single system of coordinates and in a single terminology. There is a transfer of experience and knowledge. Another interesting view on a professional continuity is that engineering dynasty is not necessarily a family dynasty. Every engineer should have students, teachers and mentors. A professional engineer who raised an engineer also becomes a part of the dynasty. A generation of engineers is being nurtured. Responsibility, respect for status, self-respect, and public respect are transferred. An engineering environment is emerging, according to Moscow State Automobile & Road Technical University expert's opinion [Mansurov et al., 2016]. Following the logic of experts, the engineering dynasty is based on two basic principles: blood kinship and intellectual mentoring. It is this symbiosis that ensures the formation and development of the professional engineer's personality.

One of the most important functions of an engineer is to train specialists around him. Knowledge transfer is the most important function. Only an engineer knows how to solve a problem, and no one around him knows how to solve it. The main function is the organization of the production process. Transfer of knowledge is a pedagogical function, organization of people is a management function. Depending on the size of the project, the engineer can assume several professional roles: a distribution of functions for a major project and all functions in the hands of a single person for a smaller project. The division into different functions depends on the personality. Therefore, there are either engineers-creators or engineers-technologists in one person. The engineer can also take over the functions of a manager. In small businesses, it is not possible to separate the engineer's functions.

The problems of engineer's self-identity and the issue of the blurring of the professional group in the conditions of modern educational system are extremely topical. There is also a discrepancy between the level of the global engineering profession and the local engineer's socio-cultural status. The post-reform system of higher education which has switched to a two-stage training according to the Bologna process plays a significant role in solving this problem. There has been a dissonance in the engineering profession. Many of our well-known engineers working as university professors say that there is no longer a profession of engineer: "No engineer. We don't train engineers... We technically train masters and bachelors" [Mansurov, 2017:58]. Based on the well-known initiative of the West, the engineer is being prepared as a marketing specialist, as a participant in the innovation process, and as an organizer of the process.



The technical preparation of engineers becomes of secondary importance. Sometimes technical education is replaced by the education of related functions such as marketing, organization and management of engineering. It blurs engineers' self-identity and graduates of engineering universities under such training system do not meet their qualification requirements. Experts also noted that upon adoption of the Bologna Convention on Education (the Bologna Process emerged as a competition between universities in Europe and the United States) by the country, the training of professional engineers is practically stopped. According to Moscow State (National Research) University of Civil Engineering, training of professional engineers through two-stage Bachelor-Master system does not methodologically meet the requirements for training of professional engineers in our conditions [Mansurov, 2017:59].

Experts are reasonably concerned about the lack of an effective qualification system in Russia and about the lack of a national register of professional engineers. They also worry that the national system for training engineers has become ineffective. The modern system of engineer training implies a completely new system of certification of a specialist. There are examples of other countries where training is carried out according to the same Bologna system, but where there has been a well-established procedure of engineer's professionalization for decades. "Within seven years after graduation, you will have to work for the company as an engineer in charge of the project to be able to make decisions. The harder it is to get the result, the better the engineer will be. This is a successful foreign practice" (interviewee). After graduating from university, a bachelor or a master with a technical degree becomes an intern. Over the period of 7-10 years he or she would be working for the company as a member of the engineering profession and receives recommendations of 2-3 professional certified engineers of the enterprise where he or she worked. A special commission evaluates the applicant's compliance with the special requirements and issues (or does not issue) a professional engineer's diploma. According to the experts from the National Research University 'Moscow Power Engineering Institute', such practice significantly increases the social, economic and legal status of an engineer.

At present, the status of engineers, university graduates, in Russia is not established. "We're blurring our engineering status since the qualification 'engineer' is not mentioned in the diploma" (interviewee). In the diplomas there are no longer qualifications such as 'electrical engineer', 'engineer-technologist', but there are qualifications such as, for example, Bachelor of Ship's Control System. The title 'engineer' is not mentioned as a separate specialty, as it used to be in the Soviet period. In the Western tradition, as engineer graduates, it significantly raises his status and creates conditions for an upward social mobility.

Meanwhile, university professors in Russia observe a negative trend: "Graduates do not want to work in the profession. Everybody knows that the reasons of it is a low level of income. In addition, few graduates after 7 years of work at the company will be happy to pass the qualification commission. There are graduates, but they're very few. Graduates of 1990s,



i.e. of the period of peak social disasters in Russia, did not become engineers at all. As of the graduates from our university, I only know three engineers. It is necessary to realize that the system of professional certification is based on different interpretations of Western and Russian traditions” (interviewee). According to some interviewees, “only 20% of students are ready to work in the engineering profession, and the rest of them study for the sake of getting higher education” (interviewee).

The inconsistency of the modern system of certification of a technical university graduate or faculty is evidenced by the fact that in the absence of the word “engineer” in diplomas, such positions as ‘engineer’, ‘senior engineer’, ‘engineer-technologist’, etc. with the corresponding requirements to the performance of production functions are still present in the staff lists of scientific-research, industrial and other enterprises and institutions. As a rule, the duties, rights and responsibilities have been described. The Unified Skills Guide for Positions of Managers, Specialists and Non-manual Workers, republished in 2017, contains a description of 201 engineering specialties tied to different industries and activities [Unified Qualification Guide, 2017].

Among the problems that need to be solved immediately, experts pointed out the following:

- The lack of due attention from the government to the engineering profession and industrial and production development of the country.
- The lack of social and economic support for the development of engineering profession.
- The shortage of qualified engineering staff at all stages of the reproduction cycle of industrial products. The staff ages and the average age of a highly qualified engineering and technical staff is 53 years and above. The enterprises are understaffed with engineers, designers and technologists [Sheveleva, 2016].
- Students do not see career opportunities in the engineering profession; the prestige and social status of the engineering profession is low.
- The system of engineer training in higher education institutions does not provide the specialists who meet the modern requirements of industrial and post-industrial society. The partnership relations between industrial, scientific, design enterprises and higher education institutions are poorly developed which leads to training of specialists with an insufficient level of practice-oriented training, lack of knowledge of specifics of production of real sector of economy.
- The lack of a well-functioning and effective system of early and early career guidance, starting at early childhood.
- The engineering community is not consolidated. There is no non-governmental system of certification of specialists based on professional associations, which would

control entering the professional group, control the adherence of the professional to the rules and ethical norms of the engineering profession.

The question of the engineer's status in the contemporary society has caused an almost unambiguous assessment. "If we talk about our Russian society, there are no conditions for maintaining the high status of an engineer. Sharp decline in the status of engineers and its relegation to the margins of social life. According to experts of Moscow Aviation Institute, "Engineering is considered to be a non-prestigious, humiliating and unpromising field". "Engineers do not have status, but there's been some recent progress. Maybe there is an understanding that without the support of the engineering profession, the country has no future" (Moscow State (National Research) University of Civil Engineering and Moscow Aviation Institute).

### **Dynasties of Engineers**

One form of support for the engineering profession is to support professional dynasties as transmitters of cultural and professional identity. The analysis of the information on the websites of recruitment agencies made it possible to draw the following conclusions. None of the applicant's engineering registration cards use the word "engineering dynasty", but "I am a hereditary engineer" is used quite often and that is one of the indicators of the applicant's advantages over others. A hereditary engineer, as a social concept, reflects the presence of at least one direct relative engaged in engineering activities. A professional dynasty, as a social concept, implies at least two generations of engineers with direct kinship ties. The "professional dynasty" is seldom used in active vocabulary and practically forgotten in scientific and journalistic circles.

The peculiarities of engineering activities in Russia and the emergence of dynasties of engineers are viewed through the lens of multidimensional social field, taking into account the influence of the state and the market in the context of historical changes. Dynasty as a specific aspect of public life shall be studied through an interdisciplinary approach with an understanding of the contributions of such sciences as sociology, history, economics and psychology.

Professional continuity in the area of engineering implies, first, the choice of a certain educational strategy that reproduces the social position of the ancestors; secondly, the choice of a life strategy that would be considered as an inheritance and, thirdly, the choice of a scientific strategy that would ensure intellectual continuity in the form of scientific schools and technological directions [Eberharder, 2012].

The professional dynasty is "a social group localized in the industrial and socioeconomic sphere, characterized by ancestry where several generations carry out their professional activities in a single practice area" [Zabolotsky, 2004)]. Sociologists apply the following criteria of the dynasty: "the association on the basis of common interests; good

ethical and psychological climate; mutual assistance; vocational guidance work; enabling environment for gaining experience; assistance in adaptation; the permanence of jobs and the profession; high quality of work and good faith”. [Mansurov et al., 2016]

“The emergence of dynasties is determined by a number of considerations related to thoughtful choice or inertial action” [Kolesnikova, 2006]:

- The so-called parental programming passes on the program of professional self-determination to a child in the framework of the strict adherence to a certain professional trajectory, transmitted from generation to generation. In case when the child’s personality is consistent with all the qualities necessary to find fulfilment in a dynastic profession, the dynasty is preserved and strengthened. In the absence of suitability for the profession, the dynasty is interrupted.
- The inheritance of an educational trajectory which is closely linked, for example, to a technical education or to a specific higher education institution, is a fundamental stage in the emergence and continuation of a professional dynasty.
- The inheritance of professional skills, the example of parents, the way of life, the ways of obtaining knowledge and using it in practice, copying, and then understanding the characteristics of the professional activities of parents are the intra-family reasons for the emergence of dynasties.
- The professional characteristics of labor dynasties are specific predispositions of dynasty representatives to fix and subsequently reproduce the preferred ethical value models of corporate behavior, positive attitude to a certain professional activity, accumulation and transfer of professional representations to the young representatives of dynasties. There is a combination of primary and secondary socialization in the professional dynasty.
- The profession of parents may be the only possible choice for a child, which is explained, for example, by the lack of opportunities to find fulfilment in another area because of the limitations in terms of availability of workplaces and vocational training.
- The engineering dynasty is considered as a social lift i.e. a sustainable choice of a more prestigious, elite and wealthy profession [Kolesnikova, 2006].
- Pride of belonging to a certain dynasty of engineers fosters the self-realization of the younger generation in the chosen sphere and motivates it to maintain the dynasty in the future.

A dynasty with its social infrastructure, by which the professional circle of communication is understood along with followers and like-minded people, the established communications in engineering and a broader environment, a possible patronage and protection are able to provide a quick start of a professional career of the younger members

of the dynasty, more comfortable initiation into the profession, the oversight of the progress over the professional ladder and getting the most favorable offers on the labor market.

These same factors, but with a negative sign, are the reasons for the interruption of the dynasties. For example, such factors as a lack of abilities for engineering activities; understanding that there are no economic conditions for finding fulfilment of oneself in the engineering profession; a low social status, which does not allow for an upward social mobility; a conflict situation in the family etc. provoke an independent choice of an alternative profession.

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**Problems of Professional Dynasty in the Conditions of Modernization  
Changes in the Post-Soviet Space  
(Based on Materials of Biographical Interviews)<sup>4</sup>**

**ABSTRACT**

*This study involves characteristics the formation of professional dynasties in the context of the modernization of Russian society, where modernization refers to new technological, economic and social reforms that are a response to the corresponding challenges. Based on an analysis of 46 interviews of dynasties involving at least three generations, various groups of reasons were identified that were motivating for the continuation of the dynasty, and most often they were found in a complex, and one of them could be dominant. The first group of reasons: an example of a successful parent, respect for him and conform. The second group of reasons is the desire to continue the profession of “genetic memory”. The third group of reasons is a large accumulated knowledge resource in the family - intellectual and domineering capital, simplicity in following a further path. Social and economic conditions as external challenges did not strongly influence the respondents, unlike internal causes (motivation and family values).*

**Keywords:** modernization, sociology of professions, Russian society, engineers, doctors, teachers, lawyers

**Introduction**

In the conditions of professional modernization, the dynasty is a significant factor in the formation of human capital [Valiakmetov, Turakaev, 2019]. The authors also distinguish different types of dynasties by profession, individual sectors of the economy, number of generations, social status and demographic characteristics: the standard of living and income. Also, dynasties are divided by territory, gender, ethnicity. In the work of V. A. Mansurov and Yurchenko O. V. marked the stages of the formation of professions (professionalization), which act as signs of professional groups at the societal level [Mansurov, Yurchenko, 2009].

The functioning of professional groups in conditions of unstable employment, social transformations is faced with the need to find stability resources. This is especially

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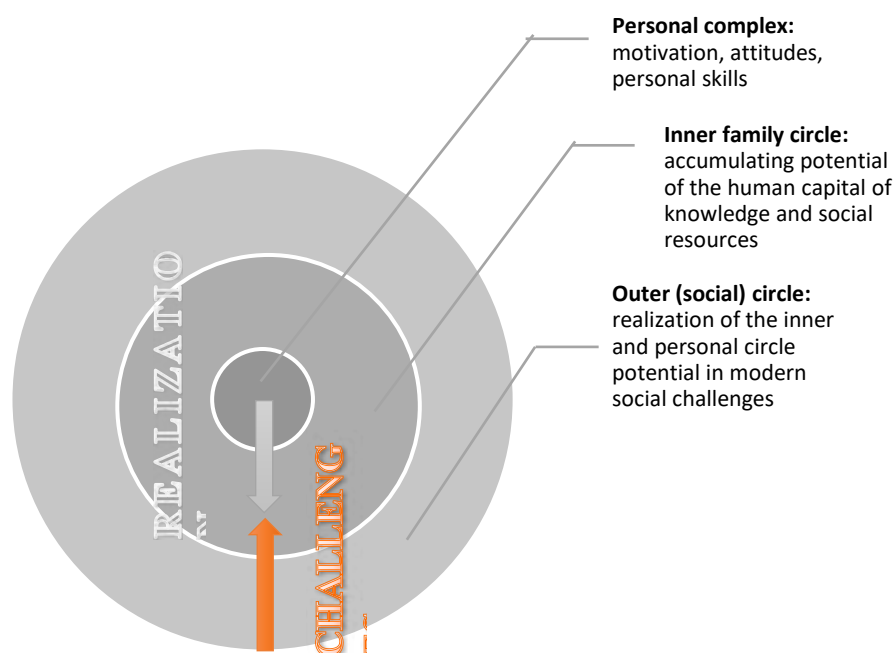
characteristic of such fundamental social and professional groups as doctors, teachers, engineers. Lawyers see market overcrowding as instability. A professional family dynasty and a mechanism for the transfer of knowledge in respect of professions that require a high level of qualifications serve as a resource for supporting and educating new markets. It becomes the basis for the formation of models of work behavior that ensure the transmission of professional ethical norms, values, skills at the macro level. At the meso level, the dynastic principle also acts as an institutional regulator, its function is to preserve and transfer capital to the dynasty through advancement in educational structures [Professional'nyye grupy... 2018].

Modernization processes from the point of view of the mobility search for a program that preserves elements of the traditional way of life. The multidimensionality of modernization processes involves the study of economic, political, cultural, and social factors and their influence on changes in social relations in general and on the processes associated with the formation of professional groups in various spheres of human activity. and organizational (managerial) capacity, provides basic opportunities for expanding production dstva potrebleniya. Social modernization involves the creation of a system with high mobility, the influence of social status and social functions on the behavior of individual citizens and groups based on legislative regulation of relations and the formation of a system of social institutions.

Professionall modernization realizes the individual abilities of the individual based on the unification of culture, and from the point of view of conservatism, the need to take into account national and traditional values, which ultimately implies the formation of a highly differentiated culture based on intellectual, institutional, psychological, behavioral changes of the personality, able to adapt to constantly changing realities of everyday life.

### Methodology

For the implementation of the objectives of the study, in-depth guide interviews with representatives of dynasties of at least two generations are used. Most dynasties included three generations, a maximum of 8 generations (once), a minimum of two generations+ younger generation. Representatives of vertical dynasties and horizontal (brothers, sisters, consolidated and cousins) are included in the analysis too. There are 46 interviews in Russiaby different regions. A third part of all the interviews told about immigrants from the post-Soviet space who emigrated to the territory of modern Russia. For the concept of analysis, the following conceptual frame was proposed: **personal complex (see Fig. 1):** the motivation to continue professional direction, personal capital. The personal component is included in the **inner family circle** of the dynasty (capital of knowledge and social resources), which creates the potential of the profession and is realized in the **outer (social) circle** in certain social conditions that create context and challenges that can both positively and negatively affect the realized potential.



**Fig. 1: Analyzing framework for professions dynasties biographies.**

The respondents were divided into four broad categories of occupations: teachers (teachers, university teachers, scholars, combining teaching activities); engineers (engineers of various fields); lawyers, doctors and representatives of natural science specialties. Questions:

1. Profession and its role in society.
  - Does your profession have a public role? What is the significance of the profession for other people and society as a whole?
  - What professions do you consider close to your profession?
  - What do you need, what potential must a person have to be a professional?
2. Professional biography.
  - Description of the history of professional dynasties
  - If we say “professional dynasty”, what is the first thing (what associations, images, thoughts, feelings) do you think about this word? What defines a dynasty? Is it possible to say that a dynasty has formed in your family? If so, why?
  - Briefly describe the history of the representatives professional dynasty, the main reasons for choosing a profession from the first and subsequent representatives. Were there any bright representatives of the profession?
  - The main successes and difficulties of the professional path among members of the dynasty. How would you describe the life trajectory of a dynasty? Did political, cultural, social conditions affect her, and if so, what, and how did they affect the development of the dynasty?
3. Education and career.
 

How did the job change happen? What did not suit the former and what seemed attractive in the new place of work? Who helped to find a job?

- factors involved in the decision to change jobs.
  - During his entire working biography, did he have to perform work significantly below his qualifications level or work outside the remit? Does it happen often? What were the circumstances under which you agreed to such work?
  - Can you say that your professional movement is growth (what kind of growth-career, personal, profitable... what else?) Under what conditions could your movement in the profession be growth? Do you find your professional career successful?
  - In general, what gives you and what your profession does not give to you in your life? What are your resources, aspirations and desires realized and are embodied in the profession, and which remain unfulfilled? How do you imagine your nearest professional future?
4. Professional dynasties in the modernization of society.
- What does union membership give you? What gave in the Soviet era? (the question is only for those who belonged to the trade union in the USSR)
  - Do your industry professionals need to build a specific policy with the government?

## Results and discussion

### 1. Profession and its role in modern society

Professions depending on the specialization and had different benchmarks.

The respondents define their **teaching** role as the main, one of the most ancient and necessary professions in the world, since it is most associated with the professional transfer of skills and knowledge that is found everywhere. As a rule, scientists who combine science with teaching activities prefer dual identification. *"I call it " teacher ", I call it " scientist ", although I like the word more, I have been searching for a long time, I really like the word "activist ", it is very collective. To change the world for the better.* "(Dynasty of teachers). The image of the teacher is more respectable and representative, covered with an aura of charisma: *" the image of a man, a respectable professor, who comes to the audience, and everyone respects him. "* should be no less respected, but more - children. A true teacher *"does not care about his material welfare, prosperity, but is engaged in the development of science. The material aspect for him is secondary."* (the dynasty of teachers). However, the most frequent contradictions are most of the time to carry out reforms are just in wages during the Soviet era and in perestroika. The teacher must be sociable, stress-resistant, have an idea of an individual approach, have the skill of popularizing knowledge, then, according to respondents, it will be interesting and in demand. Love for students must be manifested especially in the desire to transmit knowledge.

Energy **engineers** tied the profession to a livelihood function, given the need for urban infrastructure for electricity. Profession engineer designate comprehensive. *"Of course, a comprehensively educated person, not only in their fields, but also in related areas. This is a person who is open to information, who knows how to work with her and process it, who knows where to read, where to learn, where you can borrow information, and use it in your future work"* (electrical engineer). *"Without a positive charge, success will not be achieved"* (energy engineer), *"We pass where no one passes."* (Technologist). The role of technology and technology is often referred to as a universal pervasive substance permeating the activities of representatives of the profession *"chemistry is a relationship with life, the public, because everything we eat, everything we drink, everything we treat, everything directly, connected with chemistry."* (chemist – technologist). There was also a problem with identification: *"the problem of a modern engineer is in the absence of self-identification"*, because *"we have many such words with the prefix "engineer", and as a result the word "engineer" is devalued"* (engineer-technologist) and does not mean several professions completely different in direction, responsibility and areas of activity, not always directly related to engineering. To be a good and sought-after specialist it is important to have knowledge of technology and experience, the very desire for it, a great interest in this business. *"We must think every minute, every hour and even at night when you sleep. Because the technique does not forgive mistakes. But if you make them, then the price will be human life. This is an approach. And this approach is not about what you need to learn, and then you will make some mechanisms, machines. man is the most important thing. There can be no mistakes here, because mistakes are human life."* (From the famous dynasty of Shukhov engineers)

**Lawyers** build correlations with the professional function of a lawyer to heal society from lawlessness, highlight the social function of helping people experiencing uncertainty or injustice towards themselves. A lawyer does not focus on promoting himself, but on the needs of the client: *"the fundamental thing is to help people, perform certain tasks that the client puts in front of them. However, inside the profession there are markers "those who help people," and "those who are on the side of the state and law enforcement agencies."* There were frequent remarks that, for a lawyer, the legal restriction of all his activities in a professional sense, a profession gives a sense of understanding of law, society, its functioning. But it does not mean that you always work strictly within the law. Lawyer, he works with the existing law, within the law. And its change in essence is a crime." (Representative of the dynasty of lawyers). There is a difference of values that make up different motivations in upholding one way or another: for some, respecting the law is important (outward motivation to respecting institutional norms), for the other - helping people (mainly lawyers and lawyers working with the civil code). The legal profession tends to order and justice, if it does not exist, then disorder, lawlessness and chaos will prevail in the world. *"Even if only three people remain on earth, one of them must be a lawyer."* Why? Because in any case, both positive and negative, that is, all relationships

*between people add up to certain definite disputes and disagreements.* “ (representative of the dynasty of lawyers). To be a sought-after specialist, you need to keep the desire to constantly improve in the profession.

**Doctor.** In the public mission to treat people is not so simple, if we consider the medical profession through the institutional changes of the last decades. In contrast to the professions of the engineer, where there is a new demand for technical functions, from a lawyer who stably does not lower his demand in the market, taking into account also the fact that teachers' salaries and their situation have improved, the financial situation of the military and the technical conditions in which the majority of Soviet workers worked. and current state doctors, not changing so much. Many doctors are experiencing a crisis in their mission. Doctors mention complex institutional conditions in the past and today, the impact of a personal crisis - professional emotional burnout, as well as changes in the “quality” and attitudes towards doctors and patients. *“Perhaps, even 20 years ago, I would have easily answered this question [about the mission]. But not now. Burned himself already, faced with many things. The goal is to heal people. But the trouble is that only those who want can be treated. Very much the generation has changed, tough on the eyes. First of all, people's attitude towards themselves has changed. They believe that everyone is obliged to them all around... This is how it is possible if the patient was prescribed Pancreatonecrosis, and in a week they bring him drunk to the emergency room? What's this? Here the dissonance comes. And why am I doing all this? To whom? It turns out that myself...”* (representative of the medical dynasty). *“The social role of this profession is now one-enemy.”* Also, the doctor is a “team profession.” Additional functions of a doctor in the modern world - sanitary - educational work among the population. The core values that traditionally should be preserved and will guide the motivation to continue the professional dynasty of “dedication and helping people.”

## 2. The trajectories of the development of dynasties and professional biography

To the question “Is it possible to say that a dynasty has formed in your family? If so, why?” The respondents first of all noted the number of generations (at least two) in the dynasty, as its first sign. The second sign: the desire to improve, to continue the profession “at the genetic level.” Interestingly, the desire to continue the dynasty was always dictated by personal, not personal, external reasons. The first group of reasons: an example of a successfully working parent, respect for him and the desire to be like him, very much played the role of a society that was respectful of the parent specialist. In childhood and teenage memories, detailed stories are kept about the respectability complex in the key motivation to continue the profession. *“Mom always said that she comes home around 6 pm and has enough salary for a woman. And I saw that this is a prestigious job, and my mother is treated with respect.”* (Representative of the dynasty of lawyers), *“I saw my father walking down the corridor and everyone greet him with respect”* (Representative of



the dynasty of teachers). The second group of reasons is the desire to continue the profession of “genetic memory, intuition,” *“it was clear to me on an intuitive level how it works,” “beyond the instinct of being.” “The family was imbued with such a spirit of medicine that, well, as if, they did not know other professions.”* (Dynasty of doctors). The third group of reasons is a large accumulated knowledge resource in the family - intellectual and domineering capital. The term professional dynasty was revealed not only from the point of view of upright ties, but ideological connection, or the desire to continue the work of one or another well-known representative from the outside. *“It’s interesting, because you can’t say that the dynasty is father, mother and so on. This is beautiful, but after all, for example, a child from a not very prosperous family can read a book, for example, about the Queen... There are such examples in our space program, among our engineers and technicians. When they read a book about Korolev in their childhood, they saw him, they worked with him, and the children came too. And they soaked up such energy that they seemed to become members of the Queen dynasty. This also exists: when a person would like to become like this particular person, follow him, continue what he started. This is again a dynasty, but not based on a gene code, namely on the moment of such a good imitation, a good example.”* (Dynasty of engineers).

Elements of sociobiology and genetics were discussed in the problems of professional dynasties repeatedly and in detail. *“There is always a moment of imitation. In principle, as a rule, a son or daughter begins to copy their parents, because they are drawn to the stronger, they want to imitate the strong, it’s like in the animal world, there’s nothing new here. Therefore, voluntarily or involuntarily, they begin to reach out to it, they are interested in it, they like it, because there is a certain dominant one, let’s say, the main lion - everyone wants to be like him - to hunt the same way he does [something in life], just like him is a normal story. The second thing here is definitely the genes. No matter what they say, but what is already inherent in a person, the information that came from ancestors, from parents, from grandmothers, grandfathers, great-grandmothers, and great-grandfathers on different lines, perhaps with some interruptions, is also It means a lot.”* (dynasty of engineers). The main thing in the choice of professions is to “inherit the ability of any profession” (representative of the dynasty of doctors).

The moment of choosing a profession is only the first stage, the second stage - getting an education and the subsequent practice showed how real the aspirations to make a career correspond to personal immediate needs and the desire to actualize certain skills in a chosen place of work. In Soviet times, the opportunity to choose was far from always. The desire to continue the dynasty in difficult times spurred a feeling of kinship “how many people have already invested labor, experience, and why would you, rather, well, to some extent say “do not let them down ” (dynasty of teachers and scholars). In this case, not everyone wanted to be under the authority of the parents, only a few remained to work in the same place or on the recommendation of the parents.



The dynasty has always been a good support and resource for respondents from different professional fields. *“You need to belong to the dynasty, I realized that this is a very big plus, in the sense that the continuity of generations in one profession allows you to transfer experience, and as much experience as all previous generations have accumulated. For us [in Russia], for example, I don’t know, I haven’t decided until now what our attitude to these things is, but in the West, for example, the family business is a good social phenomenon. Because it allows you to transfer not only professional experience, but also the moral values of your family, and to move along almost everything along the same path, without turning off, it is very good, when you support many people, you are important, important. You are not thrown in different directions.”* (Representative of the dynasty of teachers).

Some parents - mainly engineers and doctors persuaded children not to continue the dynasty, saying that it was “hardest or unbearable work”, but this did not stop the respondents. Difficulties implied hard physical working conditions (medical shifts), intellectual work of engineers, moral professional responsibility for making decisions, on which people's lives depend (they were equally mentioned by doctors, engineers and lawyers), incommensurate benefits and losses. for good. Those. Do I bring any benefits? because if I don’t bring benefits, is there any sense in working at all? If not, then all this is useless. “(Representative of the dynasty of lawyers)

**Teachers.** Respondents noted that in the course of the transformation of the dynasty, the meaningful motives of the profession changed. in the 20s, 30s, pedagogy was a very fashionable trend, and the need for teachers never declined. Moreover, starting from the 90s, in Russia, according to the feelings of teachers, there is an increasing interest in professional qualities - patience, resistance to stress, organization and multitasking, which can be realized in many areas that require communication with people. According to various employers' teachers who met, *“if you can work as a teacher in a kindergarten, you can work everywhere.”* (Representative of the pedagogical dynasty). Teachers who remained in the dynasty and work in schools, often for many years do not change jobs.

**Doctors.** *“I want to understand the heart so that a huge number of children are not deprived of the joy that I was deprived of.”* **Lawyers** are often often influenced by their parents, who had a keen sense of justice. Respondents often state that making money in medicine is not the main thing for which they came; the main goal can only be to cure people. However, according to their observations, the values of generations are changing in the heyday of private medicine. To many representatives of the older generations, only the satisfaction of material desires is abhorrent to desire. *“Dynasties facilitate choice, they already create the soil and create the base. In this sense, of course, dynasties are important, i.e. they don't start from scratch. Everything has been brought up since childhood in the family. In this sense. And at the same time for some dynasties are unacceptable. For those who have individuality, there can be autonomy, who has some talents. Here, in no case by a dynasty, can one influence a child. If at least one child with musical abilities is born in*

*the family, in no case should he be lured into his dynasty.*”- representative of the medical dynasty.

**Doctors** and engineers agree that their profession is more influenced by technology in its development. *“Well, probably, each generation becomes better than the previous, more modern. More modern look, newer technologies. Discussions, help each other, advice. And therefore the knowledge base, naturally, will be replenished.*” (Dynasty of doctors). Engineers, like doctors, most often change the specialty within the doctor within the dynasties. Plays a role as a relative dynasty, and ideological (authority and example in science or at the workplace).

In order for the dynasty to “work” in providing generations with successors, conditions are necessary - intellectual (genetic - according to the respondents) predisposition, social conditions (demand), education of the successor as a specialist (but without imposing a future profession). If all conditions are met, then the probability of vertical mobility in the new generation increases.

### 3. Professional career

Professional career and vocational education are two things that experts propose to distinguish, speaking as if it two separate biographies. A real education (practical experience) never ends with a self-respecting specialist and a representative of any dynasty, if they seek to accumulate the experience of all generations and expand the influence of the dynasty. Education affects little those who do not prefer scientific work. Of those who are engaged in science (and often combines science with teaching), the educational environment is still a work space.

What does career growth mean for different profession categories?

At first, we can make an important categorical division. The older members of the dynasty in Soviet times lived with intangible values, focused on the values of social responsibility, and the possibility of the influence of the profession on geographic mobility and political opportunities. In the days of capitalism, the need to increase wealth became on a par with non-material values. Career - as the concept of growth has become more important, however, it has not become a cornerstone in the development of dynasties, in personal development, it is still guided by intangible values, but at the household level money is an opportunity to provide for themselves and their children, especially in precarious times.

For **lawyers**, growth has limited vertical, but wide horizontal mobility. The growth of a lawyer is limited to the business framework and the structure of the legal system as a whole. *“Back to the specialization. For example, a lawyer, for him the ultimate dream is to create your own agency. He works for his authority, for him there is no limit. The better he becomes as a professional, the greater his wealth and reputation. Lawyers working in the judicial sphere, strive to become judges, chairmen of the court, to get to the*

*constitutional court. Many lawyers go into politics or another related profession. Those. the limit of dreams depends on the goals that a person sets for himself... If it relates directly to income, here it depends on the number of principals, on material security. We can make a million yesterday, make a billion tomorrow. Professional growth is improvement in the profession.*” Notary professions, leading specialists are not considered promising for the growth of a lawyer, rather indicate stagnation or a desire to stay in a stable place, and many people have such a need.

The mobility of **doctors** is stretched in time, and is more correlated with the abilities, resistance to stress and the ability to constantly improve skills. **Engineers** change their specialization and are also constantly in the need to improve technical skills. Specialists in these areas are most valued and have more chances to get promoted if they have organizational and administrative talents, versatility, and demand from the technology market for their skills. Engineering specialization and according to respondents, and technical diversity is extremely wide. The growth of the engineering profession and its social security depends on the industry. Those sectors that the government has put in priority economic development programs receive greater affluence and support, for example, oil, astronautics, engineering, military, etc. *“Very good social support, it is connected, first of all, with health care. We are given voluntary medical insurance, which allows us to be treated in paid clinics, i.e. they pay us for our adventures to doctors one way or another. Therefore, we have a very well-developed trade union. We provide vouchers to the sanatorium, for example, taking the minimum amount on the testimony, respectively. We are provided with benefits, for example, on certain material benefits. We use, say, the benefits of the trade union and in the cultural sphere - we are provided with tickets to the theaters. Every month we go to a theater, this is a must. We pay for the gym. Well, that is support is very good, both cultural and social. But our requirements are very strict - it is compliance with, first of all, labor protection”*- (representative of the engineering dynasty).

The possibilities and limitations of the profession are also limited by the established institutional apparatus, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, by the possibilities and time for personal growth. For lawyers, the law limits for “independence”, because they work within it. Also, in a lawyer, in distinguish from a state law enforcement officer, there is no social protection - preferential rights to medical care and rest. Opportunities as positive costs of their profession - knowledge of legal rights and the ability to stand up for themselves, a sense of importance in society and the realization of the desire to help people, the diversity of work. *“I am useful to them, helping... I would like as much work as possible, to be useful to people... probably I could go to some serious public service. Wherever my mind, honor and conscience would be useful.”*(Representative of a legal dynasty). The limitations and possibilities of medical practice are reduced to the possibility (as well as saving and losing) of human life. *“You can save fifteen people, pull out from the next world, and one will die - that's all, you are a bad doctor. Your patient is dead. Well, as if not everything is in your*

*hands, but people do not understand this.* ” Difficult material conditions of doctors who are in public service are discussed as a matter of course. The doctor is faced with a difficult choice of searching for state practice or private. Also, medical practice in many respects limits other life possibilities. According to the respondents, *“It probably gives a feeling of fullness of life. Without a profession, without a job, a person would be very bored. I can not imagine how you can live a housewife. And that does not give the profession... Free time... I would like to travel, see different countries. But I don’t have such opportunities.”* (Representative of the dynasty of doctors).

#### 4. The Impact of Modernization on the Development of Professional Dynasties

The main historical markers that could both positively and negatively influence the development of the dynasty were transitional. This includes political repression in the Soviet after, the disappearance of the tsarist empire, difficult working conditions in Soviet times without choice, restructuring, the crisis of 1997-98. However, the markers did not always turn out to be critical for the biographical professional path of the respondents: during repression, talented engineers and doctors from well-known dynasties were in demand because industrialization was gaining momentum, teachers were forced to adapt the ideology to new educational concepts and create a new, communist generation, doctors thanks to the Soviet education system to get a good qualification. Also, the subject of study of this project affects the demand specialties.

In the last part of the interview, the profession in a modernizing society, the complexity of institutionalization was discussed, and what should be changed by the state or external structures in order for the profession to be more in demand and more satisfying.

Some **lawyers** feel insecure in private practice: *“I would probably go to the state structure. They are the most reliable, stable. It is interesting. There is where to grow, move from one organization to another. Maybe these are old prejudices that working for the state is more reliable.”* (representative of the dynasty of lawyers). Now for lawyers, *“this is a position where management decisions are made. It is too early to talk about this. But for me it’s a kind of success that I’m already working in this field. That I even found a job. Many who studied with me, 30 percent decided that they would never work in this area. Because it is difficult to find a well-paid job in the specialty. I still do not understand why she is so low paid.”*

For an **engineer**, the crisis of self-identification consists precisely in the versatility and confusion in the concept of the profession “engineer”. *“The main problem is the depreciation of concepts. This is now hapening in modern life - such a general trend. After all, it is impossible to consider engineering separately from everything that hapens in the world. Processes are still interrelated. Now everything in life is depreciating - concepts, objects, actions, in the end, human lives, etc., are depreciating. This applies to the engineering profession as well, because earlier the engineer was treated and respect to the*

*rank of engineer. Because the engineer was a person who could solve not just one task, but the whole complex of tasks.*”- (representative of the engineering dynasty). The market is being modernized and expanding so quickly and every day is full of new skill requirements that engineers lose control of the situation due to bureaucratism and new challenges; they need time to adapt to new challenges. In kingdom times, *“in order to be and remain among the leading world powers [of Russia], it is necessary to carry out the so-called scientific and technological revolution,”* so engineers were at the origin of its creation. Today, the priorities of engineers are changing due to their oversupply in some industries. *“There are few such dynasties of engineering. In my century, I know 5-7, they are bright, but short. And sad. Because many are now working as couriers, or taxi drivers, or just nowhere. And this is a reason to tell your child - never go into this profession, do not be an engineer. Otherwise, you will work as a dad, a courier or a security guard... -What is more important in this bundle of problems - the revival of industry or the development of engineering education? “The thing is that industrialization implies the existence of a so-called labor resource. And this means that in order for all this to happen, it is necessary for someone to work. Therefore, industrialization is not so relevant for Russia. The moment of the revival of the intellectual component in the country, for its future, is important.”*(Representative of the engineering dynasty).

The crisis affected the engineers most of all in the 90s. Some received additional specialization, since there were no places for employment. *“It was very difficult to find a job at that time. Enterprises did not take on work, especially young specialists after the institute, and it was impossible to get a job at any chemical enterprise. Everything was very busy. And then the question arose to try yourself as a chemistry teacher in school. I phoned the nearest schools where I lived, and just one of them needed a chemistry teacher in one of the schools. I came to work at the school.”*(Chemical technologist and teacher, chemistry teacher from the dynasty of engineers). *“The crisis of 1997 had a very strong impact on our family, if we take what our father was engaged in, namely the manufacture of metal-cutting tools. In the crisis of 1997, many companies began to collapse, firstly, it basically narrowed the market of those who could offer products. Secondly, if before this the enterprises predicted the purchase of equipment for a year or two and took the tool as a warehouse, then with a shortage of money they began to clean up these warehouse volumes. And, besides, the bankrupt enterprises began to sell a lot of illiquid assets. Because of this, by the year 2000 everything was very bad, and, accordingly, somewhere in 2002 the company went bankrupt. That is, this political and economic factor, the crisis of 1997, influenced.”*(Dynasty of engineers).

For **doctors**, the complexity of the bureaucratic structure, the technological obsolescence of the health system in the regions, the heavy work schedule, and low wages. *“Everything is fine in Moscow. In Moscow, everything is available, everything is there, all the devices, everything you need is there. But now there is nothing behind the Moscow Ring Road. Literally right away!”*(Dynasty of doctors).



*“In Russia, medicine has become very poorly sponsored, healthcare is falling apart, of course, in Russia. But, hypothetically, if I remain a doctor in Russia in the future, then I have my second dream, I hope someday we may have the opportunity with my husband - to open my own clinic so that I can work there, It is clear that this will be some kind of leadership position, but I can just promise you that if this happens, I’ve already told my husband many times, it’s even possible to confirm these words with him, I would really like two days a week, to do completely what is called volunteer days, when to me and in general, to the clinic at the reception, Will come free of charge, children from orphanages, shelter, the poor, because in Russia, the medicine, not the fact that with each passing year, it becomes more expensive with each passing day. And we have a clear, prominent stratum of the population, who are very wealthy and who are unsecured. Unfortunately, those that are secured, they can afford to be treated, not in the sense that they are treated in Lapino, or where there are comfortable conditions and walls. The point is not in the walls, but, say, with high-quality preparations. And those who can not, they are treated as it turns out. And it is not always the way we would like. Therefore, I would very much like two days a week to make people come for free with any pathologies, with any problems, so that they get qualified help, free of charge, at the expense of the clinic, and they understand that everything is not lost, that There are also such clinics where you can safely get decent help. These are my two dreams, I guess. ”(Dynasty of doctors).*

## Conclusions

This study allows us to draw several groups of conclusions. The study concerns only realized dynasties, and the findings do not apply to interrupted dynasties, since the main goal was to determine the conditions under which dynasties can be continued

1) Positive or complex social conditions and transformations (wars, repressions, reforms, economic crises) in Russia do not always directly affect the success of the implementation of professional skills. The professions of a doctor, engineer, teacher remained always in demand and copied the needs of the spirit of the time, the industry that needed more growth. However, external realization showed more vertical flexibility than the greater intellectual resource and social capital of skills and connections accumulated by previous generations. The cultural resource in the biographical family history is created by intrafamily values. In part, they are universal for the profession in general, and include its immediate function - to heal, teach, help, universal - to be responsible, honest, to work not only for money, to educate themselves, but to be proud of their family, keep its history, and include their own achievements in her biography.

2) Three groups of reasons for the continuation of the family dynasty were identified, and most often they were found in a complex, and one of them could be dominant. The first group of reasons: an example of a successful parent, respect for him and meet. The second group of reasons is the desire to continue the profession of “genetic



memory, intuition,” “it was clear to me on an intuitive level how it works,” “The family was imbued with such a spirit of medicine that, well, they didn’t know other professions”). The third group of reasons is a large accumulated knowledge resource in the family - intellectual and domineering capital, simplicity in following a further path, make less of a stress markers of the life in daily experience.

3) A positive example of parents, or rather, their respectability to a greater degree determined the possibility of continuing the dynasty in the future. Even if the parent or previous generations had social difficulties, this did not affect the further choice in favor of following the same profession.

4) Based on the answers of the respondents, promising theoretical frames can be distinguished in the further study of professional dynasties. Sociobiology is marked with such frames, since respondents often mentioned historical and genetic memory explaining the great advantages and simplicity of mastering professional skills. The complex of sociobiology considers the often discussed social hierarchy within the family, the distribution of respectable roles, which are designated both as value and as motivation in choosing a profession. Continuing the sociobiological orientation and the branch close to sociology, one can also consider behaviorism, since it includes imitation as the main element of social action.

5) Social mobility of different types of studied professions depends on the work of the bureaucratic apparatus (lawyers, teachers), technological development (engineers, doctors). At the same time, the medical and engineering professions have the most extensive specializations, and they are increasingly striving for versatility. Economic reform does not affect doctors, and those who remain in the public service, lower assess their financial capabilities, their social working conditions, and below - the possibility of professional growth in general, because it requires large physical resources and does not pay off. Most of the mobility resource is discussed by engineers, they almost always speak with confidence about the possibility of growth in a private and public enterprise. On a certain segment of the path, mobility lowers the pace of teachers and lawyers, depending on the structure where they are located. In general, a teacher – scientist is in a much larger field of possibilities than a teacher. A lawyer, a specialist who is not in the public service, measures the achievements of horizontal mobility — the improvement of skills and the number of cases solved — at the height of their issues.

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## Modern School and Professional Knowledge: School Teachers' Perspective

### ABSTRACT

*Globalisation of education led to the understanding that Russian school is not effectively preparing graduates for life in the modern world. The Ministry of Education and Science fostered changes in school education. It proclaimed the need to change the content of the school teachers' job and to build an open and collegial management system in school education. In this article, we consider the school teacher's views of the changing nature of their professional knowledge. We rely on selected results of a focus-group study conducted in six cities of the Moscow region within the framework of the project of the Institute of Education of Higher School of Economics Universal Competences and New Literacy. Focus groups were held in May 2018. The introduction of new school standards resulted in the increased workload of teachers, who were burdened with extra bureaucratic responsibilities. The research showed that the professional community was discontented with the implications of diminished discretion and with the fall of authority. There was no much freedom of choice regarding learning programmes, textbooks and working routine. We considered teachers' perspectives on everyday teaching practices and abilities relevant for today's schoolchildren.*

**Keywords:** globalisation; education; modernization; teacher status; moral skills; social skills

Modernization and innovation in education have been discussed extensively for the last two decades [Modernizatsiya rossiyskogo obrazovaniya...; Teachers profess willingness...]. At the same time, sociological literature pays less attention to the views of teachers on everyday teaching practices and on skills and abilities relevant for today's schoolchildren [Frumin I. D., Dobryakov M. S.; Sobkin V., Adamchuk D.]. The issue of school education struggling with the task of preparing students for life is often discussed in the context of the need to develop the 21st century skills.

Different authors and organizations include different sets of elements in the notion of the 21st century skills, however the main trends are often clearly discernible [Frumin I. D., Dobryakov M. S.]. In most cases it means universal competencies, which include communication, cooperation, creativity, critical thinking and skills related to self-regulation and self-management. Modern life moves to the foreground the ability to build interpersonal relationships and daily basic knowledge that help navigate the reality, such

as finance, health, safety, the environment.

Focus groups of teachers in six cities in Moscow Oblast (Voskresensky District, Dmitrovsky District, Podolsky District, Ramensky District, Shchelkovsky District) serve as the empirical basis: there were 15 focus groups, 8-12 people each. Each school hosted 2-3 focus groups, separately for elementary school teachers and subject teachers<sup>5</sup>. The groups were held in schools where principals acted as the study initiators. School principals themselves did not take part in the survey.

The focus group study was part of a large-scale sociological study 'Universal Competencies and New Literacy' conducted by the Institute of Education of National Research University Higher School of Economics (NRU HSE) in February– May, 2018. The questionnaire survey covered 4,500 people from 85 regions of Russia [Dobryakova M. S., Yurchenko O. V]. We will refer to the data of that questionnaire survey performed electronically by NRU HSE in cooperation with the Rossiysky Uchebnik corporation and Moscow State Pedagogical University. The respondents were distributed by generation, subject taught and type of inhabited locality and region in a representative fashion:

- 19% of the surveyed teachers were under 35, 48% were 36 to 49, and 33% were over 50;

- 18% of respondents teach elementary school, 16% teach Russian Language and Literature, 13% - Mathematics, 13% - Foreign Language, 7-9% - Natural and Social Sciences, per discipline, 2-3% - Physical Education, Handicraft, Music, Art, Fundamentals of Life Safety, per discipline;

- 21% of the respondents live in cities of over 1 million population, 20% in large cities (over 250,000), 27% in smaller cities (under 250,000) and 31% in urban-type settlements; 4% in Moscow and Saint Petersburg each.

The findings of this questionnaire survey are 'the first large-scale and purposeful analysis of Russian teachers' perception of the 21st century' [Dobryakova M. S., Yurchenko O. V]. This kind of analysis is necessary for competent planning of efforts to support teachers in their focus on building the 21st century skills.

### **Modern school and teacher's status**

The focus groups showed that many teachers have a negative attitude towards modern school [Dobryakova M. S., Yurchenko O. V]. Disappointment comes not from the profession itself or staff, but from the system of workflow organization (reports, Unified State Examinations, school rankings) and consumer attitude on parents' part. When teachers counterpose the Soviet and modern schools, they favour the old system virtually

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<sup>5</sup> The author led 4 focus groups in Voskresensky and Podolsky districts, and participated in the development of the survey toolkit. Other focus groups were led and study material decoding were carried out by the postgraduate students of the Institute of Education of NSU HSE Nadezhda Adveynko, Mikhail Gasinets and Katalina Yakovenko.

every time. The Soviet school mainly evokes positive memories and associations in everybody: good knowledge, discipline, stability, lucidity and mutual respect.

All teachers, group discussion participants spoke about the decline of the profession's profile and social status. Respect for the teacher, their weight in the eyes of parents and the society score at 5-6 points out of 10 among elementary school teachers. In middle and high school it was 7-8 points. They idealize the past and endow the soviet teacher with utmost authority.

Low social status and profile, nevertheless, do not have a direct impact on teachers' internal motivation. As was shown in a survey of the Sociological Educational Institute of the Russian Academy of Education (RAE)<sup>6</sup>, creative efforts in work, development and self-improvement are of greatest importance for teachers. Those parameters are more important than social status and coworkers' aproval [Sobkin V., Adamchuk D.,2017:12]. Thus, teachers singled out the following more significant motivations for their activity:

- aspiration for personal growth (44%);
- aspiration for improvement and their own professional development (47%);
- desire to diversify the content of one's professional activity (59%);
- aspiration to motivate one's students to develop creativity (70%);
- aspiration to raise the quality of knowledge of one's students (74%).

Among these main motivation reasons, financial incentive takes the last place - only every sixth educator (16%) lists it [Sobkin V., Adamchuk D.:3-14].

### **School and the 21st century skills: teachers' general ideas**

According to the questionnaire survey of the Institute of Education of NRU HSE, first of all Russian teachers strive to develop two skills in their students: *to articulate their thoughts well* orally and in writing (89.3% of the respondents consider it the school's responsibility), as well as *pass good knowledge* of the main subjects (81.7% of the respondents) [Dobryakova M. S., Yurchenko O. V]. These data closely echo the findings of the study by the Sociological Educational Institute of the RAE, which singled out five most significant objectives of the modern teacher: to build students' interest in the subject; desire to give solid knowledge to students; teach students to gain knowledge independently; develop students' individual features and creativeness [Sobkin V., Adamchuk D.,2017:14].

The focus group survey was meant to identify those qualities and skills, apart from the subject-related ones, that teachers strive to instill in their students. We managed to uncover the following hierarchy, with the qualities listed in the descending order of frequency of spontaneous mentions in focus groups:

- social and moral skills;

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<sup>6</sup> The data of the sociological survey of 3515 teachers that was conducted by the Sociological Educational Institute of the RAE in 8 regions of the RF in the 2014/2015 academic year.

- “extracurricular skills”: to select information and speculate;
- “skills of adapting to real life”.

### **Social and moral skills**

Teachers named social (“*be able to socialize*”) and moral (“*raise decent people*”) skills as the most important. Those are the skills that the respondents would like to develop in their students above all. No one clearly differentiated the issues of character education (“decency”) and the ability to interact with others (“communication”). It was largely implied that an individual's moral virtues were the foundation leading to proper interaction. Occasionally (several individual mentioned), the topic came up that children could not work as a team, a collective, and it was important to teach them to do so.

More often than not teachers understood “moral qualities” as decency, which manifests in attitude to other people. The questionnaire survey of the Institute of Education of NRU HSE confirms that teachers are concerned with students' moral virtues and relationships with each other [Dobryakova M. S., Yurchenko O. V]. Answering the question of what objectives you believe to be of most importance, virtually half (47.5%) of the respondents chose the option “to instill moral values” and one third (29,5%) – “to teach students to socialize, resolve conflicts”. Elementary school teachers assign an even higher priority to the objective to teach to socialize: it was chosen by 38.9% of the respondents.

The objective “to instill in students love of the Fatherland” was found to take the last place in the rating of the most important objectives. Only 15% of teachers aspire to accomplish that task in their lessons (more among History (23.5%) and Geography (33%) teachers). A higher position in the questionnaire survey is taken by education of civic-mindedness: 33.7% of teachers want to “foster responsible and active citizens”. However, only History and Literature teachers brought this topic up in group discussions.

The focus groups revealed that many teachers take “patriotism” as overtime morale building work that is imposed on school on the whole, and not on a specific teacher. In all cities they said that active “patriotic work” is done at the school level: contests, shows, projects aimed at preservation of memory (“heroes of our time in my family”, “wartime chronicles”, equivalents of the Immortal Regiment and others).

On the whole, teachers said that they believed educational work developing social and moral skills was important, but they had no understanding of how and when it should be done. Those whose syllabi are directly related to “*fostering the human in the child*” were ready to develop social and moral skills during their lessons. Those are teachers of History/Social Science, Russian Language/Literature, Global Art Culture, Geography, Music and elementary school. In out-of-lessons time most teachers limit themselves to the minimum program. By personal example and/or in explanatory talks, they show how to act.

Aproximately one third of all respondents, mainly elementary school teachers and



homeroom teachers, said that they tried to develop social and moral skills in different ways. In focus groups it was said that they

- played psychological games with children (for example, convey their emotions using emoticons first and then words);
- jointly resolved “problematic situations”;
- gave educational talks during homeroom period;
- organized team building athletic games, such as Zarnitsa, or take children camping where they have to overcome obstacles together;
- held school-wide events providing opportunity to bring one's talent to light.

There were individual statements that teachers could not handle development of social and moral skills because at the moment there was no general unifying idea/ideology similar to the Soviet idea. It was maintained that such a general idea was what could provide an understanding of what “morals” were and what communication between children ought to be.

Teachers believe that it is parents who must lay the foundation for educating the individual [see 5 for detailed information]. In many groups there arose discussions of areas of responsibility of family and school. The main lines of reasoning can be worded as follows:

- the identity of a child is shaped and should be shaped within the family;
- family fails to do its job;
- teachers have to engage in social and moral issues (sometimes as their own choice, and at times out of necessity);
- teachers mainly underperform because they have not enough time, desire or understanding how to do that.

As a result, discussion of that issue came down to complaining that school had to perform family's functions. Teachers often reproach parents that children do not respect adults, are not industrious or responsible. However, for the most part, no respondents set the goal for themselves to correct those aspects.

As the questionnaire survey of the Institute of Education of NRU HSE shows, 80% of teachers believe that it is family that must lay the foundation for educating the individual. Only 3% of teachers believe that school is responsible for the child's “respectful attitude to other people that he or she encounters in life (regardless of their status)” [see 5 for detailed information].

### **“Extracurricular objectives”: to select information and speculate**

Next to social and moral skills, teachers most often spoke about the necessity to teach students to “select information” and “speculate”. We provisionally designated those objectives as “extracurricular”. In the same context it was mentioned that students “*could not speak clearly*”, could not phrase their thoughts. During the focus group survey, at least

one third of the surveyed teachers expressed concern that students could not work with information and make independent conclusions.

Discourse on the necessity to mould “critical thinking” arose almost in all groups, whereas “creativity” and out-of-the-box thinking were mentioned extremely rarely. Many consider creativity an inborn trait (it was mentioned in reference to gifted children) or associate it directly with productive activity in Handicraft lessons.

The results of the focus group discussions echo the questionnaire survey of the Institute of Education of NRU HSE, wherein 53% of respondents remarked that they considered one of the most important objectives to be “teaching students to navigate different information, select sources”. For 65% of teachers, a job well done means “teaching students to think critically, analyze, study independently”. In group discussions these topics always elicited a keen response.

At the same time, there are differences. In the questionnaire survey, the first place among a teacher's crucial tasks is taken by the item “to teach to set goals for oneself (including curricular ones) and choose means for reaching them” (65.5%). During group discussions that subject did not come up at all. One can assume that although teachers understand the significance of the objective “to set goals and select means”, they either do not know how to reach it, or reach it on an ad-hoc basis and fragmentarily. For example, in one group a Social Science teacher mentioned that he would like his students to be able to set goals for themselves and to reach them using their own resources.

The task of moulding critical thinking is set mainly by teachers whose subject entails opportunity to speculate and look at a problem from different points of view. In groups, the following ways to develop critical thinking were named: (1) teaching to differentiate true and false information; (2) finding, analyzing and summarizing several points of view:

Virtually all teachers are open to students coming to class with their own ideas and having their own points of view. Many are glad if students reason in different directions before they hear the “readymade answer”. Some teachers are ready for students to think about issues that have no unambiguous answer and look for a solution by themselves.

In teachers' opinion, school is to a greater extent than family responsible for forming “the ability to speculate” and “select information”. In the questionnaire survey of NRU HSE teachers also state that first of all school and teachers are responsible for students

- “articulating their thoughts well orally and in writing” (89.3%);
- “being able to differentiate reliable and unreliable information (truth and fiction)” (53.4%).

### **Skills of adaptation to real life**

We provisionally denoted several types of skills as “skills of adaptation to real life”. Among those, teachers most frequently mentioned “everyday” skills and career counselling. Some teachers are concerned with modern children's

helplessness/vulnerability, their inability to adapt psychologically to real life. They want students to develop confidence in themselves and their abilities, and the ability to advocate for their interests.

This correlated with the findings of the questionnaire survey of the Institute of Education of NRU HSE, where 38.2% of teachers mentioned that they would like to “impart knowledge and skills that will be useful in real life”. Although, as group discussions show, teachers most often delegate skills of adaptation to real life to family or extracurricular activity specialists.

## Conclusions

1. Most teachers aim to give solid knowledge of their subjects and to teach children to articulate their thoughts well orally and in writing. Aside from curricular skills associated with the subjects studied, teachers endue social and moral skills with special significance. One can assume that it has to do with the continuity of the Soviet cultural tradition, where the focus was on educating the individual. Soviet school is idealized by teachers of different generations. Another reason may be teachers' concern related to active submersion of school students in digital reality and loss of communication skills.

2. Teachers profess willingness to develop social (“communication”) and moral (“decency”) skills, but in practice many of them lack the necessary teaching methods and time. They engage in development of moral and social skills occasionally, in out-of-lessons time or in humanities or social science classes. Elementary school teachers more often use practices that facilitate development of communication skills.

3. Teachers believe that school is responsible for solid knowledge, and family for development of universal competencies. Development of communication skills, ability for team work (cooperation), creativity and skills related to self-organization and adaptation to real life should happen in the family. In the skills that should be primarily developed by school, teachers include only development of critical thinking. One can conclude that the 21st century skills are still insignificantly represented in everyday practice of modern teachers.

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## **Professional Associations of Engineers in the Process of Modernization of the Russian Society: Functions and Tasks**

### **ABSTRACT**

*The article is focused on the main professional associations and unions of engineers in Russia. The biggest and the most important union is called Russian Technical Society that was formed in 1866 and could cover a lot of different specialties of this profession. The main tasks of professional associations are analyzed in the article from the modern point of view with the help of the historic and scientific information.*

**Keywords:** association; engineer; engineering education; industry; profession; society

One of the fundamental signs and indicators of professionalisation is the creation of professional associations and unions. So in 1866, to solve the problems of technology and industry in Russia was formed Russian Technical Society (RTS). The task of the society was formulated as follows: “to Connect consistently generations of scientists and engineers the General, based on belief and morality work in the field of scientific and practical activity, to give them the opportunity to exchange the acquired data, to monitor progress of Sciences and the industry and in every possible way to promote the works to development of Russia...”[Vostochno-Sibirskoe otdelenie...]. Since 1874, having received the status of Imperial, society was supervised by the Sovereign and existed till 1929. RTS arose at the initiative of 11 individuals – prominent Industrialists, engineers, teachers of St. Petersburg University. Organisational RTS at the time of formation consisted of 9 departments and 40 territorial divisions (for example, Baku, East Siberian branch), but by 1916 expanded significantly and included the following departments: chemical technology and metallurgists; mechanics and mechanical technology; engineering, construction and mining; military and Maritime technology; photography and its applications; electrical engineering; Aeronautics; railway; technical education of agriculture, industrial economic direction, labor assistance; mining; mining technology and local economy; reclamation and fuel. Highest authority was the General Assembly convened not less frequently than 2 times per year.

The members of the society were: honorary members – representatives of the Imperial family, prominent state, military, scientific figures, entrepreneurs; full members (about 1000 people) – directly involved in the work of the society, accepted as members of the society by the General meeting; competitors – applicants for full members;

corresponding members – in absentia participating nonresident; commissioners – as a rule, foreign representatives and members of the RTS, permanently residing and working abroad. In 1889 the Russian Technical society established the Nobel brothers partnership for the prize and medal in memory of Ludwig Nobel, which was intended for Russian engineers.

Duke Nikolai Maximilianovich at the opening of the company addressed the audience with the following words: “the Establishment of the Russian technical society fulfils an important gap in the growing industrial activity of Russia. Let us remember the good of those from whom we have gained science and guidance for technical education and the technical industry, but not yet to be disciples, not yet, acting separately and without confidence in ourselves, to expect guidance from outside or from the concerns of the government. In Russian thought and Russian business, the Kingdom blessed by God, is given a vast expanse, and Russia, rich in means in its vast expanse, is waiting (...) for thoughts and deeds to reveal its wealth and to become on a level with the States, ahead of it in the field of both theoretical and practical knowledge” [CIT. by: Pod devizom “Nauka i bespristrastie”].

The importance of the company's activities for solving the issues of technical modernisation of Russia can be judged by the significant turnover of funds annually passing through the RTS – up to 270 thousand rubles. 30% of these funds – state subsidies, the Emperor annually donated 25 thousand rubles. One of the articulated tasks of the Russian Imperial technical society was the right to apply “to the Government for measures that could have a useful impact on the development of the technical industry and the prestige of the Fatherland.” Along with the strengthening of the socio-economic status of engineering activities, the company performed a consolidating role and ensured influence on the government in accordance with its goals, thereby realising its political resource. Having a significant information and cultural resource (opening of technical libraries, publication of journals, collections, reports, organisation of exhibitions, holding of professional congresses), the society realised its cultural and educational resource by opening everywhere specialised educational institutions (vocational schools, for example), actively promoted technical knowledge, established a Museum Of applied knowledge in St. Petersburg, the Polytechnic Museum in Moscow. Annually Russian Imperial Technical Society issued Notes and a Set of privileges issued by the Department of trade and manufactures; minutes of meetings of the Company and its departments (“the company's Actions”); original articles of technical content; reviews of technical inventions and improvements and a description of all privileges granted in Russia to Russian and foreign inventions [Jenciklopedicheskij slovar...].

The scale of the Imperial Russian technical society's activities is evidenced by the fact that it had its corresponding members and commissioners in the largest cities of Europe and America. Among its honorary members was listed, for example, the inventor of the



light bulb TA Edison, as well as the Creator of the Eiffel tower and the Statue of Liberty LG Eiffel.

Russian Imperial Technological society was accompanied by other societies in various professional environments, but they have similar goals of supporting the processes of engineering and technological development of a strong and independent Russian industry, which is not inferior to the foreign one:

the Polytechnic society at the Moscow technical school (established in 1877), which United the graduates of the Imperial Moscow technical school, was to “nk the successive releases of pupils, to give them the oportunity to exchange acquired information, to monitor the success of science and industry and to promote their work to develop them in Russia; to maintain a living connection with the former pupils of the Technical School and contribute to the success of technical education; to the extent possible to deliver finished the course at the Imperial Technical School places and classes to help cash in need of them and their families, as well as to provide scholarships for students” [Ustav...].

society of mining engineers (1887-1917. United more than 300 engineers – specialists in the field of mining and metallurgy, set the task of organisation of technical research and monitoring of the development of various sectors of mining, conferences, hearings, publication of works);

the society of civil engineers brought together former students of the Civil engineering School and the Institute of Civil Engineers, the reason for which was the realisation that “rapid progress in people's life generates more and more new requirements in technology and increases the seriousness of the tasks imposed on civil engineers in their practice. At the same time, moral responsibility for failure to solve these problems, which entails extremely serious consequences, is also growing “. [Stranicy istorii...].

Russian metallurgical society was founded in 1910, determined the technical policy of the state, took part in the development of many projects to identify mineral deposits, etc. At the end of 1916, the company included 875 members.

The creation of professional associations of engineers in the pre-revolutionary period, on the one hand, ensured the functioning of the elite professional superstructure, which has a high cultural and political resource, and provided targeted growth of scientific and technical potential of society, on the other hand, personified a high level of social status of the profession as a whole and its representatives as well. The emergence of more democratic forms of professional associations, such as professional associations of graduates of various schools and universities, allowed to strengthen the status of specific types and types of engineering activities within the social division of labor and, thus, created a hierarchy of engineers who realise themselves in different professional environments.

Despite the historical features of the development and suport of engineering activities in Russia, representatives of the engineering profession have created numerous

professional associations aimed at the revival and strengthening of scientific and technical potential of the state.

More than 120 major engineering unions are currently registered in various countries. There are also international engineering organisations, as well as public organisations created on the basis of a specific industry or on the basis of highly specialised types of engineering activities.

We give a classification of these professional organisations that are currently operating:

Association of engineering specialists: builders, designers, inventors, managers, employees of the scientific and technical sphere, etc.; (for example, the “Russian Union of engineers” and its territorial divisions are engaged in the promotion of “the interests of engineering professionals, to promote technological progress in Russia, the introduction of engineering developments in the production and development of Russian industry”) [Istorija sozdaniya...];

Association of legal entities and individuals engaged in engineering (engineering) activities related to engineering in the subjects of the Russian Federation (for example, the Association “national chamber of engineers” coordinating the activities of members, forms in the society an understanding of the high status and role of the engineer as the main actor in the process of modernisation of economic and social relations) [Nacional'naja palata inzhenerov];

Association of self-regulatory organisations in any industry engaged in production, preparation of project documentation and engineering surveys (for example, SRO “Association of civil engineers” includes: Union SRO “Association of civil engineers”, Union SRO “Association Of design engineers”, Union SRO “Association of survey engineers”, NP SRO “Association of power engineers” – issues documents entitling to carry out construction activities, certificates of admission to works that affect the safety of capital construction projects) [Ob#edinenie inzhenerov...]. Since January 1, 2010, the system of state licensing of certain activities related to the safety of facilities, life, health and the environment has been replaced by control by specialised self-regulatory organisations (SRO) (non-profit partnerships), which have collective responsibility for the actions of each participant. Obtaining the status of SRO is a mandatory item for the legal conduct of construction, design and survey works. The so-called admission of SRO is issued by special committees that carefully study the potential and reputation of the applicant, if it meets the requirements regulated by legislative acts. (Federal law № 315- FZ “On self-regulating organisations”, Federal Law № 148-FZ “On amendments to the town planning code of the Russian Federation and certain legislative acts of the Russian Federation”);

Association of engineers of one branch or one type of engineering activity (for example, “Association of automotive engineers of Russia” creates a dialogue at a high professional level between specialists of the automotive industry, transport, science,

personnel training, representatives of public and state organisations [Associacija avtomobil'nyh inzhenerov Rossii];

The Russian Union of scientific and engineering public associations is an interdisciplinary and intersectoral Association of professional associations for the implementation of common goals and objectives: “Association and coordination of efforts of its members to implement and protect professional and social rights, interests, needs of scientific, engineering and technical workers and specialists, development of scientific and engineering activities in:

the Russian scientific and technical intelligentsia-representatives of the Russian technical society, created in 1866” [Rossijskij Sojuz...] and is based on the history and traditions of the Russian technical society, created in November 1866 as a special kind of spiritual creativity, the continuation and development of domestic traditions and values accumulated by the Russian scientific and technical intelligentsia.;

- the Association of engineering education proceeds from the position that engineering “education belongs to the field of national strategic interests of the Russian Federation and in the conditions of the country's transition to sustainable development engineers become key figures in the socio-economic sphere of society” [Association of engineering];

- research associations, the founders of which are the authorities (for example, the Public all-Russian organisation “Russian engineering Academy” is the successor of the USSR Academy of Engineering, created with the direct participation of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR State Committee on science and technology, the USSR Scientific and industrial Union, the USSR Union of scientific and engineering societies, etc.). Currently, the Academy has about 700 collective members and 46 regional engineering structures, the Academy operates in thirty-four areas of engineering, “is a creative scientific and technical public Association of certified engineers and scientists in the field of technical, economic and natural Sciences, United on the basis of common interests and designed to serve the development of scientific and technological progress, the use of its achievements in the production and professional consolidation of scientific, technical and engineering corps of the Russian Federation” [Rossijskaja inzhenernaja akademija].

Thus, public professional associations, unions, associations cover almost all types and forms of engineering, all the vast field of tasks and goals of professionalisation of engineers, increasing the status and prestige of the engineering profession, creating conditions for the implementation of high educational, cultural and political resources of the engineering profession and its role in the modernisation processes in a changing society. Certification and certification of engineers is a mandatory element of self-regulation of the professional community.

Now the domestic non-state system of certification of engineering personnel is created. The Russian Union of engineers on a paid basis (from 10 to 30 thousand rubles,

depending on the desired level of qualification) issues a personal qualification certificate that the applicant has passed a professional certification, the results of which confirmed the established level of higher education, knowledge, experience of personal qualities required to the higher engineering staff. On the basis of the rules on voluntary personal certification established in the Public all-Russian organisation “Russian Union of engineers” personal qualification is assigned. Certification is an analysis of documents (on education, training, characteristics, references, reviews, etc.), as well as a questionnaire and an interview organised by a special Commission.

Applicants are awarded the following qualifications for the right to fill the positions of engineers: Chief engineer of the organisation, chief engineer of The project, Chief architect of the project, Lead engineer, Senior engineer, Chief designer, Chief technologist, Chief power engineer, Chief mechanic, Head of Department (Department, management, Department), production Manager, project Manager; Engineer of the highest category, first, second and third categories; Technician of the highest, first, second and third categories.

Another large public organisation “national chamber of engineers” carries out certification for the title of “Professional engineer” referring to the relevant practices in Germany, Japan, great Britain, Canada and the United States, as well as to the still unapproved, long-suffering draft law “On professional engineers in the Russian Federation”. As a result of this procedure for a specialist who has received the title of Professional engineer, the following rights are assigned.

Engineer after passing the procedure of professionalisation: “has the right to sign and be responsible for the quality of project, design, technological documentation; has the right to be the author (head of the team) of the engineering project; has the right (as the author) to exercise supervision (management group of supervision) for the implementation of the engineering project; has the right to confirm (declare) compliance of the engineering solution with the requirements of technical regulations, established safety requirements; has the right to protect the engineering solutions agreed with the customer during their examination and consideration in the relevant bodies; is responsible for the volume and quality of work performed by its co-executors (assistants, engineers, interns, specialist engineers, consultants and technical workers); represents and protects the interests of the customer on his behalf at the conclusion of contracts; may be a responsible representative of the customer at the acceptance of the engineering object in operation” [*Nacional'naja palata inzhenerov*]. Since at the legislative level, such a procedure is not prescribed and the title of “Professional engineer” is not confirmed by special regulatory procedures, the actions of the “National chamber of engineers of Russia”re Amateur, and the results of certification are most likely an element of psychological reinforcement of the status of a specialist. It should be noted that the procedure is built quite rigidly in relation to applicants for the title of “Professional engineer”

Only 5% of all those who have received engineering education and working in engineering positions are able to become real professional engineers. When passing certification in the specialised Commission consisting of professional engineers, not only the General and specialised knowledge in the field of engineering activity, knowledge in the field of project management, estimate business, personnel and financial management, contract law, a portfolio of projects (3-5 projects under the leadership of “professional engineer”), but also personal business qualities which are one of the main factors of conducting professional engineering activity are checked. It is necessary, among other things, to have a previously issued status of an engineer-Intern/engineer-specialist, five years of experience in the project (engineering) organisation (or work under the guidance of a professional engineer), pass a program of professional development in the chosen engineering specialisation and the program “professional engineer, pass a specialised exam (General engineering knowledge, engineering specialisation, management, contracts, professional standard); pass a test for compliance with the psychological profile of a professional engineer; pass an interview with the Commission of professional engineers; have two recommendations of professional engineers” [*Nacional'naja palata inzhenerov*]. The above regulations for obtaining the title of professional engineer does not lead to the mass professionalisation of engineers. As of October 1, 2018, only 32 engineers have been certified, 187 people are registered as candidate engineers, the data of which are entered in the register, available for review to interested persons and organisations.

A different approach to the certification of engineers demonstrates the “Association of engineering education”, which is a full member of the European network for accreditation of engineering education. First, one of the important activities of the Association is the accreditation of educational programs. And, secondly, the Association is a partner of the international organisation APEC, a member of a number of international organisations for accreditation. APEC engineer is a professional practical engineer who has received international documentary evidence of his professional qualification, a person engaged in practical engineering activities and received international documentary evidence of his professional qualification according to the criteria and certification procedures established in the agreement. After passing the procedure of certification and registration in the International register of professional engineers, a certified engineer acquires the opportunity of upward professional mobility at the international level. The Association of engineering education and the Union of scientific and engineering associations in 2009 began the procedure of accession to the agreement governing the recognition of procedures, criteria, forms and methods of certification of engineers. According to the agreement between the Association and Tomsk Polytechnic University such certification is carried out on the basis of the University. Certification is voluntary. The applicant must: be a graduate of the University on an accredited engineering program, have at least seven years of experience in practical engineering activities after graduation, have at least two years of experience in a responsible managerial position in the

implementation of an important engineering project, constantly improve and develop their professional skills, act within the framework of the Code of professional ethics. At the end of 2013, 85 people underwent the procedure.

The code of professional ethics of engineers and scientists of Russia was adopted by the III Congress of Rossnio on 19.02.2002. This Code of ethics of scientists and engineers of the Russian Union of NIO defines the basic moral principles of creative activity and relationships of members of public associations belonging to the Russian Union of NIO. These principles are developed by social, scientific and technical practice of the developing society, reflect moral values, accumulated experience of the public associations, which are members of the Russian Union of NIO, formed both on professional creative interests and on a regional basis, are based on the glorious history and traditions of the Russian technical society, created in November 1866. APEC Engineer adheres to the APEC code of professional ethics.

The code of professional ethics Of APEC engineer in Russia (hereinafter – the Code) defines the basic moral principles of creative activity and relationships of engineering professionals, based on traditional moral values, history and traditions of Soviet and Russian engineers.

The use of high moral potential in the formation of a spiritually rich and highly professional personality of the Russian APEC Engineer should become the basis of his active citizenship, the assertion of the true value of engineering activities, the multiplication of the authority of the Russian engineering education.

The basic principles of professional ethics proceed from the fact that free, creative work for the benefit of man, the desire for innovation – a matter of honor and dignity of Russian engineers, the main motive of their professional activities.

Based on the basic moral principles, respecting the achievements of previous generations, the Russian APEC Engineer aims to improve existing and search for fundamentally new engineering solutions. Discoveries, inventions, rationalisation activities, creation of fundamentally new equipment and technologies, introduction of innovations taking into account the moral component – the basis of practical activity of the Russian APEC Engineer regulating the basic principles of professional ethics and basic moral values. The professionalisation of the engineering community on the APEC platform will ensure the completion of the creation of a professional group of engineers with all the attributes of professionalisation.

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## **The Generation of Russian Engineers in the Era of Stagnation: Fate and Profession<sup>7</sup>**

### **ABSTRACT**

*This article analyzes the results of a questionnaire survey of representatives of engineering professions from the point of view of their belonging to the generation of Russian engineers who passed their professional development in the era of stagnation. The author tried to find out whether and in what way the fate and inner world of the beliefs and values of this social group influenced the specificity of the historical period experienced by Russian society as a whole, how did it turn out that this period was the beginning of the interruption of many professional dynasties of engineering and technical workers.*

**Keywords:** engineer; dynasty; engineering profession; engineering education

Generation is a multivalued concept, but in our study we propose to consider it in the cultural and historical aspect, with an emphasis on symbolic meaning, when contemporaries of important historical events, people with common orientations and attitudes are considered as a generation. Within the framework of sociological research, it is important for us to be aware of a specific group of individuals born at the same time, who have similar experience, education, initial profession, common values and attitudes. The time component establishes a “historical localization”, which is symbolically connected with a certain period of development of Russian society. In our case, we correlate the period when people of this generation of Russian engineers passed their professional development with the era of stagnation [Puchkov L., Petrov V.; Saprykin D M.; Semenova A. V.; Inzhenernoe obrazovanie i inzhenernoe ...].

For us, it's not even the chronological borders that are important, but those historical events that have had a significant symbolic impact on this social group have determined the so-called “spirit of the times” that influenced the fate of this generation. In addition, we did not take the entire Russian society as a whole as a studied object, but limited ourselves to a specific professional group. A questionnaire survey was conducted by MAI graduates from 1973 living in Moscow and the Moscow Region. A total of 31 respondents were interviewed, among them 24 men and 7 women. At the time of the survey, there were

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10 employees (3 teachers of engineering universities, 5 employees of research associations and 2 people in private domestic organizations of a different profile), the rest (21 respondents) are retired. The questionnaire proposed by the respondents considered the factors that influenced the choice of the engineering profession, attitudes towards the chosen professional activity and life outcomes associated with it, values and attitudes related to the professional activity, issues of family professional continuity (dynasties).

It should be noted that among the factors that influenced the choice of profession, the family factor clearly dominates. Thus, the majority of the respondents (19) had relatives (often both parents) who received professional engineering education and worked as engineering and technical managers in manufacturing (10), as research scientists in the field of technology (6) and as ordinary engineers in manufacturing (3). And as the circumstances that influenced the choice of profession, the majority (25) cited an example or advice of relatives and friends. Among them, the example of parents working in this specialty is 8 respondents, the example of other relatives is 4 respondents, the advice of parents is 4 respondents, the advice of other relatives is 2 respondents, the example of family friends is 2 respondents, the advice of friends and acquaintances is 5 respondents.

In connection with such a significant influence of the family on the professional choice, it is not surprising that the decision on entering a technical engineering university was taken by the majority of respondents (21) at school (19 respondents) and even before entering it (2 respondents). Four respondents followed the advice of school teachers. Although the profile of the secondary educational institution itself did not have a clear impact on the specifics of professional choice - 15 respondents finished secondary general education schools, 4 respondents - schools with in-depth study of a foreign language, 10 respondents - mathematical schools, 2 respondents - other specialized secondary schools.

In second place, respondents put factors related to the profit and prestige of the profession (13). Among them, the view that engineers receive high incomes (4 respondents), the view that the engineer will always find a good job (8 respondents), the prestige of the profession in society (1 respondent). At the same time, they influenced the choice of profession (but in a much smaller volume - 4 respondents) and moral factors, such as attractive images of engineers in literature and cinema.

The seven respondents named their own subjective preferences as a circumstance that influenced the choice of profession - a tendency to technical activity and a tendency to inventive activity (5 respondents and 2 respondents, respectively), as well as a love for aviation - 1 respondent. The factors associated with comfortable admission to the university were not forgotten (good knowledge of the subjects that had to be taken on admission - 4 respondents, the presence of acquaintances to help enroll in the university - 3 respondents).

As a result, all respondents expressed some degree of satisfaction with the quality of engineering education received at the university: 16 respondents were completely

satisfied, 11 respondents were mostly satisfied, only 4 respondents were satisfied with something, but not with something. Indirect evidence of the quality of education received is that the overwhelming majority of respondents (26) did not have unemployment at all (that is, they were in demand). The three respondents had no job for less than a year, and only two could not find work from one to three years. Although the work during their employment changed almost all (27) several times. 17 respondents - from 1 (3) to 5 times, and 10 respondents - more than 5 times (and even 9, 10 and 13 times). This was most likely due to the specifics of the post-perestroika period and the breakdown of the economic structure of society.

Most of the respondents (25) found the first workplace after the university according to the target distribution of the university, 3 respondents went to work for enterprises that sent them to study, 2 respondents settled with the help of relatives, friends or acquaintances, and only one respondent was found by the employer. For a significant number of respondents (14), the main thing in choosing a job (except for the distribution formality) was that the proposed job corresponded to a university specialization, for approximately the same number of respondents (12) it was the only job offered, and for 4 respondents it was just opportunity to get some experience.

There were moral and moral motivations, coupled with subjective attractiveness and family factors (13) - work allowed people to benefit (4), just liked work (5), did not want to deceive the expectations recommended by their relatives (3), work allowed work alongside relatives (1). At the same time, the factors of profit, prestige and personal comfort (11) worked - attracted wages (4), attracted career prospects (2), convenient location (2), high status (3). These motivations refer to the time of commencement of professional activities, i.e. to the era of stagnation. What are the motivations for working as an engineer now, in modern Russia?

8 respondents who continued to work within the engineering profession at the time of the survey were asked what attracted them in this professional activity now when they change jobs. The first place was shared by material and moral motives - higher wages (4), the ability to benefit people (4). It can be said that this is practically an illustration of the split in the life of this generation: half accepted the values of modern capitalist society, but half remained true to the ideals of their youth. And by the way, half of them work in state structures, and half in private ones. Two of the working respondents left the engineering profession in principle. The same demonstrates the ratio of other factors. Next come the comfort factors - a more convenient schedule (3) and a more convenient location (3). Then the professional factor is the possibility of professional development (2) and greater conformity with the university specialization (1). And the most recent place is the career status factor - more career prospects (1) and high job status (1).

Evaluating their professional experience, when asked about when they felt to be engineers, the majority of respondents (19) answered that only after 3-7 years of work in an engineering position - 11 respondents in 3-4 years, 8 respondents in 5-7 years. Only

four of them felt themselves as engineers when they were studying at a university, three - after 1-2 years of work, and five respondents did not feel like engineers. At the same time, if we talk about overall satisfaction with our fate and profession, only half of the respondents (15) returning to the past would choose an engineering profession, 9 respondents would not exactly choose, 7 respondents could not answer. The reason for this is both moral and material factors. 13 respondents said that they feel useless, lack of demand for knowledge and experience, 10 respondents simply became disillusioned with the profession. At the same time, the majority of respondents remain, despite the pension, socially active, i.e. they want to be in demand - 8 respondents are members of a professional association, 6 respondents are members of political parties and 4 respondents are members of a trade union.

Despite the fact that half of the respondents have academic degrees and titles (that is, a formal positive result of their work activity), the majority of the family's life is average (20) and lower than the average (3) and low (3). Only five respondents rated their standard of living as above average (and this has nothing to do with ranks and degrees). No one called the high level of their life.

Rather, the negative assessment of the success of engineering professions in modern conditions and on the basis of their own experience is clearly seen in the reluctance of the majority of respondents that their own children acquire the profession of an engineer. A clear "no" was answered by 12 respondents to this question, "no, rather than yes" - 10 respondents. Only three respondents answered with a confident "yes" and four responded "more likely yes than not". The argument "against" was divided into two substantiations - associated with a negative assessment of the capabilities of the engineering profession (26), here you can add the resistance of the spouse (a) (4), obviously related to the experience of living in an engineer's family, and the rationale associated with democratic attitudes towards inclinations and the wishes of children (11 respondents believe that children may have other plans and give them independence in choosing a profession, 8 respondents have children with abilities in another field of activity and do not have the desire to work as an engineer Free choice is also provided.) Negative assessments of the engineering profession were distributed as follows: 10 respondents believe that the engineer is not a prestigious profession, 7 respondents believe that the engineer profession does not bring sufficient income now, 6 respondents believe that the profession of an engineer does not provide prospects for career advancement, 3 respondents answered that the profession of an engineer does not provide opportunities for a good job, no place to work. Nevertheless, the majority of respondents (25) have a positive attitude to the presence of professional continuity in the family. 11 respondents believe that this is certainly a positive fact, 14 respondents believe that this has its positive aspects. Only three respondents do not see anything positive in professional continuity and three found it difficult to answer. This is correlated with the fact that the majority of respondents (20) consider themselves, to varying degrees, representatives of the engineering dynasty. Among the factors that, in the



opinion of the respondents, contribute to the formation of engineering dynasties were the following:

- inheritance of professional skills, example of parents, lifestyle, ethical norms (8);
- a sense of pride in belonging to a specific engineering dynasty (7);
- inheritance of an educational trajectory (for example, technical education or a specific higher education institution) (6);
- the dynasty provides a quick professional start for the younger members of the dynasty, a quicker entry into the profession (5);
- parental programming, strict adherence to the professional trajectory passed down from generation to generation (4);
- engineering dynasty is considered as an opportunity for career growth and improvement of social status (2);
- the profession of parents is the only possible choice in the conditions of limited places of employment or vocational education (2).

As we can see, relying on their own life experience, the respondents put socialization in the primary group in the first place, as well as a purely moral and ethical factor. This is typical of representatives of that generation, brought up in respect for family values and values of respect for work, pride in their affiliation to creation. Then there are the factors of comfort - it is easier to learn where everything is known, it is easier to enter the profession with the support of parents. Then comes the factor of authoritarianism of a dynastic family, which has attracted not so many respondents. And already in the most recent places, the factor of benefits and opportunities (since the career and social status within the framework of this profession is presented to the majority of respondents on the basis of their experience is doubtful), as well as the factor of overcoming the limited possibilities with the help of a dynasty (apparently because most of the respondents see once inside the engineering profession).

Perhaps the main conclusion that can be drawn from the behavioral analysis is the conclusion about the split of the inner world of this generation under the influence of external historical and cultural factors, those fundamental changes in the life of the country that have profoundly affected through changing external conditions on the inner world of the respondents, their self-awareness, value orientations and attitudes. This is clearly seen through their attitude towards their profession, which has determined their fate. We see a constant dispute within this generation when choosing answers to the questionnaire between accepting new realities and trying to preserve the principles that were invested in the respondents' self-awareness during the period of their socialization. And then, of course, considerations of profit and comfort did not disappear anywhere in the life of the society of a stagnant period, and the motivations of such a plan were also present when the respondents chose their own professional path. But still they were not in the socially approved first positions. Those bright prospects that were invested in the heads of respondents with family when choosing an engineering profession, now they can't and



don't want to pass on to their children, bearing in mind the disappointment, uselessness and lack of demand that their own life experience has given them. And although most of them see a positive fact in the existence of engineering dynasties, but only in the abstract, not in relation to their own children. And it is disturbing, because the importance of the institution of professional dynasties, especially engineering and technical, in an era of leading importance and rivalry in the field of the emergence of new technologies, is difficult to underestimate.

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Irina P. Popova

## Professional Continuity in Career Strategies of Russian Scientists

### ABSTRACT

*Global processes in the labour market lead to instability in employment and careers in professional groups, which are characterized by a high level of skills, creative work and autonomy. Professional continuity can be seen as a strategy to mitigate this instability by relying on family resources to build a professional career in S&T at the initial stage. Career models can be developed in strategies to prepare younger members of the family for a particular profession (for example, continuation of a professional dynasty) or by the identification of their propensities to the type of professional activity new to the family. This report attempts to identify specific models of such career strategies. It is interesting to show the differences in the impact of the social context on them among representatives of different generations of scientists and engineers (choice of profession and career start formation in different periods: from the 1970s to the 2000s). The analysis is based on biographical interviews with Russian scientists, N=40 (project “Professional career as the factor of reproduction of the professional groups in the field of science and technology”, RFBR) and expert interviews with engineers (“Professional dynasty as a social mechanism for reproduction of professional groups”, RFBR 18-011-01129).*

**Keywords:** professional continuity; professional career; family; science, scientists

### Statement of the Main Subject

Professional continuity, or, more precisely, intergenerational familial continuity in the professional sphere, is most frequently interpreted as the career continuation (inheritance) within a family, of the older generation's profession by the younger ones through employment in the common sphere of professional activity. In practice, during the initial choice (selection) of a professional occupation by the young people, this is manifested in relying mainly on the work experience and resources of the older generations of the family in a similar sphere of professional activity. More broadly, this process can be interpreted as a transfer of knowledge, skills, social ties, moral and ethical orientations from the senior family members to the younger ones during the formation of the initial stage of a career in their common sphere of professional activity. One of the modes of professional succession is a professional dynasty, which is defined as professional family continuity for two, or more generations.

Professional continuity is closely related to the issue of reproduction, regeneration of professional groups in the field, which requires high professional levels and extensive training. The sphere of science and technology is considered as such a sphere.

Professional continuity can be considered as an alternative to instability and unreliability in the reproduction of occupational groups, precariousness of employment, unsteadiness and discontinuity of a career. It ensures the integrity and continuity of training, inclusion of the experience of the previous generations of professionals in the formation of the subsequent ones (in other words, the relationship between traditions and innovations).

In Russian studies, professional continuity within the professional groups of the S & T sphere is a widely discussed topic. It is examined from a viewpoint of the handover of various types of family resources (social, cultural, etc.) [Popova, 2014], transfer of informal knowledge [Bannikova et al., 2013; Bannikova, Kuchkildina, 2015], formation of professional dynasties [*Inzhenernye dinastii Rossii*, 2017], etc. In our studies of professional family dynasties, based on expert opinion, it was emphasized that the role of the family is secondary, the main factor in the success of career strategies in this field of study is the socio-economic policy, as well as science and technology policy [Popova, 2019].

I will be examining this topic from the perspective of the formation of professional careers and the role of families in this process. This role is manifested as the transfer of resources, as well as support in preparation for the professional career starting from childhood, in establishing relationships with the structures and institutions of the external social context.

Wherein, the reciprocal impact, influence between policies (in this case, scientific policy) and family resources in determination of professional career choice and the initial stage of (scientific) professional career is problematized. In previous studies of professional family dynasties, based on expert opinion, it was emphasized that the role of the family is secondary, the main factor in the success of career strategies in this field of study is the socio-economic policy, as well as science and technology policy.

The purpose of our work is to identify the real models of the interconnections between these factors at different stages of science and technology policy. Respectively, the research question is related to the identification of basic models based on biographical interviews with scientists whose professional biographies were formed during various periods (1970-1980s; 1990s, 2000s, or generations of 50-year-olds, 40-year-olds and 30-year-olds).

## Several Issues of Research Methodology

Let us briefly outline the following main aspects of research, which determine its approaches. General approach is the reproduction of professional groups through the mechanism and models of career strategies that are incorporated into the multilevel context of their formation, including structures, institutions and methods of interconnection between them (interactions, communications).

- Interdisciplinary career studies that allow us to view and examine it as a holistic, sequential and consistent professional path, the beginning of which is associated with the period of choosing a profession.

- Professional career in the field of science and technology is regarded as a sequence of activities in this area divided into time periods, the ratio (nature of continuity) of these periods; dependence on the resources and structures of the external environment.

- The comprehension of the duration and time periods of professional careers from the viewpoint of the interdisciplinary direction of career research stems from the problem of preserving the integrity of the career project related to the life cycles, and the life pass of a person in its entirety. With regard to a career in science and technology, the most interesting aspect is the interpretation, perception of a lifelong career in relation to the stages of socialization and individual identity, in inseparable connection with human life cycles, personal factors of its formation, as well as external contexts (conditions for choosing a profession, etc.). (about career studies see e.g.: [Arthur, 2008; Baruch et al., 2015; Cuzzocrea Dawn, 2011; Tolochek, 2017] etc.).

The multidimensional career formation environment (career infrastructure) includes the macro-level (state policy in relation to science, the level of relations between society and science in general); mid-level (level of specific institutes, institutions and organizations) and family level (see: [Popova, 2018]).

In this study, the macro level is viewed primarily as the level of state policy in relation to the careers in science and technology (national level): strategic decisions at the level of society, legal and regulatory conditions, labor relations, status and competencies; interactions of various actors. In more general terms – these are the historical and socio-economic conditions in society, under which the social institution of science develops. In the study - this is a reference to the role of organizations, institutions within the educational system, vocational training and employment (institutions, structures) in the formation of professional choice. Here, a general social context, where professional careers in science and technology form is created.

Under the term “family” the study refers to a group of people connected by direct relationship, the adult members of which undertake the responsibility for the care and education of the children.

Professional continuity means the inclusion of preparation and training for a particular professional activity in the strategy of educating younger family members. It

represents not only the transfer (handover) of certain knowledge, skills, abilities and social connections, but also the functions of information and communication with professional institutions of the other two levels.

Social and historical context. The main periods in the reproduction of the professional group of research workers: 1) 1960-1980 - the institutional Foundation of the careers of research workers related to socialization and reproductive structures of regulation, totally controlled by the state. 2) 1980s – ways to transform this mechanism for more effective communication with production are discussed. 3) Since the beginning of the 1990s - a sharp change in the conditions of the organization of science and scientists. The crisis of fundamental science, the mass Exodus of science, new forms of reproduction, mobility, ways of adaptation and survival. These processes illustrate the known data, which show sharp changes primarily in the number and income of people employed in this area.

### Discussion

The data obtained showed a variety of stories that illustrate different ways of forming the initial stages of a professional career. I demonstrate some of the most striking cases of biographies of scientists to analyze these methods in their entirety. So, in the 1st history (our subsample 'a', generation of 50-year-olds) it can be seen that the support of the family is not a decisive factor in choosing a profession.

*"... There were no particular family roots, or preferences to speak of, as far as the selection of career path in natural sciences. ... But generally, as we all can remember, during those years, in the Soviet Union having family roots in order to become interested in natural sciences, was not a prerequisite. There was an enormous amount of motivating mechanisms, ranging from the popularization of science through radio and television, as well as popular magazines - there was a huge number of them. Starting from "Science and Life"... And, as a small child, at the dacha (summer country house), I went through all these magazines... That is, in general, the mechanisms that led me there... Yes, and of course, naturally... There were a lot of them – these types of films and books... there were such opportunities and an atmosphere, where if any interest in some particular area of science existed in a child, for instance in physics and mathematics, developing such interest presented no difficulties whatsoever."* (Story 1'a', M., 50, physicist; working in England).

*"... I think that it was not just practical possibilities, like an opportunity to buy a particular kind of book, for example, or a chance to attend a lecture, etc. - but the most important thing of all... at least in the provincial city of D\* - the value orientation of the society in the 70s was such, absolutely Soviet: these were high ideals, so to speak, this was fairness and righteousness, this was pursuit of knowledge as supreme value. And this perhaps, even played the primary role <...> this particular kind of value orientation was extremely important"* (Story 1'a', M., 50, physicist; working in England).

... “a hugely important element, of course, was school. We had an absolutely superb school, it was not a specialized school, just a regular secondary school, but we had excellent teaching staff, very strong mathematics and physics teachers...” (Story 1‘a’, m., 50, physicist; working in England).

<...> In my particular case, the fact that at that time, there were these correspondence schools of physics at the MSU, offered me this very strong moral support... children from all over the country could - in those days, naturally, it was all done by mail - could enroll in this correspondence school of physics, having solved a certain number of tasks (math problems); and if they were accepted there, then, once a month, I think, they received envelopes with lessons and tasks, with... some textbooks and manuals by mail from the Moscow State University. <...> I still distinctly remember this feeling when I received a package that said “Moscow University”... You realize that you have a connection with this top educational center... that was morally such a very... strong incentive”. (Story 1, m., 50, physicist; working in England).

<...> I wanted to attend the MSU since probably somewhere around seventh grade - it was already such a formalized wish. My father was very supportive of me in this endeavor... Out of my entire family, my father was the one who played an incredible role by strongly supporting this desire... (Story 1‘a’, m., 50, physicist; working in England).

It occurs because of the large number of structures and institutions and their accessibility. Professional continuity does not play a significant role.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> story in this subsample family and social contexts are closely linked through the so-called science cities, which were also a consequence of the scientific policy of the time.

“Both my parents are physicists... P\* is essentially a young town, built around a proton accelerator, which was completed in the 1960s. In those days, it was the most powerful in the world... Due to the fact that my parents were physicists, and our friends were physicists, and generally, in this town many of my peers were also from the families of physicists, both in my class, as well as outside the classroom - friends in the neighborhood, etc. - it seemed to have had a significant impact. And if I had to name the most significant thing that influenced my choice, since there were other options in my head as well, it was that I socialized with my parents' friends, actually their colleagues/friends, and recognized that they were truly smart, educated and pleasant people. It was primarily the personal qualities of those who work in this sphere that influenced my choice” (Story 2‘a’, m., 52, physicist; working in Russia).

... secondly, of course, it was influenced by the fact that I enjoyed and excelled at studying various subjects in school... I attended both physics and mathematics Olympiads... Already in high school I joined the physics and mathematics clubs, where the classes were taught by the guys that were usually the students of the Physics and Technology Institute, or graduate students that in fact, already started working in P\*. And, I was also solving physics problems (via correspondence) at the Physics and Mathematics School of the



*Secondary Technical Physics School, which was part of the Physics and Technology Institute as well. While at the Moscow State University I solved (math) problems at the Faculty of Mechanics and Mathematics. But that was math” (Story 2‘a’, m., 52, physicist; working in Russia).*

Professional dynasties only support and make a deeper professional start. Such as in the case of the 3rd story.

*“...at the age of an average college applicant, it is already too late to start getting engaged in scientific activity; in fact, it really matters - what a person was generally interested in during childhood. <...>. And when there were some unclear moments, I could ask my parents for help. That gave me great confidence. Those, for example, who do not have anyone in their family that are engaged in science, when they start learning - they do not have such confidence...Certain situations arise, where they have to try and comprehend, learn for themselves how everything works, this world of ours” (Story 3‘a’, f., 51, physicist; working in England).*

For a generation of 40-year-olds (subsample ‘b’), this influence is still significant, but their inertia of institutions is already evident. At the same time, their role is still quite active, and the role of the family is as significant (as in the 1st story in this subsample).

*“...my parents have nothing to do with either physics, or mathematics. It's just that at some point, when I was still in middle school... I started getting interested in all this science, physics as such, perhaps... And somehow my mother found this school. There was a choice - the second school or... a boarding school <...> So we found a [specialized] boarding school. I do not even know how. Well, as usual - through someone - someone somewhere heard something. Well, so the Physics Department. Then, from there, to be honest, everything somehow hapened by itself” (Story 1b, f., 40, biophysicist; working in Australia).*

*“...I think, just as it was before, and up to now,... in general, in any country, it is like that - in order to enroll in some specialized school...the knowledge level of an ordinary school is never enough... here [in Australia] it's the same. I look at my children - you always need to search for someone, some training courses, practice, anything” (Story 1b, f., 40, biophysicist; working in Australia).*

Professional continuity can be interpreted as a transition to higher positions in the same field. We can see the different ways of interaction between institutions and families.

*“I consider my childhood, kindergarten, to be precise, as the beginning of my professional career path, when my father instilled in me an interest in... science, which I am still engaged in these days... That is number one. And my grandmother greatly supported my interest in science as well - she... was the one involved in my education. <...> my grandmother constantly dragged me to various lectures at the Knowledge Society,... to various scientific exhibitions,... bought books... I did not understand anything, but I looked at the pictures. So, if my father had not introduced me into the scientific environment, and my grandmother had not supported that, probably, nothing would have hapened. In this*

*case, everybody, my grandmother, my mom and dad - are all engineers” (Story 2b, m., 40, biologist, working in Russia)*

*“...it was very clear even then that biology in general was a very unpopular sphere. Back then, it was lawyers, managers... Although my parents - my grandmother, for instance, supported my choice, they all the same realized that you have to follow your passion, rather than some financial interests... But, the only thing that we discussed was what would be the most promising direction in biology for the future” (Story 2b, m., 40, biologist, working in Russia).*

*“... When I was probably in the fifth grade, I joined the Palace of Pioneers Youth Center... This was, in general, the key point, I think. Since I eventually ended up at the Faculty of Biology. <...> I came to science entirely through supplementary education” (Story 2b, m., 40, biologist, working in Russia).*

*“...And besides that, the university had a very interesting project “Minor Faculty of Biology”... this was already in post-Soviet time... I attended it in from 1993 to 1994... teachers, students conducted classes for schoolchildren, completely free of charge, simply because they both loved biology... So, thanks to this, I had a chance to check out the university from the inside...” (Story 2b, m., 40, biologist, working in Russia).*

For the generation of 30-year-olds (subsample ‘c’), the family is replacing the functions of many institutions. We see in the 1st story of a young man from a small town the decisive role of his father, who accompanied him to a large city to study in a specialized secondary school (Lyceum).

*“... I was born and grew up in a small town, which was founded in the 1980s,... my parents, as engineers, participated in establishment and maintenance of the town... a small town, about 2-3 thousand people, and just one school for the entire town... Then my parents suggested that I attend Sunday courses at the Kirov Physics and Mathematics School (lyceum),... which was very strong in terms of education... Then after the 8th grade regional Olympiad in physics, I got an offer to attend the lyceum full-time, which I did. So, from the middle of the 8th grade I was already studying in Kirov. <...> My father and I rented an apartment. At first, for the first six months the three of us lived together in a rental apartment, then my father received hostel accommodation through his factory... On weekends... an hour by bus, we went home... For another two years, me and my father lived together in a different hostel... and two years later, I was accepted to the physics department of the Moscow State University named after Lomonosov” (Story 1‘c’, m., 30, physicist, working in Russia).*

*“...at first, I liked mathematics... then physics started in the 7th grade,... math problems to solve, Olympiads, I was good at it... so... when my parents offered, I thought, why not. <...> Well, they suggested these courses, but in seventh grade I did not really know much about it and so on, so... That's why he proposed that I attend these (weekend) Sunday courses... it improved my performance in physics and mathematics... Yes, well,*

*there were some financial issues... as a child I was simply unaware of them” (Story 1 ‘c’, m., 30, physicist, working in Russia).*

In the case of story 2 (subsample ‘c’) it is the support of parents who were forced to leave their profession (engineers) and open their business in another field of activity, including to provide their son with opportunities to obtain a profession of free choice. In fact, these are representatives of the generation of 50-year-olds who were forced to make the so-called “internal emigration” from the sphere of science and technology.

*“My parents... are both engineers by training. MAI (Moscow Aviation Institute) Graduates. Sometime, around the dawn of the 1990s, they went into business, which in general, they are still involved in. A chain of retail stores. <...> As far back as I can remember, my parents were already... engaged in business activities, so the family was fairly well-off. Probably somewhere around 8-9th grade, I <...> realized that most of all, I would probably like to be involved in science. And my parents always told me that... one of the things that they always lacked in life, and which they would have liked to give me, is an opportunity for a line of work and a career without looking over my shoulder, or having any kinds of domestic circumstances (only as a minor consideration). So, they have always encouraged me... not to take financial issues into account in choosing a career. Since, if I took it into consideration, without a doubt, I would have hardly chosen a career as a scientist” (Story 2 ‘c’, m., 32, biophysicist, working in Sweden).*

## Conclusion

The study provides some conclusions. I will note first of all that professional continuity in the studied cases is most often manifested as a way of upward professional mobility in the field of science and technology (scientist - engineers).

Another important observation of the study is the similarities and differences related to the differences in the historical and social contexts of the formation of the initial stage of career strategies in the field of S&T. the Similarities are that at this stage it is important to interact primarily with parents institutions and institutions (secondary school, additional school education, University training, etc.). They are important both for families whose different generations are linked by one sphere of activity (sometimes widely understood), in other words, professional continuity, and for families whose older generations belong to other spheres of activity. The differences between the former and the latter lie more in the direction of these efforts (professional continuity contributes more to the understanding of the internal structure of the profession, the field of knowledge, its capabilities and limitations).

With regard to differences in different social contexts, factors at all levels manifest themselves differently in the formation of the initial stage of professional careers of representatives of the scientific and technical intelligentsia, which depends on the General conditions of scientific policy. The balance of all three levels is most often mentioned in

the stories about the formation of professional choice in 1970-1980. In 1990-2000, the family function as the leading component of career infrastructure in S&T, replacing the functions of some institutions included in the scientific policy of the state, was activated

It can be concluded that, as a result of scientific policies that effectively shift the responsibility for the initial stage of a scientific career to parents, parents are forced to become the main communicators between the levels of this infrastructure at this stage. They essentially remain without clear institutional support. This suggests that the family can be considered as an equal participant in special programs for the development of career infrastructure in the field of science and technology.

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## **Problems of Modernisation of Russian Health Care in Modern Conditions**

### **ABSTRACT**

*In many Western countries, the systems of health care operate on the principles of self-regulation. This model means that the state transfers the control functions to the reputable professional associations. In Russia, all activities in the field of health care are strictly regulated and controlled by the Ministry of Health Care; at the present stage, it needs to be modernized. Currently, the idea of delegating the control authority to the professional medical associations is being actively discussed at the state level.*

**Keywords:** analysis of documents; health care; Federal Law; professional medical association; self-regulation; self-regulatory organization

### **Introduction**

This paper considers such a great problem as the attempts of creating the institute of self-regulation in the Russian Federation.

In Russia, all activities in the field of health care are regulated and controlled by the Ministry of Health Care of the Russian Federation. Endless transformations and reorganizations in the health care system over the past decade have led to a crisis in the industry.

In accordance with the state program “Development of Health Care”, the project “Self-regulation in Health Care” was initiated in Russia in 2015, since the principle of self-regulation is the basis of many world health systems and is considered to be the most successful. The transition to self-regulation of professional activities of doctors should be implemented gradually and completed by 2019.

Self-regulation is a new step for Russian health care to improve its activities. Therefore, the Ministry of Health Care should actively cooperate and work together with professional associations in the field of medicine, but only with those whose activities and status correspond to the Federal Law “On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation” dated 2012.

### **Putting of Study Problem**

On January 1 of 2012, a new Federal Law “On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation” [Federal Law, 2011] came into force. However, there is no article on self-regulation in the field of medicine.



From 2015 to 2019, a gradual transition of the Russian health care system to self-regulation is planned, since this model of management is considered to be very successful in Western countries according to the authors' opinion of the project "Self-regulation in Health Care".

The study was aimed at analyzing such a management model as self-regulation and determining the possibility of its introduction in Russia.

The main purpose of the study was to find the "reference" Professional Medical Association and study its activities in accordance with the Federal Law "On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation" to determine its willingness to take responsibility for regulating the activities of members of the Association and cover financial expenses.

The study was conducted in the framework of qualitative methodology by the method of document analysis.

### **Definition of Concept of "Self-regulation" in the West and Russia**

There are many definitions of "self-regulation" in the Western countries. Let's consider this concept on the example of the UK. Noteworthy is the definition of "self-regulation", which was given by the British Inter Professional Group in 2002 [UK Inter Professional Group, 2002]:

1. A professional activity in which a person provides specialized services using intellectual skills and practical knowledge. At the same time, his practical activity is based on a recognized theoretical tradition; he has the right of independent judgment in accordance with ethical standards and acts in the interests of a society.
2. A legislative act that stipulates that some fields of activity are available only to licensed professionals, the level of qualification and professional qualities of whom are regulated by the governing body consisting of members of this profession and focused on the protection of the interests of a society.
3. The existence of professional governing bodies accountable to the society for which they work.

The self-regulation within the frameworks of legislative licensing has always been considered a privilege, a sign of autonomy and high professional status, which allows a certain kind of professional activity to establish a monopoly, excluding those who do not have the proper qualifications [Allsop, Jones, 2007]. However, self-regulation imposes obligations on professionals to act in the public interests. Recently, self-regulation, as a way of managing the professional activities, is increasingly being questioned by the society and state. Self-regulation is seen as an ineffective way focused on the self-defense of professionals in the case of charges against them in the provision of poor-quality services. The biggest criticism is the medical profession, which was the first to receive a mandate for self-regulation. In the UK, the government has proposed a list of changes which should

have a strong impact on the regulation of all fields of medical activities. The medical profession also took the path of self-reform, which, in turn, affected other branches of medical activity.

Federal Law “On Self-regulatory Organizations” № 315-FZ approved the definition of the concept of self-regulation in Russia [Federal Law, 2018]:

1. Self-regulation is an independent and initiative activity, which is carried out by the subjects of entrepreneurial or professional activity, the content of which is the development and establishment of standards and rules of this activity, as well as control over observance of the requirements of these standards and rules.

2. Self-regulation in accordance with this Federal Law is carried out on the terms of combination of the subjects of entrepreneurial or professional activity into self-regulatory organizations.

3. The subjects of entrepreneurial activity are individual entrepreneurs and legal persons registered in accordance with the established procedure and carrying out their activities in compliance with the Civil Code of the Russian Federation. The subjects of professional activity are individuals who carry out their activities regulated in accordance with Federal Laws.

The difference in the definition of “self-regulation” in the UK and in Russia consists in the following: in the first case, the concept was formulated by the Professional Group in relation to medical activities, which is confirmed in law; in the second case, the definition of “self-regulation” is given in the Federal Law in relation to any kind of professional activity, and there is no article on self-regulation in the field of health care.

In Russia, the public model of management of the professional medical activity adopted in many countries of the world can be implemented in the form of self-regulation of medical professional non-profit organizations which would bring together the representatives of various medical professions and specialties.

The Federal Law “On Self-regulatory Organizations” and a number of other laws allow forming a positive practice of self-regulation in the health care through the development of a special legal base which reflects the specifics of the industry.

It is necessary to formulate proposals on the formation of a system of the self-regulation in Russian health care, including the possible development of a special regulatory base.

The development and operationalization of self-regulatory organizations in health care should go gradually along with the creation of the legal base and can be performed by partial experimental work in certain sub-sectors.

Let’s consider the process of regulation in the field of medicine in the West and the role of professional associations in it.

## **Overview of activities of professional associations in western countries**

It should be noted that public organizations are a relatively new phenomenon in European culture. According to the opinion of historian N. Sokolov, the novelty of this phenomenon lies in the fact that at some moment of time there begins the process of people voluntary uniting. For the appearance of public organizations, a certain community of freely united people is needed for a private purpose, which receives the right to exist in the Age of Enlightenment [Sokolov, 2013].

In Western countries, medical specialists carry out their activities through participation in professional associations, which allowed them to protect themselves from market competition and ensure the transfer of their specialized knowledge to students, which is maintained at the proper level through the control of the Association [Saks, Allsop, 2003:85].

In the United States, each state has an Advisory Committee consisting of medical specialists in various fields, who discuss politics in health care or arising problematic issues. As a result of such discussions, existing policies are being adjusted to improve their effectiveness. American doctors are very active in defining health care policy [Self-regulation in Medicine, 2010].

In addition, in the United States, Medical Councils are created for each specialty: anesthesiology has its own Association, urology has its own, cardiologists are also allocated to a separate organization. All of them have the status of non-governmental. For example, the National Commission on Anesthesiology includes anesthesiologists from even the farthest corners of America; they participate in the discussion of standards which are mandatory for all anesthesiologists in the country.

Each medical specialty has its own Accreditation Council. These Councils are also not governmental organizations, but they are managed by doctors with the permission of the government. The councils set mandatory standards for all medical programs. For example, it is established that every doctor once in 10 years must pass exams for the programs of continuing medical education.

The state participates in the work of commissions, and bilateral cooperation is going between commissions and various Federal Authorities. This interaction involves all those who seek to prepare the most qualified doctors and who want to be sure that the truly competent people are working in the medicine.

In the United States, in order to continuously improve the skills of doctors for the quality and prompt provision of medical services to the population, a program of recertification of doctors was adopted and implemented in 2006 [SRO and Medicine].

In America, there are three official communities that certify doctors: the “American Council of Physicians of Different Specialties”, the “American Bureau of Osteopathic Association” and the “Council of Medical Specialties”.

Now, almost 44% of doctors in America carry out their activities according to this program. The rest doctors are still in the past system of self-regulation, but the “American Council of Medical Specialties” believes that this is a temporary phenomenon, because doctors who support the recertification program have better knowledge and practical skills compared to colleagues who do not practice under this program [SRO and Medicine].

The recertification program can be compared with advanced training courses in Russia. However, the American innovation is a structured evaluation process that encourages applicants to obtain a certificate for more active participation in both practical and theoretical activities, which is not observed during the courses.

Domestic health care professionals believe that the experience of American self-regulation in medicine will be very useful for Russia.

In the UK, health care has a long tradition. The largest self-regulatory organization in the UK in our time is the “General Medical Council” which was founded in 1858. It occupies a key position in the British health care system and brings together about 200,000 practitioners. Although membership is not mandatory, all practitioners must register here [SRO in Medicine Field in the UK].

The “General Medical Council” has the following objects:

- protection of public health, its strengthening and maintenance at an acceptable level;
- control of education;
- consideration of complaints of patients and the adoption of sanctions against physicians who violate the accepted standards;
- keeping a register of doctors.

These main objects of the “General Medical Council” were legislated in 1983.

The “Council” also keeps a register of doctors in the UK. In addition, there is an annual process of re-registration of doctors, which is a prerequisite for the continuation of their professional activities.

In total, there are 13 self-regulatory organizations in the UK which are associated with medicine, all of them were organized on a functional basis (for example, there is a separate organization for physiotherapists, a separate one for midwives and nurses, etc.).

The concept of continuous improvement of professional qualification is applied in the UK, which requires so-called “life-long learning”. It is assumed that if doctors must improve their professional skills, the level of services provided to patients will increase. It also helps doctors to get up-to-date information about new achievements in the field of their studies.

In France, the “National Council of the College of Physicians” has a special status under the law. According to the opinion of the Vice-President of the “National Council of the College of Physicians” and the General Secretary of the “French Medical Association, Mr. Do Xavier, doctors must register in the “National Council” to be able to practice medicine in France. The “National Council of the College of Physicians” works

autonomously in the field of issuing permits for medical practice and disciplinary action against doctors who make professional mistakes. The advantage of such “Council” lies in the fact that doctors themselves regulate the issues of professional activity. They control the entry into their organization, give work permits, check the qualifications of doctors, analyze all cases of violation of professional ethics [Self-regulation in Medicine, 2010].

In Germany, according to the opinion of the President of the “Federal Chamber of Doctors”, Doctor of Medicine, Professor Jörg-Dietrich Hope, the “Chamber” unites regional medical chambers and, in compliance with a long tradition, independently solves the problems of its own Corporation. The “Federal Chamber of Doctors” has the right to develop standards of activity and to check the observance of these standards. The state only conducts legal supervision without interfering in the professional sphere [Self-regulation in Medicine, 2010].

### **Overview of activities of professional associations in Russia**

In Russia, there are a large number of professional organizations in the field of health care with branches in other cities.

According to the ranking of 2010-2011 made by the “Pharmaceutical Bulletin” and the “Farmexpert. Analytics and Consulting”, the “All-Russian Scientific Society of Cardiologists” headed by Academician RAMS R.G. Oganov was recognized as the most influential professional medical community of the Russian Federation.

The following organizations were included in the list of leading communities: “Professional (Medical) Associations”, “Association of Oncologists of Russia”, “Association of Doctors of General Practice (Family Doctors)”, “Union of Pediatricians of Russia”, “League of Health of Nation”, “Russian Association of Endocrinologists”, “Russian Association of Rheumatologists”, “All-Russian Society of Neurologists”, “Russian Society of Obstetricians-Gynecologists”, “Russian Association of Allergologists and Clinical Immunologists”.

The Federal Law “On Public Associations” was adopted, which clearly states what they can independently decide [Federal Law, 2018-2019]. However, in practice it does not work. Basically, all activities in the field of medicine are regulated by the Ministry of Health Care. In principle, the Ministry of Health Care should cooperate and work together with associations. However, while the Ministry of Health Care prefers to ignore the activities of associations and believes that they will not cope with the solution of some tasks.

The study showed that the associations are mainly engaged in improving the professional level and skills, holding symposia, congresses, seminars and conferences. While associations are not allowed to license and certify the activities of specialists, but some associations are trying to create their own independent Certification Commission, the main purpose of which is certification confirming the qualification of the doctor. However,

in this situation, the doctor will receive only confirmation of his level – the diploma of certification will serve only as a guarantee of the quality of the specialist.

In order the health care truly became a self-regulatory industry, the medical community must be united in its willingness to take on the functions of professional certification, preparation of standards, protocols, methodical recommendations and monitoring of their implementation.

Currently, the professional community is going towards the government, holds out the hand, offering to work together to resolve health care problems. According to V. Pleskachevsky, the Chairman of the Property Committee of the State Duma of the Russian Federation, the professional community, not the state, should form standards and monitor their implementation: *“Self-regulation in those areas where the state intervenes, has serious problems”* [Self-regulation in Medicine, 2010].

The issue of independence will be resolved when there appear authoritative professional communities that can take responsibility for self-regulation and self-financing of their organizations, i.e. to obtain the status of self-regulatory organizations. The task is complex and difficult, because in accordance with the Federal Law “On Self-regulatory Organizations” № 315-FZ dated 03.08.2018, self-regulatory organization must establish standards and rules of its activities and monitor their observance.

To this end, in April 2010 the professional community “National Medical Chamber” was created, which should play an important role in changing the quality of Russian health care.

## **Study Results**

### **Attempts to create institute of self-regulation in medicine in Russia**

Self-regulation of professional activities in health care is regarded as the most effective way to improve the quality of medical services provided to the population. It is planned to create a single structure of regional and All-Russian medical professional associations or chambers, actively exchanging experience and interacting with each other.

The Institute of Self-regulation in health care suggests the need to improve the national system of continuous postgraduate professional medical education, which should be harmonized with the training of doctors in developed countries. Active implementation of distance learning methods is required. All forms of medical education should be free for the medical community. The received education should be assessed in terms of quality, modern standards of education and the system of postgraduate education.

In this complex process, the role of the pioneer is assigned to the “National Medical Chamber” under the leadership of Leonid Roshal, which advocates the protection of patients from unprofessional medical specialists.

The “National Medical Chamber” assumes two-stage membership: first – voluntary, then – mandatory with the creation of the necessary legal base. The member of the



Committee for Health Care of the State Duma of the Russian Federation, Doctor of Medicine T. Yakovleva noted the importance of the creation of the “National Medical Chamber” and the role it should play in changing the quality of Russian health care. She stated that it is necessary to create a legal base that will make membership in the “National Medical Chamber” not only mandatory, but also prestigious.

In accordance with international practice, the necessity of cooperation of the “National Medical Chamber” with state bodies, its participation in the development and adoption on a single methodological base of All-Russian standards and protocols of medical care and the creation of the “Code of International Rules” for the provision of medical services, registration and keeping of the register of medical specialists is determined.

Public order for high quality of medical care requires the formation of the Institute of Independent Professional Expertise, which is currently absent in Russia. Expertise should become an element of the system of conflict resolution in the provision of medical care.

Currently, the “National Medical Chamber” is the largest non-profit organization of doctors in Russia, which unites territorial organizations and leading professional organizations. It introduced a new concept into health care, which was not at all in Russia – it is a public form of discussion of professional medical activities and established the Institute of Independent Professional Expertise working in close contact with patient protection organizations. It is planned to create a service of advocates and lawyers accredited to the “Chamber”, the introduction of public protection in court hearings. An important element will be the organization of commissions on medical errors at the “National Medical Chamber”.

The innovations made it possible to conclude a Special Agreement with the Ministry of Health Care; in accordance with the regulations, now all documents developed in the Ministry of Health Care and relating to professional medical activities will not be published without a preliminary referral for expertise to a professional organization (“National Medical Chamber”).

The Agreement provides for a paragraph according to which the Minister signs the document only if there are signatures of the President of the “National Medical Chamber” and his Deputy. On this occasion, L. Roshal said the following: *“This is a specific thing that allows us to take on a certain share of responsibility for those documents of the Executive Power that come out and relate to professional activities”* [Shunyaeva, 2015].

From the point of view of the “National Medical Chamber”, self-regulation in health care should be aimed at increasing the role and responsibility of the professional community, the quality of its work. Therefore, the functions of admission to the profession, maintaining a high level of services based on professional standards and qualification categories, should take on a professional organization. Today, the work of the “Chamber” is practically going in this direction and will be the basis for the introduction of

accreditation of medical specialists in the near future. Educational standards should be linked to professional standards and qualification categories. A pilot project on continuous postgraduate education with elements of distance learning was conducted.

The “National Medical Chamber” attaches great importance to uniform clinical protocols throughout the country, which are sometimes confused with standards of provision of medical care. This burden should be borne by professional organizations, not by ministries, because they are created by professional organizations of surgeons, traumatologists, orthopedists, obstetricians and gynecologists.

On this occasion, L. Roshal said the following: *“The coordination role was assigned to the “National Medical Chamber” in order to make ends meet. Doctors cannot treat differently in different parts of the country. We have to make a backlash in treatment. But the main trends should be the same.”*

The leadership of the “National Medical Chamber” is on the positions of mandatory membership and believes that admission to practical work is possible only for members of the unified medical association of the whole country with the possibility of exclusion for violations of ethical standards and in connection with professional unfitness. This is the European standard and the only way to start, for example, an ethical code which is written, but it is not mandatory. When such a system is established, the ethical code becomes mandatory.

To implement the plans, it is necessary to create a separate law on self-regulation of professional medical activities in health care. This is what the community of medical specialists will do in the near future.

L. Roshal believes that the “National Medical Chamber” has embarked on the right, but long and difficult path, because today the medical community is not yet fully ready to take responsibility for professional activities.

## Conclusion

Endless changes in the health care system have led to a crisis in the industry. The state and the professional community see a way out of this situation in the formation of a system of self-regulation in Russian health care, as this model of management of professional medical activity is considered to be the most effective in many countries of the world.

The process of implementing a system of self-regulation in the field of health care, as the practice of other countries has shown, is slow and gradual along with the creation of an appropriate legal base.

A pioneer in the process of establishing the Institute of Self-regulation in medicine was the “National Medical Chamber” established in April 2010 and transformed into a self-regulatory organization.

Currently, the opinion and voice of the “National Medical Chamber” are crucial for the development of the industry. The authoritative opinion of the largest Association of medical specialists of the country, for the entry into which doctors of all 85 regions of Russia voted, is listened not only in Russia but also abroad. In October of 2017, the “National Medical Chamber” was elected to the “World Medical Association” (WMA) – the largest non-governmental international organization uniting national medical associations from 114 countries of the world and representing the interests of more than 9 million doctors of the world. The “National Medical Chamber” represents the medical community of Russia in this organization.

The “National Medical Chamber” received invitations to international events: from the “German Medical Chamber” to the Conference in May of 2019, from the “World Association of Physicians” to the Congress in Tbilisi, as well as from the “Medical Chamber of China”.

The “National Medical Chamber” brisks up its work on the transition to self-regulation of professional activities through the consolidation in the normative legal acts of the Russian Federation of its role in the development of professional standards, public-state accreditation of educational programs, certification of specialists with the assignment of qualification categories, as well as in the conduct of independent medical expertise and liability insurance of medical specialists.

According to the work plan for 2019, the President of the “National Medical Chamber” will discuss with the Minister of Health Care of the Russian Federation the following pressing issues: the preparation of the law on the transition of health care to the principles of self-regulation, updating the agreement between the “National Medical Chamber” and the Ministry of Health Care of the Russian Federation (the Ministry of Health Care should allocate a curator to work with the “Chamber”), the transition to the state-public form of health care, where the “Chamber” is seen as an expert organization.

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## **Textual Space Peculiarities of Electronic Business Correspondence**

### **ABSTRACT**

*The article is concerned with the textual space creation of business letter, its peculiarities. The author shows some national specific elements of both American and Japanese style in the sphere of electronic business correspondence.*

**Keywords:** text; written communication; business communication; electronic correspondence; national specificity in the sphere of business correspondence with foreign partners

It is impossible to imagine the sphere of business relationships without any business correspondence. It strengthens many times over the speed of managing various issues and solving some difficult situations. The advantage of communication via electronic correspondence contains achieving constant bilateral information exchange. That is why, permanent commitment to collaboration between network partners is very important.

Nevertheless, official business communication makes increasing demands on skills to express own thoughts properly, to transmit information in a laconic and appropriate way. The perception of the text is provided not only by language means but by common knowledge base on which both text formation and its decoding are built. Therefore, text perception is related to presupposition – the sense component that is expressed non-verbally and constitutes preliminary knowledge which enables the recipient to perceive the text. Unfortunate impression as the result of first written contact is more difficult to correct because the visual contact is absent.

The ability to make literate written electronic communication is based on competence, tactfulness, welcoming, intention to solve the problem promptly and efficiently, or help to solve it and, of course, mastering techniques of making written conversation.

According to the carried out researches (the chair of both psychology and neurology at the Stanford University in the USA; Management faculty of the Massachusetts Technological Institute), the determinant in decision making (bargaining) happened to be not positive (negative) product characteristics, not various predictions of profits and losses but the effect of neuron chain activation causing emotions. Thus, at that moment when a person reads the text just emotions encourage him to buy or not to buy [Knutson, Rick, G. Wimmer, Prelec, Loewenstein; 2007:147-156].

However, the source of positive emotions can be quite different language elements. Thus, for example, if the letter is addressed to the potential business partner from Japan the highest style of politeness should be chosen as if you communicated with him orally. At the beginning of the letter you ought to apologize. The following typical phrase: *my apologies for the sudden letter*. The lack of both reference to the recipient's occupation and polite treatment are regarded as insulting. Then, the main idea of the letter has to be presented briefly and only after that – details. The words with negative sense should be avoided: *to come to an end*, *to lose* as the Japanese think that written words can be materialized. The last phrases must contain compliments, wishes for the prosperity, longevity and health addressed to the recipient (his company and, possibly, to his family). The main thing in the letter: avoid any pressure and resorts to actions as are customary in business American style [12 rules of correspondence with the Japanese].

There is a definite etiquette of making correspondence and it makes great importance abroad:

- the response to the received letter should be given during the week;
- the letter with gratitude for hospitality is sent approximately in a week after leaving, etc. [Soloviev, 1998:62-63].

Business letter to a foreign partner has to be written in the recipient's language. If it is impossible to do that due to difficulties to translate into rare languages it is acceptable to write a letter in English as this language is more widely distributed in the world of business. The letter must be brief, express the sender's thought clearly and avoid twofold interpretation.

When creating composite blocks in a letter we should take into account that emotional effect which arises from the semantic content of chosen linguistic units in the conditions of created context.

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## Features of Labor Relations in the Service Sector

### ABSTRACT

*The article is devoted to the study of peculiarities of labor conditions for service workers as self-employed workers. The results of interviews with service workers (florists, animators) form an empirical basis of the study. The peculiarities of labor employment (availability of free schedule, absence of total control, choice of orders, etc.) are identified and the specifics of the subjective perception of working conditions in the chosen sphere are revealed. The advantages and disadvantages of labor activity in the sphere of services in conditions of self-employment are determined. Some notions of the future work activity and possible ways of professional development are revealed.*

**Keywords:** precarious; self-employment; labor; service sector

In recent decades there has been an active process of change in the world of work - the formation of knowledge and information. Modern directions of socio-economic development are focused on creating appropriate working conditions at a certain level in order to strengthen the human potential as a leading factor in the economic and social development of society. In the current economic situation, unstable (indefinite) forms of labor force out protected and stable labor activities, expanding the scope of informal labor relations [Kolosova, 2018:35].

At the same time, the transition to high-tech production not only of old segments of the labor market, but even of new ones, slowed down somewhat. Under such conditions, in the course of structural mass unemployment, the turnover of the entire social sphere, the growth of various risks, a significant peculiar precariat layer. Destabilization in the field of labor relations gives rise to an experience of “insecurity (work, rights and means existence, insecurity (in their preservation and future stability) and insecurity” [Bauman, 2005:173].

Self-employment, along with precarious employment, is characterized by the risk of losing work and earnings, getting insufficient income for reproducing the workforce, or keeping the workplace only nominally, but actually leaving without work. For precarious employment, which includes self-employment, typically non-compliance by the employer with the legislative requirements in terms of socio-economic guarantees submitted to employees.

Appeal to independence in work can be considered as a resource for the development of flexible employment. Since part-time employees, in essence, can be a kind of “reserve”

that allows organizations quickly respond to new goals and objectives, optimally concentrate labor resources in the right direction, effectively controlling the degree of staff contribution [Popova, 2008].

It is worth noting that the service sector is developing, and, according to official statistics, in the formal sector of the economy related to social and personal services in 2015 4.3% of all employed in the formal sector were employed. In the social and personal services sector, there were minor changes from 4.6% in 2013, 5.2% in 2014 and finally 5.4% in 2015 [Labor, 2016:101].

Employment in the informal sector, especially in such areas as small trade, the provision of various services to individuals, leads to partial loss of professional qualifications skills. The irregular nature of employment leads to disqualification from systematic work. All this ultimately leads to deprofessionalization and lumpenization of a significant part of those employed in the informal sector, especially young people.

For some employees, this type of employment is a strategy of adaptations, temporary work with a flexible schedule, bringing additional income (students, mothers caring for small children). Along with this, there is a group of convinced part-timers who are aimed at improving their financial situation. In the services sector, self-employment is often transformed into a form of secondary employment, but this is largely forced and due to insufficient wages at the main place of work.

In Moscow, the phenomenon of inviting people to conduct an entertainment program children's animators to the children's event is gaining in popularity. In this area there is a separation of those who work for those who are officially employed (by contract) and those who work in a free mode (self-employed). The main reasons for choosing this field of employment include the following: 1) finding a place to make money; 2) search work that would overlap with the creative sphere; 3) job search, where you need to often communicate with customers.

One of the important components of professional development is professional education and continuous self-education in the area where a person works. Opportunities and desire to improve their professional level will differ depending on the form of employment, since each of the forms has its own conditions and requirements for education and qualifications.

It is worth noting that informal employment allows you to choose the orders with which the employee wants to work, while in formal employment orders are distributed by the supervisor without taking into account the personal preferences of employees. Not all respondents see themselves in the future as only self-employed, some of the respondents are planning to combine self-employment with main employment. A small part of the plans to develop their own business with the involvement of hired staff.

Fear for their financial condition in old age is experienced by half of the respondents. The part-timers are sure that if they pay tax at the main place of work, then "everything is

in order”, they are not obliged to pay tax on self-employment income. Self-employed for whom this type of activity is the main one, in general, agreed that the state does not receive enough tax collections and this has a bad effect on the economy of the country, but they argue that the payment of taxes they lack money. Thus, a significant majority of respondents do not pay taxes on the income from their activities as self-employed.

Among those who consciously and independently chose self-employment as work, there is a minority who believes that they were mistaken in assessing the financial prospects and their ability to compete in the market for services. However, all those who chose self-employment chose a flexible employment strategy themselves, considering that profitable. They are satisfied with their ability to cope with instability and risk. The level of payment is important for them, but the possibility of self-realization is no less important. Perhaps that is why they want such flexibility both in their lives and at work that they choose for themselves. At the same time, all respondents particularly note the creative nature of this activity, almost everyone is happy with the opportunity to independently regulate their time, choice of employment, orders, etc.

The positive aspects of self-employment include the absence of senior control, instructions, requirements, imposed labor discipline. In addition, self-employment fulfills a compensatory function within the framework of strategies for the adaptation of unprotected groups in the labor market: it helps students gain first-time work experience, and mothers caring for young children — not to fall out of professional life. In addition, the self-employed are often engaged in part-time work and try to realize themselves outside the main work (usually more formalized) and satisfy their creative ambitions and various other interests, while having additional income.

Self-employed in the service sector is distinguished by the desire for creative activity, the desire to communicate with customers, to improve themselves in this area, to gain new knowledge and skills. As a result, those who are involved in self-employment, and this, as a rule, young people who have not crossed the 30-year mark, receive invaluable life experience, self-organization skills and a sense of responsibility not only for their own lives, but for the lives of others.

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## **The Concept and Structure of the Universal Forensic Information System “Special”**

### **ABSTRACT**

*The accounts of various ministries and departments have a common feature associated with the application (use) of special knowledge (knowledge) in the field of science, including technology and, therefore, this common feature can be a “skeleton” in the creation of a universal forensic information system “Special”. Under the UFIS “Special” the author understands a modular, scalable system for automating the processes of registration and processing of criminal information at the Federal, regional, local, mixed levels, the register of persons with special knowledge (knowledge) and the creation of data banks of any size and different target law enforcement (operational reference, forensic, investigative and expert-forensic).*

**Keywords:** law enforcement; special knowledge; special knowledge; universal forensic information system “Special”

Forensic registration is a system of scientific regulations and methods developed on their basis for the formation and maintenance of centralized operational reference, forensic and search records for the purpose of information support of disclosure, investigation, crime prevention and other tasks of law enforcement agencies. In this case, the scientific basis of forensic registration are:

- 1) materialistic dialectics as a universal method of cognition of the surrounding reality in its continuous development;
- 2) individuality and uniqueness of objects, their identity only to themselves;
- 3) relative stability of objects over a period of time;
- 4) the ability to transfer and preserve the signs of the trace-forming object to the trace-perceiving object and vice versa [Yalyshev,2009:242].

Each law enforcement Agency, which includes investigative units or units of inquiry, operational-investigative and forensic services forms and maintains its forensic records [Ischenko,2013:202]. Thus the criminalistic accounts conducted in the relevant divisions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia, FDCS of Russia (before reform) and FCS of Russia listed in the legal literature [Ischenko; Kriminalistika: uchebnik; Prakticheskoe rukovodstvo po proizvodstvu...] are reduced to the following:

to work with accounting requires special knowledge (knowledge) in the field of science, including technology;

some accounts in different ministries and departments overlap, namely:

a) fingerprint records (records of the Federal drug control service of Russia) and the inclusion of traces of hands (accounting of the MIA of Russia) and recording of fingerprints and their belonging to a specific person (account FCS of Russia);

b) the subjective portraits of accounting (MIA) and the registration of persons on the grounds of appearance: photo albums, photo library, video library, computer database, card file subjective portraits (accounting of Federal drug control service of Russia);

c) accounting of phonograms of speech (voice) unidentified persons (accounting for MIA) and accounting (library) voice and speech (records of the Russian Federal drug control service), etc.;

some accounts may be combined. For example, consideration of seized narcotic drugs and potent substances (records of the Russian interior Ministry) and based on the detected mail with attachments of narcotic drugs and potent substances (records of the Russian interior Ministry) and the accounting inscriptions and seals found on packages of seized drugs (accounting of the MIA of Russia).

Taking into account the above, we believe that the accounts of various ministries and departments have a common feature associated with the use (use) of special knowledge (knowledge) in the field of science, including technology and, therefore, this common feature can be a “skeleton” in the creation of a universal forensic information system “Special”(hereinafter UFIS “Special”) [Zhdanov, 2015; Zhdanov, 2016] and its content.

Possibilities of use of UFIS “Special” (taking into account information security) in law enforcement are as follows:

systematized “inflated” accounting of various ministries and departments in a single system;

information possibilities of the various ministries and departments in the framework of their cooperation in the fight against crimes and offenses expanded;

perhaps, reduction of staff and, consequently, expenditure of budgetary funds, in various ministries and departments.

When creating UFIS “Special” must be considered:

1) the structure and functions, the list of information materials that are planned to fill the system, as well as the initial tactical and technical requirements for this system (see: EFC response of the Ministry of internal Affairs of Russia from 31.03.2015 № 37/3-Zh-44 to the appeal of S. P. Zhdanov);

2) on the basis of what normative legal acts of the Russian Federation concluded that it is necessary to create this kind of system; what normative legal acts of the Russian Federation, regulated the possibility of accumulation of resources of such a system (see: the response of the Main Directorate for combating smuggling of the FCS of Russia from 14.04.2015 № 07-16/f-1157 to the appeal of S. P. Zhdanov).



The legal basis for the formation and use of accounting is the Constitution of the Russian Federation, criminal procedure and other legislation, subordinate normative legal acts, as well as departmental instructions of the relevant ministries and departments.

## Conclusion

Universal forensic information system “Special” is a modular, scalable system for automating the processes of registration and processing of criminal information at the Federal, regional, local, mixed levels, the register of persons with special knowledge (knowledge) and the creation of data banks of any size and different target law enforcement orientation (operational reference, forensic, investigative and forensic).

The model of the structure of the universal forensic information system “Special” includes:

Data Bank I. the Records of the Federal level:

- operational reference accounting;
- forensic accounting;
- investigative accounting;

Data Bank II. Surveys at the regional level:

- operational reference accounting;
- forensic accounting;
- investigative accounting;

Data Bank III. Surveys at the local level:

- operational reference accounting;
- forensic accounting;
- investigative accounting;
- forensic accounting;

Data Bank IV. Mixed level accounting (some accounting objects are registered at several levels);

Data Bank V. Register of persons with special knowledge (knowledge).

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## Conflictological Training of Future Military Universities: Current Problems

### ABSTRACT

*The article deals with the problems of conflictological training of future specialists in the system of higher military education. The technologies of training specialists who are able to constructively manage conflicts in organizations are considered. The article offers the author's view on the problem of the formation of the conflictological culture of military specialists.*

**Keywords:** conflict; conflict preparation; conflict culture of the military; military college

As well as any other organization, the military organization faces problem situations which are the basis for the organizational and interpersonal conflicts. The complexity of the mechanism of modern military service demands from military specialists not only performing exact diagnostics of different types of the conflicts in the organization, but also forming of a conflict resistance, ability to resolve conflicts, manage conflict situations, arising in work with staff in military collective.

Two main problems arise in connection with the designation of the problem under study and require clarification. First, to define the concept of “conflictological culture”. Secondly, to analyze the problem of conflictological training of future military in the system of military education.

Such Russian scientists as A. Ya. Antsupov, A. V. Bychkov, Yu. N. Tishin, L. M. Ostrovskaya, L. N. Tsoi are engaged in the study of conflicts and methods of their resolution in organizations, including military collectives. It should be noted that there is a lack of scientific research, which would reveal the technology of formation of conflictological culture of the future specialists in military schools (Samsonova N. In. Pochechueva I. S., R. V. Streltsov, O. I. Shcherbakov). In the psychology of conflict, a clear preference is given to preventive work and applied methods for resolving conflict situations arising in interpersonal communication of the subjects of conflict interaction, rather than scientific and methodological analysis and diagnosis of conflicts from the point of view of the theory of organization and organizational conflict management.

L. N. Tsoi, a Russian expert in the field of conflictology, in his work “Organizational conflict management”(2007) writes that “conflict is a human (social) form of protection of interests, which can lead to a violation of communication and relationships, and to their restoration; “the protection of interests is seen in three ways: physical actions, on a legal

basis (court, arbitration) and through communication (negotiations, agreements, consensus).” [Tsoi; 2007:122]. Russian scientists disagree with each other in the interpretation of the concept of “conflictological culture” and sometimes use the term “conflict competence”, etc.

In her dissertation research, I. S. Samsonova defines the conflictological culture of a specialist as a set of conflictogenic and personal characteristics of a specialist, reflecting to some extent the stages of professional conflictological activity; includes three components in the content of this concept: conflictological competence, conflictological competence and conflictological readiness [Samsonova, 2003]. In this case, the concept of “conflictological competence” is considered by the author as a system of conflict management skills in the professional activity of a specialist.

The variety of factors generating and influencing conflict situations which arise in the military organization, including the military University, create the need for sociological research into the causes of conflicts in the military environment. For example, a sociological study conducted by A. V. Bychkov among contract civil servants gave the following results: “the majority – 60.3% of acute conflicts occurred among ordinary and non-commissioned officers; 39.7% of acute conflicts involved officers; at the same time, the greatest number of reasons (46.7%) are conflicts, which are based on different systems of values and goals; 21.6% - are the reasons associated with different status - hierarchical relations of soldiers and 10.8% of elections of the causes of conflicts indicate the scope of organizational and managerial relations” [Bychkov, 2008:322]; which, in turn, in the author's opinion, requires monitoring of conflict in military organizations and training of officers in the field of conflictology.

In this regard, we believe it is important to form the future military specialist installation, skills and ability to work technologically on conflict-prone areas of interaction with the personnel of the military team. In the Russian Federation “Conflictology” is included in educational programs either as a discipline at the choice of the University, or as an optional discipline. Working programs of the discipline “Conflictological culture”, “Conflictology” as a discipline of choice, according to the Federal educational standard are studied in the variable part of the humanitarian and socio-economic disciplines in a number of military schools. At the same time, it is obvious that the knowledge of conflicts, causes, structure and dynamics of the conflict situation, conflict management technology in a situation of uncertainty become popular for every specialist, including military personnel. A modern specialist also needs legal knowledge, analysis of the practice of adopting Russian laws aimed at combating corruption [Zhdanov, Kuznetsova, Skryachev; 2018:73].

Currently, there is a fairly large number of studies, including author's practices on methods of group work with future specialists in terms of conflict prevention. Used in the process of teaching “Workshop on conflictology”, includes popular methods of socio-psychological diagnosis of conflicts; game methods that allow future professionals to learn

new ways of working: problem solving, conflict diagnosis, analytical procedures, orientation in conflict situations, group work.

Prospective directions of further studies of the problem are: the preparation of teachers of military universities in the field of conflict resolution; development and testing in educational process of military institutions operating programs of “Conflict”, “Conflictological culture” with the purpose conflictological culture formation among the military.

The theoretical and applied aspects of the formation of the conflictological culture of future military specialists considered in the article allowed to draw a number of conclusions regarding the studied problem and to determine the directions of further development of this problem.

1. In the management system of the military team there are significant changes: there is a new legal framework that causes changes in the structure of military service, and the requirements for the management of military specialists, including conflictological competence.

2. It is necessary to introduce into the state standard of higher military education educational discipline “Conflictology”, making it mandatory for study in all specialties. Teachers of this course are required to undergo appropriate retraining in the framework of professional development in the areas of “Conflict”, “Sociology of conflict”.

3. Appropriate inclusion of the discipline “Organizational conflict management” in extra professional programs to improve conflictological culture of the military experts. Innovative technologies of this course, developed by the Moscow school of conflictology, allow the formation of military specialists' conflictological competence, conflict resistance for the purpose of high-quality work of a military specialist in a situation of high level of uncertainty and risk, taking into account the specifics of the managerial functions of soldiers.

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## Social and Professional Employment Structure of the Rural Population of Russia in the Informal Sector (2011-2017)

### ABSTRACT

*The study of the socio-professional structure of employment of the rural population of Russia in the informal sector is based on the Federal state statistics service (Rosstat) database, obtained in 2011-2017 as a result of a survey of households and individuals commissioned by the Government of the Russian Federation. The interview method interviewed rural population aged 16 years and over in 9 federal districts. It was revealed that the transition to the market in the 1990s was accompanied by a decline in the level of rural employment in agriculture and growth in other sectors of the agro-industrial complex led to the transformation of the social and professional structure of the village and the formation of the informal sector, one third of those employed in which are rural residents.*

**Keywords:** rural population employment structure; labor market; agricultural sectors; the informal and formal sectors; income

2018 became a landmark for the Russian agricultural sector, when the task was set - to increase exports of agricultural products by more than 2 times, to \$ 45 billion in 2024. [Dostizheniya..; 2019] Until recently, the Russian Federation was the importer for most food products. Thus, the Russian agricultural sector turns from a black hole into a profitable business, helped by systemic state support. Over the past 10 years it has been allocated from the state budget 1.9 trillion. rub.

Last year's record of grain harvest exposed many problems of the industry, first of all, the loss of profitability. Another important problem is the low level of introduction of new technologies, which is not conducive to obtaining high yields. The production of the agro-industrial complex is increasingly concentrated in the southern regions and in large agroholdings. About 60% of grain production in the southern regions of the European part, more than 20% in the south of the Volga region and the south of the Urals. After all, the lands of these districts make up less than 10% of the total arable land of the country [Urvantsev; 2019].

Russian village, as a geographical space, due to regionalization and a variety of climatic zones and the ability of the population to realize themselves, acts as an element of social structuring space. Over the past decade, the rural population has declined by 1.3 million. Steady population decline is observed in most regions of Russia. From 170 thousand settlements 40 thousand villages moved to the category of "20 people" [Na



sovette; 2018]. The processes of depopulation of rural areas in the regions make their development and the labor market of agriculture limited. Therefore, we need programs for the development of rural areas, the labor market specifically for each region, taking into account climatic conditions, which determines the relevance of the research topic.

This determined the main research tasks. How the values of the market economy, social preferences and economic activity based on rationality and individual decisions of the villagers form the socio-professional structure in the rural labor market, including their employment in the informal sector?

The analysis of the data shows the institutional and structural changes in the agricultural labor market. Agricultural production is no longer the main source of rural employment in the regions, which led to the growth of employment of villagers in non-agricultural sectors (trade, transport, construction, leisure) in the informal sector.

Russian rural areas faced with the advent of digital technology, which can radically change the face of agriculture, the problem of availability of qualified personnel. According to experts, agricultural universities lag behind in the training of such specialists, and information technology is rapidly moving forward. The agro-industrial complex is not ready for this, the model of industry management, as well as education, do not keep up with these changes. The main problem of agriculture and the Russian economy as a whole is the growth of poverty, technological backwardness and fear of change.

The novelty and practical significance lies in the fact that for the first time the data of large-scale studies covering all regions of the Russian Federation were obtained, a comprehensive analysis of regional labor markets, as well as the role of the informal sector in the socio-structural processes of the Russian village. The results of the data show the specificity of the moment of the rural world, when traditional forms of management leave and the usual contours of the social structure of the village disappear. This determines the main hypotheses of the study.

The concentration and level of employment of the rural population in the productive sectors are the main characteristics and the basis of changes in the social structure of the village. Within it, there are significant differences between social groups (education, employment conditions, professional employment, income), that is, formed its own internal structure, determined by socio-economic factors of development of agriculture and the economy as a whole, as well as the characteristics of the competitiveness of the region. Changes in the number of employees by type of economic activity causes structural mobility (movement in agribusiness sectors), caused by institutional (qualitative) processes in the labor market, which is based on the need for labor (quantitative changes). This is the first

The second - the transformation of the social structure, the emergence of new forms of employment in the labor market led to volatility, non-linear nature of not only employment, but also the daily life of the peasants, which caused significant socio-cultural and value changes in their mentality and way of life. The process of individualization

breaks old ties within rural local communities, generates new models of relations based on rationalization and the collapse of old collective ties.

The database created for the analysis in the dynamics of 2011-2017 covers a wide range of social, labor and value behavior of the rural population, the structure and typology of economic activity of households. Traced the impact of agricultural institutions on the socio-structural processes in the Russian village. The analysis of rural employment in the labor market of agriculture is based on panel data of Rosstat, commissioned by the Government of the Russian Federation, which indicates the reliability of control and representativeness of the results. The first – “Comprehensive observation of living conditions” – a survey of households and members living in them, conducted by Rosstat in 2011 - 2016 in all regions of the Russian Federation. In 2011, 5763 villagers from 16 years and older living in 2835 rural households were interviewed by the method of interview. In subsequent years, the rural sample was increased. In 2016, 18225 households were surveyed and 33547 villagers living in them were interviewed in 85 subjects in 9 Federal districts, including the Crimean region, which is part of the southern Federal district.

The second – “Selective monitoring of income and participation in social programs”, conducted by Rosstat in all regions of the country and administrative and Federal districts. In 2012, 5800 individuals from 16 years of age living in 2754 rural households were interviewed. In 2017, the rural sample was increased and interviewed 95578 respondents (44280 of them are employed in the economy) living in 48848 households in 85 subjects in 9 Federal districts, including the Crimean region.

To analyze the labor market of agriculture were used indicators characterizing the socio-structural processes of the village - the status of employment, attitude to work, income, economic situation of households. Preliminary results of the agricultural census (2016) were also used.

The Russian labor market of agriculture, in the context of sanctions and import substitution faced challenges of global trends: technological progress shifted in favor of highly skilled labor, institutional and value changes.

The rural population of Russia is 27%, of which one in five (21.9%) lives below the poverty line. This is twice as much as among the urban population [Sel'skiye territorii; 2018] Another important problem, according to experts, is low investment activity - the main deterrent to the development of the rural sector. As a result, the renewal of agricultural machinery remains low (4%). Only 10% of arable land is processed using digital technologies, and their non-use leads to a loss of up to 40% of the crop. Agribusiness buys 90 % of equipment and technologies abroad, but they can not fully implement, because there are not enough qualified specialists, funds [Ushachev; 2017]. Therefore, peasants plow, sow on older technology, on a new lacked money, the rotations are not met, the agricultural practices have become obsolete [Rybakov; 2015]. Only in 2017, the Ministry of agriculture of the Russian Federation decided to actively introduce digital technologies

in the agro-Industrial complex [Tsifrovizatsiya...; 2018]. This does not allow us to talk about food security and import substitution, in terms of technical and technological potential.

In the current situation in rural areas it is difficult to motivate the population to engage in agriculture. They do not see the prospects of life in it, where there is no confidence in the future, because of uncertainty about how to build their future life, career, etc. today. Young professionals, agreeing to work in rural areas, receive social benefits from the state for the purchase of housing in the village, but there are no conditions for comfortable living. They return the payment and return to the city. Even if the villages in the center of the country have gas, water, electricity and roads, but there is no one well-paid job, because of the low profitability of enterprises. The government is developing new projects for the development of rural areas and agriculture. Although for the period of execution of the previous national projects of agriculture, according to the agricultural census of 2016, the number of farms, smallholders, containing cattle decreased by 2 times. One can observe enough in the prosperous regions of the Central Federal district, northwestern Federal district, southern Federal district, the desolation of rural settlements, where virtually all the population left, abandoning their homes. Usually abandonment is associated with deaf places, but this is clearly manifested on the way from Moscow to St. Petersburg. The same situation can be observed on other Federal highways, where roads are laid everywhere, infrastructure is developed. A notable example of an abandoned village, located from the city of Bryansk 20-30 km. [Reportazh..., 2018]

According to experts, today there is a serious imbalance in the territorial distribution and concentration of state support. According to the results of the last few years, about 65% of state support funds are accumulated in the Central and Volga Federal districts. This disproportion leads to a significant socio-economic differentiation of regions, to the formation of a whole group of depressive territories. [Sel'skiye territory..., 2018].

The problem of development of rural areas and the functioning of the labor market of agriculture, as regional socio-economic processes and as socio-cultural segments of the Russian village deeply and comprehensively at the interdisciplinary level analyzed in our work [Mukhanova, Zhvitiashvili, Bessokirnaya; 2014].

The formation of the informal employment sector of the rural population is part of the process of institutionalization of the market economy in the agricultural sector in the 1990s, accompanied by changes in the labor market, rising unemployment, poverty, the emergence of various forms of self-employment of the rural population.

The informal sector has become not only the primary source of rural adaptation, but also the designer of their market - based survival behaviour in the context of labour rights insecurity, radically changing the professional status of many of them. Subsequently, the nature of these changes led to changes in the sectoral structure of employment among the rural population.

The informal sector and informal employment as categories are not synonymous, according to the methodology developed by the International labour organization. Each of them has its own meaning and content. These concepts are associated with considerable methodological difficulties.

According to the author, the line between the informal and the informal sector is very thin and blurred. The specifics of the labor market in rural areas is such that work in both formal and informal sectors is not clearly distinguished by reliability and remuneration.

In Russia, workers in the informal sector are defined by statistics as “persons who have been employed in at least one of the production units of the informal sector during the period under review, regardless of their employment status and whether the work was primary or additional. As a criterion for determining the units of the informal sector, the criterion of the absence of state registration as a legal entity has been adopted” According to our survey, the measurement of employment in the informal sector is structured according to the following features: 1. an individual entrepreneur working at the enterprise, a family enterprise; 2. in the farm (farmers), whose heads are registered as individual entrepreneurs without the formation of a legal entity; 3. An entrepreneur without the formation of a legal entity (PBOYUL); 4. for hiring from individual entrepreneurs, individuals; 5. on an individual basis; 6. working in their own household to produce products. [Zanyatost', 2014:90].

These production units are generally poorly equipped technologically and with low profitability. An individual entrepreneur as an employer is obliged to pay tax not only for himself, that is, from the income of entrepreneurial activity, but also for each employee – a single social tax rate, which is 35.6%. Most entrepreneurs do not have access to loans and various resources, which does not allow them to comply with labor laws, especially in the conditions of the Russian village. Proof of this is that Rostrud in 2015 revealed 3.87 million. a person who is in an illegal employment relationship with employers. [Rostrud reported; 2016]. This was the reason that the government over the past three years is looking for ways to legalize the self-employed and the opportunity to replenish the budget.

In 2018, the state Duma adopted a package of draft laws on the introduction of a tax on professional income in Russia. In Moscow, Moscow and Kaluga regions, as well as in the Republic of Tatarstan it is planned to conduct an experiment from January 1, 2019 to December 31, 2028. Individuals (including individual entrepreneurs) who receive income from activities (not more than 2.4 million rubles.), but do not have an employer and do not attract employees under employment contracts, will be able to switch to a new tax regime.— “professional income tax.” Its rate will be 4% for self-employed, providing services to individuals, 6% — for working with legal entities. In the same case, if the self-employed will evade the tax, as a penalty he will be withdrawn their earnings [Samozanyatykh, 2018].

The resources of the territory determine the activities of people, enable them to realize their potential or create obstacles for this. We will consider the work in the informal sector of the Russian village as one of the manifestations of inequality and the poor stratum in the social structure, “where social institutions, social groups and communities of different types act as elements” [Shkaratan, 2012:53].

### **Socio-professional structure of the informal sector**

The analysis of social and professional structure in formal and informal sectors shows patterns of changes in social and structural processes in rural areas. Each of these groups has its own purpose, professional content, due to the socio-economic behavior of the villager. How do people model their activities in everyday life or, in other words, their way of life through work with the radically changed social structure of the village?

In 2016, a large professional group in the informal sector was represented by trade and service workers (27.1%). Most of them worked in small-scale retail: street vendors, vendors of tents and markets (9.1 per cent), shops (10.7 per cent), catering (2.8 per cent) and consumer services (2.2 per cent), security guards (3.5 per cent).

The following modal occupational groups are skilled (22.5%) and unskilled (21.6%) workers. The majority of skilled workers are representatives of construction specialties (11.5%): masons, roofers, tile-makers, plasterers-painters, welders, electricians, carpenters, as well as workers of various industrial enterprises – seamstresses, bakers, etc. Qualified agricultural workers (6.0%) are represented mainly by farmers of various profiles for the production of agricultural products, growers, vegetable growers and commodity producers of private farms. Among them there are no such important agricultural professions as milkers-operators, shepherds, etc. Unskilled workers are mainly employed as handymen at construction sites (3.0%) and in agricultural work (6.0%). These are movers, pickers of vegetables, fruits, as well as representatives of simple professions (domestic servants, cleaners and servants in hotels, etc.).

The professional group of drivers of installations and machines is represented by drivers of vehicles and operators of mobile equipment. The main share is made by drivers of cars, taxis (4,5%), though in comparison with 2014 in informal sector their number decreased more than twice. In recent years, the taxi service is under the control of various Supervisory authorities, and, apparently, most of them are more profitable to legalize, moving to the formal sector (11.5%). Drivers of trucks, tractors, combines, harvesters amounted to 11.5%.

Professionals with higher education in the informal sector account for only 3.8%, and their share has decreased compared to 2014. A significant part of this group is accountants, economists, engineers, mechanics, veterinarians, doctors of various profiles, teachers, lawyers, programmers, professionals. marketing and advertising. The structure of specialists with secondary special education (3.6%) is dominated by accounting staff, bank



tellers, electricians, mechanics, operators of various equipment, masters of industrial enterprises, freight forwarders, medical workers, pharmacists, educators, employees. sports and fitness clubs, culture, office managers. The group of staff involved in the preparation of information and documents includes secretaries, office staff, PC operators.

In the structure of managers at all levels of the informal sector (4.6%) is dominated by directors of small-scale wholesale and retail, catering (2.0%), although in the formal sector they are much smaller. The next in number are the directors of leisure and health enterprises, then the directors of small enterprises and the heads of departments of agricultural enterprises, construction and manufacturing industries. The introduction of a market economy was not only a source of unemployment in agriculture, when the need for agricultural labor decreased, which changed the structure of the demand for labor. Demand has fallen significantly in the agricultural professions in the labor market, but there is a need for professions in the service sector. Workers had to leave the countryside, while changing their professional status.

According to the survey, more than half of households with difficulties (59%) and a third with little difficulties (31.5%) make ends meet, that is, have a difficult financial situation. For more than a third of households it is problematic to buy clothes and pay for housing and communal services.

Thus, a new reality is emerging in rural areas, for which agriculture as a branch of the economy and the main economic source of rural areas is less and less connected with the rural way of life, and hence with the state of rural areas. The reality is that in recent years, 3 thousand settlements have ceased to exist, due to the lack of residents, which led to the unification of rural settlements in urban districts, according to regional laws. Because large administrative centers can solve important issues, the village does not have funding for this.

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## **The Usage of Standardization Means in Business Writing**

### **ABSTRACT**

*The article tackles the problems of business language teaching method. The authors state that teaching effectiveness can be reached when using language standards and they offer to create the integrated course which contains teaching business language both in national and English languages.*

**Keywords:** new educational technologies; standardization; language standards; integrated course

The process of globalization in the modern society leads to the search for new educational technologies. In order to meet the students' needs new methods and programs are being created. They aim at making the system of getting knowledge more flexible and effective.

In the conditions of growing information flow (including the business sphere) it is difficult to deal without standardization. It is necessary to be aware of the fact that the usage of standards (language clichés) can provide rapid information exchange, make the process of analyzing documents easier, help to save time and people's resources.

It seems to us that the field of working out and using such standards is not well developed in linguistics.

We are going to offer the way for maintaining future lawyers' professional competence, in particular, their skills in the sphere of business texts drafting using the international requirements to both the content and structure of different documents [Tekhnologiya formirovaniya u studentov kompetentnosti v sphere delovoy pismennoy kommunikatsii, 2016].

The "Big Law Dictionary" defines a standard as a model, an example which all the other objects are compared with [Big Law Dictionary, 2010:848]. In the book by S.P. Kushneruk it is stated that a standard is an official document, a norm instrument showing both quality and quantity parameters of an object that has these ones; a document that states the stable system of requirements to the standardized document [Documentary linguistics, 2011].

Such an experiment has been held in our university. The teachers of English designed an integrated course in business writing using the materials from both Russian and English languages. The main idea is to analyze the texts and show students that there are a lot of similar components in the structure, dividing into passages, sort of information

and language means. In order to be successful in document drafting it is necessary to see the standards that suit the requirements and show the most optimal way.

The analysis methods create the wish for self-development, encourages for research work (comparison methods, analytic work, making conclusions), maintains the students' motivation in the sphere of business writing.

The integrated studying course is seen as a parallel teaching several subjects that aims at formation of the phenomenon holistic view and their influence on each other. This form helps to avoid topics repetitions in the whole course of study.

This approach contributes to making the process of studying more effective, it teaches students to work with different sources (dictionaries, text samples, special manuals), it raises the future specialists' competitiveness.

Gritsenko E.S. tackles the problem of multilingualism in business communication, the transition of similar lexical and grammatical structures from one language into another. More often we take forms from English. It is easy to explain as English is the international language of communication in political, economic and cultural life. The author also describes clichés that are often used in business speech calling them “kalka (tracing)”, and states that in many cases they are “... the translatable copies of the basic English version” [Multilingualism in professional communication, 2012].

To sum up, the program in “Business Communication” based on the special method of analyzing the international standards of business language can be used in teaching students at professional levels in different spheres (different target groups can be involved). During the lessons the kinds of business text can vary. Moreover, the level of program can be transformed according to foreign languages that are studied in a certain institution. The development of self-study skills helps to provide a successful school-to-work transition.

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## **Green Jobs in Sociological Theories of Professions**

### **ABSTRACT**

*Along with the increasing influence of the need to respect the goals of sustainable development, there is a need to modernize the labor market. In Russia, eco-modernization is just beginning and it is necessary to study the subject area of green professions and the specifics of the formation of the green jobs market, where it is especially important to take into account the social aspects of the program, which meaningfully fill the national component in the field of labor market formation. In this article, we will lay the foundation for studying the problems of the green profession in Russia as a subject area, since it is important for a Russian researcher to take into account the global program of economic development, especially in conjunction with the need to follow global sustainable development goals.*

*This article reveals the concepts and subject of the study of the green and ecologically oriented profession within the sociology of professional groups from the point of view of the triune approach of sustainable development (ecology, economics, social aspect), and also shows the previous research methods.*

*It is highlighted that there are differences in the interpretation of the concept in the context of sustainable development, the strengthening of the relevant aspects from the point of view of an ecological, economic, and sociological approach.*

**Keywords:** green jobs; green profession; employment; job; economy

### **Introduction**

The processes of modernization, based on the above substantiated provisions and identified trends, proceed simultaneously in two planes - this is modernization based on the current brown economy model and modernization based on a shift to the values of the green economy. Professional adaptation is not built according to one or another concept, it also has to take into account the values of both paradigms. For example, the green market does not slow down the pace of development and is trying to replace the traditional market of unlimited growth, but at the same time the global labor market must adapt to the system of rules of labor protection and justice, which is coordinated with international organizations. At the moment, eco-modernization is a necessity to control production and this is a characteristic feature of a green economy.

The modern economic system is characterized not only by indicators of market growth, global processes that change the course of economic processes are also important. Digitalization, smart technologies, robotization, decentralized energy distribution

technologies, the Internet of things, freer mobility and changing forms and freedom of employment, the creation of blockchain technologies, the emergence of new currency systems, economic space virtualization is a common field in which the confrontation is played out, and interaction in the clash of the professional markets of the brown and green economy. However, the crucial issue in defining the goal of the economic and social goal of the profession is the limits of the jurisdiction occupied by the profession to solve a specific area of social problems, which means that it is important to accurately identify the problems that they oppose, as well as the study of the values they protect. Mieg considers competition between professions that have already been created and environmentally oriented “proto-specialists” who are active in solving environmental problems [Mieg, 2002]. Based on the first study conducted in 2001, a broader survey was launched in Switzerland (10,000 questionnaires). The results show that there are different types of problems associated with the formation of the space by professions / “proto-professions”, as well as to the hypothesis of the formation of the process of professionalization in this area. The green professions at the time of this study were “in the status of nascendi” at the time of education. The main motive for the emergence of green professions appeared supposed, and only then actually recorded environmental problems that set the standards for the formation of sustainable green professions. These professions are aimed at solving current problems and preventing potential problems for the ecosystem.

GreenCareers job search portals, like GreenBiz.com, Greenjobs.com, Treehugger.com, are an indication that environmental issues are becoming increasingly important aspects of job search and recruitment.

GreenCareers published the news that, based on the site’s requests, “80 percent of young professionals are interested in providing work that affects the environment in a positive way, and 92 percent prefer working in a company that is environmentally safe in terms of impact on the employee and the environment”.

Green professions in the framework of the sociology of the profession can be considered in two ways. The first is modernized, i.e. over time, modified, rethought, promising options for already familiar and existing professions, taking into account the concept of sustainability, not previously considered from the point of view of the principles of greening (example: green engineer, assessment of the use of the life cycle of energy; information technology expert, water footprint manager, control of water flow; urban farmer, green gardener or representative of organic agriculture, an independent farmer, a worker in the field of permaculture or biodynamic farming, Ivanov green plants, vegetables and fruit on rooftops; etc.). The second direction: these professions can be considered as absolutely new professions for a new paradigm of sustainable development, born at the time of the danger of global climate change and the need for new jobs and prospective population growth (eco-auditor, audit of industrial enterprises).

For example, a predictive study undertaken by the International Institute for Labor Studies (MISTI) came to the following conclusion. Increasing the concentration of

greenhouse gases in the atmosphere will lead to a reduction in world production and the level of aggregate demand. The model of global economic interdependence (GEL-model) indicates that “if the traditional scenario of introducing traditional energy sources without emission control measures is implemented, the level of greenhouse gas production in 2030 will be 2.4%, and in 2050 7.2% lower than the current. Already today, extreme weather events, apparently related to climate change, lead to a direct loss of jobs and income” [Sustainable development, 2014].

Green jobs are universal in the sense that they can be created in every infrastructure sector and every institution — in energy saving, in transport, in construction, in basic industries, in agriculture and forestry, that is, they can stimulate the creation of a promising business for small businesses, medium and large complex of enterprises. Ecological and social entrepreneurship can be a decisive catalyst in the dynamics of creating green jobs, and here it is important to take into account the entire arsenal of workers: from those employed in manual work to skilled labor. The social effect is multifaceted: an increase in green jobs can actually directly affect poverty reduction by creating socially-oriented programs and raising living standards, as well as improving the environmental culture of enterprises and the population as a whole. With each change of technological cycles, the redistribution of areas of labor, communication tasks and their content change. They write about this D. Bell, J. Rifkin [Rifkin, 2014], E. Toffler [Toffler, 2004], K. Schwab [Schwab, 2016]. The massive introduction of cyberphysical systems in production, automated maintenance of human needs, including life, work and leisure, will go in the direction of greening. According to K. Schwab, the changes will cover various aspects of life: the labor market, the living environment, political systems, technological structure, human identity. According to J. Rifkin, who was particularly active in considering the greening of renewable energy schemes and systems, the most important are autonomous professions that can work according to distributed communication or on a project basis, while maintaining the possibility of horizontal interactions. Communication will be built according to the schemes of the digital economy.

The National Council for Workforce Education published the report *Going Green: The Determining Role of Colleges in Building a Sustainable Future and Green Workforce* [Green jobs... 2004], which examines how training contributes to efforts to move towards renewable and clean energy. The report provides examples of current initiatives at the national level, as well as information on how to implement programs for different components of sustainable development.

Domestic studies on the sociology of occupations and occupational groups have not investigated the characteristics and processes of adaptation of green occupations, but the economic problems of creating green jobs are examined in detail. Ideas about the future of ecological and green professions are set forth in the atlas of future professions from the Skolkovo foresight project, which suggests that these trends are considered promising. In Russia, as well as in the west in the 2000s, this trend is viewed as a proto-profession in its



infancy, and is not marked with the “green” standard. Considering that many professional groups have a potential resource for qualified retraining in the field of environmental orientation, it is necessary to consider a wide range of professions from the point of improving greening of skills on the agenda of a controlled growth economy.

Ecologically oriented professions can be considered both from the point of view of classical sociological approaches and modern ones. A sociological approach will make it possible to substantially reveal the features of ethics, principles, values, attitudes and structure of the market for green professions, its professional adaptation, and highlight an understanding of the prestige of this area.

Prospects and tasks can be defined within the different scales of social reality. For the macro-perspective, this is a general assessment of green jobs and their place in the structure of modernization of professional groups in Russia. Here the institutional direction is promising, since the primary administrative, legislative, and economic tasks for green professions are not solved. Professionalization is formed “from above”. Promising theories of modernization in the global slice (I. Wallerstein and his concept of world-system analysis) [Wallerstein, 2001]. The idea of research in the context of the world-system theory and the sociology of professions is that the properties and characteristics of green professions from the point of view of sociology will be of different manifestations for developed, transitional and peripheral (developing) countries. It is also necessary to take into account the theory of eco-modernization [Joseph Huber, Martin Janike (de) and Udo E. Simonis et al., 2004].

Ecological modernization is a concept introduced by the fourth EU environment program [Baker, 1997]. It describes the many processes and prospects in which capitalism is currently trying to achieve its version of sustainable development (the principle of precaution / resource conservation, integrated approaches to market regulation, technological constraints, voluntarism). However, Kristoff mentions that the desire to create a global program for sustainable development in a green market must include amendments to cultural diversity [Christoff, 1996].

An assessment of the nature of social interactions and management can be analyzed with the help of J. Rifkin in terms of the problem of opposing vertical and horizontal interaction schemes, which, in turn, affect the trajectories of adaptation and communication between professional groups and stakeholders of the process [Timofeeva, 2016]. global policy to the implementation of the environmental program will be relevant to the issue of a new type of social differentiation on the principle of environmental justice of various groups on Elena and stakeholders in the context of the formation of the labor market green. Differentiation will occur both according to interests, groups, and in relation to different social institutions.

The meso-perspective of sociological research should reflect the dynamics of changes in social and environmental interactions in the professional field. It will be useful to apply the general approach of the sociology of social change (P. Sztompka) [Sztompka,

1996], theories of neoinstitutionalism [Nort, 2010], the STS approach the study of the sociology of science and technology as a longitudinal process).

Micro-perspective a description of the cases of each direction of green professions, where the main task will be to determine the vector of development in the Russian realities of the market, its values, and attitudes.

In the sociology of professions there are several areas of possible research. Classical theories can be represented by the approach of P. Sorokin, who believed that “The professional being of a person determines his consciousness” [The Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013], saying that the profession imposes a bright imprint on the entire system of human life activity. Affects his behavior, appearance, system of social attitudes and his position in society, with an emphasis on social inequality, which must be minimized. Within the green professions, the formation of consciousness can be studied from the point of view of ecologization and its principles and the extent to which these principles will determine not only its professional activities, but also how deeply rooted it will be in everyday life.

The use of the Neo-Weberian approach to the study of the sociology of occupations makes it possible to speak of professionals “as social agents with close but not always predictable goals and values.” So, M. Larson, [Larson, 1977] one of the first and most famous researchers in this field, states: “Professionalization is an attempt to transfer rare resources of professional groups of the same order — specialized knowledge and skills — to resources of another order — socio-economic rewards. resources implies a desire for a monopoly: a monopoly of expert knowledge on the labor market and a monopoly of status in the stratification system. “Since professional “green” resources become the measure of differentiation, the schemes for introducing these skills into the professional environment, which may be the object of study, must change.”

Y. Habermas [Habermas, 2002] identified 3 groups of approaches to the study of occupations:

**1. The positivist approach, in which functionalists (Durkheim, Parsons) argued about** what social needs are met by the functions of the professions. Since the trajectory of the formation of a green market implies a change of focus on social and environmental programs, the mechanism for creating social needs may be decisive in creating a network of green market interactions.

Professionalization is understood by them as a positive and progressive process, and as the “general health of a social organism”. Functionalist approach practiced by Parsons, identified three elements that combine business and profession:

“Parsons defined the profession as follows:“ A profession is an occupation (occupational role) organized around mastering a certain section of the cultural tradition of society, as well as fiduciary responsibility for it, including responsibility for its maintenance and further development ”[Parsons, 1966]. It contains:

1. Institutional rationality: characterized by the growth of institutional rationality. The rational basis of professional activity is provided by science; the more closely a profession is associated with the requirements of an institute, the better its prospects are for the economy and for its prestige.

2. Functional specialization: professional distribution is reduced to the field of professional technical competence.

3. Universalism versus particularism.

The concept of T. Parsons can be useful for the conceptualization of the phenomenon of green professions; decompose according to the proposed components the description of green professions (Table 1).

**Table 1: Elements of the formation of a green profession by T. Parsons**

<b>Elements of the profession according to T. Parsons</b>	<b>Conceptualization within the green profession</b>
institutional rationality	rational foundations in science are reduced to the ecological system (non-violation of natural cycles). rational foundations in sustainable development take into account the economic dimension (categories of green economy) and the social dimension (justice and social security) as institutional systems of rules
functional specialization	technical competence must meet the criteria of institutional rationality, which is implemented under the tasks of the new technological cycle
universalism	the profession should unite professionals with other institutions and contribute to the consolidation of society. however, there is already a confrontation with the structure of the brown economy, in this case it is necessary to look for consolidation for the greening of production

It all depends on which list of features (list of attributes) is selected as a standard.

**2. The critical type of knowledge (Marxist and neo-Marxist understanding of professions)** puts the main issue on the understanding of law and justice, as well as examines the various class and professional categories that participate in clashes. Here the market structure, the ideology of the economy of growth and the green economy collide with a fundamentally different scheme of using economic instruments and priorities for creating green jobs. Within the framework of the concept of sustainable development, green areas allow creating not only priorities, but also new types of inequality of professions and types of employment, positions and specialties that have different power and autonomy of work, differ from each other by special “identification markers” - in this case environmental acceptability, resource efficiency. Each profession, regardless of

environmental priority, seeks to maintain its status and occupy the most advantageous position in the stratification system. Mobility is currently facing a universal field of resources and dual economic goals - growth and conservation of resources. As a result, the rising social mobility of the professionals themselves. M. Foucault [Foucault, 1996] explores ways of perception, classification, distribution of “health”, “knowledge” in the social space. Any distinction between health and illness, norms pathology, truth lies depends on the distribution of “symbolic property,” that is, on the right of various social groups to speak, name, and speak about something. Within the framework of the Neo-Weberian perspective, the nature of professionalization is closely connected with the consolidation of the rights of professional groups to autonomy from the state and self-government, which is carried out within the framework of specialized associations.

**3. The phenomenological approach considers the profession as a “closed and self-sufficient life world”,** interprets the views of professionals on their everyday life.

Here “profession” is understood as a social label, as an activity, internally united, closed from the outside world by special knowledge and technologies. For a phenomenological approach within the framework of green occupations, it will be necessary to conduct a longitudinal study, and the methods of Social Technology studies will be useful here. As part of the concept of sustainable development, as well as creating sustainable jobs and becoming a green profession in conjunction with the STS environment, focuses on the study of interconnected systems, which include the interaction of technical and biotechnical systems with society, where society incorporates action patterns, the study of environmental values and environmentally oriented action. Within society, there are stakeholder groups whose activities, in terms of the strength of the impact and its nature, impose a specific context and form of impact on technology and nature. Sustainable development is a large-scale model for STS, where sustainability is defined as a system in which the biotic, abiotic, and technical component can successfully live and develop without compromising environmental resources. Professional and technical development has a long-term impact on income distribution, economic growth, employment, trade, the environment, industrial structure, and defense and security issues. Hermeneutic research studies “understanding” between actors and self-understanding in the context of the eco-culture of professionals. The models for constructing models of both a stable and an unstable system (multiple scenarios) are being reconstructed, and that was done by the agents within the framework of the existing state of affairs. STS examines the structural nature of scientific knowledge (methods of knowledge reconstruction), belief systems, technical artifacts as social facts [Latur, 2002]

**4. Attributive approach. Also, within the framework of the positivist paradigm, there** is an attribute approach or the theory of features described by V. A. Mansurov. and O. Yurchenko, in which characteristics are studied that correspond to the ideal type of professions [Mansuriv, Yurchenko, 2009] The central idea of the theory is to search for an answer to the question of whether this type of occupation is a “true profession”. Here the

same type of occupation can be defined by different authors as a profession, a quasi-profession or another non-profession. “Professionals” are specialists “who possess knowledge and participate in the production of this knowledge, including knowledge of work practices, about themselves as a professional and about others from whom this knowledge is hidden.

The stages of the formation of the green profession, based on the theory of features:

1. Isolation of one's own unique field of knowledge and its transformation into social prestige. Prestige is determined by the resource efficiency that a professional brings with his practical activities. It can be expressed in the number of events carried out, man-hours, indicators of biocapacity, a decrease in the ecological footprint of a production or labor process.

2. Formation of the ideology of a professional group, its public image, in which the emphasis is on professional ethics, altruistic service to society. This includes education, training and public awareness. These jobs are aimed at enforcing the rules, supporting education and increasing public influence for the environment.

3. The creation of professional organizations, associations. Environmental responsibility manifests itself as the obligation to comply with the relevant standards of behavior and to undergo adverse consequences for their violation. Closely professional environmental ethical responsibility is associated with business interpretation. In this sense, environmental responsibility is a kind of social responsibility, and comes for the commission of an environmental violation. Environmental responsibility performs three functions: stimulating, compensatory, preventive.

4. The practice of social closure or regulated “access to the group”. At the moment, there is a process of popularization and advancement of this direction to the masses due to the need to greener technological processes, so the green direction is undergoing a rethinking of standards and is open to changes in status, roles, and value requirements are narrowed.

5. Monitoring the implementation of a professional project. The image of a professional group is formed at a supranational, national, corporate and local level.

Professional expertise and experience are based on a specific direction: for example: energy, technology, chemical technology, personnel management, professionals in the field of green or cyclical economics, a range of specialists in the field of waste management and accounting, personnel management, administrators, in a broad sense, environmental educators.

Professional ethics correspond to the practical or indirect fulfillment of the goals of sustainable development, reduction of the environmental succession, enhanced social and environmental responsibility of the manufacturer and human potential.

Professional autonomy in making decisions that are directly related to the practice, content of education, entry into the profession and exclusion from it. Ecological activism is combined with a professional direction. Professional development is focused on

obtaining relevant professional knowledge and skills, and their transfer to the practice of everyday life.

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## Green Jobs Rules the Future World: Perspective Directions Outlook of Green Professions

### ABSTRACT

*Green jobs and green professions is an opportunity to stop the degradation of natural resources. In this article, based on the materials of reports of international organizations on labor, a summary of the most promising occupations for the coming decades is made. The main areas that will be upgraded to meet new jobs are: new types of farming, architectural areas, energy, engineering, various sectors of the economy that change the life cycle of production, the number of consulting professions increases. Most professions are planned to be introduced in cities as centers of green modernization. The main economic sector, which will be the most numerous - energy and recycling.*

**Keywords:** green jobs; green profession; employment; job; economy

### Introduction

In 2011, total employment associated with the production of Green Goods and Services (GGS) increased by 0.1% to 2.6%, according to the US Bureau of Labor Statistics. More than 3,400,000 people are employed in GGS jobs, which accounted for 2.3% of the total number of jobs in the private sector and 4.2% of jobs in the public sector in 2011. Among the sectors of the private sector, from 7.0 to 8.9 percent, while production occupied the most jobs in GGS (507,168 jobs).

The number of jobs, including green ones, that are created at different stages of the process of eco-modernization of the economy, depends on the volume of demand and investment, on turnover and on the elasticity of employment (the number of jobs created or maintained per unit of demand) [The definition, 2017].

Green jobs have associated values in the context of environmental ethics, corporate responsibility and are linked to sustainable development goals. Green professions, based on the term UNEP (United Nations Environment Program), are defined as “green professions that are engaged in agriculture, production, research and development (R & D), administrative and official activities that greatly contribute to the preservation or environmental quality restoration. These types of occupations include jobs that help protect ecosystems, preserve biodiversity, reduce energy, materials and water consumption through high efficiency strategies, decarbonization of the economy and minimize or avoid the generation of all types of waste and pollution” [The Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013].

Also within the framework of the concept of sustainable development there is a

sustainable job, it combines three components from the point of view of ecology, economy and society. Unlike the economic approach of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and UNEP, the concept of “sustainable” professions more broadly reveals the economic and social component. Sustainable jobs is a concept that includes all the jobs that are and will be created in the future in the fight against poverty (in global terms and within a single national economic development program) within the concept of a sustainable or green economy.

Green jobs, according to the World Bureau of Labor Statistics, are defined as “jobs in business that produce goods or services that benefit the environment or contribute to the preservation of natural resources” or “jobs in which the duties of workers are related to environmental – Oriented production processes or the conservation of natural resources” [Atlas..., 2016]. The Bureau of Labor Statistics classifies green jobs by activity: water conservation, sustainable forestry, field work with renewable energy sources (RES), jobs that take into account environmental rehabilitation, sustainable development, energy auditing, recycling, the use of electric vehicles.

The prerequisites for the development of a niche of environmentally-oriented professions were social and ecological processes, which can be chronologically arranged in stages:

1) 50-60– s of the twentieth century. A number of scientific institutes recorded changes in local geochemical cycles due to contamination by pesticides and chemical reagents [For complete and factual ...];

2) 70-80s of the twentieth century. The Club of Rome links economic overproduction with population growth and increasing pollution, which raise the critical question of the impossibility of survival of all living things [Khosla Ashlok, 2015]. This problem is proposed to be solved taking into account the reorientation of the economy towards an eco-oriented course;

3) 80-90s of the twentieth century. The UN is implementing a program to create sustainable, equitable (i.e., equal) jobs, primarily in third world countries. More rapidly certified high-skilled green jobs are created in countries where the principles of sustainable development are widely and long used - the United States, the countries of Scandinavia. Exchanging experience in implementing programs on sustainability, countries unite in alliances, form environmental conventions, spread international environmental standards that become the benchmark for modernizing production processes and product life cycle, and then are consolidated as educational programs and professional areas;

4) 2000s to the present. There are programs for the creation of green jobs, professional adaptation, eco-modernization of the economic public and private industrial sector [Gunter, 2010].

Currently, collaborative activities of international organizations called Green Jobs are being developed and implemented: the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the International Organization of Employers (IOE) and the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC). The problems of labor protection, labor justice, and safety of working conditions are brought to the fore. The

concept of “green jobs” is complemented as follows: “Decent work, which directly contributes to reducing the negative impact on the environment from enterprises, individual sectors and the economy as a whole by reducing energy and resource consumption, reducing emissions, waste and pollution, and also by preserving or restoring ecosystems. It is necessary that “green jobs” meet the criteria of decent work, they must have high-quality job places that guarantee adequate wages, safe working conditions, stable employment, acceptable career prospects and respect for the rights of workers” [Toffler, 2012].

In Russia, for the time being, only a plan is being planned to create green jobs under the new General Agreement for the period 2018-2020. The regulatory initiative also touched upon a number of legislative projects, including the ratification by the Russian Federation of ILO conventions: Convention № 162 “On Occupational Safety in the Use of Asbestos”, Convention № 176 “On Safety and Health in Mines”, Convention № 81 “On Inspection labor in industry and commerce ”and others with a program for modernizing environmental processes.

Until now, there is no single universal institutionally agreed definition among global organizations regarding the definitions of the green profession, employment and work, which makes it difficult to work out a uniform policy for creating green jobs and conditions for the qualifications of eco-oriented professions.

The UN highlighted the following sectors of the economy to promote green jobs, the most relevant, in the following sectors: construction and green buildings, eco-tourism, renewable energy, energy conservation and energy efficiency, forestry, natural resource management, processing and waste management, and sustainable agriculture. Local organizations support national initiatives with information seminars and assess the potential of “green jobs”, advise on policy issues and strategic planning. These procedures also support local initiatives by encouraging environmental and social entrepreneurship, greening businesses and their territories, and adapting climate change mitigation organizations (Table 1).

**Table 1: Sustainable components and eco-oriented professions**

<b>Component sustainable development</b>	<b>Definition of a green profession</b>	<b>The purpose of the green trade in the framework of the component</b>	<b>Impact unit</b>	<b>Index, assessing the effectiveness of the impact of trade on the different components of sustainable development</b>
Ecology	Environmentally oriented professions that are directly or indirectly related to the interaction with the environment and reduce the burden on it	reducing the burden on the environment	territory components of the surrounding environment process safety, enterprises, services, process	- ecological footprint - biocapacity - energy intensity - energy efficiency - % return of materials to the production cycle - wastelessness coefficient for the studied problem \ subject \ process

Continuation of Table 1.

Component sustainable development	Definition of a green profession	The purpose of the green trade in the framework of the component	Impact unit	Index, assessing the effectiveness of the impact of trade on the different components of sustainable development
Economy	economically advantageous working places in the production process, reducing the load on the surrounding environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- resource efficiency of production processes</li> <li>- labor resource efficiency</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- territory</li> <li>- administrative unit</li> <li>- enterprise</li> <li>- production, process</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- reduction of number of used materials and resources</li> <li>- growth of socially-environmentally oriented enterprises</li> <li>- growth of enterprises with an effective corporate social responsibility scheme</li> </ul>
Social aspect	working place, by which the aim is to eradicate poverty and reduce the symptoms of social and labor injustices in society	eradicate poverty and reduce manifestations of social and environmental, labor injustice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- administrative unit</li> <li>- communities of different social categories \ classes \ jobs \ cohorts \ age, and so forth.</li> <li>- demographic indicators</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- reduction of % of poor population</li> <li>- increase in employment % of exclusive segments of the population</li> <li>- growth of socially oriented enterprises</li> <li>- smoothing differentiation on the relation to the availability of high-quality environmental protection</li> <li>- % of number of students and working on data lines</li> <li>- stricter criteria for surveillance for the protection of labor</li> <li>- expansion of social protection systems</li> </ul>

The table contains the estimated indicators that assess the effectiveness of the influence of the profession on the various components of the level of development, which allow assessing the potential for the introduction of new jobs or possible modification of old jobs. The areas of economics, ecology and social aspect are systemically related, with the growth of performance indicators from one component other indicators will change. The economic component is the basis, since the economic structure and production processes largely determine the state of public order and the environmental consequences of production, it is necessary to take into account the amendment to the economic, environmental and social goals facing a particular state, since for different levels of development and economic opportunities, primary objectives can differ. Thus, there are universal goals, like 17 goals of sustainable development, where each goal implies a specific program of creating green jobs and new qualification requirements that apply to existing professions in terms of following these goals for the global contribution of professional communities (Table 2).

**Table 2: The principles of the green and brown economy and the properties of the professional labor market**

<b>The principles of functioning of the brown economy</b>	<b>Properties of the professional labor market</b>	<b>Principles of a green economy</b>	<b>Properties of the professional labor market</b>
unlimited increase in production due to natural resources	professional market expands in accordance with the concept of growth	limited economic growth at the expense of natural resources	Guide sufficient number of working places under the task
linear circuit control resources (materials not returned in the cycle)	the scheme does not imply environmentally responsible positions and managers for the control, utilization and efficient use of resources	cyclic resource management model (Materials should be back in the ring or safely disposed of)	the scheme involves specialists to control the provision of recycling and efficient use of resources
economy, oriented to offer	expansion of employment structure, which is not always effective	economy, focused on demand	resource efficiency of the labor process \ schedule focused on the task
Competition for by increasing the differentiation	the risk of occurrence of unemployment, the spread in the formation of the wage board	competition based on “polluter pays more”, lean manufacturing	differentiation due to the separation of the degree of environmental companies
employment, ensuring the growth of production	ensuring short-term needs of the labor market, instability	employment that provides not only growth and lean production	planned flexible market
pricing on the basis of profit, taking into account a small fee for pollution	proliferation disorders, purchase rights on pollution	pricing on the basis of environmental requirements	possible redistribution of profits to solve environmental or social problems or expand production
lack of corporate social and environmental responsibility policy	lack of additional eco-friendly positions in the corporation	existing effective corporate social and environmental responsibility policy	additional working places
privileges and the institute for the support of social and environmental entrepreneurship is underdeveloped, including an educational institution	complexity in the creation of the enterprise, the lack of performance of functions and prestige	benefits and institute \ support social and environmental entrepreneurship developed, including an educational institute	the growth of social and environmental enterprises leads to the creation of new eco-oriented working places and reduce the load on the surrounding environment Expansion of social protection systems
vertical model and centralized model of management and energy supply based on hydrocarbon energy sources	the bureaucratic system is less subject to change, stable, but not environmentally friendly	tending to horizontal and distributed (decentralized) management and energy supply based on green standards	independence and growth, possibly public – private partnership



As we can see, the green and brown models have opposite orientations, the brown economy seeks to maintain growth when following the linear production scheme and the vertical centralized management principle, profit is increased due to the speed of extraction and replacement of goods with new ones, the degree of environmental responsibility of the subjects is low, because This model is not economically feasible. Profiles of green jobs are not important here, and are implemented only when necessary. Green economy, on the contrary, tends to be cyclical, principles of resource saving, and is more complicated from the point of view of production organization, since it requires much more attention at the stage of introducing resource-efficient technologies and modeling production from the outset. The green economy takes into account the existing social and economic inequalities, both globally and in the context of each state, and takes into account these indicators in the development of an environmentally-oriented labor market.

It is necessary to make a remark in following the principles of the green economy in the process of reforming the labor market. The closure of enterprises that do not comply with environmental requirements should be carried out with the redistribution of workplaces with their reprofiling. Otherwise, the condition for ensuring the safety and fairness of the green labor market is violated.

Environmentally friendly production processes and practices are those that reduce the negative impact on the environment or natural resources resulting from the production of any goods or services. They include:

- (1) life cycle of producing green goods and services
- (2) methods, procedures or technologies that have a positive impact on the protection of the environment or natural resources.

For example, the generation of alternative energy for institutions, the use of environmentally friendly vehicles with high capacity to transport employees; redesigning product packaging to reduce the use of plastics; improving the process of organizing the collection and recycling of waste generated during the production process.

In a special employers questionnaire, the BLS determines whether the institution uses environmentally friendly processes and methods, and if so, whether it hires workers with the appropriate education. Such workers can perform various activities, such as:

- Research and development of technological processes to conserve energy and natural resources, or to reduce pollution (for example, a chemical engineer who develops a chemical production process that contributes to reducing emissions of pollutants into the atmosphere)
- Planning, implementation and subsequent environmental monitoring of production processes (for example, an employee who manages equipment for the production of renewable energy sources for the production of electricity for use in an institution),
- Installation of equipment related to manufacturing processes (for example, a control valve installer at the factory that reduces pollutant emissions in water)

- Monitoring the results of production processes (for example, a chemical technologist who tests air samples to determine emissions of pollutants).

Green jobs should guarantee decent wages, safe working conditions, stable employment, acceptable career prospects and respect for the rights of workers. The flagship report of the International Labor Organization predicts that by 2030, 24 million new green jobs will be created worldwide. Some are in demand right now, while others will be created in the coming years.

### **1. Urban farmers and biotechnologists**

Vertical city farming turns megacities into fertile fruitful gardens, and every year they occupy an increasing area in Moscow, Singapore, the USA, and Latin America. Market volumes will reach \$ 6 billion by 2022. Farmers will grow crops on roofs, empty territories and accessible spaces inside buildings, which is different from natural conditions and requires additional professional skills. There will be a demand for GMOs - agronomists and biotechnologists, who will bring out new types of eco-friendly and hardy agricultural crops in the city. A nutritionist and wellness trainer will work with consumers on sustainable nutrition issues.

### **2. Green engineers of urban environment and living space**

Due to the influx of population, the megacities of the world are being rebuilt to meet new environmental standards. The Atlas of Green Professions of the Future SKOLKOVO and the WWF Russia project immediately list a number of professions that will change urban spaces and the internal structure of houses, combine several competences in the field of construction, energy and environmental pollution control. Urbanist and park ecologist create plans for high-tech and green cities, not forgetting about the social needs of citizens and green areas. The architect designs energy-efficient homes, and eco-designers and home designers control the use of eco-building materials and technologies with zero emissions.

### **3. Environmental managers, auditors, logisticians**

Now these specialists manage production processes, coordinate personnel, do environmental monitoring of the industry, and should be in all organizations in the future. Knowledge of the basics of the concept of sustainable development, eco-law, eco-standards is required. Green Logistics organizes energy efficient transportation with the possibility of reducing emissions from transport.

#### **4. Waste processors**

The fundamentals of the basics of production and consumption — the minerals mining, metallurgy, polymers, clothing, chemistry, and shipbuilding industries need highly specialized recyclers who know the peculiarities of the environmentally friendly processing of their industry. Given the tightening of environmental standards in the world, the fundamentals of ecology will become mandatory everywhere. Now the environmental departments of leading technological and chemical universities of Russia meet the criteria for multi-discipline, and for advanced training, you can look for foreign internships and magistracies.

#### **5. Eco-educators, coaches, consultants**

The profile of the work of the environmental educator and the coach is similar: they are involved in the promotion of environmental healthy lifestyles for schoolchildren, NGOs, businessmen, citizens wishing to acquire eco-skills living in the city and in the country, business and CSR organizations.

#### **6. Eco-entrepreneurs and green economists**

Green business solves environmental problems and social issues of employment, so, businessmen should be guided in green finances and corporate social responsibility management. The new eco-business model will use smart technologies, robotization, decentralized energy distribution technologies, the Internet of things, blockchain technologies, new currency systems that will be available only to the green economy.

#### **7. Specialists in overcoming systemic environmental disasters, climatologists, experts in assessing ecosystem services**

Climate costs will be more pronounced, so tighter emission control will be required. Future specialists should know the general ecology, programming, mathematics, biotechnology, system dynamics, economics, own futurological thinking and make predictions. They will work when planning any large-scale project that changes environmental conditions and climate.

he professions of the forester, the hydrologist, the specialist in ecotourism will remain relevant, the number of specializations in renewable energy and energy saving will increase. How to make a market transition? Additional jobs will be created for new specialties, retraining of specialties is carried out when modifying production processes to more environmentally friendly ones. But certain jobs can be eliminated without a direct replacement in the event of the cessation of the production of materials that have proved

to be environmentally inappropriate. Of the 163 analyzed sectors of the economy, only 14 will suffer employment losses, but first and foremost 2.5 million places will be created in the field of electricity production based on renewable energy sources, 6 million jobs in the processing sector.

## Conclusion

At the 106th Session of the International Labor Conference of the International Labor Organization, the Deputy Minister of Labor and Social Protection of the Russian Federation, Lyubov Yeltsova, stated that “in our country, within the framework of the Paris Agreement, measures are being taken to prevent dangerous climate change and depletion of natural resources, which could seriously damage the quality of life of current and future generations, measures are being developed to ensure the sustainable development of the economy, social justice and environmental protection. “[Mintrud..., 2018] od from 2018 to 2020. is planned to discuss all issues related to the creation of “green” jobs.

The process of modernization and innovative development of Russia in the vector of transition to a low-carbon economy, as discussed above, is inextricably linked with the restructuring of former workers. This means that first of all it is necessary to begin with the transformation of the system of vocational education and professional retraining of workers. It is known that attempts at educational programs aimed at mastering the field of “green” technologies are being introduced in a number of Russian universities. For example, the master's programs “Energy Efficient Low-Carbon (Green) Economy” at the Ural Federal University, as well as “Green Economy and Finance” at the Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University), green innovative master's programs at the Institute of Sustainable Development Problems of the RHCT them. Mendeleev's UNESCO Chair of Green Chemistry for Sustainable Development. [Lantsev, 2016].

The International Labor Organization (ILO) confirms that a “green” economy in the vector of modernization of Russian society can give the world 24 million new jobs [Gusenko, 2018], provided that all measures are taken to train workers in skills that will contribute to a qualitative transition to a more efficient green economy.

For those who have already found an ecological vocation, foreign search for green vacancies in Russia: FB, VK, and abroad: GreenCareers, GreenBiz, Greenjobs, E-greenjobs

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## Part IV. Problems of Population, Migration and Regions



## **On the Potential of Interethnic accord of the Russian Society (2014-2018)**

### **ABSTRACT**

*The article presents the results of a comparative study of the consolidation processes in the 8 republics and regions of Russia with different levels of interethnic communication. It is shown that the accord is a broader concept than the tolerance. It includes the trust and the general perception of basic values, 85-90% of the respondents share such understanding. We reveal the main trends in interethnic relations in the region with the dominant of ethnic Russian population and high influx of migrants of a different culture. We showed the risks associated with the perception by the people of equality and equal opportunities, depending on ethnicity. 4-17% of the respondents said about real infringement. We revealed the level of favorable adaptation of migrants of other culture in regions with different traditions of intercultural communication.*

**Keywords:** interethnic accord; civil identity; ethnic identity; ethnicity; interethnic attitudes; social inequality; ethno-linguistic interaction; migration

Social and cultural complexity of modern society, the mobility of meanings and values, which are arranged around the imaginary boundaries, encourage the search for coalitions to help people perceive the world and to live in a diversity of cultures and human relations.

In this article we present the project, which was intended to reveal the resource of interethnic accord in the maintenance of the positive consolidation of the society.

We understand consolidation as solidarization of multicultural, multiethnic society around a common identity and shared values of people, common objectives of activity, moral duties, based on the understanding of justice and shared responsibility for the state of society. In the development of definitions and indicators of study, we relied on the ideas of Max Weber, E. Durkheim, T. Parsons and the approach to the interpretation of solidarities by A B Hoffmann.

Despite the forecast of the beginning of post-national era in the modern world, the real life of citizens takes place within the borders of states. A consolidation in multiethnic countries, is based on various grounds -mostly historical experience. In Russia in the 2000s, government policy can be defined as the balancing between integration on the basis of civic identity, movement towards equality of people regardless of their ethnicity and religion, respect for their culture and politics, and the policy of dominance of the ethnic Russians.

At the same time potential sources of tension remain associated with both the objective circumstances of the specific economic characteristics of territory and post-conflict situations in interethnic relations in the recent past.

Interethnic accord for the first time were understood as a scientific concept that means not only good interethnic relations, but willingness to interact with people of other nationalities in the business and informal spheres of communication and handling conflict in a dialogue form. This is also the interpersonal and intergroup trust, the ability of people to live in a complex, differentiated world, interact on the basis of the dominant trust, equality and justice.

An indicator of the consolidation and integration processes is the all-Russian civic identity. Civic identity is understood as identification with citizens and state space. It includes representations of the state and country, “we-image”, sense of community, solidarity, responsibility for society. As one of types of collective identities, the All-Russian identity contains not only cognitive and emotional but also regulatory components. The last one (for example, responsibility for the fate of the country) is distinguishes civic and country identities [Drobizheva:552].

Thus, the subject of the study was ethnic attitudes, basic life orientations, the level of trust, norms and rules of social interaction, consolidating values and solidarizing identities.

*The object of research* - Russians and basic contacting ethnic groups in the region, as well as internal migrants, mainly from the North Caucasus republics.

One of the features of study was the inclusion in the object of study of “visible” internal migrants. If they live and work in the arrival areas, we are talking about their adaptation and integration into the local community.

The research strategy has been built in such a way that included the subjects of the federation, allowing to consider the situation of interethnic cooperation in regions: a) in all administrative and political structures (republics, regions, territories); b) different “status” of ethnic groups (Bashkirs in Bashkortostan and Bashkirs, Tatars in Khanty-Mansiysk district); c) the different socio-economic status; g) different probability of interethnic communication (Stavropol, Moscow, Kaliningrad region, Karelia, KhMAO- dominant ethnic Russian population; the highest theoretical probability of communication is in Bashkortostan: Bashkirs 29.5%, ethnic Russians 36%, Tatars 25.4%, polyethnic Astrakhan region facing inflow of migrants); e) different habitualness of interethnic communication.

Each subject included from 1000 to 1200 units of observation. Sampling of local residents is territorial, consists of three stages, random, probabilistic. The method of gathering information - individual interviews on a residence, “face-to-face”. Selection migrants of different ethnicity in the region was based on Census data. As a comparison we used data of monitoring studies of the Institute of Sociology (the head is M. K. Gorshkov)

and “Russian monitoring of the economic situation and the health of the population of the HSE” [RLMS-HSE].

The study was carried out in the methodology of comparative sociology and socio-cultural approach. In the development of the approaches we used in the theory of psychosocial categorization, theory of boundaries (F. Barth) and the contact theory (G. Allport, T. Pettigrew, M. Houston, G. Hudson, L. Trop, D. Jackson etc.).

Problem situation in Russian society today is that the integration in the community, the mood of interethnic accord is combined with conservative ethnocentric attitudes. Despite the widespread understanding of the importance of accord in a multicultural society, there is a quite significant regional and ethnic difference in the support of the views of the equality of nations and people of various nationalities, which is certainly a high risk.

We present the results of research that were new and were unexpected for us.

■ People in all regions understood the term interethnic accord: 8097% of the respondents perceive interethnic accord as “respect for people regardless of nationality” and “willingness to resolve disputes through peaceful negotiations.” But the opinion that it is also a recognition of the right of people of different ethnic and religious affiliation on their way of life is shared by no more than 75%.

We believe that these data provide a basis in public policy to use the term “interethnic accord”, as the term “tolerance”, translated into Russian as patience that is not perceived in the mass consciousness.

■ In 2015-2018 different sociological centers noted the positive trend in the interethnic relations in the country. In the previous decade unfavorable ethnic attitudes and xenophobia were mostly associated with high and rapid influx of migrants of other culture. The importance of this factor has been great, but is not limited to it. In the first phase of the research in 2014-2016 we have found that in the regions 16 to 30% of the population (as much as possible in Moscow and the Moscow region) unfavorably treated migrants. In general hostility to people of other ethnicity had 3553% of the population. In the second phase in 2017-2018 we interviewed people in the regions of the most difficult ethnic composition - in Bashkortostan and KhMAOYugra. And as the results shown the hostility towards people of other nationalities had 42% of people in Ugra, for whom “other” are migrants and the same 42% in for people in Bashkortostan, where the most citizens communicate with local people of different ethnicity.

Thus, the repertoire of ethnically marked social interactions, where contradictions occur, is much wider. This is a problem related to inequalities in the use of resources, access to well-paid jobs, participation in the government activity, the dignity of people of different nationalities and religions, the satisfaction of their cultural and linguistic needs.

In different regions of the country, there are ideas about the influence of ethnicity on the possibility of a person to get a “better job”, “to open a business,” “to get a high position in the government.” The growth of ethnic identity, security attitudes of ethnic groups, including ethnic Russians, contributed to the fact that such representations are

common not only in the republics, as many think. But in other subjects of the federation, like polyethnic Bashkortostan, where the competition between the Bashkirs, Tatars and Russian is quite high, people believed that the possibilities of different ethnic groups are not equal 40-45%. Among Muscovites the number is 40%, in the Kaliningrad region 41- 43% and in the KhMAO 49-57%.

Actually faced the discrimination because of nationality, only 5% in Moscow, in the KhMAO 11%, in Bashkortostan: among the Bashkirs 10%, among the Russian 17%. Nevertheless, the problem exists more in beliefs than in real life.

■ Noticeable tension in interethnic relations evolved in 2017-2018 occurred due to resolution of the President of Russia about voluntary study of the state languages in the republics and the free choice of the native languages.

In the republics (Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Chuvashia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Komi) “titular” nationalities this decision perceived as an infringement of their Constitutional rights. Our study was just in time. The survey showed that the voluntary study of the state of the Bashkir language in the Republic of Bashkortostan supports almost half of the respondents, and among the Bashkirs (45%), and among ethnic Russians (46%), and slightly more than half - among the Tatars (53%). Relation to voluntary or mandatory study of the state language in the schools of the republic, of course, differentiated Bashkir, Tatar and ethnic Russians. But we must bear in mind that not all ethnic Russians, Tatars and Bashkirs were involved in this process (actually primarily families with children of school age were involved).

Bashkir language in the Republics of Bashkortostan and Tatarstan as state languages of the republics are supported by the regional language policy. Despite that there are serious problems, such as the quality and licensing of textbooks.

It should be noted that ethnic “activists” associate a new position with the general course of the centralization policy. Project participants evaluated the situation as a conflict of discourses, but as the tension (not conflict) in everyday interactions, and it was confirmed by the results of representative surveys.

4. The indicators of interethnic relations in the Project were:

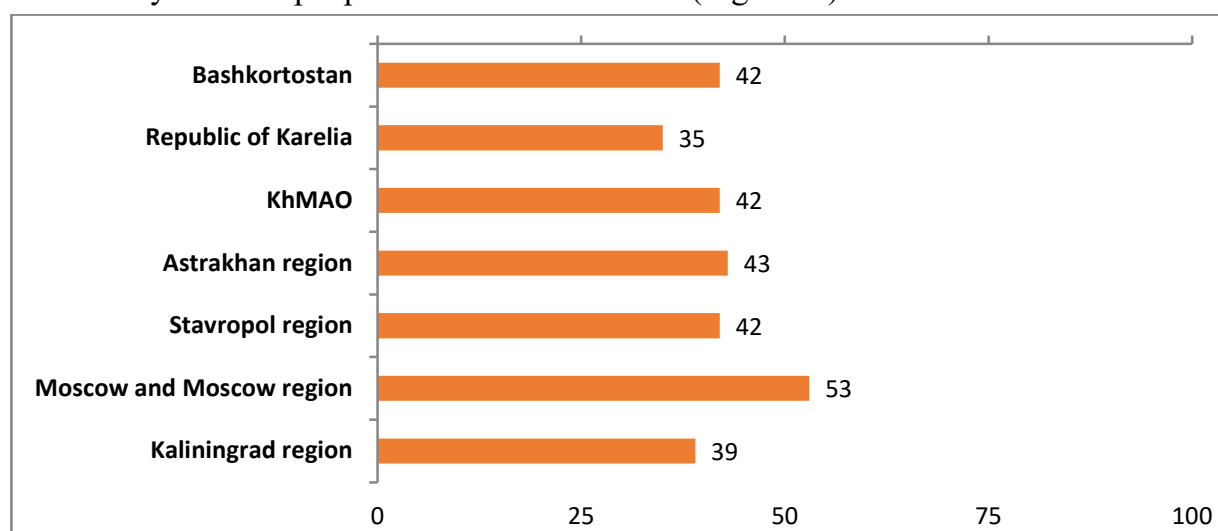
- the absence of hostility towards people of other nationalities (“never feel hostility towards people of other nationalities”);
- the willingness to accept the person of the other nationality as a partner in the workplace, as a boss, a neighbor, a close friend;
- willingness to accept people of other nationalities like the inhabitants of cities, villages, and finally, as a citizen of Russia;
- the rejection of violence in interethnic disputes (answer “strongly agree” that “violence is unacceptable in interethnic disputes”);
- recognition of the equality of people of all nationalities in Russia (the answer “Russia is common home for many peoples. All peoples in Russia should have equal rights”);

- consent with the support of 'minorities' culture (the answer “the state should support the culture and religion of all peoples of Russia”);

- assessment of interethnic relations in the city / village as “friendly” and “calm.”

15-20% of population in different subjects of the Federation are immune to ethnic prejudices. Those are mostly educated and in some regions young people. However, this does not mean that all other are “xenophobes”. Some of the respondents have priority to the support of their culture or reluctant to contact with people of other culture. It is associated with the formation of ethnic and country identities, by comparison of “us vs. them”. Psychologists call it ethnocentrism. This part of the respondents in the regions varies from 20 to 50%.

The most sensitive indicator of interethnic relations is the answers to the question about the hostility towards people of other nationalities (Figure 1.).



**Fig. 1: The feeling of hostility towards people of other nationalities.** *Combined answers “yes, often” and “seldom, sometimes”), % of respondents.*

I must say that some people, admitting these feelings, at the same time shown their readiness to the neighborhood with people from the North Caucasus or other positive interethnic attitudes.

But the fact is among the sensing hostility towards people of other nationalities more of those people, whose ethnic attitudes are determined by social factors. Those are problems related to unequal access to power, inequalities in the use of resources, access to well-paid jobs, with the attitude to the dignity of people of different nationalities and religions, the satisfaction of their cultural and linguistic needs.

We note that the perception of the resource includes not only the best working places, access to power, but also prestige. Recently we celebrated the 100th anniversary of the founding of the republic, which began the formation of the Russian Federation - the Bashkir autonomy. One of the first speakers at the anniversary meeting was the President of the Republic of Tatarstan R. N. Minikhanov, who spoke Tatar without translation. The next speaker was the head of the Udmurtia A.V. Brechalov, who said: “I do not understand

anything, but I join.” Minikhanov answered: “We are the second nation in Russia, Tatar language is necessary to teach.” A. Brechalov answered: “That’s ok, that only in Russia.”

The study showed that the infringement due to nationality faced in Moscow only 5%, in the KhMAO – 11%, in Bashkortostan: among the Bashkirs – 10%, among the ethnic Russians 17%. Nevertheless, the problem exists.

The study established risk groups and situations of risk. The questionnaire contained the question of the admissibility of violence in interethnic disputes. Absolute majority of people in all regions considered violence unacceptable (70-85%). Meanwhile, however, a considerable part of the respondents agreed that the “violence is possible, if justice for my people /or faith/is violated” (Table 1).

**Table 1: Admissibility of violence in defense of their people's interests**

Region	“Violence is acceptable if violated justice for my people and faith”		Across the region
<b>Moscow</b>	Ethnic Russians	38	37
	Other nationalities	31	
<b>Astrakhan</b>	Ethnic Russians	38	35
	Other nationalities	28	
<b>Kaliningrad</b>	Ethnic Russians	36	33
	Other nationalities	22	
<b>Karelia</b>	Ethnic Russians	50	47
	Other nationalities	39	
<b>Stavropol</b>	Ethnic Russians	46	45
	Other nationalities	35	
<b>Bashkortostan</b>	Ethnic Russians	39	34
	Bashkirs	35	
	Tatars	30	
<b>KhMAO</b>	Ethnic Russians	32	26
	Bashkirs	22	
	Tatars	22	

The table shows that the groups of risk are most represented in the less prosperous region (Karelia), and the region influenced by post-conflict situation – Stavropol region. In fact, it reflects the tendencies in the country.

■ The study showed that generalized trust and distrust are in relative balance. Scale of generalized trust in the regions is close to 50%, ranging from 42% in the Moscow region to 48% in the Kaliningrad region, it is not influenced by the administrative status of the region (“Oblast”, “Republic”, “Krai”), the same for ethnic majority and people of other ethnicity (except Stavropol Region). Generalized trust is the social capital, improving interethnic relations. The level of interethnic and interreligious trust in regions was higher



than the level of generalized trust. We fixed a paradoxical situation - people have less trust to people in general than to the representatives of other ethnicity and other religious traditions. Despite the fact that the majority of Russians speak for preservation of the secular state, Orthodoxy and Islam as the most important elements of the traditional cultural systems of Russia are obviously involved in the creation of a local culture of trust in the region.

■ There are moments of risk, manifested in the perception of the important Constitutional dispositions that reflect the interethnic relations. The monitoring studies of the Institute of Sociology FNISC RAS led by M.K. Gorshkov since the 1990s had the indicators that fix the presentations of Russians on the role of the ethnic factor in nation-building. One of them is about the place of ethnic Russians in the state, in fact the attitude towards the norms of the Constitution about the equality of people regardless of their nationality. The following table (Table 2) shows the respondent's answers since 1995.

**Table 2: Relationship to the norms of the Constitution on the equality of people regardless of nationality, %**

	1995	1998	2004	2017	2018
Russia must be a state of ethnic Russian people	1	1	7	0	0
Russia is multiethnic country, but ethnic Russian, as the majority, should have more rights	4	0	4	0	0
Russia - a common home for all peoples. All peoples should have equal rights	5	4	4	8	8

As you can see, the position “Russia is a common home for all peoples. All peoples should have equal rights decreased since 1995 by 17 percent. And the position “Ethnic Russian as a majority, should have more rights” since the 2000s increased by 10 percent. However, in 2017-2018 there was no growth since 2004 and the range of positions was decreased, “Russia should be a state of ethnic Russian people.” In regions of more educated population - in Moscow and Kaliningrad region, the position, “Russia is the common home...” has 5573%, even more in the republics 85-93%. So we observe differences in the perception of the equality of the norms of the Constitution. In 2018 was made supplements to the State National Policy Strategy until 2025. It contains a reaction to this situation. There appeared enhanced focus on strengthening civic identity, the unity of society through increased civic engagement and noted the special role of ethnic Russian culture. But it is important to clarify the opinion of power.

■ Consolidation trends are reflected in the all-Russian civic identity. A clear majority of citizens (70-84%) is aware of their civic identity (20 to 50% often associate themselves with the citizens of Russia, to a certain extent this caused by the fact that people make less cross-country comparisons than, the profession or generation comparisons).

Russian civil identity is multicausal. The general trend: in the republics and for ethnic non-Russian the semantic content of all-Russian identity mostly contains the state, citizenship, law observance, a sense of responsibility for the fate of the country. Among the ethnic Russian dominates state and civil component and a higher proportion of association because of the history and culture.

The more modernized region is, the stronger is associated civil identity.

In the world of humanities was found that civic identity contributes to interethnic accord, and high ethnic identity can stimulate ethnocentric attitudes. Our research has shown that civic identity does not remove the ethnic prejudices, but positively effects the attitudes in labor and neighbor spheres. In the study regions we discovered a trend of compatibility of civil identity and positive ethnic consolidation. Risks are associated with over exaggerated ethnic consolidation (choices all means are good to protect my people's interests", "violence is permissible, if violated justice towards my people" 20-30%).

Positive civil consolidation is supported by common objectives that can unite the Russian society (more than 50% selected the answers to "ensure the law and order in the country", "ensure the welfare of the people", and from 40 to 45% selected "justice in society").

Civic consolidation and interethnic accord is carried on ability to negotiate, listen and understand each other, so called self-regulation. We fixed it during our research in Bashkortostan and Tatarstan, where existed obvious tension due to abolition of compulsory study of the state languages in republics, and we have seen the ability to regulate the tension among the authorities in the republics, as well as among citizens.

■ During the study we paid particular attention to the study of the relationships between the host population and internal migrants, mainly from the North Caucasus, and the integration of migrants into the local community. It was found that successful integration of immigrants is determined by their socio-demographic characteristics, migration experience, financial situation and value orientations, including adaptation. Low integration of the local residents limits the integration of immigrants.

The structure of the identities of the integrated visitors looks similar to the identity of local people, perceived as a model, the standard of social behavior. Integrated respondents are more incorporated into society: they identify themselves not only as the residents of the settlement (the dominant identity), but also as the citizens of Russia, people of their own faith, nationality, their social environment - professional, social and status. Similarly, the structures of identities of non-integrated visitors and locals are identical in their contours. Differences in attitudes and social behavior of respondents are determined not only by socio-economic conditions. The psychological characteristics of individuals

and the specificity of their social environment and their perception of the social environment play important role.

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## Factors Determining Attitudes Towards Immigration in Russia (Based on the ESS 2016)

### ABSTRACT

*The topic of studying attitudes towards immigrants has been studied since the 1950s by such authors as Adorno, Allport and their social and psychological theories. Now the most common theory in the study of this subject is the theory of group threat. In the article, on the basis of the reviewed modern studies, factors that may affect attitudes towards immigrants have been identified. Based on the data of the European Social Survey for 2016, it was revealed that the majority of respondents have a negative attitude to the impact of immigration on the economy and culture of the country, as well as on Russia as a place for life in general. Using linear regression with dummy variables, factors influencing the assessment of changes introduced by immigrants are analyzed. All considered dependent variables are influenced by factors such as values (tradition, security, power). The variable on the impact of immigration on a country's economy is influenced by such variables as age, political orientation and generalized level of trust. The variable about the impact of immigration on culture, as well as the variable about assessing the effects of immigration on life in a country is affected by a generalized level of trust. In conclusion, the author gives a discussion on what kind of immigration policy could be optimal for Russia.*

**Keywords:** European social survey; immigration crisis; immigrants; indigenous people; interaction of cultures.

### Introduction

The flows of uncontrolled immigration from Africa, the Middle East and other regions, and the unpreparedness for this situation led to the development of the immigration crisis in Europe. This process, which began in 2015, is accompanied by a clash of cultures, manifested in the dissimilarity of the customs and standards of immigrant's behaviour and the receiving population. All this leads to a surge in crime, inter-ethnic and social tensions, often resulting in negative assessments by the host population, of the changes introduced by immigrants.

In modern Russian society, a significant increase in immigration flows is also noted, primarily in connection with the events in Ukraine, the growth of labor migration from the CIS countries. Researchers such as M. Gorshkov, L. Drobizheva, E. Filipova, N. Lebedeva, N. Kosmarskaya, G. Vitkovskaya, J. Zayonchkovskaya, I. Badyshtova, I Karabash, and others record an increase in negative attitudes towards immigration. The

same trend is reflected in the Levada-Center polls, according to which over the course of 10 years, the number of people who believe that immigrants are poorly educated people who are only capable of low-skilled labor has increased from 28 to 32%. Most of the Russians surveyed believe that it is necessary to limit the influx of visitors (the maximum number of such respondents is 80% recorded in 2016) [Mukhameshina, 2017]. However, in the same year, the immigration increases in the population of Russia amounted to 259.6 thousand people (92.9% of the total population increase). And if, according to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in the first 11 months of 2016, the number of foreign citizens entering Russia decreased by 6.2% due to a decrease in their inflow from Kazakhstan and Ukraine, the number of foreign citizens who received Russian citizenship increased by 32.2%. In such a situation, it is important how Russians assess the changes introduced by immigrants into their lives, and what influences this assessment?

### **Background**

The topic of attitude to immigrants of the host population has a long history and covers a wide range of research problems. To date, there has accumulated a large layer of literature. The first works appeared in the 1950s. The interest of researchers is aimed primarily at finding the causes of negative attitudes towards immigrants. So, in the classic works of G. Allport and T. Adorno [Allport, 1958; Adorno, 1950], presented extensive material on the individual characteristics of the person, predetermining a negative attitude towards immigrants, the receiving population.

G. Allport's theory is based on the statement that each person is individual, unique and has certain psychological characteristics. The set of qualities and inclinations of an individual to something gives us the opportunity to predict his behaviour in various situations (for example, if a person is aggressive and unbalanced, then we can assume that he will be aggressive in certain situations). Personality traits are not only a specific set of characteristic values and qualities for an individual, but also a chain: an incentive a trait a response. In the book of G. Allport, he cites an interesting example in the form of Mr. McCarley, one of the characteristics of which is the fear of communism. Because of this fear, he is spreading similar social incentives to Russians, as such, and he also supports various ways of dealing with the Communists. This leads to hostility of the individual, in which the Communists act as a stimulus. As a result, there is a fear of communism, as a personality trait, causing a response (for example, support for a nuclear war against the countries of the communist camp). The personality trait according to G. Allport is what causes and typifies the peculiarities of the personality's behaviour. After compiling a list of 4,500 different traits, he divided them into three categories. The first is the cardinal features that dominate the entire personality of a person (it is believed that the cardinal features are quite rare). The second is the central features that are common to our personalities (examples include such features as kindness, honesty, and friendliness). An

example of a secondary trait is nervousness before giving a speech to a large group of people. And the third - the secondary features that are present only under certain conditions and circumstances. support of nuclear war against the countries of the communist camp).

T. Adorno formulated the syndrome of an authoritarian (ethnocentric) personality. He singled out the main features that characterize the “authoritarian personality” - blind adherence to authority, mechanical obedience to generally accepted rules and values, stereotyped thinking, aggressiveness, cynicism, susceptibility to superstition, sexual hypocrisy, evil attitude to everything human. Such a person has a rigid system of social attitudes, which manifests itself mainly in the sphere of interpersonal relations. The “authoritarian personality” has negative social attitudes towards all outgroups, following rigid social stereotypes. An outgroup is a group to which a person does not belong or believes that he does not belong, for which he selects the symbolic meaning “not us”. That is, an authoritarian personality according to T. Adorno initially has a negative attitude towards immigrants as an outgroup. T. Adorno believes that such individuals are numerous, so you need to find a weapon to prevent the spread of the authoritarian personality syndrome.

At the same time, other researchers were looking for the reason for the negative attitude towards immigrants not in their internal personal characteristics, but in the contradictions of groups. The results of these studies formed the basis of the group conflict theory, which is based on the idea of the role of competition for limited resources between groups, in which the attitude to external groups becomes more negative. They are perceived as competing for these resources, which creates a bias against them [Blumer, 1958]. (See also Blalock, 1967; Quillian, 1995, etc.).

The theory of group conflict is part of the theory of ethnic competition [Scheepers, Gijssberts, Coenders; 2002], and attempts to explain the ethnic differences in the negative attitudes of one ethnic group towards another. The latter is based on the theory of identity, according to which people define themselves and other people from the point of view of the social groups to which they belong [Tajfel, Turner, 1979:39], that is, identify themselves with their group and oppose it to external groups. Therefore, group classification is necessary to identify people.

The theory of group threats was originally developed to study the attitude of whites to the African American minority in the United States. Although the theory was formulated in general terms, it cannot fully explain the relationship between immigrants and indigenous people. Since in the USA the historical aspect played an important role (racial laws and legal exploitation), as well as the fact that these groups are relatively coherent and stable. For example, the relative share of whites and blacks in the United States is likely to remain more or less the same over time, which is different from the relationship between indigenous people and immigrants. Moreover, unlike national minorities (majority), the status of immigrants does not pass from one generation to another.



Despite these differences, the theory of group threats is widely used in research aimed at studying immigration. So, L. Quillian demonstrated that attitudes towards immigrants, like racial prejudices, can be attributed to threats. The threat experience arose as a strong and consistent explanation of anti-immigrant relations. There are two groups: immigrants and indigenous people, and there are boundaries of their membership. Each national group unites into an imaginary society or a socially constructed group based on similarity, which also determines the borders of outsiders. As Jones and Smith said: “By definition, national communities are composed of those who are included but surrounded (literally or metaphorically) by those who are excluded”. Although immigrants are a diverse group that includes people of different backgrounds, experiences, and cultures, they are united in that they are not natives.

The experience of a threat may concern various aspects of life, they may be economic (material) and cultural (symbolic). Economic concerns include access to employment, housing and social benefits, while cultural threats relate to the perception that other groups undermine values, national symbols or cultural traits. But regardless of whether the threat is primarily economic or cultural, depending on the context in which intergroup relations are played out, the threat theory group sees that environmental conditions are central to the emergence of anti-immigrant relations, since contexts can both function and to intensify how to reduce the feeling of threat, therefore, to increase or decrease the number of anti-immigrant moods. For example, rising unemployment and a recession imply tougher competition between immigrants and indigenous people. In this context, attitudes towards immigrants tend, as aborigines perceive an increased threat to their economic well-being.

The context in the theory of group threats concerns not only material circumstances, although this is something that was primarily tested in empirical studies [Quillian, 1995; Scheepers, Gijsberts, Coenders, 2002]. The theory also emphasizes that contexts are characterized by less tangible “symbolic” elements and how such intangible circumstances can influence negative attitudes towards immigrants. This includes, for example, the role of religion in society, specific historical circumstances and various political discourses.

Intangible contexts, as well as material ones, can influence the negative attitude towards immigrants through different levels of threat: economic or cultural, based on real circumstances or on prejudice. Blumer, describing the processes that lead to biased relationships, emphasizes the importance of circumstances that are “insignificant” in nature. He says that the historical, social and political environment influences the formation of prejudice. Threat levels can be influenced by what happens in the political arena, thereby affecting the estimated size of the immigrant population. For example, if the government spends a lot of time on issues of immigration and the presence of immigrants in official political discourse, this may lead to an increase in the level of negative attitudes towards immigrants, since this indicates that immigration is a large-scale phenomenon. Also,

political leaders can evaluate this phenomenon, both positively and negatively, the latter also leads to an increase in the level of negative attitudes towards immigrants.

### **Factors determining attitudes towards immigrants**

Currently, international open databases such as ESS, EVS, WVS, ISSP, Eurobarometer are being actively used to study changes in attitudes towards immigrants and to assess the changes introduced by immigrants. The subject of the analysis is most often the reasons for negative assessments of immigrants.

The main research interest is aimed at finding the causes of negative attitudes towards immigrants, the most common is the division into cultural / economic factors of influence, but the content of “economic” and “cultural” factors differs among different authors. Among economic factors, the authors point out: competition in the labor market [Muller, Tai; 2010; Card, Dustmann, Preston; 2005; Mayda; 2006; Turner; 2010; Meuleman, Davidov, Billiet; 2009; Markaki, Longhi; 2013; Constant, Kahanec, Zimmermann; 2009], level of income [Turner; 2010; Card, Dustmann, Preston; 2005; Citrin, Green, Muste, Wong; 1967; Heath, Richards; 2016], social class [Card, Dustmann, Preston; 2005; Bessudnov; 2015], GDP level [Meuleman, Davidov, Billiet; 2009; Mayda; 2006; Brenner, Fertig; 2006; Semyonov, Raijman, Gorodzeisky; 2008], the share of immigrants in the population [Turner; 2010; Meuleman, Davidov, Billiet; 2009; Rustenbach; 2010], employment [Dajnoki, Mate, Fenyves, Kun; 2017; Bessudnov; 2015].

Cultural values and beliefs are attributed [Muller, Tai; 2010; Turner; 2010; Ponizovskiy; 2016; Hainmueller, Hiscox; 2007; Constant, Kahanec, Zimmermann; 2009; Davidov, Meuleman; 2012; Sagiv, Schwartz; 1995]. For example, researchers use in the analysis the values identified by the method of S. Schwartz [Schwartz, Bilsky; 1990] (achievement, power, safety, conformism, tradition, benevolence, universalism, independence, stimulation), and also use the values according to R. Inglehart's method (values of materialism-postmaterialism). Cultural factors also include the respondent's national identity [Grigoryan, Ponizovskiy; 2018].

Among the socio-demographic factors distinguish: age [Heath, Richards; 2016; Card, Dustmann, Preston; 2005; Gang, Rivera-Batiz, Yun; 2002], education level [Semyonov, Raijman, Gorodzeisky; 2006; Malchow-Moeller, Munch, Schroll, Skaksen; 2006; Brenner, Fertig; 2006; Hainmueller, Hiscox; 2007; Heath, Richards; 2016; Constant, Kahanec, Zimmermann; 2009; Turner; 2010; Avdiu; 2018], gender [Turner; 2010; O'Rourke, Sinnott; 2006], qualification level of immigrants [Avdiu; 2018; Markaki, Longhi; 2013; Mayda; 2006; Scheve, Slaughter; 2001; O'Rourke, Sinnott; 2006; Facchini, Mayda; 2009], settlement type [Gang, Rivera-Batiz, Yun; 2002; Hjerm 2009], marital status [Mukomel; 2017].

In a series of influencing variables, researchers single out human capital, measuring it through an interpersonal level of trust [Rustenbach; 2010; Barcelo; 2016].

In addition, the influence of “contextual” factors is considered. Among them: religiosity [Bohman; 2014; Scheepers, Gijsberts, Coenders; 2002; Card, Dustmann, Preston; 2005], political orientation [Semyonov, Raijman, Gorodzeisky; 2006; Bohman; 2014; Gorinas, Pytlikova; 2017], the use of national rhetoric by political representatives [Bohman; 2014; Slotte; 2015], the effects of media exposure [Kosho; 2016].

In a series of influencing variables, researchers single out human capital, measuring it through an interpersonal level of trust [Rustenbach; 2010; Barcelo; 2016].

However, this whole broad picture of research still does not take into account the regional and historical specifics of European countries, the particular immigration flows of each of them. Such averaging does not allow an adequate assessment of the reasons for the negative attitude towards immigration in each specific case. Thus, most of the works do not consider the ethnic hierarchy, and therefore there is no answer to the question: what the most negative attitude to immigrants of what nationality in this is or that host country and why does this happen. It should be noted that the base of the European social research does not allow the analysis of the ethnic hierarchy of immigrants. It contains two questions, different in the sense of the block, about the attitude towards immigrant respondents in the country and about the changes introduced by immigrants. In research practice, these two sets of questions are often combined into a common index. However, the experience of analyzing these data shows that consideration of these blocks of questions separately gives different results, different determinants of attitude, therefore the results of such a merging may distort the result. The general problems of research include the problem of equivalence of wording, which, in particular, is indicated in [Karandashev; 2004]. It is not certain that the same questions from the research questionnaire have the same meaning when translated into languages of different countries covered by the ESS. An example of this is the question from the ESS questionnaire regarding the relocation of immigrants to the respondent's country. When translated into Russian, the answer options are as follows: 1) allow many to come and live here; 2) allow few; 3) allow some; 4) do not allow anyone. As a result, it is very difficult to determine the significant difference between the “little” and “some” variant (in Russian, these are, in fact, synonyms), which cannot but affect the interpretation of the data obtained. Therefore, in the future, I will limit myself to analyzing the set of questions concerning the changes introduced by immigrants in the life of the host country.

### **Factors assessing the changes introduced by immigrants in Russia**

In a series of studies devoted to attitudes towards changes introduced by immigrants in Russia, it is necessary to note the work [Bessudnov, 2015]. In her, in my opinion, the most fully of domestic studies, identifies the reasons for the negative attitude to the changes introduced by immigrants. A. Bessudnov uses the data of the Public Opinion Foundation for 2011. The model he applied made it possible to compare attitudes towards immigrants

and immigration across regions of Russia and to identify the effect of various factors on this attitude. Analyzing the impact of socio-demographic factors, he found that gender does not have a significant effect, that older people express negative attitudes a little less than young ones, but the difference of this effect is very small. The same small difference is recorded in the case of education: respondents with higher education are less hostile to immigration than respondents with secondary and vocational education. Respondents living in rural areas are less hostile to immigrants than residents of large cities.

Checking the influence of economic factors, Bessudnov examines the respondents' employment, income, and belonging to a social class. They found that none of these factors have statistical significance. In a number of contextual factors, he considers religion. Here, according to his data, there is no significant difference in relation to the immigration of Orthodox Christians and atheists, while Buddhists, Jews and non-Orthodox Christians are less negatively disposed towards immigration.

In the socio-demographic section, it is necessary to note the work of V. Mukomel, conducted on the data of 24 waves of RLMS-HSE. Its significant result is a socio-demographic portrait of respondents who express negative attitudes towards immigrants. The author cites data that women, older ages, who grew up in Soviet times, live in a formal marriage and have a high level of education, as opposed to respondents who have negative attitudes towards immigration — men, younger or secondary — are more positively inclined to immigration. age with an unstable marital status and a low level of education [Mukomel, 2017].

T. Paas, O. Demidova on the ESS data for 2010 conducted a comparative analysis of the determinants of attitudes towards immigration in Russia and Estonia. They found that respondents with higher incomes, more religious, are more positive about immigration in both countries. Socio-demographic characteristics were significant only in Estonia [Paas, Demidova; 2014]. And L. Grigoryan, in a study conducted by the International Laboratory for Socio-Cultural Research at HSE, in 2011, in order to identify the structure of national identity in Russia and test the influence of various components of national identity on attitudes towards immigrants, showed that respondents with higher income Those who express great pride in the existing political system are more positive in their attitude towards immigrants, since they do not compete with them in the labor market. [Grigoryan, 2016]

Not to mention the work [Gorodzeisky, Glikman, Maskileysen; 2014], where a multi-level analysis was carried out on the ESS data (2006) in order to find out whether explanations applied to immigrants in Europe can be used in Russia. The authors came to the conclusion that neither the socio-economic position of individuals, nor conservative views (cultural model) do not make sense in predicting attitudes against immigration in Russia. And V. Ponizovsky also on the ESS data (2010, 2012) examined the effect of values on attitudes towards immigration in 25 European countries, including Russia. His

research showed that the value of universalism is the best predictor in relation to immigration, and the value of security is the most negative [Ponizovskiy, 2016].

Summing up the brief review of the research, I note that they were conducted on different databases, solved different research problems. The purpose of this work is to check which factors from the category of economic, cultural, socio-demographic, contextual factors and factors of human capital have a significant impact on attitudes towards the changes introduced by immigrants to Russia, using ESS data (2016).

### **Data and method**

This article uses the eighth wave of the ESS for 2016. The study has been conducted every two years since 2002, Russia has been participating since 2006. The Institute of Comparative Social Research is conducting the ESS in Russia. The advantage of the empirical base of European social research is its high reliability of data, as well as their general availability. Currently, the database for 2016 presents data for 23 countries (total sample 44387 respondents, in Russia 2430). Samples were random or random stratified.

The data collection procedure is carried out using the method of a mass selective survey conducted during a personal interview at home with respondents. Sampling for each country is based on the principle of randomness, while in Russia, random sampling takes place at the level of federal districts. For each country, the questionnaire undergoes an adapted translation procedure; interviews in Russia are carried out exclusively in Russian. It is also possible to include specific questions for each of the countries, for example, concerning politics, religious preferences and others. The survey is carried out on the basis of a representative sample, the sample model is a stratified multistage territorial sample of the population, the respondents can be people 15 years and older. The total sample size per wave is at least 40,000 respondents in all countries, that participate in survey.

The base was pre-weighted at post-stratification weight. Post-stratification weighting is a complex weighting strategy that uses auxiliary information to reduce sampling error and potential unbiased bias. They were built using information on age group, gender, education, and region. Weights after stratification are obtained by adjusting the design weights so that they repeat the distribution of cross-classification by age group, gender and education in the population and the marginal distribution by region in the population.

To assess the changes that immigrants bring to the life of our country, we used the answers to three questions from their ESS database: 1. Do you think that people from other countries are moving to Russia, in general, have a good or bad effect on the Russian economy? 2 Do you think the influx of people from other countries is more likely to destroy or rather enrich the culture of Russia? 3. Do you think that with the influx of people from other countries Russia as a place to live gets better or worse? (table 1).

All three variables were measured on an eleven-point scale, where 0 means negative, and 10 means positive.

**Table 1: Questions about immigrants in the ESS database**

Questions about immigration	Variables
The perceived impacts of and threats from immigrants	<p>1. Would you say it is generally bad or good for Russia's economy that people come to live here from other countries? 0 - Bad for the economy, 10 - Good for economy.</p> <p>2. Would you say that Russia's cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries? 0 - Cultural life undermined, 10 - Cultural life enriched.</p> <p>3. Is Russia made a worse or a better place to live by people coming to live here from other countries? 0 - Worse place to live, 10 - Better place to live.</p>

To determine the factors influencing the negative assessment of attitudes towards changes that, in the opinion of the respondents, immigrants bring to the life of the country, a linear regression analysis with dummy variables procedure was carried out. This procedure was chosen because it allows you to enter variables that are not suitable for simple linear regression in the analysis (nominal in the form of dichotomous variables, such as dichotomous scales possess the properties of interval scales, in particular, they determine the arithmetic mean in the form of a fraction and variance).

The linear regression specification with dummy variables is as follows:

$$y = b_0 + b_1Q_1 + b_2Q_2 + b_3Q_3 + \dots b_iQ_i$$

where  $y$  is a dependent variable (three variables of the attitude of Russians to the changes that immigrants bring),  $Q$  is a set of independent explanatory variables (factors affecting the attitude towards immigrants).  $b_0$  is the average value of the dependent variable  $y$  for the control group.  $b_i$  is the difference in mean values of the dependent variable between the control group and the group for which the dummy variable  $Q_i$  was created. Control group consists of gender: man, domicile: suburbs of big city, legal marital status: married, level of education: secondary education.

In our early studies [Mastikova, 2019] we created an integrated variable, that consisted of variables means from table 1, but now we know that if we construct separate regression equations for each of the questions about the consequences of immigration, the statistical significance of the models increases.



The independent economic, cultural, socio-demographic, contextual factors, factor of human capital described above. Since we are limited by the conditions of the database, we have selected the available analogues of the influencing factors. Among the economic factors, the impact of the income level of the respondents was checked. Among cultural factors are the values identified by the method of S. Schwartz. Among socio-demographic factors are age, level of education, gender, domicile. Among the “contextual” factors: the level of religiosity, the political orientation of the respondent. We use all 10 values in our study because the multicollinear test showed the absence or weak correlation between the variables.

Regarding the economic factor, we assume that the higher the level of income, the better the assessment of the consequences of immigration will be. Since respondents with high incomes will not compete with immigrants and will not see them as a threat.

Previous studies have demonstrated the effect of values of universalism, traditions and conformism on attitudes towards immigrants in numerous countries [Davidov, Meuleman; 2012; Sagiv, Schwartz; 1995]. It is noted that in countries where the values of universalism are widespread, and the values of tradition and conformity are not widely spread, a positive attitude towards immigrants will be observed.

Regardless of whether the threat to resources is primarily economic or cultural, depending on the context in which intergroup relations are played out, the threat theory group sees that environmental conditions are central to the emergence of anti-immigrant relations, since contexts can both function and intensify how to reduce the feeling of threat, therefore, to increase or decrease the number of anti-immigrant moods.

The context in the theory of group threats concerns not only material circumstances, although this is something that was primarily tested in empirical studies [Quillian; 1995; Schlueter, Wagner; 2008; Bohman; 2014]. The theory also emphasizes that contexts are characterized by less tangible “symbolic” elements and how such intangible circumstances can influence negative attitudes towards immigrants. This includes, for example, the role of religion in society, specific historical circumstances and political orientations.

Our previous studies have shown that with an increase in the level of religiosity, a positive attitude towards immigrants is growing. The more leftist the respondent holds, the more he positively assesses the consequences of immigration.

Most studies on attitudes towards immigrants have shown that higher-educated people seem to be positively relevant to immigrants [Mukomel, 2017]

The variable “gender” was introduced because the results were found that women are more positive towards immigrants than men [Mukomel, 2017].

Age was included as previous studies show that there is a negative relationship between age and attitudes toward immigrants [Mukomel, 2017].

Married respondents tend to be more positive towards immigrants [Mukomel; 2017].

Variable type of settlement, as earlier results were obtained that the smaller the type of settlement, the better the attitude towards immigrants [Mastikova, 2017].

We also we also assume that the greater the level of trust, the better the attitude towards immigrants [Mukomel, 2017].

## Result

Table 2 presents responses to three questions about the perceived impacts of and threats from immigrants (questions from Table 1). We observe, that most respondents from Russia mark dominant negative attitudes towards immigrants: 81,3% felt that immigration has negative impact on the economy, 83,3% felt that it has a negative impact on culture, 86,6% think that immigrants make Russia a worse place to live. We recoded the variables in such a way that the values from 0 to 5 mean a bad estimate, 6 means the average, 7 to 10 means good, using the recoding as in D. Bahry's article [Bahry, 2016].

**Table 2: Perceived Threats from Immigrants in Russia**

<b>Immigration bad or good for country's economy</b>	
Bad for the economy	81,3
Mid-point	7,2
Good for the economy	11,6
<b>Country's cultural life undermined or enriched by Immigrants</b>	
Cultural life undermined	83,3
Mid-point	6,8
Cultural life enriched	9,9
<b>Immigrants make country worse or better place to live</b>	
Worse place to live	86,6
Mid-point	5,5
Better place to live	7,9

What leads people to see immigration as a threat? To answer this question, we give three linear regression equations below.

The first dependent variable: immigration bad or good for country's economy, high = more positive attituded. The results of the regression analysis presented in table 1.

Column “model 1” (table 3) provides influence of socio-demographics factors on the variable “Immigration bad or good for country’s economy”, focused on the effect of age, plus control variables for gender, level of education, domicile and legal marital status. Data demonstrate low explanatory ability (adjusted R square = 0.090), so we cannot make an interpretation of this model. But we can do it on the date of four other models.

Model 2 examines the effect of socio-demographics and cultural factors. As the data demonstrate, the younger respondents are the more positive they will estimate Immigration for Russia’s economy. Three domiciles concerned with negative attitude toward immigration. And six values also effect on dependent variable. The more respondents look like people who don’t share values of Security, Tradition, Self-Direction, Hedonism, Achievement and Power, the more positive they will have view of immigration for country’s economy. Model 3 adds Economic Factors: it looks logical, that people with large income will positive estimate Immigration, as they haven’t got any material problems, so Immigration don’t matter them. Model 4 adds Context Factors.

We will concentrate on model 5, that includes all the factors, it has 0.195 adjusted R square. Among socio-demographics factor, we can see that age is still significance. It turns out that older respondents tend to have more negative attitudes toward immigration. It can be assumed that mass media influences on this group of society as older people are the most active consumers of media. We see that in Russia the media often covers the European Immigration crisis in a propagandistic way, shows only negative consequences of immigration, forming image of immigrant as a danger to humans.

We see that respondents who don’t share values of security, tradition, power have more positive attitude towards immigration. We supposed that people who share value of universalism will have positive attitudes, but this hypothesis wasn’t confirmed. But other our suposition was justified. Respondents, who don’t share value of tradition have more positive attitude towards Immigration. The value of security can explain in the theory by R. Inghart. His concept of materialism values includes tradition and security as oposed to postmaterialism. The values of materialism are shared by people who are thinking about survival. In such a situation, it is logical that they will see the threat in Immigrants. As for the values of self-direction, hedonism, here we still have no hypotheses explaining this pattern. Perhaps, in order to understand this, further work should be considered that groups do not share these values. Perhaps this is the solution.

Among Context Factors the variable “placement on left right scale” is significance, the more people will espouse left views, the more they will positive estimate Immigration for country’s economy. This conclusion also does not seem unexpected. Considering that suporters of left views, in particular, advocate social equality and improved living conditions for the least privileged sections of society.

**Table 3: Regression models for Variable  
“Immigration bad or good for Russian’s economy”**

Factors	Independent(s)	Standardized Coefficients/ Beta				
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Socio-demographics Factor	Female	-.025	-.032	.021	.031	.036
	Age	-.232**	-.236**	-.232**	-.151*	-.147*
	Big city	-.184*	-.171*	-.364*	-.365	-.374
	Town	-.255*	-.243*	-.408*	-.454*	-.468
	Country village	-.205*	-.194*	-.368*	-.335	-.341
	Farm	-0.098*	-.102*	-.067	-.082	-.084
	Legally separated/divorced	.167	.213	.170	.328	.329
	Never married	.205	.243	.157	.401*	.406
	Primary education	.039	.026	.043	.062	.067
	Higher education	-.004	-.006	-.033	-.009	-.006
Cultural Factor	Security	-	.302**	.375**	.412*	.425*
	Conformity	-	.201	.282*	.381	.410
	Tradition	-	.317**	.349*	.429	.439*
	Benevolence	-	.130	.166	.248	.278
	Universalism	-	.216	.195	.354	.383
	Self-Direction	-	.282**	.372**	.513*	.519
	Stimulation	-	.234	.339*	.476	.503
	Hedonism	-	.283*	.302*	.432	.459
	Achievement	-	.251*	.235*	.296	.309
	Power	-	.295**	.366**	.408*	.420*
Economic Factor	Household’s total net income	-	-	.112**	.089	.086
Context Factor	How religious are you	-	-	-	.034	0.19
	Placement on left right scale	-	-	-	-.101*	-.113*
Factor of Human Capital	Generalised trust in people	-	-	-	-	.097*
Constant		5.361**	5.216**	5.714**	4.716**	3.970**
Adjusted R Square		0.090**	0.110**	0.163**	0.188**	0.195**

\*\*  $p \leq 0.01$ ; \* $p \leq 0.05$ ;  $p \leq 0.10$ .

The following regression model contains in as dependent variable “Country's cultural life undermined or enriched by immigrants” (table 4). The fifth model has the greatest explanatory power, it's Adjusted R Square is 0.155

The positive influence of immigrants on the culture of our country is due to the lack of commitment to the following values: security, tradition and power. And all this fit into the concept of values of a traditional society, as oposed to modern society [Maskikova, 2015].

The variable “generalised trust in people” has a significant impact on the dependent variable, the higher it is, the more respondents think that Country's cultural life enriched by immigrants. It is noted that trust is an important component of the positive psychological background of intergroup and interpersonal relations, expressed in an open attitude towards “others”, in a sense of security [Social Inequality, 2002:154].

**Table 4: Regression models for Variable “Country's cultural life undermined or enriched by immigrants”**

Factors	Independent(s)	Standardized Coefficients/ Beta				
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Socio-demographics Factors	Female	.008	-.004	-.016	-.003	.011
	Age	-.144*	-.104	-.084	-.019	-.018
	Big city	.239**	.260**	.271**	.275*	.249
	Town	.270**	.298**	.286**	.308**	.275
	Country village	.322**	.351**	.353**	.350**	.334
	Farm	.029	.017	.033	.031	.028
	Legally separated/divorced	.049	.117	.079	.263	.252
	Never married	.161	.229	.173	.398*	.392
	Primary education	.092*	.071*	.084*	.091*	.097
	Higher education	.001	-.007	-.011	.008	.014

Continuation of Table 4.

Factors	Independent(s)	Standardized Coefficients/ Beta				
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Cultural Factors	Security	-	.451**	.418**	.565*	.589*
	Conformity	-	.351*	.364*	.562*	.621
	Tradition	-	.422**	.415*	.609*	.641*
	Benevolence	-	.261*	.274*	.453*	.516
	Universalism	-	.263*	.268*	.473*	.542
	Self-Direction	-	.393**	.448**	.677*	.690
	Stimulation	-	.298*	.321*	.535*	.599
	Hedonism	-	.402**	.397*	.607*	.665
	Achievement	-	.326*	.319*	.489*	.519
	Power	-	.444**	.480**	.604*	.623*
Economic Factors	Household's total net income	-	-	.019	.006	-.009
Context Factors	How religious are you	-	-	-	-.034	-.071
	Placement on left right scale	-	-	-	.050	.024
Factor of Human Capital	Generalised trust in people	-	-	-	-	.231**
Constant		2.404*	1.926*	1.757*	.505	-.414
Adjusted R Square		0.070**	0.124**	0.106**	0.107**	0.155**

\*\*  $p \leq 0.01$ ; \* $p \leq 0.05$ ;  $p \leq 0.10$ .

The next regression equation (table 5) checks the relationship between the influencing factors mentioned above and the dependent variable (immigrants make country



worse or better place to live). Here, as in the previous equation, we observe a connection with generalised trust in people, with the same regularity. And the same values (security, tradition and power) are significant.

**Table 5: Regression models for Variable “Immigrants make country worse or better place to live”**

Factors	Independent(s)	Standardized Coefficients/ Beta				
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Socio-demographics Factors	Female	.031	.021	.017	.058	.071
	Age	-.167**	-.130*	-.069	-.015	-.018
	Big city	.262**	.287**	.276**	.304*	.279
	Town	.276**	.317**	.287**	.320*	.288
	Country village	.301**	.334**	.322**	.320**	.308
	Farm	.014	.019	.036	.036	.033
	Legally separated/divorced	.251	.299*	.231	-.037	-.039
	Never married	.290*	.335*	.271	.072	.069
	Primary education	.057	.032	.075*	.090	.097
	Higher education	-.021	-.030	-.040	-.035	-.028
Cultural Factors	Security	-	.356*	.373*	.490*	.533*
	Conformity	-	.178	.213	.417	.499
	Tradition	-	.369*	.378*	.631*	.684*
	Benevolence	-	.155	.192	.353	.440
	Universalism	-	.122	.139	.370	.464
	Self-Direction	-	.301*	.356*	.610*	.642
	Stimulation	-	.136	.194	.420	.512
	Hedonism	-	.312*	.309*	.574*	.664
	Achievement	-	.216*	.223	.454	.512
	Power	-	.356**	.369*	.484*	.527*
Economic Factors	Household's total net income	-	-	.049	.024	.011

Continuation of Table 5.

Factors		Independent(s)	Standardized Coefficients/ Beta				
			Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Context Factors		How religious are you	-	-	-	.058	.034
		Placement on left right scale	-	-	-	-.032	-.068
Factor of Human Capital		Generalised trust in people	-	-	-	-	.219**
		Constant	1.595*	1.243**	.959	1.687	0.851
		Adjusted R Square	0.046**	0.123**	0.101**	0.106**	0.149**

\*\*  $p \leq 0.01$ ; \*  $p \leq 0.05$ ;  $p \leq 0.10$ .

### Conclusion

As a result of the analysis, we see that the majority of Russians have a negative attitude towards the consequences of immigration on culture, economy, and life in the country as a whole. Most of our hypotheses about the influencing factors on this attitude were not confirmed, since they turned out to be not significant. In the three regression equations we considered, with different dependent variables (tables 2-4), we found that all of them are affected by the same values (security, tradition, power). The more the respondent shares these values, the worse his attitude towards the consequences of immigration.

As for the variable immigration bad or good for the Russian economy then the following variables were influencing it: age, political orientation and values.

For the other two dependent variables, the influencing variables turned out to be the same: trust and values. It should be said that many of the variables mentioned in the theoretical part of the article could not be checked due to the absence in the database. We hope to continue to explore this topic further using our own empirical research, including a wider list of independent variables.

In connection with the data obtained, it seems important to answer the question: what kind of policy on Immigrants could be optimal in Russia? The results of the study, as already noted, fix the negative attitude of Russians to the changes introduced by Immigrants. At the same time, it is clear that the scale of the Immigration crisis in Russia compared with European countries is much smaller. It can be assumed that the information about the Immigration crisis in Europe itself will negatively affect the Russians. Although there is no data available to test this effect. At the same time, information related to the

successes of European countries in overcoming the Immigration crisis can bring some comfort to the minds and contribute to a certain mitigation of negative moods. It seems, however, that the policy of multiculturalism, pursued in some countries of the European Union, is unlikely to be accepted and supported by the population of Russia. But the policy of “closed doors”, which, perhaps temporarily and involuntarily, is now adhered to by the countries through which the transit of Immigrants passes, does not suit us either.

Russia faces an acute problem of the loss of the able-bodied population, which is currently being addressed, in particular, by attracting labour immigrants. This situation can be aggravated, since the population of Russia in 1993–2008 decreased by 5.2 million people, and if there were no immigration, the reduction would have been 13.2 million. According to demographers [Vishnevsky, 2018], to stop natural decline. population, in the near future will need to take 500 thousand immigrants a year, and even more. This means that it is necessary at the level of state policy and the entire system of functioning of social institutions to create conditions under which, on the one hand, immigrants would go to Russia, and on the other, the receiving population would have a negative attitude towards this process.

As shown by the results of research of values, for example, R. Inglehart and S. Schwartz in order to achieve these goals are necessary: the satisfaction of basic needs, a sense of security, a high standard of living, etc. In addition, the achievement of goals is impossible without targeted activities to convey information to the public and on the positive effects of immigration. It is important that real measures to achieve these goals were included in the proposals for the immigration strategy of Russia until 2035. This document noted that the policy of integration of immigrants should be based on a reliable information base. It stresses that “the diversity of migration flows to Russia dictates the need for multiple policy options for the adaptation and integration of immigrants. The development of multiple models of immigrant integration is one of the most relevant areas of the immigration policy of Russia” [Ivakhnyuk, 2017:17].

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## **Specific Features of Deviant Behavior of Juveniles in Russia: on the Way of Criminalization and Desocialization**

### **ABSTRACT**

*The paper presents an analysis of the life situation of the so-called “prosperous” and “disadvantaged” minors in order to identify the most significant problems associated with the behavior, morality, worldview and lifestyle of children in difficult life situations, to trace the main stages of the formation of various forms of deviations. Special attention was paid to the factors contributing to adolescents’ turning on the criminal path. The analysis of the materials showed that the deviant behavior of minors in Russia is acquiring qualitatively new forms: the percentage of adolescents, who consider as a normal the behavior regarded by adults as deviating, has increased. There is a normalization of many types of deviant behavior - the criminalization of consciousness.*

**Keywords:** deviant behavior; delinquent behavior; adolescents; aggression; criminalization; socialization; de-socialization; social norm

The article is based on numerous studies conducted by the sector of sociology of deviant behavior in the last few years. The main purpose of the study is to consider the main stages of the formation of delinquent behavior of adolescents and to identify factors contributing to their turning on the criminal path.

Research objectives: consideration of the characteristics of the deviant behavior of adolescents in Russia; identification and study of various factors affecting the process of social adaptation of adolescents; analysis and rethinking of the role of such traditional factors affecting the deviant behavior of minors, as the family and their social environment in modern conditions; study of the role of informal groups in the formation of deviant behavior; study the most common forms of deviant behavior and defining the relationship between them; study of the phenomenon of aggression as a form of manifestation of deviant behavior of adolescents; studying the risk and extreme behavior of young people; analysis of legal consciousness and individual perception of the admissibility / inadmissibility of various forms of deviant behavior; the study of the formation of asocial attitudes as a precondition for extreme behavior; study of the main socio-psychological characteristics of adolescents convicted of committing a crime.

The study used traditional quantitative (student survey) and qualitative methods (semi-structured in-depth interviews, focus groups with parents and schoolchildren). The

empirical base of the study: online survey of participants of deviant groups on Internet devoted to theft and vandalism; a survey of adolescents registered in the Department for the prevention of juvenile crime (N=87); a survey of adolescents sentenced conditionally or to correctional labor for theft in the Yaroslavl region (N=207); a survey of adult respondents who committed crimes in adolescence (retrospective analysis, N=863). The study area includes: Moscow and Moscow Region, Yaroslavl Region (Yaroslavl, Rybinsk), Krasnodar Territory (Belorechensk), Nadym, Nizhnevartovsk, Kazan, Buzuluk, Vyatskiye Polyany and Mozhga. Online research further allowed interviewing teenagers from Moscow, Nizhny Novgorod, Orel, Lipetsk, Yekaterinburg, Omsk, Novosibirsk, as well as from the cities of the North-West Federal District: St. Petersburg, Pskov, Vologda, Syktyvkar and other locality.

The problem of deviations among young people that we are examining includes the study of the prevalence of deviations in society, the dynamics over time, relations with macro- and micro-social factors, as well as the internal patterns of this behavior. A study of the characteristics of adolescent deviant behavior has shown that, despite the significant reduction of adolescent deviance that had been a characteristic of the 1990s, the problem remained quite acute. Broad strata of youth have an internal willingness to use drugs, there is a high level of aggressiveness and conflict, and such forms of deviant behavior as fights, vandalism and petty theft are common. Adolescents prone to deviant behavior, eventually becoming “difficult”, subsequently take the path of criminalization.

The process of active social and economic transformations experienced by Russian society in recent decades was accompanied by the actualization of destructive tendencies among young people. The crisis of today and the partial degradation of socialization institutions, the breakdown of intergenerational continuity, the lack of a clear, socially shared value system, which is the measure of norms and deviations, have become the reality of today. Under these conditions, adolescents, as a special social and age group, turned out to be most susceptible to destructive external influences. As a result, there is a situation in modern Russia, where young people are increasingly being forced into the marginal layer, and deviations are becoming more and more manifest in their life and behavior. Despite the significant intensification of the efforts of the Russian state in the fight against juvenile delinquency, there are no serious grounds to assert that Russia has established a functioning system of combating juvenile crime, which is adequate to the reality and needs of the country's development.

If we look at the general dynamics of juvenile delinquency over a longer period in Russia, we can see that the characteristic feature of recent decades is the sinusoidal dynamics of the registered juvenile crimes, which may be an indirect sign of attempts to implement criminal policy at regional and local levels. So, from 1997 to 1999 the number of registered crimes of minors increased, in 1999-2003 there was a decrease, in 2003-2004 an increase. From 2006 to the present, the number of crimes committed by minors and with their complicity shows a smooth downward trend. The proportion of juvenile delinquents

(under the age of 18 at the time of the commission of the crime) has steadily declined. Accordingly, the decline of a number of convicted minors for committing common crime is recorded. Thus, the conducted research allows to form a version of the stabilization of the situation in Russian Federation in the field of combating juvenile delinquency. However, a more detailed analysis of the emerging criminogenic situation shows that against the background of a steady decline in juvenile delinquency, its share remains high. A noticeable decrease of children population is recorded in the older age groups (10-14 and 15-9 years). It should be noted that in the Russian Federation as a whole, the age group of 10-17 years old dominates among the minors registered in the juvenile Affairs units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia.

Talking about the systemic and successful reduction of juvenile delinquency is premature. In this regard, it is important to understand the processes that lead a teenager to take the path of criminalization.

The deviant behavior of minors is an integral part of deviant behavior in general, the basis for the formation of adult crime, but has its own specific features, which makes it possible to consider it as an independent subject. The need for such a selection is due to the peculiarities of the mental and moral development of minors. A specific feature of deviant behavior is that in recent years among adolescents are increasingly distributed such types of crime that were inherent in adults: weapon trade, drug trafficking, pimping, theft, robbery, grievous bodily harm, hooliganism, extortion, the use of weapons, clubs, sticks, knives, chains, pimping and other criminal activities. Against the background of some stabilization of the situation with the number of juvenile crimes, data from studies of delinquent behavior of adolescents show that child crime has been falling but becoming more sophisticated; young gangsters have become more violent. A stable feature is the group nature of crimes committed by minors. Group criminal behavior of teenagers today is a norm, but not a deviation, besides group character gets signs of organization. The study confirmed the tendency revealed earlier by criminologists, namely, that the percentage of unmotivated crimes is currently significant.

Adolescence is a difficult and responsible period in the formation of personality, since it is at this age the foundations of morality are laid, social attitudes, values, beliefs, attitude towards oneself, people, and society are formed. In the process of physical, mental and social development, together with positive achievements naturally arise negative formations and specific psychological and social difficulties. Youth in general and early youth in particular are a risk for the formation of deviant behavior, including its destructive form - delinquent (illegal and criminal) behavior. The level of manifestation of youth deviation can judge and predict the state of general crime and other deviations in society in the future.

The tendency to deviant behavior among minors, who eventually become “difficult” and then embark on the path of criminalization, manifests itself at a fairly early age. Delinquency usually begins with problems at school, poor learning, school truancy, and

joining an asocial peer group. More serious offenses may include bullying younger and weaker children, taking pocket money, petty hooliganism, stealing (for the purpose of driving) bicycles and motorcycles, defiant behavior in public places, shoplifting, as well as fraud, petty speculation, “home theft” small amounts of money. However, adolescents may also show great delinquent activity, which is usually the most common reason for proceedings in juvenile affairs commissions.

Crimes committed by teenagers continue to be one of the most serious problems in Russia. Studies have shown that a modern teenager who has passed various forms of social control, such as police records, registering with the commission or the juvenile affairs inspectorate, placing in specialized boarding schools, etc., eventually commits criminal acts and goes to the colony.

The structure of juvenile delinquency is dominated by thefts and street robberies and hooliganism. According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, every year more than half of all minors commit crimes in groups. Groups are highly mobile, which significantly increases their social danger and criminal activity. The share of group crimes in juvenile delinquency (depending on the type of crime, age categories, and territorial distribution) is 2–5 times higher than that of adults, and is about 70%. More than half of criminal groups of minors are characterized as temporary and unstable social formations. At the same time, there is a tendency for a significant proportion of juvenile criminal groups to focus on long-term criminal activities, including their organized forms. These groups are characterized by a high level of training and good technical equipment. However, the quantitative and qualitative composition of juvenile delinquent groups is not permanent since such constancy depends on the acquired criminal experience, age characteristics and type of criminal activity.

The number of crimes committed by minors with mental disabilities is increasing. We are talking about so-called borderline state that do not exclude sanity and, consequently, responsibility. These include various types of neurosis, moderate debility, psychopathic traits, alcoholism, and sexual disorders. These disorders are not serious and persistent diseases. In most cases, they are acquired not as a result of burdened heredity, but as a result of unfavorable living conditions and parenting. Among our respondents, 30% before the colony studied in a correctional class. It is revealed that as a socio-psychological prerequisites, determining the formation of deviant behavior of young people, there is a violation of the functioning of the mechanisms of socio-psychological adaptation, individualization (deformation of self-consciousness) and the value component of the individual. A number of factors influencing the process of social adaptation of adolescents were found. They consist in contradictions between the requirement from society of performance by teenagers of socially approved norms of behavior and the actual lack of accurate borders of normativity in system of morals and culture; between the imbalance in the process of social adaptation of adolescents and the lack of attention of social institutions to this problem.

A comparative analysis of research materials has shown that in recent years, the percentage of adolescents who consider as a normal a behavior regarded by adults as deviating has increased. The crisis in the social sphere is aggravated by the resulting spiritual vacuum. Children and adolescents with mental disabilities are especially affected. They are easily than other groups of minors are at the mercy of instinctive needs and drives. The ideas, behavior and the way of life of the criminal world are now spread freely in this environment. Experts in various sciences give impressive figures, speaking of minors suffering from mental illness, not excluding and excluding sanity. Mental disorders of children are largely the result and legacy of the respective behavior and life of their parents – alcoholic, drug addicts. Some combinations of mental disorders and socio-psychological deformation of the individual are largely due to the fact that the causes of the pathological development of the personality of minors lie in the asociality and immorality of the parents.

Currently, the feature of deviant behavior is deformed value orientations and distortions in the motivational and need sphere. Unsatisfied social needs (for example, in self-assertion, achievement, recognition, leadership, affiliation, relaxation, etc.) lead to attempts to realize themselves in some form of deviation (rarely positive as, for example, creativity), more often in negative forms of deviant activity (complex “Herostratus”), violence, crime, vandalism (which is easier than in creativity) or leads to “retreatism” – escape to alcoholism, drug addiction or departure from life (suicide). There is a tendency that modern teenagers - first of all teenagers with a negative orientation of the personality – are characterized by the rejection of formal signs of respect in society, social status. At the same time, the need for informal respect, prestige, recognition from others, freedom and independence (“youthful maximalism”) are very high. These needs are becoming leading in the transition to adulthood. Thus, for adolescents, status is determined by prestige, but this need for prestige has a distorted form. To gain prestige, a teenager is able to resort to any means, seeking recognition of his prestige, leadership, usually in the company of peers or adults with deviant behavior and finds himself in a dangerous situation.

At the same time, material needs are revealed only as a consequence of the desire for an easy beautiful life, gaining independence, separation from others, affirmation in the reference group, etc.

The process of socialization of adolescents is becoming increasingly negative. Minors are currently experiencing a greater degree of spiritual pressure from the criminal world and its values, but not the influence of civil society institutions. The destruction of the traditional institutions of socialization of youth and children is the most important factor in the growth of crime. The formation of criminal behavior in adolescents occurs through the formation of delinquent behavior as a result of the impact of a number of adverse social factors. Traditionally, these factors include family, problems at school and leisure and the environment of a teenager.



Definitely, the impact on the formation of deviant behavior of the family and family relations is enormous. Neglect, connivance of parents to children, weakening of social control are external conditions that allow the possibility of uncontrolled behavior, which turns into an internal inability of the individual to self-restraint. Modern research shows the complexity of adolescent-adult relationships. Thus, the alienation between a teenager and his parents, which is expressed in quarrels, lack of communication, the separation of the child from the family, the disapproval of the parents of his friends, is a risk factor for behavioral disorders.

The study identified the role of family factors. Comparison of groups of adolescents in favorable and dysfunctional living conditions showed that the violation of child-parent relations is characteristic of the adolescent environment as a whole – both for families of “normative” and deviant minors. The problem of socialization lies not only among dysfunctional families, but also in seemingly prosperous families. There are a number of serious deficits related to risk factors: reduced parental influence and control as a person grows up, significant replacement of live communication with the family by “Internet diving”. It is revealed that children didn’t receive appropriate support in the family, worthy of a role model, proper skills to overcome difficulties and strengthen forces in difficult situations. Family socialization of difficult and deviant adolescents is characterized by parents’ lack of interest in the development of the child’s personality, in rude and sometimes cruel treatment, and in the inability of parents to prevent offenses. The intensity of crime is especially high among juveniles from dysfunctional families. Drunkenness, prostitution and drug addiction flourish in such families, there are no any moral principles, elementary culture. Violence towards each other and towards their children is rampant in these families. As a direct consequence of this - the rapid growth of extremely dangerous violent crimes committed by adolescents and even children. Due to the abnormal situation in the family, about 50 thousand children leave home annually; 20 thousand leave children’s boarding schools because of abuse. Leaving their parents, minors seek support in the community of their own kind. Teenagers are overwhelmed by a wave of “adult” life - sex, drugs. In some countries, family-factor is considered to be direct causes of juvenile delinquency.

Leisure is a leading value in the life of adolescents. Juvenile delinquents have 2-3 times more free time than their law-abiding peers do. At the same time, as free time increases, the interests of adolescents become deformed and acquire a negative connotation. Moreover, the more free time, the higher the probability of committing offenses. It is in the leisure sphere that teenagers commit most crimes.

The educational aspects of leisure that have developed in our society had lost their value, which had led to the search for informal ways to realize free time. Reproductive and recreational activities began to dominate in its structure. Attraction to them has become an objective reality. A feature of leisure is the same desire for fun, entertainment for all, and significant pressure of the group, the environment. The satisfaction of cognitive and

aesthetic interests does not go beyond the boundaries of action and detective movies and videos, as well as plots of a sexually erotic nature. Transformative leisure activities (construction, etc.) have lost popularity. Today we are faced with the fact that teenagers from all forms of realization of free time choose those that are intended for thoughtless entertainment. Social behavior of informal groups is distinguished by orientation to joint spending of free time, conformism, demonstrative behavior, aggressiveness. A feature of delinquent behavior are forms of leisure. Deviant forms of leisure prevail, such as, for example, the consumption of psychoactive substances (alcohol and drugs). In this case, alcohol consumption is the background for committing crimes.

At present, the principal features in the views that characterize the attitude towards other people, honor and dignity are clearly expressed in the adolescent environment. Minors are characterized by a facilitated attitude to other people's property. Juvenile delinquents are characterized by a denial of responsibility. A teenager sees himself as a victim of circumstances. Such (external) locus of control prepares the ground for deviation. The teenager thus gets the opportunity not to take responsibility for themselves. Some at the time of the crime do not think about responsibility, others do not even suspect that such actions are brought to court. It turned out that more than 70% of them did not have a clear idea of the criminal punishability of their acts. However, denial of responsibility does not remove the question of consequences.

Teenagers tend to deny harm, damage. Thus, hooliganism they perceive as prank, carjacking as a restoration of justice ("modern Robin Hoods"), fighting as a showdown and a response to an alleged insult, etc. A juvenile delinquent tries to prove that his act represents a kind of fair retribution. The teenager puts himself in the position of the avenger, and the victim turns into a villain. Thus, he denies the existence of a victim.

Juvenile delinquency has a high latency, and some studies show that even before the first conviction, adolescents manage to commit several crimes. It creates an atmosphere of impunity. The inevitability of punishment, which should be the most important means of preventing criminal behavior, is not ensured. Taking into account the latency, it is necessary to increase the indicators of official statistics by at least 4 times. However, the most dangerous thing is that criminal activity, participation in criminal groups becomes a socially prestigious occupation in the eyes of adolescents and children. If earlier such a category of the population as criminals was associated in the mass consciousness of young people with marginal segments of society - people outside socially significant fields of activity, then at present it can be considered an independent social group. Its most important characteristic are professional occupations of various types of illegal activities. The criminal environment has formed its own "shadow" social structure with its "shadow" strata, entry into which guarantees a certain level of material wealth and their inherent set of social opportunities.

Another feature of deviant behavior of juveniles is the specificity of their legal consciousness. They are characterized by deep defects in legal awareness, which are based

on legal illiteracy, ignorance of certain legal prohibitions, both for the entire population and for minors, which leads to the denial of legal norms, unwillingness to follow them, arguments about the illegality of condemnation and injustice of laws.

When analyzing the state of the sphere of regulatory and legal consciousness, the individual perception of the admissibility / inadmissibility of various forms of deviant behavior it was revealed that law-abiding took the last place in the hierarchy of values in all groups of respondents [Pozdnyakova, Bruno; 2018]. Adolescents, who are prone to deviant behavior and with a negative orientation of the personality, are characterized by a facilitated attitude to other people's property, tolerance to the use of psychoactive substances, aggressive behavior. A common tendency for all is an increase interest in actions bordering on criminal. Such normative attitudes form the basis for recurrence of illegal behavior of "difficult" adolescents and adolescents "neophytes".

The rapid decline in the standard of living has the greatest impact on adolescents, because minors have always been and remain the most "vulnerable" part of society at all times. "Vulnerability" lies in the characteristics of minors (the unstable psyche, the system of values that has not been fully formed) which make them more susceptible to the influence of the factors that adults confront much more successfully. Not being able to satisfy their needs legally many adolescents begin to "make money" and get the necessary things and products to the best of their abilities and capabilities often by committing a crime.

The fundamental contradiction between needs and opportunities can be concretized in relation to minors in modern Russian society: the contradiction between the goals to which the society encourages adolescents, and the legal opportunities that it provides them to achieve them; the contradiction between the expansion of choices in various areas of life and the narrowing of the legal means of realizing these opportunities; the contradiction between the expansion of the need for skilled, prestigious and well-paid work and limited opportunities to meet them; the contradiction between the desire for wealth and the feeling of impossibility of its achievement by legal means. The current trend towards an increase in the socio-economic gap between low-income families and families with a high level of wealth, property-based stratification often provokes adolescents to commit illegal acts.

Summary. The modern delinquent behavior of juveniles in the studied regions loses signs of childish mischief, spontaneity, and age immaturity. Juvenile offenders are increasingly characterized by stable negative attitudes and views, which ensures their survival in difficult social conditions. Teenagers are increasingly turning to alcohol, drugs, enter into sexual relations, easily amenable to criminal influence, and are involved in the sphere of "adult", especially organized crime. Awareness of their limited resources causes a state of alienation among minors. As a result, they form the appropriate principles of their own attitude to reality: the desire to escape, to protect themselves from reality, to get away from such life. The latter even more aggravates their social position, pushes them gradually

into the so-called “social pit”. The growth of juvenile crimes is a kind of barometer, showing a catastrophically deteriorating state of public health.

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## Emigration to Europe and Russia as a Social Phenomenon

### ABSTRACT

*The article analyzes the causes and consequences of migration to European countries and Russia. Difficulties and difficulties of adaptation of migrants to new living conditions are shown. Attention is focused on the change of public opinion in Europe in relation to migrants.*

**Keywords:** migration; mobility; conflict; adaptation; refugees

Most theories on ethnic communities are related to the socio-cultural approach to them. Ethnic community is considered as an element of the social structure of society, interacting within its framework with other social communities – classes, social groups, layers, territorial communities.

There are no Nations with a compact, ethnically homogeneous population on the globe. The indigenous nation does not want to accept the existence of national minorities, and every immigration wave grows into a political problem. An exception to this trend in the recent past has been States that have emerged as a result of major migration processes. Such States are the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

Classic work on migration, is “The Polish peasant in Europe and America” by William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki. The aim of the authors of this work was to conduct a documentary sociological study of the life experience of Polish peasants, who were involved in powerful social changes associated with the transition from a relatively safe and stable situation in their native villages in the unknown American urban life”.

“The Polish peasant in Europe and America” is a fundamental work that was the first major milestone in American sociological research. The materials for the book were the life stories of Polish immigrants in Chicago. These materials – personal letters, autobiographies, diaries and other personal documents – are extremely valuable for their specificity.

W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki oposed the claim that science never consists in the accumulation of facts. “The fact in itself,” they wrote, “is already an abstraction... the only Question is whether we interpret this abstraction on the basis of a certain methodology or not, whether we understand what and why we accept or reject, or whether we simply proceed uncritically from “common sense” [Thomas, Znaniecki; 1958, V.1:37].

Today's migration is different from those of earlier times. First of all, the mobility of people has increased in recent years. An ever-expanding market requires global

mobilization. Capital breaks down all national barriers. The trend towards the free movement of capital entails the free movement of labour. The global market coverage of the entire globe, which ended only recently, reports a new quality and migration processes [Enzensberger, 1994:228].

According to some reports, more than twenty million legal immigrants from other regions currently live in Western Europe. Refugee flows from African and Asian countries are increasing. In all rich countries, there is a complex immigration control procedure. It is impossible to imagine how many immigrants a country can accept, because the task contains many independent variables. The readiness and ability to integrate today is out of the question in any country. The experience gained in the past in dealing with mass arrivals of foreigners is ignored in discussions on this topic. Opponents of immigration do not want to know anything about good examples. Supporters of immigration do not want to hear about the risk factors associated with it. They do not accept references to civil wars in Lebanon, Yugoslavia and the Caucasus, as well as bloody skirmishes in major US cities. The idea of a multinational state was rarely realized. The experience of the Soviet Union can be assessed in different ways. For decades, it affirmed the idea of common goals and a sense of fraternal unity. After the collapse of the USSR there was a national explosion with unpredictable consequences.

The explosive growth of migration from war zones and armed conflicts, countries of the Middle East, Africa, occurred at the end of 2014. But an excellent cadentia the scale of migration adopted in 2015-2016. In two years, more than two million migrants arrived in Europe [Vedeneeva, 2019:103]. The concentration of immigrants in large cities makes their presence more visible. For example, in some parts of London, the proportion of ethnic minorities is close to half, and in some areas surrounding the city the majority.

Internally displaced persons are characterized by two opposite processes: on the one hand, acceptance of values and attitudes; on the other hand, rejection of them, self-isolation, and sometimes aggressive assertion of their superiority. These processes coexist and even intersect: the aggressive actions of radicals can at times cause a sympathetic response among the peaceful part of the emigrants [Kholodkovsky, 2019:81].

The European Union has taken extraordinary measures to resettle refugees. But the most delicate and largely unexpected conflict for the European Commission: the new EU member States have actually declared the right to pursue their own migration policy. And on the basis of approaches that public opinion in the "old Europe" regards as racist and authoritarian. Polish authorities called the results of surveys: 70% of Poles oppose the influx of refugees from Africa and the Middle East. Slovakia has declared its readiness to host only Christian refugees. But the Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán went the furthest. He initiated the construction of the first "metal curtain" in Europe after the end of the Cold war. Hungary from Serbia, where there is the main influx of migrants, is already separated by a 178-kilometer line of four-meter barriers with barbed wire. It turns out that almost half of the country's population is pleased with the appearance of the "Orbán wall".



In addition, the Hungarian police have the right to search private apartments without a court order in search of illegal migrants.

Of course, Europe for centuries was going to win the liberal, democratic principles and values. She suffered so much. It is ready to host those who share these values. But after the terrorist attack in the editorial office of the Paris “Charlie Ebdo”, other incidents in Europe are growing fears. These fears are also caused by the fact that 80% of newly arriving migrants are Muslims, which, according to some sources, in 40 years in Europe will be 71 million, i.e. 10% of the population [*Chas migrantov*,2015:9.].

In 20152017, the bulk of the refugees were taken by Germany, France, Great Britain and Sweden, which accounted for a total of 80% of all immigrants. In three of these countries, except the UK, the largest number of migrants in relation to the population (per 1 million inhabitants) is registered: 2402 people in Germany, 2220 – in Sweden and 1359 people in France [Vedeneeva, 2019:103]. The largest group of migrants are from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. As a rule, these groups of people receive asylum in European countries. In the first quarter of 2018, the share of positive decisions was 86%, 43% and 35%, respectively. Most likely, these people will stay in Europe for a long time, therefore, the host country faces the task of their integration into their society.

The “2030 Agenda for sustainable development”, which was adopted by the UN on September 25, 2015, stressed that in the future “non-integration” will cost much more than the implementation of a coherent and effective integration policy. In 2016, the European Commission put forward several proposals to address integration issues. The first priority is to accelerate the access of refugees to the labour market. The employment of migrants will reduce the burden on the social protection system and the budgets of receiving countries.

Currently, the issue of migrants in the United States has become acute. According to various estimates, now in the United States are from 9 to 13 million illegal migrants. President D. Trump claims that illegal immigrants cause damage to the economy of 275 billion dollars annually. To stop the penetration of migrants into the United States, the President ordered to build a wall on the border with Mexico. Republicans and their supporters advocate tighter control over the border and the expulsion of illegal immigrants and their children. Former citizens of the CIS countries, many of whom use social state programs of assistance: financial, housing, medical and food are strongly against new migrants [Panov, 2019, № 10:11].

In Russia, the policy towards migration is controversial. According to human rights activist Svetlana Gannushkina, if in Europe to migrants in General benevolent attitude, in Russia there is a reverse process. Russia gets rid of refugees. A total of 214,000 refugees from Ukraine received temporary asylum in Russia at the end of 2014. This status allows the state to take on a minimum of obligations to people [Gannushkina, 2015, № 28:29].

In October 2018, the State Duma passed a law simplifying the acquisition of citizenship for “persons who came to Russia from countries where they were persecuted

by the authorities for political and other reasons, where coups d'état, armed conflicts or other emergencies occurred” Russian President Vladimir Putin by his decree on April 24, 2019 simplified the procedure for granting Russian citizenship to residents of the self-proclaimed Donetsk and Luhansk people's republics. The new migration concept, which is being developed by the Russian foreign Ministry, suggests that Russia should become a center of attraction for people who sympathize with it all over the world.

So, migration in Europe and Russia can be seen as a social phenomenon.

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## **International (Interethnic) Relations in Russia**

### **ABSTRACT**

*The article represents the results of the sociological study realized by the VCIOM, the FOM centers in 2016 during the monitoring of international relations, supplemented by the regional polls (supported by Russian Science Foundation (RSF)). The article considers usage of different indicators for assessment of the international (interethnic) relations. In the article, we consider the importance of different factors in the international relations. It is necessary to consider the following indicators of the analysis: absence of discriminatory practices, attitude towards people of other culture, assessment of job opportunities regardless of nationality, access to power, acceptance or rejection of peoples equality.*

**Keywords:** interethnic relations; interethnic attitudes; interethnic accord

Different countries have different policies for managing cultural caused by complexity of modern society. For Russia, there is a problem of taking into account two features – the harmonization of relations between the aboriginal population and arriving migrants. Therefore, the state documents set a focus on the formation of civil society, while taking into account the support of culture and integration of migrants, strengthening of interethnic accord is defined by one of the main and priority task [Strategiya gosudarstvennoj...].

Sociological studies show the results of both self-organizing processes of interaction and the results of how the ideology of state policy is perceived.

We will try to summarize some of the results of the all-Russian studies conducted by Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM) Federal Agency for Ethnic Affairs (FADN) and the results of the projects in which the author participated.

More and more unanimity in the world science and practice is manifested in the need to take into account various factors in interethnic relations. Among them are: the number and ethnic composition of the population, the percentage of migrants, the level of education of the population, employment, unemployment; indicators characterizing the socio-demographic positions of interacting groups; political variables (eg, orientation to domination, authoritarianism); variables related to identity (in the Russian experience takes into account not only ethnic, but also civil, local identity); indicators of perceived threat (e.g. attitude to the reception of new migrants, changes in the status of the territory); variables related to personal experience.

It is necessary to pay attention to the possibility of unequal importance of indicators in different cultures that affect interethnic relations. This situation, for example, is recorded

with an objective and subjective assessment of well-being. Thus, in the Kaliningrad region, which is quite prosperous among the subjects of the northwestern Federal district, in the first half of the rating of regions on the socio-economic situation of the subjects of the Russian Federation, 60% of the population on the imaginary ladder of nine levels of income attributed themselves to standing on the fourth and fifth stages. In the Astrakhan region, by all indicators strengthened in the second half of the above ranking of regions, the majority of the population (61%) also consider themselves to be in the middle – standing on the fourth and fifth steps of the ladder of nine steps in income. It should be noted that the state of health in the labor sphere in these regions is positive – satisfaction with job in Kaliningrad is almost the same as in Astrakhan (83 and 77%, respectively).

Surveys commissioned by Federal Agency for Ethnic Affairs (FADN) and implemented by VCIOM and The Public Opinion Foundation (FOM) used the following indicators:

- 1) the proportion of citizens who positively assess the state of interethnic relations to the total number of citizens of the Russian Federation;
- 2) the proportion of those who feel a connection with the citizens of Russia, has a civil identity;
- 3) the proportion of those who do not experience discrimination on national, ethnic, racial, linguistic grounds among all respondents;
- 4) the proportion of those who in the last year faced a violation of rights or disability due to nationality when applying for a job, promotion or applying to public institutions;
- 5) the proportion of citizens who personally feel distrust or dislike for themselves, violation of rights or restrictions of opportunities due to ethnic or religious affiliation;
- 6) the proportion of those who themselves are prejudiced against representatives of another nationality or other religion, religious movements;
- 7) the share of citizens who do not have a negative attitude to foreign migrants in the total number of citizens of the Russian Federation [Berezhkova, Khaykin; 2016].

The peak of interethnic tensions in the 2000s occurred in 2013. Then 43% of the population felt interethnic tension in the city/village. Hostility to people of other nationalities felt 20%, and rarely felt it 39%. Resentment from the collapse of the Soviet Union the Russians were blunted, but still felt a post-conflict situation. In 2013, the situation in the North Caucasus was assessed as tense by more than 60% [Obshchestvennoe mnenie...; 2018,:69,175].

Anxiety superimposed on dissatisfaction with the rapid influx of foreign cultural migrants. They were associated with competition for jobs (54%) (although most often they were engaged in those works for which local residents did not go), offenses and dissatisfaction with the fact that they “behave like masters on our land” (more than 40%).

According to polls of VCIOM in 2016, 8% of Russians (among non-Russians – 13%) faced with manifestations of hostility, violation of rights because of nationality. Although it is millions of citizens, yet these figures spoke about a fairly favorable situation

in the country as a whole. At the end of 2016, 66% believed that relations between people of different nationalities had not changed over the past year, 17% believed that they had improved and 11% – rather deteriorated and worsened, with 6% having difficulty with the assessment.

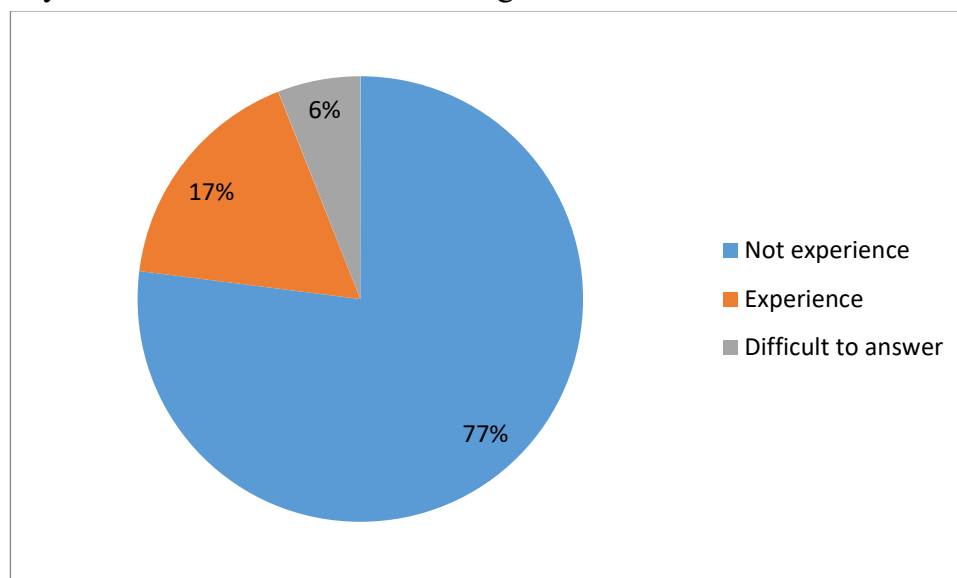
According to the VCIOM data, 47% of the North Caucasus Federal district assessed interethnic relations as improved, while 13% of the population saw them deteriorate (compared to 11% in the country).

The lowest indicators of improvement of interethnic relations were recorded in the North-Western and Central Federal districts – 12-13%, while there were the same number of those who estimated their deterioration (12-13%). Meanwhile, the Central Federal district and North-Western Federal district are not the most multi-ethnic regions [Drobizheva L. M., 2017].

In a more multi-ethnic region – in the Volga Federal district – the situation was generally better than in the Central Federal district and North-Western Federal district. Thus, in social practice, it is important to understand the specific situation within each macroregion and even locality.

We will show it, having considered the attitude of Russians to people of other nationality. This is an important indicator, even if negative events in the public sphere are not recorded.

In the monitoring of the FADN, this question was raised in the following form: “Some people are distrustful or dislike of representatives of a some nationality. Do You personally feel or do not feel distrust or hostility towards representatives of any nationality?” The answers are shown in Fig. 1.



**Fig. 1: Some people are distrustful or dislike of representatives of a some nationality. Do You personally feel or do not feel distrust or hostility towards representatives of any nationality?**

Judging from the responses, experiencing hostile feelings 17%. But these country-specific data differ from region to region. Those subjects of the Federation, where people are more likely than on average in the country experiencing hostility and distrust of people on ethnic grounds, was 19% (see table 1).

Note that among the listed subjects of the Federation with ethnonational names there are only 3. The remaining 16 are areas with a dominant Russian population. And among them, our capitals – the Moscow metropolis and St. Petersburg, Tver, Novgorod, Vladimir, Tula regions – are not the most difficult regions in terms of ethnic composition, the high influx of migrants was only in megalopolises.

**Table 1: Subjects of the Federation, where the proportion of people personally experiencing distrust or hostility towards representatives of any nationality, higher than the national average**

20–25%	26–30%
Bashkortostan (20)	Vladimir region (26)
Leningrad region (20)	Volgograd region (26)
Sverdlovsk region (20)	Saint-Petersburg (26)
Amur region (21)	Moscow region (27)
Kostroma region (21)	Novgorod region (27)
Moscow (21)	Sakhalin region (27)
Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (21)	Tver region (30)
Irkutsk region (23)	
Kemerovo region (23)	
Pskov region (23)	
Republic of Tuva (23)	
Tula region (24)	

In the public space, attention is often focused on the complexity of the multiethnic nature of our country due to the presence of republics within the Federation (especially often these ideas are declared by the LDPR). Therefore, we note that inter-ethnic prejudices are present in people not only in the republics. They are also present in the regions, besides not only with a high level of probability of interethnic communication (for example, in the Astrakhan region), but also with a more homogeneous Russian population (Kaliningrad, Moscow regions – 39-53%).

There are different factors behind ethnic prejudices. Thus, a significant factor that can positively influence international (interethnic) relations is historically a duration, a regularity of interethnic contacts, it softens the difficulty of communication, including newly arrived migrants. Especially if the local community supports and participates in the settlement of tensions. So known is the case when the Dagestanis ousted the Tatars from



one of the districts of Astrakhan, which the locals began to call “little Makhachkala”. However, every time the authorities and the public tried to resolve the conflict. That is, people have a desire to preserve the established traditions of living together, and such not imposed, but the emerging norms of tolerant communication are very stable and effective. In the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug there is a known case of successful resolution of problematic situations with the involvement of high-ranking representatives from the subjects of the Federation. We are talking about the arrival of the Minister of the Chechen Republic for national policy, foreign relations, press and information D. V. Umarov, who at a meeting with students (among whom there were many Vainakhs, Ingush, Chechens, natives of Dagestan) said that the image of a mountaineer – is primarily the image of a hardworking man, a farmer, who in the mountains is engaged in cultivation of crops. This is not the image of a man who dances lezginka somewhere on the fountain or the central square, pestering girls and so on. And God forbid, someone will allow himself to discredit the people, the Republic and to behave improperly. And that had consequences. Students from the Northern Caucasus republics themselves tried to support the norms of relations typical for the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug. This example confirms the effectiveness of the norms of moral regulation (traditions and customs, habits and public opinion, responsibility to elders and communities) in the sphere of interethnic relations.

According to the monitoring surveys of FADN (October 2016), people with negative attitude, hostility to people of other nationalities are more often found among the less educated and dissatisfied with work (the difference in them is 7-8 percentage points), people at a young age (18-24 years), among those living in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

Ethno-sociological studies, of course, identify segments of the population, among which there is a lot of anxiety from the point of view of interethnic relations. However, it should always be borne in mind that the same groups, layers of our citizens in different conditions may not feel the same. Russians living in republics are often more tolerant than in other regions of the Federation.

In georating of FOM were asked: “Some people believe that the Russians should have more rights than other nationalities. Others believe that all citizens in Russia should have equal rights regardless of nationality. From what point of view would You agree – with the first or with the second?”. With the first agreed 31%, with the second – on the equality of citizens – 64%. Meanwhile, in the republics, Russians are more likely to share the view of equal rights of citizens regardless of nationality. For example, in Bashkortostan 73% of Russians joined the opinion about equality of citizens. Russians living in the republics are not only more able to feel the state and mood of the smallness in the country, but also understand the need for equality of nationality on their own experience.

Thus, monitoring studies of FADN are necessary, but it is necessary to approach cautiously the estimates on the all-Russian data, which can not reflect the diversity of the situation in different regions. It is very important to understand that behind the same numbers are very different circumstances. For example, in the Astrakhan region and the

Moscow region, 9-11% of residents often experience hostility to people of other nationalities. Moscow and the Moscow region are not only a region of rapid and high influx of foreign cultural migrants, but also a territory with historically established dominance of the Russian population. The changing ethnic composition is perceived by many as painful. Astrakhan also faces complex ethnic contradictions, but the Russians living there, who also represent the ethnic majority, have a long experience of contacts with Kazakhs, Tatars, natives of the Northern Caucasian republics. Long-living in the region of Dagestanis, Chechens provide the necessary social control, thus preventing sharp clashes, although without conflicts still can not do. In Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) comparable with data on Moscow and Russia as a whole indicators of positive interethnic attitudes (up to 50% feel to some extent hostility to people of other nationality, about the same as in the Moscow region in 2015). But here it is necessary to take into account that the share of representatives of the titular nationality and Russian in the population is almost the same, and the question of priority position for the nationality giving the name of the Republic. Thus, it is necessary to take into account situational and regional peculiarities.

Interethnic relations in multiethnic countries – a projection of the overall political, socio-economic situation in the country, so their performance is dynamic. In 2018-2019, the feelings of Russians are reactualized due to the memory of the Olympics and the World Football Championship, and the hostility of the outside world, represented by television screens and the media in General, feed the anxiety in which the perpetrators are looking for others. Therefore, the domestic conflict in Yakutsk in March 2019 easily turns into the mobilization of the 6-7-thousand rally, and anxiety can increase in other parts of the country.

In each country looking for its own ways of regulating interethnic (interethnic) relations. In Russia, as well as in other multi-ethnic States, the management of cultural diversity through the state policy declared and implemented by the leaders, through the increase of civil participation of residents in solving topical problems in each locality, the mobilization of responsibility of all citizens regardless of nationality and religion for what is happening in society, solidarity around the common goals of social and cultural development of the community is justified.

It is possible to integrate a multicultural society, ensuring the preservation of the culture and language of the Russian peoples, guaranteed by the Constitution, without discrimination and infringement of the rights of people on ethnic, racial and religious principles.

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**Condition and Level of Ownership of the Native Languages  
of the Indigenous Peoples of the North of the Surgut District of Ugra  
in the Context of Sociological Searches**

**ABSTRACT**

*The article discusses the state, level of ownership and social significance and issues of use and social significance of the native languages of the indigenous minorities of the North of the Surgut district of the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug - Ugra. The main objective of the study was to study the current state of the level of proficiency in native languages. In particular, the results of sociological studies conducted on this topic in the Surgut district of the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug - Ugra in 2018 using the survey method are summarized and analyzed.*

**Keywords:** native language; possession; Surgut district; indigenous peoples of the North

The 2nd article of the law “On state guarantees and equality of languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation” notes that the Russian Federation guarantees to all its people irrespective of their number the equal rights to preserving and all-round development of the native language, liberty of choice and uses of language of communication. The Russian Federation guarantees everyone the right to use the native language, the free choice of language of communication, education, training and creativity irrespective of its origin, social and property status, racial and national identity, sex, education, the relation to religion and the places of residence [Law...].

Language policy in relation to ethnic languages is based on five basic principles: 1) the normal functioning of language in the sphere of family communication; 2) the use of language in the social life of the community; 3) teaching the language of ancestors in schools; 4) expanding the boundaries of language use by involving new areas of communication; 5) ensuring the existence of ethnic languages with the help of laws and the Constitution [Kozhemyakina, 2008].

The survey in the form of a questionnaire on the state of the native languages of the indigenous peoples of the North was conducted by the staff of the Ob-Ugric Institute of Applied Researches and Development in July 2018. Respondents had to choose only those answer variants that were acceptable for them. The results of monitoring were processed by the program for processing of sociological information “Vortex”.

In Surgutsky District within the survey 209 respondents were interviewed, almost 68% of them were women. On ethnic grounds, the absolute majority of respondents

(90.4%) identified themselves as the Khanty, 5.7% as the Nenets, and the rest as other nationalities.

According to the survey, the majority of respondents called the Khanty language as the native. At the same time, 10 more people indicated that their nationality is Khanty than the number of those who called the Khanty language as the native.

Answering the following question, 57.9% of respondents called their native language as the mother tongue, and 35.6% called it as the language of their ancestors. Almost 40% of respondents do not associate their native language with their current self-determination and assess it as a historical connection with their ancestors, or as the language of relatives, friends and acquaintances.

Concerning the question of proficiency in their native language the majority of respondents (71%) noted that they are fluent in the language or they have enough knowledge of their native language. 21% of respondents understand speech and can say simple phrases in their native language; only 8% of respondents do not speak their native language at all. Anyway, 92.0% of the survey's participants speak their native language. The results of the survey show that the situation with the knowledge of the native language among the indigenous peoples of the North of Surgut District is quite positive.

Respondents who do not speak their native language called two main reasons: they were not taught in childhood (8.1%); they didn't learn it in school (5.1%); they don't have language environment (3.8%).

More than half of respondents (67%) use their mother tongue to some extent in the family; at the same time a third of them communicate in the family in two languages – mother tongue and Russian. Episodically, 8.6% of respondents use their native language when communicating with relatives.

Communication in native language in the family is recognized one of the main reasons of its preservation. The answers of the majority of respondents show that parents communicated with them in their native language (56.5%), or in their native language and Russian – 26.3%. Russian language is the main language of communication in families of 15.8% of respondents.

Mother tongue is rarely used in the process of working relations, except the sphere of traditional economic activity. Only 10% of respondents communicate at work in their native language, while the number of workers in traditional professions is twice as high (table 6). 36.4% of respondents communicate both in their native and Russian languages.

More than half of respondents have a desire to learn their native language (55.0%). At the same time, more than 70% of respondents know their native language quite well.

Only 17.8% of respondents indicated that they want to learn Khanty language, 2.6% – Nenets, and 0.9% – Mansi. Once again we note the discrepancy in the results of the responses to the previous and current questions.

40% of the interviewed residents of the District assessed the public importance of the native language as high and relatively high; 53.1% of them assessed it as insufficiently

high and low. The brevity of the answers, unfortunately, does not show what exactly respondents understand under the public importance of the native language.

Almost every fourth respondent (23.3%) could not assess the viability of the native language in modern conditions. 30.1% of respondents believe that the situation of languages is a cause for concern and is in serious danger.

The overwhelming majority of respondents expressed a desire for their children and grandchildren to know their native language, both orally and in writing (98.6%).

About 65% of respondents answered that the native land and nature most of all brings them closer to the ethnos; 42% of respondents chose the answer “language”.

Almost 70% of respondents could not answer the question about the availability of periodicals for indigenous people of the North. 14% of them are not the subscribers of periodicals. Only 14% of respondents read the newspaper “Khanty Yasang”. The results of the survey indicate a very low level of influence of periodicals on the preservation of the native languages of indigenous people of the North, in particular, because of the differences in dialects.

Little more respondents watch and listen to TV and radio programs in the native language – 53%, and 23% of them do not have such an opportunity.

The overwhelming majority (94%) of respondents believe that the native language should be preserved.

Answering the question: “What should be done to preserve the native language?” almost 41% of respondents could not give an answer; 27% of them believe that the native language should be studied at school. Only 13% of respondents indicated the important role of the family in the preservation of the language. Only some people indicated the role of the media, special courses and measures.

The largest number of respondents (25%) said that they read the works of Ye. Aipin; 8% read Yu. Vella, Yu. Shestalov and M. Voldina. 72% of respondents could not mention the authors. In total, respondents mentioned 13 authors among the indigenous peoples of the North.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the population of the District among the indigenous peoples of the North is concerned about the problem of preserving their native language, but ordinary citizens cannot make recommendations for the authorities. The existing mass media – newspapers, radio and television in the native language – do not give much effect for various reasons, including the lack of technical and other capabilities. Respondents see the main way through the teaching of their native language in school; however, they themselves speak their native language through communication in the family in their childhood. Measures in the native language are necessary, but they do not solve the problem.

Thus, the most promising direction for the preservation of the native language seems to us the activity of creating a language environment that will make the study of the native language at school more effective.



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## **Psychology of a Tuvan Person in the Projects of Modern Researchers**

### **ABSTRACT**

*Here we present the results of the ethnopsychological research of the Tuvan ethnos, including those people who live in remote areas of Tuva. We have studied the peculiarities of formation and flow of cognitive processes of Tuvans in conditions of using new information and communication technologies in educational process and everyday life. It is shown that the use of digital technologies affects deep layers of the psyche, changing not only the formation and functioning of the speech-making sphere, but also the perception processes.*

**Keywords:** ethnos; Tuva; ethnopsychology of phenomena; information and communication technologies

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For more than 25 years, we have conducted research and educational activity among the population of the republic, implemented voluntarily. The urgency and need for such work was due to geographical, political, socio-economic, historical, ethnic and some particular factors. The research was based on the experimental principle of studying a small cell of society - the family.

The research started at a turning point in the history of the Russian state, and for some individuals it is the time of loss of values and stereotypes, the struggle to keep and protect ideals, life traditions and the acquisition of strength of spirit, stability and soundness in society. The total socio-political and economic reform led to social stratification (which refers to the differentiation of people in society depending on access to power, occupation, income and some other socially significant signs - there appeared “rich” and “poor”, unemployed and homeless, etc. At the same time, social groups, clubs and associations of volunteers in the conditions of socio-economic and political reforms have become centers for psychological assistance and support for the individual and his/her family. Helping themselves and others, veterans of volunteer associations have sought to assert the universal human values, being, in fact, true patriots - volunteers of protection and support of the individual.

The study of the psychology of Tuvans has shown that the basic meaning of life for Tuvans is the care of children (family), parents, relations with relatives, love for one's native nature and culture.

Respectful, equal relations in the family between a husband and a wife are characteristic for most Tuvans. The head of the family is the husband. Families in Tuva traditionally have many children; tribal relations are stable and they preserve traditional customs and family values.

To achieve the above, Tuvans are hospitable in everyday life; they respect the elders, they are polite, sincere and patient. The rationality, punctuality and flexibility of life position were still not very acceptable for them in such difficult time. In axiological orientations, values-goals remained the same. As for the values-means one can note the tendency to market relations. For Tuvans these values hapened to be suporting and creative in survival. The Tuvan consciousness, his mentality is laid in the surrounding natural potential, in collective mind, in traditions of creativity. They are phlegmatic in life, tolerant; the sounds of the universe give them the rhythm of the future society, intellect.

The time which started in 1991 was really difficult and hard to experience in the minds of people. The "leaders" who proclaimed perestroika probably did not realize that this process is mediated by a human factor. People had a nervous tension, most families were forced to change the norms of life established for years and break stereotypes of behavior. Accordingly, in connection with globalization, information and communication technologies began to penetrate to Tuva, new forms of management, new types of relations between people apeared. But, along with that, intensive destruction of previously developed methods and forms of administration, such as large livestock and crop production enterprises, also began. The consequence of these processes was, on the one hand, the distancing of young people from the older generation, complicated by some negative phenomena, including "leaving to Internet", on the other hand, archaizing the consciousness of some people, going to traditional, partially forgotten beliefs, economic and social practices. Tendencies to misunderstanding, oposition and even confrontation between different groups of the population have been outlined. Moreover, the lines of separation often pass not only between generations, but also between representatives of different professional groups, between the city and rural settlements, and also, often between Russian-speaking Tuvans and Tuvans communicating primarily in their native language.

At present, the traditional way of life and labor activity of Tuvans (especially livestock farming) has been lost by the younger generation. The educational basis of the family has also been shaken and the number of divorces of young families has increased for the last few years.

During the implementation of the social project, a number of scientific works have been published: monographs "Psychological characteristics of the Tuvan ethnos", "Concepts characterizing the psychology of a person in the language of the people of

Tuva”; “Tuvan ethnicity at the turn of the century: social and psychological studies (collective monograph)”, “Psychological face of the Tuvan people”, etc. In addition, textbooks on psychology (for students from 3 to 6 classes) edited by the academician of the Russian Academy of Education I. V. Dubrovina were translated to the Tuvan language and tested in the academic process. It was the first experience in Russia.

Currently, the projects are implemented in two interrelated directions: 1) gathering information about the problems (including psychological ones) that arise in the regions of Tuva; 2) the organization of social activity of people in such a way so as not to deal with the consequences of multidirectional trends in society, but to create such conditions for joint activity of people that would maximize the benefits of these tendencies and minimize shortcomings. In other words, not to bring the situation to the point when people need serious psychological help, and carry out prevention and support based on the social, cultural and ethno-specific psychological information they receive. In our understanding, this is the “psychologization” of the society of the future, its social structures and initiatives. When organizing the activity, we turn to the feeling of collectivism typical for the Tuvans. On the initiative of scientists (including those attracted from Moscow), since 2009, annual International Congresses on Ethnic Psychology (within the framework of the “Steppe Civilization” project) have been held in Tuva with a various thematic focus: “Yurt the traditional dwelling of the peoples of Asia, “Consciousness of a human: traditionally stable patterns of ethnos life and evolution“, “Hospitable Tuva: traditions and innovations” and others, which, as practice has shown, are quite in demand among teachers, as well as the youth and adults on the whole. We are also implementing the project “Hospitable Tuva”, within the framework of which the publication of the scientific and educational newspaper “Hospitable Tuva”, with a circulation of more than thousand copies, has been issued since 2015. The purpose of the publication is psychological education of the population and support of research tasks.

Annual scientific field experiments were conducted in hard-to-reach corners of Tuva: Todzha, Tere-Khol, Mongun-Taiga and other regions, and made it possible not only to obtain new scientific knowledge in psychology, but also to determine the directions for further scientific research when planning research and formulating hypotheses, and also provide information about those real changes that occur in different groups in the region.

One of such studies was devoted to the peculiarities of the formation and flow of cognitive processes in the conditions of using new information and communication technologies in teaching and everyday life. According to the research, it was revealed that the use of digital technology and modern media technology affects the deep layers of the psyche, changing the formation and functioning of the speech-thinking sphere and perception processes.

The new information and communication technologies that enter into everyday life are little oriented to specific communities: at best they are adapted to the writing of two or three dozen of the most common species, rarely - actually to the language and very rarely

- to culture. The use of such technologies in the early stages of socialization, when a game, learning and communicating with older and peers play a key role, causes various and multidirectional processes that create the ethno-cultural specifics of the formation of the cognitive-communicative sphere. Russia is a unique object for research in this area as a single territory, within which compact ethno-cultural entities are preserved. An example of such a region is the Republic of Tuva. Currently specific characteristics of both ethno-cultural type of modern society, and archaic features of traditional society are presented in Tuva. Based on the analysis of literature data and the experience of earlier works in Tuva, it is determined that the research aimed at identifying cultural and ethno-dependent features of the development of communicative skills in joint activities should be built on the usual activity rooted in the community. One of such practices is the decoration of household items and clothes, so for the field conditions, we modified the computer-aided method of diagnosing the communicative skills of G. A. Tsukerman "Rukavichka". ("A mitten").

We developed the computerized complex "Varezhka, (Glove) v. 2.0", it was tested in the remote settlement of Kungurtug in Tere-Khol region, which allowed us to simulate the early stage of introduction of new information and communication technologies and the formation of cognitive-communicative skills and abilities in these conditions.

In 2017, the main series of experiments were conducted at schools of Kyzyl and the remote rural settlements of Dus-Dag and Khandagaity. The total sample comprised 360 schoolchildren (220 urban and 140 rural) at the age of 11-13 and 14-16. Comparative analysis of communicative skills was conducted on the samples including 40 pairs of (urban and rural) schoolchildren, analysis of the functions of speech utterances - throughout the body of texts. The study was carried out in two stages. At the stage "Rukavichka" (Mitten) the schoolchildren had to consistently color the paper patterns of a mitten in such a way that the two halves produced the whole mitten with the same pattern. At the stage of "Varezhka" (Glove) the schoolchildren tested the same task on a laptop screen. Expert evaluation of the task was carried out according to four criteria: the size of the templates, the orientation of the templates, the similarity of the drawings and the complexity of the drawings. The results of the expert evaluation were statistically processed in the environment R 3.2.2 using the  $\chi^2$ -Pearson tests and the Fisher exact test, which resulted in revealing more preserved visual skills in rural schoolchildren and more developed communication skills in urban areas. Also, the total number of visual fixations and their average duration were analyzed, assuming that longer fixations characterize more stable visual attention on image elements and program control elements, and a shorter duration and higher frequency of fixations more search and "acquaintance" focus shifts. The observed differences in duration and number of fixations between rural and urban, between senior and junior schoolchildren, as well as between those who have and do not have significant experience working with a personal computer and communication in an industrial environment indicate multidirectional tendencies, both in comparing urban and rural populations, and when comparing different age groups of tested children.

Frequency analysis of linguistic means of communication showed that when performing a joint graphic task, schoolchildren used the categories “Object and its characteristics”, “The place of action, the mode of action”, “Communication control” and less frequently categories “Position from the second person”, size and orientation of the template. In cases of successful execution of the task, the categories “Object and its characteristics”, “The place of action and mode of action”, “Communication control” were used more often. The worst result when performing the task was the preferential use of the categories “Action scene, mode of action”, “Communication control”, “Activity control”. The study showed multidirectional trends in the development of the communicative and graphic skills of schoolchildren, manifested in the introduction of new communication and information technologies. The obtained results can be taken into account in the formation of curricula and programs for the retraining of teachers, as well as the orientation of specialists in extracurricular work and parents of schoolchildren.

The spread of psychological knowledge obtained in the studies of the local population is one of the aspects of our work. We consider another, a very important process and result to be the formation of active population groups engaged in common activities based on the use of cultural and historical traditions, with constant monitoring of the changes taking place in society and their socio-psychological consequences. In the process of research, we conduct various surveys among different strata of the population, for example, on the carriers of traditional art (culture) of the Tuvan ethnos. According to our polls, firstly, khoomeiji (performers of throat singing) were named. Tuvan people believe that Tuva, its nature, geographical location generate performers of throat singing, that this is a traditional art of the stepe inhabitant, “a natural phenomenon” which is passed on from generation to generation. They say that performers are hardworking, musical and talented people. Indeed, in Tuva they can be heard at concerts and different events. And since the 90s of the XX century, this phenomenon has been supported by the state and the International Center “Khoomei” (its permanent director is Zoya Kyrgys, a doctor of Art studies) has been established, state awards have been created, competitions and reviews of all levels are conducted. Schools for talented children have been opened, but intergenerational ties, the transfer of experience, education by generic canons, are carried out primarily in the family and among friends. Also, this craft is taught, lessons are given and the imitation plays an important role here. This genre is more common among the male part of the Tuvan population. The natural landscape, a Tuvan way of life, human interest - these are the main driving forces of the phenomenon of throat singing. The nature of Tuva (geographical, climatic, natural conditions), as a factor that formed the ethnopsychological characteristics of the Tuvans, really influenced the appearance of throat singing. This phenomenon is studied by different sciences, such as history, culture, medicine, physiology, etc. And psychologists have yet to study this phenomenon more.

In this regard, it is appropriate to quote the words of the well-known Tuvan writer, scientist, doctor of historical sciences, Mongush Kenin-Lopsan: “... Tuva is the center of



Asia, where cultures of different epochs and different peoples have crossed since ancient times; the root of the Scythian civilization is here”.

**Irina A. Sosunova**  
**Olga N. Mamonova**

## **Social-Ecological Values as Foundation of New Quality of Life**

### **ABSTRACT**

*The article is devoted to main aspects of ecological behavior formation, including a role of ecological values, highlights the problems of significance of the ecological factors in formation of modern person's health.*

**Keywords:** social-ecological values; forming and change of the system of values; ecology; social behavior; new quality of life

Nowadays the social-ecological values may be defined as a projection of base or main values such as health to socio-ecological sphere. Social-ecological values are seen in two dimensions – in personal level (individual intentions, aims and ways of realization) and in social one which can be understood as micro- and macro ecological sphere's influence. Thus, for example, we can present the following negative ecological factors which influence to the health of population:

- somatic health – the decrease of health conditions as a result of unfavorable anthropogenic situation and labor conditions;
- socio-mental health - the decrease as a result of long-term ecological tension, stressful situations and technogenic catastrophes;

The social scientists are concerned by the sufficient difference in a health care sphere and quality of available medical services which defines the real population health level in different Russian regions. In this way, subjective estimation of population health is seen as a result of ecological risk evaluation.

As long-term sociological surveys show, the social-ecological reality based on main values, defines at the same time the aims and criteria of management of socio-ecological situation on concrete local territories and in the country as a whole. The purpose of value's study was to continue the elaboration of methodological basics of sociological surveys of modern socio-ecological dimension of Russia, to analyze the socio-ecological environment and its influence to the new life quality. The potential significance of life quality approach is seen as innovative factor of subjective analysis. The experience of its practical appliance in conditions of contemporary society is generalized. The findings of expert survey conducted during past decade present the views about life quality in different regions comparing the access to natural resources, socio-ecological situation, and economic level of the regional development with social status of respondent. The data selected is the result of comparative sociological research.

The following factors as ecologisation of education, emotional relation to the nature -society, assimilation of specific knowledge, training of creative action, lead to the optimal

balanced decisions in social management, economics, slowly waking up the ecological morality of society. The findings of Russian society of sociologists in 2017 (The Year of Ecology, <https://www.ssa-rss.ru>) show that:

- in mass consciousness the actualization of ecological problems happened;
- ecological situation is sophisticated and its development is descending in the frameworks of unfavorable expectations of the population;
- the low level of civil society mechanisms in decision making of socio-ecological problems is evidenced.

In 2017 the sociologists critically focused on the tension between modes of production and consumption as well as the emergence of new solidarities among rising inequalities in socio-ecological sphere. In addition, subjective perceptions of respondents on the natural environment and quality of life definition in different regions of Russia show the new ways of strategy realization in a civil society. The results of 2017 research became the foundation of ecological phenomena systematization and helped us to offer the following list of socio-ecological values on a base of life quality of the respondent:

- social awareness of nature 97% of the respondents;
- ecological security of society 83%;
- available ecological education 51%;
- high quality of life referring to socio-ecological norms 50%;
- development of ecological design and comfort social environment 48%;
- available authentic ecological information in a place of living 48%;
- participation in elaboration, realization and control to socio-ecological events in a place of living and in Russia as a whole 47%.

Concluding, in contemporary Russia, the environmental values have important specific features. The processes of radical transformation inevitably affect all spheres of vital activity of the population, manifesting themselves in the inter-generational “value fault”, in changes of social differentiation and stratification and also in moral relativism which define the life quality in Russia. Authors believe that sociological understanding of life quality issues and sociological foundation of concrete research are necessary for scientific study of the contemporary society’s understanding.

## Migration in Italy as the Source of Catholic Church Viability

### ABSTRACT

*The article under consideration analyzes the migration policy of Vatican as the main actor of globalization process. The author highlights that the actions and decisions taken by the Catholic Church under the administration of the Pope Francis are aimed at strengthening its power on the religious market. One of these decisions, according to the author – is the acceptance of pluralism and cultural diversity and establishment of an enriched identity.*

**Keywords:** migration; religion; Vatican; Italy; globalization; civilizational heritage

Nowadays the world faces many challenges, caused by the globalization process. One of these challenges is migration, which makes both – the housing countries and migrant communities, tend to carry out policies and actions, aimed at cultural heritage protection. Religion in this context becomes the tool of political and social actors. Some of them deny the need to deal with multiculturalism and religious pluralism, but some religious institutions have accepted Berger's idea [Kargina, 2016] that only dealing with pluralism helps Church to survive.

In order to understand why Italian experience differs from the rest of Europe, it is important to notice that despite the fact that the Catholic Church is officially separated from the country, it has a much greater impact on the minds of Italians than the state.

The link between the Church and society is an organization called "Catholic action". The task of the agents of "Catholic action" is to instruct parents on how to educate children, to follow the literary preferences of Italians and to recommend Catholic media and videos that the Church welcomes. One of the duties of the agents of "Catholic action" is to obstruct those citizens who intend to join a non-Catholic Union or decided to participate in a strike.

In Italy, there are special laws governing the interaction of the Roman Catholic Church with the authorities, such as The Concordat, adopted in 1984, which proclaims the equality of all Italians regardless of their religion. Nevertheless, under the Constitution, the Catholic Church receives a number of advantages over other confessions – for example, it receives part of the taxes received from citizens.

Within the framework of European exclusivity, one can find a counter-example that does not correspond to eurosecularity, which is an exception to the rule – the example of Italy, which is an exceptional case of two kinds. First, unlike many European countries, the indicators of religiosity in it are quite high. At the same time, Catholicism in Italy has long

been a religious monopoly. Speaking of “Italian exceptionalism” Luke Diotallevi [Rutkevich, 2013] noted that Italy is a very important case, which does not fit into the “old” or “new” paradigm of sociology of religion. It has the “advantage of unusual mix of modernization, religious monopoly, and religious viability”. Italy is an exception, because unlike other countries faced with modernization, it had a strategy of Church modernization.

Church modernization nowadays is focused on two fields: innovation through technologies, which is a matter of another research, and dealing with migration. The Church has always been a strong actor of the religious market and it is not a coincidence that it seeks for the benefit in every challenge, including migration. While eurosceptics consider migrants as a threat, the Pope Francis declares that it is a source of enrichment. Indeed, several scientists believe that Italy should find a third – “intercultural” solution, the so-called “enriched identity” [Yazkova, 2017]. Some articles even call Francis the gear of globalization.

In February 2016 a group of religious associations (The Federation of Evangelical Churches, the Walden Community and the Community of Saint Egidius) presented the initiative of humanitarian corridors. In January 2017, was opened the second humanitarian corridor for refugees in Ethiopia, organized by the Italian Episcopal conference [Salakone, 2017].

On 21 August 2017, The international migrant and refugee day, the Pontiff published a letter stating that the personal security of migrants should prevail over national security and called for building bridges between civilizations, despite the current migration policy of Matteo Salvini, who said that responding to migrants with tolerance and benevolence —is equal to suicide, and a year later closed Italian ports for refugees heading to the shores of Sicily. But the church’s position is still optimistic. During his visit to Marocco in March 2019 the Pope declared that the world needs to build cities and countries that, while preserving their respective cultural and religious identities, are open to differences and know how to value them in a sign of human brotherhood [Vatican News, 2019]. The church believes that the focus on the association “immigrants–terrorism” and civilizational conflicts reflect a global pessimistic view on the possibilities of a positive transformation of society through migration, leaving aside the ongoing and increasingly visible mutual enrichment at all levels, examples of which the policy of long-term integration would have to identify and demonstrate to the citizens of Europe [Salakone, 2017].

In conclusion we must say, that the church follows principles of mercy and compassion, highlighting their necessity during the migration suport campaign all over the world, although it arises criticism of right-hand parties in Europe. Vatican believes that integration of migrants will strengthen its role on the world’s religious market, giving Christianity the chance to survive and gain popularity.

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**Expectations of Parents from Preschool Educational Organizations for their Children**

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**Emigration to Europe and Russia as a Social Phenomenon**

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**Spontaneous Volunteering in Emergency**

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**Specific Features of Deviant Behavior of Juveniles in Russia: on the Way of Criminalization and Desocialization**

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**On the Potential of Interethnic Accord of the Russian Society (2014-2018)**

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**Problems of Professional Dynasty in the Conditions of Modernization Changes in the Post-Soviet Space (based on Materials of Biographical Interviews)**



**Modern Western Theories of Studying Digital Activism**



**Green Jobs In Sociological Theories of Professions**



**Green Jobs Rules the Future World: Perspective Directions Outlook of Green Professions**

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**Migration in Italy as the Source of Catholic Church Viability**

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**Comparing of Internet Technologies and Consumer Behavior Practices in the Childhood of the Generations Y and Z**

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**Factors Affecting Students' Attitudes to the Social Roles of Men and Women**

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**Educational Environment of the National Cultures Communication**



**Textual Space Peculiarities of Electronic Business Correspondence**

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### **Professional Dynasties as a Social Mechanism for the Reproduction of Professional Identities**



### **Professional Associations of Engineers in the Process of Modernization of the Russian Society: Functions and Tasks**



### **The Generation of Russian Engineers in the Era of Stagnation: Fate and Profession**

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### **Managing the Formation of Patriotism Among Students**

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### **Integrated Sociology of Digital Society: Socio-Managerial, Science-Education and Socio-Cultural Problems**

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## **Integrated Sociology of Digital Society: Socio-Managerial, Science-Education and Socio-Cultural Problems**

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## **Condition and Level of Ownership of the Native Languages of the Indigenous Peoples of the North of the Surgut District of Ugra in the Context Of Sociological Searches**

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## **The Educational Potential of School Students and the Conditions of its Forming in the Novosibirsk Region**

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## **Human Capital Development of Student Youth**



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**The Usage Of Standartization Means in Business Writing**

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**Comparing of Internet Technologies and Consumer Behavior Practices in the Childhood of the Generations Y and Z**



**Features of Labor Relations in the Service Sector**

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**Conflictological Training of Future Military Universities: Current Problems**

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### **Textual Space Peculiarities of Electronic Business Correspondence**

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### **Social-Ecological Values as Foundation of New Quality of Life**

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### **Professional Dynasties as a Social Mechanism for the Reproduction of Professional Identities**



### **The Generation of Russian Engineers in the Era of Stagnation: Fate and Profession**

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### **Factors Determining Attitudes Towards Immigration in Russia (Based on the Ess 2016)**

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### **Managing Development of Student's Creativity: Evaluation of Experts**

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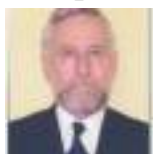


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**Modern School and Professional Knowledge: School Teachers' Perspective**

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