



# **Power, Violence and Justice: Reflections, Responses and Responsibilities. View from Russia**

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**C36 Power, Violence and Justice: Reflections, Responses and Responsibilities.**

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**«Power, Violence and Justice: Reflections, Responses and Responsibilities.**

**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. History, Theories and Methodology

*Valeriy A. Mansurov.  
Elena I. Pronina  
Pavel S. Yuriev*

## **To the 60th Anniversary of SSA / RSS**

### **ABSTRACT**

In the article the structure and main types of activity of the Russian society of sociologists, which is the successor of the Soviet Sociological Association in Russia and abroad are analyzed. The procedure for organizing and conducting of all-Russian student surveys, which are conducted by the Russian society of sociologists is described.

**Keywords:** Soviet Sociological Association; Russian society of sociologists; Regional Offices of RSS; Research Committees of RSS; researches of RSS; activities in ISA and ESA

### **Russian society of sociologists: structure and main activities**

Present 2018 Soviet sociological association (further in the text – SSA)/ Russian society of sociologists (further in the text – RSS) celebrates the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary. The beginning of revival or “rebirth” of soviet and russian sociology, according to some scientists, comes in the middle of the 1950s. In 1958 the Soviet sociological association has been created (the Chairman of the Board was the corresponding member of Academy of Sciences of the USSR Yu.P. Frantsev).

The Russian society of sociologists has been organized as the republican organization within the Soviet sociological association. The constituent congress of the Russian society of sociologists has taken place in September 1989. The first president of RSS has been elected N.I. Lapin and the Chief scientific secretary – V.N. Makarevich.

In 1991 the Russian society of sociologists became the independent organization, performing the SSA functions on the territory of RSFSR, and on January 22 1992 the Soviet sociological association has stopped the activity as the national organization of International sociological association (further in the text – ISA) and has delegated the powers as the member of ISA and the coordinator of the Regional offices, operating on the territory of Russia, to the Russian society of sociologists. Subsequent co-presidents or members of the Presidential Council of RSS were A.K. Zaytsev, V.S. Dudchenko, Yu.R. Vishnevsky and V.A. Yadov. The scientific secretary was V.A. Malova. Since 1997 till present the president of RSS is V.A. Mansurov and the Executive vice-president is E.I. Pronina.

Now the Russian society of sociologists has Regional offices practically in all territorial subjects of the Russian Federation. They are headed by candidates and doctors of sciences (PhD), researchers and teachers of sociology and related subjects. In regions are regularly held



conferences, readings, seminars, schools of young scientists and other scientific and organizational actions in which participate sociologists from different regions of Russia.

Honored scientists initiated creation and head the Research committees of RSS, which are created for each perspective and important direction of researches.

Today in RSS are registered 74 Regional offices and 39 Research committees.

### **Influence of RSS on improvement of social policy of Russia and its regions**

The Russian society of sociologists as the assignee of the Soviet Sociological Association of the Academy of Sciences USSR, relying on its own resources and reserves, tries to study public opinion in regions and, respectively, to influence on improvement of social policy, both in certain regions, and in the country in general. Among the main activities are to involve regional sociologists not only through implementation of joint research projects, but also to hold the competitions of student's works among students-sociologists, to support their participation in scientific actions both within the country, and abroad.

Another large-scale activity of RSS is to hold together with one or several Research committees of RSS of annual conferences on research themes of the Research committee (committees) involved in the organization of this conference, and every four years – to hold the All-Russian sociological Congresses, which unite in one place not only members of all Regional offices and Research committees of RSS, but also other members of the Russian scientific community and also foreign sociologists for discussion of the most important problems of the Russian society from the point of view of sociological science. Last at the moment of such congresses, already the fifth, was held from October 19 to October 21 2016 in Yekaterinburg. Subject of the V All-Russian sociological Congress “Sociology and society: social inequality and social justice” is significant not only for the Russian society, but also for the world in general. So, the XVIII World congress of the International sociological association has devoted its work to a subject “Facing an unequal world: challenges for global sociology” (Yokohama, 2014). The similar issues were the main for the 12th Conference of the European sociological association (further in the text – ESA) – “Differences, inequalities and sociological imagination” (Prague, 2015). All of this indicates that the subject of inequality has no borders and doesn't depend directly on the socio-political structure of the state. For those reasons not only the Russian sociological communities, but also foreign partners have acted as co-organizers of the V All-Russian sociological Congress. Among them were the International Sociological Association (ISA), the European Sociological Association (ESA) and also national sociological associations. The subject of was interesting to a large number of researchers, and not only sociologists, but also scientists of other scientific specialties. About one and a half thousand people have submitted applications for

participation in the Congress (1430 applications and, taking into account coauthors, were 1550 people). 49 applications from foreign participants from 11 countries of the foreign and neighboring countries were submitted. All materials, which were sent by participants, have been published on the disk of the same name. The volume of a disk was 11800 pages (about 500 printed sheets). The electronic version of a disk is posted on the website of the Russian society of sociologists. During the Congress meetings of 17 thematic sessions, 35 scientific sections and 29 round tables have taken place. Modern problems of the Russian society were discussed; the subject of presentations hasn't been always directly connected with a subject of social inequality and social justice, but discussion of reports, as a rule, took place in a context of the announced subject of V All-Russian sociological Congress. There were the tone and a context of discussion, which were set at a plenary session, in work of all scientific events. In general, on the Congress the wide range of methodological and practical aspects of studying of various forms of social inequality and social justice (such as differentiation of income, unequal access to health care, education, housing, market, inequality before the law, etc.) was discussed. In the Congress active part was taken by the President of the International sociological association Margaret Abraham. In particular, at the meeting of School of young scientists "Sociology in public space and trust of society", which took place within the V All-Russian sociological Congress, she made the report on a problem of violence against women in the different countries of the world. Her performance attracted great attention and a response of young scientists, who gathered there.

Margaret Abraham highlighted important events, which took place during the work of V All-Russian sociological Congress. Significant indicators of traditions and innovations in activity of sociological community for her were activity of youth group of researchers and opening of a memorial of one of founders of the Ural sociological school Lev Naumovich Kogan. Speaking at a solemn meeting of opening of room of a name of this prominent sociologist, M. Abraham noted that maintaining of scientific national traditions which are so supported by the Ural sociologists and sociologists of other Regional offices of RSS is important for development of world sociology in general.

At the end of the Congress the regular 9th reporting and re-election congress of RSS took place. Making the report about work in the period between congresses, the president of RSS V.A. Mansurov noted that work with youth traditionally precedes each conference, a forum and a congress which holds by RSS. The annual competition of publications of RSS has already more than 10-year history. And young researchers take active part in this area of work of public organization. One of the most important activities of RSS is the international cooperation. Since the First All-Russian sociological Congress (in 2000), all All-Russian sociological congresses prepare and hold in close contact with the International and European sociological associations.

Cooperation of sociologists of the countries of BRICS, regular meeting of who took place in days of the Congress, continues to develop. Speaking at the final plenary session of the Congress, the President of ISA noted the high level and the atmosphere of professional trust, which characterizing this forum and also importance of further international cooperation in sociology and science in general.

### **Participation of members of RSS in activity of the International and European sociological associations**

The Russian sociologists, whose most part is members of RSS, are widely represented on the board of International and European sociological associations and their Research committees (in the ISA) and Research networks (in the ESA) and actively participate in the conferences, the congresses and the forums, which are held by them. So, a member of Executive committee of the International sociological association is E.A. Zdravomyslova (The European university in St. Petersburg); the President of Research committee “Sociology of science and technologies” (RC23) is N.A. Ascheulova (The St. Petersburg branch of Institute of history of natural sciences and technology of S.I. Vavilov RAS); the Vice-president of Research committee “Sociology of education” (RC04) is S.A. Sharonova (Peoples' Friendship University of Russia, Moscow); the Vice-president of Research committee “Sociotechnics – Sociological practice” (RC26) is N.E. Pokrovsky (National research university Higher School of Economics, Moscow); the board member of Research committee “Biography and society” (RC38) is V.V. Semenova (The federal center of theoretical and applied sociology RAS, Moscow); the board member of Research committee “Sociology of professional groups” (RC52) is E.R. Yarskaya-Smirnova (National research university Higher School of Economics, Moscow); the international correspondent (volunteer) of Research committee “Sociology of communication, knowledge and culture” (RC14) is O.G. Echevskaya (Novosibirsk State University); the young researcher of Research committee “Alienation theory and research” (RC36) is E.I. Lytkina (National research university Higher School of Economics, Moscow).

Last at the moment XVIII Congress of ISA “Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Global Sociology” (Yokohama, Japan, July 13-19 2014) gathered 8964 participants, from them from Russia there were 169 participants, from them 15 students. In work of the XVII Congress of ISA in 2010 have taken part 5007 participants and there were 111 participants from Russia.

Also ISA holds sociological forums. In work of the last of them (“The Futures We Want: Global Sociology and the Struggles for a Better World”, Vienna, Austria, July 10-14 2016) have taken part 4231 persons and there were 94 internal participants and, including extramural participants, 198 people from Russia participated.

The European Sociological Association (ESA) has been created in 1992. 2000 scientists are members of the ESA. From Russia are registered 88 individual members and the Russian society of sociologists as national association. The current President of the ESA is Sue Scott (University of Edinburgh, Scotland). The member of Sub-committees of the ESA on publications and research networks is E.N. Danilova (The federal center of theoretical and applied sociology RAS, Moscow); the board member of Research network “Biographical perspectives on European societies” (RN03) is E.Yu. Rozhdestvenskaya (National research university Higher School of Economics, Moscow); the board member of Research network “Quantitative Methods” (RN21) is I.F. Devyatko (National research university Higher School of Economics, Moscow); the board member of Research network “Sociology of transformations: East and West” (RN36) is Yu.A. Prozorova (The federal center of theoretical and applied sociology RAS, St. Petersburg); the additional board member of Research network “Sociology of professions” (RN19) is R.N. Abramov (National research university Higher School of Economics, Moscow); the member of the advisory board of Research network “Science and technologies” (RN24) is N.A. Ascheulova (The St. Petersburg branch of Institute of history of natural sciences and technology of S.I. Vavilov RAS).

### **Instead of the conclusion**

Summing up the results, we note that members of RSS, conducting researches and making reports at the international, All-Russian and regional conferences, consider that sociological researches can and have to become scientific base for making of the social policy, which allow to mitigate the increasing negative phenomena in society [Zborovsky, 2016: 5]. For two decades the Russian society of sociologists takes active part in making of social policy of the country in relation to various areas of life of society. It was repeatedly noted not only by state government personnels. The professional community of sociologists is proud of many effective forms of work of RSS and the colleagues. According to members of RSS, the most perspective and effective is the following of them:

1. Holding of an annual competition of publications of RSS;
2. Release of electronic version of reports and messages of the Russian sociologists wishing to take internal or extramural part in actions of the International and European sociological associations;
3. Annual competition of student's works of Research committee of RSS “Sociology of childhood”;
4. Support of publications of young scientists in the Russian and international editions;
5. Holding of “pre-congress” schools of young scientists;

6. The initiative researches of RSS, aimed to making of social policy of the country, which conducted at no charge and in which the Regional offices of RSS located in various regions of Russia participate;
7. Holding of regional and interregional conferences under patronage of RSS in which scientists from all Russian regions participate;
8. Protection of the rights and freedoms of members of RSS and professional group in general;
9. Support of the high status of sociological disciplines and their teaching in high school of Russia;
10. The organization of a discussion about teaching sociology and monitoring of teaching this discipline in high school of Russia;
11. Creation of Council for ethics of RSS.

Summing up what has been said, we can state that RSS in result of long work “has debugged” certain methods of cooperation with regional offices. A large number of people in regions, such as members of RSS (organizers of one or another research, authors of publications, participants of competitions and conferences), students, young scientists (also participants of competitions and conferences), respondents, journalists who then show the results of researches of RSS in the media and also managers participate in implementation of “projects of RSS”. All these people join to awareness and in a varying degree to the decision of the problem, which put by subject of a research that finally is directed to improvement of social policy, both in certain regions, and in the country in general, proving that public opinion in Russia exists, is studied and necessary recommendations are made.

At the moment RSS has announced the tender for holding of the next VI All-Russian sociological Congress. And the first offers on the venue was already received. At the meeting of Presidium of RSS on February 7 2018 sociologists of the Nizhny Novgorod Regional office of RSS have offered Nizhny Novgorod as the venue of holding of the next All-Russian Congress.

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*Oleg N. Yanitsky*

## **Globalization: A Challenge to Social Sciences**

### **ABSTRACT**

The globalization and the sociology are both historically-developing processes but with their own starting points, the tempo-rhythms and phases of development. The sociology as a social institution has its own regularities and trajectories of development. The aim of the article is to outline their main drivers and to estimate their interrelated evolution. As it has been showed, the sociology being a product of the late industrial epoch, therefore its theoretical underpinnings and research instruments are lag far behind a rapidly developed globalization process. Current globalization is in essence an information-communication process while the sociology is still mainly based on the ideas and notions of the past epoch. For example, the tempo-rhythms of the development of globalization and sociology are incomparable, the sociology is never tried to comprehend global-local geopolitical processes, sociology never studies virtual way of life and metabolic processes, etc. Besides, modern sociology only begins to comprehend a network nature of globalization processes, and its complex i.e. interdisciplinary nature. To illustrate these gaps I used the results of a long-term research project 'The Global Risks Report' (2008-2018) initiated and carried out by the World Economic Society that is indicative by itself. That undoubtedly pioneering project is the best illustration of the gap between modern trends of global development and backward instruments of its sociological study and interpretation. The urgent task of sociology is to overcome the above gap as soon as possible. But this task is aggravated by an ongoing process of a change of generations that radically transforming a perception and comprehension of globalization process.

**Keywords:** globalization; history; industrial epoch; information-communication processes; metabolism; sociology; risk; theory; time.

The aim of the article is to reveal and to comprehend a modern sociology's reflection on current globalization processes and structures. My initial positions of the study were the following. First, modern globalization and sociology as institutions are the products of different epochs the former is of current development of mode of production whereas the latter is of the previous i.e. of the late industrial one. Second, modern sociology never dealt with such subject world-wide matter as globalization. Third, modern sociology is mainly one-dimensional discipline rooted in social psychology while the modern globalization is multidimensional process requiring an interdisciplinary approach. Fourth, the basement of modern sociology (with a few exceptions) is the studies of interaction between social agents of various types but the main subject matter of global studies is metabolic processes [Yanitsky, 2014, i.e. various qualitative transformations of both sides. Fifth, the sociologists prefer typological studies (revealing specific groups of people, making different archetypes of social events, etc.) while a focal point of global studies is the networks. In this sense these studies are much more close to the studies of naturalists. Sixth, modern sociology uses its specific language that is understandable to near all whereas globalization

researchers are forced to learn a specific language of IT-technologies that is not understandable to a majority of sociologists. It means that we have a barrier of mutual misunderstanding between these two branches of science. The barrier rooted in still opposing paradigmatic foundations of social and natural sciences.

### **Theory, methodology and instruments**

Theoretically, this study is based on the hypothesis that our planet is now not the biosphere, according to V. Vernadsky (1980) but rather a very complex entity combined from biological, social and technical structures and processes, that is the sociobiotechnosphere [Yanitsky, 2016; hereafter the global SBT-system]. It's not a combination of qualitatively different elements but an integrative whole, unstable and contradictory but the wholeness. Then, inside this global SBT-system the processes of transformations are permanently going on between the above qualitatively different elements. These interactions and exchange by the information and resources represent uninterrupted process named as metabolic processes. It means that I practice an interdisciplinary approach. In turn, it means that any biological, social or technical agent exists not separately but in various types of connections with all other elements of the SBT-system. Such interactions may proceed on macro, middle or micro level. It follows that methodologically I consider this system as an endless network of the ties and interactions. Accordingly, in order to understand the functions and evolution of the SBT-system I've to analyze carefully its overall network structure. Finally, the analysis of the network crossroads is very important because it may indicate critical points of the global SBT-system. As concerns the secondary analysis of the case study of a long-term study of global risks dynamics (see below), its participants used the combination of the network study and expert survey.

### **On the phases of globalization process**

The globalization is historically-developing process dependent on the changes of the mode of production. But it will be an oversimplification to equalize current globalization with that of the XV-XIX centuries. Of course, the striving for gaining profit and wealth and to geopolitical domination had existed from the discovery of America and even much earlier. But keeping in mind our task to analyze the process of transformation of the sociology as a particular branch of humanities I restrict my speculations by the period from the beginning of the XX century up to now.

The globalization process has been intensively studied by many well-known western authors from the mid-1980s onwards [see, for example, Bauman, 2001, 2001a, 2001b; Roberson, 1994; Vernadsky, 1980; Wallerstein, 1994; Waters, 1995; Yanitsky, 2013]. But the majority of

them had focused on the definition of the globalization mainly in the frames of various versions of postmodern methodology. But the steps and forms of globalization processes hadn't been carefully studied, especially in the context of other, non-sociological views on the issue in question. Besides, the sociologist used to escape an analysis of such critical phases of the globalization as global wars and other international conflicts.

What are the main drivers of globalization within the above period? To my mind, there are the following: a development of the mode of production, the WWI and the WWII as well as recent global hybrid wars, a changing disposition of forces on a global geopolitical arena, global mobility and mass involuntary migration, an accelerating of ongoing changes (i.e. its tempo-rhythms) in global-local social order including family and other small groups, and the emergence of virtual reality as a living area of masses of ordinary people. The changes in value structure deserve a special attention.

The current phase of globalization process is characterized by the domination of information mode of production that generates various all-embracing networks (informational, energy and resource transmissions, migration flows, logistics networks, human mobility, etc.). In particular global market depends on current information flow more and more; a margin between war and peace is removed. Recently any interactions between global agents have a hybrid nature; the global socio-political order established in the midst of XX century is rapidly replacing by a permanent and endless process of talks, temporal agreements and roadmaps; as a result, a disposition of global stakeholders is permanently changing and, therefore, global geopolitical arena has become unstable and uncertain; the overall geopolitical process accelerating but it doesn't mean that local communities follow this trend. On the contrary, many of them drop from this process forever and socially dissolved.

Finally, the emergence of virtual reality as the main feature of current globalization has a set of serious consequences. First, the very information-communication networks are indifferent to the translated content. Therefore, fundamental moral reference-points peculiar to the societies of XX century are evaporating and replacing by temporal rules of games produced by mass-media or by social networks. Second, a man can to 'resettle' into the virtual world and to be practically independent from real life that is to be totally alienated. But the more he is dependent on social networks the more he is subjected for manipulation from outside. Third, by and large, the margin between a truth and lie, between me and they, between good and bad has become more and more uncertain. A bureaucratic pressure, corruption and stealing only aggravate this state of uncertainty and embarrassment. Under these conditions a rank-and-file man may fall into a state of stupor or full indifference. Fourth, earlier the family and kinship ties had been solid and long-term. Recently, a man switches his ties many times a year whereas the former family and

community networks disappear without leaving a trace. From the philosophy viewpoint, the man will be absolutely lonely in such global world.

But it's rather indicative that modern sociology including Russian ones doesn't hurry to switch their attention on global processes. More than that, this sociology begins to reincarnate such studies as informal ties and public participation that had been widespread in Europe and the USSR in 1960-90s. But why it is?

From my viewpoint, we are now at the turning point. The rise of radical movements across the world, a revitalization of numerous grassroots and other civic initiatives and even President Trump's idea to return to the US some old industrial enterprises signifies that we are witnessing *the feedback* of globalizing efforts of transnationals. People want to have their solid moral and social foothold. If the media will be such foothold it means that the consciousness and behavior of an individual will be totally manipulated by them. That is why the people prefer to become a member of like-minders, grassroots or social movements aimed at restoration of national values and cultural specificity.

This trend is dominated across the globe but there is an objective impediment: *a growing gap between the young and the old* which has not the aged but a civilizational character. These two categories of inhabitants are living in two qualitatively different epochs, industrial and post-industrial or even in pre-industrial and postmodern ones. It's a principal methodological point. It means that all their social preferences related to the mode of living are not only different but often conflictual ones with each other. In particular it means that to put the same questions (in the run of interview) to these different age-groups is incorrect. Then, the young and the old have quite another reference groups, the former basing their behavior on a future while the elderly on their past experience. Strictly speaking, the young are living in virtual, i.e. informational space while the old are mostly living within material ones. And such margins (barriers) are existed in all other spheres of their life. The former are very mobile the latter often immobile, the consciousness of the former group is very dependent on external impulses while the latter group is much more conservative in all spheres of their behavior, etc.

Therefore, the question is: What we, the elderly, are capable to teach the teenagers? To answer this question modern sociology must to reveal and estimate its own viewpoint on current social processes and transformations. Without such solid stand (attitude or position) we could teach them nothing. To my mind, the following statements are the fundamentals of any further discussion on foreseeable future. First, the struggle between globalization and localization, i.e. protection of nation-states and other territorially-localized social systems will continue in foreseeable future. Second, the outcome of this struggle will be partly resolved by the shaping social groups and communities that are living in two spaces, the material and the virtual ones. Third, the struggle

between the efforts of global IT-systems to subordinate and to control all human wishes and intentions to their rules of games and the resistance of humans to it will continue. Four, the radicalism outbreaks as a form of protest against such total infiltration and unification will continue. Five, what we are having in common? It's the most disputable question. As for me, one of the key issues is the common future of our planet, or more exactly of our global SBT-system? Or in other words, what will be the rules and norms of our common wellbeing in the frames of the planet very tightly interconnected by myriads of informational networks?

### **The turning point**

During the period of its emergence and maturing on the boundary of the XIX-XX centuries the sociology and some other social sciences have been concerned with its 'domestic policy' that is with the issues of the definition of its frames within sister disciplines, its institutionalization, and the right to have to say on the public arena. It had been a very important period of the development of theoretical apparatus of the sociology, and its research instruments. Partly they had been borrowed from such disciplines, like the history, social statistics, anthropology, and even from bio-sociology (H. Spencer), and partly they had been invented by the sociologists themselves. Besides, one should keep in mind that the process of institutionalization went in the period of 'pre-global' times accompanied with growing turbulence of the emerging global whole, colonial wars and inter-state relationships conflicts. As we know now, in the pre-WWI times the geopolitical tensions embraced not only Europe but many other parts of the world.

As recent influx of mass migrants from Africa and the Near East has seriously shocked the process of construction of the EU and therefore gave the impetus for the development of new sociological branches, the process of mass migration of Polish and other peasants to the US in the second half of the XIX century gave mighty stimuli to the development of American sociology, and especially to the urban and human ecology. It means that the movement of peoples' mass across the globe has always unpredictable social and political impact on social and institutional structure of particular nation-states. Another important conclusion is that the globalization is never emerging suddenly. On the contrary, this process is going gradually embracing some nation-states and regions and escaping others. In the pre-WWI times the globalization process has an 'island' (hotbed, breeding ground) character.

Recently, modern sociology is simultaneously faced with a set of issues. First, all sciences, be it humanitarian, natural or technical ones are under pressure of all-embracing capitalist system with its striving for a capital accumulation by all means. And the sociology is not an exception. It doesn't mean that the all branches of sociology are following the above principle but capitalist relationships are their inevitable context. Second, modern capitalism is first of all transnational

one which intends to level all national and cultural peculiarities. This trans-nationalization process is based on global information-communication systems is a mighty instrument of levelling the above differences as such. Third, these systems actually destroy any territorial boundaries by so called process of an inversion of space into time. Thus, *the time has become a key factor of development*. Four, humankind creates by his own activity the 'second nature', which I called the socio-biotechnical system (hereafter, the SBT-system). Five, the above systems (i.e. the networks) are indifferent to the quality of content transmitted information. In other words, it doesn't mean is this information relevant of socially-constructed, i.e. a fake one. Taken together, the all above transformations urge the sociology to take them into account. What does it practically means?

First, an interdisciplinary approach is a global challenge to the humanities. That is, modern sociology has to be capable to translate into its terms a variety of processes and events (say, technological decisions, natural and man-made accidents) of a very unstable and diversified world. Second, the term 'interactions' often used in the sociology of the age of modernity no more fit to the essence of the modern world. The myriad structures and processes are full of permanent transformations which I name as *metabolic processes*, the term borrowed from biology and medicine. Third, the result of these processes is ranging from their mutual enhancement over various forms of mutual transformation till total mutual annihilation. Such *natural-technical-social metabolism is the most serious challenge to modern sociology* and its associates. Fourth, besides a social metabolism as such is existed as well (the exchange of information and services between the agents of this process is the most simple example). Fifth, modern social reality is transforming in two directions. On the one hand, social agents permanently create new technologies because it enhances their strength. On the other hand, all such technological devices, innovations, artificial materials, etc. coupled together gradually transforming our Biosphere into the man-made sphere, that is into the global SBT-system with still unknown qualities and regularities. Sixth, such qualitative global transformation means not only that humanity will live in a qualitatively new environment but a giant restructuring of all flows of information, materials, goods, etc. Seventh, the deficit of living areas, i.e. relatively safe places for building the habitats will inevitably lead to new conflicts and warfare. It's quite natural that the rich took over the poor. Eighth, Russian and other national sociologies are still working in so called 'normal paradigm' that sees the world as a numerous peaceful and gradual social processes in which all competitive interests may be reconciled by means of the talks and agreements. But the further the more such conflicts are resolved by sheer force, be it economic, political and military.

That is why I stress the **role of wars** in the fastening of globalization processes (at the expense of war victims, suffering peaceful population and destruction of man-made and natural ecosystems) and in a changing of disposition of forces within it. In the pre-WWI times the Europe



and its satellites and colonies had been an emerging battlefield of the coming WWI while the US had been on its periphery. In other words, the group of the most advanced European countries played the role of slow-match of the coming global war. The role of the US in it was minimal or at least incomparable with that of European countries. But after the end of the WWII the US took a leading role. Thus, in the run of half-a-century the disposition of global forces had changed dramatically. And after the collapse of the Soviet Union it had seriously changed once more.

In sum, all said above means that Russian and other national sociologies have to pay much more attention to a structural-functional analysis based on network approach under conditions of risks, uncertainties, conflict and warfare.

### **The case of a long-term study of global risks dynamics**

A necessity of such case-study is substantiated by the following considerations. First of all, we are needed in empirical confirmation of our theoretical positions. Despite the political and public importance of making public survey researches, they are insufficient for the comprehension of a structure and dynamics of the modern world. Besides, such surveys are resembled the views and opinions produced by mass-media and not an actual state of the matters. Therefore, the study of global networks of various kinds is a relevant instrument of *structural-functional analysis of global processes* that allows us to reveal long chains of interdependencies and their social and ecological consequences within permanently transforming global SBT-system. Besides, the studies of global networks have military-strategic significance because they reveal the lines and knots of possible oppositions in the run of ordinary and hybrid wars.

The functioning of particular networks has nonlinear character and subjected to unintended transformations, especially in the cases of interactions with other flow systems (of information, material and human resources). The other side of the same coin is the interactions with natural and man-made environment, and each of them has its carrying capacity. If this limit is to overcome this environment is turned into a set of various social, natural and technical agents (so called the boomerang effect). That is, the notions of the agent and the environment are very relative.

Network analysis is applicable to the study of structural-functional systems of any scale. A pilot study carried out in relation of fire of shopping center in Kemerovo, the RF (March 2018) clearly showed that only one third of all safety networks in this building required by a set of norms and instructions (construction norms and rules, fire, evacuation, etc.) had been fulfilled. The more general conclusion is that the local networks are subjected to 'long networks' of social transformations. A social isolation is not backed by alternative ties weakens local communities and the nation-states.

‘Long chains’ of event and various transformations are interdependent. It leads us to the necessity of interdisciplinary analysis and to the study of qualitative transformations which I’ve called as metabolic studies. For example, the struggle for new or deficit resources leads to socio-political transformations, destruction of forests or pollution of the World Ocean to a global warming, construction of fake news – to the growth of international tension, etc.

### **The long-term study of global risks and their consequences: some preliminary remarks**

During 11 years the World Economic Forum was conducting a monitoring of global risks perception and their natural, technical and social consequences using the method of expert survey. Therefore, the full title of this longitude is the “World Economic Forum Global Risks Perception Survey 2017-2018” (here after the Report). It means that it was a rating survey. By my own estimation, the total number of the survey participants is oscillating between 250 and 450 experts including participants from China and India. Russian experts didn’t take part in this longitude. To my mind, it is undoubtedly a pioneering international research project on global risks development and their consequences. Later on some other research projects of global scale have been launched but more thematically restricted (a study of global energy water flows and some others).

There is a methodology section in all of the eleven Reports but it’s difficult to understand what points remain beyond the frames of their texts. It’s why my analysis is focused on the results and conclusions of the ‘Report 2017-2018’ because it summarizes the main results of this 11-years longitude.

The conduct of such global risks survey by the community of various professionals signifies that they realize the key role of global networks in world economy, geopolitics, sociology and other disciplines. Besides, they realized that their collaboration and mutual understanding is vitally necessary for geopolitics and any attempts to reduce the threat of the planet distraction.

The risks dynamics is analyzed in the 2.0 format when the ordinate axis presents the degree of risks impact while the abscise axis presents the degree of probability of risks emergence. It’s a widespread method but in our case the 3.0 format would be more relevant because the 2.0 format cannot grasp the qualitative transformations that may occurred at the crossroads of qualitatively different global networks. There is the reverse side of the same coin: the transformation of the essence of a particular network (flow) in the run of time. For example, an influx of finances may disturb a particular economy, or a certain kind of information may provoke a mass panic with uncertain outcomes. After all, the global risk may have a global scale i.e. to cover the total territory of our planet or at least a sub-continent. I’d to underscore that in all cases global risks will have a numerous side-effects in space and time. Further, I’ll address to a set of the Figures that summarize schematically the Report’s results.

### Conclusions borrowed from Figure I

The Report analysis shows that the shift of *the probability of the most serious catastrophes is moving towards the ecological disasters and other hardly predictable events*. The global risks of minimal probability of emergence like ungoverned inflation, deflation and illegal trade are in the zone of minimal probability. It's quite natural because these risks are inseparable element of capitalist system. I draw the readers' attention that for this analysis the Report authors chose a certain 'middle risk zone' only while the minimal and maximal 'risk zones' were not presented in the Report at all. Or they were removed consciously? But why it has been done?

In the midst of the Figure I that is within the zone of middle probability of global risks there are the inter-state conflicts, man-made accidents and a dispersion of infectious diseases. Thus, the Report is consciously removed from this study all kinds of socially-constructed risks like economic and political sanctions, embargos, etc. It means that the Report is not politically-neutral. Or more concretely such socially-constructed risks are a mighty weapon in modern hybrid wars.

### Conclusions borrowed from Figure II

A design of this Figure is the following. In its periphery we see the main global risks and the irrelative social or economic 'weight' and in the very center of the Figure II we see their probable social and other negative consequences.

According to the Report, *the climate changes, a growing of cyber-addiction of the societies and their population and a deepening polarization of the societies* are named as the most dangerous global risks. I agree with this conclusion but it contradicts to the doctrine of the majority of Anglo-Saxon theorists on inevitability of total globalization of the planet life.

The center of the Figure II is very indicative as well. The profound social instability, a crisis or collapse of a state as a social institution, inter-state conflicts, low success in attempts in mitigation of ecological crisis, involuntary mass migration, unemployment or underemployment, terrorists' attacks and adverse consequences of technological development are at the heart of this Figure II. Current globalization is fraught with institutional chaos. The last conclusion coincides with the results of the research project 'Hybrid wars' conducted by the faculty of political sciences of the Moscow State University in the year of 2015.

### The outcomes of the Figure III

This Figure is the most important one because it shows how all actors in our world are interrelated and interconnected irrespectively do we engaged in this global turnover or not. As this Figure shows, at the heart of the crossroads of various network lines we again see the same risks:

a profound social instability, collapse or deep crisis of the state as a social institution and interstate conflicts. All this critical events one could observe on the example of various sanctions, hybrid and armed wars, geopolitical conflicts, and so on and so forth.

But to my mind, this scheme of risks cross roads doesn't answer to the main question: what are the side-effects of such various risks concentration or collisions? What is it: linear or localized transformation? Or is it a threat of global catastrophe? One thing is clear: the issue of social, natural or other metabolism is an acute problem of world sociology and geopolitics and not of academic discussions only.

### **Conclusions of the Figure IV**

This Figure shows the dynamics of global risks i.e. which of them had been the most threatening 11 years ago and which ones the most threatening today. As one can see, in the terms of probability of their emergence the shift is the same: from the collapse of prices on the actives i.e. on movable and immovable assets including money savings towards an extreme weather conditions.

As concerns to global risks dynamics in the terms of the probability of their emergence the picture will be a bit different: from the same collapse of prices on the assets in the year of 2008 via fiscal crisis and the deficit of drinking water to the risks of the use of means of mass distraction. That is, the Figure 3 clarifies the Figure II. Although as one can see, it is not the network but typological presentation of global risks dynamics means that these two types of analysis does contradict one another.

### **Achievements and Shortcomings of the Project**

Undoubtedly, it's a pioneering global interdisciplinary project, and it is major merit. Nevertheless, the project has some serious methodological short comings. Although globalization process is on the move but many nation-states and regions continue to maintain their specific institutional structure, social and political culture, the specific type of man-nature relationships, and so on and so forth. Therefore, to my mind, at the very beginning it should to define the main types of macro-regions within the global whole.

Then, it's still not clear is the corps of experts was the same in the run of the above time-span of it or by and large gradually changed? Then, in such global pioneering expert surveys the project organizers have to choose only independent experts. But even they may have different views on globalization process, its drivers, impediments and consequences. To my mind, the Report's readers should know much more about the process of experts' selection.

One more shortcoming of the project is that it presents the picture of a certain 'middle zone' of possible risks. Let me remind that recently a division on large and small risks is rather conditional because of the principle 'the small is the strength.'

After then, what are the sources of global risks? –There is no answer on this question in the Report. More than that, as a preliminary scheme it is possible. But in the process of the move of information, resource of migration flow sit will be necessarily transformed. And nobody knows in which way exactly? But in any case in order to move from the point 'A' to the point 'B' the energy and resources are needed according to the Second law of thermodynamics. However, the Project is built in such way as if between the points 'A' and 'B' is a flat board and not a set of landscapes with its particular actors, impediments and risks.

Local level and its transformations under the pressure of globalization remained absolutely unstudied. It is rather strange because we are all witnessing a tough struggle between the global and the local, that is between the global forces that want to control all forms of individual's activity and his thought and his/her resistance to it. The privacy is the last strong hold of individual's sovereignty. Globalization process has to be necessarily analyzed top-down and bottom-up not only for the reason as a part of further shaping of world SBT-system but because of the existence of myriads of participants and users of its information resources.

One more shortcoming of the Project is the absence of interest to conflicts produced by globalization as such. I mean not only the conflicts that emerge of the crossroads of various networks but those resulted as the conflicts of economic or geopolitical interests, ethno-confessional differences, etc.

The analysis of metabolic processes is absent at all, and it's the main shortcoming the Report. One cannot understand the main trends of globalization process without the study of the outcome of interaction of various flows as well as between various stakeholders and other social agents (political parties, international alliances, social movements, etc.). Metabolic analysis requires a development of the instruments for mutual understanding natural, technical and social sciences. In particular, it's still unclear how global risks interact with those ones generated by nation-states and local communities.

Then, what is an integrated outcome of numerous metabolic processes? Is their agents have become more strong or weak, or totally transform their nature? Is that result has an immediate or postponed character? This question has a rather important character because, as it had been mentioned earlier, we are dealing now with the 'strength of the weakness' phenomenon like a certain virus which could be spread across the globe very quickly.

## Conclusion

A public discussion of Russian sociologists on this Report has revealed a long chain of principled questions related to the methodology and theory of globalization as such as well as to the methods and techniques of principles of selection of risks, their space-time dynamics, on what criteria these risks have been selected, weighted and the relationships with other risks and so on. In particular, the main question is still unclear: what are the main reasons of global risks emergence?

Then, is such turbulent state has a timely character and then a period of relative equilibrium would come, but when and in what form? A history says that at least two conditions have to be fulfilled. The first is a territorial division (dissociation) of potential adversaries. But under recent conditions of very tight global interconnection it is impossible. These conditions are more realistic. It's total domination of some global stakeholders or their alliance over the world. At least we are witnessing the tough struggle between the globalists and the nationalists. In particular, the emergence of nationalist, radical and other units and movements represents a reaction to the trend of social dispersion generated by globalization process.

The world entered into the age of technocratic ideology and technology-based political practice and social life. Their apologists think that the globalization led by the technocrats and based on information-communication industry allow simultaneously to enhance capital accumulation and to solve any economy and social problems.

But actually current globalization is Janus-like. On the one hand, it acts as machine which produces a chaos and the Brownian movement. Therefore, a massaging of social processes across the world and distraction of social order are its distinguishing feature. It leads to the loss of numerous micro-social units (big families, professional, cultural, national, military and other small groups) that played a role of a social basement of any society.

## Discussion

The Report under consideration has a principled methodological lack because it analyses the global risks as a certain independent forces. In fact, almost any of global risks are generating by the *uninterrupted struggle* between the transnationals and their alliances and those nation-states and their unions that are striving for a protection of their national and cultural specificity and identity. The same division is correct in relation to environmental issues. The transnationals are gradually transforming natural landscape into artificial one, while the others are struggling for the protection of natural ecosystems and social and cultural diversity of the nation-states and local communities. For them the nature is not only a resource but national heritage.



There is an impression the Report's authors consciously simplified an overall global picture to make it more convincing for non-geopolitical experts, general public and especially for rank-and-file people. The Report's presentation follows a general trend widely practiced by mass-media. The information is presented as the only valid (correct) that need not any further corrections or checking. Such information is only disseminated but never subjected to doubt or further clarifications. It's critically important to make the first strike on professional and mass consciousness, the further clarifications or specifications are doesn't matter.

To my mind, it means that we are entering into a period of deep conflict between fundamental science and socially-constructed information. The former explains the fundamental regularities of the new 'brave world' while the latter constructs it in accordance of the interests of global stakeholders.

Finally, it's quite natural that the Report showing the trends gives no prognoses. It follows that in modern permanently changing world any prognoses are senseless. Nevertheless, all strata of global community are needed in prospects. Implicitly, such prospect is exists, but in the form of consumer society only in which all needs are shaping from above, and there is no alternative to this model. But it is a position of the leaders of consumer society only while a majority of world population has their own models of our common future.

Theoretically speaking, there are two ways out. The first, technocratic one is to reduce forcefully the amount of world population by means of hybrid wars and by other technologically constructed means (natural and man-made disasters, lack of drinking water and malnutrition, 'inevitable losses' of population, especially children in the run of mass involuntary resettlement, man-made epidemics, military blockades, etc.). I don't exclude the global nuclear war from this list of disastrous events. The second, humanistic one represents a long and very difficult road of gradual transformation of capitalist mode of production.

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## **Social Transformation of Russia in the Dynamics of Global Processes of the XX Century**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article is devoted to the analysis of the transformations of the Russian society of the twentieth century in the light of the development of global processes. The author makes an assumption about the role and importance of transformations in Russia, its possible impact on world processes and the consequences of the Russian society's denial of prescribed scenarios that do not correspond to its value orientations.

**Keywords:** power; violence; values; globalization; revolution

A significant amount of the mechanisms of the power of a modern western civilization within violence and its legitimization has been put in the middle of the seventeenth century. The cutting off the King's Head of one of the steadiest monarchy is well-illustrated in the thesis. The sociological analysis of an essence of the phenomena occurring this period allows to define approach to get of the events are related directly to Russia.

The essence of the approach consists in detection of the general, for the most part administrative, signs and typical mechanisms of mass forms of the armed violence, such as wars and revolutions. Further generalization and systematization of these indications allows to reveal the uniform distinctive features and indicators capable to explain target characteristics of the considered social crisis and events unfolding [Maslikov V.A.; 2015, p. 363-376]. This methodology allows to result of the upheaval where a closure of this method means the main objective of the modern globalist supranational organizations is the unified global running the world. The whole world. As both, on scope and depth.

It is worth noting, above all, nowadays the Globalization represents a process of change of structure of the world economy quite recently understood as set of the national farms within each other by the system of the international division of labor, the economic and political relations, inclusions in the worldwide market and a close interlacing of economy on the basis of transnationalization. On the base there is a formation of uniform world network market economy – geo-economics and its infrastructure, destruction of national sovereignty of the states which were the main characters of the international relations throughout many centuries. Process of globalization is a consequence of evolution of state issued market systems [Novikova I.V.; 2009].

Some authors (such as S.K. Svechnikov) allocate positive and negative aspects of this phenomenon:

**Table 1: Positive and negative aspects**

+	—
<b>It contributes to the development of economy (unfortunately, it's a narrowly based, this way the EU has obliged Ukraine to produce Genetically Modified Organisms, in the worst case, it is non-competitive one on the foreign markets)</b>	It's not always oriented on the gross domestic products
<b>It's steadily forming a single market in goods and services (not for all of them, Lithuania is forced to buy more expensive American liquefied gas instead of cheaper Russian)</b>	The favorable conditions are detected by developed countries
<b>It integrates regional advantages on the basis of territorial planning</b>	To equalize the requests for «local» individuals
<b>It reinforces the dependence between the countries, it warns the states of extreme actions (limits freedom of the national states)</b>	The emergence of global problems
<b>It provides a big tolerance</b>	Any attempt to force damaged ideals and values is harmful for national culture

However today the Russian school of sciences accepts a globalization phenomenon with utmost seriousness. So from the point of view of the doctor of sociological and political sciences professor Alexander Gelyevich Dugin: «Globalism» is the idea based about the unity of mankind which has to be considered as homogeneous mass of atomic individuals without national, cultural, religious distinctions. System and mechanical leveling approach to variety of history is based on extrapolation of liberal and democratic outlook on all types of societies. Such approach puts emphasis on scientific and technical development and economic unification and it is accompanied by development of information networks, and follows from idea of universality of «post-industrial» or «information» society.

One of the strong positions is presented by the academician A.I. Fursov who sees a main goal of global processes in «creation of a new world order where the present «lords of financial rings» are keeping the power and privileges, reducing the population of the planet and trying to establish over remained strict control of quasiexclusive type by means of cash cards, the built-in biochips, having perhaps turned at the same time into beings of other sociobiological type» [Fursov A.I.; 2016. p. 310].

So, from a position of a global projection, the Russian revolution of 1917 is as follows: in February the main thing was succeeded – to displace one of the most powerful monarchy and steady forms of national administration on the planet, namely, the Russian monarchy and the Russian tsar. It was a main goal of all organizers, perpetrators and beneficiaries of the February revolution in Russia. It was enormous challenge but unlikely one on the value and an opportunity; the Russian form of government was the most successful on Earth during many hundreds of years, no external or internal aggression was capable to resist to her seriously at all. Besides it had

powerful internal spiritual immunity to the major factor assuming loss of independence – to the internal moral decomposition which has absolutely weakened all other monarchy that has allowed to make them manual. In confirmation of these words it is possible to quote from L. D. Trotsky, – not just the master of Bolshevik promotion, but also one of the crucial roles in overthrow of the power by Bolsheviks and armed struggle with the white movement: «If the White Guard have guessed to put forward against us the idea of the Peasant's Tsar, here we would not last a week in power». Remembering Labe Davidovich has arrived, there's opinion on this subject of the American president Woodrow Wilson: «None of us had noslightest desire to restore a tsarism in Russia...». And «The Russian political meeting» was created in Paris at the beginning of 1919 (under G.E. Lvov, the first head of provisional Government) playing a role of representative office of the White armies in the West cooperating with recent allies – the Entente, constantly demanded from white generals of declaration of «deep and democratic character of the purposes pursued by the Russian antibolshevitsky movement». These factors also caused the tragic policy of «nepredreshchestvo» (in rus.) of the white movement guided first of all by external social and economic and political promises and conjectures and hopes, but not on internal, national, sociocultural support.

A big number of these facts assumes assumption of the fact that certain supranational political forces, having the certain ideological installations directing the concerted efforts, rather flexible organizational system leaning on strong financial institutions and tools are represented mainly by flags of the countries of the Entente and the USA, Lenin and Trotsky's hands wished to create a convenient uncomplaining cudgel for intimidation and occupation of the world. Most likely, Trotsky before a business trip to Russia has received, besides very essential financial support, and expected rather clear instructions from results of the activity of serious personal dividends. Therefore the main idea of his slogans consisted in the following: revolution and socialism in separately taken country are impossible therefore to build worthy life in Russia – the industry and objects of social security – it's like «all the same that to build a ceiling, without having the base and walls», besides, fa man with a full belly won't be a part of a war for the ideas of world revolution. Therefore, it is necessary to create in Russia strong army – a whip as an internal, repressive device – and at any opportunity to beat with this cudgel of all around with the purpose to get there the mode. This is how it has to be until the occupation the whole planet (by the way, we remember the slogan «Proletarians of All Countries, Unite» up to the beginning of the 21st century).

So, concerning target rational understanding of plans of L.D. Trotsky, N.V. Starikov gives an example of possible confrontation with Iran as a result of which even if Russia doesn't attack Iran, then, saving it from «blood-thirsty communists», England, taking powerful advantages, will

have an opportunity to turn on there the troops which will provide control over all Persian oil ... [Starikov N.; 2008]. Also on a sight owners of a bludgeon had the whole Europe, Japan, China ... Such powerful cudgel in good hands – the ideal tool for global ambitions to this day! However after Lenin's death Stalin has appeared against such rough use of the state and national resources and opportunities. The «Creation of socialism in separately taken country» proclaimed Stalin put an end to the ideas of a big bludgeon. However powerful resources for years of position fight against a trotskizm have created powerful Trotskyist administrative and repressive network of the criminals tied by blood through the whole country – from ministers-commissioners, to the management of Trotskyist GULAGs Glavnoye upravleniye ispravityelno-trudovyykh lagerey i koloniy (in rus.)/ the Main Administration of Corrective Labor Camps and Settlements) and etc. This circumstance has caused the compelled cruel fight against the supporters of trotskizma-globalism supported from the outside.

Nevertheless, without cudgel process of compulsory globalization progressed long and uncertainly. Trotsky had to be looked for The alternative not for long, this alternative under rather interesting circumstances was Hitler who has united in one fist, one cudgel honor all countries of Europe. In the east Japan had deal with it successfully, but historically wasn't represented by the eternal ally, and it was just as a support function, and as a result it has what it has from American «A little boy» and «Thin Man».

Between these Hitlerite and Japanese cudgels by 1941st year it was still boiling flashes of civil war and bloody fight against a trotskizm therefore still ideologically not uniform, but because both even more tempting and appetizing Stalin Soviet Union. There was a barrier to a closing of a global chain with the strung people and the countries remained one. Without the USSR the necklace wasn't buttoned, the ends of a crown can't meet, as well as nowadays its all the same without Russia. The frank quotes of politicians of that time illustrating this thesis are of interest. «If we see that Germany wins, then we should help Russia and if Russia wins, then we should help Germany, and, thus, let they kill as much as possible» – Harry Truman. Even more outright saying could be heard from even more civilized Foggy Albion from the son of the prime minister of England, rational and free from politeness: «The ideal result of war in the east would be such when the last German would kill the last Russian and I have stretched a dead row» – Randolph Churchill.

For this reason the American president began to use the term «World war» on half of year before Hitler for this reason after the beginning of this war, the Soviet fighters found the American products in backpacks of the German soldiers for this reason unceasingly there was for Wehrmacht also the American oil through the Pyrenees, and other goods and finance so strenuously provided Hitler for whom already the whole Europe already worked. All this idyll continued up to opening of the second front in the middle of 1944 after the Soviet people have won decisive victories and



there was clear a lack of alternative of the future. That is, actually Soviet Union was at war with all capable to be at war the world.

«Allies» have come to the rescue only when the question of defeat of fascist Wehrmacht has been already solved. «The second front» was rather theatrical, in observance of that notorious politeness and prevention of conviction of the Soviet people in fair advance to the West there was his considerable purpose. Most vividly say figures about it: the general number of losses of Wehrmacht is 9,72 million; 8,65 million or about 90% of losses is on the Soviet-German front. And all other 50 countries from the structure of the anti-Hitlerite coalition could destroy only the remained 10%.

As a result, Attempt No. 2 (the purposes and results of the First World War, as well as the February revolution in Russia, were another ones; as a preparatory is splitting, smashing of a political landscape, preparation for swallowing digestible splinters of empires); it hasn't managed to globalize the world by means of a blind and obedient bludgeon again. However again this war was called good and quite to themselves nice in the plan financial, as well. But also in the plan organizational it was also successful because, as well as in the previous time the main national states have been weakened, Germany from the Great Reich has turned into the occupied Bizoniya. And the symbol of the power and boundless pride – a sword of the Japanese emperor – the Tat – has been broken about a knee of the American soldier.

It is necessary to add that literally in a year to the Soviet Union the Anti-Hitlerite coalition «fellows» have declared «cold» war («Cold War» – in all documentation and in the press, it was written from a capital letter everywhere, and in 2007 the military award for participation in Cold War – «Cold War Service Medal» has been founded). Moreover, then in 1946 in the USA the plan of atomic bombings of 20 Soviet cities has been developed, many of which haven't recovered after Hitlerite occupation yet. Further, post-war succession of events has allowed the global project to seize almost everything financial, economic, political and even cultural space of Europeans. Europe became the field for social experiments and the ground for any working off of technologies. As a result, modern demographic schedules loudly say that old Europe dies out without noise from blades and guns.

Entry of Russia in the global project at the end of the 20th century turned it back for its huge losses. Russia has lost suddenly not just pride of the right to be the great country, but also an elementary subsistence – unprecedented jump in the world down of the standard of living and impoverishment of the middle class (in 1989 the number of the citizens living below the poverty line in Eastern Europe is about 14 million, 1996 is around 168 million, in the report of UNESCO, it's the largest failure of the middle class in the history). In society naturally there is a mistrust,

and after and hatred of the people to ruling elite, then to the operating structures in general and even just to state employees which named «freeloaders».

At this time, the Russian society watchfully accepts the basic principles and postulates of global «universal» values. These years nowadays are associated at Russians with «happiness of globalization». In concrete categories they are expressed as follows: percent on suddenly to the appeared debts outside opportunities, the default, the people is sick with the poisoned information (the press, media, cinema, both Hollywood, and obscene new Russian, television and radio, the Internet, textbooks and some modernirovanny teachers, objects of sexual education seeking to enter, for example, etc.), promotion of aggression to traditional belief of the people of Russia and murder of orthodox priests, network of sects from around the world, the psychics and aliens financed and directed from abroad by the NPOs (non-profit societies) conducting to a full amoralization and decomposition of society many times increases the number of smokers, alcohol and drug addicts, jump of death because of suicides, even the mysterious mass of children's suicides, transformation of ideals of light Soviet women in disgusting the emancipated Furies incapable of family life and the birth of children, textbooks of «stervologiya» and so forth, universal gangsterism and prostitution, the propagandized debauchery lifts venereal diseases to epidemic level, the birth rate hopelessly falls; the world observes a picture of final death of the people is on demographic charts there ascends the so-called «Russian cross» ... years were necessary to leave such abyss. Thus, social metamorphoses of the 20th century weren't productive for the general global process and the purposes announced by his representatives in Russia. Russia didn't become a world bludgeon, force driving powers and the people into a universal stall in the revolutionary years hasn't picked up this project and in the middle of the left century, and at the end of the century has received resistant immunity to such ideas. As a result, such way has led to big human losses, zeroing of the power structures which have led, nevertheless, not to loss of statehood, and to defragmentation of the power owing to what reading and record of files, and, therefore, and work of programs has to «accelerate». However, there is still a lot of work on improvement of the disk on which these programs are written down for this purpose is necessary, and this disk has to remain at all this adequate to the most reproducing unit.

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*Lyudmila A. Belyayeva*

## **Standard of Living in Russia: Post-Soviet Transformations**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article analyzes the structure of Russian society in terms of income levels of the local population. The author uses criteria of individual wellbeing and availability of adequate income capable of ensuring the social consumption standard. The material provides official statistical data for 1985-2015, as well as the data of a Russian nationwide monitoring conducted by the Institute of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences, over the period between 1990 and 2015. The author shows that the Russian society is divided into two almost equal parts – the people who have achieved material wealth, and those who live in the conditions of absolute or relative poverty. The task of poverty alleviation requires active policy on the part of the state.

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**Keywords:** income; wealth; wellbeing; absolute and relative poverty.

The structuring of society in terms of income levels of local population is a very important indicator of its condition and opportunities for further development. We can provide minimum three reasons stipulating the relevance of critical analysis with regards to the problem of wealth stratification in modern Russia. The first reason makes us pay attention to what extent the depth of material differentiation is acceptable from the viewpoint of social ethics and meets the modern and fair standard of distributing benefits. The second one is dictated by the need for creation and prolongation of the stimulating role that the difference in wealth plays with regards to the economic activity of the population. Put it differently, to what extent it is possible to solve the problem of interrelationship between inequality and economic growth. The third reason is related to the need for adjusting the mechanism of social mobility, capable of making social lifts elevate people from groups with low living standards to higher positions. All these three reasons call for critical analysis of interrelationship among different social strata in terms of living standards and dynamics of their development in the context of the trend dominating in the field of social changes in the post-soviet period.

The transition from the domination of distribution-type economy to the mixed market economy (it is sometimes called pseudo-market economy) has made a substantial impact on changes in the sources and forms of people's incomes, and therefore on the living standard differentiation. It would be an unjustified simplification to narrow down the analysis of these problems to studying the causes of poverty and profile of poor strata in comparison with rich ones. The problem of living standards and quality of living that the population can boast of does not come down to just these two polar groups – the extremely poor and ultra rich ones. The Russian

sociologists are currently laying stress on analyzing financial standing of poor population groups. They carry out, so to say, the “breakup” of the society into as small income groups as possible identifying in detail the social resources of each of them. As for me, I have set myself a task of viewing the society on as large a scale as possible, “assembling” it, so to say, relying upon the criteria of sufficient and insufficient incomes for living in Russia today. I would like to attract attention to the division of population in terms of living standards, which serves as visible confirmation of social stratification in the society, the split into those who have succeeded in life and created conditions for wealthy living over the past 25 years, and the people who struggle to make ends meet and have to put up with substantially limited repletion of their needs.

While making this analysis, I used official statistical data and materials of the Russian nationwide public opinion monitoring survey carried out since 1990 by the Center for Studying Socio-Cultural Changes (CISI) under the Institute of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences (headed by N.I. Lapin). The last wave of polling took place in 2015. The polling was carried out among the respondents of over 18 by way of in-home interviews. The method of probability multistage territorial sampling was used. The sampling is representative with regards to all key socio-demographic, economic and geographical parameters – gender, age, domicile residence, nationality, educational background, etc. A.V. Andreyenkova (Institute for Comparative Social Research – CESSI) acted as supervisor of field work).

While analyzing the statistical data, I used salaries, pensions, monetary allowances, as well as some data regarding wealth – incomes earned by way of investments.

**Income.** Generally speaking, the massive rise in income level and simultaneous emergence of numerous poor population strata resulted from the establishment of private property in the country. It stands to reason that the change in sources of monetary incomes in the post-soviet period has made a substantial impact on the structuring of Russian society in terms of living standards (Table 1). The share of incomes from business activities and property in the totality of all revenues has risen by several times.

**Table 1: Sources of population monetary incomes (% , 1985 – 2016)**

	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2013	2014	2015	2016
<b>Monetary incomes – total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	100
including:										
business incomes	2.7	3.7	9.5	8.9	8.9	9.4	8.6	8.4	7.9	<b>7.8</b>
remuneration of labor <sup>1)</sup>	77.2	76.4	67.3	65.2	65.6	65.1	65.3	65.8	65.6	<b>64.6</b>
social benefits	16.3	14.7	14.8	17.7	18.3	18.4	18.6	18.0	18.3	<b>19.1</b>
property incomes	1.6	2.5	6.4	6.2	5.2	5.1	5.5	5.8	6.2	<b>6.5</b>
other incomes	2.2	2.7	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	<b>2.0</b>

<sup>1)</sup> Including “hidden” (officially unaccounted for) wages.

*Data provided by the Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat)*

Along with incomes from business activities, salaries in private sector demonstrate a rise if compared to the ones in municipal and state sectors. According to official data, the excess of salaries in private sectors over the ones in state sector reached 1.2 times in 2002, and this trend was observed in all industries with the exception of wholesale and retail trade, as well as public catering [Zhuravleva]. However, the actual excess was much higher, if we take into account the widespread acceptance of “grey” and “black” salary schemes. This fact made the private sector a very attractive place of employment, especially for youth. According to the results of the Russian nationwide monitoring, only 56% of respondents wanted to work at state-owned enterprises when choosing more than one core job, while the choice of various forms of non-state property accounted for 127%. Joint stock companies, partially state-owned, and private enterprises enjoyed priority. The recent data of Rosstat shows higher concentration of well-paid groups of population in the private sector, if compared to the state one. For instance, almost 30% of people employed in non-state sector earned over 40,000 rubles a month in 2015, while only 21% of those working at the state and municipal enterprises could boast of such salaries. Even in such a distorted form, the market relations create opportunities to raise the living standards for actors engaged in them, influencing the growth of incomes in the state sector at the same time.

Along with the growth of population incomes, the differentiation of earnings was becoming deeper. As early as by 1995, 46.3% of all incomes were concentrated in the hands of the fifth 20 % group, while in 1980 this figure amounted to only 33.4% [gks]. After 2009, the size of four high-income groups of people who crossed the threshold of 19,000 rubles a month was visibly rising. In 2014, their size amounted to 54.1 % of total population in the aggregate. Their most numerous group can boast of incomes reaching 27,000-45,000 rubles. At the same time, the groups including people with per-capita incomes lower than 19,000 rubles reduced in size. The most intensive decline in size was demonstrated by the group including people with incomes of 7,000 rubles maximum. Its size actually dropped 3 times over the period between 2009 and 2014. The dynamic pattern of these changes reduced for all groups in 2013-2014 shortly before the crisis and at the start of it, yet their course remained the same. If we choose to evaluate the living standards comparing monetary incomes – salaries and pensions – with the level of subsistence minimum, we will see the outstripping growth in purchasing power of salaries if compared to pensions (2.4 times and 1.5 times over the period between 1995 and 2013 respectively). Poverty level was also gradually reducing over the period till 2013.

However, the group of people with incomes lower than the level of subsistence minimum, i.e. those living in the conditions of absolute poverty, has been demonstrating growth in size over the past 4 years. According to official statistical data, the size of this group amounted to 21.1 million people, or 14.4% of the overall population, in the first half of 2017. The social parameters



of this group are such that one can hardly hope for the problem to be solved soon. It includes children under 16 – 18.5% of all children living in the country, young people at the age of 16-30 years – 11.0% of the country's youth, 11.7% of men and women of productive age (older than 30), and 5.3% of all citizens who have reached pension age [Social Standing; 2015, p. 118]. The ultimate absurd of the situation lies in the fact that people having jobs constitute the majority in this group (about 40 %). In 2014, 3.1 million people, or 10.7% of all those employed by enterprises and organizations, had salaries, lower than the level of subsistence minimum [Social Standing; 2015, p. 117]. Taking into account that such a level of incomes exists, it is hardly a surprise that we see a sizable group of households with employed members, whom statistics assigns to the extremely poor category of population, as the per-capita incomes in these households are twice lower than the level of subsistence minimum. In our country, the key problem for growth in earned incomes is not yet solved. It deals with increase in the number of highly efficient and therefore high-paying jobs. The share of such jobs in the national economy does not exceed 25%, while their growth in number looks very moderate and even waning: the number of highly efficient jobs rose by 12.7% in 2012, 6.9% in 2013 and 4.5% in 2014 [gks].

Relative poverty of population is a very important indicator for measuring the level of incomes. In some OECD countries, its value is defined as 60% of the median income (median income amounted to 24,868 rubles in 2015 in Russia [Social Standing; 2017, p. 122]). Such a level of poverty means inability to lay the groundwork for the way of living, common for the said society, and socially acceptable level of comfort. Relative poverty leads to serious psychological and social consequences for the people as they have to make a choice among their needs all the time due to limited financial resources. The relative poverty of Russian people with incomes that are higher than the level of subsistence minimum and lower than the threshold of relative poverty (17,000 rubles) can be estimated at 30%.

Thus, two global processes are currently observed in Russia. These are the growth in average income for the population in general, and deepening material differentiation with existence of sizeable population group having incomes insufficient for socially acceptable standard of living. On the basis of official statistical data, the population structure in terms of per-capita income can be presented in the form of two large groups – those who can boast of incomes that are higher than the relative poverty threshold, and those with incomes lower than this threshold. Put it differently, the first group includes people who have achieved a relatively high standard of living and can boast of having at least the acceptable income, capable of ensuring the consumption standard typical for the modern Russian society (these citizens account for approximately 59% of the population), while the second group consists of people, who live in the conditions of absolute or relative poverty (41%) and bear the burden of being deprived of some essential economic needs.

The inequality of incomes continues to grow due to the faster rise in earnings of upper groups having such sources of revenues as not only high salaries, but business and property earnings as well. The existing “superfluous inequality” has become a serious factor of social discontent leading to the feeling of injustice among the people forming a sizeable part of the society.

**Wealth.** The analysis of wealth distribution in the society seems to be a challenging enough task, because the amount of reliable data is limited. One has to settle with some indirect or proxy indicators. According to the results of population censuses carried out in 2002 and 2010, the strata of citizens who specified such subsistence sources as savings, dividends, interest on investments, lease of property, incomes from patents and copyright, increased twofold and amounted to slightly over 1,000,000 people over the period between 2002 and 2010.

A noticeable contribution to the growth in wealth is made by the difference in salaries between the groups with lucrative and low level wages. This difference between the upper and lower 10% groups amounted to 14.5 times for the national economy in general in 2015. The difference in incomes is even higher reaching 16 times. The upper 10 % group accounts for 30.6 % of all incomes, while the lower 10% one – for only 1.9% of them. The gap starts becoming wider from the 8<sup>th</sup> group, while the starkest difference is observed between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> upper groups – 1.83 times. Gini coefficient for incomes has risen from 0.387 to 0.416 over the past 20 years.

Such differentiation of incomes lays the groundwork for formation of wealth in the upper strata. As A.Yu. Shevyakov and A. Ya Kiruta have shown, the higher income inequality is, the larger share of aggregate income is used for making savings. In the conditions of modern Russia however, these savings are not transformed into investments in economy *en masse*, but invested in purchase of immovable property including the one abroad. It partially fuels growth in construction sector, yet leads to a rather significant slowdown of economic growth as the process takes place in poor economy with shortage of credit and investment resources [Shevyakov; 2009, p.60-61].

Only people having the respective resources can demonstrate investment activity. Naturally, the largest share of such resources belongs to the upper income groups. According to Rosstat, for instance, the gain in savings in 2014 amounted to 55.4% of available resources for the fifth upper 20 % income group, 24.8% for the fourth group, 10.8% for the third group, 6.1 % for the second group, and only 2.9% for the first group with the lowest level of resources. The R/P 10% ratio for gain in savings amounts to 33 times substantially exceeding the R/P 10% ratio for incomes (16.0) and accrued wages (14.5). Thus, it can be said that wealth is being concentrated in the hands of high-income groups of population in Russia, while the polarization of employment-related income and earnings from other sources is deepening. Moreover, the inequality is growing along with the rise in incomes of the population.

The material differentiation of the society in terms of both incomes and wealth is currently generating and will generate in the future a negative socioeconomic effect of polarization, as high income groups enjoy undeniable advantages in the development of human capital for themselves and their children, buildup of social and nominal capital, which have already become a barrier for people from other social strata in terms of vertical social mobility. The closed nature and privacy of upper strata is typical for the majority of countries today, yet jobs requiring high level of human capital development were increasingly rising in number in these states in the process of postindustrial modernization, while the education system was responding to this challenge by way of offering equal chances for the modern education of high quality to the people of all social strata. As far as Russia is concerned, the families with low incomes come across certain obstacles on the way of getting the higher education of high quality, as the costs of entering a higher educational establishment (both for state-funded and commercial places) are constantly growing. Along with social capital, the economic capital of a family becomes an increasingly more important factor for entering prestigious higher educational establishments than before. Consequently, the system of education reproduces the stratification of society in terms of living standards even more. The polarization of incomes triggers the feeling of injustice and humbleness in the strata of people who are at the bottom of property hierarchy. The response lies in the deviant behavior of these groups, especially the young people who feel being deprived of social opportunities.

### **Subjective Evaluation of Living Standards**

In its proportions, the statistical distribution of incomes and wealth in the modern Russian society is close enough to subjective perceptions of material wellbeing and composition of material strata defined on the basis of self-identification. The Russian nationwide monitoring research conducted by CISI under the Institute of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences, makes it possible to analyze the problems of structuring in the Russian society in terms of different criteria, including the one of material living standards. Naturally, one has to take into account that the most privileged groups of population are overlooked during the survey, as they are inaccessible for being polled, which leads to understating the number of rich people.

The respondents were to give the self-definition of their financial standing. Over the period from 2006 to the present time, two large stable groups have emerged in the society. The first one includes the population with good financial standing including well-to-do (33% in 2015), prosperous (9%) and rich (2%) people. Their living standards meet as minimum the social consumption standard typical for the Russian society today. The second group comprises disadvantaged strata, i.e. the people with incomes that are enough to cover daily living needs at best, while the purchase of clothes may become a financially challenging task (22%), the ones with salaries enough to cover daily living needs alone (18%), and the citizens who are short of money all the time and have to borrow (11%). These people bear the burden of being deprived of the

opportunity to meet their vital socioeconomic needs. According to the survey results, the wealthy and disadvantaged groups account for 44% and 51% of population respectively.

Statistical data says that the wealthy strata – the people with incomes exceeding the level of relative poverty – account for 54% of population (2014), while the survey results show that respondents identifying themselves as well-to-do people account only for 44% of the population (2015). The 10% difference looks not so essential, if we take into account the fact that groups with high incomes try to avoid participating in public opinion polls, especially if they are conducted by way of in-home interviews. However, the present stratification of society in terms of income level with the proportion of wealthy and disadvantaged groups estimated at 50-50 can hardly be viewed as optimal. It is the consequence of the fact that positive changes dealing with diversification of economy are missing in our country, which suggests the need for reindustrialization that may create good-paying jobs for the representatives of lower strata. Besides, it is necessary to facilitate the development of new postindustrial sectors that young well-educated people focus on.

Hereinafter, I will speak in terms of two notions – *upper half* (the part of society having acceptable standard of living /conventionally *well-to-do groups*/), and *lower half* (conventionally *disadvantaged groups*), i.e. the people who fall short of social standards to different extents. The analysis was aimed at identifying whether there are any differences in the objective profiles of these groups (Table 2), and how they differ from each other in terms of view of life (Table 3).

**Table 2: Objective profiles of “disadvantaged” and “well-to-do” population groups**

	<b>“Disadvantaged population”</b>	<b>“Well-to-do population”</b>
<b>Male</b>	46	47
<b>Female</b>	55	41
<i>Type of settlement</i>		
<b>Megacities (1 million people minimum)</b>	51	45
<b>Large cities (500,000-999,000 people)</b>	35	62
<b>Medium cities (100,000-500,000 people)</b>	60	36
<b>Small cities (100,000 people maximum)</b>	54	41
<b>Towns</b>	65	30
<b>Villages</b>	49	43
<i>Age</i>		
<b>Up to 19 years old</b>	31	59
<b>20-29 years old</b>	46	48
<b>30-49 years old</b>	49	46
<b>50-59 years old</b>	59	38
<b>60 years old and older</b>	62	34
<i>Education</i>		
<b>Elementary general and professional</b>	65	32
<b>Vocational and professional</b>	51	45
<b>Completed higher education and postgraduate studies</b>	42	52
<b>Total</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>44</b>

According to the monitoring results, poverty rate is building up with age. The lower half includes 31% of people at the age of up to 19 years old, 46% of people at the age of 20-29, 59% of people at the age of 50-59, and 62% of people at the age of 60 years old and older. The share of respondents who have managed to make it to the upper group drops accordingly – from 59% for the people at the age of up to 19 years old to 34% for the people older than 60. Better education increases the odds for making it to the upper half: this category includes only 32% of people with elementary general and professional education, 45% of people with vocational education, and 52% of people with higher and postgraduate education. Gender inequality is well-pronounced in self-assessment of living standards. While the shares of males in the upper and lower halves are almost equal, poor females exceed well-to-do ones in number by 8%. The type of settlement also affects the self-assessment of financial standing. The residents of towns and medium cities identify themselves as the poorest people (65% and 60% respectively), while the lowest number of poor people is observed among the residents of large cities (35%). As for the residents of megacities, 51% of them rank themselves as belonging to the upper half, while 45% believe that they belong to the lower one.

Income level, living conditions, age, education, habitat and level of social infrastructure development, as well as way of life correlate to the state of health, view of life, and self-confidence.

**Table 3: Social profiles of “disadvantaged” and “well-to-do” population groups (survey of 2015)**

	<b>“Disadvantaged population”</b>	<b>“Well-to-do population”</b>
<b>People with bad and very bad health, including disabled people and the ones with chronic diseases</b>	26	20
	22	11
<b>Confident about the future</b>	39	65
<b>Not protected from poverty</b>	64	49
<b>Those believing that improvement in the quality of life depends on their own efforts</b>	73	86

Almost 50% of respondents belonging to the lower half complain about their poor state of health. Moreover, 22% of them are either disabled people or patients with chronic diseases. Among the respondents belonging to the upper half, only 11% assessed their state of health as such. 39% of respondents belonging to the lower half are confident about the future against 65% of those belonging to the upper half. 49% of rich and 64% of poor people identify themselves as unprotected from poverty.

What brings these two groups of Russian residents together – both the people having achieved socially acceptable standard of living, and those living in the conditions of absolute or relative poverty – is their full conviction that nobody and nothing can improve the quality of their life, except for themselves. Paternalistic expectations have dropped to unprecedentedly low levels

– 73% of respondents belonging to the lower half and 86% of respondents from the upper one believe that improvement in the quality of their life depends on their own efforts alone. The motives and consequences of such self-assessment may be different for these two groups, yet it can be said that paternalistic expectations are becoming a thing of the past for all strata of the Russian society. The response to such public sentiments should lie in a strong social policy of the state, which ought to back the focus on building life strategies independently, especially on the part of young people, and render more efficient social support to the disadvantaged strata.

**Conclusions.** First of all, the state must be more active in interfering in the process of creating social lifts for young people from the lower strata. The list of trigger mechanisms for such lifts may include a system of tuition-free education of high quality, creation of high-tech jobs, as well as entrepreneurial development. The poor people have no self-development budget, which prevents them from forming modern human capital and meeting the socially acceptable standard of consumption. It is predominantly the state that can create the stimuli and conditions for solving these problems in Russia. The state should also play a decisive role in creating a stable institutional environment for business development. Without growth in the private sector, the policy of income redistribution cannot be efficient in the long term, as it threatens with enhancement of state participation in economic processes and restriction of entrepreneurial activities. As Bertrand de Jouvenel showed, the most important (and I would add “negative”) result of redistribution policy lies in the impulse that it gives to the destructive process of centralization [Bertrand de Jouvenel]. The ethical aspect of the income polarization problem should not be overlooked either, as it creates socio-psychological tensions in the society.

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## On Mathematical Modeling in the Humanities

### ABSTRACT

In this work the problems of mathematical modeling in the humanitarian area are discussed from the position of structuralism, computer science and complex systems research methods.

**Keywords:** complex systems; mathematical modeling; humanitarian analysis; method of analogies; structuralism; computer science

Epigrams scorn details and make a point:  
They are a superb high-level documentation.  
*A. Perlis*

### Introduction

But without a parable spake he not unto them...  
*Mark 4:34*

A parable is an edification in an example.  
*V. Dahl*

In a number of the East cultures the parable about an elephant and blind men is known. Four blind people tried to learn what is an elephant by palpation, and then shared impressions. One told that the elephant is something like a flexible pipe, another - that it is a column, the third - that it is a rough wall, and the last - that the elephant is something like a rope with a brush on the end. There are options where there are less or more than four blind men. In some versions also similarities of an elephant's components may differ: for example, the trunk can be like a snake, but not a flexible pipe; the leg can seem not like a column, but like a tree; the side can be apprehended as a barrel or a fence; tusks - as spear, peaks or even root crops, etc.

On the author's opinion, this parable illustrates quite likely a situation with which any modeling begins. The success of modeling, perhaps idealized a little, is illustrated by the Taoist tale (retold by J.D. Salinger) about the superlative horse:

“Duke Mu of Chin said to Po Lo:

- You are now advanced in years. Is there any member of your family whom I could employ to look for horses in your stead?

Po Lo replied:

- A good horse can be picked out by its general build and appearance. But the superlative horse – one that raises no dust and leaves no tracks – is something evanescent and fleeting, elusive as thin air. The talents of my sons lie on a lower plane altogether; they can tell a good horse when they see one, but they cannot tell a superlative horse. I have a friend, however, one Chiu-fang Kao,

a hawker of fuel and vegetables, who in things appertaining to horses is nowise my inferior. Pray see him.

Duke Mu did so, and subsequently dispatched him on the quest for a steed.

Three months later, he returned with the news that he had found one.

- It is now in Shach'iu - he added.

- "What kind of a horse is it? - asked the Duke.

- Oh, it is a dun-colored mare, - was the reply.

However, someone being sent to fetch it, the animal turned out to be a coal-black stallion! Much displeased, the Duke sent for Po Lo.

- That friend of yours, - he said, - whom I commissioned to look for a horse, has made a fine mess of it. Why, he cannot even distinguish a beast's color or sex! What on Earth, can he know about horses?

Po Lo heaved a sigh of satisfaction.

- Has he really got as far as that? - he cried - Ah, then he is worth ten thousand of me put together. There is no comparison between us. What Kao keeps in view is the spiritual mechanism. In making sure of the essential, he forgets the homely details; intent on the inward qualities, he loses sight of the external. He sees what he wants to see, and not what he does not want to see. He looks at the things he ought to look at, and neglects those that need not be looked at. So clever a judge of horses is Kao, that he has it in him to judge something better than horses.

When the horse arrived, it turned out indeed to be a superlative animal".

### Natural Sciences and Humanitarian Methods

If people do not believe that mathematics is simple, it is only because they do not realize how complicated life is.

*J. von Neumann*

I consider a problem of introduction of informatics in "descriptive" sciences as one of the major, perhaps the most important problem of the close future.

*A.A. Dorodnitsyn*

After his teachers, N.N. Moiseev and Yu.N. Pavlovsky, the author considers that in humanitarian field the researcher usually faces more complex challenges, than in the field of natural sciences. Let us cite the work [Belotelov, Brodsky, Pavlovsky, 2009]: "... those systems for which there are conventional adequate mathematical models will be called *simple*. The systems for which there are no adequate mathematical models, but the experts dealing with them are able to carry out their adequate forecast, will be called *complex*. The methods which such experts use for their forecasts for complex systems will be called *humanitarian*".

From this point of view, it is possible to call complex – the problem of the superlative horse searching, and humanitarian – the methods to its decision, applied by Chiu-fang Kao.

### **The Essence and the Phenomenon**

Man must persist in the belief that the incomprehensible is, in fact, comprehensible;  
else he would cease to do research.

*J.W. Goethe*

The product of knowledge by optimism is a constant.

*L.D. Landau*

Mathematical model constructing is foremost a definition of the operator structure,  
and there are no algorithms for this...

*A.A. Dorodnitsyn*

Let's try to comprehend what the parables tell in philosophical categories of the phenomenon and the essence. The elephants' observers will agree that the blind researchers face various manifestations of the same elephant. Whether our blind people will be able, speaking in the words of philosophical encyclopedias, to advance their knowledge from superficial, tangible level, to deeper, hidden from them (by the blindness in a smaller degree, by the ignorance - in the bigger), – to the essence of these phenomena - to what we in common speech call the elephant?

Sight, of course, does not give us in the senses the essence of the elephant, but brings a step closer to it, allowing directly perceive one more of its manifestation, uniting those that were perceived by the blinds. Nevertheless this step is very important: it gives a belief that the attributes of the object studied that were apprehended separately, are actually related among themselves by some law that expresses the essence of this object.

May we learn this law? The famous philosophers argued about this problem, but did not come to the conventional opinion. Kant believed that we can never know the "things-in-themselves". Hegel - that nevertheless the essence is shown in the phenomena, and the phenomena express the essence. Marxist philosophers – that in the course of the scientific and practical activities we can approach to the essence "asymptotically". Positivists – that there is no essence at all, and it is necessary to be engaged in the phenomena – the only things that really exist and are available to the measurement and scientific studying. As a researcher, the author likes Goethe's statement taken as the first epigram, – without optimism it is hardly worth even to start investigations. At the same time it is worth to mark the limits of such an optimism and Landau's aphorism does it.

Constructing a model, we actually invent relations between its characteristics ourselves, to reflect the attributes relations of the phenomena studied. During the model creation, we try that

the characteristics relations of the model were as similar as possible to the observed relations among the attributes of the phenomenon studied. Even if our model is successful in practice, this fact is only a necessary condition of our comprehension of the essence of the phenomenon. We are not able to prove or check its sufficiency. It is always possible to assume that we did not face some manifestations of the essence studied in our practice yet and therefore our model does not reflect them.

The geocentric model of the Ptolemaeus planets movement can be an example. It has worked successfully for about 1500 years and could still work to calculate the planets positions in the sky, solar and lunar eclipses. Real practice for which the Ptolemaeus's model was insufficient arose more than in 200 years after the models of Kepler and Newton emergence. Why there was a change of models? First, a new knowledge – the laws of Newton and the law of masses gravitation appeared. Secondly, a new science language arised – the differential equations for the description of communications between attributes of the phenomena studied. This language remains the main for modeling up to now. As a result, there appeared an opportunity to answer to the question “How do the planets move?” in the language of the differential equations instead of the language of Euclid geometry (very unusual for modern modelers, but there were no other mathematician language at the Ptolemaeus times). And most importantly - not only to the question "how?", but also to the question "why?" – the whole one "why?" more! Because Ptolemaeus model said nothing about “why?”.

How can we build a model so that it reflects the essence of the phenomenon as much as possible? Unfortunately, the author does not know the formal way to do this. The parable of the superlative horse also talks about this. Simple things can be learned, by taking a corresponding training course and making exercises for it, as for the comprehension of the essence – the sons of Po Lo carried out all the life near the father, but did not succeed in comprehension of the superlative horse essence.

Kant said that, perhaps, nobody is able ...

For preservation of the optimism we have the only hope that perhaps, somewhere Chiu-fang Kao still hawks his vegetables and fuel.

Concluding this section, we note that no matter what smiles caused the first acquaintance with the parable of the elephant and the blinds, in our knowledge of physical nature there is a very similar situation, although this area was successfully studied by humanity for a long. Similarly, we are blind in the forefront of the sciences and we learn about its phenomena indirectly, according to instruments and photographs in the invisible regions of the spectrum. Similarly, we have four models of fundamental interactions, that are not related to each other.

## Analogies

That which is below is like that which is above  
and that which is above is like that which is below to do the miracles of one only thing

*Tabula Smaragdina Hermetis (Translated by Sir I. Newton)*

A mathematician is one who can find analogies between theorems; a better mathematician is one who can see analogies between proofs and the best mathematician can notice analogies between theories. However, the ultimate mathematician can see analogies between analogies.

*S. Banach*

There is a deep and nontrivial analogy between mechanics and optics.

*E. Fermi*

The parable of the elephant and the blind men tells us that in order to start studying something unknown, one must liken it to something known. The very word "model" can be raised to the Latin root "modulus" – a measure, a yardstick; so to understand something unknown, we try to measure it by something known. If we face something absolutely from the depths of unknown, and no comparisons exist, - we need to wait until the development of science and practice throws the bridge from the coast of known, closer to the phenomenon considered.

The analogy (Greek αναλογία), is more likely compliance, than similarity. The similarity can also take place, but it is in the fact, that the fruitful analogy transmits (reveals and preserves) some structure of the likened, as, for example, in Bourbaki's morphisms [Bourbaki, 2004], or in functors of the theory of categories [Mac Lane, 1998]. Not so fruitful analogy can be just compliance, a sign. The questions of legitimacy and fruitfulness of this or that analogy, apparently, are not formalized. It is possible therefore, that the method of analogies dominating in medieval science, was criticized from the positions of rationalism of the Renaissance and receded eventually into the background. Nevertheless, in mathematics analogies have always been applied, and, for example, the category theory [Mac Lane, 1998] can afford quite "free" analogies, even by the medieval standards.

Analogies are used in modeling to map the attributes of a phenomenon simulated into a set of model characteristics. Sometimes such a mapping is obvious – for example if we study the movement of planets – the mapping brings only measurement errors in their visible situation in the sky. But often this mapping is not so obvious, but opposite, may be challenged easily from the formal positions, however it can turn out, that simply there is still nothing best.

For example, if someone thinks that the analogy of a trunk with a curled snake or a tusk with a carrot is somewhat strained, one can recall that for almost a hundred years we have been considering the characteristics of quantum mechanical objects as Hermitian operators in a Hilbert



space. Perhaps, this is cooler than the simulation of elephant tusks with root crops. Of course, all would like simple models, however, the existing ones are working, and there are no better yet.

Nontrivial analogies from the field of natural sciences sometimes appear in models of social processes, which is due to the stock of analogical tools available to their authors who came from the mathematics and physics. For example, in work [Dimitrienko, 2011] marketing preferences of consumers are modelled by a solid body, and in work [Mikhailov, Lankin, 2010] a transfer of the power through the domineering hierarchy – by the heat conductivity equation. In our opinion, these works are witty, successful and undoubtedly such kind of works is needed, especially at the beginning, when the processes have not yet been studied by mathematical methods.

The only remark - apparently, you can not be too carried away by the successes of such works and insist that it is namely the carrot, that is the real tusk.

The choice of the analogy that maps the attributes of the object of research into the model characteristics also determines whether the model will be "atomistic" or "thermodynamic". The fact is that if the object modeled is complex sufficiently, it has too many attributes for subsequent comfortable work with them. For practice, we need the models, that we can deal with.

In order to reduce the number of simulated attributes, you can either factorize them by some equivalence relation and get a "thermodynamic" type factor-model, or split the modeling object into interacting subobjects, model them separately and then build from them a synthesis of the model-complex – that is an "atomistic" modeling.

In Yu.N. Pavlovsky's works devoted to the geometrical theory of decomposition, the justification is given to such an approach - shown that all decompositions of any mathematical objects are exhausted by two main types: P-decomposition (on subobjects), F-decomposition (factorizations) and various combinations of these two types.

Summing up what was said in the paragraph, we can conclude that to build a model, analogies are needed that map the attributes of the simulation subject to the characteristics of the model. The choice of the analogy-mapping can hardly be formalized, moreover, excluding the simplest obvious cases, the almost always the analogy chosen can be criticized from a formal standpoint. Formal principles for evaluating the proposed analogies for adequacy are also absent – at the first glance a very pretentious analogy may become the basis of the models used for a long time. In a word - the choice of the analogy - is rather an art, than a science.

## Structuralism

Tw'as brillig, and the slithy toves  
Did gyre and gimble in the wabe.

*L. Carroll*

Mathematics is the art of giving the same name to different things.

*H. Poincare*

The parables in the introduction, as well as it is necessary to parables, are deep and multidimensional. Let's pay attention to their structuralist aspect. Recall that the basis of the structural method is identification of the structure as a set of relations upon base sets, which is preserved under certain transformations of these sets [Gretsky, 1978]. Therefore, the researcher's attention is transferred from the base sets objects and their properties to the relations between these objects and system-wide properties which this relations determine.

Characteristics of the attributes of the phenomenon studied vary during the time, but something constant is in these changes - the regularity of their connection with each other, which is the subject of identification and study by mathematical modeling. An analogy specifies a certain mapping of the attributes of the modeling object into a set of characteristics of the future mathematical model.

To build a model is to define the communications among its characteristics so that they preserve the regularity of the relationships among the attributes of the modeling object. The best thing that can be done is to invent such relationships among the model characteristics that would maximally compare their changes to the changes in their prototypes - the attributes of the modeled object.

Mathematics has accumulated a stock of very different structures, by which it is possible to establish relations among the base sets. As examples it is possible to begin with geometrical kinematics of the Ptolemaeus model, then systems of the algebraic equations appeared, for example, "Masha and Petya have five apples, Petya has one more". The structure can be set by the table, for example, Mendeleyev's table. Attempts to generalize and universalize various mathematical structures led to emergence of the concepts of N. Bourbaki's species of structure [Bourbaki, 2004], algebraic models, categories [Mac Lane, 1998]. It should be noted that all listed above structures are static. Perhaps this is the reason why the Bourbaki's structures were used for database design. Some authors, for example [Gretsky, 1978], even draw a conclusion on this basis, that a lack of structuralism as a method is in its static character. It is possible to give dynamism to a static structure, for example, by means of a computer program, i.e. consecutive performance of some algorithm. In Ptolemaeus's model, for example, the uniform motion in a circle of the epicycles and planets was such an algorithm.

A specific place among the mathematical structures is held by the differential equations. If such an equation contains a time derivative – it overcomes mentioned above static character at

once. Actually, therefore the differential equations from the moment of their invention became the main tool for creation of the most different mathematical models so that often the mathematical modeling is considered to be exclusively computing or supercomputing of partial differential equation systems.

One more example of the important dynamic structures (in our opinion, very perspective, but still underestimated in modeling) are computer programs, to be exact, the operating systems, whose appointment - realization of the behavior, i.e. ability in an established way to respond to the standard requests of the environment.

There can be objections – the operating system is too complex (millions of operators of a source, regular "patches", etc.) to become an instrument for modeling. In fact, in [Brodsky, 2015], for a sufficiently broad class of objects with behavior, the functional analogues of operational systems realizing their behavior are constructed, on the basis of the family of species of structure in N. Bourbaki's sense and a universal computer program, providing behavior dynamics to any member of the mentioned family.

Apparently, further the role of the systems realizing behavior, – functional analogs of computer operating systems – will grow, and one of problems of informatics – studying of such systems. In World War II the warplane had no operating system, its functions were carried out by the pilot. On the modern military plane the network operating system, is important not less (and already in the next generation of planes, most likely will be more), than its base sets: engine, glider, radar, arms, means of communication.

### **Spinoza's Ethics and the Proofs in Humanities**

There are trivial truths and there are great truths.

The opposite of a trivial truth is plainly false.

The opposite of a great truth is also true.

*N. Bohr*

Many wise men of different times and peoples believed that in any science there is as much truth as there is mathematics in it. Therefore, attempts to apply mathematical methods for studying humanitarian processes are known for a long time.

The "Ethics" by B. Spinoza [Spinoza, 2018] can be considered as one of such attempts. The famous philosopher tried to start from the beginning in it - to give strict "mathematical" definitions to philosophical categories - to clearly fix what will be discussed later, as it is usual in mathematics, in order to use them to prove lemmas and theorems in the spirit of Euclidean geometry and thus to receive indisputable, mathematically-proved philosophical truths.

In our opinion, the truth generator did not work. Definitions of Spinoza are not obvious, therefore can be challenged. In addition, the philosophical categories "died", fixed by rigid definitions, became empty and uninteresting, and the same can be said about many theorems built upon them, adding to this their controversy as an inheritance of controversial definitions.

Why so occurred?

The author agrees with a look at natural languages by a mathematician Vasiliy Vasilievich Nalimov (1910 - 1997), professor at Moscow State University, an employee of A.N. Kolmogorov. He writes that in the natural language the semantic field of the word is continual. Hence, the arguability of the selection of a single sense from the continual set by the definition – too many significant meanings are lost.

The question arises, why did Spinoza consciously go on reducing the semantic field of the philosophical categories? In our opinion, the coming era of rationalism in the person of Spinoza exposed a number of claims to the humanitarian discourse, demanding from it a mathematical clarity.

Let us take as an example a classical sample of a philosophical discourse – Plato's dialogue "Parmenides" [Plato, 2006]. For more than two thousand years, the set of comments on it was written, beginning by Plato's contemporaries and finishing by ours. It turns out that treatments of the dialogue by commentators considerably differ.

So, one of the most authoritative researchers, A.F. Losev, writes that one of the main ideas of the dialogue is criticism of the dualism of ideas and things. Nevertheless, many commentators (as noted by A.F. Losev too) believe that this dialogue, on the contrary, asserts such a dualism. Perhaps this contradiction can be removed by saying that "Parmenides" is one of the most significant works of not only the ancient but also the world dialectic (many commentators consider that Hegel's dialectics grew up from the Plato's "Parmenides"). Nevertheless, there is a quite common point of view that since the dialogue was directed by the Eleatic sophists – they practiced their sophistry (in the modern sense). Proved that black is white, then refuted this proof, and then its refutation, etc. Demonstrated their abilities so appreciated in that time – in the courts and assemblies, and therefore it is not necessary to treat too seriously the subject of the dialogue – it was just a session of advertising and promotion of the sophistry.

The humanitarian discourse was ambiguous even in the times of Socrates, it is the same today - it is easy enough to have opposing opinions on some complicated issue<sup>1</sup> and it is impossible to prove that one of them is better. Spinoza's attempt to deprive a philosophical discourse of ambiguity and uncertainty, in passing deprived it of life and depth.

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<sup>1</sup> Modern mathematicians are well aware that there is such an issue in the systems more complex than the Arithmetic.

However, our criticism of the "Ethics" from the structuralism and modeling point of view is not at all in the fact that during the mapping of base sets some set of continual power goes to a point. - This is not forbidden under transformations if the image preserves the original structure. Such a mapping can be useful when aggregating the attributes of an object simulated, building its factor model.

Criticism is that the philosophical categories were subjected to the separate, uncoordinated among themselves mappings. Therefore, the resulting system of definitions did not reflect any structure and this was not the goal. The purpose of Spinoza's definitions was to outline the range of initial concepts from which it was supposed to deduce philosophical truths "mathematically".

Spinoza's "Ethics" is aimed at finding truth through the mathematical proofs, but the essence of mathematics is in the structures identification, and the proofs are just its technique.

Most of the modern applications of mathematical methods in the humanitarian field can be called positivistic - this is mostly the compilation of time series, the calculation of correlations, the processing of experimental results by statistical methods. This state of affairs would be normal for the current state of mathematization of this area, if it did not create a skeptical attitude toward timid attempts to get to the essence of the phenomena studied – to build substantial models, for example, on the base of differential equations. From the positivist point of view, there is no essence at all, and he prefers to deal with what is.

### **A Mythology in the Language of Mathematical Models**

Myth is a lie that becomes a truth.

*J. Cocteau*

How then to apply mathematical methods? In our opinion, it is necessary to act as the blinds with the elephant – to search for a mapping of a part of attributes of a modeling object to a set of characteristics of a simplified mathematical model by means of analogies so, that its structure transmits the observed relationships between the original attributes. The author does not know, how to formalize this process, it is rather an art, than a science. Nevertheless, it is possible to give examples. Thus, the evangelical parables explain a very complex and unfamiliar to their listeners object – "The Kingdom of Heaven", likening some of its properties to the most common things that each of the listeners repeatedly faces in the everyday life: "The Kingdom of Heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed...", Matthew 13:31-32. "The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a man a householder, which went out early in the morning to hire labourers into his vineyard ...", Matthew 20:1-16. "The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto treasure hid in a field...", Matthew 13:44. "The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a certain king, which made a marriage for his son...", Matthew

22:2-14. "The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto leaven...", Matthew 13:33, etc., just twelve parables devoted to this subject.

As a result, we receive a series of simple models, apparently, not related among themselves, where the structure of each reflects one or several aspects of the complex object studied. This approach is peculiar not only to the Christianity, but to the ancient mythological consciousness in general. Any mythology gives a set of simple and clear models of a cosmogenesis, anthropogenesis, and history in the language, available to the listener. Simplification (sometimes very considerable) in the mythology takes place, but it never "kills" the depth of the complex processes in the modeling domain.

The creation of the "mythology" of the modeling domain in the mathematics language seems to us to be a correct approach to the mathematical modeling of the humanitarian processes. It gives a chance either to keep elements of the structure of the initial complex processes as to apply to them the mathematical apparatus. As a result, a number of simple, perhaps, heterogeneous and multiscale mathematical models reflecting various aspects of the subject area should be obtained.

One of the Russian leading experts in area of mathematical modeling of the economy I.G. Pospelov considers, that in modern modeling of the economy the situation is quite similar - there is a set of multi-scale, uncoordinated models of its various manifestations. Even in the physics, the most mathematized science, we have four models of the fundamental interactions, independent from the each other.

The moment of simplification in mapping by the analogy of the attributes of the object studied into the model characteristics of the same nature, as in Spinoza's Ethics and the controversy of the analogy itself, remains. However, in each specific case, there is a hope that the part of the essence of the original object transferred to the model by the analogy and the possibility of mathematical methods applying for its study will outweigh these shortcomings.

As it was already told, the analogies applied nevertheless may be challenged. By all means there will be a "Pharisee" who will say: "Well, why suddenly the mustard seed is like the Kingdom of Heaven? These are incommensurable things! And did somebody saw how the tree grows from mustard grain?" He sees the reduction of base sets by the analogy and criticizes it for being not bijective, but the most important – the structure conserved – he does not notice or does not want to notice. A positivist will tell: "What else kingdom of heaven? - I do not know it! I know a grain of mustard seed and I know leaven, I know a treasure too, let us study them!" As a result, he will really study them (but not the Kingdom of Heaven) in all details. Nevertheless for passed 2000 years, the parables mentioned above directed many generations to substantial reflections, helping to understand important questions, so the system of models set by them was fruitful.



The controversy of the initial analogies is a common place for criticizing the simplest mathematical models in the humanitarian sphere. Formally, there is nothing to object to such a criticism. However, the author has an observation (developed as a result of many years of discussions of such models with students in the curriculum of mathematical modeling) that these models are not as simple as they seem at first glance. Their mathematical analysis and attempts of its substantial interpretation in the subject domain (usually demanding much more time and efforts, than the actually mathematical analysis) often direct to very serious generalizations which are far beyond these elementary models, to the area of structures and programs called in the next paragraph the "World of Informatics". Let us give examples.

- The simplest demographic model of Malthus shook contemporaries. Disputes over its occasion has not settle even up to our time. A modern area of global studies and sustainable development - its heritage.
- Verhulst's model of the competition surprised scientific community of the 70th - the 80th of the 20th century with the fact that, being completely determined, in some modes leads to chaotic dynamics and crises problems.
- The simplest model of military operations of Osipov - Lanchester leads to the problems of psychological stability in the armed struggle.
- The model of armament by L.F. Richardson [Saaty, 1968] at its doubtful adequacy in a quantitative assessment of arms is capable to predict the beginning of the war. A prediction essence - in the field of structures: the trajectory comes to the knot - the structure (the status quo of the rivals) remains, it suits all of them, and the war, most likely, will not be. The trajectory runs like an exponent on the infinity, such a race cannot be sustained for a long, there will be not enough resources, the rivals begin to worry, everyone is afraid to appear in the worst stage, than before, sooner or later either nerves give up or resources come to the end, and the war begins.
- The competition model by A. Lotka – V. Volterra brings to problems of the cross-cultural interactions [Brodsky, 2014b].
- The predator-prey model by A. Lotka – V. Volterra, when adding the competition member to the law of the prey's dynamics, suggests that perhaps, the preaching of non-violence by L.N. Tolstoy<sup>2</sup> and M. Gandhi was not as detached from the life as it is usually represented. If the environment capacity in the member of the competition is made equal or less then the

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<sup>2</sup> Justifying his preaching, L.N. Tolstoy back in the 19th century, 40 years ealier than A. Lotka and V. Volterra, conducted a humanitarian discourse, essentially describing the "predator-prey" system and proved the impossibility of the preys disappearance from such a system [23].

average number of preys necessary for feeding of predators, then the predators lose their place in the system, they disappear from the system without any violence to them from the preys.

What is common and educative in these examples?

Yes, all these models are very simplified, and even emasculated by the analogies used for their creation, and it is improbable to receive the adequate quantitative forecast of characteristics with their help. For this they are subjected to criticism by the positivists. Of course, temporary ranks and correlations more precisely than the elementary substantial models: experimental data indirectly consider all richness of the studied object which essence, not changed by analogies. But if the analogies were fruitful, i.e. conserved a particle of the modeled object essence in the structure of the simplified model, then the study of the model by mathematical methods and attempts to interpret the results of these studies in the subject area (which is much more complicated and, apparently, unformalizable), lead to the expansion of the model structure. The model returns us to the essence of the modelled object, which generated it. Behind separate "trunks", "legs", "tails" also the other contours of the "elephant" studied begin to appear. So, then it is possible to look for new analogies and with their help to create new more complex models, which consider relations and compliances, obtained during the research of simple models. And the "mathematical mythology", created by a set of simple models, gets a chance to come one step closer to the truth.

### **Complex Process "in the Three Worlds"**

Wanted as better – it turned out as usual.

*V. M. Chernomyrdin*

Science is built of facts the way a house is built of bricks: but an accumulation of facts is no more science than a pile of bricks is a house.

*H. Poincare*

Vladimir Aleksandrovich Levansky (1942 – 2010), senior research scholar of the Institute of State and Law of the Russian Academy of Sciences, lawyer, poet and translator, in his work [Levansky, 1986] attempted to enter into scientific use the analysis of social institutes in three aspects. The ideas and the principles lying in foundation of some public institute. A set of laws and regulations governing its operation. Finally, its real activity, sometimes very different as from the underlain principles, either from the existing laws and regulations.

This attempt seems be very fruitful from the computer science positions, – it is important to study and model complex processes in these three aspects:

- ideas and principles;
- structures that formulate ideas and principles; programs that manage structures and form together with them operating systems that implement behavior;

- realization of behavior on base sets of characteristics, possible actions and reactions to events.

It is important because though these three aspects interpenetrate and mutually influence at each other, they are somewhat "linearly independent" – no one of them can be reduced completely to a combination of two others - they obey different laws; different influences, obstacles and dangers can prevent them to function normally. Here about these aspects – "worlds" the further speech will go.

The first ideal world may be compared with the Plato's world of ideas of [Plato, 2006]. Here is "as better" which was "wanted" in the known aphorism. The third world – is a material world of realizations in which "it turned out as usual". And why so it turned out? But because in the well-known aphorism there is a dash instead of the second world. And a purpose of the second world – is just to order the bricks from H. Poincare's aphorism about the house (i.e. to create the architectural project of it) this is a static part of structure and to develop a program of this house construction, for example, as Gant's charts – that is a dynamic part of the structure. And then still trace and correct implementation of this program when something tries to go wrong. The second world can be compared with the Aristotle's world of forms [Aristotle, 1908]. It is the world of data structures, organizing the base sets from the realizations world – and the programs processing these data. The second world – just is also the world and the field of studying and activity of the computer science. Hugo Steinhaus spoke: "Between spirit and matter mediate mathematics ", but in his time the computer science just began to arise, now the author would give this mediator place to it.

Why complex processes should be taken into account in the three worlds? Because these worlds live under different laws. In a material world the conservation laws dominate: mass, energy, momentum, angular momentum, charge, etc. The concept of property is essential to the social systems operating in this world.

In the world of projects, plans, programs these entities themselves do not obey any conservation laws, they can be copied at a price of the information carrier, however so far as these plans and programs assume their material embodiment and performance, they have to consider conservation laws (for example, limitation of the resources available).

The ideal world of purposes, ideas, principles until they are not issued in structure of the program yet, are less of all subjects of influence of the material laws. About the ideal world the author can tell less of all - so high he usually does not fly. However, as an example, the main ideas of this pretty vast article are listed in the Conclusion – they can be considered as an ideal component of the article. The article itself can be attributed to the world of forms, the world of computer science – it constructs a number of structures to support and justify the ideas listed in the Conclusion.

## Conservation Laws or Conservation of Laws?

Seldom do more than a few of nature's secrets give way at one time.

*C. Shannon*

... but theory itself becomes a material force when it has seized the masses.

*K. Marx*

The first two from these worlds it is possible to call a noosphere, after V.I. Vernadsky. What is it? V.I. Vernadsky's followers E. Le Roy and P. Teilhard de Chardin looked for its interpretation in Plotinus' Neoplatonism, i.e. eventually, again in the Plato's world of ideas. The interpretation of the noosphere is much simpler for the modern computer scientist: the world of forms, plans, programs, ways of behavior we can find in the Internet, which though is a human creature, but has indisputable objective being in relation to a certain researcher or group of researchers.

The scientists coming to humanitarian field from natural sciences usually come not empty-handed, but with the devices well proved in the natural-science area. The main component of these devices – conservation laws, especially the energy conservation law. A. Lotka promoted the Energy approach in biology, L.N. Gumilev – in ethnology.

If conservation laws determine interactions in the world of physics, then in the noosphere everything is different: if I have shared with someone an idea or information, unlike the matter, I have not lost either one or the other. Laws of a noosphere are still insufficiently studied. Next, we will talk about what "lies on the surface" and was noticed by the author.

The physical conservation laws are reflected in the legal law of property in the relations between people over material objects. In the world of forms, structures, programs, apparently, it is necessary to consider three aspects: In the world of forms, structures, programs, it seems that three aspects should be taken into account: first, these intellectual property objects themselves are copied easily and almost without costs. Secondly, if we want to embody them in the material world, we must take into account the conservation laws (that, for example, instead of creating a palace that is magnificent, but beyond our means, not create something unfinished). Thirdly, the work of those who develop the objects of intellectual property is worthy of payment, in spite of the fact that their copying is almost free. All this together produce contradictory legislation in the field of intellectual property, which, moreover, is technically easy to violate. In the world of ideas, everything is even more interestingly. Ideas often want to be shared not just for free, but even forcing them by the power. Sometimes the wars begin because of this. And almost always, from the ancient times to our days, the winner in the war imposes his own set of ideas on the defeated by the force.

In physics conservation laws are fair for the closed systems. Among the complex systems in the humanitarian sphere open, dissipative (in I. Prigozhin sense) systems prevail, which exchange streams of matter, energy and information with the world around. At these exchanges the structure of systems remains, but base sets can change. Here the analogy to solitons, not obligatory described by the equations like Korteweg – de Vries is pertinent. All of us are capable to keep the structure changing the material content, – in our body there are practically no atoms left from those 3,5 - 4 kilograms with which we once were born (but because of this nobody, even the most inveterate materialists, say that now they are not themselves). Or, for example, an old car from the Soviet period: in it there could be no original details, including the body and the engine, nevertheless both the family driving it, and the traffic police, - considered it as being the "same". It appears, even the car is not so material as it seems at the first sight, care of the owner allocates it with some wave properties. The same can be told about an enterprise: workers can be employed and leave, productions and offices may change addresses, but the enterprise remains the same, which is fixed by the concept of the "legal entity". Conservation of the structure takes place – the complex system keeps the laws of its life. Yu.N. Pavlovsky in [Belotelov, Brodsky, Pavlovsky, 2009] wrote about conservation of the structure in complex systems. So, we can state, that in the world of computer sciences instead of the physical conservation laws the conservation of laws takes place.

Unlike the conservation laws, the conservation of laws does not work "for free", it is necessary to pay for it by the work in the unit of time, at the enterprise it is necessary to pay regularly a salary to employees, to pay rent of rooms, utility fee, taxes, etc. It is necessary to pay regularly for the car maintenance, if you wish to drive it. We need to eat regularly. Costs of maintenance of the structure in unit of time were called a potential of dynamic balance of the complex system. If the complex system appears incapable to support the potential of dynamic balance, it loses structure, ceases to exist in former quality. Usually at that time other systems that are more successful get its material components (base sets) practically free.

In addition to solitons, in our opinion, another analogy from physics could be fruitful for studying social processes: solid-state structure and phase transitions. Actually, works of such plan already appear [Dimitrienko, 2011]. Just as different structures are possible on the base set of carbon atoms, giving completely different physical properties: graphite – coal – diamond. In the twentieth century, we saw on the base sets of societies with approximately the same human and technical potential, implementations of three different social structures, the Second World War between them, and then the information war, which left the simplest structure that currently, is surviving a crisis. The revolutions we experienced in the twentieth century are very similar to phase transitions because they touched all the "atoms". For example, none of the "atoms", who for

decades received their salaries for only maintaining the structure, did not go to defend it in August 1991 – nobody at all!

The world of ideas is the most difficult to speak about, however we will try to tell several words about how the idea can become a material force. In the author's opinion, if there are some specific forms of biological or social energy, then it is to be a kind of the same physical energy, measured by the work in a unit of time. As the beginning of the sentence whose end is taken as the second epigraph of the section says: "Material force can only be overthrown by material force". Nevertheless, such phenomena as a passionarity (in L. Gumilev's sense) or its absence are observed and play a noticeable role in social processes.

### **What is a passionarity?**

In our opinion, the idea can be issued in a structure (for example, a party, a sect or even a national movement) which can attract a great number of supporters capable of coordinated actions under its banner. This is an anti-entropic process, where the idea plays the role of the "Maxwell's demon." As a result, the idea, which seized masses, is capable to release a noticeable part of the internal energy even from not too energetically rich ensemble. It will be the most usual, true physical energy capable to perform a work. The result, as the XX century history shows, can be tremendous. In any case, the famous article of our Constitution about inadmissibility of any state ideology reminds to the author the widespread practice (ported on the beaten in information war) to force the war losers commit themselves not to have and not to produce certain types of especially effective weapons.

At the end of the section, it should be said that the structure analysis alone does not solve all the problems in the world. This method is so promoted here only because it often happens to be unfairly forgotten. The analysis is to be kept harmoniously in all the "three worlds". If to force only one - the distortion and vulgarization will turn out. There are enough examples, one of them – Islamic radicalism: it is only necessary to force everyone live according to the Sharia – there will immediately come a paradise on the Earth. As if in the history no one had ever lived according to the Sharia, or now someone is forbidden to live by it. We see that this idea seized considerable masses (the promise of quickly achievable result often is accepted with enthusiasm, unlike the traditional ways offering constant efforts during all the life without any guarantees). And a lot of energy was already released. We already went through this matter at the beginning of the 20th century as the Bolshevism, and in 19th something similar was promised by Krylov's "the prankish Monkey, the Donkey, the Goat and the clumsy Bear".

Apparently, not on any base set it is possible to realize any structure: it is possible to construct a hut of adobe, but for the palace, the bricks are necessary to be burned. First, you need



to learn music, and then create orchestras. If violently drive everyone into the commune Vera Pavlovna dreamed of, it turns out in the reality a collective farm (if not a prison) with aluminum spoons. In social processes, it is important to consider the human potential existing.

## Conclusion

Who owns the information, he owns the world.

*W. Churchill*

Let us list the main ideas of the work.

The hypothesis underlying the modeling asserts that the attributes of the phenomena under study are united by a certain constant law (on the time of interest), that constitutes the essence of the object under study and allows to combine the various observed phenomena into a single object of modeling.

We map a set of attributes of the modeling object into the set of the model characteristics using analogies. Such a mapping is informal, subjective and easily challenged from the formal positions, except the simplest cases where the characteristics are obvious and allow direct measurement.

On the set of characteristics of the model, as on the base set, we construct the model as a mathematical structure. The constructed structure-model reflects and represents for us the essence of the object of modeling. We cannot guarantee that the model correctly reflects the essence of the modeling object, even if it gives the correct prediction in millions of experiments over thousands of years of operation – the coincidence of the forecast with the experiment is only a necessary condition for the model's adequacy. Sufficient conditions we do not know.

The model is based on the available stock of mathematical structures (the "modeler" is in captivity of the existing mathematics, according to A.A. Dorodnicyn).

Objects of the humanitarian sphere are usually more difficult to study than the natural scientific ones. Therefore, it is a wrong way to try to turn a humanitarian field into mathematics, for example, by giving strict definitions to the attributes of humanitarian objects and building deductive systems on their basis.

It is more fruitful to begin with analogies to the simplest mathematical designs, receiving series of simple mathematical models – a kind of "mathematical mythology" of the subject domain. Then the model can complicate and pass to multi-scale modeling.

Analogies are always disputable. Apparently, the criterion of the success of even a very crude model is its ability to bring the researcher to the structure that inspired this model and to induce further development of the model.

In the study of physical closed systems, the conservation laws play an outstanding role. In the humanitarian field, an important role is played by open dissipative systems that preserve their

structures by maintaining their potentials of dynamic equilibrium at the proper level. There is a conservation of laws of the system life.

Complex humanitarian processes should be considered simultaneously in three aspects - the "three worlds": the physical, information and the world of ideas and principles. Ideas embodied in the structures may prove to be an important ordering factor, the "Maxwell's demon" for complex humanitarian processes, which allows using part of the internal energy of the system.

It can be expected that the more complex is the system modeled, the more complex is the structure providing its behavior, and the more important for its understanding is the analysis of the noosphere or the "world of computer science".

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*Anatoly M. Bajenov  
Tatiana M. Martynova*

## **P.A. Sorokin on Revolutionary Violence**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article analyses the events Russian revolution, which accompany many acts violence. About this recollect sociologist P.A Sorokin, he was a participant and witness of the revolution, in her work «Leafs from Russian daybook».

**Keywords:** revolution; violence; army; intellectuals; religion

A large number of scientific and publicistic works have been written about the Russian revolution. In this series, a special place is occupied by the book "Leaves from the Russian diary" [Sorokin; 2015], written by P.A. Sorokin in the United States in 1923–1924. these are memories, covering the period from the beginning of the February revolution of 1917 to September 1922, when he was expelled from Soviet Russia together with a large group of Russian culture. At the end of 1924 "Sheets from the Russian diary" appeared on bookshelves. Thirty years later, P.A. Sorokin went back to his memories, adding their head about the outcome of the Russian revolution, and the book was published again in 1950 in addition, P. A. Sorokin wrote in 1962 a book "a long way. Autobiography" [Sorokin; 2017], in which he complements his story about revolutionary events in Russia.

Before us is not just evidence of an active participant in the events of the Russian revolution, set out in "hot pursuit". This is evidence of a scientist, Professor of Petrograd University, one of the organizers and leaders of sociological education in Soviet Russia.

P.A. Sorokin tried to explain one of the main questions, why in Russia there was a revolution. He notes that all great revolutions go through three typical phases. The first-a short phase-is marked by the joy of liberation from the tyranny of the old regime and the high expectations of the reforms that each revolution promises. A short Overture is usually replaced by a second, destructive phase. The great revolution is now turning into a furious whirlwind, sweeping away everything in its path without analysis. The revolution is gradually entering a third phase of its development – a constructive phase.

Sociologist highlights an important aspect in public life associated with the decomposition of the army as one of the social institutions. The Petrograd Soviet of workers 'and soldiers' deputies and the provisional Committee of the State Duma fought for influence on the soldier's weight. The result of this struggle was the famous "Order number 1" of the Petrograd Soviet, issued on March 1, 1917. The government adopted the order and consistently defended it. This is done for the reason

that war-weary soldiers were one of the main driving forces during the February event. Main provisions of the order prescribes the creation of all the military units and on ships elected committees; to subordinate military units are not officers, and elected committees and Council; all the weapons placed at the disposal and under the control of soldiers' committees; to abolish titles of officers.

In the mass consciousness this document is connected with the final collapse of the Russian army and violation of army discipline. The order was understood in the army of my own soldiers decided that now they have the opportunity to avenge all the hardships of military service. Military units of Russia, a wave of violence: officers were beaten or killed, somewhere demanded to declare their allegiance to the revolution; there were parts where officers were able to maintain control over his soldiers. In General, the government, which intended to continue the "war to the bitter end", failed to restore discipline in the army. The result was a sharp drop in discipline and combat capability of the Russian army.

This affected the Affairs of the front. In the summer of 1917, the situation at the front was catastrophic. In this regard, p. Sorokin noted: "Yes, the disaster occurred. Our revolutionary army has been defeated. She is fragmented into pieces and runs in panic, distraught, on the way she ruins everything, kills, rapes, plunders, her path marked by devastated fields and destroyed villages. Neither discipline, nor power, nor even mercy to the innocent women, or a civilian" [Sorokin; 2015, p. 83].

P.A. Sorokin gives many examples related to the manifestation of cruelty and brutality during the first five years of the Communist revolution. He notes that the number of killed in the first revolutionary days in the capital was about a thousand people.

Of course, such behavior of large masses of people was predetermined by many factors of daily life of the Russian society. This was also the fault of the political regime of pre-revolutionary Russia, which subjected its opponents to cruel repressions. In this regard, P.A. Sorokin notes: "all political prisoners released from prisons and crowds are returning home from Siberia and from abroad ... full of vengeance, they naturally come into contact with extremists, trying to toughen up the revolutionary wave ... there is a serious danger that in the hands of these people eventually will be the power, as it happened in all previous revolutions" [Sorokin; 2015, p. 71-72].

P.A. Sorokin, of course, attracted the topic "revolution and the intelligentsia." The fate of many representatives of the Russian intelligentsia was dramatic. In the diary, this is shown by the example of the fate of a friend of P.A Sorokin famous scientist N.E. Kondratiev, founder of the theory of economic cycles ("Kondratiev Cycles"). The scientist was shot in 1938. The fate of P.A. Sorokin is also tragic. Confirmation of this conclusion is the article V.I. Lenin "on the importance of militant materialism". In it Lenin called Sorokin "a certified lackey of clericalism".

Lenin quotes taken out of text paragraph of the article Sorokin, "On the impact of war," which relied "on the alleged sociological research". Lenin calls the magazine "Economist", in which the article was published, "the body of modern serfs, hiding under the mantle of science, democracy, etc." About Sorokin says that he is suitable for the education of youth "no more than known molesters would be suitable for the role of supervisors in schools for younger age." The working class in Russia needs "similar teachers and members of scientific societies to be politely sent to the countries of bourgeois "democracy". There feudalists like the real place" [Lenin; p. 32-33]. P.A. Sorokin was sentenced to death and miraculously avoided such a fate.

After the publication of the book "system of sociology" p. Sorokin was subjected to severe criticism. In this regard, he writes: "I did not escape the fate of being the target of attacks by the Communist press: "the ideologist of the counter-revolution", "the leader of the most intransigent part of the professorate and the intelligentsia", "The time to settle accounts once and for all with similar entities", "How much more will tolerate such activities of the Cheka [Sorokin; 2015, p. 192].

Representatives of the intelligentsia shared with the residents of the capital all the hardships that fell on them in the first revolutionary years. P.A. Sorokin writes that, passing by the rector of the University, he sees an ad: "According to the decree of the Petrograd Executive Committee of professors, assistants, lecturers and other University staff are appointed to the unloading of the wood from the barges. Those whose surnames begin from A to M, have to be tomorrow on Admiralty embankment by ten o'clock in the morning. The rest should be in the same place at the same time the day after tomorrow. The undeclared are to be arrested as counter-revolutionaries".

"I was not burdened by these forced labor: I was young, strong, accustomed to physical labor. But what a pitiful spectacle was an other staff of the University, the old Professor and women who never in his life had done nothing but mental work. They had neither the strength nor the skill to load heavy beams, and after a few minutes they could hardly stand on his feet from fatigue and injuries. From head to toe, filthy with mud and blood, in their worn-out clothes, falling under the heavy burden, they were more like Egyptian slaves working under the scourge of the heartless Pharaoh" [Sorokin; 2015, p. 182-183].

In the memoirs of P.A. Sorokin addressed the theme of "revolution and the Church". In 1921, the government demanded that the churches surrender all their wealth. This was supposed to be done in order to help the starving population. The Church authorities have responded that they are ready to give their treasures to feed the hungry people, but they want to distribute food themselves, or through the American organization of assistance to the hungry. Officials disagreed with such conditions and began to seize by force what the Church authorities didn't give. In

particular, they looted the Kazan Cathedral and the Alexander Nevsky Lavra in Petrograd. As a result, there was a huge wave of "Church riots" throughout the country.

Thousands of priests and ordinary people were arrested for this demonstration of "counterrevolution". Most of them were shot without trial, but some were mocked, called by the court, which was written around the world. In particular, this court has been subjected to the Metropolitan of Petrograd and Gdov Veniamin, Professor of the University Y.P. Novitsky and their supporters in Petrograd. All of them throughout the process showed firmness and endurance, worthy early Christian martyrs. Their heroism, devotion to their religion and country, and their hope in God's will were so profound and sincere that they impressed even some Communist judges.

It is known that operation on expulsion of more than 160 representatives of intellectuals from the Soviet Russia received the collective name "the philosophical steamship". These are the two German passenger ships Oberburgermeister Haken (29-30 September 1922) and Preussen (16-17 November 1922) from Petrograd to Stettin. But expulsions of cultural figures were carried out by trains from Moscow to Latvia and Germany. The expulsion was rough, violent, all expellees were allowed to take with them only two pairs of pants, two pairs of socks, a jacket, trousers, a coat, a hat and two pairs of shoes per person; all the money and other property of the expellees were confiscated.

P.A. Sorokin, together with the first group of expelled intellectuals went from Moscow on September 23, 1922 by train.

P.A. Sorokin thirty years back to the memories "Leaves from a Russian diary". In the supplemented V part of the work, the scientist concludes that the Russian revolution has achieved tremendous success and at the same time suffered a terrible failure. Now the scientist analyzes the events of the revolution in a calm and balanced manner.

According to him, the first success of the revolution was that it survived in the most difficult conditions and despite the many powerful enemies. The second success of the revolution lies in its total, limitless character. The third success was in its unprecedented scope and worldwide distribution. Fourth, the success of the revolution lies in the fact that she was even his bitter enemies had changed in his image and likeness.

P.A. Sorokin is critical of the situation in different spheres of life of Soviet society. The revolution promised to raise the material standard of living of people many times. Thirty years later, their standard of living is still lower than pre-revolutionary. The revolution promised to eliminate political autocracy, despotic government, the death penalty and other forms of physical punishment, it guaranteed maximum freedoms for the population. Instead, it has created a despotic government that history has not known throughout. The revolution did not abolish exploitation, social inequalities and social strata and classes.



The analysis, P.A. Sorokin notes, shows that the revolution was the most successful as a purely destructive force, which eliminates the dying social and cultural values (which would have died without any revolution). But failed as a creative force.

So, "Sheets from the Russian diary" by P.A. Sorokin can be considered as documentary heritage of the Russian revolution. The book reveals many events of the time, including revolutionary violence, which allows deeper understanding and understanding of their origins and essence.

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*Valeriy A. Mansurov*  
*Anna V. Semenova*

## **Russian Dynasties of Engineers: Genesis and Relations With the State<sup>3</sup>**

### **ABSTRACT**

Profession-state relations vary across time and place. 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. It also centers on the role of professional dynasty traditions in the multiple social field taking into consideration the influence of the state and the market in the context of historical changes and the peculiarities of various occupations. The phenomenon of ‘professional dynasty’ was brought to life by the Soviet state in the 1920-s. By the dynasty we understand a social group localised in the industrial and socio-economic sphere, characterised by blood-kinship relationships, where several generations do their professional work in the same sphere. The topicality of the research lies in the interdisciplinary studies of dynasties that provide passing down of knowledge from parents to children. Dynasties are studied from the point of view of the resources of family professional strategies and as informal methods and practices of upbringing in the existing professional landscape in the context of changing economic, science-technical, social and cultural realities. Dynasties also provide conditions for the effective professional adaptation and career realization of young generations. Dynasty members have a different understanding of the trends of the development and perspectives of the transforming society and they differently adapt to the conditions of the accelerated science-technical progress and cultural-psychological communications with the elder professional generation.

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

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 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.

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(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.

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 [Eberharter; 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; 2016].
- 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.

### **Definition of the term**

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 5<sup>th</sup> 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.

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*Irina S. Ipatova*

## Legal Defense of Word Freedom and from “Free” Words

### ABSTRACT

The article tackles the problem of legal defense of both a word and citizens' honor from the words that don't have legal and ethical basis – «free» words (slander, insult, foul language). The author supports the idea with the relevant articles from the Constitution of the Russian Federation, civil, criminal and administrative codes.

**Keywords:** freedom of speech; «free» words; slander; insult; foul language

A speech situation – is one of the most acute problems of the contemporary society. The degradation of the speech culture is not only serious, but also dangerous. Nevertheless, the reaction of each society to this fact is different. In Sorbonne the linguists were seriously worried about the signs of «high» writing form extinction in the French language among the young generation who got used to e-mail and SMS messages, so in September 2001 they insisted on introducing the course in Professional Business Writing. In the USA the Appeals Court of New York state abolished the prohibition of foul language in the broadcast media: the judges agreed that such a prohibition violated the First Amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing the freedom of speech.

The right to thought and speech freedom is fixed in article 29 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation. This right is the basic principle of the law-governed and democratic state. The freedom of thought and speech means the ability of a person to form his own opinions and beliefs, keep to them, have the right to deny them, and also have the right to demonstrate his opinions and beliefs, the right to communicate in written oral forms, including the possibility to decline this communication, the right to have a free choice of the language [*Konstitutsiya Rossiyskoy Federatsii*, Art. 29]. This freedom is an important fact in the implementation of other constitutional rights of a person.

Nevertheless, both thought and speech freedom can't be unlimited. A word as the main means of communication influences people's minds and behavior. It can help a person to create or ruin, call for the social progress or violence, enrich a person's soul or destroy his dignity. All these facts define the necessity to moral and legal restrictions, connected with the implementation of speech freedom. The Constitution of the Russian Federation sets the barriers against the abuse of speech freedom and opinion expression. Both propaganda and agitation that raise racial, national, social and religious hostility are forbidden. These constitutional restrictions give the way to the implementation of this freedom. Their violation leads to liability according to the law.

In addition to that law every Russian is protected from «free» words, i. g. those that don't have legal and ethical basis (slander, insult, foul language), because according to article 21 of the Constitution «the individual dignity is protected by the state» [*Konstitutsiya Rossiyskoy Federatsii*, Art. 21].

The Criminal Code provides the punishment for slander (giving false information that discredits a person's honor and dignity and undermines his reputation) as a fine up to 500000 rubles or community service for up to 160 hours (these are 20 days of full-time eight-hour working day) [*Ugolovnyiy kodeks Rossiyskoy Federatsii*, Art. 128.1].

The Russian administrative law qualifies foul language in public places as «petty offences» and incurs administrative fine from 500 to 1000 rubles or administrative arrest for up to 15 days [*Kodeks Rossiyskoy Federatsii ob administrativnyih pravonarusheniyah*, Art. 20.1]. According to article 5.61 of the Code of the Russian Federation on Administrative Offenses insult or humiliation of a person's honor and dignity in a rude form is sentenced to a fine from 1000 to 500000 rubles, it depends on the offender's personality and the circumstances [*Kodeks Rossiyskoy Federatsii ob administrativnyih pravonarusheniyah*, Art. 5.61]. Bringing a person to administrative liability for insult doesn't release him from the monetary compensation of the complaint's moral damage according to article 151 of the Civil Code [*Grazhdanskiy kodeks Rossiyskoy Federatsii*, Art. 151].

Criminal liability for insult comes only when a plaintiff is a member of an authority or a military man and in case if this insult is connected with his career or takes place during his professional performance. Moreover, the liability for the insult of a military man is imposed only on military men (of equal or lower ranks) according to article 336 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation [*Ugolovnyiy kodeks Rossiyskoy Federatsii*, Art. 336].

As for legal practice, qualified lawyers, especially court speakers – judges, prosecutors, attorneys – can't use unlimited (immoral) speech freedom according to ethical norms as the lawyers' actions must be correlated with the values of support, respect and trust to judicial authority, independence preservation and justice impartiality. Aggressive, indecent expressions can cause much more harm to justice interests than layman's expressions as «they come from the specialists in particular sphere, who are trusted in the society and perform the role of «agent» between them and judicial authority» [Starzhenetsky: 29]. Therefore, court speakers take great responsibility of their words according to their specific status. In essence, the Constitution of the Russian Federation, guaranteeing each Russian citizen the right to legal protection of his rights and freedoms [*Konstitutsiya Rossiyskoy Federatsii*, Art. 46] and at the same time the qualified legal aid [*Konstitutsiya Rossiyskoy Federatsii*, Art. 48], makes all lawyers interpret correctly the freedom of speech and follow properly not only the norms of law but the

norms of a language, otherwise, the right to legal protection stays only on the paper, as it can appear to be useless in accordance to the Law.

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*Galina V. Talalaeva*  
*Victoria V. Sheveleva*

## **Phonosemantic Component of Cross-Cultural Aggression**

### **ABSTRACT**

**Purpose:** to assess the ethno-cultural characteristics of interpersonal aggression among cadets, citizens of Russia and Kazakhstan in joint training. The phonosemantic method was used. A comparative analysis of the presence of consonant sounds in the slang speech of respondents was carried out. Cluster analysis of sounds is carried out. The representation of sounds in four categories is defined, which are perceived by Russian speakers as «Terrible, evil and strong»; «Terrible and evil»; «Scary» and «Not scary». It is established that Russian cadets practice more expressive, emotionally saturated speech.

**Keywords:** aggression; security; phonosemantics; cross-cultural communication; slang.

The formation of international rescue services within the Single Eurasian space, as well as the training of foreign students in the higher educational institutions of the EMERCOM of Russia is accompanied by the interpenetration of the cultures of the countries participating in the EAES into the speech practice of rescuers and firefighters. The professional slang of firefighters, which is common among adults of this profession, joins youth slang, characteristic for a certain age category, especially, for cadets.

According to experts dealing with issues of youth slang, this speech practice allows briefly, functionally, logically and simultaneously expressively, colorfully, brightly, colorfully, figuratively, boldly and with sense convey information in interpersonal communication. In addition, slang, and youth in particular, allows you to reduce the pathos and tragedy of transmitted information and the situation described. The most common slang is distributed in small and closed collectives, which include the training groups of cadets who are in barracks. In education and functional purpose, slang in the context of mixed Russian-Kazakh training groups can be classified as artificial languages that affect the effectiveness of cadets' performance in their training loads. However, in the literature available to us, we have not encountered data on scientific publications that study the features of slang practices among international groups of cadets. In particular, in the scientific-scientific database of the RICC on the key words "artificial language communication" over the past five years, you can find twenty publications. Most of them are devoted to the study of the linguistic personality of bilingual and only three to the description of slang practices; while in all three subjects of research is slang as a means of intercultural communication among Internet users. As an example, we refer to the publication [Biryukova E. A.].

Our previous research has shown that Ural youth is experiencing psychological difficulties in virtual modeling of cross-cultural interaction and professional integration in the conditions of the emerging Eurasian economic union. Pilot studies of models of trusting communication and friend choice algorithms for training in a departmental higher educational institution training firefighters showed that the communication models for cadets have some characteristics depending on their citizenship (Table 1).

**Table 1: List of significant qualities of the best friend, named cadets**

The number of the respondent	Named friend qualities
<b>Cadets of the 1st group (citizens of the Russian Federation)</b>	
1	Faithfulness, optimism, kindness, politeness
2	Kindness, humor, honesty, devotion
3	Devoted, responsive, kind
4	Always – for
5	Kindness, honesty, determination, sociability
6	Humor, openness, trust, honesty, responsiveness
7	Character, optimism, thinking
8	Understanding, kindness, intelligence, determination, independence
9	Goodwill, humor, mutual help, intelligence, independence
10	Kindness, responsiveness, perseverance, determination, courage
11	Devotion, humor, musical taste, mutual assistance, unpredictability
12	Kindness, honesty, trust, help
13	Openness, honesty, objectivity, unhurried, charismatic
14	Devotion, optimistic view, altruism, resourcefulness, patience
15	Tranquility, objectivity, reliability, justice, reasonableness
16	An optimist, courageous, kind, cheerful, sympathetic
17	Thinking, character, kindness, education
18	Humor, loyalty, kindness, optimism

<b>Cadets of the 2nd group (citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan)</b>	
1	Faithfulness, kindness, friendliness
2	Faithfulness, honesty
3	Humor, activity
4	Kindness, courage, charisma
5	Kindness, courage, devotion, responsibility, responsiveness
6	Kindness, courage, honesty, fidelity
7	Kindness, loyalty, courage, friendliness, responsibility
8	Responsibility, kindness, honesty
9	Honesty, kindness, responsiveness
10	Humor, reason

As follows from Table 1, the respondents of the first group named 76 characteristics of their best friends, the respondents of the second group - 33. Taking into account the number of respondents in each group, the average number of friend qualities named by the respondents of the first group was 4.2, the second - 3.3. Among the respondents of the first group, the number of those who named four or more qualities of the friend was the majority (15 people out of 18 or

83.3%), in the second group - a minority (3 out of 10 or 30.0%). The difference between groups in this attribute is significant ( $\chi^2 = 7.96$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ).

Thus, among Russian cadets, in comparison with Kazakhstani cadets, a greater variety of personal qualities was discovered, which respondents designate themselves as significant when choosing a friend. We have made an effort to identify the system-forming features that determine the choice of a partner for confidential communication in barracks conditions for the preparation of future firefighters. For this cluster analysis was made. We allocated three blocks of personality characteristics, according to which respondents rated the qualities of their friends as the most attractive. Results of this analysis are presented at Table 2.

**Table 2: Competent approach to the characterization of the powers of a friend**

№	Symptoms	The frequency of occurrence, the number of answers in the group		Difference in occurrence	
		Group 1 citizens of the Russian Federation	Group 2 citizens of Kazakhstan	(group 1- group 2), at %	the reliability of differences by the criterion $\chi^2$
1	Ability to maintain self-control in difficult situations (humor, optimism)	66.7	20.0	46.7	$\chi^2 = 7.96$ ; $p < 0.05$
2	Ability to make non-standard decisions in abnormal situations (mind, thinking, independence)	55.5	10.0	45.5	$\chi^2 = 8.89$ ; $p < 0.05$
3	Ability to be a warrior (loyalty, courage, honesty, bravery).	61.1	80.0	-18.9	$\chi^2 = 8.01$ ; $p < 0.05$

The data in Table 2 show that the perceptions of friendship between the respondents of the two groups differ significantly from each other. Representatives of the first group (citizens of Russia) choose as friends those who are able to live and act in conditions of uncertainty, helping them to find a way out of non-standard situations. Representatives of the second group (citizens of Kazakhstan) prefer those who possess ethnic qualities, guarantee a close sense of security, and can be a reliable partner in overcoming life's difficulties.

In connection with the foregoing, and with a view to improving the effectiveness of the educational process at the Ural Institute of the State Fire Service of the Ministry of Emergency Situations of Russia, it seemed to us important to study models of speech practices of cadets, citizens of Russia and Kazakhstan and compare them for similarities and differences. The work was carried out in the methodology of cross-cultural research, which makes it possible to compare



the speech communication of individuals who grew up in different sociocultural conditions. The study was conducted on a specially developed author's questionnaire, in which, among other issues, 58 most commonly used cadets of slang elements were listed. Respondents were asked to note those that they personally use when communicating with their classmates. The survey involved 70 cadets for 35 citizens of the Russian Federation (group 1) and 35 citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan (group 2). The study was conducted on the example of cadets of the Faculty of Fire Safety. To receive sincere answers, the survey was conducted anonymously, in the "peer-to-peer" format, while the distribution and collection of questionnaires was carried out by their classmate - cadet D.S. Begimbetov.

In interpreting the results of the survey, the generally accepted definitions of slang, presented in Internet dictionaries [Molodezhnyj sleng ; Chto takoe sleng ? Slang we interpreted as a set of special words or new meanings of already existing words used in various groups of people (professional, social, age and so on). By youth slang, we understood a set of new or special words that take on a special significance for young people at the age of 12, 22 years old, and often used by them to emphasize their status, belong to the reference group, help to stand out against the background of others, to strengthen the emotional impact on others.

When formulating the questionnaire and processing the data received, we took into account the historical, psycholinguistic and phonetic features of Russian youth slang. In particular, they took into account the fact that youth slang in Russia went through three stages of its development, characterized by a rapid process of language creation in the 20s, 50s and 80s of the last century. At each of these stages, it differed in its specific features, but in all periods it bore the features of social opposition to the adult population, differed in vivid phonetic features and even with crude expressions. Modern Russian youth slang has more than 12,000 words and includes five varieties: computer, student, prison slang, slang drug addicts and drug dealers, slang doctors. As follows from the above list of nominations in existing Internet dictionaries, there is no provision for a special graduation of fireman slang, especially firefighters and cadets interacting in conditions of cross-cultural communication.

In addition, when interpreting the results of the survey, we took into account the phonetic peculiarities of the Russian language, according to which different groups of consonants differ from one another in the emotional impact on a person [Gorelov I. Maslova V.; Leontev A.; Dzhozef O'Konner, Jon Sejmor]. In particular, when analyzing the phonetic picture of the respondents' slang practice, we grouped their answers into four categories of consonant letters included in the list of words and phrases chosen by the respondents. Category 1 consisted of consonant letters corresponding to the sounds «ж», «з», «п»; category 2 - sounds «ф», «х», «ш», «щ»; category 3 - sounds «н», «к», «у»; category 4 - sounds «г», «с», «ц». Experts believe that

the sounds of the first category are perceived by the speakers of the Russian language as terrible, evil and strong; the second category - as terrible and evil, the third - as terrible and the fourth as fearless.

The results of the survey were processed by the methods of variation statistics with the calculation of the total number of sounds used in the first, second, third and fourth categories, the average number of sounds of each category attributable to the respondents of the first and second groups, and also by calculating the range of variation for each of the analyzed indicators.

This article presents data on the mean values of the occurrence of sounds of the first and fourth categories in slang words and word combinations of respondents (Table 3).

**Table 3: Occurrence of individual sounds in the slang practice of cadets**

Groups of respondents	Categories of sounds			
	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3	Category 4
<b>Group 1</b>	3.77 ± 0.56 *	3.31 ± 0.52	9.46 ± 1.73 *	3.11 ± 0.56 *
<b>Group 2</b>	2.26 ± 0.28	2.43 ± 0.32	5.46 ± 0.60	1.46 ± 0.24

Note: \* - the reliability of differences between the groups of respondents by the Student's test,  $p < 0.05$ .

As follows from Table 1, Russian cadets, in comparison with Kazakhs, use slang more often to enhance the expressiveness and emotional richness of their speech, using both negative and positively colored sound combinations for this.

## Conclusion

The conducted pilot studies showed the ethnic features of youth slang among the cadets of the Ural Institute of the State Fire Service of the Ministry of Emergencies of Russia, citizens of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan. This difference concerns both the frequency of use of individual sounds, and the spectrum of their emotional impact on native speakers of the Russian language. The obtained results testify to the advisability of strengthening the psycholinguistic training of cadets, which are called to ensure the future comprehensive safety of the population and territories of the Eurasian Economic Union. The results of the questionnaire are planned to be used in the educational process to optimize the process of forming international brigades of rescuers.

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*Tatyana V. Fomicheva*

## **Happiness as a Value: A Socio-Demographic Analysis**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article is devoted to the study of the value of happiness in terms of sociological and demographic analysis. The purpose of the publication: to describe the value (significance) of happiness by the method of comparative analysis of sociological and statistical data using various techniques. Consideration of sociocultural values is associated, first of all, with the transformation processes that are activated in modern Russia and other countries of the world. Method: To compare with demographic processes taking place in Russia, a comparative analysis of similar processes in other countries was conducted. A secondary analysis of the sociological data of the international cross-cultural project WORLD VALUES SURVEY was carried out; analysis of the calculated "happiness level" indexes from the "World Happiness Report" World Happiness Report 2017; The International Happiness Index (or the "World Happiness Index") "Happy Planet Index" (HPI) 2016, which allowed us to compare the results of indexing, to track the transformation processes associated with the dynamics of sociocultural values in many countries of the world, as well as in Russia. Conclusion: happiness is a subjective category that has a normative-value character. For each individual, the value of happiness is perceived purely as an individual.

**Keywords:** value; happiness; prosperity; world society

### **Introduction**

The problem of studying the values of happiness, has not yet been fully studied and is an actual field for the development of various theories. There is a variety of sociological concepts for calculating world indices of happiness, international happiness indices, life quality indices, human development indices, etc., which in turn indicates the inexhaustibility of the relevance of this issue. In many respects, happiness indices intersect with a meaningful influx of calculated indices of the level and quality of the population's live. This problem becomes especially important during the periods of the transformation of society and demographic changes [Popova, 2010; Zakharov, 2008]. Values perform some integrative role in society, ensuring the cohesion of a particular society. Despite the fact that all values are subject to modification, evolution, the values of modern society are the key link in socio-cultural transformation. Values play a basic role in the life of the individual, being a "cornerstone" on which further activities and relationships with the world are built.

Russian society, which has a centuries-old culture, was not always in a state of stability and prosperity. There were periods of comparative well-being and rest, but periods of wars, revolutions and depressions were also noted. The state of the social socio-cultural system is connected both with the historical period of development of Russia, and with the subjective side of the problem – relations in the social environment. Values are able to play in society a certain

integrative role, to cause cohesion of a specific society. Despite the fact that all values are subject to modification, evolution, the values of modern society are a key aspect of socio-cultural transformation.

Values play a kind of "fundamental role" in the life of the individual, being the basis on which further activities and relationships with the world are built. Values are the result of the interaction of the object and the subject, the person and the surrounding reality, they are one of the key links in the social, group and individual consciousness that determine the sphere of activity and occupy the most important place in the structure of goal setting.

The diversity of values determines the complex nature of the inner world of the individual. The experience of multidimensional reconstruction of the value kernel of a Russian is of a certain research interest. Nevertheless, there is a set of values, united by a special importance, which can be called "universally significant" – sociocultural, "key" for a particular society (which determines the functioning of the ordinary consciousness of the individual). Reducing the importance of these values causes problems in the functioning of society. Let's call these values sociocultural.

Among the classifications of values, the most appropriate for social processes can be considered the concept proposed by DA. Leontiev: 1) public ideals: this is the original form of values, since each value is generated by some social community; 2) subject-embodied values: social ideals are given to us not in the abstract, but through their embodiment in the works of concrete people; 3) personal values: the objective embodiment of values occurs only through the activities of people who implement these values. Thus, the recognition of the existence of values in the structure of the motivations of the individual is inevitable.

## Methods

Methods of document analysis were used during the work on this study. A secondary sociological analysis of the data of cross-cultural studies of the World Study of Values [Inglehart, 1971; Schwartz, 2006; Schwartz, Bilsky, 1990] (World Values Survey [WORLD VALUES SURVEY 1981-2014, 2018], the wave of 2010-2014. Based on research conducted in 60 countries; analysis of indices of the "level of happiness" for 2014-2016gg. from the "World Report on Happiness" World Happiness Report 2017 [World Happiness Report 2017, 2017]; analysis of the "International Index of Happiness" (or the "World Happiness Index") "Happy Planet Index" (HPI) for 2006, 2009, 2012 and 2016 [Happy Planet Index, 2018] and others. When working on this research, the methods of document analysis were used: traditional (primary) document analysis, as well as secondary, comparative analysis. Practically tested during the work on this project, specialized quantitative content-analytical techniques. Thus, a "triangular approach" is used to study processes in the value consciousness. Methods of document analysis were used to conduct

a comparative analysis of similar processes in different countries of the world. The main method was a secondary analysis of the sociological data of the international cross-cultural project WORLD VALUES SURVEY; analysis of the calculated "happiness level" index from the "World Happiness Report" World Happiness Report 2017; International Index of Happiness (or "World Happiness Index") "Happy Planet Index" (HPI) 2016.

As sociocultural values are understood, above all, the basic life meanings, which individuals, included in various forms of social activity, are guided in everyday life, largely predetermining the attitude of individuals to the surrounding reality and the basic models of social behavior. These values, on the one hand, are determined by the history and culture of the nation, and on the other – continuously modified and supplemented in the process of people's lives, transmitted from generation to generation. One can note a strong dialectical connection in the process of value exchange. Figuratively, these values can be called "social genes" that determine the structure and reproduction of social organisms.

In the process of measuring values within the framework of empirical research, confrontations are noted: traditional values – values of secular rational, values of survival – values of people's self-expression. This forces us to rethink the process of perception of the classical perspective of the consideration of sociocultural values.

## Results

### *National happiness as an integral indicator*

"Happiness is a person's condition, which corresponds to the greatest inner satisfaction with the conditions of his being, the fullness and meaning of life, the realization of his human purpose" [Sociologicheskij ehnciklopedicheskij slovar, 1998]. The category "happiness" is gradually entering a scientific and political turn [Kirilina, 2015; Koludarova, 2015; Koludarova, 2011]. The "World Report on Happiness" is published annually by one of the UN units in search of sustainable development solutions. In July 2011 at the meeting of the UN General Assembly, a resolution was adopted on the assessment of the happiness of the people of their countries by the UN member countries and its use as an important component in the policy of the state. Subsequently, on April 2, 2012, a meeting of the UN General Assembly was held under the chairmanship of Prime Minister J. Tinley from Bhutan, the first and so far the only country where the "gross national happiness" was officially adopted instead of the gross domestic product as the main indicator of the country's development. In particular, the following indicators are used to assess national happiness as an integral indicator: GDP per capita; the level of social support of the population; life expectancy; freedom of citizens in decision-making; generosity; attitude towards corruption, etc. [Rejting stran mira po urovnyu schast'ya, 2018]. Also, each country is compared with a



mythical country "anti-utopia". Each indicator is evaluated on a 10-point scale. The research is carried out by the research center at Columbia University "The Earth Institute" (Earth Institute). In the world report on happiness according to data for 2014-2016. (World Happiness Report 2017) [World Happiness Report 2017, 2017], published a rating of countries, calculated by this method. The first places in it were taken consecutively: Norway (7, 537 points), Denmark (7,522 points), Iceland (7.504 points), Switzerland, Finland, Netherlands. Russia occupies only 49th place with 5.963 points [World Happiness Report 2017, 2017]. At the last 155 place in the rating of South Africa (South Africa) (2,693 points). From the CIS countries, Russia lost to Uzbekistan (48th place, 5.971 points). The results of this rating may seem predictable (reasonably justified): the "leaders" of the rating were countries with a high level and quality of life; the highest life expectancy at birth. The rating of countries is formed with the predominance of indicators that have an economic component.

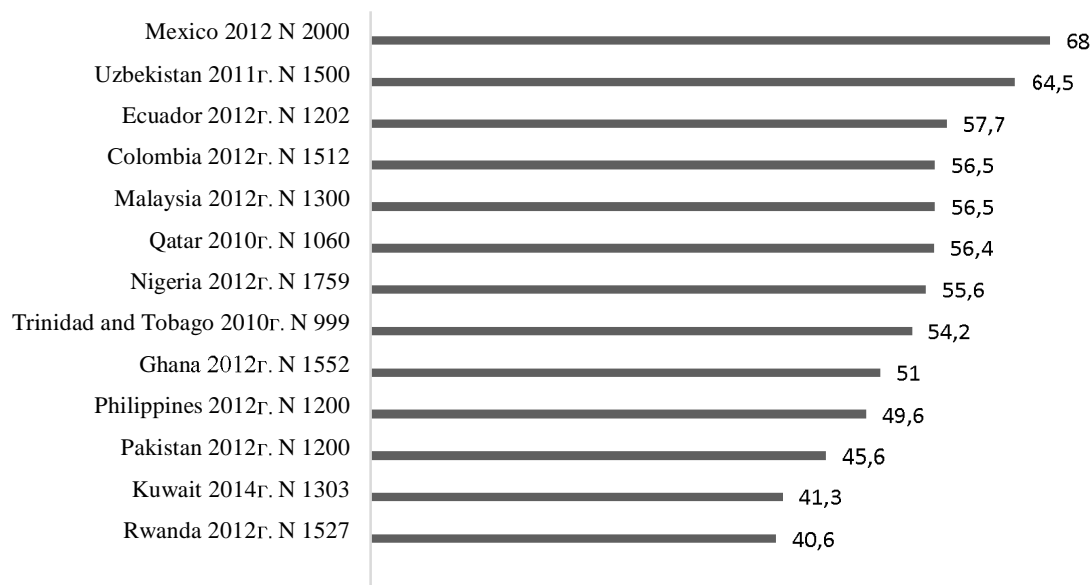
### ***World Happiness Index***

Another interesting international project dedicated to the analysis of the value of people's happiness is the project "International Index of Happiness" (or "World Happiness Index") "Happy Planet Index" (HPI), proposed by the New Economics Foundation in 2006. In fact, the index is an integral measure for comparing living standards in different countries. The following indicators are used subjective satisfaction of people with life; life expectancy and environmental factors (attitude towards nature). Moreover, environmental factors are very significant and most likely, they determine the vector of countries rating. In 2006, Vanuatu took the first place in the ranking of the countries in the International Index of Happiness (68.21 points). In 2009 and in 2011. Costa Rica took the first place (76.1 and 64.0 points respectively). Russia in 2006 ranked 172 out of 178 possible with 22.76 points. In 2009, Russia took 108 place with 34.5 points out of 143 possible places. In 2016 Russia ranked 116 out of 140 with 18.7 points [4]. The first place in 2016-occupies Costa Rica (44.7 points); second place belongs to Mexico (40.7 points); the third place is occupied by Colombia (40.7 points); Vanuatu took the fourth place (40.6%) and Vietnam took the fifth place (40.3 points) [Happy Planet Index, 2018]. The results of this rating can not be called predictable. Leading countries are united by number of factors, the first of which is favorable climatic conditions. Most countries are located in the Americas and in Oceania (Mexico, Colombia, Costa Rica, Vanuatu, etc.). Many of the states with a "happy population" are island or peninsular. The standard of living is quite low. These states are developing tourist services.

### ***Happiness as a value in the countries of the world***

According to the results of the analysis of the sociological data of the World Values Survey [WORLD VALUES SURVEY 1981-2014, 2018] (the study was conducted in 2010-2014 in 60

countries of the world), a number of countries were identified whose residents consider themselves very happy (see Figure 1).

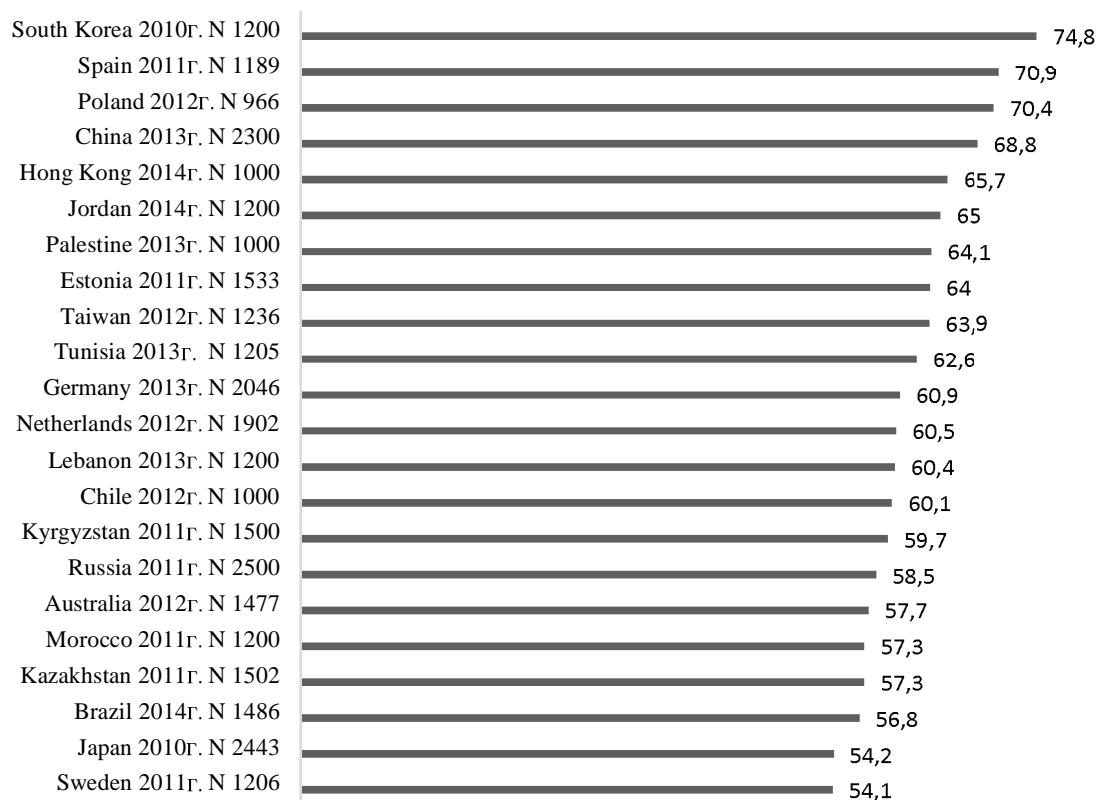


**Fig. 1. Countries whose residents consider themselves very happy (as a percentage of the total number of respondents) [according to WORLD VALUES SURVEY 1981-2014, 2018]**

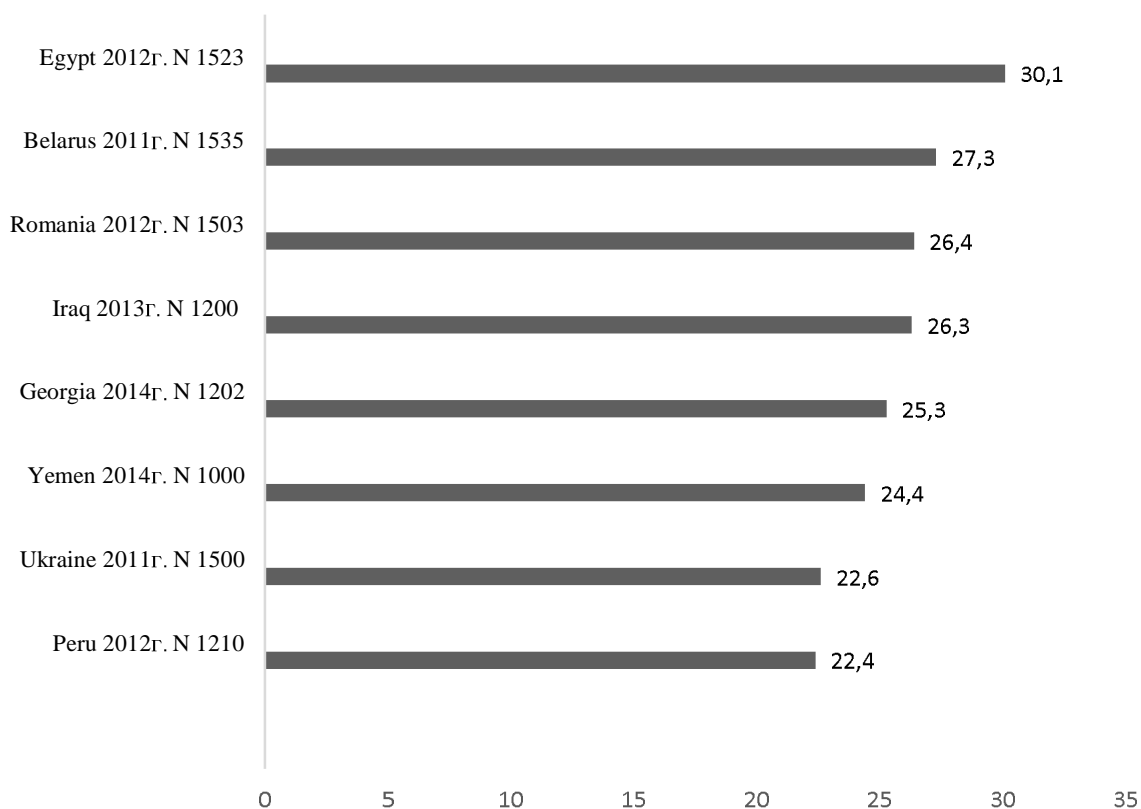
In the World Values Survey [WORLD VALUES SURVEY 1981-2014, 2018], the organizers measured the value of happiness on the basis of the subjective significance of the value of happiness for the respondents of specific countries. Interestingly, the countries indicated at the beginning of the list of countries (see Figure 1) also appear in the ranking based on the results of the calculation of the "Happy Planet Index" (HPI) for 2016, for example, Mexico (2 nd place), Colombia (3rd place) out of 140 possible [Happy Planet Index, 2018]. Given relatively low macroeconomic indicators (GDP per capita, life expectancy), most countries in the list (see Figure 1, Table 1); we can assume that external factors in the form of favorable climatic conditions played a special role in the significance of the happiness of the respondents.

Also, according to the results of the study, the World Values Survey [WORLD VALUES SURVEY 1981-2014, 2018] identified a number of countries whose residents consider themselves "more happy" (or middle-happy) (see Figure 2).

Then, according to the World Values Survey [WORLD VALUES SURVEY 1981-2014, 2018], a number of countries whose residents consider themselves "not very happy" can be identified (see Figure 3). Some of the countries in this list are in unstable economic and political situations, conduct military operations.



**Fig. 2. Countries whose residents consider themselves more likely to be happy (as a percentage of the total number of respondents) [according to WORLD VALUES SURVEY 1981-2014, 2018]**



**Fig. 3. Countries whose residents consider themselves not very happy (as a percentage of the total number of respondents) [according to WORLD VALUES SURVEY 1981-2014, 2018]**

**Table 1: Extracts from the table "The main indicators of the living standards of the population" [Russia and the countries of the world. 2016, 2016., p. 104-106; 78-80]**

№ п/п	Country	Life expectancy at birth of a man (years), 2014.	Life expectancy at birth of a woman (years), 2014	The index of income concentration (Gini coefficient), percent, (2005-2015 according to the latest published data)	Gross domestic product (in current prices, billions of national currency units, 2014).
Countries, a group of "very happy respondents" grouping of countries based on the results of the World Values Survey [WORLD VALUES SURVEY 1981-2014, 2018]					
1	Mexico	74,4	79,2	48,1	17050,6
2	Uzbekistan	71,1	75,8	Нет данных	144867,9
3	Nigeria	52,0	53,0	43,0	90137
3	Philippines	65,0	72,0	43,0	12634,1
5	Pakistan	65,0	67,0	29,6	25401,9
Countries, a group of "average happy respondents", a grouping of countries based on the results of the World Values Survey [WORLD VALUES SURVEY 1981-2014, 2018]					
1	Spain	80,2	86,1	35,9	1058
2	Poland	73,4	81,3	32,4	1724,7
3	China	74,3	77,3	42,1	64079,6
4	Estonia	72,8	81,9	33,2	19,5
5	Germany	78,6	83,2	30,1	2903,8
6	Netherlands	79,5	83,2	28,0	662,8
7	Chile	78,6	84,5	50,5	147184,9
8	Kyrgyzstan	66,5	74,5	20,8	400,7
9	Russia	65,3	76,5	41,2	77945,1
10	Australia	80,3	84,3	34,9	1599,8
11	Morocco	73,0	75,1	40,7	924,8
12	Kazakhstan	66,9	76,5	27,8	39675,8
13	Brazil	70,7	78,3	52,9	5521,3
14	Japan	80,5	86,8	32,1	489,6
15	Sweden	80,2	83,8	27,3	3914,7
Countries, a group of "not very happy respondents", a grouping of countries based on the results of the World Values Survey [WORLD VALUES SURVEY 1981-2014, 2018]					
1	Egypt	69,0	73,4	30,8	----
2	Belarus	67,6	78,4	27,6	778095
3	Romania	71,6	78,7	27,3	666,6
4	Ukraine	66,3	76,4	24,3	1586,9

According to the statistical data given in Table 1, we can note the dependence of the value of the Gini coefficient and the location of the country in the group in relation to the value of happiness. Paradoxically, in the group of countries with very happy respondents, the Gini coefficient on average in the array is higher than in the group of countries with "not very happy respondents". The life expectancy at birth is generally larger in the group of countries with average-happy respondents.

### ***Assessment of happiness in Russia***

We turn to the situation in Russian reality. The VCIOM happiness index is calculated as the difference in the share of happy and unhappy respondents (based on respondents' self-assessment). The index ranges from -100 to +100 points. The lowest level of the index was recorded in 1992 (-6 points) [VCIOM rasschital indeks schast'ya rossiyan, 2009]. A different level of happiness is recorded in different regions of Russia. The residents of large cities (for example, the capital of Russia) are happier, the inhabitants of medium and small towns are less happy. Apparently this is due to the material situation of the respondents, the development of the infrastructure of settlements. The level of happiness is higher among the more educated respondents. According to VCIOM [Schast'e v Rossii: monitoring., 2017] (the survey was conducted in Russia), as of August 2017, the presence of the family is one of the main components of happiness (the significance of 33%). The second most important factor is "health and life of one's own and others" – 22%. The third position on the importance is divided "the presence of children"; "Overall satisfaction with life" – 14% and "good work" – 13%. On average, 84% of Russians surveyed by VCIOM in June-July 2017 have a sense of happiness. According to VCIOM, the traditionally happy are young people aged 18 to 24–87%; also respondents with a high level of income – 94%; to a lesser extent a group of elderly people (78% in the group of 70 and older) and even less poor – 61%. Do not contribute to a sense of happiness of a material problem – they named (10%) respondents and the deterioration of health – this is what 5% of respondents think is VCIOM [Schast'e v Rossii: monitoring., 2017].

In Russia there are also opposing views on the index of happiness and the need for its calculation. The services of the Central Bank of Russia, in particular, note that henceforth, it is necessary to measure the well-being of Russians and to investigate the factors of well-being, since the calculation of the "happiness index" is inexpedient, ephemeral and with well-being is not very connected [Centrobank bol'she ne budet vychityvat' «indeks schast'ya» rossiyan iz-za ego ehfemernosti, 2018].

### ***Discussion***

In many sources, happiness is seen more as a subjective category [Fomicheva, 2017; Fomicheva, 2017; Fomicheva, 2016; Yudina, Alexandrova, 2000]. There is a point of view that happiness is formed by the main three groups of factors: "pie model" S. Lubomirski and K. Sheldon [Lyubomirski 2014; Stability of Happiness, 2014]. The first group is represented by objective factors (rather external ones), for example, where individuals were born and live. The second group is formed by factors related to the type of personality (character traits), in one way or another people interpret or perceive situations differently (optimists and pessimists, etc.). The third group

of factors form the ability of individuals to construct reality around themselves: build relationships with others, support them. Researchers distinguish three main components of happiness: satisfaction; positive and negative emotions.

Approaches to considering happiness as values often come down to the consideration of the indices of the standard of living and the quality of life in the country. Also, understanding happiness is sometimes identified with the meaning of life. In philosophy, this current was called eudemonism (representatives of this current are B. Spinoza, M. Montaigne, L. Feuerbach, F. Aquinas, and others). The hedonistic trend in eudemonism correlated happiness with meaning with pleasure (Epicurus, J. Lametry, F. Voltaire, P. Holbach, and others). However, a complete and meaningful combination of categories of happiness and the meaning of life, happiness and pleasure is impossible, due to the different content content of these categories.

### ***The conclusion***

Happiness is a subjective category that has a normative-value character. For each individual, the value of happiness is perceived purely as an individual.

There is a tendency that happiness as a value in many countries of the world is most relevant for respondents of younger age groups. This can be explained by the relatively good health status, the lack (or minimal amount) of problems experienced by the older groups of respondents.

The grouping of countries into three blocks with "very happy", "medium-happy" and "not very happy" respondents based on the results of surveys in the World Values Survey project [WORLD VALUES SURVEY 1981-2014, 2018] (see Figure 1-3), was developed on the basis of variative values of numerical variables in respondents' answers. Based on the results of the study as a whole, for a sense of happiness, the living conditions in the surveyed countries (climatic conditions) were particularly significant. This is confirmed by the ratings of countries following the results of indexing: "The World Happiness Index" "Happy Planet Index" (HPI) 2016 and partly confirms the survey based on the results of the World Values Survey (wave 2010–2014).

Often, happiness is associated with physical and mental health and well-being in general. Religiosity positively influences the concentration of a sense of happiness. Social support in any of its forms (family, friends, religious community, etc.) can be a powerful generating factor of happiness. Also for happiness, it is necessary to show social activity.

According to the results of empirical studies, for the lucky Russian respondents, the following factors are particularly important: health (of oneself and relatives); the presence of family, children (as a continuation of the family), interesting and well-paid work and material well-being (a stable financial situation).



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*Natalia Bobyleva*  
*Natalia V. Prokazina*

## **The Image of Russia in the Foreign Press**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article describes the problem of forming the image of Russia in the foreign press. In this paper we use the method of traditional content analysis for the interpretation of articles on the political life of Russia, for example, the American magazine “Time”, the German magazine “Der Spiegel” and the Chinese newspaper “Zhenmin Ribao” for 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016 and the period election campaign in Russia 2017 - 2018. The paper concludes that in various countries, mainly thanks to the active work of the media, in particular the press, the image of Russia is developing in different ways.

**Keywords:** image of Russia; foreign press; traditional content analysis; mass media; international relations

Modern political discourse in every possible way raises the question of the impact on the public consciousness of the mass media, as well as the issues of pragmatic application and the modification of the language as an instrument of social influence. Due to the increasing role of the media in the modern world and their influence on the country's position in the international space, the studying of the image of Russia, its political life and the image of Russian politicians in the foreign press is becoming increasingly important.

So, for example, already in the middle of XX century. American political scientist G. Lassuel formulated the theory of linear communication, according to which the influencing function of language is the main function of the media [Baklashkina; 2017, p.1]. So it seems interesting to consider the image of Russia in the foreign press for 2010, 2012, 2014 and the period of the pre-election campaign 2017 – 2018.

The problems of the chosen topic are primarily in that the modern media, in particular the press, are politically preconceived and have biased character, using manipulative influence for the construction of a particular image of the state in the public eye, and this is an international problem because it depends on the quality of international relations, the international legal order and the safety of life today and in the foreseeable future.

One of the key and most effective ways of analyzing political discourse in the mass media is content analysis - it provides the researcher with the widest range of opportunities for studying the image of Russia in foreign media. Methods of document analyses are diverse and continuously updated and improved. In this paper we use the method of traditional (classical) content analysis.

Traditional, classical analysis means all the variety of mental operations aimed at interpreting the information contained in the document. Carrying out of this analysis means transforming the initial form of this information into the required research form, i.e. interpretation of the content of the document and its comment [Osipov; 2006, p.2].

The analysis of documents makes it possible to disclose the eventual, factual side of social reality, and also allows to record the development of all expressive means, primarily the structure. V.V. Fedorov argues that the quantitative approach to assessing the influence of the media on the choice of voters (and accordingly on the designed images, views and stereotypes and public opinion as a whole) has many limitations [Fedorov; 2010, p.3].

One of the leading foreign magazines paying special attention to Russian political events and to Russia today in general is the American magazine "Time", the German magazine "Der Spiegel" and the Chinese newspaper "Zhenmin Ribao". These journals served as an empirical basis for conducting traditional content analysis. The criterion for selecting articles for content analysis was the presence of semantic units in the headings of articles reflecting the political themes of modern Russia, as well as the presence of specific words, ideas and characters relating to Russia's political life.

The magazine "Time" is the most popular weekly magazine in the United States, founded in 1923. To date, this magazine represents the core of the world's largest holding in the media and show business – Time Warner.

Analysis of the articles of the "Time" for 2010, shows that in the general array, publications with a negative rating in relation to Russia prevail. Russia is covered as an aggressor country yearning for world domination and ready to go for any measure, including violations of international agreements, norms and rights.

Articles of a political nature published in the magazine "Time" in 2012 are aimed at confirming the "undemocratic" nature of Russia. It is presented as a state in which acts committed by authorities and public services must not necessarily be combined with the Constitution and international norms of social order. In particular, the technique of "processing public opinion leaders" (a statement by the head of the British Foreign Office) is aimed at reinforcing attitudes about Russia's ignoring of international norms and rules, which creates views about a direct threat to the international community from Russia's foreign and domestic policies [4]. In particular, it is due to the events that took place after the presidential elections, in which Vladimir Putin won.

The articles of the magazine "Time" for 2014 are negative, that has a negative impact on public opinion on the actions of the Russian authorities. This is due primarily to the beginning of military events on the territory of Ukraine, in which Russia takes a direct and active part, as well as imposing sanctions against Russia on the part of the United States and Western countries. Of

particular importance is the fact that in the Russian mass media, many events taking place in Ukraine were not covered in as much detail as it was done in the magazine "Time". One-sided account of events in Ukraine is also said by the Latvian journalist of the "Mix News" [5]. In general, for the year 2014 in the magazine "Time" the negative evaluation of Russia's actions towards Ukraine and the world community prevails.

The articles of the magazine "Time" in 2016 in their majority have a negative coloring of the events taking place and the actions committed by Russian statesmen. This is primarily due to Russia's participation in the Syrian military actions, the violation of international agreements, as well as the direct intervention of Russian hackers in the process of the US presidential election. The only positive "note" is the statements about the probabilistic improvement of US-Russian relations, which became possible after the victory of Donald Trump in the presidential election.

Considering "Time" as one of the leading publications, we note that there is a deliberate and purposeful construction of the image of Russia in negative tones and perceptions. This is confirmed by the results of an American opinion poll conducted by journalist RT Caleb Mopin on "Russian aggression" against the fictitious state of Kyrgyzstan. Residents of New York said they were "aware" of this situation and expressed support for the "oppressed country", noting that Russia operates according to the "same pattern" as in Georgia and Ukraine [6].

In 2017, during the pre-election campaign, the American edition broadcast the idea of the intervention of Russian hackers in the American election processes. Russia was interpreted as an aggressively inclined power "Russia is rehearsing while preparing for a world war", but "insidious" successes are trying to level out. The headlines of the articles sound with irony: "Putin won, but Russia loses", "Putin will make Russia great again?", "Putin is afraid of his own people" [7].

One can see a tendency to increase military, defensive and paranoid vocabulary in the American edition, to some extent emphasizing the power and defensive potential of the United States as opposed to the constant potential threat to Russia.

The headlines of the articles read: "New American Ways of War"; "Secret plan to counter Putin's hackers"; "Confronting Putinism"; "How Russia is at war with America in social networks"; "Russia is the main threat to our nation", "A new turn in the cyber war between Russia and the United States", "Russia knows about the weaknesses of the US"; "How Russia wants to influence the elections in the US", which confirms the established Western image of Russia as an aggressor against America.

Thus, having conducted the traditional analysis of political events for 2010, 2012, 2014 and 2016, presented in the news magazine "Time", it can be concluded that negative images and description of Russia prevail in publications devoted to Russia in the eyes of the international

community and the foreign press. The main features of the Russian state are corruption, aggressive foreign policy, ignoring international norms and agreements, as well as the lawlessness of the authorities.

“Der Spiegel” is one of Germany's most famous weekly magazines, founded in 1947. In view of the enormous influence on the formation of public opinion, the magazine is often called the leading mass media of Germany. “Der Spiegel” positions itself as a magazine of opinions and is distinguished by a serious and profound presentation of information, an analysis of what is happening in Germany and the world.

An analysis of the “Der Spiegel” articles for 2010 shows that in the general array, publications with a neutral rating in relation to Russia prevail. To a greater extent, the articles reflect real events taking place in 2010, without multiplying and decreasing, without exacerbating the negative mood.

The most vivid and discussed topics for 2010 were the questions of Russia's full membership in NATO, the solution of the problems of Iran and Afghanistan, the delivery of missiles by Russia to Syria.

Articles for 2012 mainly reflect the events of the military conflict in Syria, the upcoming presidential elections in Russia, the tension of Russian-German relations. We can say that already in 2012, the Russian-German economic relations traced the crisis trends. The most acute topic is the topic of the Syrian conflict and arms supplies to the belligerents.

Articles of “Der Spiegel” for 2014 are mostly negative. The crisis in Ukraine, complicated by the participation of key players in international politics, led to the exclusion of Russia from the international Western community. The events of the Ukrainian crisis, in particular, the annexation of Crimea to the territory of Russia, the catastrophe on the Malaysian Boeing and the participation of Russian troops in the military conflict in the East of Ukraine brought Russian-German relations into a state of deep crisis. It is also alleged that the events in Ukraine, the “occupation” of the Crimea, is the desire of V. Putin to strengthen his positions.

The most vivid and discussed topics for 2016 were the crisis between NATO and Russia, the growing confrontation between the United States and Russia, military actions in Syria, in which the forces of Russia and the United States were involved.

During the campaign period, the German magazine “Der Spiegel” generates in many ways a personified image of Russia through the personality of President Vladimir Putin. The headings of the article often include such concepts as “putinomy” (the economy of Russia under VV Putin) and “Putin's country” [Benjamin; 2018], on the whole showing a very aggressive attitude to the country. The main plot of the magazine is “exposing” the analysis of Russia's “unsuccessful” attempts to improve the quality of life, from internal affairs to foreign economic policy. The



German press, apparently, can not reconcile itself to the fact that Vladimir Putin once again became president of the Russian Federation, juggling with pessimistic epithets all the way about the "predetermination" of presidential elections.

The presidential election is becoming a springboard for the growing threat of the Russian Federation. According to "Der Spiegel", the re-election of Vladimir Putin is conditioned by Russia's foreign policy, while maintaining the status of a superpower as Russia's top priority.

The German magazine stresses that for the Russians who have elected Vladimir Putin, the country's economic development is more important than its own well-being. The German edition applies gloomy epithets about Russia's actions, the headlines of articles in the form of questions are rhetorically negative ("What is the tragedy of the Putin system?"), As well as paranoid shades in the form of "the mysterious Putin "machine of apocalypse" [Becker; 2018].

"Der Spiegel" claims that the Russians voted for Vladimir Putin involuntarily, nevertheless, his popularity is great, because the president manifests himself as a man opposed to the hostile West, which served as a valid argument for the voters. Based on the analysis of the "Der Spiegel" articles, one can conclude that the image of Russia is broadcast as the yoke of the current president, for whose voters the external component of the state's image is important.

Thus, referring to the chronological analysis of data, it is worth noting that the more time passes since the accession of the Crimea, the more anti-Russian are both the foreign policy decisions of Germany and its information policy.

Analyzing the headlines of the articles of the German press in 2010, you can see that Russian-German relations were far from confrontation. Publications of 2012 – the year of the election of the President of the Russian Federation indicate that negative articles are beginning to appear. If as early as 2014 the articles were neutral in color, by the beginning of 2016 negative-condemnatory descriptions of the behavior of the Russian government predominate, which can be called a kind of propaganda and manipulation by the readers' minds.

The Chinese daily newspaper "Renmin Ribao", founded in 1948, is one of the leading newspapers in the world and the most influential newspaper in China. The selection of topics appearing on the pages of the newspaper makes it possible to judge the priorities and interests of Beijing.

The most vivid and discussed topics for 2010 were issues of international strategic cooperation between Russia and China, the "aggressive" foreign policy of the Russian state both in relation to both the West and the East; the problem of reducing the level of public confidence in Russian politicians, as well as the problem of cooperation between Russia and the European Union, in particular the EU's refusal to abolish visa-free regime.

The articles for 2012 mainly reflect the events of the political settlement of the military

conflict in Syria, the military-technical development of Russia, the prospects for mutually beneficial cooperation of Russia with China and India.

It should be noted that in the articles of 2010, the Sino-Russian relations were subject to more discussion than in the publications for 2012. In general, it can be said that Russia and the Russian government in this newspaper appear to be in a positive light, there is no sharp criticism of the actions and policies pursued by the authors of the publications. Newspaper articles contain a description of real events, without “exacerbating” the negative sentiment among readers and the general public.

The most discussed topics in the newspaper “Renmin Ribao” for the year 2014 were questions related to the sanctions imposed on Russia by Western countries, as well as counter-sanctions, gas and other agreements between Russia and China, the turn of the “southern stream” towards Turkey, the relationship Russia and NATO, aspects of a possible softening of the situation in Syria.

In 2016, the publications of the newspaper “Renmin Ribao” dominated the themes of the relationship between Russia and the United States (especially after the election of the new president), Russia's role in the settlement of the conflict and the stabilization of the situation in Syria, as well as the complicated relationships between Russia and Ukraine, Russia and Japan, the current problem of state control of rising prices for food products in Russia, as well as the theme of Moscow's “strategy” aimed at increasing the information impact on the world.

In 2017, unlike his Western counterparts, “Renmin Ribao” places the image of Russia during the pre-election campaign and after it in a more favorable context (“The Russian economy has light at the end of the tunnel”, “China and Russia are friends forever”). Russia's actions are interpreted as attempts to establish an alliance with the United States, where Vladimir Putin continues to conceal his hope that “... Trump will take the American system under control and direct it towards concluding an alliance with Moscow” [Schuster; 2017]. The Chinese edition almost did not touch the presidential election in Russia, paying much attention to the figure of D. Trump and the development of Russian-American relations.

Thus, in the newspaper “Renmin Ribao”, Russia is presented in a positive way, as a state that provides humanitarian support to countries in need and takes an active part in resolving pressing international problems and conflicts; as a country ready to come to the rescue, as a state seeking to expand cooperation with other countries. Practically in every article that touches on political issues, Russia is covered as a country with an active foreign policy stance, striving to achieve the international order and as a strong, powerful country, ready to do everything for the sake of achieving its goals.

Comparing the American magazine “Time”, the German magazine “Der Spiegel” and the

Chinese newspaper “Zhenmin Ribao”, one can say that in a more favorable position Russia is represented in the Chinese press. This is probably due to closer strategic cooperation between China and Russia, as well as to the complexity of US-Russian and Russian-German relations. If in the American journal there is a sharp criticism of the actions of the Russian government, which stimulates the internal conflict and contributes to “undermining” the credibility of the Russian government, in the Chinese newspaper, the actions of the Russian government, on the contrary, are overwhelmingly approved. Proceeding from the analysis of the German press, it is obvious that the turning point in the change in the information policy vector was March 2014, namely, the accession of the Crimea peninsula to the Russian Federation. Relations between Russia and Germany are complicated from this very moment. Sanctions are introduced, but far from immediately Germany's information policy towards Russia acquires negative tones. In addition to imposing sanctions, there is a decrease in the intensity of trade relations between countries. These problems exacerbated the already existing in the relations of countries before, creating a complex set of mutual contradictions, complicated by the development of the Syrian conflict and the incompleteness of the Ukrainian crisis. The consequence of this is a negative perception of the image of Russia in the US, Germany and other Western countries.

The coverage of Russian realities during the pre-election campaign in 2018 and after it by foreign media can not be called purely one-sided - the press reflects different views and attitudes that are conditioned by types of media texts, political platforms of publications.

Thus, in the modern world, a global information confrontation unfolds. With the help of mass media, the West conducts systematic, delicate work to spread its views. After Russia once again became one of the main players in the international arena, especially after the reunification with the Crimea, events in Donbass and Syria, a stream of propaganda materials collapsed in our country in order to discredit Russia in the eyes of the Western man in the street. In turn, a large eastern partner - the People's Republic of China continues to skillfully maneuver in this confrontation, cautiously supporting that one or the other side, systematically defending its national interests in the press.

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*Victor V. Vasilyev*

## **Sociology of Science and Technology in Modern Reality**

### **ABSTRACT**

The main subject of research is the sociology of science and technology in modern reality. One of the main problems in the recent studies of Modernity is world changes the social role of science. A modern society is a network society where social structure is created around microelectronics-based communications, digitally technologies and information. Social network is a communicative informal communication between actors (individuals) on the basis of common interests, which are carried out by means of high technologies and forming a unity as a sub-system of information society.

**Keywords:** information; communication; technology; networks; science

During the time historians, philosophers and computer scientists with anthropologists show great interest in the sociology of science, many of professional sociologists considers it as a very specialized knowledge of the sociology discipline offering. But now this problem demonstrates that sociology of science and technology is involving whole complex of questions major to all sociology. In this article the readers will see that technology and science are the means for analyzing some important and very old questions.

The first question is how do people believe about social order and nature? What is the way of social innovations? What is the dependence between labor practices and social changes? What social groups and persons use these and for what intentions? When people from different social realms meet, how do they find a common style of communications? How they to conduct such common and solidarity work?

We must study work and opinions of the people sociologically and critically with observing the meanings and categories they create in the process. Eventually, what are the boundaries between environment and organism fixed? How the scientists can know about them and are they significant themselves? Probably because studying in different scientific languages are the necessary conditions for doing the sociology of science and technology described here.

We learn philosophy of science and its history as well as treatises in the meaningful spheres we study. We often adopt models from these spheres as well as from other fields of sociology. We communicate across national borders and social frames in unconstrained groups clustered around scientific and analytic topics with the use of metaphors or the nature of biological or technological determinism. So, for example, the field of analyzing is such interdisciplinary that notion

“sociology of science and technology” often replaces “philosophy of science” or “history of science” or “science studies”.

The problem of the socialization for young and elderly people is very important for modern society. Opposite to the common supposition that the Internet is an area of young people we consider that the Internet is for an increasing number of elderly people with a stable and convincing focus of interest. They are overtaking up quickly. Against the assertion that the being a member of the elderly generation of people in technological realm complicates a fast appropriation of a new kind of technology for the elderly it is not true in our opinion.

Internet and other digital technologies give them more possibilities as customers and probabilities for involvement. For both age groups the Internet is a reason and source of informal studying. The dichotomy between young and old people is reduced by such factors as education, gender and socio-economic position. Of course, elderly people have other information requirements and usage models than young people and teenagers. A forgotten fact is the value and significance of the social network in Internet of members of whole family and friends which simplify the access for the elderly. Modern technologies have become one of the important “environments” of aging. The manner elderly people conduct their daily lives is simplified or complicated by telephones, electronic media, computers, means of transportation and the growing automation of services.

One of the main problems in the recent studies of Modernity (S. Lash, U. Beck, A. Giddence, etc.) is world changes the social role of science. There are some social models of representing scientific conclusion. These models reflect the position of scientific institutions within the comparison of social forces. One of these schemes means the inversion of political. Science as social institute with community of scientists seem as one of the most effective and strong players in the realm of sub-politics.

While the traditional institutions of society with democratic regime such as political parties and parliament loose their influence and positions, science becomes the most important actor of potentially unpredictable and principally dangerous changes, for example, political and ecological catastrophes. Now crises and catastrophes from rather natural things of pre-Modern era turn into global economic and political events, evolving chain of unpredictable consequences in different social fields. So the science from a strong factor of the preventive means from social risks turns into a powerful factor of their occurrence and legitimating. Available models of displaying scientific conclusions and scenarios of future development are discussed in some aspects: mutual influence and relationship between state and science; cooperation between civil society and science; interaction between private realm and science; relationship between scientists and means of mass communication.



The notion of “global science” has rarely been used with theoretical definitions. It includes two regularity mechanisms that intensify and improve the interaction of scientific activities: the global distribution and the global interconnectivity. While the global distribution includes to the development of specific scientific knowledge and structure forms around the planet, the world interconnectivity is described by the mutual dependence among research institutions and scientists beyond the political borders. In this meaning globalization means not only the world-wide connecting of financial markets and the constant presence of communication and information networks, but above all relates to the creation of structures managing global scientific processes and technologies distribution.

Our discussion of the science and social control in societies with democratic regimes has to be seen against the foundation of deep transformations that describe modern societies. An increasing amount of social scientist and journalists, managers and politicians statement that modern Western societies may be describes as knowledge societies. Not only the development of the service sector is extremely knowledge but so is manufacture in the industrial sector and agriculture. Knowledge is the abundance and treasure creating power. Knowledge itself is growing and is converted in this process.

Productivity of informational production is based on the new types of knowledge and technological capacity. They are tools for information competition between countries, organizations and firms. The geography of technology and science should have an influence on the global economy’s networks. In fact, we can watch an emergency concentration of information technologies in economy of advanced countries. Now a global economy is a knowledge-based and has a hierarchical division of working people and labor. Its structures situated in a few regions and global megapolices. Technological domination is the main idea of the country's intensive development.

In our time the basic research universities and public research systems have gone from closed military researches and are more open and publicly available. It bases on unrelenting communications between scientists around the world. Science and scientific communities have always been to a numerous distribution a global and international. They are structured and organized around networks of researchers who have a mutual influence through conferences, publications, academic seminars and associations. Certainly, new technologies often were born as military and were confined. For example, the Internet developed until the early 1980s as connection between the military structures and “big science”.

In the late 1990s, the information power of the Internet made such technological shift as decentralization of microcomputers and information-processing devices. Information users communicate with each other and have the necessary software in order to connect to a global

computer network. The revolution of the telecommunications industry connected with the extraordinary growth of transmission capacity. The volume of information traffic required a colossal expansion of capability and power of infrastructure. Development of economic realm, advanced educational system and academic research are not necessary without individuals and firms to penetrate the informational paradigm. Global information, internet and technological communications need the connection between business sector and science.

Government policy and its role in supplying such as the human resources as level of education and infrastructure of technology, information systems and high-quality communications are very important. It is connected with the character of information-based technologies and knowledge in human mentality and organizational environment. Human resources have to be developed and assimilated through the process of doing and learning. The global practice of the end of 20th century in the different countries suggests the different ways of technological development. Individuals, firms and organizations around the world had accessed by information transfer and implementation of technological “know-how” where they could use their products and knowledge. These things are beyond their national base and designed their own policy. However, at the same time a process of accumulation of information “know-how” in global production networks becomes extremely complicated. For example, the process of “brain circulation” is a way for talented immigrants who study and work in the developed countries return to their native countries to take advantage of encouraging possibilities there. Now we can see a concentration of technology and science in a few countries and regions with the flows of information and technological “know-how” dissipate around the world. They are centered in multidirectional networks with research resources and universities around the world.

A modern society is a network society where social structure is created around microelectronics-based communications, digitally technologies and information. These social structures are considered as the organizations of humans in interdependence of reproduction, production, spending, power consumption and experience represented. They are represented in significant and substantive information coded by civilization and culture.

The history of network society began from the first information revolution. Manuel Castells wrote about in his book “The Rise of the Network Society”: “In the first industrial revolution was British, the first information technology revolution was American, with a Californian inclination. In both cases scientists and industrialists from other countries did play an important role, both in the discovery and in the diffusion of new technologies. France and Germany were key sources of talent and applications in the industrial revolution. Scientific discoveries originated in England, France, Germany, and Italy were at the roots of new technologies in electronics and biology. The ingenuity of Japanese companies has been critical in the improvement of

manufacturing processes in electronics and in the penetration of information technologies into everyday life around the world through a flurry of innovative products..." [Castells; 2014, p.61].

Castells formulates the following material foundation for a network society.

The first feature is that information is so raw content and substance that these are science and technologies to act on information. It was the case of previous technological and science revolutions when information to act on technology.

The second characteristic relates to the prevalence of effects of new technologies and their wide circulation because information is an important part of human activity and all social processes of individual and all collective existence.

The third attribute refers to the networking logic of any social set of relationships or social system using new information technologies. It is connected with increasing level of complexity and complication of unpredictable patterns and interaction of society development.

The fourth feature is based on flexibility of institution and organization's structures. They can be modified by reorganizing their components. Only specific observation and empirical analyses will be able to determine the consequence of interaction between new social structures and appearing technologies.

Finally, the fifth feature is that technological convergence extremely distributes to increasing interconnection between micro-electronics and biological revolutions as combination and rapprochement of specific technologies into a highly combined system.

We can compare the ontology of information society with two main types of existence: the "individual" through access to advanced technologies and the "modification" of social structures of society with redistribution of resources. The total assessment of information includes many factors: individual motivation and goal setting with the possible "resonance" excitation of the environment (cultural and natural); the cost of the goal's achieving and the long-term consequences of the decision.

The solution of this "equation" with many unknown components has also a systemic synergetic effect, which is caused by the emergence of new qualities of system's elements. It is appeared due to the combination of the initial elements into an integral system. This effect will be stronger and less predictable if the system will be more complex.

From the point of view of the synergy methodology, social network is the circulation of qualitatively homogeneous information. The generation of information, its qualitative improvement and promotion through the network is a completely redundant function for the social network. There is a paradox of this situation - for its creation, as a complex of technologies, the social network needs to generate new information and improve the level of organization of the

entire social system. But a functioning social network reduces the structural level of system's complexity.

The social network can be a tool of mobilization in the process of self-organization as a means of very rapid exchange of information. But again, figuratively speaking, this is not a generator of information and ideas, but a "transmitting device".

Social network is no more than one of the sub-systems of society, which has no independent value. "Social network" as a complex of technologies is only a transfer link. The generator of information is the cognitive qualities of the "actor" (person), who has the ability to receive and disseminate information through the Internet much faster. But the "actor" is primary not as a link of the "social network", but as an external element in relation to the "social network".

Social network is a communicative informal communication between actors (individuals) on the basis of common interests, which are carried out by means of high technologies and forming a unity as a sub-system of information society. M. Castells in his book "Communication Power" said: "The process of communication is defined by the technology of communication, the characteristics of the senders and receivers of information, their cultural codes of reference and protocols of communication, and the scope of the communication process" [Castells; 2009, p. 54].

It should be noted that the term "information society" is a generalization for the characteristics of a certain stage of civilizational development and socio-cultural environment.

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*Evgenia V. Zhelnina*

## **Terrorist Activity in the Context of Socio-Political Safety**

### **ABSTRACT**

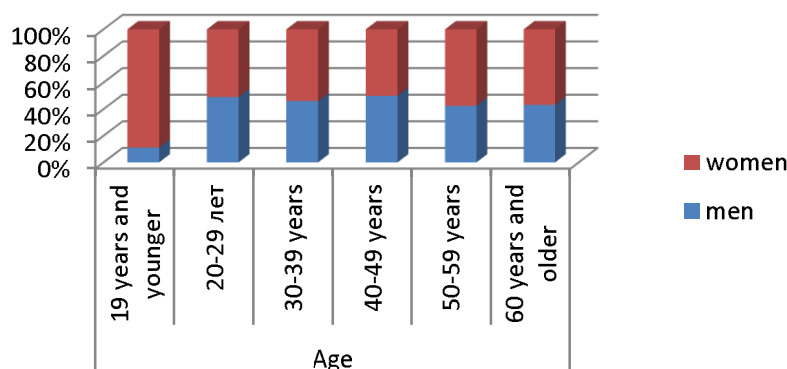
**Purpose:** to reveal the factors promoting maintenance of social state safety and to determine the level of awareness of citizens on terrorist activities. **Methods:** the behaviouristic approach to a study of behavior of the person in society allowing to analyze motives and incentives of behavior in a section of social and demographic indices and also the structurally functional paradigm giving the chance to research social safety and terrorist activities from the point of view of structure (component elementary parts and their ratios), functions and dysfunctions. Behaviouristic approach and a structurally functional paradigm defined a choice of specific methods of an empirical sociological research: questioning. **Results:** on the basis of data analysis, received as a result of questioning, it is revealed that two thirds of the polled respondents marked the ideological base of terrorist activities; insist on the ideological and protectionist bases of terrorism the most part of the woman; men twice more often define an instrumental entity of terrorism. **Scientific novelty:** in article for the first time on the basis of use of empirical sociological data the bases of terrorist activities are revealed: ideological, protectional and instrumental. **Practical significance:** basic provisions and outputs of article can be used in scientific and pedagogical activities when reviewing questions of an entity and tendencies of public safety; and also federal, regional and municipal public authorities by development and implementation of actions of formation in the society of elements of safe activity.

**Keywords:** social and political security; terrorist activity; bases of terrorism; sociological research

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The awareness of citizens on possible threats and ways of their avoiding or prevention and also means of minimization of damage acts as a basis of information security. The concept «informed» in the explanatory dictionary is treated as «possessing extensive data in any area» [Ojegov; 2010, p. 428]. For this reason to begin to develop national strategy of information security, it is necessary to find out what information the population possesses, in particular – youth. For clarification of it the author's sociological research «Safety of Modern Society» has been conducted.

In total 812 respondents have been interviewed. The ratio on a gender (men – 43 %, women – 57 %) and to age repeats statistics across the Russian Federation [The age and gender structure...; 2018] that allows, considering  $\pm 4$  % an error of selection and 97 % a confidential interval, to extend the received conclusions to all population.



**Fig. 1: Gender and age ratio of survey participants (source: compiled by the author)**

Before representation of the received results we consider important to analyse social and demographic characteristics of respondents. So, in the course of questioning citizens of the Russian Federation aged from 14 up to 67 years have been interviewed.

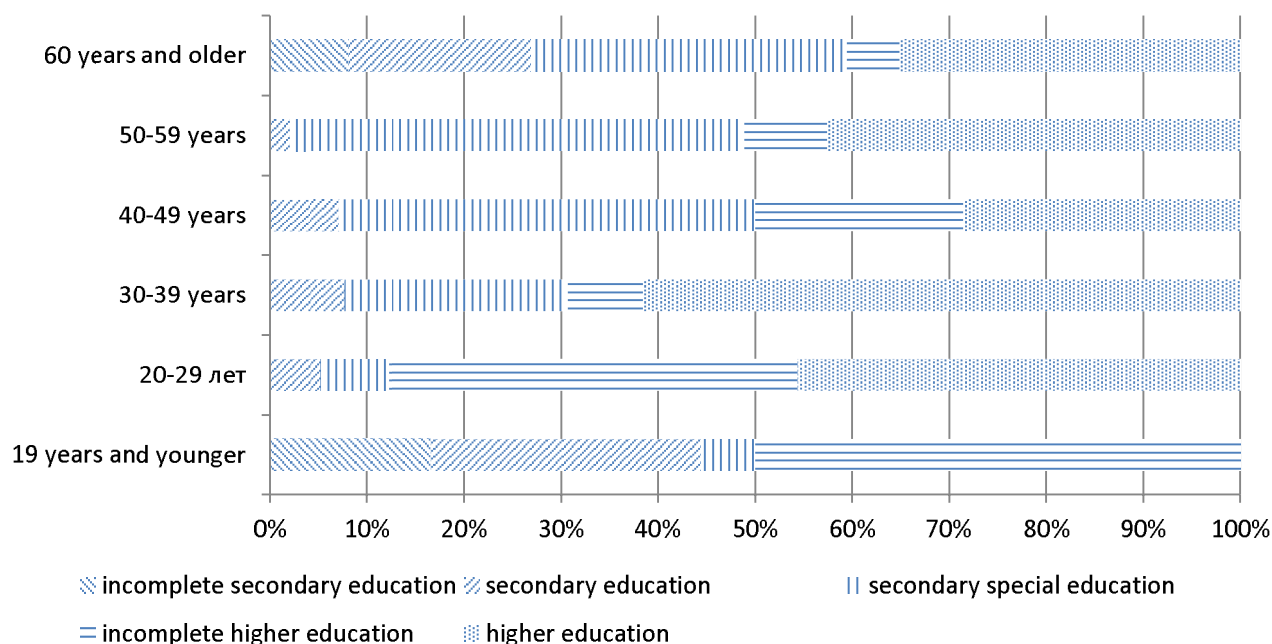
40 % of respondents have the diploma about the higher education, 22 % study in higher education institution at present. 35 % of participants of poll have got a secondary special education (9 % and 26 % respectively). 3 % of respondents are studying at school at the time of carrying out questioning.

If to look at education status of respondents through an age prism, then several interesting facts will become clear.

First, possess incomplete secondary education or absolutely young respondents (that, actually, is enough commonplace – they continue study at school), or respondents of respectful age. Perhaps, being at early age, 40-50 years ago, these citizens, having ended a school, have decided to get a job on the enterprise at once. Especially, in the USSR the middle of the XX century the ideology of labor records (which promoted rather fast restoration of the state after destructive war very strongly) worked. Despite early labor activity, about 35 % of respondents of the senior age group have graduated, most likely, by means of a correspondence course.

Secondly, very small part (about 12 %) of respondents of age group of 20-29 years has stopped the education at the level of average and specialized secondary. Given the fact it is also possible to explain with some kind of ideology approving need of existence of the diploma about the higher education for successful employment.

Thirdly, the tendency «to-training» was found, that is rather large number of respondents of the senior age group have noted that they get higher education, study in a higher educational institution.



**Fig. 2: The ratio of the level of education and gender of respondents (source: compiled by the author)**

As for financial position, about 75 % of respondents have estimated it as an average and above an average (45 % and 30% respectively). There is only 1 % of participants of poll to very difficult financial position (option «hardly we make ends meet»). Men twice more often insisted on this answer than women. Also respondents are younger than 30 years didn't estimate own financial position so difficult. The option is lower than an average («it is necessary to refuse in many respects to itself») have chosen 13 % of citizens. This answer was more popular with women (by 3,5 times). 11 % of respondents have estimated own financial position as «excellent». Distinctions on a gender haven't been revealed, but this option is more often respondents at the age of 20-39 and 50-60 years chose. Is interesting the fact that about a half of respondents with the higher education estimate the financial position as an average above. It is indicative that the education level is directly proportional to assessment of own financial position respondents.

The analysis of social and demographic data shows that assembled selection is representative. It is possible to extend the received conclusions to all population – the population of the Russian Federation.

Answering a question of essence of terrorism, more than a half (51,8 %) of respondents have noted that it is commitment to extreme views and measures in aspiration of reorganization of the world according to a certain ideology. Another 17,6 % believe that terrorism is an activity of the organizations of ideological character.



**Table 1: Distribution of respondents' answers to the question on the nature of terrorism (source: compiled by the author)**

№	Answer options	% of total number of answers
1	A necessary measure for those who defend their religion, the country from invasion	5,5
2	Activities based on the promotion of their ideology	8,5
3	Protection of national interests and independence	7,0
4	Organizations of ideological character, in which various rites are held	17,6
5	Commitment to extreme views and measures in the pursuit of the reconstruction of the world in accordance with a certain ideology	51,8
6	Find it difficult to answer	4,5
7	Own answer	5,0
<b>Total</b>		100,0

We have given to respondents an opportunity if desired independently to comment on it. It should be noted that 5 % of citizens have seized the present possibility, and, women in age group of 20-29 years were more active in it. Answers about a third of the participants of poll who have expressed own opinion are anyway conformable with the answer which has gathered a majority of votes – extreme views in a certain ideology. Other answers can be carried to tool definition of an essence of a phenomenon of terrorism – achievement of the power and influence, money and material benefits, «lobbying of economic interests».

Thus, using the obtained empirical data, it is possible to reveal the following bases of terrorism:

1. Ideological: commitment to extreme views and measures in aspiration of reorganization of the world according to a certain ideology; organizations of ideological character to whom various ceremonies are carried out; 74 %.

2. Protectionist: a compulsory measure for those who protect the religion, the country from invasion; protection of national interests and independence; 13 %.

3. Tool: achievement of the power and influence, money and material benefits, «lobbying of economic interests»; 13 %.

Interestingly gender ratio of respondents in the revealed groups. In the first two groups (the ideological and protectionist basis of terrorism) opinions of women prevail. Men almost twice more often than women define tool essence of terrorism.

Nearly a third of respondents at the age of 20-29 years insist on an ideological basis of terrorism. The tool basis in terrorist activity is seen by 32 % of informants aged 50 years are more senior.

It is interesting, that nearly a third of respondents with a secondary special education specify tool basis of terrorism.

As for distribution on income, nearly a half of the respondents who have pointed to good financial position believe that need of protection of the interests is the cornerstone of the studied phenomenon. Respondents with middle-income have specified on ideological (50 %) and tool (40 %) the terrorism bases.

Having found out ideas of citizens of essence of a phenomenon of terrorism, we have asked our respondents about how this phenomenon is performing in social reality. So, more than 43 % of respondents claim that it is different propaganda and preaching work (representatives of traditional religions, and different sects), 26 % of respondents claim that it is the public punishments and executions made in the territory of the Islamic states, and 28 % – the organization of disorders and acts of civil disobedience.

Considering in more detail the obtained data, it is necessary to specify that the greatest concern in propaganda and different preaching work of sects was stated by women (100 % which have chosen this possible answer), perhaps, owing to bigger degree of a suggestibility.

Representatives of the youngest age group of respondents have pointed to the organization of disorders (68 %) and activity of sects (81 %) as on the most frequent manifestations of terrorism. Respondents of average age group (36 %) are inclined to see manifestations of the phenomenon studied by us in activity of traditional religious.

The respondents having the higher education insist that essential and frequent manifestation of terrorism is propaganda and preaching work (42 %).

It is interesting that even the respondents claiming that terrorism, first of all, has the ideological basis consider that soft pressure techniques (belief, promotion, preaching) aren't characteristic of this kind of activity

Conclusions of a research and prospect of further researches of this direction.

1. Two thirds of respondents have noted the ideological basis of terrorist activity; insist on the ideological and protectionist bases of terrorism the most part of the woman; men twice more often define tool essence of terrorism.

2. It is necessary to develop various actions for counteraction to terrorist threats as opinions of respondents concerning the bases of terrorist activity were shared on the basis of age characteristics for different age groups: a third of respondents at the age of 20–29 years insist on an ideological basis of terrorism; the protectionist basis is mentioned by 36 % which have answered at the age of 50–59 years; the tool basis in terrorist activity is seen by 32 % of informants aged 50 years are more senior.

3. It is important to pay attention to quality and orientation of propaganda and preaching work in the state as more than 43 % of respondents claim that in similar activity (representatives of both traditional religions, and different sects) the terrorist activity putting social and national security under enormous threat is shown.

Further the perspective lifted in this article can find more detailed studying regarding channels of distribution of information on terrorist activity, ways of recruitment and opportunities of decrease in a suggestibility of the population and increase in social safety in society and the state.

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*Tamara Z. Adamyants .*

## **Manipulation of Meanings as a Mechanism of Injustice**

### **ABSTRACT**

In the article it is about sense deceptions and manipulations, which are mechanisms and catalysts for injustices, "displayed" on socially, politically or economically. Total dissemination of ideas of postmodernism turned out to be a hoax at global level, because it has opened up endless possibilities for arbitrary interpretations of works, texts, laws, etc. Constructive interactions between countries, societies, cultures is impossible without universally valid reference points in values terms, laws, regulations, semantic dominants of works, texts that are being discussed.

**Keywords:** information warfare; technology manipulation; concept understanding; meaning; understanding

Analysis of issues and problems related to the categories of right and wrong, traditionally focused on social, political, and economic spheres, that is legitimate and necessary. Starting points for distinction designated categories serve such understandable to all people emotionally-shaped mental positions as "true-false" and "honest-dishonest". Accordingly, the submission about justice is associated with the truth and honesty, while perceptions of injustice - deceit and dishonesty.

Humanity has developed many ways to identify various deceptions, for example, trade, statistics, finance. Objectives of social and human development and the survival of human beings on planet Earth, raise the need to identify not only obvious but also latent ways and mechanisms of deceptions, which create a negative background for meaningful interactions between countries, communities and people.

Among the injustices inherent in our "human mates", should include various kinds of deceptions and manipulations of semantic meaning, which in turn are mechanisms and catalysts for injustices, displayed is already on the socially, politically or economically. Among the injustices at the global level we can classify manipulation applied in modern information and semantic oppositions.

Information war unfolding in global socio-cultural space, more precisely called as meaning wars: they are focused on qualitative changes in the content and motivation of the consciousness of millions of people. As we see in reality one and the same information can be used with both plus and minus, depending on the intentions of the Communicator and, accordingly, those methods (technology), which he enjoys. (*We use the term "Communicator" to refer collective actor for the creation and distribution of meanings*)

Target of current global confrontation is not necessarily the material world and not even people as physical objects, as it's been in the past "hot" wars: meaningful and emotional features

of "paintings of the world" (views of the world and his place in it) million people is largely determined by the influence of socio-cultural surroundings. It is not surprising, therefore, that the main battles of the current global confrontations are taking place in the field of meanings and senses. Rate in such confrontations are Fortune, reputation, image, peoples, commonwealths, organizations, religions, cultures and so on; it is appropriate to quote from the novel by famous Russian writer Dostoyevsky: "...here the Devil with God are struggling, and the battlefield is the hearts of the people".

It is known that the opposing sides in the modern information and meaning oppositions differ for those who use hidden, manipulative techniques (here are used double standards, "fake" news, semantic distortion, multi-level meaning constructs specified destructive action), and those who remain in the field of openness, sincerity, logical opinion and evidence.

The party of opposition, which creates meanings manipulative nature, hides elements of deception and cheating. The other side – the manipulation directed – seeks to make them visible, easily understood by as many people as possible.

Not so long ago, the task of influencing people achieved through influence on public opinion (or create it), and public opinion was synonymous with the prevailing opinion of the media and opinion elites. Recent developments (for example, the results of the recent elections of the President of the United States, voting by Brexit in England) have shown, however, that it is the content of consciousness becomes meaningful and independent force in today's complicated world, thanks to the wide dissemination of the ideas of democratization, the growth of the consciousness of the masses, the aspirations of a growing number of people don't be a pawn in someone else's game and therefore use any opportunity to take meaningful decisions based on their own priorities and their own ideas about good and evil.

Meanings that are used in global confrontations can be differentiated as, firstly, the open meanings of humanitarian values (the desire for mutual understanding, dialogue, constructive interactions, etc.) and, secondly, it is the individual parts to the "ripening" super complexes of new meanings, that sought to create in the minds of millions of people, attitudes towards the country, policies, public figure, idea, etc.

Multi-level constructs of meanings may include not only information and emotional components, but also facts, events, incidents, which may be prepared and organized. Separate levels of such structures (as well as their component parts) sometimes are created over a long period of time, continuing and complementing each other.

Widely known theory of "Overton Window", where the American lawyer and activist J. Overton outlined the scope of the permissible range of views on the provisions of public morality, because, according to the author, there is the possibility of manipulation of public opinion

by creating and broadcasting for a long time "intermediate" meanings and senses, gradually destroying traditional attitudes, values, behaviors, and arguably to the same create new, desirable for the Communicator.

The scientific concepts that focus on objectives and methods of communication with the audience, are included in the current global standoff as well. They produce and circulate at all levels socio-cultural space (media, education, communicative behaviour of countries, politicians, organizations and public figures, ordinary people) those or other models of communication interactions.

A considerable number of developments, what technologies going impact on the audience, have modern communication science. The intentionality of the authors of such works varies: one part scientists wished to explain the manipulative techniques and technologies, show their dishonesty. Another part of the scientists said about such methods almost enthusiastically. Impression recalls or offer on the market: "take, we have!", or the report about the achievements.

Among such we can call "soft power" and "controlled chaos", aimed at "infecting" other peoples selected as targets of influence, specially trained texts, discourses, and so on.

Important and necessary condition for "soft power" is a search or creating such emotional and informative points that will prove attractive to the object impact.

In the arsenal of scientific concepts in communication there are theories which occupy seemingly neutral position in relation to the issue of social usefulness of manipulative techniques and technologies. However, as it is known, neutrality is often temporary, behind which hides all the same manipulation.

Expansion of ideas and postulates of postmodernism turned out to be a hoax at the global level: in fact, postmodernism legitimizes gimmicks and deceptions in the field of meanings. We are talking about the quality of the understanding in the area of social communication, to be more precise about those mental mechanisms (methods, techniques, practices) that are accustomed (familiar,) for the human mind. As you know, the semantic variability is declared within the postmodern concepts like universal mechanism of communication and interaction between people. [Adamyants, 2014]

The reason for such declarations were representatives of the so-called "linguistic turn" (Bart, Derrida and others). It was about the legitimacy of the fragmentation text parts and concentration analysis on semantic meanings of language and the individual phrases that can evolve with each new reading and interpretation. If the use of modern terms, we were talking about a multiplicity of meanings and senses in personal "pictures of peace", that perception of individual, taken out of context units: personal "paintings of the world" as much as people.



This is a valid observation was the starting point for the primitive interpretation that shattered what had been developed and tested over the centuries: the requirement uniformity underlying meanings and values, attention and respect to the motivation of the author, the interlocutor.

As a results it is allowed an infinite number of interpretations that are not associated with the real facts and without regard for authorial intentionality. In other words, in the context of postmodern concepts, there is no difference between permanent, constant values, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, personal values "picture of the world" (which, of course, can be infinitely many). And how in such a case, find ways and means of constructive interactions that can take place only on over-individual basis, only when there is universal semantic basis? [Dridze, 2000]

And here are the possibilities for manipulation with this simplified, supposedly neutral, supposedly "outside policy" approach, a lot: there is no distinction between constant, generally accepted values and meanings, and infinite number of personal meanings and values. The most common and simple in execution reception – modifying of values terms (what these terms represent) that enjoy wide approval (for example, "democracy", "tolerance", "freedom of speech", "family", "justice", etc.). With this new modification is filed without a preliminary discussion at the level of the science or the public, without taking into account possible social consequences, sometimes quite aggressively, ostensibly as an indisputable result of modern trends. A large part of the audience doesn't notice the substitution and become easy prey to manipulators.

Thus, the first hoax, stimulating mental passivity, becomes the basis for never-ending new deceptions that address hidden, and therefore unfair, goals and motivations.

Not less problematic and presentation on the subject of understanding of holistic completed materials: the meaning (what should be understand), here is exclusively personal, has many options also.

This view is firmly rooted in the social discourse and social practice, and as a result has opened up endless possibilities for arbitrary interpretations: works, materials, texts, laws, norms, values, traditions, etc.

There is also another important aspect of injustice, which brought the ideas of postmodernism. According to the integrated studies adequately understand semantic dominants (author's motivations and objectives) from 14% up to 25–30% of the audience, depending on the complexity of the content, genre, etc. [Adamyants, 2015]

This feature is associated with the innate gift, a special kind of ability that can and should be developed, if, of course, have an interest in a comprehensive development of personality. However, the spread in the society the idea of a multiplicity of meanings and the "death of the author" devalues the in-depth thinking, stimulate surface interpreting, make a person vulnerable to

influences and manipulation. What is this if not a blatant injustice to the person as an individual, as well as to the idea of a society without injustices?

Russian developments in the sphere of social communication in order to understand and make visible the mechanisms of technologies used for manipulation. Any holistic, complete the communicative Act (this can be the text, material, promotional event, etc.) according to the *semio-sociopsychological concept of social communication* can be thought of as a multi-level motivationally-target structure (construct) that latently present in it. Levels of this structure, in case its viability, interact, reinforcing and complementing each other and "working" on the achievement of desirable result for the Communicator. Formally, it is the pinnacle of structure here is the *dominant meaning* of the communicative act, or its intention, which is defined as "the resultant of the motives and objectives" of the Communicator. It is intentionality rather than abstract content is the most important thing is that the Communicator wanted to convey (to inform, inspire, etc.), both at the level of his goals, which he is aware, and his motives, which may be unconscious or secret [Dridze, 1984].

Provably definition of motive-target structures and hence understanding the obvious and hidden techniques for delivering Communicator's intention, is carried out through the *motive-target analysis method* developed in the framework of the above-mentioned concepts. The definition of such structures allows you to see which methods and techniques were used by the Communicator to transfer its intentionality. Whether the relationship between levels of structure logically correct? Not hiding behind the goal, which is named, another goal, the covert? It is clear that in cases of manipulation of the Communicator wants to leave his true objective undetected.

As an example, cite ancient as world way, widely used by amateurs to manipulate public opinion. It is an appeal to a certain action (Act, reaction), which will lead to a good result (improve the politics, economics, culture, morality, traditions, people, youth, etc.). However, the arguments for evidence are often controversial, outdated or even false, including sociological, ecological, economic, medical, etc.

Another way to manipulate, which exposes the motive-target analysis method associated with modifications of the values of the accepted terms that begin to be used in a completely different meanings, sometimes the opposite.

We meet virtually with a mental stunt — moving the symbol (the nomination) of the original meaning of the designation of a different meaning; when it is moved not only by original designation, but also the psychological phenomena of confidence, endorsement, support moves along with it.

At the conclusion of the article say that "games" with the ideas of Justice and injustice, if they are dishonest or not quite honest nature, will awaken the immense masses of people the

archetype (inner sense) desires justice; in such a case, any manipulation technology and any form of pressure are powerless. That way you can explain, for example, the unprecedented convergence of people in Russia in response to the sanctions.

We'll also add that the task of social science in any case is to provide science-based "revelations" mechanisms that are used to manipulate, as well as the massive development of skills for understanding human beings in the field of communication: manipulation do not act on person who understands. [Adamyants, 2012; Chudnovskaja, 2015]

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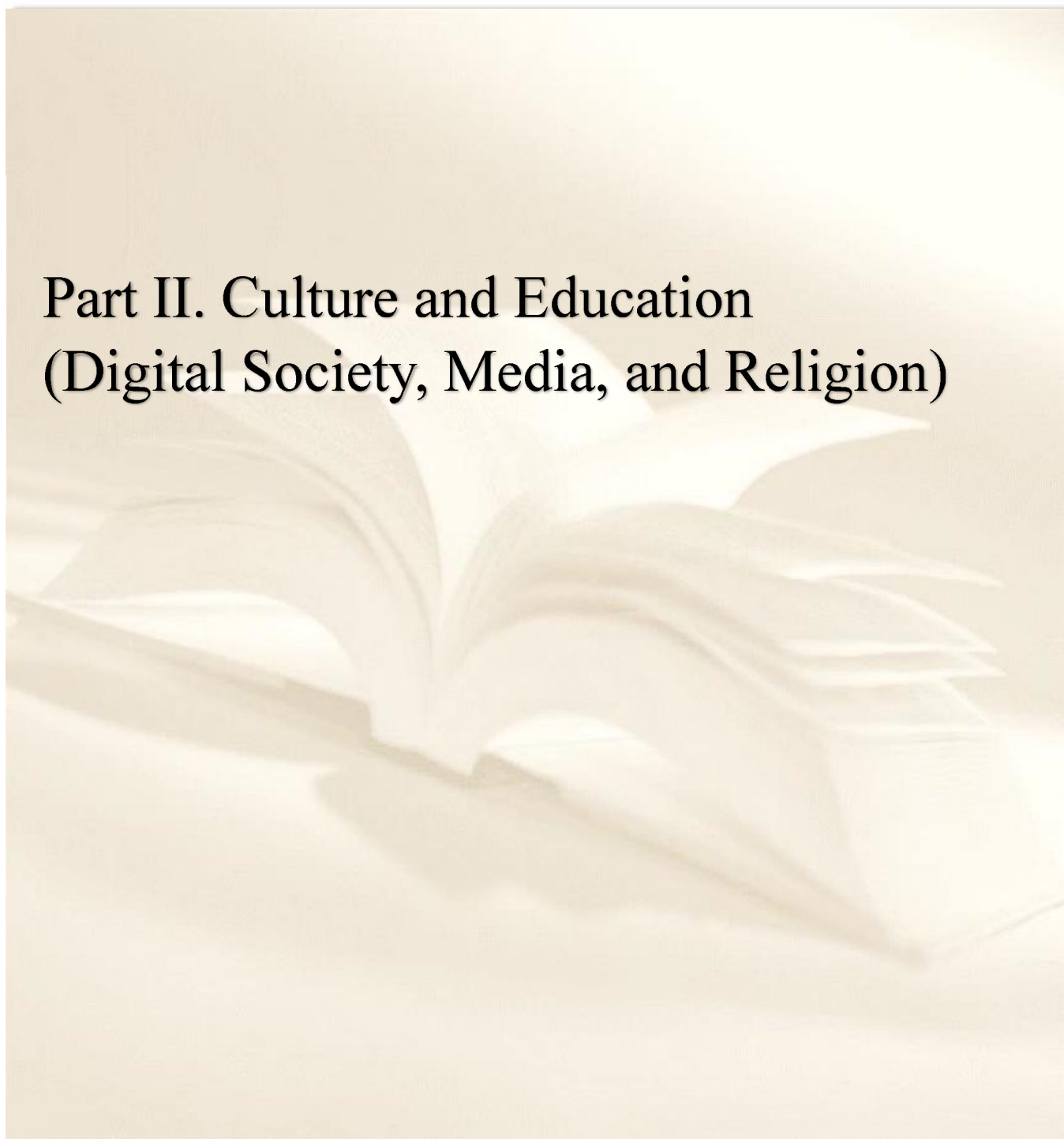
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## Part II. Culture and Education (Digital Society, Media, and Religion)



*Valeriy A. Mansurov*  
*Olesya V. Yurchenko*

## **The Fall of School Teachers' Authority**

### **ABSTRACT**

Educational occupations in Russia have been, and remain, subordinate to the state and have only been subject to market forces at the margins. In this article, we shall consider the changing nature of school teachers' professional knowledge and authority. We undertook a qualitative research (6 focus-group groups – 57 school teachers) in public Moscow region schools. A new policy of the Ministry of Education and Science fostered changes of 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. The introduction of these new school standards resulted in the increased workload of school teachers, who were burdened with bureaucratic responsibilities. Even the record-keeping of teachers doubled. They were required to keep an electronic record of pupils' performance in addition to the hand-written records. The school teachers argued that state policymakers' detailed control over this professional work grew, as did that of the parents who made higher demands of school education. 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. The population survey showed that only 39% of adults were ready to acknowledge the authority of school teachers. Schoolchildren challenged the authority of school teachers too. Even primary school children were aware of the various ways to acquire knowledge (Google, Wikipedia, YouTube, etc.). They did not need teachers as a source of knowledge in the same way as pupils did a few years ago. Teachers could not derive their authority just from their position and knowledge. The most desirable type of authority was personal authority, based upon merit and respect.

**Keywords:** sociology of professions; professionalism; teachers' authority; school reforms

### **Theoretical perspectives**

We shall follow the Western interpretation of the term “profession,” where a group possessing it can construct a boundary between itself and the outside world which can usefully be conceptualised as a strategy of social closure [Parkin; 1979, Murphy; 1988]. Professions are seen as knowledge-based occupations, where knowledge is abstract, generalised, systematic, and often science-based [Abbot; 1988, Siegrist; 2002, Brante; 2010]. The term “science based” signifies practices that are built upon and adhere to scientifically established principles and findings, and that scientific theories are integrated with practices. The professions which call on the authority of science and prescribe norms or standards acquire the greatest share of public influence [Halliday; 1987].

School education may be defined as a “semi-profession” [Etzioni; 1969], as it does not correspond to an ideal type of classic professions. We use the concept of semi-profession in a value neutral manner. The value-neutral use of the term here implies there is no assumption that classic

professional practice is better, more valuable, or more effective than a semi-professional practice [Brante; 2013, p. 6]. The difference between them is analytic not normative, and merely contends that one practice is to a greater extent based on a robust scientific basis.

Russian school teachers can be defined as a semi-profession in the sense that their practice is built on a less developed body of knowledge and skills. Its members have a lower status than those in the socially idealised professions. They have a shorter training period and a lower level of social acceptance and autonomy. We rely on a theoretical model of professionalisation that broadly follows a neo-Weberian approach which proved to be helpful in conceptualising occupations based on higher specialised education as universally recognisable interest-based groups which may translate special knowledge and skills into social and economic rewards [Saks; 2012]. Many inclined to rank professions in terms of the prestige of their professional knowledge. While medicine and law are near the top end of the continuum teaching, like engineering, lie further down [Etzioni; 1969].

There is a considerable extent of uncertainty about teachers' occupational knowledge: *"There are no well-established forms of applied theoretical, as opposed practical knowledge associated with successful pedagogy"* [Winch; 2004, p 186]. If there is no distinctive theoretical pedagogic knowledge, important epistemic claim to professionalism, based on this criterion, fails. Although, as Winch rightly states, in secondary and higher education teachers have specialised subject knowledge which put them in a distinctive position relative to teachers of younger children. However, there is no concomitant growth of specialised pedagogic knowledge alongside the growth of specialist subject knowledge. Arguably, the contrary is the case: the complicated nature of teaching and class management with young children makes the practical pedagogic task at that age much more demanding to acquire [Winch; 2004, p. 186]. At present no universally recognised applied theoretical pedagogical knowledge exists.

Today's teacher professionalism stands half-way between that of a professional and a functionary [Ostinelli; 2007]. There is also the issue of the 'polarisation' of the teaching profession: nowadays it combines aspects that are characteristic of the activity of a professional (discretion, specific competences, etc.) and traits that are typical of a functionary's job (curriculum decided from above, control over the teaching by the principals and/or the inspectors, etc.) [Ostinelli; 2007]. At present, we are witnessing an evolution, depending on the national educational policy, towards one or other of the two 'poles'. On the one hand, we have the English model, which puts emphasis on the 'executive' character of the teaching profession, including [strict] objectives and measurable standards, aiming more at conformity than at the professional development of the teachers. On the other, there is the Nordic vision, which lays down exactly the opposite objective,



i.e. that of developing extensively the professionalism of the teacher within a rigorous but flexible framework.

### **Professionalism and professionalisation**

*“The theme of teacher professionalism is one in which in-depth research into teacher perspectives is particularly pertinent”* [Webb et al.; 2004]. Teachers' voices are an important and under-represented part of the macro debate which focuses on whether educational reforms in England and elsewhere are resulting in the "deprofessionalization" or "technicization" of teachers' work or whether they result in "reprofessionalization" [Day; 2000, pp. 110-111]. In Russia, with relatively few exceptions, discussions of teacher professionalism have been limited to the policy level and have not been informed by empirical data incorporating teacher perspectives. The rare examples of cross-national comparative research into teacher professionalism that give primacy to teachers' voices, in addition to analyses of educational policy, such as Broadfoot and Osborn's comparative studies of English and French primary schoolteachers [Broadfoot & Osborn; 1993], illustrate the rich potential of such an approach.

Professionalisation/professionalism has been portrayed in different ways: from a process in which professions achieve a legally underwritten monopoly and relative autonomy from the state, to a social mobility project in which occupations strive towards cognitive and social advantage by being resistant to competition and alternative forms of accountability [Collins; 1990, Freidson; 2001]. Teaching tends to have relatively weakly developed forms of occupational closure and defense of its interests [Winch; 2004]. The professionalisation strategies deployed to achieve higher social standing have been different in the Anglo-Saxon context and in other European countries, ranging from successful manipulation of the market by the occupational group (“professionalisation from within”) to domination of forces external to the group (“professionalisation from above”) [McClelland; 1990, 1991, Johnson; 1995].

Educational occupations in Russia have been, and remain, subordinate to the state and have only been subject to market forces at the margins. Similar to the Nordic countries and Continental Europe, negotiations and contracts with the state have been of crucial importance, whereas struggles between occupations and drive for autonomy have not been decisive for the success of professions [Moran; 1999, Svensson & Evetts; 2010, Brante; 2013]. The powerful role of the Russian state in all phases of professionalisation is quite palpable, making the histories of our professions considerably different from Anglo-Saxon writings. Russian professionalism has largely developed “from above” as a result of collaboration not conflict between the state and professional organisations [Mrowczynski; 2012].

The “professionalisation from above” is generally considered in the social literature as state and organisational regulation undermining professional autonomy [Fournier; 1999, Evetts; 2012]. When the discourse of professionalism is constructed “from above,” then often it is interpreted in a Foucauldian mould as a disciplinary mechanism and as a means of control (Foucault; 1986). Evetts argues that professionalism from above is often imposed and a false or selective discourse is used to promote and facilitate occupational change (rationalization) and as a disciplinary mechanism of autonomous subjects exercising appropriate conduct [Evetts; 2009]. However, the realities and implications of professionalisation from above may be very different [Svensson & Evetts; 2010].

In this article, we shall consider a dual nature of “professionalisation from above”. We suggest that the effects of “professionalisation from above” may be diverse in different social contexts stemming from the diminished professional discretion to the state-endorsed enhanced status of the profession and its decision-making powers [McClelland; 1990, Neal & Morgan; 2000]. “Professionalisation from above” may be a way to develop professionalism with many of the same characteristics as “professionalisation from within,” where an occupation gets a chance to redefine its social position within Weber's dimensions of power, status and wealth.

This article does not aim to assess the balance that is struck between the positive and negative outcomes of the “professionalisation from above” of school teachers, as the education reforms are still in the progress. We shall trace some changes in their authority and professional knowledge.

### **Data and methods**

The main aim of this article is to present a discussion of selected findings from the recent qualitative research undertook in two cities of Moscow region in April-May 2018. The research was initiated by the Institute of Education of the National Research University-Higher School of Economics. We had 6 focus-groups: 2 focus groups (20 respondents) with primary school teachers along with 4 focus groups (37 respondents) with secondary and high school teachers. The qualitative approach was chosen for developing an in-depth understanding of the modern school reforms and the social standing of school teachers. The selection of qualitative research enabled us to consciously identify informants who are best placed to answer the research questions [Brannen; 1995]. In so far as qualitative methods are employed on non-statistical samples, sampling was conducted on the basis of theoretical criteria. The basic question in “theoretical sampling” concerns which case, or group, to turn to next in the analysis, and with what theoretical purpose [Strauss & Corbin; 1990]. Sampling continues until the point at which additional data does not appear to provide further insights in developing or verifying the theory. This is known as

“theoretical saturation.” A balance was struck in this research between the point of theoretical saturation and time constraints.

All the focus-groups were carried out in the workplace of those interviewed. These focus-group interviews lasted about an hour and a half. Interviews were audiotaped and transcribed later. The conversations on any one topic were semi-structured: the interviewer only followed the general outlines of the initial interview plan. The focus-group interviews allowed school teachers to identify problems and share their perspectives on the process of school reforms. We were less concerned with describing the range of variations between the opinions of school teachers than with describing in detail what quantitative methodology would not have permitted us to describe—the general assumptions, behaviour, and social attitudes of preschool educators.

### **Authority**

More than eighty years after Waller's (1932/1961) writing, the problem of authority remains strikingly resonant. For classroom learning to take place, teachers must persuade students to cooperate, and students must be willing give their assent to what is "deliberately taught" [Erickson; 1987].

Pace and Hemmings treat authority positively to be a complex, nuanced, and dynamic construction negotiated among individuals and influenced by a range of contextual social and cultural realities as it "unfolds in schools and classrooms through various kinds of interactions that hold varied meanings for teachers and students" [Pace and Hemmings; 2006, p.1]. Authority continues to be a provocative term and a poorly understood phenomenon despite past insights [Pace and Hemmings, 2006]. It has been equated with the most enlightened forms of leadership as well as heavy-handed discipline and unjust oppression [Peters; 1966]. It is confusing in part because people are both attracted to, and repulsed by, authority [Sennett; 1980].

The real challenge facing teachers and administrators today is the deterioration of a value system based upon authority. Seaton and McKnight pointed out that authority is to human society what gravity is to the physical world (1975). Authority orders the relationships between people. In the school, students may grant respect initially to the authority of the teacher but continue this attitude only as long as teachers earn and deserve it.

When are teachers respected [Seaton and McKnight; 1975, pp 6-7]:

- when they know their subject;
- when they are excited by the challenge of ideas;
- when they are sincerely interested in the students' welfare;
- when they set high standards for themselves and their classes.

### **What are the reasons for the fall of authority?**

In our focus-group research the teachers mentioned **the fall of authority as a result of the removal of deference to intellectual authority**. This trend has been highlighted in the social science literature. As Wilson stated there has been "*...the removal of deference to intellectual authority and indeed (what ought by now to be evident) to authority in general. By and large, it is clear that pupils at school, teachers in training, ...and indeed almost all potent groups in the world of education do not look up or defer to, admire and seek to emulate, or in general take their cue from intellectuals (the professors of their subject at universities, for instance). This is no longer their 'reference group'...*" [Wilson; 1989, p. 113].

This trend is evident in the whole style of contemporary educational culture. The caring 'democratic' style is predominant comparing with the 'authoritarian' style. Thus, teachers see themselves as more or less on an equality with those whom they educate, not as authorities. Deference towards the teacher or even the school principal is unfashionable.

Another issue that disturbs teachers is **the fall of authority as a result of putting curriculum authority over professional authority**. This tendency has also been highlighted in the social science literature [Hansen; 2006, Campbell; 2006]. Hansen describes the authority invested in an "academic discipline or subject, often expressed in the form of textbooks containing bodies of authorized knowledge to which teachers and students must hearken and rightfully so if the textbook is crafted responsibly" [Hansen; 2006, p. 180]. Teachers by virtue of their role and position are expected to honour the curricular authority in their interactions with the students.

At the same time, to cite Hansen (2006) again, "*professional authority [is] garnered through [teachers'] preparation, experience, and dedication*" (p. 180). Indeed, the professional authority of teachers "derives its integrity, at least in part, from a commitment to all students placed in their care. That commitment does not translate into treating students in identical ways.... It does mean doing the best one can, under the circumstances and with the resources at hand, with each student'. Just as teachers are expected to honour curricular authority, they are also answerable to their own professional authority and must exercise it with wisdom and care.

Still another reason **for the fall of authority is the social shift away from traditional authority understood in Weberian mode**. Teachers in our research stated that the shift emerged from the social and political transformations of the 1990s. Similar an unprecedented shift away from traditional authority took place in American schools in 1960s [Hurn's; 1985]. The supporters of the traditional authority saw themselves as "*the guardians of an ancient tradition tied to the power of reason and the finest elements of the Western cultural heritage*" [Kliebard; 1987, p. 27]. They represented the most ideologically conservative position in education, with their staunch support of academic curricula rooted in classic Western European languages, literature,

humanities, science, mathematics, and art. Those occupying the more liberal developmentalist camp endorsed a more student-centered curriculum that is in harmony with children's cognitive stages, personal interests, and needs. Knowledge, they believed, should unleash the "natural power" of each and every child [Kliebard; 1987, p. 28].

Metz (1978) did generalize about the approaches of different teachers, which she characterized as "incorporative" and "developmental." Incorporative teachers tended to be older and more conservative. They viewed the moral order as involving the transmission of standardized content consisting of tried-and-true knowledge, skills, values, and norms. Some invoked the traditional model of *in loco parentis* authority, in which they insisted that students obey simply because they were told to obey. Others relied on legal-rational forms of authority, in which students were expected to follow the orders of a boss. Developmental teachers were younger and more liberal. They interpreted the moral order as the development of the whole child. Their curriculum was open-ended rather than fixed, and they identified students' prior knowledge, experiences, and interests to make education more personally relevant. They enacted the roles of facilitators and expert professionals and responded to students' challenges by explaining how their commands would help them learn and realize their individual potential.

Metz emphasized, as did Max Weber (1925/1947), that the right of a person to give commands depends on others' belief in his or her legitimacy as an authority figure. This person's directives are carried out only if people occupying more subordinate roles are willing to give their consent to do what is expected of them [Barnard; 1950]. Authority, in other words, is a social relationship in which some people are granted the legitimacy to lead and others agree to follow.

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*Galina A. Cherednichenko*

## **Educational and Status Positioning for 10 Years after Graduation from Secondary Educational Institutions**

### **ABSTRACT**

Educational and status positions that occupy three groups of young people, 10 years after graduation from secondary schools, secondary specialized colleges, vocational schools, are compared on the basis of longitudinal studies. The type of the starting education differentiates not only in their first choice, but it influences inertially subsequent positions in education and statuses. Even after reaching the same level of education after ten years, more advanced statuses are acquired by those who have higher capital of the starting education and the corresponding better quality of a subsequent education.

**Keywords:** level of education; status; young people

In Russia, the first choice of the educational path takes place after the middle school graduation, there are three options for obtaining secondary education: High School, Secondary Specialized College and Vocational School with secondary education. The designation of the latter two is to train, respectively, middle-level specialists and skilled workers and employees. Graduates of all three institutions obtain the opportunity to enter Higher education as well as Educational Institutions the other and shorter training programs of the Secondary Specialized Colleges and Vocational School. We as researchers were interested in how the possession of different types of secondary education affects the subsequent educational and status positions of these three groups of youth for a long period of time. The longitudinal research of these three groups of graduates was carried out in the region of Novosibirsk – the typical one for Russia by its industrial, agricultural and cultural development. The research embraced the youth of the regional city, medium-sized cities, towns and villages. Research investigations started in 2005 and lasted for ten years. Three stages of questioning of the same graduates were held: first one was in the graduation year from educational institutions, and then three and ten years later. In the finals 62 people from representing groups of typical trajectories were interviewed. All questionnaires during these three phases were personally identified and the statistical development was conducted on the basis of complete information about each respondent personally.

One of the results consists of the fact that the starting education differentiates not only their first choice, but it affects latently the subsequent accumulation of educational capital and occupied positions. Its determinative effect on trajectories manifests in two ways. There is the influence of

different amounts of cultural capital (hierarchy on the quality of secondary education from the High School to the Specialized College (SC) and to the Vocational School (VS)) and the acquisition of training in the SC and VS. There is also the influence of the composition of these three groups of students which is socially selective: from the representatives of the majority of higher social strata in High schools to those of lower strata in Vocational Schools; students of Specialized Colleges belong to heterogeneous strata.

Let's compare two sequences: the first year after graduation and the situation ten years later. What types of educational institutions young people entered? Did they retain their starting education in the first year? And what levels of education they achieve or retain after 10 years education? To make our analysis easier, we will assign these three groups of graduates the name of their starting educational institutions and will call them: the first – stream “School”, second – stream “Specialized College” (“SC”), and the third – stream “Vocational School” (“VS”) – tab. 1.

**Table 1: The level of received or achieved education of different streams of youth in the year of graduation from secondary education and 10 years latter, Novosibirsk Region, %**

Receive or achieve a level of education	Stream “School”		Stream “SC”		Stream “VS”	
	year of graduation	10 years latter	year of graduation	10 years latter	year of graduation	10 years latter
<b>Secondary education</b>	4,0	5,9	–	–	–	–
<b>Vocational training</b>	7,4	6,6	–	–	71,0	66,3
<b>Secondary Specialized education</b>	22,4	14,3	56,6	49,2	10,5	17,4
<b>Higher education</b>	65,8	68,8	38,5	43,4	1,2	16,3
<b>Second Higher education, postgraduate studies</b>	–	4,4	–	0,8	–	–
<b>No information</b>	0,4	–	4,9	–	17,4	–
<b>Total</b>	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

In the stream “School”, the predominant share of those who receive higher education increases only from 66% to 73%, those who receive training in SC is reduced from 22% to 14%, and those who receive training in the VS remain at 7%, and only 6% retain their starting High school education 10 years later. The accumulation of educational capital in the stream “SC” breaks down into two equal paths: the share of those who keep the starting education is reduced from 57% to 49%, and the share of those who receive higher education is growing from 39% to 43%. The stream of “VS” is the most stable in maintaining its initial training – it is 71% and 66%, respectively in the first year and 10 years later; the proportion of those who have got SC diplomas

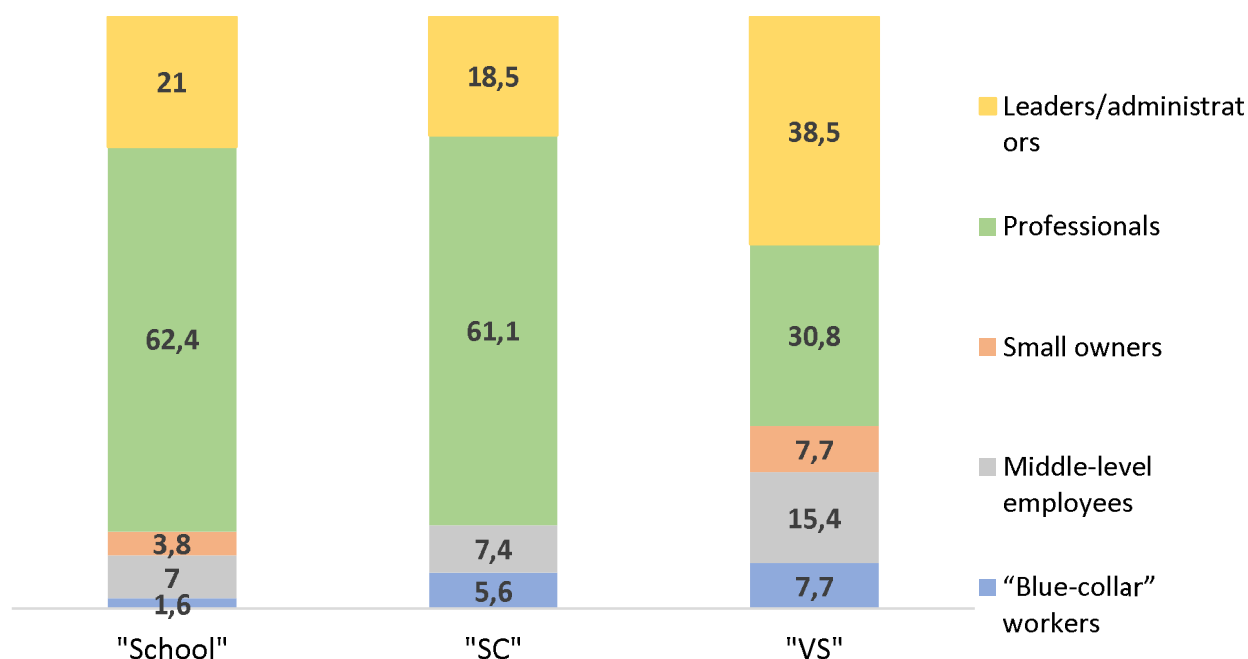
increases from 10 to 17%, the share of students and holders of Higher education diplomas grows most rapidly (from 1 to 16%). Educational ways of the youth of the stream “School” are characterized by superiority in relation to the stream “SC” and especially to the “VS” one on the indicators of the quality of education and the success of trajectories, such as a full-time form of education, budget-funded educational sites, the high rank of Universities, and more rapid completion of studies.

Apart from a formal education, young people receive additional education in various forms - on professional and short-term courses, trainings, business games, in the system of advanced training and retraining, distance education, and training via the Internet. The higher the quality of starting secondary education is the more young people receive additional education: that is 47% in the stream “School”, 35% in the “SC” one and 29% in the “VS” stream. Within the streams, the share of those who apply to additional education grows in direct proportion to the reached education.

It is well-known known that the movement up the ladder of statuses depends on the increase of the level of formal education. However, in this movement, the influence of the “trail” of starting education and educational trajectories on achieved social positions was found. Let's compare the statuses of those young people from these three streams who received Higher education 10 years after. It was found that those who have a higher capital of the starting secondary education and associated better quality of a postsecondary one, gain more advanced social positions.

In general, the structure of positions in the streams “School” and “SC” is very similar (fig. 1). In the stream “School”, in comparison with the stream “SC”, there are a few more leaders/administrators (21% versus 18%), with the majority of professionals being practically the same (62% and 61%). A certain superiority of the stream “School” is determined by more special features. They are more competitive and receive higher quality of higher education more often: taking into account the 7 ranks of Universities, in the stream “School” the graduates of Universities of the first rank make up 16% and of the second rank - 6%, in the stream “Specialized College” - 5% in total. In the stream “School” 94% receive full-time education, in the stream “Specialized College” - 66%, the rest studies in the evening and correspondence forms. As a result, in the stream “School” among leaders/administrators there are more major owners and top-managers in the public sector, respectively 6% and 2%; in the stream “School”, there is a category of creative class and scientists who make up 6%, in the stream “Specialized College” – none. Those who reduced their status to the level of employee make up 7% in both streams and to a “blue-collar” worker is only 1,6% in the stream “School” and 5,6% in the stream “Specialized College”.

The similar effectiveness of higher education obtained after High School and Specialized College, apparently, is quite well captured by the public consciousness. The fact that more than 40% of the stream “Specialized College” eventually receive Higher education, fixes the specific social practices that have developed in the last 15 years. Since the mid-2000's. the diploma of secondary education in High School is received after a complex Unified State Exam, while graduates of Specialized College acquire it without this examination. As a result, the strategy of educational track “graduation from middle school – Specialized College – University” is increasingly spreading. Herewith they study intramural in the College, and Higher education is received partly full-time, partly by correspondence. This track serves as an alternative one as a less risky channel of social mobility for social groups with more limited educational and social resources. At the same time, that means that Specialized College as an educational institution designated for a training of mid-level specialists loses much of its basic functions and turns into a



**Fig. 1. Statuses of those people who received Higher education among different steams 10 years after graduation from secondary educational institutions**

bypass transit to higher education. The pressure of this track partly stimulates the growth of that sector of higher education, which does not ensure its high quality.

Let's return to the statuses of those who receive Higher education in the stream “VS”. They are few in number and their trajectories differ significantly from the streams “School” and the stream “Specialized College”. Here, young people receive significantly fewer statuses, which

correspond to the level of higher education, which is due to the fact that they often begin to study not immediately after the graduation from Vocational School and for the most part they receive a correspondence education. In the beginning most of them enter the labor market in the public sector and soon move to the private sector because of higher incomes. Those of the "blue-collar" of leaders/administrators in the "VS" stream, including 32% in the private sector. The smaller part of those who just after graduating from Vocational Schools enter full-time Higher education becomes professionals, they make up 31%, which is twice less than in the streams "School" and the stream "SC", but these are those students who are classified as resilient ones. A low competitiveness of the stream "VS" is reflected in the reduced quality of a received Higher education and it continues on the labor market, which does not allow 30% of them to take positions that formally correspond to the level of the diploma. The latter works as employees, small owners, "blue-collar" workers.

The mass of the practice of recruiting for work not in a specialty of education is becoming common now day. Possibilities of a conversion of their education and training in the labor market are different for those who received education in University, and in Specialized College. As a rule, the first receive a workplace corresponding to the level of qualification of a professional. The second are less likely to receive jobs that require the qualification of a middle employee, some move down the hierarchy of social statuses.

An achieved education is differently capitalized in the received statuses. The results of the research show that an application of the diploma level and obtained specialization depend on the demand on the labor market and circumstances of biography. As a result, two main types of trajectories are formed: the way of use and one of the conversion of the received diploma level and specialization. Conformity of the received specialty by education is important in hiring and it often becomes the means of successful, ascending careers. Meanwhile, in practice, the mass is recruited not accordingly to their specialty given by education. Differences in the conversion of education and training for different levels of diplomas are found – tab. 2.

**Table 2: Statuses of people with Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, depending on the correspondence / not correspondence of the current specialty and specialty of education, %**

Statuses	Higher education		Secondary Specialized education	
	Specialties correspond	Specialties do not correspond	Specialties correspond	Specialties do not correspond
<b>Leaders/administrators</b>	26,4	14,3	3,2	<b>4,2</b>
<b>Professionals</b>	63,6	66,1	–	–
<b>Middle-level employees</b>	9,1	3,6	83,8	<b>33,3</b>
<b>“Blue-collar” workers</b>	–	5,4	6,5	<b>54,2</b>
<b>Other</b>	0,9	10,7	6,5	<b>8,3</b>
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The employment of the graduates of Universities not in the specialty of education is mainly often accompanied by the attainment of a workplace corresponding to the level of qualification of a professional with a Higher education. Such people make up 80% of graduates of higher education who work not in their specialty, in comparison with 90% among employed in their specialty. Nevertheless, young people graduated from Specialized Colleges, who were not able to get a job in a specialty of training, are less likely to find jobs that require the qualification of a middle employee or technician (preparation of which is the main purpose of this educational institution). Among graduates of Specialized Colleges, working in the specialty, 87% are arranged for jobs corresponding to the level of their diplomas, and among those who are not employed in their specialties – only 37%. In addition, among not-employed in their specialties, 54% become “blue-collar” workers and 8% is the subgroup “Others”. That is, work for almost two thirds of specialized college graduates who are not employed by profession is accompanied by a descent down the hierarchy of social statuses and even by de-qualification (manual, low-skilled work). Thus, if it is necessary to change a specialty, higher education assigns its graduates a set of cultural capital, which as a rule, is exchanged on the labor market for a job equivalent to the level of their diploma. Training in the specialized college system does not form a unit of universal competencies, isolated from a technological component of specializations, which is assessed by the market as a qualification of a middle-level employee or technician.



## **The Impact of International Rankings on Levels of Management of Scientific Projects at Universities**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article describes the main levels and specifics of research projects management in universities and the system of international rankings as a mechanism for measuring and evaluating the educational and scientific activities of universities.

**Keywords:** scientific projects; manage scientific projects; the system of international ratings

In the context of global changes and large-scale transformations that have occurred in the history of society over the past few centuries, one of the most important and significant phenomena was the transformation of the role of science in society. Science as a social institution is designed to perform certain functions that ensure the stability of social development. In connection with the transition from academic science to more applied research in order to find solutions to specific acute problems, scientific projects are spreading in scientific institutions and organizations. The result of a successful research project should be scientific knowledge or scientific developments, which become the main strategic national resource. The effective implementation and use of the acquired knowledge and technologies in the real sector of the economy determines the future prosperity and progress of the state, provided the proper administration and support of the scientific sphere.

The wide spread of project activities in the scientific field in recent years can be associated with the most effective use of available limited resources and achieve the goals in a shorter time. The transformation of scientific activity into a project has led to a change in the management structure of Higher education institutions. Management of scientific projects has certain features. F. Behluli said: "... we become more aware of the importance of projects, because they not only allow you to create something new, but to use our resources most effectively" [Bahuli, 2002: 1].

The main goal of scientific project management is to ensure a high level of quality of the product or service being sold, with fixed components (resources and time). Management of scientific projects 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 in regard to a number of parameters.

From the project management theory, the project structure consists of: work structure (WBS – Works Breakdown Structure), the structure of resources (RBS – Resources Breakdown Structure), organizational structure (OBS – Organization Breakdown Structure), network schedule.

Management of scientific projects in educational institutions can be divided into two levels: the state and the level of scientific organizations. In modern conditions of society development, at the state level, the evolving of macroeconomics and microeconomics directly depends on high-tech scientific products, the direction of science development and research projects. According to Rosstat feature, in 2018 domestic expenditures on research percentage of gross domestic product was 1.1% [Gorodnikova, 2018, p. 4].

In February 2018, an expert interview was held on the topic "Specifics of management of scientific projects in high-ranking universities", which was attended by 20 experts of Russian high-ranking universities. In their opinion, the system of management of research projects in universities has certain features, which are mainly in the specifics of management of the research team (creative people). Management of scientific projects can not exist without the incentives, experts noted that it is necessary to use individual approach to the use of tangible and intangible incentives. Perhaps the most suitable way will be the use of both incentives in complex.

The levels of management of scientific projects need some assessment of management actions and results. Thus, the measurement system shall serve as an important management tool to direct scarce resources to the greatest benefit they can obtain [Yurasova, 2017, p. 9]. The measurement, as a socially determined mechanism, is a certain way of studying social phenomena, systems, structures, processes, their properties and basic social characteristics, using quantitative indicators and estimates.

In sociological science, objective and subjective assessments form a synthesis that can act as a separate objectivity. Of particular interest is the system of ratings of higher educational institutions as a mechanism for measuring the activities of universities.

Ratings, as a social phenomenon, represent certain dimensions and comparison of the results. They consist of subjective (expert assessments) and objective indicators (official statistics, information on official websites, etc.). It is worth noting that the international rankings represent ordered lists of universities in which the ranking is made from the more "successful" universities to the least according to the relevant measure. The place of the University depends on the integral index, which is calculated on the basis of defining characteristics of universities.

International rankings reflect competition between the leading universities of the countries. Ranking measure is built in such a way that the leading positions in the rankings can take universities, which regulations focus on the formed research orientation [Karimov, 2016, p. 5]. Today, the ratings are essential mechanisms of university management. The main indicator and ranking measure should be the quality of education and the level of scientific activities development at the University. In this case, the rating will be useful for everyone from applicants to employers.

The spread of the ranking system as a social tool for transnational policy coordination and governance is a set of inter-national solutions to international problems. More often there are groups of scientists who are engaged in building a rating system. The best example of this is the European Consortium of U-Multirank, funded by the European Commission (defends and supports the idea of a ranking of European universities and acts as an agent of promoting such a policy in Europe) [Who; 2016, p. 79].

The rating system, as a relatively new social phenomenon, has become quite an important component for government officials and heads of educational institutions, but not for scientists, who met the system with a strong resistance. T. Erkkila designated the rating system as a political tool for global management of universities [Erkkila, 2013, p. 2].

Discussions concerning the accuracy, objectivity and usefulness of ratings for the society do not cease until today. Most of the international rankings are cumulative, but at the same time, no University in the world achieves the "excellent" in all areas of study. In this connection, a serious question arises: is the University reputation or its performance measured? At the same time, we should not forget that reputation is more of a social model, and productivity, in turn, is based on mutual evaluation within the academic community. However, the ratings continue to have quite a powerful influence, and the CHERPA consortium, which led to the establishment of new forms of global and international management organization, is based on comparison and objectively-informed management decisions. The results of this rating served as a strong evidence, which became a trigger for politicians to implement new social and economic reforms and overcome the emerging resistance in the field of education.

Currently, international rankings are used as a political tool for political, social and managerial decision-making based on empirical data collected. The results are a sub-complex hierarchy, which is expressed in a positional number, according to which the state can allocate and legalize funding for higher education. Today, governments want to "have at least one Harvard University" in their state" to demonstrate their economic competitiveness in the field of education on the world stage.

The established system of ranking and strict hierarchy of universities contributes to the destruction of their reality and essence. World rankings by some authors are understood as "scenarios of international policy" [Gornitzka, 2013, p. 3], which spread in different national structures and became the beginning of the legalization of higher education reforms.

Most of the international rankings are criticized by the scientific community and society as a whole for the ambiguous methodology and lack of objective information for clients and customers, which, in the bulk, are students and parents (in the process of choosing a University).

As part of the expert interview, it was also revealed that the introduction of Russian universities in the international rating system is ambiguous and very difficult issue. Recently, international ratings have become a mechanism of political governance, and as it was noted, "who will make ratings, such results will be obtained". It should also be noted that it is very difficult to build an internal management, educational and scientific system and structure according to the proposed methods and leave their own traditions and identity of the domestic education.

Thus, summarizing the above, it can be specified that the management of scientific projects has a number of features that are based on the key difference of scientific projects – the management is carried out by a scientific, creatively oriented team that works on innovative products. Competent and effective management should use various material and non-material incentives for involvement in scientific work, as well as be based on the symbiosis of authoritarian and democratic style of management.

In modern society, captured by the processes of globalization and aimed at building a common economic, political and educational space, one of the main mechanisms of research projects management in universities at the state and international level is the system of ranking and ranking universities according to certain scientific and educational community measure. Ranking of universities as an ideal type of M. Weber should contribute to the development of scientific and educational potential of higher education institutions, which will ensure healthy competition between educational organizations.

At present, the system of international rankings has become not only a mechanism for managing the scientific activities of universities, but also a political and economic tool that does not always reflect the real situation of the University, which is determined not only by measurable indicators, but also by external, subjective factors. It is extremely difficult for domestic universities to participate in the "international race" because of its distinctive features, as well as the mentality of the entire Russian society.

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*Zaretkhan Saralieva  
Sergei Sudyin*

## Parents about School Violence: A Look into Social Attitudes

### ABSTRACT

The paper presents the results of the research into parental attitudes towards the problem of school violence. The authors have estimated the degree of its importance, ranked different types of harassment in relation to the severity of their subjective perception, identified parental views on modern schooling system and indicators of school violence. The paper also discusses the nature of school violence as a phenomenon.

**Keywords:** modern Russian schooling system; school violence; sociology of education and school; parents-to-children relationships; socio-cultural context

At first sight, the importance of the problem of school violence seems rather contradictory; the society definitely recognize its importance, however, at the same time both school students and their parents lack relevant experience in how to deal with it effectively.

We believe that one of the reasons might be that parents themselves either idealize their childhood memories when they used to study at school or intuitively suppose that their children do not feel as much comfortable and safe at school as they want them to. Be that as it may, we should focus on constructing the problem of school violence based on parents' involvement which will include identification of habitual forms of violent behavior within school: verbal harassment, fights, etc.

**Table 1: Parents' assessment of the problem of school violence**

How would you assess the importance of the problem of school violence?	Frequency	%
<b>The problem is not acute, there is much ado about nothing.</b>	28	12,4
This problem is actual, otherwise it would not be discussed so much	<b>138</b>	<b>61,3</b>
<b>This problem is one of the most important, highly likely, the worst problem in modern schooling system</b>	57	25,3
<b>No answer</b>	2	,9
<b>Total</b>	225	100,0

School violence can appear in different forms and, depending on various factors, can be assessed differently. This table presents 11 most common and odious forms of violent behavior:

- group pressure and boycott;
- beatings and tortures;
- sexual harassment: rape, undressing, touching;
- extortion of pocket money, personal belongings, devices;
- homosexual violence;
- public insults to the child and / or his or her loved ones;

- mocking at physical disabilities;
- promoting false information about your child (slander);
- forcing a child to smoke or use alcohol or drugs;
- forcing a child to perform non-prestigious tasks, for example, cleaning a classroom;
- posting intimate or indecent photos or personal facts on the web

We believe that the key factor which will determine severity of the subjective perception of each form is the respondent's gender. Based on this approach, we ranked the averages for either of it. According to our initial expectations, most respondents named homosexual violence as the most psychotraumatic form of violent behavior towards a boy. However, when it comes to girls, such type of violence becomes less important since the society probably perceive physical and, perhaps, psychological consequences of female-to-female contacts as relatively easy. Another reason can be weaker aggressiveness typical of female groups. Table 2 presents comparison of rankings for boys and girls.

**Table 2: Comparison of rankings for boys and girls.**

Type of harassment	Boys			Girls		
	Mean (max=5)	N	StD	Mean (max=5)	N	StD
group pressure and boycott;	4,96	99	1,984	5,49	110	2,110
beatings and tortures;	3,74	100	1,733	3,83	111	1,808
sexual harassment: rape, undressing, touching;	<b>2,27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1,814</b>	<b>1,96</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>1,911</b>
extortion of pocket money, personal belongings, devices;	6,80	97	2,149	7,00	109	2,130
homosexual abuse;	<b>2,12</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1,689</b>	<b>2,49</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>1,798</b>
public insults to the child and / or his or her loved ones;	6,85	99	1,815	6,80	110	1,967
mocking at physical disabilities;	7,15	100	2,017	7,05	111	1,904
promoting false information about your child (slander);	8,59	99	2,343	8,76	110	2,045
forcing a child to smoke or use alcohol or drugs;	5,03	98	2,392	5,36	110	2,467
forcing a child to perform non-prestigious tasks, for example, cleaning a classroom;	10,07	98	1,954	10,21	110	1,843
posting intimate or indecent photos or personal facts on the web	7,21	99	2,677	6,72	111	2,684

There are many different ways how parents and students can be involved into solving the problem of school violence, however, the global nature of the phenomenon which affects the whole class must not leave anyone indifferent.

Thus, in the structure of the conflict we can outline the following roles: the victim of violence, the offender, the instigator, the indifferent viewer, the peacemaker. Unique intraclass stratification divides the class into subgroups with different levels of social prestige and makes it impossible to establish relations without losing prestige in any of these cliques.

Another interesting aspect we focused on is parental perceptions of the most acceptable social roles as, in our opinion, subjective pictures of the situation will (with a high degree of



probability) determine both behavioral patterns which a child acquired in the family and the level of a student's competence to deal with conflicts. As we have expected, the role of the victim is seen as the least desirable (none of the respondents chose it in their questionnaires) while the one of a peacemaker was preferred by the most. Unfortunately, we have also discovered an upsetting fact: the bulk of the parents surveyed would prefer to see their child in the role of an indifferent viewer. As they believe, watching from a safe distance is undoubtedly better than being a victim or an offender, however, it may signal low interest to students' problems even among their closest environment, the feeling of indifference.

As school violence has no specific symptoms, preventing a possible disaster has become a separate and complex task. Based on parental perceptions, we have drawn up a list of indicators (presented in Table 3) which confirm the child's being involved into victimizing relationships.

**Table 3: Indicators of school violence based on parental perceptions**

	N = 225	
	Number of ticked statements	Not given
Steady decline in academic performance;	134	91
Bruises and body scratches;	191	34
Increased need for money;	131	94
<b>Unwillingness to go to school;</b>	<b>193</b>	<b>32</b>
Wish to change school;	170	55
Long-time depressions;	146	79
Abnormal interest to sex;	124	101
Dirty clothes and torn school books or copybooks;	157	68
Losing friends;	140	85
Changes in relationships with parents, aloofness;	164	61
Attempts to commit suicides.	138	87

Steady decline in academic performance, presence of bruises and body scratches and desire to move to another school were selected by parents as key indicators of school violence. Considering the above mentioned we can assume that other possible signs will look much less suspicious in the eyes of parents and, therefore, will not trigger attempts to investigate the reasons behind them.

Measuring social attitudes towards school class as a system of interaction, communicative environment and the role of each specific child in it can clearly demonstrate the level of anxiety among parents, subjective perception of danger which a school students may encounter at school.

Below are presented parental perceptions about the functioning of class staff and school students and their estimation on a 5-point scale.

**Table 4: Parental perceptions about class staff and school students and models of behavior among them**

Statement	N	Mean (max=5)	Mode
One should not intervene into school practice	225	2,13	1
All is good to protect your child.	224	3,53	5
If the class suffers from violence, adults - parents and teachers – are to blame.	225	3,78	5
Fights and insults are routine elements of school life.	225	2,01	1
Further violence in response to an act of violence will only escalate it and will not be able to solve this problem.	225	4,07	5
Use the same weapon as your foe used against you	225	2,40	1
We must fight for justice till the end.	224	4,10	5
One must stand for himself/herself	225	4,70	5
Parents must intervene if teachers are no longer able to control the situation	225	4,59	5
If you are beaten and humiliated, blame yourself.	225	1,88	1

The analysis of the data clearly shows that parents do not tend to see the class as a self-regulating and harmonious system: most respondents strongly disagreed with the statement that nobody should intervene into kids' team. Some parents also blamed school teachers for creating uncomfortable atmosphere in the class and were ready to intervene into the situation on condition school staff are longer able to keep it under control.

We were pleased to claim that although parents admitted ability to fight for oneself as an important countermeasure to survive, most of them do understand that escalation of violence is a way to nowhere in solving school problems.

Determining the causes of school violence as a social phenomenon is no less important than preventing it in each specific case. Measuring social attitudes in relation to socio-psychological, economic and medical factors of school violence will help to dispel deeply rooted stereotypes about school violence or assess them quantitatively. Table 5 shows parents' perceptions of factors of school violence.

**Table 5: Parental perceptions of school violence factors**

Statement	N		Mean (max=5)	Mode
	Total	No answer		
School violence can be observed only in industrial or poor areas, prestigious schools hardly ever have it.	224	1	1,85	1
School violence is typical for now, in “our” good old days it did not exist. .	222	3	2,52	3
School violence is more common for schools with students with diverse nationality backgrounds.	223	2	2,66	3
<b>School violence has always existed, only its forms are changing.</b>	<b>223</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3,69</b>	<b>5</b>
School violence is becoming wide spread since the society has got divided into the rich and the poor.	224	1	2,87	3
<b>The world has become too much aggressive, aggression has affected schools too.</b>	<b>224</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3,92</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>School is a mirror of social relations.</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3,88</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Psychic health of school students is much worse now than before.</b>	<b>224</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3,94</b>	<b>5</b>

The data clearly shows that respondents perceive school violence as a permanent phenomenon that is not tied to the factors of now: it has always existed, but the modern world with its technologies has significantly enriched the repertoire of victimization practices while the decline in mental health exacerbated their manifestation. Such factors as social stratification or ethnic diversity within one particular class are not seen by respondents as decisive: the assessment of these indicators lies in the middle area of the continuum.

*Elena Yu. Ivanova  
Natalya V. Kuznetsova  
Elena I. Pronina*

## **The Formation of Gender Culture in the System of Higher Education**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article discusses gender practices in Russia and analyses the content of gender subjects, taught in Russian universities. The authors focus on the formation of gender culture in the system of higher education.

**Keywords:** gender; gender practices; gender culture formation; gender education

*Any woman who understands the problems of running a home  
will be nearer to understanding the problems of running a country.  
(Margaret Thatcher, British politician)*

Nowadays, humanitarian sciences are showing an increasing interest in gender issues. The term gender was identified in scientific sources in a number of countries around the world in the 1960s. The study of the gender perspective dates back to the 90s. In November 1990, the 1st International Conference was held under the auspices of UNESCO and the Moscow Center for Gender Studies was established. Russian scientists systematized the concept and studied global gender concepts.

During the preparation for the Fourth World Conference on Women's position and status, held in Beijing in September 1995, the issue of the meaning of the term "gender" was put under experts' consideration. Thanks to the experts, the legitimacy of such notions as "gender", "gender policy", "gender practice" in scientific lexicon was confirmed.

Gender and gender relations in a particular society do not exist by themselves - they are created and reproduced in people's lives in a specific time and space.

In Russian Federation, there is a legislative ground for the gender equality, though in our opinion, yet it is fair to raise the issue of overcoming gender asymmetry in our society, eliminate unemployment wearing a so-called "woman's face" and carry out an examination of all regulatory acts, adopted by the Government of the Russian Federation and the State Duma.

It should be recognized that the cause of gender asymmetry is not only in the economy, but also in people's consciousness. Such phrases as "not a woman's business ...", "a woman's profession" and others have become common in our society. Traditional stereotypes on "femininity" and "masculinity" strictly prescribe what is a priority for a woman. Among the persistent stereotypes there is an opinion that politics is more likely to be men's business. It is crucial to eliminate the discrimination of women's image in the media. For instance, China's

legislation prohibits publication of materials that degrade woman's dignity. The main goal of the majority of Russian men's and women's magazines is gender stereotypes formation and determination of the traditional image of woman as a wife, housewife or mistress.

Unfortunately, the leading Russian magazines and newspapers practically do not touch upon serious gender issues. Only a few women in Russia have reached the level of decision-making in politics or have become members of Russia's major companies boards. In the statutes of many political parties, gender equality norms are not represented; the speeches of some political parties leaders often contain patriarchal or sexist ideas. Therefore, within the framework of the implementation of gender policy in Russia, it is advisable to conduct mandatory gender expertise of existing laws and draft laws; introduce gender indicators in government programs; create an effective system of gender education and educate the population [Meleshko T.A., Yukina I.I.; 2007, p.36].

Almost all academic institutions undertake gender research. The fifth international interuniversity conference on gender issues "Gender practices: description, reflection, interpretation", held in November 2005 in St. Petersburg, has become an important contribution of Russian scientists in the implementation of gender studies [Meleshko T.A., Yukina I.I.; 2007].

The gender culture formation and gender education in society resulted in the spread of gender education in Russia and the development of original educational author's disciplines: "Genderology and Feminology" (R. G. Petrova, Moscow); "Gender sociology" (L. Tartakovskaya, Moscow); "Gender Management" (S. D. Reznik, Penza);, "Theory and methodology of gender studies" (O.A. Voronina, Moscow); "Russian gender studies" (A. Temkina, St. Petersburg). One of these articles authors has been reading the course on "Genderology and feminology" for students of the social department at the Luberetsk branch of the RSSU for years. New definitions and new educational disciplines, in particular "Gender psychology" are occurring in the scientific world.

It seems relevant for the sociologists to study the causes of violence in families, to diagnose family conflicts. Social workers already provide qualified assistance to women who have been subjected to domestic violence. The discipline called "Genderology" was included in the curricula of senior courses in a number of humanitarian institutes in 2002. The course "Gender sociology" covers the problem of gender socialization and gender employment. In developing courses on gender, several objectives are being achieved: the formation of students' sociocultural opinions on different types of gender relations and gender practices in Russia and in the world; training of students in gender analysis of social phenomena and processes; the development of techniques and technologies of gender expertise of normative legal acts relating primarily to the Family and Labor Codes of the Russian Federation and other legal acts.

Particular attention should be paid to gender management practices, since the market economy should favor the implementation of women's entrepreneurship. Gender management styles are becoming nowadays agenda.

It is also noteworthy that the most efficient is the course on "Integrated step-by-step system of continuous practical business training of students during the entire period of study at the university", developed by Professor Reznikov (Penza), and during the course the students are trained to become specialists in "Organization Management" and "Gender Management".

During gender courses, students perform creative tasks; learn on specific examples how to conduct the gender expertise of normative legal acts; undertake sociological surveys to analyze the family and gender preferences of young people. Preparation of diploma projects on gender issues makes contribution to the formation of young specialists' gender culture as well.

This is just a small list of existing problems in the implementation of gender culture in the system of higher education.

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*Anna V. Anikina  
Valentina P. Polozova*

## **Nizhny Novgorod Evangelical Protestantism: Experience of Sociological Survey**

### **ABSTRACT**

The objective is to study social characteristics of the parish of one of the Nizhny Novgorod Evangelical churches. The methodology is a pilot sociological survey (questionnaire) of believers in Nizhny Novgorod association of Christian churches of the gospel "Bible Center "Embassy of Jesus". Socio-demographic characteristics of believers, their gender characteristics, processes of socialization in the community are identified. Peculiarities of the families of the Nizhny Novgorod Pentecostals, value preferences of the parishioners are shown. A conclusion on the development of the Nizhny Novgorod Pentecostalism in the context of the all-Russian reality is drawn.

**Keywords:** evangelical Protestantism; Nizhny Novgorod Pentecostalism; social characteristics; charismatism; value preferences

Contemporary confessional diversity in Russian society is represented by Protestant associations, among which Pentecostal communities demonstrate the highest growth rates. Today, Pentecostalism covers religious groups of different religious principles, cultic characteristics and history of origin. Pentecostalism has become an important factor in the evolution of modern Christianity. It is the Pentecostal communities that give us patterns of intense religious life.

The stigmatization of charismatics in Russian society intensified in the middle of the 20th century with the release of the film "Clouds over Borsk" ("Mosfilm", 1960, directed by V. Ordynsky). The film tells us about the life of Olya Ryzhova, senior pupil who could not find understanding among the people around her. This led her to Pentecostals, who advocate doctrine of baptism of the Holy Spirit with the sign of languages - glossolalia. The film was made after the famous speech of N. Khrushchev, who believed that with the construction of the material base of communism by 1980, religion would disappear. Audience of 22.7 million people proved that the topic was interesting. The film was considered as a form of anti-religious propaganda among the population.

This stigma has survived even today, although Pentecostal communities have a fundamentally different social structure in terms of education, employment, demographic characteristics. Differences in religious doctrine are also significant. Let us agree with the words of I.G. Kargina, which can be applied to Pentecostals: "for Protestant believers, it is the norm to visit the church weekly and be involved in internal church activities". In addition, during the Protestant "church services it is almost impossible to meet an accidental person who has come to



watch or just listen ..." [Kargina; 2004, p. 50]. That is why the methodology for studying the cult activity of Pentecostal believers must differ substantially from the methods of all-Russian surveys.

Pilot sociological study of the parish of the Nizhny Novgorod association of Christian churches of the gospel Bible Center "Embassy of Jesus" (N = 213, of which 43.2% of men and 56.8% of women) made it possible to identify socio-demographic and gender characteristics, socialization processes, value preferences and also family characteristics of the Nizhny Novgorod Pentecostals.

According to the data received, half of the respondents (47.9%) "accepted Jesus Christ as their Lord and Savior" more than five years ago, almost a third of respondents (28.1%) are converts (24.9% – "one or two years ago", 3.2% – "very recently"), and one in five (18.8%) became a member of the Church "three to four years ago." It should be noted that men predominate among the neophytes, and among the long-time followers are women.

Three quarters of respondents (73.1%) are young people from 20 to 45 years old, with school education – 11 classes (18.4%), secondary technical - technical school, college (22.6%), higher education – specialist (25.9%). About half of the respondents (47.9%) are Pentecostals for more than five years. The absolute majority (91.5%) are Russians, they live in Nizhny Novgorod (79.3%). Half of the respondents (50.9%) are married. Most of them (70.3%) have children. The Evangelical Christians believe that in the minds of the Russians lives a myth about "market basket of consumer goods", "European way of life", "wanted child", so they see a way out of the demographic deadlock in improving "the moral condition of society and the establishment of a traditional family institution." More than half of the respondents (55.6%) have one (33.0%) or two (22.6%) children, one in ten (12.7%) – three and 1.9% – four or more.

In general, most parishioners are optimistic about their financial situation. Thus, three quarters (73.6%) consider that "money is enough", 15.0% – "they do not deny themselves anything". However, every tenth (11.3%) actually survives ("we live from paycheck to paycheck", or "buying clothes is difficult"). In the opinion of the leaders of the Pentecostal movement, "the family should become a place of salvation in ... "flood" of the great corruption of man on earth" [Vituk; 2012, p. 204]. Such salvation for the parishioners becomes faith, which can also be expressed in prayers. Prayer is the safety of a Christian in a sinful world, salvation and protection, work and rest. According to our data, the majority of respondents of BC "Embassy of Jesus" (84.9%), including married ones (84.4%) pray daily (Table 1). And, every fourth respondent prays for more than 20 minutes (25.8%), every third (37.6%) for 10-15 minutes, and every sixth (16.0%) for at least 3–5 minutes [Anikina; 2016, p. 244].

**Table 1: Frequency of prayer of believers, (%).**

Variants of answer	Family status			
	Married	Single	Divorced	Widower
Once or twice a day	44,0	41,8	28,6	37,5
Several times a day	40,4	41,8	60,7	50,0
Several times a week	7,3	6,0	3,6	12,5
Several times a month	0	1,4	0	0
In critical situations	1,8	0	0	0
Difficult to answer	0,9	3,0	0	0
An other answer	5,6	6,0	7,1	0
In total	100	100	100	100

For a believer, prayer, accompanied by fasting, has great strength: one must fast in order to change and become closer to Christ. Refusing to eat, a Christian receives from God supernatural help for his Spirit. Fasting and prayer "strengthen the spirit of man, make free from vices, reveal God's secrets for life." According to our data, only 6.5% of respondents strictly observe the Christmas fast. Among them - the majority of divorced (14.3%) and widowed (37.5%) people. A third (31.5%) of respondents do not fast: widowed and family respondents have the minimum indicators (25.0% and 27.5% respectively). Half of the believers (54.0%) fast but not strictly.

The essence of charismaticism is expressed through the relationship of a person with God. Analysis of the data showed that 70.0% of the respondents feel the presence of God constantly, almost a quarter of respondents (23.5%) feel God either "in difficult times" (9.9%) or "sometimes" (13.6%). The presence of God in the "difficult time" is felt among family (11.9%) and widowed (13.0%) respondents twice as often as among the single (6.0%) ones. According to the teaching, a person in a biblical family "has the opportunity to express himself more vividly through communication and service to relatives." This idea is expressed in the absolute recognition by respondents of the "joy of communicating with like-minded people" in the Church, "the ability to receive instruction from God's Word," "gaining grace," "the ability to resist the temptations of this world" and "opportunities for serving God" (more than 98% of answers).

Our study showed that before coming to the Evangelical Church, 56.0% of family respondents were Orthodox, one in five found it difficult to answer the question (19.3%), and one in six (15.6%) was non-religious. These data indirectly confirm the picture of Russian religiosity: weak influence of the Orthodox clergy on parishioners and some dynamics of churching among believers. In this case, icons as sacred objects have in their homes 12.5% of widows, almost one in ten of the single (9.0%) and only 3.0% of the married respondents. Three quarters of married (74.3%) and half of widowed (50.0%) respondents said that they do not have icons at home (among unmarried and divorced – 65.7% and 67.9% respectively). Analyzing the value preferences of the respondents, we note that the married members of the Biblical Center placed religion and faith in fifth line (70.6%). The fourth line is the desire to "be useful to people" (74.3%). Leading positions

were occupied by love (96.3%), health (91.7%) and family (86.2%) - universal values. These indicators are slightly higher than in the whole. Married respondents of the "Embassy of Jesus" consider such concepts as "honesty and decency", "mercy", "clean conscience" to be higher than material prosperity. One in three (34.9%) equally found the "Homeland" and "justice" to be important for themselves, and every fourth (24.8%) - "interesting work", "respect for others", "quiet life", and also "friends". Let us agree with the conclusions of I.G. Kargina: "Protestants are united in the basic worldview positions - this part of the society is conservative in respect of observing biblical values, is democratically minded and enterprising" [Kargina; 2014, p. 103].

The study showed that the community of the Nizhny Novgorod Pentecostals is a strong, dynamically developing religious organization of believers focused on promising young people with universal values and desire for success. Protestant evangelism is an attractive alternative for educated young people. On the one hand, it corresponds to the attitudes of the liberal ideology of the market adopted in Russian society in recent decades. On the other hand, it provides a choice for realizing a lot of opportunities and improving life. It should be underlined that the Pentecostals try to actualize the most important cultural quality: personal, family and community discipline. Propaganda of stability of relations, desire to overcome family crises along with active cultural activity and mutual help in home groups attract female parishioners, raising their self-esteem. The female respondents of the Bible Center "Embassy of Jesus", on the one hand, build certain worldview attitudes, on the other hand, reproduce the stereotypical behavior that is characteristic of all women in society. Their context-independent strategy helps them find like-minded people both in their religious environment and in the social continuum. That's why the transition of women to the evangelical church is easy, and they are the majority in the religious association. This factor becomes the most important in the question of indoctrination. Social status is also of great importance. Pentecostal activities are directed at various groups that require special attention and care (the poor, people who have fallen into a difficult life situation, inclined to deviant behavior). Of great importance is the fact, that such practice is considered to be one of the channels of distribution by religious organizations of their views, including among non-believers, or followers of other confessions, i.e. missionary work [Aster; Galushko; 2011, p. 8].

Thus, Pentecostalism is spread "by its own strength and its own ways" [Martin; 2012, p.268]. Socio-economic conditions of modern Russia allow the Nizhny Novgorod charismatic to overcome the negative public attitude and become a specific force in Russian society.

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*Zara Gevorkian*

## The Impact of Religion on Political Regime Formation

### ABSTRACT

The article is dedicated to the influence of religion on public administration in the historical context and, based on the analysis of this influence, it is argued that religion is the key link in the formation of the political regime. The author believes that it is no accident that almost all absolute monarchies today are Islamic States, and true democracy is possible only on Christian foundations.

**Keywords:** religion; political regime; secularization; Sharia; totalitarianism; democracy

The basis of public management has always been formed from a big spectrum of different factors. No need to list all of them, but it is essential to group them into four well-known layers: economical, political, social and religious. No doubts that political and economical factors drive day-to-day methods of public management due to their direct impact to social processes. Speaking about social and religious factors could be more tricky, because of their very strong correlation on each other, in first place, and, secondly, because of the complicated nature of their influence on public management.

Social factors are transparent due to their uniform nature: almost every citizen faces them (or almost all of them) in everyday life: marriage, family, education, medicine, media etc. Almost all of these can be measured and monitored within small parts of society. At the same time religious factors are formed and functioning overall large social groups, even whole society, despite of the fact, that it is usually controlled by strict structures.

Religious layer is more concentrated and centralized comparing to social layer. So it could be logical that social factors should have more influence on public management since their handling can be very efficient on the level of even small social groups, like family. But reality is that religion is historically so close to public management that it has driven a lot of management methods and formed most of modern governance forms. By Hegel, religion and the basis of a state are the same entities, despite the role of religion in building political landscape of countries.

Nowadays the superiority is given again to the state. The efforts of such thinkers as Machiavelli, Hobbes, Rousseau, Hegel, etc. theoretically, we prove the thesis that state power is universal, comprehensive, and the power of the Church extends only to believers. Since then, the civilized world has lived by the notion of the supremacy of human laws, that the Church itself must live and act within the framework of state laws.

In modern societies the role of this factor has decreased, but we still can see correlation between level of recognition of close connections at high levels and authoritarianism of state regime [for example: Alan S. Kahan, 2015; Alec Ryrie, 2017; Charles Emmerson, 1913; Francis Fukuyama, 1996; Roberto Ciprian, 2009; Samuel Huntington, 2012; Franc Rode, 1993; Saint Augustine, 2012; Plato Euthyphro, 2013; Michel Houellebecq, 2015].

However, nowadays there are States where religious institutions are recognized and protected by the state. Thus, Muslim law (Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, etc.) consists almost entirely of theological norms of divine precepts, which are objective in Sharia. In 21st century most of developed countries strictly divide religion and politics, but still religion has its strong positions in public management. It is not a new thing for most of people who take part in public management processes that religion should be considered and even used as a strong ally in social policy, and adequate understanding of religious context is a strong tool in hands of officials. Nowadays officials often refer to support from religious institutes within prevention of unwanted transformation of society or, vice versa, to force social mentality shift.

Religion and the Church, as a rule, have always played an important role in the life of society, but not always occupied the dominant position in it and their relationship with the state is not always built the same way. Depending on this, different types of state were formed. Modern domestic theory of state and law, based on the relationship of the state with religion, distinguishes, as already noted, four types of states: secular, clerical, theocratic and atheistic.

In secular states, the interaction between the state and religion is characterized by the fact that all types of religious organizations are separated from the state. For the legal regime of religion and Church in a secular state, the following mainly takes place [Emile Durkheim, 1976; Pew Research, 2011]:

- no religion should be established as a state religion or as a compulsory religion;
- the state has no right to control the attitude of its citizens towards religion;
- religious institutions are separated from the state and equal before the law;
- the state regulates the activities of religious organizations, exercises control over them, but does not interfere in their internal activities, unless the current legislation is violated;
- the state does not provide any of the confessions with any material, financial or other assistance;
- the state shall protect the legitimate activities of religious organizations, ensure their equality before the law, proclaim and give legal effect to freedom of conscience and freedom of religion, including the right to follow or not to follow any religion, to freely choose, possess, impart or act in accordance with any religious or other belief;



- religious organizations shall not participate in the political life of the society, interfere in the affairs of the state or perform any public functions.

In clerical States, the relationship between the state and religious organizations is characterized by the regime of state religion and the Church. This model is manifested in the following:

- a religion shall have the status of a state officially and shall enjoy a privileged position in comparison with other confessions.;
- there is close cooperation between the state and the Church in various spheres of public life (for example, in the education of the younger generation);
- for the Church, the state recognizes the right of ownership of a fairly wide range of objects (land, buildings, structures, religious objects, etc.);
- the Church receives from the state a variety of grants and financial assistance, tax incentives;
- the Church has a number of legal powers (mainly in the field of marriage and family relations);
- the Church has the right to participate in the political life of the country, as well as its representation in state bodies.

In clerical States, despite the presence of the state religion, the merger of the state and the Church, however, does not occur. It is believed that the proclamation of a religion as a state religion shows respect for the majority of population, following that religion.

Nowadays four modern states have the word "Islamic" in their official names. Although some, such as Pakistan, have secularism clauses in their Constitution, but de facto, they are controlled by religious groups with varying degrees of influence. Here are the clerical states, a list of which includes four countries: The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Islamic Republic Iran, The Islamic Republic of Pakistan, The Islamic Republic of Mauritania. In fact, the only principle that unites all these countries is their legal system, which is based on Sharia - a set of regulations that form the beliefs and control the behavior of Muslims [Robert Yengibaryan, 2016].

In Iran, the most consistent Islamization of all spheres of life of the state and society was carried out, total control over the observance of Sharia norms by all citizens was established. In order to strengthen the authority of the religious leaders and to contribute to the spread of the message of Islam outside the country and inside the Islamic Republic, set up a special paramilitary organization called the Islamic revolutionary guard Corps in 1979. Since Islam is ubiquitous in the country, the influence of this organization has grown incredibly. Over time, high-ranking officers from the Guard Corps began to control the largest enterprises of the country along with



representatives of the Islamic clergy. At the same time, Iran is a classic clerical state, because in addition to religious courts, there is also a formally secular government and a President elected by the people. However, the head of state is still considered to be Ayatollah - a spiritual leader and expert in religious law, vested with the power to make decisions in accordance with Islamic law. Another example is Pakistan - formally secular state, despite being called an Islamic Republic. Runs the country leader with no religious education, and most often, it does happen in the military. This, however, does not prevent other religious communities living in the country from being discriminated against. At the legal level, there is a ban on the election of a non-Muslim President. All Executive power in Pakistan is in the hands of the government and the President, but the judiciary and the legislature are de facto severely restricted by the Federal Shariah court, an institution that monitors state compliance with Shariah law. Thus, any law passed by Parliament can be examined by the Islamic court of justice and rejected if there are contradictions with Islamic law. Unlike Iran, Pakistan has not been carried out a total Islamization and young people, despite the significant number of religious survivals has access to Western culture. An unfortunate consequence of the taken in the eighties of the attempts to establish the universal domination of religious norms has become extremely low percentage of people completing secondary education.

The most difficult in determining the type of government for lawyers is the example of Saudi Arabia. As in other States with an Islamic majority, Arabia has a Sharia that limits the power of the king, which in fact gives the monarch power based on divine precepts. The difficulty, however, is that the king is not a religious leader, although necessarily belongs to the descendants of the prophet Muhammad. This leads researchers to believe that Saudi Arabia is a clerical state in which religious norms are put at the service of the ruling dynasty.

In theocratic States, the link between the state and religion is the closest. There is often a complete merging of the state and religion. The following features of the theocratic state are noted as the main features in the literature:

- state power belongs to the Church and the state, and thus acts not only as a political but also as a religious organization;
- the head of state, as a rule, is at the same time the highest religious figure, the Supreme priest, in the hands of which considerable powers are concentrated;
- there is a rigid centralization of the state apparatus, there is no separation of powers;
- the creation of political parties, as a rule, prohibited (Bhutan, Iran, Nepal, Saudi Arabia);
- there is a primacy of religion over law. The regulation of the main aspects of public life is carried out by religious norms, which, in fact, are the right.

The most striking example of a state in which both secular and spiritual power belong to the same person is the Holy See. Because of its uniqueness, it deserves special consideration. It is well known that the Pope is the Primate of the entire Roman Catholic Church. In addition, he heads the Vatican city-state, which on his behalf is governed by an appointed Governor, always chosen from among the cardinals sitting in the Roman Curia. The Pope is the monarch, which the members of the Conclave choose life. However, there are cases when he terminated his powers voluntarily - so Benedict XVI entered in 2013, becoming the second Pope in six hundred years, voluntarily renounced power. According to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, the Pope during his reign is infallible, and all decisions taken by him - faithful and binding. This, however, does not exclude the existence of intra-Church intrigues and does not diminish the role of the government, called the Roman Kuria [Catechism of the Catholic Church...; Catholic Church; Garelli F., 2010].

And Finally, atheistic States, as well as secular ones, have a regime of separation of religion and Church from state. However, here the interaction of the state with religion and the Church often takes hypertrophied forms: religious organizations are either prohibited or, one way or another, are persecuted by the authorities.

The interaction of atheistic States with religion and the Church is usually expressed in the following:

- religious organizations are either prohibited or under strict state control;
- the Church loses its economic basis - its property;
- religious associations are not legal entities and cannot perform legally significant actions;
- it is prohibited to conduct in public places religious sermons, religious rites and rituals;
- publication and distribution of religious literature is prohibited;
- often against the clergy and believers, even the state applies repression;
- freedom of conscience is often reduced to freedom to promote atheism.

The state of militant atheism was the Soviet Union (especially in the early years of its existence), as well as some socialist countries. For example, in Albania the socialist Constitution of 1976 prohibited any religion.

In the modern world, secular, clerical, theocratic state is equally in demand of citizens and political elites. Because of its uniqueness and strong power of religion, Italy may become the center of the force, fighting against islamization. Growing fertility rates, the priority of the family in the culture, liturgy attendance, smart policy of the Pope altogether will be able to save the Western Christian Civilization. Moreover, in political sense this would mean the victory of true Democracy over Totalitarianism [John Pollard].

Based on the modern achievements of the science of the theory of state and law, a civilized state should neither interfere with nor contribute to the formation and development of any ideology in society. To a large extent, this depends on how a state relates to the sphere of ideology. The state should not allow any one ideology to be monopolized in society. The state should also be deideologized. It and its employees cannot follow the line of ideological conception alone. The state, on the basis of legitimate laws, represents the interests of all segments of the population, regardless of their ideological beliefs and beliefs. Genuine pluralism in the spiritual sphere is ensured in the rule of law on the basis of legitimate laws.

Moreover, pluralism in the spiritual sphere is allowed not only because it cannot be otherwise in a legal state, but largely because only pluralism in the spiritual sphere allows for optimal development of science, art, education, religion, etc. World public practice has shown quite convincingly that the basis of stagnation in social development, rotting in all spheres of life is laid when the whole society begins to worship one ideology, or when some one ideology by the state itself is declared the only correct and faithful at all times. As already noted, any state-forming society is objectively pluralistic, it shows a lot of ideological ideas and beliefs among people, so the rule of law, based on legitimate laws, should not only "tolerate" different ideologies, dissent and spiritual emancipation, but also take measures to ensure civilized interaction of different ideas about the life and development of society with each other. The law in a state governed by the rule of law must take into account the objective need for interaction among people committed to different forms of social consciousness, religion, etc.

In a purely practical plan of interaction between the state and religious organizations it should be noted that theocrats, whatever religion they represent, by their ideology, however, as well as ethnocrats, in the end, sow discord in society, since they objectively call for confessional dissociation. Of course, you can understand, but to apply measures of state influence this is not. The forceful conversation of the state with theocrats, as well as with ethnocrats, as history shows, weakens the ideology of justifying the state before a significant part of the population.

The best cure for theocrats - patient education, explanation of the need for trust, justification of the legal necessity of all activities of the state. After all, it is easy to come to the conclusion that from the essence of multi-faith theocracy, as well as from the multinational ethnocracy, natural development should lead only to the rule of law, to justice in the relationship between different faiths, different nationalities. There is simply no other way if the state itself does not bring confusion into the natural and historical development of society. The state, founded its activity on the right, that is, a true legal state – it is a means of freeing people from theocratic, ethnocratic deviations.

As it was mentioned above, the Catholic political doctrine has played and continues to play a significant role in the political discourse of Western countries. After all, political mobilization through electoral participation is not the only form of influence on political processes. Catholicism continues to be the world's largest faith, being represented on all world continents. The formulation of the most important issues of political development in the world, in this regard, can not go unnoticed and is reflected in the programs of political parties of various kinds. At the same time, it is obvious that the current conservative trend in Europe is deprived of its historical roots and ideological justification in conditions when Christianity as such is forgotten and is given the status of only one of the subcultures of the European continent. In an effort to build a society of tolerance and tolerance, many Western governments are destroying the civilizational heritage on which political culture, the legal system and the basic principles of their own societies are based.

This creates the illusion of a society based on secular humanism and acceptance of any views and ideologies. Indeed, it destroys the objective truth and the transcendent principles on which the teachings and philosophical concepts that created the rule of law, the limitation of power, democratic procedures and human rights were based. At a time when such a policy becomes a consensus for the political system, it is possible to speak either about the coming collapse of civilization or about the upcoming emergence of new political forces that are far beyond the traditional political field. The experience of the so-called "populist" parties in European countries shows that such forces are able to get much higher electoral results than predicted by traditional political forces, while possessing more strident rhetoric. One thing is clear, says Henry Sardaryan: in the context of the inability to integrate non-traditional religious groups of the European continent into the society of these countries, the ongoing problems with demography and social development, the rejection of the Christian civilizational heritage are inexorably leading these countries to a large-scale crisis, which the traditional political forces are unable to fight [Henry Sardaryan, 2018].

French historian and publicist Jules Michelet in his treatise "the History of the French revolution" asks whether the revolution was the implementation of the principles of Christianity? He claims that the revolution was the continuation of Christianity although it contradicts to it, at the same time it is heiress of Christianity and its rival.

No matter how controversial this formula may seem, it would be difficult to describe more precisely the relationship between Christianity and liberalism. It did not arise either in Saudi Arabia or other muslim countries. "Christian civilization was destined to become the cradle of both liberalism and Marxism, which could be inspired only by its own ideals, but at the same time carried the basis, which aims at the complete destruction of Christianity as a civilizational and cultural basis of society" [Henry Sardaryan, 2018].

It is difficult for convinced supporters of the idea of forgetting the Christian civilizational heritage to explain the link between, for example, the principle of default and the Federal or decentralized structure of most Western States. Or, say, the principle of solidarity and the stratification of organizations, unions and associations, which in the Western world are called "civil society". Even the principle of separation of powers and the historic separation of Church and secular authorities, laid the Foundation, in particular, and to the legal nature of the state if we replace the gospel in a modern Constitution, and the Pope of Rome.

President of the constitutional court, the functionality in the interpretation of the text containing standards of conduct and prevention of its violation by the head of state will be similar to the attitude of the Executive power. Of course, opposing Christianity supporters of secular humanism could say that this is just a coincidence. But what can be the chance and coincidence in the accepted by them the same positivist concept, where everything is subject to cause and effect?

Indeed, summarizing the Church's ideas at the present stage about the most desirable model of the state system, it will be fully consistent with the concept of a democratic state. It will be a country with any form of government, in which the government will be accountable to the population, decentralized, both vertically (Federal relations) and horizontally (maximum involvement of civil society institutions). Legal status of the individual should be enshrined in the basic legal act should be the protection from the public authorities, which should protect the rights and freedoms of the individual.

The difference is not how the model of relations between citizens and the government should be arranged, but the structure of the government itself, but the purpose for which this complex, balancing structure is aimed. By depriving it of the moral and ethical foundations represented by Christianity, by focusing exclusively on the protection of individual consumer preferences, without transcendent truth and the common good, it will soon become a model of dictatorship for the best-organized minority from the system representing the interests of the majority. And in the modern West, with uncontrolled migration flows, demographic crises, reaching absurd aspirations minorities to subordinate their will to the absolute majority, the destruction of Christianity will mean the inevitable fall of democracy and death of the Great Civilization.

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*Irina S. Ipatova*  
*Svetlana S. Zaitseva*

## Communicative Problems of Counteraction Verbal Aggression

### ABSTRACT

The article deals with the issue of communication problems of resistance to (fighting, coping with) verbal aggression. The definition of this notion is given, the causes of it are discussed. Some verbal and non-verbal ways and methods of preventing this negative communication phenomenon are suggested.

**Keywords:** verbal aggression; insult; causes of verbal aggression; methods of preventing verbal aggression, ways of counteracting verbal aggression

In modern society verbal aggression is quite common, it is something that people are almost used to. A person can be a participant of this action themselves or can take no part in it but percept it as a usual element of everyday life, like the sound of an automobile klaxon or dog barking. Everyone can determine this notion in their own way on the basis of their own life experiences, personal beliefs and just their intuitive ideas [Ipatova, 2013, p. 385-386]. However the notion of verbal aggression, its causes and the ways to cope with it are studied by Linguistics, Psycholinguistics, Sociolinguistics, Psychology, Sociology, they are reflected in Jurisprudence and regulated by law. So let us describe this phenomenon by different aspects of generally accepted ideas. Thus in general meaning verbal aggression can be determined as “all kinds of attacking, domineering verbal behavior”, if more specified, it is “a verbal act replacing an aggressive physical action” [Basovs'ka, 2004, p. 257].

Let us consider the factors that cause and provoke verbal aggression in us and people around us. Experts define the following types of such reasons: biological, psychological, social, sociocultural and communicational ones.

The issue of biological reasons of verbal aggression concerns the sphere of certain in-born mechanisms, instinctive impulses of its possible emergence and this issue remains still a contradictory one. Psychological reasons of verbal aggression include at least two conditions: age-related psychological crises and psychological discomfort, tension. The following reasons are defined as social ones: general (political, economic, cultural) instability in society, which leads to the living standard decline and the rise of the criminal rate and antisocial behavior which results in unspoken approval by public opinion of verbal aggression as a necessary element of verbal behavior of “a modern strong personality”, “a master of life”, as well as violence propaganda in modern mass-media and disappearing or weakening of traditional mechanisms that used to



discourage people from showing verbal aggressiveness (our ancestors, for example, didn't dare to use bad language in the forest as they were afraid of the forest spirit) [Scherbinina, 2008: 84].

As for the sociocultural factors, which determine the intensiveness of verbal aggression manifestation in society, they relate to the traditional form of prevention of physical aggression. Almost in any modern society physical aggression is replaced by socially more acceptable ways of getting rid of negative emotions, for example using abusive words and phrases. Among communicative reasons of verbal aggression spread in the modern world, the most common are stereotypical communication guidelines in the family (a child is taught "to fight back always", "to be the best", etc.), unhealthy communicative surrounding in children companies, where negative personal experience is formed on the basis of insufficient attention to the culture of communication in the family, at school, in society) [Scherbinina, 2004, p. 15-16].

Experts in the sphere of verbal aggression have developed quite a number of methods to control communication of this type. They are in-bedded in teaching language as well as cultural education of school students; for adult people there are workshops which include a separate block of ways and methods of fighting verbal aggression and rudeness.

Among the methods of prevention of verbal aggression in the first place we should mention politeness, in the form of courtesy formulas, euphemisms and just words with positive communicative meaning. Positive statements of the interlocutor combined with a friendly smile and warm intonation allow the negatively oriented collocutor to widen the emotional field and the sphere of the subject of speech, and thereby to switch the attention from the irritant to something familiar and pleasant and to pass over to some other theme. If it is appropriate in a given situation, it is possible to neutralize aggression by a joke.

Counteraction verbal aggression can be based on a number of measures very diverse by nature: from keeping silence to convincing. One can retreat from answering an aggressive statement and then refuse to take part in a conversation before it really starts because just keeping silence can be understood by the interlocutor as paying no attention to their verbal behavior or even as a permission to continue the discussion in this way. A clear barrier reaction to rudeness is a short statement, made with neutral, even cold intonation, polite but without a smile. The most difficult task is to present to an aggressive interlocutor some logically arranged arguments. However it is convincing that allows not only to counteract verbal aggression in a certain communicative situation but also to prevent its recrudescence.

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*Tatyana B. Kazarenkova*  
*Viacheslav I. Kazarenkov*

## **Socio-Managerial and Socio-Cultural Problems of Integration of Education, Science and Business in a Digital Society**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article highlights socio-managerial and socio-cultural problems of integration of education, science and business in a digital society, defines the role of information technology in the development of intercultural interaction within current higher school 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:** intercultural interaction; information technologies; digital society; integration of science, education and business

The article features modern approaches to interpreting the problem of intercultural interaction in various domains of the Russian society and endorses interaction of education, science and business as a catalyst for knowledge economy in a digital society.

The problem of initiating processes of intercultural interaction in the educational environment is of particular importance. University graduates work in international companies, multinational teams, structures of public administration. Therefore, the skills of intercultural interaction assimilated at university are in demand in both Russian and international labor market. The interaction of education, science and business contributes to the development of a modern Russian model of knowledge economy in a digital society.

The scope of management of undergraduates' intercultural interaction at university increases in direct proportion to development of digital society in modern Russia. The latest information technologies, the overall level of information literacy gives impetus to development and improvement of innovative educational information environment at university.

The present-day university manifests a wide range of opportunities for development and improvement of intercultural business social interaction. The educational environment of the university is regarded as a complex multi-ethnic, multi-confessional structure with a multitude of forms of social interaction closely intertwined. Students, teachers, researchers, administrative and managerial staff of the university can simultaneously be participants of various types of social

educational interaction (interpersonal, inter-group, intercultural, interethnic, interdenominational, business and other types of interaction).

The information and educational environment of the University enables students, teachers, researchers, administrative staff to surf the Internet for intercultural interaction with colleagues, students of other countries (Europe, Australia, USA, China, Japan, etc.).

Social and management problems of integration of education, science and business are high on the agenda in the digital economy. Knowledge becomes the groundwork for effective interaction of managers, teachers, scholars, entrepreneurs engaged in decision-making in policies of Russian society.

One of the urgent issues that Russia is encountered with is the search for new sources of economic growth. Endeavors to tackle this issue have to deal with large-scale modernization of traditional sectors of economy on the basis of modern technologies, as well as creation of new industries that provide access to emerging high-tech markets. The transfer of Russian economy to innovative mode assumes rapid development of high-tech industries and services and a radical increase in their competitiveness, which requires further improvement of scientific, technical and innovation policy, enhancing the quality of its methodology and supply resources, strengthening research. [Prognoz nauchno-technologicheskogo razvitiya Rassii 2030 / edited By L. M. Gokhberg; 2014].

The process of assimilating knowledge on the topic of social transformations in politics, economy, education, science, business in a digital society is getting steadily younger. The present-day students are not only seeking to gain generic competencies in a particular field of knowledge, but are increasingly acting as "young entrepreneurs" who are ready to assume responsibility in the implementation of the ideas of economic development of their area, city, country, the world community as a whole. The system of higher education provides opportunities for students to engage in participation in project management and solving business problems (the creation of University business incubators, scientific and educational environment for interaction with entrepreneurs, managers, etc.) Secondary education programs are training aimed at theoretical knowledge. Student body is reckoned to be one of the most creative groups of the population which is apt to pick up information technology, calculate economic benefits and realize their creative abilities. However, they lack specific practical skills, communication with entrepreneurs, scholars of economics which could facilitate their interaction with social institutions of society, their decision-making in the choice of future profession and understanding their mission in society. Administrative and management structures are highly interested in young people that are actively involved in management of Russian economy and social processes (innovative projects "Leaders of Russia", "Leader in education", "Young entrepreneurs").

Effective implementation of the project requires enhanced business competencies of administrative and managerial staff and teachers of secondary schools accountable for organization school business environment. The interaction of educational institutions with the business community, researchers and representatives of municipal, regional, federal organizations depends on creation of permanent working groups with membership of students and schoolchildren.

The development of modern society is determined by many factors, with intensive development of information technology playing the major part. Information technologies are instrumental to research development and higher education reform efforts. The system of higher education, provided it is skilfully managed and perfectly organised, creates unique opportunities for students to obtain key communication knowledge and skills, communication experience. Its uniqueness resides in great variability of models of instruction and the fact that everyone in this system attaches much importance to creating a positive innovative morale in teamwork and cooperation efforts, which results in awareness of education goals by all participants of the educational process and awareness of intercultural interaction as an educational value.

The main mission of the international research centre "SOCIUM 2035" is to synergise creative energy of researchers 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 scientific community and young people in scientific, educational, social, management and business projects at the municipal, regional, federal and international levels.

In modern society it is necessary to define sets of values that are instrumental for youth development in the digital economy, to enhance cooperation between representatives of science, education and business at the municipal, regional, federal levels of management; to design an integrated model of intercultural interaction in education, science and business; to develop criteria of entrepreneurial and business literacy of students and schoolchildren, scientists, teachers, administrative and managerial personnel of educational organizations, heads of municipal, regional, Federal level of authorities, public organizations.

For the effective implementation of this project it is advisable to unite the efforts of the business community, researchers, teachers, administrative staff of educational institutions, heads of municipal, regional and federal authorities, public organizations in developing and defining strategic objectives and curriculum of continuing education, methods, means and forms of learning activities and forms of engaging students in decision-making. The quality of coordination and defining the specific role of each participant is not to be underestimated. The project of such be implemented by a global scale can be implemented by an entrepreneur in collaboration with scholars of higher education.

The authors of this article developed an integrated social and management model of interaction between science, education and business in the context of the modern paradigm of digital society.

Education: knowledge, professional competencies, professional training, development.

Science: fundamental and applied scientific developments, innovative potential, strategic development

Business: investments, implementation of scientific research, creation of innovative infrastructure

‘An important advantage of universities helping them to act as a catalyst for entrepreneurial "enzyme" proliferation is the network potential: emerging local network communities at universities (teacher and students, students of the same group, etc.) which contribute to development of entrepreneurship within and around higher education institutions. The development of entrepreneurial networks can be witnessed in the case of technical universities in the first place. Here intellectual resources, established relations with representatives of the business community and local and regional authorities and various business societies lay the groundwork for entrepreneurial bodies as technoparks, business incubators, etc.’ [Chepurensky; 2007, p. 212-213].

"It is also important for the university to have the appropriate infrastructure which acts as a gateway between the classical university practice and the practices inherent in entrepreneurship. The most important element of the infrastructure is its technology parks. A special role of technoparks is as follows: 1) the results of research centres of the university are commercialized, transformed to innovations; 2) students, teachers and employees of higher educational institutions tap their own potential in creating a new business; 3) cooperation takes place between small innovative entrepreneurs, "techno-starters" and business representatives from the external environment. As a result, the university has the opportunity to maintain and increase its research potential; students are encouraged implement what they have studied in theory; employees and teachers can direct their research at new products and technologies; business structures are able to establish partnerships with the most promising start-up entrepreneurs – innovators" [Chepurensky; 2007, p. 220-221].

Students, teachers, researchers, administrative staff of higher education actively use information technology (Internet, etc.) to communicate with colleagues, students from Russian and foreign universities, to implement international cooperation in science and education.

The development of digital society can contribute to the processes of social justice, the efforts of the world community to create equal opportunities for students.

We carried out a sociological study "Science, education and business in a digital society." The sociological research was conducted during 4 years (2014–2018). 1200 people (students, teachers, researchers, administrative and managerial staff of the higher school, entrepreneurs, and heads of organizations) took part in the expert survey.

The main purpose of the study is to develop an integrated model of interaction between science, education and business in the development of a digital society.

Objectives of the research are as follows: to unveil the main theoretical and methodological approaches to the problem of digital society; to analyze the trends in the development of Russian society in the digital economy; to identify the factors affecting the formation and development of 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 impact of digital economy on science and education; to identify the features of the interaction of science and education in modern Russian society; to determine the priority trends of development of innovative university research and education areas; 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.

Research in the field of information and communication technologies has changed the fabric of higher education. Innovative educational environment enables students, teachers, scientists, entrepreneurs to develop effective intercultural interaction in the digital society.

We conducted a sociological survey covering Moscow universities. The outcomes of the survey are presented in the article.

The response to the question of the survey "Please evaluate the degree of innovation activities in your university that deal with intercultural interaction between universities in a digital society" is as follows: 25% of respondents pointed to the high degree of influence that innovative activity exerts on intercultural interaction between Russian universities and those abroad; 45% of respondents believe that innovative enterprises have a positive impact on the processes of scientific and educational interaction between universities in Russia and foreign countries and allows for more effective development of student mobility (the average degree of influence); 30% of respondents just stated the impact of innovations on intercultural interaction between universities (a small degree of influence).

The response to the question of the survey "Assess the degree (level) of integration of science, education and business in the development of a digital society", is as follows: 54% of respondents evaluate the level of integration as high, 25% as an average, 13% as low, 6% of respondents found it difficult to answer.



The response to the question of the survey "How often do you browse Russian University websites", is as follows: 35% of respondents browse Russian University websites on the regular basis; 45% of respondents often do so; 14% of respondents browse them rarely; 6% of respondents found it difficult to answer.

The response to the question of the survey "How often do you browse the sites of foreign universities (research and educational centres) of foreign countries (Europe, USA, Australia, Japan, India, China, etc.) is as follows: 18% of respondents browse the sites of foreign universities on the regular basis; 35% of respondents often do so; 32% of respondents rarely browse them; 15% of respondents found it difficult to answer.

The response to the question of the survey "How often do you use the Internet to get the latest scientific and educational information (use the services of electronic libraries and other modern information sources of scientific information" is as follows: 35% of respondents often do so; 48% of respondents do it on the regular basis; 12% of respondents rarely do so; 5% of respondents found it difficult to answer this question

The response to the question of the survey "How often do you participate in international scientific and educational online conferences" is as follows: 38% of respondents said that they are constantly involved; 37% of respondents often participate; 14% of respondents rarely participate; 5% of respondents found it difficult to answer this question

The response to the question of the survey "Do you use social Internet networks for posting scientific and educational information about your university and getting interesting information about partner universities, do you participate in professional Internet forums in social networks" is as follows: 47% of respondents do this constantly; 36% of respondents do this often; 10% of respondents – rarely; 7% of respondents found it difficult to answer.

The response to the question of the survey "Do you use the Internet to obtain scientific and innovative information (scientific and educational grants, scientific and educational forums, sites of electronic scientific journals, etc.)" is as follows: 44% of respondents do it constantly; 35% of respondents often do so; 16% of respondents do it rarely; 5% of respondents found it difficult to answer this question.

The results of the survey show that in the context of development of the digital society it is advisable to cultivate students' and teachers' need to use information and communication competencies to improve the quality of intercultural interaction, professional and educational activities.

Science and education are leaders in the implementation of innovative information and communication technologies. Effective cooperation of science, education and business can raise Russian society and the digital economy to a new level of development.

University education is focused on the professionalization and socialization of students, exposure to self-realization practices. This objective of university education lays the basement for the formation of young people as citizens and professional specialists by incentivising them to creative mode of life. "The integrity of the training of future specialists in higher education has become a cornerstone of turning out a new generation of professionals who are equipped with flexibility and intuitiveness to modernise social and natural environment and demonstrate professional skills in a particular field of science, production, literature, art; professionals who have wide outlook and cherish and sustainable humanistic values and beliefs aimed not only at professional creativity but at successful life-making, and demonstrate a need for personal growth and psycho-emotional self-regulation ability" [Kazarenkov; 2009, p. 73-77].

Potential of university education that underlies formation of a student as a citizen and a professional can be unleashed by joint efforts of all participants of the educational process. One of strategic ways to harness the potential of university education, as far as the objective of preparing students to the roles of citizens and professionals is concerned, is intercultural interaction of students. Enhancing opportunities of university education in intercultural interaction of students is the priority issue for management and teaching staff of universities which necessitates exercising an interdisciplinary approach.

We have identified the following important aspects of unleashing the potential of university education for the purpose of initiating intercultural interaction of students: managerial, motivational, communicational, cognitive and emotional [Kazarenkov, Kazarenkova; 2014].

*Managerial aspect.* University education has significant resources to enable students to manage the process of intercultural interaction. While developing university improvement plan, it is advisable for the management and teachers to clearly define strategic guidelines for social and professional adaptation of students, including their exposure to intercultural interaction. Curriculum design and elaborating motivation schemes should go in line with peculiarity of the department, its traditions, staff and student body characteristics. It is important to evaluate potential of faculties and chairs that are accountable for learning process, extracurricular activities and courses run within continuing education. Heads of the university, faculties and departments can successfully cooperate with teaching staff and students to stimulate civil and professional activity of students in the intercultural educational space. When the goals, programme content, curriculum, methodology and assessment are targeted at facilitating intercultural interaction in class and in extracurricular activities students are more likely to develop social and professional responsibility, to gain interest in international cooperation, to demonstrate sound social and professional adaptation. Objective assessment of students' intercultural knowledge, skills and performance contributes strengthening their creative potential and need for self-perfection.

*Motivational aspect.* University education provides prerequisites for students' search for life values and meaning of human existence, promotes realization of their social and personal interests and needs. University education encourages teaching staff to develop not only cognitive interests and needs of students but also their professional and social needs. It is advisable to foster the need for intercultural interaction as one of most important needs that underlie a student's personal development and professional growth. Graduates of a modern university cannot be satisfied with only acquired professional knowledge and skills; they need social and cultural knowledge either. The growing integration of modern science and education, all areas of production and non-production activities, changes the focus of university education to students' exposure to intercultural interaction in social and professional life, to development of their need to improve business and forge friendly links with representatives of different cultures and nations. The experience of intercultural interaction accumulated at university is conducive to a gradual expansion and deepening of cognitive interests, the need for self-education, the emergence of socially significant sets of values with a value of professional growth as its integral part.

*Communicative aspect.* The modern university creates environment for the successful functioning and development of intercultural interaction. Students' exposure to intercultural interaction takes place both in class and extracurricular activities. The acquired knowledge, skills and experience of intercultural interaction are instrumental in turning out mature and creative graduates ensure successful decision-making in professional sphere in the field of production and non-production. To expand and deepen communicative skills it is advisable to raise the quality of syllabus and methodology for all disciplines. Classes and seminars in various disciplines are delivered more efficiently if interdisciplinary integration coupled with extracurricular activities are often the case. In order to expand and deepen students' communicative knowledge and skills in various academic disciplines it is advisable to draw students' attention to peculiarities of their interaction with representatives of different cultures. It is necessary to foster students' interests in of history, psychology and culture of different peoples and foreign languages emphasise the specifics of communication with people of different cultures and nationalities. When the student assimilates communicative knowledge and skills necessary for effective intercultural dialogue in the classroom, he or she is free to join various forms of extracurricular activities that are built around intensive communication with students from different countries. As a result they accumulate not only experience of intercultural interaction but also patterns of professional behaviour and successful citizenship.

*Cognitive aspect.* The university education promotes intensive development of cognitive strategies of the individual, contributes to students' creative activity in professional sphere. In the educational environment of the university, students are encouraged to deepen and expand their

professional and generic knowledge and skills, masters the ways of knowledge acquisition as such. In classroom and extracurricular activities the student has the opportunity to learn and elaborate on historical milestones of the development of different cultures and nations, languages of different nations, socio-philosophical views of representatives of different cultures, traditions and customs of national communities, and in doing so masters skills of intercultural communication as a result.

*Emotional aspect.* The university education creates prerequisites for providing psychologically comfortable study and meeting students' emotional needs, when they feel free to manifest their noble feelings in integrity of intellectual, volitional and emotional spheres of personality. Intercultural educational environment brings a significant emotional charge to all forms of life of a young person. Establishing intercultural and interethnic relations requires constant self-improvement. By improving their intellectual, aesthetic and moral principles the students improve the quality of their emotional response to the stimuli. The emotional life of students is rich and varied. Emotionally appealing atmosphere of joint activities of students of different nationalities and cultures enriches their social and professional experience, enhances their interest in intercultural communication and fosters their need for intercultural interaction ensuring successful intercultural adaptation.

In the context of current development of human civilization the university acts as the main social institution that provides comprehensive professional training. Professional training is not confined to fostering professional knowledge and skills but it also implies experience of social and intercultural communication integral to formation of the young man's qualities of a citizen and professional.

Intercultural interaction at the university is one of the key points of effective social interaction in university education.

Socialization, professionalization and self-realization of students are strategic objectives of modern higher education. A specialist with higher education is not only a professionally competent employee, but also a highly educated, cultural person with a system of life strategies and humanistic values, able to decision-making in various spheres of life, equipped with social, humanitarian and natural science knowledge, the ability to evaluate and analyze social processes, phenomena and predict their development in the future.

In the context of globalization particular emphasis is placed on modern information technologies which become part and fabric of university education.

The Russian Federation has developed and adopted the state program "Information society (2011-2020)". The priority goals for development of different spheres of Russian society are mostly about increasing their transparency and manageability, as well as improving the competitiveness of the economy as a whole. It is postulated that citizens and organizations should

benefit from the use of information and telecommunication technologies and the latter should be an intermediary for rapid and effective interaction between authorities, citizens and business body.

The main benchmark of the program implementation is the growing rank position of the Russian Federation in the international ranking in terms of the rate of information and telecommunication technologies development coupled with the increase in the number of citizens using public services in everyday life. By 2020 it is planned to increase the proportion of population using electronic public services from 11% (2010) to 85%.

The problem of development and improvement of the processes of intercultural interaction in the educational environment is of particular importance. University graduates work in international companies, in multinational teams. Therefore the skills of intercultural interaction obtained at university are in demand in Russian and international labour markets.

The management of intercultural interaction of students at university is steadily improved with development of information society in modern Russia. Current information technologies, the overall level of information literacy among the population opens up new opportunities for the development and improvement of innovative educational information environment in universities.

The information and educational environment of universities enables students, teachers, researchers, administrative staff to surf the Internet for intercultural interaction with colleagues, students from other countries (Europe, Australia, USA, China, Japan, etc.).

Students, teaching staffs, scientists and scholars participate in international scientific and educational Internet conferences, webinars and use services of electronic libraries all over the world. The information environment facilitates integration of scientific and educational environment of the university into international innovation environment.

The Internet has a significant impact on the development of international mobility of students, teachers and researchers from different countries. The renewal of Russian society affects all its social institutions, higher education included. High level of training in a modern university implies development of intercultural interaction skills. Intensive development of partnerships with foreign universities results in increasing number of recruited undergraduate and postgraduate students, young scholars from Europe, Asia, America and Africa.

The present-day higher education institution of a large city is looked upon as a model of social space for cross-cultural interaction. The efficiency of this micro-society is dependent on psychological stability of its members. The higher the moral and psychological stability is manifested in the team, the higher quality of activity outcomes is evinced as a result of teamwork.

Higher education pursues the goal of assessing personal qualities and professional abilities of future specialists, as each student is the subject and object of an educational space as a prototype of social environment. By maintaining interaction with teachers, staff members and fellow students

the future specialist strives to achieve sound outcomes of interpersonal and corporate communication. Since the educational space of higher education is a multicultural environment the student can't do without skills of intercultural interaction. Therefore it is essential to ensure socially and pedagogically sound management of subjects of interaction at all levels and to create environment conducive to friendly and business communication. Only a positive psychological climate of the whole team warrants the development of students' intercultural skills.

The system of higher education with high-quality organization and skilful management creates unique opportunities for students to obtain necessary communication knowledge, skills and communication experience. The uniqueness of this system is due to the great variability in models of training, focus on creating a psychologically sound team and initiating cooperation between its members, which ultimately results in growing awareness of the role of intercultural communication in sustaining the quality of education.

Cross-cultural adaptation of undergraduates is a complex process which affects many aspects of planning, organization and management. The socio-psychological aspect of intercultural adaptation is of particular importance. Qualitative harnessing of social and psychological factors of undergraduates' intercultural adaptation requires sound research basis to be integrated into management at university level.

Higher education is a catalyst for development of society. Revealing human intellectual and moral potential of a person in educational institutions results in harmonious relations of man with nature and society. Cross-cultural interaction of students contributes to the enrichment of cultural potential of the country which in the long run will affect the nature social interaction. The information environment of universities provides students a wide scope for communication, development of research and educational abilities and social and cultural opportunities of modern youth.

Almost every student can be in demand in the framework of integration in higher education and therefore teaching staff is called to encourage students to mastering arts and humanities, the disciplines of history, philosophy, sociology, cultural studies, foreign language, which are instrumental for unleashing one's personal professional creative potential and the potential of higher education they represent.

Teachers of various disciplines can foster future specialists' interest in intercultural interaction by demonstrating the prospects of maintaining contacts with people of different nationalities living in the Russian Federation and the CIS countries, as well as with partners from European universities.



The modern university is regarded as an educational corporation responsible for generating new ideas, designing models for development of most innovative research areas, and implementing complex management mechanisms. The university world is a world of multi-interaction.

The educational environment rich in intercultural communication provides for student's opportunities to get to know people of various cultures of the world, communicate with representatives of other cultures and develop tolerance to youth environment. Professional training isn't just about equipping oneself with professional skills; it is first of all the process of personal development. It is here, at the university, the professional behaviour conduct is inculcated. Intercultural communication skills gained at university contribute to professional success and life satisfaction.

In response to the question "Evaluate the level of cooperation between university management, teaching staff and students in creating an effective environment for development of intercultural interaction competencies in the university in the context of a digital society", the answers were as follows: 65% of respondents consider the level to be high, 26% medium, 6% low; 3% found it difficult to answer.

In response to the question "Evaluate the level of joint international research and educational programs at your university (with Europe, the USA, Australia, Japan, China, etc.)", the answers were as follows: 35% of respondents consider the level to be high, 44% medium, 13% low; 8% found it difficult to answer.

In response to the question "Evaluate the level of joint research and educational programs in your University with Russian universities", the answers were as follows: 75% of respondents consider the level to be high, 16% medium, 6% low; 3% found it difficult to answer.

In response to the question "Evaluate the level of socio-cultural environment in your university (dance studios, theatre clubs, choir studios, music and drama performances with the participation of foreign students, etc.) answers were as follows: 25% of respondents consider the level to be high, 66% medium, 4% low; 5% found it difficult to answer.

In response to the question "Evaluate the role of information technology in the development of intercultural interaction between students, teachers, researchers, administrative and managerial staff of the university", the answers were as follows: 45% of respondents consider the level to be high, 46% medium, 6% low; 3% found it difficult to answer.

In response to the question "Evaluate the level of cooperation between university management, faculties and students to create an effective information environment for development of intercultural interaction competencies in your university", the answers were as follows: 75% of respondents consider the level to be high, 17% medium, 3% low; 4% found it difficult to answer.



In response to the question "Evaluate the level of information, research and educational infrastructure of your university (technical equipment, etc.)", the answers were as follows: 64% of respondents consider the level to be high, 27% medium, 6% low; 3% found it difficult to answer.

The answers to the question "Evaluate the level of international student mobility in your university" were as follows

31% of respondents rate the level of international student mobility at their university as high; 48% of respondents rate the level of international student mobility at their University as medium; 21% of respondents rate the level of international student mobility at their University as low.

In response to the question "Evaluate the level of intercultural interaction between your home country and Russia in the information society", the answers were distributed as follows

25% of the respondents assess the level of intercultural interaction between Russia and the countries participating in international projects as high;

75% of respondents assess the level of intercultural interaction between Russia and the countries participating in international projects as medium.

The main goals of modern sociological education at university are to equip future specialists in management with theoretical and practical grounds of modern sociology, the basics of intercultural interaction, to reveal the potential of sociological knowledge in the information society, to highlight the main categories and concepts of innovative sociology, to form students' interest in this domain, to invest in students' further development and their success in social and professional life.

In response to the question "Evaluate the impact of the Internet on the development of international mobility of students", the answers were as follows: 28% of respondents consider the level to be high, 45% medium, 13% low; 14% found it difficult to answer.

In response to the question "Evaluate the impact of the Internet on the development of international mobility of teaching staff and researchers", the answers were as follows: 25% of respondents consider the level to be high, 39% medium, 26% low; 10% found it difficult to answer.

In response to the question "Evaluate the level of online educational resources at your university (access learning resources on "personal page of the teacher", reports on the outcomes of scientific and educational activities, etc.)", the answers were as follows: 85% of respondents consider the level to be high, 10% medium, 2% low; 3% found it difficult to answer.

In response to the question "How often do you watch TV scientific and educational programs ("Galileo", foreign language training programs, etc.)", the answers were as follows: 75% of respondents consider the level to be high, 16% medium, 6% low; 3% found it difficult to answer.

In response to the question "Evaluate the level of participation of University students in international sports (Universiade, world and European Championships, Olympic games, etc.)", the answers were as follows: 75% of respondents consider the level to be high, 16% medium, 6% low; 3% found it difficult to answer.

In response to the question "Evaluate the effectiveness of students' participation in international volunteer organizations in sports and cultural events (Olympic games, world festivals, etc.)", the answers were as follows: 75% of respondents consider the level to be high, 16% medium, 6% low; 3% found it difficult to answer.

In response to the question "How often do you use the Internet to clarify information about research and educational activities", the answers were distributed as follows: 75% of respondents consider the level to be high, 16% medium, 6% low; 3% found it difficult to answer.

In response to the question "Evaluate the level of development of 'information society' in the Russian Federation", the answers were as follows: 75% of respondents consider the level to be high, 16% medium, 6% low; 3% found it difficult to answer.

In response to the question "Evaluate the level of participation of students and teaching staff in international social and cultural projects of foreign universities", the answers were distributed as follows: 75% of respondents consider the level to be high, 16% medium, 6% low; 3% found it difficult to answer.

In response to the question "Evaluate the development of Russian and international business incubators at your university", the answers were distributed as follows: 75% of respondents consider the level high, 16% medium, 6% low; 3% found it difficult to answer.

In response to the question "Evaluate the level of international research and educational cooperation at your university in terms of implementing the project 'TOP 5 out of 100' aimed at enhancing the status, rating rank and competitiveness of leading Russian universities in list of top research and education institutions all over the world", the answers were as follows: 75% of respondents consider the level to be high, 16% medium, 6% low; 3% found it difficult to answer.

The priority measures that can be taken to enhance the quality of university education in the information society are as follows:

1. Prioritising the objective of fostering MBA students' sociological culture in the context of information society;
2. Designing curriculum that allows for modules that define the basis of the social culture and ensure understanding of contemporary social transformations;
3. Designing the original (author's) training courses in sociology, arts and humanities targeted at developing students' personal aptitudes and professional skills by means of sociological knowledge and practical competences that are in demand in the information society;

4. Integrating the syllabus of social sciences and humanities and designing interdisciplinary training and optional courses with such learning outcomes as humanistic outlook, stable sets of social values;

5. applying methodology and learning resources that develop students' sociological culture and skills of intercultural interaction, incentivise them to creative style of life and foreseeing prospects of self-realization in the modern information society;

6. Employing qualitative assessment of the effectiveness of university education in terms of social sciences and humanities;

7. Expanding the scope of practical sociological training of students.

The current university education is integrated into all spheres of human life and society. The development of intercultural interaction of students in the information society is an urgent problem of modern sociology. The problems of sociological education of specialists in management can be tackled in line with major problems of mankind such as welfare, sustainable development and survival. Education on social and human issues, as it is often featured in the world research, is a real means of solving the above mentioned problem in the context of information society.

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## Freedom of Speech: Between the Right and the Limitation

### ABSTRACT

The purpose of the article is to reveal the concept of freedom of speech. An excursus into the history and analysis of laws in this area show that on the one hand a person has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, but on the other hand society always imposes certain restrictions and duties related to this right. Having analyzed the freedom of speech concept founders' works the author singles out several important aspects of the free speech right: apart from the right to express information and ideas there is also the right to seek information, receive it and transfer it further (e.g. according to J. Milton). In the issue of free speech limitations one should be guided by the "harm principle" formulated by J. Mill, who states that the freedom of speech should be restricted in order to protect other people from the potential harm uncontrolled information may cause. The freedom of speech issue has become topical again in connection with the advent of the digital age and innovative means of communication which impose new restrictions and provoke public debate. According to the results of a sociological survey conducted in Voronezh by the Public Opinion Institute "Qualitas" there is a request from population for some freedom of speech restriction since it sometimes borders on permissiveness. As a results the author concludes that freedom of speech should be limited for the sake of public order. An important condition for such a restriction is a reasonable causative connection between the right to free speech and the harmful effects that may arise in the absence of control over the information disseminated.

**Keywords:** freedom of speech, human rights, "harm principle", extremism, the Internet, censorship, opinion poll

Speech is God's gift to mankind. Through speech a human being conveys his thoughts, sentiments and feeling to others. Freedom of speech and expression is thus a natural right, which a human being acquires on birth. It is, therefore, a basic right. However, the topic of free speech is one of the most contentious issues in liberal societies. Speech is important because we are socially situated and it makes little sense to say that Robinson Crusoe has a right to free speech. It only becomes necessary to talk of such a right within a social setting, and appeals to an abstract and absolute right to free speech hinder rather than help the debate. Every society places some limits on the exercise of speech, because it always takes place within a context of competing values. The crucial question is whether this right really needs to be restricted, for what reasons and to what extent.

"Freedom of speech" is the right to articulate one's opinions and ideas without fear of government retaliation or censorship, or societal sanction [Mill; 1859, p. 5]. The term "freedom of expression" is sometimes used synonymously, but includes any act of seeking, receiving and imparting information or ideas, regardless of the medium used.

The right to freedom of expression is recognized as a human right under article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and recognized in international human rights law in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Article 19 of the ICCPR states that "everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference" and "everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice". Man as rational being desires to do many things, but in a civil society his desires have to be controlled, regulated and reconciled with the exercise of similar desires by other individuals. Therefore, the version of Article 19 in the ICCPR later amends this by stating that the exercise of these rights carries "special duties and responsibilities" and may "therefore be subject to certain restrictions" when necessary "or respect of the rights or reputation of others" or "or the protection of national security or of public order (order public), or of public health or morals"[International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; 2008]. Therefore, freedom of speech and expression may not be recognized as being absolute, and common limitations to freedom of speech relate to libel, slander, obscenity, pornography, sedition, incitement, fighting words, classified information, copyright violation, trade secrets, non-disclosure agreements, the right to privacy, the right to be forgotten, public security, and perjury. Justifications for such include the "harm principle", proposed by John Stuart Mill in *On Liberty*, which suggests that: "the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others." [Mill; 2016]. The idea of the "offense principle" is also used in the justification of speech limitations, describing the restriction on forms of expression deemed offensive to society, considering factors such as extent, duration, motives of the speaker, and ease with which it could be avoided.

With the evolution of the digital age, application of the freedom of speech becomes more controversial as new means of communication and restrictions arise, for example the Golden Shield Project, an initiative by Chinese government's Ministry of Public Security that filters potentially unfavorable data from foreign countries.

The right to freedom of expression includes the right to take and publish photographs of strangers in public areas without their permission or knowledge.

Based on John Milton's arguments, freedom of speech is understood as a multi-faceted right that includes not only the right to express, or disseminate, information and ideas, but three further distinct aspects:

1. the right to seek information and ideas;
2. the right to receive information and ideas;
3. the right to impart information and ideas.



International, regional and national standards also recognize that freedom of speech, as the freedom of expression, includes any medium, be it orally, in written, in print, through the Internet or through art forms. This means that the protection of freedom of speech as a right includes not only the content, but also the means of expression [Puddephatt; 2005, p. 128].

The right to freedom of expression is particularly important for media, which plays a special role as the bearer of the general right to freedom of expression for all. However, freedom of the press is not necessarily enabling freedom of speech. Judith Lichtenberg has outlined conditions in which freedom of the press may constrain freedom of speech, for example where the media suppresses information or stifles the diversity of voices inherent in freedom of speech. Lichtenberg argues that freedom of the press is simply a form of property right summed up by the principle "no money, no voice" [Sanders; 2003, p. 68].

Thomas I. Emerson expanded on this defense when he argued that freedom of speech helps to provide a balance between stability and change. Freedom of speech acts as a "safety valve" to let off steam when people might otherwise be bent on revolution. He argues that "The principle of open discussion is a method of achieving a more adaptable and at the same time more stable community, of maintaining the precarious balance between healthy cleavage and necessary consensus." Emerson furthermore maintains that "Opposition serves a vital social function in offsetting or ameliorating (the) normal process of bureaucratic decay" [Marlin; 2002, pp. 226–227].

Research undertaken by the Worldwide Governance Indicators project at the World Bank, indicates that freedom of speech, and the process of accountability that follows it, have a significant impact in the quality of governance of a country. "Voice and Accountability" within a country, defined as "the extent to which a country's citizens are able to participate in selecting their government, as well as freedom of expression, freedom of association, and free media" is one of the six dimensions of governance that the Worldwide Governance Indicators measure for more than 200 countries [World Bank; 2017].

Richard Moon has developed the argument that the value of freedom of speech and freedom of expression lies with social interactions. Moon writes that "by communicating an individual forms relationships and associations with others – family, friends, co-workers, church congregation, and countrymen. By entering into discussion with others an individual participates in the development of knowledge and in the direction of the community" [Marlin; 2002, p. 229].

However, legal systems sometimes recognize certain limits on the freedom of speech, particularly when freedom of speech conflicts with other rights and freedoms, such as in the cases of libel, slander, pornography, obscenity, fighting words, and intellectual property. Justifications for limitations to freedom of speech often reference the "harm principle" or the "offense principle".



Limitations to freedom of speech may occur through legal sanction or social disapprobation, or both. Certain public institutions may also enact policies restricting the freedom of speech, for example speech codes at state schools.

In *On Liberty* (1859), John Stuart Mill argued that "...there ought to exist the fullest liberty of professing and discussing, as a matter of ethical conviction, any doctrine, however immoral it may be considered." Mill argues that the fullest liberty of expression is required to push arguments to their logical limits, rather than the limits of social embarrassment. However, Mill also introduced what is known as the harm principle, in placing the following limitation on free expression: "the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others" [Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy; 2008].

In 1985, Joel Feinberg introduced what is known as the "offense principle", arguing that Mill's harm principle does not provide sufficient protection against the wrongful behaviors of others. Feinberg wrote "It is always a good reason in support of a proposed criminal prohibition that it would probably be an effective way of preventing serious offense (as opposed to injury or harm) to persons other than the actor, and that it is probably a necessary means to that end." Hence Feinberg argues that the harm principle sets the bar too high and that some forms of expression can be legitimately prohibited by law because they are very offensive. But, as offending someone is less serious than harming someone, the penalties imposed should be higher for causing harm. [Harcourt; 2017]. In contrast, Mill does not support legal penalties unless they are based on the harm principle. Because the degree to which people may take offense varies, or may be the result of unjustified prejudice, Feinberg suggests that a number of factors need to be taken into account when applying the offense principle, including: the extent, duration and social value of the speech, the ease with which it can be avoided, the motives of the speaker, the number of people offended, the intensity of the offense, and the general interest of the community at large.

Along similar lines as Mill, Jasper Doomen has argued that harm should be defined from the point of view of the individual citizen, not limiting harm to physical harm since nonphysical harm may also be involved; Feinberg's distinction between harm and offense is criticized as largely trivial [Doomen; 2014, pp. 111-112].

In 1999, Bernard Harcourt wrote of the collapse of the harm principle: "Today the debate is characterized by a cacophony of competing harm arguments without any way to resolve them. There is no longer an argument within the structure of the debate to resolve the competing claims of harm. The original harm principle was never equipped determine the relative importance of harms" [Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy; 2017].

Interpretations of both the harm and offense limitations to freedom of speech are culturally and politically relative. For instance, in Russia, the harm and offense principles have been used to justify the Russian LGBT propaganda law restricting speech (and action) in relation to LGBT issues. A number of European countries that take pride in freedom of speech nevertheless outlaw speech that might be interpreted as Holocaust denial. These include Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, and Switzerland [Lechtholz-Zey; 2016].

Kurt Westergaard, a Danish cartoonist, created the controversial cartoon of the Islamic prophet Muhammad wearing a bomb in his turban and was met with strong violent reactions worldwide. [Libertad Digital Internacional; 2010] Similarly, Noam Chomsky, the MIT professor and vociferous critic of Israeli and US policies, has received numerous death threats [The Telegraph; 2010].

Norman Finkelstein, a writer and professor of political science expressed the opinion that Charlie Hebdo's abrasive cartoons of Muhammad exceeded the boundaries of free speech, and compared those cartoons with the cartoons of Julius Streicher [Caglayan; 2015], who was hanged by the Allies after World War II for the words and drawings he had published. In 2006, in response to a particularly abrasive issue of Charlie Hebdo, French President Jacques Chirac condemned "overt provocations" which could inflame passions. "Anything that can hurt the convictions of someone else, in particular religious convictions, should be avoided", Chirac said [CFCM TV; 2007].

Jo Glanville, editor of the Index on Censorship, states that "the Internet has been a revolution for censorship as much as for free speech" [Glanville; 2014]. International, national and regional standards recognise that freedom of speech, as one form of freedom of expression, applies to any medium, including the Internet.

"The Internet is a far more speech-enhancing medium than print, the village green, or the mails. [...] Some of the dialogue on the Internet surely tests the limits of conventional discourse. Speech on the Internet can be unfiltered, unpolished, and unconventional, even emotionally charged, sexually explicit, and vulgar – in a word, "indecent" in many communities. But we should expect such speech to occur in a medium in which citizens from all walks of life have a voice. We should also protect the autonomy that such a medium confers to ordinary people as well as media magnates. [...] My analysis does not deprive the Government of all means of protecting children from the dangers of Internet communication. [...] As we learned at the hearing, there is also a compelling need for public educations about the benefits and dangers of this new medium, and the Government can fill that role as well. In my view, our action today should only mean that Government's permissible supervision of Internet contents stops at the traditional line of

unprotected speech. [...] The absence of governmental regulation of Internet content has unquestionably produced a kind of chaos, but as one of the plaintiff's experts put it with such resonance at the hearing: "What achieved success was the very chaos that the Internet is. The strength of the Internet is chaos." [...] [Rowland; 2005, pp. 463–65].

The World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) Declaration of Principles adopted in 2003 makes specific reference to the importance of the right to freedom of expression for the "Information Society" in stating:

"We reaffirm, as an essential foundation of the Information society, and as outlined in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; that this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. Communication is a fundamental social process, a basic human need and the foundation of all social organisation. It is central to the Information Society. Everyone, everywhere should have the opportunity to participate and no one should be excluded from the benefits of the Information Society offers." [Klang; 2005, p. 1].

According to Bernt Hugenholtz and Lucie Guibault the public domain is under pressure from the "commodification of information" as information with previously little or no economic value has acquired independent economic value in the information age. This includes factual data, personal data, genetic information and pure ideas. The commodification of information is taking place through intellectual property law, contract law, as well as broadcasting and telecommunications law [Guibault, Hugenholtz; 2006, p. 1].

Freedom of information is an extension of freedom of speech where the medium of expression is the Internet. Freedom of information may also refer to the right to privacy in the context of the Internet and information technology. As with the right to freedom of expression, the right to privacy is a recognised human right and freedom of information acts as an extension to this right. Freedom of information may also concern censorship in an information technology context, i.e. the ability to access Web content, without censorship or restrictions [Pauli, 2008].

The concept of freedom of information has emerged in response to state sponsored censorship, monitoring and surveillance of the internet. Internet censorship includes the control or suppression of the publishing or accessing of information on the Internet. The Global Internet Freedom Consortium claims to remove blocks to the "free flow of information" for what they term "closed societies" [Global Internet Freedom Consortium; 2008]. According to the Reporters without Borders (RWB) "internet enemy list" the following states engage in pervasive internet censorship: China, Cuba, Iran, Myanmar/Burma, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Vietnam [Reporters Without Borders; 2011].

A widely publicized example of internet censorship is the "Great Firewall of China" (in reference both to its role as a network firewall and to the ancient Great Wall of China). The system blocks content by preventing IP addresses from being routed through and consists of standard firewall and proxy servers at the Internet gateways. The system also selectively engages in DNS poisoning when particular sites are requested. The government does not appear to be systematically examining Internet content, as this appears to be technically impractical [Watts; 2006]. Internet censorship in the People's Republic of China is conducted under a wide variety of laws and administrative regulations, including more than sixty regulations directed at the Internet. Censorship systems are vigorously implemented by provincial branches of state-owned ISPs, business companies, and organizations [Human Rights Watch; 2018].

Media freedom in Russia concerns both the ability of directors of mass media outlets to carry out independent policies and the ability of journalists to access sources of information and to work without outside pressure. Media of Russia include television and radio channels, periodicals, and Internet media, which according to the laws of the Russian Federation may be either state or private property.

Various aspects of the contemporary press freedom situation in Russia are criticized by multiple international organizations such as Reporters Without Borders, Amnesty International and others. Russian constitution provides for freedom of speech and press, however, government application of law, bureaucratic regulation, and politically motivated criminal investigations have forced the press to exercise self-censorship constraining its coverage of certain controversial issues, resulting in infringements of these rights. According to Human Rights Watch, the Russian government exerts control over civil society through selective implementation of the law, restriction and censure [Human Rights Watch; 2009, p. 393].

The 2002 Federal Law on Counteracting Extremist Activity codifies a definition of "extremism", prohibits advocacy of extreme political positions, imposes liability on organizations that do not disavow the "extremist" statements of their members, and allows government authorities to suspend, without court order, social and religious organizations and political parties [Gross; 2003, pp. 717–760]. In 2014 Russia strengthened criminal responsibility for crimes under Art. 280 ("public calls for extremist activity"), Art. 282 ("inciting hatred or hostility, and humiliation of human dignity"), Art. 282 Part 1 ("the organization of an extremist community") and Art. 282 Part 2 ("the organization of an extremist organization") of the Criminal Code [Krupa; 2014]. Under the strengthened laws, those convicted of "extremist activity" face up to six years in prison [Weir, 2014].

In 2015 Russia ranked 152nd out of 180 countries in the Press Freedom Index from Reporters Without Borders [Reporters Without Borders, 2018] In 2015 Freedom House report

Russia got score of 83 (100 being the worst), mostly because of new laws introduced in 2014 that further extended the state control over mass-media [Freedom House, 2018]. The situation was characterised as even worse in Crimea where, after annexation by Russia, both Russian jurisdiction and extrajudicial means are routinely applied to limit freedom of expression [Freedom House, 2018].

While much attention is paid to political influences, media expert William Dunkerley, a senior fellow at American University in Moscow, argues that the genesis of Russia's press freedom woes lies in sectoral economic dysfunction.

It should be noted that according to the opinion poll results of Public Opinion Institute "Qualitas", the majority of Voronezh citizens are convinced of the freedom of speech availability in Russia, and, in particular, freedom of the press (54%). Even more so, 22% of the respondents complain that the freedom of the press in today's Russia is excessive and turns into permissiveness. Women think so more often than men: 28%/15%, elderly people are more often young ones: 31%/19%. Only 18% of citizens do not acknowledge the freedom of speech in the print media [Monthly Bulletin ..., 2014, p. 18].

From the above it can be easily concluded that right to freedom of speech and expression is one of the most important fundamental rights. It includes circulating one's views by words or in writing or through audiovisual instrumentalities and through any other communication channel. It also comprises of right to information, freedom of press etc. Thus, this fundamental right has a vast scope.

However, the ability to say something without fear of persecution or death is something that not every country has.

At a minimum, free speech has to be limited for the sake of public order. It can be comprehended that public order holds a lot of significance as a ground of restriction on this fundamental right. But there should be reasonable and proper nexus or relationship between the restriction and achievement of public order. The words "in the interest of public order" include not only utterances as are directly intended to lead to disorder, but also those that have the tendency to lead to disorder.

It is true that many human rights documents give a prominent place to the right to speech and conscience, but such documents also place limits on what can be said because of the harm and offense that unlimited speech can cause. It has certainly been the practice of most societies, even liberal-democratic ones, to impose some paternalistic restrictions on behavior and to limit speech that causes avoidable offense. Hence the freedom of speech and expression supported by the harm principle has yet to be realized.

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*Marina Y. Uksusova*  
*Olga A. Leonova*

## Features of Implementing Inclusive Education

### ABSTRACT

The article deals with the role of a tolerant attitude in the context of the introduction of inclusive education, the attitude of society towards people with disabilities. Conclusions are given about the general situation that has arisen in pedagogical theory and practice in connection with the introduction of inclusive education.

**Keywords:** tolerant attitude; children with disabilities; model of inclusive education; psychological readiness of the teacher to work with children with disabilities

The principles of humanization and individualization can justify the maximum consideration of the various characteristics of children and the creation of conditions conducive to the timely and full development of the child; allow to consider inclusive education as one of the corresponding models of education [Aljoshina A.N., Hudenko E.P.; Asmolov A.G., Bogdanova A.A., Knjazeva T.N., Ivanova E.Yu., Malofeev N.N.].

The Ministry of Education and Youth Policy of the Magadan Region has organized work to create conditions for the education of persons with disabilities, contributing to the education of a certain level and a certain direction, as well as the social development of these individuals, including through the organization of inclusive education.

As of 01.01.2018, the number of disabled children from 0 to 18 years old, who underwent medical and social expertise, whose parents applied to the education management bodies to determine the appropriate form of education, was 466 people or 1.5% of the total number.

Last year, there were 433 or 1.4%, in 2016 - 414 or 1.3%. The number of disabled children of preschool age is 122 (last year - 111, in 2016 - 108). The number of disabled children of school age, respectively: 344–322–306 people.

In the state organizations for orphans, children left without parental care, for children with disabilities, as of 01.01.2018, 562 people are trained and brought up, including 387 of them in GOU, implementing the AOOP – 387, out of the total number of children in public institutions for orphans, children left without parental care and for children with HIA 218 – children with disabilities.

In the region, an optimal regional model for the education of children with disabilities is being implemented. Education of children with HIA and disabled children is carried out both in

ordinary general education organizations and in general education organizations that implement the adapted basic general education program (AEP).

There are 3 general education organizations for children with disabilities who implement adapted basic general education programs for children with intellectual disabilities:

- The State educational institution for orphans and children left without parental care, trained on adapted educational programs "Magadan Regional Boarding School";
- The State educational institution for students on adapted educational programs "Magadan Regional Education Center No. 1";
- The State educational institution for students on adapted educational programs "Magadan Regional Education Center No. 2".

As of 01.01.2018, the number of children with disabilities of preschool age 122. Including: in urban districts - 89 people, in state organizations for orphans, children left without parental care and for children with disabilities – 33 people, 73% of preschool-age children attend pre-school institutions, 64% of children with disabilities visited preschool centers last year, 71% in 2016. In general, the coverage of pre-school education for disabled children in comparison with the previous year increased by 9%, at the same time, the dynamics over three years is unstable.

The problem of visiting educational institutions for children with disabilities remains urgent: in urban districts, work is not fully organized to create conditions for quality education for children of this category. First of all, some of the leaders do not seek to fulfill the legal requirements of the parents of disabled children to create special conditions, explaining this by insufficient funding, by no organized work to promote tolerance, both among parents and among teachers. Moreover, pedagogical workers and city PMPK specialists offer to teach children with disabilities in special educational institutions, explaining that the conditions for inclusive education in the city of Magadan and city okrugs are not created, the parents of "ordinary children" often oppose the joint education of disabled people with "Ordinary".

This model provides equal opportunities for every child, which has particular value in the regional context. The introduction of inclusive education in the regions is one of the effective ways to overcome the situation in the system of correctional education.

However, a number of barriers have been found in studies on the introduction of a model of inclusive education. There are physical barriers (ignoring the needs of people with difficulty in moving in the design of urban infrastructure); information (difficulties in obtaining and broadcasting information by people with hearing and speech impairments, shortages of publications intended for visually impaired and blind people); emotional (disparaging attitude

towards people with severe developmental defects, tendency to hyperopeak, insensitivity to their psychological state).

The main resource barrier for introducing a model of inclusive education is the human factor. The attitude of people, society, lack of knowledge, fear, lack of experience in perceiving differences and stereotyped thinking, the manifestation of which makes it difficult to find effective methods, methods and means of adapting international experience and enriching the domestic in providing optimal conditions for access to education for children with disabilities.

The psychological readiness of the teacher to work with children with disabilities requires the formation of a complex of qualities that are based on personal resources. One of the most important professional qualities is the stress resistance of the teacher, social and psychological tolerance and empathy towards the child. The manifestation of empathy finds an emotional response in the child, and between him and the teacher positive attitudes are established that contribute to more successful learning and socialization in general.

Thus, in order to develop a tolerant attitude towards the process of introducing inclusive education, special attention is paid to activities to change the attitude of society towards children with disabilities.

At present, the following problems to the introduction of the model of inclusive education in Russian pedagogical practice are discussed:

- the field of socialization of children with limited health opportunities is unreasonably limited and isolated from the general living conditions, "torn out" from the context of the life of the local community;
- children with disabilities are subject to emotional overload associated with rejection, isolation and violence;
- for these children is characterized by a life style that is not aimed at contributing to society, which limits their social ties, reduces self-esteem and does not promote self-development;
- the inferiority of the process of socialization of all members of society, excluding their interaction with "atypical people" present in the society;
- the community of children with disabilities is perceived as a dependent ballast, which entails a negative attitude of other members of the community towards them and contributes to the creation of negative patterns of life styles.

Thus, the success of introducing a model of inclusive education largely depends on how much the subjects of pedagogical activity are ready to accept it, and it is important how they treat children with LIMITED HEALTHCARE OPPORTUNITIES.

The analysis of the theoretical and methodological foundations of inclusive education in Russia allowed us to formulate the following conclusions:

- the problem of introducing a model of inclusive education is an urgent problem of finding mechanisms, methods, techniques aimed at increasing the accessibility of education for different categories of people;
- the pedagogical theory, despite the existing international and domestic experience, is not ready to provide in full the theoretical substantiation of effective models of inclusive education that take into account the specificity of living and people in different regions of Russia;
- the scientific and methodological base of inclusive education requires the development of appropriate support, including special programs and methods of joint learning, which must meet the needs and opportunities of healthy children and children with limited health opportunities, as currently the teachers themselves are engaged in this, generally, from personal professional experience;
- Logistical support of inclusive education needs certain activities related to the organization of a "barrier-free environment". Infrastructure of educational institutions, as a rule, does not allow children with limited health opportunities to undergo training and upbringing, without experiencing any additional difficulties. The funds currently allocated, including in the framework of state programs, do not allow the full reorganization of educational organizations.
- the psychological and pedagogical unpreparedness of the pedagogical staff for the introduction of inclusion is noted. Also, the issue of the contents of an effective contract for teachers participating in the adaptation of inclusive education programs in specific educational organizations, in connection with the increase in the intensity and increased tension of their work, has not been resolved.
- the parents are not ready for healthy children to adopt a model of inclusive education.

The formulated conclusions refer to the general situation that has arisen in pedagogical theory and practice in connection with the introduction of the model of inclusive education and the socioeconomic status of families.

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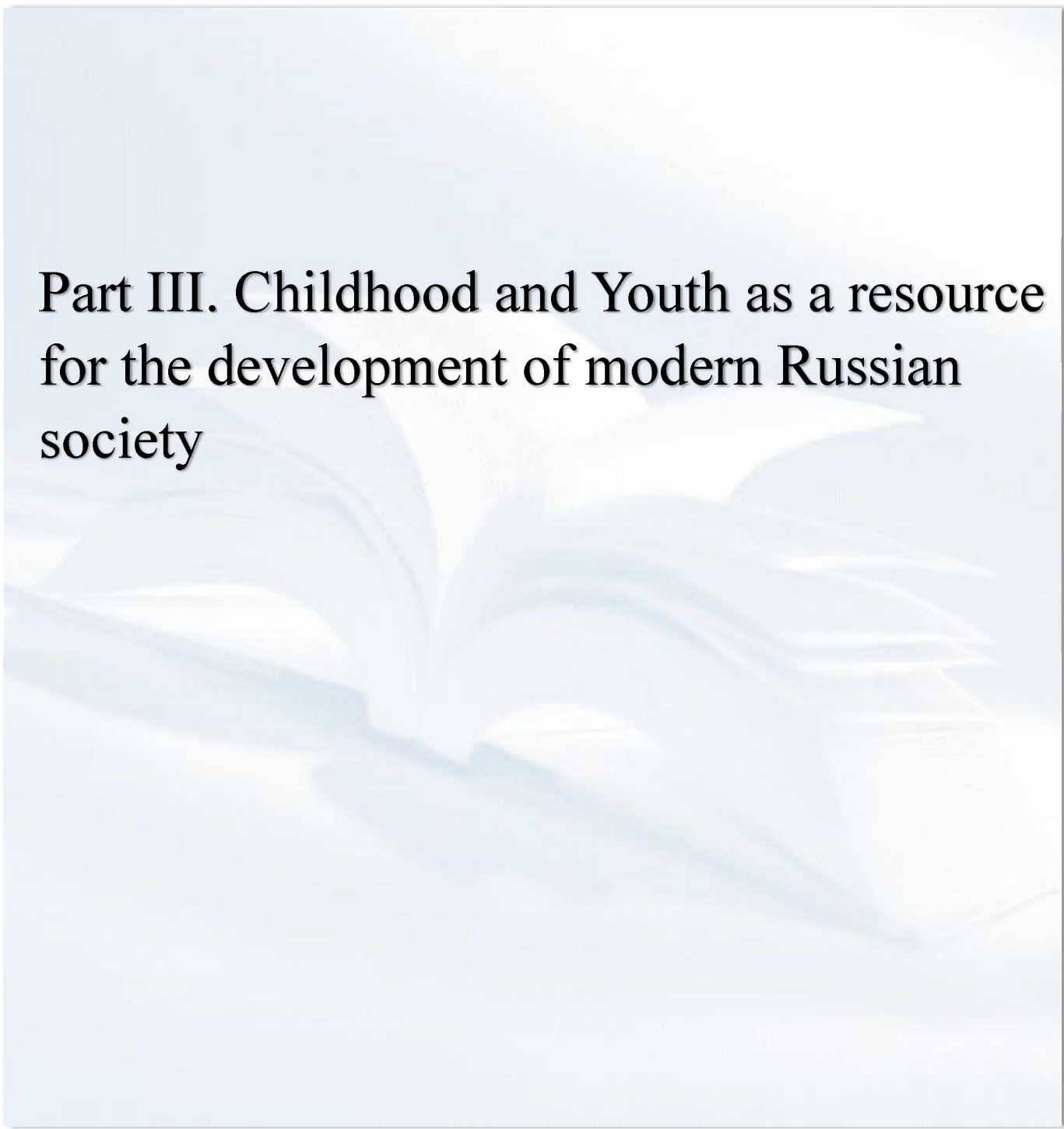
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## **Part III. Childhood and Youth as a resource for the development of modern Russian society**

*Svetlana N. Mayorova-Shcheglova*  
*Elena A. Kolosova*

## **Childhood and Children as the Objects of Sociological Research**

### **ABSTRACT**

In the article are consistently presented three stages of the development of the sociology of childhood: from the study of children within the framework of sociological approaches to socialization theories and then to the gradual formation of a "new" sociology of childhood. The need to revise the periodization of childhood in the social sciences, which should be based on new facts, phenomena, features of children's activities, especially those related to informatization processes and consumer practices, is argued. The prospects of the professionalization of the community of Russian sociologists of childhood in technologies and methods of research of the new generation are outlined.

Specific directions for research of phenomena related to childhood are specific to Russian sociologists, but they affect the daily life of the entire adult society (parental-children and, more broadly, social relations in families with children born with the use of new reproductive technologies, consumer socialization of children, "glamorization" of Childhood, "informatization from the diapers", etc.). The actual tasks of the Russian sociology of childhood are determined: the activation of public, integrating activities for the realization of the rights of the child and educational work with a community of new specialists. Priority tools are identified using Internet technologies and with the active participation of children themselves.

The article was prepared in the framework of the project 16-06-00792-OGN \ 18 "Childhood in the socio-humanitarian perspective: thesaurus", supported by the RFFI.

**Keywords:** childhood; sociology of childhood; sociological associations; research committee; legitimization; Russian sociology of childhood; researches of childhood

More than 25 years have passed since the official recognition of the sociology of childhood in the world scientific community had been. In Russia the sociology of childhood in 2018 celebrates its 10th anniversary. These events to a certain extent are an occasion to focus the attention of Russian sociological science on the study of children and childhood as an important segment of social reality. We believe that in the development of the sociology of childhood, there are three main stages. Before the emergence of the sociology of childhood in our science, individual theoretical concepts developed that viewed childhood as a temporary structure of society or as a certain period of human life. Among the main general theoretical approaches to childhood are structural functionalism, Marxist (neo-Marxist) sociology, socialization theories, phenomenology [Mitrofanova; 2007]. In the first two approaches the consideration of childhood at the macro level prevails. Within the framework of the structural approach, the understanding and description of childhood as a structural unit within a coherent social system is dominant. The definition of the term "childhood" was given in this case, as a rule, through a set of institutions and



characteristics of the socio-demographic group of children. The functionalist point of view on childhood is more critically expressed by K. Davis, who wrote that "the most important functions for society are fulfilled by people, becoming adults, and not in childhood. Consequently, the attitude of society to the child is mainly preparatory, and its assessment is mainly as a potential. Any teaching that puts the needs of children first, and the needs of society - for the second, is a sociological anomaly "[Davis; 1940, p. 217]. This position recognizes the importance of the starting potential of childhood for the subsequent life of a person.

Neo-Marxism develops the idea of the types of childhood predetermined by the class structure of society. Thus, E. Boulding suggests that children and adults can be regarded as classes in relation to each other, and class action she calls "such a legitimate action taken in relation to any category of people, such as women, children, the elderly or a special group ethnic or racial minorities on the basis of membership in this category, and not on the basis of an individual situation or need "[Boulding; 1979, p. 63]. This view of the lower social status of children is reflected in legislation, where the term "minors" is used for their designation.

At the second stage, the sociology of childhood was separated as a separate segment from the sociology of the family, generations and education. Socialization theories viewed childhood as a preparatory stage for a "full" adult life. Thus, S. Eisenstadt stressed that all children should be socialized before they can reach the full status of an adult [Eisenstadt; 1956]. They are influenced by the moral code of the society in which they live, assimilates its generally accepted rules, acquires the knowledge and skills necessary to carry out future roles, to find oneself in social institutions, to share the sense of subordination [Fris; 2000, p. 175]. Modern scientists who stand on these positions regard the younger generation as an "object of socialization", and mainly focus on studying social institutions created for the younger generation, or on the socialization mechanisms used by the agents. The historical sociological approach linked the problems of childhood with age theories (F. Aries, L. De Mos, D. Herlichy, S. Shahar, B. Hakawalt, C. Calvert). At the heart of sociological concepts of childhood is the idea that the boundaries of childhood, its position do not remain unchanged at all stages of the functioning of society, but depend on historical, socio-economic and other circumstances of the development of society.

Sociology of childhood as branch sociology began to take shape in the 1970s and 1980s, and its institutionalization occurred in the early 1990s, when the first community of sociologists of childhood was registered in the United States. In 1994, the International Sociological Association approved the research group No. 53 Sociology of Childhood under the leadership of J. Quortrup. The sociologists of this third stage, and often even specify – the "new sociology of childhood", explain the phenomenon of childhood as an important part of the social structure of

society, and children as a real social community, included in social relations and social structure, participating in organized activities and interacting with other communities [Qvortrup; 1991].

Modern sociology of childhood is based on three main approaches. The first "Child as a social subject" treats children as active members of society and therefore considers it necessary to study the daily life of the child in all its manifestations. The second approach, which can be called "Theory of the change of forms of childhood," is based on a comparative analysis of different groups, grouped by age, for various reasons: rights, duties, economic participation and needs, etc. The third approach, which considers "childhood biosociality (hybridity) ", implies the manifestations of the life of a young individual, which are the result of the interaction of the age and social. The latter idea leads to interdisciplinary studies in the field of childhood that arise in place of the current multidisciplinary efforts, when the knowledge of children is formed as a simple summation of data from various sciences on the biological, psychological, cultural and social development of children [Detstvo XXI veka v social'no-gumanitarnoj perspektive; 2017].

Two international journals "Childhood" and "Children and Society" contribute to the consolidation of ideas of scientists from different countries, the development of cross-cultural researches, the synthesis of approaches and techniques of various sciences in order to study the place and role of children in society.

The process of institutionalizing the sociology of childhood in Russian science and society was quite active. Until the 1990s. social and pedagogical studies of school groups prevailed. The only theoretical works in this direction were the publications of I.S. Kona [1982]. The scientific substantiation and consolidation of the methodological foundations for studying the new view of childhood then began to occur mainly within the framework of dissertational research [Breeva, 1997; Rybinskiy, 1998; Shcheglova, 1999]. This trend has continued in the future. Between 2000 and 2017, more than 160 theses on the problems of socially unprotected childhood (homelessness, orphans, disabled children, etc.), children's rights, education, socialization of children, their health, migration and deviant behavior.

Consolidation of scientists conducting empirical research among children and adolescents, developing common approaches to research on the quality of research work since 2008 within the framework of the Research Committee "Sociology of Childhood" in the structure of the Russian Sociologists Society (for more details, see: [Filipova, 2016, p. 6].

The sociology of childhood increasingly focuses on the study of new phenomena (the influence of new practices of human reproduction on parents' and children's and, more broadly, social relations, the new roles of children in consumer socialization, the glamorization of childhood, informatization "from diapers", "quasi-children," urban childhood patterns, "Child-friendly" social infrastructure, etc.). At the same time, the analysis extends to the justification of

the impact of these innovations on the daily life of the entire adult society. The important research tasks of Russian sociologists of childhood are approbation of the tools for combining the expert opinion in public, integrating the implementation of the rights of the child and educating the community of specialists (heads of children's public organizations, commissioners for children's rights, journalists writing about children, marketers in the market children's goods and services). Created and developing site of the project "Childhood in the socio-humanitarian perspective: thesaurus", in the future is planned as a periodic electronic application that performs the function of generalization and coverage of practical experience, will become a platform for methodological public scientific expertise of social experiments, projects, social development programs in the field of childhood.

In our opinion, new prospects for the development of sociology of childhood are associated with the professionalization of the community in the technologies and procedures of special methods for investigating the new generation. Priority is given to tools using Internet technologies and with the active participation of children. Involving more and more researchers in international, European projects on the study of childhood, while paying attention to the traditional areas of priority for Russia - the imperative of the development of modern sociology of childhood.

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*Boris S. Pavlov  
Elena N. Ikingrin  
Elena I. Pronina*

## **Premarital Matrimonial Behavior among Students as a Subject of Sociological Analysis**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article emphasizes the idea that the face of the danger of depopulation regime for the reproduction of Russia's population, currently demographic policy (federal, regional and municipal) in the first place puts the task of forming a stable value orientation and behavior in the young population, which is aimed at the creation of families with two children - "necessarily", and families with three children - "very desirable"!

**Keywords:** marriage and family relations; matrimonial behavior; cohabitation; civil marriage; reproductive attitudes; youth; premarital sexual relations; demographic policy; socialization; professional socialization

### **Goals and objectives**

The authors focus on the analysis of value orientations and peculiarities of the manifestation of the matrimonial behavior of student youth, identify the main social factors shaping behavior, peculiarities of the marriage selection, premarital acquaintances, attitude to the registration of marriage, the stability of marriage, the probability of its disintegration, satisfaction with marriage, reproductive attitudes. Particular attention is paid to the aspects of premarital matrimonial behavior of young people, their unsuccessful, pleasant and safe attempts to "reconcile" such behavior with the passage of studies at the university.

Well known position of Engels declaring that "family gives us in miniature a picture of the same contrasts and contradictions in which society is moving" [Marx, Engels; vol. 21; 1974, p.70] is illustrated in the deformation in different aspects of life not only of Russian families. The transition historical period, in the chronological framework of which Russia lives today, forms new, yet unknown social qualities of life and behavioral manifestations of family groups, in compliance with these changed conditions.

In the development of the institution of family, in particular, and the nature of demographic behavior of both the individual and the family group as a whole, both in time and in space, the dialectical unity of the General, special, particular and individual is combined. Common to all families of the world community is the performance of a fundamental function – child reproduction, which includes the relationship between generations, the process of their continuity.

Special manifest in special development situations of families in different countries and regions (for example, the same Ural region), on different continents, in different climatic zones: these are the conditions of economic, cultural, ethnic, natural-geographical, historical, etc. Private is associated with specific conditions of existence in a particular city, a community in a particular social group (such as military families and families of research workers in the Urals). And, finally, the single as a manifestation of the uniqueness of the individual (specific) family with the history of its formation and development, psychological warehouses of family members, their health, labor biographies, value orientations, inclinations, etc [Artyukhov, Pavlov, Stozharov A.V; 1999, p. 208].

It can be stated with confidence that the aspects of the family group's behavior related to both the matrimonial "procedure" of its creation and the reproduction of the offspring, in other words, and its subsequent demographic behavior, its compliance with current and especially strategic goals and objectives of optimizing the reproduction of the Russian community, are of particular relevance. Family, marital relations is not purely personal, group relations, for "the production of life, like my own, through work, others through birth appears as a double relationship: on the one hand as natural, on the other - as a public relations" [Marx, Engels, v. 3; 1974, p. 28].

The study of these processes is of great scientific interest not only for researchers of this problem, but also for practice. In other words, this analysis determines the theoretical, methodological and practical relevance of the identified problem, creates the basis for further development of the theory and practice of building the institution of family and family relations. No less important is another component of this problem: the process of socialization of young people, their entry into adult family and work life. In our case, we are talking mainly about the professional socialization of young people, their entry and development of the whole complex and multicolored palette of matrimonial relations. [Pavlov; 2014, p. 11].

Briefly summarizing the above about the complexity of the institution of the family, let us assert that the manifestations of its multifaceted life, including the premarital behavior of young people in creating their own particular family is also inherent in the dialectical unity of the General, special, private and individual.

In this article we will focus on some aspects of premarital matrimonial behavior of young people, their not always successful and pleasant attempts to "combine" such behavior with the educational and professional activities in the University. The authors use the results of a number of complex regional studies on the problems of Ural families, conducted in 1999–2017 at the Institute of Economics of the Ural branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences under the scientific guidance and with the personal participation of the authors of the article in surveys such as:

- 1999 – in April and June 1999, one standardized questionnaire survey was conducted 1360 fathers and mothers, families with teenager aged 15-17 years. The survey was conducted in six regions of the Russian Federation: Samara, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk and Chita regions, as well as in Nadym and Nizhnevartovsk - "Mature Regions of the Russian Federation-1999".
- 2003 i– n a number of towns and villages from five regions of the Russian Federation, including Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk regions on the problems of demographic behavior of families surveyed 2900 young couple "Malsama-2003»;
- 2005 – in the Urals Institute of state fire service of EMERCOM of Russia (URI GPS MCHS – Ekaterinburg) has implemented a survey of 500 applicants ("Abit") and 250 students of senior courses ("KEP"). The positions of young single men regarding professional training and education of their own family were clarified - " UNIVERSITY-2005»;
- 2008 – in 7 cities and 14 rural settlements of the Perm, Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk regions on author's questionnaires five categories of respondents, including : a) pupils of the middle and senior classes of city schools – 900 people and their parents – 770 people were interrogated; b) pupils of the middle and senior classes of rural schools – 540 people..; d) young workers (under the age of 25 years) from 32 urban enterprises of Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk regions-570 people –" Family-School-2008»;
- 2010 survey of 630 senior students of the Ural state University (USTU-UI) at the technical and humanitarian faculties. The subject of the research is the level and nature of young people's involvement in religious culture - " UNIVERSITY-2010»;
- 2014 quota-representative samples were interviewed a) 300 adolescents of a number of schools in the city-BUT "Forest" (Sverdlovsk region) and b) 510 adolescents. (from them-300 students of 10-11 classes) - 8 schools of the Kirov district of Yekaterinburg. The main purpose of the study is to analyze the processes of socialization of school youth in parents 'families, their health-saving behavior, the formation of life values, orientations and life plans - " School-2014»;
- 2015-according to the quota sample in eight institutes of the Ural Federal University (Yekaterinburg), 450 senior students were interviewed, preparing to become young specialists in enterprises and organizations. Their main value orientations, professional and socio-demographic life plans of the "UNIVERSITY-2015"were clarified.
- 2017 was implemented interregional study on the problems of professional socialization of engineering personnel in the Ural region, which included, in particular, a survey of 1000 students of the first and fourth courses of four Ural universities at the faculties of engineering and technical orientation, in particular: a) in the South Ural state University (SUSU- Chelyabinsk) - 100 people; b) in the Ural state agrarian University (Urgau - Ekaterinburg) –



100 people; C) in the Ural state University of railway transport (Urgups, Yekaterinburg) – 100 people.; d) in three institutes of the Ural Federal University (Urfu, Yekaterinburg) – 300 people; d) in the Astrakhan State University of architecture and construction (AGASU, Astrakhan)-400 people - "UNIVERSITY – 2017".

The data of sociological surveys conducted in major cities of Russia, including our research, show the comparative stability of the basic value orientations of the main social groups of the Russian (in our case, the Ural) population. Such basic life values as " good family and children", " good health", " favorite work", " material well-being "and" good living conditions " occupy the first six positions, both in adolescents and their parents. It is interesting and different. As our research has shown, the hierarchy of life values of young men and women, young people living in the city and in the countryside, is almost identical [Pavlov; 2013].

"What would you say about the architect who, laying down a new building, – Asked K. D. Ushinsky, – would not be able to answer you the question, what he wants to build?" [Ushinsky; 1950, p. 17]. Naturally, such a situation would have caused, at least, bewilderment of a person who is more or less competent in building. However, our appeal to such a seemingly self-evident fact is not objective. The success of preparing young people for family life presupposes, first of all, the choice of the basic parameters of the optimal family model, the construction of which should be ready and strive every growing young person. As such, we suggest choosing at least three: first, it is mandatory for a normal person to have a family lifestyle; second, the choice of the optimal age of marriage and family education; third, the desire for birth and upbringing in their own family, at least 2–3 children.

The parameters we have chosen are primarily due to socio-biological factors. The period of reproduction of one's own offspring for each person should be "inscribed" in his life cycle limited by nature. 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, would be most favourably provided by the natural and valeological resources of their parents, on the other hand, these conditions, as much as possible, would contribute to the solution of two contradictory circumstances. First, they would take into account the tactical and strategic socio-biological interests of society and the family, and second, the complex and largely contradictory interests of parents and their offspring, at least in the next two generations [Mironov; 2005].

Let us consider some aspects of the formation of the family model in the minds of young people – our contemporaries. First of all, let's try to answer the above, the first, the root question: is it necessary for a young man 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 satisfied without having a family, leading a bachelor (non-family) lifestyle. Public services (primarily in the big city), if

desired, and the consumer has the appropriate funds, as they say, "feed", "drink" and "put to bed". The money was used... Why would a young extra chores to support the family, restrictions in personal freedom, family quarrels, "showdown"? Such reasoning is not a series of idle speculation.

Today, quite often used the word "love", "favorite". The word "love" has synonyms: "adore", "worship", "do not tear your soul". For all, their prevalence in our vocabulary, these words can be safely attributed to the number of the least known. What do we mean by the words "love", "love"? Once the authors of this manual offered a group of women sociologists to give their clear definition of the concept of "love" (note that the response procedure excluded mutual consultation and appeal to our respondents to reference books and literature). Below are some of these definitions. So:

Love is a complex, contradictory feeling. The main moment-tenderness (28 years, married, two children).

Love the talent, manpower, the highest expression of the whole nature of man (19 years married).

Love is when a person is in a state of weightlessness (32 years old, married, one child).

Love is a feeling when a person shines from within, when he becomes very beautiful... When a person feels the fullness of his life, ready for a feat for the sake of a loved one, he becomes better, cleaner, he wants happiness and good for all people... (55 years, widow).

Love wanted to know itself... It's something that excludes only physical attraction. Purity, understanding and tenderness... tenderness... tenderness... (30 years old, married, one child).

All people know, when she comes, feel, when she comes to them, but Express words not can (26 years, married).

This diversity of approaches and definitions should not surprise us. For thousands of years philosophers and writers without much success fight over the definition (identification) of the essence of love. The reason? At least three of them can be distinguished: a) extraordinary complexity of this phenomenon; b) individuality, uniqueness of feeling in each case; c) poverty of the human language for expressing this feeling (its "unsuitability") in combination with the inability of a person to explain his feelings. That is why the most vivid, impressive statements and "definitions" we find in people who know the wealth of the language: philosophers, poets, writers, etc.

In the process of our classes on the course "family Studies" students are invited to analyze certain situations that arise in the construction of family-marriage relations. Here is one of the situations of "marriage at first sight": two young men decided to form their own family and apply to the registry office. All would be good, but one "snag" experience "of their premarital acquaintance no more than a month. At the same time, they love each other and intend to

consolidate their Union. Are they doing the right thing? The following is the opinion of students of 4 courses of Institute of USTU-UPI, i.e. those who are in the vast majority of stands on the threshold of the formation of their own family, important life choices friend who can become a mother (father) of their future children. Here are the main arguments "for" and "against" (% of the total number of students – 150):

*The arguments "FOR"*

Maybe it's really love for life. This is rare, but it happens ("15 days is enough to know everything about each other and get married"; full of feelings; guarantee that will always be together, no one will leave) - 37%

Fresh, sincere, tender feeling, love each other - it's so romantic-26

More chances for the development of feelings: do not have time to get bored with each other (before the crisis of relations for a long time), the incentive to preserve the relationship, the romantic period increases-15%

If they decide to get married so quickly, then they feel a very strong feeling-15%

There will be time (life), the longer you get to know each other, more tolerant attitude to each other – 10%

If the marriage is short-term, it is still "young" gain experience-9%

No matter how much you know, a girl has a chance to start a family, it's better than being a single mother-8%

Often marriages after a short acquaintance are more durable; they will not spray their feelings on others; early marriages are often more effective ("I know such couples who married and lived happily after a short time") - 8%

They found support in each other, it is easier for the two to cope with troubles, they have the same goals, they are as a whole (new stage of life- 12%)

*The arguments "AGAINST"*

Unreasonable: do not know each other; very sharp changes in life, do not know the habits and character of each other, which in the future can lead to serious contradictions, conflicts, scandals, when in life together will manifest the true character traits – 77%

Misunderstanding parents, relatives, friends haste such a marriage – 28%

The couple, so hastily married, can also quickly disperse: they have different interests, do not know each other's worldview, soon disappointment – 35%

Not love, but love will be love and marriage – 32%

There may be discrimination from a material point of view (one of the parties may have selfish goals, marriage of convenience) – 19%

A marriage of commitment; maybe he decided to get married just because of pregnancy, and this can later end in divorce; will the child and the family disintegrate – 10%

The bride does not know the past of the groom, his way of life, and Vice versa, there is a risk of being deceived (fraud); when meeting each tries to embellish his life, and after the wedding, the lie may emerge, and now-the collapse of hopes, plans – 18%

There is no understanding of responsibility for marriage; not quite deliberate act, little time spent together; impression at first acquaintance can be wrong – 18%

It should be recognized that the solution to the problem of preserving the reproductive need at the level desirable for society is rooted not only in the change of the economic situation, but, above all, in the field of value orientations. It would be logical to find out the question here, and what "norm" of childhood in their families is set by the Russians in General, including in the Urals?" Let us turn to the results of our all-Russian study "maturing Regions of Russia–1999". The respondents had to answer two related questions in the questionnaire: a) "how many children do you think should be in a "normal" family?" and b) "Can you tell how many children will be in your family?"

By the beginning of the XIX century, according to the survey, Russian families believed that the Institute of "normal family" in Russia "should" provide simple reproduction of the population (about 22–23 children per 10 families). At the same time, in the actual situation at that time, families were focused on a smaller "than the social norm" average number of children (about 19-20 children - 10 families). Taking into account other socially-demographic unfavorable factors, the consequence of such reproductive attitudes of families is the continuation of depopulation regime of population reproduction in the Russian Federation, established in the early 90-ies. Have these settings changed in 15-20 years?

In the survey "School–2014" we asked our young respondents to answer such a difficult and rather sensitive question: "how many children should be in a "normal" family?" Here were the answers 510 Yekaterinburg adolescents (%): "single" 10%; "two" 59%; "three" – 20%; "4% more" – 4 %. Another important thing: more than 30 teenagers (7%) stressed in the questionnaire the answer: "you can live without children."

Whether the state has the right to "impose" on young people, young family model of matrimonial behavior: get married before 20 years and no later or "three children – good, one – bad." For example, speaking about the desirable level of childhood, the state confirms, referring to the classical formulation, that "the birth of a new life lies in the public interest" (Lenin), while at the same time expressed willingness to share with the family the responsibility for the maintenance and education of children. It is important to emphasize that, by guaranteeing

minimum social support, the state precisely shares responsibility with the family, and does not exempt it [Pavlov, Pronina, Grishaeva; 2016].

A close analysis of a number of Messages of the President of the Russian Federation to the Federal Assembly in 2002-2006, allows us to conclude that they not only clearly identify the causes and the state of depopulation processes in the Russian Federation in the 90-ies, but also indicate the purpose, objectives and means of solving this vital state problem in the At the meeting of the coordination Council for the implementation of the National strategy for children on November 28, 2017, the President of the Russian Federation stressed: "in Fact, we need to restart our policy of demographic development. As for the birth rate, the support of large families, families with modest incomes, the creation of additional incentives for the birth of a second and third child comes to the fore" [Electronic source: kremlin.ru].

On March 1, 2018, in his next Address to the Federal Assembly, the President again addresses the same issue: "the demographic problem has an economic dimension, a purely economic dimension. In 2017, for example, the working-age population declined by almost a million. In the coming years, this downward trend will continue, which could be a serious limitation for economic growth. There is simply no workforce. It is necessary to meet these challenges and in the coming decade to ensure a sustainable natural growth of the population of Russia" [Electronic source: kremlin.ru; 2018].

If we concretize the above, at present, the demographic policy in Russia in the first place, to solve the problem of the formation of the population (especially in the young part of it) sustainable value orientations and behavioral actions to create two – year families - "necessarily" and three-year - "very desirable"! So, you need to "settle" the 3rd child in a young Russian family! How adequately configured Ural students to solve important strategic task in anticipation of a March by Mendelssohn?

Psychological studies of the last 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, and are in vivo formed social and psychological formations, 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 in the period when she becomes a mother. It is logical to conclude from such ideas that millions of girls can become mothers spontaneously, in a "natural" way, that there is no need to educate and prepare them for family and motherly duties. These widespread opinions are not as harmless as it may seem at first glance. There is no so-called "maternal instinct" in humans. The girl's mother's feelings are formed

through playing, imitation, suggestion, learning, through the assimilation of social standards and stereotypes of behavior.

Significant progress in the public consciousness of the Urals we have recorded in the attitude of respondents "Release Russia-1999" to the kind of mercantilisation of marriage. The question in the questionnaire, which was filled by the "fathers", was formulated as follows: "in our time, the role of personal capital, property of citizens is increasing. In this regard, how do you feel about the introduction of marriage contracts that determine the property relations in marriage? Here is the opinion of this group of respondents (% of the total number of respondents-1360 people.):

conclusion of the marriage contract:

- indispensably 16
- preferably 47
- doesn't matter much 29
- no need 8

It can be stated that in the General cultural plan the value priorities change, the value of human life rises, there is a movement from public to private, the self-realization of the person acquires the value-target character. As a result of social shifts, economic and civil emancipation of women, the trends accompanying the individualization of men (increased selectivity in family and marital behavior, increased domestic responsibility for the family and autonomy from social communities), apply to women. This, in turn, is associated with the appearance in the family life of the individual a number of social risks.

The most important feature of the modern era is uncertainty. The risk society can be called the society of uncertainty and duality. This means that risk is always an event or phenomenon with uncertain consequences. The duality of any decision, the conjugation of any good with the possible greater damage, comes to the fore in the "risk society". Modernization risks bring uncertainty to every cell of society, in every situation and event. Furthermore, the uncertainty and duality of the "risk society" are due to the reflexivity of this o, i.e. the risk society. the destruction of traditional foundations (industrial society) and the restructuring of society on new foundations. This implies a constant definition and redefinition of the main social institutions and categories, change of the axes of the social system of coordinates. Individuals are exempt from the certainty and habitual way of life, characteristic of the industrial era. "The coordinate system, writes I. Beck, - in which life and thinking took place in the era of industrial modernization — the axis of gender, family and profession, faith in science and progress-begins to unravel" [Beck; 1992, p. 15].

"The family, – according to P. Sorokin, – as if melts and dissolves, disintegrating, losing one by one their connections and their functions..." [Sorokin; 1916, p. 174]. But this process is also the release of" personality from the diapers of family law "and the future family, in his opinion, glued free agreement, caused by"real love of sympathy and mutual respect for one another." Moreover, under the cultural phenomenon he understood the "intangible component" of "meaning" (idea, value, moral norm), due to physical and/or life-components [Sorokin; 1916, p. 162]. In the work "my philosophy - integralism" p. A. Sorokin stated confirmation of his diagnosis-prognosis. In the framework of a centuries old culture remained mildly unchanged, the same "selfish and to the same extent subject to biological forces "struggle for existence", sex, pursuit of pleasure, material goods" [Sorokin; 1916, p. 137]. Violation of balance in the highest Trinity of the greatest values (Truth, Beauty, Good) led to "explosion of individual and group individualism, and also to strengthening and toughening of interpersonal and intergroup conflicts", bloody catastrophes of the XX century.

He suggested the way out in increasing production and accumulation of unselfish love for man and mankind (good), the only way to stop the moral degradation of man to the level of "complicated human animal, justifying with the help of pompous ideologies the worst of their actions", man, lost "in the wilds of disintegrated sensual world and society." At the same time, he admitted that we know little about this love and called the following as its manifestations and indications: love is the heart and soul of freedom and all the basic moral and religious values, it is a strong antidote against crime trends, suicide pathology, against hatred, fear, psychoneurosis, it prolongs life, vivifies physical, spiritual and moral health; children deprived of love, have a tendency to moral and social ugliness. And comparing various groups of people, including friendly, religious, castes, etc., he gave preference in the production of love to the family as a special organization in which only new generations of people can perceive in the process of children's education the spirit of love, its special atmosphere of reciprocity, unselfishness, sacrifice, and then in adulthood to seek and strive to reproduce this spirit [Sorokin; 1916, p. 148-149].

The extent to which the family-marriage relations of Russians were deformed by the beginning of the new twenty – FIRST 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, including civil marriages. "How do you feel about the non-traditional forms of marriage currently available?" – this question was asked to us the various categories of family and non-family of the Ural youth, including in the polls: "Malsama-2003" and "school-2005". On the one hand, young spouses who have already "listened" to their Mendelssohn March



and have one or two young children ("MC") and on the other - the views of young unmarried men ("Abit" and "KEP").

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 families, outside the officially registered marriage in the so-called "civil marriage" (it is not condemned 83-90% of cadets).

Studying at the University, both for boys and, especially, for girls (young women) is usually associated with overcoming the barriers of deviant behavior. For modern Russian students are characterized as General (alcoholism, drug addiction, prostitution, the use of profanity, theft, etc.), and specific (skipping classes, forgery course, diplomas, etc.) deviation. At the same time, studies show that for the vast majority of Ural students (both men and women) the deviant subculture of the University environment leaves not so desirable and pleasant traces of both moral and ethical and physiological nature.

In one of our research "UNIVERSITY-2010" 680 students of the Ural technical University asked the question: "which of the following actions, actions, in Your opinion, are a sin?" The answers we have received are, in our opinion, of great interest to the competent reader, because they are a serious subject for reflection on the state of not only the spiritual culture and morality of the advanced, most educated group of Russian youth - students. The study showed that the comparative difference between value orientations and moral assessments of the majority of asocial 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"; "use of light drugs", respectively, 50 / 37%; "use of abusive words" - 75 / 64%; "lies in personal interests" - 57 / 49%; "concealment of income from the tax office" - 88 / 86%. As they say, "God himself orders to deceive the tax inspection".

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%; "Drunkenness" - 37 / 48%, etc. as shown by the same survey, 73% of the total number of respondents "justify missing classes without a valid reason", 90% - respectively, do not consider shameful "use Cribs on the exam" and 75% - "write off course, diplomas from the Internet" [Pavlov; 2016].

At present, it is possible, unfortunately, to state that the "intellectualism" of a modern teenager, a young man (both urban and rural), a large amount of acquired knowledge is often achieved at the cost of full release from his work duties in the family and in the process of school,

and often student study. Meanwhile, the problem of labor education is organically connected with the formation of social maturity of a young man, which is far from synchronous with the acceleration of physical development and saturation of information. And here in the first place is labor education, which contributes to the formation of respect for material values, labor, education of a sense of duty and responsibility to themselves and others.

In the introduction of children to work on self-service (yourself and your family), there is another important socio-cultural aspect. Diligence, labor skills of children, teenagers, in the future - young mothers and fathers – is a powerful and almost uncontested Arsenal of their educational opportunities as young parents. It is known that "as the father, such are the children" and "it is most Difficult to teach children what they have not learned themselves" ... [Pavlov, 2012].

At the time, a wonderful Russian teacher K.D. Ushinsky wisely and succinctly outlined the basic principles of education of children, preparing them for work life. "The most education, if it wants happiness to a person, - he wrote, - should educate him not for happiness, but to prepare for the work of life... to ignite in him a thirst for serious work, without which his life can not be either worthy or happy... that a person sincerely loved serious work, first of all, should inspire him a serious look at life...". If you think more deeply about these words of the teacher, then we are talking here about such an important and responsible form of work of every normal person, as the creation and preservation of their own family, the birth and upbringing of their own offspring.

Our surveys in the Urals and the results of studies of Russian sociologists in other regions of the Russian Federation [Mironova; 2014, 2016; Pelmeneva; 2009, p. 174] allow us to identify the main features of the manifestation of the matrix behavior of modern youth. These include:

- liberalization of premarital sexual relations in consciousness and behavior;
- adoption of cohabitation before marriage as a rehearsal of legal marriage, the opportunity to live together and look at each other, the obligatory prelude to marriage;
- desirable age of marriage for men from 25 to 30 years, and for women from 22 to 25 years;
- the ideal number of children in the family-two, preferably a girl and a boy;
- the ideal conditions for entering into marriage the spouses have the education, employment, regular income and the individual housing;
- declared model of the relationship between the spouses - the traditional "male - breadwinner, female – housewife»;
- "the most common model of matrimonial behavior in students is a model of domination (traditional), gradually, however, is its transformation towards a liberal model (equal rights); promiskuiteta (hedonic) model in the student's environment more characteristic of men and is rare" [Mironova; 2014, p. 110].

And another aspect of solving demographic problems in Russia. Using the official assessment of the state, goals, objectives, means and difficulties of the process of saving the people in Russia in the current and future decades, the authors identify four main contradictions, the overcoming of which, in his opinion, will provide a productive solution to the tasks and implement the planned strategic state projects. This contradiction: a) "problems of ecology-health"; b) "priority: the production of CAPITAL or production PERSON»; c) "dissonance of intergenerational interests in the parent family "and d) "traditions – innovations in the process of socialization of generations". Disclosure of these provisions is the task of other articles.

Sociology – provided that it is properly dealt with, notes E. Giddens, "is doomed in some respects to always remain a science that brings confusion to the minds. She's not used to the indulgence of prejudices, which intuitively is to protect people, not prone to reflection". And further: "Today we know about the family incomparably more than before. We were forced to be subjected to a radical reassessment of their understanding of the nature of the present family of institutions under the influence of a more systematic and adequate penetration in their past. The study of the family, which was considered to be the most boring occupation, was one of the most entertaining and exciting ventures"[Giddens; 1999, p. 57]. And today it is very difficult to disagree with such a statement.

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*Elena Yu. Ivanova  
Yuriy E. Antonov*

## **Early Career Guidance as an Innovative Form of Advancing Self-Determination Preschoolers**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article examines some approaches to the use of career counseling in the process of teaching and educating preschoolers. The career guidance work with preschoolers in preschool has been activated in the preschool institutions, as well as in the leisure centers and in the institutions of additional education. The main problem of adaptation the early career guidance' programs to modern conditions is the lack of a material base, a subject-developing environment, methodical and methodological ideas for the programs of the advancing career guidance in the regional context. The new forms of involvement of preschoolers in the professional environment, allowing by the interactive methods to organize educational and cognitive process.

**Keywords:** early career guidance; education; self-determination preschoolers; socialization

In accordance with the Decree of the Ministry of Education and Science of Russia from 17.10.2013/ № 1155 «On approval of the Federal State Educational Standard of Preschool Education the problem of career guidance for preschoolers considers within the framework of educational sphere «Socio-communication Development» and also match such direction of preschoolers career guidance as forming positive attitude of preschoolers to the various kind of creativity and labour [Prikaz Minobrnauki Rossii ot 17.10.2013. № 1155].

The professional self-determination and early career guidance of preschoolers as one of the trend of pedagogical and educational activities in the modern preschools and seeks to forming the understanding of professions, on the one hand, and forming a competitive skills of preschoolers for successful self-realization in the professional sphere, on the other hand. Probably, the term «early career guidance» does not fully explain our investigated process and does not fully define the timeliness of the career guidance measures [Navigator ..., Krivorotko].

Some authors offers use the term «Advancing Career Guidance of Preschoolers» [Kulikovskaya, Kryukova, Talibova], which fixed the purposeful actions of the pedagogical community and social institutions on the based of the monitoring the perspectives of socio-economic development for forming of the personnel potential in the interests of strategic development of the region. This will allows us to extend and to deep the research field of the career guidance processes in the preschool sphere.

Thus, if the career guidance in the total case understanding as «scientific reasonable system of social-economic, psychological-pedagogical, medico-biological and production and technical measures for providing with youth (children) personality oriented assist to identify and develop of abilities, professional and cognitive interests in the choice of profession, and also forming of needs and readiness for work in the conditions of the market, varieties forms of ownership and entrepreneurship» [Zeer, Pavlova, Sadovnikova, 2004], the form of career guidance in preschools is an early career guidance with elements of advancing technologies.

In accordance with periodization of human development as a subject of labor the pre-professional preschool development includes the phase of pre-game (from 0 to 3 years) and the phase of game (from 3 to 7 or 8 years) when the child acquires the «general senses» of human activity [Klimov]. Understanding all specific of age-related development of preschoolers, on the one hand, and contemporary processes of early accelerations of children through their involving in aggressive communicative and informational space, from the other hand, we can say about emergence of different gaming and interactive forms and methods of career guidance work with preschoolers in the period their «pre-professional childhood». In the Table 1 shown the actual forms of work with schoolchildren about acquaintance with professions in the territory of a children's preschools and also in the frames of editional and family education.

**Table:1 The forms of early career guidance of preschoolers**

N	The Forms of Early Career Guidance of Preschoolers
1	Project method. Organization of games (shop, hospital, hairdressing, cosmodrome, travel agency, school, taxi, etc.).
2	Virtual computer excursions (specially computers programs for acquaintance of children with the various types of professions).
3	Excursions to enterprises (factories, shops, fire stations, etc.). Special walks (Who works in the park? Who works on transport?).
4	Quizzes for various professions.
5	Meetings with people of different professions, stories about the professions of parents.
6	Theatrical activity (theatrical and thematic performances, which are demonstrating of various types of professional activities).
7	Creative modeling and design.
8	Competitions and festivals: «What career is fits me?», «The best program for career guidance».



Continuation of table 1

N	The Forms of Early Career Guidance of Preschoolers
9	Experimental and research activity; artistically and productive activity; cognitive activity; observation; adult and children joint activity.
10	A cartoon film about professions for schoolchildren. Scenarios of lessons which based on cartoons. Coloring, stickers and puzzles. [ <i>Navigatum, igrovy`e proforientacionny`e materialy ...</i> ]
11	Activating the career guidance of preschoolers through the creation of cases in which there are no adults and children has to make decisions and act in various professional situations (The project «Growing Up").
12	Upbringing of love for work, as the basic process of human life; respect for labor and perception the value of all professions; the formation of an expanded view of the world of professions and labor; the familiarizing with types of labor.
13	Formation of ideas about the professions of the future [Ibid.].
14	Programs the gender career guidance (male's professions and female's professions).
15	Modern game methodology "Megapolis" for preschool children, developed in the format of a table-game. [ <i>Proforientaciya novy`j format</i> ].
16	The master classes, technological parks, interactive educational city for children (Masterslavl, Kidburg and Kidzaniya) - there are known as an interactive museums of professions.

There are not pay attention sufficiently to the problems of early advancing career guidance of preschoolers in the context of the theoretical and methodological justification of the continuity of the processes of acquaintance with the world of professions in the different levels of the educational space and the ultimate choice of the graduate of the school and the institute their career. Practically, there are not sociological studies which studying the influence of career guidance activity on the processes of children' socialization of preschool and school age.

The analysis of legislation, scientific literature and popular publications, information from websites of preschool educational organizations of Moscow, St. Petersburg, Yaroslavl, Arzamas, Sorochinskaya, Novokuznetsk, Krasnoyarsk Territory, Bashkortostan, science websites of the Moscow Region (250 websites); specialized websites for teachers and parents (48 websites); clubs, centers, associations (34 websites), which deal with the career guidance of preschool children, allows to formulate the main problems and results of career guidance of preschoolers in the modern conditions of transformation of the educational system. [*Metodicheskij material seminara*, P:2], [Punchenko S.A., Elizarova I.V., Grechishkina E.A., Vavilova N.V.]:

- the potential opportunities of preschoolers to obtain the experience of working life are not fully realized;
- the system of tracking the personal abilities and preferences of each preschooler in the process of acquaintance with the professions has not been worked out;
- the work of teachers in pre-schools familiarizing preschoolers with the professions of adults is not focus on modern regional and municipal labor market, does not based on the socio-economic situation in the region;



- practically, there are no continuity of career guidance working of the nursery schools with the other education organizations;
- there is no orientation to the course on formation of intergenerational relations and support of labor dynasties;
- the list of professions for preschoolers are not refreshed on time;
- the methods of diagnostic and activation of professional preschoolers self-determination are not fully worked out (mainly, in the nursery schools of OJSCo "Russian Railways")
- there are not participation of employers in career guidance activities (especially, in collaboration with preschoolers);
- there are necessary conditions created only at the faculties of preschool pedagogy and psychology in SFU and MPGU for organization of pedagogical, material and technological support the professional self-determination of students;
- the innovative game «Child in a High-Tech Society» and the module of the advancing training courses for the professional support system for the professional self-determination of preschoolers worked out only in the FGAOU DPO APK and PSPRO

So, let's marks the factors which influence the formation of the preschooler's attitude to one or another profession and immediate virtual choice of the child's profession in the adult future:

- The profession of parents;
- The profession of acquaintances or the profession that the preschooler faces in everyday life (pedagogue, doctor, driver) in the framework of educational activities;
- The television, cartoons, books;
- The career guidance events in the educational organizations;
- The abilities, interests, motivations and successes in any types of activities;
- The parent's "programming»; the family's focus on the achievements of children in the pre-school age on the professional successes (in the sport; in the dancing; in the gymnastic; in the drawing; in the music and etc).

To tell the truth, the factors which are mentioned the above are common for all age-groups of the population. However, if the factors which mentioned the above in their systemic and integrate combination are being influenced to teenagers and adults in their choosing of educational and professional trajectory, then for preschoolers who has been provided with the all information, the skills and experience which calls as the early career guidance – this is called socialization which is integrated in the formula and methods of career guidance. Namely, by the methods of career guidance in children's preschool go ons «the process of the formation of social qualities, values, ideals, norms and principles of social behavior, obtaining of knowledge and skills whereby

the person is becoming a capable person of social collaboration and to the interaction with social institutes and communities; by the person who can realize their abilities, but society provides of the self-renewal of one's life by replacing the new generation of older generations»[Sanzharevsky].

In Russia 88% of preschool institutions which more or less involved in the early career guidance of preschoolers, are based on various methodological principles and practices which mentioned above. In our opinion, the didactic principles there are most fully described in the programs for the career guidance of the preschoolers and spelled out below: the integration of the various types of children's activities; the activation of their own experience; forming the abilities to use of their own experience in practical life; the useful use of the fiction literature and; bringing the pupils to the independent conclusions and generalizations by step by step; systematically, clearly, accessibly, scientifically and continuously. [Rannyaya proforientaciya doshkol'nikov].

Summary data about the goals of staff of preschool organizations which deal with early career guidance of preschoolers presents in the Table 2.

**Table 2: The goals of career guidance work in the preschools (the analysis of internet sources)**

N	The Goals of Career Guidance Work In the Preschools
1	Familiarization with the list of the different professions and an explanation of the genesis those professions.
2	Creation of a subject-developing environment which helps to the progressive development of the personality and behavior of the preschooler, as well as for the realization of the program.
3	To teach of preschoolers to be proud of the profession of their parents.
4	To teach of preschoolers a positive attitude and respect for different types of professions.
5	Forming in preschoolers an understanding of the social significance of labor.
6	To teach of preschoolers to be readiness to work not only for pleasure and interest, but because it is necessary for society.
7	Step by step to forming the readiness of child to independently planning, analyze and realize of own way of professional development.
8	Development in preschoolers the moral and aesthetic perception and emotional attitude to the professional activity of the adults.
9	Development in the gaming form the content of the main types of professional activity.

The sociological methods of research of the characteristics of career guidance of preschoolers are allowed to identify the main trends and vectors of its improvement in the transforming society. The research is conducted in the Moscow nursery schools was to devoted to which professions are popular among the six-year children. This research is part of the study of older preschoolers are being conducted for more than 20 years by the group of researchers under the leadership of M.S. Egorovoy. «The analysis of the study results allowed make a conclusion that the structure of the professional preferences of the children are being changed following for

the social, economic, cultural and technological changes in society» [Zyryanova, Chertkova, Zyryanova, p. 2-3]. The significance of magic in the achieving of wishes is increased. On the one hand, it's connected with the fairytale book characters which are samples for imitation, fantasy films which are popular at the present time and, it's connected with the behavior of the members of family, they are fulfilled of any wishes of their and the child is manipulation of the parental love, on the other hand. The labor as the necessary condition for achieving of the desire results for a modern preschoolers is not important. Thus, identified the problem that can be mitigated in the process of education and upbringing within the framework of early career guidance, as well as by the advancing career guidance of preschoolers.

The expert survey of specialists in the sphere of preschool education in the framework of the study «Child in the Hight-Technology Society (2010-2028)» (The interviews were conducted with 23 experts from the 10 regions of Russian Federation) showed that the advancing career guidance of preschoolers is possible in the humanitarian, physical and mathematical spheres (Korolev, Moscow region); in the mechanical engineering (Vyatsky Glades, Kirov region); in the forestry (Syktyvkar); in the mountain and electrical specialties (Yakutsk); in the agricultural professions (Kurgan region) and professions with knowledge of foreign languages (Moscow). The analysis of study results is indicated of necessary to work out the wide specter of regional career guidance programs for preschoolers with the following special goals: to attract preschoolers' attention to the career guidance programs; to form realistic preschoolers' ideas about the professions and their importance; to develop the communication skills and skills of independent choice and making decision.

**A particular interest caused the so-called specialized nursery schools or special career guidance groups in the Preschool Educational Organizationals. In place of partial programs (ecology, music, healthier lifestyle and etc.), has been appeared the nursery schools which focused on specific professional activities, mostly these nursery schools are of departmental subordination. Let us give some examples.**

**The conception of the nursery schools of OJSCo "Russian Railways" is the following:** «The nursery schools of OJSCo «Russian Railways» are the first important stage of training of the future railway workers. ... <> ... The possibility of work on an early career guidance is due to the following factors: preschool-age is the most favorable period for the formation of curiosity. This makes it possible to form among children active interest in the railway professions; the parents of children works at the Russian Railways, and for children of this age the interest in the work of parents and wish to become such as fathers and mothers is natural» [Evdokimova]. «The results of this program – the positive dynamic in the diagnosis of the level of knowledge and skills of

preschoolers about the work on the railway... <> ...Many preschoolers express a wish, when they will have grown up, they will work for the railway as their parents» [Ibid].

An interesting practice of the advancing career guidance in the Moscow science cities near Moscow: Protvino, Reutov, Korolev and in the departments of ROSATOM. Since 2008, The active career guidance started in the nursery schools of the Aviaprom (for example, the nursery school «Friendly Crew» No. 221, Ulyanovsk, working under the program «Grow Engineer From Nursery School»). In the Chelyabinsk region the project «TEMP» has been developed and is being realized: «Technologies + Natural Science + Mathematics = Priorities of Education». «The goal of this project is to create conditions for providing the needs of the military-industrial complex, metallurgy, mechanical engineering sector, instrument engineering of qualified engineering personnel» [Obrazovatel'nyj projekt "TEMP"]. The main goal of this project is to motivate the scientific and cognitive interest of children. Continuity of the career guidance work (engineering activity) "nursery school-school-university" is a course of study which fixes in the contract between the subjects of the educational process (for example, MBDOU CRR-nursery school No. 221 «Friendly Crew» – multidisciplinary lyceum of Edvars A.R. No. 9 – Ulyanovsk Higher Civil Aviation School – Ulyanovsk Institute of Aviation Technologies) and built-in unified system of education of skills for engineer's profession and for support of dynasties in the engineering profession.

The experts interviewed by us has formulated the requirements for the personal qualities necessary for a modern engineer: the ability to make decisions in a multifactorial and intersectoral environment; the ability to analyze, evaluate and measure the results or expected results; understanding of own role in the process of an introduction and operation of the invention; the social responsibility for own decisions; the ability to work in a team of the like-minded people and solve the conflict of situations with benefits for the realizing engineering project. What personal qualities from the mentioned above can be identified, taught, cultivated in preschoolers for focus on a concrete profession, in our example, on a profession of engineer? «The right choice of a profession from preschool age lead the success of life». A future engineer needs of such personal qualities as responsibility, accuracy, curiosity and creative thinking. And all these personal qualities are cultivated since nursery school. The career guidance activities preparing the person to profession of an engineer starting from the nursery school, when the child pay attention to the emotionally attractive aspect of the professions: an air engineer, an aircraft designer and trying to play the part of air engineer, for example. If parents talk enthusiastically about their work every day, shows their achievements to the child and the results of their work, the child develops a sense of pride for his parents and involvement in their profession. Consequently, the role of family and family' traditions is very important» (Expert from Ulyanovsk).

The Minister of Education of the Russian Federation named the most popular professions.

"During the past three years noted the growth in demand for graduates of natural science, engineering and technical specialties, pedagogy and medical specialties. In 2016 for the engineering specialties were granted of 46.7% budgetary places; for the pedagogical specialties – 9.2% budgetary places and for the medical specialties – 8.4% budgetary places. For the period from 2017 to 2018 year these figures are unchanged. These are specialties that now require for the Russia [Vasil'eva nazvala samy'e nuzhny'e ...]. Early advancing career guidance of preschoolers in such a sphere of human activity as engineering work is impossible without providing preschooler with the opportunity not only to become familiar with the description of the profession attributes, but also but also to percept future profession «from within». The development of the creative initiative and creative self-realization of preschoolers are possible on condition the creating a subject-developing and pedagogical-methodological basis for realization of independent researching interest of the preschoolers. The orientation of the career guidance to the choosing of the engineering and technical specialties is impossible without activation the processes of the creative self-realization. One of the examples of the development of the methodological basis of the child experimentation is the methodological handbook «Experimentarium and the Scientific Laboratory in the Nursery School». In this handbook gives the characteristic the features of the child experimentation and describes the methods of experimental activity of preschoolers, arising in spontaneous and specially organized conditions. In this handbook gives the methodical recommendations allows to organize experimental activity on the basis of experimentation with Non-Newtonian fluid; describes the steps its transformation in the conditions of the game, experimentarium and scientific laboratory ... Similar projects are widely represented in science cities [Miklyaeva, Model, Odinets]. The project "Growing an Engineer From a Nursery School" is not only innovation in the system of career guidance work in a nursery school but, in our view, this is a modern model of an complex approach for develop activity of a preschool organization aimed at concrete result.

As an example of the creation of a purposeful subject-developing and pedagogical environment for the career guidance of children in the sphere of engineering activity we have example the program of MBDOU nursery school № 3 «Solnyshko» Rostov region, Aksay rayon, Aksay [Oficial'ny`j sajt MBDOU ...]. The system project is structured as follows

- the motivational part (demand for the profession, accessibility, prestige, necessary abilities);
- the methodical and methodological part (work out and approbation of pedagogical conditions of the early career guidance of preschoolers in the sphere of engineering professions);

- the training part (the development of ideas about the profession, its values, the formation of an emotional attitude to the profession, the development of psychological preparedness, the teaching of actions in a particular subject-developing environment);
- the communicative part (interaction with other organizations and enterprises); informational part (signs, symbols of the profession, abilities and skills, history and perspectives); forms of work (with children, parents, educators);
- the target indicators (values): «I choose a professional of engineer: for myself, for my family, for my city, for my region, for my country, Russia» [Ibid].

The deferred effectiveness of the project can be confirmed or set aside in the distant perspective. Of course, the accuracy of the experiment requires an analysis of the educational and career strategies of graduates of these specialized and ordinary preschool institutions. However, such longitudinal studies are not currently conducted. The immediate effect is expressed in a significant increase in the interest of children in the profession of an engineer.

In Russia, it is proposed to develop children's talents in the system of public-private partnership. Initiatives of this project – the Ministry of Education, the Agency for Strategic Initiatives (ASI) with the support of a number of state corporations, public and business organizations - propose to form a multi-level system of outclass work with children, on the basis of which it will be possible to develop any professional directions. [Inzheneriy` v korotkix shtanishkax].

The analysis of the programs for the early career guidance of preschoolers showed that in conditions of insufficient equipment of the subject-developing environment, the methodological developments that meets modern requirements of scientific and technological progress, the child is not oriented to the future, but to the present time. From the one hand, this is correct. Although, the list of professions, about which the child is being learned in the lessons of the career guidance has not been changed for the last fifty years. This list of profession contains such professions as cook, fireman, driver, teacher, doctor. To tell the true, has been appeared in this list a new professions: businessman, a travel agent and a designer. On the other hand, this is obvious that the spiral of high-tech professions is developing faster. In these conditions: «The children need to be taught how to independently explore the world around them, collect the information, to understand it and share their understanding with others people. And the most important skill which children will need in the changing world is the ability to adapt. The ability to evaluate the result. The ability to work in a team. To be able to critically thinking, to present ideas and develop this into a well supported argument, - this is the most important skills for professionals of the future» [Satell]. Not occasionally, that new forms are being appeared that allows children to acquaint with the world of professions. We have already mentioned the game - the country "Vzroslyandia", in which there



are no adults, only children and they take on the roles of adults with their professional knowledge and responsibility.

The effective form of early career guidance and socialization of preschoolers is the interactive museum «KidBurg». «This is a real-world model for children from 1.5 to 14 years. The city of professions «KidBurg» is not only an interesting leisure for children, but also unique opportunities for the development of the child. The interactive project allows children at the earliest step to recognize the tendencies to the future profession, to test their abilities and to be convinced of their own abilities» [KidBurg ...]. The similar gaming interactive platforms are opened in the large cities of Russia: Moscow, St. Petersburg, Nizhny Novgorod, Yaroslavl, etc.

The Agency of Strategic Initiatives "supposes that by 2030 such professions as accountant, notary, lawyer, bank employee, analyst, translator, system administrator, logistic, waiter, call-center operator, courier, engineer, inspector of transport police and many others will be disappeared. But such professions as mentor of startups, brand manager of spaces, media-policeman, editor of content aggregators, specialist in outsourcing of public problems, moderator of the platform for communicating with state agencies, mediator of social conflicts may appear. Now, these professions doesn't say anything to us, and we should not take them seriously, because no one knows exactly which profession will be tomorrow ... <> ... Important that yours (or your child's success) depends in the future from not on a diploma or a certificate, but on an intellect, a character, the ability to learn a new one, to motivate oneself and others. If you have all of this, it does not matter how your profession will be called! [Rannyaya proforientaciya za i protiv].

To the new forms of early career guidance of preschoolers include festivals, competitions of the professions and creative self-realization. For example, in Moscow held on the Interregional Moscow Festival of creative children's and parental's researches and projects «The Little Leonardo» – this is the festival for preschoolers. There are works were presented in the nominations: «I Want to Know Everything», «Save Nature», «Young Designer», «Children and Art». Similar events were organized practically throughout the country.

Brief analysis of the main streams and goals of early career guidance - the socialization of preschoolers in the Russian Federation lets as made the following conclusions:

- The career guidance work with preschoolers in preschool has been activated in the preschool institutions, as well as in the leisure centers and in the institutions of additional education.
- The main problem of adaptation the early career guidance' programs to modern conditions is the lack of a material base, a subject-developing environment, methodical and methodological ideas for the programs of the advancing career guidance in the regional context.



- There is no continuity in the career guidance work in preschool and school educational institutions.

- The longitudinal study is not carried out for evaluation the effectiveness and usefulness of career guidance programs.

- The new forms of involvement of preschoolers in the professional environment, allowing by the interactive methods to organize educational and cognitive process.

- As a rule, the career guidance in the preschool sphere understanding as orientation in the profession, and not as a system of preparation for choosing the sphere of employment. There is no possibility for the child to choose the classes that suit his interests. «There is an old test that people used to understand what the child is most disposed to. On four sides of the world put a book, money, a hammer and some weapons and looked in which direction the child would crawl. And in the sphere which child chosen then try to find his future profession» [U menya rastut goda – kem rabotat` mne togda?]. A program and technology are needed to identify the characteristics of a particular of personality and to regulate the educational process which will be orient to the strong and weak functions of personality. Unfortunately, the personality-oriented approach to forming of an individual career guidance and teaching trajectory in preschool organizations are practically absent.

- The early professionalization and early focused choice of a profession under the influence and pressure of parents and other persons, for example, sports coaches, [Psiholog: «Razve Lipniczkaya ...»] can has been considered as the negative effects on health, psyche and stimulation the achievement of maximum results by any methods, like child exploitation. In this connection, it is extremely important not to cross the line between early career guidance which targeting the preschooler for a concrete choice of professional realization and the social programming which can be harmful and the limiting of personal independent professional choice.

- Unfortunately, the programs «carer guidance-socialization» in preschool institutions, as a rule, are divorced from teaching of child the ability to organize space around itself. This personality quality is necessary for the all profession. When the child free from domestic duties, the child learns to be a consumer and finally (at school) the child perceives the requirement, for example, to wash out his plate as a humiliation of self-worth. And the guilt for this case lies with officials from the educational sphere who, by prohibiting the use of child labor, have practically banned the development of self-service skills of child. On the other hand, the teaching of a real sense of self-worth is outside the educational field of preschool organizations.

Thus, nowadays in the framework of the process of globalization and of the development of the post-industrial society the goal for the career guidance institutions is restructuring their activities. Today, the career guidance system requires serious reforms: this is "organic", or "advancing" career guidance based on the method of prognostication. We can not disagree with the fact that "the post-industrial stage of social development leads to the alienation of fundamental human qualities ...◇... the person gradually begins to lose its social essence, individuality, criticality, self-sufficiency, becoming of more dependent on development of post-industrial technologies...◇....As a result, the post-industrial globalism transforms traditional human values: social justice, goodness, compassion, etc. and reducing them to vulgar utilitarianism and pragmatism, forming a consumer consciousness in which resources appear only as an object of consumption». [Krivorotko V.V.] Is there a place for the methods and forms of care and supervision, for the career guidance socialization in preschool institutions in this changing system of «advancing» career guidance in modern Russia? Is the education system in preschool institutions ready to transform into the challenges of global change? Is it possible to adapt the modern native moral component of the preschool system to the above-mentioned changing "universal human values"? ΠAs the answer to all these questions will be: "Probably not", and the "civilizational processes" described above are real and objective, the career guidance work in preschool institutions will not lose the various forms of cognitive games and the career guidance of preschoolers, meeting the challenges of globalization, is likely to pass in the family, in institutions of additional education, at play-grounds, through the influence of the media, Internet resources, etc.

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*Alexandra Yu. Gubanova*

## **Internet and It-Technologies in the Life of Russian Children at the Beginning of the XXI Century<sup>4</sup>**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article describes the results of the first stage of the network research “The Occurrence of Childhood of Generation Z” in terms of the inclusion of modern internet-technologies in the lives of children and adolescents in the late XX - early XXI centuries are considered, taking into account the settlement peculiarities of the respondents' living places in childhood

**Keywords:** children; teens; childhood; Internet; information and communication technologies

Modern childhood is a complex, multidimensional, ambiguous sociocultural phenomenon that has acquired the greatest importance in the conditions of urbanization, post-industrialization and informatization of society [Childhood of the XXI century...]. Children are influenced by a number of factors: the crisis of family values, ineffective social family policy, the processes of informatization and virtualization, the formation of consumer behavior patterns, the childhood industry, etc. [Kolosova, Gurkina, 2013, p. 150].

In 2018 year to the educational, professional sphere comes representatives of the new generation of Z, which differ dominance of other formats of socialization resources used in childhood, including those related to territorial resources, according to the opinion of many researchers [Detstvo XXI veka v sociogumanitarnoj perspektive ..., 2017, p. 58-77].

Data of the first stage of the network research “The eventfulness of Childhood of Generation Z” (N = 490, online survey method) demonstrate the importance of IT technologies in lives of children in Russia.

Recent years researches show that the Internet audience is constantly getting younger: there is a trend towards a decline of age of the Internet access both in the world and in Russia [Soldatova, 2015: 79]. Undoubtedly children more actively learn technologies than their official “guides” into the world of informatics [Majorova-Shcheglova, 2016].

A 2005 survey of parents in European Commission countries indicated that 34% of 6–7 year olds used the internet while the equivalent 2008 survey found that 42% of 6 year olds and 52% of 7 year olds used the internet; in 2012 year 87% of 5–7 year olds are known to use the internet [Holloway, 2013]. In 2009, only 1% of children aged 0 to 3 years went online alone in

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Russia, and another 14% of children of this age used the Internet under the supervision of adults [Pecherskaya, 2014, p. 75]. A study conducted at the end of 2016 by companies «Google» and «Ipsos» showed that 65% of Russians use the Internet daily, while, in the case of the younger generation, this figure rises to 98%, a quarter of respondents aged between 13 and 24 years check information in social networks every 30 minutes [Novoe pokolenie internet-pol'zovatelej, 2017].

In order to clarify and fixation these characteristic features, we have selected and analyzed answers to questions about the use / non-use of information technologies by the representatives of the Z generation in childhood.

Questions can be divided conditionally into two categories: "computer questions", relating to activities, practices that are directly related to the computer, and "Internet practices" assuming direct use of the Internet. For example, respondents were asked to indicate the age at which they had appeared their own phone and / or computer, the age at which they first played computer games, started looking for information on the computer, watching cartoons, movies, and videos. To the second block related questions about the appearance of their own gadgets which allow you to access the Internet (tablet, smartphone, e-bookreader, etc.), create your own account on the Web, as well as the question of experience taking tests, exams on the Internet.

Among those who lived in megapolises and big cities, the largest number of respondents received their first phone at the age of 7 and 8 years – 26.9% and 16.7%, and 26.4% and 16.1% respectively. The same trend persists for small cities: at the age of 7 years, 18.9% of young people received their first phone, at the age of 8 – 19.7%. Whereas in rural areas the age of obtaining the first personal phone is later – 10 years (21.1%), the seventh part of respondents – 11 years old, at 7 years old received the phone at 12.7%, at 12 years at 11.3%. In megapolises and rural areas, computers appeared in the majority of respondents at the age of 12 (17.9% and 15.5%), in large and small towns at the age of 10 years (18.4% and 10.6% respectively).

Search for information on the computer started to look for at an earlier age, respondents who lived in big cities and small towns – at 10 years old according to the answers (19.5% and 20.5% respectively). Respondents, who lived in small towns and cities, started searching for the necessary information on the computer in the earlier age - at the age of 10 years according to the answers (19.5% and 20.5% respectively). At megapolises and rural areas the first experience of searching for information took place at the age of 12 years (24.4 % and 19.7 %). The young people interviewed started playing computer games early - at the age of 3-4 years, but the majority noted the age of 10-12 years. But a significant part of respondents who lived in small towns and rural areas in childhood noted that they did not play computer games under the age of 18 (12.9% and 12.7%). Residents of small towns, as well as megapolises and big cities, started watching cartoons,



movies, videos on the computer at the age of 12, whereas in rural areas the age was higher – 14 years.

The tablet (another gadget) in personal use appeared at respondents who lived in megapolises earlier than others at 12 years, whereas in big and small towns and rural areas, gadgets often appeared in children at the age of 14. Note that for girls gadgets were bought earlier than for boys – at 10 years old 11% of girls and 9.6% of boys had their own tablet. And 11.2% of respondents noted that they didn't have a tablet or another personal gadget in their childhood.

The appearance of one's own account on the Internet, whether it's the creation of e-mail, registration on the forum or in social networks is an important stage in mastering the modern information space. Preliminary results of the research showed that the development of the Internet by children began in megapolises and large cities before – at the age of 12 most respondents had their own accounts on the Web, while in small towns and rural areas it was 13 years old. Among those who lived as children in rural areas there were those who did not have an Internet account as a child, whereas in megapolises and large cities, the percentage of those who didn't have an account was 1.3% and 3.4 % respectively.

The final issue of this block was the question of passing the tests on the Internet. This technology is actively used in the modern usage of e-content for educational purposes [Gubanova, 2017]. Interviewed young people actively use the opportunity to participate in distance testing, examinations, olympiads – only a tenth of them indicated that they never passed such tests on the Internet. Interviewed young people actively use the opportunity to participate in distance testing and examinations – only a tenth of them indicated that they never passed such tests on the Internet. Girls are slightly more active in the educational Internet technologies than boys – the earliest age of passing the test on the Internet among them is 6 years, among boys – 7. Interesting that respondents who lived in childhood in small towns and rural areas began to take part in tests on the Internet earlier than those who lived in big cities and megapolises: 15 years (20.5%), 14 years (21.1%) and 16 years (14.9% and 20.5%). Also worth noting that the lowest percentage of those who did not take part in distance tests and exams lived in childhood in rural areas – 8.5% against 14.9% and 16.7% of the children of large cities and megapolises and 15.2% of respondents who lived in small towns.

Summed up the results of the first stage of the network research "The Eventivity of Childhood of Generation Z", we can say that the current opinion in society about the lag in investigating of modern technologies by rural residents is false. The young generation from rural areas, who comes to the adult life at last years, actively developed modern technichs and the Internet at childhood. They quickly reduce the gap between them and residents of cities and adapt



to modern living conditions, an integral part of which is the use of the entire range of computer and information technology in its life.

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*Natalia P. Grishaeva*  
*Lyubov M. Strukova*

## **Tools of Socialization of Young Children in Kindergarten in Russia**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article considers the possibility of using new technologies of socialization of children such as "Volunteer-children" and "Social actions": methods, content and results aimed at consolidating the efforts of parents and teachers to develop social competencies of preschool children.

**Keywords:** socialization of preschool children; children-volunteers; social actions; social competence; socializing parent

Changes in the social life of Russia have led to new trends in the development of pre-school education. Sociological research conducted in the preschool sphere over the past five years has shown that children come to kindergarten to play and communicate with their peers, it is interesting to spend time, everything else is perceived by them as an "annoying load", which they seek to avoid. Traditionally, only 20% of children are interested in organized classes.

Meanwhile, the work of pre-school organizations in accordance with the interests of adults is built in such a way that there is constantly not enough time for play and communication. It is known that in the modern Russian kindergarten free play takes from 30 to 50 minutes a day. It is also known that children come to pre-school organizations mainly from single-child families, which does not involve them in the experience of communication in the team of different ages. However, in kindergarten all groups even-aged – uneven-aged communication is not happening.

Thus, the natural mechanism of transfer of social experience from senior to Junior is ignored. To create conditions for the natural socialization of children, we have created the technology "children-volunteers", which solves the following tasks: the development of communication skills in different age groups, the development of independence and responsibility, especially with respect to younger children, the creation of such a situation of development in which the formation of gaming activities and the transfer of gaming experience takes place in a natural environment, and not by showing and telling the teacher.

For the organization and implementation of the technology is necessary specifically at every critical moment to provide older children the opportunity to help or teach younger children. For example, children of a group preparatory to the school (at the request of the teacher) can include in the story-role-playing game of kids, go to them in the group and teach them this game.

You can offer older children to teach the kids, help them get dressed or learn them a poem or a song.

In order to implement this technology, it is necessary to make a daily and weekly plan of visits by older children to younger children. Select a group of children who want to play with the kids. To organize a "school of volunteers", that is, specially to teach older children the following programs: "Teach kids to play", "Teach to resolve conflicts", "Teach to dress", "Know how to help in conducting classes". And most importantly, the teaching staff should have a person who is really responsible for the implementation of this technology, tracking the processes taking place among older and younger children and informing all teachers and DOE specialists [Vopel, Tekhnologii ehffektivnoj socializacii detej 3-7 let..., Kryvtsova].

One of the urgent problems of modern society is to reduce the influence of parents on the process of socialization of children. This is primarily due to the increasing pace of life, the influence of the media, confusion of adults before the challenges of the modern world, as well as the increasing share of parents who shift their responsibilities to preschool.

As the data of sociological studies show, the relationship between the preschool organization and parents is quite complex. Despite the fact that the family is legally granted broad rights to participate in kindergarten, only 20% of parents surveyed are implementing this opportunity. In most cases, it is the collection of funds for the needs of the group, cleaning the area, repairing toys and furniture. In every preschool there are only isolated instances of full participation in the life of the kindergarten. At the same time, most parents are much more concerned about three things: reliable child care during the absence of parents, good health of the child, good preparation for school – so that he can enter a prestigious educational institution. Finally, they are very ambitious and willing to sacrifice the child's health and development of his social skills, just to "train" him for admission to a prestigious school or a prestigious sports club. All of the above poses the problem of optimizing the process of socialization in the kindergarten as one of the priorities. In the process of optimization, it is necessary to find the possibility to combine the fascination of the child's stay in the children's organization while maintaining their mental health and creating appropriate conditions for physical, intellectual and social development in close cooperation with the parents of preschool children.

To include parents in the process of socialization in preschool we have developed the technology of "Social actions".

The technology of "Social action" is aimed, first of all, at consolidating the efforts of teachers and parents to develop civic position among preschool children, as well as the real inclusion of parents in the process of socialization of children in preschool. "Social action" is a modern way to attract and unite all participants of the educational process. Even in the first year

of work on technology, the degree of involvement of parents was 30-50% depending on the type of preschool institution or the content of the event.

"Social action" is held monthly and always outside the kindergarten. Each action begins with informing preschoolers and parents about the purpose, stages and time of its implementation. At the "daily reflexive circles" children discuss the degree of their participation in this event, its objectives, plan their actions and the actions of their parents in the implementation of this project.

The monthly "Social action" showed that each subsequent action attracts an increasing number of parents – from 10% at the beginning of the work and up to 50–70% at the end. However, this happens only if the correct organization: compliance with the principle of voluntariness, the manifestation of the interest of the educators themselves, the accessibility of its meaning to children. The action should be brought to a practical end, and children, parents and educators should get satisfaction from its implementation.

The category "Social actions" can be very diverse: the development of children and parents family of projects to improve recreational sites, story angles, preparation of children and parents map of the area around his house and kindergarten with fixing what needs to be corrected or to make municipal authorities; correspondence with peers in other regions and countries; trips to the orphanage, collecting toys, cards, useful things for sick children and adults in hospitals and hospices, dogs and cats in shelters; joint planting of grown seedlings and seedlings in the garden or district; concerts for veterans in the kindergarten and social centers; "vernissages" on the fence of the kindergarten, dedicated to the memorable dates for the residents of the district; leisure activities with the elderly; correspondence with single and elderly people; the creation of family Newspapers and hanging them in their entrances to the memorable dates; production of postcards and memos of various contents and distribution of their residents of the neighborhood (call for a healthy lifestyle, memorable dates); production of gingerbread for Christmas and distribution of their children to residents of the neighborhood; participation of children and parents in environmental action; garbage collection by children in parks and gardens; collection of used batteries and waste paper; holding charity fairs for the needs of children's homes and social centers; trips of children to the places of memory of the fallen soldiers on memorable dates, as well as other days, for the purpose of planting flowers and cleaning the territory, and many others.

Without what it is not possible to master these technologies? First of all, without the interest of children, the desire and ability of educators and parents to create conditions for children to acquire the competencies necessary for life in the contemporary world.

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## Values of Students as a Factor of National Security

### ABSTRACT

The article presents the results of the author's sociological survey of students of Moscow universities (N=400, spring 2017). The study was devoted to the General assessment of the situation in Russia, the nature of fears and threats, ideas about the future of Russia, the formation of spiritual, moral and civil-Patriotic values of students. The urgency of social and administrative tasks of the state in the formation of Patriotic values of students is shown. The great role of the education system in ensuring national security is emphasized.

**Keywords:** students; national security; value; patriotic education

Security has been known since ancient times, as people have constantly been in conflict with one another, conquering and destroying neighbouring territories. As for the Russian state, it has always been difficult for it to defend its borders, because "Russia's territory has always been extremely vulnerable to conquest... Russia's geopolitical environment has never been calm and peaceful" [Nikonov, 2015, p. 234]. Already the old Russian state, which was formed in difficult geopolitical conditions, sought to ensure the security of public, foreign policy, state, as evidenced by agreements with Byzantium, agreements of Russian and German cities, "Russian Truth", etc. Repeatedly had to defend its sovereignty in the days of the Tatar-Mongolian yoke, from German, Polish, Swedish invaders, during the Domestic wars of 1812 and 1941-1945, interventions during the Civil war, etc. Russia has repeatedly been the target of attacks, "when traditional forms of statehood were destroyed... suffered enormous human losses... when the question of its survival as a state and nation arose" [Nikonov, 2014, p. 8].

In the semantic "core" of national security an important role is played by unity of value orientations of members of society, uniting them into something and mobilizing to counter the forces seeking to destabilize the situation in the country. At the heart of the Russian state can be identified: national goal, basic values, meaning of life, hope, Russian dream, faith, historical memory, patriotism. It is the moral and ethical norms that form the way of spiritual and social life, thus serving as the basis of national identity.

National security is closely linked to the spiritual and moral state of society and its educational potential. The education system is a structure that is very closely related to the mentality, the world view, the system of values formed within a certain culture [Kostin, Kostina, 2013. p. 142]. Among the most important tasks in the Concept of national security of Russia are those related to the improvement of spiritual and moral climate in society, the preservation of the traditions of humanism and cultural heritage of the country. "The preservation, dissemination and

development of national culture, respect for the historical and cultural heritage of the peoples of Russia, the education of patriotism" [Concept, 2000] are the main directions of state policy.

In the conditions of information wars, foreign policy threats, international instability, the most relevant are such values as patriotism, civic responsibility, love for the Motherland, expressed in the unity of spirituality, citizenship and social activity of the individual. Patriotism is understood as a moral principle of love for one's country, but it is not only pride in the past and a willingness to protect Russia from external threats, but also the ability to embody the image of a decent national future [Magaril, 2016, p. 143]. The contradiction is that the understanding of patriotism of the Soviet times does not meet the needs of today, and is not enough if this value is based only on the confrontation with external threats. Patriotism as a value orientation is the most important condition for the consolidation of society and the formation of national identity, the criterion for assessing citizenship, which determines the degree of development of the individual.

At any historical moment of political activity "hunting" went first of all for youth. In the political elections, the voices of young voters were the most important for candidates from any political party. The most radical political movements and alliances are also represented mainly by young people. It is easy to explain: young people are most receptive to new ideas and easy-going. Moreover, the social status of young people is not defined, and they are not burdened with property and capital, the preservation of which requires social stability and predictability of the future situation. The inconsistency of value orientations can lead to negative consequences for the individual and for society.

In order to avoid these consequences, it is necessary to include mechanisms to stabilize this system by "forming a free person who is immune to manipulation and his own suggestibility for the sake of the pleasures and profits of other people" [Rybakova, 2016, p. 8].

The most active part of the youth is the student youth, divided by professional appearance, social origin, nationality, demographic characteristics. For many young people, the process of socialization and social adaptation begins in the student years. The future of the country, its economic and political stability directly depends on the value orientations of young people. The role of young people in the life of society is difficult to overestimate, because it is a carrier of intellectual potential. In the education of Patriotic and civic qualities, love for the state, the most important role belongs to the education system [Shapovalov, 2015, p. 13].

Under the influence of the following factors, value orientations of students are formed depending on: 1) age and social factor-age-demographic factor; student youth characterizes the dependence on the part of society and the state; 2) dual-transitional nature of students – ambivalent-transitive factor; young man made a choice of future profession, but this profession has not yet been implemented; 3) educational factor, the implementation of which is not only



associated with obtaining professional skills; for the formation of value orientations in the educational process introduced disciplines of humanitarian profile.

Undoubtedly, for the future of the country, education is the priority direction of the country's development. In addition to the professional component of education, an important is its educational function, which requires new approaches and methods of work of the teaching staff with students in modern conditions. This will ensure civil peace and national security. Spiritual, moral, Patriotic and civic education takes place not only in the framework of direct teaching of disciplines, but also affects all areas of the formation of these value orientations – the family, society, the state; it is a system of educational and educational efforts designed to accompany and support a person throughout his life. Education of the young generation on such values as patriotism, hard work, tolerance for other peoples, their cultures, religions, mercy and compassion, humanism, collectivism, family, etc. contribute to the strengthening of the state.

In order to identify the value orientations, characteristic of the student youth, understanding of its Patriotic values, a sociological study was conducted in the spring of 2017. The volume of the sample population of the study was 400 people<sup>5</sup>. The results of the study showed that modern student youth is characterized by self-confidence – more than 80% agree that they will be able to provide for themselves and their families and do not need the support of the state; about 90% believe that the main thing is initiative and entrepreneurship. The author's research corresponds with the previous studies. It shows that today young people consider self – realization – 71.3%, education – 70.1%, career growth – 51.7%, financial well – being – 51.0%, love – 50.6%, friendship, communication-50.6%, health, beauty and sport-50.6% to be important for themselves. One of the last places is taken by participation in political and public organizations – 8,0% and work in the public sector – 16,1%. When students were asked to rank on the degree of importance for them certain human qualities, in the first place they put honesty, honesty, the presence of solid principles and ideals, justice, and the last – humility, obedience, indifference to the problems of their city, village, village, religiosity, initiative, activity. More than half (61.7%) of the students allow themselves in some cases to step over the moral principles and norms, while 38.3% firmly believe in the opposite and better not succeed in life. 59,0% of respondents noted that the state has a direct impact on the maintenance of a favourable moral climate in the society, at the same time,

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<sup>5</sup> The survey was attended by students of the faculty of public administration (n=223), faculty of philosophy (n=72), faculty of computational mathematics and Cybernetics (n=63) of the Moscow state University named After M. V. Lomonosov, Russian chemical technology University named after D. I. Mendeleev (n=42). The qualitative composition of the sample is characterized by such parameters as an equal ratio of gender (49.8% of men, 50.2% of women), covered by the layers of students in the natural and humanitarian areas of training, different courses (1 course=192, 2 course=66, 3 course=101, 4 course=41). The main age group of respondents were young people aged 17-24 years (n=14 – 17 years, n=133 – 18 years, n=92 – 19 years, n=95 – 20 years, n=28 – 21 years, n=28 – 22 years, n=8 – 23 years, n=3 – 24 years).

an increase of 40.2% believe that the state should not interfere in the sphere of morality, considering it a private person's life.

The moral character of students is characterized by some decrease in moral norms and attitudes, which reflects the need to revive educational work in higher education, using historical experience based on universal values. A person cannot live outside of society. At the same time, the company is obliged to put forward certain requirements and rules. At the same time, it is important to create conditions and opportunities for the self-realization of young people and the development of their potential for the benefit of the country.

The answers to the question about the differences in value preferences of Russian and Western European students were almost unanimous: the differences are significant – 50.2%, partially observed – 41.0% and only 6.1% were supporters of the global world, opinions about the same views. Students support the program of the Russian Federation to revive and develop national traditions, moral and religious values (73.2%), while 20.7% believe that the country should borrow Western values. An absolute majority of respondents (88.1%) believe that Russia should be a great power that has an impact on political processes in the world.

Patriotic values, as well as other values, are assimilated by the individual in the process of socialization under the influence of various institutional and non-institutional factors. The essence of the assimilated norms, as well as the degree of their assimilation depend on the channels of translation of these norms and their regulatory power. In order to determine the main channels for the retransmission of Patriotic values, which, in the opinion of young people, should bear the main responsibility for the education of patriotism, the questionnaire included the question of which of these channels for the formation of Patriotic values should be the main ones within the framework of Patriotic education of young people. The main channels through which the retransmission of Patriotic values takes place are identified: the institution of the family, the state as a whole, the media, etc. It was assumed that among these channels, the most frequent references will be to such as the state and the family, which confirmed the results of the study. In the first place when asked this question students put school and high school (67,0%) and society (67,4%); the family was mentioned by 44.1 per cent, but the TV is 29.1%, the Internet was 23.0%. It should be noted that "mass media are able to form the inner world of a person so that, on the one hand, he has a fairly clear idea of the self – worth of his "I", and on the other there is an opportunity-to manage it in the most effective way" [Clementyev, 2014, p. 131].

To determine the indirect impact of non-institutional factors on the image of the patriot in the broad sense of the word in the questionnaire was introduced the question of the possibility to go abroad. Most students consider their departure abroad as an opportunity to gain additional

knowledge (47.1%), 12.6% do not want to live abroad at all, and want to leave to live there permanently, 21.5% of respondents and 18.4% want to leave for a while to earn money.

Regarding the idea of patriotism among young people, it should be noted that patriotism among young people is more often associated with love for the Motherland (75.5%), national culture (62.1%) and pride for their country (61.3%). This is followed by love for their hometown (41.4%), love for their family, relatives (33.3%), the desire for social justice (23.4%), the glorification of the victories of the Motherland (21.1%). At the same time, 5% of students associate the revival of the traditions of the Russian state with patriotism, and 11.9% believe that patriotism loses its importance in the context of globalization, denies the need for Patriotic education in General and reject the promotion of patriotism at all levels as a means of influencing people's opinion. From a historical point of view, the students mostly proud of the prestige of Russia in the world, the Russian Armed forces, the victory of the Soviet people in the great Patriotic war, the period of glasnost and perestroika, by the reunification of the Crimea with Russia, as demonstrated by the results of a survey where students were asked to rank in order of importance from their point of view some of the events of Russian history.

Students were asked about measures that could affect the revival of patriotism in our society. The majority noted that it is necessary to significantly change the attitude to the problem of patriotism and Patriotic education at the state level, from the political elite (56.7%), as well as in the media (51%). About a third of the respondents stressed the need to intensify work in educational institutions (34.9%), in the regions (28%), to provide direct assistance to Patriotic organizations – 33.7%, to carry out Patriotic activities between students and representatives of the Armed forces, the interior Ministry, etc. (27.2%).

The study is correlated with the data of the survey of the public opinion Fund, which records in 2018 the confidence that our country increases international influence significantly more than those convinced of the opposite (71% against 4%, who believe that the level is reduced, and 14% - remains at the same level) [FOM, 2018]. The "high" values of a great power, such as great power or the inadmissibility of the degeneration of a nation, have indeed become more important than those of the late 1990s, but in General, pragmatic orientations continue to dominate, gaining even greater weight, which is particularly characteristic of the problems of quality of life and social justice.

At all levels, there should be the formation of value orientations that ensure national security: at the state level through the state youth policy and support for projects and programs of civil and Patriotic orientation, at the level of society – through the impact on group and interpersonal relations, at the level of the individual – through the institution of family formation of traditional family values, moral principles and foundations. The mass media is a tool for

translating worldview. Thus, the state youth policy, family, society, education system determine the development of a person – a citizen integrated into modern society.

Value orientations of students act as life priorities that regulate the behavior of people, encourage them to act, linking the motive as a motivating force and goal as a guide force of activity. On the life plans of young people is influenced by the conditions of public life in which there is a young man, his level of spiritual development, consciousness, social status, etc. From the current state and development of the education system, the state youth policy, family traditions depends on the security of the state in the strategic plan. The national security of Russia depends on the professional training of students, their General cultural level, moral and moral ideals, social values. At the heart of national security is spiritual security, which involves the protection of cultural values. A highly spiritual and socially responsible person is able to recognize and confront threats to national security.

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## **Youth Policy as a Factor of Human Development**

### **ABSTRACT**

Youth policy in modern Russia plays a significant role, being one of the defining directions of development of the country. The efficiency of youth policy depends on the level of human development.

**Keywords:** welfare state, youth policy of the Russian Federation, young people, human potential, human development index potential.

In order to create conditions for the innovative development of the state, it is necessary to implement one of the fundamental policies – the youth policy. The youth policy is a part of the state social policy, which has a strategic goal of creating legal, social, economic and organizational conditions for the development and self-realization of young people for the sake of the state.

The report prepared by the Russian Academy of national economy and public service under the President of the Russian Federation "Youth of Russia 2000–2025: human resource development" declares: "From the model of state youth policy, which is objectively relied on quantitative indicators (increase in youth coverage, its involvement in various practices), it is necessary to move to quality improvement in all areas of youth development and its activities"[Molodezh' Rossii 2000–2025].

Youth policy should be a system that promotes human development, and transformation of the society. In the "Fundamentals of the state youth policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025" it is noted that self-realization, education, improvement of human development and potential of young people are "the achievement of sustainable socio-economic development, global competitiveness, national security of the country, as well as strengthening its leadership positions on the world stage"[Osnovy gosudarstvennoy molodezhnoy politiki...]. Youth policy is implemented at several levels: Federal, regional and local. It permeates all social institutions and the entire structure of society. Its implementation depends on the social partnership of public and public-private organizations.

Nowadays, according to the Federal service for state statistics and «Rosmolodezh» data, 31.5 million young people aged from 14 to 30 are registered in Russia [Rosmolodezh statistika].

Sociology considers young people as a large social group with blurred boundaries. At present, various researchers distinguish several main age groups: "generation of perestroika" (29–34 years), "generation of the nineties" (21–28 years) and "generation of the noughties" (17–20 years). They differ sharply from each other because they were raised in completely different

conditions — some came into life simultaneously with independent Russia, others — with the crisis of the late 1990s, and others-with the "well – fed and calm" Putin's zero" [Fedorov].

The solution of acute problems and the establishment of a just society can not be achieved without an integrated approach, since the degree of interconnection and interdependence of social problems is very high. The regional characteristics of each region and the interests and views of young people should be taken into account in addressing the problems. The Federal law on education in the Russian Federation states: "Higher education is aimed at training of highly qualified personnel in all areas of socially useful activities in accordance with the needs of the society and the state, to meet the needs of the individual in the intellectual, cultural and moral development, deepening and expanding education, scientific and pedagogical skills".

However, the desire of young people to get education in universities and colleges of the country, faces the problem of employment of young people after graduation. Many graduates from the CIS countries, not having the opportunity to get a job in the specialty, go to work on contracts abroad.

The unsolved problems existing in the youth environment can be grouped on the following grounds:

- the growth of youth unemployment, the lack of demand for graduates on the labor market;
- deterioration of the quality of health of young people;
- unresolved problems of young families, including lack of housing;
- the increase in the number of drug-dependent adolescents due to the inefficiency of legislative and preventive measures, including counteraction to drug trafficking at the international level.

The formation of a fair society depends largely on the development of each individual young person, on the level of human potential.

The concept of "human potential" is a set of moral and physical forces of man, which are used to achieve collective or individual goals. A variety of human and social opportunities and mechanisms of their social determination are united in this concept [Chelovecheskiy potentsial].

Human potential consists of several components: physical, moral, intellectual, cultural and professional. Some researchers include innovative potential, which "is due to the motivation to find new solutions, the ability to create and implement new knowledge, the transformation of the results of scientific and technical activities into innovations and their effective use" [Lapshin, p. 261].

Each of the components is characterized by: the standard of living, literacy, health, education and creativity. Having systemic properties, the human potential can not be reduced to a



set of human qualities. The nature of the environment and the external environment of a person have a direct impact on its formation and implementation.

The concept of HDI was developed at the end of the twentieth century thanks to the works of A. Sen and a group of scientists and economists working under the leadership of Mahbub-ul-Haq. This concept is based on three indicators: life expectancy, standard of living and literacy. The index is calculated by cross-country comparison using an integral indicator [Lapshin].

In 2016, Russia was ranked 50th in the HDI (human development Index) ranking with an index of 0.798. [Indeks chelovecheskogo razvitiya...].

The development of human potential depends on the youth policy, as its properties directly determine the possibility of human development not only in the nearest future, but also in a long-term prospective.

The level of human potential depends on the solution of acute problems of young people, among which are the following:

- The deterioration of young people's health is largely responsible for the decline in the birth rate of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, which is manifested in delayed childbearing and a decrease in the number of children in young families, which will lead to a decrease in the population.
- Unemployment and poverty among young people are increasing, 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. The average high unemployment rate was observed in the age group 15–19 years (31.4%) and 20–24 years (13.4%) [Tyurin]. Youth unemployment is very high among University graduates. According to the search resource Head Hunter for 1 job for young graduates employers receive 10 resumes, the average market, this figure is 6.8 [Bezrobotnyye sredi molodezhi v Rossii...].

The state youth policy at all levels should take into account all the changes that exist in the youth environment for human development in order to meet modern requirements and facilitate the transition of society to the sixth technological order, the basis of which is the development of nano - and biotechnology. The education system should ensure advanced development through co-financing of regional and Federal programs.

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*Olga V. Gokova*

## **The Collaboration between the Authorities and Society in the Field of the Pronatalist Policy**

### **ABSTRACT**

This article revealed the essence of the pronatalist policy and clarified the meaning of it in the context of political sociology as a vector of the population demographic policy. The population demographic policy, in turn, represents a set of activities implemented by the government authorities and directed at the population growth, at the decline in natural population wastage through an increase in the birth rate. The article shows the connections between the pronatalist policy and the existing demographical and sociological concepts and theories, and also examines the main approaches to its definition.

**Keywords:** pronatalist policy; demographic policy; anti-natalist policy; neo-Malthusianism; forms and types of pronatalist policy

Demographic policy varies widely in nature, in focus, and, according to the author, it can be divided into three basic types:

1. The population policy aimed at the population increase not only through the increase in the birth rate but also through the migration intake; the policy includes:

a) the pronatalist policy aimed at the increasing in the birth rate and the increasing in a number of people in the developed countries (European countries, North America, Australia, Japan) and in some developing countries (Iran, Brazil, Argentina and others);

b) proactive immigration policy aimed at the population increase through the migration intake and based on measures to regulate the number and quality of all arriving migrants (Australia, New Zealand, Canada and others);

2. The restrictive policy aimed at reducing the rate of the population growth and even at population decline through the reduction in the frequency of births (anti-natalist policy) and/or through the restricting immigration (China, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and others).

3. The stationary policy of population optimum aimed at the population stabilization (Singapore, South Korea, and others).

The pronatalist policy is essential and relevant both for Russia and for many European countries at the current stage of development. The term «pronatalist» (lat. pro – for, and natalis – birth) means, according to the author, the direction of demographic policy towards promoting the increasing of the birth rate through the creating financial and social incentives for people, for example, through the providing tax incentives for families with several children. In some countries,

this policy also includes the tightening of rules concerning the contained use of contraception and induced abortions. Usually, the basis of this policy is the State's desire to increase the level of economic well-being because it depends on the number of healthy and working-age people. Pronatalist policy is the demographic doctrine and a number of measures taken by States to facilitate the population growth by the stimulating fertility.

Having analyzed the experience of the pursuit of the pronatalist policy by the public authorities around the world we have identified its basic forms:

1) The pronatalist policy – it is such a system of measures which aims at an increase in the birth among all the inhabitants of the country regardless of their race, nationality and religious affiliation. This is the exact kind of pronatalism in France since 1945;

2) «Nativism» – the policy which is in the interest of indigenous aimed to preserve and defend its own (pre-colonial) culture and addressing inequalities of other's culture. This policy is carried out in the case when public policy measures aimed only at increasing birth rate of certain nationalities (usually – titular nation). That policy had been followed in France until 1945 and until 1962 in its colonies, where the measures designed to increase the birth rate, which were successfully applied in France, had not been extended to the indigenous population [Lépinard E., Lieber M.; 2015];

3) Pronatalism with the elements of eugenics – when the category of the population covered by the measures of the pronatalist policy limited to certain social and racial criteria, then the policy turns into eugenics (the doctrine about selection applies to humans, and about the ways to improve its genetic properties) or even into the racism (the combination of attitudes based on provisions on physical and mental inadequacy of human races, nations and on the crucial impact of race-based disparities on the history and culture). Examples of this are the Nuremberg Race Laws taken by the Nazi regime in September 1935 («The Reich Citizenship Law» (ger. Reichsbürgergesetz) and «The Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor» (ger. Gesetz zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre)). From the demographic point of view these laws excluded the Jews from the State support measures for fertility stimulation in Germany, these laws also banned marriages between Jewish people and «the subjects of the state who are of German or related blood» [Gesetz zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre, 1935; Reichsbürgergesetz, 1935];

4) Lastly, if the government support measures related to small populations groups, the policy ceases to be pronatalist, because it becomes limited and fragmentary. As an example, The Lex Papia Poppaea, implemented by consuls-influences Quintus Poppei the Second and Mark Papius Mutilus during the reign of Emperor Octavianus Augustus and aimed at strengthening matrimonial bonds and strengthening fines for celibacy [Lépinard, Lieber, 2015].

In one country can be taken measures of different pronatalism forms. For example, the requirement to reserve posts for fathers with many children in French government is a manifestation of «nativism», since the foreigners can basically not to hold public office and be public officers [Thévenon, Adema, Ali, 2014, p. 2]. The tax system, which includes the tax deduction for families, is elitist because it is directed at a particular social group, i.e. at those who pay income tax, meaning wealthy people (so-called «middle class»). The system of benefits for families who have at least two kids contributes to increasing the birth rate and can be called universal system.

Speaking of the history of this demographic policy it should be noted that the natalism as political and State doctrine has appeared only at the end of XIX century in France. The appearance of the natalism is often linked to the dramatic decline in fertility in France (in 1896-1897 the mortality rate was higher than the birth rate) and it is also linked to the defeat in the Franco-Prussian War 1870–1871 followed by predominant Germans. The last reason has been mentioned many times until 1914 in different natalist brochures, where the size of social class among working-age people in France and Germany was compared. However, considering the history of the pronatalist policy in a broad sense, it must be taken into account two features characterizing the end XIX and the beginning of XX centuries. These features are the scope of the war and the growing role of universal suffrage across Europe. In fact, starting with the American Civil War 1861-1865, the extent of conflict had changed and million fighting men began to participate in it because the infantry had become crucial in battles. In the political sphere, the demographic perception of the population was also connected to the enfranchisement of only the male population at first, and then the enfranchisement of women. [Bichot, 2016].

Only the transformative changes in demographic indicators of France after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 marked the beginning of public interest in a decrease of the birth rate and in a decline of population. In 1897 the French Statistician Jacques Bertillon published a paper «The extinction of the French people» which is the first scientific attempt not only to describe but to analyze the current demographic trends [Bertillon, 1899, p. 26].

The pronatalist policy uses different measures, which aimed at fertility stimulation. They consist in the provision of benefits, childcare allowances and tax deduction differs depending on the order of birth of the children; in the providing an opportunity for women to continue to work by using an opportunity of a full-time day care for their kids or by using a babysitting service; in the opportunity of education for mothers, who return to their jobs after the maternal leave; in the establishing of the childcare allowances for fathers; in the improving working conditions and protection for working women; in the providing of economic incentives for employers to hire persons who have large families; in the improving of the access of pre-school and out-of-school

institutions for kids; in the providing an opportunity to have flexible working hours and accessibility of child-care services [Gautier, 1999, p. 74]. All these measures play a very important role in promoting the birth of each additional child.

Anti-natalist policy, based on the theory of T.R. Malthus (1766-1834), is the opposite of the pronatalist policy. Malthusianism stands for the population control policy which is realized through the voluntary birth control. According to T.R. Malthus, the population growth is faster than growth in food production that requires the limitation in the number of births in order to avoid hunger caused by overcrowding.

In the 19th century, a writer and journalist O. Mirbeau and French anarchist and teacher P. Robyn were the theoreticians of Neo-Malthusianism in France. According to them, States follow the pronatalist policy with pernicious effect to restock the army with fresh «cannon fodder», because at that moment the infantry formed the core of the army. Another purpose was the low-cost labor that will be exploited by employers which in turn would pay taxes and supplement State's budget. They demanded to exercise control over births rate and with the help of contraceptives and abortions. Following that objective, in 1896 P. Robyn founded The League of the Revival of Man, which, among the diffusion of Neo-Malthusianism ideas, was distributing contraceptives under the slogan «Let's, free women! Children have to avoid their own destiny». This league was existing till 1920 when the Law prohibiting the anti-propaganda of birth rate was enacted. The supporters of this movement had spent several years in prison [Fontanier, Sondag, 2016].

In the period between the two world wars, in Europe and in France especially, was widespread the feminist movement. The supporters (N. Roussel, M. Pelletier, B. Albrecht) had promoted the rights of women to define by themselves the desired number of children, the birth intervals and also the right to use contraception and to have abortions. [Bichot, 2016].

In the second half of the twentieth century, the struggle for birth control was fairly widespread in Europe. Firstly, due to women's movement, speaking for the right to have control over their bodies and for the right to have as many children as they want or do not have children at all. In 1972 was founded the Family Planning Foundation supporting the idea of using contraception and having abortions. This leading to the adoption in January 1975 of Law on induced termination of pregnancy. Secondly, in response to the statements made by ecologist of the whole world and with the connection of activists of the anti-globalization movement in which a central role is played by Club of Rome aimed at saving the planet from the environmental pollution and the depletion of non-renewable resources, and also aimed at creating opportunities for the sustainable development of the Earth. Currently, many scientists, including Jacques-Yves Cousteau, find that the main barriers to preserving many animal and plants species and other

resources of the Earth is overcrowding. The defenders of the Neo-Malthusianism conception emphasize that the birth control is the human duty for sustaining the life and resources on the Earth for the next generations.

Therefore, the defenders of the Neo-Malthusianism conception think that along with the pronatalist policy, undertaken by developed and some developing countries, it is necessary to implement the anti-natalist policy in underdeveloped and developing overpopulated countries, which will aim to reduce the population growth through various measures. Currently, the main measures is the development of the family planning centers, aimed at sensitizing the public on the contraceptive methods and techniques and fertility planning; the promotion of use of contraception; providing benefits for the families with one or two children; the implementation of lower taxes if the family has one child and so on. However, owing to the population's low educational level, to the development and the continuing of the culture focused on large families; to the predominance of the rural population, where children are needed as the labor force, this policy is not very effective in the underdeveloped countries of the world.

Thus, since the pronatalist policy is a consequence of the demographic transition, in which the birth rate in developed countries has declined significantly and the mortality rate has stabilized or has dropped to the birth level, this policy is most needed in countries, where the demographic transition process was concluded (Russia, China, and all developed countries), and also pronatalist policy is needed in countries that are in the process of the sharp drop in birthrates (Egypt, Algeria, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Iran, Turkey, Tunisia and some other developing countries).

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*Elizaveta S. Khamonkova*  
*Olga V. Smirnova*

## **The Characteristics the Time Reflexion of Adolescents with Different Level of Intellectual Development**

### **ABSTRACT**

This article describes the conception of «time reflexion». The authors explain the importance of self-awareness a person in time in adolescence. The article discusses the study results about of peculiarities the time reflexion in adolescents. The study is based on comparative analysis of peculiarities the time reflexion in adolescents with high and low level of intellectual development.

**Keywords:** time reflexion; time perception; intellectual development; adolescents

Time perception plays an important role in the orientation of person in the world, because time is a cycle of our life, a life duration, a rhythm of life. About this writes I. Schubert, highlighting the issue of the formation understanding of time as one of the important areas of the concept of social time.

Time is an important resource of human capital. The self-awareness a person in time (time perception) can strengthen the motivational component of person's activity, activate and regulate his behavior. Investigators in the literature are noted the influence of a person's ideas about his own future, on his success in a future and on the effectiveness of his activity in the present.

The time is the value, because people can fill in it content and realize yourself in the time.

Under the time reflexion we understand the ability of a person to awareness his psychological time (the past, the present and the future), and the ability of a person to awareness yourself in time as an active life person. The time reflexion were studied such investigators as: A.V. Bykov, I.V. Dubrovina, V.S. Mukhina, A.M. Parishioners, LM, Shipitsyn, TI. Shulga and others. The time perception which is being formed in adolescence determines the strategy of behavior the person, his possibility of goal-setting, planning and forecast his life activities in his future life.

There are many factors influences on the self-awareness an adolescents in time. By the our opinion, one of them is the level of intellectual development.

Our hypothesis is that there are exist the peculiarities the time reflexion in adolescents with differ levels of intellectual development.

1. The adolescents with low level of intellectual development has the time perception with more limited content than the adolescents with high level of intellectual development;

2. The adolescents with low level of intellectual development has a timing disintegration, they are focused on the past; the adolescents with a high level of intellectual development has a timing integration, they are focused on the present and the future;

3. The adolescents with low level of intellectual development has the time perception with more negatives content, than the adolescents with a high level of intellectual development.

In our study took part 159 teenagers aged 14–15 years – schoolers of the MBOU «Gymnasium № 8» and MBOU «School № 5» in Cherepovets, Vologda region.

To detect the levels of intellectual development of adolescents, we used the «School Test of Mental Development» ("STUD") and «Progressive Matrices of Raven». The study results of the first part of our research allowed us to divide the adolescents into 3 groups: adolescents with a low level of intellectual development – 15%, with an average level of – 71% and with a high level of intellectual development – 14%. To identify the characteristics of reflexion in adolescents of two groups - with high and low level of intellectual development we used the following methods: «Temporal Orientations In the Associative Experiment» (LA Regusch), "Time Scales» and «Temporal Decentration» (EI Golovaha and AA Kronik), «Diagnostics of Attitudes Towards the Past, the Present And the Future» (AM Prikhodzhan), a questionnaire of the timing perspective of the personality of F. Zimbardo. We give a brief description of the study results:

The number of associations had been given by adolescents with a high level of intellectual development significantly had been exceeded the number of reported associations by adolescents with a low level of intellectual development. The average index of associations for the word «past» in adolescents with a low level of intellectual development is 4.30, and in adolescents with a high level of intellectual development 9.50 ( $t = 5.90$ , with  $p \leq 0.01$ ); the average index to the word «present» is 4.48 and 9.36, accordingly, ( $t = 5.60$ , with  $p \leq 0.01$ ); the average for the word «future» is 4.95 and 6.10, accordingly, ( $t = 2.40$ , with  $p \leq 0.05$ ), and the average for the word «time» is 6.30 and 8.70, accordingly, ( $t = 2, 80$ , with  $p \leq 0.01$ ). This result tells that the time perception for adolescents with a low level of intellectual development is lower and more limited in content than in adolescents with a high level of intellectual development. Thus, our first hypothesis is confirmed.

The results of data processing did not find significant differences in timing orientation in adolescents with low and with high level of intellectual development; the both groups have the orientation toward the present (10,50). The average result has an orientation toward the future (7.75 in adolescents with a low level of intellectual development, 7.86 in adolescents with a high level of intellectual development). The lowest result is the orientation to the past (5.96 and 5.82, accordingly). Thus, we can talk about the adequacy of perception by adolescents the experience of time.

Also, for adolescents with a low level of intellectual development suits the second level of perception to time – 50%, that is, a rather realistic and at the same time optimistic perception of the past and the future.

The adolescents with a high level of intellectual development demonstrate an extremely optimistic perception of their past and future, which suits to the first level of perception to time – 45.45%. Mathematico-statistical analysis of the data showed that there are statistically significant differences at this level ( $\varphi^*_{\text{emp}}=2,729$  for  $p \leq 0,01$ ) between adolescents of the two groups. Consequently, a more realistic perception of time is characteristic of adolescents with a low level of intellectual development.

A contradictory perception the past, the present and the future was identified in 23.35% of teenagers with a high level of intellectual development and 12.5% of adolescents with a low level of intellectual development. Mathematico-statistical analysis of the data showed that these differences are statistically significant ( $\varphi^* = 2,029$ , at  $p \leq 0,05$ ).

Thus, we can say that our second hypothesis is confirmed.

The third level of perception to time is the contradictory attitude towards the past, the present and the future; as a rule, the inconsistency and the gap between them is characterized. In accordance with the method of A.M. Parishioners - in adolescents with a low level of intellectual development this «gap» is present; we identified the statistically significant differences in this factor with another group of adolescents ( $\varphi^* = 2,029$ , at  $p \leq 0,05$ ).

The adolescents of both groups are largely oriented toward the future (3.42 and 4.85). We founded significant differences ( $t^*_{\text{emp}}=6,40$  for  $p \leq 0,01$ ) between adolescents with a high and low level of intellectual development. Also, adolescents (regardless of the level of intellectual development) have a rather high index on the scale «hedonistic present» (3.80 and 3.80, accordingly).

For adolescents with a high level of intellectual development the values on the scale «positive past» are more significant than for adolescents with a low level of intellectual development (3.90 and 3.30, accordingly). Mathematico-statistical analysis of the data showed that there are statistically significant differences on this scale ( $t^*_{\text{emp}}=5.70$  at  $p \leq 0.01$ ) between adolescents of the two groups.

Thus, for adolescents with a high level of intellectual development, there is an ambiguous, contradictory perception to the past, and also, they have a obvious orientation toward the future, connected with the feeling of pressure of time and the willingness to sacrifice the enjoyment in the present for the achieving future goals. We can say that our third hypothesis is partially confirmed.

In this way, the time perception **for adolescents with a low level of intellectual development** has limit in content; they have a timing disintegration, they are focused on the past.

Besides, for adolescents with a low level of intellectual development is characteristic more realistic, optimistic perception of the past, as well as a realistic attitude to the present. In addition, they have a carefree, sometimes careless perception to the times; they enjoy the present moment. Also, for adolescents with a low level of intellectual development, the perception of time has more negatively colored. All of the above indicate their focus on the past.

**For adolescents with a high level of intellectual development** the time-management has a more integrated form. The adolescents of this group are also more oriented to the present, and their perception of the past can be characterized as positive, in contrast to this indicator in the other group. They are characterized by timing integration, with an orientation to the present and the future. At the same time, they see the present with a shade of hedonism - to enjoy the real moment. The future they determinate by the planning and achievement the goals and rewards. The perception of time is colored positively, and it is also more informative. Thus, we can talk about their focus on the present and the future.

The study results indicates that a high level of intellectual development in adolescence, in general, helps to the definition of time as a resource of personal (and later, the professional development).

At the same time, it is necessary to orient adolescents with a low level of intellectual development for the future; help them build their life and professional trajectories, create conditions for their positive perception to the past.

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*Larisa A. Pogrebnyak*

## **The Features of Independence Expressed in the Behavior of Urban and Rural Preschoolers**

### **ABSTRACT**

The study has been performed within the framework of preschool pedagogy and psychology. The article is devoted to the comparative study of the features of independence expressed in the behavior of urban and rural senior preschoolers. At present, the problem of developing independence in preschool children is quite urgent, because, according to some observations, due to various circumstances, parents of preschool children do not pay enough attention to this aspect of upbringing.

The purpose of this research was to study the features of independence expressed in the behavior of urban and rural preschoolers. The relevance of the study is caused by the importance of creating conditions for the development of independent behavior by children of preschool age. In particular, the study focuses on the peculiarities of modern family upbringing of senior preschoolers, **the role of parents in the formation of a child's personality and on the way family upbringing influences the formation of independent behavior in 5-7 years old children.**

A generalized analysis of the study made it possible to have a fresh look at the problem of fostering independence of senior preschoolers from different angles. The analysis provided a good opportunity to make a generalized portrait of a modern urban and rural senior preschooler and his/her parent.

The study involved 84 rural preschoolers, 102 urban preschoolers. 63 parents of rural preschoolers and 98 parents of urban preschoolers also took part in the study. The total number of study participants was 347.

**Keywords:** preschool; children; **parents; communication;** different social conditions

Independence is a valuable quality that is necessary for a person throughout his/ her lifetime; it should be formed since childhood.

The analysis of theoretical sources (A.V. Zaporozhets, A.G. Kovalev, A.N. Leontiev, A.A. Lublinskaya, S.L. Rubinshtein, A.S. Makarenko) suggests that children of senior preschool age who do not have independent behavior experience some difficulties in mastering the skills of social interaction, such children are often reluctantly accepted by peer groups. The underdevelopment of independent behavior is determined by the paucity and fragmentation of social representations. These children have poor communication skills they experience some difficulty in establishing partnerships. Regarding that, it is highly important to search for new effective conditions for the development of the independent behavior by a preschooler of today.

In order to have an idea of how independent behavior is developed today in senior preschoolers living in different social conditions, we provided the analysis of current situation,

consisting of the teachers monitoring independent behavior of children and interviewing parents of preschool children about fostering independence in the family environment. In conclusion, the data obtained in the survey of preschool children about different life situations were studied.

At first, we determined the level of everyday/household, behavioral, communicative, cognitive independence of urban and rural senior preschool children. Such aspects of behavior as manifestations of the aspiration for independence in all everyday situations were analyzed as those forming a basis of household/ everyday independence: whether he/ she knows how to dress and undress independently, without a reminder, washes his/ her hands before meals and, as necessary, not being reminded by adults; cleans up things, objects, toys after use, knowing where and how to put them correctly.

During the study of behavioral independence, we tracked ability to critical moral self-esteem; everyday independence from adults; consciousness and discipline in relation to socially significant activities, a sense of duty and responsibility, as well as compliance with the requirements of the order of activities at the institution, the culture of behavior, and emotional stability.

While studying cognitive independence, we focused on the way preschool children mastered existing system of knowledge, capabilities and skills, how they efficiently reproduced the previously acquired knowledge, on their interest in replenishing missing data / knowledge from available sources, capability to independent search, imagination, and emotions.

While conducting the study of communicative independence, we tracked the skills to conduct a dialogue with the preschool teacher, with his/her peers; take part in joint activities; establish fruitful contacts in order to perform a task.

The study was conducted on the basis of eight kindergartens: four kindergartens in rural settlements of the Krasnodar Territory and four kindergartens in Moscow. In total, 351 people took part in the experiment: 190 children of the senior preschool age (82 from the countryside and 102 from the city) and 161 parents (63 parents of rural preschoolers and 98 parents of urban preschoolers). The questionnaire *protocol for pre-school teachers developed by Z.I. Vlasova and that for parents developed by V.K. Kostina* were used to determine the level of children's independence in the family. For interviewing children, we also used the author's questionnaire, which contained questions and implied answers. Each option corresponded to high, medium or low level of independence.

Main results of the study are the following:

Analyzing the accumulated data on behavioral independence, we obtained the following results, based on such indications as, whether a preschooler seeks to assimilate the existing system of knowledge, capabilities and skills independently, and whether he/ she actively reproduces

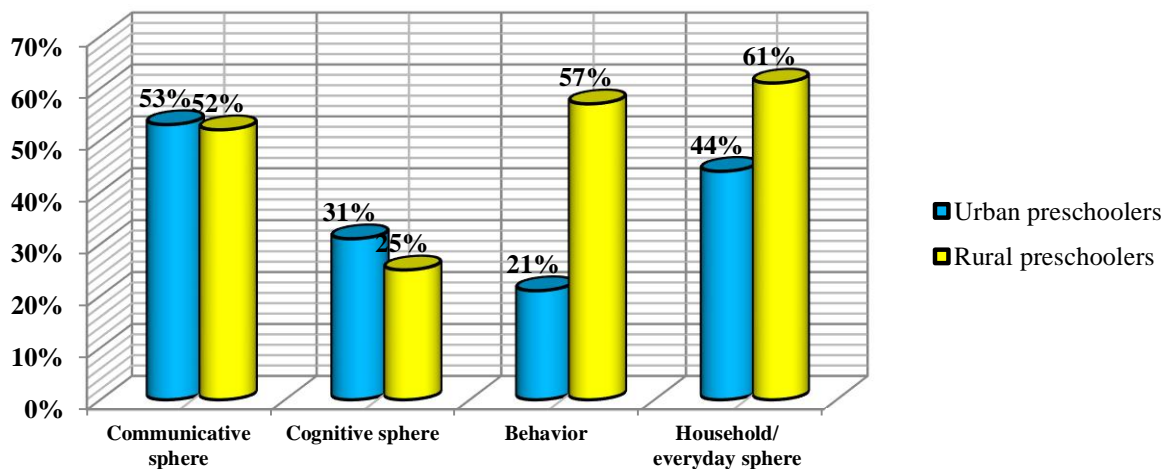
previously learned knowledge. Rural preschool children demonstrated the results that were slightly inferior to those of their urban peers: 32% for urban preschoolers and 28% for preschoolers in rural areas.

As for whether a child "is interested in acquiring missing knowledge from available sources", we received a very low result from rural preschool children. As it follows from the analysis of the questionnaire, rural children do not prove themselves in this direction. So, we obtained the result of 30% for urban preschool children and 3% for rural preschool children.

While analyzing communicative independence, we obtained the following results. This quality was well-formed in 53% of urban preschoolers who participated in the study. In rural preschoolers, a high level of communicative self-esteem was revealed in 52% participants.

After the analysis of everyday/ household independence, we obtained the following indicators: this quality was strongly formed in 43% city preschoolers, while in 62% of rural preschoolers. The overall level of everyday/ household independence is 19% higher in rural preschool children, than in their urban peers.

For a more detailed analysis of the data, we compared the number of children with a high level of independence in various spheres of Fig. 1.



**Fig. 1. Comparative analysis of the number of preschool children who have a high level of independence in various spheres.**

The results so obtained allow making a conclusion that the level of everyday/ household and behavioral independence is higher among rural preschool children than in urban preschoolers by 26%. We assume that this is due to the life of a child in a rural family being associated with more opportunities to get involved in household work aimed at meeting the everyday needs of the family. Rural children are more able and capable to direct their initiative to better and faster performing the task entrusted to or conceived by them in accordance with the requirements of the adults.



The total level of independence of rural preschoolers is higher than that of their urban peers. Rural preschoolers are much more likely to show behavioral and household independence than their urban peers. Preschoolers of a megacity are slightly more independent in the cognitive sphere than children from the countryside.

Urban senior preschoolers are less likely to make any decisions on their own. The analysis of children's answers to questions has revealed that urban preschoolers turn to close adults for help more often than their rural peers.

Urban preschoolers, more often get frightened by difficult, unfamiliar situations than their urban peers, and begin crying helplessly, not taking any action. Most of the urban preschool children are not sure of their abilities to help younger persons.

The results of our study enable to draw a conclusion that children living in the countryside are more independent than their urban peers. It depends on the image and lifestyle of the preschooler, his / her social environment. Rural preschoolers are more interested in almost any sincere offer of adults, are more tolerant, since unlike their urban peers, most of rural preschoolers live in multigenerational family environment. Rural preschoolers are more active, are set to achieve goals, efficient actions, where knowledge is needed not for knowledge sake, but for practical application.

Urban preschoolers are more contemplative, since they have more opportunities to get information from television and the Internet. The social environment of urban preschoolers is rather limited by the home and kindergarten. So, as the rest of the city space is associated not only with positive aspects, but also with a potential danger, while social environment, the way of life stimulates activity of rural preschoolers. From an early age, the living space of a rural preschooler is not limited to the walls of his/ her home or kindergarten.

Thus, the data on the level of independence development in urban and rural preschoolers are statistically significantly different.

Parents of preschool children have adequate ideas about the independence of the preschooler, but they have difficulties in raising their children's independence. Urban parents tend to make decisions and do many other things for their children, unlike rural ones. Parents of urban preschool children are less inclined to entrust some important things to them. Many parents try to discharge their child's responsibilities on their own, thereby limiting the freedom of the child, proving to him/ her that s/he is still too little and is unable to do anything on his/ her own.

All the foregoing proves that parents of urban preschoolers are more likely to infantilize their children than the parents of rural preschoolers.

When analyzing questionnaires of rural preschoolers' parents, we managed to track down that rural children had many responsibilities in the family, compared to their urban peers. Parents

of rural children basically foster the child's independence, attracting him / her to work, and entrusting household duties to him/ her. Most parents of rural preschoolers, when answering the question "What kind of assignments do you give to your child?" listed a lot of labor assignments. At the same time, no one mentioned assignments related to educational, cognitive activities: reading books or working in handwriting worksheets. On the contrary, urban preschoolers' parents, most often indicated reading, writing and cleaning one's own room in their instructions to children. At the same time, many urban senior preschoolers have sufficient knowledge of the potential sources of information, even if adults are unable to explain something to them. Most urban senior preschool children can read well enough, their parents pay great attention to learning to read. While most of parents of rural preschoolers are inclined to stop educating their children in reading and writing for the duration of the child's school training. When analyzing questionnaires of rural preschoolers' parents, we managed to track down that rural children had many responsibilities in the family. Parents of rural children basically foster the child's independence, attracting him / her to work, and entrusting household duties to him/ her. Most parents of rural preschoolers, when answering the question "What kind of assignments do you give to your child?" listed a lot of labor assignments. At the same time, no one mentioned assignments related to educational, cognitive activities: reading books or working in the handwriting worksheets. On the contrary, the urban preschoolers' parents, most often indicated reading, writing and cleaning up a room in the instructions given to the child. Many urban senior preschoolers already know well enough the potential sources of information, even if adults are unable to explain something to them. Most urban senior preschool children can read well enough, their parents pay great attention to this. While most of parents of rural preschoolers are inclined to stop educating their children in reading and writing for the duration of the child's school training.

We believe that the educational cultural level of rural parents, their pedagogical competence, their way of life does not always allow them to ensure the proper development of children in the intellectual and cognitive sphere.

Parents of rural preschoolers are for the most part very busy with their personal subsidiary plots, especially engaging their children to these works, as the study has shown. It is an open secret that the subsidiary farm is the main source of income for rural dwellers in most cases. Due to that, there is very little time for reading books, visiting museums and theaters.

A generalized analysis of the study made it possible to have a fresh look at the problem of fostering independence of senior preschoolers from different angles. The data of this study can be used to search for new effective conditions for the development of the independent behavior of a preschool child of today in the family and at educational institutions.

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*Daria A. Dyatlova*

## **The Opinion of Parents with Many Children on Assistance from the State**

### **ABSTRACT**

Currently, the topic of many children is extremely relevant and it is explained by the demographic situation in the country. The decline in the population in the country harms social stability. In the Russian Federation, a family policy aimed at stimulating large families, that is constantly improving. However, some changes sometimes cause a negative assessment on the part of the state. Therefore, it is important to know how to treat state projects and laws themselves parents with many children, and what they think about it. The article presents some results of a pilot study on the topic of the opinions of parents with many children about state support.

**Keywords:** the large family; parents with many children; state support, benefits

Currently, the topic of many children is extremely relevant and it is explained by the demographic situation in the country and the interest in whether the large number of children can return as the norm of childhood.

Modern economic crises, social and political tensions, local and global conflicts on their background exacerbated the position of the family in society and formed new trends and changes: the transformation of the family functions, a significant reduction in its size, changing the type of leadership and roles in the family. The departure from the traditional view of the family, the destruction of the normative system of large families has led to the spread of small families as the norm of childhood.

The historical concept of "large family" has changed its original traditional meaning. At the beginning of the XX century it was considered as the norm to have 10 or more children. However, in the USSR and until its collapse was considered a woman with 5 or more children. In the Russian Federation, according to the law "on social support for families with children in Moscow": "a large family - a family in which three or more children (including adopted children, as well as stepsons and stepdaughters) are born and (or) are brought up to the age of 18 years. Children who are fully supported by the state and children in respect of whom the parents are deprived of parental rights or restricted parental rights are not taken into account in a large family" [*Zakon goroda Moskvy...*].

The decline in the population in the country harms social stability in society and slows down the development of the economy. In many European countries large families receive state support. This policy is associated with a very low or negative rate of natural population growth. In

the Russian Federation, a family policy aimed at stimulating large families [*Rasporyazheniye Pravitel'stva Rossiyskoy Federatsii...*].

In 2017, parents with many children had a dissatisfaction with the state family policy, namely, the government cut the benefits by the criteria of need *Mnogodetnyye v Moskve vozmushcheny*]. Until 2017, parents with many children in the case of low living standards and lack of material resources could apply to special social services and then get some help from the state. Since 2017, the process of obtaining state aid has become more complicated: if a large family requesting financial support from the state has 2 or more apartments/summer houses/land plots/cars, it is not entitled to receive this support (material assistance, family allowance, some benefits) [*Prikaz Pravitel'stva Moskvy...*].

The state strives to improve the demographic situation in the country, creates projects to stimulate large families. The future of the country depends on whether the development of many children as a standard of childhood, or a modern outlook on life, welcoming one (or two) children in the family will gain momentum. In the case of the state family policy aimed at families with children, will inspire confidence, be in demand, suit parents with many children, it will be able to exert a strong influence on the increase in the number of such families in our state. And if the attitude to the state family policy is negative, the tendency to increase the number of large families will decrease. Therefore, it is important to know how to treat state projects/laws themselves parents with many children, and what they think about it.

Nowadays, various sociological researches are conducted, including the topic of large families. However, these are mainly public opinion polls on the topic of attitude to large families, surveys in which people give an assessment of large families, attitudes to it, suggest the main problems faced by large families, talk about their reproductive settings. Parents with many children are rarely interviewed, and in most cases this is a study on the attitude of society to them, the study of the social situation of large families, the identification of their opportunities and needs. Less often you can find questions where the opinion of parents with many children is asked in relation to the types of assistance provided by the state.

The subject of the research project was the study of the opinion on the assistance from the state, where the object of the study are themselves parents with many children. Since each region has its own policy, including family policy, has its own differences, only large parents of Moscow and the Moscow region could take part in the survey. The purpose of the study is to find out what state projects, laws and benefits parents with many children know, which of them they use, and which are not, and for what reason; what they do not like in certain laws/projects. The respondents were also given the opportunity to write their proposals on family policy concerning large families.

A programme, tools and a pilot study of the opinion of parents with many children on the assistance of the state were prepared to collect primary data. As a method of conducting research, the Internet survey using an online questionnaire in social networks was chosen, in addition, the questionnaire was distributed using the method of "snowball".

As a result of the survey, an array of data containing 50 questionnaires was obtained. Of these, 23 respondents live in Moscow and 27 respondents live in the Moscow region. The majority of families with many children involved in the survey are families with three children (37). There were also nine families with four children and four families with five children.

The results of the survey demonstrated that almost all respondents are aware of the support of large families from the state (48 respondents). However, it was found that not all benefits provided to large children are known to respondents. The most common and familiar benefits for respondents are presented in Table 1. Not all of these respondents receive state support (only 42 respondents).

**Table 1: The most common and familiar benefits for respondents.**

<b>Benefits</b>	<b>Number of respondents who are aware of the benefits</b>
<b>Free lunches and breakfasts for school students</b>	41 respondents
<b>Free travel for children in public transport</b>	40 respondents
<b>Free travel for parents in public transport</b>	40 respondents
<b>Priority registration of children in the garden</b>	37 respondents
<b>Cash payments for housing and communal services</b>	36 respondents
<b>Free visit to the zoo</b>	35 respondents
<b>Free visit to the museums, amusement parks or exhibitions once a month</b>	34 respondents
<b>Land in the property</b>	34 respondents

Most of the respondents have a positive attitude to the state policy aimed at large families (15 respondents – positive, 23 – rather positive). However, 28 respondents, answering the question of whether they have any discontent with state support, answered "Yes". And in open questions, the majority of respondents left their comments, where they told exactly what they were not satisfied with. The most common of them are: "Because in fact it does not work", "we do not get benefits for large families, because the income is slightly higher than the estimated amount of the minimum", "benefits either do not work at all, or work for half, or are organized in such a way that it is extremely difficult to get them", "many benefits are only for the poor", "in fact, it is all hidden or impossible to achieve this service. As for the cash payments, they are so ridiculous", "benefits are scanty", "after the execution of the older child 18 years the state has ceased the benefits", etc.

Also one of the most important questions from the questionnaire were questions about what parents with many children would like to change and add to the existing state support. During the



study, a long list of desired changes was obtained. Almost all respondents wanted to answer this question, the most common answers were: "add travel for two parents", "do not deprive the benefits of adult children", "the status of large children in the Moscow region to maintain until the younger child reaches the age of 18 years", "free kindergarten in the Moscow region", "child care benefits from 1.5 to 3 years (currently 50 rubles per month)", "camp for all children from large families, not only for the poor", "do not divide large families into poor families", "increase payments and benefits", "to provide housing, to make it more accessible", "almost everything should be changed", "to give the land plot", "free training in higher education institutions", "discounts on fuel for gas station", "available high-quality children's medical care in the Moscow region", "special conditions for purchase of the car for a big family", "the maternity capital for purchase of the car", "to improve housing conditions", etc. It is necessary to separate such block of answers: "at least to make sure that we can enjoy the benefits that we have, as in fact they are only on paper", "these benefits which we have should be improved first", "it is enough to improve the mechanism of existing benefits and not to tie the benefits to the poor families".

According to the respondents' answers, it can be concluded that state support for large families is not always provided. This is particularly a problem for Moscow region. It has also become clear that parents with many children lack other additional benefits, which sometimes become more important than existing ones. The number of respondents in the study was small, because it was a pilot, but now many problematic issues and shortcomings of public policy and support for large families have become apparent.

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*Alexandra G. Filipova*  
*Alena V. Vysockaya*

## **Social Problems of Russian Childhood: Materials of State Statistics<sup>6</sup>**

### **ABSTRACT**

In the work, the social problems of Russian childhood are examined at the individual, personal and family levels of manifestation. Contradictions in the realization of children's rights to life, family environment, state support are analyzed with the use of data from Russian statistics for the 2010s.

**Keywords:** Russian childhood; social problems; the rights of the child

### **Introduction**

The current state of childhood in Russia testifies to significant transformations of family structures, violations of family functions, the adoption by state institutions of self-protective functions in relation to childhood, the development of protective institutions (juvenile justice, the institution of social workers and social educators, public organizations) [Filipova, Kostina, Ardalyanova: 115]

The social problems of childhood are defined by us as social contradictions in the sphere of realization of the fundamental rights of the child. The document that fixed these rights was the United Nations Convention with the corresponding title. Many provisions of this international document are included in the Family Code of the Russian Federation. The basic rights of the child include international and Russian legislation: the right to life, the name, citizenship, the right to care for parents and not being separated from them, the right to express their views, opinions, children's rights to health, education, social security and living standards, necessary for their development and others.

Social contradictions in the realization of the rights of the child arise at the individual, personal, family and state-regional levels. At the same time, the state-regional level has an indirect effect on childhood - through social infrastructure, family support, the environment and the economy of the region, and others.

### **Methods**

The analysis of the first two levels of realization of the rights of the child - individual, personal and family - is based on the data of the Russian State Statistics Service for the period

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2011-2016. As an indicator of social contradictions of the individual-personal level, children's morbidity is indicated. As a basis for considering the family level, the crimes committed against children, as well as the poverty of families with children, have been taken.

## Results

At the individual-personal level of realization of children's rights to education, development, free play, etc., health restrictions can interfere. As the Russian researcher N.M. Rimashevskaya, «every next generation is less healthy than the previous one, that is, our children have less potential for health than their parents, and their children, that is, our grandchildren, have even less health [Rimashevskaya: 1]. The researcher calls this phenomenon a «social funnel» of ill health, to which Russian society is increasingly drawn.

Table 1 presents separate data on the diseases of children that caused the disability. In total, more than 20 positions have been singled out in the reports of the Russian State Statistics Service. We selected the first six quantitatively prevailing positions, as well as those positions for which growth was observed during the period under consideration (the 2013–2016) [Sem'ya, materinstvo i detstvo].

As a result, we see a quantitative superiority of mental disorders and behavioral disorders, diseases of the nervous system and congenital anomalies, the growth of blood and hematopoietic diseases, the endocrine system (about 70% of diseases occur in diabetes mellitus), ear diseases and others.

**Table 1: Diseases of children that caused the establishment of disability**

	neoplasms	diseases of the blood, blood-forming organs	diseases of the endocrine system, metabolic disorders	mental and behavioral disorders	diseases of the nervous system	diseases of the eye and its adnexa	diseases of the ear and mastoid process	congenital anomalies, deformations and chromosomal abnormalities
<b>2013</b>	16 427	5 175	33 150	130 965	120 197	26 291	28 746	97 256
<b>2014</b>	17 623	5 338	35 733	135 623	125 769	26 190	29 717	101 260
<b>2015</b>	18 294	5 483	36 803	139 354	128 996	25 919	30 038	95 471
<b>2016</b>	19 116	5 676	39 742	143 746	132 458	25 315	30 534	93 788
<b>absolute increase, person</b>	2 689	501	6 592	12 781	12 261	- 976	1 788	- 3468
<b>relative increase, %</b>	1,64	9,68	19,88	9,76	10,2	-3,71	6,22	-3,57

At the family level, in addition to the factors of the formation of an incomplete family (divorce, single mother), the factors of the material and socio-cultural insolvency of the parents operate. Underdevelopment of socio-cultural competence in the sphere of child-parent relations is manifested in the unpreparedness for parenting, abuse of parental rights, pedagogical insolvency, asocial way of life of parents. In parallel, the conflict line of marital relations develops. Deficiency

of parental resources gives rise to the deviant model of parenthood. Alcoholism of parents, their neglect of parental responsibilities - all this leads to the actions of bodies that protect the rights of children (guardianship and trusteeship agencies, the public prosecutor, juvenile affairs departments), the selection of the child, the subsequent restriction or deprivation of the parents of parental rights.

Annually in Russia a significant number of crimes committed against minors are registered (table 2) [Sem'ya, materinstvo i detstvo]. Behind the observed tendency to reduce their number are the qualitative changes in crime. As E.M. Timoshina, «a very dangerous trend is observed in the sphere of crimes against the sexual inviolability and sexual freedom of the individual, as well as against the morality of minors» [Timoshina: 1]. The number of crimes against morality committed against children, from 2009 to 2013 has increased almost 10 times, but the main increase was made and the turnover of materials or items with pornographic images of minors under the age of 14 (Part 2, Article 242.1 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation), the number of which has increased 90-fold. According to criminal statistics, in 2004, 6,499 crimes against the sexual inviolability of children and adolescents were committed, and in 2015 - already 10 942 [Petrov: 1].

**Table 2 - Number of recorded crimes committed against minors (according to the Ministry of the Interior of the Russian Federation, the Prosecutor General's Office of the Russian Federation)**

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
<b>Total crimes, including</b>	89 896	8 4558	84 055	86 267	96 479	69 595
<b>sexual intercourse and other acts of a sexual nature with a person under 16 years of age</b>	3 978	1 852	1 324	2 933	4 327	4 491
<b>non-fulfillment of obligations for the upbringing of a minor</b>	3 635	2 912	2 480	2 171	2 146	1 824

In the studies of Russian sociologists, teachers, psychologists, different classifications of resource-poor families are presented. However, they are all united by the perception of the family as the bearer of childhood risks. Insufficiency of resources is associated with the stages of family life (for example, the creation of a family, the appearance of a child), the structure of the family (single parenthood, large families), situational disorders (unemployment, illness), social diseases (alcoholism, drug addiction).

Poverty is an integral feature of families with social problems. However, the further stratification of poor families is already on the grounds of presence / absence of conflict interactions, psychological and pedagogical incompetence / competence of parents, presence / absence of social deviations and diseases and other.

Inequality of material resources of families leads to a social stratification of childhood as a socio-demographic community. However, official information indicates that the birth of children is often a factor in reducing social mobility. Data on the number of Russian children living in households with incomes below the subsistence minimum (table 3) show an increase in their number in the total number of children of the corresponding age [Sem'ya, materinstvo i detstvo]. The indicator is calculated on the basis of the materials of a sample survey of household budgets and the macroeconomic indicator of per capita income of the population. At the same time, poor households with children make up a significant part of all households with incomes below the subsistence level. Their share remains quite stable over the past few years: in 2016, 62.4%; in 2014 - 62.9%; in 2012 - 62.2%.

**Table 3: The share of children under the age of 16 (18) years living in households with per capita monetary incomes below the subsistence level**

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
<b>The proportion of children under 16 living in households with per capita monetary incomes below the subsistence minimum, as a percentage of the total number of children under 16</b>	19,9	17,6	17,9	18,5	21,5
<b>From them:</b>					
<b>children under 7 years of age (percentage of total children under 7 years of age)</b>	18,7	15,6	15,6	15,4	17,4
<b>children aged 7 to 16 (percentage of the total number of children aged 7 to 16)</b>	21,1	19,5	20,0	21,4	25,6

The birth of the second and subsequent children in the family often leads her to a state of poverty. The results of a sample household budget survey reveal the relationship between the number of children in the family and their diet, as well as the quality of drinking water. The increase in the number of children in households, as shown in table 4, leads to a decrease in food consumption for most items – vegetables, fruits and berries, meat, fish, eggs, milk and dairy products [Sem'ya, materinstvo i detstvo].

**Table 4: consumption of basic food in households with children under 16 years of age per household member per year, kilogram**

Food supply	With one child		With two children		With three or more children	
	2014	2015	2014	2015	2014	2015
<b>Bread and bread products</b>	86,0	85,4	76,8	77,3	88,6	89,2
<b>Potato</b>	53,5	52,7	47,7	47,6	48,3	50,4
<b>Vegetables and melons</b>	86,9	87,2	73,3	79,1	68,1	67,9
<b>Fruits and berries</b>	72,2	67,9	62,6	60,5	53,2	50,7
<b>Meat and meat products</b>	77,7	79,3	66,3	68,0	57,0	57,0
<b>Milk and dairy products</b>	239,4	238,3	210,6	214,6	195,0	193,1
<b>Eggs, PCs.</b>	193,0	194,0	165,0	174,0	154,0	155,0
<b>Fish and fish products</b>	19,5	18,6	15,9	15,5	15,5	13,3
<b>Sugar and confectionery</b>	28,1	28,2	25,5	25,0	26,4	25,5
<b>Vegetable oil and other fats</b>	9,1	9,2	7,8	8,1	8,1	8,7

Low-income family becomes a source of not only medical and biological (poor nutrition, the inability of children to improve their health, etc.) problems of children, but also psychological, pedagogical, socio-cultural, spiritual and moral, and others.

### Summary

Thus, the consideration of social problems of childhood at the individual, personal and family levels showed the failure of the state to respect the basic right of the child-the right to life. Difficulties with children's health, combined with poor (both financially and socially-culturally) family resources, pose a threat to human potential in our country.

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## Part IV. Migration and deviance in Modern Society



*Yakov Gilinskiy*

## Deviance in the Postmodern Society

### ABSTRACT

We all live in the new world, the postmodern world. Many of the characteristics of postmodern society influence various social processes and phenomena, including crime, deviance and methods of social control. The processes of globalization affect the globalization of crime, terrorism, drug trafficking etc. Mass migration gives rise to xenophobia and hate crimes. Fragmentarization leads to a blurring of the boundaries between normal and non-normal. "The crisis of punishment" leads to search for non-traditional methods of social control.

**Keywords:** crime; deviance; social control; postmodern society

### Postmodern Society

We all live in the new world, the postmodern world. There are some characteristics of a postmodern society, which are important for understanding contemporary forms and tendency of crime, deviance and social control.

What are the main characteristics of a postmodern society?

First of all, *the Fourth Technological Revolution*. Drone pilots (drones) drive on the roads, fly through the air. And if they collide or are used by terrorists or hooligans? Under the law (administrative or criminal) it is forbidden to engage in prostitution in many countries, including Russia. And in the US, Barcelona, Vienna, and now in Moscow, open brothels with ... silicone girls.

There is *globalization* of economy, transport, finances, technologies and – crime (especially organized crime – drug trafficking, human trafficking, arms trafficking, etc.), prostitution, drug consume etc. Globalization is a natural phenomenon. This process is and will be, whether we like it or not. The policy of an isolationism is a crime in the postmodern world. But we need to find means and methods to counter the negative consequences of globalization.

There is *active migration* of people and as a result of it is "the conflict of cultures" [Sellin; 1938, pp. 63-70]. "Hate crimes" is a result of mass migration, conflict of cultures, and policy of the authorities "*Divide et impera!*" ("Divide and dominate!") [Gerstenfeld; 2004; Gerstenfeld, Grant; 2004; Hall; 2004; Jacobs, Potter; 1998]. The relations between the indigenous inhabitants and migrants are a modern problem of many countries of Europe and Russia. Terrorism is one of the most feared criminal consequences of the conflict of cultures, including inter-religious, inter-ethnic, interracial conflicts. The tragic events of 11.09.2001 in New York City and 13.11.2015 in Paris are terrible markers of postmodern society.

There is *virtualization* of life and activity, including cybercrime. We live in the real world and in the virtual world. This process will develop, we will depend more and more on modern IT. Already today we cannot imagine our life without various IT gadgets'. But with the development of cyberspace evolves and cybercrime [Ovchinsky; 2017].

Postmodern society is a "consumer society" [Bauman; 2001; Bauman; 2007]. There is *consumerization* of consciousness and activity. The slogan "all on sale" is realized in numerous crimes: street crimes (thefts, robberies, fraud), white-collar crime, including corruption, and different deviance, including prostitution [Gilinskiy, Shipunova; 2012; Hall, Winlow, Ancrum; 2008].

There is relativism, relativity of realities and our knowledge of them. Crime, corruption, terrorism are not objective reality, but social constructs. The same (identical) actions recognize as criminal or not criminal in different societies and at different times. It was clear in Roma: *ex senatusconsultis et plebiscitis criminal exercentur* (crimes arise from senatorial and national decisions). Designing of criminality, crimes is a result of activity of the power, the legislator. It is a pity, but the Russian legislator (Gosudarstvennaja Duma) criminalizes new and new acts. Each citizen of Russia (including author) becomes a criminal because of such legislator's activity. The slogan of the French students in 1968: "prohibit ban" is actual in today's Russia.

Moreover, other social phenomena (terrorism, prostitution, corruption, drug consume, etc.) are constructs too. Relativity, uncertainty, discrepancy dominate in the world of a postmodern. It is possible to agree that "the most important for postmodern science is the principle of uncertainty including at the same time gnoseological, semantic and ontological measurements supplementing each other" [Chestnov; 2014, p. 45].

There is *refusal of illusions* of the possibility of creation of "happy" society ("society of general prosperity"). The World Wars, Auschwitz, Holocaust, Hitler's concentration camps and Stalin's GULAG destroyed residual illusions concerning humanity.

There is perception of *the world as chaos* — "post-modernist sensitivity" (W. Welsch, J.-F. Liotar). S. Bauman said in 2011 in the Moscow University: "We fly in the plane without crew to the airport which isn't designed yet".

There is totality and *system violence*, including violence of the power (D. Becker, M. Foucault, S. Žižek) [Kressel; 1996; Žižek; 2008]. There are criminal violence, economic violence, educational violence, religious violence, sports violence etc. D. Becker speak that the violence is built in system.

The fragmentariness of society, as a result of globalization, generates *fragmentarization of norms*. Interference of cultures, traditions, religions, social and ethnic groups "washes away" normative system. Deviations become norm. It is "normal" for youth, but disturbs and irritates adults, including the legislator and police....

Catastrophic grows the *economic and social inequality* is the main factor of crime and others deviance [Gilinskiy; 2014, p. 313; Grover; 2008]. From our point of view, the social and economic inequality is one of the biggest criminogenic factors. People have real opportunities to satisfy their needs depending on their belonging to one or the other social class, stratum, group or depending on their social and economic status. Inequality of opportunity generates social conflict, dissatisfaction, envy and at last various forms of deviation. The process of inclusion / exclusion is acquiring more and more criminogenic significance both for the contemporary world and for the future. It is clear that «excluded people» are becoming a mass reserve, a social basis of social deviation, including criminality, and... victims.

The complexity and unaccustomed nature of the postmodern world gives rise to a "*schizophrenicizing of consciousness*" (F. Jameson), neurosis (T. Bewes) and, accordingly, unreasonable and incomprehensible aggressiveness.

### Crime in the Society of a Postmodern

Firstly, since the end of the 1990th – the beginning of the 2000th years was observed *the tendency of reduction of a crime rate* and the majority of its types around the world. Rate of crime decreased in Africa, Northern and South America, Oceania, Asia, Europe. Only 2-3 countries in Central America (Mexico, Honduras) do not correspond to this worldwide trend.

For example, we can see rate of crime and homicide (per 100 000 population) in Russia (Tables 1, 2) [Crime and Delinquency] and in the World (Table 3) [Aromaa K., Heiskanen; 2008].

**Table 1: The rate of crime in Russia (1999-2016)**

Years	Rate of crime
1999	2026.0
2000	2028.3
2001	2039.2
2002	1754.9
2003	1926.2
2004	2007.2
2005	2499.8
<b>2006</b>	<b>2700.7</b>
2007	2519.0
2008	2260.5
2009	2112.0
2010	1852.6
2011	1682.9
2012	1607.8
2013	1539.6
2014	1500.4
2015	1608.1
<b>2016</b>	<b>1474.0</b>

We see the reduction of crime rate in Russia with 2006 to 2016 more than 1.8 times.

**Table 2: The rate of homicide in Russia (1999-2016)**

Years	Rate of homicide
<b>1999</b>	21.3
<b>2000</b>	21.9
<b>2001</b>	<b>23.1</b>
<b>2002</b>	22.5
<b>2003</b>	22.1
<b>2004</b>	22.1
<b>2005</b>	21.7
<b>2006</b>	19.2
<b>2007</b>	15.6
<b>2008</b>	14.5
<b>2009</b>	12.6
<b>2010</b>	10.8
<b>2011</b>	10.2
<b>2012</b>	9.3
<b>2013</b>	8.6
<b>2014</b>	8.2
<b>2015</b>	7.8
<b>2016</b>	<b>7,1</b>

We see the reduction of homicide rate in Russia with 2001 to 2016 more than 3 times.

**Table 3: The Rate of homicide in some countries (1999-2013)**

Country	1999	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2013
<b>Australia</b>	1.8	1.6	1.6	1.3	1.4	1.2	1.0	1.1
<b>Austria</b>	0.8	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.9
<b>Argentina</b>	7.3	7.2	9.2	5.9	5.4	5.8	5.5	5.5
<b>Colombia</b>	62.3	66.7	70.2	47.7	40.0	35.9	33.4	30.8
<b>Denmark</b>	1.0	1.1	1.0	0.8	0.5	1.0	0.8	0.8
<b>Finland</b>	2.8	2.9	2.5	2.8	2.3	2.5	2.2	1.6
<b>France</b>	1.6	1.8	1.9	1.6	1.4	1.4	1.1	1.0
<b>Germany</b>	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.8
<b>Hungary</b>	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.1	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.3
<b>Israel</b>	2.3	2.4	3.6	2.7	2.7	1.9	2.0	1.8
<b>Japan</b>	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.3
<b>Netherland</b>	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.2	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9
<b>Poland</b>	4.7	5.7	1.9	1.7	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.2
<b>South Africa</b>	51.2	48.6	46.8	39.8	39.7	36.8	31.8	31.0
<b>Spain</b>	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.8
<b>Sweden</b>	1.5	1.6	1.1	1.2	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.7
<b>Switzerland</b>	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.1	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.6
<b>USA</b>	5.6	5.3	5.6	5.5	5.8	5.4	4.7	4.7

We see the tendency towards a reduction of homicide rate in different countries of different continents. What is a matter? Why crime drop?

There are a few hypotheses.

*Most general hypothesis:* the crime as a complicated social phenomenon develops under conformity to natural laws, irrespective of activity of police and criminal justice. From 1950th years until the end of the 1990th - the beginning of the 2000th years the crime *grew* around the world. After that, the crime has started *decreasing* around the world. Such undulating changes, fluctuations are typical for many social, economic, natural processes.

*More concrete hypothesis:* the biggest contribution to statistics of crime made by so-called "street crimes" (homicide, rape, robbery, theft, and so on). Their main subjects are teenagers and youth, and they lately went to the virtual world of the Internet. The youth meets, loves, shoots, kills, creates on the Internet. The youth satisfies the need for self-affirmation, self-realization now is more often on the Internet, than in the real world... Adult negative assessments computer "shooters" but the university in Wilanow and Rutgers published the results of their research the connection between crime and video games in the United States. The researchers concluded that during the peak sales of video games significantly reduced the number of crimes. "Various measurements directly affect the use of video games on reducing crimes such as murder» (Patrick Markey).

On panel session "The Crime Drop" of 12<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the European Society of Criminology (Bilbao, 2012) there was proposed a *hypothesis of "securitization"* of the modern world as the reasons of decrease in a crime rate. "Empirical evidence on the relationships between improved security and drops of motor vehicle theft, household burglary and crime on industrial sites suggests that improved security is the key driver of the ongoing drops in volume crime" [Criminology in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century; 2012, pp. 236, 268, 373].

This can be crime *restructuration*: highly latent cybercrimes and "white-collar crimes" force out usual "street crimes".

It is necessary to continue to analyze the world trends of crime and its types. It is quite possible that new criminological discoveries expect us...

*Secondly*, there is a *development and globalization of organized crime* (drug trafficking, human trafficking, the weapon trafficking, etc.) [Gilinskiy. In: Kego, Leijonmark, Molcean; 2011, pp. 111-126; Gilinskiy. In: Plywaczewski; 2012, pp. 167-181]. Organized crime is the functioning of stable, hierarchical association, engaged in crime as a form of business, and the setting up a system of protection against public control by means of corruption. With the development of society increases the degree organization of social institutions. At the same time increases the degree of crime organization. Organized crime has penetrated and spliced to the legal economy,

and - for example, in Russia - with the authorities. It occurs around the world and in all regions of Russia. Many organized crime groups have operated under the protection of the police. For example, the criminal groups of Sergey Tsapok in the Krasnodarsky Region, Kozaev in the Sverdlovsky Region, Alexandr Trunov in the Novosibirsk Region and so on can be mentioned as example of such "concord". Organized criminal groups ("Mafia") from Russia, Italy and other countries are in Spain, the United States and in other countries. Organized crime is a global phenomenon.

*Thirdly*, further development of the crimes connected with modern technologies, *cybercrime and cyber deviance* [Humphrey; 2006, pp. 272-295]. Cybercrime has not studied and has not reliable measures to counter it.

*Fourthly*, it is the *international terrorism*, very dangerous phenomenon, threat to people on all continents [Gilly, Gilinskiy, Sergevnin; 2009]. Numerous terrorist attacks in Russia, USA, France, the Arab countries represent a new stage of human history. Terrorism is one of the terrible risks of new post-modern society, about wrote Ulrich Beck and Pierre Bourdieu.

*Fifthly*, it is globalization (internationalization) of corruption, especially - "top" corruption [Gilinskiy. In: Plywaczewski; 2009].

### **Different deviance in the modern Society**

*Prostitution*, firstly, is widespread in the "society of consumption" and, secondly, is increasingly globalized.

*Alcoholism* is especially spread in Russia. Russia has the first place in the world in per capita consumption of alcohol: 16-18 liters. In European countries alcohol consumption is not so great and is forbidden in the countries of the Muslim world.

The *suicide* rate is declining in many countries, as is the level of murder [Pray, Cohen, Mäkinen, Värnik, MacKellar; 2013]. The dynamics of the suicide rate is shown in graphs 1, 2.

### **Social Control in contemporary Society**

*Social control* is the mechanism of self-organizing and self-preservation of society by the establishment and maintenance of the normative order, by elimination, neutralization or minimization of deviant behavior, including crimes.

The social control over criminality includes general methods of social control – *punishment* and *crime prevention*.

The social control over crime is one of the major problems in the modern world. Street crime, organized crime, violent crime, terrorism, and so on affect people and give rise to "moral panic", "fear to crime" [Cohen; 1973]. However, traditional measures have not obtained the desired results.

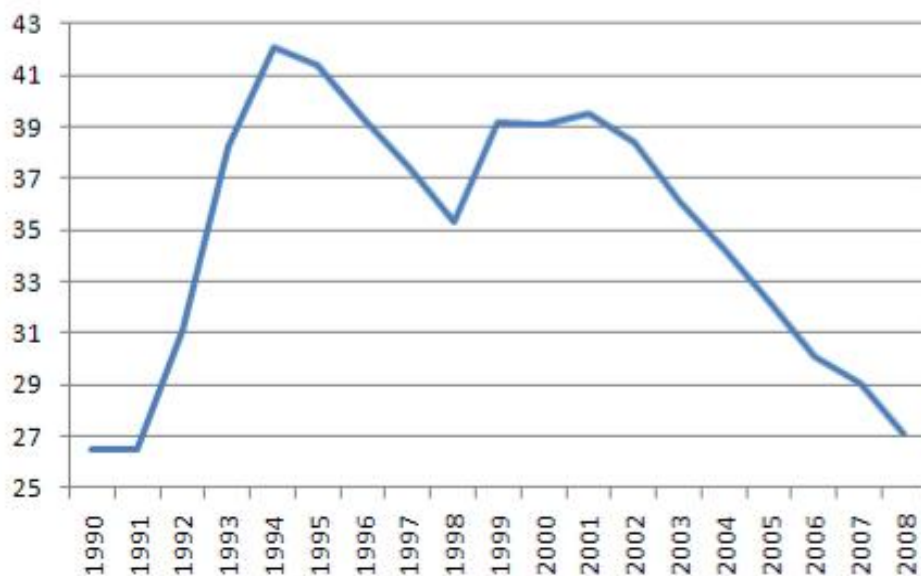


Fig. 1: Suicide in Russia [Pray L., Cohen K., Mäkinen I., Värnik A., MacKellar; 2013]

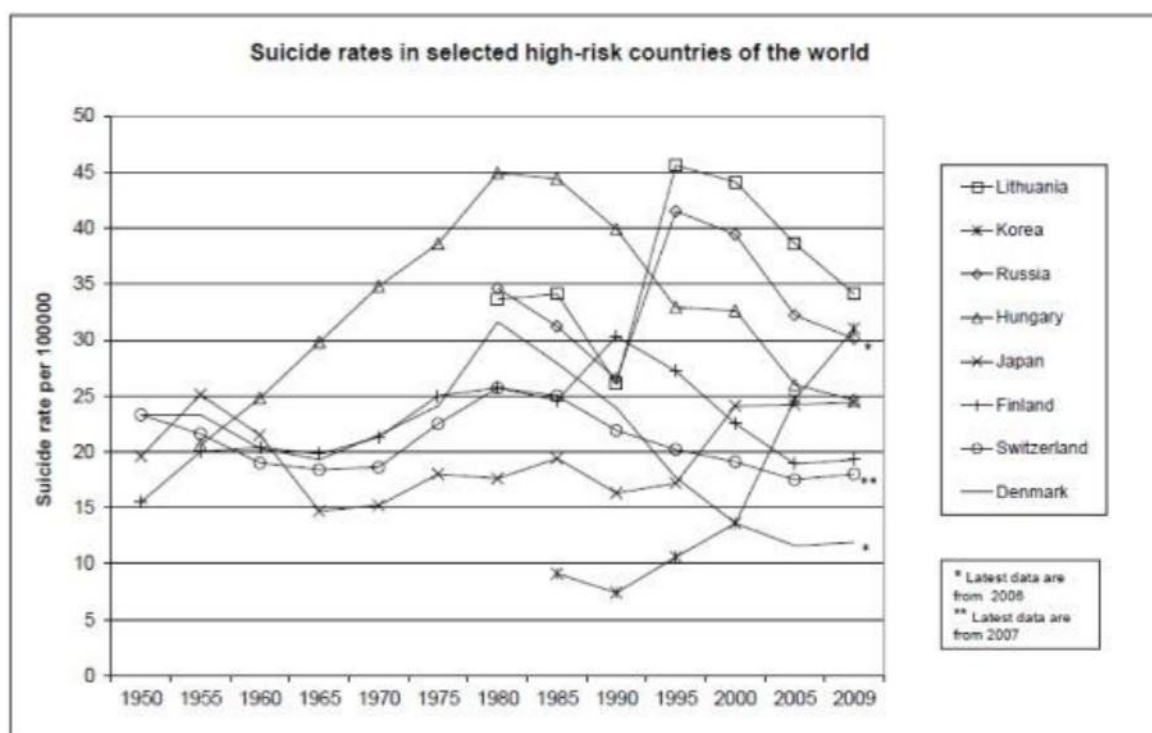


Fig. 2: Suicide in the world

We know about "crisis of punishment". One of the main topics of postmodern criminology is how to optimize means and methods of *social control* over criminality. How to make social control, including punishment, more effective? Can penalty be a means of social control? It is known, that the prison fails to discharge its functions. The prison does not correct the offender, does not prevent further crimes but serves as a "criminal University".



The content-analysis more than 6500 reports on 11 European criminological conferences and the 4 World congresses showed that over 35–45% of all reports were about problems of social control over crime [Gilinskiy; 2013, pp. 8-31].

Than is it possible to replace imprisonment? What is the role of mediation ("Mediation versus imprisonment")? How to improve police work and administration of prisons? There are the main issues of criminologists.

Repressive social control is the best means of *exclusion*. Especially it is through the problem of selection in the police and criminal justice. But “excludes” is social basis of deviance and crime. There appears to be a *circulus vitiosus* (vicious circle). The repressive mode of social control enhances the amount of the excluded people.

Unfortunately, retributive justice prevails in Russia. Social control of criminality remains very severe in contemporary Russia. The new Criminal Code (CC) of the Russian Federation (RF) from 1996 contains very harsh punishments: death penalty (Art. 59 CC RF), life imprisonment (Art. 57), deprivation of freedom to 20 years, and with relapse to 35 years, depending on the number and timing of crimes committed (Art. 56). Long time of deprivation of freedom are especially unacceptable in conditions of "accelerating time" in the society of postmodernity. Since 1997, there has been a moratorium of the death penalty, but the Russian parliament has not ratified this.

The conditions in penitentiary institutions are terrible. Extremely harsh regimes in institutions for the deprivation of freedom suffered by those awaiting trial or under conditional sentence, contravene human rights; bad food; the spread of tuberculosis; torture of those awaiting trial / under investigation in so-called «press cells» to procure confessions of guilt; mass beatings; etc. Life in institution for the deprivation of freedom is unbearable, the possibilities for «correction» are nil. It is quite the contrary.

The basic tendencies of the postmodern policy of the social control over criminality are follows: unconditional refusal of the death penalty; reduction of terms of imprisonment; imprisonment replacement with alternative measures of punishment; ban of imprisonment of teenagers; formation of restorative justice [Consedine; 1995; Karnozova; 2015]; put into operation the mediation in criminal trial.

## Conclusion

We must to understand that we live in the new world - the world of a postmodern. It is the global world, isolation in which is death. Globalization, virtualization, consumerization, fragmentarization, relativization of all processes and the phenomena belongs to both to crime, and to social control over crime. The postmodern criminology must to understand, study this. Moreover, the power, the legislator must to understand and to realize this in legislature and law-

enforcement activity. For example, it is necessary in Russia to exclude the death penalty from the list of punishments, to reduce imprisonment terms, to decriminalize not really dangerous actions and "crime without victims" (E. Schur), to stop criminalization everything new and new acts. The slogan of the French students in 1968 "Forbid to prohibit!" there is relevant in the postmodern world.

Prevention of crimes should be the primary means of social control of crime. Priority should belong to general social preventive measures: reducing social and economic inequalities; ensuring the possibility of a "social elevator" for each member of society; ensuring opportunities to assert themselves, for self-realization of teenagers and young people.

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*Margarita E. Pozdnyakova*

## **Risk-Taking Propensity as the Beginning of a Drug Career**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article is based on the results of several studies of the drug situation in Russia: online surveys of students of Russian universities (N = 485), classroom surveys of College students (N = 715); secondary analysis of the materials of a special study of schoolchildren and students devoted to the study of needs and thrill seeking using the Zuckerman test and the specially developed "Questionnaire of useful and harmful habits" (N = 186). The prevalence of the propensity to risk behavior in various youth groups, as well as the gender characteristics of the propensity to risk, are considered. The relationship between the propensity to risk-taking behavior, the search for thrills and the prevalence of drug use is analyzed. It is revealed that a significant part of young people consider themselves to be risky people, many are ready to take risks for the sake of gaining new sensations. Young people are ready to experiment and influence their consciousness in various ways. It is shown that the combination of these factors is a possible predictor of narcotization - it can become the ground for the first drug testing and/or the transition to episodic or permanent drug use.

**Keywords:** deviant behavior; drug use; risky behavior; thrill seeking; youth

One of the tasks of the research "The new drug situation in Russian Federation. The role of "controlled" drug use in the spread of psychoactive substances in different groups of society" (with the financial support of RFBR, grant №16-03-00616) is to study the risk behavior of the population, which influences the current trends of narcotization and leads to the use of "new" psychoactive substances.

Drug culture of a fundamentally new type is being formed to-day. Drug use loses its marginal character and ceases to be an attribute of certain subcultures. Insensibly it becomes in some measure a sociocultural norm, a common social practice. There is a social legitimization of drugs. The drug culture began to reproduce within its own framework. Recent studies of the Sector of sociology of deviant behavior show that the focus on consumption of "new" drugs is an indicator of the propensity for risky behavior. The emerged norm of risk is an element of modern culture (for example, drug subculture). There is a formation of the concept of "socially acceptable risk" in the mass consciousness, which reflected the awareness and then the acceptance by society of the fact of riskiness of their vital activity. In this regard, we consider new trends in the narcotization of the Russian population as risks of a societal nature.

The main objectives of the study were: 1) to determine the prevalence of propensity to risky behavior in various youth groups and consider the gender characteristics of propensity to risk; 2) to identify the relationship between the propensity to risky behavior, the search for thrills and the prevalence of drug use.

Empirical research base:

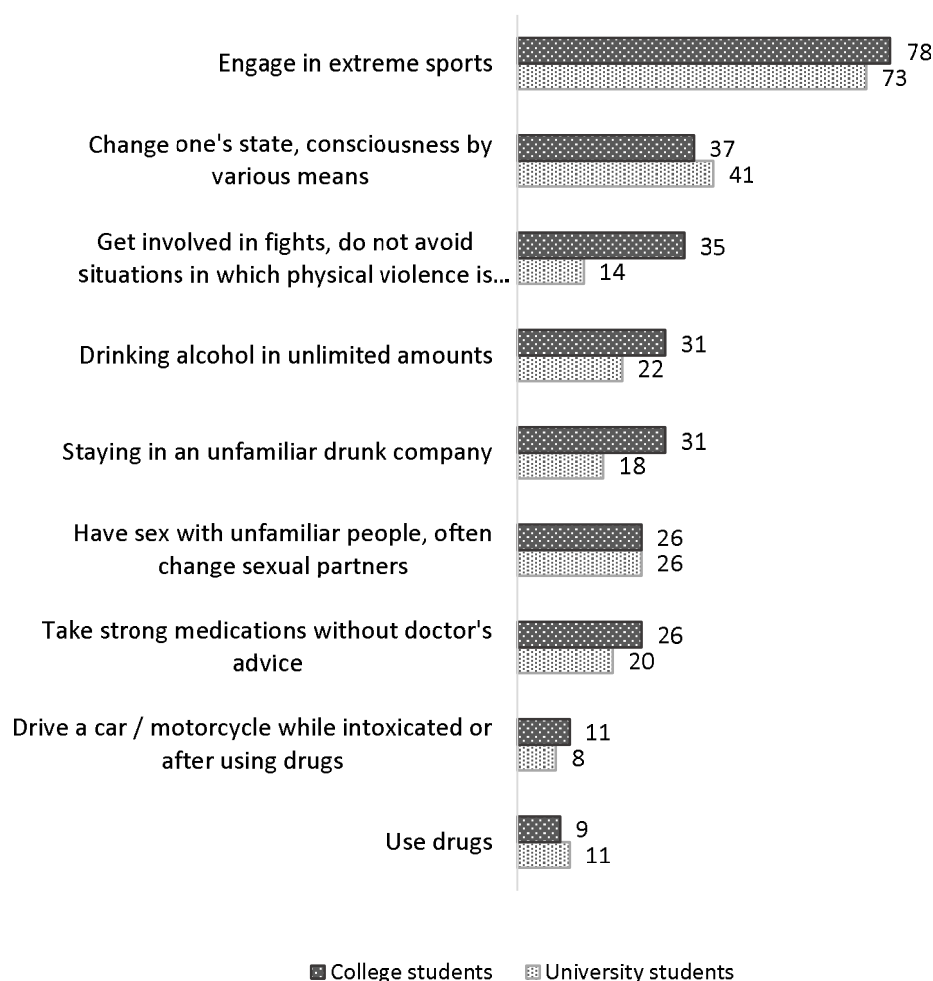
1. Online surveys of students of Russian Universities 2016-2017 (Moscow, Krasnodar, Yaroslavl, Rybinsk, N=485, age 18-24, gender distribution 49% of young men, 51% of young women), classroom surveys of College students (Ivanovo, N=505, Chita, N=210, age 15-21, gender distribution – 51,5% of young men, 48,5% of girls).
2. Secondary analysis of the materials of a special study of youth age 13-23 (schoolchildren of grades 7-11 of secondary schools and students of Russian Universities, 2013-2015, Moscow N=101, Krasnodar N=85,) using Zuckerman test and a specially developed “Questionnaire of useful and harmful habits”

It is assumed that identified high-risk factors, such as antisocial behavior in adolescence, have predictive value in relation to delinquent behavior in the future. The theory of risky behavior of adolescents suggests to consider different forms of risky behavior typical of adolescence in interrelationship rather than in isolation from each other. This is due to the fact that in reality, some forms of risky behavior, such as drug use, delinquent behavior, early sexual life accompany each other and reflects the way the teenager is trying to build a relationship with the surrounding reality, with the social world. An interesting fact is that, according to the results of the study, both schoolchildren and students primarily call drug use the most risky behavior. In the second place the behavior associated with direct danger, a threat to life: physical violence, fights, etc. In third place — the problems of interpersonal and group relations.

The results of the research showed that, according to students' self-assessments, a significant part of respondents consider themselves to be risky people (52% of University students and 65% of College students). The share of respondents who noted that they were willing to take risks for the sake of gaining new sensations was also high (71% among both University and College students).

Special attention should be paid to the fact that when answering another question: “what is more important for you: safety or the opportunity to experience new sensations”, a significant part of students chose “new sensations”: 30% of University students and 40% of College students. However, every second University student chose safety, another 20% found it difficult to answer. College students chose safety – 42%, found it difficult to answer – 15%. The proportion of respondents who noted that they themselves committed acts that were considered too risky was also significant-32%.

Answers to the question about specific manifestations of risk-taking behavior allow us to identify its most common forms. A significant part of the students of higher educational institutions and colleges find themselves normal or justified (noted the options “for me this is normal” and “this is risky, but the risk is fully justified”) the following activities (Figure 1):



**Fig. 1: Distribution of students' answers to the question: "Which of the following actions do you consider normal for yourself?" (% of the respondents in each group)**

It is noteworthy that about 40% of students are ready to influence and change their state of consciousness in various ways today. In particular, a third of College students, as well as every fifth student of universities noted that it was normal and justified for them to drink alcohol in an unlimited amount and to remain in an unfamiliar, drunk company. Every fourth student of the College and every fifth student of the University noted that they didn't see anything terrible in using strong medicines without prescribing a doctor (so called "pharmacy addiction"). The combination of such attitudes can be the ground for the first drug experiments and/or transition to episodic drug use. In this regard, such motive for using the drug as its anticipation comes to the forefront. Perhaps the expectations are based on previous impressions of the effects, of any psychoactive substances used.

To analyze the relationship between risky behavior and drug use, we have formed three groups of University students: 1. with a high degree of risk behavior; 2. with an average degree of risky behavior; 3. with a low degree of risky behavior. The first group consisted of respondents who considered themselves simultaneously to be risky people, ready to take risks in order to get

new sensations and noted that they were making risky acts. In the second group we included students who positively responded to any two of the three aforesaid questions on risky behavior. The third group included respondents who didn't consider themselves risky people, didn't ready to take risks for the sake of getting new sensations and noted that they didn't commit risky actions themselves.

A comparison of 3 groups showed that respondents who were prone to risk had much greater willingness to change their state of mind in any way and experiment with psychoactive substances than respondents who were less likely to risk or not at all prone to risk (table. 1).

**Table 1: Relationship between the degree of risky behavior and the willingness to use an unknown substance for a specific purpose, % of respondents in each group**

Purposes of the potential drug use	High degree of risky behavior	Average degree of risky behavior	Low degree of risky behavior
To improve productivity	35	23	14
To improve well-being	34	23	11
To relieve stress	33	25	20
To improve mood	32	23	11
To overcome fatigue	24	23	18
To expand consciousness	23	20	10

The proportion of those who noted that took antidepressants, hypnotics, sedatives was slightly higher in the group of respondents disposed to risky behavior (13% versus 7% among students with an average degree of risk behavior and 3% among students not prone to risk). However, it is important to emphasize that students with average and low risky behavior, though not taking sedatives and antidepressants, but note that they need – every fourth student in the group with an average risky behavior and every third in the group of risk-free students. Such a willingness to take medications that affect the state of consciousness, suggests that they should be attributed to the group at increased risk. They require a serious correction of their way of life, behavior. Various forms of social control should be applied to them.

Risky students also have a more extensive experience of using various psychoactive substances, for example alcohol (Table 2). There is a higher proportion of those who noted that prefer to spend leisure time with the use of various psychoactive substances among them: 48% of risky students, 44% of students with an average risk and 26% of students not prone to risky behavior prefer to relax with alcohol. At the same time, 38% of risky students see nothing wrong with spending time in an unfamiliar drug company (against 23% of average risk level students and 14% of risk-free students). 20% of high-risk students and only 8% and 4% in groups with medium and low risk have experience with drugs.



**Table 2: Relationship between the degree of risky behavior and alcohol use, % of respondents in each group**

Alcoholic experience	High degree of risky behavior	Average degree of risky behavior	Low degree of risky behavior
Use alcohol often (1 to 7 times a week)	32	20	15
Used to drink alcohol specifically to get drunk	47	36	17
Repeatedly had experience of heavy intoxication in the last 12 months	50	36	27
Drank more than they intended	52	41	25

The proportion of those who used drugs is also higher among “risky people” – 25% against 15% of the group with an average risk and 7% among risk-free students.

An important characteristic of risk behavior is the attitude to safety and the presence or absence of the need for thrills. Traditionally, those for whom security is more important are less prone to risk. However, the study showed that for a significant part of the population the need for new sensations is important today. This need as a result is satisfied by various forms of deviant behavior, in particular, in the use of various psychoactive substances.

The study of student’s audience revealed some gender differences in attitudes to risk and the relationship of risk-taking behavior with drug use. Thus, the propensity for risky behavior correlates with real drug practices and alcohol consumption among young men. The propensity for risky behavior among girls is associated not so much with specific drug practices, but to a high potential willingness to experiment with different substances under certain circumstances. Their motives are: to improve mood, well-being, productivity, to relieve stress, to overcome fatigue and expand consciousness.

It should be noted that gender differences in relation to alcohol are insignificant. Both young men and women, who are prone to risk, consider it to be possible for themselves to drink alcohol in difficult situations (45% of risky girls and 55% of young men prone to risk). It is alarming that both risk-free young men and young women also use alcohol to reduce stress or in difficult situations (36% of girls and 37% of boys who are not at risk). The obtained data once again confirm that moderate alcohol consumption acts as a social norm as part of everyday culture and lifestyle in the mass consciousness. Alcohol consumption fulfills an essential social function and is a consequence of an objectively existing need – the need to change one's mental state.

When considering the mechanisms of initiation to drugs, as well as the transition from the first drug experiments to episodic use, the tendency to risky behavior based on the search for thrills was studied. The search for sensations is seen as the subject's need to experiment with unusual and complex sensations, with risky behaviors, both on the physical and the social level. The search for thrills, as a special type of behavior, is a predictor of narcotization and affects the choice of the drug and the way it is used. When studying the propensity for risky behavior and thrill, the

Zuckerman Sensation-Seeking Scale was used. It is used to study the level of needs for sensations of various kinds. Below we consider the results of a special study (2013-2015, Moscow, N=101, Krasnodar, N=85) among pupils of 7-11 grades and University students, age 13–23.

With the help of such scales as TAS – “Thrill and Adventure Seeking” – BS – “Boredom Susceptibility”, ES – “Experience Seeking”, – “DIS” “Disinhibition” – respondents predisposed to emergency incidents, inclined to the search for new impressions, striving to create difficulties and their inadequate solutions, and also initiators of conflicts were identified.

It is assumed that for a good state, a certain degree of tension is necessary, and both its deficiency and excess are bad. The level of tension among aggressive people is high. They quickly get bored. Unlike normal people they are not afraid of tense or stressful situations. The study of the phenomenon of “search for sensations” in adolescents showed the existence of a connection between high test rates and predisposition to behavior associated with drug use. It was revealed that every fifth respondent expressed the need to search for new sensations, which can lead to drug use as one of the ways to gain new impressions - these people constitute a risk group.

Using the Zuckerman test, it was found that the average level of propensity for thrill and adventure seeking is represented in the array of respondents twice as often as the high. The low level is insignificant. Also it should be noted that respondents with a high level of “experience seeking” are 3 times more than respondents with a low level. Gender differences in this indicator are minimal and there are no obvious differences. In general, the highest level of risky behavior is presented in the group of 17-18 years (1-2 year students). High indicators of risky behavior are met more often among students than among senior pupils.

The study showed that there was a direct relationship between the level of risky behavior and drug use. High levels of risky behavior are more frequent among drug users group than among respondents who do not have a drug experience (40% versus 25%). Respondents from the group with average and high rates on the scale of “experience seeking” are more likely to use drugs.

The results of the study allow to identify among the entire youth audience a certain group that has a number of specific characteristics and therefore has a special vulnerability. This group which includes high school students, college students and university students, is accompanied by high risks in general – whether it concerns drug use, risky behavior or life-threatening hobbies. In our opinion, the youth group of 13–23 years requires close attention, being the most vulnerable to many, the most diverse risks. Moreover, the illusion of safe consumption of so-called “new” drugs, changes in social attitudes and normative perceptions of the population towards narcotic substances, riskiness as a need for thrill currently recorded in the everyday perceptions of Russians – all these can lead and lead to the spread of drug use in almost all sex-age groups. Today, drug use is perceived as an acceptable risk.

*Galina I. Osadchaya*

## **The Adaptation of the Labour Migrants from the EEU Member States In Moscow**

### **ABSTRACT**

Based on the results of the empirical research and statistical data, the analysis of a change in the citizens' labour mobility from the member States of the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) within the new integration space was provided; the dynamic of labour migration on the Moscow market was shown; the adapted and unadapted groups of migrants were identified and their socio-demographic and socio-professional profile was given; the features of the migrants' adaptation from various EEU member States were shown; adaptive barriers were justified and characterized.

**Keywords:** labour mobility; adaptation; disadaptation; Eurasian Economic Union

### **Introduction**

The new conditions for the movement of workers in the Eurasian Economic Union [Osadchaya, Yudina, 2017, p. 144-154] offer an opportunity to choose any city in the EEU countries for labour mobility, guaranteeing the creation of conditions and social assistance. It is natural that labour migrants find to apply themselves most profitably that provides them with the highest efficiency for their work, a wider proposal for job vacancies, a high salary, therefore they choose those towns that have the greatest opportunities to accelerate their development, large urban agglomerations, in which labour and capital markets are integrated. The Moscow agglomeration is among those major centers of attraction for labour migrants. One cannot efficiently use the EEU labour forces on the Moscow market as one of the Union's chief labour markets in order to improve the lives of people, create the conditions for the stable development of economies both the given and receiving societies without creating the conditions for migrants to adapt successfully. Under the influence of the negative factors, the disadaptation of labour migrants forms unacceptable behavioral patterns that do not correspond to the norms and requirements of a surrounding; it leads to a breakdown in human-environment interaction. That involves the need for the sociological analysis of the adaptation process, estimating the degree of labour migrants' adaptation in Moscow and identifying adaptive barriers.

### **Methodology**

The research results, conducted under the supervision of the author, were used in the article. They are as follows:

1. "The social and political measurement of the Eurasian integration" (Supervisor – G. Osadchaya) includes the all-Russian representative surveys of the Russians, this is a personal formalized interview at the respondents' place of residence based on a multi-stage stratified sampling with a quota sampling at the final stage. The sample size comprises 1500 interviews, the statistical mistake is + 2,5%. The surveys were conducted by the ISPR RAS in May and October (2014 – 2015), in February and November (2016), in April, June, September, November (2017);

2. "The Russians' way of life in Soviet and post-Soviet Russia: a comparative analysis and a change evaluation" (Supervisor – G. Osadchaya). The survey was conducted in June, 2016 under the Russian Foundation for Basic Research, Grant No. 16-03-00841 by the method of a personal formalized interview at the respondents' place of residence. The research applied a multi-stage stratified sampling with a quota sampling at the final stage. The selection represents the adult, present and resident population of Moscow according to: the administrative districts of Moscow, gender, age, 600 men and women aged over 18, who are permanently resident in Moscow. The statistical mistake is + 2,5%.

3. "The migrants' way of life from the EEU member States in Moscow". The survey in the form of a personal formalized interview, 100 migrants from the EEU each member state, was conducted by the ISPR RAS in June, 2016 under the Russian Foundation for Basic Research, Grant No. 16-03- 00841 (Supervisor – G. Osadchaya). The informants were selected by a snowball sampling method according to those who arrived in Moscow from Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan since 2000.

4. "The non-residents' social state of health from the EEU member countries in Moscow". There conducted an individual focused interview in January -February, 2017. (The heads of the project: G. Osadchaya, T. Yudina). 58 each of the respondents from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan were interviewed. They were selected by a snowball sampling method according to their arrival since 2000.

### **The trends in the citizens' labour mobility from the EEU member States within the new integration space**

The comparison of mobility in the EEU in the annual monitoring shows that the new conditions for the movement of workers in the EEU have not changed a migration status within the EEU borders; the vector of migratory flows has remained [Eurasian, Accessed date: 17/01/2017; Eurasian Accessed date: 15/03/2018]. However, the legal status that the representatives of the EEU member States had earned, in a difficult economic crisis, contributed to supporting the labour mobility. The number of the EEU member State citizens who had come to Belarus for employment amounted to 3325 people in 2015, who had come to Kazakhstan

amounted to 16349 people in the same year [Labour. Accessed date: 22/01/2017]. With the decline of labour mobility in Russia due to the economic crisis, in 2015 more than 166, 6 thous. people as compared with the year of 2014, who had come to Russia from the EEU member States for employment. According to the data of the Eurasian Economic Commission, the number of the labour migrants from the EEU countries in Russia amounted to 835,6 thous. people [Trofimova, 2013. pp. 62-67.].

The same pattern is found in the following years. So, within the year of 2016, about 2,4 million citizens of the EEU countries were registered in Russia among them there were 927 thous. citizens from Kyrgyzstan, 632 thous. citizens from Armenia, 540 thous. citizens from Kazakhstan and 346 thous. citizens from Belarus. In 2016 for the purpose of being employed, 362 thous. citizens from Kyrgyzstan, 210 thous. citizens from Armenia, 98 thous. citizens from Belarus and 72 thous. citizens from Kazakhstan were in Russia [Eurasian...2017.p/70-73.] that 11% less than as compared with the year of 2015. However, according to the experts' estimation, this is not a full indicator of the member country citizens' labour mobility. Many labour migrants who had found a permanent job in Russia in the previous years, they did not leave for their homeland for many reasons: they had decided to save their money and send it to the family; they had not earned enough money to leave for the country of their origin, etc.

According to the data of the Directorate General for Migration of the Minister of Internal Affairs of Russia and the Units for Territorial Bodies Migration of the Minister of Internal Affairs of Russia for the year of 2016, the Moscow agglomeration continued being those regions, which had received the largest part of the migrants from the EEU countries [The Results 2017]

Our analysis shows that the strategies for the labour mobility of the EEU country migrants meet the real needs of the Moscow labour market and normative documents regulating the freedom of labour movement, require the recognition procedure of studies in the pedagogical, legal, medical and pharmaceutical fields when hiring workers.

In 2016 the employment services of Russia declared a noticeable share of vacancies in Moscow and the Moscow region. So, it amounted to more than half (64,8%) calculated [Federal...Accessed date: 14/12/2017].] of the vacancies belonging to the largest labour market – the Central Federal District. By the end of March 2017 the capital organizations' need for workers amounted to 131,9 thous. people; the unemployment load, being placed on a register in employment offices, per one applied vacancy amounted to 0.35 people that was 25.8 less than it was in March 2016 [Official Statistics...Accessed date: 30/06/2017]. The Moscow labour market differs from the regional markets of Russia and the EEU member States in a relatively high level of economic development, the best economic opportunities in providing the population with a higher quality of life as compared with other EEU member States. The Moscow labour market

also differs in its employment structure, its land area explained by the demographic factors and its level of training and personnel. The peculiarities of the Moscow employment structure is characterized by the growing share of a labour force in the wholesale and retail trade, the repair of vehicles, motorcycles, household goods and personal consumption items, the operations involving real estate, leasing and consumer services, the construction, manufacturing, transport, communications and financial sectors. It also differs in the need for the labour forces of all types: the high, average and low levels of qualifications, the need for the latter is prevailing [Official Statistics... Accessed date: 30/06/2017].

Most migrants from the Eurasian Economic Union in the megalopolis (6 and more of the 10 informants) are migratory active young people up to the age of 40 (the largest share among them are the people aged 25 to 34), the men who had made their responsible choice about work in Moscow in the crisis situations are more frequently directed at providing for their families. 21,6% of the people have a secondary education, 36,2% of the people have a secondary specialized education, 35,3% of the people have a higher education, 76,3% of the people came to the capital from towns, 72,7% of the people had a professional experience and 56,4% of the people have no plans to return to their homeland. About half of the respondents have a constant partner, 14, 3% of them are divorced or widowed. Among those who came to Moscow are officially married or live in a civil marriage. This group more frequently comprises the migrants from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The vast majority of them are satisfied with their marriage.

Approximately half of the migrants have children: 21, 4% of them have one child, 11,8% of the migrants have two children, 2,5% of them have three children. Only 18% of the migrants came to Moscow together with their children. The dependent burden is higher observed among the migrants from Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan.

Most informants' main value is aspiring to build a strong family, to bring up good children, to be sure of tomorrow and favourable prospects. The migrants from Armenia appreciate the wealth; the migrants from Belarus appreciate an interesting job that allows demonstrating their abilities and potentials more than others. But most of the respondents, in their self-evaluation, did not manage to realize their values fully.

The migrants think that the qualities, mostly required by society that allow to be successful (on account of "very important"), are as follows: the "right people", "the ability to adapt" and "money". 7% of them consider the necessary quality for being successful to be ability to break the law, moral and moral restraints.

Most migrants, as their life principles, pursue such as: one needs to try getting from society and people as much as possible. However, among the migrants interviewed there are those (one fifth of them) who believe, is probably guided by the following principle: one needs to try getting



from society and people as much as possible, and one needs to give them less. Especially a high percentage of those migrants who are from Kyrgyzstan (30,3%). It is explained by their lower level of education (as compared with other groups of migrants), their poorer working conditions on the labour market in Russia, the life (often peasant) experience in their country and their low income.

The non-residents more frequently than the natives of Moscow are ready to work and earn much in order to provide themselves and their families with the highest level of life, to have an opportunity to buy everything they want, even if it means having to sacrifice their spare time and leisure. The migrants from Belarus and Kyrgyzstan are ready to work and earn much more than others.

A very large percentage of the informants demonstrates the horizontal trajectory of a professional and industry mobility. Based on their previous experience they work in the same sectors as they had worked in their country: they are trade, construction and transport workers, replacing the vacancies required by the Muscovites least of all that it is typical of the host countries.

However, 35% of the migrants from the EEU member States think that their work in Moscow does not correspond to their knowledge, capacities and abilities, among the informants were from Kyrgyzstan (40,5%). It is more than among the Muscovites. 28% of the Moscow citizens answered “no and mostly no”. This may indicate a decrease in one third of the migrants’ professional status after moving to Moscow.

The chief problems, which the migrants faced in Moscow, are as follows: the problems relating to housing and getting a job. Actually, they were shown in each of these groups at different levels of intensity.

The informants consider the most difficult working conditions on the Moscow labour market to be those which were created for them in the organizations and enterprises for further training and career development.

### **The assessment of adaptation and adaptive barriers provided by labour migrants**

Adaptation as a way of regulating human behaviour respectively for the parameters of the external environment is determined by the genetic, physiological and personal traits. It takes place at the physiological, mental and social levels. The nature of adaptation is affected by such factors as age and gender, conditions and circumstances which a man finds himself in, the compliance of a conative personal core with the objectives of the activity. Adaptedness is a degree of adaptation to the environmental conditions and the achievement of harmony with the environment.

Our research shows that the migrants from the EEU member States are a nonhomogeneous layer. It also allows, on the basis of ranking the answers to the questions about how well they are



satisfied with the professional, economic and social changes in their life after coming to Moscow, distinguishing two groups of migrants: adapted and unadapted ones.

The first group includes more than 65% of the informants. They are satisfied with their job in Moscow and its being paid (the answers to these questions are consistent with the evaluations of those who are native Muscovites or became native ones); they are satisfied with their own health and nutrition; they have an obligatory and medical insurance policy and an effective relationship with their colleagues.

The migrants from Belarus and Armenia are most successfully integrated into the Moscow labour market. The factors for such success are as follows: they have a great human capital (a higher level of education, a better knowledge of the Russian language); they have a great social capital (the well-established social connections in the capital); they have a mobility experience in their communities.

The second group includes slightly less than 35% of the migrants from Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. So, for instance, by the main indicator being a unique integral success criteria for “job satisfaction in Moscow as a whole”, 25% each of the migrants from Armenia and Belarus, 40% of the migrants from Kyrgyzstan and 37% of the migrants from Kazakhstan answered that they were not satisfied or satisfied not fully.

The marginal positions in the Moscow megalopolis are more frequently taken up by the migrants from Kyrgyzstan. This social group also includes most of those who are not satisfied with their payment for labour and housing conditions. One of the factors for such dissatisfaction can be as follows: a greater number of those, as compared with the migrants from the EEU member States, “who work without official employment papers and paying taxes, they live in the industrial parks in unsanitary conditions” [Sobyenin Accessed date: 27/01/2017].

As compared with the migrants from other member states, they know Russian worse and have a little experience in living and working in the city. This group includes the informants who are 1,5 to 2 times more than those who have been living and working in Moscow for a year, respectively less than those who have been living and working for four years. There have not yet been the social networks being capable of supporting them; the Kyrgyz diasporas are ineffective in Russia, they have not refocused their activities on adapting their compatriots to the host society.

The individual interview with the representatives from the two less successful groups in the Moscow labour market, conducted by us, allows characterizing the Kyrgyz and Kazakh migrants' subjective perception of themselves in the Russian capital and specifying the motivation, objectives and strategies for mobility. In this research the informants' attention was focused on the problem identified during the mass survey. The informant was offered to interpret any given situation. It has created an additional perspective for realizing and explaining the meanings and

results of their movement and provided an opportunity to specify the characteristics of labour mobility measured during the mass survey.

As the survey showed, most Kyrgyz and Kazakh migrants' subjective sense of labour mobility is not too long for self-realization, but their wish to close the economic gap in the family budget. They show a model of behaviour that can be called "a model of survival".

So, out of the 58 informants from Kyrgyzstan, 16 of them (about one third) are dissatisfied with their job. The essence of the 13 statements is reduced to inadequate wages ("badly paid"), hard and dirty work, delays in wages payment. But 3 informants noticed other reasons for their job dissatisfaction. An example of this may be seen in the most detailed response.

**Respondent (R)** — *a man of 37 came from the village of Baetovo, Kyrgyzstan; he has a secondary education, works as the driver of a mini-bus and masters conversational Russian; he is married and has two children.*

**R.:** *I don't like my job. You know, I am the driver of a mini-bus and everybody thinks that I am always to blame for. If we go slowly or fast, or stop; if the fare is expensive and there are lots of people in a bus, you shout at a driver. The chiefs are displeased, I am fined; sometimes I have to buy petrol at my own expense. ... Is it possible to work? I've barely stock and food to live, but I am paid more than I had been paid in my country. All my money is almost sent to my wife to Baetovo, they stayed to live there. We have our own house and a little household. I could work in the fields there, but exactly I cannot put the food on the table this way. That's why I work here and endure it; there is nothing that can be done. No wonder, this city is just "damn", excuse me. This is the city where you can ruin your life: you work, work, work and that's all, it's nothing more. That's not we have in the village. You can get some rest there, the people are kind there. There is a pleasant place to live in, that's what!*

11 out of the 58 interviewed migrants from Kazakhstan (less than one fifth) expressed their job dissatisfaction and explained it by low wages and difficult physical work ("getting tired of it"). But there are individual opinions there.

**Respondent (R)** — *a man of 25 is from Kazakhstan, Astana; he has a secondary education, he is a loader and masters Elementary Russian.*

**R** — *I'd like to have a serious job. Anyone can replace me, even nobody remembers my being there at all. I've come to get education, but it failed. I want to earn a little money, but it's not going well. I send all the money to my parents, they live hard. The men I work with, who are older than I am, say that they don't remember their Motherland. They say that they are accustomed to everything: to both money and be treated.*

During the mass survey of the migrants from the EEU member States and the individual interview with the migrants from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, the cognitive judgment on a social

well-being in the Russian capital was added by the emotional evaluations of their attitudes towards events and people.

Most respondents (51%) are in a quiet mood, every third respondent is in high spirits and optimistic-minded. But one-fifth of the respondents from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan has felt anxiety, irritation, feared and despaired lately; every fifth migrant from Kazakhstan and every fourth migrant from Kyrgyzstan often feel the injustice of everything that is happening around.

Practically, every fifth – fourth of the 10 respondents from the EEU member States has felt discomfort and experienced discrimination during their stay in Moscow. They were more frequently the migrants from Kazakhstan (30% and 48% respectively) and Kyrgyzstan (36% и 46%).

According to the respondents' self-evaluations, within the individual interview, out of the 58 respondents in every group of migrants, less than half of the informants (24 migrants) from Kazakhstan and more than half of them (32 migrants) from Kyrgyzstan felt discomfort during their stay in Moscow. In general, it dealt with adaptation to the natural environment (bad water, ecology); the living environment (the lack of language skills, the change of domicile, the busy city, the need for employment and finding accommodation); the social living conditions (communication traditions, another culture, no friends, longing for home and family member, enforcement examination, squinting, the unkindly, unfriendly, disdainful and haughty attitude of Muscovites, sometimes the behaviour of their compatriots).

If to speak of discrimination, out of the 58 respondents in each group of migrants, 27 informants from Kazakhstan (almost half) and 32 informants from Kyrgyzstan (more than half) experienced it in the capital. All the answers tell us about the ethnic reasons.

**Respondent (R)** – a man of 35 came from Kazakhstan, Petropavlovsk; he has a higher education, he speaks Russian fluently, he is an acquisition manager and married.

**R.:** *Discrimination for national and ethnic reason acts of aggression against other nationalities, or, for instance, the refusal of employment or the refusal of apartment rental. I often see the advertisements stating that “landlords are just ready to review the proposals from the Slavs”. Unfortunately, it’s happening everywhere, that’s not possible for anyone to get over it.*

**Respondent (R)** – a woman of 23 came from Jalal-Abad, Kyrgyzstan, she has a secondary education and works as a cooker in the employer’s canteen.

**R:** *“The citizens of a non-Slavic appearance” wished not to be taken on at all. It’s difficult to rent a decent place to live in, because when seeing you, they deny at once. In general, one can face it both at work and in life. Even just passers-by very often “look down” on you. I think that they don’t consider us to be people at all. That is a labour force.*

The migrants' social well-being is affected by the communication processes at the household and official levels being both clear and spontaneously-latent. If, by the informants' general estimation, 39,5% of the Muscovites meet them friendly, 42,7% – indifferently and only 7,9% – unfriendly or even hostilely; the informants (14,3%) evaluated the Moscow authorities' attitude towards them as being hostile and even unfriendly twice more than others; less than 28,6% of the informants evaluated their attitude towards them as being friendly. Especially, among the migrants from Kyrgyzstan (23,7%) one can observe the high percentage of the authorities' negative attitude towards them.

First of all, Muscovites' attitude towards migrants serves as adaptive barriers. Our research shows that between 32,0% to 52% of the Moscow population does not favour labour mobility within the Eurasian Union. Moreover, the further the culture distance is, the less migrants are desirable. So, if 60 % of the respondents from Belarus favour labour mobility, it is favoured by 44 % of the respondents from Kazakhstan and 39 % of respondents from Kyrgyzstan.

Young people aged 25 to 34 and men favour labour mobility less than others. This can be explained by the fact that is roughly the time people most often face the need to find a job after graduating from the university or another institution, create a family and take the first step in organizing their family life; therefore they feel and fear competition from migrants. More often than other Russians, the citizens of the capital evaluate the interethnic relations, established in the district of their residence, between native citizens and migrants from the EEU countries as being tense and hostile (+ 18 percentage points). Our conclusions are supported by the results of other authors [Ivanova, 2010, No. 2. pp. 99-103.].

Opposing the mobility of the EU state citizens, the respondents think that a considerable number of labour migrants being attracted can lead to complicate the ethno-cultural and ethno-social dispersibility, can lead to an increase in the crime rate and threatens security, inter-ethnic and social tensions.

Unfortunately, our research shows an increase in the number of ethno-intolerant Muscovites. So, according to the respondents' evaluation, over the past 25-30 years, there have been 2,9 times of those, in the circle of their acquaintances, who do not take kindly to other nationalities [Osadchaya; 2017, p. 53-64.]. The terrorist attack, taken place in St. Petersburg with the participation of the citizens from Central Asia, can lead to increase xenophobia and migrant phobia among Muscovites, the opponents' rhetoric as to the integration processes in the EEU, call for the freedom of the labour force's movement. First of all, a balance and preventive work among migrants and Muscovites are of great importance here. Hostile and xenophobic attitudes towards foreigners are a barrier to the integration processes in the Eurasian Economic Union and to attract

the labour force needed for the development of Moscow that affect the social well-being of the migrants from the EU countries.

In the light of this analysis, we think that the informants from Belarus feel that they are citizens of the world (19,1%), the EEU (17,3%), the USSR (18,2%); the migrants from Armenia feel that they are citizens of their country (60%) and the world (20,9%); every second migrant from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan feels that he is a citizen of his country; every fourth informant feels that he is a migrant in the foreign country (24,5% and 25,5% respectively).

## Conclusions

The new legal status that the representatives of the EEU member States had received, in a crisis contributed to supporting labour mobility and changing its structure on behalf of the workers from the EEU member States. The EEU member State citizens' labour migration meets the needs and features of the Moscow labour market. It provides replacing the workplaces less demanded by the Muscovites not being forced out of the market. The professional background of migrants is defined by a trajectory for the horizontal professional and industry mobility of the member State citizens and a decrease in the professional status of every third migrant after coming to Moscow.

65% of the migrants' successful adaptation is evidenced by the positive emotional and appraisal reaction to a change in their status on the Moscow labour market. The migrants from Belarus and Armenia are most successfully integrated into the Moscow realities. Among the unadapted migrants, the marginal positions are more frequently taken by the migrants from Kyrgyzstan.

An adaptive barrier is part of the Moscow population's negative attitude towards the labour mobility. 35% of the migrants from the EEU member States felt discomfort and experienced discrimination for national and ethnic reason during their stay in Moscow. Moreover, the further the cultural distance is, the less migrants are desirable.

Solving the problems such as house hunting, difficulties to get a job, the bad conditions for further training and professional growth, the negative stereotypes and prejudices from other people, which the migrants had faced most of all, requires improving the migration and social policy of Moscow.

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*Elena V. Shulgina*

## **Features of Alcohol Dependence Elderly**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article contains the analysis of alcohol dependence of people of the age group from 65 years and older. The main features of alcohol dependence of this population group, including the causes and consequences of alcohol abuse, are considered. The author reviewed approaches to solving the problem of alcohol dependence of elderly people in Russia and abroad.

**Keywords:** alcohol dependence; elderly people; research; features; counter measures

There many scientific works devoted to the study of problems of alcohol dependence, emerging in minors, as well as to the problem of female alcoholism. These topics are well studied. At the same time, studies of alcoholism in such a group of the population as the elderly from 65 years and older are much less popular. However, the trend of alcoholization of this group is becoming increasingly important.

Even in 2013, corresponding member of RAMS, Professor, Director of Mental Health Research Institute of Siberian branch of the Russian Academy of medical Sciences Nikolay Bokhan at the V National Congress on social and clinical psychiatry reported a significant increase in the number of elderly people with alcohol dependence: «Among the registered patients with alcoholism, the proportion of persons over the age of sixty years is growing. In some areas, this share is from 11 to 16% among all registered patients with alcoholism». [Infox.ru of December 16, 2013] Unfortunately, even now these indicators remain high.

According to the results of studies of foreign experts, the problem of alcoholization of older people is becoming relevant in most countries. For example, Marc A. Schuckit, M.D., distinguished professor of psychiatry at the University of California, San Diego (USA) states an increase of alcohol-dependent people from 65 years and older by 106% during his more than forty years period of researching [Blake, 2017].

British researchers Rao, R., Crome, I. argue that over the last decade the number of people aged 60 to 74 years, hospitalized with mental and behavioral disorders caused by alcohol consumption, increased by 50% compared to the age group of 15-59 years. [Rao, Crome, 2016]

According to Australian researchers, the majority of the country's residents are concerned that alcohol abuse, including in the elderly, is becoming a national problem [BBC News Russian news service of April 27, 2017].

According to statistics, every tenth woman who turned to a narcologist for help in treating her from alcohol dependence, belongs to the age group of 60 years and older. [Electronic



newspaper “Vek” of November 17, 2014] The presented figures reflect only the number of alcohol-dependent people who applied for help in official institutions.

There are features of alcohol dependence of elderly people. Because of the aging process in the elderly, the influence of such psychoactive substance as alcohol is stronger and more unpredictable. Taking medication exacerbates the effects of alcohol consumption. Abuse of alcohol by elderly people significantly increases the risk of accidental falls, resulting in heavy injuries, serious fractures and even lethal outcomes. Due to changes in the water-salt balance in the body of the elderly, the level of alcohol intoxication increases significantly, when older people used even small doses of alcohol, which leads to the formation of dependence with the illusion of moderate consumption [Ogurcov].

The consequence of alcoholism in the elderly is also more noticeable mental degradation, erosion of norms and principles of morality.

At the same time, older people rarely seek help, hiding their alcohol dependence from other people, including relatives. In addition, the symptoms of intoxication such as tremor, unsteady walk, confusion of speech, consciousness, in the elderly are easily attributed to the characteristics of aging. Identification of alcohol dependence of elderly through social interaction is also difficult because of their social isolation, often occurring after the end of employment. Elderly alcohol addicts often find themselves out of the field of view of law enforcement services. Thus, the problem of alcohol dependence of elderly people becomes latent.

The most common cause of alcohol dependence in the elderly is stress. Stress becomes a reaction of the elderly to their dissatisfaction with the current life, frustration, feeling of loneliness and uselessness, physical ailments, losses of loved ones. At the same time, for older men, stress factors are usually financial problems and lack of care from relatives, while for women of the same age group – poor emotional and physical health, missing a husband, because of his death or leaving the family. The formation of alcohol dependence of widows occurs, as a rule, during the first year after the loss of her husband. This process takes place either alone or in the company of close friends.

According to the study of the characteristics of late alcoholism of women, represented on a specialized information portal dedicated to addictions, the main reasons for the formation of alcohol dependence of elderly widows are (in descending order of importance):

- loneliness;
- bad mood;
- poor physical health;
- the feeling of anxiety;
- insomnia;

- lack of attention from children, relatives;
- financial problems;
- problems with accommodation;
- a social drink with friends (relatives);
- professional dissatisfaction [Egorov].

Thus, alcohol becomes a way of avoiding life problems, a kind of self-medication targeted to relieve physical and emotional pain.

Due to the combination of alcohol dependence of elderly people with the factor of their poverty caused, as a rule, by low income, the risk of using alcohol surrogates increases. Confirmation of the relevance of this problem was a relatively recent case of mass poisoning, when at the end of 2016 in the Irkutsk region 77 people died as a result of their use of medicinal alcohol-containing infuse "Boyaryshnik", freely sold in pharmacies. Because of its low cost, wide access, the possibility of round-the-clock purchase (in contrast to alcohol, for sale of which there is a ban at night), these infusions are very popular among low-income alcohol-dependent.

Regional and Federal authorities are trying to solve this problem by increasing the cost of such medicines as well as by the possible introduction of excise taxes for this product. However, the probability that these measures will solve the indicated problem is small.

To overcome alcohol dependence in the elderly is also more difficult. As a rule, elderly people have no incentive to take care of their health due to the belief in their own uselessness and exclusion from the social life of society. However, achieving remission is still possible. The readiness to seek qualified help as well as support of the close environment or social services are of paramount importance.

Different countries solve the problem of alcohol dependence of older people in different ways. For example, in Germany (Dusseldorf, Freiburg, Regensburg) a special Department was created in the retirement home, which is designed for elderly people suffering from alcohol addiction. The work of this Department is aimed at controlling the alcohol behavior of the elderly. They are allowed to take light alcoholic beverages, but in a strictly limited time, the amount of alcohol is determined by medical workers individually for each guest after a thorough medical examination and consultation. At the same time, the day mode of the patients staying in the Department is focused on their maximum diversion from alcohol consumption [Pyatyy kanal. News of April 27, 2018].

In the US, medical anti-alcohol measures are paid by insurance companies. In 7 States, at the legislative level, insurance companies are obliged to fully cover the cost of treatment of alcoholism, equating it to life-threatening diseases. In 18 States, the treatment of alcoholism is partially covered by insurance.

In the country each person in need of assistance has a sufficient number of opportunities to receive it. There are special social and psychiatric services for the elderly. In addition, programs of specialized medical institutions have been developed for 28 days or 3 months. They are designed to visit from two to four times a week.

The most common principles that underlie most alcohol dependence treatment in the United States are the principle of voluntary assistance to others, as well as the principle of self-help [Kolesnikov].

In addition, in the US there is a program of so-called "brief intervention". It consists in the fact that patients seeking to get rid of alcohol dependence receive a medical brochure with recommendations and a schedule of 10-15-minute appointments with their doctor within a month. The doctor in the framework of this program keeps a record, including a description of the patient's behavior, analysis of the causes of alcoholism, the adverse effects of alcohol consumption. The patient also needs to keep a daily record of the alcohol he consumed. In addition, every two weeks, patients receive a follow-up call from the clinic nurse, in order to monitor the patient's health status and their implement the prescribed recommendations. According to the results of this program in the control group, the researchers noted a 62% decrease in the number of elderly patients who drink alcohol more than 20 times a week. Such data indicate the effectiveness of regular brief medical consultations in reducing alcohol consumption in the elderly [National Institute on Alcohol Abuse Alcoholism (NIAAA)].

In Sweden, anti-alcohol measures are a state monopoly on the production and sale of alcoholic beverages, a strictly limited time of purchase of alcohol (on weekdays from 10 to 18, on Saturdays from 10 to 14), high prices for alcohol.

Sweden is one of the first places in the world in terms of life expectancy of population. Older persons are a significant part of the society of this country. The Swedish authorities are taking active measures to ensure that the social status of older persons in the society is maintained as long as possible. State social assistance services and forms of social support for elderly citizens are widespread in the country.

In the Russian Federation, the treatment of elderly people from alcohol dependence, as a rule, is carried out in a stationary mode. The treatment program usually includes a long detoxification of the body, a thorough analysis of the state of the internal organs, the use of necessary medicines. To elderly alcoholics it is also provides psychological assistance aimed primarily at eliminating factors that have a traumatic effect on the patient's psyche and can cause a relapse of alcohol dependence.

Also important in the fight against alcoholism is the so-called "busy therapy" – the involvement of elderly patients to visit hobby groups, perform simple physical exercises, providing

feasible assistance to the other patients treated with alcohol dependence. [Entin] However, treatment on such programs is usually concentrated in the private commercial sector of specialized medical institutions.

To sum up, it is necessary to emphasize the relevance of the current trend of growth of alcoholization of the elderly population in most countries of the world. So, according to the British newspaper *The Guardian* the number of persons over 50 years with alcohol abuse, by 2020 in Europe will grow 2 times, in the United States – 3 times. [Potapova, 2017] At the same time, according to the World Health Organization, the number of elderly people is increasing every year around the world.

It becomes necessary to devote large-scale research to the problems of the quality of life of this category of people, their health and social safety, and also it is necessary as soon as possible at the state level to develop effective measures to reduce alcoholism, getting rid of older people from alcohol dependence.

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*Larisa N. Rybakova*

## **The Role of «Controlled Drug Consumption» in the Drug use of Different Population Groups**

### **ABSTRACT**

The phenomenon of "controlled drug consumption" (CP) is typical for consumers with considerable duration and traumatic experience at the stage of recovery from dependence. It is a set of individual strategies for moderate drug consumption. The author compares the phenomenon CP as self-help and adaptation to the requirements of society with treatment-rehabilitation under the control of specialists. In domestic narcology (medical science on addictions) phenomenon CP is denied on theoretical grounds and lack of practical knowledge. As a construct, the CP detects both destructive and productive sides. It destroys the monolith drug refusal norm, its popularization among the population effects destructively the prevention system. At the same time, within the drug community, the construct CP consolidates the experience of the gradual cessation of drug consumption and, in accordance with the "Thomas theorem", leads to the spread of productive practices of self-restraint.

**Keywords:** controlled drug consumption; new psychoactive substances; prevention; adaptation; self-help

Drug addiction is characterized by an irresistible desire to experience a certain state, which enslaves all behavior and feelings of an addict. Loss of control on behavior, according to medical classification, refers to the main diagnostic criteria of the disease. However, drug dependence does not occur simultaneously. The development of dependence goes through several stages of behavioral changes: trying - (situational) consumption from time to time – the usual (systematic) consumption (psychological attachment) – use with harmful consequences (balance of risk and pleasure) - dependence (uncontrollable habits). Withdrawal from addiction is possible with medical help or on your own. "Controlled consumption" in most cases occurs at the stage of overcoming physical dependence without the participation of narcologists, using a variety of external resources (information, mentors, consultations, literature, social networks, etc.), as well as self-regulation behavior and well-being perception. "Controlled drug use" (CP) is a phenomenon that characterizes drug addicts who manage to balance between systematic consumption of, for example, heroin or pervitin ("heavy drugs") and abstinence.

Studies in the USA, the Netherlands, Germany in the 1980s showed that CP is a stable model of individual consumption, which has been maintained for several years at the "exit" from addiction. Western authors point out that CP in its pure form is rare, it occurs against the background of psychological dependence in the form of heterogeneous psychoactive substance use and during time-stretched periods after an excessive systemic, burdened with overdoses abuse. It is noted that this is a way of independent exit from dependence by means of self-restraint and



search of alternative occupations. CP remains a little-studied phenomenon because of the latency of the drug use and because of the reliance on self-help in its implementation. Empirical observation of the CP calls into question the idea that addiction is irreversible and evolves linearly according to increase. This idea is the main tool in prevention education.

Our interviews with experienced domestic drug addicts in 2008-9, who, according to them, practiced CP, revealed a group of experienced consumers who managed to restore social status (work, family) and leaved a normal life among the general population for several years – against the background of moderate drug consumption. The practice of CP in their case was achieved by individually developed methods of self-restraint. The analyzed material shows that the controlling consumption is realized through the use of external constraints and the development of self-control. For controlling consumers, the main deterrent strategy is to limit the availability of narcotic substances. They achieve this goal in different ways: allocate a certain amount for consumption (part of income), buy drugs only with their money, without forming debts, avoid direct contacts with sellers, do not initiate the purchase of drugs, do not buy "in reserve", etc.

Another restraining strategy is the time limits of consumption: only after the salary, only on Fridays before the weekend, only in the company of well-known people, no more than two days in a row, etc.

The major constraint is for them work that underlies both financial and temporary deterrence. For all controlling consumers, work becomes a priority, pushing drugs into the background. In some, the pleasure of working helps to replace drug intoxication, some of them manage to maintain the desired rhythm of tension and relaxation with drugs, to ensure their performance. For others, work is a source of income, some of which is spent on drugs, but this is not limited to its value. For this part of the controlling consumers, life-orientations are wider than drug use. In addition to the development of deterrent strategies, controlling consumers are trying to find substitutes that allow to reduce the "craving", the aggravation of psychological dependence. Such tools can be free time occupations that require a certain skill (billiards, repair of motor engines, sports, etc.). Family values were mentioned in the interview many times as a part of the subjective pleasure of life. And in this regard, the work and the family were for our respondents a counterweight to drug intoxication.

In the mass consciousness drug addict appears as a person looking for pleasure. In preventive texts and in medical literature there are statements about initially "frozen sentiments", alexithymia, emotional deafness as a result of family socialization, which is a factor of drug use. Individual addictive behavior develops due to compensation of emotions by means of physiological sensations. Drugs alleviate pain and resentment, free from unpleasant sensations, let to forget the thoughts on guilt, responsibility, duties. Over time, the drug is used only to "turn off"



unpleasant experiences, to forget them. Both experienced alcoholic and drug addicts use chemical substance "to be treated", to correct bad state of health. "Controlling consumers" are sensitive to their well being and have come to terms with psychological addiction. Their main reference point is to prevent the aggravation of physical dependence. They are engaged in the prevention of "breakdowns" (failure in recovery) in order to remain within the socially approved lifestyle and not to become an object of stigmatization.

Our analysis of 69 interviews (financial supported by RFFI grant 16-03-00616) revealed the main feature of the specific group of drug addicts – controlling consumers: these individuals are concerned about their emotional state, learned to use drugs to regulate their health, integrated drugs into the system of their life values. They have coped with the negative effects of physical dependence, recognized and accepted their psychological dependence and have developed a set of individual strategies to contain consumption at a socially acceptable level. It is important to note that each of them uses some individual set of internal and external constraints that prevent the aggravation of physical dependence on drugs.

In recent years, there are publications developing this topic, where "controlling" consumers are called "integrated" [Eisenbach-Stangle.a. 2009] because of their externally normative lifestyle: permanent work, housing, family (sometimes with children), communication group including a significant number of friends, unaware of the "drug career" of our respondents. It is argued that "integrated" consumers are not deviants, on the contrary, they agree with the requirements of society (career, sustainable employment, family care, etc.) and use drugs to better adapt to these "challenges" or to secure a reward. Caring about reputation, they avoid contacts with the "drug scene" and use of intermediaries for buying the substance to bypass the law or they move to legal drugs (alcohol, "new drugs" etc.).

CP is not practiced among high-risk drug users, who are characterized by intensive consumption, multiple health risks, marginal social status. This conclusion was made on the basis of written interviews with 75 drug addicts undergoing rehabilitation in a non-medical organization. This category of drug addicts does not practice CP and denies its possibility. Most of them, adapting to the drug law and the state fight against the drug market, began to use "new drugs". Our data are consistent with the conclusions of EMCDDA experts that drug users of high-risk very rarely used "spice" or salt as the sole means of narcotization or at the beginning of his drug-career. In most cases, these are drugs of the third or fourth choice: after alcohol, marijuana and amphetamines. When spices or salts were encountered in the history of consumption shortly before treatment and rehabilitation (in 20% interviews), they were directly preceded by either heroin and "fen" or "pills". Not all respondents were able to perceive the motives of their appeal to "new drugs". The most respondents frequently indicated the desire to test the effect of unknown

substance, which is discussed in the immediate environment (try "find out why they talk so much"). Sometimes trials were associated with the lack of the usual substance. In most cases, new information was provided by acquaintances, friends or drug addicts in other communities, who told about their impressions (34%). Further testing and use was organized by means of the Internet. As noted by drug addicts, to stop or control the use of salts is almost impossible without external intervention or help.

The analysis of interviews with drug consumers of high risk allowed us to understand the main feature differentiating controlling consumers from consumers of high risk – self-effectiveness and access to external help, that is the attitude to drug free life. We identified three groups of motives for using "new drugs" among high-risk drug users: difficult access to the usual drug, self-regulation of mood (relax, forget), adaptation to the conditions of existence. The third group of motives is the most filled with: "to diversify the monotony of life", "to brighten up learning", "spice – I burned in the company", "salt – for activity, not to sleep and not to eat"; liked the lack of obligations, problems; internal fatigue, dissatisfaction with life; problems in private life, "work that does not bring satisfaction." Thus, it was found that the use of "new drugs" among high-risk drug addicts was essentially the adaptation to a difficult situation and overcoming internal discomfort. But the addicts of high risk in contrast to controlling users needed external help. All respondents considered it necessary to promote a broad and convincing refusal to illegal substances, but are skeptical about its success.

Comparison of controlling consumers and rehabilitation clients shows the features of two groups at the stage of overcoming the dependence. They differ on the criterion of using internal resources and seeking special care (rehabilitation after treatment). The rehabilitants are oriented to complete abstinence from drugs, and the "controlling" are more sparing for themselves and therefore go a longer way, which does not always lead to success. A few "controlling" died a couple of years after the interview, among them one was a popular CP propagandist in the virtual space and adviser for "brothers" in the social network.

Latency (invisibility to medicine and police), limited external support (orientation of narcology to a complete rejection of psychoactive substances in the process and as a result of treatment) and individual selection (trying and errors) of self-regulation methods in CP make it difficult to study this phenomenon and support the view that CP is not a real phenomenon, but a construct misleading, contrary to the nature of dependence as a case of lost control.

A survey of domestic drug experts in 2017 showed that medical workers consider "controlled consumption" of drugs a construct that does not correspond to reality. Specialists in dependence disease (addiction medicine) indicate that addictive behavior is characterized by a significant role of unconscious drives, the lack of biological and psychological possibility of self-

regulation in the personal spectrum of the disease. Narcologists are not familiar with "controlling consumers" and see CP as one of the variants in the disease process. This circumstance is explained by the professional role of the narcologist: he treats those who seek help, but to a limited extent he observes the entrance to the disease and the exit from it, he has no access to informal communities of drug addicts with different experience and health status out of treatment setting.

There are arguments to agree with the opinion that the CP is a kind of simulacrum introduced into the minds of the drug community through discussions on Internet forums (what is it? is it possible? how is achieved? and so on) and popularized by publications, explanations on the topic of how to manage irresistible desires. In particular, the work of N.E. Zinberg [Zinberg, 2007], as in interviews, served as a textbook on CP for domestic drug addicts. Zinberg's research was built on the survey of Vietnam war veterans who returned home. Once in a climate of condemnation and prohibition of drug abuse, changing communication with the environment, expanding the set of their social roles, war veterans with heroin dependence were forced to reconsider their attitude to drugs. N. Zinberg emphasizes that the main role in the values revision was not a physiological need and not the physical availability of the substance, and the conditions of life of the people, motivated to social adaptation: aggressive and doomed cog in the military machine faced with different challenges, requirements and prospects of the civil engineering life. In drug addiction studies, this work has taken a prominent place, as identified social factors that contributed to the development of chemical dependence. CP can be considered an analogue of moderate consumption, aimed at achieving a balance between personal pleasure and social norms of inclusion, belonging, responsibility and participation.

The CP as a construct is not familiar to the whole population. Associated with the psychological mechanism of self-control, it is used quite rationally in relation to stress or food deviations ("self-control can be taught") and acquires a mystical sound in connection with drug diseases, so not investigated. However, the possibility to manage the "craving for drugs" stays a hope in the healthy psyche of adolescents and infantile adults. The construct of CP is manifested in the phenomenon of drug trials. Surveys of the population reveal the erosion of the social norm of universal rejection (solidarity) of drugs, on which the state anti-drug policy is based. Monitoring of the drug situation records the tolerant idea that drug users are only those individuals who have developed dependence, who use "heavy" drugs; drug addiction is present everywhere and we have to put up with it; occasional drug trials are quite acceptable, etc. The prevalence of such opinions is much higher among those who are familiar with drugs than among those who have not tried them. The analysis of drug trials among 24-35-year-olds allowed to find traces of the CP construct ("I can stop in time"), although these young people have passed anti-drug activities in secondary and high school and, nevertheless, they turn to drugs for various reasons. Often the question about

the motives of occasional consumption cannot be answered, respondents do not reflect this. Thus, CP concept is included in the life of working young people because of lack of awareness and personal immaturity.

The monitoring of the regions drug situation under the auspices of the state anti-drug Commission recorded a weakening of the former fear of drug addiction, as well as ideas about ways to prevent drug abuse. The latter include not sanctions against the addicts, but the sanctions against organized drug trafficking. Prevention is proposed to be organized not by agitation and intimidation, but by measures to develop leisure services and self-realization opportunities. In the public consciousness, the proposal is articulated to act not as a counterbalance to socially unapproachable behavior (the fight against drugs), but to develop alternatives, supportive factors – sports, active participation in actions (volunteering of all kinds, leisure skills, cultural tourism, family values, etc.).

CP phenomenon, which arose in the drug environment under the influence of circumstances, raises the question of the need to develop individual supporting resources, protective environmental factors in adapting to external challenges. In this context, we can consider the usage of "new drugs" in some groups of young people as a search for means to copy with personal difficulties, as indicated by the data on the group of high-risk consumers. Self-destructive behavior (poisoning, psychosis, deaths) in the case of narkotization or suicide indicates a failure to use a narrow set of personal resources without reference to the social environment: despair plus helplessness plus impatience, the search for the "Golden key" to any problem.

The need of large groups of individuals for external resources to overcome difficult life situations is stated in the scientific literature in connection with the concepts of risk, "drunk society" (Rauschgesellschaft), personal vulnerability, population vitality, social exclusion, etc.

CP in its sociological context is supported by special rules and rituals under the influence of the environment. External environmental pressure is manifested in the forms of social control (pressure of the law and law enforcement agencies, society awareness, the attitudes of the immediate environment), as well as in adapting of consumers to the environment (avoiding overdoses, making meetings, accompanying beginners and sharing experience of injections and about unusual sensations, etc.) and "clean" population habits (quality of life, coping strategies, etc.). Using a virtual information environment, the majority of the country's population is exposed to two drug regulations at the same time. In the real world the norm of "purity", refusal of any intoxicating trials is declared. In the media, works of art, the sphere of show business and virtual communication there is a "conditional" social norm, which was mentioned above: the state should prohibit drugs, but the violation of the norm should not be severely punished if/when ... Such conditional assumptions are many: trials, episodic consumption without dependence, consumption of "light" drugs, no damage to relatives and other arguments akin to legalization. Against the background of the mismatch between the institutional norm, with which the vast majority of

citizens agree, and the informal tolerance towards "integrated" ("controlling") drug users, the CP construct is manifested in its destructive quality. The phenomenon of CP, limited by the scope of drug communities, serves as a means of individual adaptation to social circumstances, and virtual/online communities help to share positive experiences, get advice, help to restore self-esteem, spread the practice of deterrence, CP inspire hope for a safe way out of addiction by analogy with groups of Anonymous alcoholics. The issues related to the study of CP are of particular relevance in drug situation research in the country and the spread of "new drugs" in the world, which – according to available data – do not yet cause rapid physical dependence, although their long-term consequences are not known due to novelty. In our view, "controlling consumption" - a construct proposed as a euphemism for "moderate consumption" – becomes a phenomenon for a certain group of drug users in accordance with the well-known "U. Thomas theorem": "a situation defined by people as real, becomes real in its consequences". But in connection with "new drugs" it may be destructive.

"Controlling consumption" is the motto of individual responsibility. A few years ago, a Dutch researcher Peter Cohen based on his data claimed that the consumption of marijuana in the country (Holland!) can be reduced by placing the responsibility for the consequences of the abuse of this "light" drug on the shoulders of the individual, removing it from the state and society. In this context, a controlled substance consumption constitutes, in our opinion, a halfway measure on the way to the legalization of drug consumption in the country. Opinions of this kind are found in our surveys of the population: "This is my business...", "I decide myself...", "If he wants...". Although it is obvious that the drug addict uses external resources, without which it is difficult for him to exist. He needs to be treated, to rehabilitate. Phenomenon and construct of CP is implemented mainly by those individuals who are "tired of fighting for survival" and for whom the refusal of the drug is his goal. In society, the coincidence of individual responsibilities does not cover the responsibility of the state and social institutions. The "integrated" consumer tries to reduce the intensity of his / her own social exclusion. Adaptation is the matter.

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*Sergey P. Zhdanov*

## **The Debate on the Legal Status of Forensic Medicine Doctor-Specialist in Criminal Proceedings**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article under consideration highlights the results of the author's survey among the representatives of the state forensic expert institutions, in particular the State Healthcare Institution "Lipetsk regional office of the Chief Medical Examiner," the State Healthcare Institution "Nizhniy Novgorod regional office of the Chief Medical Examiner", Budgetary Healthcare Institution "Omsk regional office of the Chief Medical Examiner", the State Budgetary Healthcare Institution "Moscow regional office of the Chief Medical Examiner", the State Public Healthcare Institution "Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous district office of the Chief Medical Examiner" and others, concerning the legal status of a forensic medicine specialist in the criminal proceedings. Moreover the article gives a conclusion on the issue of the necessity of the Federal law "On activities of specialist in the Russian Federation" adoption.

**Keywords:** doctor; Russian State forensic medical expert institutions; specialist; special knowledge; special cognition; expert

Nowadays, the bodies of preliminary investigation commonly involve the State Forensic Institutions experts from the Russian Federation Ministry of Health in order to implement the instructions of criminal processual regulations on such investigative actions as view of a corpse, exhumation and survey (articles 178, 179 of the Russian Federation code of Criminal procedure). Thus they perform not as experts, but as specialists in forensic medicine [Matyshev, p. 311].

In the vast majority of cases, a specialist doctor is involved in the investigation of crimes against life and health, sexual immunity, sexual freedom of the person - so-called "criminal viruses", which are commonly understood as criminal attacks on human life or health.

For example, according to the State Budgetary Healthcare Institution "Sverdlovsk regional office of the Chief Medical Examiner", in 2014 in Sverdlovsk region the number of on-site visits of forensic medicine doctors-experts amounted to 3354 times; in 2013 — 3730; in 2012 — 3502; in 2011 — 3662; in 2010 — 3837 (the answer from 24.12.2015 № 01-07/280 to the S. Zhdanov's request). At the same time, there is a tendency in this region to decrease the number of such visits for the inspection of corpses, which is explained, fortunately, by a decrease in cases of violent death.

In practice, taking into account both - needs and peculiarities of legal regulation, there is a clear understanding of the distinction between the criminal procedure requirements for a doctor as an expert (forensic expert [Bastrykina] and a doctor as a specialist (medical specialist). However, this understanding does not solve the problem related to the legal status of a specialist



(medical specialist), while the forensic expert's activities and status are regulated by the Federal law of 31.05.2001 № 73-FZ "On State forensic activities in the Russian Federation" and the relevant procedural legislation of the Russian Federation.

As for the specialist issue, there is still an ongoing discussion about the use of "Rules of work of the specialist in forensic medicine at external examination of the corpse at the place of its discovery (incident)", approved by the Ministry of Health of the USSR of 27.02.1978, in particular about their actualization *Matyshev A.A.; Butovsky D. I.; Samusenko, S. S.; Paukov V. S., Zhivoderov N. N.; Bakulev A.N.* and specialist's legal status in general.

It is quite obvious that there are two ways to improve the legal framework for activities of a specialist as a participant in the process: either amending the existing legislation or adopting new ones. It seems to us, that for normative legal registration of differentiation of functions of the expert and the specialist, on the one hand, and to fill the gaps in legal regulation of activity and the status of the expert, on the other hand, the second option is more preferable. Which means, it is necessary to design and adopt the Federal law "On activity of the specialist in the Russian Federation" (further — the law on the specialist), which will conform to the relevant provisions of the operating criminal procedural and other domestic legislation of the Russian Federation.

The Federation Council Committee on constitutional legislation, legal and judicial questions, development of civil society and the State Duma Committee on civil, criminal, arbitration and procedural legislation, supported this suggestion and agreed it is necessary to improve the legislation, regulating the activity of the specialist [Zhdanov, 2014, pp. 121-123]. In this regard, special attention was paid to the study of the position of state forensic medical expert institutions staff and other persons interested.

Thus, I. A. Kupeeva, the Deputy Director of the medical education and human resources policy in healthcare Department of the Ministry of health of the Russian Federation noted that if necessary, the Ministry of health of Russia will consider its participation in the development of the law on the specialist within its competence (response from 01.08.2014 №16-5/3040507-4005 to Zhdanov's appeal).

A. V. Kovalev, the "Russian center of forensic medical examination" director, believes the solution to the problem of consideration and adoption of such a Law on specialist is vital, because of the lack of scientific research and development on the issue, (response 12.03.2015 №1181 to Zhdanov's request).

According to the head of the Lipetsk's State Healthcare Institution V. I. Perevezentsev, the participation of forensic experts in investigations as specialists (examination of the scene, crime re-enactment, exhumation of the corpse, etc.), is regulated by the code of criminal procedure quite



clearly, and it doesn't contain any legal conflicts both at the out-of- and at the interdepartmental levels (the response 04.08.2014 № 01-09/1056 to Zhdanov's appeal).

On the contrary, the head of the State Healthcare Institution "Nizhny Novgorod's regional office of the Chief Medical examiner" N. Edelev considers the development and adoption of the law on the specialist as expedient and burning issue (in his response 04.07.2014 № 1114 to Zhdanov). The head of the "Omsk regional office of the Chief Medical examiner" Y. I. Palchikov is against the adoption of the Law on specialist, and grounds his position on the fact that the law under the rule of procedural law will only have an explanatory character and there is no use to implement it without changing the foundational principles of specialist's functions assigned in procedure Codes. This institution considers it more expedient to make some appropriate amendments to the procedural legislation of the Russian Federation, in which it is necessary to consolidate (or add) the place of a specialist in a particular process, his legal status and specific opportunities and boundaries of activities also in terms of assistance to the parties and the courts (response from 08.07.2014 № 01-11/445 to the appeal of Zhdanov). Meanwhile, the head of the "Moscow regional office of the Chief Medical examiner" V. A. Klevno comes to the conclusion that the adoption of the Law on specialist will make it easier to clearly delineate the activities of the expert and specialist in criminal, civil and administrative proceedings (response 07.07.2014 № 732 to the appeal of Zhdanov).

In turn, the acting chief doctor at the "Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug Chief medical examiner office" S. V. Pyatchuk takes into account the fact that in the legislation of the Russian Federation there are many disputable and unresolved questions connected with specialists' activities, including forensic medicine, and adoption of the Law on specialist can help to solve many questions (the answer № 476 to Zhdanov).

Having summarized the approaches of various state forensic medical expert institutions, and compared them with the author's position, it seems relevant to offer the structure of the Federal law "On activity of the specialist in the Russian Federation" (see: Appendix 1) which was tested in the State Duma of Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation of the sixth convocation [Zhdanov S. P.: 2015, p.475-476].

### **Conclusion**

This research has shown that there are two ways to improve the legal framework for activity of a specialist as a participant in the process: either amending the legislative acts of the Russian Federation or the adoption of a new Federal law "On activities of specialist in the Russian Federation".

## **RUSSIAN FEDERATION FEDERAL LAW ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SPECIALIST IN RUSSIA**

This Federal law defines the legal basis, principles of activity of the specialist in the Russian Federation and the order of its implementation in constitutional, civil, administrative and criminal proceedings.

The participation of a specialist, taking into account the peculiarities of certain types of legal proceedings, is regulated by the relevant procedural legislation of the Russian Federation.

### **Chapter 1. GENERAL PROVISIONS**

Article 1. The basic concepts used in this Federal law

Article 2. The activities of the specialist

Article 3. The legal framework for the activities of the specialist

Article 4. The main task of forensic organizations

Article 5. The content of the specialist activity

Article 6. Principles of specialist's activity

Article 7. Legality in the implementation of the activities of a specialist

Article 8. Observance of rights, freedoms and legitimate interests of man and citizen, rights and legitimate interests of legal entities in the implementation of specialist activities

Article 9. Specialist independence

Article 10. ...

Article 11. Compliance with professional ethics of a specialist

Article 12. Forensic organizations

Article 13. Head of the forensic expert organization

Article 14. Specialist

Article 15. Professional and qualification requirements for a specialist

Article 16. The roster of experts

### **Chapter 2. DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF THE HEAD OF FORENSIC EXPERT ORGANIZATIONS (UNITS) AND EXPERTS**

Article 17. Duties of the head of the forensic organization (unit)

Article 18. Rights of the head of the forensic organization (unit)

Article 19. Responsibilities of a specialist

Article 20. Rights of a specialist

Article 21. ...

### **Chapter 3. THE PARTICIPATION AND CONCLUSION OF A SPECIALIST**

Article 22. Grounds for the participation of a specialist

Article 23. The presence of participants in the process with the participation of a specialist

Article 24. Expert opinion and its contents

### **Chapter 4. ENSURING ACTIVITIES OF JUDICIAL-EXPERT ORGANISATIONS (DIVISIONS)**

Article 25. Financial support for the activities of forensic organizations (divisions)

Article 26. ...

Article 27. Staffing activities of forensic organizations (divisions)

Article 28. ...

## **Chapter 5. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF THE ACTIVITY OF THE EXPERT**

Article 29. International cooperation in the field of specialist activities

Article 30. ...

## **Chapter 6. CONCLUSIVE PROVISIONS**

Article 31. Extension of this Federal law

Article 32. The entry into force of this Federal law

The President  
of the Russian Federation

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*Viktoria V. Bruno*

## Substance Use Among Adults

### ABSTRACT

The article is devoted to the adult category of drug users. Based on the materials of the online survey of the able-bodied population aged 18-60 years, devoted to the attitude of the population towards drugs and conducted in 2017 by a multi-stage quota sample (N=1506), the features of 2 age groups were analyzed: young adults (24-29 years) and more mature adults (30-39 years). A socio-demographic portrait of an adult episodic drug user is drawn up, such characteristics of respondents as value orientations, ways of leisure are considered. The prevalence of propensity to risk-taking behavior among adults and its relation to the search for sensations are described. The relationship between the propensity to risk-taking behavior and the prevalence of drug tests is analyzed. It is shown that the patterns of episodic drug use are quite common in society, and these adult drug users, having their own specific features, however, are fully integrated into the social environment, without forming a special subcultural group. They have not lost value-normative regulators of social behavior. However, episodic consumption of drugs is perceived by adult drug users as something acceptable that they can now afford, since already have a certain amount of resources, including financial, but not yet burdened with many obligations.

**Keywords:** deviant behavior; drug use; drugs; adults; adult population; value orientations; leisure; risky behavior; sensation-seeking

Drug use, drug addiction is usually considered as a problem of young people. Actually, when we talk about drug use, we often think about teenagers and youth: drug use is seen as part of growing up, it is assumed that drugs would eventually go back into the past as they grow older. According to the researches carried out by the Sector of Sociology of the deviant behavior and devoted to drug situation in Russia, the peak of substance use was in the late teenage (16-17 years) and early youth (18-20). In the older age groups there was a decrease in the number of drug consumers. As a person grows older, he or she acquires personal, family and social responsibilities, while the need for emotional stimulations and opportunities to use psychoactive substances generally decline, and the problems, health risks and negative consequences of drug use tend to increase.

The results of subsequent studies (project “The new drug situation in Russian Federation. The role of “controlled” drug use in the spread of psychoactive substances in different groups of society”, with the financial support of RFBR, grant №16-03-00616) have revealed some changes in drug situation: a slight decrease in drug use in youth and student groups (18-23 years) and a slight increase in the proportion of people with drug experience among 24-29 and 30-39 years old. The age of the first drug tests also shifted slightly from teenage (15-17 years) to youth, usually falling within the student period (18-20 years). Later familiarizing to substances seems less dangerous at first glance, but it carries significant risks. If the first drug tests at school age are

traditionally explained by teenage immaturity, weak preventive work at school and in the family, inability to refuse, lack of motivation for protest etc., then individuals aged 18-23 years and, and especially, 24-39 years, involve in drug use consciously.

The article is based on the online survey of the able-bodied population aged 18 to 60 years, devoted to the population's attitude to drugs and conducted in 2017 on a multistage quota sample in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kazan, Yekaterinburg, Omsk, Krasnodar, Perm, Kaliningrad, Syktyvkar, Tyumen, Chelyabinsk, Voronezh and Arkhangelsk (N = 1605). From the general data set, two age groups - 24-29 and 30-39 -year-olds, as the most “infected” with drugs were identified and analyzed. It should be noted that some increase in drug users in older age groups is observed not only in Russia, but also abroad. And, although this is slow, some studies have recorded such changes.

According to our data and the opinions of experts dealing with the problems of drug distribution and drug addiction, the drug market has switched its attention from underage drug users to a more mature, adult segment of the population. Having a certain financial status and financial independence, these people can take drugs for a long time, controlling their health, without seeking help from the narcological service. These adult drug users are a relatively stable target audience for producers of psychoactive substances and form a group of potential regular buyers. A characteristic feature of this group of drug users is the ability to mask consumption, that is why they rarely fall into the field of view of law enforcement agencies or doctors, forming the so-called “gray field” of drug users. There is little data on of early adulthood and adulthood drug users, and the situation with this group remains underestimated.

The objectives of the study were to describe the socio-demographic portrait of a drug user in early adult and mature age. Such characteristics of respondents as family and children, value orientations, leisure activity, readiness for risky actions, relation between risky behavior and drug use were considered in adult age groups.

Drug experience was noted by 17% among 18-23-year olds, 23% among-year olds, 27% among 30-39-year olds, 22% among 40-49-year olds and 13% in the group of respondents from 50 years and older. At the same time, the groups of 24-39 years old have the highest percentage of episodic and regular consumers, while in the age groups of 40 years and older the proportion of those who noted that they had had drug experience in the past is higher. It is important to emphasize that in mass surveys, we usually talk about relatively common, “normal” drug use, when in the overwhelming majority of cases, drug use is not hard. Basically, these are people who use drugs occasionally. About 10% noted that they use regularly. People with drug addicted are likely not to be among the respondents.

An open question about the first tests of psychoactive substances showed that the leader of starting drugs in all age groups are hemp derivatives. Herewith, if in 2013 only 2% of all drug consumers noted substances from the category of “new” as their first drug, then in 2016 and 2017 – every tenth. The expansion of the range of consumed substances occurred mainly in the group of 18-29 year olds. Traditionally, men report about their drug experience more often (29% of men and 17% of women among 24-29 year olds; 36% of men and 17,5% of women among 30-39 years). However, in the group of young people the difference is minimal (19% of men and 14% of women among 18-23 year olds).

### **Family and Children**

A comparison of respondents with and without drug experience has shown that in both groups non single persons predominated: 66% among drug users and 68% among respondents without drug experience are in a relationship in the age group of 24-29; 71% among drug users and 75% among respondents without drug experience have a relationship in the age group of 30- 39. However, drug users, in contrast to those who do not have a drug experience, prefer not to register the relationship officially: 33% of drug users against 17% of non-drug users among 24-29 year olds and 21% against 13% among 30- 39 years old.

Both respondents with and without drug experience have children equally: among age group 24-29 – 30% of drug users and 40% of non-drug users have children; in the age group of 30-39 – 70% of respondents both with drug experience and without it have children, however, non-drug users are more likely to report having more than one child (4% versus 1% among drug users).

It should be noted that similar results were obtained in previous studies in 2013 and 2016. At first glance, weak influence of the family factor on drug use can be explained, on the one hand, by the fact that situational, episodic consumers are not yet in the stage of serious drug addiction, they are socially preserved and integrated into society. On the other hand, the choice in favor of free relations among drug users may indicate both a lack of desire or ability to take serious obligations, and about the quality of the relationship itself: satisfaction with marriage, the character of conjugal communication, the level of trust between partners, the stability of the union, etc., which requires further research.

### **Job and education**

The majority of drug users aged 24-39 are working people: about 80% in both age groups note that they work full time. Professional and educational status influences substance use: among workers and respondents with secondary special education, the proportion of drug users is slightly higher (32% and 27%, respectively) than among ordinary employees (19%), professionals with



higher education, but without subordinates (20%), heads of departments (21%), as well as respondents with higher education (19%) or academic degree (18%). However, among respondents with high professional status – top managers, businessmen – the share of respondents with drug experience is quite high – 23%. At the same time, both among workers and heads of enterprises 5% noted that they used drugs regularly, while in other professional groups the percentage of regular users varies from 0,5 to 2%. It should be noted that respondents with and without drug experience note high job satisfaction: among young adults (24-29) about 50% noted that they loved their work, and every third worked only for money. Drug users of 30-39-year olds work for money, without much pleasure, a little more often than respondents without drug experience (29% vs. 25%) and work just to occupy themselves with something (7% vs. 3%).

To analyze the role of income in drug using, the selected category of respondents aged 24- 39 was divided into 4 groups according to their financial status: “poor”, “needy”, “middle-income” and “rich”. The division was carried out according to the respondents' assessments of their living standards. The first group included respondents who indicated that they didn't always have enough money for food, as well as those who noted that there was enough money for food, but buying clothes was already problematic. “Needy” respondents noted that was difficult for them to purchase durable goods (refrigerator, TV, etc.). Home appliances are available for middle-income respondents, but buying a car is not possible. Since the proportion of people with high incomes was small, the group of “rich” included 2 categories of respondents – with higher than average income and high incomes, who can afford everything but buying an apartment or a cottage and who can afford everything, including an apartment and a cottage. Some differences were identified. In the group of 24-39-year olds adults with the lowest income (“poor”) the percentage of drug users is the lowest (17%), the highest percentage of drug users - in the group of “needy” and “rich” (26%). There are 24% of drug users in the group with an average income

Similar results were obtained in a study in 2016: the proportion of people with drug experience was the highest in the “rich” group – 30% and the “needy” – 28%, and slightly lower in “poor” and “middle-income” groups (25%). A more detailed analysis of the relationship between income and the frequency of psychoactive substances use showed that individuals who classified themselves according to socio-economic indicators to groups with “incomes above average” and “rich”, as well as full-time employees with high professional status were not disposed to intensive, frequent use of drugs. Situational drug use, episodic tests with psychoactive substances are widespread in this group. The conscious motive of substance use, which has a certain function, is expressed more clearly. For example, to improve the state of health, relaxation, and the so-called “expansion of consciousness”. Lower income and low professional status, part-time employment correlates with more frequent use of drugs. The motives for consumption in this



group are more related with the satisfaction of the need for new sensations, increase of efficiency (for men) and improving mood (for women).

Obtained data show that drugs are gradually becoming an integral part of life today. Since the beginning of the “drug boom” in the 1990s and up to the present time there has been a gradual process of legitimization of drugs. If earlier addictive behavior and the problem of drugs were considered mainly in connection with the problems of marginality and marginalization, in recent years, drug use has lost its marginal status, ceasing to be an attribute of certain subcultures. The number of law-abiding consumers of various substances that were not previously included in the so-called risk group has significantly increased. For example, many new patterns of drug consumption have become characteristic of socially successful strata, the middle class.

### **Value orientations**

Traditionally, drug users are considered to form a specific social group, with its inherent structure and hierarchy of values, the specifics of relationships and relations with society. Drug use is often a reflexive resistance to dominant social values, cultural practices, ideological and material conditions of life. Drug use is branded as anti-social behavior that opposes itself to society, drug users are nonconformists, demonstrating by their consumption “a challenge to public tastes”. With the deepening of drug use, drug addiction the more significant changes occur in the hierarchy of values and the more significant personal deformation appears. In our sample, the main contingent of drug users is episodic or situational consumers. And there is a small percentage of regular drug consumers, without formed dependence.

Comparison of value orientations among respondents with and without drug experience revealed that there were some differences between groups, but they were insignificant. The study showed that the most significant values of episodic drug users are traditional: family, financial resources and health. At the same time, in the group of young adults (24-29 years) health takes the first place (76% among drug users and 77% among non-drug users). In the group of 30-39 year olds the first significant value is family (75% among drug users and 84% among non-drug users). It is important to note that despite the fact that the family is among the top three significant values, it is significantly behind the value of health in the group of 24-29 year olds, and the proportion of those who choose the family as a significant value is lower among drug users at each age group.

For young adults (24-29 years old), both drug users and non-drug users significant values are having good loyal friends (38% and 36% respectively), interesting work, professional self-realization (37% and 38%), self-development, realization of opportunities, creativity (36% and 34%), love, spiritual and physical intimacy with a loved one (34% and 39%). In the group of older adults (30-39), drug users are somewhat more focused on friendship and professional self –

realization, and respondents who have no drug experience – on self-development and creativity and love with a loved one.

In general, with a similar structure of values, respondents with drug experience in both age groups have a stronger desire for personal comfort and pleasure (33% among 24-29 year olds, 29% among 30-39 year olds), as well as for freedom and independence (24% among 24-29 year olds, 30% among 30-39 year olds). The share of respondents without drug experience, who noted the importance of comfort, pleasure, in both age groups is lower – 20%. Freedom and independence were noted only by 16% in the group of 24-29 year olds, and 18% among 30-39 year olds. Also, rich sexual experience and a rich sex life are higher in both age groups among drug users (10% versus 3% of non-drug users). It should be noted that the meaning of a particular value could express not only its importance, but also a certain scarcity of the resource, in other words that this value has not yet been achieved, is not realized by a person today.

Thus, the study showed, although episodic use of drugs had some influence on the way of life of respondents, determining their lifestyle, but this group had not lost the value-normative regulators of social behavior. Drug consumers are completely integrated into the social environment, and do not form a special subcultural group.

## **Leisure**

The analysis of leisure activities in the group of drug users and non-drug users revealed some differences, but they manifest themselves variously in each age groups. Young adults (24-29 years) drug users and non-drug users are active users of the Internet and social networks (84% and 85% respectively), prefer to watch movies and videos online or through computer (74% and 70%), listen to music (61% and 62%) and spend time with a loved one (67% and 68%) and friends (53% and 50%). In other respects, young adult drug users, unlike respondents without drug experience, prefer active and entertaining leisure time to a greater extent.

Among young adult (24-29) drug users, there are more people who go to visit (49% versus 40% who do not have a drug experience), actively go in for sports (44% vs. 34%, respectively), play computer games (38% vs. 30%), engaged in active recreation, tourism, travel (28% vs. 15%), goes to the country, nature, picnics (25% vs. 22%). Apparently, active rest can be combined with taking alcohol: every third drug user noted that prefers to relax and rest with alcohol (against 15% of those who do not have drug experience). A significant proportion of drug users prefer to sleep as a rest (42% against 30% without drug experience).

Unlike drug users, young adults without drug experience spend more time in household chores, with family and children (63% vs. 50% of drug users), prefer walking around the city or

in the park (50% vs. 45%). The proportion of those who spend leisure time doing their favorite things, hobbies (45% vs. 39%) and watching TV (41% vs. 34%) is higher among non-drug users.

With age (30-39 years old), physical entertainment activity decreases slightly in both groups (drug users and non-drug users), but among drug users passive and entertaining leisure begins to predominate, and active leisure loses its position – it begins to be more often chosen by non-drug users. Among the older adult respondents (30-39) without a drug experience, active Internet users, fans of watching videos and movies on the Internet, watching TV, playing computer games with age, becomes slightly less, and among drug users, their share, on the contrary, increases slightly and begins to exceed the share of those who do not have drug experience. For example, 90% of older adult drug users and 75% of respondents without drug experience spend time on the Internet, 77% of drug users watch movies and videos online and 58% of non-drug users, 42% of drug consumers play computer and electronic games against 28% of non-drug users, prefer to watch TV, TV shows – 55% of drug users and 44% of non-drug users.

Also, like the younger ones, 30-39 year olds without drug experience often spend more time with family and children (72% versus 62% drug users) and devote time to creativity and Hobbies (40% vs. 33% with drug experience). However, in contrast to younger groups, older adults without drug experience are more likely to choose active recreation (going outdoors and picnics 26% vs 19% among drug users; doing outdoor activities, travelling, tourism 20% of non-drug users and 16% among drug users). Also, respondents from the older adult group without drug experience prefer leisure activities that contribute in some way to the satisfaction of cognitive interests: they more often note that they read books, magazines (39% versus 33% among drug users) and receive additional education, improve their skills (14% against 5%). As in the younger group, adult drug users often relax with alcohol (27% vs. 15%). For adult respondents with drug experience, the most attractive are passive leisure activities associated with recreation, psychophysical and mental relief.

### **Risky behavior and use of psychoactive substances**

Traditionally, risky behavior is associated with teenage and youth. In adolescents, risk appetite rates are significantly higher than in adults. A number of studies indicate that drug use among adolescents is associated with various types of risk behavior. For example, participation in bullying and victimization of peers, risky sexual behavior, antisocial behavior and delinquency, various self-harms of non-suicidal nature, etc. Moreover, an increased risk appetite usually manifests itself not in one kind of behavior, but in several at the same time. Many types of risk behavior are correlated with each other, occurring in the same individuals. that is, negative trends are clustered. The foregoing served as the basis for characterizing this behavioral pattern as a

“teenagers’ risky behavior syndrome”. These manifestations are of a complex biopsychosocial nature and are influenced in their genesis by both genes and environment.

With age, the level of risk appetite usually decreases, but it can remain still high in young adulthood, and the grounds for risky behavior will be different in this age group. The period of 24- 29 years – the completion time of higher education institutions, job search and active entry into professional activity. Admission to adulthood is a period when a person largely focuses on himself for the sake of achieving goals, and the importance of social control is reduced at the same time. In this age period, young independently make decisions in a variety of areas of life and are able to solve emerging problems. Risky behavior is perceived by young adults as something acceptable that they can now afford: they already have a certain amount of resources, including financial, but are not yet burdened with many obligations. In this way, young adults perceive the freedom to do many things that may become unacceptable when entering an older age.

On the other hand, this period is associated with a certain instability: a possible change of place of residence, difficulties in finding a job, marrying or changing a partner, difficulties in personal relationships, the birth of a child, obtaining additional education – all these can lead to anxiety, which, in turn, can provoke various forms of risky behavior. Formally, becoming adults, they may not necessarily feel grown-up or feel themselves adherents of the standards of adult behavior or the level of responsibility of adults.

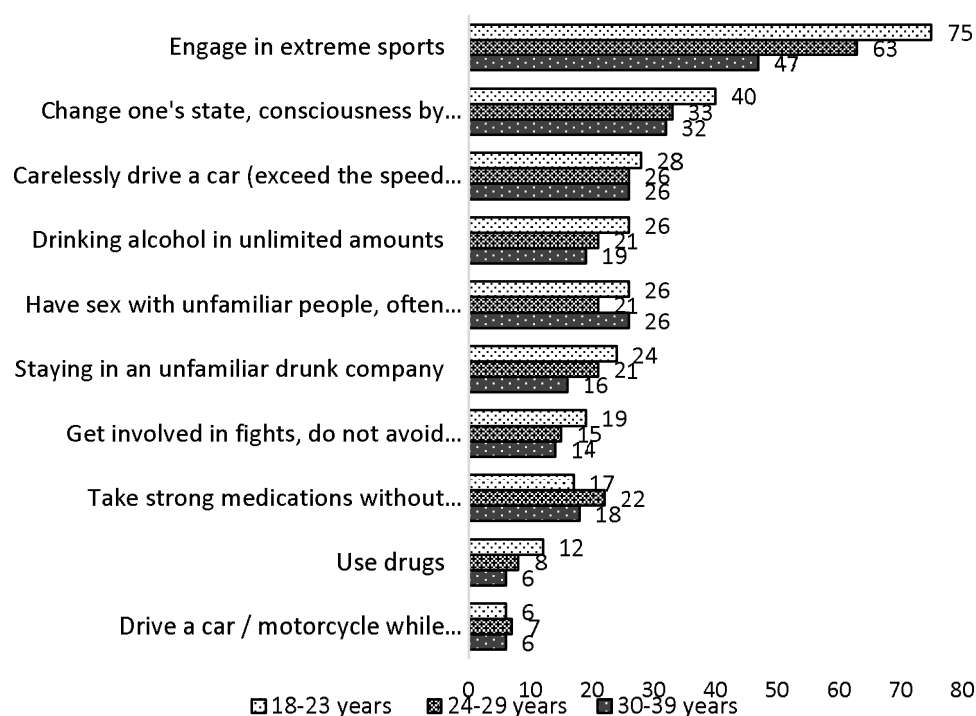
The results of the study showed that, according to the self-assessments, a significant proportion of adult respondents consider themselves to be risky people, although in the older age group there are fewer (41% among 24-29 years and 32% among 30-39 years). The proportion of respondents who noted that they were willing to take risks for the sake of new sensations, new experiences was also high (67% among 24-29 and 60% among 30-39-year-olds). However, when answering the question: “What is more important for you: safety or the opportunity to experience new sensations” most adults still choose safety (61% among 24-29 years and 72% among 30-39 years). The choice in favor of new sensations was made by 22% of 24-29 years and only 14% of 30-39 year olds. For comparison, in more youth age group, the choice of new sensations is much higher – 30% of University students aged 18-23 years and 40% of college students aged 15-21 years.

With age, the need for new sensations decreases. 40% of 18-23 year olds, 33% of 24-29 year olds and 31% of 30-39 year olds consider for themselves it normal (noted the variants “it’s normal for me” and “it’s risky, but the risk is fully justified”) to change their state of consciousness by various means. This need for sensation is seen in more detail in the analysis of the answers to the question of willingness to take an unknown substance with certain purpose (Table 1).

**Table 1: The willingness to use an unknown substance for a specific purpose depending on the age, % of respondents in each age group**

Purposes of the potential drug use	18-23 years	24-29 years	30-39 years
To relieve stress	26	14	14
To improve productivity	24	15	14
To overcome fatigue	24	12	12
To improve state of health	23	15	13
To improve mood	22	11	14
To expand consciousness	18	9	9

As can be seen from the table, after 23 years, the readiness to use an unknown substance is sharply decreases, and remains approximately at the same level up to 39 years. After 39 years, the indicators continue to decline smoothly. The proportion of those who indicated that they do things that they consider too risky is also slightly higher in the group of 18-23 year olds – 32%, among 24-29 year olds – 28% and 24% among 30-39 year olds. Comparison of specific manifestations of risk-taking behavior in different age groups showed that the greatest differences related to extreme sports and the need to change their state of consciousness – these indicators are the highest in the group of 18-23 years, and with age decreased. Less significant, but noticeable differences relate to the admissibility for themselves to use psychoactive substances (alcohol and drugs) and to stay in an unfamiliar drunk company. For the rest indicators, the differences are insignificant (Figure 1).



**Fig. 1: Distribution of answers to the question: “Which of the following actions do you consider normal for yourself?” in different age groups (% of the respondents in each group), multiple responses were possible.**

The study showed that respondents with drug experience were more risky than non-drug users. For example, among 24-29 years old drug users 60% of respondents said they were risky,

and among those who do not use drugs – 32%. In the older group (30-39) 32% of the drug users and 30% of non-drug users admitted to a propensity for risk. High willingness of respondents to take risks for the sake of new emotions, feelings, new exciting experience cause concern. The vast majority of 24-29 year olds with drug experience (86%) are ready to take risks for the sake of getting unusual sensations. However, the percentage of non-drug users willing to take risks for the sake of gaining new emotions is also high – 62%. In the older group (30-39), the numbers are slightly lower, but still significant: 68% of drug users and 57% of non-drug users are willing to risk for new sensations and sensations.

The thirst for new emotions and sensations is clearly visible when analyzing the answer to the question: “What is more important for you: safety or the opportunity to experience new sensations?” Among 24-29 year olds, 33% of respondents with drug experience and 19% without drug experience make a choice in favor of new sensations. Among more mature respondents, there are practically no differences between drug consumers and non-drug consumers: 13% of drug users and 15% of non-drug users make a choice in favor of new sensations, and the majority – 69% with a drug experience and 73% without drug experience choose safety.

The need for new or unusual sensations provokes a willingness to experiment with one's own state of consciousness. Thus, among drug users in both age groups, the willingness to take an unknown substance with a specific goal is 2.5-3 times higher than among respondents without a drug experience. In the age group of 24-29 year olds, 29% of respondents agree to improve their mood with the help of an unknown substance (among non – users 11%), to relieve stress, improve mood, increase productivity – 25% (among non-users-12%), expand consciousness 24% (5% among non-users), overcome fatigue 20% (10% among non-users). More adult drug users (30-39) are ready to improve their mood – 30% (and only 8% of non-drug users), to relieve stress – 29% (and 9% of non-drug users), to increase productivity – 26% (10% among those who do not use substances), overcome fatigue – 23% (8% among non-drug users) and 20% want to improve the state of health (10% of non-drug users).

The answers to the question about specific manifestations of risk-taking behavior allow us to assert that the propensity to risk-taking is one of the key factors affecting drug behavior. As in the case of adolescents and youth, risky adults can be characterized by a whole “complex” of interconnected risky activities. For example, young adult drug users (24-29) are characterized by the need for thrill: 83% find it normal and justified to engage in extreme sports, and 48% noted that it was normal for them to change their state of consciousness by various means. The connection of drug addiction with alcoholization is confirmed: 40% of drug users consider it normal to drink alcohol in unlimited quantities, and another 34% – to remain in an unfamiliar drunk company. For 46% of young drug users, alcohol is a sure way to relieve stress and overcome



bad mood, in the older group, even more - 51%. Among those who do not have drug experience, 27% of young adults and 22% of mature adults resort to alcohol in difficult situations. In the group of young adult drug users, a high proportion of respondents noted that it was normal for them to engage in risky sex: 36% noted that it was normal for them to change sexual partners and had sex with unfamiliar people (table. 2).

**Table 2: Distribution of answers to the question: “Which of the following actions do you consider normal for yourself?” among adults with and without drug experience, (% of the respondents in each group)**

Risky activities	24-29 years old		30-39 years old	
	Have drug experience	Don't have drug experience	Have drug experience	Don't have drug experience
<b>Engage in extreme sports</b>	83	57	60	43
<b>Change one's state, consciousness by various means</b>	48	30	42	28
<b>Drinking alcohol in unlimited amounts</b>	40	16	33	15
<b>Carelessly drive a car (exceed the speed limit, arrange a race)</b>	36	23	31	24
<b>Have sex with unfamiliar people, often change sexual partners</b>	36	17,5	44	20
<b>Take strong medications without doctor's advice</b>	35	18	22	17
<b>Staying in an unfamiliar drunk company</b>	34	18	27	12
<b>Get involved in fights, do not avoid situations in which physical violence is possible</b>	29	10	15	12
<b>Use drugs</b>	18	6	15	2
<b>Drive a car / motorcycle while intoxicated or after using drugs</b>	12	7	6	5

## Conclusions

The study showed that the patterns of episodic drug use were quite common in society in different age groups. Adult episodic drug users, having their own specific features, however, are fully integrated into the social environment and do not form a special subcultural group. Adult episodic consumers are largely focused on family, work and a healthy lifestyle, they are socially safe: have a job and are satisfied with it, have a relationship, children. Some drug users can be attributed to low-income strata, however, a significant proportion of adult episodic consumers is quite successful, with a high professional, educational and financial status. The analysis of leisure, value orientations and propensity to risky actions among drug users shows that, despite the social safety, drug testing is associated with negative influence on the quality of life: drug consumers are prone to risky sexual behavior, and have a higher level of alcoholization. Young adult consumers



(24-29 years old) live a bright and rich life, we can say that they live “with taste”: they love freedom and independence, tend to travel, show sexual activity and “take everything from life”. However, drug users in the older age group (30-39 years old) lose their “grip” and, unlike younger drug users, as well as respondents without drug experience, become even more passive, noting the increased need for stress reduction and mood improvement. In general, episodic adult consumers today have not lost the value-normative regulators of social behavior. However, the risk lies in the fact that adults take drugs as something acceptable that they can now afford, because they already have a certain amount of resources, including financial, but some are not yet burdened with many obligations. New patterns of consumption can have more serious social consequences for society, provoking a splash of narcotization beyond the previously affected risk groups.

*Albina M. Kiseleva*

## **The Impact of Migration Trends on Sustainable Development of the Region ( on Materials of Omsk Region)**

### **ABSTRACT**

The questions of dependence of social and economic development of the Omsk region, being a region of dispossession, on the state of youth migration processes are raised. Data on statistics of migration processes and some results of a study of the migration situation conducted in 2016-2017 in the region are presented. Statistics show the growing negative balance of the region, which is the result of migration loss. The causes of unfavorable migration trends are concentrated in the current conditions of life and the possibility of good employment.

**Keywords:** migration; youth; migration processes; migration trend; sustainable development of the region; migration flow

The migration topic is now becoming more and more important, because today the migration processes are a reflection of the existing system economic, social and political contradictions in society.

From the perspective of the latest economic reforms, youth migration is becoming a separate problem vector, which is the most important factor in shaping the working-age population, while at the same time having a significant impact on the supply and demand of labor in the regional labor market and the process of reproduction of labor resources in any region. This, in turn, forms the conditions for ensuring sustainable economic growth of the region and the social development of the territory, as well as the communities living on it. The boundaries of the region as the territory of settlement and the application of labor efforts are strictly regulated, which makes it impossible to take into account all socio-economic relations, including those that partially overlap the territory. At the same time, labor movement in the region allows young people to receive primary individual professional experience, which contributes to the formation of a culture of business communications, practice of building relationships with social and economic institutions and authorities. Reproductive processes in the structural and functional basis of the regional system determine the system of values and motives for the behavior of youth representatives, their ideological attitudes and social interaction in various spheres.

This analytical review of the problem of migration trends is presented on the materials of the Omsk region with special attention to the youth vector. The development of migration processes occurring on the territory of the Omsk region reflects all-Russian trends, characterized by a population migration loss, including the category of youth.

Legislative and legal support for current regional migration processes began since the signing in 2013 of the Decree of the Governor of the Omsk Region “On the approval of the concept of development of relations in the sphere of labor and employment of the population of the Omsk region until 2020”. This document is related to the implementation of the Strategy for the Social and Economic Development of the Omsk Region until 2025, and concerns ensuring the formation, rational distribution and efficient use of the region's labor resources, creating conditions for effective employment, improving the standard of living, preserving the life and health of the population of the region in the work process [Ukaz gubernatora Omskoj oblasti ot 30.08.2013 N 121a]. In 2014, the Government of the Omsk region approved a long-term target program of the Omsk region “Support to the voluntary resettlement of compatriots living in Omsk region for the period 2014 – 2017”.

In view of the emerging migration situation, the Omsk region is a region of departure, which is especially important for the problem of youth migration. Since 2011 on the territory of the region, there is a gradual decrease in the population, in the greater part of the able-bodied age. Omsk region is a part of the Siberian Federal District, and the comparative indicators of migratory flows of departure and invasion of this district in the context of other federal districts are shown in the table 1.

**Table 1: Siberian Federal District as a district of departure and invasion (internal migration, people)[Vnutrirossijskaya migraciya po territoriyam pribytiya i vybytiya]**

Federal District of Invasion							
CFO	SZFO	YUFO	SKFO	PFO	UFO	SFO	DFO
2010							
<b>20945</b>	7510	9963	2390	7958	10413	282602	6626
2011							
<b>26845</b>	12572	17363	3087	10812	19219	425897	12587
2012							
<b>34013</b>	15280	19307	3991	12542	22201	483189	15181
2013							
<b>37370</b>	19484	24063	4645	12923	21489	497538	15698
2014							
<b>36206</b>	20820	23167	4938	12996	20413	477235	15426
2015							
<b>37950</b>	21874	24704	4395	12184	19459	481419	16014
2016							
<b>35795</b>	22350	26187	4237	12040	20452	474644	17176

Migration increase/decrease of the able-bodied population of the region is provided by various territorial movements: international migration; interregional migration; intraregional migration (table2).

**Table 2: General results of migration of the population of the Omsk region for 2014-2016 years (people) (compiled on: [Territorial body of the Federal Service of State Statistics for the Omsk Region])**

	Arrived in the region		Departed from the region		Migration increase/decrease(-)	
	2015	2016	2015	2016	2015	2016
<b>All migration</b>	58165	55095	59965	61037	-1800	-5942
<i>out of it:</i>						
<b>Within Russia</b>	47664	45600	55685	55792	-8021	-10192
<i>including:</i>						
<b>intraregional</b>	31104	29525	31104	29525	-	-
<b>interregional</b>	16560	16075	24581	26267	-8021	-10192
<b>international</b>	10501	9495	4280	5245	6221	4250
<i>including:</i>						
<b>with CIS countries</b>	9536	8669	3342	4237	6194	4432
<b>with other foreign countries</b>	965	826	938	1008	27	-182
<b>External (for the region) migration</b>	27061	25570	28861	31512	-1800	-5942

According to the Territorial Service of Statistics for the Omsk Region, from January to October 2017, 53,406 people left the region, while 44,558 arrived, which ultimately amounted to a negative balance of 8,848 people. At the same time, during the same period in 2016, 51,427 people from the Omsk Region were deported, and 46,779 people arrived, and the migration loss was 4648 people, which is almost half the result of 2017. In general, for the entire 2016, the migration loss of the population was 5,442 people, an increase of 3.3 times compared to 2015 (1.8 thousand people). In 2017 the population decline was already 9 853 people, having increased by 1.7 times (-5.9 thousand people) in comparison with 2016. During this year, the number of arrivals to Omsk region for permanent residence in 2017 decreased by almost 1.8 % (or 1013 people) compared to 2016, and the number of departures from the region increased by 4.7 % (or 2898 people) [Territorial body of the Federal Service of State Statistics for the Omsk Region]. And in January-March 2018 the outflow of the population from the region amounted to approximately 2,200 people: in three months, 5400 people arrived in the region, and 7,600 people were deported.

In the municipal districts of the region, the migration loss in 2016 also reflects a trend towards an increase: 4972 people against 4012 people in 2015. In 2017, the migration situation illustrates the outflow of the population, which has decreased slightly: from -4972 people in 2016 to -4361 people in 2017. The migration increase for 2015 was present in the Azovsky, Kormilovsky, Marjanovsky, Odessky, Omsky, Russian-Polyansky municipal districts of the region. And in 2016 - only in the Azovsky and Kormilovsky municipal districts of the region. In Omsk itself, in 2016, there was a negative migration balance: -970 people, whereas in 2015 there was a migration increase of +2,212 people. In 2017, migration growth was noted already in the

Gorkovsky, Omsky and Sargatsky municipal districts, in the remaining areas the number of dropouts exceeded the number of arrivals [Dannye Ministerstva truda i social'nogo razvitiya Omskoj oblasti].

Gradually there is a growing trend of out-migration from the city of Omsk. In 2016, for the first time in the last 6 years, the migration center recorded a negative balance of migration: Omsk left for 970 people more than has arrived. Although data on the city for 2015 indicate a migration increase of 2,122 people [Dannye Ministerstva truda i social'nogo razvitiya Omskoj oblasti]. According to the results already 2017, the migration balance for Omsk was -5492 people, an increase of 3.7 times compared with 2016: -1498 people. In general, the migration balance for the municipal districts of the Omsk region and Omsk for 2016 is presented in Table 3. On average in the Omsk region, this figure was -3.0 ppm.

**Table 3: Migration balance for municipal districts of the Omsk region (in ppm) [Demograficheskaya situatsiya v Omskoj oblasti za 2016 g]**

<b>Omsk</b>	<b>- 0,8</b>	<b>Lyubinsky</b>	<b>- 6,0</b>	<b>Poltavsky</b>	<b>- 13,2</b>
<b>Azovsky German National District</b>	1,5	Marjanovsky	- 1,0	Russian-Polyansky	- 2,5
<b>Bolsherechensky</b>	- 4,9	Moskalensky	- 1,4	Sargatsky	- 6,3
<b>Bolsoukovsky</b>	- 11,7	Muromtsevsky	- 8,5	Sedelnikovsky	- 6,0
<b>Gorkovsky</b>	- 3,5	Nazyvayevsky	- 10,6	Tavrichesky	- 8,2
<b>Znamensky</b>	- 2,1	Nizhneomsky	- 15,7	Tarsky	- 3,0
<b>Isilkulsky</b>	- 16,4	Novovarshevsky	- 5,6	Tevrizsky	- 6,0
<b>Kalachinsky</b>	- 0,9	Odessky	- 1,0	Tyukalinsky	- 12,5
<b>Kolosovsky</b>	- 9,3	Okoneshnikovsky	- 9,8	Ust-Ishimsky	- 16,4
<b>Kormilovsky</b>	1,5	Omsky	- 4,5	Cherlaksy	- 9,5
<b>Krutinsky</b>	- 7,5	Pavlogradsky	- 7,3	Sherbakulsky	- 11,4

In general, partial compensation of migration outflow from the Omsk region is due to international migration and the resettlement of compatriots to the territory of the region within the framework of the implementation in the region since 2009 State Program of the Omsk region "Support to the voluntary resettlement of compatriots residing abroad in the Omsk Region". The program is planned until 2020 and aims to improve the migration situation in the Omsk region and provide the economy of the Omsk region with labor resources [Postanovlenie Pravitel'stva Omskoj oblasti 09.10.2013 No.235-p]. In 2017, the share of resettled compatriots in the total number of migrants who arrived in the Omsk region amounted to 15.8%, while the largest proportion of compatriots, as always, are immigrants from the Republic of Kazakhstan: 91.7% of the number of arrivals (in 2016 – 90.1%). Other countries, of which compatriots return to the territory of the Omsk Region, are (in order of decreasing rating) the countries of the near abroad - Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Armenia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, etc.; among the far abroad countries dominated by Germany, China [Itogi raboty Ministerstva truda i social'nogo razvitiya Omskoj

oblastiz a 2016 god, Itogi raboty Ministerstvo truda isocial'nogo razvitiya Omskojoblasti za 2017 god]. As a rule, all participants in the program are of working age, of which more than half are young people under the age of 35 years. Also, the program participants have a fairly high level of education: 58% - higher education, 27% – secondary vocational [Dannye Ministerstva truda i social'nogo razvitiya Omskoj oblasti].

The current migration situation reflects a steady outflow of the able-bodied population. The main source of migration loss is interregional movements, which account for about 30% of total migration. In the same time, special attention is required by young people, which represents the basis of the region's human resources and is the most promising category of the population in terms of ensuring the effective functioning of the labor market and ensuring sustainable development of the territory in the long-term perspective. As a rule, the representatives of the younger generation aged 15 to 29 years have high migration mobility (Table 4). In general, as of January 1, 2017, the population of the Omsk region of working age was 579,198 men and 534,043 women, of which 421,842 and 403,416 were urban residents; rural population – 157,356 and 130,627 respectively. In 2016, the total migration loss of the able-bodied population in the region was – 4,325 people (in the SFO: -5,364 people) [Demograficheskie processy v Omskoj oblasti na fone regionov SFO].

**Table 4: Population distribution of Omsk region by sex and age groups (aged 15 to 39 years)**  
[Raspredelenie chislennosti naseleniya Omskoj oblasti po polu i vozrastnym gruppam]

Age	Total population, people		Urban population, people		Rural population, people	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
<b>Asof January 1, 2016</b>						
<b>15-19</b>	45661	43969	31263	30023	14398	13946
<b>20-24</b>	62264	59410	47263	45964	15001	13446
<b>25-29</b>	81773	82033	62986	66030	18787	16003
<b>30-34</b>	83504	84124	63831	65617	19673	18507
<b>35-39</b>	71493	75170	53151	56394	18342	18776
<b>Asof January 1, 2017</b>						
<b>15-19</b>	44098	42534	30544	29346	13554	13188
<b>20-24</b>	57899	54241	42370	40332	15529	13909
<b>25-29</b>	77794	78421	60801	64414	16993	14007
<b>30-34</b>	84867	84987	65110	66988	19757	17999
<b>35-39</b>	72272	75625	54098	57164	18174	18461

According to the dynamics of the two years presented in Table 4, it is possible to note that in the Omsk Region the absolute number of young people aged 15 to 29 is declining. This aspect is due to the fact that regional youth has the highest migration activity: the proportion of people in this age group in the total migration volume is more than 70%. The maximum number of movements was registered in 2015 for persons aged 18 to 39 (51.5% of all migrants)

[Territorial body of the Federal Service of State Statistics for the Omsk Region]. This is due to the fact that young people mainly come to the region for education. They are representatives of municipal districts of the Omsk region and some regions of Siberia and the Far North (Tyumen region, Khanty-Mansi Autonomous District, YaNAO, etc.). As a rule, after graduating, many graduates move to other, most developed regions. Interregional displacements are the main source of migration loss for young people and constitute about 30% of total migration. And since the population of this age group has the greatest social and economic potential, their outflow has a very negative impact on the sustainable development of the region. At the same time, migration growth of young people is ensured by 90% of the SNG countries, among which the largest share is made by citizens of Kazakhstan, which is due to the status of the Omsk region as a border region with the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The outflow of highly professional personnel is another problem of the migration policy of executive authorities of the Omsk region and raises significant concerns about the organizational and personnel balance of the regional labor market. The scale of this phenomenon is great and makes it necessary to talk about it as a serious existing shortcoming in ensuring the stability of the region's economy. The main reasons for the migration of highly professional personnel are due to the dissatisfaction of local workers with their position, low wages, limited career growth, i.e. not coincidence of the expectations of workers with reality. In the Omsk region come people with secondary general education: +183 people for 2016. At the same time for this period from the region has a migration outflow of persons with higher professional education (-2433 people) and secondary vocational education (-863 people). The data for the entire SFO reflect a similar trend: -11046 people (persons with higher professional education), -1923 people (persons with secondary vocational education), +2392 people with secondary general education [Demograficheskie processy v Omskoj oblasti na fone regionov SFO].

For the economy of the Omsk region, the educational level of the incoming population plays an important role. But, the region is more attractive for people who do not have the professional level necessary for the regional economy, and it is worth noting that the main percentage of such arrivals in the region falls on young people aged 16-30 years - 35.5% [Dannye Ministerstva truda i social'nogo razvitiya Omskoj oblasti].

From this point of view, the most acute problem for the region is the migration of university graduates: in 2016, out of 11,500 university graduates from the Omsk region, about 5,000 specialists left because they do not see any professional prospects for themselves in the region's economy. Thus, the proportion of graduates who leave is 42%, which, in turn, leads to a shortage of personnel in the region [Kiseleva, 2018, p.125]. The regional labor market becomes uncompetitive in comparison with other subjects of the Russian Federation, especially with



territories bordering to the region. It does not provide an opportunity for young people to find jobs that match their professional and career needs and salary requirements. Therefore, every year the scale of labor migration in the Omsk region increases and, unfortunately, gradually become a stable trend. In 2016, it was the labor migrants who accounted for the largest share of the population leaving the region: 7,595 people left the territory of the region, and 5,822 people belonging to the able-bodied population arrived. The balance of labor migration was 1773 people [Dannye Ministerstva truda i social'nogo razvitiya Omskoj oblasti].

According to the Concept of development of relations in the sphere of labor and employment of the population of the Omsk region until 2020, in the region have made a bet on the gradual replacement of the foreign labor force, attracted by the official way, in favor of unemployed citizens residing in the Omsk region, participants in the State program for the resettlement of compatriots, Russian citizens from other regions of the Russian Federation, graduates of universities and secondary vocational schools of the Omsk region and citizens who have been trained and retrained in employment centers [Ukaz gubernatora Omskoj oblasti ot 30.08.2013 N 121]. But according to the monitoring data of the Ministry of Labor and Employment of the Omsk region, there is still an increase in the number of this category of workers: 20,1 thousand people in 2015, 21,0 thousand people in 2016, 21,9 thousand people in 2017, 22,8 thousand people in 2018. [Itogi raboty Ministerstva truda i social'nogo razvitiya Omskoj oblasti za 2016 god, Itogi raboty Ministerstva truda i social'nogo razvitiya Omskoj oblasti za 2017 god]. These figures do not make it possible to conclusion about the real implementation of the provisions of the Concept and the effectiveness of the activities of the migration policy of the region. Partially this situation justifies the forecast of the expected shortage of labor resources in the region. The trend of development of labor resources and the regional labor market by 2019 as compared to 2015 is presented in Table 5.

**Table 5: Forecast of labor resources balance in the Omsk Region in 2019 (compared to 2015)**  
[Dannye Ministerstva truda i social'nogo razvitiya Omskoj oblasti]

<b>Increase in the number...</b>	<b>Decrease in the number...</b>
<b>working citizens who are beyond the working age: up to 113.4 thousand people (by 13.6%)</b>	labor resources: up to 1,189.9 thousand people (by 1.7%)
<b>employed: up to 943.0 thousand people (by 0.2 %)</b>	able-bodied population at working age: up to 1 058.1 thousand people (by 3.1%)
	population not employed in the economy: up to 255,900 people (by 5.0%)
	students of working age, studying with a break from work: up to 77,3 thousand people (by 12,1%)

At present, the process of interaction between employers and educational institutions in order to prepare future specialists loyal to the region and ensuring the filling of the regional labor

market should be identified as an actual trend to reduce the shortage of labor resources. Strategy Partners Group has developed a strategy for the development of the Omsk region, which included discussion of program issues related to the development of education and training, with teachers of universities, representatives of the Ministry of Education of the Omsk region and the scientific community. As a result of the discussion, the main problem of the regional labor market was highlighted: the lack of good work for qualified specialists, especially graduates of educational institutions. This contributed to the development of recommendations on the restructuring of the regional education system in the format of a cluster structure, the involvement of employers in interaction with educational institutions, and the development and application of professional retraining programs for teachers in the light of the requirements of new standards for training specialists. It is common practice to conduct vocational guidance programs with educational institutions in the territory of potential employers, where students and graduates of higher education institutions can get ideas about applying their professional knowledge and their future work activities (for example, in the regional branch of Gazprom, Sberbank of Russia, INMARCO, SUN InBev, Unilever). For the further systematic solution of this problem, it is necessary to develop a regional program to retain and support potential young personnel, which will develop measures to facilitate the employment of young people [Kiseleva, 2016, p. 1224].

Conducted on the territory of the Omsk region in 2016-2017. a study on the topic "Migration processes as a factor in the socio-economic development of the region: assessment and methods of regulation" (Grant RGNF № 16-12-55013 a (p), sample 2445 people (16-55/60 years) total, including 849 people at the age of 16 to 30 years) stated the existing regional migration trends. The main reasons for the outflow of the able-bodied population, including youth, to other regions are low wages in the region (for example, the average monthly nominal salary per employee in February 2017 was 26693 rubles) and the problem of finding a job in the specialty that is reflected in Table 6. From this point of view, the direction of migration flows from the region with low personal incomes, which, according to respondents, is the Omsk Region, to regions with higher incomes is quite logical.

**Table 6: Distribution of answers to the question "How do you assess the chances of employment of a graduate of the University/ Secondary education institution on the received specialty in Omsk region?", In % to the number of respondents**

Work experience	Chances to be employed a graduate of a University / Secondary education institution				
	Veryhigh	High	Medium	Low	Virtually no chances
no workexperience	0,7	2,5	19,6	37,8	39,4
with work experience	4	18,4	45,4	26,1	6,1

Also, a significant negative contribution to the migration outflow is made by the established parameters of the living standard in the region (Tables 7, 8).

**Table 7: Respondents' assessment of the availability and sufficiency of conditions for comfortable living in the Omsk region, In% to the number of respondents**

Parameter of life	Presence of such a condition in the Omsk region		
	missing	limited	present in full
Affordable housing	47,9	40,4	11,7
Employment opportunity	33,1	60,4	6,5
The possibility of good earnings	54,4	37,3	8,3
Social infrastructure	28,3	61,1	10,6
Ecological situation	31,9	48,0	20,1
Access to quality education	22,2	57,1	20,7
Cultural life in the city (theatres, exhibitions, concerts)	17,3	41,8	40,9
The level of small business development	19,1	66,7	14,2
Political system	25,8	54,8	19,4
Social well-being of the population	36,3	58,2	5,5
Labour market infrastructure	36,7	52,5	10,8
Climatic conditions	16,1	48,9	35,0
Policy management of the region	44,2	49,2	6,6
Rate of inflation	30,2	48,8	21,0
Access to quality health care	43,3	49,1	7,6
Cleanliness and landscaping	43,3	49,0	7,7
Condition of roads and sidewalks	72,7	24,5	2,8
Safety of vital functions	27,6	62,0	10,4
Activity of housing and communal services	39,8	53,3	6,9
Quality of leisure	22,9	52,2	24,9
Work of public transport	19,1	60,7	20,2

Separate measures to improve the living standards of the younger generation at the regional level are already being taken. In particular, in order to support young compatriots who move to the Omsk region and need housing, a regional program "Construction of affordable housing for the participants in the State Program for the Promotion of Voluntary Resettlement of Compatriots Residing Abroad to the Russian Federation who moved to Omsk region" approved by the Government of the Omsk region on May 11, 2016 No. 118-p.

The respondents are not categorical in their responses and under the condition of certain measures taken by the regional authorities, they are ready to abandon the migration intentions (Table 9). Priority is given to the processes of improving economic conditions for employment by professional work.

**Table 8: Respondents' assessment of the importance of comfortable living conditions in the region for the population, In % to the number of respondents**

Parameter of life	Degree of importance of such a condition for a comfortable life		
	it does not matter	preferably	necessarily
Affordable housing	3,4	9,4	87,2
Employment opportunity	2,5	9,3	88,2
The possibility of good earnings	2,1	9,1	88,8
Social infrastructure	2,0	24,0	74,0
Ecological situation	2,9	21,0	76,1
Access to quality education	2,1	16,4	81,5
Cultural life in the city (theatres, exhibitions, concerts)	3,7	33,6	62,7
The level of small business development	7,7	42,2	50,1
Political system	5,5	33,1	61,4
Social well-being of the population	3,3	25,8	70,9
Labour market infrastructure	5,5	25,6	68,9
Climatic conditions	9,4	40,2	50,4
Policy management of the region	5,2	21,3	73,5
Rate of inflation	7,5	31,4	61,1
Access to quality health care	2,3	10,6	87,1
Cleanliness and landscaping	2,7	15,8	81,5
Condition of roads and sidewalks	2,8	9,3	87,9
Safety of vital functions	2,6	15,1	82,3
Activity of housing and communal services	3,1	18,4	78,5
Quality of leisure	6,5	32,6	60,9
The work of public transport	3,2	17,3	79,5

**Table 9: Distribution of respondents' answers to the question "What would keep you from immigration from Omsk region?" in accordance with the age group, In % for each factor (multiple answers)**

Factors influencing the refusal of immigration	Age group					The result
	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55/60	
Improvement of economic conditions (increase in wages, quality of life, the emergence of greater opportunities to find attractive jobs, etc.)	96,0	93,0	97,5	94,4	96,4	95,1
Improvement of social infrastructure (quality of roads, medical services, etc.)	80,0	41,0	49,4	37,5	28,6	44,4
Change the region management policy	44,0	37,0	33,3	40,3	39,3	37,6
Improvement of the cultural environment	4,0	10,0	8,6	9,7	3,6	8,5
Improvement of ecological situation	0,0	11,0	8,6	12,5	17,9	10,5
Improvement of social well-being	20,0	14,0	19,8	13,9	21,4	16,7
Other	0,0	3,0	2,5	0,0	3,6	2,0

At the same time, respondents noted the areas of activation of the regional authorities, which, in their opinion, will contribute to improving the migration situation in the region, taking into account the individual perception of their own living conditions and their age (Tables 10, 11). It should be noted that there are no significant differences in the answers of respondents of different ages.

**Table 10: Correlation of answers to the questions "What should the authorities do in order to reduce the migration outflow and make the Omsk Region attractive for the arrival of residents from other regions of Russia?" and "How do you think the living conditions in the village where you live have changed over the past 5 years?",**

**In% to the number of respondents**

Areas of reform	Change in living conditions over the past 5 years		
	Improved	Worsened	Not changed
To improve the socio-economic environment	9,7	58,4	31,9
To raise the standard of living	10,7	54,5	34,8
To increase the availability of housing	13,0	48,5	38,5
To develop the state youth policy	13,3	55,4	31,3
To raise wages	12,3	55,0	32,7
To reduce the prices of products, housing and communal services	15,9	47,6	36,5
To develop transport and social infrastructure	3,0	61,2	35,8
To improve the environmental situation	13,5	59,5	27,0
To improve management of the region	14,7	57,3	28,0
To develop a cultural environment	8,7	34,8	56,5
Nothing, there is no migration outflow	20,0	40,0	40,0
Nothing, Omsk region is attractive for residents of other regions	16,7	33,3	50,0
Other	0,0	75,0	25,0

**Table 11: Correlation of answers to the questions "What should the authorities do to reduce the migration outflow and make the Omsk region attractive for the arrival of residents from other regions of Russia?" in accordance with the age group,**

**In% to the number of respondents (several options)**

Areas of reform	Age group					The result
	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55/60	
To improve the socio-economic environment	38,2	48,4	48,6	38,6	47,7	45,4
To raise the standard of living	64,7	51,2	60,1	58,5	58,2	57,4
To increase the availability of housing	33,8	42,3	41,3	41,5	38,6	40,5
To develop the state youth policy	26,5	9,8	8,7	8,8	7,2	10,2
To raise wages	52,9	47,9	49,0	50,9	55,6	50,7
To reduce the prices of products, housing and communal services	25,0	20,5	24,5	22,2	25,5	23,2
To develop transport and social infrastructure	7,4	8,8	7,7	8,8	7,8	8,2
To improve the environmental situation	2,9	5,6	3,8	5,3	3,9	4,5
To improve management of the region	20,6	21,4	15,9	17,5	17,6	18,4
To develop a cultural environment	1,5	2,3	2,9	4,1	2,6	2,8
Nothing, there is no migration outflow	0,0	0,5	0,5	1,2	0,7	0,6
Nothing, Omsk region is attractive for residents of other regions	1,5	0,9	1,4	2,3	1,3	1,5
Other	0,0	1,9	0,0	1,2	1,3	1,0

Thus, the data of regional statistics and conducted research testify to the gradually growing negative migration trend in the region, including the younger generation. Stability and positive dynamics of regional socio-economic processes should be based on the high quality of labor resources. This requires urgent intervention by the regional authorities and the adjustment of the social, youth, demographic and migration policies of the Omsk region and should be ensured by synchronization and coordination of the authorities' actions with various socio-economic institutions and actors in order to eliminate the existing regional migration situation in order to ensure sustainable development of the Omsk region.

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*Musa M. Yusupov*

## **Migration in the Era of Globalization: the Potential of Cultural and Linguistic Integration**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article deals with the process of migration and adaptation of migrants. Research subject: language integration of migrants. Method: socio-cultural approach, quantitative analysis of Eurostat and World Bank data, materials of sociological surveys. Migration in the context of globalization differs in its structure, economic motivation, the presence of many refugees from zones of the armed conflict and natural disasters. The author analyzes the experience of conducting migration and language policies, the implementation of language and cultural integration programs in different countries. In conclusion, it is noted that migration processes require coordination of efforts of international organizations, national states, cultural, linguistic and public associations.

**Keywords:** migration; globalization; integration; language; communication

In the modern world, the process of moving people is intensely proceeding. Globalization stimulates the migration movement, increases the multiculturalism of many countries. The main engines of this globalization are the expansion of markets, media networks [Beyond, 2017]. In the modern world, global migration is an indispensable element of the functioning of the world economy, as well as the movement of capital, goods and services [Malakhov, 2015, p. 25]. The globalization of the labor market leads to the fact that many people find work outside their countries, change their place of permanent residence or spend a significant part of their lives abroad [Lapteva, 2009].

According to the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, more than 258 million migrants live in the world, nearly 50 million people live in the United States, and about 12 million migrants live in Russia [The UN called the number of migrants ...]. However, a large influx of migrants can cause a crisis, social tension. This was observed when refugees from the Middle East and North Africa flew to Europe in 2015.

Migration processes actualize the problems of adaptation and integration of migrants in the social and cultural life of the host country. Integration implies the preservation by the alien of important elements of his own culture, and the incorporation of certain elements of the culture of the country of residence. The main thing in the integration of a migrant is his ability to maintain an independent life support [Molodikova, 2015: 29-45].

In foreign and Russian publications are noted that integration has a cultural, structural, social and identity aspects. Migration policy presupposes measures aimed at the cultural and linguistic integration of migrants, the creation of a system of adaptation centers and language schools [Varserver, Rocheva, 2016, p. 319].

The integration policy should be differentiated with respect to different groups of migrants: repatriates-compatriots, immigrants, labor migrants, and be based on clear procedures for linguistic, cultural, social, economic adaptation and integration [Mukomel, 2011, p. 34].

Today, in many countries there is a diverse practice of integration of migrants. In Canada, are committed to the principles of multiculturalism, open programs for the study of languages of cultural and ethnic heritage. They are implemented under the guidance of local municipal authorities [Maksimov, 2017, p. 139].

In Germany, there are free language courses for adult migrants and refugees, their integration and the ability to find work depends on the level of German language proficiency. But adaptation to a new environment among migrants from different countries is not the same. For example, migrants from the Middle East and North Africa often know one of the European languages or English and this makes easy their adaptation. Migrants from Russia experience language difficulties, for example, in European countries about 150 thousand Chechen refugees, adults are poorly integrated into a new socio-cultural space for them, and children successfully study in schools, become winners of language Olympiads, enter universities.

In Russia, the concept of migration policy was developed until 2025, programs for cultural and linguistic adaptation of migrants are drawn up, and the Centers for the Study of the Russian Language, History and the Fundamentals of Legislation of the Russian Federation operate.

The Moscow City Migration Program provides for the adaptation and integration of immigrants based on mutual respect for the culture, religion, customs, traditions and lifestyle of the city's residents. Since 1991 ethno-cultural schools function as state institutions. In them, the ethno-cultural and linguistic component is diverse: Georgian, Lithuanian, Polish, Ukrainian, Jewish, Turkish, Korean, Hindi, etc. [Gurchenkov, 2010].

Sociological studies show that respondents in all countries agree with the statement: for integration, migrants need to know the language of the country in which they are located, pay taxes, and accept values and norms of society. They also need to have the necessary skills and skills, to be friends with local people, to accept their cultural traditions and participate in local elections.

Thus, in Spain, Sweden, Ireland, the Netherlands and Portugal, eight out of ten respondents said they were not afraid of any kind of communication with migrants. At the same time, every fifth person in Bulgaria and Hungary gave such a response. For example, in Latvia and Estonia, more than 40% of the polled respondents positively or more positively treat migrants, and in Lithuania - more than 50% [Eurobarometer: the more migrants in the country ...].

In Chechnya, 83 percent of the students surveyed think that migrants need work, 47.5 percent positively treated them, together with 5 percent, neutral -40%. In general, they hold the

opinion that it is expedient to inform migrants about the local culture - 88.6% [Sociological survey "Cultural adaptation and integration of migrants" Grozny, April 2018]. In reality, not always such values are precisely superimposed on social practices, acts and actions, but the positive attitude can serve as a good basis for carrying out adaptive cultural events.

A modern feature of migration is that migrants who have come to live permanently in the host country regularly maintain communication contacts with relatives from the country of disposal through Internet resources, mobile communication, social network. It can be assumed that unlike past migrations, now migrants can retain their linguistic and ethnic identity along with a new language and a new identity in the third, fourth generation. They will be multilingual and have multiple identities.

The conclusion. Migration processes require the coordination of efforts of international organizations, national states, cultural and linguistic and public associations in shaping the course for a successful policy of harmonizing interests and harmonizing the values of migrants and local communities.

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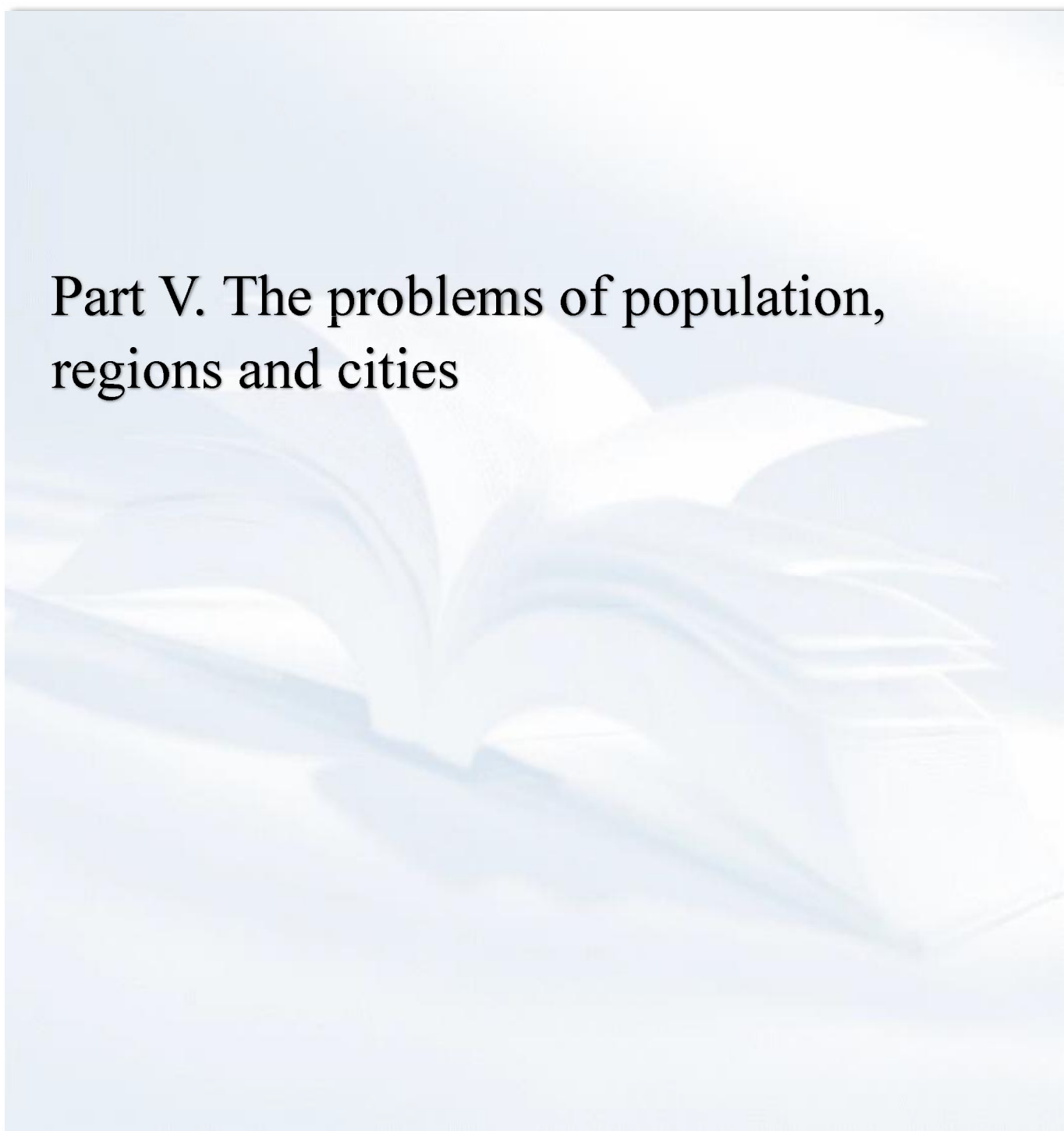
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## Part V. The problems of population, regions and cities



*Nelly A. Romanovich*

## **Crimean Residents Public Opinion Poll on the Accession of the Peninsula to Russia: First Results**

### **ABSTRACT**

The purpose of the sociological poll conducted in Crimea by the Open View Association in 2016 was to find out if the residents of the peninsula are still convinced that they had made the right choice. The poll was taken by way of personal interviewing of the peninsular residents and partly by way of telephone interviewing. The poll results show that Crimea residents are not just content with their choice, but still find themselves in a state of euphoria, which is reflected through overoptimistic evaluations of the current state of affairs, the changes taking place and the expectations from the future.

**Keywords:** crimean residents, referendum in 2014, social well-being, financial situation, sources of information, poll

A unique sociological survey entitled Open View – Crimea was held in Crimea in 2016. The poll was conducted by the Association Open View by way of telephone and face-to-face conversations from 9<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> June, 2016 with a selection of 1100 respondents, who permanently reside in Crimea (with gender, age, nationality, place of living, and the size of the location they live in representation). The unique character of the poll lies in its two peculiarities: it was conducted upon the initiative of the Association itself (not made-to-order) and fully open to the public.

The first thing to be mentioned is that the myth about the “fearful and intimidated” Crimea residents was dispelled. Pollsters claim that the level of outspokenness of Crimean residents and their willingness to answer the questions is one-half times higher than the one usually reached in the Russian telephone polls and nearly three times higher than its counterpart indicator for the USA [Informaciya o proekte Open View-Krym...]. «It turns out that despite the opinion of some experts about the «intimidated» Crimeans they are not apprehensive of an interviewer with a questionnaire», - one of the project initiators Igor Zadorin points out [Proekt«Otkrytoe mnenie–Krym-2016...].

In other words, apprehensions related to the Crimeans' «unwillingness» in respect of the participation in polls and expression of their opinion on the problems in their lives in the peninsula are obviously overrated. Crimea residents expressed their opinion with ease, openness and confidence. Despite the fact that the questionnaire included questions concerning rather sensitive issues (such as corruption, nationality and problems related to them, power cuts, the attitude to the 2014 referendum), 86% of those interviewed pointed out that there were no such questions among them which they «did not want or were hesitant to respond to».

Some rather interesting responses were given to pollsters to the following question: «What are the primary sources for you to get information from about what is going on in the country and the rest of the world?». The most obvious and expected answer to the question is «Russian TV» (85%). Surprisingly, the second place of the information sources rating of Crimean residents is occupied by «communication with relatives, friends, colleagues, and acquaintances». 65% of individuals responded this way. Pollsters came to a conclusion that driven by ambiguous information coming from Russia and Ukraine, the Crimeans increasingly trust the information from reference people. Interpersonal communication is becoming an information platform for shaping public opinion in Crimea.

Indicators of Internet presence of Crimeans fully correspond to the 57% in Russia, who say they use the Internet daily. The same indicator across the nation, according to VCIOM (Russian Public Opinion Research Centre), is 55%.

An overwhelming majority of Crimean residents preferably watch Russian news. Yet, more than a quarter of them (27%) responded that over the last week they have watched news of the Ukrainian TV channels. With this, it is worth mentioning that officially Ukrainian TV channels are not broadcast in Crimea. The Crimeans obviously have the need to discuss the information from different sources.

When reference was made to the social well-being of the Crimeans, it turned out that the satisfaction of the peninsular residents with their life currently is rather high. It was manifested through the answers of Crimean residents to the following question: «*Generally speaking, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your life today?*»:

- *Well satisfied/rather satisfied* – 83%;
- *Rather dissatisfied/completely dissatisfied* – 14%;
- *Undecided* – 3%.

Self-evaluations of the financial situation of peninsular residents are also characterized by an increased proportion of positive evaluations compared to the same indicators for the Russian population on the whole. It can be caused both by objective positive changes in the life of the Crimeans and the psychological effect of accession to Russia. In particular, answering the question: «*How would you evaluate the financial well-being of your family at present?*», the following answers were elicited:

- *Very good/good* – 33%,
- *Average* – 54%,
- *Bad/very bad* – 13%.



According to the all-Russia survey data conducted at about the same time (4-5<sup>th</sup> June, 2016) 15% of Russians consider their financial situation as good/very good, 61% - average, and 24% - bad/very bad.

Rather interesting was to reveal the evaluations of changes which took place within two years since the accession of Crimea to Russia (2014-2016). The answers to the question:

**«Do you think your financial situation (financial situation in your family) over the past two years has become worse or remained unchanged?»:**

- *Has definitely become worse/has rather become worse – 16%*
- *Has remained the same, without changes – 34%,*
- *Has rather improved/has definitely improved – 48%,*
- *Undecided – 2%.*

According to VCIOM (Russian Public Opinion Research Centre) (VCIOM-Express dated 4-5 June) over a third of Russian citizens (37%) state deterioration of social well-being for the past two years, while only 15% - its improvement (VCIOM-Express dated 16-17 April). The proportion of Russians-pessimists, that is those who expect their financial situation to become worse in the nearest future, is 17% of optimists – 27% (the remaining 41% believe there will be no changes to their social well-being; VCIOM-Express dated 21-22 May).

Unlike the rest of the Russians the Crimeans are very optimistic about their future, which is proved by the answers to the question: **«Do you think your financial situation (financial situation in your family) will improve, become worse, or remain the same within the next 12 months?»**

- *Will definitely become worse/will most probably become worse – 5%,*
- *Will remain the same, will not change – 49%,*
- *Will most probably improve, will definitely improve – 32%,*
- *Undecided – 14%.*

These self-evaluations might comprise a hefty dose of euphoria about Crimea being a part of Russia now, yet so far expectations remain optimistic. This way every third Crimean expects improvement of their financial situation, every second expects it to remain at its existing level in the least, pessimists' proportion does not exceed 5% of the sample of the poll.

One of the key issues is the attitude to the referendum in 2014. The poll took place in 2016 which means by that time it had been two years after the decision about the accession of Crimea to Russia was made. Basing on the poll results we received, we can surely state that within this period there have been no serious changes in the public sentiment on the ultimate geopolitical issue of self-identification. An overwhelming majority of those questioned (88%) approve of the choice of the Crimeans they made in 2014. The number of respondents whose attitude to the referendum

results is negative is minimal, which is clear from the answers to the question: “Today, in over two years’ time after the referendum, do you approve of that decision of the Crimeans to join the Russian Federation or not?”

- *Definitely not/rather disapprove* – 3%,
- *Approve in some aspects and disapprove in others* – 4%,
- *Rather approve/definitely approve* – 88%,
- *Undecided* – 5%.

Such a perception of Crimea’s decisive choice is in many ways triggered by negative estimations of the current situation in Ukraine, which makes joining Russia even more justified in the minds of the respondents. Answers to the question: “*Speaking about Ukraine, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the situation in the country?*”, reveal Crimeans’ deep sorrow about the doom of their former compatriots.

- *Totally dissatisfied/rather dissatisfied* – 71%,
- *Satisfied in one way and dissatisfied in the other* – 4%,
- *Rather satisfied/completely satisfied* – 4%,
- *Undecided* – 20%.

Let us also bear in mind that before that a public opinion company GfK Ukraine (headquartered in Nurnberg, which completely prevents accusations of pro-Russia attitudes) conducted a public opinion survey among the Crimean residents. Respondents were meant to define their attitude to the accession of Crimea to Russia with the interpretation “annexation of Crimea” used in the text of the questionnaire. Results of the survey made an unpleasant surprise for Europe supportive of Ukraine and Ukraine itself. On the whole 93% of Crimean residents support “annexation of the peninsular by Russia”. Only 4% of the locals opposed Crimea reunion Russia to a greater or a lesser degree, while 3% were undecided yet.

It was only among the Crimean Tatars that pollsters came across more critical attitude towards the current situation and the changes that have taken place over the past two years. About a half of the Crimean Tatars questioned (that is around 6% of the total population of the peninsular) are highly disapproving of the changes taking place. Along with that no influence of this group on the majority of the population was revealed, and the issue of inter-ethnic relations is not perceived as acute in the minds of the population.

A sample of respondents in accordance with social-democratic parameters and the ethnic origin was approximated to statistics. The ethnic composition of Crimea is exemplified by answers to the question: “*What nationality are you?*”: *Russian* – 68%, *Ukranian* – 12%, *Crimean Tatar* – 12%, *other* – 6%, *undecided* – 2%. At the same time it turned out that 92% of those questioned

speak Russian at home with their family members regardless of their nationality (Crimean Tatar language – 6%, Ukrainian – 1%).

A significant role for social well-being is played by the views on the prospects of living expressed among other things through the pronounced willingness to change the citizenship. Apart from that the intent to move to another place is a proxy indicator of social tension in the region. It turns out that for the past 4 years (compared to June 2011 year), the number of people who want to leave the Crimean peninsular has decreased one-half times (from 22% to 15%) according to the results of other surveys [Knyazeva, 2013].

According to Open View – Crimea survey data an overwhelming majority of the Crimeans today do not want to move anywhere (83%). If we do not take into account those who were undecided, 15% of the population would like to move to a different place with only 10% of those who want to leave Crimea. Furthermore, 8% of them mentioned different regions in Russia as the desirable destinations for migration, 2% - other countries (only 1% of them mentioned Ukraine).

***“If you had a chance, would you like to move to any other locality in the region, any other region in Russia, to Ukraine, to any other country?”***

- *No, I would not like to move anywhere – 83%,*
- *Would like to move to some other region in Russia – 8%,*
- *Would like to move to some other locality within Crimea – 5%,*
- *Would like to move abroad to a different country – 2%,*
- *Would like to move to Ukraine - 1%,*
- *Undecided – 2%.*

Pollsters have also revealed the social structure of the respondents who are willing to move. It turned out that their willingness to move depends on the age and the level of education. The younger the respondents are the more pronounced it is: there are 30% of those who want to move to a different place among the respondents under 25 (young people are more mobile, more often psychologically ready to change places), among the people aged between 25 and 54 – 19%, over 55 years – only 7%. Apart from that, the higher the level of education is, the more distinct their intent to move is. Firstly, it should be noted, that educated young people are the most mobile part of population not only in Crimea, but also in the rest of the world. Secondly, high migration of the population is historically traditional for Crimea.

Conclusions: accession of Crimea to Russia has given a certain momentum of euphoric optimism to the residents of the Crimean peninsular, which is reflected through higher level of satisfaction with the present life and positive estimations of the financial situation, the changes taking place, and the prospects. An overwhelming majority of the Crimean residents approve of the referendum resulting in the accession of peninsular to Russia after two years. The number of

Crimeans who are willing to move to some other place outside the peninsular is decreasing. In other words, Crimean residents have not predominantly become disappointed with the choice of the epoch-making reunion with Russia. Their evaluations of the current affairs are optimistic, and they are hopeful about the future.

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*Said Kh. Khaknazarov*

## **Public Opinion on Social Issues of the Indigenous Peoples of the Surgut District of Yugra**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article deals with social (including environmental and economic) factors affecting the health of the local population. According to the results of research it was found that due to the industrial development of mineral resources there is a deterioration of the ecological state of the region (district) of residence of the indigenous peoples of the North. The majority of respondents assess the ecological condition of their district as unsatisfactory. It is also revealed that the health of the local population is more affected by the following problems; polluted air, soil, water, poor quality of health care, drunkenness and alcoholism among the population, poor quality of water and poor quality of food.

**Keywords:** indigenous peoples of the North, health, ecological condition, incomes, expenses, respondents, Surgut district

The initial stage of rapid development of the natural resources industry of the Russian North are considered to be the 1930-ies and 1940-ies of XX century, when work began to create a transport and industrial infrastructure, the city grew and towns. Thus began the development of natural resources of the Northern regions of the country. A.V. Krivoschapkin notes, the development of oil and gas fields is accompanied by a catastrophic decrease in the areas occupied by forests, intensive pollution of rivers and lakes, groundwater, atmospheric air, and land. The pollution of the environment is particularly reflected in the waters of the Middle Ob river, where large volumes of domestic wastewater are discharged, which negatively affects the development of the forage base of fish and their reproduction, migration routes and wintering sites [Krivoschapkin, 2014].

Environmental pollution contributed to the destruction of food chains ("lichens – deer – people" or "river and lake fish-people"). Due to the destruction of food chains, reducing the consumption of natural Northern products and increasing the consumption of carbohydrates in Northern ethnic groups began to occur dysadaptive changes in metabolic processes, eating did not match the rhythm of the digestive process. Violation of the balanced ratio of proteins, fats and carbohydrates led to the development of clinical signs of immune deficiency. As you know, inadequate type of immune response requires an individual approach to the prevention of infectious diseases and, above all, specific vaccination [Manchuk, 2010].

It is well known that the health of the population is one of the most important indicators of the level of welfare and well-being of society, the health of the population determines the preservation and development of the human potential of the country as one of the main factors of

progress. Health affects the duration and quality of life, the reproduction of the population, its ability to work.

The problem of the health of the indigenous population of the North has been and remains relevant in modern conditions. Many research works are devoted to this problem. For example, referring to the growing deterioration in the health of the indigenous population of Siberia in the last decade, it is noted that it is the people of Siberia who have evolutionarily developed mechanisms of survival in adverse climatogeographic conditions of these regions.

It should be noted that the necessary condition for the health and well-being of people is the presence of such important functions of the environment, which, on the one hand, are able to provide people with a livelihood, and on the other hand-to absorb pollutants and self-cleaning. In maintaining the cycle of consumption and resource recovery, these two functions are not only closely intertwined, but they are becoming more vulnerable and violated as a result of irrational and active human activity [Environment and human health].

Touching upon the issue of medical care for the indigenous population of the North, it should be noted that medical care for the indigenous inhabitants of the district has its own specifics: long distances from the place of residence to hospital, the lack of roads, weak technical capacity with means of communication (telephone, radio) make it difficult to provide specialized medical care to the indigenous population, especially those leading a traditional way of life. North the natives often seek medical attention only in crisis situations, hence the many chronic diseases. In this context, the effectiveness of the mobile health-care system in remote areas and in the economic activities of indigenous minorities is of great importance. The Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Area created a special model of the health service of the indigenous population of the North [Khaknazarov, 2015; Silantyeva, 2015; Pivneva, 2012].

In 2016, employees of the Ob-Ugric Institute of applied research and development (Khanty-Mansiysk) conducted ethnosociological studies in places of their compact residence in order to study the current ecological and socio-economic condition of the indigenous peoples of Yugra. In particular, we were interested to know the opinion of local residents about the factors affecting their health.

Surveys were conducted in the form of questionnaires. Questionnaires contained questions with answers. Respondents had to select only those answers that they considered acceptable. In addition to the questionnaires there were many oral interviews on urgent issues.

Personal data processed in the program for processing sociological information "Vortex". This work is also based on the results of our research conducted in 2008 and 2011 on the territory of the region. In polls of 2016 was attended by 99 of the respondents, including men – 36.4% of women at 63.6%.

As one of the problems we will consider the problem of health. In the context of the topic under consideration, it is important for respondents to assess the environmental condition of the region. In turn, the ecological state is one of the factors influencing the health of the population, which determine the state of the environment adequate for a healthy lifestyle and rational use of natural resources.

The absolute majority of respondents (71.7% and 98.0%, respectively, based on the results of surveys in 2016 and 2011) of Surgut district noted that as a result of industrial development of mineral resources, the ecological state of their region (district) of residence is deteriorating. As you can see, the views of the people of the district in this regard. Only a small proportion of respondents (6.8 percent) noted that in the industrial development of the subsoil comes to the improvement of the ecological state of the region (district) of residence.

Assessing the ecological state of the region at present, the absolute majority of respondents (70.7%) indicated an unsatisfactory ecological state of the region. I think average is 26.3%. It is important to note that in comparison with 2011 the views of the district respondents on this issue have not changed, i.e. the absolute majority of respondents (98.0%) also consider the ecological state of their district unsatisfactory.

To find out the reasons for the unsatisfactory evaluation of respondents, we asked a question of this nature: "If unsatisfactory, why?". The answers of respondents were distributed as follows: pollution of rivers and reservoirs – 64,6% (99,0%); and dry forests are cut down – 39,4 (90,5%); reduced the number of animals, poultry and fish – 38.9 per cent (96.5 per cent); pollution of atmospheric air and 26.9%; removed from circulation the vast territory of land and lineposted, etc., and 16.7% (92,5%). Respondents also noted the following: burn the forest (5.0 per cent), waste from urban residents (12.9%).

Answering the question, " what do you think has a greater impact on the health of the local population?", the absolute majority of respondents (80.8%) of the district is about the same as in 2011. the problems of polluted air, soil, water (96.0%) were put in the first place. In contrast to 2011, respondents ranked second with the problem of poor quality of medical care (60.6% versus 7.0%). In the third place, the respondents outlined the problem of alcohol abuse and alcoholism (55.6 per cent). In the fourth and fifth places, respondents noted the problem of poor water quality (41.4%) and poor food quality (33.3%).

Unlike the respondents of Surgut district, answering the same question, the majority of respondents of Nizhnevartovsk district put the problems of lack of money for medicines (34% and 40% for the population of the district and personal health, respectively) in the first place. In second place, respondents noted the problem of low level of medical care (32% and 30% for the population of the district and for personal health, respectively). Experts put this problem in the third place



(35% and 37%, respectively). Experts at the first place identified the problem of stress at work and at home (40.5%) and the problem of poor water quality (38%). In third place, indigenous respondents noted the problem of air, soil and water pollution (26%). The respondents also noted the problem of poor water quality (21%) [Khaknazarov, 2015].

It is important to note that this opinion is supported also by inhabitants (including experts) of other districts of the district that speaks about need of the solution of the noted problems on places with the assistance of district and local administrative authorities on places.

Having asked a question, "the Main sources of your income", we found out that, the main sources of the income of respondents are: 1) delivery of wild plants, meat, fish– 49,5% (2,8%); 2) wages 35,4 (8,7%);

3) sale of products of traditional crafts – 33,3% (96,3%)<sup>7</sup>. The discrepancy between the answers of respondents in 2011 and 2016 is explained by the fact that in 2011 the survey was mainly attended by indigenous respondents who are engaged in traditional economic activities and living mainly in the territories of traditional nature use of the KNS. Unlike in 2016, in 2008 the main sources of income were: sales of traditional products – 37%, income from business (29%) and payments from social funds (17%).

The survey revealed that respondents spend most of their income on: 1) food and clothing - 98,1% (82,8%); 2) medicines and treatment - 95,3% (43,4%); 3) purchases of spare parts and means of traditional economic activities - 93,5% (28,3%); 4) education of children-29.9% (28.3%).

In conclusion, assessing the ecological state of the region at the present time, the vast majority of respondents noted it as unsatisfactory. Only a small proportion of the population is considered satisfactory. From the point of view of the majority of respondents, the health of the local population is more affected by the following problems: pollution, soil, water, poor quality of health care, drinking and alcoholism among the population, poor water quality and poor quality of food. The majority of respondents believed that their settlements first need to solve the following problems: improvement of the environment, housing, alcoholism and alcohol abuse, workplace, ensure the elderly and poor, lower commodity prices, improve food quality.

Based on the above material, the author recommends the following:

- monitor the quality of health services in indigenous areas;
- to carry out environmental monitoring in areas inhabited by indigenous people (including to solve the problem of drinking water quality);
- ensure access to health care.

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<sup>7</sup> Data for 2011 are shown in parentheses.

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*Yulia V. Ermolaeva*

## **Socio-Economic Instruments of Promotion of Renewable Energy Sources in the Russian Federation<sup>8</sup>**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article deals with the modern scheme of RES economic instruments in Russia, their limitations and application possibilities taking into account the development of energy in different regions and cities of the Russian Federation.

**Keywords:** renewable energy sources; RES; RES economy

For as subject as renewable energy resource (next RES) there is a positive dynamics of development in the world. According to IRENA data for 2016, RES is involved in changing the traditional structure of energy balance on a global scale in replacing the hydrocarbon generation of developing and developed cities. This stimulates an increase in the cost of fuel against the background of its reduction in the energy balance of countries. If the traditional fuel is more expensive, then in the markets of countries where the share of RES is visible and continues to grow, there is a phenomenon of lower average prices in the markets (Germany, Denmark, USA, Latin America) for RES.

The RES economy with reference to Russia was considered in the works of Aliev R.A., Balzannikov M.I., Bezrukih P.P., (assessment of economic and technical potential of renewable energy sources) Blyashko Ya.I., Bobyleva S.N., (RES role in a stable economy) Vinogradova A.V., Vissarionova V.I., (financial portfolio of complex installations) Davydova A.V., Egorova I.Yu., Elistratova V.V., Zakharova V.M., Zolotova L.A., Kozhukhovskiy I.S., Kopylova E.A., (main trends of RES economy in Russia) Kudryavtseva O.V., Nikolaeva V.G., Novoselova A.L., Perminova E.M., Plakitkina Yu.A., Sidorovich V.A., (author's I assess the role of renewable energy in Russia and in the world), A.A. Soloviev (the role of renewable energy in the world) Sharkov V.F., V.Y. Shataynova [Bobylev, Zakharov 2011; Geoekonomicheskiy atlas mirovoy energetiki... 2016; Marchenko, Solomin 2008, Ob utverzhdenii skhemy i programmy razvitiya elektroenergetiki respublik Kalmykiya na 2016].

Economic issues and RES problems are one of the most complex mechanisms for its ultimate promotion. Today, the Russian experience in the development of renewable energy sources is unique, taking into account the scale of the territory with a single energy hub system

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and a lot of areas remote from energy centers, as well as the need to introduce new renewable energy sources in cities. RES is a part of the common energy system, and the formation of the financial portfolio is mainly followed by the logic of the European standard, a number of amendments to which was adopted only in 2015 and 2016.

Priorities are shifted not only to the economic and social efficiency of energy, but take into account the environmental profit from energy production, assesses the overall resource efficiency of the process. The energy market from the system of state centralized purchase and sale goes to the system of automated smart management and economics, for example, through the system of blockade technologies, which is widely distributed in cities. In order to save money and energy independence of cities in planning the architecture of renewable energy, attention can be paid to the accumulation systems, "smart" automatic technologies, uninterruptible autonomous power supply systems of strategically important objects of urban infrastructure.

New generation of renewable energy in cities will function on the basis of general rules of the energy market. Consider its device (Figure 1). Wholesale market. In most of Russia, electricity is supplied to consumers from the wholesale market. Large cities, as a rule, are located in the wholesale market zone. But this does not work for all regions, due to the different density of the population, therefore they share:

- two price zones (zones 1,2 on the map) of the wholesale market, where electricity is supplied to industrial enterprises and conducted at unregulated prices, except for those territories for which the features of the wholesale and retail markets are established. (shaded on the map in zone 2).
- two non-price zones (zones 3,4 on the map) of the wholesale market. Purchase in the wholesale market is carried out at prices regulated by the state, the price of supply for the end user is also formed.

For renewable energy sources, the sale of capacity in the wholesale market in zones 1-4 is provided by the capacity of qualified generating units of renewable energy sources under contracts.

-insulated energy systems (zone 5) in some parts of the territory of Siberia and the Far East.

Specifics of the functioning of the wholesale and retail markets are established (prices are regulated), there is no concept of the wholesale market, since there are isolated power systems here. For isolated power systems for RES there is a scheme of established tariffs (i.e., price formula) from installed RES facilities for the payback period.

**Retail market.** Within the retail market and according to its rules, electricity purchased in the wholesale electricity and capacity market (OREM) is sold, as well as energy generated by generating companies operating in the retail market. So, any energy consumer is a subject of the

retail market. Within the RES retail market, grid companies have an obligation to buy electricity from qualified renewable energy sources at regulated tariffs for the purposes of loss compensation. The basis of support is similar to the wholesale market: competitive selection, regulated tariffs for electricity, each project is included in the development program of the region. There are conditions for "localization of production equipment." As part of the general policy of import substitution, the manufacturer must use no less than a certain proportion of the equipment used, and a number of works and services should be produced or provided in Russia. (the order concerns objects commissioned after January 1, 2017).

For non-price zones in the retail market conditions, other conditions apply. Here, the total amount of electricity from RES enterprises should not exceed 5% of the volume of electricity losses in the networks. For isolated regions that are not connected with the EEC, the priority is to reduce the cost of electricity, so there is a legal opportunity to supply all necessary energy at the expense of RES if it is economically feasible and this energy is sold to the guaranteeing supplier in the territory. The manufacturer of RES, which supplies electricity to the guaranteeing supplier, is faced with the fact that the organization is both a generating entity, a network organization, and a guaranteeing supplier at the same time. Basic capital includes the costs of design and survey work and technological connection to networks.



**Fig. 1. General schemes of RES regulation for the wholesale market**

The general economic scheme of instruments for supporting RES in the Russian Federation for 2016 is presented in Table 1.

**Table 1: Current economic mechanisms for supporting RES in Russia (according to AV Kopylov [Kopylov 2015, Zerchaninova 2006])**

Tool	Rationale	Benefits	Disadvantages
<b>Wholesale market (more than 5 MW) in the price zones of the wholesale market</b>	Special mechanism for trading capacity	competitive determination of support objects Transparency of the financing of the support facility; Attractiveness of the conditions for investors; a high degree of control over the fulfillment of accepted obligations; creation of conditions for localization of production.	load distribution for all consumers of the wholesale market price zone non-compliance with the principles of supply of generating capacity.
<b>Retail market from 5 to 25 MW</b>	The obligation of grid companies to purchase renewable energy from regulated Prices (tariffs)	Creation of conditions for the implementation of regional generation objects	lack of transparent procedures and competition in the selection of projects; lack of effective mechanisms to monitor the real state of retail objects of RES

In addition to these mechanisms, there are:

The support mechanism for isolated energy systems is aimed at establishing long-term tariffs (the so-called "price formula") for the purchase of electricity from RES facilities for the payback period;

Supporting mechanism as compensation for technical connection is an auxiliary mechanism aimed at accelerated return of funds spent for technological connection of a qualified generating facility, the installed capacity of which does not exceed 25 MW. Main approaches to the support scheme for RES market participants:

1. Stimulation through cost reduction for the investor
2. Stimulation through raising the proceeds for the investor:
  - Fixed tariffs or surcharges to the market price;
  - Sale of certificates in special markets for implementation of RES quotas.

For all types of energy, more than half are system and infrastructure costs for land and related services, except for hydroelectric power stations, where the loan proceeds predominate.

The fixed tariff / surcharge to the price is formed in the following way: the state assigns long-term fixed tariffs for renewable energy and obliges the market participant to buy this energy at this tariff, or sets long-term fixed premiums to the market price and determines the structure of the fee from participants. The tariff level should be attractive to investors, and take into account



different types of RES, their construction and costs in the future, especially the fluctuations in power during operation. Further, renewable energy generators sell their energy on the market together with other energy companies. When sold at tariffs, sales go beyond the market (beyond the price).

Common variants of the ratios of financing RES: 1) the population through increased tariffs for renewable energy; 2) industry / consumer through quotas for RES energy; 3) the system operator through a fixed tariff and the inclusion of costs in its tariff for RES; 4) grid companies through a fixed tariff and inclusion of costs in their tariff for RES; 5) market fee for market participants [Marchenko, Solomin 2016; Postanovleniye Pravitel'stva Rossiyskoy Federatsii ot 28 maya...]

**Tender system.** The state determines the expected goals and timeframes in the form of volumes of energy production based on RES, investors submit applications indicating the input capacity and the year of input. The most profitable bids benefit from the inclusion of volumes in the target volume of energy or capacity based on RES. Based on the conditions of investors, a tariff is made.

The system of co-payment and tender for the time being work together, and the plan for the installed capacity, which is introduced annually, is maintained and control is carried out on the amount of input, capacities and terms. The revenue of generating objects on the market includes a variable part (from the sale of electricity) and a fixed one - a payment for capacity. The fee for capacity is tied to the realities of the market and the economic and social situation in the state. When determining the tariff, the government takes into account the basic level of return on capital invested in the generating facility, and the return on investment is determined from construction costs, including research, and capital costs per 1 kW of installed capacity. For cases of failure or underproduction of power, a penalty is imposed on producers. For investors, a mechanism of financial guarantees has been developed for inclusion in the program for the development of renewable energy sources.

In sum, the social consequences of RES development closely depend on the general quality of life indicators, on which RES can be affected, on the one hand, acting as an employer in direct and related industries, on the other hand as a mechanism for reducing environmental risks and stimulating long-term changes by reducing the cost of obtaining energy and the ability to redistribute the profit derived from RES to other industries that contribute to these changes. It is possible to fix a qualitative mechanism of social costs: a change in the structure and nature of social interactions and energy communications affecting adjacent sectors of the economy, culture, economy on different scales. The quantitative indicators taken as the calculation of jobs are important at the planning stage, but will not be sufficient in the framework of the regional



development program, as it only fixes jobs, and not the possibility of long-term planning for the redistribution of future investments from profits to other infrastructures that require additional inflow of finance. For this, it is necessary to consider the infrastructure of the region taking into account the quality of life indicators, fixing the most problematic places and industries. Workplaces on the basis of renewable energy can be provided first-priority enterprises that provide the main profit of the city, and the most import-intensive or scarce industries.

In Russia, the policy of supporting RES provides for a certain degree of localization of the implementation of RES projects, which contributes to the development of domestic production, the creation of additional value added and jobs inside the country. In addition, the construction of new RES power plants is labor-intensive in comparison with other traditional generating technologies, therefore, not only renewable energy sources, but also the means of their production, are required.

The social consequences of the development of RES have been discussed in the UN documents, in 2012 as part of the development of the green economy concept, in 2015 (adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals by 2030), in December 2015 (ways to reduce greenhouse gas emissions (GHGs) in the context of global climate change). The theory of the fair distribution of resources from the return of renewable energy as a new scheme of horizontal interaction within the framework of sustainable development was dealt with in detail by J. Rifkin.

According to the estimates of the International Energy Agency, in the renewable energy sector (without large hydropower plants), 8.1 million jobs were employed worldwide in 2015, including in developing countries due to the low cost of labor for construction.

According to IRENA, the "green" energy sector will take 32% in the world energy balance by 2030 (according to the forecast of the International Energy Agency (IEA)). The largest among the renewable energy sources is solar energy, it employs 2.5 million people. The production of liquid biofuels is the second most important the industry in providing jobs, it employs about 1.8 million people, mainly in Latin America.

The level of employment in small-scale energy is difficult to assess, this is due primarily to the lack of a clear definition of "small energy". In different countries, small hydro power plants are referred to different power stations. Therefore, the figures given can be considered approximate. The number of jobs worldwide in this sector is 209,000. Of these, 126,000 are in China, followed by European countries, India, Brazil and the United States. Despite the fact that large hydropower occupies a huge place in the energy balance of many countries, accurate statistics on employment in this sector are not available. NP "Market Council" estimated jobs in the RF for 1 MW of generated energy, where there are direct and indirect jobs.

It is assumed that the wind farm is estimated at 2.9 people per 1 MW of produced energy, for solar energy - 9, 1 person per 1 MW, and hydro 1.6 people per 1 MW. Related industries – 4 jobs for 1 place in the field of renewable energy. It should be borne in mind that the creation of jobs in the RES branches will occur as a result of the redistribution of jobs from traditional hydrocarbon energy industries. The creation of jobs will also reduce the state budget expenses for unemployment benefits, will facilitate the transfer of insurance contributions to the pension, insurance and health protection fund, which indirectly will help improve the quality of life in regions with an active position for the development of renewable energy sources.

Conclusion. According to estimates of the NP "Market Council", the integral effect for the Russian economy from the development of renewable energy will be about 200 million rubles. Of these, 80 billion rubles. will go to budgets of various levels and extra-budgetary funds in the form of duties, taxes and insurance premiums. Export earnings should be about 90 billion rubles, and the costs of OS protection should be reduced by 20 billion rubles. 25 000 jobs will be created, in related industries about 100 000 jobs [Geoekonomicheskiy atlas mirovoy energetiki...].

#### Issues that need improvement:

- no programs for the development of renewable energy in cities, including targeted incentive mechanisms
- in the framework of the general support scheme, measures have not been developed to support SHW, mine gas, the use of geothermal energy resources, low- and high-temperature heat sources, tidal and wave energy. Low-potential heat is one of the most promising areas of renewable energy use in cities
- support for small and micro-generation, individual consumption and the mechanism for calculating the arrival / consumption of electricity is not developed taking into account the fact that the consumer can give excess to the network.

It has developed taxation systems, costs in relation to environmental impact.

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Reneawable Energy Policy network for the 21 century (REN 21)

*Maria N. Mukhanova*

## **Rural Population in the Informal Sector in the Russian Labour Market (2011 – 2016 )**

### **ABSTRACT**

The study of the informal sector and the employment of the rural population in it is based on the Rosstat database, obtained in 2011-2016 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 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

The agro-industrial complex of Russia in the near future should provide the country with domestic food and raise the competitiveness of agricultural products in the world market under conditions of import substitution. This increased attention to the cadres and actualized the problem of informal employment in agriculture. It is important to find out what are the models for adapting the villagers to the labor market, assessing the scale, composition of the informal sector in the agro-industrial complex.

The informal employment sector in the agro-industrial complex was formed in the 1990s with the introduction of a market economy, which caused changes in the labor market, the growth of unemployment, poverty, and the emergence of various forms of self-employment of the rural population. The informal sector targets employees for survival, rather than capital accumulation, insecurity of labor rights, the absence of a formal contract with the employer. The informal sector and informal employment have different concepts, within the framework of the methodology of the International Labor Organization.

We agree to understand informal employment as an informal relationship between an employer and an employee, where the latter is employed on the basis of an oral agreement, without a civil contract, without any protection and rights of the employee.

According to the provisions of the 15th International conference of labour statistics (1993), the informal sector is considered more as a set of production units engaged in the production of goods and services, where workers are provided with jobs and income [Sinyavskaya; 2005]. These production units are poorly equipped, have low profitability and more than half of

the employees are hired by oral agreement. Employers in the informal sector have the opportunity to manage the number and composition of employees, based on market conditions, while optimizing their costs and maintaining the desired level of productivity. This is important for small businesses. Employment in the informal sector is due to the fact that the employment relationship with the employer can be terminated at any time, it is a kind of defective, infringed legal and social guarantee of employment.

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, the informal sector is 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 secondary. The criterion for determining the units of the informal sector is the absence of state registration as a legal entity". 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 individual entrepreneurs from individuals; 5. on an individual basis; 6. working in their own household to produce products. [Zanyatost' ..; 2014, p.90].

The significance of the study is that carried out a comprehensive analysis of the labor market and socio-structural processes of the Russian village on the arrays of large-scale panel studies covering all regions of the Russian Federation, showing the specificity of the moment of the rural world, when traditional forms of management leave and disappear the usual contours of the social structure of the village. This determines the main hypotheses of the study and the basis of methodological analysis of empirical data demonstrating the reality of social and structural processes of the Russian village.

The level of employment of the rural population in the productive sectors is the main characteristic and the basis for the change in the social structure of the village. Inside it, there are significant differences between social groups (education, employment conditions, occupational employment, income), i.e. has its own internal structure, determined by socio-economic factors in the development of the agro-industrial complex and the economy as a whole. Changes in the number of employees by economic activities cause structural mobility (movement in the agribusiness sector), caused by institutional processes in the labor market, based on the need for workers.

Transformation of the social structure, the emergence of new forms of employment in the labour market has caused socio-cultural and value changes in the mentality and way of life of rural residents.

Analysis of rural employment in the labor market of the agro-industrial complex is based on Rosstat's panel data, commissioned by the Government of the Russian Federation, which indicates the reliability of the control and the representativeness of the results. The first - "Comprehensive monitoring of living conditions of the population" - a survey of households and members living in them, conducted by Rosstat in 2011-2016. in all subjects of the Russian Federation. In 2011, interviews surveyed 5763 villagers from 16 years of age and older, living in 2835 rural households. In subsequent years, the rural sample was increased and in 2016 was 33547 respondents living 18225 households, 85 subjects of the Russian Federation, 9 Federal Districts, including the Crimean Federal District.

The second is "Selective observation of the incomes of the population and participation in social programs", conducted by Rosstat in 83 regions of the country in all administrative and federal districts. In 2012, interviews interviewed 5,800 individuals from 16 years of age living in 2,754 rural households. In 2016 the rural sample was increased and amounted to 34685 respondents living in 18888 households. For the analysis of the labor market of the agroindustrial complex, indicators were used that characterize the socio-structural processes of the village, the status of employment, attitudes toward work, income, and the economic situation of households. Preliminary results of the agricultural census (2016) were also used.

Socio-territorial inequality in Russian society is expressed in the fact that vital resources are distributed unevenly, their flows are concentrated in capitals and large cities. The isolation of Russian settlements and localization of production often lead to their economic backwardness and weakness. And even in the case when a large transnational or Russian enterprise is located in a rural settlement, for example, Agroholding, this does not mean that the villagers will be in demand in this labor market. Social space, according to P. Bourdieu, "can be perceived in the form of the distribution structure of various types of capital" [Bourdieu 1993, p. 41]. The resources of the territory determine the activities of people, give an opportunity to realize their potential or create an obstacle for this.

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, p.53].



### **Sectoral employment of workers in the informal sector of the agroindustrial complex**

The processes in the labor market of the agro-industrial complex were caused by the transition to a market economy that required considerable flexibility in labor relations. This integrated, legalized and expanded the available non-standard, informal forms of employment, which explains the transformation and displacement of different professional groups in the structures of various types of service industries and their development in the labor market of the agro-industrial complex. Therefore, workers in the informal sector in rural areas are not homogeneous in their composition of sectoral employment.

In agriculture, the informal sector is represented by self-employed peasants, whose main place of work is a personal subsidiary farm (PSF) and a peasant farm (PF). They have the status of farmers or individual entrepreneurs and use family, local resources for the production and sale of products.

PSF are divided into two types: those engaged in the production of products intended for their own final consumption and for full or partial realization. The latter, as commodity producers (PSF), are the main structure of those employed in the agricultural sector in the informal sector and account for 20-22%. Statistics bodies take them into account as economically occupied, although most of them do not have the status of an individual entrepreneur. As the composition of the population changes, their number decreases. According to Rosstat in 2016 compared with 2009, the share of employees in commodity personal subsidiary farm (PSF) decreased by 10%, consumer - by 7%. According to the 2016 agricultural census, the number of PSF in the village decreased from 14.8 to 13.716 million units compared to the 2010 census. [Predvaritel'nyye.; 2017, p. 64]. Despite the fact that the number of farms has been reduced by half, during the reporting period, they were forced to change the status to personal subsidiary farms for various reasons, however, the latter are decreasing in number.

The calculations of the agrarians show that if in 2000 only the replacement of the elderly by rural youth entering into the working age was about 238%, then by 2010 this figure had already decreased to 86.8%, and by 2020 it will drop to 15% [Kozlov, Pankov, Yakovleva; 2016, p.34].

In the post-Soviet period, personal subsidiary farm has become a condition of survival and the main type of employment. In the social structure of modern rural Russia in private household plots self-employed make up a large social group - more than a third of all employed. In other words, self-employed in terms of J. Goldthorpe, that is, those who do not sell their labor and do not buy someone else, form one of the main components of social and structural processes in the Russian village.

The share of smallholdings declined as a low-commodity and consumer sector, in 2016 the level of production of households fell to 34.7% [Bulletin.; 2017]. Obviously, the level of



production is provided not by rural pensioners, who constitute the majority of PSF, but by those who have large or medium-sized farms.

In modern conditions, when in the agro-industrial complex there are such powerful production structures as large agricultural organizations, agricultural holdings, smallholders can be characterized as marginal forms of production and outdated structure. Their production activities do not have their own dynamics and prospects [Mukhanova; 2013]. By their survival, they are obliged to social inertia or the temporary benefits that power and economy derive from them.

Another group, engaged in the informal sector in the agricultural sector, is farming. They are more than 136.6 thousand units. According to the data of the agricultural census of 2016, in comparison with the data of 2010, their number decreased by almost half (46%). But they have become larger, more stable and more effective. The area of the land plot has more than doubled per farm, mainly due to the introduction of neglected lands into circulation, on 10 million hectares. sowing areas have grown, the productivity of farms has increased and, as a result, profitability [Predvaritel'nyye.; 2017, p. 13]. In farms, the level of production was 12.5% [Bulletin; 2017]. The method of natural selection leaves strong peasants in production. In the opinion of officials and experts, farmers which have a strong motivation, are shown as effective producers, solve problems quickly and are evaluated as a perspective structure of the agro-industrial complex. The farmer will not steal from himself, he is motivated by the responsibility and management of his business.

However, farmers have many problems, and the number of farms in the country is decreasing every year. First of all, the uncertainty in land relations, land registration for rent takes an average of about two years. The land is in private ownership, in the hands of the owners, who bought in difficult times land shares for a song from the peasants. In one case, land is not cultivated, overgrown with forest and classified as abandoned. According to the census of 2016, 80 million hectares were those, and in 2010 – 40 million hectares, i.e. growth in 2 times. Farmers rent the land from the owners, but then the owners can refuse to rent or sell it at any time, already processed by the farmer. For example, for this reason, in the Krasnodar region in one of the rural municipalities can be seen dozens of abandoned farms [Nas tormozit.; 2015].

The acuteness of the issue was shown by the August events of 2016-the actions of Kuban farmers who tried to draw Moscow's attention to the facts of land seizure and corruption. The farmer sells his products with difficulty, produced at high electricity and fuel prices. Another problem faced by farms and agricultural organizations that have built large complexes and idle - is the lack of labor resources, the lack of labor force in rural areas [Razvivat' selo 2017, p. 11]

According to experts, the money allocated to agriculture, including import substitution, go to banks and large corporations. 20 agricultural oligarchs receive 95% of state support. The remaining 5% divided among more than 52 thousand of agricultural enterprises (former collective and state farms), 27 thousand micro enterprises and more than 216 PF [Akulova; 2015, p. 2]. In this situation, farmers are particularly difficult, so they do not stand the competition and are forced to close their farms and move to personal subsidiary farms. In 2016, "large business in the amount of 1.2 percent took 40 percent of soft loans" [Kashin; 2018]. In 2017. received loans for the development of agriculture, only 10% of PF [Razvivat'selo; 2017, p. 2]. Government grants to farmers are so small that they are unlikely to help develop the economy.

Thus, the absence of guarantees, the weakness of the legislative and institutional framework for land use in agriculture, corruption and other problems (for example, subsidies for one hectare) are the main obstacle in the development of farms.

The number of villagers is growing, engaged in non-agricultural activities, every year. The share of the rural population engaged in agricultural work in the informal sector in agriculture has significantly decreased from 33% in 2012 to 18.5% in 2016. In General, the level of employment in agriculture in the total number of employed villagers annually reduced. Instead, employment in non – agricultural sectors-trade, repair of motor vehicles, household goods, construction, transport and communications is growing.

A comparison of indicators of employment of villagers by industry in the formal and informal sectors in 2012-2016 shows that in agriculture the level of employment of workers in the informal sector (mainly due to employment in the personal subsidiary farm) is higher than in the formal sector. Although the number of employees of the first decreased compared to 2012, only one in five of them work in agriculture. The reason, perhaps, was their outflow to the cities, migration.

In non-agricultural sectors, the informal sector has a large share of employment in the service sector, trade, transport, repair of motor vehicles and the provision of household services, construction, communications, which is three times higher than those in the formal sector. Sectoral employment of the informal sector shows on the one hand – social and structural (quantitative) changes. On the other hand, institutional (qualitative) changes. Thus, the informal sector in the social and structural processes of the Russian village, as an objective reality, was constructed by its time, filling the void, and implemented it as a rational form of labor for a third of the employed villagers. These transformations have changed the lifestyle of many people.

### **Rural population employed in the informal sector**

The share of employed at the enterprise of the individual entrepreneur, the family enterprise considerably decreased. Within this group, the majority of the employed (77.5 per cent)

work as wage and remuneration employees. In the farm they made the majority (75%), in the sphere of business activity without formation of legal entity (PBOYUL) them about a third (28%).

Employment indicators on terms of employment show that in the formal sector, almost every employee is employed (92.0 per cent), and in the informal sector, only one in two (47.0 per cent). On the basis of an oral agreement without registration of the civil contract worked almost half of workers of informal sector (42,7%), in formal-only units. If we consider the terms of employment in the professional structure, the majority in the informal sector work on the basis of oral agreements, without registration, and therefore without any social guarantees-qualified (41.5%), unskilled workers (38%) and service workers (16%).

Changes in education in the 1990s led to wide and easy access to higher education, resulting in a sharp decline in the number of students enrolled in vocational schools at highly skilled workers. Only one in ten (10.7 per cent) of workers in the informal sector has higher education, which is twice lower than in the formal sector (24.0 per cent). One third of them has primary vocational education, one fourth-secondary General or secondary vocational education. The relatively low level of education and skills of informal sector workers contribute to working conditions with a high level of vulnerability and security. Therefore, in the informal sector, the majority of workers characterize their work as heavy and moderate (76%), more than half (55%) – dangerous, associated with nervous tension and exposure to harmful factors. A quarter of informal sector workers are looking for a suitable job with a good salary, for a full 35 hours a week. At the same time understand that such work to find.

Cross-sectoral comparisons of employment age do not differ significantly. The share of young people (16-29 years) is higher in the informal sector (17%) than in the formal sector (13%). Almost equally, every second employee in the two sectors is observed in the middle age category (30-49 years).

In terms of gender composition, more than half of the employed in the informal sector are men (64%), the share of women is about a third (36%). In the formal sector, they are 48% and 52% respectively. The high proportion of men employed in the informal sector is due to the fact that most of them are skilled and unskilled workers. Women work mainly in budgetary organizations – in education, health care, and this explains the high level of their employment in the formal sector.

Data analysis showed that the majority of employed villagers live in settlements with a population 201-1000 people (40.7 per cent), one third – with the number of 1 - 5th. people (35,7%), every fifth villager lives in villages with population more than 5 thousand. it is Obvious that under the conditions prevailing in rural labour market with low wages and high levels of rural unemployment of 12.1% (in Russia - 5,8), where the territorial resources at the place of residence

is limited, determine the pendulum movement. Therefore, almost half of the workers in the formal sector (41.5%) and a third of the workers in the informal sector (32.5%) have jobs not in their place of residence, but with temporary stay in another locality. Our data confirm that 37% of employees of the two sectors regularly use municipal or commercial transport. Most workers drive their own car to work (60%).

Employment in the informal sector has advantages and disadvantages because it provides flexibility in the labour market but also weakens the position of workers. That is, on the one hand, employees are exposed to various social costs, on the other – it is a tool for adapting employees to the ongoing socio-economic changes. In this situation it is advantageous for the employer to have such conditions for the flexibility of labor relations and for the availability of low-skilled, technologically not equipped workplaces.

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*Olga V. Kitaitseva*  
*Ekaterina A. Manushina*

## **Discount as Product: Formation Specificities of Russians' Demand on Coupon Offers Market**

### **ABSTRACT**

The work is devoted to the market of coupon offers, which to date provides the Russians with new forms of implementation of consumer practices associated with making reasonable purchases. The widespread distribution of prudent purchases, popular among Russians, is associated with a number of factors that are actively forming demand in this dynamic market. The main idea of the article is to show how the demand in the coupon market is formed on the part of consumers and to consider the main socio-economic factors that contribute to the rooting of new consumer practices in online-shopping sphere.

**Keywords:** coupon offers market; prudent purchases; consumer practices in the field of Internet commerce

The market of coupon offers in Russia is very young. Using the practice of making smart purchases came to us mainly from the USA, where online stores were widely developed and where first discount websites occurred. Americans actively compare prices before purchasing goods: 73% of users who are looking for discounts have two or more applications for shopping on mobile phones [Retailmenot, 2016].

The Russian market of coupon offers falls behind the foreign one for several main reasons. Firstly, the appearance of the first online stores could be observed in the West. The first and largest online store Amazon.com appeared in the US in 1995, two years before the first online store in Russia. Secondly, there was a need for raising secondary funds and corresponding opportunities like infrastructure to distribute online purchases. Runet lacked a well-functioning online payment system, the delivery of goods, the opportunity for users and households to enter the Internet. This is due to the fact that financing of American schools access to the Internet exceeds one in Russia. Moreover, connection to the network on the periphery of our country remains expensive [Delitsin, 2010]. Thirdly, the very formation of this consumer practice took some time. According to the data of the American coupon platform Retailmenot for 2016, 85% of the users polled by them searched for coupons before visiting the online store [Retailmenot, 2016]. Users are more likely to decide to buy if there is a discount in the form of a coupon or promotional code. In the Russian online shopping experience, according to the author's research conducted at the end of 2017, only 42% of the Russian users of the Cuponation coupon platform are ready for a spontaneous purchase if they find a coupon for a discount or a promotional code [Potrebitelskie, 2018].

Despite the fact that the coupon offers market on economic concepts is in the sphere of economy and stays in the understanding of economists, it is simply a market that is not endowed with any other meaning and does not differ from others. However, the product of this market is not entirely customary. It is not so much the nature of the market as the nature of the product that is important, because one can get an idea of what meaning the consumers give to this product only by determining the product which forms the market [Slater, 2008]. Of course, we will consider receiving a coupon or a promotional code in order to receive a discount for a purchase in an online store as a good that is sold on the market. At the same time, the goods on the coupon offers market often do not have a certain price and material form. Compared with promotional codes, users are not looking for coupons so often. This is due to the fact that coupons are bought and promotional codes give a discount in the product cart for free: the need to pay through the intermediary site disappears. We consider promotional codes and coupons as one type of discounts. Analyzing the keywords used by the Russian coupon platforms Cuponation, Promokodabra and Picodi, it was concluded that users often accept coupons for promotional codes and vice versa. Discount platforms unite both terms, considering them as a single product in the market of coupon offers. So for us it is important to understand the discount on the market in terms of customer value, while remaining within the framework of instrumental rationality that has a very specific goal: increasing sales volume and winning over competitors products sold in other markets through commodity, e.g. discount marketed coupon offers. Thus, we can talk about the special role that a discount plays as a commodity for selling goods in other markets.

Coupon offers began to develop even before the era of online shopping, offering discounts to customers in traditional stores. Coupons have a rich history and originate from the advertising of the Coca-Cola brand in the 19th century. In 1887 the founder of the company As Griggs Kendler began to write out coupons and send them by mail in order to attract buyers. A little later his coupons began to be printed in magazines and newspapers. The coupon granted the right to one free glass of drink. For 8 years, the company has issued more than eight billion coupons for drinks, which by this time were sold in every state of America. After the success of Coca-Cola, other companies also used such advertising. In the 20th century, many well-known and prosperous companies like Tide, Calgon, Head and Shoulders, Dove, Maxwell House, Come produced coupons, which caused the popularization of their products.

Analyzing the dynamics of coupon queries on the Internet, we can say that since 2016 their search volume in Russia has grown by 79%. More and more global brands offering discounts to customers using promotional codes are entering the Russian market and introducing a Russian version of their website. Most of all, Internet buyers are looking for promotional discounts for



goods and services of foreign sellers: Uber, Papa Johns, Delivery Club, Asos. At the same time, the partner network "seller-coupon site" continues to expand.

The consumer practice of prudent Internet purchases is not limited to the use of promotional codes during a forced or pre-planned purchase. Such a phenomenon as a sale in the digital world has begun to take on new features: shops often not only reduce the price on their site, but also provide coupons to partners. Conversion of such stores increases due to users who are ready to buy goods, fill the shopping cart, and then go to the search engines for an additional discount if the cart has the function "Apply a promotional code or coupon code". In other words, users who are ready to buy are in search of only an additional incentive to buy. This opportunity to save provoked a growing interest in large seasonal sales: Black Friday, Cyber Monday, etc. During the desk research, it was found that the search volume on request "Black Friday" in November 2017 exceeds the previous year's volume by 12%, and from 2013 to 2016, the relative increase in the request was 75%. The volume on request "Cyber Monday" for the end of 2017 exceeded the previous result by 31% [Potrebitelskie, 2018].

When conducting a desk research, it was revealed that at the beginning of 2018, the number of players in the market of coupon offers is 42 platforms, aggregating promotional codes for a discount. The monthly number of visits to such sites in Russia in aggregate reaches 9.5 million. Let's clarify that the number of visits does not mean the number of users: one person can visit the site several times, referring to the search for necessary discounts. According to the expert, the market niche of coupon offers is filled to the limit and small players are absorbed by larger ones or stop working. Leaders, in turn, confidently increase the audience, offering the best discounts in comparison with competitors. This is largely due to the relationship built with partners - online stores. Affiliate work of the coupon platform and the store is built on the creation of an additional channel of communication with the target audience and promotion of the online seller through discounts. The better the result of sales through promotional codes shows the coupon platform, the greater the discount is ready to give the store [Potrebitelskie, 2018].

In the pursuit of the user coupon offers actively penetrate into social networks. According to wciom.ru, 45% of respondents aged 18 and over use at least one of the social networks almost every day, 62% - at least once a week [Kazchdomu, 2018]. So, by asking users of the Cuponation coupon platform, it turned out that 1.9% of respondents receive promotional codes for a discount in social networks, and 4% are looking for discounts, including social networks. Based on the analysis of social networks on the existence of groups, communities or thematic accounts that support the subject of getting discounts or promotional codes, it turned out that the most active consumers behave on the VKontakte network, where the number of groups / communities / accounts by subject of discounts is 148, with the maximum number of subscribers is 13233.

Subscribers in different Russian social networks is extremely uneven, but in each of them there is an audience interested in coupon offers.

However, if compare the operation of the coupon platform Cuponation in 18 countries of the world with the activities on the Russian market in 2014, we can say that the site visits more than 120 thousand users a month, and the number of repeated visits to the site is 250 thousand. This says that every user comes to Cuponation in search of discounts at least twice a month. Despite the active attendance of the site, according to experts, the majority of users of Runet so far only look at promotional codes and make purchases with such discounts much less than in European countries. The gap between the European and Russian development of the practice of reasonable purchases is significant: the earnings of the Russian site is the fourth from the end in the ranking of 18 countries after Poland, India and Brazil.

Summing up, we can conclude that the practice of finding an additional discount is of practical value among Internet buyers who seek to reduce their costs while maintaining the same level of consumption and to optimize the process of shopping while making shopping more profitable.

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*Larissa S. Ruban*

## **The Development of Conflict and Consensus in a Poly-Ethnic Region**

### **ABSTRACT**

Goal of this article is show development of the concrete poly-ethnic region. We use sociological methods (longitude interview) and will be looking at the meaning of “conflict” and “consensus” in their interdependence and conditionality. We will try to show that in the case of the negative consensus, when one of the sides yields its secondary or some part of its interests to the other side and makes a compromise, or a positive consensus, when the sides successfully agree on a satisfaction of their interests.

During survey in Astrakhan region (1989-2016) we received information about forming three generation of young (last soviet, in period transmission and post-soviet).

**Keywords:** poly-ethnic region; interethnic relations; conflict; consensus; conflict resolution.

The term “consensus balance” does not exclude the presence of the contradictions in the social system, which may arise in conflict. If the social system is viable, then the contradictions are resolved on a consensus basis and the social system is at equilibrium (balance). There is the development by law of a homeostasis equilibrium. If the social system is not viable, it loses the ability to restore itself and is destroyed.

In this article we will look at the stable development of multi-ethnic region (Astrakhan region as an example). Why have we chosen this region?

The Astrakhan region occupies an important strategic place in Russia. It is located on the crossroads of the main transport roads, which connect the East and West of Russia. Astrakhan is the frontier region of Russia. It borders Kazakhstan, Kalmykia, the Volgograd region, and Iran via the Caspian Sea. Not far from the Astrakhan region are Dagestan, Chechnya, Azerbaijan, Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachayevo-Cherkessia, and the Stavropol and Rostov regions.

2. Astrakhan is a big manufacturing, transportation, and cultural center of South Russia.

3. The Astrakhan region has always been multi-ethnic. In his region stay 147 nationalities. The largest of these, the Russians; the Kazakhs, the Tatars, the Ukrainians, and the Kalmyks.

4. The region has been historically a peaceful one. From the pre-revolutionary period to this day interethnic conflicts, not to speak of massacres, were unknown. This peaceful coexistence was apparently rooted in the matching of interests (“consensual balance”) of the various population sectors as revealed by statistical analysis and archive materials as well as by sociological investigations dealing with changes in social status of representatives of the largest groups and with the general social condition of the population revealing presence or absence of ethnically based discrimination.

In analyzing changes in the social status of ethnic groups, historically inhabiting the region, it is appropriate to mention employment data gathered in 1924-1925. The Russians, the largest ethnic group were largely employed in industry, agriculture and partly in government service; the Tatars in fruit growing, horticulture (for the most part). In trade, production, and government service; the Kazakhs in horticulture and stock farming (including nomadic). Thus, the interests of these ethnic groups did not clash [Astrakhan Regional Archive: 1].

Changes in the social status of Russians, Kazakhs, and Tatars were traced in a cross-generation study carried out by the author in the Astrakhan region from 1989 to till 1996. Competition became one of the reasons of instability in the multi-ethnic region and how the situation was reflected in the awareness of the young. The respondents were 1549 persons – Russians, Kazakhs and Tatars in Astrakhan, Krasnoyarsk and Volodarsk regions of the Astrakhan oblast. The results of the surveys are shown in tables 1 and 2.

**Table 1: Changes in the occupational profile of the major ethnic groups in the Astrakhan region from 1924-1925 to 1989-1996 (comparative analysis of statistical dates 1924-1925 and survey in 1989-1996)**

	Kazakhs (rural)	Tatars (urban)	Russians (urban)
Agricultural workers	unchanged	reduced 20-fold	reduced 20-fold
industrial workers	increased 3-fold	doubled	decreased 1-3-fold
employees	increased 3-fold	increased 1.1-fold	increased 2.6-fold
mixed	increased 5.5-fold	increased 2.8-fold	doubled

**Table 2: Changes in educational status of major ethnic groups in the Astrakhan region from 1924-1925 to 1989-1996 (comparative analysis of statistical dates 1924-1925 and survey in 1989-1996)**

	Kazakhs (rural)	Tatars (urban)	Russians (urban)
without education	none	none	none
partial secondary	decreased 1.7-fold	decreased 1.4-fold	decreased 4.6-fold
general secondary	increased 11-fold	increased 4.1-fold	increased 1.3-fold
specialist and technical	increased 5-fold	increased 4.3-fold	increased 2.7-fold
higher	increased 3.6-fold	increased 1.2-fold	increased 3.1-fold

As is evident, the social and educational status of Russians, Kazakhs, and Tatars rose in the course of three generations.

Tables 3 and 4 indicate that young respondents deny the existence of discrimination based on ethnicity and that their own ethnic group has the same rights as others.

**Table 3: Replies of young respondents to the question of whether their own ethnic group has equal rights relative to the others (in Astrakhan region) [Ruban (4): 52]**

	Kazakhs		Caucasians				Tatars					Russians				
	1991	2016	1995	1996	1998	2016	1991	1995	1996	1998	2016	1991	1995	1996	1998	2016
yes	88	100	50	33	66	88	79	69	87	85	88	68	65	64	91	70
no	3	-	-	-	33	-	9	11	9	8	6	16	19	8	7	21

**Table 4: Replies of total young respondents to the question of whether their own ethnic group has equal rights relative to the others [Ruban (5): 178]**

Total in Astrakhan	1995	1996	1998	2001	2005	2008	2011	2016
yes	70	79	80	86	73	80	79	80
no	14	8	16	6	19	9	12	10

Consensual balance in the Astrakhan Region, apparently based on an optimal historically formed division of labor and a national-social hierarchy was preserved up to the end of the 1980's.

What was effect of migration from the North Caucasus on the Astrakhan region?

The social, economic, and political situation in the Caucasus in the 1990-s can be characterized as a crisis affecting practically all spheres of social life. The crisis has had an impact on all fields of production such as oil and gas industries. In consequence of a 60% depletion of oil and gas fields, the formerly rich fuel and power region now supplies no more than 1.8% of All-Russian gas. The regional oil refineries depending on local raw material are now in a disastrous position.

The situation in agriculture is the most complicated. Breakdown in the agricultural sphere led to an exodus of farmers. As a result food prices raised impairing availability to the local population. Breakdown in integrated relations brought about disintegration of the economic system. Reduction of production led to massive release of manpower intensified by forced migration of refugees. The following factors stimulating migration were revealed in Chechnya and Dagestan.

Another unfavorable factor related to urbanization has led to the growth of marginal layers of urban populations with the attendant increase of criminogenic conditions generated by political instability and a deteriorating economic system. These factors together with the potential tensions in North Caucasus have stimulated growth of migration to safe bordering zones particularly in the Astrakhan region.

The number of nationalities represented in the region increased from 62 in the beginning of the 1980's to 105 in 1989. The traditional ethnic distribution changed. Of the migrations in the

1990-s from the Caucasus region the largest have the following: from Chechnya; Dagestan; Azerbaijan. As a result the historically formed structure of the population changed. Representatives of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia in 1990-1998 comprise 2.5% are the fourth largest group.

Among the immigrants, the Chechens predominate. They stay in Astrakhan, in Enotayevsky, Lymansky, and Akhtubinsky regions. Many in towns are engaged in trade. In the country they work as shepherds by family contract, often employing hired labor. As migration upset the hierarchy of nationalities and the historically formed division of labour, it led to collision of interests among the local inhabitants and among the migration flows, particularly in trade and enterprise.

**Table 5: "Causes of Migration from the North Caucasus in the 1990-s" [Ruban (3): 176]**

	Consequences:
Crisis in industry	Reduction of production, releasing of manpower ( <b>unemployment</b> ), migration to other regions
Reduction of agricultural production	Worsening of food provision of population ( <b>food shortages</b> ), releasing of manpower ( <b>unemployment</b> )
Concentration of the population in central cities	Intensification of the complex of social problems, including employment, pro-vision of material goods; promotion of the growth of marginal layers of urban population and sharpening of the criminal situation
Development of the ethnic conflicts	Migration of the population to safe regions
Protectionist measures of neighboring region administrations	Strengthening of migration to unprotected Astrakhan region as the safe area with a higher standard of living, with the possibility of capital investment in business and existence of corresponding national groups engaged in traditional trades for settlers

To wit:

**1991.** Incidents on collective farm markets: Tatars expelled Caucasus traders. The conflict spread to the production sphere.

**1992.** Large scale collisions in autumn between Chechens and Kazakhs in the Baskunchyak region instigated by competition in the production and sale of beer.

**1992.** Cooperative shop "Prazdnik" in the centre of Astrakhan was looted.

These collisions were largely of local character. In May, **1993** the conflict zone comprised a number of villages in the Akhtubinsk, Enotayevsky and Limansky regions. Conflicts between Chechens and local inhabitants reflected clashing economic interests. From May 1 to 4 there were mass disturbances in Prishyb, a village in the Enotayevsky region. Demands by the local population to expel the Chechens were motivated by the locals being displaced from their

traditional occupation (shepherd stations), by the defiant behaviour of young Chechens and by the possession of fire arms by the migrants from North Caucasus.

From the end of June to the beginning of July 1993 Astrakhan underwent mass disorders in the form of pogroms with the use of automatic firearms in city streets and markets. In our opinion, these events reflected a struggle between local and Caucasian criminal groups for turfs.

July 3-4, 1993. Bitterness was aroused when the conflict in the village Biruchia Cosa of the Linansky region (where both sides had fire arms) resulted in the death of a child. The villagers demanded eviction of Chechens. In the wake of these events, the administration passed Resolution No. 100 on "Stabilization of criminogenic situation in the Astrakhan region."

The resolution was not directed against any particular group or region, but its implementation contributed to inhibition of the influx of trade and enterprise wave from the Caucasus in consequence of which local groups benefited. Thus the resolution did not discharge inter-ethnic tensions; on the contrary it aggravated them provoking bitterness on both sides. The local groups were encouraged by the compliance of the local administration; at the same time the migrants felt that their situation worsened.

In September, 1993 the author conducted quick interviews of experts (deputies from councils on different levels, administration and security office personnel, broadcasting officials, instructors in political institutes). Affirmative answers to the following questions were equally divided:

1. This is a conflict between local groups and groups from the Caucasus for division of spheres of influence in criminal activity and about dislodging the new competitors from the trade-enterprise sphere.
2. This is a conflict inside the criminal structures. Playing the "nationality card" served to eject the Caucasus competitors from trade and enterprise spheres and for diverting attention from their activity.

If we regard conflict as a "conflict of interests," as is common among American criminologists, the development of conflict in the Astrakhan region appears in the following classical way:

**PHASE 1: A CONFLICTOGENIC SITUATION** – the formation of a conflictogenic potential - conditions that provoke a conflict and define the forces that will participate in it.

**PHASE 2: FORMATION OF A CONFLICT SITUATION** – when the sides become aware of there interests and their violation.

**PHASE 3: ERUPTION OF OPEN CONFLICT.**

**PHASE 4: MEASURES UNDERTAKEN TO REGULATE THE CONFLICT.** These measures should lead to a consensus agreement, or else the conflict will continue.



On the basis of our analysis, we assume that the sides became clearly aware of their interests and of the areas where these interests clashed. Thus, the criminogenic situation developed into a conflict situation and eventually erupted into open conflict.

In 2005, in the village of Yandyki in the Limansky district of the Astrakhan region there was a new incident. In February 2005, three young Chechens destroyed a monument on the grave of a soldier who died in Chechnya. Since the local court sentenced the defilers to short probation, it caused discontent of the village population.

In August 2005, during the fight between the young inhabitants of the village the Kalmyk, the Chechen and other ethnic groups killed a local resident (Kalmyk). In his death, the locals accused the Chechens. The day of the funeral, about 500 people organized riots against Chechens living in the village of Yandyki (burned houses and cars belonging to migrants Chechens, beat their owners).

On September 6, 2005, there was a clash over land plots between local residents and migrants of Meskhetian Turks in the village of Pody of Chernoyarsky district.

Thus, the cause of the clashes in the Astrakhan region in 1991-1993 and 2005 was the competition of the local population and migrants in the socio-economic sphere. After the effective work of the regional administration in this area, there were no more conflicts in the Astrakhan region.

### **Development of the ethnic situation in the awareness of the young**

The sharpening of inter-ethnic relations is reflected in sociological investigations. Specifically the tendency of the conflict to aggravate was evidenced in the perceptions of the young. Interest in analyzing the views of the young on a given problem was stimulated in the first instance by the fact that the young are usually the most active participants in inter-ethnic conflicts. Because of their scanty social experience they are suggestible and may be easily manipulated. They also tend to be intensely emotional in their evaluation of events reactions to them.

The development of a conflict situation is easily exposed through the perceptions of current events by the young, as they occur in a city or an oblast. Their answers to questions pertaining to these events are significant. We posed the question "Are there nationalities do you dislike?" The answers are shown in tables 5, 6 and 7.

**Table 6: Is there a nationality which you feel hostility towards? If so, which one(s)? (in % of pupils responding in the Astrakhan region) [Ruban (4): 47]**

April, 1991	Kazakhs	Tatars		Russians
-yes	22	35		42
-to Caucasians	4	12		4
End of 1991 – beginning of 1992	Kazakhs	Tatars		Russians
-yes	22	57		58
-to Caucasians	4	18		22
1995	Caucasian	Tatars		Russians
-yes	38	50		33
-to Uzbeks	13			
-to gipsy	13			
-to Chechens	13			
-to Caucasians		100		82
End of 1996	Caucasian	Tatars		Russians
-yes	33	52		48
-to Caucasians	100	100		87
beginning of 1998	Caucasian	Tatars		Russians
-yes	33	19		33
-to Caucasians ( to Chechens)	100	80		91
2016	Caucasian	Kazakhs	Tatars	Russians
-yes	22	25	47	38
-to Caucasians	11	50	47	19

**Table 7: Is there a nationality which you feel hostility towards? If so, which one(s)? (in % of total pupils responding in the Astrakhan region) [Ruban (5): 171-172]**

in Astrakhan	1995	1996	1998	2001	2005	2008	2011	2016
yes	39	48	26	47	53	42	33	36
no	40	33	70	35	34	48	54	46
yes, to Caucasians	36	90	90	89	59	79	67	78

**Table 8: Is there a nationality, which you feel hostility towards? If so, which one(s)? (in % of adults responding in the Astrakhan region during survey in 1994-1995)**

1994	Total index	Russians	Tatars	Caucasians	Kazakhs
- yes, to Caucasians	34	37	33	67	
1995					
- yes	35	35	34	67	19
- to Caucasians	29	29	29	67	14

Ethnic groups most frequently mentioned as "antagonists" were the Chechen, Daghestanis, Armenians, Azeris, and Georgians. Answers were often based on personal dealings with these people. The causes mentioned as evoking dislike were the following: the behavior of Caucasians in towns (impudence, loutishness, cruelty, lack of respect for other ethnic groups), way of life, field of activity (especially trade and enterprise), low cultural level. [Ruban (2): 34].

**Table 9: Do you think that it's possible for you to participate in a conflict in the interests of your national group? (in % of Russian, Tatars and Caucasian pupils responding in the Astrakhan region) [Ruban (4): 53]**

Years	Schoolchildren											
	Russian				Tatar				Caucasian			
	1995	1996	1998	2016	1995	1996	1998	2016	1995	1996	1998	2016
- yes, undoubtedly	29	14	9	13	17	22	15	18	38	-	-	22
- depends on the circumstances	52	65	79	57	69	65	50	56	52	67	66	44
- not under any circumstances	8	16	4	15	-	4	19	12	-	-	-	-

**Table 10: Do you think that it's possible for you to participate in a conflict in the interests of your national group? (in % of total index of pupils responding in the Astrakhan region) [Ruban (5): 179]**

Years	1995	1996	1998	2001	2005	2008	2011	2016
- yes, undoubtedly	26	16	9	18	34	33	19	14
- depends on the circumstances	58	66	64	59	32	45	59	60
- not under any circumstances	5	9	8	5	13	15	11	13

**Table 11: Do you think that it's possible for you to participate in a conflict in the interests of your national group? (in % of adults responding in the Astrakhan region) [Ruban (2): 37]**

Years	total index		Russians		Tatars		Caucasian		Kazakhs	
	1994	1995	1994	1995	1994	1995	1994	1995	1994	1995
- yes, undoubtedly	9	9	9	9	11	13	11	-	-	10
- depends on the circumstances	43	41	44	41	41	40	11	33	56	48
- not under any circumstances	25	24	24	24	19	27	33	33	33	5

**Table 12: What do you think about the use of force for the resolution of ethnic conflict? (in % of pupils responding in the Astrakhan region) [Ruban (4): 54]**

Years	Schoolchildren											
	Russians				Tatars				Caucasian			
	1995	1996	1998	2016	1995	1996	1998	2016	1995	1996	1998	2016
- the use of force is necessary	10	8	3	7	6	8	-	6	13	-	-	-
- the use of force in the case of a threat to the life and dignity of people	79	68	87	52	59	52	77	62	50	67	33	55
- the use of force is never necessary	6	13	16	31	28	20	19	12	38	33	33	22

**Table 13: What do you think about the use of force for the resolution of ethnic conflict? (in % of total index pupils responding in the Astrakhan region) [Ruban (5): 180]**

Years / Total index of pupils	1995	1996	1998	2001	2005	2008	2011	2016
- the use of force is necessary	8	8	2	6	14	6	11	4
- the use of force in the case of a threat to the life and dignity of people	67	66	76	75	63	68	59	52
- the use of force is never necessary	19	22	18	12	11	15	12	32

For comparison, we present the data of surveys of the adult population from different regions of the Russian Federation, carried out by experts of the Institute of sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, which note that the main feature of interethnic tolerance is the readiness for peaceful settlement of possible ethnic disputes and conflicts. Such a setup is supported by the majority of the population – 81% of Russians and 84% of persons of other nationalities, who agree that "violence in interethnic and interreligious disputes is unacceptable» [Russkoe obshestvo: 211].

In the Astrakhan region changes status of the local ethnic groups. As can be seen from Tables 1 and 2 considerable success was achieved by the Kazakhs. The number of collective farmers remained the same. The number of workers, however, increased 3-fold and the number of mixed groups 5.6-fold. Location of gas processing plants in areas belonging to Kazakhs from times immemorial promoted changes in their traditional occupations, namely increased numbers of workers, employees and mixed groups. The flow of migrants from the Caucasus instigated clashes in traditional national occupations (stock farming) at shepherd stations.

The educational level of the Kazakhs rose (as shown by data collected over three generations). The number of Kazakhs with a partial secondary education decreased 1.7-fold (among Russians 4.6-fold), while the number with full secondary education increased 11-fold (among Russians 1.3-fold); the number with specialist education 5-fold (among Russians 2.7-fold); the number with higher education 3.8-fold (among Russians 3.1-fold).

The author found discrepancies between the growth of national self-awareness and of interest in national culture and language and the opportunity to use it on the other (except in daily life). Tables 11-13 show the opinions of the young (pupils in upper grades) on whether ethnic origin has a bearing on the opportunity for social mobility.

**Table 14: Replies of young Kazakhs, Tatars and Russians on whether ethnic origin has a bearing on entering an educational institution [Ruban (4): 51]**

	Kazakhs		Caucasians				Tatars					Russians				
	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2
	9	0	9	9	9	0	9	9	9	9	0	9	9	9	9	0
	9	1	9	9	9	1	9	9	9	9	1	9	9	9	9	1
	1	6	5	6	8	6	1	5	6	8	6	1	5	6	8	6
- yes	40	25	25	67	33	11	10	17	9	12	18	23	13	35	34	28
- no	34	75	63	33	33	77	61	69	70	73	44	56	63	46	55	64

**Table 15: Replies of total index pupils responding on whether ethnic origin has a bearing on entering an educational institution [Ruban (5): 51]**

Years	1995	1996	1998	2001	2005	2008	2011	2016
- yes	15	29	26	20	30	20	24	25
- no	65	52	55	66	58	70	64	64

**Table 16: Replies of young Kazakhs, Tatars and Russians on whether ethnic origin has a bearing on successful advancement to a better job or service [Ruban (4): 51]**

	Kazakhs		Caucasians				Tatars					Russians				
	1 9 9 1	2 0 1 6	1 9 9 5	1 9 9 6	1 9 9 8	2 0 1 6	1 9 9 1	1 9 9 5	1 9 9 6	1 9 9 8	2 0 1 6	1 9 9 1	1 9 9 5	1 9 9 6	1 9 9 8	2 0 1 6
-yes	27	25	25	67	33	33	7	19	17	12	25	19	8	27	39	36
- no	40	50	63	33	33	66	63	61	48	69	50	55	63	48	43	57

**Table 17: Replies of total index pupils responding on whether ethnic origin has a bearing on successful advancement to a better job or service [Ruban (5): 178]**

Years	1995	1996	1998	2001	2005	2008	2011	2016
- да	14	26	30	25	37	25	30	34
- нет	61	48	45	59	58	60	58	54

**Table 18: Replies of young Kazakhs, Tatars and Russians on whether ethnic origin has a bearing on election to party, government or trade union organs and social organization [Ruban (4): 52]**

	Kazakhs		Caucasians				Tatars					Russians				
	1 9 9 1	2 0 1 6	1 9 9 5	1 9 9 6	1 9 9 8	2 0 1 6	1 9 9 1	1 9 9 5	1 9 9 6	1 9 9 8	2 0 1 6	1 9 9 1	1 9 9 5	1 9 9 6	1 9 9 8	2 0 1 6
- yes	16	25	25	67	-	22	1	25	30	23	25	13	15	32	42	46
- no	58	75	63	33	66	77	67	36	40	54	43	57	44	40	40	44

**Table 19: Replies of total index pupils responding on whether ethnic origin has a bearing on election to party, government or trade union organs and social organization**

Years	1995	1996	1998	2001	2005	2008	2011	2016
- да	22	32	32	44	46	32	37	40
- нет	41	40	43	48	33	45	42	46

On the basis of empirical data, we can conclude that even in a stable region, young people have a sufficiently high potential for conflict, which may or may not be realized, depending on certain circumstances and the influence exerted on young people. The surveys recorded the presence of hostility on ethnic grounds: in 1998-1999 – from 20 to 36 %, in 2001-2002 – from 8 to 47%, in 2004-2005 – from 25 to 53%, in 2007-2008 – 53%, in 2008-2009 – from 42 to 46%, in 2010-2011 – from 13 to 33%, in 2011-2012 – to 33%, in 2015-2016 – from 17 to 36;

– declared possible participation in ethnic conflicts on the side of their national group: in 1998-1999 – from 60% to 83 %, in 2001-2002 – from 73% to 89%, in 2004-2005 – from 66% to 91%, in 2007-2008 – 57%, in 2008-2009 – from 75 to 78%, in 2010-2011 – from 43 to 78%, in 2011-2012 – from 19 to 59%, in 2015-2016 – from 57 to 74%.

Taking into account the materials of continuous monitoring, the Administration of the Astrakhan region is taking not only real socio-economic measures for stabilization of the situation in the region, but also measures of educational impact on young people and their active involvement in the transformation process through social and national cultural organizations, which makes it possible to reduce the conflict potential of young people and to form the position of young people on the basis of tolerance and mutual respect.

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*Olga A. Basheva*

## **Urban Catastrophe: the Case of INION**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article presents a chronicle of cultural catastrophe and the specifics of the participation of various actors in the process of eliminating its consequences, with an emphasis on the activities of volunteers. The value specificity of the catastrophe is also shown, which is manifested in the fact that a cultural catastrophe becomes an extraordinary event only for specific groups of the population.

**Keywords:** volunteering; urban catastrophe; cultural heritage; INION; social networks

### **The problem-posing**

Sociologists call modern society a risk society, because the catastrophes are becoming more frequent and less predictable. They even talk about the normalcy of the accident [Perrow, 1984] due to the complexity of the used technologies. Nevertheless, each catastrophe is individual, has an extraordinary character and requires flexibility in making decisions during the liquidation of consequences and minimization of losses. To achieve these goals it is always necessary to mobilize the efforts of many state and civil actors operating at different levels.

The fire that happened at the Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences (INION RAS) in early 2015 was called a cultural catastrophe by scientists and cultural figures. In Russia, this is the second catastrophe of this magnitude – in February 1988 the library of the USSR Academy of Sciences burned down in Leningrad. There is evidence that residents of the city helped to dry the books affected by the fire extinguishing. By 2015, there have been major changes in the life of society, the Internet has become accessible to the public, which has led to the emergence of new mobilization platforms. Nevertheless, such catastrophes become a significant event only for certain groups of the population.

This article will present a chronicle of cultural catastrophe and the specifics of the participation of various actors in the process of eliminating its consequences, with an emphasis on the role of volunteers. The value specificity of the catastrophe is also shown, which is manifested in the fact that a cultural catastrophe becomes an extraordinary event only for specific groups of the population.

### **Research methods**

During the study mass media and social media analysis was carried out by means of special monitoring systems; the structured interviews with volunteers and employees of INION RAS were also conducted (the participants were selected by the snowball method). A large amount of



information was obtained from the publications of INION employees and volunteers on Facebook, in particular in the group «Friends of INION», created as a mobilization platform after a fire.

### **Chronicle and participants of events**

The fire in the building of INION began around 10 pm on January 30, 2015. Within a few minutes after the first report of the emergency situation, firefighters arrived in the place. After another two hours the fire was localized.

The area of fire reached 2 thousand square meters, partially fell roof. The fire was assigned the third difficulty number at five maximum for the city of Moscow.

An active discussion of the disaster began in the media and social networks. The first assumptions about the causes of the fire, fears about the future fate of the library and comparison with similar cases in history began to arise.

For protection from marauders before the fire was extinguished the INION was taken under guard by the Moscow police. To evacuate material values from the building, employees of the Ministry of Emergency Situations were involved, and additional units of the EMERCOM were used to the debris analysis, and a series of heavy engineering equipment was connected.

On the afternoon of February 2, the units of the EMERCOM completed all the work on the place of the fire. An act of the building transfer to the administration of INION was prepared. By this time experts from the forensic expert center of the Federal fire service of the EMERCOM were already working in the building, and the Moscow prosecutor's office began to check after the fire in the library.

The head of the Presidential Council for Human Rights, Mikhail Fedotov, called the fire at INION a catastrophe that seriously affected Russian culture and science. Fedotov invited the Public Chamber of the Russian Federation, together with the Council, to form a working group that will come into contact with representatives of the EMERCOM, investigative bodies, the prosecutor's office to ensure public control over the investigation of the catastrophe.

The reaction of Russian and international scientific community to the catastrophe was prompt. The representatives of the Ministry of Culture, Federal Archive Agency, the Restoration Institute, the Russian State Library, the library of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences and other federal libraries expressed their readiness to provide immediate support to INION for the reconstruction and restoration of the affected books. The president of the Russian Library Association, Vladimir Firsov, stated his readiness to provide assistance to INION, but only after receiving the expert opinion on damage assessment.

On February 4 specialists of INION were admitted to the burned down building. To assess the damage an expert council was organized.

Around the same time, INION employees and public figures began to spread calls for help to the library. In Facebook was created a group called «Friends of INION» in which information about the situation in the institute was spread. Gradually formed a volunteer network.

By February 9 the expert council of INION sent to the Federal agency of scientific organizations proposals on priority measures for saving books.

On February 11, INION employees started to transport books. The first 100 boxes with books that needed convective drying were taken out. On the same day the debris analyze started in the building.

On February 17, Russian architects, restorers, art historians and experts in the field of cultural heritage protection appealed to the Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev with a letter about the restoration of the fire-damaged building of INION RAS in accordance with the original project of architect Yakov Belopolsky. Shortly before the fire, the international organization for the protection of architectural monuments Docomomo put INION in the preliminary list of the hundred most significant buildings of Soviet Moscow.

On February 24, INION staff invited volunteers to sort out the book depository. On February 25, they packed about 25 000 books for the first day of their work, and within a week they did a lot of work which the Institute staff believed would do a month. The work was actively carried out with a wet foundation – this is about 3 million books filled with water during a fire extinguishing. Every day about 20-30 tons of books and magazines were prepared for loading. They had to be frozen in the cryocamera to avoid rotting, and after that to restore. The loading was done by hired loaders, but the help of volunteers was still needed from time to time: *«...to export the “wet fund” eventually decided to still hire professional loaders, because it is physically difficult to take out wet books. The volunteers worked mainly on the exportation of dry books, which saved us both time and money, which was not enough for anything. Plus, there was another story later, when it suddenly turned out that some of the books on the third floor had survived, and for a few days the volunteers literally shoveled ash heaps dumped by workers from above. Naturally, this work did not enter into any initial plans, but without volunteers we could not have coped here either»* [Mikhail Mints, INION employee].

On March 14, the entire dry fund (more than 600 000 books) was removed from the library and transported to temporary storage [Bol'she 600 tysyach knig..., 2015].

On March 21, the helpers were looking for already for unpacking boxes with «evacuees» from the INION newspapers in the temporary storage. The mobilization platform expanded to blogs in the media, the Internet-community such as together.ru came to the rescue.

In early April, police detained men in central Moscow trying to sell 12 books stolen at INION during the restoration works after the fire.

On April 17 the Prosecutor General's Office of the Russian Federation stated that the RAS Administration did not allocate the necessary amount of money to repair fire and other systems of the INION building. On April 20, it became known that the former director of INION was charged with negligence.

The list of actors who joined the situation around INION included at least two dozen: EMERCOM of Russia, Moscow police, private security company, hydrometeorological services, Federal Agency for Scientific Organizations (FASO Russia), Russian academy of sciences, Government of the Russian Federation, Moscow Government, political parties, mass media and social media, the Internet community, Forensic expert center of the Ministry of Emergency Situations, General Prosecutor's Office of the Russian Federation, investigative bodies, Accounts chamber of the Russian Federation, Human Rights Council, Public Chamber, the Russian Library Society, the Russian and international scientific community, the staff and management of INION, the expert council at INION, volunteers, contractors, the wet exporters, Russian architects, restorers, art historians and specialists in the field of cultural heritage protection and so on.

Many of these actors have expressed their intention to join the process of eliminating the consequences. But while the bureaucratic machine was swaying, INION employees sounded the alarm that most of the funds could be lost because of the delay in providing assistance. At the same time, topics that had not previously had a wide public resonance were raised: small volumes of digitizing storage units, a shortage of employees and funds for this procedure. The situation caused a wide resonance in mass media, the peak of mention was in February and April 2015, and mainly in the Moscow media.

Above all journalists wrote about the damage to the library, the fate of the institute's employees, the theft of rare publications while working in the building of volunteers, the search for guilty people in a fire, etc.

The peaks of mentioning INION in social networks duplicate the situation in the media: February and April - the time of fire and liquidation of consequences, as well as the situation around the theft of books from the burned library and the institution of the criminal case against the director of the institute.

But it is important to note that social networks, in particular Facebook, have become not only a space for information dissemination, but also a mobilization platform for civil activists, as it happened during past disasters: in 2010 when forests in Central Russia were burning, and in 2012 when a devastating flood occurred in Krymsk [Nevsky, 2014; Usacheva, 2012; 2013; Yanitsky, 2013].

### Portrait of the INION volunteer

The participation of volunteers in the rescue of INION funds the mass media did not pay much attention, rather they wrote about it in the context of the theft of books during the debris analysis. Nevertheless on the background of the work of the investigation and statements by officials about the need to restore the library and the solution of bureaucratic issues, the institute staff with the help of volunteers and contractors, conducted a heavy rescue work in the burnt building.

The results of our study made it possible to make a dotted portrait of the INION volunteer.

Most of volunteers are connected with professional activities with science and education, media, culture (photographers, guides, designers, library and theater staff, etc.), but there were also office workers. In total, up to 600 people participated in the rescue of the funds in the burnt down building. About 20 people worked per turn.

Not everyone knew about the existence of INION before the fire, but for all institutions of culture were of high value, which is confirmed by the statements of volunteers: «I did *not know about the existence of the library, but in general I like to visit several central libraries in Moscow*» [volunteer, photographer Maria Plotnikova].

Among those who knew about the existence of INION were those who were associated with the library by professional tasks and interests: their scientific supervisors or relatives worked here, their manuscripts were deposited here, someone visited the library, intending to enter postgraduate study, or worked at the Russian Academy of Sciences: «*My wife attended there and even deposited there the manuscript. And I drove beside the library and was fascinated by the utopian architecture in the style of the 1960s. In addition, I read that the library collection is unique, I knew that it was an information gateway during the Cold War, I knew about very high-level referencing, etc. I read a lot about Russian science. Therefore, frankly, it was always very curious what is inside INION*» [Pavel Tychina, analyst].

The future volunteers found out about the fire through the Internet: from news sites and social networks. All respondents found out from Facebook about the need of assistance in saving the library fund. In this network the group «INION RAS. Assistance in eliminating the consequences of a fire. Group for volunteers» was open. Later it was renamed in «Friends of INION RAS». In the spring of 2017, there were 2,5 thousand participants. This network has become a mobilization platform, and in the case of INION it is no coincidence. Researchers of Russian social media, note that Facebook is the platform for communication of the near-scientific community, people of creative professions and specialists in the field of information technologies.

The role of coordinators – INION employees – in the involvement of volunteers was huge. Some volunteers were mobilized by their personal requests. The names of Zoya Metlitskaya and

Tatyana Reshetnik were mentioned especially often in the media and the responses of volunteers.

The leitmotiv in the answers to the question about the reasons for rendering assistance to INION was the love of books, the value of the cultural object, the altruistic «it is necessary to help those who have difficulties...», but the background motivation was the personal interest in contact with something «sacral», closed, inaccessible in ordinary life and, at the same time, participation in something socially important: *«I am a photographer and it was important for me to make a report about the consequences of the fire and volunteer work in order to attract as many volunteers as possible... I studied at the philology and experienced a huge love of paper books. After the news about the fire, it felt as if a loved one was dead»* [Maria Plotnikova, photographer, journalist]; *«I was interested in working with rare editions»* [Natalia Chernysheva, analyst].

Half of the respondents somehow were previously associated with volunteering. Among them were those who in 2012 participated in the liquidation of the consequences of the flood in Krymsk, participated in the activities of charitable foundations.

The work schedule of volunteers did not prevent them from participating in saving the library, they had enough free time. For someone it was a one-off event, others came two or three times. Volunteers worked in pairs with small breaks for tea. Everything was organized systematically and clearly.

The tasks of the EMERCOM and volunteers were clearly divided: *«The staff of EMERCOM was engaged in liquidation of the fire and collapse of the building, we were not allowed to go there close»* [Maria Plotnikova, photographer, journalist]; *«< EMERCOM> was interested in the building, not books»* [one of volunteers].

In opinion of volunteers, their assistance was required because of a lack of sufficient funding and bureaucratic difficulties.

The critical question about the responsibility for saving the damaged values was discussed in the media and, naturally, was in the sphere of volunteers interests. The popular among them opinion was that public-private partnership is necessary in providing first aid in the case of similar emergencies: *«Volunteers should provide physical assistance, and material assistance should ideally be provided by big private corporations. The state in this case is represented by the EMERCOM and fire services – without their operational work volunteers would have nothing to save. To get the same financing from state structures in the shortest time, in my experience, it is absolutely impossible»* [Maria Plotnikova, photographer, journalist]; *«If we are talking about fire – firefighters and the EMERCOM, if we are talking about the evacuation of books – all not indifferent people, but primarily – the administration of the Institute»* [Semen Sheshenin, research fellow].

Such an active position, the mobilization state of a person and citizen in a critical situation

O. Yanitsky calls a social norm (for a healthy society), which is a necessary prerequisite for the development and accumulation of the social and cultural potential of an individual or the social community [Yanitsky, 2013]. Without this state, it is impossible to achieve significant results, or social modernization as a whole.

## Discussion

The fire at INION became a cultural catastrophe on a world scale: the library fund suffered (2,32 million copies or 15.7% of the total fund is called difficult to restore) and the building, recognized as an architectural heritage of the Soviet period. In Russia, this event caused a wide but short-term resonance in mass media and social media and at least for the third time mobilized voluntary civil groups to provide immediate assistance to the party affected by the disaster, reaffirming the mobilization potential of modern information technologies and civil networks.

According to the United Nations and the World Bank experts, each disaster is unique, but it always identifies actions – individuals or authorities at different levels – that, if they turn out to be otherwise, could reduce the damage [World Bank, 2010]. This model of two-level participation in the liquidation of the consequences of the catastrophe as in the past few years in Russia, was observed this time. The EMERCOM has worked promptly, but bureaucratic mechanisms have greatly slowed down and made it difficult to provide emergency assistance. In this situation, an operative solution was found through networking: mobilization of civil (voluntary) actors, including the staff of the affected institute and volunteers.

Nevertheless, the specifics of this type of catastrophe, namely, the cultural urban catastrophe, made it possible to draw a conclusion about the value perception of an emergency situation. As O. Yanitsky writes, in every human community the perception threshold is formed, outside of which the potential risk begins to be perceived as a real threat. In other words, the perception of a catastrophe is a phenomenon, including a cultural one, connected with values that motivate mobilization.

The cultural catastrophe, unlike the natural ones, mobilized a special circle of citizens – a near-scientific environment and those engaged in culture, that is, this extraordinary event turned out to be a significant event for the «narrow» circle of citizens.

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## **Women in the Informal Sector of the Economy: Regional Cut (on the Example of the Republic of Bashkortostan)**

### **ABSTRACT**

General trends of women's employment in the informal sector of the Russian and regional economies (on the example of The Republic of Bashkortostan) were analyzed using data from Rosstat Labour Force Surveys and Comprehensive Survey of Living Conditions of the population. The situation of women working in the informal sector of Bashkortostan is compared with that of women working formally, with that of men working in the informal sector, and with the relevant national indicators. Subjective assessments of working conditions and satisfaction with various aspects of work are given. Conclusion: working in the informal sector is a forced strategy of women's life, mainly with a low level of human capital or women who have been subjected to gender discrimination. Jobs in this sector are unstable and low-paid, cause significant social risks and consequences.

**Keywords:** employment; informal sector; women; men; region

### **Introduction**

Informal employment of women, its scale, structure and special features are one of the least examined issues not only in the Republic of Bashkortostan, but also in Russia and in the world as well. There are many reasons: objective - the lack of accurate data (the sector belongs to the non-observed part of the economy); the lack of special regular studies, representative at the subnational level (regions of Russia) and enabling the analysis of the situation by age, sex, residence, education and other factors; methodological - inaccuracies related to the distinction between the concepts of informal employment and employment in the informal sector of the economy (the 17th international conference of labour statisticians in 2003), disputes about the criteria for classifying households workers as employed people etc.; subjective – some respondents participating in the surveys are not aware of the presence or absence of formal employment or refuse to answer the relevant questions, etc.

Meanwhile, the well-known problems of gender discrimination and informal employment are closely related to the phenomenon of segmentation of the labor market. According to the concept of labor market segmentation, the secondary (periphery) group consists of employed under short-term contracts and without contracts, working part-time, without guarantees of workplace preservation in times of economic recession, subcontractors, borrowed workers, self-employed [Radaev, 2005: 308-309].

The relevance of the problem is due to the consequences and social risks that accompany women's employment in the informal sector (lack of development opportunities, education and career growth; social insecurity, reduced self-esteem and confidence in the future, etc.).

The purpose of this work is to present a structural and quantitative analysis of women's employment in the informal sector of the regional economy on the example of the Republic of Bashkortostan.

Methodological basis of this article constitute working papers of the experts of the International labour organization [Non-standard employment, 2016]; the international documents and agreements on statistics of the informal sector of the economy [Measuring the Non-Observed, 2002], [Resolution concerning statistics, 1993], [Guidelines, 2003]; Methodological guidelines on measuring employment in the informal sector of the economy [Metodologicheskie polozheniya], methodological guidelines to conduct sample Labor Force Surveys of the **Federal State Statistics Service** [Osnovny`e metodologicheskie...]. The empirical base was made by the data of Labour Force Surveys [Obsledovanie rabochej sily`] and the data of Comprehensive Monitoring of Living Conditions (CMLC) [Kompleksnoe nablyudenie, 2016], as well as the data of the Social Insurance Fund of the Russian Federation [Poiskovo-monitoringovaya sistema].

### **Research methodology**

The labour force survey, which has been regularly carried out in in Russia and its regions since 2001, is the only official source of data on the employment in informal sector. The survey is representative at regional level. However, in regional terms, there is no possibility of analysis by different combinations of factors such as gender, age, level of education, residence etc. First, microdata are not publicly available, and second, the sample size by region is not large enough for such studies. At the same time, the survey is organized and methodologically built in accordance with international standards and agreements on employment statistics in the informal sector of the economy. Therefore, we rely on it to verify the results of our research obtained from other sources.

To solve the problems of this study, we turned to the data of The Comprehensive Monitoring of Living Conditions (CMLC), which is carried out by Rosstat since 2011. The total sample size (in all subjects of the Russian Federation) is 60 thousand households, including 1431 households (3400 individuals) in the Republic of Bashkortostan. The representativeness of the sample, the availability of data sets in the open access, as well as the presence of a special variable “employment by economic sectors” in the database (which means full accordance with the labor force survey methodology) – were arguments of confidence and the choice of these data to characterize the employment of women in the informal sector of the economy in the Republic of Bashkortostan.

However, it should be noted that the levels of employment in informal sector estimated by the CMLC (2016) and the Labour force survey (2016) for the Russian Federation in general, and the Republic of Bashkortostan in particular, are slightly different (probably due to the peculiarities of the organization and collection of data). It should also be noted that when selecting respondents suitable for analysis, the regional array was reduced to 1,365 people (47% of women; 21.8% of workers in the informal sector of the economy) (Table.1.).

**Table 1: Distribution of respondents from the Republic of Bashkortostan by gender and employment sector.**

Sector of the economy	Male	Female	Total
Employed in the formal sector	553 (51,8%)	515 (48,2%)	1068 (100%)
Employed in the informal sector	174 (58,6%)	123 (41,4%)	297 (100%)

Source: [Kompleksnoe nablyudenie, 2016].

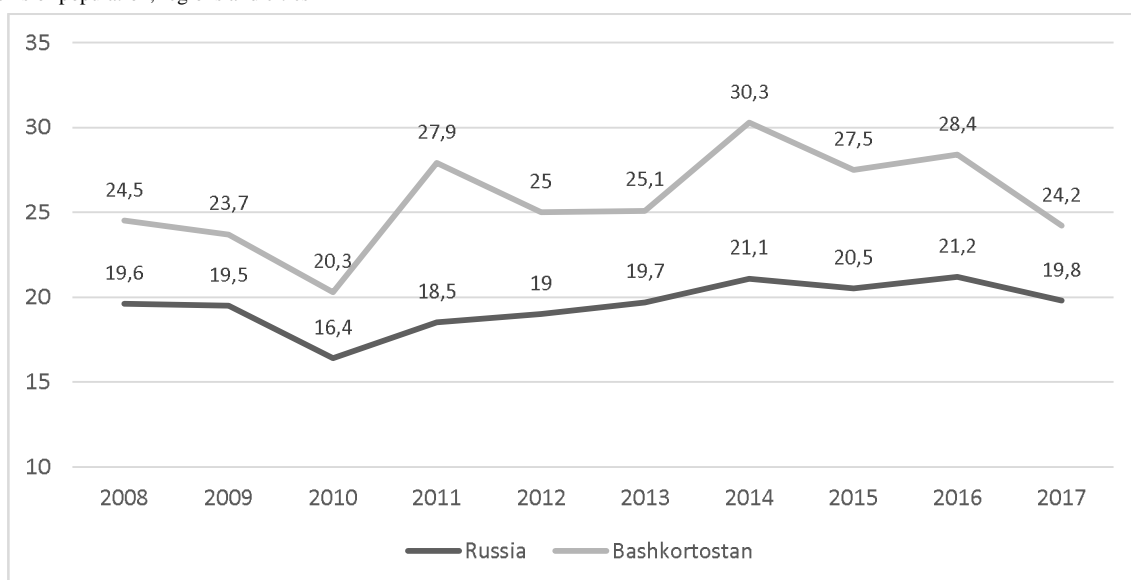
In this regard, we do not recommend considering the obtained figures as accurate and final. At the same time, the comparison with the all-Russian trends and proportions, allows us to assert that the results generally reflect the real picture, approximate ratios (gender, residential, educational, etc.), show the key problems and characterize the social portrait of a woman employed in the informal sector of the region.

In this paper, data on employed in the informal sector of the economy are presented<sup>9</sup>. This means that persons employed in the formal sector of the economy but in informal jobs (i.e., for various reasons, not registered under the Labor code of the Russian Federation and residing beyond the system of social protection) remained outside the analysis.

### **Employment in the informal sector of the economy of Bashkortostan: the scale, trends and features**

The level of employment in the informal sector in the Republic of Bashkortostan has always been higher than in Russia as a whole.

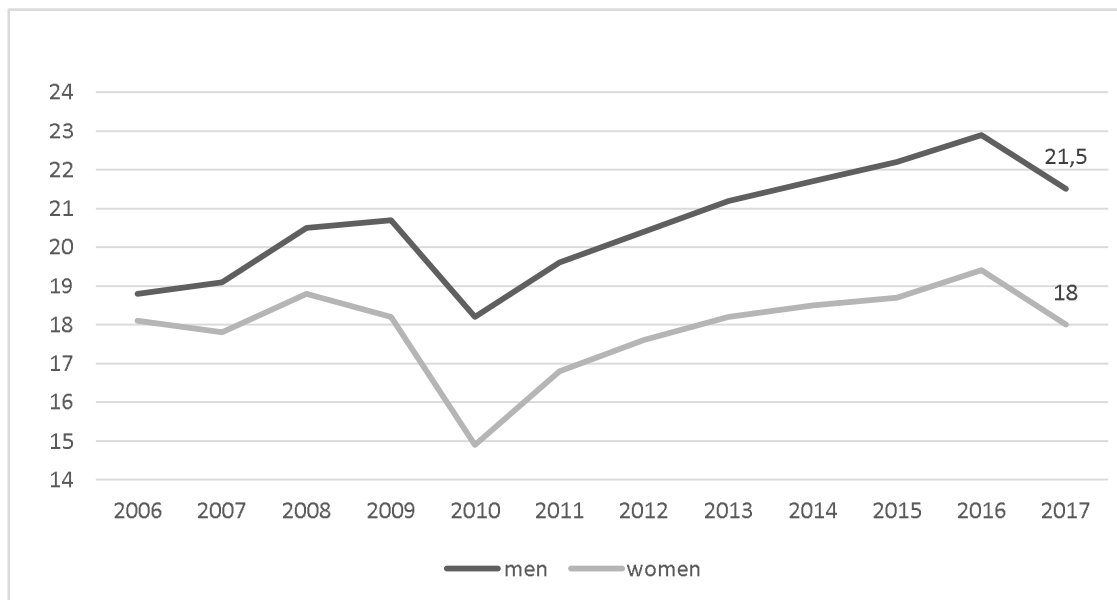
<sup>9</sup> It is necessary to distinguish between the concepts of informal employment and employment in the informal sector of the economy. Informal employment is the total number of informal jobs, regardless of where the work is carried out: formal sector enterprises, informal sector enterprises or households. In the study of employment in the informal sector, informal employment in the production units of the formal sector is not taken into account.



**Fig. 1: Employed in the informal sector in the Russian Federation and the Republic of Bashkortostan, % of the total employed population**

Source: [Labour force surveys, 2006-2017].

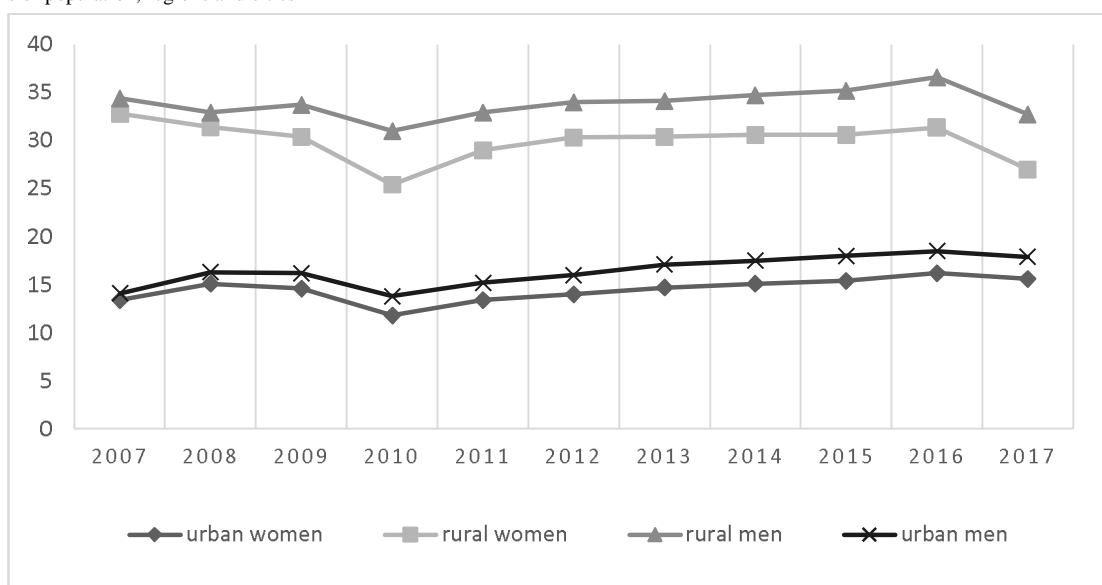
The share of women in the total number of employed in the informal sector of the Russian economy is lower than that of men. However, it is clear that the proportion of women employed in this sector is on the rise. In general, the same dynamics is observed in the Republic of Bashkortostan.



**Fig.2: Men and women employed in the informal sector of the Russian economy, %**

Source: [Labour force surveys, 2006-2017].

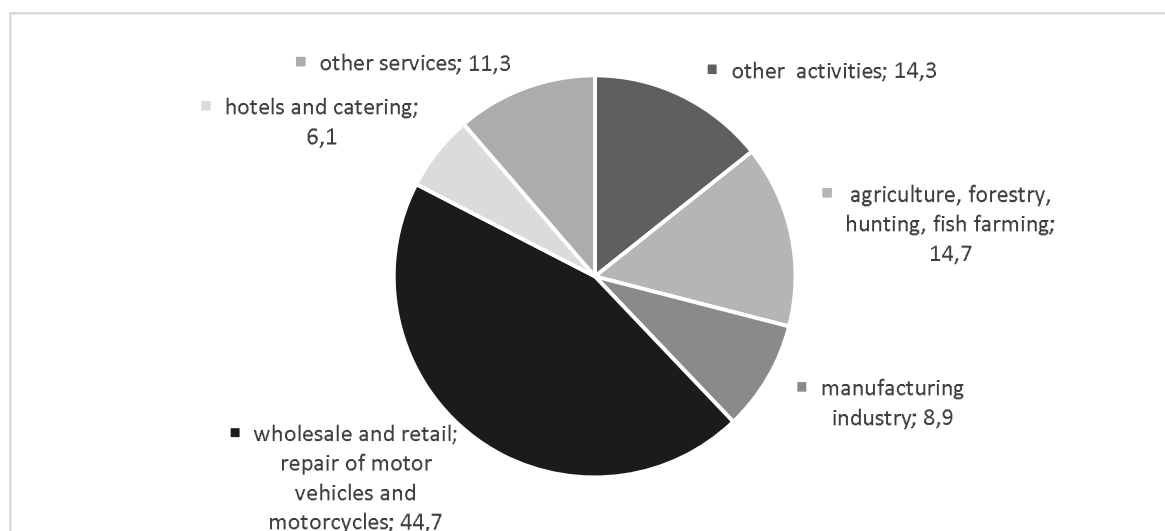
Employment in the informal sector in rural areas is twice as high as in the city. In the republic, due to the high proportion of the rural population, this gap is probably even greater.



**Fig. 3: Urban and rural population in the informal sector of the Russian economy, %**

Source: Labour force surveys, 2006-2017.

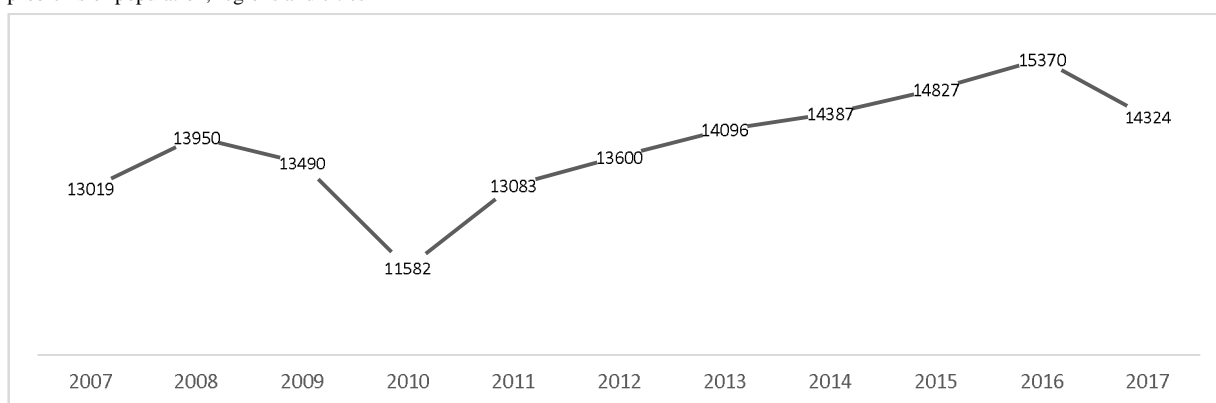
Women in the informal sector are most concentrated in trade and agriculture. At the same time, tutors, nannies, governesses, cosmetologists and other types of services, which are widespread at first glance, are not the predominant activities of the informal sector.



**Fig. 4: Distribution of 85% of women employed in the informal sector of the Russian economy by economic activity, %**

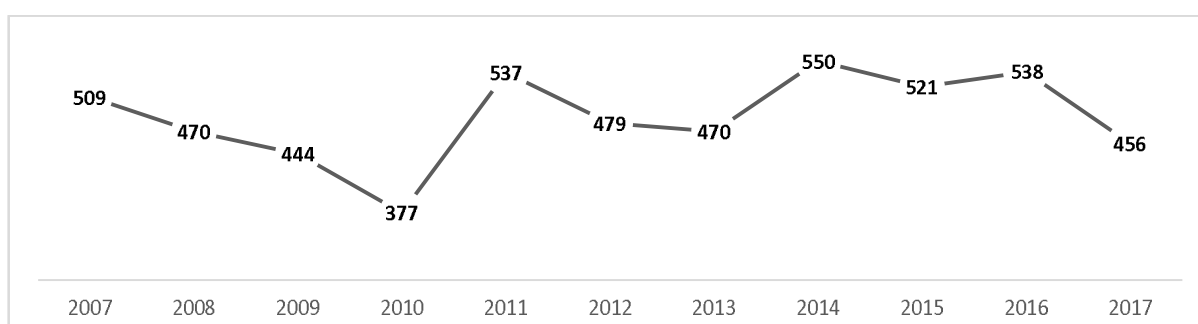
Source: [Labour force survey, 2017].

In quantitative terms, the number of people employed in the informal sector of the country's economy in 2017 amounted to about 14 million 300 thousand people, in the Republic of Bashkortostan – about 456 thousand people. According to the gender proportions in the informal sector of Bashkortostan there should be at least 200 thousand women.



**Fig. 5: Change in the number of employed in the informal sector in Russia in 2007-2017 (thousand people)**

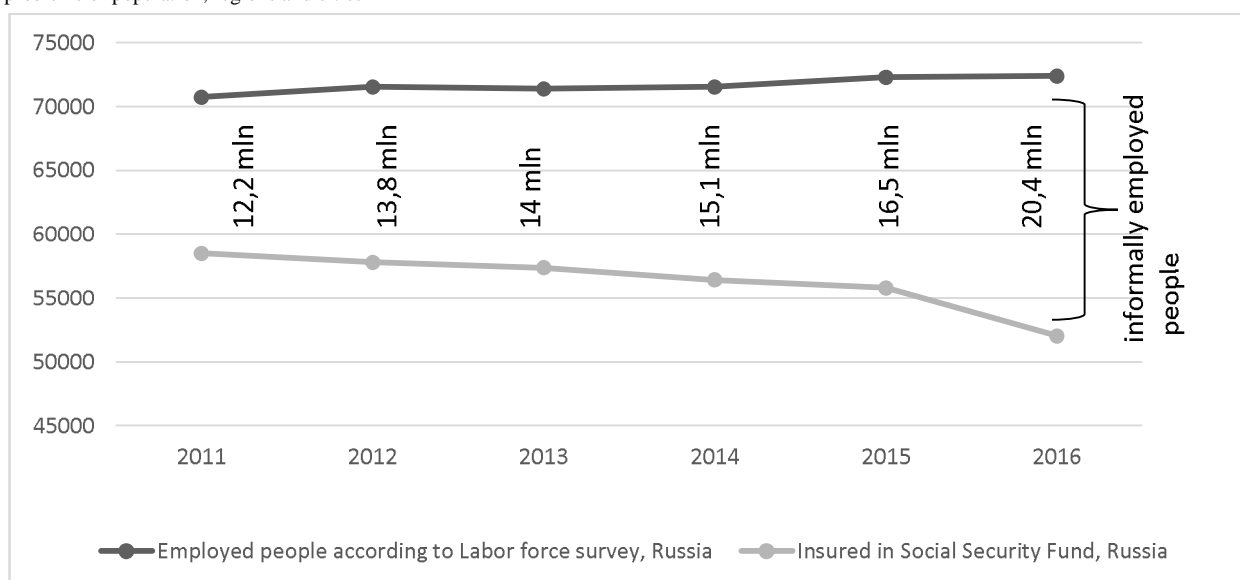
Source: [Labour force survey, 2017].



**Fig. 6: Change in the number of employed in the informal sector in the Republic of Bashkortostan 2007-2017 (thousand people)**

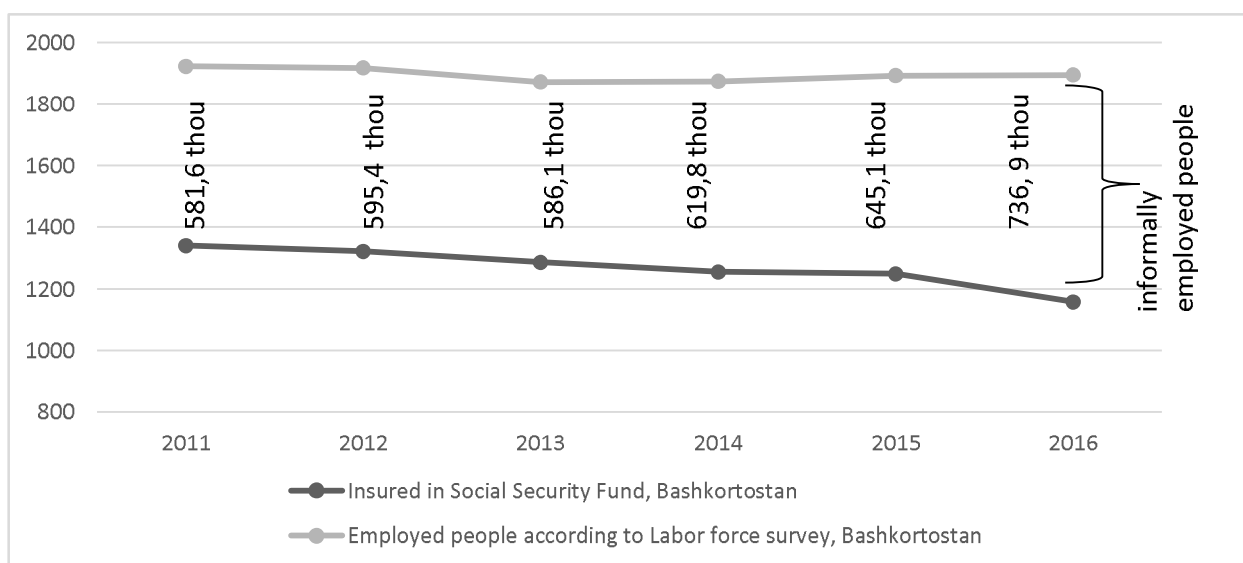
Source: [Labour force surveys, 2007-2017].

From the figures 5 and 6 it can be seen that in 2017 the number of people employed in the informal sector in Russia and in the Republic of Bashkortostan as well has significantly decreased. If we compare the data of the Social Insurance Fund of the Russian Federation and the Labour Force Surveys, we get an approximate number of informal workers, that is the number of employed in the economy residing outside the social insurance system. So, according to our calculations, in 2016 about 20.5 million Russians were out of the social insurance system, including more than 700 thousand employed in the economy of the Republic of Bashkortostan (Fig.7-8).



**Fig. 7: Change in the number of employed in Russia according to the Labour Force Survey and the number of registered in the reports of the Social Insurance Fund of the Russian Federation, 2011-2016**

Source: [Labour force surveys, 2006-2017], [Poiskovo-monitoringovaya sistema].



**Fig. 8: Changes in the number of employed in Bashkortostan according to the Labour Force Survey and the number registered in the reports of the Social Insurance Fund of the Russian Federation, 2011-2016**

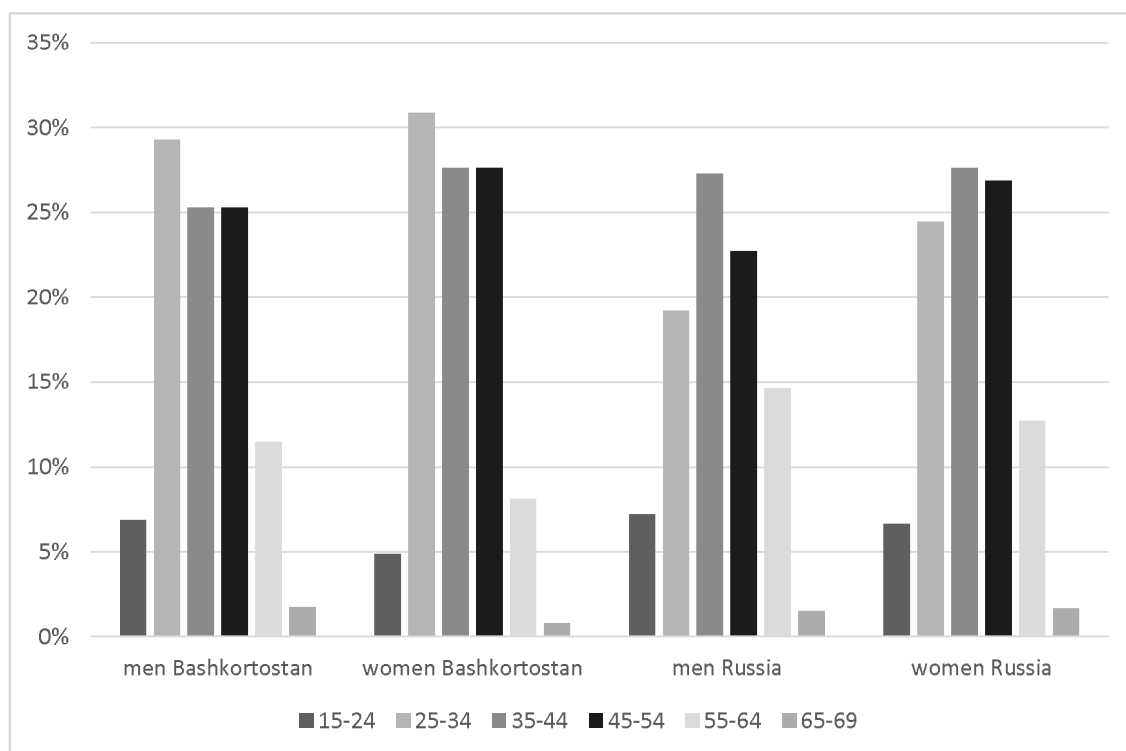
Source: [Labour force surveys, 2006-2017], [Poiskovo-monitoringovaya sistema].

From the figures 7-8 we can see that the number of insured persons in the Social Insurance Fund of the Russian Federation in 2011-2016 has been steadily decreasing, while the number of socially unprotected employees has been increasing. These data once again confirm the fact of the spread of socially unprotected informal employment in the country and the region. At the same time, according to calculations, about 40% of workers employed in the economy of Bashkortostan are outside the social insurance system.



### Social portrait of a woman in the informal sector of the Republic of Bashkortostan

The majority of women (87%) employed in the informal sector of the economy of Bashkortostan, as well as in Russia as a whole, are in the age range from 25 to 55 years. The fig. 9 shows that in the republic about a third of people employed in the informal sector are young women aged 25 to 34 years. This ratio is also typical for men in the region. In Russia as a whole, this sector is dominated by the 35-44-year-old group: women and men account for 27-28% (Fig. 9).

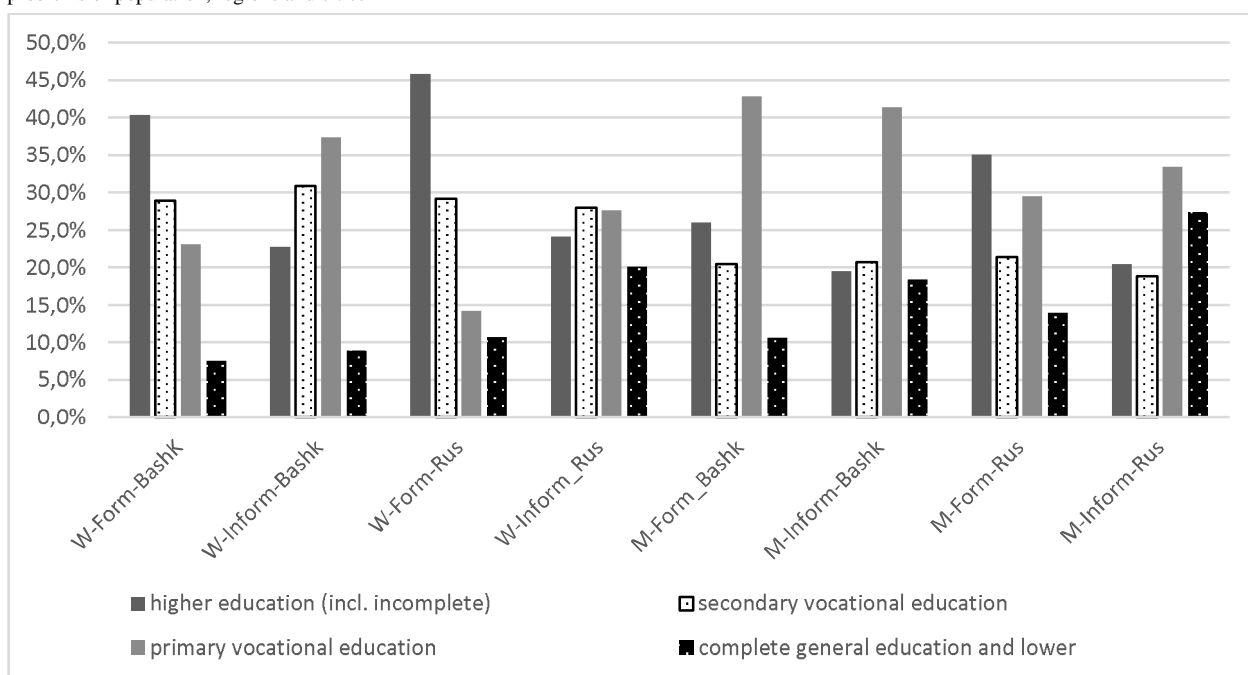


**Fig. 9: Distribution of employed in the informal sector by age**

Source: [Kompleksnoe nablyudenie, 2016].

The education level of women in the informal sector is, on average, significantly lower than in the formal sector. While in the informal sector the absolute majority of women have primary vocational education, in the formal sector they have higher education. Approximately the same situation is observed at the all-Russian level.

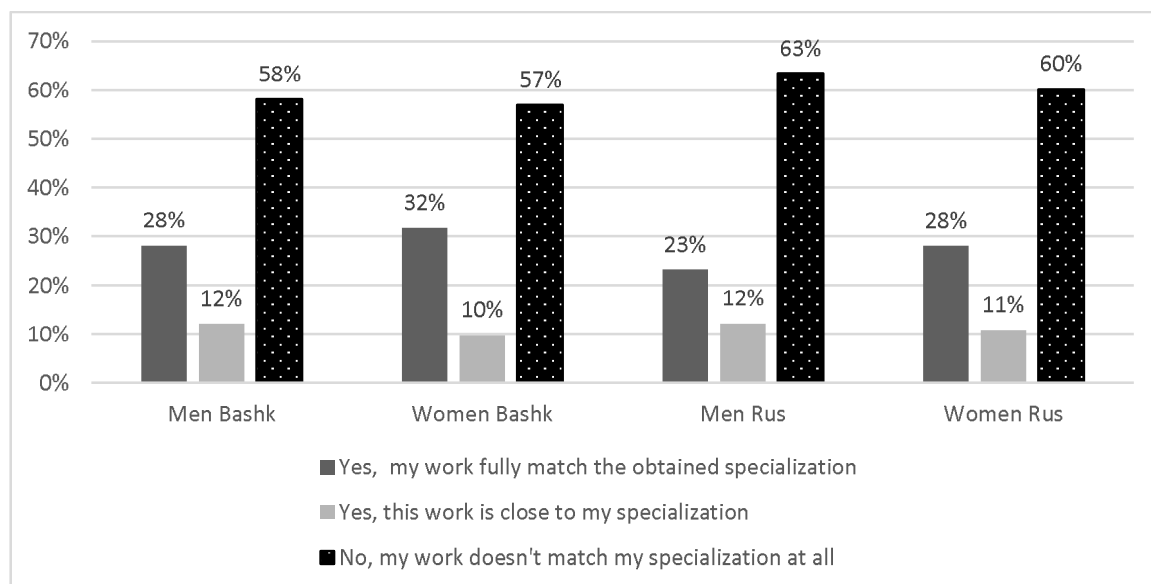
A comparison of the level of education of women and men employed in the informal sector shows that here, as in the formal sector, women have a higher level of education than men. At the same time, at the regional level, it is even more evident than in the whole country. This ratio, according to experts, is an indirect reflection of gender discrimination in the labor market, which is manifested in the restriction of access to jobs in the primary ("privileged") segment of the labor market (Fig.10).



**Fig. 10: Education level of men and women, employed in the formal and informal sectors of the economy of Russia and The Republic of Bashkortostan**

Source: [Kompleksnoe nablyudenie, 2016].

Only one-third of women employed in the informal sector of economy of the Republic of Bashkortostan work in accordance with their professional education, about 10% have jobs that are close to their speciality, and 57% have jobs that mismatch the obtained qualification at all. (Fig.11).



**Fig. 11: Correspondence of the job of employed in the informal sector in Russia and Bashkortostan to obtained specialization**

Source: [Kompleksnoe nablyudenie, 2016].

The most debatable issue and controversial figures are related to money income in the formal and informal sectors of the economy. It is estimated that revenues in this area have a tendency of convergence. Another point of view argues about the diversity of content of the work, which casts doubt on the possibility of analysis of the level of income of people employed with

different levels of qualifications and employment status. Nevertheless, the average income indicators of the population employed in the formal and informal sectors confirms that the average wage in the informal sector is lower than in the formal sector. But the difference is not much (table 2).

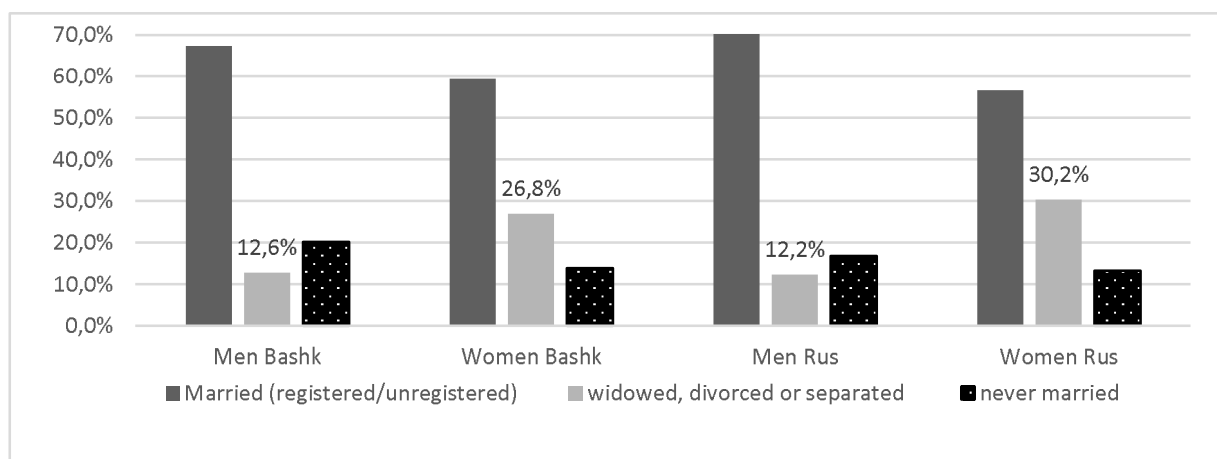
**Table 2: Average money income in households of men and women employed in the formal and informal sectors of the economy, rubles**

Income indicator	Men		Women	
	Formal sector	Informal sector	Formal sector	Informal sector
Average money income per household member, rubles per month	13221	11738	13261	12475
Average income of a household, rubles per month	36618	31995	35854	33638

Source: [Kompleksnoe nablyudenie, 2016].

Analyzing the data in table 2, it should be taken into account that it is not the personal income of the respondent, but the household in which he lives. This fact does not allow comparing the personal labor incomes of men and women employed in the informal sector of the economy.

The distribution of men and women by seniority shows that persons with different employment history (0 to 46 years) are employed in the informal economy. However, those with more than 20 years of working experience are still less met in the informal sector.

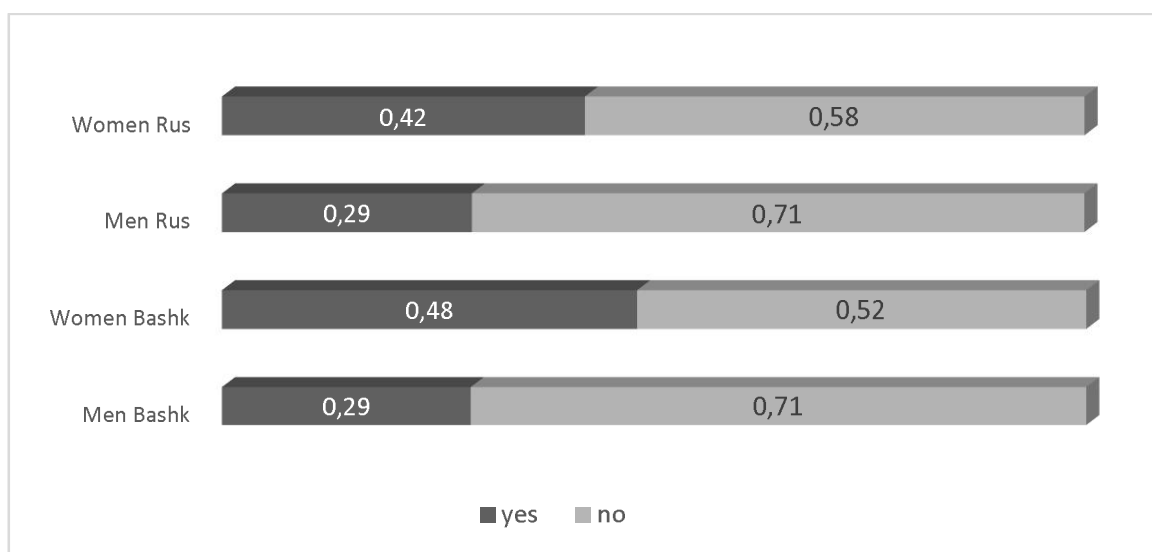


**Fig. 12: Family status of men and women employed in the informal sector of Russia and the Republic of Bashkortostan**

Source: [Kompleksnoe nablyudenie, 2016].

The fig. 12 presents the marital status of men and women employed in the informal sector. It shows that widowed, divorced and separated women employed in the informal sector are twice as likely as men. In the republic, the share of such women is lower than in the entire country. However, the level of "child load" on women in the Republic of Bashkortostan is relatively higher

than the Russian average (Fig.13). This is due both to the higher number of children in the region and to the persistence of predominantly traditional forms of division of labour in the family.

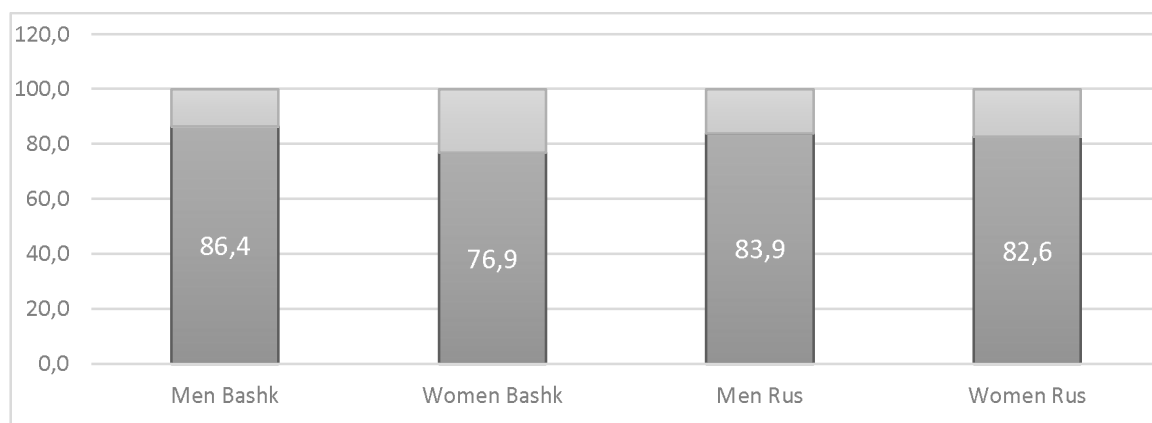


**Fig. 13: Distribution of answers to the question: "Does the child care is the part your daily activities?"**

Source: [Kompleksnoe nablyudenie, 2016].

### Working conditions and job satisfaction

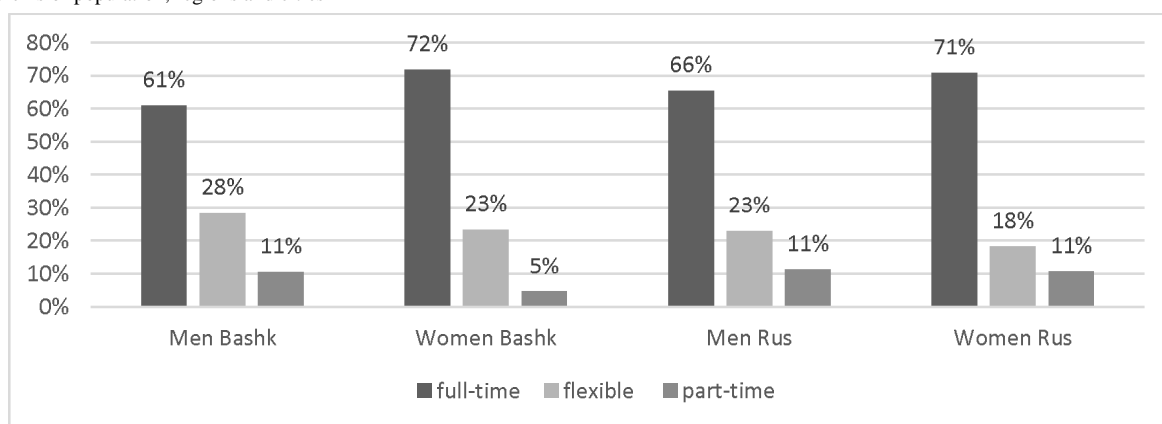
The study shows that almost all people employed in the informal sector work on weekends and public holidays (fig. 14).



**Fig. 14: Working on weekends and public holidays**

Source: [Kompleksnoe nablyudenie, 2016].

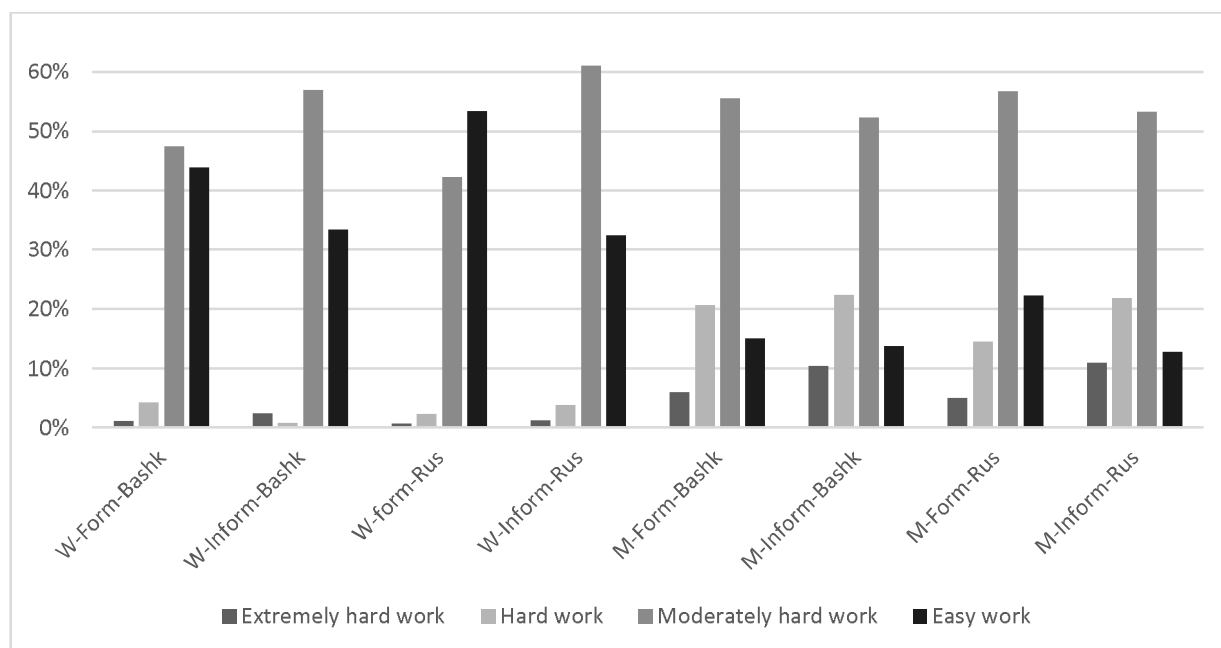
Women in the informal sector work mainly full time and only 23 % have flexible working hours. This fact shows that, despite informal labour relations, the working conditions of the majority of the employed (most likely wage earners) in this sector are strictly regulated, and in this respect practically not different from those in the formal sector (Fig. 15).



**Fig. 15: Working hours of the employed in the informal economy**

Source: [Kompleksnoe nablyudenie, 2016].

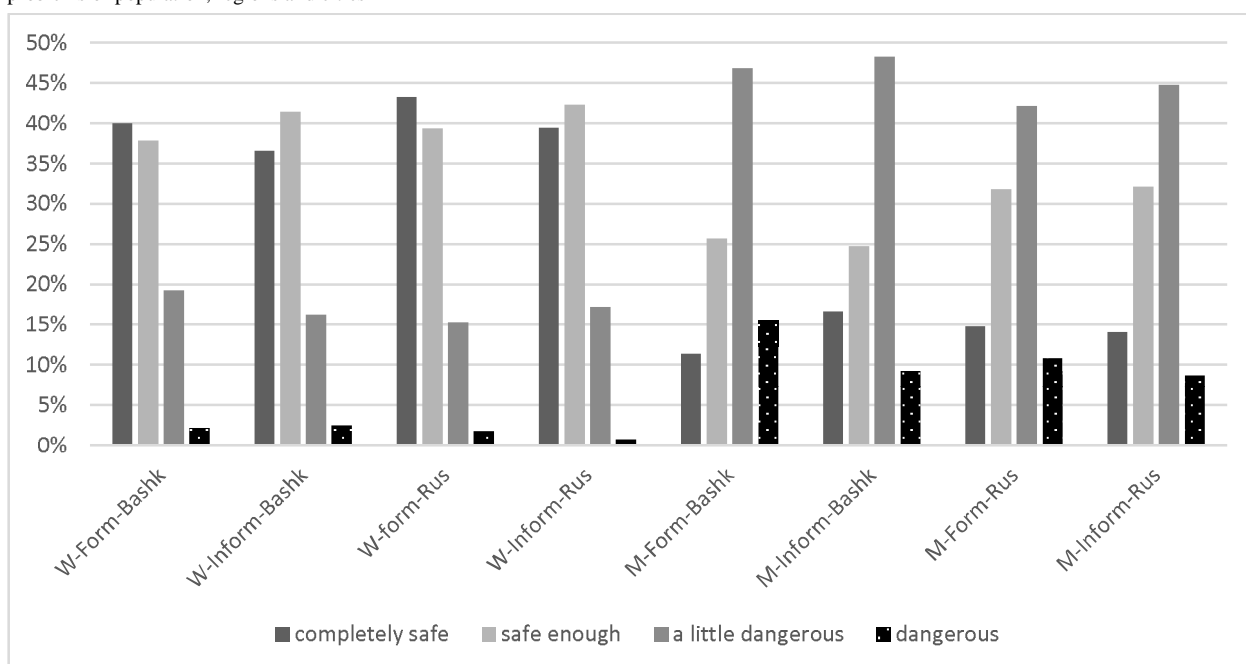
As in the country as a whole, in the Republic of Bashkortostan the majority of women in the informal sector characterize their work as a moderately hard work, about a third – as an easy work. However, comparing work in the formal and informal sectors shows that the work of women in the informal sector is more difficult than that of women in the formal sector. Hard and very hard work is extremely rare among women, while among men- it exists and is more common for the informal sector (Fig.16).



**Fig. 16: The physical costs for the work performance by gender (women, men) and sector of economy (formal, informal)**

Source: [Kompleksnoe nablyudenie, 2016].

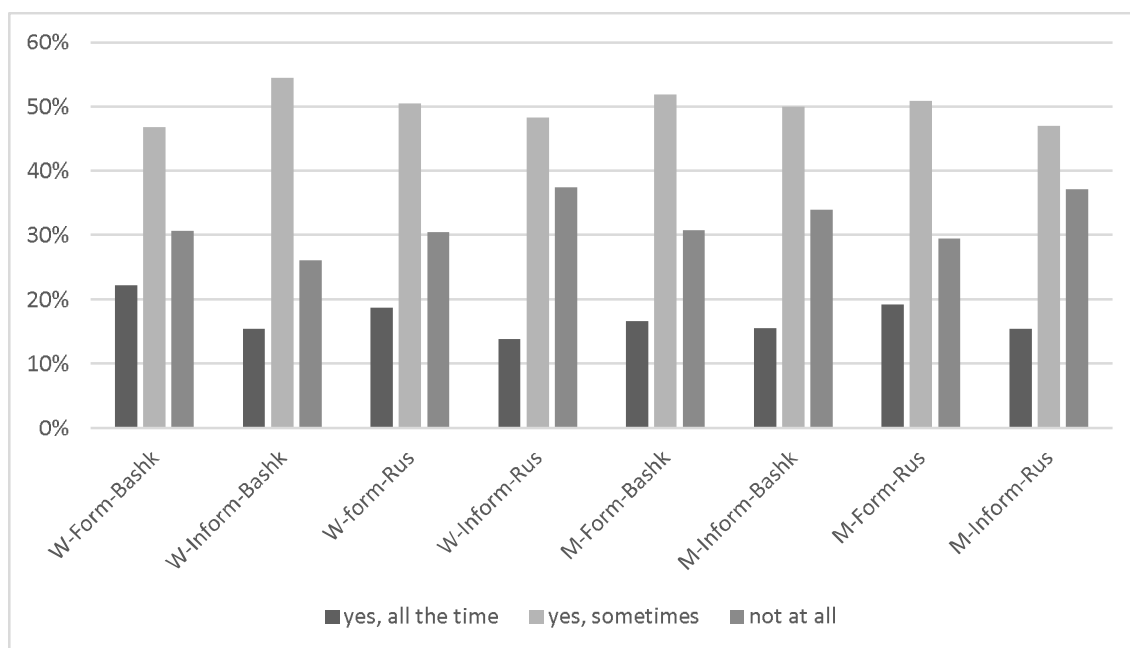
In the context of work accidents, women assess their work as quite safe. Which is in strong contrast to the estimates of men (Fig.17).



**Fig. 17: Subjective assessments of the safety at work by gender and sector of the economy**

Source: [Kompleksnoe nablyudenie, 2016].

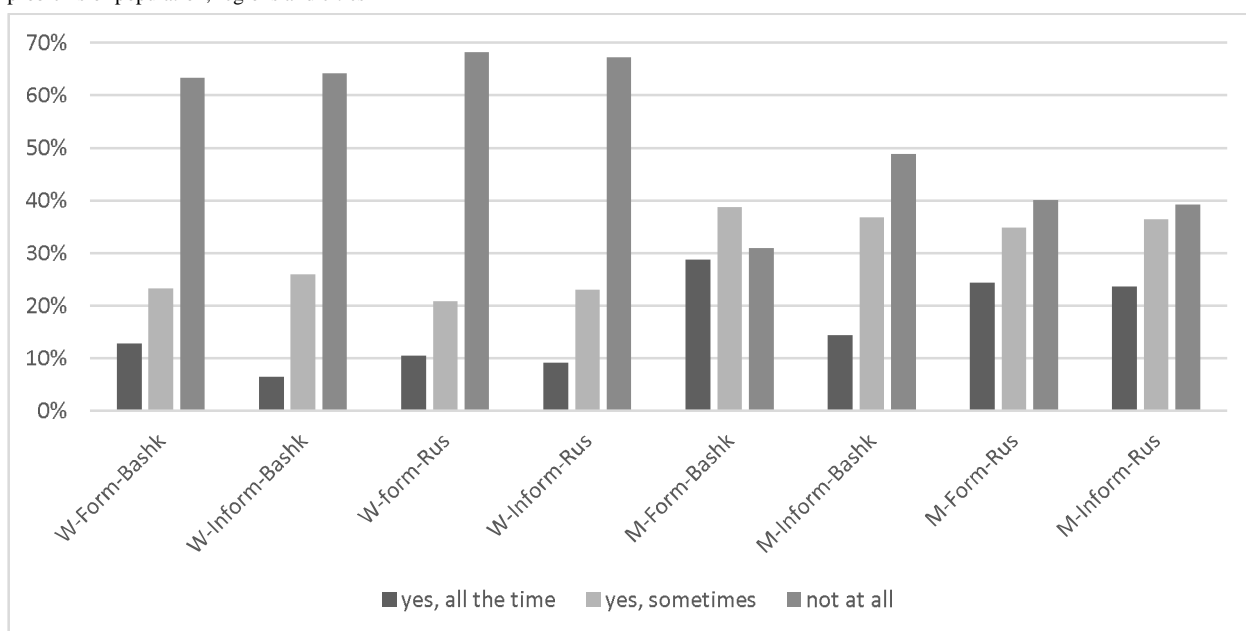
Women's work in the informal sector requires generally less nervous tension than in the formal sector. This is probably one of the factors in women's choice of this sector (Fig.18).



**Fig. 18: Subjective assessments of nervous tension at work by gender and sector of the economy**

Source: [Kompleksnoe nablyudenie, 2016].

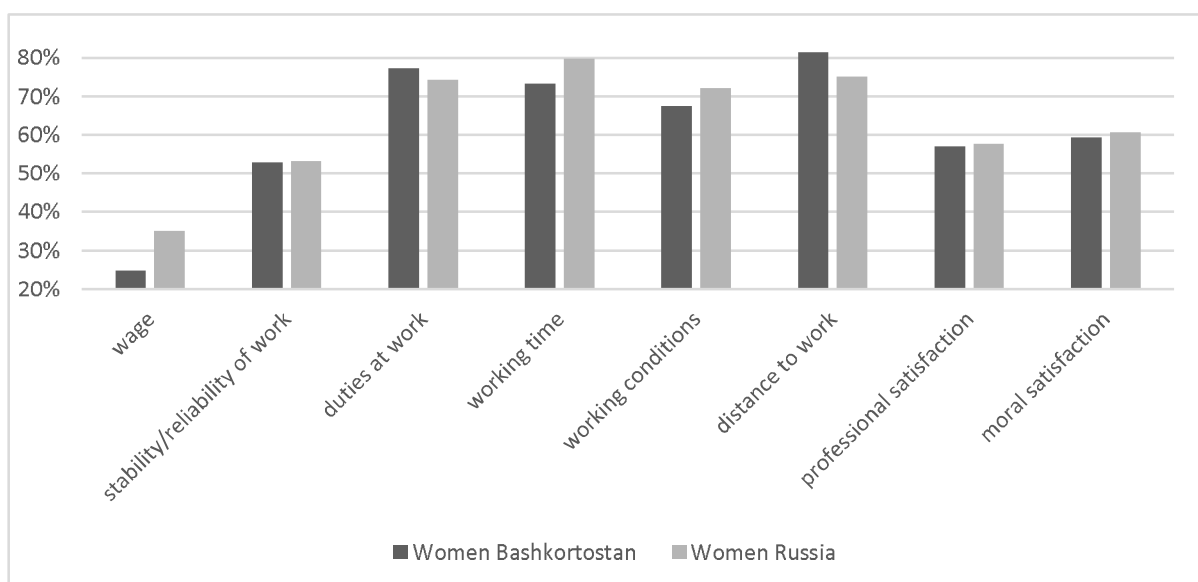
Women employed in both the formal and informal sectors are significantly less exposed to harmful workplace factors than men. It is interesting to note that in the formal sector more women are constantly exposed to harmful factors than in the informal sector (Fig.19).



**Fig. 19: Impact of harmful workplace factors on men and women by sector of the economy**

Source: [Kompleksnoe nablyudenie, 2016].

Job satisfaction among women in the informal sector is generally lower. In the republic this is true for all the parameters: salary, stability at work, duties performed at work, working time and conditions, distance from home to work, professional and moral satisfaction. In Russia, as the analysis shows, satisfaction with wages and distance to work do not differ much by sectors (Fig.20).



Note: only positive responses “quite satisfied(and)” are taken into account

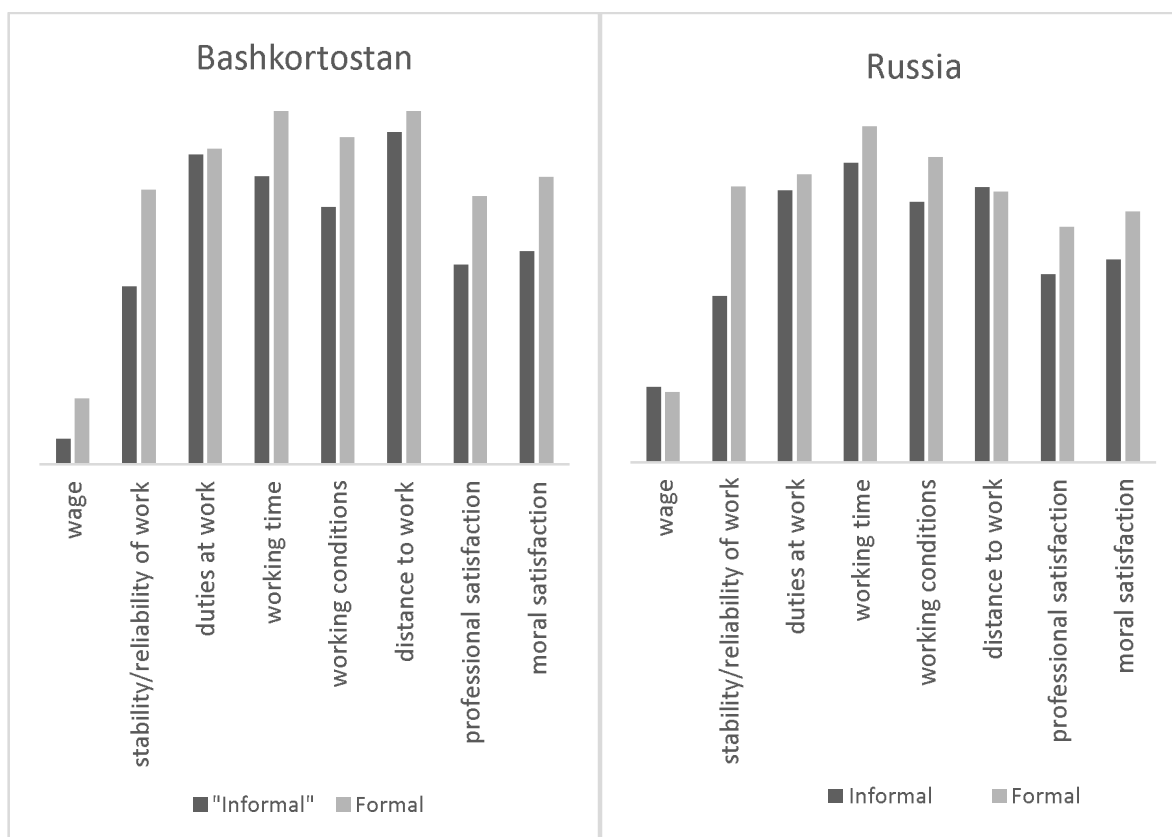
**Fig. 20: Job satisfaction of women employed in the informal sector in Russia and Bashkortostan**

Source: [Kompleksnoe nablyudenie, 2016].

But if we compare the level of satisfaction of all Russian women and women of our republic, we will see that women of Bashkortostan are less satisfied with the salary, working time and



working conditions than all Russian women on average. Women in the Republic of Bashkortostan who work in the informal sector are more satisfied with the distance from home to work (Fig.21).



**Fig. 21: Job satisfaction of women in formal and informal employment**

Source: [Kompleksnoe nablyudenie, 2016].

Both among all Russian women and women of the republic, the lowest level of satisfaction is noted in terms of wages and job security. At the same time, subjective assessments of the stability (reliability) of work are quite different in formal and informal sectors: stability and job security in the informal sector are minimal. In general, the diagram in Fig.21 reflects the unattractiveness of informal sector jobs (low quality of jobs, limited opportunities for professional self-realization, instability, etc.).

### Conclusion

The analysis of women's employment in the informal sector of the economy shows that the problem remains relevant and requires further in-depth study. Trends in recent years testify the increase of informal employment, both among men and women. In 2017, there was a noticeable decrease in their number. However, it is too early to give unambiguous positive assessments of the situation.

The all-Russian indicators show that the share of women employed in the informal sector is almost comparable to that of men and is about 48 per cent. This ratio has remained virtually

unchanged throughout the 10-year period. In Bashkortostan, the share of women in the informal sector is slightly less – about 42%.

The majority of women in Bashkortostan employed in the informal sector are concentrated mainly in the retail trade (slightly less than 40%) and agriculture. In the informal economy, women of different ages and working history are employed. Their level of education is, on average, lower than in the formal sector. Work is often does not match obtained qualification. Income is lower. A quarter of women in the informal sector are widowed, divorced or separated.

Most women employed in the informal sector work full-time, almost always on weekends and public holidays. The work is mostly non-harmful, non-stressful, safe (probably specially chosen by women to balance between family and work), not heavy, but requires more physical effort than in the formal sector.

The analysis of satisfaction with various aspects of work showed that in the Republic women employed in the informal sector of the economy are less satisfied with the quality of jobs and working conditions, wages, opportunities for professional self-realization. They more often feel instability and uncertainty in their position, receive less moral satisfaction from work.

It is evident that the employment in the informal sector of the economy becomes an involuntary living strategy for many women under the conditions of socio-economic crisis, segmentation of the labour market, gender discrimination and precarization of employment.

Recognizing the special role of women in reproduction of the population, bringing up morally and physically healthy generation, the issues of improving the quality of women's employment, in our opinion, should be one of the key points of the contemporary social policy.

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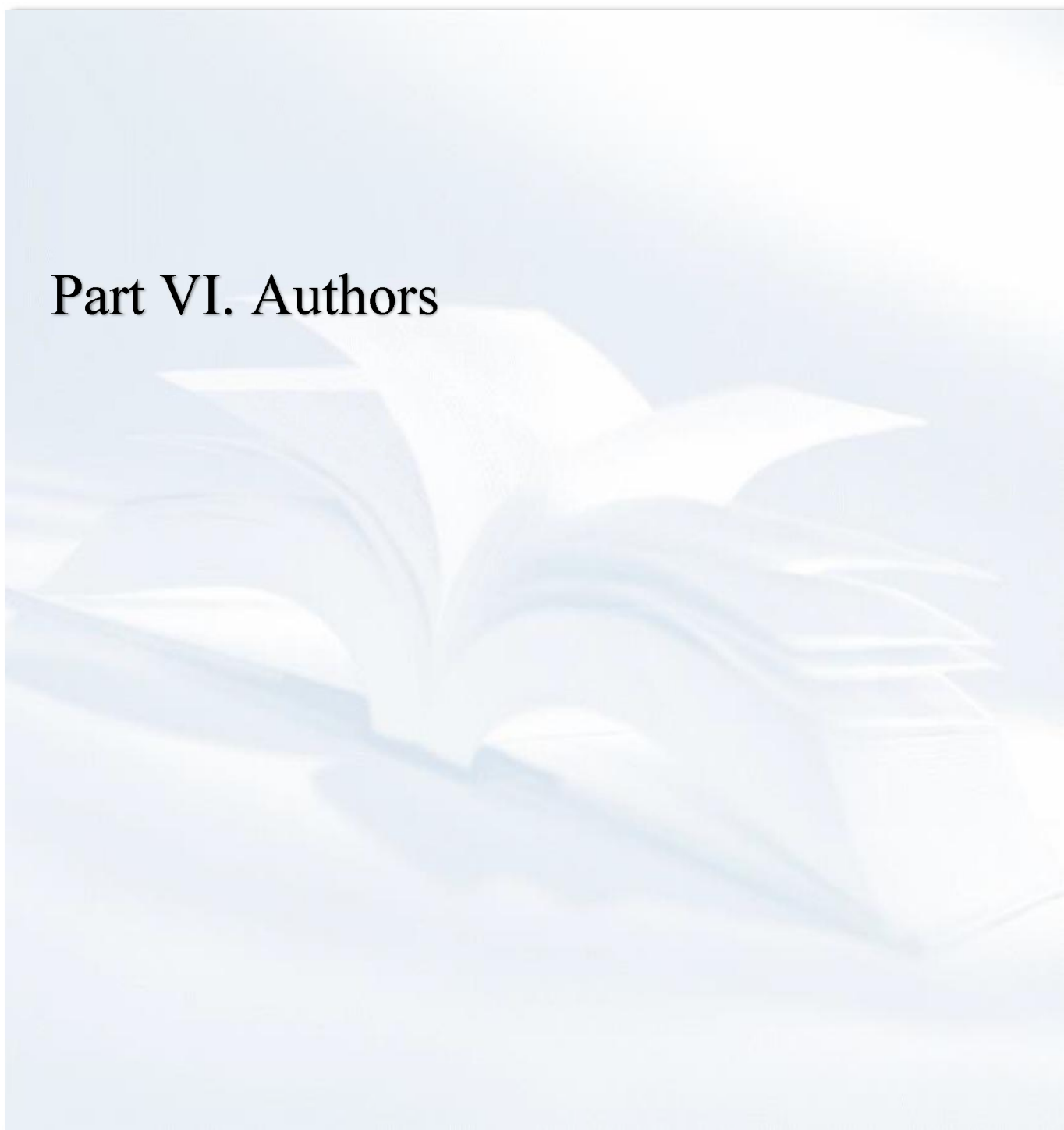
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## Part VI. Authors



**Adamyants, Tamara Z.**



*Doctor of Sociology, Professor, chief researcher,  
Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian  
Academy of Sciences,  
Moscow, Russia*

**MANIPULATION OF MEANINGS AS A MECHANISM OF INJUSTICE**

**Antonov, Yuriy Ev.**



*Associate Professor, Federal State Autonomous Educational Institution of Additional Vocational  
Education "Academy of Advanced Training and Professional Retraining of Educators",  
honored worker of Russian Society of Sociologists,  
Lyubertsy, Russia*

**EARLY CAREER GUIDANCE AS AN INNOVATIVE FORM OF  
ADVANCING SELF-DETERMINATION PRESCHOOLERS**

**Anikina, Anna V.**



*PhD in Sociology, Assistant Professor of Department "Philosophy, Sociology and Political  
Science", Nizhny Novgorod State Agricultural Academy,  
Nizhny Novgorod, Russia  
E-mail: [annavalentan@yandex.ru](mailto:annavalentan@yandex.ru)*

**NIZHNY NOVGOROD EVANGELICAL PROTESTANTISM:  
EXPERIENCE OF SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY**

**Baimurzina, Guzel R.**



*PhD in Economics, senior researcher, Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of  
the Russian Academy of Sciences, Bashkir Branch  
Ufa, Russia  
E-mail: [guzrim@mail.ru](mailto:guzrim@mail.ru)*

**WOMEN IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR OF THE ECONOMY:  
REGIONAL CUT (ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE REPUBLIC OF  
BASHKORTOSTAN)**

**Bajenov, Anatoly M.**



*PhD in History, Assistant Professor, Tula State University,  
Tula, Russia*

**P.A. SOROKIN ON REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE**

**Basheva, Olga A.**



*PhD in Sociology, research fellow, Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical  
and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Moscow, Russia*

**URBAN CATASTROPHE: THE CASE OF INION**

**Belyaeva, Lyudmila A.**



*Doctor of Sociology, leading research fellow,  
Institute of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Moscow, Russia.  
E-mail: [bel44@mail.ru](mailto:bel44@mail.ru)*

**STANDARD OF LIVING IN RUSSIA: POST-SOVIET  
TRANSFORMATIONS**

**Bobyleva, Natalia V.**



*Master's degree student of 1<sup>st</sup> course of the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public  
Administration under the President of the Russian Federation,  
Orel, Russia  
E-mail: [nataliya.bobyleva24@yandex.ru](mailto:nataliya.bobyleva24@yandex.ru)*

**THE IMAGE OF RUSSIA IN THE FOREIGN PRESS**

**Brodsky, Yury I.**

*Doctor of Mathematics, leading researcher,  
Federal Research Centre "Computer Science and Control" of the Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Moscow, Russia*

**ON MATHEMATICAL MODELING IN THE HUMANITIES****Bruno, Viktoria V.**

*PhD in Sociology, senior researcher,  
Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian  
Academy of Sciences,  
Moscow, Russia*

**SUBSTANCE USE AMONG ADULTS****Cherednichenko, Galina A.**

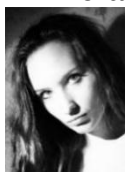
*Doctor of Sociology, leading researcher,  
Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian  
Academy of Sciences  
Moscow, Russia  
E-mail: [galcher2211@gmail.com](mailto:galcher2211@gmail.com)*

**EDUCATIONAL AND STATUS POSITIONING FOR 10 YEARS AFTER  
GRADUATION FROM SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS**



**Dyatlova, Daria A.**

*Student of the State Academic University  
of the Humanities (GAUGN),  
Moscow, Russia*  
E-mail: [dasha19.16@mail.ru](mailto:dasha19.16@mail.ru)

**THE OPINION OF PARENTS WITH MANY CHILDREN ON  
ASSISTANCE FROM THE STATE****Ermolaeva, Yulia V.**

*Researcher, Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of  
the Russian Academy of Sciences, junior researcher of Kazan Federal University,  
Moscow, Russia*  
E-mail: [mistelfrayard@mail.ru](mailto:mistelfrayard@mail.ru)

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RENEWABLE ENERGY SOURCES IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION****Filipova, Alexandra G.**

*Doctor of Sociology, leading researcher, Associate Professor of  
Far Eastern Federal University, Russian Federation  
Vladivostok, Russia*

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OF STATE STATISTICS****Fomicheva, Tatyana V.**

*PhD in Sociology, Associate Professor,  
Department of sociology, Russian State Social University,  
Moscow, Russia*

**HAPPINESS AS A VALUE: A SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS**

### **Gevorkian, Zara**



*Moscow State University of International Relations,  
School of Government and Policy; Russian Society of Sociologists,  
Moscow, Russia  
E-mail: [zgevorkyan@list.ru](mailto:zgevorkyan@list.ru)*

## **THE IMPACT OF RELIGION ON POLITICAL REGIME FORMATION**

### **Gilinskiy, Yakov**



*Doctor of Law, Professor, head of Department of criminal law,  
Russian State University of Education,  
St. Petersburg, Russia*

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### **Gokova, Olga V.**



*Senior lecturer of the Department of regional economics and territorial management of Omsk  
State University n.a. F. M. Dostoevsky,  
Omsk, Russia*

## **THE COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE AUTHORITIES AND SOCIETY IN THE FIELD OF THE PRONATALIST POLICY**

### **Grishaeva, Nataliya P.**



*Senior scientific fellow, Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied  
Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences  
Moscow, Russia  
E-mail: [gr2610@yandex.ru](mailto:gr2610@yandex.ru)*

## **TOOLS OF SOCIALIZATION OF YOUNG CHILDREN IN KINDERGARTEN IN RUSSIA**

**Gubanova, Alexandra Y.**



*PhD in Sociology, researcher of the Russian State Children's Library,  
Moscow, Russia.*

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**Ikingrin, Elena N.**



*PhD in Sociology,  
first vice-president of the Russian Society of Sociologists  
Ufa, Russia  
E-mail: [ikingrinen@mail.ru](mailto:ikingrinen@mail.ru)*

## **PREMARITAL MATRIMONIAL BEHAVIOR AMONG STUDENTS AS A SUBJECT OF SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS**

**Ipatova, Irina S.**

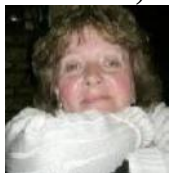


*PhD in Pedagogics, head of Chair for linguistics and foreign languages,  
Privolzhsky Branch of the Russian State University of Justice,  
Nizhny Novgorod, Russia  
E-mail: [irina.i@mail.ru](mailto:irina.i@mail.ru)*

## **LEGAL DEFENSE OF WORD FREEDOM AND FROM "FREE" WORDS**

## **COMMUNICATIVE PROBLEMS OF COUNTERACTION VERBAL AGGRESSION**

**Ivanova, Elena Yu.**



*PhD in Economics, senior researcher, Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences*

*Moscow, Russia*

*E-mail: [ele6248@yandex.ru](mailto:ele6248@yandex.ru)*

## **THE FORMATION OF GENDER CULTURE IN THE SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION**

## **EARLY CAREER GUIDANCE AS AN INNOVATIVE FORM OF ADVANCING SELF-DETERMINATION PRESCHOOLER**

**Ivanova, Natalia A.**



*Department of sociology of management*

*of the Faculty of public administration,*

*Moscow State University,*

*Moscow, Russia*

*E-mail: [na.an.ivanova@yandex.ru](mailto:na.an.ivanova@yandex.ru)*

## **VALUES OF STUDENTS AS A FACTOR OF NATIONAL SECURITY**

**Kazarenkov, Viacheslav I.**



*Doctor of Pedagogical Sciences, Professor,*

*Professor of Department of social and differential psychology of RUDN University,*

*Moscow, Russia*

*E-mail: [vikprof2003@yandex.ru](mailto:vikprof2003@yandex.ru)*

## **SOCIO-MANAGERIAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL PROBLEMS OF INTEGRATION OF EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND BUSINESS IN A DIGITAL SOCIETY**

**Kazarenkova, Tatyana B.**



*PhD in Sociology, Associate Professor,  
director-general of International Research Centre 'Socium 2035,  
Moscow, Russia  
E-mail: [tatyanabk@yandex.ru](mailto:tatyanabk@yandex.ru)*

**SOCIO-MANAGERIAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL PROBLEMS  
OF INTEGRATION OF EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND BUSINESS  
IN A DIGITAL SOCIETY**

**Khaknazarov, Saidmurod Kh.**



*PhD in Geology and Mineralogy,  
head of Social and economic development and monitoring department  
Ob-Ugric Institute of Applied Researches and Development,  
Khanty-Mansiysk, Russia*

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**Khamonkova, Elizaveta S.**



*Municipal budget educational institution "Gymnasium № 8",  
Cherepovets, Russia  
E-mail: [elizaveta.mironova.94@gmail.com](mailto:elizaveta.mironova.94@gmail.com)*

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**Kiseleva, Albina M.**

*Doctor of Sociology, Associate Professor,  
Professor of the Department of regional economics and territory management,  
Omsk State University F. M. Dostoevsky,  
Omsk, Russia  
E-mail: [albkis13@gmail.com](mailto:albkis13@gmail.com)*

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*PhD in Sociology, Assistant Professor, Russian State University for the Humanities,  
Moscow, Russia*

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*PhD in Sociology, Associate Professor,  
Russian State Children's Library, head of the Department of sociology, psychology and  
pedagogy of children's reading.  
Associate Professor, Russian State University for the Humanities,  
Moscow, Russia*

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**Korobkova, Oxana A.**

*Graduate student of the Department of political science and administration,  
Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public  
Administration (RANEPA) – Voronezh branch,  
Voronezh, Russia  
E-mail: [oksana.korobkova@gmail.com](mailto:oksana.korobkova@gmail.com)*

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*PhD in Philosophy, Associate Professor of the Moscow Higher Combined  
Arms Command School,  
Moscow, Russia  
E-mail: [Natalya4930@mail.ru](mailto:Natalya4930@mail.ru)*

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*Doctor of Pedagogical Sciences, Professor, Professor of the Department of  
general and social pedagogy of the North-Eastern State University,  
Magadan, Russia*

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*PhD in History, Assistant Professor of Tula State University,  
Tula, Russia*

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*PhD in Sociology, Associate Professor, Russian State Social University,  
Moscow, Russia*

E-mail: [virtu69@mail.ru](mailto:virtu69@mail.ru)

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*Doctor of Philosophy, Professor,  
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Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian  
Academy of Sciences,  
Moscow, Russia*

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*Magister of Russian State University for the Humanities,  
Moscow, Russia*

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*Doctor of Sociology Professor,  
Moscow State University of Psychology & Education,  
Moscow, Russia*

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*PhD in Sociology, senior researcher, Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical  
and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Moscow, Russia*

E-mail: [mukhanova\\_m@rambler.ru](mailto:mukhanova_m@rambler.ru)

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*Doctor of Sociology, Professor, head of the Center for the study of social and sociopolitical  
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Moscow, Russia*

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**Pavlov, Boris S.**

*Doctor of Philosophy, Professor,  
leading researcher, Institute of Economics Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Ekaterinburg, Russia*  
E-mail: [pavlov\\_boris@mail.ru](mailto:pavlov_boris@mail.ru)

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*Graduate Student of the Faculty of sociology  
Lomonosov Moscow State University,  
Moscow, Russia*  
E-mail: [mp1995@mail.ru](mailto:mp1995@mail.ru)

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*Master of psychological and pedagogical education, teacher-psychologist of the State Institution  
of Higher Education Schools № 1287,  
Moscow, Russia*  
E-mail: [poglor@mail.ru](mailto:poglor@mail.ru)

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**Polozova, Valentina P.**



*PhD in Philosophy, Assistant Professor of Foreign languages department,  
Nizhny Novgorod, Russia*  
E-mail: [garibadze@rambler.ru](mailto:garibadze@rambler.ru)

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**Pozdnyakova, Margarita E.**



*PhD in Philosophy, leading researcher,  
Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian  
Academy of Sciences,  
Moscow, Russia*  
E-mail: [margo417@mail.ru](mailto:margo417@mail.ru)

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**Prokazina, Natalia V.**



*Doctor of Sociology, Associate Professor, head of the Department of sociology and information  
technologies of the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration under the  
President of the Russian Federation  
Orel, Russia.*  
E-mail: [nvprokazina@mail.ru](mailto:nvprokazina@mail.ru)

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**Pronina, Elena I.**



*Executive vice president of Russian Society of Sociologists, senior researcher, Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Moscow, Russia*

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**Romanovich, Nelly A.**



*Doctor of Sociology, Professor of the Department of political science and administration, the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA), Voronezh branch.*

*General Director, Public Opinion Institute "Qualitas".*

*Vorontzh, Russia*

*E-mail: [nelly@qualitas.ru](mailto:nelly@qualitas.ru)*

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**Ruban, Larissa S.**



*Doctor of Science, Professor, head researcher of Sociology of young department of Institute of Social-Political Research Russian Academy of Sciences. Russia,  
Moscow, Russia*

*E-mail: [lruban@yandex.ru](mailto:lruban@yandex.ru)*

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**Rybakova, Larisa N.**



*PhD in Philosophy, senior researcher  
Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical  
and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Moscow, Russia*  
E-mail: [laryb@mail.ru](mailto:laryb@mail.ru)

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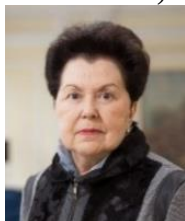
**Rybakova, Marina V.**



*PhD in Sociology, the Department of sociology of management of the Faculty of public  
administration, Moscow State University,  
Moscow, Russia*  
E-mail: [RybakovaMV@spa.msu.ru](mailto:RybakovaMV@spa.msu.ru)

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**Saralieva, Zaretkhan**



*Doctor of History, Professor, head of the Department of general sociology and social work,  
National Research Lobachevsky State University ,  
Nizhny Novgorod, Russia*

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**Semenova, Anna V.**



*PhD in Philosophy, leading researcher,  
Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical  
and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Moscow, Russia.*

**RUSSIAN DYNASTIES OF ENGINEERS: GENESIS AND RELATIONS  
WITH THE STATE**

**Sheveleva, Victoria V.**



*Head of Foreign languages department, major of internal service, Ural Institute of State Fire  
Service of EMERCOM of Russia,  
Yekaterinburg, Russia*

E-mail: [viv.18@mail.ru](mailto:viv.18@mail.ru)

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**Shulgina, Elena V.**



*Researcher, Sociology of deviant behavior sector,  
Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology  
of the Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Moscow, Russia*

E-mail: [elena\\_shulgina@inbox.ru](mailto:elena_shulgina@inbox.ru)

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**Smirnova, Olga V.**



*PhD in Psychology, Associate Professor, Cherepovets State University, Cherepovets, Russia*  
E-mail: [novale@inbox.ru](mailto:novale@inbox.ru)



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**Strukova, Lyubov M.**



*Graduate student of Institute of Education Implementation Strategy,  
Moscow, Russia*

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**Sudyin, Sergey A.**



*Doctor of Sociology, Professor of the Department of general sociology and social work,  
National Research Lobachevsky State University,  
Nizhny Novgorod, Russia*

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**Talalaeva, Galina V.**



*Doctor of Medicine, Professor of the Department of life safety,  
Associate Professor, Ural Institute of State Fire Service of EMERCOM of Russia,  
Yekaterinburg, Russia  
E-mail: [gvtalal@mail.ru](mailto:gvtalal@mail.ru)*

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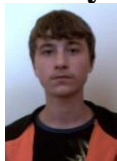
**Uksusova, Marina Y.**



*Master of the North-Eastern State University,  
Magadan, Russia*

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**Vasilyev, Victor V.**



*Trainee of the Department of theoretical and special sociology of the Moscow Pedagogical State University,*

*Moscow, Russia*

E-mail: [viktor.vac.vl@yandex.ru](mailto:viktor.vac.vl@yandex.ru)

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**Vysockaya, Alena V.**



*Acting head of the Department of  
Komsomolsk-na-Amure State University,  
Komsomolsk-on-Amure, Russia*

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**Yanitsky, Oleg N.**



*Doctor of Philosophy, Professor, chief researcher, Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Moscow, Russia*

E-mail: [oleg.yanitsky@yandex.ru](mailto:oleg.yanitsky@yandex.ru)

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**Yurchenko, Olesya V.**



*PhD in Sociology, senior researcher, Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Moscow, Russia*

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**Yuriev, Pavel S.**



*Junior researcher, Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Moscow, Russia*

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**Yusupov, Musa M.**



*PhD in Sociology, Associate Professor, Department of theory and technology of social work  
Chechen State University,  
Grozny, Russia*

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**Zaitseva, Svetlana S.**



*PhD in Pedagogics, Assistant Professor of Department of linguistics and foreign languages  
at Privolzhsky Branch of Russian State University of Justice,  
Nizhny Novgorod, Russia  
E-mail: [zaitsevass@mail.ru](mailto:zaitsevass@mail.ru)*

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**Zhdanov, Sergey P.**



*PhD in Law, Associate Professor at the Department of Criminal law disciplines of the State educational institution of higher education "The Russian Customs Academy",  
Moscow, Russia  
Email: [zhdanov120009@yandex.ru](mailto:zhdanov120009@yandex.ru)*

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**Zhelnina, Evgenia V.**



*Doctor of Sociology, Professor of the Sociology department  
Tolyatti State University,  
Tolyatti, Russia*

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