



Russian Society of Sociologists

Differences, Inequalities and Sociological Imagination: View from Russia

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Differences, Inequalities and Sociological Imagination: View from Russia is a collection of more than 60 papers of Russian sociologists from different regions of the Russian Federation. The papers present achievements of the 71 Regional Affiliations and 33 Research Committees of the Russian Society of Sociologists which are dealing with problems of social life under conditions of the processes of the transformation and modernization of Russian society. In the five Chapters of the book the urgent issues of social theory, history and methodology, economy, ecology, education, social policy, social practices in management and entertainment are in a focus of theoretical discussions of the social sciences.

The book will be of interests for scholars and scientists, postgraduate students, as well as for journalists, students, managers and experts in international trade and commerce.

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Part 1.

Social Theory, History and Methodology



Investigation of Exclusion of the Senior Generation (methodological approaches)

Tatiana Z. Kozlova, Moscow

Abstract. The goal of our comprehensive sociological research was the study of the social exclusion of older people. The basis of the theoretical-methodological approach is the concept of Ananyev, a Russian scientist, who considered a person's life progression as the stages of his realization.

Keyword: exclusion; inclusion; approach

Social inclusion is a process of real inclusion of individuals into active social life. Everyone wants to end his days as part of their society. However, in later years the social connections often break, and the person is in the process of exclusion (social exclusion).

The objects of our research are the retirees who formally left their jobs. One of the methodological approaches of the study is to understand the process of aging. In this period (of aged and aging people) the range of motivations is getting narrow. The person's health is deteriorating, people are getting less energetic and begin to "migrate" away from more successful social roles to less significant and successful.

If in the earlier years, a person needs activity for peace of mind, in the later stage of life the peace of mind is usually accompanied by inactivity or motivation towards retirement, which is one of the ways to avoid fear and social exclusion. Along with the change in the range of motivators, another group of psychological attributes is changing, i.e. person's abilities.

With the retirement, the life style changes. The main objective of it is stability, i.e. keeping what one has. This is material possessions and health.

Self-determination that they have lived their lives well is very important for older people. They want to anchor themselves in the past, which is very important for their adaption to the present. It is well known that older people keep high self-esteem, thanks to the knowledge that they had worked well during the active part of life and had earned the respect and the future out of poverty.

Some mass media negatively affects the exclusion of the older generation. They speak little about their accomplishments and their helpfulness in bringing up the junior generations. They are responsible for discrimination against the older people. The society develops certain stereotypes regarding the older people: "they take our jobs", "they are usually ill", "they bring no value".

Part 1. Social Theory, History and Methodology

One of the acute problems for the senior generation is loneliness. The latter is, of course, related to human mortality. In our country, a woman's life expectancy is 12 years longer than a man's. This is why it is often heard that "the old age has a woman's face". However, women can also deal with loneliness much better. They either take care of their grandchildren or find some other activity (participate in community, take on crafts etc.). For men, loneliness is the state that is very difficult to bear. This is why social services need to pay attention to including lonely men into their networks.

The goal of our complex sociological studies was to study the social inclusion of the older people, which means learning about their self-realization, their mood, attitude towards time, level of loneliness.

We used the concept of the renowned domestic scientist B.G. Ananyev as a basis for our study. He considered a person's path in life in the stages of self-realization. Methodological approaches of the study are: 1) understanding the self-realization of a person in the two main spheres of life: profession (labor) and the family; 2) analysis of the understanding of person's life at the intersection of their personal, age, and social experiences; 3) understanding their lifestyle (degree of loneliness) taking into account the peculiarities of the Russian mentality.

Cases of Postcarbon Sociology

Milana B. Kolesnichenko, Perm

Abstract. The background is to highlight the main trends in respect to postcarbon society in Russia. Case study method was used. The result of this analysis is describing two cases related to development of electric vehicles and air conditioning systems. It is concluded that semantic structures affect projects attributed to post-carbon society that contributes to solving urgent problems of reducing hydrocarbons dependence.

Keywords: postcarbon sociology; resource turn; case study; semiotics; energy efficiency

A new concept of modernity is postcarbon sociology. Currently, natural, physical and social systems exist in unstable situations of dynamic stress, which increases the need for quality planning and management of climatic and social processes. Postcarbon society is focused on not-carbon-based resources, on disappearance of dependence on hydrocarbons. The new concept also means strengthening of relationship between natural and social in modern systems, that expands the area of sociology research beyond the limits of a science of society.

Author of the concept of postcarbon sociology J. Urry sees that the concept is connected with resource turning and resource sociology. The new area of sociological research is devoted to an actual problem of climate change, defining the resources of the XXI century. Changes in conditions of nonlinear, uncertain social processes lead to scientific turnings in sociology. Besides resource turning [Urry, 2012: 51] turns to mobility, materiality, topology, etc. also have a great influence [Vakhshtain, 2014:1].

Publications prepared by sociologists in the framework of international organizations, in particular the European Union [Towards a «Post-Carbon Society»,2007:9] emphasize measures aimed at reducing hydrocarbon dependence. One way is to use solar generation, wind farms, another way is nuclear energy and CCS (carbon capture and storage) technology. CCS technology is the process of trapping carbon dioxide produced by burning fossil fuels or other processes and storing it in such a way that it is unable to affect the atmosphere. In addition to reducing consumption of petroleum products, the aim of modern society is to increase a share of energy produced from renewable sources, reducing greenhouse gas emissions, to increase in demand for electric vehicles, etc.

Dynamics of emissions of pollutants from road transport into the air in the Russian Federation has not shown a tendency to reduce them [Vybrosy vrednykh, 2012:1].

Table 1

Pollutant emissions into the atmosphere (Thous. Tons / year).

Year	Number of tons
2005	501,00
2006	523,40
2007	569,70
2008	589,51
2009	591,84

In other countries, a trend to reduce the need for hydrocarbon resources is usually not manifested. For example, consumption of oil and oil products in the United States is about 3 tons/person, in Germany 1.5 tons/person, 0.5 in China, in Russia – a little less than 1 ton/person [Bushuev, 2010:7].

Data related to development of renewable energy such as wind power, show no growth in the Russian Federation and its presence in the countries neighboring Russia [Vetroenergetika, 2013: 1].

Table 2

Total installed capacity, MWin several countries 2005 – 2011

Country	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Czechia	29,5	54	116	150	192	215	217
Finland	82	86	110	140	146	197	197
Estonia	33	32	58	78	142	149	184
Lithuania	7	48	50	54	91	154	179
Ukraine	77,3	86	89	90	94	87	151
Russia	14	15,5	16,5	16,5	14	15,4	

Does the above examples mean that trends to post-carbon society in Russia are weak? Recently initiatives of politicians and public persons have rarely appeared on issues of energy efficiency and environmental friendliness. One can look at it from a perspective of modern semiotics.

Concepts such as "environmentally friendly", "energy efficiency", "energy saving" and "economy" have a similar value. However, fields such as wind power generation, consumption of petroleum products, electric vehicles etc., are not interrelated technically. It is rhetoric about protecting the environment, prevention of environmental disasters, fight for clean air applied by various lobbyist groups that influences decision-making by consumers and government agencies. In addition, judgments of reasons responsible for failure of the country in the field of energy

efficiency indicate rather that a demand has appeared for products with characteristics of "green", "energy-efficient" than a real problem of unreadiness of society to be "green-friendly".

Two cases here about i.e. development of electric vehicles and air conditioning systems which directly reflect trends post-carbon society can illustrate these conspectus. In these fields, in fact, unrelated to each other, decisions of individuals, community groups, public authorities are taken under an influence of pressure groups who use rhetoric about environmental, energy efficiency to strengthen their position while in fact far from such considerations as real economy and protection of nature.

The first case is a situation with electric vehicles in Russia. Among the reasons for failure of the project "Yo-mobil" in comparison with the successful project "Tesla" one can say engaging of not enough skilled personnel, use of a wrong plant, applying of not-suitable innovations, lack of refueling infrastructure, etc. Despite variable including purely technical problems, there is a defining reason for this state of affairs: "wrong consumer segment (orientation to customers from economy class, not from business class)" [Demidov, 2014:47]. Electric car "Tesla" was originally conceived as a fashionable, advanced gadget, and its sales in Russia in 2014 reached 90 pc. In the case of "Yo-mobile", the project has shown to be ineffective since the beginning, with investment from the state, perhaps, the project would be continued, but investment losses would have been even greater.

Characteristics of eco-friendly, energy efficiency in case of an electric vehicle are primarily attributes of a gadget that define its prestige and price (for example, availability of air conditioning, power steering, electric window lift, when these accessories has been appeared). Accordingly, its ability to position the electric vehicle as an eco-friendly and energy-efficient that significantly increases its price, it has no real relationship to savings of money. At the same time an image of eco-friendly and energy-efficient vehicle is created by the manufacturing company to promote the project. On the basis of semiotic signs, according to the sociological concept of J. Baudrillard, in the consumer society a process of simulation increases.

The second case is addressed to an analysis of an advertisement related to an air conditioning system VRV Daikin, which leads to similar conclusions. Modern advertisements often use positioning of a product as a eco-friendly and energy efficient product. Thus, the CEO of a company that produces air-conditioning systems - this, in his opinion, eco-friendly products, argued the quality of the products like this: "These climate solutions provide significant cost savings for our customers... Fully integrated management tools are also a significant advantage in monitoring of energy consumption" [VRV Daikin..., 2013: 1].

In both case studies a logic semantic connective is given to a potential buyer: "Environmentally friendly products" - "monitoring (control, decrease) in power consumption" - "cost savings". More expensive products promoted with use of such epithets as "ecology", "energy efficiency", "economy" can compete successfully in the market in comparison with cheaper products. Signs of eco-friendliness and economical become decisive in assessing by consumers of such sensible matter, as quality of a product. It is proved that the product is worth a much larger sum to be paid by a consumer in comparison to the similar product that does not have such signs.

Conclusion. A current state of society is linked to climate change, due to conversion of various types of energy and hydrocarbons. Natural changes are closely intertwined with social changes, especially in respect to processes of adaptation and mobility. Therefore, the boundaries of postcarbon sociology can be expanded, including solving of urgent social problems. These tasks are include urban planning, infrastructure development, public insurance, public safety, improving of corporate and marketing strategies, development of social capital and formation of behavioral attitudes.

Move to post-carbon society means a move to a society, which reduce consumption of hydrocarbons through use of energy-saving technologies. Pressure groups use rhetoric and semiotics of postcarbon society to strengthen their influence and impact on consumer's decisions.

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The Predictive Models and Russian Social and Ecological Practices

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Marina V. Rybakova, Moscow

Abstract. In this paper we analyze the predictive ecological models developed by domestic and foreign researchers, we also focus on the problem of ecological conflict resolution. The modern Russian ecological practices are analyzed, the examples of successful formation of these practices as well as the prospects of their application in ecologists' practical activities are considered.

Keywords: predictive models; ecological sphere; Russian ecological practices; ecological conflicts; ecological risk

On the threshold of the third millennium the global contradictions inherent in the modern world became especially visible. The deepening ecological crisis requires the formation of a new activity - the creation of prediction models in the ecological sphere.

It is no coincidence that politicians, military personnel, mathematicians, economists today refer to the theoretical issues on security in general and to prediction of ecological situation in particular. As practical experience shows, there are compelling reasons why they do it.

The Club of Rome, an organization that brings together more than 100 experts from 57 countries, is known for its predictive scenarios that identify prospects of the development of the world civilization. Let us examine two key issues.

The population explosion and ecological threat lead to a serious problem of an energy shortage: oil prices will rise by at least 50%, energy costs for exploration and production outside the Middle East will exceed the amount of energy derived from the oil. It means that the oil-producing countries will have a trump card in a dispute with the industrial states. The Persian Gulf conflicts are evidence of exacerbation of relations over energy resources. This is the first problem.

The second problem is that the global economy will be regulated by energy, not by monetary values. The main consequences visible today, that logically follow from this contradiction, are: the process of natural termination of struggle for self-preservation and the fact that states enter upon the path of uncompromising struggle for non-renewable natural resources. It is equally obvious that Russia, which has large oil and gas reserves in Siberia, will be at the forefront of the future «redivision» of the world. After the global warming, predicted by the members of The Club of Rome, Russia, as the «breadbasket of the world», will become more attractive to the powerful foreign countries in terms of intervention.

We note that Russian scientists' studies carried out under the leadership of Academician N. Moiseev also showed that the global nuclear conflict will lead to the changes in human environment, including the biosphere. A computer-based atlas of climatic resources of a number of countries has shown that it will be possible to provide a high level of human survival under nuclear conflict conditions in the "white zones" countries and in the countries with favorable climate (Asia-Pacific Coast of the US, some parts of Europe, a large part of China) due to climatic parameters. According to the experts, «white zones» conducive to the rapid purification of the affected area due to the physical characteristics of the climatic environment. It is obvious that in local conflicts, that involve the use of tactical nuclear weapons, a climatic factor can be essential for military operations.

Ecological conflict is one of the most common types of conflicts. The main feature of an ecological conflict is a matter of this conflict, which can be viewed as the impact on the nature. Among the most well-known environmental conflicts are disputes concerning the future of the existing nuclear power plants and construction of new plants, the admissibility of genetic engineering, the disposal of radioactive wastes, and possession of important resources including, besides oil and gas, water.

A statement of the existence of ecological conflict prompts the need for a specific legal intervention of stakeholders (state structures, society, citizens' groups, ecological organizations). A legal method involves: a) a determining the object of protection; b) an establishment of measures of legal liability for ecological violations and compensation for environmental damage; c) a determination of measures and means of implementing ecological control.

For a number of reasons the problems of prediction of ecological risks had not been represented until the mid-70s in the foreign literature and until the mid-80s in the Russian science. In American literature the term «risk» in its narrow sense involves the possibility of significant financial losses for multinational corporations and investors as a result of the impact of unfavorable political factors (putsches, revolutions, etc.) in the countries that are open for investments [Kuznetsova, 2014: 108] .

The «risk» is the basic concept of economics, politics, ecology and other fields, that use also such concept as an «ecological security». Such concepts as «acceptable risk», «market risk», «ecological risk» are especially popular today. The similar concepts – «ecological protection», «ecological security», «ecological monitoring», «natural resources protection and conservation» are used in a number of the legal acts of the Russian Federation today.

In fact, in politics, economics, ecology there is often a conscious risk (forecasting) when the expected benefits (the expected results), the appropriate price that should be paid for

achievement of these results are calculated. A disregard for the ecological risks is one of the causes of ecological conflicts in Russia and in the world.

The ecological systems modeling process includes two stages. The first stage involves the ecological risk assessment, the analysis of the causes of its emergence. The second stage involves the risk management that includes the analysis of the risk situation and the development of the best options to resolve this situation.

On this matter let us turn to the work of Russian scientists, like V. A. Koptuyuga, V. M. Matrosov, V. K. Levashov, Y. G. Yudin. In their book «Sustainable development of civilization and the place of Russia» [Koptuyuga V.A., 1997] they describe the system model of Russian national strategy building. The new model of development, according to the authors, is to alleviate the problem of parity violation in the Russian-West economic relations. The model implies to refocus on social criteria, to assess any changes in the economy, taking into account social and environmental impacts of these changes for the Russian society. The model represents the socially acceptable system of goals, recourses, methods for solving perspective and current tasks including forecasting in the ecological field.

The experts identify two approaches to the problem of ecological risks reducing and ecological safety.

The first and the most common approach suggests fighting with the consequences of the ecological risk, but not with the causes of its emergence. This activity is necessary, but it doesn't eliminate the source the ecological systems instability.

The second approach that is being developed nowadays suggests analyzing and eliminating of causes of ecological risk. This approach is based on the international environmental law and ecological education.

An important basis for cooperation between states in the field of ecological protection is the international legal regulation. The objects of international ecological law are: Antarctica, outer space, the World Ocean, rivers etc. Russia's active participation in the international law enforcement cooperation is an integral part of the Russian ecological policy. Russia is actively involved in the implementation of the implementation of the Convention on Biological Diversity, the Convention on Climate Change, whose objective is to prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system.

It is necessary to improve the systems of local (object), regional (domestic) and interstate ecological monitoring. One of the examples of the ecological monitoring systems is the Unified State Environmental Monitoring System (USEMS) in the Russian Federation that provides gathering, systematization and analysis of information on the state of the environment and

provides government agencies with the information necessary for the elaboration of ecological maps, for modeling and forecasting of ecological situations in different areas and regions of Russia and for map-making.

The overcoming of the ecological crisis through technical and legal means is not enough, in our opinion. Of particular relevance are studies of motivation of politicians and the representatives of the administrative structures to accept or reject an ecological decision. These issues become more serious in the analysis and diagnosis of the causes of emergence of different disasters (radiation, technological, military) and elimination of consequences of such disasters. Thereby it is necessary to develop the new interdisciplinary science – the ecological psychology. Social environmental practices as the sustainable, interrelated and mutually oriented role behavior of individuals, organizations and groups have both individual and collective nature. The collective action in the social ecological practices can be carried out through the mobilization of different resources (in this case resources include the social institutions, various types of social organizations, movements and parties, but not the individual actors) [Rybakova, 2006: 62].

The ecological movements are the glaring example of the social ecological practices. Ecological non-governmental organizations are formed at the regional level. For example, there are such ecological movements as «Help ourselves» (the Volga Region), «The Rostov antinuclear movement» (the Rostov Region), Tatarstan youth environmental movement (the Republic of Tatarstan), «Association of green Karelia» (Karelia), «The Baikal Ecological Wave» (the Irkutsk Region), «Ecodefence» (the Kaliningrad Oblast), and many others.

There are also the ecological organizations that specialize in the specific forms of ecological practices, such as the development of nature conservation, the ecological management, ecological assessment and assistance in the resolving of socio-ecological conflicts, for example, the Wildlife Conservation Center, the Centre for Ecological Policy, the "Ecoline" and others. The activity aimed to the rebirth of nature exists in a complex with ecologically friendly production, works and services directed at the restoration of biological resources.

The system of ecological management and state regulation has already proved its efficiency in practice in many countries. The ecological management is the purposeful system that combines scientific-technological, administrative and moral-cultural components. The ecological management techniques make it possible to link the reduction of waste and pollution with ecological and other benefits of companies and enterprises. The «clean production», i.e. the aspiration of employees to work in the way to avoid or minimize harm to nature, - is the indicator of the social ecological practice, that is implemented by ecological management. The «green taxes» are especially widely used in the foreign countries [Rybakova, 2006: 179].

One of the types of the ecological business that represents collective ecological practices in Russia is ecotourism. The ecotourism contributes to the stimulation of the social-ecological development of the regions, biosphere reserves, the establishment of national parks, national monuments of nature, recreation areas.

In the Arctic region in 1993 there was inaugurated the Great Arctic Reserve that covers an area of area of 4,169,222 hectares (the area of 33 national parks in Russia is 731 376 hectares). The processes of preservation and development of national culture, social control over the territory, provided by the rural population, are also included in the ecological practices. Thereby ecological settlements can be considered as examples of lifestyle changes for the purpose of solving ecological problems through personal practice [Rybakova, 2012: 151]. The ecological practice of the settlement "Kitezhh" includes not only the spiritual perfection of its members, but also garbage collection, farming without the use of chemical fertilizers and also upbringing and socialization of the children deprived of parental care. Foster families, besides solving many problems, also inculcate in children the responsible and caring attitude towards nature.

Some ecological settlements are organized by the authorities, like the settlements in the Vologda region. For example, there is the ecological settlement "Atshi" that is situated in the village of the Sayran Maikop district, within 20 km from the Caucasian Biosphere Reserve included in the UNESCO World Heritage List. The ecological settlements create an alternative social reality that promotes ecological modernization of society.

The development of the ecologically correct system of state and municipal administration, as well as building an environmentally friendly economy, may become not only the part of the Russian social ecological practices, but also the focus of the geopolitical doctrine of the majority of civilized states.

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Social Integration vs Inequality of Ethnic and Religious Distinctions

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Abstract. The article reveals the formation of a positive relationship of ethnic, religious, national, state and civic identity and potential inter-ethnic tolerance, interfaith harmony, social integration of the Russians.

Keywords: ethnicity; confessional identity; tolerance; inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations; interfaith harmony

Correlation of such problems as: national security, modernization and traditional nature, is actual for scientific analysis of the phenomena of formation and construction of new ethnic, confessional, national and civil identity in mass and sectional conscience as well as in the public politics, which is attributive for many transitive polyethnic societies in the era of globalization.

There are attempts being taken within the sociological comprehension of “global transition” to consider two world development trends: integration and globalization on the one hand, and disintegration, fragmentation and isolation of detached parts and regions – on the other one. B.R. Barber in the beginning of 1990 –s was one of the first to have noticed the simultaneous existence of these two trends. He claimed the collision of the local “jihad” with the globalizing world. (“Jihad vs. McWorld”). Universal patterns of the McWorld are being spread everywhere along with the “jihad” world, world fragmentation, separatist movements, ethnic and confessional conflicts that threaten the national and regional security. J.Rosenau has even offered a special term “fragmengrativity” as a description of fragmentation and integration taking place alongside. “Glokalisation”, invented by R.Robertson (1995) is similarly formed. It reflects the processes of globalization and localization, particular regions’ isolation and relative autonomy of local cultures those take place simultaneously.

An extreme form of presentation of ethnic and religious identity’s -glokalisation - threats was proposed in the Samuel Huntington’s concept on ethno-cultural differences. They allegedly certainly have value of intercivilizational confrontation as far as "politics and economics won’t remain the major sources of conflicts in the emerging world. The most important borders to divide the human society will be determined by culture. The most significant conflicts ... will occur between nations and groups belonging to different civilizations ... "(cultural communities of the highest rank, defined by such features as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, self-identification). They see the most important distinction between cultures and civilizations in

religion. Emphasis was placed on the following trends that emerged in the context of globalization: 1) economic modernization and social changes seen throughout the world "blur" the traditional identification of people with a place of residence, state; religion comes to replace that, often in the form of fundamentalist movements; 2) There is a process of returning to "own roots" taking place among non-Western civilizations. Cultural differences were given not only social but also a political sense. Modern societies are characterized by a high degree of focus on social mobility, development of professional stratification based on the achieved status. Meanwhile, traditional societies are determined by the stability of their structure, hierarchy, based not on the achievements, but on social classes or castes, prescribed status, resulting in social relations at the base of family, clan, and community. Partly, this is obvious.

However, it seems that the actual rigidity of preconceived stereotypes and ethnic prejudices, sounds in the following proposition: "In Islamic, Confucian, Japanese, Hindu, Buddhist and Orthodox cultures such western ideas as individualism, liberalism, constitutionalism, human rights, equality in freedom, the rule of law, democracy, free markets, separation of church and state have almost no response." [Huntington, 1994].

There's no surprise that the Euro-Atlantic Americanocentrism of Samuel Huntington's concept has been criticized not only in Russia but also in the West, as modern sociology is based on the recognition that traditions aren't only inherited, but also are subject to changes. Tradition and modernity are not mutually exclusive. In every society there are cultural traditions and innovations in culture, and modern society can be represented not only by Western countries (as it is in Japan, Turkey, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong). In addition, modern science notes also the negative effects of modernization, which can't be called the benefit for mankind (increase in environmental disasters, man-made catastrophes, excessive individualization and social traumas). All this contributes to the new images of the social movements of "green" and "anti-globalization", which are structured transnationally, above the cultural, ethnic, religious and socio-stratified borders. The idea of a social movement in modern sociology is forced to reckon with the fact that its members are not only influenced by the situation, but also produce the latest. They are defined by both their cultural orientation and social conflicts, which they are included in. Let's recall that the religious, ethnic, cultural and civilizational differences, as opposed to the concept of Huntington, did not become an obstacle to the creation of a broad international coalition against terrorism, and most of the Middle Eastern Islamic societies didn't express their solidarity in the conflict with the Taliban in Afghanistan and Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq.

Recognition of the cultural specificity isn't understood by Russian sociologists as an insurmountable barrier and is not considered as a cause of the "clash of civilizations". We can't

regard the emotional appeals of the ideologists of the "quasi-liberal multiculturalism" those appear as the leaders of national movements, calling for the counting of cultural damage and the revival of the lost religious traditions as a confirmation of Huntington's theory.

A radical change of the dominant ideology, accelerated by socio-political and economic transformation, at first, were followed by the deterioration of social status, increase in social deprivation, maladjustment and social phobias. That period has seen a growth in appeal to cultural traditions and religion. This increase in traction to ethno-cultural and religious identity has become a kind of means of social support for some time, a form of resolution of socio-psychological tension, individual and social group of frustration.

However, a comparative analysis of the results of sociological research in Tuva, Yakutia, in the North Caucasus, in Moscow, and in a number of other Russian regions showed that the surge of interest in the cultural and religious traditions of archaic, seen in early 90s, has not led to the expansion of the social base of support for radical forces calling for socio-political disintegration, separation, religious strife, ethnic segregation.

Russian ethnosociologists (a research project under the direction of L.M.Drobizheva) measured socio-cultural distance by the degree of similarity or identity ("alienation" as defined L. von Wiese) of the ethnic culture between the titular nations and the Russian living in the Republic. It was also determined and based on the extraction of valuable ideological orientations at macro level, regarding social relations in the whole country: the formation of a civil society based on the values of social partnership, pluralism of opinions or, on the contrary, a return to tradition. At the meso- level – the attitude towards the group values was identified: to sovereignty, ethno-cultural domination or cultural pluralism, as well as to symbolical ethnic values – to the national (mother) language, evaluation of the past, focus on the past – future and east – west system. According to the study, it was found that the socio-cultural distance at the macro level was statistically insignificant between the titular inhabitants and Russians, and between people living in different regions (with the exception of North Ossetia). However, in all the republics the values of civil society were higher among Russians, and they noted the "focus on the future" in the self-assessment more often.

Measurement of contingency of cultural distance with the regulatory culture leads to the identification of communities/ethno-confessional groups with customs' dominance and modernization-oriented societies. Results of research in different Russian regions with mixed ethnic cultures (Russian, Yakut, Tatar, Tuvin, Ossetian), mixed faiths (Orthodox Christians, Muslims, Buddhist) has shown rather high degree of ethnic consistency regarding such values as family, education, wealth. These universal values are priority to the peoples of Russia. In

contrast to Huntington's pattern, educational values as the major source of modernization appeared to be surprisingly consistent among the representatives of the cultures, considered more traditionalistic (Muslim, Buddhists) and Christian culture peoples, living in the same conditions (urban-rural).

In Tatarstan a complete correspondence between titular inhabitants and Russians in regard of importance of education has been shown. This has also been shown in Northern Ossetia between Ossetians and Russians. Cultural distance between the universal values of Russians and Yakut in Saha-Yakutia is similarly short. Tuvinians has shown less importance of wealth values but higher – of education. We should notice that the intense ethno-cultural changes take place not only in towns and cities, but also in the countryside, usually considered to be a stronghold of traditionalism. Titular inhabitants of Russian republics – Tatars, Yakuts, Tuvinians, Ossetians, - those live in the countryside, has shown a higher orientation towards education, which is typical for modernizing cultures.

Another differentiating cultural and religious value-marker of confessional identification seems to be gaining momentum. According to the ethnosociological research, more than 66% of dwellers claimed their religious adherence, and in the countryside this indicator is still higher. At the same time, the religion adherence among Russians is higher in the republics whose titular inhabitants are more religious – that shows that the religious identity for Russians is particularly important, most significant and increasingly important factor in ethnic identification.

The high degree of religiosity is observed in geographic areas of armed ethnic confrontation and ethno-political conflicts. This happens probably because where there is no confidence in the safety, so, the role of the compensatory function of the religious worldview increases. Let's recall that Marx wrote in "The German Ideology": 'Religion – is the opium of the people ...' Marx didn't put a period after this catch phrase of ideological campaign posters of the Soviet era. But, in the author's version, this is followed by the words, '...the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world.'

If the conflicting parties comprise mainly not only different ethnic groups, but are the representatives of different churches, then, ethnic and religious slogans are politicized and become a means of ethno-political mobilization.

At the same time, an intra-sectarian archaic actualizes, as it happened in Chechnya, that determined withdrawal of radical groups of Chechen society from the traditional for Russian Muslims Islam of Hanafi wing; the spread of Wahhabism has occurred, along with revitalization of rituals typical of medieval Sufi dervish orders. Currently, in Western Ukraine capture of

Orthodox churches of the Moscow Patriarchate takes place, and not only by the Uniates, but also by the adepts of the self-proclaimed Orthodox Patriarchate of Kiev.

In the era of globalization manifestation of the need to value the symbolic rise of ethnic and religious identity is paradoxical. Public presentation of demonstrative commitment to religious confessional attributes, such as wearing the hijab in public, at non-religious institutions, is not accidental. This is a means of radical auto-segregation group positioning; it creates additional barriers of communication in a multicultural environment. As a consequence, there is a feedback when sociologists record not just the growth of negative ethnic stereotypes in relation to a particular group, but also extrapolation of them to all members of this denomination.

In social behavior, guidelines on acceptable and unacceptable intrusion into the sacred relatively autonomous social and cultural space have changed dramatically.

Politicization of private protests, such as the scandalous show group "PUSSY RIOT" in the main cathedral of Christ the Savior Cathedral in Moscow, was condemned as unacceptable social behavior by the majority of Russians, both Orthodox and members of other religious communities, and atheists. Without a doubt, such an intrusion into the space of sacredness is not only illegal, but also immoral, antisocial. Even in the twentieth century - a period of aggressive atheism - there were certain unwritten norms and rules of behavior in the symbolic temple space that were adhered to as by non-believers as by people of other faiths.

Hardly reasonable are the claims to the ROC / Russian Orthodox Church: they say, the Orthodox hierarchs have gained too much political weight. For quite representative and authoritative research of Levada - Center sociologists, this kind of political role have been recognized as an important by no more than a quarter of Russian respondents. In contrast, 63% of respondents believe that the church does not play such an important political role. Some public assessments and judgments on this issue are premature and speculative.

What was the response of of Russian citizens to the tragic events in Paris? According to a representative public opinion poll, Russians in general condemn the attack on the editorial board of «Charlie Hebdo». However, 68% of respondents made a statement that the publication of caricatures is unacceptable in principle; 59% of respondents consider the publishing of "provocative" caricatures on prophet Mohammed as an insult of religious feelings. Some of respondents (19%) believed that those events to be the consequence of ineffective actions of the French authorities against the spread of "Islamic fanaticism", and 16% of respondents blame the authorities in too much liberal migration policies, which led to terrorist act. Only 12% of Russian citizens are confident that journalists have the right to publish such anti-religious caricatures. However, 26% agree with the point of view that, refusing to publish such

caricatures, mass - media comes in the wake of terrorists (Levada - Center, January 2015, N = 1600).

The inadequacy of the politics invasion in autonomous temple sacred space is the result of excessive politicization of ethnicity and religious identity. Therefore, the awareness of the importance of the search of symbols of 'relative alterity' through the prism of ethnic and religious identity is increasing, along with preservation of elements of traditional rites, popularizing of folk forms in national culture.

An encouraging fact is that ethnic and cultural features that are defined by religious affiliation of Russians, are mostly updated in festive culture, in rituals, norms of household behavior; and they are mostly manifested not in the public, but in the private sphere of the family, personal life. They more distinguish than separate the ethnic groups. However, in social practices, according to the known definition of E. Shils, the scale of cultural distance does not define the components of culture as such, but those elements of culture and behavior, which are given a certain symbolizing and ethnic integration value ("traditions are formed not by themselves; they are created or amended by people"). Many reformed communities are facing again and again the arising question: what should determine the cross-cultural differences - situations of social inequality, ethnocentric traditionalism or values of integrated multicultural model of modernization?

New challenges for democratic social reforming are created by traditionalist barriers of "ethno-glocalization" and glocal ways of confessional response to fundamentally different situations of social inequality. For preventive recognition of threats from local radical ethno-religious groups, speculative efforts of political scientists and social philosophers are insufficient. For the profound study and problem solving of formation not conflict, but stable multi-level, mutually complementary social positively national (civil), ethno-cultural, religious identity is required in order to consolidate the efforts of the scientific community of sociologists, political scientists, psychologists, social philosophers

Interdisciplinary integration, the exchange of results of scientific research on the specifics of the social construction of a positive strategy for the formation of national identity is needed. This requires a much higher level of institutional and organizational interaction with academic science and social structures of the state administration, on the one hand. On the other hand, in the interests of national and regional security of post-socialist community, international scientific communication and cooperation should be fostered.

The situation of inter-ethnic peace and interfaith harmony, as it's known, causes widespread in society views about ethnic differences as the faces of multi-color and beautiful in

their entirety cultural mosaic. With increasing ethno-phobia the construction of ethno-cultural differences in the rank of hard insurmountable front of symbolic boundaries in society the potential of modernization, democratization of society minimizes; also reduces the focus on achieving "unity in the ethnic and cultural diversity." However, it is such productive social partnership model that helps the achievement of a consensus on inter-ethnic relations, inter-ethnic interaction positive strategy - integration based on the recognition of cultural differences; and the model should be sought. It appears social integration is a factor for regional and international, and domestic national security, where the condition is the achievement of social and political stability, based on inter-ethnic harmony and interfaith world in all spheres of multicultural, poly-confessional civil communities.

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Lev N. Gumilev's Ideas on Ethnic Interrelationships

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Abstract. Developing his doctrine on ethnic interrelationships Lev N. Gumilev pays a considerable attention to *ethnos*, its differences from race and community. Defining *ethnos* as a system integrity, he points out that ethnic interrelationships by no means should be based on hatred despite their being somehow based on opposition according to the principle *we vs they*.

Keywords: *ethnos*; ethnic interrelationships; community; human being; we; they

Accusing Lev N. Gumilev of identifying the concepts *ethnos* and *race* some of his critics sought to prove that he would rather consider *ethnos as species, breed* primarily due to biological ascertainings of these terms. Meanwhile, defining similarity as the basis for forming a race, the thinker herewith pointed to diversity of people composing *ethnos*. He was deeply convinced that a birth of an *ethnos* would always include at least two components. Crossbreeding different *ethnoses* would more frequently give birth to a new ethnic form than would lead to a degeneration of an old one. Perceiving the division of an *ethnos* into families and tribes as some sort of a skeleton for growing muscles required to fight negative effects of the environment, Lev N. Gumilev was far from explaining this division as an indispensable and needed condition for making an *ethnos*. From his point of view it would not necessarily lead to show-up of some form of unity prior to generation the *ethnos* itself and should not be considered as a primary phase of its forming though in ancient times tribe system existed ubiquitously. And it is clear that families and tribes as inner-ethnic units played rather positive role of supporting and preserving ethnic unity. In this connection Gumilev opposes *ethnos* to community.

To get united into an ethnos despite to get united into a community, from his point of view, is impossible. One can or cannot belong to an *ethnos* and this is perceived by a human being and by the neighbors as an indisputable fact demanding neither serious proofs nor justifications. Thus an incorporation of strangers is possible but just within certain proportions excesses of which may decompose *ethnos*. According to Gumilev, each human being represents simultaneously his nation (which he suggested to call *ethnos* to avoid terminological confusion) as well as community. These concepts, in his perception, denoting the same group exist on different planes, interpreting them depends on a certain viewpoint and thus they are not to be thoroughly compared. And if concept *ethnos*, from his point of view, is more favorable for denoting a community which the mankind may be divided into then concepts *the people* and *nation* are not always good for it.

Radically denying an ethnos's having some universal external peculiar feature Lev N. Gumilev defines it as system integrity. He regretted to point out to the evidence of insufficiently elaborated systematization principles in the sphere of ethnical theory, he nevertheless found out some attempts to enter systematic method into various fields of research. On the basis of this experience the thinker understood the system as a group of its constituents where the elements themselves (things or fragments as parts of the whole, events and facts of people's biographies, etc.) are far less significant than constantly appearing connections among them. That is why he criticized those ethnologists who considered an ethnos to be a system but primarily of people and not the connections between them. The special type of connection in ethnos establishing a system which Lev N. Gumilev characterized as *required indicator of defining ethnic identity* is the opposition to the principle *we vs they* for ethnos is always a group of people somehow who single out themselves among the number of other groups. It is precisely the most universal feature of the form for *Homo sapiens* species' local being. Each member of the ethnic integrity stands out together with the ethnos among *all others* not in thoughts, but in senses. And while this ethnocentrism mastered by the members of the ethnos in reflection is preserved the ethnos will exist. The thinker finds out the *ours vs theirs* opposition in various countries, in all epochs *while a human being still stays a human being*. Each, he emphasized, has been organically linked to the ethnos since birthday and that is why cannot, on the one hand, belong to several ethnoses simultaneously, on the other hand, as well as belong to neither of them.

Together with this, one should not forget that Lev N. Gumilev repeatedly pointed out that ethnic oppositions, by no means, should be based on hatred. Active against any means of stirring inter-ethnic hatred, he warned about banning perceptions when the *we vs they* oppositions are given nothing but a negative meaning. In this case there is formed *an image of an enemy*, endowed with a wide list of negative traits. One should not bring ethnic differences to absurd saying that *we vs they* is related as *people vs non-people*. Ethnoses must not quarrel, not to be enemies but interchange their different values.

Only in this case the contradictions providing the ethnoses their original living may be fruitful and this cannot be possible without good-neighborhood living and mutual respect. 'It is terrible when one ethnos subdues another and starts suiting their own ends', writes Gumilev. '... One shall not seek to make all people similar to oneself, one shall learn to live with them in harmony taking the balance of interests into consideration... and thus develop friendship between nations – this is the best among what has been created in this field for all the thousand ages of humankind's existence'[Gumilev, 2002:197]. However, the perception of *the other*, by the thinker's deep conviction, is an obligatory and indispensable fact of mutual differences as well as

ethnoses' interrelationships, a positive realization of which is possible only on the basis of the true patriotism.

In his numerous works Lev N. Gumilev used to repeat that patriotism would help to establish positive relationships with all people, i.e. is positive, without allowing to use patriotic ideas against anybody. In doing so, he used to warn that a powerful force may give people not just the good but the bad in the sense that it is capable enough to express itself in a negative form of hatred towards all the others as well. In this case ethnic interrelationships may show up in the form of racism, anti-Semitism, chauvinism as well, widely and comprehensively represented in the anti-systems. But in the process Gumilev points out that negative anti-systematic perception of the world as an unnatural phenomenon cannot spread over on rather big number of people. Anti-system is always less than a positive system in and by which it lives.

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The Experience of Using the Empirical Intersection for Content-Analytical Case Studies

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Abstract. The purpose of this research is to analyze the reaction of Russian preschools teachers for new federal state educational standards. The study is based on the results of content analysis of internet editions specialized on the programs of preliminary education which were elaborated by teachers of preschools from all parts of Russia. The analysis allowed to identify the main trends, challenges and innovations in Russian pre-school education harmonized with traditional methods. Summary of this study shows the readiness and high level of capability and proper activity of pedagogical community in generating new ways of pre-school education and developing the traditional methods.

Keywords: preliminary school; federal state educational standards; educational activity; content analysis

This content-analytical study was carried out in the framework of the research project "Current processes in the Russian pre-school education." The purpose of research - to identify the major trends, challenges and innovations in modern Russian preschool education. We formulated the following research objectives:

- clarify the distribution of the interests of workers of preschool education in various subject areas;
- Find out what the problems in connection with the introduction of the new FSES (federal state educational standards) in the area of preschool education workers formulate preschools;
- Find out what new forms and methods of offering employees preschools.

As an empirical source was selected all-Russian online magazine "Doshkolnik.RF" for July, August, September and October 2014. This time period with a solid theoretical sampling has provided a sufficient number of publications for the analysis (232 publications, authors are current preschools employees). How to formulate the editors of the magazine - is electronic magazine for teachers and parents. For the purposes of this study, this publication is suitable for the following reasons:

- all the authors of this publication are current preschools employees. Print materials are selected, edited from the site where their publications can send anyone a writer. Thus except for author's name always must indicate his position and kind of preschool, where he works. Therefore, we can confidently assert that the analysis of selected publications authored by employees is acting Dow. Such publications (indicating position) in the Journal of almost 100% .(Except for units).

Part 1. Social Theory, History and Methodology

- geography authors (town or village shall also virtually 100% of cases), covers the entire territory of Russia, except the Far East, Chukotka, Kamchatka and Sakhalin (north, middle and south of the European part of Russia, Ural, Komi, Tatarstan, Mari El, Siberia, including Khanty-Mansiysk and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District, the Republic of Sakha Yakutia), as well as former Soviet republics - Kazakhstan and Moldova.
- purpose of all publications (except poems and memories of some personal life) - exchange their experience with preschoolers.

As a method of collecting information was selected manual quantitative and qualitative content analysis, which allowed more deeply and carefully analyze not only the quantitative characteristics, but also the content of the materials. Categories for the analysis highlighted the following: data on the author, type of publication (abstract class or script, holiday, leisure, entertainment, production and analysis of the problem with recommendations based on personal experience, description of the project or technique), the subject area Publication (cognitive activity, moral and patriotic education, environmental education, communication and socialization, language skills and speech therapy, health and sports, artistic and aesthetic education - music, literature, art, psychology, traffic rules - rules of the road), the content of the material (goals and objectives of the teacher in a specific activity, the forms and methods of work with children and parents), focus of publications (at the board, parents on both).

We begin our analysis of the results of content analysis with the characteristics of the authors. The structure of the authors of the journal is as follows: teachers - 13% teachers of the first qualifying category - 49%, the second qualifying category teachers - 2.5%, senior tutor - 2.5%, teachers of higher category - 8%, the teacher and speech therapist first qualifying category - 8%, the teacher-therapist of higher category - 2.5%, the teacher of additional education - 2.5%, the teacher-therapist first qualifying category - 1.5%, the musical director of the highest qualification category - 1.5%, musical director the first qualifying category - 5%, physical training instructor - 4%. Of these, 7.5% work in groups or correctional institutions or compensation.

By type of material publications as follows: notes (scenarios) activities, festivals and events - 54% materials, which put and analyzes any problem, described his own experience and recommendations - 25%, a description of the specific methodologies, projects - 21%.

By subject category in the first place is cognitive activity (27%). Then, the development of speech, speech therapy (18%), artistic and aesthetic education (17%), moral and patriotic education (16%), health and sports (16%), environmental education (9%), communication and socialization (6%) , traffic rules (3%). This gives a total of more than 100% since the

publications can be present several educational areas. It should be noted that almost half of the publications present this technique as the integration of educational areas in a single procedure, project or lesson.

We now consider each submitted more educational areas. Let's start with knowledge. The cognitive activity as a new trend big enough attention is paid to the use of the experiment as a method of knowledge. According to the authors, experimentation - is an ideal means of formation of informative interest at children of preschool age. Experimenting like no other method corresponds to a particular age as a visual-efficient and visually-creative thinking in children. At preschool age, it is the leading, and in the first three years of life - virtually the only way of knowing. Experimental work is of interest to the study of nature, develops thinking (analysis, synthesis, classification, generalization), stimulates cognitive activity and curiosity, activates perception of educational material to familiarize with natural phenomena, the basics of mathematics. In addition, the experiment - an excellent method for forming the foundations of natural science and environmental concepts.

There is a problem in pre-school education of cognitive interests, notes a number of authors. Previously, this has not been given much attention, it is now recognized as one of the leading motives of desire for learning and knowledge. FSES (federal state educational standards) determine new ways to work together teacher, the child and parent. Research activities offers great opportunities for joint activities of adults and children. So, for example, offers a form of joint activity of children and parents as information and creative projects, the purpose of which - scientific research cognitive development of children. In these projects integrates a number of areas: knowledge, socialization, communication.

The development of speech and speech therapy - traditional and mandatory educational areas in preschool. However, a number of authors and offers in this area their methods and approaches. For example, the integration of educational area "fine art" and under "correctional work", the organization of sports and leisure speech (speech therapist and performed physical education instructor), teacher-speech therapist suggested an original technique of understanding speech in non-verbal children. Another teacher, a speech therapist proposed a method of formation of speech and cognitive activity of pupils of compensating focus groups. In the organization of remedial developmental process they used the principle of the concentric building material.

Dictionary work - an important link in the text. One of the authors proposed a method for the development of children's speech in the course of acquaintance with the works of KI Chukovsky. Literary works, says the author, enrich it shaped words and expressions. Also in this

form of the method is used as the word games. Brought to the parents. They had explained the importance of vocabulary work, methods of work with the words while reading. Wires and individual work in the form of counseling.

Teaching a child coherent speech - an essential condition for preparation for school. It proposed a method of learning connected speech, where the work was supplemented with fiction classes using plot pictures, folklore, finger games, technologies productive reading. To work also involved parents.

An interesting method of activation expressive and impressive speech at the senior preschool children for whom the Russian language is not (the children of migrants, the so-called children inofony). It solved the problem of socialization and overcome the language barrier with the help of productive creativity in terms of additional education. This unobtrusive immersion in a new language and social environment in the process of working with plastic materials. There is a spontaneous study of Russian spoken language during the course of the program "Paper Symphony". The methodology used by the activity and the student-centered approach.

Artistic and aesthetic education also remained aloof from the innovation and integration with other educational areas. For example, the organization of interactive mini-museum of wooden toys with the method of use of its exhibits not only promotes the artistic and aesthetic development of and attached to the folk traditions, but also cognitive activity, the development of creativity, research and experimentation with a toy. In the drawing in order to help children realize their creative potential are encouraged to use a variety of non-traditional painting techniques - monotype, spotografiya getting the picture using gouache-flour solution and others.

The dance classes music executives in addition to traditional purposes (learn rhythmically move to the music, etc.), and also put objectives such as the development and enrichment of musical and intellectual horizons and raise interest in different cultures and raise a sense of community with the peoples of the world (after learning of the characteristic movements of dance), education of tolerance. At the same time a means of artistic and aesthetic education (poetry, painting, music) are used in other areas - for example, use them to expand and fixed ideas about natural phenomena as part of the aesthetic view of the world.

In general, the authors note the important role of arts in child development. Of particular importance is given to the integration of art and various kinds of artistic activities for children. This technology is based on the formation of artistic and creative abilities of children using core thematic content - game, nature, literature, artistic and manual skills and visual activity. The integration of different content in the upbringing and educational work is the visual-motor and visual-figurative method. Artistic and aesthetic education through the arts complex leads to the

formation of creativity, with the activity, independence and initiative in the application of the main methods of work to the new content, finding new ways to achieve the objectives.

The problem of moral and patriotic education and care a significant part of the authors, although not at the top of the hierarchy of pedagogical interest. The authors note that now there is a rethinking of the nature of patriotic education. The idea of education of patriotism and citizenship becomes a task of national importance, therefore, it must be one of the main problems in preschool education. We need a modern and coherent concept of moral and patriotic education. One of the authors proposed the following system:

- Family;
- Kindergarten;
- Native Street;
- hometown;
- Country, symbols, capital;
- rights, duties, constitution.

An important condition of moral and patriotic education - a close relationship with parents, interaction DOW (preschool educational institution) and family. At the heart of the work should be based on the following principles:

- Regionalization;
- Availability (relative to the level of development of children);
- Continuity (the formation of a stable interest);
- Integrity (integration of knowledge about morality and patriotism);
- Scientific;
- System.

Classes and activities are encouraged to use media devices (presentations), movies, music. An interesting approach to the work in this area kindergarten teachers with ethno-cultural component. For example, the development of spiritual and moral qualities takes place on the basis of traditional Tatar culture (respect for the family, a healthy lifestyle, the formation of values and meanings of representations of the world). Children are introduced to the culture of the people, cuisine (the children are offered national dishes). During Nod, on the Day of Independence "My Tatarstan", the following tasks:

- Improving the knowledge of the state symbols;
- Formation of the aesthetic relation to the national symbols;
- Generalization and systematization of knowledge about homeland;
- Education of patriotic feelings - love, respect, respect for the native land.

The religious aspect of moral and patriotic education (moral and ethical influence of Orthodoxy) was touched upon only in two publications. In one of them offered an outline of Nod on the topic "Russian saints. St. Sergius of Radonezh. " Among the objectives of training - build an understanding of mercy and diligence in their daily lives, striving to imitate the holy education in the virtues of mercy and obedience to parents, love for the people and God, to promote the development of attention for others, diligence and patience.

Health & Fitness enjoyed the same level of interest as the previous educational field. By the way, even these areas are integrated with each other, for example, in a holiday "Day of Defender of the Fatherland." Physical education preschoolers, the authors say, is not only the formation of motor skills through physical exercise, but the knowledge and experience of its own motor abilities and their place in the world.

Objectives of physical education should be addressed in conjunction with the objectives of the mental, moral, aesthetic and patriotic education - through the integration of educational areas. In this area, an important place is given to such a concept as a healthy lifestyle. A healthy lifestyle should be done not by individual measures, but by the system works. It is necessary to use the method of education of the person - his example education (parents and teachers). The provider must be an example of friendly to others, in appearance, in the absence of bad habits. The main factor influencing the health - it is the habits and behavior. Educational objectives - promoting safe for life and health behavior based on an initial idea of a healthy lifestyle. To do this:

- Ensuring students informed that the rules of health savings;
- Inculcate the skills of conscious attitude to their own health and the health of others;
- Create a holistic view of your body;
- Realize the value of their lives and the lives of others;
- Create a need for a healthy lifestyle;
- Inculcate habits of hygiene, to develop the ability to anticipate potential life-threatening consequences of their actions.

It should be the interaction of family and preschool (pre-school educational institutions). For example, a survey of parents conducted by one of the authors, showed that the level of knowledge and skills in the education of habits for a healthy lifestyle for most parents is low and the interest arises when he needs medical help. Therefore, the staff of preschool (pre-school educational institutions) should implement systematic diversified parent education, including assistance in the acquisition of practical skills and theoretical knowledge, as well as the dissemination of good family experience in the physical education of children.

An interesting use of technology in the practice of project activities for the creation of a favorable space saving health in preschool (preschool educational institution). The basis of this technology - independent research, cognitive, play, creative, productive activity of children in which the child knows himself and the world, embodies the new knowledge into real products. It entails the development of individuality, autonomy, initiative, search activity, teamwork. Through the optimization of parent-child relationships in the project activity is the formation of a system of values, in particular with respect to healthy lifestyles.

One author tells about the experience of use in preschool (preschool educational institution) technology for saving health V.F.Bazirnogo. It helps solve the problem of poor health in the learning process. The technology involves the construction activities in the mode of moving objects and visual horizons. To fix the visual material used special sensory-didactic crosses. In various places in the playroom placed labels. Use hand-koordinatornyh simulator eight. Getting basic information in the classroom is through the visual analyzer. The result of the application of technology - increase efficiency, focus, activity, interest in knowledge, self-improvement, a beneficial effect on eyesight.

A significant challenge in the authors see equipment subject motor environment conducive to better health. The propulsion medium must wear developing character, be diverse, dynamic, transformable, multifunctional. But there is a problem in the purchase of game material and sports equipment. Available N, we have to do ourselves. Thus, some authors have shared their findings in the creation of non-standard equipment.

Environmental education - a relatively recent trend of educational and educational work in preschool. However, the authors consider it a very important direction and offered a lot of interesting ideas in the development of this educational field. They consider it necessary to establish a system of environmental education of preschoolers, aimed at becoming a scientific, educational, emotional, moral and practical-activity relationships to the environment, environmental education and safe behavior, as a basis for preserving the health of the child. So, in this line, one of the authors was designed ecological project "Be different nature." The purpose of the project - through the systematic, purposeful dialogue with the environment to lay the foundations of ecological culture. Project objectives:

- Create a phased system of ecological education of preschool children with drawing up long-term plans to work with children and parents at each stage;
- Create a basic presentation and natural history of the concept of the living and inanimate nature;
- Nurture love and respect for all living things;

- To engage in different activities on nature protection;
- Develop the skills of ecologically literate, moral behavior in nature;
- To ensure the continuity of environmental education in the preschool – family;
- Develop aesthetic perception of nature.

To this end it is proposed to use the following forms and methods: practical exercises on the site, observing the work in the classroom, morning conversation, individual work with children, the days of creation, drawing on nature, familiarity with the works of art about the nature of the interaction with the family.

Another writer suggests the following approach to development issues. This ecological project "Ecology preschool yard." The purpose of the project - based on the design activity the formation of children and parents a sense of belonging to nature, humane treatment of the environment and the desire to take care of nature conservation. The author believes that the organization of the project work - the most effective way to achieve the objectives of environmental education. Project objectives are:

- Establish ecologically sound environment in the territory of preschools;
- Generate knowledge about the ecosystem of nature and boundaries of the organization of human habitation;
- Develop the cognitive skills of children and parents at mastering research methods knowledge of nature;
- Organize practical environmental activities of children and parents;
- To implement a form of working children and their parents - design and research activities "ecological path of my family";
- Develop understanding and mutual assistance between children, teachers and parents, the need for constant self-development of ecological culture.

The novelty of the project lies in the use of information computer technologies - activities of interest to parents and children. With their help, they will create videos, presentations, slide shows. Additionally, it is intended to use such forms of work, such as:

- Observation and environmental tours of the ecological trail;
- The lessons of kindness;
- Competitions and quizzes;
- Productive activity - the protection of posters, projects;
- Laboratory work (experiments);
- Issue environmental newspaper;
- Week "Magic ecology of the soul";

- Staging and theatrical performances;
- Moving, didactic, simulation games, travel;
- Ecological and educational holidays and entertainment.

It is important that the content of the project includes the activities of all participants of the process of upbringing and education in a variety of environmental actions. Socialization and communication is not allocated by the authors as separate self-contained areas of training, and are integrated in the accompanying studies and various activities.

A study of traffic rules (rules of the road) did not attract much attention, although this is a very important issue related to the preservation of life and health of children. It may be noted the presentation of the parent meeting "Anticipate and teach - then save." The purpose of the meeting - to draw parents' attention to the problem of child road traffic injuries, increased activity of parents in the education of children. The meeting was designed to perform the following tasks:

- strengthen parents' knowledge about the peculiarities of teaching children traffic rules;
- encourage parents to think about the importance of studying children SDA.

With explores noted that the work of teachers and full interaction with parents of preschoolers - is the main problem that affects in one way or another most of the authors of publications. The essence of this problem is to make parents - "bystanders" full and competent participants in the pedagogical process. Much has been said about the importance of a favorable psychological climate and partnership within the family.

To achieve these goals, the authors offered a variety of forms and methods of work with parents of preschool children. This pedagogical education of parents in the form of consultations, discussions and round tables. This psychological diagnosis of relationships in the family, followed by the help of a psychologist, the decision of special psychological and situational problems. Outreach to parents' meetings, visual information (information subject stands). Parent involvement in the project activities, bringing to participate in festivals, competitions, entertainment and other events.

In general it can be concluded that the Russian pre-school education began the process of modernization in the context of the FSES (federal educational standards) and the Federal Law on Education in the Russian Federation. It is the creation of new forms and methods of work (integration of educational areas, the implementation of project activities, experimentation, non-traditional ways of learning, the introduction of new educational areas). The growing (albeit insufficient) introduction of multimedia learning tools (together visual, audio, and other display products in an interactive software environment) in the activities of preschool (pre-school

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educational institutions). Analysis of publications showed the willingness and high creativity preschool workers (pre-school educational institutions) to participate in the further improvement of the upbringing and education of preschool children.

Fuzzy Set QCA Method for Classification of Countries According to the Peculiarities of their Political Culture

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Abstract. The article proposes a technique of applying an algorithm (fsQCA) from the class of logical-combinatorial methods for identifying typological structure of countries based on their characteristics of the political culture of the population. Within the framework of the secondary data conceptualization of European Social Survey a system of characteristics for building typology is introduced and aggregated indexes are constructed. The focus is on classification of countries and comparison of typological structures of countries identified according to three waves of ESS project (2008, 2010, 2012).

Keywords: logical-combinatorial methods; typological analysis; indicators of political culture; typological structure of countries; fuzzy set QCA.

Introduction

In international comparative researches a multivariate analysis is limited by the fact upon the transition to aggregated indexes (on a country level) results to the quite small data size to be analyzed. This case requires application of special tools of data analysis including logical-combinatorial methods. That is why qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) – the approach, developed by Ch. Ragin [Ragin, 1987; Ragin, 2008], has become widespread in sociological and political science researches. It includes several algorithms, one of which being fuzzy set QCA is examined in the article. This approach as most data analysis methods can be used for various purposes, despite that it was originally intended to identify causal relationships between the phenomena. Examples exist of effective application of logical-combinatorial ideas for typological analysis [Fiss, 2011; Cooper, Glaesser, 2010; Kvist, 2007; Vis, 2007; Kuchenkova, Tatarova, 2013, 2015].

The basic constructs of fsQCA are fuzzy sets, and ideal types. Each research situation requires a special logic of their mathematical formalization. For example, J. Kvist and B. Vis offered the scheme and one kind of logic to assess the extent to which social policy in different countries corresponded to protectionist, democratic and liberal types. *Our aim* is to develop a strategy for the identification of typological structures of countries for the comparative analysis of their stability over time by means of fsQCA. For this purpose, we use the example of the classification of countries based on the characteristics of population's political culture and rely

on linguistic and logical structure of the typological analysis as a data type analysis and meta-methodology [Tatarova, 2007a, 2007b].

The empirical data in this paper includes the three waves (2008, 2010, and 2012) within European social survey, carried out in 24 countries. Every year there were some changes in the group of countries participating in the project, so we selected those that were represented in all three waves.

Indicators of Political Culture

In the context of the examination of societies' political sphere the one of the areas in cross-cultural studies is the comparison of the *populations' political culture*. Empirical patterns discovered in this field are explained by the peculiarities of the historical development of separated macro-regions, political and economic situation in the states, and their cultural characteristics. In line with this, some important questions are not given enough consideration. For instance, *how stable are such patterns and whether or not the similarities and differences in the political culture of different countries remain for a long time, or they are undergoing change constantly?* To answer this question we should consider the indicators of political culture.

In a broad sense, political culture includes almost everything connected with the sphere of politics (institutions, traditions, state symbols, political beliefs of the population, the specificity of historical memory, etc.). In the narrow sense, it is interpreted as a system of political orientations (dispositions), values and attitudes towards political institutions, politicians and officials, individuals themselves as subjects of political behavior.

Various indicators of political culture of the population are used in research practice [for example, Nazarov, 1998; Patrushev, 2003; Rukavishnikov, Halman, Ester, 1998]. However, some characteristics of political orientations and attitudes are present in almost all models of measurement. These include: *interest in politics* and political events, the frequency of political discussions with relatives and friends; *the perception of the importance of political activity, confidence* in the ability to *influence on authorities; awareness of current political events and political competence, trust* state institutions at various levels, politicians and organizations. In most cases, these measures are added by characteristics of the political behavior of individuals (*electoral activity, willingness to participate and participation* in protests).

Since a lot of different measurement models of political culture can be suggested, so countries can be classified on basis of various characteristics. From the methodological point of view for decision-making in the process of secondary conceptualization, it is possible, reasonable and advantageous to proceed from theoretical ideas proposed by F. Heunks and F. Hikspurs [Heunks, Hikspours, 1996]. Relied on the conception of G. Almond and S. Verba

they used three key indicators (interest in politics, trust politicians, and political activity), and considering the level of their intensity (high, medium, low) identified 12 types of *political subcultures* (Table 1).

Table 1

Typology of Political Subcultures, Proposed by F. Heunks and F. Hiksipoors

Level of political activity (intensity of participation in political actions)	Level of <i>interest in politics</i>	Level of <i>trust politicians and political institutions</i>	
		high	low
high	high	Civic participant	Participant
	medium	Civic	Autonomous
	low	Client	Protest
low	high	Spectator	Spectator
	medium	Spectator	Spectator
	low	Subject	Parochial

Despite the fact that this is rather a simplistic model, it can form the basis of solving research problems of testing of logical-combinatorial methods for identifying typological structure of countries. In this classification, the differences between some types are not so significant (what is indirectly confirmed by assigning the same name — ‘spectator’ — to four types of political subcultures). Moreover, some subcultures turn out to be extremely small in practice. The usage of 12 types leads to the situation when the differences between certain subcultures became not clear and obvious, so it is possible to rely on a more simplified model by reducing the types of political subcultures down to 8 (see Table 2) using two instead of three values of indicator titled ‘interest in politics’ (high and low).

Table 2

Simplified Typology of Political Subcultures

No.	Level of Political Activity	Level of <i>Interest in Politics</i>	Level of <i>Trust Politicians and Political Institutions</i>	Type of Political Subculture
1	1	1	1	Civic participant
2	1	1	0	Autonomous
3	1	0	1	Client
4	1	0	0	Protest
5	0	1	1	Spectator
6	0	1	0	Spectator

7	0	0	1	Subject
8	0	0	0	Parochial

These ‘ideal types’ of political subcultures described by combination consisting of zeros and units, can be presented in a single country in varying degrees and in turn can be used as dominant characteristics for building a typology for the typological analysis in eight-dimensional space of classification.

In our study, the ideal types are used to solve the local problem — to assess the country's *proximity* to these types (taking into account the nature of dominance of a certain political subculture). Thereby in our research dominant characteristics for building typology are political *activity* (participation), *interest* in politics, *trust* political institutions organizations, and politicians.

Dominant Characteristics for Building Typology — Empirical Indicators — Classification Variables

We had been selected *empirical indicators* for all dominant characteristics for building typology in the database of European Social Survey. Based on values distribution of these indicators the three indexes (on a country level) were constructed (see Table 3). Their values were calculated for all countries in each of the three considered waves (2008, 2010, and 2012).

Table 3

The Scheme of Indexes’ Building

Dominant Characteristics for Building Typology	Empirical Indicators (questions from the English version of the 2008 questionnaire)	Indexes
Political activity	<p>B 11. <i>Some people don’t vote nowadays for one reason or another. Did you vote in the last [country] national election in [month/year]? (yes, no, not eligible to vote).</i></p> <p>There are different ways of trying to improve things in [country] or help prevent things from going wrong. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following? Have you ...</p> <p>B 13. <i>contacted a politician, government or local government official?*</i></p> <p>B 14. <i>worked in a political party or action group?</i></p> <p>B 16. <i>worn or displayed a campaign badge/sticker?</i></p> <p>B 17. <i>signed a petition?</i></p> <p>B 18. <i>taken part in a lawful public demonstration?</i></p> <p>B 19. <i>boycotted certain products?</i></p>	<p>The percentage of respondents <i>voted</i> in the last election <i>and at the same time</i> had participated in at least <i>one of the following actions</i></p> <p>related to political activity.</p>

Table 3 -continued

Interest in politics	B 1. <i>How interested would you say you are in politics – are you ...?</i> (very interested, quite interested, hardly interested, not at all interested)	The percentage of respondents who are <i>very interested</i> in politics
Trust political institutions and organizations, politicians	<i>Please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust each of the institutions I read out.</i> B 4. <i>[country]’s parliament?</i> B 7. <i>politicians?</i> B 8. <i>political parties?</i> (0 means you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust)	The percentage of respondents who demonstrate a high level of trust (6-10 points on 10-point scale) to the <i>three recipients simultaneously</i>

Note: * In questions B 13 – B 19 there are two answers: *yes, no.*

Data analysis

The advantages of fuzzy set QCA as one of the variants of qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) consist not only in the possibility of multivariate analysis in the situation of small-sized data, but also in its *transparency* for the researcher. The basic concept for it is fuzzy sets, which involve the transformation of primary data: objects (in our case — countries) must be described using the grades of membership to different sets. For example, based on the values of the index ‘the percentage of people with a high level of interest in politics,’ we need to create a new variable — ‘membership degree of the country in the set of countries with a high level of population’s interest in politics.’

In other words, there is the set of countries with a high level of population’s interest in politics, it is a *fuzzy set*, and countries belong to this set to varying degrees (membership scores range from 0 to 1). The transition to this new variable is similar to the procedure of recoding (or calibration). A country gets membership: score 0, if it is seen as ‘fully out of the set’; 1 if it is ‘fully in’; 0.5 if a maximum uncertainty is observed (it is a cross-over point where the case is neither more in, nor more out). Degree of membership (ranging from 0 to 1) can be calculated in various ways of converting the index values. One of them is *taking the logarithms*. This is a procedure of transition from one scale of measurement to another and it can be done automatically by computer program *fs / QCA* [Ragin, Sean, 2014].

Calibration parameters for three indexes (‘*activity...*’, ‘*interest...*’, ‘*trust...*’) were defined on the basis of distribution characteristics of indices’ values, presented in Table 4. These parameters were the same for all waves (2008, 2010, 2012):

- Full non-membership in the set corresponds to a minimum value of index in all three waves, rounded down to the nearest whole number (equal: 9; 1; 1 - for ‘*activity ...*’, ‘*interest ...*’, ‘*trust ...*’ respectively).

- Full membership - a maximum value of index in all three waves, rounded up to the nearest whole number (equal: 60; 22; 43).
- The cross-over point - an arithmetic mean of medians (equal: 24.25; 9.42; 9.15).

Table 4

Index Value Distribution Characteristics

Wave (year)	characteristic	Percentage of respondents with high level of ..., %		
		'activity...'	'interest...'	'trust...'
2008	Min	9,7	1,6	1,4
	Max	59,8	20,2	37,9
	Me	26,85	10,2	9,65
2010	Min	9,8	3,2	2,1
	Max	54,8	20,7	36,5
	Me	22,6	8,8	8,75
2012	Min	10,4	2,6	1,1
	Max	55,4	21,7	42,9
	Me	23,3	9,25	9,05

As the result of the transformation of index values (according to the calibration parameters) we got new variables, which described countries through degrees of membership to the sets of countries with a high level of 'interest ...', 'trust ...', 'activity ...'. The procedure of classification of countries depending on the degree of their proximity to the 'ideal types' was held in several steps.

Step 1: If the classification variables had only two values (high and low), then the eight possible combinations of these values corresponded to the eight ideal types of political subcultures (Table 2). Each of these types can be considered as an 'ideal type' and described as a combination of zeros and units. In this case, there are eight combinations:

000, 001, 010, 011, 100, 101, 110, 111.

Step 2: The degree of membership to the described eight ideal types is calculated for each country. Let us illustrate this with an example. If for the country the value of the first classification variable is equal to 0.3, the second - 0.4, the third - 0.6, then the degree of membership to the ideal type "111" is 0.3 (minimum of three values). Similarly, the proximity of each country for each of the eight 'ideal types' of political subcultures is calculated.

Step 3: A country is considered to be the closest to the ideal type, degree of membership to which is being the highest. In other words, the country is attributed to a particular class or 'ideal type.' This is the final step of the procedure of countries' classification in our study.

Classification Results

Classification of countries using three classification variables was done for each of the three waves (2008, 2010, and 2012). The results are summarized in Table 5. Despite a limited number of initial empirical indicators, there had been discovered empirical regularities, interpretation of which led to the conclusion on the significance of heuristic potential of logical-combinatorial approach for analysis in the situation of small data size. While considering the regularities in details, we introduce the letter designation of ideal types. For example, **HLH** (high level of ‘activity ...’ low level of ‘interest ...’, high level of ‘trust ...’), and in order to illustrate the changes in the ‘status’ of a country, we introduce the symbolic representation (**LLH**, **LLH**, **LLH**). Here it means that the status of the country in three waves did not change and remained at low levels of ‘activity ...’ and ‘interest ...’, but high in level of ‘trust ...’.

The half of European countries (12 of 24) belongs to the same class in all three waves; they remain close to the same type of political subculture during the whole period under review (as are shown in bold in Table 5). This situation can be interpreted as the *maximum stability of the political culture*. Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom were the closest to the type of ‘civic participant’ (**HHH**) subculture; France being ‘autonomous’ (**HHL**), Belgium being ‘client’ (**HLH**); Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia being ‘parochial’ (**LLL**).

A considerable proportion of countries (10 of 24) are *less stable in political culture’s characteristics* and remains in the same class in only two of the three waves (these countries are highlighted with italics in Table 5). It is important to look at the direction in which the change occurred: in some cases the ‘status’ of a country rises, otherwise it goes down. For example, the Germany’s ‘status’ is raised: in 2008 and 2010 it has been closer to the ‘autonomous’ type of political culture (**HHL**), and in 2012 – ‘civic participant’ (**HHH**). Finland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Israel also improved their ‘status’.

The ‘status’ of the three countries went down. Cyprus in 2008 and 2010 had been classified as ‘**LHH**’, and in 2012 became closer to ‘**LHL**’. Russia (**LLH**, **LLH**, **LLL**) and Ukraine (**LHL**, **LLL**, **LLL**) moved in the same direction, but the latter made the transition to ‘**LLL**’ class earlier and with a higher degree of membership.

The changes in ‘statuses’ of two countries (Bulgaria (**LHL**, **LLL**, **LHL**) and Estonia (**LLL**, **LLH**, **LLL**)) are controversial. However, their transitions were predictable to some extent. The degrees of membership of Bulgaria to the class ‘**LHL**’ (‘spectator’) in 2008, 2010 and 2012 were 0.56, 0.49 and 0.6, respectively, and to the class ‘**LLL**’ (‘parochial’) – 0.44, 0.51 and 0.4. Thus, Bulgaria was sufficiently close to these two classes in all three waves but each time was

attributed to that one, to which was closer. The same situation in the case of Estonia: degrees of membership in the 'LLL' and 'LLH' classes fluctuated between 0.37—0.59, what led to changes in the 'status' (0.59; 0.49; 0.57 for the 'LLL' and 0.37; 0.51; 0.43 for 'LLH').

Table 5

Typological Structure of Countries
(The year of poll is specified in parentheses)

'activity...'	'interest...'	'trust ...'	
		high level	low level
high level	high level	Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Norway, United Kingdom Germany (2012), Israel (2012), Finland (2012)	France <i>Germany (2008, 2010)</i> <u>Spain (2010, 2012),</u>
	low level	Belgium <i>France (2008, 2010)</i> <u>Spain (2008)</u>	<u>Slovakia (2012)</u>
low level	high level	<i>Cyprus (2008, 2010)</i>	<i>Israel (2008, 2010), Bulgaria (2008, 2012)</i> Cyprus (2012), Ukraine (2008)
	low level	<i>Hungary (2010,2012), Russia (2008, 2010)</i> Czech Republic (2012), Estonia (2010), <u>Slovakia (2008)</u>	Lithuania, Portugal, Poland, Slovenia <i>Ukraine (2010, 2012), Czech Republic (2008, 2010), Estonia (2008, 2012)</i> Russia (2012), Hungary (2008), Bulgaria (2010) <u>Slovakia (2010)</u>

Note: Bold font is used for countries that has been in the same class in all three waves (2008, 2010, 2012); italics – for countries that has been in the same class in two waves of the three; countries that has been changed their location in all waves are underlined.

The analysis showed that if countries changed the class, they moved to the neighboring group, because the value of only one of characteristic for building typology was changed. At the same time the level of trust and interest in politics changed more often. Probably, these two indicators were more susceptible to the influence of situational factors than political activity.

Only in the case of two countries (Spain, Slovakia) there is a *maximum unsteadiness of political culture*. That is confirmed by transition of these countries from one class to another in all three waves. Despite such instability, it should be noted that each time these two countries moved to the class to which the degree of membership was the second largest in the previous wave and ranged in 0.4—0.47. Thereby transitions were predictable to some extent. Closeness to

the different types of political subcultures in different years can indicate their comparable prevalence in the country and absence of dominant type.

Concluding Remarks

Obtained results indicate sufficient stability of typological structures of countries depending on the characteristics of their political culture. Some countries have high level of political culture's indicators, while others, on the contrary – low. Moreover, similar or neighboring countries can be found in the same or adjacent classes. Once again this confirms the idea of the existing stable groups ('families') of countries representing different macro-regions (Northern Europe, the Mediterranean, Central Europe and others) demonstrating the similarities for a variety of characteristics (social, economic and political) for a long period of time.

From the methodological point of view, the results illustrate the heuristic potential of fsQCA as transparent (unlike many other mathematical methods of multivariate analysis) and effective method for cross-cultural comparison and identifying qualitative and quantitative changes in the typological structure of countries over time.

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Prekariat - a New Social Class or Protoklass¹

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Abstract. Substantiates the emergence of a new social class - prekariat, explains its causes, its structure and its main characteristics. Shows how the idea about prekariat matured in the bowels of scientific thought in the world and domestic social practices. Identifies the main features of this class, compares with other social groups. Specificity of this class, its role and place in the modern division of labor, its position in the labor market, the first stirrings of his awareness as a "class for itself". Investigates the effects of the existence and functioning of prekariat.

Keywords: class; middle class; precariat; the labor market; economic reforms; social consequences

"38 million of working age are working in opaque conditions that pose a serious problem for the Russian society"
O.Golodets, Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation

Time and causes of appearance of this phenomenon

The concept of "prekariat" is derived from two words (from the Latin. Precarium - erratic, unstable, insecure) and the word "proletariat", which at one time was a class alienated from the results of labor and exploited in the interests of the ruling class - the bourgeoisie. Prekariat - brand new formation, indicating the presence of a social stratum that represents the alienation not only on the results of labor, but also on the whole society of large social groups with special, sophisticated forms of exploitation of their labor, their knowledge, their skills, and ultimately the quality of life. These groups include those who are engaged in temporary, episodic work involved in shady or, as expressed O.Golodets "illegal" sector of the labor market, so that these people have to cut social rights and have disadvantaged social status. In general, these groups form quite a significant layer in many countries around the world, reaching 30 to 40% of the working-age population. Thus, we can talk about a social layer forming, in our view, a new social class, which largely determines the face of modern societies. Let us examine this in more detail.

This phenomenon arose gradually, not immediately. We will not dwell on the historical antecedents of this social group. People with temporary employment and seasonal work in one way or another have always been in the history of every society in all periods of its existence. Let us analyze the modern period, when these groups have come to represent not episodic, and sustainable and growing prevalence of the use of specific forms of working-age population and

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the formation of specific socio-economic relations. These groups began to take shape under the influence of ideas and policies of neo-liberalism in the 60-70-ies of the last century. Neoliberals categorically denied the state's role in solving economic problems or can not stand the idea of centralized planning and regulation. They characterized the world and the country's market economy as a space in which employment, income and investment, respectively, without any restrictions flow to where to capital there are no restrictions. Moreover, they strongly opposed the Social Democratic policy, which in one way or another professed in the postwar period, most countries in Western Europe. Neoliberals were convinced that social guarantees for the working class, the unions concessions inevitably lead to slower economic growth, accelerate the de-industrialization, a decrease in production efficiency. They also argued that the development of the economy, the successful increase of competitiveness is possible in an environment where market principles will penetrate not only the economy, but also all aspects of society. Ultimately, this setting has implemented the main purpose of the neoliberals - to shift the burden of risk, taking care of all public and private (private) life on the shoulders of the people themselves. The Liberals refused to pay attention to the fact that this organization of life of the economy increases the vulnerability of people, makes them dependent on the circumstances on which they can not influence. This policy was generated by the neoliberal sophisticated exploitation of the labor force, which is the maximum exempt the owner from liability for the normal existence of millions of people and their families. The result was a class that is entitled became known as *prekariat*.

What is modern prekariat?

Firstly, it is part of the working population is constantly engaged in temporary jobs. This social group, numbering in Russia, according to expert estimates, 30 to 40% of the working population is limited and devoid of those rights which have constantly working employees who have guaranteed employment. Members of this group, as a rule, have no social rights, they have no paid holiday. They can not count on help in buying a home. Caring for a child to become their own business, as well as education and training. This is complemented by the fact that temporary workers are virtually no opportunities for professional growth, career. And most importantly - temporary employment to become permanent value that begins to accompany human life.

Secondly, *prekariat* consists of people working part-time or seasonal and pushing up odd jobs. This phenomenon allows you to hide the extent of unemployment. Typically, the majority of cases these are people who were forced to agree to work part-time. Moreover, experience shows that they have to work harder and get paid for their work less pay than they bargained for.

Moreover, many of this group of people often find that they are exposed to greater exploitation and self-exploitation, which is inadequate remuneration for their work.

Third, *prekariat* presented as unemployed, whose numbers are also significant. It is particularly acute during the crisis. Moreover, according to experts, the gap between recorded and the total unemployment ranges from 3.5 to 7 times. Academic and presidential advisor S. Glazyev believes that "hidden unemployment is up to 20%" [Op. by: Istomin, 2015: 17]. Moreover, it should be emphasized that hidden unemployment is often masked by the reluctance to register under the random break-in, a cameo in the individual employment, especially agriculture. It is expected that 2015 will bring a significant increase in unemployment. This is clearly stated by Deputy Prime Minister Igor Shuvalov, speaking in Davos, "to prepare for an increase in unemployment."

Fourth, in *prekariat* we include people and so-called liberal professions - information technology specialists, programmers, and others., Are busy freelancing. They sometimes are committed to the freedom-loving spirit of rigorous and independent petty regulation of official (public, joint and private) companies and organizations [Davydov, 2014: 139-141]. But their non-conformism, the absence of an external routine monitoring in fact turns the fact that this ostentatious and sometimes something attractive independence struck the same limitations as all *prekariat* - helplessness, lack of social security, leaving the man alone in the event of unforeseen circumstances, to deprivation of stability and confidence in the future.

Fifthly, the same characteristics can be attributed to a busy agency labor, the essence of which is hiring in your home state employees who carry out orders or provide services to other companies (companies, organizations [Kozin, 2013]).

Sixth, to *prekariat* abut, in our opinion, of migrants, whose numbers in many countries around the world, including in Russia, is significant. Their position is also characterized as a situation in which many of their violated rights, they are paid less than the official citizens, they are not guaranteed, many social benefits. Often they are if not directly, then indirectly ethnic and religious discrimination [Malakhov, 2015: 115].

And finally, *prekariat* replenish interns and part of the students who pretend to occupy in society and the profession stable position. This part of the youth is in a state of uncertainty, agreeing to random and non-permanent forms of employment, often underachieve and justifiable claims to take its rightful place in life.

Thus, in Russia, as well as throughout the world, in the late twentieth century - beginning of XXI centuries, a new social class - *prekariat*, which is characterized by temporary or part-time, wearing a timeless, permanent and sustainable. Moreover, it should be noted that their

number is constantly growing, has a strong tendency to increase, including by people while having permanent employment and who are often referred to as the middle class.

The main prekariat's features

First of all, for prekariat characterized by unstable social situation, leading to 'de-intellectualization of labor "(Greenberg, 2009: 4), the deformation of the labor process. This applies not only to small and medium-sized producers, but also such giants as Gazprom, Rosneft, IBM. The latter has already announced at the end of 2014. on the reduction of staff employed by almost one-quarter that touches 110 thousand. workers.

We emphasize that the mass deprivation jobs will affect not only the workers but also all segments of the population, and even of the middle class, which is often presented as a model of stability and benchmark for others to follow.

Proclaimed neo-liberals flexible use of labor for the worker turns loss or reduction of social status. And this threat seriously lowering the social status of the people concerned. According to the national survey of the economic consciousness (Russian State Humanitarian University, 2012. 12 regions, 1,207 people). 31.2% believe that there is a real (fully or partially) the possibility of losing their jobs.

Currently, in the Russian economy in a situation where people who are on their potentialities and abilities have the right to claim the appropriate employment, forced to accept less remunerated and undervalued jobs. There is a status dissonance. Especially it is typical for young people, who begins his life and is forced to agree to these terms, but at the same time with the hope that a short-term phenomenon, with situational costs. But even in this case the consciousness of the group laid the feeling of injustice, which can confirm from my own experience and watching is not inspiring their situation.

No less important characteristic is its prekariata social insecurity, depriving him of many social guarantees. This is evident not only in a lower wage - prekariat deprived of safeguards for the protection of health care in the education of children in recreation. As a rule, these people "will not get any" not only regular, but also occasional promotion, temporary worker status This frees the employer from excessive maintenance costs of labor, it reduces costs, increases profitability and most importantly (dream neoliberals) shifts concern about the current situation and about the future of life on the shoulders of the employee "in order to build his self-reliance, responsibility and competitiveness." Prekariat usually has no legal protection (or it is minimal trims), which would provide job security in exchange for agreeing to obey, comply with generally accepted requirements and to comply with certain loyalty. According to the national

study (1207 pers., Aged 18 years, 12 regions, 2012., Russian State Humanitarian University), only 20.2% admitted that their employment and / or additional work has been formalized labor agreement with the employer or authorized his body [See Toshchenko, 2014].

Prekariat devoid of perspective, sees no future under the current structure of society and the state. In practice, this means giving up a professional career on the professional growth of their professional prospects. Acceptance and rejection of life in this setting is complemented by the fact that income for prekariat unstable, random, varies depending on a wide variety of circumstances. Lack of confidence in the future carries over to family members on the inner circle, forcing people to reflect on the ways out of this situation. In this situation, for people different variants of behavior: a) put up with the situation, go with the flow; b) look for options devices using short-term or medium-term measures to stabilize their lives; c) to come up with aggressive action from the action against the regime, or plunge, join the criminal environment.

Prekariat essentially loses professional qualification, because it is inherent in the frequent change of places of employment. And this is not an internal need, and the line of conduct imposed by the neo-liberal economy, with regard to the great mass of people who increasingly do not work their specialty. On selected research, if in 1995. only 17.6% could not get to his profession, in 2002, there were 37%, and in 2013 - already 49.1%. [Volovské et al., 2015]. Each time, losing her job, people in most cases gets another sphere of application of labor, requires some knowledge of the average and a specific set of skills to perform the work required of him. This is particularly evident in the fate of graduates of universities and other educational institutions. And in this situation, despite the differences in order to achieve at least some employment, all representatives prekariata have something in common - sense and understanding of what their work is in most cases forced, random, unreliable [Bizyukov, 2014].

In determining the inherent qualities of prekariat it is necessary to note that its position is characterized by a surprising and startling fact - many of those who belong to prekariat, never saw his employer, do not know who owns the organization or enterprise in which they work, do not know any of their plans for the development or existence nor their future. It is a position other than the proletariat, makes prekariat completely detached from any possible influence and impact on those controls that govern them. This is remarkably close to the realities of Russian life.

All this leads to the conclusion that the world is faced with a new kind of alienation, which in this form, and on a scale not previously encountered the story. Place the proletariat took prekariat which is very similar to the situation, who held the working class in HU111-twentieth centuries. Prekariat completed, formed from almost all segments of modern society, represents a

huge mass of people holding an unstable, precarious social position, which is not temporary and long-term condition.

Prekariat's place in the structure of the concepts of stratification.

Awareness of the emergence of a new class / layer did not happen immediately. A fundamentally different approach to understanding the changes in the social structure of French sociologists have carried out in the 1980s, exploring the position of seasonal workers. Bourdieu expanded this idea of this group to include in the analysis all the expanding mass of workers employed in temporary and casual jobs. It was the first time there was the word "prekariat" which denotes the layer of workers, which is characterized by unstable employment of labor, their lack of guaranteed social benefits vulnerability during difficult situations [Bourdieu, 1998].

By understanding the new situation came up and domestic researchers (Golenkova, 2013; Bizyukov, 2014; Davydov, 2014), the staff of the Department of Sociology University of Kazan, publicists [Miller, 2007; Mechanic, 2014; Marmer, 2009], which have different interpretations of the phenomenon prekariata, but all agree that it is a new phenomenon that is impossible to ignore.

All this suggests that the presence of such social groups is not talking about some of the costs of development and steady tendency to the formation of a new social class - prekariata.

The social consequences of the existence and functioning of prekariat.

The emergence of prekariat in the historical arena means unforeseen economic, social, political, cultural and moral effects, which in its significance and impact on society and the state are superior to the known history of the destructive and long-acting effects.

In what ways?

With the emergence and spread of flexible employment policy was sharply increased social inequality. Class structure, typical of the industrial society, has given way to a more complex, but no less class-conditioned. All material and financial resources are increasingly concentrated in the hands of a small group of people, both in the world and in Russia. So, at the disposal of the oligarchs 110 is 35% of the assets.

Continues to grow unprotected or poorly protected population. According to the national survey of the economic consciousness (October 2012, 1,207 people). 8% fear of dismissal, and another 23.3% confirmed that the threat is real for them. More and more workers are moving into a suspended state, forming a kind of loose, uncertain and unstable mass which excites an increasing instability and insecurity of her social status.

In view of this state of the base class is not official policy of social support, for he has no reason to see in your position satisfying his social position, which is due to the vagueness and uncertainty of social status. Prekariat certainly will look, first natural, and in the future and organized action, a way out of the uncertainty of their situation. One of these ways gradual awareness of his position will be his role in the personification of social tension. Although prekariat not yet realized "class for itself", but it can occur in the same way as it happened with the proletariat, a longtime "class in itself."

In addition, there is still no coherent prekariata political program still unclear leaders who have united these motley ranks and suggested ways and means to defend their interests. But one thing is certain - the level of discontent in society feeds mainly of the series, and not from the underclass and pauperizovannyh population. It should be emphasized that accumulate discontent also among the part of young intellectuals who outwardly prosperous and arranged, but do not feel assured of stability, opportunity to build a career and secure a secure future.

There are other negative consequences, relating mainly to people's personal lives. Prekariat does not have a clear vision of their future, not sure about the security of their lives and warranty quiet old age after the completion of employment. In this situation, change attitude to work, to the duties. In an effort to keep their jobs, some workers in order to stay afloat, work wear, trying to prove his indispensability employers, their importance and benefits, their commitment to assigned work, often due to overload leads to occupational diseases, loss of health and depletion of moral and physical powers.

Happens, spiritual and moral degradation of the individual, the loss of ideals, faith in justice and the right device in the world.

This lack of confidence in its present and future life affects on such an important social issue as marriage and intention to have children. Due to the instability of attitudes solution to this problem is postponed for "later" when reaching at least with respect to guaranteed employment

Prekariat largely feels insecure in their current and future situation. Hence the fear, disbelief, frustration and denial of official structures. Many feel that they are a victim of circumstances for which they can not influence. It is this condition leads to an increase in suicides, according to the number of which Russia is the 4th largest in the world. Only for 11 months in 2014 to end their lives 24690 people.

All this leads to the conclusion that we are dealing with a fundamentally new social formation - prekariatom, which is currently still largely bears the features protoklassa. Its social groups has not yet developed a sense of solidarity, little or no organized, do not have a unifying, and still only vaguely aware of the political program and the corresponding ideology. Prekariat

still have the "class in itself", which is on the verge of becoming a "class for itself". He has formed a stable social-class education that combines great masses of people and reinforces their status in the time constant of the social situation and a clear understanding of inferiority and limitations in the implementation of its features and abilities. As awareness of these circumstances prekariat tends to transform potentially dangerous in education - a future class of consciousness and behavior that will affect the fate of the country.

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Information Aspects of Critical Conditions²

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Abstract. In the XXI century on a new stage of redivision of the world followed by resources, information and geopolitical wars the researches of informational influence tools used by the terrorist groups as well as the whole states and also successful experience in a peaceful arrangement of conflict by means of peacemaking informational projects become relevant. This article reviews both the basis of information warfare and networks concepts and the examples of ability of contemporary media to spread the ideas of peace and nonviolence.

Keywords: information warfare; critical conditions; Internet technologies; cybersecurity

Problem Statement

The ‘age of turbulence’ marks the first years of the XXI century. It means a new stage of redivision of the world, followed by power political pressure, economic sanctions, ethno-political conflicts, the collapse of social structures, as well as resources, information and geopolitical wars. For today the critical or emergency conditions are conceived as the norm, and sociologists have seriously engaged in the studies of this statement of social organism. For instance, the theme of 10th ESA conference has already been stated as ‘Social Relations in Turbulent Times’.

Professor O. Yanitsky is studying the conceptualization of critical conditions as the focal points of conflicts and wars in the XXI century. The researches of Professor O. Yanitsky and his team are intended to a qualitative model rising and decreasing of critical conditions in a social, informational, environmental and spatial dimensions. This article is reviewing the information aspect of critical conditions through the perspective of ‘information warfare’ concept. Some examples of media (both public and non-profit) are also considered as an instrument for resolving the conflict or crisis stabilization [Yanitsky, 2014].

Theory of information warfare

Researchers declare that professional community has not yet formed a coherent academic basis for analysis of information operations that greatly embarrasses development of this professional field [Armistead, 2004; 2010]. However the truth is that in general information wars are about how people think and make decisions. Consequently the information attacks targets are knowledge, beliefs and values of people. The first time this idea was expressed in 1976, by the Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Defense and the White House T. Rona [Rona; 1976].

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The concept of information warfare was developed in 1970 in US Air Force Academy, that officers (US Air Force Colonels) predicted wars scenarios in the distant future. In 1995, R. Safranski has defined the epistemology of enemy as the purpose of information war, including the organization, structure, methods and intelligence veracity [Safranski, 1995]. At the strategic level the information warfare campaign aim is to affect the decision of enemy and therefore his behavior so that he would not know about it. The successful information campaign carried out at the strategic level leads to decisions and actions of enemy that are contradict his intentions, or thwarting its implementation. Colonel Safranski marked three subjects of information campaign as purposeful: (1) How it relates to the global objectives of the military campaign? (2) What the leaders should know at the end of the campaign, i. e. what is the intended epistemological result? (3) What tools could be better to achieve the goals?

Information warfare is considered by classic theorists as a conflict with such elements as protection, manipulation, degradation, denial of information. There are seven forms of this type of warfare: (1) *command-and-control warfare* which strikes against the enemy's head and neck, (2) *intelligence-based warfare*, which consists of the design, protection, and denial of systems that seek sufficient knowledge to dominate the battlespace, (3) *electronic warfare* (radio-electronic or cryptographic techniques), (4) *psychological warfare*, in which information is used to change the minds of friends, neutrals, and foes, (5) *'hacker' warfare*, in which computer systems are attacked, (6) *economic information warfare* (blocking information or channelling it to pursue economic dominance), and (7) *cyberwarfare* (a grab bag of futuristic scenarios) [Libicki, 1995].

Command-and control-warfare is the military strategy that implements Information Warfare on the battlefield and integrates physical destruction. Its objective is to decapitate the enemy's command structure from its body of command forces. The potential influence of this type of warfare on the outcome of conflict is predicated on the architecture of command relationships among the attacked.

Intelligence-based warfare occurs when intelligence is fed directly into operations (notably, targeting and battle damage assessment), rather than used as an input for overall command and control. In contrast to the other forms of warfare discussed so far, **its** results directly in the application of steel to target (rather than corrupted bytes).

Electronic warfare or operational techniques: radioelectronic and cryptographic, thus war in the realm of communications. Electronic warfare attempts to degrade the physical basis for transferring information, while cryptographic warfare works between bits and bytes.

Psychological warfare encompasses the use of information against the human mind. There are four categories of psychological warfare: (1) operations against the national will, (2) operations against opposing commanders, (3) operations against troops, and (4) cultural conflict.

Hacker warfare as attacks on computer networks. In contrast to physical combat, these attacks are specific to properties of the particular system because the attacks exploit knowable holes in the system's security structure. In that sense the system is complicit in its own degradation. Hacker warfare varies considerably. Attackers can be on site, although the popular imagination can place them anywhere. The intent of an attack can range from total paralysis to intermittent shutdown, random data errors, wholesale theft of information, theft of services (e. g., unpaid-for telephone calls), illicit systems' monitoring (and intelligence collection), the injection of false message traffic, and access to data for the purpose of blackmail. Among the popular devices are viruses, logic bombs, Trojan horses, and sniffers. Hacker warfare can be further differentiated into defensive and offensive operations.

Economic information warfare can take two forms: information blockade and information imperialism.

T. Rona, an early proponent of the concept of information wars, proposed the following definition for this phenomenon: *The strategic, operation, and tactical level competitions across the spectrum of peace, crisis, crisis escalation, conflict, war, war termination, and reconstitution/restoration, waged between competitors, adversaries or enemies using information means to achieve their objectives.*

This broad definition allows to say that the concept can be applied not only for the analysis of armed conflicts when information warfare is just one of the instruments of struggle but also for many other social situations that we can consider as critical. It can be as conflicts between different social groups or actors as cases of environmental or technological disasters, when suppression or misquoting of information about real situation can be considered as information war against different communities.

During the information warfare the enemy is considered as a system, and the effect is not directed only to the troops but can affect separately the leaders, infrastructure, energy and population. At the same time the civilians are the most vulnerable element in this struggle. Manipulation by the citizens' consciousness during the information warfare as such as daily news flow can lead to irreversible consequences for physical and mental health.

Colonel R. Szafranski argues that the rapid development of technology could not simplify our live, but rather complicated it, i. e. now the man has wide choice and therefore lack of

stability. For example, in his research of terrorism, he focuses on the fact that the terrorists psychologically unbalance people and succeed due to suddenness [Szafranski, 2002]. The activities of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) can be considered as an example of a terrorist group that spreads its propaganda materials on the Internet. Moreover ISIL uses the network not only to inform, but to send threats to their opponents and to recruit the new members, both enlisted militants and some kinds of specialists. In their information attacks ISIL put emphasis on spreading on the broadcasts YouTube of public executions of hostages. Through these video the radicals terrify their opponents, including civilians, and recall in them such destructive feelings as hate and cruelty. Consequently information warfare may be even more important than physical warfare operations.

This situation shows a new round of ideological battle for the people`s mind [Raminov, 2015], and experts are seriously talking about the beginning of ‘electronic mobilization’ to fight the extremists that actively recruit European and other young people through social networks Twitter and Facebook. USA even held a special international conference in Kuwait to call for a single ‘virtual front’ against ISIL because the international community loses battles on this field [SSHA potrebovali on koalitsii..., 2014].

Electronic security becomes the most important component in the fight against extremists, because the radicals are gradually moving from the spread of propaganda directly to hacker attacks, that can damage the economy and security. It provokes the urgency of relevant tenders on information security, for example, in May of 2015, Russia launched a tender Skolkovo Cybersecurity Challenge [Skolkovo provedet konkurs..., 2015] as a reaction of the professional community to the modern cyber threats.

Unfortunately today the information warfare is directed both to the minds of military commanders and army chieives, and ordinary citizens. And media, as an instrument of major economic and political actors, paint a distorted picture of events for its audience. This question became topical resulting from development of the military conflict in south-eastern Ukraine. Ukrainian, Russian and Western media are painting completely different pictures of the events that sometimes absolutely contradict each other and totally rebuilt audience`s views.

The term ‘information warfare’ becomes manipulative. Information resources constantly use it without a clear explanation of what this warfare represents. For example, in 2014 only in Russian online-media this term was met in 27,657 posts according to the search service Yandex.News³.

³<https://news.yandex.ru/yandsearch?rpt=nnews2&grhow=clutop&text=%D0%98%D0%BD%D1%84%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BC%D0%B0%D1%86%D0%B8%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%8F+%D0%B2%D0>

Besides the traditional media, Internet became a large-scale ground for modern information warfare, particularly social networks. And for today, Internet is not only a tool of information and communication, but a platform for mobilization too. A number of features makes it a *kindly soil* not only for the actions of civil society, directed to providing of relief to the population in emergency situations [Usacheva, 2014], but also to information warfare. The main features are following: (1) direct access to the audience as well as the lack of control and sometimes censorship; (2) scale (reach to audience), and information propagation rate; (3) lack of data verification; (4) disregard of the requirements, theoretically binding on the media; (5) anonymity; (6) limited legal responsibility; (7) multimedia, i. e. providing of information in various forms (text, sound, animation, video) [Viren, 2013].

The concept of network warfare is studying more than 15 years. J. Arkilla and D. Ronfeldt which are the main specialists in this concept stress that this type of war will be a key for the next few decades due to development of information technology [Arquilla and Ronfeldt, 2001]. The danger is based on unpredictability, because the networks are built on horizontal relations and described by the absence of traditional leadership. However, despite the fact that a part of the battles will take place online, the physical space is still essential for the conflicts of information age.

Ronfeldt and Arkilla examine the Mexican Zapatista movement as an example of the social network warfare, and mark in that three involved strata [Ronfeldt and Arquilla, 1998]: the Indians as a base, well-educated leaders which are not Indians originally, representatives of Mexican and international nongovernmental organisations. The last stratum of the movement brought it to the international level. This stratum is described by the authors as follows: “The netwar spectrum also includes a new generation of revolutionaries, radicals, and activists who are just beginning to create information-age ideologies, in which identities and loyalties may shift from the nation-state to the transnational level of ‘global civil society’” [Ronfeldt and Arquilla, 1988: 10].

Information tools of conflicts resolution

The scientific literature usually describes the applying of media for war promotion or war propaganda. Most notorious are the studies describing the skillful use of early mass communication channels by the Allies in World War I [Lasswell, 1927], the cruel manipulation of media by Nazi Germany [Taylor, 1995] and the recent abuse of media in the former Yugoslavia [Thompson, 1999].

It is easy to find the negative examples of the role of media in conflicts inflaming. Nationalist wars of the 1990s (Rwanda, Bosnia and Sierra Leone) indicated the dangerous impact of new electronic media on conflicts [Price and Thompson, 2002; Howard et al., 2003; Wolfsfeld, 2004], as they spread messages that promoted the growth of hate in societies and the subsequent homicide [Onadipe and Lord, 1997; Kirschke, 1996; Des Forges, 1999; Thompson, 1999]. On the other hand, there are some examples that illustrate the ability of the media to spread the ideas of peace and conflicts resolution. In many countries the movement of peace journalism is developing more than a decade side by side with citizen journalism and relevant researches are carried out⁴. In May of 2015 1,469 scientists were registered in a social networking website for academics Academia.edu who registered this subject in the list of their research interests⁵. The volunteers of social organizations such as, for example, the charity fund of Doctor Lisa in Russia become ‘peace activists’ in addition to professional journalists [Liza Glinka...,2014]⁶.

Professor J. Galtung⁷ gave a detailed description of two types of modern journalism: (1) focused on peace and conflict (PEACE / CONFLICT JOURNALISM) and (2) the focused on war and violence (WAR / VIOLENCE JOURNALISM) [McGoldrick and Lynch; 2000]. The brief description is below.

Table 1

Types of modern journalism

PEACE/CONFLICTJOURNALISM	WAR/VIOLENCEJOURNALISM
I. PEACE/CONFLICT-ORIENTATED Focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture)	I. WAR/VIOLENCE ORIENTATED Focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)
II. TRUTH-ORIENTATED Expose untruths on all sides	II. PROPAGANDA-ORIENTATED Expose ‘their’ untruths
III. PEOPLE-ORIENTATED Focus on suffering all over; on women, aged children, giving voice to voiceless Give name to all evil-doers	III. ELITE ORIENTATED Focus on ‘our’ suffering
IV. SOLUTION ORIENTATED Peace = non-violence + creativity	IV. VICTORY ORIENTATED Peace = victory + ceasefire

Prof. Galtung also described three concepts of violence to develop the ideas of peaceful conflict resolution:

⁴<http://www.peacejournalism.org/>

⁵http://www.academia.edu/People/Peace_Journalism

⁶ See also blog of Doctor Lisa on LiveJournal<http://doctor-liza.livejournal.com/>

⁷http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johan_Galtung#Mediation_for_peace

Part 1. Social Theory, History and Methodology

- direct violence as physical harm to other people;
- Structural violence that results from social inequality, repression and power inequity in a society;
- cultural violence that occurs in the symbolic sphere of our existence (symbols, flags, hymns, speeches but also all kinds of texts produced in and by the media) [Galtung, 1990].

Direct violence is visible, while cultural and structural violence are usually invisible. If direct violence inflicts harm to the body, then cultural violence is responsible for harm to the mind. The suppression of direct violence, on one hand is within the domain of political negotiation. Cessation of structural violence requires the elimination of structural injustices, but elimination of cultural violence implies a need for change in the attitudes and perceptions.

The literature dedicated to the positive media impact on conflict resolution is very rare. Just certain academic researches, articles in journals or conferences are dedicated to the media involvement in the peace process. Assistant Professor of Hollins University Roanoke Vladimir Bratic tried to fill this information lack and explored more than a dozen successful cases in his research [Bratic, 2008]. He brought up a fairly obvious, in his view, hypothesis that if the research literature considers a significant media impact on promotion or propaganda of war, so it can help to learn some lessons on the promotion of peace and conflict resolution ideas.

Peace-oriented media are used in conflict fields the last 15 years. To select the peace-oriented media projects in the conflict regions V. Bratic used several considerations: (1) a recent history or presence of armed conflict/violence in the region; (2) post-Cold War period, because only in the last twenty years have mass media equipment and technology become affordable and portable, allowing the establishment of new media sources as an immediate response to a conflict; (3) involvement of a third party because it distinguishes peace-oriented media from sophisticated propaganda; (4) intentional purpose – in order to focus only on specific programs aimed at transforming conflict, it excludes projects and media channels that are already operating and producing media content in the region of conflict but are not doing anything exceptional in response to the violent conflict [Bratic, 2008].

With these four criteria V. Bratic selected and reviewed media projects from 18 countries⁸ are organized in the 13 conflict sites and they generated a total of about forty peace-oriented

⁸List of countries in conflict and major peace-oriented media projects, which V. Bratic considered in his research project : Angola (Search for Common Ground production studio), Cambodia (Radio UNTAC), Central African Republic (Radio MINURCA, Radio Ndeke Luka), Colombia ('Medios par la Paz' – organization of journalists), Indonesia/East Timor (Studio MorisHamutuk, comic book 'Geng Bola Gembira'), Israel/Palestine (Sesame Street program – 'RechovSumSum/Shara'aSimSim,' the Common Ground News Service), Liberia (STAR radio, Talking Drum Studio), Northern Ireland (McCann-Erickson's 'Good Friday Agreement' campaign, regulation of commercial press), Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo (Studio Ijambo, Radio Agatashya, Radio UNMIR, Radio Okapi, Radio Isanganiro, The Hirondelle News Agency, UNHCR information campaign), Senegal

media efforts and represented an assortment of conflict types (e. g. intra-state, inter-state, low-level conflict, guerrilla warfare, high-intensity wars).

The two most illustrative and detailed cases are: Studio Ijambo in Rwanda and Bosnian media campaigns.

Studio Ijambo in Rwanda

In 1994 according to different estimates from 500 thousand to a million ethnic minority (Tutsi and Hutu) that were political moderates were killed in Rwanda, through the actions of the provisional government that came into power in a military coup, and was composed of representatives of the ethnic majority of the country – Hutu. Shortly after, the counter attack of the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front brought the Tutsis back into power. At about the same time, Studio Ijambo (Kirundi for ‘wise words’) was established in Burundi in direct response to the neighboring conflict. It has provided a model for production of peace-oriented media content not only for the conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi but throughout the African continent. The main objective of this project was to produce a variety of programs that could contribute toward peaceful transformation of the conflict.

Studio Ijambo was founded by Search for Common Ground, a Washington, D. C.-based non-governmental organization, which employs almost 400 people on four continents mainly in the production and dissemination of media content⁹. Under the slogan ‘Dialogue is the future,’ Studio Ijambo produces social affairs, news, dramas, documentaries and children’s programs. Most programs directly address the roots of the regional conflict. One of the most effective media projects employs a popular format – the soap opera. The most widely-listened-to soap opera, ‘Our Neighbors, Ourselves’, centers around the problems facing a Hutu and a Tutsi family. These programs are usually broadcast on five different state and private radio stations. Another radio program (‘Heroes’) featured more than 150 episodes about people who risked their lives during a time of crisis to save the life of people of another ethnic group. Another type of programming was aimed at the children in both Rwanda and Burundi.

In course of time Studio Ijambo became a center for training and support for journalists from the entire region. There were launched a new radio station Radio Isanganiro that began to broadcast Studio Ijambo programming. It is still the central source of information for most of the African continent, because in comparison to newspapers, radio overcomes the problems of low

(Radio soap opera in Casamance region), Sierra Leone (Talking Drum Studio, UNHCR campaign), Sudan (Radio Voice of Hope), Yugoslavia: Bosnia, Macedonia, Kosovo (TV OBN, Radio FERN, ‘Postujes li Zakon’ (Respect the Law), Dosta je (It’s enough) and Kolikojos? (How long) campaigns, regulation efforts (Bosnia); NasheMaalo TV series, peace agreement media campaign (Macedonia); Radio Blue Sky Kosovo, Project SPEAR)

⁹<https://www.sfcg.org/>

literacy rates, distribution, language diversity and expense. It is relatively inexpensive to operate and it does not require as much equipment as a television station.

Women and children have been one of the most vulnerable groups affected by conflicts and violence. As non-combatants, women are a group in conflict that is stripped of influence, thus making them victims of violence and oppression. Peace-oriented media efforts therefore aim to empower women to take a more active role during peacebuilding.

Bosnian media campaigns

In the Bosnian civil war between Serbs, Bosnians and Croats (1992-1995) more than 150 000 were killed. The Dayton Agreement ended the violence in 1995 by instituting a provisional, internationally-run governing body in charge of peace implementation (the Office of the High Representative, OHR). One of OHR's initial assessments of the conflict was that all three sides in it utilized radio and television broadcasting to further their conflict goals and demonize their opponents [Thompson, 1999]. Therefore, the OHR decided that the Bosnian media must be given a responsibility to facilitate reconciliation. As a result, a number of media projects were undertaken. A new national television (Open Broadcast Network) and radio network (Free Exchange Radio Network) were created in 1996, but they never managed to compete with the popularity of the nationalistic broadcasters who never ceased with their conflict-inciting reporting. Because the election of 1996 brought no significant change in the power structure, more media projects were employed in order to reduce political tensions. One project was a collaboration between the OHR and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe that resulted in an extensive media campaign involving multiple media formats and channels.

At the time, the major obstacle to peace was the issues of refugee repatriation and property return. Therefore, the three-part campaign ('It's enough', 'Respect', and 'How long?') was launched to address the issues with refugee's returning to Bosnia. The first phase called for an end to the lawlessness, while the second phase asked that the right of repatriation be respected. A TV series 'How Long' was broadcast on public TV-channels in prime time for several months.

In order to ensure successful penetration of its message, the Office of High Representative had passed a broadcasting regulation that all television and radio stations were obliged to give a certain amount of time to the media campaign. Building on such favorable conditions, short public service announcements on radio and TV were launched in 1999. Soon after, large billboards, posters, print ads, leaflets and also some nontraditional communication strategies (specially designed folders, matches and diskette holders) were distributed across Bosnia. Most

original were the sugar packets served in the coffee shops imprinted with the logo of the 'Respect' campaign. Considering the cultural significance of coffee shops and its importance in the public life of the Bosnian society such promotion has been a very effective way of reaching the audience and inserting the message into the social context.

The proven experience of information campaigns directed to the peaceful conflict resolution and creation of comfortable conditions for different social groups cannot provide the prevention of violence if they are caused by a combination of several causes, but may be useful for modeling of resolution of critical situations in different parts of the world.

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Technology and the Dynamics of Social Systems (in Terms of Synergy)

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Abstract. The main subject of research deals with better understanding of the role of technology as the main structural element of historical-evolutionary development (in terms of synergy). It is interesting to look at the methodological problem why the sociology of technology but not philosophy of technology. We can speak about the transformation of communications (network society). The notions of the structural stability and order through fluctuations are the most important notions of our discussion. Horizontal networks of communication will be built around peoples' initiatives and interests.

Keywords: technology; synergy; evolution; network society; transformation of communications

The main subject of my research deals with better understanding of the role of technology as the main structural element of historical-evolutionary development of mankind (in terms of synergy). One of the main aims of social science from synergetic point of view is to find out the way of "resonant excitation" that is preferable for the social evolution. The ideas of synergy make it possible to create new social technologies by avoiding fatal mistakes of the past. Science has always followed culture. The relationship between culture and nature is a duality where culture dominates. Nature here is just an object and man is in a privileged position. This knowledge is based on the ideal of certitude and views nature as a Machine. The language of social sciences expressed the language of Newtonian system of physics through the rational order of the world and society. Nowadays economists and sociologists encounter complicated problems. Social sciences describe the unforeseeable, the qualitative, the possible, the irreversible and the uncertain. Recent evolution in physics and mathematics allows us to look into perspective in which we have created own history.

Methodological basis of research are notions "technic", "technology" "system". It is interesting to look at the methodological problem why the *sociology of technology* but not philosophy of technology. It is interesting to decide the problem of periodization of the historical process in connection with the development of technology and establishment of "technical civilization". This leads us to postulate the existence of the problem "*Informational capitalism as a modern social system*". It is important to find the correlation between the concentration of capital and information.

Speaking about historical trend as well as chronicles of events we should not forget about specific orientation of time. History expresses itself through determinism interrupted by

events that follow reorganization of society. It is the event, in a certain way, that makes it possible to distinguish the past from the future. We can “explain” the events of the past. We can almost consider them as the issue of latent determinism, but we cannot predict the events of the future. There has appeared a new kind of economy under new technological conditions with global computer networks. In sum, the structure of our societies has indeed been transformed by new technologies. Structural stability is a main criterion for the development of social systems.

It is interesting to be able to compare the idea of event with the idea of *bifurcation* currently used in physical and mathematician sciences. Bifurcations are placed in the perspective of evolution described by non-linear laws. In such systems social variable or any other variable can be described by a trajectory, but this trajectory generally leads to singular points, the bifurcations, from which several new branches emerge.

Nonlinearity is particularly clear at times of crisis. It is a clear effect of non-linearity. The larger society is, the more important are the non-linear effects, and the greater is the number of points of bifurcation. The notions of the *structural stability* and *order through fluctuations* are the most important notions of our discussion. Consequently, we can assume that principles of brain activity are analogous to principles of social functioning.

The solution to such problem as technological development of modern civilization and the crisis we should consider from the philosophy of instability. Human society is a self-organizing system. It is a new *theoretical concept* for understanding the trends of structure and dynamics of our world of the twenty-first century. We can speak about *the transformation of communications (network society)*.

From biology we know that heredity is something of stability. That’s why evolutionary development is connected mainly with the reconstruction in genes. So it is a series of unexpected qualitative leaps which are separated one from another by mutation processes. They give birth to the stable heredity of forming groups. If we compare (with some degree of approximation) “social mutations” with biological ones we can see at first that social evolution is a leap in the personality behavior. Then it is consolidated into society standards and political institutions. After that we can speak about the changes of forms in society development, their fixation and realization of new values and social aims.

The social level of evolutionary organization has not achieved the complexity and variety of the biological level. The structure of a human body is extremely more complicated than the structure of all mankind. Any society usually demonstrates the pyramidal hierarchical constructions. At the same time the most effective biological structure is a net with chief environment-making organisms.

Brain is the perfect organ created by nature, and if we want to imagine an ideal society we have to analyze the basic principles of its work. Latest scientific researches show that the main peculiarity of brain's functioning is that the colossal energy of evolutionary development went to create the horizontal net connections. This energy is several times greater than the energy used to create other structure levels of a human body. If we draw a parallel with the social life we'll see that the more people are involved into horizontal nets the better. Because in this case they are located in the area of quick receiving of information and can make decisions, based on this information, which can influence to the life of the society.

Horizontal networks of communication will be built around peoples' initiatives and interests. The *economies of synergy* between these different networks take place in such a node as: between financial markets and media businesses; or between academic research and technological development and innovation; between politics and media.

These theoretical conceptions have practical applications. They are:

- 1) Growth of cargo turnover through the different control centers;
- 2) Active connections between cities and villages;
- 3) Reduction of inequalities within societies and between countries;
- 4) Depreciation of knowledge's gaps between pupils of cities and villages (distance education and language remote training);
- 5) Electronic governments reduce quantity of bureaucracy, free up personal time for people, develop democracy through intensification of feedback between citizens and public authorities.

Verbal Zoomorphism as a Linguistic and Cultural Concept

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Abstract. In this paper there are suggested a typology of zoomorphic vocabulary and specified the types of systematic references in the English and Russian languages.

Keywords: verbal zoomorphism; parazoomorphism; pseudozoomorphism; linguistic and cultural concept; isomorphism; homomorphism; polymorphism; metamorphism; paramorphism

Zoomorphism, or verbal zoomorphism, herewith is understood as ascribing external and internal animal attributes to objects. We mean zoological metaphor (*dog as a malicious person; to bark as to scold; to have a tail between legs as to give in*); figurative comparison (*as strong as a horse as a very strong person*); quasi-identity (*You are a heartless beast*). This is a complex sociological and psychological phenomenon which has a conceptual and estimating measurement accepted by the society and incorporated into its prompt memory.

Verbal zoomorphism is marked with connotation and ascertains people's cognitive and cultural code. Zoomorphic code as social and cultural concept function as a sign with a stable structure: 1) an animal with known attributes; 2) nominee; 3) a motivated emotional evaluation (identity) by the speaker. This triangle produces a verbal image where zoomorphic component is at the peak, thus becomes most essential.

As known, the peculiarity of a cultural code lies in the variable substance of expression in accordance with how people perceive the world. It goes without saying, an individual as well as collective experience can be transformed depending on the living conditions of a certain community. For example, *a black cat* as a symbol of *a failure* today is used due to a tradition since black animals no longer represent black forces. The words like this we call *parazoomorphic*. *Parazoomorphism* is an interpretation of superstitious, imaginary attributes as well as for humorous intentions: *as scarce as hen's teeth*. Together with parazoomorphism we recognize *pseudozoomorphism*, i.e. interpretation of zoological characteristics of fabulous creatures from fiction, the Bible and alike: *ugly duckling*.

And, of course, functioning of verbal zoomorphism in Russian-speaking and English-speaking cultures may coincide and differ as well between units of which there are varying inner- and inter-lingual correlations: *isomorphism, homomorphism, polymorphism, metamorphism, paramorphism*. As a basis for the comparative analysis should be provided with the principle of isomorphic image by L. Wittgenstein according to which an image is a model of

reality. The image and the identified object should be as much identical as the former is the very image of the latter.

Thus, if the image reflected by a zoological word in one culture is fully and completely identified to an image in another, then they are *isomorphic*, for example: English *fox as a cunning person* and Russian word *lisa* with the same connotative meaning. Isomorphic images in different cultures are produced thank to similarity of attributes of domestic and wild animals alike noticed by people speaking different languages; borrowings of things and conceptions from one language by another together with their names primarily through calques. More examples of isomorphic equivalents: *(computer) mouse, (technical) caterpillar, (political) doves and hawks*.

If an animal attribute in one culture is recoded, changed by another one in a different culture then the reflection is *homomorphic*: *hungry as a bear* versus *hungry as a wolf*. Divergence of zoomorphic words in different cultures is generated by homomorphic associations caused by linguistic as well as extralinguistic factors since firstly any word has a free valence which is determined by the objective reality, living conditions of a community and that is why tends to be changeable on territories and in time.

If a zoological attribute in one culture refers to more than one identical connotation in another culture then the correspondence is *polymorphic*. For example, a biological term *anthirrhinum majus* refers to *lion's mouth, dog's-mouth, rabbit's-mouth, tiger's mouth, toad's mouth*.

If a zoological word in one culture refers to a word different from zoological world in another then they are *metamorphic* equivalents. Compare English *birds of a feather flock together* and Russian *rybak rybaka vidit izdaleka (a fisherman sees another fisherman afar)*. We consider metamorphic equivalents those which are produced as a result of transliteration mostly. For example: Russian terms *batterflai, dzhitterbag, fokstrot* come from English *butterfly, jitterbug, fox-trot*. We think that a common Russian speaker hardly distinguishes the English zoomorphic connotation since the words sound incomprehensibly and stir no zoological associations but rather refer to sports and dancing. It needs special linguistic discoveries to decode the true meaning of the terms.

Eventually, when a zoomorphic/zoological image in one culture lacks the same neither image nor meaning in another one, thus is interpreted descriptively then the correlation is called *paramorphic*. For example, the following sentence is no easy to translate word by word in Russian: *There are bull markets and bear markets, but Shanghai is a monkey market because it jumps up and down (Fortune, July 22, 1996)*.

Modern Wars: are the Sociologists Well Prepared to them?¹⁰

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Abstract. The new realm of multi-sided and trans-disciplinary sociological studies is emerging within the interrelated scope of social, technical and natural sciences. How sociology will respond to this challenge of the new times? Are the sociologists and political scientists well prepared to the modern war under conditions of globalization and the development of the IT technologies, on the one hand, and separatism and a tough global struggle for resources and political domination, on the other? Are the new political subjects that have emerged as a result of such wars legitimate? The article presents the author's reflection on these and other critical 'turning points' of the world and Russian sociology and practice.

Keywords: interdisciplinary research; legitimacy; modern war (MW); society of all-embracing risk; socio-ecological metabolism; sociology; wasted culture; Russia

Introduction

The history of mankind is a history of wars. According to some approximate calculations, in the run of 40 years after the end of the WW II there occur more than 250 wars of low and middle intensity and in the run of last 10 years – more than 150.

The face of the modern world is rapidly changing, and these changes are dramatic. The globalization process is accompanied with a re-division of the resource areas and living spaces giving way to profound changes in a social order and habit of life of states and local communities. The overall social and political scene is dominated by instability and unpredictability burdened with the emergence of new social and political actors. Moreover, the world social order established by the winners in the WW II has been recurrently undermined by the newly emerged regional and global collective social actors. This leads to the unprecedented tension both in public and one-to-one relations between those who have and who have not, between those who sees the established social order is just and who is not. Taken together, all this has made the population aware that the values of existed world are threatened.

Nevertheless, the mainstream of the current world sociology is presented by the variation of an idea of sustainable development. The paradigm of the peaceful reconstruction of the world community (and not as its critical state and mass calamities) is still dominates. To my mind, it means a growing gap between the real processes and their reflection and interpretation by sociologists.

¹⁰ This paper is revised version of the article 'Are the Sociologists well prepared to the Modern Wars', issued in the Journal of Social Science Research, 2015, Vol.6, #3: 1990-1998.

The frames of the research

I limit my study by the modern wars of low and middle intensity in which the adversaries used conventional arms only. For this reason I use the notion ‘modern wars’ more often used in the literature related to the processes in the developing or transition countries [Myrdal; 1968; Soto de; 1989; Shilova; 1999, Soto de; 2000; Yanitsky; 2000; Rukavishnikov; 2005; Bobrova; 2014; Chekinov; 2013; Pavlovski; 2014; Sundar; 2014; Yanitsky; 2014]. The study is based on my ‘all-embracing risk-society paradigm’ and relied upon the ‘realpolitik’ approach, therefore the discursive aspects of the issue are not considered here. I am the adherent of an activist paradigm in modern sociology and political science, both theoretically and politically. The study is mainly restricted by the so called guerilla wars but some experience of the armed conflicts in the times of ‘colored revolutions’ has been also used. Finally, the major theoretical frame used in this study is a continuous of the state-of-art of an urban community within two theoretical poles: ‘normal’ and ‘total destruction’.

All-embracing Risk as a Basing Concept

To begin with, I tried to synthesize the major theoretical prerequisites of the following sociological analysis. They are: (1) the globalization as such theoretically means a mutual interdependence of all parts and functions of the global community. But the diversity in the level of economic and social as well as in cultural development provoke a tension and conflicts among these parts; (2) today, the glocalization process is now a double-sided one: in parallel with the trends of integration and global mobility of all [Urry, 2012] the processes of des-integration, shadow and criminal economy growth, local armed conflicts, decay of traditional communities, desertification and rise of social inequalities are going on; (3) the speeding up the pace of public life has two dark sides: a growing pressure on natural environment and the multiplication of wastes production; (4) the major reasons of the emergence of the MWs are a steady growth of world population accompanied by the rise of its aspirations and living standards, even more tough struggle for access to natural and human resources, destruction of global social order established after the end of WW II; (5) the MWs and generated by them the critical states of human communities and their infrastructures (CS) are the unavoidable features of a global social dynamics [Yanitsky, 2014]; (6) risks engendered by these CSs embrace institutional systems, societal and technical infrastructures, natural and social ecosystems, and mode of living of affected people; (7) the CSs have a dynamic character. Emerging as local conflicts they may acquire the character of armed conflicts between the states and their alliances; (8) the processes

of socio-ecological metabolism (SEM) generate the risks which have no space-time limits; (9) a programmed media is a powerful weapon of MWs; (8) the MWs as well as the CSs are the sources of 'energy of decay'; (10) in sum, it seems to me that the my concept of transformation of 'global risk society' [Beck, 1999] into 'all-embracing risk society' is confirmed [Yanitsky, 2011, 2010, 2000, 2000a]. The notion of 'turbulent times' is a simply multi-cultural and politically accepted version of the concept of the 'all-embracing risk society'.

On Socio-ecological Metabolism (SEM)

There are a lot of theoretical and field works related to various forms of social exchange (of resources, goods, labor power, information, culture, etc.). Though, there are relatively scarce research findings concerned with *socio-ecological metabolism*, i. e. with forms of exchange between the social activities and their natural and human milieus [Boyden et al., 1981; Boyden, 1992; Edelstein, 1988; Fisher-Kowalski and Haberl, 2007; Gibbs, 1992; Martinez-Alier, 2009; Perrow, 1984; Radkau, 2008; Thomas et al., 1956; Thomas, 1955; Wolman, 1956, 1965; Yanitsky, 2013]. I mean the modes and forms of physical-chemical exchange between man and his environment.

A metabolism is the notion borrowed from biological sciences. It means the exchange of matters accompanied by chemical reactions from the moment of entering the nutrition matters (including solar and other energy) into living organism till the moment when the end products of this process are excreted into an outer milieu. A mankind by means of its social and political forces and institutions has been actively participated in such processes. Nowadays, a study of the SEM is rapidly developing branch both of environmental sciences and an essential part of the study of social change of any society at large. The study of the SEM now became even more important for such reasons as the globalization, the mass growth of products constructed by chemical and biological sciences and global warming.

The SEM is always multisided process and therefore could be interpreted in several ways:

(1) The SEM has its historical phases which depend on the dominant mode of production and of mastering the virgin lands, rivers and even oceans for human needs. It should be taken into account that in the human history there were a great agrarian states and empires which had nevertheless the great cities. Therefore, I restrict the following considerations by the industrial and postindustrial cities involved in a global context only;

(2) the SEM may be comprehended as a direct impact of social phenomena and processes on the life and sustainability of natural ecosystems, and vice versa. This reverse process may be called as 'boomerang effect' (U. Beck) engendered by the overcoming the threshold of carrying

capacity of the natural and social environments. As a result, it is transformed from the absorber of risky wastes into producer of harm to human communities and natural ecosystems;

(3) in the third case, the SEM appears as a set of transformations of matters of non-natural origin in various types of natural environments (in the water, air and soil). These chains of transformation are mostly the result of market economy which is disinterested in the 'faith' of wastes of its activity and its 'boomerang effects';

(4) models of various SEM may be used as integral measure of changes in the living environment (living area) under the influence of the abovementioned phenomena and processes. It is the most difficult case for a scientific investigation for the reason of the SEM cumulative effect and uncertainty of time, space and force of impact of the said processes;

(5) the modern wars greatly intensified the production of social and material wastes, be it human beings, chemical substances or cultural artifacts [Bauman; 2004];

(6) finally, the SEM of any city has a variety of forms and manifestations namely: (a) direct clash of natural and social forms and processes; (b) as a result, the former changes the latter, and the way round; (c) a long-term and unseen process of transformation of natural landscape under the impact of social activity of new types of plants and animals; (d) chemical reactions of the wastes and other alien bodies and substances with natural systems and processes; (e) destroying the human communities under the influence of natural anomalies and disasters; (f) transformation of communicative structure of a city which in turn depends not only on the IT technologies development but on cultural and ethnical structure of a given community.

All these processes and transformations have in their basement the social and economic as well as the mechanical, physical or chemical processes. The run of evolution of the 'nature-society' system has been accompanied by such form of their interaction as an ousting, a full destruction of one of them (say, a desertification), and the emergence of qualitatively new environments with earlier unknown qualities and forms, and in the end a slow and peaceful shaping of new 'nature-society' systems.

The analysis of the SEM processes in the CSs is rather important for a comprehension of social changes in these zones and around them. The following variants of the SEM should be considered: a direct impact of wars and/or natural disasters on the consciousness, health and behavior of affected people; a direct and postponed (overt) impact of socially and scientifically constructed physical-chemical substances on the consciousness and behavior of affected population; and an all-penetrating negative impact of the toxic chemicals produced by modern industry and then spread across the globe by the atmospheric processes.

Participants and victims of modern war

In order to understand a machinery and evolution of the MWs one needs to reveal and interpret not the taxonomy (age, sex, education, and income and other taxonomic indicators) but the composition of acting groups and the overall disposition of social and political forces involved in a particular war.

Basing on my field and desk-research (screening the Russian media during 2012-14), I revealed the following groups. The first group is, as a rule, the disabled, retired and mothers with small children. It is about 30-45 per cent of those who were involved or/and affected. The second are refugees and forced migrants who were temporary settled along the border of neighboring countries. It counts about 8-10 per cent of the same strata. The above people are immobile as well but potentially they are repatriates. But when and how they could return back to their homes is an open question. The third group (about 15-20 percent) consists of the industrial workers, representatives of low service class and students. They are bread-winners for two above groups. They are concerned about the survival of their families and neighbors. The fourth group (about 1-3 per cent) it is a small high-risky but very profitable small-business group who supplies the affected residents with food, fuel, medicine and means of transportation (to hospitals, relatives, abroad, etc.). The fifth group consists of criminals, including thieves, marauders and traffics (no figures). The sixth group it is people's voluntary corps (according to various sources, it counts about 12-15 thousands of armed people). This group is the most active politically and socially in the wars under consideration. These combatants are volunteers recruited both from local residents and civilians of a particular country and from abroad.

The seventh group is the paid civilians (i. e. it is the private armed troops financed by local and national oligarchs and probably from abroad) who are fighting against the 'popular uprising'. As a rule, this group is rather diversified. Within it could be ideologists, radical nationalists, free riders, and criminals. The eighth group is the regular national army. The ninth one consists of local academics, postgraduates and other university staff. After the beginning of armed conflict the majority of this group left the war area.

The key question

Both for the MWs theorists and practitioners the question of how and when the residents are becoming combatants of various kinds or/and their assistants is of a key importance. Unfortunately, this is the least investigated process by sociologists. According to Selye [1956] and Stokols [1978], the stressors are the factors of a psychological origin. But under conditions of the MWs the stressors are of a social nature as well.

Relying upon an analysis of media including social networks the following types of actors conditioned the transformation of urban residents into combatants can be distinguished: (1) socio-cultural (i. e. dominating type of religion and confession); (2) economic (sharp decline of living standards, jobless); (3) political, that is, so called ‘colored revolutions’ constructed from abroad; and (4) personal (her/his prevailing system of values and social norms).

The battlefield of competing stakeholders represents a mixture of chaos and order. Nevertheless, the actual outcome of any MW is usually different from previous discursive practices of politicians. The MW as a *modus vivendi* of a particular community or a society is irreversible. That is, impossible to return back to the point of departure. Therefore, the ‘input’ and ‘output’ of any combatant’s habit are different as well. All participants of an armed conflict have been learning by doing, i. e. *socialized in the run* of a conflict. At the end of it some of its participants become public figures, others – volunteers, still others – become refugee or, on the contrary, – wild ducks, etc.

With these general ‘stressors’ a number of environmental ones have come into being. It may be total local jobless, highly polluted immediate milieu, natural disasters and harmful technological accidents, etc. At the same time, a sensitivity of combatant to the above ‘stressors’ are varied greatly. Besides, the cumulative effect of the above ‘stressors’ depends on the degree of the inclusion of a particular community and/or a social force in the globalization process. Basing on media surveys and on research findings carried out in Ukraine I’d offer the concept of the *critical factor*. It means a totality of outward and inward social and psychological ‘stressors’ which are forced the affected individuals and groups to transform sharply their behavior from being the objects of outward pressure and manipulation to the subjects of emigration or active resistance. In terms of social ecology the critical factor means a ‘point of bifurcation’.

Are the emerging social institutions legitimate?

It is rather disputable question. On the one hand, the mankind history is full of examples when new social institutions had emerged as a result of revolutions, civil wars and protest movements [Tilly, 2004]. On the other hand, the very essence of the precedent legitimacy, that is the making a situational decision into a law or the political principle, is contradictory to the law of mutual interdependence as a fundamental principle of existence of the global order.

The history of mankind is the history of continuous process of emergence and decay, integration and disintegration of empires, states and other political institutions. The opposition of ‘sovereignty’ and the ‘right of nations to self-determination’ has been never resolved peacefully but by sheer force only. For example, the Kiev Maidan (Ukraine) being initially the emerging

democratic institute has been gradually transformed into a critical zone of armed clashes with wounded, killed and many other forms of bitter violence [Vorozheikina, 2014]. At best, short-lived 'peaceful agreements' usually resulted in a set of 'frozen conflicts'. At worst, a total destruction of earlier existed social institutions is coming. Moreover, in-between the 'normal' and 'critical' zones the 'grey zones' are mushrooming. These zones have zero 'legitimacy', i. e. it is the zones of social and political chaos. As a result, the total living space of the Planet is shrinking whereas its 'critical areas' are expanding.

Ahumanitarian catastrophe?

I interpret this catastrophe as the utter form of a critical state of some social organism featured by total destruction of natural, technical and social milieu coupled with conditions of lack of guarantees of basic human rights and freedoms. This state is marked by mass panic flight (or on the contrary, a depression and helplessness), fear, hunger, physical and mental exhausting, epidemics, lack of medicine and medical aid. In this very case the major problem for sociology and political sciences is unintended changes of social order: a critical at the epicenter of a zone of disaster or/and armed conflict, and high-risky at the neighboring territories. The uncertain and unpredictable social order does not permit to render humanitarian aid. As the Ukrainian, the North African and many other armed conflicts clearly showed, today the official humanitarian organizations as International and national Red Crosses are too bureaucratized for the rendering a necessary aid at a due time. At the same time, civic organizations are capable to render humanitarian aid quickly and to meet rather diverse individual requests. Moreover, the affected residents are not passive as well. A humanitarian catastrophe does not mean full dependence from an 'outer world.' The population of critical areas uses any possibility for active resistance and for her/his participation in the processes of rehabilitation of their neighbors and living environment. Finally, the critical areas are the places of long-term depression or even actual economic and social catastrophes as well. Therefore, the long-term plans and scenarios of rehabilitation of these areas are urgently needed.

Self-preservation under conditions of modern war

A self-protective behavior is the norm which has been shaped genetically and maintained socially. Crisis, critical state, modern war and revolution are the particular forms of social order which determine the specific forms of such behavior. In general, this type of individual or group behavior may be defined as a couple of peoples' efforts aimed at the preservation of their life, health, property and accumulated social capital. A protection of an immediate social milieu of an

individual is one of the most important targets of this type of behavior. Self-preservation is a powerful mobilizing motive that generates the energy to cope with the variety of extreme stresses in the critical areas. Two major forms of active self-protective behavior have been revealed. The former is an involvement in active political and armed struggle, that is, the transformation of peaceful residents into the combatants. The latter is the transformation of a part of local population in civil volunteers. Many social institutions are accustomed to work in 'normal condition' and turned out absolutely unprepared to work in an extreme environment, that is, in high-risky, atomized and forcefully organized social milieu.

The self-protective behavior depends on the phases of way out from the critical state. In the run of field research the following phases has been revealed: 'neither war – no piece', dialogue between adversaries, their competition for power, 'bulldozer phase', and authoritarian stabilization. It is a short list only, and it cannot be considered as omnipresent. The main outcome is that the survived citizens will never come back to the former mode of living. For the restoration of a 'cultural humus' a couple of decades are needed.

Wastes: Domestic, Technical and Cultural

I state that the wastes, domestic, material and virtual, are not only the unavoidable garbage of any type of social conflict or a MW but a type of culture as well. A 'waste culture' is one more product of the society of all-embracing risk when production, accumulation and dissemination of wastes have become a prevalent mode of production. The 'waste culture' is a culture of people and their communities who live in a wasted environment and perceive it as a social norm. Due to the processes of the SEMa wasted environment is the mix of risks which final affects are not predictable. The prevalence of processes of decay of human culture over its accumulation, development and protection I qualify as cultural catastrophe. In the time of warfare and shaping the critical zones the processes of transformation of goods into wastes and matters are accelerated. In essence, a war is a machine which turns goods into wastes. If the critical situation aggravates the majority of local residents as well as their living environment will be turned into wastes and into a desert unfit to any form of life. The wasted people are existed at the expense of accumulated of emergency ration and/or of gifts of nature. In this very case, the producers of wastes could be the poor and rich, rank-and-file people and political figures, social groups and institutions, etc. The wastes are not the mountains of garbage but the type of culture. The concept of wasted culture allows us to understand better the processes of our 'turbulent world'.

What we have learned about Modern Wars?

To begin with, there is a need for new accents in the theory that describes the current phase of the globalization process. The basic principle of my version of a risk theory is that the world as a whole has been transformed into *a community of all-embracing risk*. Risk production affects institutional systems, everyday life and the biosphere alike. Frequently emerging critical areas (zones) across the world are the focuses of all-embracing risk production and dissemination.

The emergence and mushrooming of the critical areas is a feature of a new phase of global development. In parallel with the processes of globalization, integration and accumulation of mutual social capital, the processes of disintegration, loss of social capital and emanation of energy of collapse are going on. Critical areas are the causes and the outcomes of this energy emanation at once. Taken together, these processes and areas are gradually reducing the diversity and sustainability of the global societal system at large. The permanent emergence and multiplication of critical zones has become the social norm of the all-embracing (and all-encompassing) risk society.

The major features of a critical zone in urban areas are the following: (1) a temporary and quasi-chaotic social order; (2) an uncertain socio-professional structure shifted towards the pre-industrial epoch and burdened with 'human wastes'; (3) the emergence of temporary risk-solidarities of socially and culturally adversarial individuals and groups; (4) an overall domination of ad hoc types of behavior; and (5) a sharp des-urbanization of everyday culture of these areas with the elements of behavior typical to biological species. In sum, the longer an armed conflict is developing within a particular area, the more chances for its full desertification.

The modern means of communication and information are playing the leading role in shaping and dissemination of critical areas all over the world. This happens as a result of replacing (both in theory and practice) the humanist concept of information society (information and knowledge as an undisputable common good) with the concept of information society as a tool for forceful instilling of images of the 'proper social order'. These images are created by global image-makers and then imprinted into the minds of the 'underdeveloped' and/or developing world. In essence, this forceful process is one of the main causes of the emergence of critical areas. In this respect, the critical areas are both the sources of 'programmed' information and the outcome of its potentially risky production.

What kind of Sociology we are needed?

The sociology of *modern wars* is still a relatively new branch of current sociology. It has not already been successful in creating concepts, in developing trans-disciplinary approaches,

stimulating of long-term empirical research, etc. The core domains of modern sociology still not recognized the regular military troops, combatants as well as civil protestors as the full-fledged collective actors.

First, in my view, the sociology of modern wars should be a *global*, i. e. which takes into account the interdependence of global, regional and local trends at once. Second, it should be an *all-embracing*, i. e. the sociologists of any country should investigate every critical situations and military operations as carefully as they did it the time of piece. Third, this sociology should be an *activist-oriented*, that is, it should study all open and overt actors involved in a (military) conflict. Fourth, it should be *dynamic*. It means that in the run of a conflict process some actors gain power, whereas others loose it. Fifth, this sociology must be an *interdisciplinary*. Subject approach should be decisively overcome in favor of problem approach. A sociologist should not to forget that any environment is also a social actor. Sixth, a key notion here is *socio-ecological metabolism*. Seventh, the results of interdisciplinary research should be *understandable* to public and *convincing* to politicians. Eighth, this sociology should be resource-oriented. A special attention should be given to a 'space-time' resource as well as to the moral and psychological resources of adversaries. Ninth, the joint efforts of various scholars are needed for more deep investigation of the *emergence of new social and political subjects* and for the means of their legitimation. Tenth, the sociology of modern wars and critical situations should *combine* the top-down and bottom-up analyses. I. e. the insiders are as important as the outsiders. We should consider every 'hot point' as the crossroads of global and local processes. Finally, a rehabilitation of the movement for peace and democracy on the new (network) basis is a substantial instrument for the struggle against the 'war parties' and extremism of all kinds. Apathy, fear and phobias are well overcome by the solidarity actions.

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Part 1. Social Theory, History and Methodology

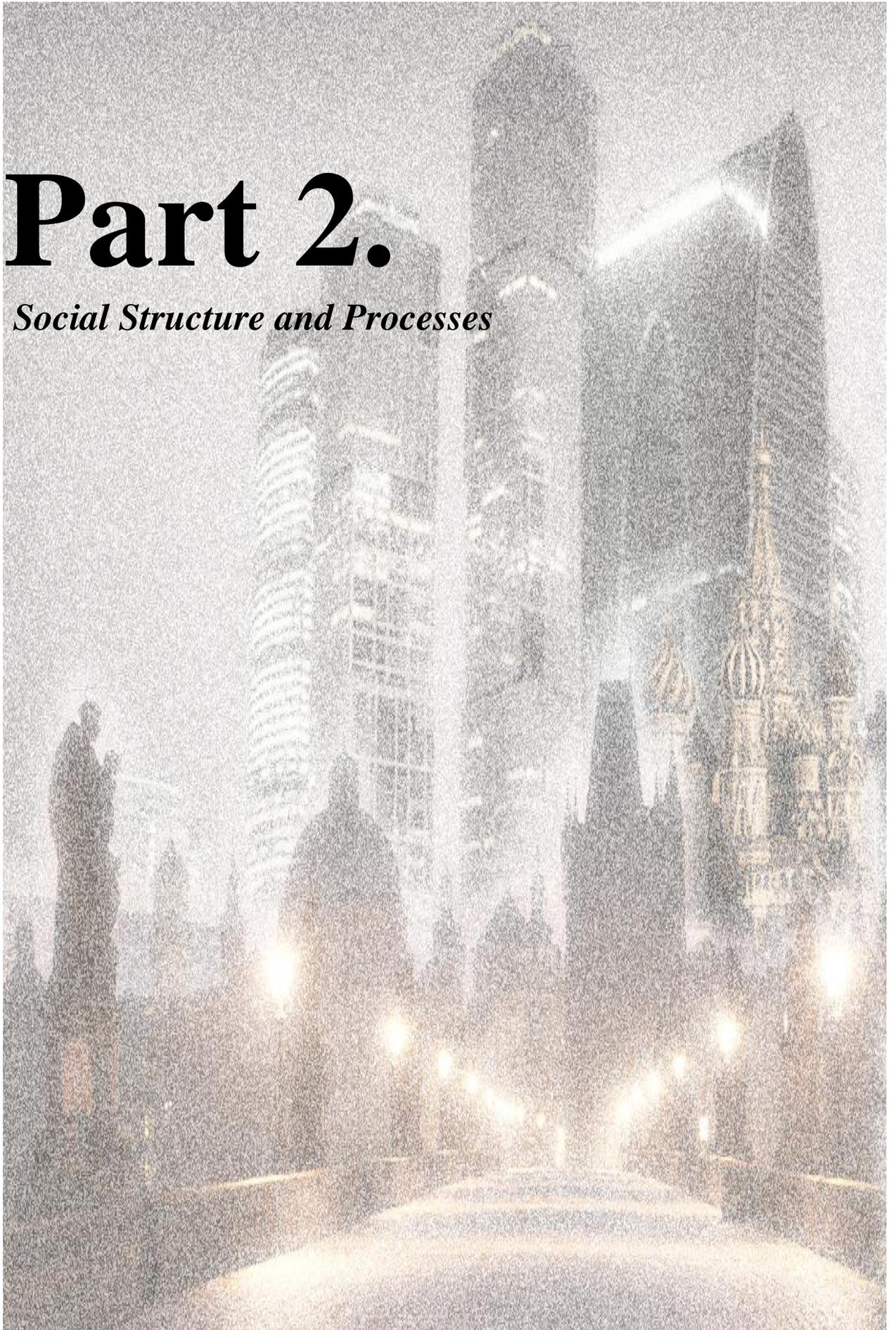
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Part 2.

Social Structure and Processes



The Parental Practices in Young Families: Dynamics and Differences in Professional Groups

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Abstract. The dynamics of parental practices in young families during thirty-year period is described. The empirical base of paper are researches of young families in the Central Federal Region of Russian Federation in 1991 and 2012 years. The main goal of these researches was analysis the quality of parenting in different family's structures and professional groups of parents. Social competence of boys and girls was one of the indicator of successful parental practices.

Keywords: mothering; fathering; marriage's statuses of young mother; quality of parenting; professional groups

In developed countries in time of transition to postindustrial society four main tendencies occurred. There are changing of family's nuclear structures, transferring family functions to public institutions, transformation of the patriarchal system, changing of the ethnic structure of families in situation of third demographical transition [Gurko, 2011: 26-29]. In Russia, one can see the similar tendencies in the beginning of XXI century. At the same time in last decade, official statistics show the increase of birth rate. The total fertility rate in 2003 was 1.3, in 2010 – 1.6, in 2013 – 1.7 [Demographic, 2014: 4]. In such situation, to study of quality of parenting, in particular, in young families become of particular actual.

The research of mothers with one preschool child (from 3 to 7 years old) in the Central Federal Region of Russian Federation (more urban territory of RF) conducted in 2012 year. Moscow was included as a capital. Briansk, Vladimir, and Tambov cities selected from 17 cities of CFR on the base of equal distance from each other and from Moscow. The quotas of family nuclear: 65% – intact families, 10% – stepfamilies and 25% – mother-headed families. The level of education of mothers and sex of children correspond with the data of Russian Census-2010. All mothers were native citizens of RF. The international research of young families was conducted in Georgia, Poland, Russia and USA with author's participation in 1991 year. The subsample of 280 intact Russian young families used for comparison. Data were analyzed by PASW Statistics 18.

Next main empirical indicators operationalized the notion of “parenting quality”. There are conscious planning of child, breastfeeding, different kinds of father's assistance after child's birth, maternal emotional relation to child, maternal efficacy, frequency of maternal/paternal occupations with child, positive emotional parental involvement (“praise”, “stroke”, “hug”), the practices of maltreatment (“shout”, “abuse”, “spank”), styles of disciplining (modified Parenting

Scale), methods of punishment. There are also frequency of meetings of child with biological father, who live separately, and material child support from nonresident father.

For coding of occupations of parents International standard classification of occupations: ISCO-08 was used [International..., 2012: 65-356]. Five groups of fathers occupations were analyzed according to their fullness: 1. Managers; 2. Professionals; 3. Technicians (technicians, associate professionals and clerical support workers are integrated); 5. Services and sales workers; 7. Driver, workers (craft and related trades workers, plant and machine operators and small group of elementary occupations are integrated). Six groups of mothers occupations were analyzed according to their fullness: 1. Managers; 2. Professionals; 4. Clerical support workers (technicians and associate professionals and clerical support workers are integrated); 5. Services and sales workers; 11. Do not work, looking for job; 12. Do not work (housewives and so on).

According the 2012 data 63% of mothers became pregnant consciously, 22% did not plan of child's birth and 15% – did not want a child. In addition, this behavior connect with mother's socio-professional status at time of research more than with her marital status at time of pregnancy. Only 29% of low-income mothers (5-th, and 11-th professional groups) and 85% of mothers of 1-th and 2th professional groups planned the birth of first child.

Breastfed children have at least six times greater chance of survival in the early months than non-breastfed children do. An exclusively breastfed child is 14 times less likely to die in the first six months than a non-breastfed child, and breastfeeding drastically reduces deaths from acute respiratory infection and diarrhea, two major child killers. The potential impact of optimal breastfeeding practices is especially important in developing country but non-breastfed children in industrialized countries are also at greater risk of dying - a recent study of post-neonatal mortality in the United States found a 25% increase in mortality among non-breastfed infants. [Breastfeeding. UNICEF...2014]. According our data 13% of young mothers did not breastfeed of their first child (usually did not want to do it), 24% – less than 5 months, 18% – 5-6 months, 28% – 7-12 months, 27 % – more than one year. Statistically more often feed of child 6 months and more mothers-professionals, on the contrary, did not breastfeed or fed of child less than 5 months “services and sales workers” mothers (P- x-square of Pierson=23,933, $p < 0.001$ for 6 professional groups).

The combining of spousal, maternal and professional roles is still the problem for young mothers even with one child, especially when they live in nuclear households and grandparents live far from them. According our data, marriage's statuses of young mothers statistically do not connect with their profession. Exception are more unworked mothers in intact family's nuclear and divorced mothers-professionals (see table 1).

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The duration of parent's occupation outside home calculated including time to and from workplace. Again it was founded that mothers, who live with fathers of child, work outside home less time in comparison with divorced and unmarried mothers ($P=34,924$, $p < 0.000$). More over mothers who did not work outside home were happiest mothers. Thus, young mothers still face choice between conjugality, maternity and work outside home. At least on this stage of life cycle the proposition of roles overload is true but not enhancement hypothesis. In comparison with the soviet time when expected that all mothers must work, today unworked (or few worked) young mother is quite proved style of behavior. And such social expectations allow young mothers be happy.

Table 1

**Marriage-families and marriage-parental status of mothers in different professional groups
(in %, n=600)**

Marriage's statuses of young mother	Managers	Professionals	Clerical support workers	Services and sales workers	Don't work outside home, looking for job	Don't work (housewives and so on)	Total
Married or live with biological father of child (n=385)	59	47	67	56	76	82	63
Married or live with husband or partner, not biological father of child (step) (n=60)	14	10	9	14	7	7	10
Unmarried, biological father didn't registered (n=43)	7	6	7	10	7	5	7
Unmarried, biological father registered (n=29)	5	9	3	7	3	1	5
Divorced (n=78)	15	28	15	13	7	5	15
Widowed, did not include in statistical analysis (n=5)							>1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Marriage-families and marriage-parental statuses of mothers weakly correlates with emotional relation towards child ($P=13,799$, $p<0,032$). Only mothers who live in stepfamilies twice more often "not positive" towards child. Probably they to the large extent oriented on new spousal versus child-maternal intimacy [Dudchuk, Orlova, 2013: 31]. It is also necessary to

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stress that mothers who live with not fathers of child (in stepfamilies) feel themselves most happy (54% very happy) in comparison with that who lives in intact families (37%), divorced (30%) or never married (17%). So new marriage or partnership makes mothers happy, but not often their child. Professional occupation of mothers correlate with relation towards child ($P=26,401$, $p<0,034$). More positive to child mothers “managers” and “professionals”, less positive – “services and sales workers”.

Maternal efficacy measured by Parenting Sense of Competence Scale (PSOC). Researches shows that maternal efficacy reduce anxiety, depression and behavior problems of children and promote the high level of self-esteem and social competence [de Montigny, Lacharité, 2005: 387].

According our data maternal efficacy is higher among mothers “professionals” (32%) and lower among mothers who do not work outside home (19%).

For studying the style of disciplining of child was used Parenting Scale (PS). The validity of this scale proved in different countries. Discipline that is harsh or excessively lax is significantly correlate with child externalizing behavior [Arney, Baghurst, Sawyer and Prior, 2008: 44-52]. Russian young mothers mainly practice ambivalent style regardless their marital status and professional occupations. Probably such style is the cultural specifics. It is necessary to provide the cross-cultural research of parental styles for more accurate conclusions.

Specialists in sphere of maltreatment with children agree that main factors are single motherhood and poverty [Stagner, Lansing, 2009: 25]. According our data maternal practices of corporal punishments do not connect with their marriage and parental status. Slap of child from time to time 10% of mothers (19% in 1991 year) and this practice correlate only with professional occupation ($P =73,708$, $p< 0,000$). 55% of “services and sales workers” and 37% of unemployed mothers do it from time to time. Thus, poverty probably is the more important predictor of maltreatment. The most popular types of punishments from mothers (the answers on open question were coded): “to forbid to do something” – “to watch TV”, “to eat sweets” etc. (36%), “isolation” – “to stand in corner”, “to send to empty room” (21%), “do not speak and do not play with child” (15%), verbal abuse (6%).

The increasing numbers of researches of fatherhood in western countries in period of transition to postindustrial society was stimulated by increasing number of working mothers, changing opinion in relation to importance of mother, and by increasing attention of society to child psychological welfare. Methodologically this research comes from a deficit model, focusing on men's inadequacies as parents to more detail analysis. American scientists distinguish four main directions of studies: cultural representations of fathering, father's

involvement, fatherhood from child development point of view and formation of father's identity [Gurko, 2008: 92-96].

According to our data in Russia father's involvement with young child changed. The most popular occupation with boys and girls – common computer games, 42% of fathers play with child at least «several times in a week» (in 1991 it was common watching TV). Young fathers more often walk with child outside home – 40% at least «several times in a week» in comparison with 25% in 1991 year. They also more often put child to bed, prepare a meal, bring child to or take away from kindergarten. However, it is necessary to stress that in spite of the Russian law¹¹ practically no one fathers use parental vocation.

The researchers conducted in some European countries confirm that for care and occupations with preschool child working fathers spend less time than working mothers are [Reingardiene, 2006: 47, 73]. According to our data working fathers in intact families are less involved in care of child than their working wives. However, fathers spend more time for work outside home (including time to and from workplace) than their working wives. 22% of mothers answered that fathers spend quite enough time with child, 32% – “rather yes”, 36% – “rather no”, 10% – «not enough at all». Any way these figures are much better than in 1991 year.

Many investigations in USSR and Russia revealed that mother's satisfaction of the amount of time father spend with child correlate with her satisfaction of marriage and her decision to have more children [Gurko, 2008: 210]. The same reciprocal associations between paternal child-care involvement and relationship quality by following British couples from the birth of a child until he or she reached school age was established based on the British Millennium Cohort Study, a representative survey of children born in 2000 and 2001 and their parents [Schober, 2012: 281]. In our research was established correlation between mother's satisfaction of time husband spend with child and mother's happiness ($P=36,201$, $p<0,004$).

«New fathering» assume not only joint occupations fathers with child but father's emotional involvement. In research of 1991 it was founded that Russian fathers in comparison with fathers in other countries significantly less often “praise”, “stroke”, “hug” of their child. In 2012 year Russian fathers almost twice often did it. They also less often used practices of maltreatment (“shout”, “abuse”, and “spank”).

On the base of several indicators – father's initiatives and amount of time he spent with child, frequencies of father's occupations with child (eight occupations) index of father's involvement was constructed.

¹¹ For the first time fathers (and other relatives of mother) have got possibility to take paid vocation until child 1.5 years old and unpaid vocation until child 3 years old in 1989 year in USSR.

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The differences of index of involvement of fathers and stepfathers not very high (see table 2). Probably in preschool age of child stepfathers could more easy to find contact with stepchild than, for example, with teenagers. It was not founded statistically significant differences of biological father’s involvement in relation to boys and girls. At the same time the correlation of professional occupation of biological father is significant ($P=24.999$, $p<0.015$). More involve fathers-professionals, less – services and sales workers.

Table 2

**Index of father’s and stepfather’s involvement in different professional groups
(in %, n=445)**

<i>Index of father’s involvement</i>	Managers (n=128)	Professionals (n=91)	Technicians (n=59)	Services and sales workers (n=111)	Driver, workers (n=56)	Total
High involvement	26	37	22	17	27	26
Middle involvement	35	30	21	26	16	28
Low involvement	22	24	33	29	26	26
Uninvolvement	17	9	22	28	31	20
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100 n=365
<i>Index of stepfather’s involvement</i>						
High involvement	17	25	0	18	27	18
Middle involvement	42	33	38	12	9	25
Low involvement	25	9	24	18	27	20
Uninvolvement	17	33	38	52	37	37
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100 n=80

According our data paternal practices of corporal punishments correlate with sex of child ($P=29.401$, $p<0.005$). Fathers slap boys twice often than girls. “Services and sales workers” fathers twice often verbally abuse child in comparison with professionals. In general, fathers punish the child in intact families less often than mothers one, who spend more time with child.

One of the actual problem of modern families – psychological and material support of child from biological father who lives apart. In our sample 71% of fathers visited child after divorce, 57% of fathers, whose paternity established, and 16% of fathers, whose paternity did not legally establish. More than half of mothers did not proof this meeting when she lives with a new partner or husband in comparison with 22% mothers who lived without new partner. Among mothers, who could legally to have child support, only 67% received it (in Russia ex-wives

practically never received alimony). In spite of the law half of mothers, who did not received child support, refuse from this support by themselves. The main reason – they did not want the child have contact with father. Sometimes such behavior is caused of bad habits of ex-husbands (mainly alcohol abuse). However, more essential reason – matriarchate style of Russian families in general, the wishes of mothers to be independent even to the detriment of child's interest.

According western data parental practices connect with behavior problems of children, in particularly social competence in childhood and school years [Shaffer, Burt, Obradovi, Janette, Herbers, Masten, 2009: 1229-1230]. We used in our research Social Competence Scale (Parent Version) [Social...,2015]. It was established that Social Competence (SC) of girls is higher than of boys. The most significant correlation among SC of child and mother's relation to child (P=96,343, p<0,000), especially to girls, maternal efficacy (P=64,465, p<0,000). Practices of parent's maltreatment negatively influence on SC of boys and girls especially from mothers. There are maternal verbal abuse (P=63,562, p<0,000), maternal physical punishment (P=58,698, p<0,000), and paternal physical punishment (P=36,929, p<0,000), paternal verbal abuse (P=26,209, p<0,000). High SC of girls correlate with high father's involvement in intact families (P=47,146, p<0,001). Lowest "communication skills" (subscale) have boys who lived in stepfamilies. For high SC of both boys and girls are very important the meeting with fathers who live apart. The level of SC of children correlate with professional occupation of mothers. The highest level SC (both scales of emotional control and communicative skills) are among children whose mothers are managers or professionals. At the same time in intact families, the occupation of father do not connect with SC of children.

Thus according our data indicators of quality of mothering and child social competence are worse in step and in poor unmarried mother's households. Young fathers in intact families more often than decades ago involve in everyday occupations with child, emotionally communicate with them and less often practice maltreatment. Progressive parental practices to a large extent widespread among educated managers and professionals that are mainly arising middle class.

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Professional Employment as a Measure of Social Adaptation

Marina G. Khokhlova, Moscow

Abstract. Professional employment is an important component of the status of a human being, meaningfulness of his or her social role in the social division of labour, and, because of earnings, also the criterion of quality of life. It plays a central role in the stabilization of social life, in overcoming problems connected with the socialization of a person, it transfers efforts of a person to the sphere of labour activity, urges one to build relations not on discrimination because of a formal attribute (national, religious belonging), but to take into account empirical parameters, which, even if as a whole does not eliminate ethnique, cultural and social contradictions, can reduce tension.

Keywords: professional occupation; social stratification

In the present article an attempt is undertaken to accentuate the roles of professional employment as a means capable of influencing the stabilization of society, of extinguishing the discontent arising, in particular, on ethnic ground. [Gontmaher E.S., Zagladin N.V., Semenenko I.S.,2014: 245-251]. Professional occupation as an element of social relations although it can reproduce inequality that is embedded, for example in education, is a social and individual feature which, in difference, say, to age, origin and so forth, can be changed by a person during his/ her lifetime, that is to say, a person, it would seem, shapes his/her own destiny.

In the framework of professions professional values can be safeguarded better, although in some instances they may challenge the status-quo and sometimes acquire new roles. Professions as a rule tend to be relevant for different market economies. This may concern the role of professions not only in the functioning of the modern economy but also in solving the *social issues*.

The term *«professional employment»* is used in this article to emphasize the presence with the worker of professional training, since the mechanism of social selection operates already at the level of getting education The problem of social stratification manifests itself in the sphere of professional training quite graphically. Reproduction of social inequality is in most cases predetermined by the family and the nearest environment of the pupil as a person is mostly integrated in the environment for which he or she was prepared in the course of formation and the social context in which he or she stayed during the training. In such a way, the social status of a family continues from generation to generation like a deep track from which it is difficult to get out, and the education received during one's green years, differs by the influence on the person, from what is learned when one is already an adult.

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Professions function in the conditions of a constant search of balance with the economic structure of a society (this finds expression particularly in a crisis). In such a case the less prepared part of the society unable or not willing to fit in under new conditions resists innovations. What is involved here is not only the role of trades in an economy but also their meaning for the solution of problems of a social nature.

The presence of professional employment can render a cardinal influence on the person and the behaviour of a human being in such conditions. Dissatisfaction with social relations usually decreases when a person acquires a trade since it is the basic component of one's status and role in the social division of labor, and because salary (wage) determines the quality of life.

Professional occupation channels personal efforts into work-related activities, which can decrease the ethnic and cultural tension if not eliminate it totally, and favors the development of professional skills (in particular, in multiethnic working teams). Professional occupation prevents discrimination (e.g. on the grounds of ethnicity) because it helps people judge others by their merits. A successful professional development (career) can imbue one with a feeling of stability and prosperity, even if different ethnic groups sometimes find themselves on different levels of the social ladder.

However, an inverse phenomenon can occur when, as a result of various events a status quo is upset and different social and ethnic groups, which previously co-existed in peace side by side in one territory but lived in different « social conditions» as though divided by social time, come into motion.

The blossoming of the world information society has provided to the widest circles the participation in new forms of interaction in the cyberspace, having in particular made access to information more democratic. Education, it would appear, as never before can carry out its inherent functions: promote sustainable development, overcome crisis situations and processes in the society, preserve the bases of civilization, help solve problems of sustenance of the person, his or her spiritual life, understanding of the identity and, finally, the socialization. However, it is not all as easy as it sounds.

If social selection takes place more often during the choice of the place of study, the foundation for the cognitive abilities of a child are laid earlier, even before the child goes to school, at the level of preschool education. Preconditions of lagging behind in studies among descendants of poor families are present already at an early age, in view of the inability for the children in such families to attend preschool studies and establishments. This does not imply, however, that it is possible to overcome social inequality in education only by creating a large number of places in preschool establishments, at low prices. It is necessary to consider the

problem as a whole, including the educational level of parents, income, the level of regulation of the labour market, ethnic features, migrant background.

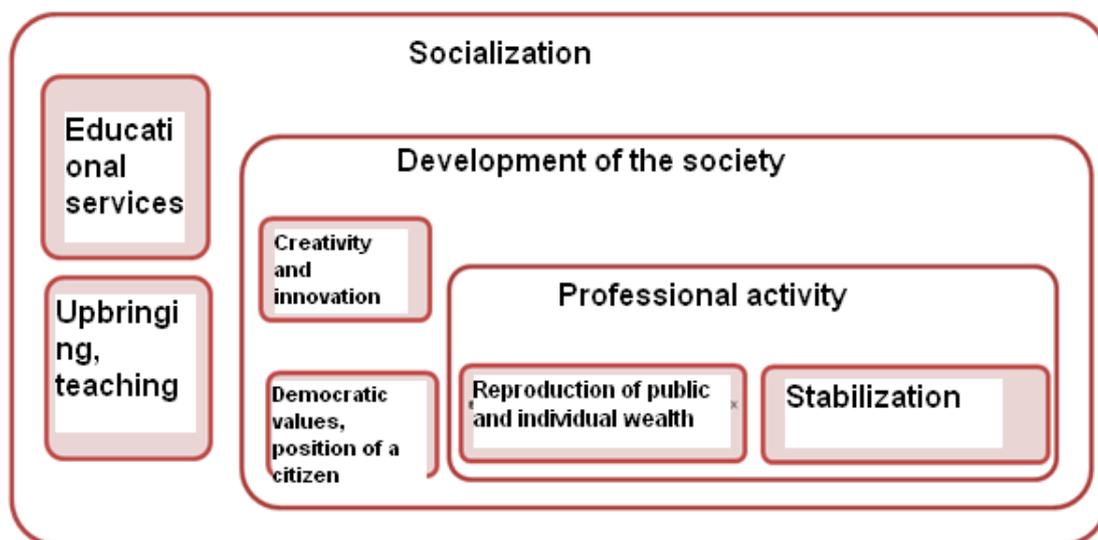


Fig.1. Functions of modern education

Professional education requires constant "updating" in difference to classical general education during which common knowledge is acquired of eternal cultural values existing outside of time, so to say. The general education is therefore more often acquired at an early age, it "impregnates" the person and forms consciousness; the person takes possession of knowledge necessary for an independent execution of a future social role, prepares him or her to have a position on various issues (in particular, not to come under influence of radical views); creates conditions for self-determination and socialization on the basis of socio-cultural, spiritual - moral values and the rules accepted in a society and norms of behaviour in the interests of the person, family, society and the state.

The concept of life-long education, including informal, additional and regular further education is bound with an ever stronger positions. In so doing the interaction between the establishments of formal and informal education, including the possibility of accreditation and formalization of the previous and informal training of the person, his(her) individual experience will increase. The latter becomes more and more important in the process of expansion of the possibilities of unaided computerized training [Dynkin A.A., 2011: 215].

Updating the education system [Khokhlova, Khokhlov, 2014:92-93], re-thinking run-of-the-mill pedagogical scenarios, overcoming the gap between school culture and youth culture, its claims to the quality of teaching from the position of integration of a person into socially useful activity, are capable of changing the situation in many respects. No matter how highly one might think about the importance of education as an inherent worth (see fig. 1), necessary for

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understanding one's civic role in a society, one should not forget the purely pragmatic component of education. The acquisition of a trade and subsequent employment are basic elements of personal socialization that allows him or her to become integrated in the society. That is to say that the "foundation" (that is the element placed at the bottom of the drawing in fig. 1) is the useful professional work required in the labour market.

The level of socialization achieved as a result of training and allowing the person to be integrated in the society may be considered a yard-stick of received education. Acculturation of a person, especially a young person, will be all the more successful if the labour market is closer to his (her) personal knowledge, skills, aptitudes and needs (formed in the conditions of the environment in which he or she lives). An unemployed teenager will be bound to have a civic stand different from the one who has had vocational training with the prospect of paid work in the profession.

Research unambiguously shows that a person with professional education adapts much easier in cardinally varying environment both in social and in professional quality. [Khokhlova, 2005: 64-76]. The accelerating flexibility of daily life provides to a prepared person the breadth of the conscious choice and the possibility to resist instability. Profession can be regarded as something quite important for 'building' the future in accordance with the demands of the markets and competition that needs constant innovation. It is especially evident in a crisis situation. However, the economic crisis aggravates the transformational crisis, and innovation stumbles upon those unprepared (who cannot or are not willing to adapt to the new situation).

While a prepared person remains functional in the case of changes, he or she is ready to the solution of those new tasks which may be confronted, whereas the society as a whole can "reset" itself, increase the social involvement of the person, enhance the number of the citizens who are able to do without social support of the state, to provide for themselves and to participate in the formation of riches of the country and to counter social instability in the society. As a whole professional employment as the source of acquisition of economic independence and expansion of opportunities can become an instrument of development irrespective of whether development of a person or long-term development of the society as a whole are meant.

Professional knowledge is still one of main factors of social differentiation, a precondition for the division of labour in the future, and their lack a formula for social exclusion.

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Transformation of Family

Anastasia Yu. Khromacheva, Moscow

Abstract. The transformation of family is examined in the article.

Keywords: family; marriage; birth rate

The institution of family is one of the oldest human constructs. Traditionally, family is the primary agent of socialization for the younger generations, it aired the cultural foundation of society, its norms, laws and customs.

But the peculiarity of the family is not only in the reproduction of social norms, patterns and practices, it also lies in the uniqueness of each family group and originality of its forms - family, thanks to this, it can be viewed from different angles and perspectives; it could be possible to learn its various forms, to describe the transformation of its features and ideological orientations through a wide range of methods.

In the context of transforming reality, the internal policy of many countries aimed at supporting the institution of the family that is forced to adapt for the present: a shift of reproductive attitudes in young families, increasing the age of marriage, the number of divorces, and the relationship of spouses prevail individualistic values. Despite the fact that these trends are most acute in Western countries, there are also significant changes in the traditional concept of the family in Asia. A separate test for family advocates globalization, which brings both positive and negative sides.

In Russian Federation the ongoing transformation of the family institution can be seen in statistics. According to the Federal State Statistics Service, in 1990 there were about 1.3 million marriages and more than half of them have been concluded between boys (52%) and girls (59%) aged 18 to 24 years; in 2013, there were slightly fewer marriages - about 1.2 million, but more than half of them (51% of grooms and brides 43%) already belong to the age group of 25 to 34 years. In the interval from 1990 to 2013, the minimum number of marriages (just over 800 thousands) were concluded during the period of default in 1998, due to the difficult economic situation in the country. Based on these data, we can say that the general trend of marriage is preserved, although a shift of the main legitimizing age relationships for boys and girls. An interesting study was conducted by the All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center at the beginning of 2015. On the question "What, in your view, people marry for" more than half of Russians (60%) said the answer "for procreation"; For comparison, in a similar study in 1989, chose this answer 56% of respondents. Thus, we can conclude that the reproductive attitudes to people who marry, have remained the same, although demographic statistics show a decrease in

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the birth rate in the country. At the time of the 1989 census, the fertility rate in the country was 2.01 child per 1 woman (in town - 1.83; in rural areas - 2.63), by 2008, the coefficient dropped to 1.50 (in the city – 1.05; in rural areas - 2.01). These data indicate that the concept of family is changing. Given the pace of the transformations taking place in society, of particular interest is the study of the image of the modern Russian family as a dynamic structure, changing each year under the influence of globalization processes.

Differences of Civic Engagement of Youth in Modern Russia: Real and Projective Behavior

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Abstract. Article made within the grant of the Russian Scientific Foundation (project №14-18-02016 «Lifeworld of Russians and the evolution of the forms of their participation in the implementation of public and social transformation (1990-2010)"). The paper considers the general situation of civil and political activity of Russians among the other European countries. There are adduced the data of the All-Russian researches on the civic engagement of young people in our country. First presented results of the study made within the grant RNF conducted in 18 regions of the country 25-30 October 2014, representing the Central Russia, the Volga region, south of the country, the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, as well as two megalopolis - Moscow and St. Petersburg (representative sample was 1,750).

Keywords: civic engagement; youth; lifeworld

The civil activity is the desire and the need to create a society, association to defend and protect their rights or the rights of certain groups of citizens and the promotion of any values and freedoms [Andreeva, Kosterina, 2008: 397].

Youth civic engagement is closely related with the inclusion of the young in various youth communities, both formal and non-formal. An important factor in the realization of youth civic engagement is that young have common shared practices. In this case, the activity is directly linked with the possibility of individual self-fulfillment, the most important for young people is the assess of peers, and a sense of community, formed as a "collective identity" is a real guide of youth civic engagement. Consolidating factor can serve almost any idea, which corresponds to the priority values, needs, interests and goals in this age group.

In the international comparative study "European Social Survey «ESS», respondents from 24 European countries, including Russia, were asked about whether they had in the past 12 months to undertake certain actions aimed at improving the situation in the country. Such actions include appeal to specific policies or to the national or local authorities; participation in the work of political parties and movements; participation in the work of other public organizations, associations; signing petitions, appeals, open letters; participation in authorized demonstrations; carrying or hanging symbols of any political, social, civil, environmental or other promotions or organization. In the ranking of countries, built on the basis of citizens' participation in at least one of these types of civic engagement, Russia ranked 22nd out of 24 positions. The proportion of those who participated in at least one form of activities, there was only 16%, while the vast majority (84%) did not participate in anything like that during this period. [Civic activism, 2014:

87-88]. Thus, the Russians were generally among the most passive citizens, losing by the activity level representatives of most European countries.

Civic activism includes political practices, nonpolitical public practice, the hypothetical willingness to support social movements. Through a combination these components in life practices and attitudes all Russians can be divided into three main groups: "activists", "sympathetic" and "alienated" [Civic activism, 2014: 87-88].

Activism, according to a study in 2014, attracts mainly young people under 30 years old (13%), among people 61 and older - only 5%. Overall there are three age groups, in which are fixed significant differences in the level of activism - young people up to 30 years (the highest level of activity), the average age of 31-60 years (with an average level of activity, hardly any differences between adjacent cohorts 31-40 , 41-50 and 51-60 years) and elderly people over 60 years (the lowest level of activism).

The social activity is the phase of entry of young people into the space of civil activism. With the accumulation of experience, increasing the number of ongoing social practices, there is a gradual inclusion of citizens in political practice, more complex to master.

Research centers revealed the last decade, the relatively low level of civic engagement of young people, especially in comparison with the older generation. This is evidenced by the results of a study conducted by the Institute of Sociology jointly with the F. Ebert in Russia in 2007. The question was: "Did you participate in public and political life in the last year or two? And if so, in what form?" Almost every second young Russian respondents (49%) gave a negative answer [Young people of the new Russia, 2007: 76-77]. According to the same study, youth is united mainly in five types of organizations: student, sports, political, trade union and charity. Underrepresented youth in Scouting and the environmental movement.

Rather passive youth refers to forms of public initiative, as a collective accomplishment of the immediate environment, raising funds for people who find themselves in a difficult situation and work in local government. Young people are not attracted by this form of communication with the authorities, as the signing of various appeals, petitions, etc.

At the same time, in the survey noticed a significant level of differentiation of the popularity of various forms of participation of the representatives of various social and professional groups. Thus, the most active are humanitarian, scientific and technical intelligentsia, military and law enforcement personnel. The lowest activity inherent workers, entrepreneurs, employees, trade and services.

One of the forms of civic engagement can be considered membership in various public organizations. 52% of respondents in 2011 did not even know about the existence of political youth organizations. Only 32% of Russians are aware of the existence of the movement "Nashi",

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16% of respondents know about "Molodaya Gvardia", youth organizations such as the "Liberal Democratic Party of Russia", "Greenpeace", "Volunteer" and so forth known by only 3% of respondents. The vast majority of respondents (81%) were unable to answer the open question "On what activities nationwide or regional political youth organizations, political movements you know or have heard something?" [Youth and Politics, 2011].

Degree of personal involvement in community organizations among youth is still lower than the awareness about them. According to the national survey "Lifeworld of Russians and the evolution of the forms of their participation in the implementation of state and social transformation (1990-2000 years)" (RNF grant № 14-18-02016) », conducted in 2014, 68.5% of respondents are not members of any social organization. 12% of college youth consist in student unions. However, it's difficult to judge the personal activity of the young man, his personal desire to become a member of a trade union organization, since this membership not only gives students the opportunity to use various types of benefits and compensation socio-economic nature, but is often have administrative and coercive nature from the management of universities. Each tenth respondents (10.2%) is positioning himself as a participant in sports organizations, a little less than 10% declare their membership in youth organization, and only 4.6% are engaged in volunteering. Despite the low level of participation of students in public organizations, in groups of young people with initial secondary and secondary special education, this figure is even lower (Table 1).

Table 1

**Answers to the question "Are you a member of public organizations?"
(more than one answer)**

	Education			
	Elementary, junior secondary education	Secondary and secondary special education	Unfinished higher education	Higher education
Trade union	4,6	9,9	12,0	16,5
A political party or association	0	0,8	0	4,8
Cultural, musical, theatrical organization	0,9	1,8	3,7	2,2
Environmental organization	0	0,2	0,9	0,6
Religious Community	0	1,3	0	2,8
Sports	1,9	1,7	10,2	2,6
Healthcare	0	0,6	1,9	1,2
Youth	1,9	0,9	9,3	2,0
Human rights	0	0,1	0,9	1,6

Group of the protection of public order	0	0,3	0	1,0
Volunteer (care for older people, orphanages)	0,9	1,0	4,6	2,2
Women	0	0,2	0,9	1,0
The protection of historical and cultural monuments	0	0,2	0	0,4
Another organization	0	0,6	1,9	1,6
Aren't a member of any organization	92,6	84,7	68,5	71,0

Meanwhile, there are various forms of active participation of students in online communities, music, sports and leisure organizations (this is the main area of interest and activity of students), and the proportion of those who involved in political, national-patriotic, legal organizations is significantly less.

One of the manifestations of civil activity of the population is participation in conservation. The most active young citizens involved in keeping cleanliness in place they live (up to 24 years - 28%; 25-29 years - 32.6%), involved in the collection and recycling of waste (up to 24 years - 7.6%; 25-29 years - 5.6%), sometimes give money for environment protection activities and are involved in the collection of signatures and calls for the protection of nature the same number of young people (up to 24 years - 2.4%; 25-29 years - 1.3%). But the majority of the young by their own statements does not participate in the conservation of nature (up to 24 years - 63%; 25-29 years - 64.8%).

Expressed willingness to organize socially-useful work (subbotnik) to clean up in the forest area 44% of young people, willing to donate money to host such an event - 71%, take a direct part - 88%, to help unknown person - 78% [On the civil...; 2014].

The analyzed data show that real and projective (desired) behavior of young people in the context of civic engagement differ and what is considered as a proper civil behavior is not always realized in practice.

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Social Well-Being of Today's Young People: Political and Economic Aspects

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Abstract. The article discusses the concept of "social well-being" as one of the most important indicators of the state of society. The objective and subjective factors, influencing the social well-being, are studied. The authors analyze the political and economic components of this social phenomenon on the materials of a sociological survey of students of the Krasnodar territory.

Keywords: social well-being; youth; economic sanctions

Social well-being is one of the most important indicators of the personal condition and society. In scientific literature there is no uniform definition of this concept. According to N. Ya. Lepeshkin, social well-being is understood as a complete social psychological state where the temporary emotional and estimated relation of the person, social group to the contents and conditions of their activity and actual behavioral samples are recorded [Lepeshkin, 2004: 10]. The studied category acts as the consciousness syndrome reflecting the attitude towards interrelation between the level of claims, depending on vital strategy, and the requirements satisfaction degree of vital strategy. It concerns various fields of the individual activity – professional, family, educational, labor, leisure, political, economic [Shcherbakova, 2011:224-225].

According to O. V. Kolomiets, the role of social well-being in the person's behavior is expressed, first of all, in his regulatory function: becoming motive of behavior, the health can be shown in various forms of activity and passivity of the personality [Kolomiets; 2012, p. 19]. Also it is an indicator of adaptation and sociocultural integration of the personality into society.

Social well-being is estimated by most of authors as the multidimensional characteristic covering all aspects of human activity. It includes such indicators as confidence of the population in tomorrow, the social optimism degree, the material security level, active social adaptation, level of social tension in the country, etc.

Social well-being is influenced by both objective and subjective factors. The subjective factors include social status, physical health, family and everyday situation [Kolomiets, 2012: 22]; sense of the social system stability, confidence in the future, a sense of well-being and happiness [Eflava, 2014: 38]; nature and quality of social inclusion in all its areas, the satisfaction degree of social benefits that are available for using [Aslanova, 2012: 60]. The

objective is the level, life quality, economic, political, social and cultural changes in society [Eflova, 2014: 38]; activities of the authorities at the regional and federal level [Gritsenko, 2014: 2]; istoricheskaya memory [Kolomiets, 2012: 19]; degree of confidence leading politicians and political structures [Laskovskiy, 2001].

Speaking about the factors which are affected the social well-being of Russians, the most scientists noted the globalization of Russian society. In addition, over the last year there have been events that could not exert any influence on the population's health. Among them there are Russia's success at the Olympics Sochi in 2014, joining the Crimea to the Russian Federation, the economic sanctions imposed by the West and retaliatory steps of the Russian government, and a number of others (the most important of them Russians celebrated as the "event of the year" 2014 poll FOM [Sobitie, 2014]). Especially these processes should relate the students as the most active category and affect their emotional and evaluative attitude towards Russia has spread to social and economic innovation.

To identify the influence of the political events and economic changes that are taken place in the country over the last year to the students social well-being of Krasnodar Territory, the sociological study was conducted. The obtained data were compared with the results of the All-Russian poll conducted by Russian Public Opinion Research Center (WCIOM), Levada Center.

Satisfaction with the political situation is related to several aspects, one of which is to assess the country's place in the modern world. It is significant that students appreciate Russian position highly enough. Thus, more than half of the respondents (56.6%) believe that "Russia has been and remained a great world power", almost a third (32.1%) are of the opinion that "Russia has ceased to be a great world power, but it can be" only 1.9% chose the answer "Russia has ceased to be a great world power, and no longer will it" and 9.4% found it difficult to assess.

Such assessment reflects the relation of Russians in general to a position of Russia in the international scene, revealed during survey conducted by Levada Center: 68% of respondents consider Russia the great power now, 57% estimate a country role in the solution of the international problems as quite important, another 11% as solving [Pozitsii, 2015].

However, for 47.2% of the respondents the policy has a little impact on their lives, 39.6% reported a significant impact, 5.7% think that the policy does not affect them, and 7.5% did not answer this question.

Sufficiently the low assessment of the impact of policies on the student's life can be traced from the responses to the question of the influence degree of Western sanctions and the response of the Russian government on socio-economic status of students. So, the question: "Do you think that after the imposition of sanctions against Russia and retaliatory sanctions your

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life?", to which 43.7% of respondents answered "not changed", 34.8% of respondents chose the answer "has become a bit worse" 5.9% noted a significant deterioration of the quality of their lives and 4.4% - a significant improvement, 11.2% did not answer this question.

According to the results of opinion poll (February 2015) of Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM) this tendency can be explained by the Russian citizens in the complication of the economic situation in the country blame primarily economic conjuncture, rather than political events. Drop in oil prices as the main reason indicated 44% of young people aged 18 to 24 years and 37% - from 25 to 34 years, to second place respondents put Western sanctions (19% and 24%, respectively) [Sanktsii, 2015].

Based on the results of answers to the previous question, it is worth to note that "has not changed" (43.7%) and "a little worse" (34.8%), the economic situation of the students is contrary to the assessment of life settlements quality, in which they live: 36.3% of respondents noted minor improvements and 32.6% believe that their life in the settlement was "significantly better"; 18.5% did not notice any changes, 7.4% and 3.0% thought that there was a "slight" and "significant" deterioration of life in the village, respectively, and 2.2% were undecided. From the above data it can be concluded that there is a serious discrepancy in the responses, indicating a lack of communication of their own economic situation and the City - the place of residence of the respondents. This tendency can also be seen in the answers to the following two questions.

In the short term (in a year) students predict an economic situation in the country more positively. So, nearly a half of respondents (47.4%) consider what to live "it will be much better" and "it is a little better", than now, 5.9% and 41.5% respectively; however, a third of respondents (33.3%) assess future economic situation as "is a little worse" and "is much worse", than now, 25.9% and 7.4% respectively; only 7.4% which answered consider that there will be no changes in the economic sphere and 11.9% found it difficult to answer.

In general such positive assessment reflects the regional specifics of the interrogated. According to Public Opinion Foundation at the general tendency of increase in number of the Russians recognizing existence in the country of an economic crisis (from 62% in January, 2015 to 71% in February, 2015), the Southern Federal District which part Krasnodar Krai is, is the region with the smallest indicators: it is considered that in Russia there is an economic crisis of 55% of respondents, its absence declare 24%, 18% found it difficult to answer [Kak skazyivaetsja, 2015].

This tendency is also reflected in the rather high level assessment of student youth of their financial situation, which the majority of respondents (73.5%) rated as "high" and "medium" - 9.1% and 64.4%, respectively; 26.5% of respondents indicated a low level by the

following answers to the question: "The money is only enough for basic food and clothing" (25.9%) and "I live in extreme poverty" (0.6%).

Unlike quite positive assessment of the economic situation in the country, according to the respondents, in the near future, Russia will be in a "crisis" and "stagnation", 33.0 % and 20.8% respectively. More positive assessment of our country's development in the coming years is given by the 40.6% of respondents, so answer: "Russia is stabilized" is chosen by the 30.2% and 10.4% of respondents who believe in the progressive development; 5.6% did not answer this question.

The exit from the crisis situation of the respondents is associated with the President's activities. Thus, according to the respondents "to ensure the successful development of Russia will" primarily "President" - 71.7% of the respondents; just over a third of the students (35.8%) chose the answer "people" and third place in this ranking took "a strong and authoritative political party" and "Federal Government", which received 30.2%. (Amount of responses exceeds 100% because the procedure could poll select several options).

Results of Kuban students survey is reflected the political mood of society as a whole. Most national surveys show high rating indicators of the President of the Russian Federation. According to VtsIOM, Putin V.V. confidence index is the highest among all the country's politicians (64 points) [Doverie, 2015]; according to research by FOM 76% of the population are ready for elections to vote for him [V. Putin, 2015]. Much less trust among Russians is the Government. According to the Levada Center's study is admitted the less than a third of respondents the existence of the Russian Federation Government of sound economic program (31%), even as many suggest that the program is not thought out, there is only a very general idea of what to do in these circumstances. The remaining (38%) deny the existence of well-designed programs or undecided [Trevozhashchie problemy, 2015].

In our view, it's interesting to provide an answer to questions about the most pressing, unsolved problems affecting Russian society and students personally. The most important social problems students have carried the following:

- 1) price increase - 56.6%;
- 2) low income - 53.8%;
- 3) ensuring economic stability - 37.3%.

Thus, as our research shows, for today's college students are characterized by fairly positive assessment of such objective factors influencing the social well-being, as the standard of living, economic and political changes in society, the activities of the authorities at the federal level, etc. However, the development of this problem is important from the standpoint of strengthening the integration of the population, optimization, public

relations and development programs of economic, political and socio-cultural development as a nation, as a whole and its separate regions.

In conclusion we would like to note that the study of social well-being of young people, especially in the economic and political aspects, should be the subject of constant attention society concerned with the internal unity and harmony. The development of this problem is important from the standpoint of strengthening the integration of the population, the optimization of social relations and the development of programs of economic, political and socio-cultural development as the country as a whole and its individual regions.

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Modern Trends of Formation of Upperclassmen's Civic Consciousness and Patriotism

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Abstract. The paper describes peculiarities of formation of citizenship and patriotism of the high school students, as well as the role of school in the development of civic position and patriotic values of senior pupils. The results of researches, conducted in 2008 and 2012 are summarized and compared.

Keywords: patriotism; citizenship; senior school age; high school student; patriotic education

One of the major mechanisms of the national solidarity maintenance is the formation and transmission of patriotic values. Under the conditions of the Russian society transformation: political, socio-economic, socio-demographic changes that took place in the 90-s of XX century, - patriotism has lost its significance in the minds of many people [Lysak, Nalivaychenko, 2013: 4-5; Kuzmina, 2015:2-3]. The issue of civic and patriotic education of individuals attracts a growing interest in the scientific community, so there are a lot of scientific publications on the problem of formation of patriotic consciousness of individuals of different age groups. Researchers note that the main task at the current stage of social development is to recreate values, orientations, ideals, that are essential for the maintenance of normal functioning of the system of social and state institutions [Konstantinov, 2007:368]. The patriotic issue attracts an increasing attention at the level of state regulation: the basic principles of the state policy and legal regulation of relations in the sphere of education in Russia are the principles of formation of civic and patriotic consciousness, promotion of legal culture, and inculcation of the respect for the environment [The Federal Law «On Education in the Russian Federation»; 2012:11], moreover, the new State Program, focused on the patriotic education of citizens of the Russian Federation was developed. The first such program for the period of 5 years was adopted in 2001. The program had the following goals: top reserve social stability, to restore the national economy, to strengthen defense capability of the state [Resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation, 2001]. During 2006-2015, two more programs of patriotic education of citizens were developed, and in 2015 the Government of the Russian Federation presented a draft program named «Patriotic Education of Citizens of the Russian Federation for 2016-2020», that should provide the necessary conditions to increase the level of civil responsibility for the fate of the country, to enhance the citizens' readiness to defend their homeland, to increase the level of

consolidation of the Russian society, to involve citizens in the process of protection, to ensure maintenance and strengthening of the power of the Russian Federation, to ensure intergenerational continuity, to strengthen citizens' sense of belonging to the history and culture of Russia [Resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation, 2015].

The senior school age (11-17 years) is considered as a separate age category in the «Patriotic Education of Citizens of the Russian Federation for 2016-2020» [Resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation; 2015]. The senior school age is an important stage of life, as during this period schoolchildren learn basic values that are necessary for the social interaction, and also the foundation of lifestyle, life priorities, civic position are formed during this life stage [Pashkevich, 2009:126]. Individuals also develop their own point of view on current social problems and possible ways of their solution, as well as go through the life and professional self-determination processes during the period of school education [Milekhin, 2011: 8-9; Shakurova, 2013:161-162]. The senior school age is also a period of developing of a sense of identity and learning of new social roles [Milekhin, 2011:9].

It has been almost 10 years since July 18, 2005 when the State Program «Patriotic Education of Citizens of the Russian Federation for 2006-2010» was adopted. Certainly, the implementation of the Program's ideas influenced the civic and patriotic education of young people. So, what is the situation today in the sphere of civic and patriotic education of Russian school students? What are the dynamics of young people's attitudes over the past 10 years? To answer these and similar questions the research group of the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences conducted a survey of the senior school children from Magadan, Moscow, Nizhnevartovsk, Troitsk, Lyubertsy, Obninsk and Langepas in 2012. This study was a part of the research project named «The trends of socialization and the problems of social adaptation of children, youth and adolescents in modern Russia». The sample included 526 high school students aged from 13 to 18 years. The research data were processed by the «VORTEX». The sample distribution according to sex was 42, 5% males and 57, 5 % females.

The data were compared with the results of the research «Formation of a civic and patriotic position of youth and adolescents in Russia», that included a survey of the senior school pupils from Nizhnevartovsk, Belgorod, Tver, Magadan, Leninogorsk and several towns of the Moscow region, and was conducted by the research group in 2008. The sample included 570 senior school students aged from 12 to 18 years. The research data were processed by the «VORTEX». The sample distribution according to sex was 41 % males and 59 % females.

School, where an adolescent spends most of the time, is one of the basic institutions that are obliged to provide patriotic education of school children. The data of the survey conducted as a part of the research project «The trends of socialization and the problems of social adaptation of

children, youth and adolescents in modern Russia», allows to identify the dominant value orientations of the modern senior pupils and to define the basic characteristics of the high school students in terms of the level of their civic consciousness and the level of their concern about social problems.

According to the Program «Patriotic Education of Citizens of the Russian Federation for 2016-2020» the educational process should contribute to increasing of the school children's level of knowledge of Russian literature, culture, geography and local lore [Resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation, 2015]. The high level of senior pupils' motivation to study school subjects aimed at the patriotic education is one of the main factors that ensure successful acquisition of these knowledge. According to the research, conducted by the research group from the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, such subjects as literature, geography, music, world art culture, history and arts, do not occupy the first positions in the list of the most important subjects, from the high school students' point of view (Table 1). However, it is worth noting that, after mathematics, school children prioritize Russian (that contributes to the increasing of the pupils' level of knowledge of Russian culture and Russian values) and social studies (that directly effect senior pupils' learning of social norms and contribute to the formation of their civic position).

Table 1

Distribution of answers to the question: «What school subjects do you consider to be the most important?».

Answer variants	The number of respondents who chose the answer	Percentage of respondents who answered the question	Percentage of total respondents
Physics	134	26,7	25,5
Chemistry	81	16,1	15,4
History	110	21,9	20,9
Geometry	53	10,6	10,1
Mathematics	273	54,4	51,9
Social Studies	145	28,9	27,6
Russian	257	51,2	48,9
Biology	94	18,7	17,9
Literature	68	13,5	12,9
Basics of vital functions safety	18	3,6	3,4

Geography	39	7,8	7,4
Music	3	0,6	0,6
Informatics	45	9,0	8,6
Physical Training	56	11,2	10,6
Arts	4	0,8	0,8
World art culture	1	0,2	0,2
Labour Training	3	0,6	0,6
Technical Drawing	5	1,0	1,0
Law	7	1,4	1,3
Economics	3	0,6	0,6
Ecology	1	0,2	0,2
Foreign languages	149	29,7	28,3
All school subjects	54	10,8	10,3
Noanswer	34	6,8	6,5
Total	502	326,1*	95,4

*The sum exceeds 100% as each respondent could mark more than one answer.

The priority of such subjects as mathematics and Russian can be explained by the fact that these subjects are compulsory for passing the Unified State Exam, and due to the fact that 89% of respondents are going to enter the higher educational institution (Fig.1), the successful passing of exams in mathematics and Russian is the primary goal for senior pupils. Such school subjects as a foreign language and social studies occupy the next positions in order of importance. The second language skills are necessary for building a successful career and the pupils who are good in foreign languages are more likely to get an education or a job abroad and to hold the high positions in the future. And knowledge of social studies is necessary for entering the higher educational institution in the faculties of law, management, marketing, economics, advertising, etc.). History and literature that lay the foundations of patriotic education are sixth and ninth respectively in the rating of the most important school subjects, according to the data of survey of high school students. It can be stated that senior pupils' choice of the most important school subjects depends on what subjects are required for passing the Unified State Exam and for entering the higher educational institution. So, such subjects as literature, geography, music, world culture, history and arts fade into the background.

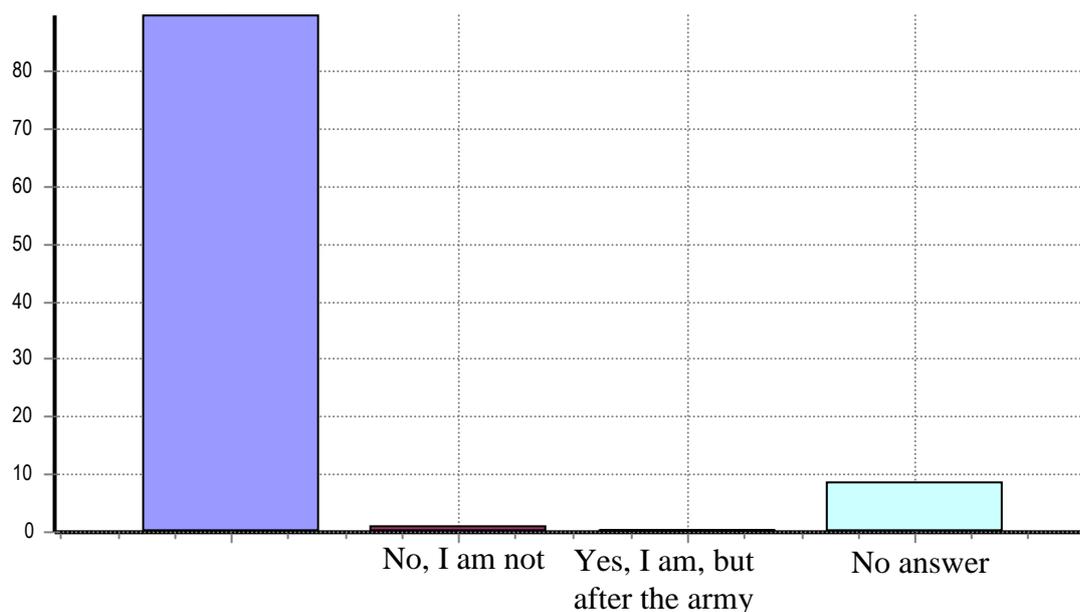


Fig.1. Distribution of answers to the question: «Are you going to enter the higher educational institution after finishing school?»(Percentage of respondents who answered the question).

According to the research data (Table 2) the main motives of the senior pupils to attend school are the following: to acquire new knowledge (80% of respondents), to get a certificate that is necessary for entering the higher educational institution(71%),to communicate with friends (40%), to get a good job (38%).

Thus, firstly, a school is a mechanism that helps to meet the school children’s needs in acquiring of new knowledge. Secondly school is a channel of social mobility that helps to reach a high social position in the future: school diploma entitles to apply for admission to higher educational institution that means achieving of the student status (according to the research, 89% of respondents are going to enter a higher educational institution after completing of school education); and the knowledge gained at school can contribute to getting a good job in the future.

Table 2

Distribution of answers to the question: «Why do you go to school?»

Answer variants	The number of respondents who chose the answer	Percentage of respondents who answered the question	Percentage of total respondents
To get a certificate that is necessary for entering the higher educational institution	372	70,9	70,7

Table 2 - continued

To communicate with friends	211	40,2	40,1
In order not to upset my parents	27	5,1	5,1
To enjoy the process of learning	39	7,4	7,4
For nothing, it is just an obligation	14	2,7	2,7
To acquire new knowledge	422	80,4	80,2
To get a good job	198	37,7	37,6
Noanswer	2	0,4	0,4
Total	525	244,8*	99,8

*The sum exceeds 100% as each respondent could mark more than one answer.

Finally, school is a special space where, through the interpersonal interaction with peers the acquisition of social skills and the identification with certain social groups occur - 70% of respondents agreed that they feel their belonging to their class group (Table 3).

Table 3

Distribution of answers to the question: «Do you feel affiliation with your class collective?»

Answer variants	The number of respondents who chose the answer	Percentage of respondents who answered the question	Percentage of total respondents
Yes, I do	367	70,3	69,8
No, I don't	63	12,1	12,0
There is no collective in our class	53	10,2	10,1
Sometimes I do, sometimes I don't	24	4,6	4,6
Noanswer	15	2,9	2,9
Total	522	100,0	99,2

The consciousness of belonging to the class collective is a starting point for the formation and development of civicism and patriotism: before you become a citizen and patriot of your small or big homeland, it is necessary to learn to be responsible for the obligations imposed by the community you belong to (family, class, school, etc.), and to learn to be proud of them [Nikulina, 2009:03]. Taking into account such a high level of senior pupils' self-identification with class collective, we can surmise that there is a successful background for the patriotic education at school.

Part 2. Social Structure and Processes

The research data shows that high school students also feel affiliation with social groups outside the school environment. The respondents identify themselves with such groups as peers, who attend extra-curricular activities (38%), neighborhood community (28%), and online communities (24%). It should be noted that more than a third of respondents are involved in extracurricular activities, and according to the Program «Patriotic Education of Citizens of the Russian Federation for 2016-2020», these activities can contribute to the reproduction of high culture values and the healthy lifestyle values [Resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation: 2015].

The Program is also aimed at the forming of senior pupils' active civic position. As school is the main place where the high school students can take the initiative and defend their point of view, first of all we should answer the following questions: 1) From the senior pupils' point of view, what aspects of school life can be affected by them? 2) Whether high school students tried to use their ability to influence any school activities, and what were the results of these efforts? 3) Which factors hinder the senior pupils' initiative?

Data of the survey of the high school students show that there are certain spheres of school life that can be influenced by senior pupils. These spheres are mainly associated with the organization of the additional school events, such as discotheques, trips and other forms of extra-curricular activities (65% of respondents said they can influence this aspect of school life); 46% of respondents said that they can influence the organization of the school clubs activity, 22% of respondents expressed their unawareness about the ways of their participation in decision-making process on the organization of the school clubs activity. More than a half of the respondents (53%) said they can affect the marking, while 14% of respondents are not informed of whether they can do anything to change their school marks. 41% of respondents think they can contribute to the teacher-pupil conflict resolution, and this fact demonstrates the democratization of the education system, respect for the pupil's personality and respect for the pupil's opinion. However, 24% of respondents found it difficult to answer the question, what can be explained by the absence of necessity in participation of senior pupils in resolution of these conflicts, by absence of such conflicts at school or by high school students' indifference to the teacher-pupil relationships.

According to the senior pupils, they have no opportunity to affect school activities, associated with the organization of the educational process: 68% of respondents believe that they have no opportunity to choose the teachers (while the teachers are the main agents of senior pupils socialization and the translators of cultural and moral values); 67% of respondents, said they can't effect the teaching methods (while in fact that pupil's interest to the school subjects depends on the teaching method); 62% of respondents believe that they can't influence the

organization of the school feeding; 52% of respondents think they can't effect the selection of the school subjects and education programs; 50% of respondents believe they have no opportunity to influence the home task requirements.

The respondents' opinions on the question: «Have you tried to affect any of these aspects?» divided. A half of respondents (51%) said they haven't try to influence any of these aspects of the school life, 44% of respondents attempted to change something in their school and 5% of respondents were undecided (Fig. 2).

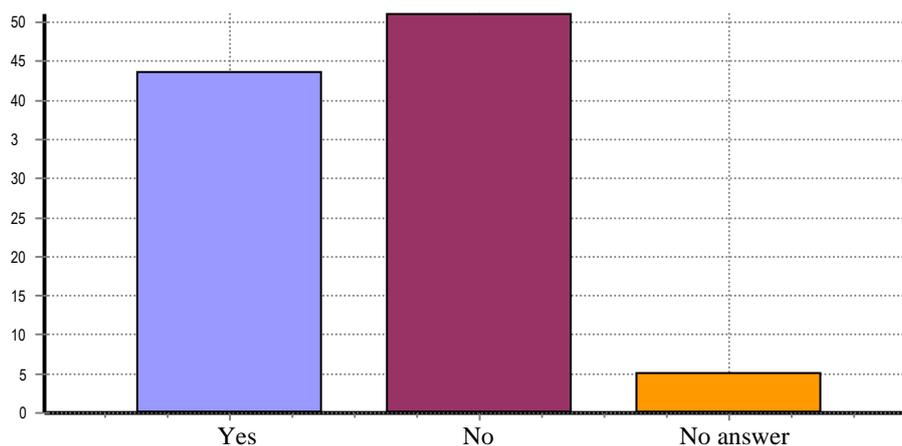


Fig.2. Distribution of answers to the question: « Have you tried to effect any of these aspects?» (Percentage of respondents who answered the question).

26% of respondents who tried to participate in the school life decision making, tried to influence the organization ofout of school events and festivities, 26% of respondents tried to effect the marking, 11% of respondents tried to influence the selection of the school subjects and the same percentage of respondents participated in conflicts resolution (Table 4).

Table 4

Distribution of answers to the question: «If you changed something in the school life, what exactly have you done?»

Answer variants	The number of respondents who chose the answer	Percentage of respondents who answered the question
Selection of teachers	2	0,9
Selection of additional school activities	21	9,3
Participation in social life	2	0,9
Introduction of school uniform	4	1,8
School marks correction	36	15,9
Organization of school feeding	2	0,9

Table 4 - continued

Methods of teaching, home task requirements	14	6,2
Selection of the school subjects, career guidance	25	11,1
Conversation with a teacher, expression of opinion	3	1,3
Organization of out of school events and festivities	58	25,7
Organization of school activities	23	10,2
Conflicts resolution	24	10,6
Noanswer	73	32,3
Total	226	127,0*

*The sum exceeds 100% as each respondent could mark more than one answer.

The main reasons why senior school children didn't try to influence school life – lack of the sense of involvement in the decision-making process (31% of respondents said «I guess it's not my business»), unawareness about the mechanisms of influence on the decision-making process (29%), absence of need to change the school life (22%), self-doubt (20%), unwillingness to spend the time and energy (17%).

Table 5

Distribution of answers to the question: «If you have never tried to affect any of these aspects, what were the reasons?»

Answer variants	The number of respondents who chose the answer	Percentage of respondents who answered the question
I guess it's not my business	148	30,8
I didn't know how to do it	138	28,7
I didn't believe it will be end with success	98	20,4
I didn't want to spend the time and energy on it	83	17,3
I was afraid of consequences	40	8,3
I didn't get the support of my classmates	36	7,5
I didn't get the support of my teachers	48	10,0
I didn't get the support of my parents	8	1,7
I don't have a need to change the school life	105	21,8

Table 5- continued

It is not possible/ no one listen to me	30	6,2
No answer	48	10,0
Total	481	162,6*

*The sum exceeds 100% as respondents could mark more than one answer

Thus, despite the fact that the senior pupils have some experience in defending of their own position at school, there is a problem of school children's unawareness about the ways they can participate in the decision making process and effect the school life, as well as a problem of senior pupils' self-doubt. In this regard, the school educational process should include informing of high school students about the mechanisms of decision making at school and the ways they can affect these decisions.

One of the indicators of active citizenship is the individual's participation in political parties and movements. According to the research data, there are two large groups of senior school children: 1) senior pupils who are not going to take part in the political life of a society though participation in political parties and movements (48% of respondents); 2) senior pupils who postpone their participation in these activities to a later, more mature age(16% of the respondents plan to begin participating in political parties and movements after 30 years, 15% of respondent – at the age of 18-23 years, and 14% of respondents – at the age of 24-30 years).

Table 6
Distribution of answers to the question: «At what age would you like to start participating in political parties, movements?»

Answer variants	The number of respondents who chose the answer	Percentage of respondents who answered the question
I have already started participating in political parties, movements	10	2,0
Before turning 18 years old	18	3,5
At the age of 18-23 years	77	15,1
At the age of 24-30 years	73	14,3
After turning 30 years old	82	16,1
I will not participate in political parties, movements	242	47,5
No answer	7	1,4
Total	509	100,0

Part 2. Social Structure and Processes

The fact that almost a half of the respondents are not going to express their civil position through participation in political parties and movements is somewhat disturbing. In this regard, it is important to inform the senior pupils about the ways they can participate in the political life and influence the social processes through such participation.

The program of citizenship education should provide for voluntary inclusion of children and young people in the process of solving of social, environmental, cultural, economic and other issues that take place on the level of family, school, village, district, city, region and country [Resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation, 2001]. Senior pupils' awareness about the problems of the country and a sense of belonging to these problems are the indicators of certain level of patriotic consciousness. According to the research, senior pupils are most concerned about the problem of access to higher education (60% of respondents). Also high school pupils pointed the problems of bureaucracy corruption (47%), the deteriorating state of the environment (46%), poor quality work of health authorities (38%), ineffective public policy (36%), limitation of the rights and freedoms of young people (35%), intensification of nationalist feelings (35%). Senior pupils' concern about the problems that take place in Russia indicates the young peoples' interest in social events, but it is necessary to provide for the government's response to these problems. So, the level of patriotic consciousness of young people as well as the level of patriotic consciousness of the more mature citizens can be increased through the improvement of the access to education, finding solution to the problem of corruption, improvement of the quality of the health authorities' work.

Despite the fact that senior pupils in general are not indifferent to the problems of their country, the value of the country's welfare is not dominated in their minds (Figure 3). Senior school children prioritize such values as parents and family (61% of respondents), friends (57%), health (53%) and love (50%). Such values as education (34%), interesting work (31%) and career (31%), money (26%), security (24%), development of skills and abilities (22%) are the next in this rating of values. The value of the country's welfare is dominated by such values as independence (20%) comfort (17%), free time (16%).

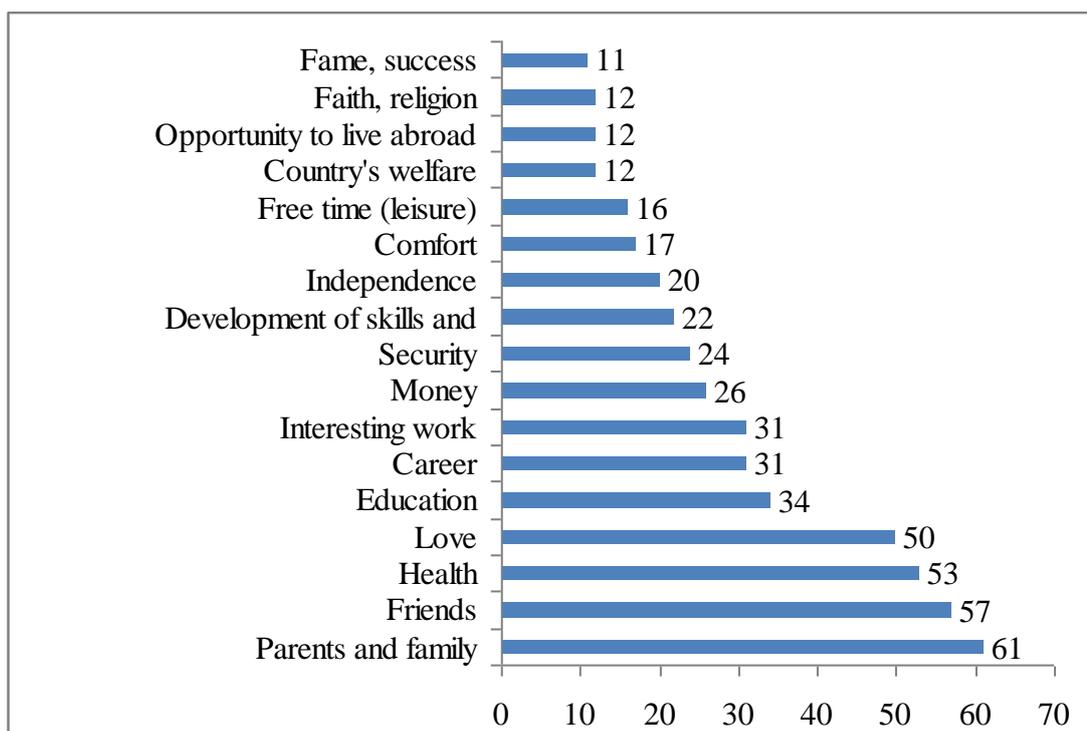


Fig.3. Distribution of answers to the question: «What is most important for you in life?»(Percentage of respondents who answered the question. The sum exceeds 100% as each respondent could mark more than one answer).

Thus, the priority values of the senior pupils are associated with personal well-being (health, parents, love, friends, security), material well-being (money, career), self-realization and self-development (interesting work, education, development of skills and abilities). Therefore, in order to increase the level of the senior pupils' patriotism it is necessary to provide the conditions under which it will be possible for young people to achieve their life goals in the future. And it is also important to translate the values of patriotism at schools and in the mass media.

The respondents were also asked questions concerning their own understanding of the word «patriotism», and questions concerning their readiness to behave in a patriotic manner. Through the comparison of the results of two surveys, carried out in 2008 and 2012, we can follow the dynamics of the young people's patriotic attitudes. The comparison shows that the senior pupils' understanding of the word «patriot» have not changed a lot over 4 years, but we can observe some new trends in the young people's interpretations of this word.

Table 7
Distribution of answers to the question: « What does it mean to be a patriot today?»

Answer variants	2008 (%)	2012 (%)
To love homeland and to be proud of the homeland	83	84,9

Table 7 - continued

To live in your country	17,4	17,5
To know the history of your country	44,9	40,1
In case of need to protect the interests of your country by using arms	39,5	26,4
To observe the state laws	24,2	20,3
To work honestly for the welfare of homeland	24,0	25,1
To participate in the elections, to take part in the political life of the country	5,3	14,6
Not to avoid serving in the army	13,9	10,8
To love your family members and close ones	14,7	16,0
Difficult to answer, other	1,2	4,4

Each respondent could mark more than one answer.

As we can see, the number of young people who are ready to protect the interests of the country by using the arms in case of need has decreased, despite the fact that the state program of patriotic education had become intensive enough by 2012. In 2008 about every fourth senior pupil thought that being a patriot means to observe the state laws, while in 2012 only about every fifth respondent thought in the same way. But the number of senior pupils who believe that being a patriot involves participation in the elections, in the political life of the country has tripled since 2008 to 2012 (from 5% to 15%). Thus, the profile of patriotism has shifted toward non-military behavior. It is of interest that only 17% of respondents pointed out living in one's country as an important characteristic of patriot. However the main indicators of patriotism remain the same – being patriot, according to the respondents, means to love homeland and to be proud of the homeland, to know the history of the homeland, and to protect the interests of the country by using the arms in case of need.

As for the self-determination of young people, it should be noted that in 2012 more than a half of senior pupils said they consider themselves patriots. About 20% of respondents said they can't call themselves patriots, and the same percentage found it difficult to answer question about patriotic self-determination.

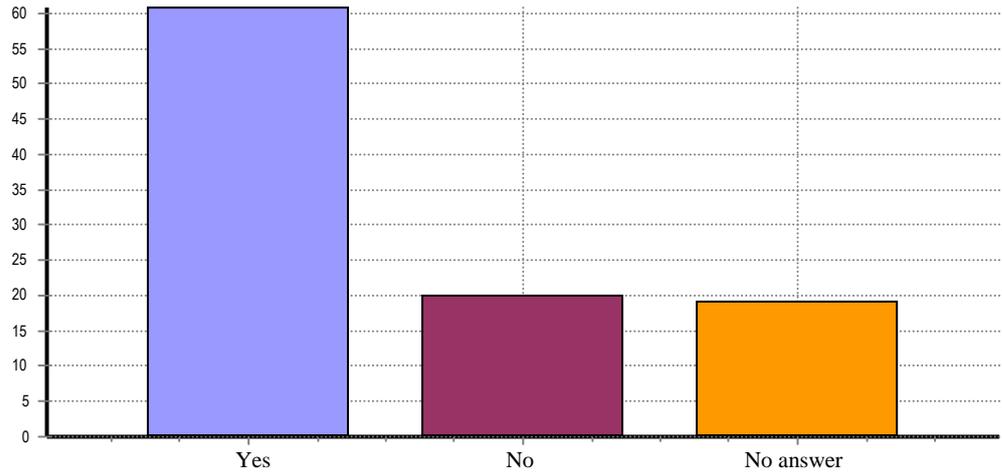


Fig.4. Distribution of answers to the question: «Are you a patriot?»(Percentage of respondents who answered the question).

It was important for the researchers to find out how do the young people evaluate their prospects of life in Russia, whether they are going to live in Russia or in another country. So, the respondents were asked the following question: «Would you like to live in another country?».

Table 8
Distribution of answers to the question: « Would you like to live in another country?».

Answer variants	The number of respondents who chose the answer	Percentage of respondents who answered the question
Yes, I would	315	59,9
No, I wouldn't	128	24,3
I would like to work in another country for a time, but return to Russia after that	5	1,0
I would like to change my country	24	4,6
No answer	51	9,7
Total	523	99,4

According to the research data, only every sixth respondent think that being a patriot includes living in homeland. But despite the fact that 60% of respondents (more than a half of respondents) call themselves patriots, the same percentage of young people said that they would like to live in another country, not in Russia. In 2008 only every fourth respondent wanted to live in another country (not in Russia). As the Table 9 shows, the girls are more likely to leave their

country, than the boys. And the percentage of boys who want to change their country is higher than the percentage of girls who want to change their country.

Table 9

Distribution of answers to the question: « Would you like to live in another country?» according to sex of respondents (2012).

Answer variants	Males (%)	Females (%)	Total
Yes, I would	55,5	62,9	59,8
No, I wouldn't	27,5	23,1	25,0
I would like to work in another country for a time, but return to Russia after that	1,4	0,7	1,0
I would like to change my country	6,0	3,7	4,7
No answer	9,6	9,5	9,6
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0

Taking into account the fact that our country covers a large area, it is reasonable to expect that the views of young people from Moscow differ from the views of young people from Nizhnevartovsk, Magadan and other Russian cities. In order to define the possible differences in views of senior pupils from different cities, we have analyzed the data of a small pilot study. The survey of young people from Magadan and Moscow was carried out in 2012. The sample included 155 respondents aged from 14 to 20 years. The research data were processed by the «VORTEX». The sample distribution according to sex was 47 % males and 53 % females. The research was intended to identify young people's understanding of concept of civicism.

Table 10

Distribution of answers to the question: «What does to be a citizen of the country mean? »

Answer variants	Young people from Magadan (%)	Young people from Moscow (%)
To feel responsibility for everything that happens in the country	9,8	14,8
To love the motherland	57,4	47,7
To behave in accordance with Russian laws	62,3	34,1
To work for the welfare of motherland	24,6	23,9
To defend the homeland	42,6	54,5

Table 10 - continued

To be active in the social life	21,3	14,8
To participate in social movements, political parties	6,6	10,2
To know the history of your country and to preserve national traditions	54,1	53,4
To strive for personal well-being and for the well-being of your family members and close ones	24,6	39,8
Other	1,6	5,5
Total	100,0	100,0

Each respondent could mark more than one answer.

The research data show significant differences in the understanding of civicism between young people from Moscow and Magadan. 62% of respondents from Moscow said that being a citizen means to behave in accordance with Russian laws, and 55% respondents from Magadan said that being a citizen means first of all to defend the homeland.

Thus, the concept of civicism from the point of view of young people from Moscow includes such components as to behave in accordance with Russian laws (62% of respondents), to love the motherland, to know the history of your country and to preserve national traditions, to defend the homeland. The conception of civicism according to the young people from Magadan includes such behavior as to defend the homeland, to know the history of the motherland and to preserve national traditions, to love the motherland, to strive for personal well-being and for the well-being of your family members and close ones.

In sum, the following aspects of the civic-patriotic education of high school students should be noted. School is a special space where, through the interpersonal interaction with peers the acquisition of social skills and the identification with certain social groups occur. 70% of respondents feel their affiliation with the class group. Such a high level of senior pupils' self-identification with their classmates indicates a successful background for the patriotic education at school.

Data of the survey of high school students show that there are certain spheres of school life that can be influenced by senior pupils. More than 40% of respondents believe they can contribute to the teacher-pupil conflict resolution, and this fact demonstrates a high level of young people's self-evaluation and self-esteem as well as the democratic style of teacher-pupil interaction and the teachers' respect for the pupils' personality and rights.

The main reasons why senior school children didn't try to influence school life are a lack of the sense of involvement in the decision-making process, unawareness about the mechanisms

of influence on the decision-making process, absence of need to change the school life. Therefore it is important to allow senior pupils to take initiative and show them the ways of influence on the school life. Otherwise, the young people will become apathetic and indifferent to the education process and school life.

The research showed that high school students are concerned about the problems that take place in their country; however it is necessary to provide for the government's response to these problems. The level of patriotic consciousness of young people can be increased through the improvement of the access to education, finding solution to the problem of corruption, improvement of the quality of the health authorities' work.

School subjects and values of senior pupils are not absolutely complementary. For example, senior school children have a need for knowledge of foreign languages that will help them to increase their social mobility. However, according to the programs of patriotic education, a sense of belonging to the history and culture of Russia, formation of the civic-patriotic consciousness can be reached through teaching of such school subjects as literature and history. But these subjects are not priority for young people, according to the survey. So, it is necessary to take measures that will ensure the interesting and fascinating teaching of these subjects.

How does the patriotic consciousness of young people manifest itself? 60% of respondents (more than a half of respondents) call themselves patriots. And the same percentage of young people want to live in another country (not on Russia). In 2008 the percentage of respondents wanted to live in Russia was two times higher. This is surprising if we take into account the fact that the program of patriotic education has been implemented in education institutes since 2001.

As for the senior pupils' understanding of the word «patriotism», in 2012 the most part of respondents (85%) thought that being a patriot means to love the homeland, 40% of respondents said that patriotism includes knowing of the history of homeland and 26% (40% in 2008) thought that being a patriot involves readiness to the interests of the country by using arms in case of need. So, the number of young people who are ready to protect the interests of the country by using the arms in case of need has significantly decreased. But the number of senior pupils who believe that being a patriot involves participation in the elections, in the political life of the country has tripled since 2008 to 2012 (from 5% to 15%). Thus, the profile of patriotism has shifted toward non-military behavior. However the main indicators of patriotism remain the same – being patriot, according to the respondents, means to love the homeland and to be proud of the homeland, to know the history of the homeland, and to protect the interests of the country by using the arms in case of need.

Today, as seven years ago the statement of one of the participants of the round-table discussion «Civic Culture of students» continues to be relevant. According to this statement, the patriotic norms and standards shouldn't be imposed from the top down and it is important to encourage the patriotic activity of young people. Patriotism today covers such spheres of life as ecology, politics, economics, science and culture. And being a patriot means taking personal responsibility for the integrity of the country, its security and welfare [Romanenko, 2008:32].

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Poverty of Rural Population in Russia: Trends and Social Mechanisms of Overcoming

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Abstract. The article presents findings on trends and mechanisms of rural poverty overcoming in Russia since the early 2000s. The findings are based on the data of sample surveys of rural residents and expert questionings in agrarian regions. We concluded about radical improvement of economic status and social mood of villagers, reducing the migration potential were received. We identified mechanisms for poverty reducing, the major ones are the growth of economic activity of the population and implementation of state programs. It was found enhancing the role of education as a channel of social mobility.

Keywords: poverty; rural population; economic activity; social policy

The consequence of market reforms in Russia was a concentration of poverty in rural areas in the 1990s, that lead to reduced labor and reproductive motivation, to a spread of alcoholism and mass migration of youth from the rural areas and eventually formed a threat to the social reproduction of rural communities in the beginning of the new Millennium. The article presents the results of a study of rural poverty, its major trends and mechanisms of its overcoming in the agrarian regions of Russia since the beginning of 2000s [Sergiyenko, 2014]. We consider what is the extent of poverty, its structure, depth, what can influence its formation in the rural community and what to do to effectively influence the solution to this problem.

The theoretical foundation of our research is the concept of measuring a poverty on the criterion of inequality of social choice by A. Sen, implying the need to consider the availability of social goods [Sen, 2004], and the conception of moral economy by J. Scott, emphasizing the importance of mutual support of the peasantry as the ethics of survival, that rooted in their economic practices and social exchanges [Scott, 1992]. In addition, we rely on the results of previous studies of rural poverty. For instance, L. Bondarenko [Bondarenko, 2012] and L. Ovchintseva [Ovchintseva, 2004] in their works focused on the importance of measurement of rural poverty on the base of assessment of deprivation and opportunities. They draw conclusions about the magnitude distribution of rural poverty, high level of poverty among the employed population, high poverty risks for families with children and continuing growth of poverty in small rural settlements, about limited availability of health and education for the poor.

We mean under the poverty of rural inhabitants their socio-economic position, which characterized not only by low livelihood security, but also to the low availability of social goods (workplaces with acceptable working conditions and pay, comfortable housing, opportunities for education, medical care, cultural resources, etc.) that are necessary to meet urgent and vital needs. The measurement of the extent and depth of rural poverty is based on the use of the

following approaches: firstly, rural population's evaluation of family financial situation and of level of deprivation (exclusion) as the lack of opportunity to satisfaction in basic needs (last estimates obtained on the basis of the analysis of the availability of consumption of quality food, clothing and other basic necessities, housing, education, health and other social services, violations of labour and other social rights of rural residents); secondly, expert assessments of destitution (extreme poverty), absolute and relative poverty by characteristics of family financial position and deprivation. We have identified the economic activity of the rural population, the activities of state policy actors and support of the poor by rural community among the main mechanisms of impact on poverty.

The findings are based on a quota sample survey of rural residents and expert interviews in two agrarian regions of Siberia (Altai Krai and the Altai Republic), conducted by members of the Institute of Economy and Industrial Engineering of SB RAS and the Center for Socio-economic Research and Regional Policy in 2002, 2008, 2011. The informational basis was formed on a data of target sample survey of 500 rural poor and of expert interviews with 76 representatives of local government and rural business in 2011. The selection of rural residents was carried out by gender, age, disadvantage of family financial situation and by place of residence (we complied with the quota on a region of residence, took into account the peripheral position of the district and the size of rural settlements). The choice of regions was determined on a high share of rural population (44.2% in the Altai region and 71% in the Altai Republic compared with 25.8% in Russia in 2013) and of the agricultural specialization of the regions and a high concentration of poverty in them (17.6% and 20.9% of the population with incomes below the subsistence minimum, respectively, compared to 10.8% in Russia). Altai Krai and Altai Republic are pockets of poverty even compared to other regions with agricultural specialization [Sergiyenko, 2014: 80-89].

The level of destitution, measured by the villagers to the financial situation of their families (among those who is enough money only for food, or whose families almost starving), in 2011 was relatively small and amounted to 13% of the rural poor. About 40% respondents were in the middle group of the poor (who "have enough money for modest meals and utilities, the problem is even purchase of inexpensive clothes and other essential things). And less than half respondents were the most prosperous group of relatively poor (they "have enough money for food, utilities, clothes and other necessary things, but buying of things expendable is a problem"). The highest level of poverty was among the middle and older working age residents in urbanized areas. According to experts, the level of rural poverty which was estimated on the base of the financial situation of the family (covering all three groups of the poor relative to the rural population) reached during this period 87%.

Part 2. Social Structure and Processes

Rural poverty is defined not only by the scarcity of subsistence means, but in particular by the low availability of various social benefits, deprivation. The magnitude of the various hardships of the rural poor was significant. For example, potatoes and bread prevailed in the diet of their food, only slightly more than half regularly ate vegetables, eggs, meat and dairy products. It is a paradoxical situation for those living in rural areas: because of lack of funds every fifth family can't consume a sufficient amount of even the cheapest food. Just 19% of respondents did not experience problems of nutrition. The majority of rural poor wore worn-out shoes and coats. Every tenth family could not afford to buy the children new clothes and shoes as they grow.

Almost all respondents were concerned about the low provision and quality of housing, 36% poor dire needed in better housing conditions, 16% did not have their own housing. Housing of every fourth poor was an urgent need of repair. The lack or shortage of communal facilities were characteristics of the housing of 45% respondents. There were no running water in houses (apartments) of every four poor family, no central sewerage – of 81% households. A provision of hot water and centralized gas supply was extremely rare.

The reduction of a network of rural medical institutions, in cardinal scale especially since the second half of the past decade, led to a formation of large-scale social exclusion of villagers from medical care in forms of time and financial unavailability of medicines and doctors (for approximately 40% of respondents), as well as in different forms of territorial inaccessibility of medical services (17-30%). As a consequence, health is becoming a powerful limiter in solving the problems of poverty, and an important factor in its formation. More than half of respondents had serious health problems, 12% have a disability, every third – a chronic disease (shares of the latter two groups among the extremely poor people are 18% and 42%).

The exclusion of the rural poor reached a bigger size in different forms of manifestation of inaccessibility of education of their children, especially preschool and school. In every fourth family among those who had children of school age at the time of the survey, there were problems of providing their children with school supplies and textbooks, in each eighth – hardship of payment of their nutrition at school (the latter was characteristic of each sixth from extremely poor families). Because of the lack of preschool institutions in rural areas or places in them, as well as opportunities to provide clothes and food for children, pay for their stay in kindergartens, the children of about half of the poor who have preschoolers have not visited them. Children from 77% destitute families were deprived of such opportunity.

Among the main causes of poverty the population and experts had identified low economic motivation, alcoholism, unemployment, low-skilled and low-paid work, low start, as well as insufficient level of social support from the state. Nowadays the main risk groups

of rural poverty were, first of all, the unemployed. The unemployment rate among rural poor is 2.5 times higher compared with the Russian average in the rural labour market [Sergiyenko, 2014: 141-146]. Long-term unemployment was typical for most poor. More than 65% of the rural poor were faced with non-compliance of state guarantees in the sphere of labour and employment. The highest levels of destitution were also among the middle and older working age, the poor with low education, among living in small peripheral villages. The presence of two or more children was a powerful factor in the formation of rural poverty.

In the years of economic growth a massive poverty reduction were observed: reduction of the level of deprivation (in three times), the formation of about half of the relatively poor and a significant expansion of the array of more affluent groups. Poverty reduction has occurred due to the growth of economic activity of rural inhabitants and implementation of state social programs. The main economic practices to improve the financial position of the rural poor included the job search, burnishing and in less scale the homestead expansion. Relatively poor, more than other groups of the poor, were engaged in the expansion of smallholders, were more likely to use family support. But with the onset of the global economic crisis, the worsening of financial conditions of the rural inhabitants had been causing, the reasons why were inflation, rising unemployment and reduced earnings.

Winning strategies of activity were used by skilled workers with higher and mainly secondary vocational education, young people under 25 years of age and representatives of middle working age, women, inhabitants of large villages (district centers). The main and additional employment on a cost effective workplaces, active search for work and employment, starting a business, labor migration, demands for wage increase and regularity of its payments, improvement of education stood out among the effective strategies that have led to the improvement of the financial situation of the family. Education as a channel of social mobility began to work much better compared to 1990: in the group with higher education poverty had halved, with secondary vocational – half.

However a significant proportion were those rural poor who did not do anything to improve their financial situation, such people among the disadvantaged were about half. In addition to the job cuts, poor health and other reasons of an objective nature, predetermined passive behavior, respondents said "no need for carrying out these actions," in fact, due to the unwillingness of anything on her own to take, they were satisfied with the existing state. Largely for this reason, the survey of the poor in 2011 has enabled us to reveal the growth of extreme poverty among them, more than a third over the previous decade.

Part 2. Social Structure and Processes

Income structure and its dynamics presented resulting of economic activity. There have been noticeable changes in the structure of incomes of the rural poor in the 2000s. In 2011 not only wages and income from family farmstead, but also pensions, social benefits held the leading position. Since the beginning of the past decade a role of social transfers, additional earnings and loans have increased, but importance of wages fell. Scale dependence of the rural poor from social transfers was observed: almost two thirds of respondents had received pensions, scholarships and various benefits.

Overall social mood of the poor was rather pessimistic: at the time of the survey, we identified only 15% of optimists who were confident in future of their own and children, and 14% of respondents felt a strong psychological tension. As a consequence, the volume of migration mood was quite significant: nearly one in four wanted to leave their place of residence, mainly because of the lack of jobs, unavailability for opportunities to improve the financial situation of the family, lack of prospects for children in rural areas. It is primarily young people (46%), unemployed (39%), residents from small settlements and remote peripheral areas.

The rural population and experts estimated actions of the state and efforts of the local government to reduce poverty on relatively low level. The most effective measures for overcoming the rural poverty include the organization of public works and temporary employment, the employment assistance, promotion of entrepreneurship and self-employment. The lowest estimates were obtained to solving the financial and housing problems, unemployment problems, that partly caused by a lack of efficiency and scale of implemented actions. Although the majority of the poor have used the some measures of social support, about one-third of the rural poor had to solve life problems by themselves. More than a third of the destitute people ceased to apply to the bodies of social protection of the population, and the provided assistance for every tenth of them proved insufficient to solve the problem.

Among the subjects of social support the greatest role was played by social networks. Next positions in the ranking of the subjects of social support on the uptake held the public employment services and social security, and then was rural business. Nearly three-quarters of the rural business representatives provided support to low-income villagers in purchasing of livestock, feed, seeds and wood, financial assistance to needy, allow to use their company transport for medical care, sold their products at lower prices. They also helped to maintenance of social sphere objects, to pay high education or the maintenance in preschool facilities for children from the poor families, participated in housing construction, arranged free or reduced price meals in canteens for their low-income workers. But the social support of the poor by rural enterprises is small in scale and fragmented. In addition, weak points remain in the

predominance of low-skilled and low-paid jobs in agriculture and agricultural processing industries, in relatively low socio-legal activity of employees.

To develop differentiated policies for overcoming poverty in rural areas as a result of factor and cluster analysis we identified six types of rural poor with significantly different socio-economic status and activity. The first two types, encompassing in the aggregate approximately 35% of the poor were relatively prosperous on the selected criteria. The increase of their activity should be the basis for a quick way out of poverty, "points of growth" in policy for overcoming rural poverty. Here the most appropriate instruments are economic incentives for opening a business (credit financing, grant support) in the field of agriculture, agricultural processing and in other activities which forming infrastructure. Middle type filled with pensioners and people with health problems, requires significantly more attention in traditional policies, such as social security, pension provision and health care. And the last three types (22% of the rural poor) should be the object of special attention for social policy with specific to their problems. In addition to the active policies of employment and small business support, key direction towards solving the problems of these poor should be massive (not "tiny and point", according to experts) social support of young families in the development of amusement industry, housing, providing children with places in kindergartens, because the creation of family and birth of children is a serious limit for youth. Such a differentiated policy will be effective for overcoming the rural poverty and solving target tasks on innovative and sustainable rural development enshrined in Federal and regional programs.

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Civic Engagement of the Region's Population¹²

Yuri V. Suntsov, Perm

Abstract. The article presents the data obtained as a result of sociological research that shows the degree of participation of citizens in the political processes of the region. It explores the interdependence of civic consciousness and behavior of citizens in social and political spheres of life.

Keywords: civic consciousness; civic engagement; indifference; types of consciousness

Nowadays almost all sociologists, political analysts and social scientists agree upon the fact that civil society in Russia is still in its infancy. Civic and political engagement of the country's citizens is low, and that hinders the development of the democratic and constitutional state. Civil society is the society which, at any state of its development, enters into a dialogue with the government on political, economic and cultural relations [Paramonova, Suntsov, 2014: 144].

Social involvement into social and political processes influences the shaping of the individual's civic consciousness. The essence of the individual's consciousness in general is not in the passive and indifferent observation from the outside, but in the rational control of one's psychical processes and behaviour. Self-consciousness is the individual's understanding and evaluation of his actions and their results, his thoughts, senses, moral portrait and interests, ideals and motivation, holistic evaluation of oneself and one's place in life. [Spirkin, 1972:146].

This process is interrelated –an individual involved in social and political life accumulates knowledge of it and thus acquires knowledge of himself as a subject of this activity. Besides, an individual with well-developed self-consciousness has a clearer idea of his potential and perceives himself as part of the social system with levers to control it.

To give the contour, the outline or some “measurements” of social and political consciousness and to have an idea of the levels and quality of social and political consciousness, we have resorted to a typology which ranks groups of respondents in the descending order of their political awareness, commitment to political values and activity rate in political movements, parties and participation in election campaigns. They are active, adaptive and indifferent types of civic consciousness.

¹² *Characteristics of the sample.* In November-December 2014 the author conducted a sociological research on civic consciousness. The study was made by the inhabitants of Perm. The sample is randomly released. N = 502, of which 109 (1/4) males. and 393 (3/4) females, aged 16 to 75 years. The data is collected by a questionnaire survey.

Active type. People of this type are active participants of election campaigns, members of political parties and non-governmental organizations, participants of rallies and demonstrations. Some representatives write articles for the media, scientific publications, keep a blog on political processes in the region and in the country. They follow political and social events in the media, watch programmes and read the press on political subject (the type making 8% of the respondents) [Characteristics, 2014].

The adaptive type of civic consciousness comprises citizens with low level of political and social involvement. Representatives of this type do not go to the polls regularly, just when they are in the mood for it. They are not members of political parties and non-governmental organizations, they do not take part in rallies and demonstrations, but show interest to political processes in the region and in the country. They watch news and selectively watch analytical and political programmes. They read articles on political processes in general subject magazines and papers (the type making 57,1% of respondents).

The indifferent type of civic consciousness presents people with total absence of interest to political processes. They do not watch programs, do not read articles on political life. They do not belong to non-governmental organizations or political parties. They do not take part in elections at any level and think that everything is decided beforehand (the type making 34,9 % of respondents) [Paramonova, Suntsov, 2014:146].

The distribution of respondents into active, adaptive and indifferent types has revealed the unevenness of political self-consciousness in the regional community, 1/10 of which belongs to the active type, 2/5 belongs to the adaptive type and 1/2 comprises the indifferent type. The study of respondents according to the types of their civic consciousness allows to identify the differences in values, views, motivation and life philosophy of the region's citizens, understand the pre-conditions of the formation of civic self-consciousness of the population, and correlate it to the ongoing regional monitoring of political sentiments. It also allows to develop a number of recommendations for the progress and growth of social and political self-consciousness and civil activity in the social field of the region and the country.

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Civil-Political Attitudes of the Russian Student Youth¹³

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Abstract. The paper presents some theoretical and empirical approaches to the sociological study of civil and political stance of modern Russian youth.

The main method of the study was a survey (questionnaire) residents of Russia, conducted as part of the All-Russian research "Life World Russians and the evolution of the forms of their participation in the implementation of state and social change (1990-2000)" (RNF grant № 14-18-02016).

The results obtained suggest a low level of political awareness of young people in Russia, fuzziness and uncertainty of political identity.

Keywords: youth; citizenship; political installations; civic identity; patriotism

Traditionally, youth, being the most active socio-demographic group, plays a leading role in the changes of modern Russian society, and is the main agent of change and transformation in all spheres of society. However, the issue is still not fully understood, such an active involvement of young people is common to all spheres of life there? How does the youth, and especially students, manifest itself in the political and civic life of the community, what a position is the socio-political sphere in the structure of the life-world of young Russians? Since the nature and content of the younger generation are directly dependent on the parameters of the medium in which is their socialization, the conditions for the institutionalization of modern political sphere and civil society could not but affect the formation and development of civil and political stance of youth.

Currently, civil and political installations of today's youth are influenced by such negative factors as loss of confidence in government, international conflicts, bureaucracy, increased corruption, unstable political and economic systems of society. In society there is alienation of the majority of young people from the policy of the state, distrust, and unformed political and civic culture is not conducive to the active participation of young people in the political process of modern Russia.

¹³ All-Russian research "Life World Russians and the evolution of the forms of their participation in the implementation of state and social transformation (1990-2000 years)" (RNF grant № 14-18-02016). Interviewed 1750 people in 18 regions of the country 25-30 October 2014 based on a representative sample by gender, education, marital status, place of residence, ownership and seniority. Polls conducted in all economic regions of the country representing the Central Russia, the Volga region, south of the country, the Ural, Siberia and the Far East, and two metropolis – Moscow and St. Petersburg.

Part 2. Social Structure and Processes

In the social sciences, there are many foreshortenings studying civil and political position of youth. Generalization of different points of view allowed us to consider civil and political position of young people through the prism of the following indicators:

- civil-political culture (shared system of values associated with the political institutions, human rights and freedoms),
- civil and political identity,
- attitude to the state, patriotism,
- civil and political action (various forms of civil and political activity)

[Vorobyova, 2011: 233-235].

Civil-political installations of young people are in direct correlation with an interest in politics, awareness of the system of political structure of the state, the country's legislation, civil and political rights and freedoms. At the same time importance is the degree of acceptance of this information and incorporate it in their own values. Meanwhile, the data set of empirical studies show that young people exhibit a relatively low level of interest in the political life of the country. For example, in the framework of the research project "Life World Russians...", conducted in 2014, in response to the question "Are you interested in politics?" following results were obtained. The share of students actively interested in this aspect of life was 12%. At the same time those who are not interested in politics, more than a third – 38,9%, and those interested to individual issues are almost half in this group of respondents. In comparison, among young respondents with higher education the percentage of people who are actively interested in politics, higher (22,4%), more than half of the respondents indicated that "they interested, but only in individual problems" (57,1%), and 20,6% of respondents reported a lack of interest in politics. Thus, the results indicate that among those who are interested in politics, more people with higher education, it is a social group of intellectuals showed great interest in political events as compared to other groups (see. Table 1). Factors influencing the interest in political life are the age of the respondents and their place of residence. Than respondents younger, the farther they live from Moscow and the other large industrial centers, their interest in politics is lower and vice versa, respectively.

Table 1

Answers to the question "Whether you are interested in politics?"

	Education			
	Primary, lower secondary	Secondary and special secondary	Incomplete higher education	Higher education
Actively interested	15,7	13,1	12,0	22,4

Part 2. Social Structure and Processes

Table 1- continued.

Interested, but only individual problems	40,7	48,7	49,1	57,1
Not interested at all	43,5	38,2	38,9	20,6

Responses of students clearly demonstrate that interest in politics is not a significant priority in the lives of young people. When answering the question "What is most important to you in your life?" most popular answers were: "family" (91,7%), "friends" (76,9%), "health" (79,6%) and "work" (64,8%) [According to the data of the study All-Russian research "Life World Russians...", 2014]. Policy for today's college students was in last place among the listed values and vital interests (only 12% of students said that the policy is very important for them, and 87% in the sum provided answers "not very important" and "absolutely not important"). This once again demonstrates - the interests of students are concentrated on the values of their own family, friends, work, and the sphere of politics and political activity remains far not priority.

A significant increase of interest in politics among the student youth audience can be seen in relation to the events in the Crimea and Ukraine. For example, a comparison of answers of interest in the policy as a whole, with the answers to a specific question, "Are you interested in developments in the Crimea and Ukraine?", Shows that the percentage of those who follow events in these regions is significantly higher in the including among young people [Ukraine: the attention and evaluations, 2015].

The main sources from which college students receive information about political life, became television and the Internet - 75,8% and 60,6% respectively. Despite the fact that television remains the most mass media, in the group of student youth Internet is an increasingly important means of communication, and exactly there we often observe various manifestations of political and civic engagement of young people in the form of participation in virtual communities, comments under notes, video- and photoinformation of political context. Noteworthy is the fact that, the student youth almost do not use newspaper as a source of information compared with other categories - 10,6% of total respondents [According to the data of the study All-Russian research "Life World Russians...", 2014] (see. Table 2).

Table 2

Answers to the question "What is your source of political news?" (Multiple answers)

	Education			
	Primary, lower secondary	Secondary and special secondary	Incomplete higher education	Higher education
TV	90,2	87,2	75,8	86,8
Radio	29,5	28,5	27,3	31,7

Table 2- continued.

Newspapers	29,5	28,7	10,6	42,1
Internet	16,4	30,7	60,6	57,9
Conversations at work or among close	19,7	33,4	19,7	39,8

Political views and attitudes of the general population are not always clearly defined especially in the group of young people. According to one of the researchers of the problems of youth E.A. Grishina, «new generations are formed in an environment where the political structure of society or the distribution of power are not absolute. "Ideologemes" and the orientation of the various properties that are present in the political field, separated primarily on two main stereotypes in the mass consciousness of young people - "communists" and "democrats" which serve like some vectors in the political identification of youth» [Grishina, 1999: 15]. Among student youth most of those who adhere to the "right (liberal)" and "patriotic, national" views [According to the data of the study All-Russian research "Life World Russians...", 2014]. Compared to other categories, at this group least of all those who have expressed their sympathies for "left (socialist and communist ideas)" (see. Table 3).

With this is not completely clear whether the respondents understand the essential content of particular political views, choosing as a priority certain political views. For example, according to the nationwide survey ANO "Levada-Center" (2013), more than half of the respondents agreed that it is not versed in politics: 14% gave the answer "fully agree with the statement" 37% - "rather agree" [Public opinion – 2013, 2014: 41]. We can assume that ambiguity of their political positions acts as additional cause of political passivity of a significant number of citizens This is typical for a group of intelligentsia of student youth.

Table 3

Answers to the question "What kind of political views do you practice?"

	Education			
	Primary, lower secondary	Secondary and special secondary	Incomplete higher education	Higher education
Left (socialist and communist)	30,1	25,3	11,1	25,6
Right (liberal)	12,9	21,4	33,3	22,9
Patriotic, national	32,3	32,5	33,3	36,3
Monarchic	5,4	4,7	8,9	5,2
Religious	12,9	10,7	6,7	8,4
Others	7,5	8,7	8,9	7,3
Difficult to answer	30,1	25,3	11,1	25,6

Part 2. Social Structure and Processes

An essential part of civil and political activity of students is its participation in various forms of political action. This may be as a direct membership in organizations, and the fulfillment of his civil and political duty by participating in political initiatives, electoral activity, etc.

Among the main forms of political participation of 30,6% of respondents reported participating in elections to local and regional authorities, 8,3% - in rallies and demonstrations, 4,6% - signing various petitions and appeals. Meanwhile, almost 60% of respondents say they do not participate in any form of political life [According to the data of the study All-Russian research "Life World Russians...", 2014].

Participation in elections is an important form of manifestation of political and civic engagement of young people. However, according to data of research companies, respondents older than 55 years are most others talk about their ongoing participation in voting at various levels, and respondents younger than 35 years are more than others likely to report that never go to the polls. Moreover, in the minds of students quite firmly entrenched idea of elections as a useless, unfair procedure, the results of which are largely falsified. For example, F. Sheregi offers information according to which, in a survey of students of technical universities of Moscow (February 2012), two-thirds of respondents believed that the election of deputies of the State Duma in December 2011 were carried out with large violations, and even have been falsified. Less than 10% of the students recognized the elections honest. This position don't stem from personal experience, because in the past 15 years, the maximum turnout of university students does not exceed 30-35%. This view of students is inspired by the mass media, which themselves orient to private facts and can not possess any reliable data across the country [Sheregi, 2013: 71].

It is interesting that according to the study "Life World Russians" in 2014, 20% of Russians said that they had participated in the elections to the State Duma (among students 12% noted this form of political participation). These data underscore the fact that a significant portion of the population as a whole, as well as student youth poorly versed in the political life of the country, and their retrospective memory about political events plays with them "cruel joke" because the last elections to the State Duma of the Russian Federation took place in 2011 (see. Table 4).

Table 4

**Answers to the question "In what forms of political life you have participated in 2014?"
(Multiple answers)**

	Education			
	Primary, lower secondary	Secondary and special secondary	Incomplete higher education	Higher education
Participated in the elections to the State Duma	21,3	17,1	12,0	27,6
Participated in the elections to local and regional authorities	39,8	35,5	30,6	52,0
Signed petitions, appeals	1,9	1,2	4,6	5,4
Participated in demonstrations, rallies	2,8	1,9	8,3	4,2
Participated in strikes	0	0,2	0	0
Participated in pickets	0,9	0,4	1,9	1,6
Others	0,9	1,3	0	1,4
Did not participate in any form	53,7	58,8	59,3	41,3

Another form of manifestation of civic and political activity can be considered membership in various public organizations. The number of "young" organizations is growing rapidly, but the public has little awareness about this, as evidenced by the survey "FOMnibus" held in April-May 2011. It was found that 52% of respondents did not know about the existence of political youth organizations. Only 32% of Russians are aware of the movement "Nashi", 16% of respondents are aware of the "Young Guard", only 3% of respondents said that they are aware of such youth organizations as "The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia", "Greenpeace", "The volunteers" and so forth. The vast majority of respondents (81%) were unable to answer the open question «What All-Russian or regional political youth organizations, political movements do you know or have heard something about it?» [Youth and Politics, 2011].

Degree of personal involvement in community organizations among students is still lower than their awareness about it. According to the data of the national survey "Life World Russians ..." (2014), 68,5% of respondents are not members of any social organization. 12% of high school youth consist in student unions. However, it is difficult to judge the personal activity of the young man, his personal desire to become a member of a trade union organization, since this membership not only gives students the opportunity to use various types of benefits and compensation socio-economic nature, but often has the administrative-coercive character from the leadership of universities. One in ten respondents (10,2%) is positioning itself as a participant in sports organizations, a little less than 10% declare their membership in a youth organization, and only 4,6% are engaged in volunteering [According to the data of the study All-Russian

research "Life World Russians..." , 2014]. Despite the low level of participation of student youth in public organizations, this indicator is even lower in the groups of young people with initial secondary and secondary special education (see. Table 5).

Table 5

**Answers to the question "Are you a member of public organizations?"
(Multiple answers)**

	Education			
	Primary, lower secondary	Secondary and special secondary	Incomplete higher education	Higher education
Trade union	4,6	9,9	12,0	16,5
Political party or association	0	0,8	0	4,8
Cultural, musical, theatrical organization	0,9	1,8	3,7	2,2
Organization for the Protection of Nature (ecological organization)	0	0,2	0,9	0,6
Religious community	0	1,3	0	2,8
Sports	1,9	1,7	10,2	2,6
Health care organization	0	0,6	1,9	1,2
Youth organization	1,9	0,9	9,3	2,0
Human rights organization	0	0,1	0,9	1,6
Group on the protection of public order	0	0,3	0	1,0
Volunteer organization (assistance to the elderly, children's homes)	0,9	1,0	4,6	2,2
Women's Organization	0	0,2	0,9	1,0
Organization for the Protection of Monuments of History and Culture	0	0,2	0	0,4
Another organization	0	0,6	1,9	1,6
I do not belong to any organization	92,6	84,7	68,5	71,0

Meanwhile, we see various forms of active participation of students in online-communities, musical, sports and leisure organizations (this is the main area of interest and activity of students), and the proportion of those involved in political, national-patriotic, legal organizations significantly less.

Civil-political positions of the youth are directly dependent on the sense of patriotism and pride for their country and their homeland. The representation of student youth about the Motherland is situated between civil, country's self-consciousness, regional and local patriotism

because the Russian Federation is a multiethnic region. On the one hand, most of the surveyed young people in multinational regions suppose that their Motherland is their entire country, Russia (66%). On the other hand, there is a very strong regional identity among the young members of multiethnic regions - 44% of respondents associate the image of the Motherland with their region [Russian students ..., 2014: 85].

In answering the question "Do you consider yourself a patriot of Russia" among students was more of those who found it difficult to answer this question (21,3%). Attention is drawn to the fact that the largest percentage of respondents who consider themselves patriots among people with higher education [According to the data of the study All-Russian research "Life World Russians..." , 2014] (see. Table 6).

Table 6

Answers to the question "Do you consider yourself a patriot of Russia?"

	Education			
	Primary, lower secondary	Secondary and special secondary	Incomplete higher education	Higher education
Yes, I do	63,9	72,2	66,7	76,8
No, I don't	19,4	13,1	12,0	9,1
Difficult to answer	16,7	14,7	21,3	14,1

Even among respondents who consider themselves patriots of the country, many of those who sometimes feel ashamed of their country and countrymen. Students point to the failure of officials to provide a decent life for the citizens, corruption, violation of democratic freedoms. Empirical evidence show the specific problems of civil self-determination of youth, the difficulties of meaningful perception of the values of patriotism and citizenship. The thesis is also confirmed by other authors. For example, R.I. Anisimov says about the crisis state of civic identity in Russia. As one of the reasons for it he cites the example of a high level of mistrust (more than 50% of the population) to the state institutions, which are the objectification of the state. Any shares which conducted on behalf of the state (from the census to "modernization") are questionable, even harsh criticism, which means that many people (and especially young people) do not identify themselves with the state [Anisimov, 2011: 3].

Change in civil and patriotic attitudes has many causes, including by the impact of socio-economic and political factors, institutions of education and the media. As a result of it, the transformation of mass consciousness of society occurs. It leads to a spiritual crisis that is most clearly seen in the crisis of patriotic consciousness of the younger generation, and such

previously immutable values like love for the motherland, the sense of duty to their country ceased to be an important reference for a sufficiently large part of today's youth.

On the one hand, the government, aware of the urgent need for the formation of patriotic feelings among youth, recognizes the relevance of patriotic education of youth. On the other hand, today's policies and measures have fairly formal tone and not effective tools to address the issue. The experience of civil and political behavior is formed spontaneously and fragmentary. This experience is often negative, which sometimes leads to political apathy of a future citizen, on the one hand, or to the development of negative attitudes towards the political system, on the other one.

Thus, we can say that the problems of formation of civicism of the youth, its inclusion in the political relations, the search for ways to overcome its political apathy and protest must be one of the priorities of the state. Important task of both the state and civil society institutions, is to establish the necessary mechanisms for inclusion young people both in various forms of political participation, and in the implementation of other civil practices and initiatives.

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Social Reconstruction of Post Conflict Region: on the Example of Kosovo and Chechen Republic

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Abstract. The article considers the basic lines of activity on restoration of military destructions, an establishment of social order, social and medical-psychological rehabilitation of the population. In research methods of the quantitative and qualitative analysis were used. It has allowed to reveal the general and specific features of regions, conflicts, regenerative programs, to define successes and problem fields, to draw the general and concrete conclusions, to formulate necessity of development of mechanisms of the accelerated social reconstruction and development of economy of post conflict territories.

Keywords: conflict; reconstruction; a post conflict situation; rehabilitation; inequality

In international and interstate relations the aggravation of social and political contradictions develops into the conflict. Such conflicts have heavy social and humanitarian consequences. On the territory of Kosovo and the Chechen Republic there were the confrontations which have entailed destructions of material objects, losses of people. Comparative studying of experience of restoration of post-war territory has theoretical and applied value.

Object of research: social reconstruction of post conflict region.

Methods: conflict and activity approaches, principles of historicism, comparison, methods of the statistical and sociological analysis were applied. Process of social reconstruction is considered through a dichotomy of concepts "war-world", "destruction-restoration", "conflict-consent".

Result: Kosovo and the Chechen Republic have different cultural, social and political history. However on the boundary XX1 century something general can be seen in them - aspiration to the state independence. The military conflict in Kosovo has come to the end as a result of compulsion by external forces of Kosovo and Yugoslavia to the world. In the Chechen Republic - as a result of suppression by the Federal centre of military resistance. Conflicts were accompanied by destruction of people, big destructions, occurrence of refugees, infringement of a social order and humanitarian rights of citizens. The today's world is interconnected, the various countries are interdependent, destabilization in one country can quickly be thrown on other countries [Boštic, 2015]. As well as sociopolitical instability of separate region can cause destructive processes in the state. And consequently of sociological interest are the features and way of revival of post-war regions.

Part 2. Social Structure and Processes

In the given article it is put an aim to reveal the general and specific features of social reconstruction of post conflict regions. In Kosovo and the Chechen Republic different projects of settlement of the conflict were realized. So, Kosovan Albanians supported full independence, representatives of Serbia adhered to a position «more than the autonomy, but is less, than independence». In the Chechen Republic achieved independence «from the special status to independence», the federal centre defended integrity of Russia, supposing expansion of an autonomy of the Chechen Republic.

The territories which have left the conflict demand long attention and the decision of contradictions and problems for prevention of renewal of conflict events.

Kosovo has followed a way of building the independent state and integration into the European Union. The Chechen Republic builds autonomous republic, carries out reintegration in the Russian space.

The originality of building of the world in these regions is that in Kosovo over the given process the international organizations supervised, in particular, United Nations mission, in the Chechen Republic - the federal centre of the Russian Federation. However after acceptances of Constitutions, election of authorities, creation of administrative structures of municipal management, local police in the given subjects the territorial administration system is formed. In the field of social sphere the municipal infrastructure, and also transport communications in the beginning were restored. The following stage was gradual restoration and construction of buildings of education, public health services, creation of objects of economy and conditions of development of small business, returning of refugees. For example, the reconstruction and restoration program in Kosovo has been made by the European commission and the World bank in support of Mission of the United Nations Organization in Kosovo. Programs were made on certain time stages for the decision of problems of restoration of social sphere and economy development. In the Chechen Republic the Federal target program «Restoration of economy and social sphere of the Chechen Republic» was carried out. With the decision of these problems the Federal target program "Social and economic development of the Chechen Republic on 2008 - 2012" has been accepted. As a result of these measures well-being of a considerable part of the population in Kosovo and the Chechen Republic has improved, but problems of poverty, corruption, unemployment still remain. It generates migratory moods of some part of the population.

The rate of unemployment for 2014 makes according to official figures in Kosovo-30%, two thirds of youth have no work [Hormone, 2015], the Chechen Republic - 21,6 %. [Regioni..., 2015:32].

In Kosovo wish to move to other countries because of a difficult economic situation 49 % of inhabitants. Most of all they aspire to migrate to Germany, Switzerland Italy and Austria ["Forum-2015", 2015]. In the Chechen Republic in the presence of possibility would like to move to other regions of Russia and foreign countries about third of interrogated respondents. Foreign migration is more often focused on Austria, Germany, Belgium, France [Sociologischeskoe issledovanie, 2009].

As a whole in Kosovo and the Chechen Republic there was inevitable a formation of dependant model of economy giving a gain of an internal national product at the expense of external financial resources. Though the tendency of its gradual development into transit model in due course is formed.

It is characteristic that social movement in the Chechen Republic and Kosovo has arisen under national slogans, but in the course of conflict and in a post conflict situation growth of religiousness and influence of religion on sociopolitical processes is observed. In Kosovo in 2013 there was a new party «Incorporated Islamic movement», dividing idea of formation of Islamic Halifata, Muslim funds and other structures assisting in building of mosques, development of religious formation operate. In this work an activity is also shown by foreign "missionaries" with vahhabit sights. At the same time, the religion, according to separate experts, does not play a considerable role in political mobilization. In the Chechen Republic, on the contrary, the ethnic and religious is interconnected, Islam serves as an important component in social and ideological mobilization, and also in social management. Thus it is not supposed deviations from traditional Islam and debatable platforms are not given to adherents of a vahhabism.

There is also another essential distinctive feature of a post conflict situation in considered subjects. In Kosovo actual there is a problem of interethnic reconciliation of Albanians and Serbs, during the conflict there was an armed conflict of the Albanian and Serbian groups, there were facts of special destructions of mosques and orthodox temples. And consequently here the conflict is perceived by some through a prism of interethnic confrontation and enmity. In the Chechen Republic historically formed steady installations about confrontation of the state and people, the centre and region, and across, as a rule, interethnic peace contacts and various social communications remained. During the military operations (1994-1996, 1999-2002) in the Chechen Republic along with many social and economic objects and mosques, church have been destroyed too, but it has resulted from application of heavy artillery and aircraft. Chechens, Russians and other inhabitants showed solidarity, unity, mutual aid and survived thus.

Conclusion. In post conflict region at an initial stage important is the restoration of objects of a municipal and economic infrastructure, material and moral indemnification, medical

rehabilitation of the population. On the second - planning of revival and region development. In the context of these processes the sociological judgment of formation of new social communications, structures, inequalities is necessary, for a social distance, minimization of poverty for instability and crisis prevention.

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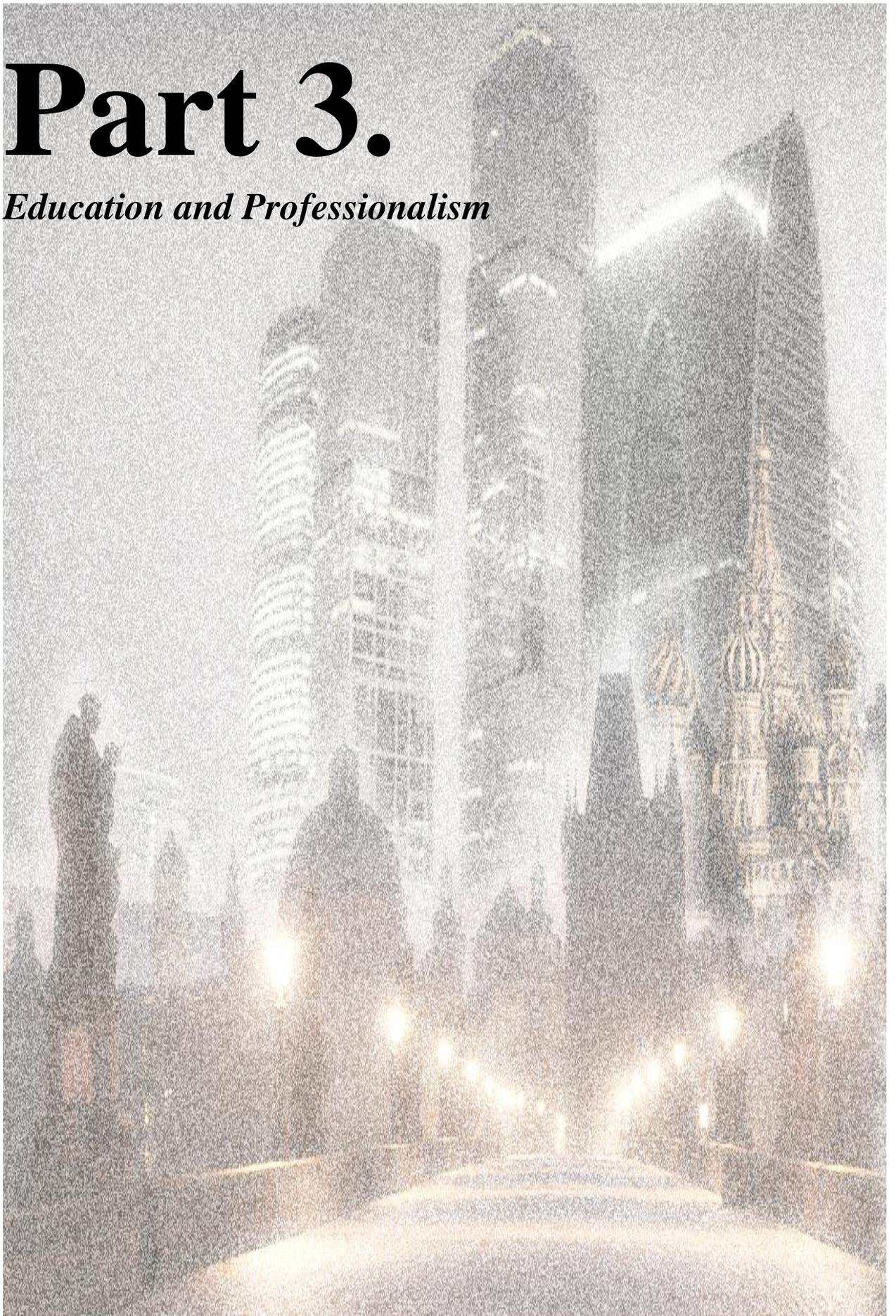
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Part 3.

Education and Professionalism



Criteria for Evaluating the Effectiveness of Universities and Development of the Higher Education System of Russia

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Abstract. In the article on the basis of the analysis of current situation in the system of higher professional education, the authors consider the problem of the correlation of the requirements presented by the Ministry of education and science towards the effectiveness of universities. One of the most important factors is the criterion for evaluating the integration of an educational institution in international scientific and educational space. The analysis of the real situation of condition of the international partnership of Russian universities is held, the identification of problems is made and the ways of their solution are suggested. The problem of orientation of Russian universities on being included into the list of Top - 100 rating of the QS is considered. And the problem of publication activity of Russian lecturers in foreign journals and magazines and in the list of the Web of Science and Scopus is also analysed. The authors come to the conclusion that the intensification of international partnership is necessary for improving the efficiency of higher professional education in modern Russia, but its development strategy should proceed from the actual conditions of realization of the educational and research process. Work is performed with financial support of the Program of grants of the Russian President for the state support of young Russian scientists, the MD-475.2014.6 project "Research universities in regions: institutional, political and intra social factors of development (on the example of federal and national research universities of Eastern and Western Siberia)".

Keywords: professional education; international partnership; the efficiency of the educational process

XXI century is marked by the transition from knowledge societies towards knowledge economy. Therefore, there was a change in the status of the educational system from the communications space, promoting the development of the spiritual personality into the services sector [Abramova, 2013: 5-12]. This led to the formation of a different attitude towards the educational system and its actors.

Started in the 50s of XX century the demand for fresh information about the quality of educational services to the «customers» of American universities provoked the development of various systems of ratings. Their main task was to provide information in an accessible form to potential students about where you can more efficiently invest the money for the educational process. But some time later, the role of ratings quite changed and the Russian sociocultural specifics of their application led to the development of not only a system for ranking universities (and research institutes), but also a mechanism for control.

Under the idea of modernization of the educational system, which should raise the efficiency of higher professional education was carried out the policy to cut-off the state budget and develop its more rational distribution that aroused the interest to various kinds of monitoring.

One of the results of such policy was the development of criteria for the effectiveness of universities.

Among the universities, which in the framework of the new strategy were identified as effective, first of all were those which did not have high ratings for teaching quality (as it was estimated on the average score of the exam students), but those universities which had the long-established collaboration with foreign universities and also had a profit at the expense of scientific developments (i.e. grants).

In fact, it was possible not only to guess about the development of higher professional education, but to make conclusions, and take action, as soon as Russia has signed the Bologna Declaration [Ablazhey, 2012: 2]. But it took a lot of time, and the idea that Russia would gradually be integrated into European educational space, highlighting own policy» [«Soft path», 2005:10], existed. Russian tradition «maybe» and hope that everything will be all right itself again had an effect. As a result the appearance of such criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of universities as: «the Proportion of foreign students...», «the Proportion of foreign citizens from the scientific and pedagogical workers...», «Number of won Russian and foreign grants for the last three years per 100 scientific and pedagogical workers», as well as the Number of publications in the Web of Science...» and «Number of publications in Scopus...» [A list of indicators, 2012] caused the burst of indignation, because the universities were not ready for such criteria.

Of course, most of the criteria are controversial, because Russian universities have low attractiveness for foreign students, except for students from the nearest foreign countries and China. There is also the problem of attraction of foreign lecturers, considering the possibilities of payment for their work, as well as difficulties with legal documentation of their stay in Russia. We can also recall the fact that the demanded by the Ministry of education of the Russian Federation lists of Web of Science and Scopus do not include any Russian journals on education. And in fact, three-quarters of the list of journals and data bases are journals on natural science.

But, alas, the requirements of modernizing the domestic system of education do not become more adequate than Russian reality. So, one of the latest reported requirements of employees of universities has become the new amendment of the priority of articles published in the list of HCC (Higher Certifying Commission) journals in collaboration with foreign colleagues. But foreign colleagues, alas, still do not hurry to publish their articles in Russian journals. And not only in connection with the existing language problem to translate their texts (by the way, unlike the Russian researchers and teachers the foreign colleagues do not hurry to learn the Russian language to be published in Russian editions), but also because Russian editions are not attractive for them. They are excluding the lists of Web of Science and Scopus,

the possibility of quotation of published materials of foreign authors equals to zero, and quoting of Russian authors in Russian journals does not affect the ranking of foreign teachers at home. The only exceptions are the countries of former socialist camp, where universities, raised in the same conditions as in Russia. They accept it as one of the biggest bonuses scoring teachers publication, made by them in Russia, as foreign publications. But considering the almost forgotten in the post-Soviet period the Russian language, the authorship of publications in Russia is rather a kind of miracle.

In terms of intensification rather punitive functions of the designed monitoring system of universities, it becomes clear that to reach the European level of democracy is still far away from us. So in 2001, the European Association of universities developed the document «Quality Control in Higher Education», which created a unified platform for the evaluation of the quality. One of the regulations recorded a recommendatory nature of the European quality control. The University received the right to choose the Agency to assess its effectiveness in order to get not only a certain authority in the educational sphere, but also as a consequence, - students [The reality of ethnos, 2005]. In Russia, as we understand it, the monopoly on the evaluation of the effectiveness of universities is actually saved. And this situation creates tension around the system of higher professional education.

Because of formalization of requirements to the system of higher professional education, somehow specific people and real work disappear. Quantitative characteristics such as the number of published works, the attraction of additional funds and young scientists come to the first place. The only quantitative parameter that grows with every passing day is the volume of necessary educational-methodical complexes but it is not taken into consideration. And the additional time which is spent to write them is not paid that is why formal similar educational plans take their places. And one subject that has absolutely identical Gosstandart in different specialities, the title of which is changed by the administration of different departments, turns into 10 different subjects. And although it still has one Gosstandart, it is already a completely different number of competences, which should be developed in the framework of training on the given discipline on various subjects. And as a result we have not one educational and methodical complex, we have ten of them! And the volume of each complex is more than one hundred pages.

But this is not the whole amount of load to which the administration may take a teacher. He also must be involved in scientific work. And the best proof of his skills as a scientific worker is to cooperate with foreign colleagues, and publish articles in foreign journals. And although most of the leading universities of Western Europe and the United States keep to the principle of openness to cooperation, you should know that in order to be included in any project

with colleagues from universities in the Top 100 rating of the QS, which in the last five years are considered to be the only important in Russia you should have appropriate achievements in the field of science and education. In this context we do not lower the level of Russian achievements, but only recall that the Russian experience, alas, is under-represented in the information field, where there are our colleagues from the leading universities of the world.

Of course there are some positive shifts in this direction. Many countries of the former socialist camps such as Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, etc that after the collapse of the USSR joined the European Union, were so excited about the new prospects for them that tried to integrate, «forgetting» the Russian language. Twenty years later, realizing that the partners are only elected and those who have considerable success in the field of science and education, many universities of these countries began to show interest in such a close and forgotten Russia. Besides it is necessary to understand that migration flows from Eastern Europe, have caused reduction of the number of young people entering the Universities. In many universities the situation is similar to the Russian universities, the strategy of the East is one of the most advantageous from the point of view of replenishment of students and teachers, and financial gain from cooperation in education and science. And in this connection it should be remembered that many of the funds financing scientific researches abroad, give priority to those higher education institutions which have partners in other countries, and Russia in this regard is the one which has less attention of foreign partners.

As a result twenty years later, it turned out that for creation of uniform scientific and educational space in Eastern Europe the remains of knowledge of the Russian language are very important! Besides, you must remember the fact of migration flow from Russia, Ukraine, Belarussia to these countries. So now many universities can meet our former countrymen, who can also greatly help with scientific and educational ties.

In this context, we could celebrate partnerships, because we can learn from universities, which have gone through a member of the single European educational space a bit earlier. But then, very often in the struggle appears a characteristic feature of the Russian mentality - we do not need half of the kingdom, we must have the whole kingdom. Of course orientation of universities on the leading included in the list of the Top 100 is a useful event. You have to learn from the best, or as the great Goethe said: «Acting among small you become small. And among the large you grow up» [Goethe's, 1960:460]. Therefore, the wish to get joint projects at once with Cambridge or Harvard, for many universities becomes an obsessive idea dictated from above, and from funding policy. But how many universities will be able to solve the problem? Tactics of 20% reduction of state universities, and 30% reduction of commercial universities in these conditions can be very effective and lead to its logical outcome very quickly.

Part 3. Education and Professionalism

As a result, marketing, which has come into scientific and educational process, in fact deprives the creative attitude of many actors of the educational process. People who creating, are not always ready to count economic efficiency, from their creation. We must agree that those who count and those who are building have different types of thinking and it is very difficult to unite them in one [Abramova, 2012:198-204]. All of them are important. But you also have to realize that if scientists and teachers instead of their direct activity forget about the research and the students, and begin to count economic efficiency and profit, then soon, there will be nothing to count.

In addition, thinking about international agreements with universities from the list of the Top 100, we forget that the great inventions and discoveries were made not only in Western Europe and the USA, but also in Eastern Europe. Pedagogical legacy of Jan Amos Komensky who created the modern whole-class system, self-humanism book of Janusz Korczak «How to love a child» - a legacy that has caused the formation of the modern educational system. The first Polytechnic University in Europe appeared in Hungary and still exists today. Queen's University, now the Budapest University of Etvosh Laurent was graduated from by the well-known sociologist Karl Mannheim, and President of the International sociological Association for a long time was Piotr Sztompka, a graduate of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. Opened in 1991, the Central European University acted in Warsaw, Prague and Budapest, and was the first University in Eastern Europe, opening master's programmers on gender studies and environmental policy, and in 2009 the program of the faculty of political science, received a rank higher than a similar program in Oxford. According to the list of the Top 100 none of the universities of Hungary was included there. Perhaps it is because the list is compiled mainly by Britain and America, and therefore assessment criteria corresponds most to Anglo-Saxon educational system?

Among the main indicators of rating QS, which are now taken for the basis of the defense Ministry are: the reputation of the University in the academic circles (40% of assessment); the ratio of students and teachers (20%); citation of the work of teaching staff (20%); the reputation of the University among employers (10%); the number of foreign students (5%) and teachers (5%). To assess the reputation of the University in the academic circles of the experts interviewed 46 thousand academics, a questionnaire was drawn up in 13 languages [Russian universities, 2012]. The question arises if the Russian academicians were questioned? The employers of what countries evaluate the effectiveness of training in universities of the World? And then the obvious answer is that in accordance with these settings, the Russian universities will have to wait for a long time to be in the list of Top-100. But alas, perfectionism of the

Russian mentality is a property that does not allow us to be proud of our achievements and to respect the achievement of our neighbors.

Returning to the Russian reality and again threatening certification of higher educational establishments, let us think about how many of them can really be useful in the nearest future as partners in Western Europe and the USA? Unification of requirements of the defense Ministry to all Russian universities without the deliberate policy of development of the higher professional education, as well as major investments, alas... rather becomes like a spoiled child cries: «I Want to...!».

What can universities do in this present situation? First, we should get rid of the practice: «all or nothing» because the only thing what it can lead to is to reduce the number of universities. Secondly, one of the most winning strategies in our opinion can be a strategy for enhancing relations, enrichment of experience and a gradual change in the criteria for assessing the quality of both scientific and educational activity. And for this, we must turn to the experience of the universities of the countries of Eastern Europe and to build partner relations with them, and the last is especially important because it is very easily under the pressure of the criteria of the defense Ministry in a rush to conclude the contract about cooperation on terms that will not lead to the partner relations, but rather to donor relations.

And, of course, the most important thing is to strive to awareness and acceptance of the true evaluation criteria of scientific and educational activities, not through formal increasing the number of articles, and improve the quality of their content and selection of publications in which they can be published in accordance with the global rating.

In conclusion we would like to note that, unfortunately, in market conditions, with a kind of Russian shade of feudal relations, choice of the strategy of the University in establishing international cooperation is not free. But the fact that the international partnership is obligatory for improving the efficiency of higher professional education has already become obvious.

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Patriotic Education of Preschool Children

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Abstract. In this paper the methodological comprehension of role of social technologies in realization of the state program of patriotic upbringing in the preschool educational organizations is proposed. The necessity of cross-sectoral developments for improving health promotion educational activity is considered.

Keywords: state policy; preschool childhood; patriotic education; social technologies; child health promotion; professional status of preschool educators

At the IV All-Russian Sociological Congress «Sociology and Society: Global Challenges and Regional Development» which was held in Ufa in 2012, Irzhi Shubrt said: «Today's situation in the field of sociological theory is rather complicated and very confusing. This is largely due to the fact that theoretical thinking in sociology from its very beginning was shaped by opinions arising from different starting points» [Shubrt, 2012:277-284]. On the final day of the Congress Irzhi Shubrt turned to Russian sociology to analyze the key challenges of society transformation. For me, as a teacher, social activist, sociologist, manager, this position became important in the context of defining the role of social technologies of children's patriotic education in the «confusing» preschool education situation. In the coming years the State Program «Patriotic Education of Citizens of the Russian Federation for 2016-2020» (hereafter the «Program») will start to be implemented. The Russian Federation's state policy is based on the targeted approach to the formation of patriotic consciousness, which takes into account characteristics of each age group of the population.

Preschool childhood as a distinctive period of life, during which the child's perception of native culture is formed, is an important stage of child development. The interaction between social institutions and organizations (such as family, preschool educational organizations, schools, institutions of additional education, non-governmental organizations, etc.) is necessary to consolidate the norms of moral, patriotic and physical education of preschool children. The results of applied researches, conducted by the Federal state autonomous educational institution of additional vocational training «Academy of improvement of professional skill and professional retraining of educators», demonstrate that social technology is a quality instrument of preschool education. Social technologies have some advantages over programs and techniques, such as reversibility in time, cyclicity, an ability to take into account the national features [Antonov, 2008: 40-47].

Social technologies are aimed at solving of social problems, creation of living conditions, development of society, social relations and social structure. Social technologies are used in

order to meet the children's needs, to create the conditions for the realization of child's potential abilities and interests, taking into account value system, approved by the society and the relationship between social progress and the economic development.

Social technologies, used in the sphere of patriotic education of preschool children, can be defined as the methodology that allows to systematize the ways and methods of character education, to ensure interaction of social institutions in order to «develop in the Russian society a high level of social activity, civic responsibility and spirituality, to increase the number of citizens, who will share positive values and who will act in the interests of the Homeland.

Moral and patriotic education of children is one of the basic missions of preschool organization (hereafter PEO) and furthermore, of the whole social environment. The socio-technological approach provides us with an optimal solution for systematization and organization of the whole educational environment (family, PEO, city, country, etc.). To implement the project of the State Program «Patriotic Education of Citizens of the Russian Federation for 2016-2020», it is important to reveal the understanding of the major tasks of preschool age and early school age by authors of this Program.

According to the Program the patriotic education of preschool children is based on the following principles: the patriotic policy is intended to help a child get the correct idea about the Homeland and learn basic moral values, such as love, friendship, hard work, honesty, through support and promotion of literary and musical projects, development of national animation, creation of special educational programs for children.

Unfortunately, the multifaceted activities of preschool educators, that contributes to transmission of the traditions of folk culture, spiritual and moral education, inculcation of love of family and native language, health promotion activity, - are unheeded. The foundations of family values and health are formed during the preschool period [Antonov, 2012].

According to the authors of the Program, the patriotic education of children of primary school age (7-10 years) is based on the educational activity, realized both at school and outside of school. This activity is aimed at fostering respect for culture and traditions of people living in a certain region and for different creeds, explanation of the consolidating role of the Russian language and literature, teaching of basics of secular ethics, and transmission of knowledge about traditional confessions in Russia.

One of the most significant factors contributing to the patriotic education of pupils aged 7 to 10 is their involvement in the sport, that fosters a healthy lifestyle culture and healthy habits, an ability to interact in the team environment, promotes cooperation skills and mutual aid culture, forms a framework for education of the cohort of future Russian athletes, whose future victories at the international competitions of various levels will increase the level of Russian

citizens' pride for their country and consolidation of Russian society.

Unfortunately, the teachers', sociologists', physicians', psychologists' cross-sectoral achievements in the sphere of patriotic education were lost during the preparation of the draft Program in 2003-2004. So, within the technical task of the Preschool Education Department of the Russian Ministry of Education, the scientific research work was carried out and a new content and forms of patriotic education of preschool children were developed. This work was intended to create education system, which will contribute to the formation of patriotic attitude towards Homeland and civic position of senior preschool children. The research aimed to determine the current state of patriotic education at preschool education institutions (the analysis of the state educational standard of preschool education and the existing programs of preschool education) was conducted. According to the research results the following activities were implemented in the sphere of the patriotic education:

- The development of the concept of patriotic upbringing and education of preschool children in the modern conditions;

- The development of the program of patriotic education and upbringing of children at the preschool organization;

- The development of methodical recommendations on patriotic education of children at the preschool organization;

- The development of educational books, exercise books for children.

Particular attention was paid to the problem of formation of children's of different nationalities patriotic attitude towards their country. The content of patriotic education of preschool children will be determined by taking into account a regional component.

The draft of the new Program notes that it is necessary to take into account age characteristics to organize patriotic education activity at the federal level as well as at the regional and municipal levels. In order to coordinate Program stages it is important to reconsider activities of non-governmental organizations (such as trade unions, professional associations of educators, parent associations, and others). Professionals and society are most interested in shaping intergenerational relations and traditions of patriotic education.

According to the results of the research on professional and social status of preschool educators, conducted by Sector of sociology of profession and professional groups of the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 2014, Moscow preschool educators have doubtful attitude towards public support. More detailed information is presented in the multi-authored monograph [Mansurov, 2015:3-27].

The educators' passive perception of goals of Moscow preschool organizations is conditioned by professional and gender segregation. The head of the kindergarten profession has

ceased to exist in Moscow during one year. It is assumed that preschool educators will work on a flexible schedule with groups included more children. Both personnel of preschool organizations and parents of preschool children are worry about possible consequences of these changes.

Table 1

Answers of the preschool educators to the question: «Who should determine a vector of development of preschool education in general?»

Answer variants	Percentage of total respondents
Government	0,4
Educators/teachers	0,8
Government in cooperation with educators and teachers	9,8
Government in cooperation with trade unions and other professional organizations	1,0
Government in cooperation with parents of children	1,3
No answer	86,4
Total	100,0

The positive organizational changes, that are expected to be achieved through implementation of the state Program, are reflected in the dynamics of its indicators. These changes are supposed to be realized mainly through the activation of interdepartmental, interregional coordination and society-state partnership. Due to the importance of realization of children education and consolidation of Russian society, the state Program should provide the significant improvement of the indicators of educator's work, administrative and organizational work and social work in the sphere of patriotic education.

Love for the Homeland is the feeling that is difficult to measure. Patriotism is the trait of human, collective and society. The strengthening (development) of patriotism is a gradual process, which involves victories and defeats, success and failure. The formation of the sense of patriotism is directly connected with teacher's (educator's) activity [Antonov, Pronina, 2015:262-266].

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Part 3. Education and Professionalism

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Social Aspect of Access to Higher Education

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Abstract. Background - the assessment of Russia's place in the global ranking of accessibility of higher education (the social aspect). The calculations are based on the data of the Russian educational statistics. According to the estimates Russia in this ranking takes one of the last places mainly because of the low level of social equality in education (students' elitism).

Keywords: accessibility; participation rate; attainment rate; social equality; gender parity; distributed university

Delineation of the economic and social aspects of accessibility

Analysis of the results of the two global rankings of national educational systems [Usher, Cervenak, 2005; Usher, Medow, 2010] acknowledges the expediency of separation of the concepts of accessibility of higher education and its ability to pay (affordability) (Fig.1). In six countries, including Russia, accessibility is significantly below the level that provides the "ability to pay".

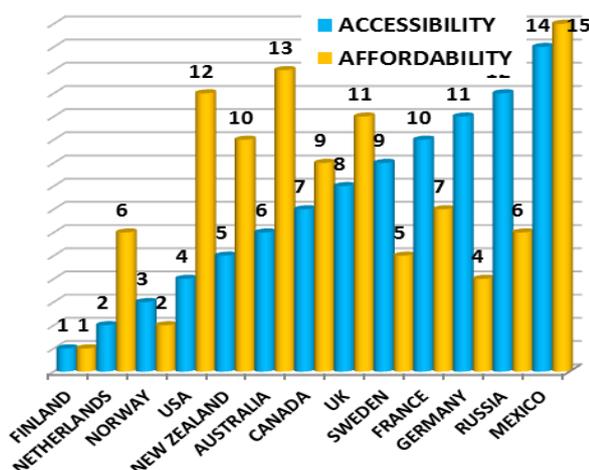


Fig. 1. Position of countries in the final rankings: Accessibility and Affordability

(the higher the bar - the worse the result)

Accessibility Indicators

Composite accessibility ranking is based on four indicators (Table 1). A.Usher and the coauthors used two types of indicators in their accessibility rankings: type I shows "how many" people get to participate in higher education, type II – "who" gets to participate.

Table 1

Accessibility Indicators		
Name	Description	Weightings %
№1 Participation (best four year enrollment) rate	Participation rates are usually expressed as the number of students of a certain age group in a country enrolled in higher education as a fraction of the country's entire population of the same age.	25
№2 Attainment rate	Percentage of 25-34 year-olds in the population who have attained tertiary-type education	25
№3 Educational equity index (EEI)	Index (EEI) measures accessibility as a ratio of socio-demographic characteristics (specifically, parental education) of students to socio-demographic characteristics of the entire population	40
№4 Gender parity	The UNESCO definition of gender parity index (GPI) is the ratio of female-to-male value of a given indicator, with GPI of 1 indicates parity between sexes; a GPI that varies between 0 and 1 means a disparity in favour of males; a GPI greater than 1 indicating a disparity in favour of females.	10

The first two indicators - indicators of participation and the achieved level - are of type I and have the same weighting factor (25%). Indicators of type II differ greatly in importance: EEI index reflects the most important aspect of social justice, has the highest weighting of all four indicators; gender parity index is only 10%.

Despite the small number of indicators the authors of the ranking have managed to collect the necessary input data only for 13 countries in 2005 (data of 2002/2003) and for 14 countries in 2010 (data of 2007/2008).

Participation and Attainment rate – indicators №1 and №2 (weighting 25%)

Fig.2 shows a comparison of Participation and Attainment indicators according to 2007/2008 taking into account estimates of Russia. Fig. 3 and 4 show the values of these indicators with regard to their weight in the final ranking of Accessibility. Russia, in our estimation, is among the countries in which Participation rate is higher than Attainment rate. By Participation rate Russia is second only after Finland and Portugal and shares the third-fourth place with Great Britain (Fig.3). By Attainment rate it shares the fourth and fifth place with Sweden, behind Norway, the USA and the Netherlands (Fig. 4).

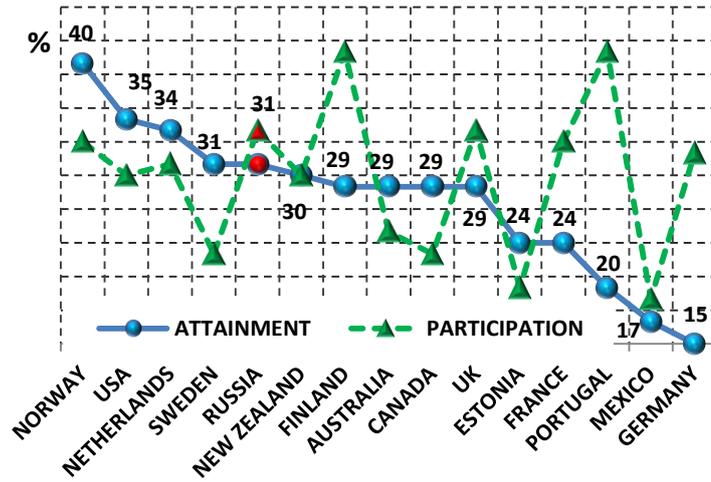


Fig. 2. Participation rate and Attainment rate (2007-2008)

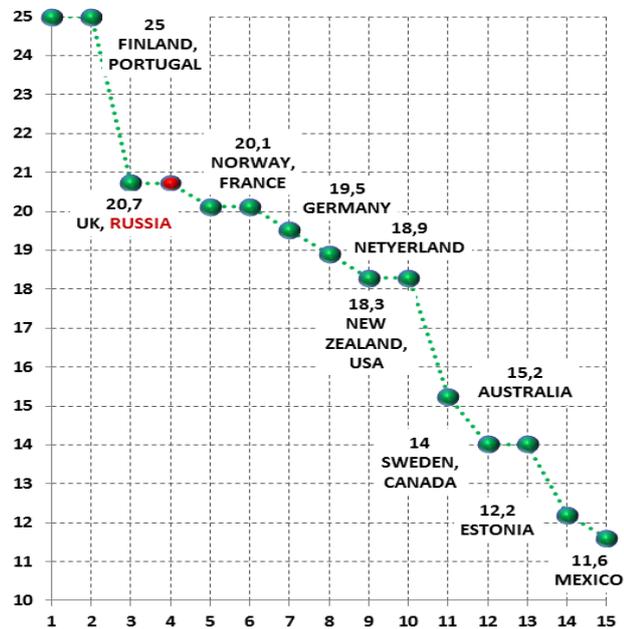


Fig. 3. Participation ranking (considering the weight of the indicator)

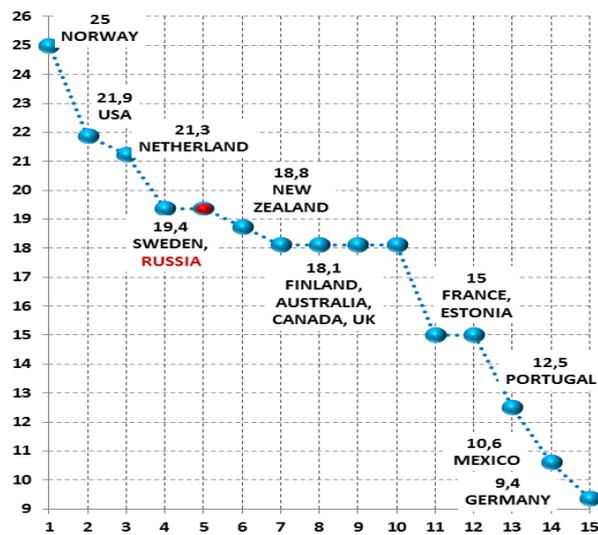


Fig. 4. Attainment ranking (considering the weight of the indicator)

Educational equity index (EEI) - indicator №3 (weighting 40%)

As a general indicator for comparative assessment of the socio-demographic characteristics of the students of different countries there was introduced the «educational equity index » (EEI), specially designed for this purpose by the Educational Policy Institute.

EEI is measured as the percentage of university students whose father attained a university degree and the percentage of degree holders in the male population at age 45-65.

The high rate of EEI means that the student body by their socio-demographic characteristics are close to the corresponding characteristics of the population. Low index indicates greater elitism of students compared with the general population.

As can be seen from Fig. 5, according to 2007/2008 the Netherlands has the most accessible system of education (74%) followed closely by Australia, Canada and Finland (70-72), New Zealand and the USA (67 and 64 respectively). We can say that in these countries the socio-demographic composition of students is approaching the composition of the population. Good results show Sweden, Norway and the UK (50%).

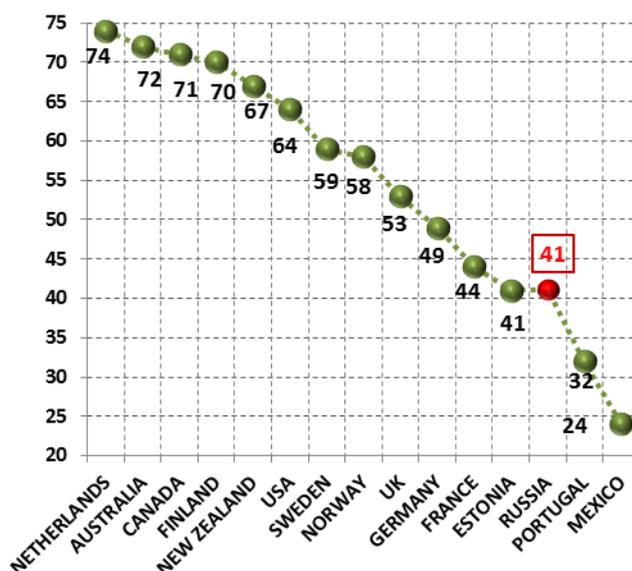


Fig. 5. Educational equity index in higher education

Approximate evaluation of the place of Russia by educational equity index shows that according to this indicator, the most significant among the four indicators of Accessibility, Russia occupies one of the last places among the countries considered (Fig.5, 6).

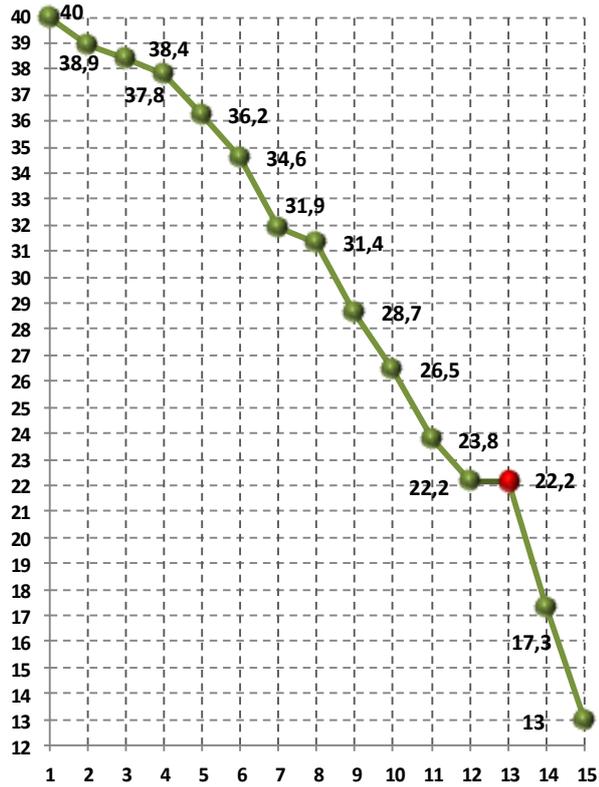


Fig.6. The ranking of countries according to the values of the educational equity index (considering the weight of the indicator)

Gender Parity Index (GPI) - Indicator №4 (weighting 10%)

As defined by UNESCO, the male to female ratio of 1 (GPI=1) indicates parity between sexes, a GPI that varies between 0 and 1 means a disparity in favour of males; a GPI greater than 1 indicating a disparity in favour of females.

The Ranking of countries is determined by the deviation of the values of GPI from 1 (Fig.7).

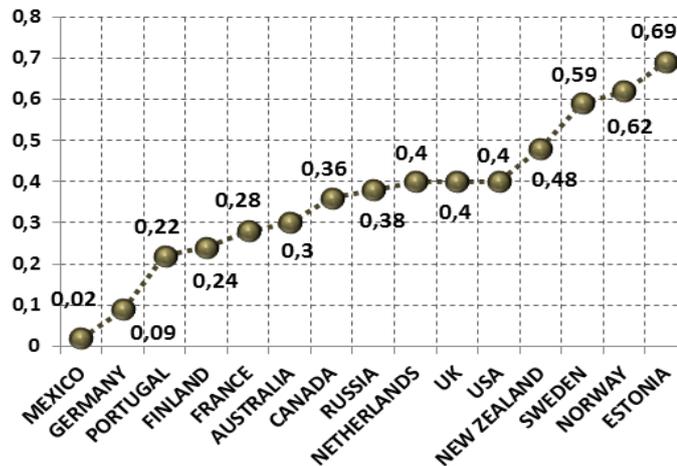


Fig.7. Deviation of the values of GPI from 1

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Most countries have a deviation from parity in the range of 0.2-0.5 (55-60% are female students). In Russia the deviation from parity was 0,38. It corresponds to the eighth place among the countries under consideration.

Optimal is the minimum value of the indicator of 0.02 this value (n_{\min}) is equated to weight ratio of the indicator and, respectively, equals to 10. Values (n) of indicators of other countries are determined by the formula: $10 \cdot n_{\min} / n_{\min}$ (Fig.7).

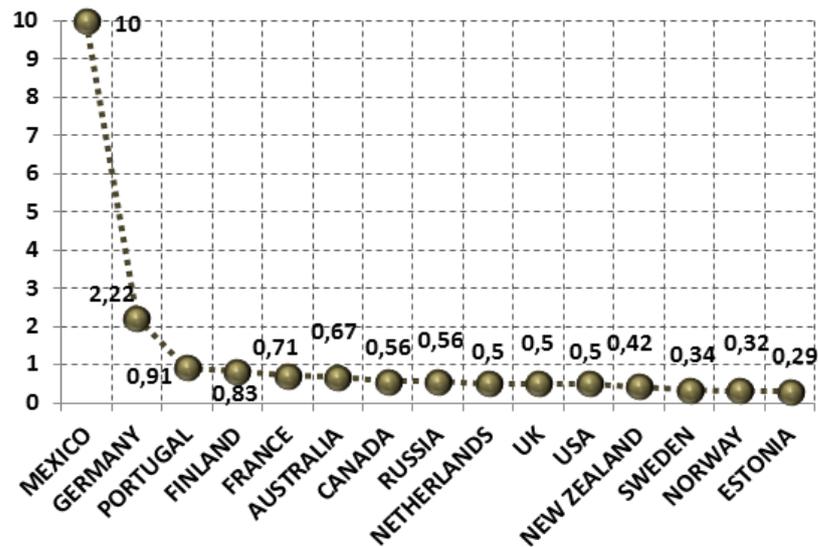


Fig.8: The ranking of countries (considering the weight of the indicator)

Final Accessibility Ranking

The sum of the weighted values of all four indicators determines a country's place in the final ranking. Fig.9 shows the corresponding values of indicators as a percentage of the maximum index (Finland), taken as 100%.

Part 3. Education and Professionalism

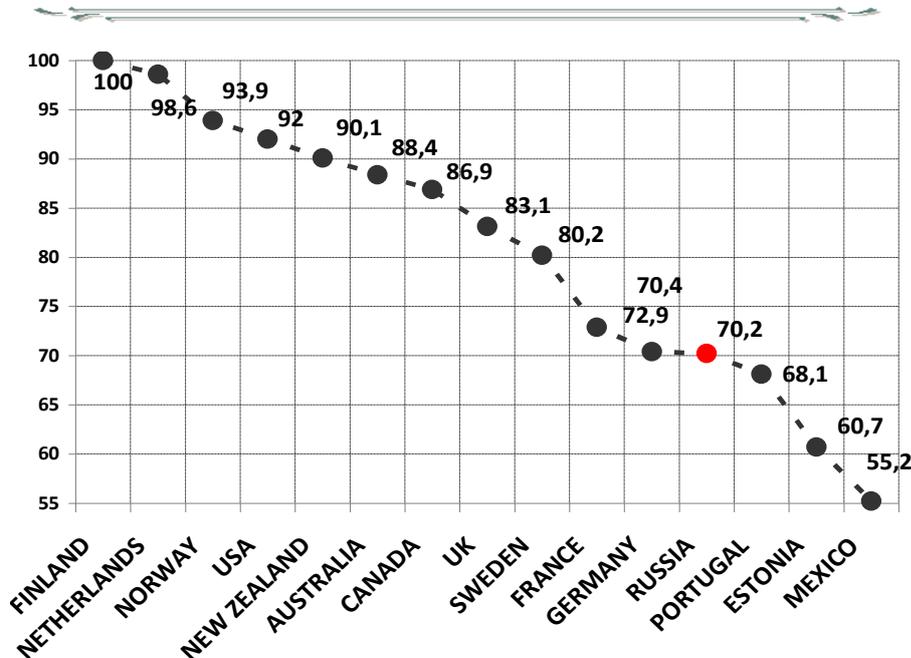


Fig. 9. Final Accessibility Ranking

So, the first place in the final ranking in 2010 occupied *Finland* – a country with an excellent indicator of participation rate and good indicators of educational equity index (EEI) and gender parity. *The Netherlands* came in second place, mainly due to an excellent indicator of EEI. Norway, with a high level of attainment score is in the third place. Then, surprisingly, go *USA* - the country with quite expensive education; it has a very high attainment level.

The next four places are occupied by *New Zealand*, *Australia*, *Canada* and *UK*. Five English-speaking countries, ranked fifth to eighth place, showed similar results, indicating the coincidence of educational policy across a shared linguistic zone.

Next comes a group of continental European countries – *Sweden*, *France* and *Germany*. The higher education systems of these countries are mature enough as a whole, but have a few weaknesses: low indicators of participation rate and gender parity (Sweden); low rates of attainment and EEI (France, Germany).

After *Germany* according to the estimated assessment goes *Russia*. Having high rates of participation (3-4 place) and attainment (4-5 place) *Russia occupies the 12-th place in the final ranking due to low educational equity index (14-th place), which has the greatest weight of the four indicators.*

Last places are occupied by *Portugal*, *Estonia* and *Mexico* - countries where the "massification" of higher education is still a relatively new phenomenon; the students are few, and are more elitist than in the other investigated countries. The first of these countries –

Portugal – has an excellent indicator of youth participation rate in higher education; *Mexico* ranked last in the final ranking, has the highest gender parity index.

Returning to the low total index of Russia in summing up the global rankings on the accessibility of higher education, it should be emphasized that for the elimination of elitism of students as the main disadvantage of Russian educational system, it is necessary to develop and widespread the use of information and communication technologies (ICT) on the basis of distributed mega-university. This is clearly shown by the experience of Russian distributed mega-university – Modern University for the Humanities [Karpenko, Bershadszkaya, 2009] The effectiveness of distributed learning including school level, higher education and professional development is shown in [Karpenko M.P., 2008; Karpenko, Lukyanova, 2011; Karpenko, 2011; 2013]. The development of distributed mega-universities is a real, and for countries such as Russia, apparently, the only way to achieve social equality in education.

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Glocalization in the European Higher Education

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Abstract. The author is going to focus on the effect of global trends in higher education and their implementation in the controversial education policies of European states. With development of the European Higher Education Area the market of educational services grows also as a formal value, present compulsory part of career, some sort of warranty of quality of life and inability of University degree to protect owner to be unemployed. University system works as an ontology factory, being a part of an educational service market with a wide set of opportunities for a person to be studied informally.

Keywords: glocalization; Bologna process; european higher education; sociology; educational system

Glocalization of the European education is presented by Bologna process. Nowadays it is beyond the European Union, covering all European countries. During the realization it has acquired characters of international organization which activity is based on cooperation of the countries-participants and essential impact on educational policy of these countries.

Foundation of Bologna model of the European Higher Education Area is a common purpose for all participants to achieve comparability of national systems of higher education.

Nowadays within the limits of European Higher Education Area two tendencies act: Unification of national educational systems and, simultaneously, attempt to keep national traditions and features and democratization of education accompanied by a steady tendency of preserving of an inequality in access to it by citizens.

The tendencies generate the contradictions which touch many European countries, however, in the report only a few examples will be shown.

So, under the influence of the first tendency, there are changes in educational system of Germany. As a result of introduction of multilevel higher education the side between various kinds of high schools of Germany that promotes strengthening of a competition in educational space of this country is erased. Besides the difference in preparation programs for a long time was unique criterion of quality of German high schools' education. Now accreditation process on formal indicators can force out a difference in the form and levels of preparation of students.

The second tendency is not less indicative. The multilevel system of higher education does not make all steps equally accessible to those who implement them. Meanwhile, the inequality in an educational level of the person results not only in an inequality of his incomes, but also influences rates of economic growth in regions of the countries. So, for example, London, within a decade (1990-2000th), concentrating labor with higher educational level, now

has considerably outstripped other regions of Great Britain on rates of economic growth and the size of investments into education. In turn, it leads again to an inequality – the big contributions into education are recompensed with preparation of more qualified labor that rich regions presume only.

On the one hand, the educational level strengthens status positions of the person, concerns indicators of his success in life and career. On the other hand, university education does not protect the person from possibility of being unemployed. Especially, now the situation is aggravated with a world economic crisis. For example, according to the European statistics, in June, 2013 in Spain the level of unemployment has exceeded 25 per cents, and among the educated part of youth this indicator has constituted 50 per cents. The policy of Spain and variety of the European countries in this question is reduced to creation of additional vacancies for young graduates.

With development of the European Higher Education Area the market of educational services grows also. Bologna process (bachelor degree-magistracy-doctor's degree) unifies steps of higher education. Simultaneously there is a question, if the unified education can satisfy personal inquiries? How much in this system all educational requirements of the person are considered?

The educational system is always formalized; it should correspond to the educational policy of the state. Roles of teachers, students, administrative workers are formalized. National education systems within the limits of Bologna process are even more formalized. At the same time, such formalization does not always consider an inequality of educational requirements of the concrete person. It is more oriented on social interests.

As a result of the increasing economic integration on a global level in general and in Europe in particular, the importance of cosmopolitan resources of power for obtaining and maintaining upper middle-class position might grow. The cosmopolitan may also be involved with a culture that is carried by a transnational network rather than by a territory. International high education schools is a meeting places for students from all over the world, contribute to the transmission and the formation of a transnational culture.

This culture consists of a set of competencies that help people to manoeuvre in foreign cultures and to feel comfortable and familiar in cosmopolitan enclaves, like that of the international high schools. It means that cosmopolitans have been living abroad for some time, visit and host friends from different nationalities, maintain a globally dispersed circle of friends or relatives, reading books, traveling and exchanging experience.

From a sociological viewpoint, cosmopolitan competencies can be regarded as assets, which give those who possess them a competitive edge in transnational arenas where the struggle

is for privileged positions. In this sense, cosmopolitan capital is a form of social and cultural capital refers to traditional classic culture and is link to stay in the upper layers of society. The early acquisition of embodied cultural capital enables the younger generations to inherit the accumulated legitimate culture of previous generations from the beginning of their lives.

The brightest example of the glocalization in the modern high education sphere is the Berkeley College, which gives a great opportunity for the student's all over the world to release Online Education studying. In the 2014 year they had more than eight hundred students, including more than 900 international students representing nearly 100 countries. More than 2700 students took at least one online class and also there were more than forty five million in grant and scholarship provided. Berkeley College itself presents a model of the glocalization modern process with a huge cultural background, encouraged by both students and professors society connected all over the world in a term of studying different aspects.

No less important is a coursera education project by Daphne Koller and Andrew Ng. As recently mentioned Daphne on the Moscow International Education Fair 2015, the great amount of students nowadays want to participate in online education process, so the number of the courses will increase to 5000 in the 2025. The glocalization process influence not only on the number of people who wants to have a good education level, but also on the quality and form of knowledge they get online. The most important thing is the connection between education process in high school itself and the employer. In this way the student use the coursera verified certificate in international LinkedIn profile which get you the opportunity to work in an international companies and may be seen by the scientific researches from any part of the world. This huge educational area without any border has a negative part also, because some people choose too many courses without any opportunity to finish or leave the course in the middle, without any explanation. As Daphne Koller said that negative part is also good for those who make the course, to improve them next time.

Given the increasing interweaving of the global and European economic systems, the importance of cosmopolitan and globalization assets will increase in the total package of powers on which the young people from the middle class relies, whether they are established

At last, some words about inclusion of the Russian high schools in Bologna system. It has occurred later, than in other countries – in 2003, and at the beginning had gradual, fragmentary character. As in some Russian high schools preparation due to Bachelor-Master system was realized before the entrance of Russia into Bologna process. It was easier to these high schools (for example, to the People' Friendship University of Russia in Moscow) to adopt requirements of the Bologna declaration. However as a whole, the St-Petersburg high schools were more prepared for a change of system of higher education because of their connection with foreign

high schools with academic mobility. The popularity of the online education together with the Bologna system makes the largest university of Russia (Lomonosow Moscow State University, Russian State University for Humanities, Moscow Institute of Physics and Technology State University) to participate in a world globalization education project, going beyond the classroom walls to the world stage area.

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Social Inequality as An Anti-Factor to the Success of Family Education

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Abstract. The characteristics of social inequality in the context of family education of children are defined in accordance with the Human Development Index that was introduced as a reference by the United Nations Organization. The statistical indicators of the social inequality level in terms of realization of educational function in Russian families are presented.

Keywords: social inequality; family education; family capital; effects of inequality

The main characteristic of social inequality is vertical social stratification process that leads to the accumulation of social, cultural and material resources on one side of society and to the lack of these resources on the other side of society. In other words, the material and cultural resources under objectively existing social structure are distributed among certain population groups, while other equally important groups are ignored.

In such social inequality conditions the quality of life as well as particular population groups' chances of achieving a success in life decrease.

One of the glaring examples of inequality of Russian families is their unequal opportunity for the realization of one of the major family functions – the child's education.

The level of so-called family capital (material and cultural resources of family) that is not the same in different family groups is considered as another characteristic of social inequality. The term «family capital» is based on the concept of «social capital» introduced by the French sociologist P. Bourdieu. According to his interpretation, this concept refers to the social relationships that provide individuals with access to the social resources under the conditions of their quantitative and qualitative restrictions. The term "family capital" was first used by J. Coleman who analyzed the influence of social capital on family well-being and academic achievements of children [Coleman J, 2001: 122-139]. He was the researcher who pointed to the correlation between family capital and a child's education: a sufficient level of family capital provides children with access to more information, contributes to the more successful adaptation to the new conditions, enhances parents' attention to the children's health, etc. Thus, it can be argued that family capital is an important factor influencing children's educational success.

There is a direct link between the level of family capital and the level of family inequality in the sphere child education. There are the following important indicators for determination of the level of family inequality: the spouses' level of education, professional sphere, job title, lifestyle, amount of free time, leisure activities, etc. To analyze the educational function of

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family it makes sense to use also basic indicators of the Human Development Index (HDI), such as income, health and education. This index was introduced by the United Nations Organization and it is used to measure the level of social development of world countries [Human development report, 2010]. Quantitative measurement of these indicators allows estimating the level of family's possibilities for realization of child education.

Let us consider the indicators of social inequality of the Russian families with minor children on the basis of the statistical data (Table 1).

Table 1

Percentage distribution of poor households with children, 2013

	Poor households	Extremely poor households
Households with children under 16 years of age	64.0	67.3
- one child	32.7	26.3
- two children	22.3	22.5
- three or more children	9.0	18.5

Data source: Social status and living standard of the Russian population. Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat), Moscow, 2014: 105.

As we can see, there are 64% of poor families and 67, 3 % of extremely poor families with minor children in Russia. It is reasonable to consider these groups parents as having low chance of becoming successful educators of their children. The Rosstat data on availability of conditions for healthy all-round development of children in Russian families confirm this view: 76 % of children have no possibility for doing sports, 54% of children do not go on an extended trip during school holidays, for even one week each year, 48% of school-aged children are not able to participate in school trips requiring payment, 31% do not have equipment for holiday activities, 26 % never celebrate their birthday, 18% have no space for doing homework, 8% have no books appropriate to their age at home [Federal State Statistics Service, 2014: 126].

The next basic indicator of HDI is the health of the family members, a factor that influence the educational process. Let us turn to the statistics of the pregnant women's health and the newborn infant's health (Table 2).

Table 2

The state of health of mothers and newborns

	2011	2012	2013
The number of pregnant women who suffer from anemia (in thousands)	582.9	591.6	593.7
The percentage of women who completed pregnancy	34.1	32.7	33.1
The number of newborns with low birth weight (in thousands)	104.7	113.8	114.9

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Data source: Social status and living standard of the Russian population. Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat), Moscow, 2014: 215.

As we can see, the third part of Russian pregnant women has health problems that, certainly, impact on their future children's health. These newborns have low birth weight which results in poor health. It's also important to note the growth dynamics of these statistical indicators in recent years.

The limited financial means of the third part of Russian families (Table 1) determine the educational inequality of their children. It is known that the practice of rendering of paid educational services is becoming more widespread in Russia. Thus, the Russian families' costs for education of one child have reached on average 1294, 8 rubles a month in 2013 [Federal State Statistics Service, 2014:232]. These costs include basic education of the child, extra classes and preparation for entrance to educational institutions. The low-income families usually don't use paid educational services, thus, their children's chances to achieve life success become reduced. Due to the disadvantaged family background, children feel dissatisfaction with the position they occupy in the social structure and they increasingly believe their interests are infringed. In this situation young people can be turned into an object of political, economic, criminogenic and other forms of manipulation.

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Training of Specialists for Social Sphere in the Context of Modernization of Higher Education in Russia

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Abstract. This work it is devoted to methodological and methodical bases of training of specialists for social sphere in the context of modernization of higher education in Russia. One of the prerequisites for entering the Russian higher education system in the international educational space, according to the author, is to build a new model of educational activities based on inter-and transdisciplinary conversion of the most significant and relevant competencies in the field of social and human science.

Keywords: society; social changes; the Bologna process; modernization of higher education system; training of specialists for social sphere; social work; social technologies

As we know, in the 21st century it has increased the role of education as the most important prerequisite for the progressive social development, basis for the training of more highly skilled workforce for new fields of science and technology. Social changes, first of all it means reorientation of social sector observed on local and international levels are at the forefront of higher education. The Bologna process is focused on the entering of national higher education systems in the international educational area.

The primary purpose of this process in our country is modernization of higher education system by way of developing competences, that'll enable graduates not also to realize their professional activities successfully, but give them the opportunity:

- to build new models of activities;
- to change the system;
- to meet the needs and demands of society of modern society [Zimnyaya, 2003].

Leading Russian researchers of higher education – V.I. Baydenko, I.A. Zimnyaya, N.A. Selezneva, A.A. Verbizky, A. I. Subetto, Y. G. Tatur – define as one of the fundamental problems of our higher education the improvement of its quality. There we should speak about the relevance of inter-and transdisciplinary conversion of the most significant competencies of scientific knowledge, especially social sciences and humanity, theory of education, theory and practice of social management, economics, law, etc. The most important condition for developing these competences is the highest standard of education.

It means for academic institutions, training specialists for social sphere, to solve following tasks:

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Firstly, there is necessary to develop a new multilevel model of higher education, giving students mobility through access to more educational opportunities and educational services.

Similar educational trajectories enable Bachelor graduates:

- to combine theoretical training with practical;
- to study at one or another native university or decide for a foreign higher educational institution;
- to start their professional career after completing an undergraduate degree or enter a master's degree program or continue their studies in the framework of the additional professional education.

Secondly, Bachelor graduates need to be developed the competences, that'll facilitate handling of information and knowledge, activity and ability of goal setting, decision-making, taking responsibility for your choices and actions.

Thirdly, the most important task for the academic institutions, training specialists for social sphere, is the preference of practice oriented training in various forms:

- practice;
- workshops;
- practice based learning.

Practice during the entire period of study ensures the development of professional skills and personal qualities and has as its goal the unity of theory with practice, in other words, the unification of promising research directions in social science with modern social work practice.

Fourthly, Master's degree programs for social sciences should take equal priority in research and innovation practices.

Besides, our universities and other academic institutions for social sciences need to consider:

- *Lifelong learning / education*: understanding of higher education as a level of continuing professional education.
- *Internationalization of higher education*: its integrating an international, intercultural, and global dimension into the purpose, functions (teaching, research, service) and delivery of higher education.
- *Diversification of higher education*: more flexible and individual organization of educational activities.
- *Cross-border education*: "higher education that takes place in situations where the teacher, student, program, institution/provider or course materials cross national jurisdictional borders. Cross-border education may include higher education by

public/private and not-for-profit/ for-profit providers. It encompasses a wide range of modalities in a continuum from face-to-face (taking various forms from students travelling abroad and campuses abroad) to distance learning (using a range of technologies and including e-learning).

On the other hand, we should speak about the growing importance of the Russian Orthodox Church as the institute of social ministry, as well as much need for competent specialists for services and institutions for Church social work. It is the opinion of Cyril, the Most Holy Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, that the foreground task of higher education is today «cultivation of human person», the result of which His Holiness designates as good fruits, intellectual, aesthetic, moral and spiritual growth of the individual and society [Vystuplenie..., 2009].

This statement is correlated with another of the Most Holy Patriarch, Alexis II, about the need to take on the staff of the Orthodox parish, along with the priest, the deacon, the regent and other ministers of the clergy, such members as social and educational workers, recruiting not as volunteers, but as waged workers. And more His Holiness emphasized that it will be necessary to increase scale of training of such specialists in native universities [Interv'yu Aleksiya II ...].

In this context the training of specialists for social sphere should be provided to master not only fundamental socio-legal knowledge, methods of effective management, rational and value-based planning, media-pedagogic competencies, allowing to resolve social problems and to meet social needs of the client, but also to master the principles of developing micro-, meso- and macrosocial medium in different fields of social work, technologies of social management in organizations and institutions of all ownership forms, competence-based HR-management and support of volunteers, knowledge about measures of the Church's responsibility by resolving the present social problems.

An important place in the structure of undergraduate and graduate programs in these areas must take training courses of theological and diaconical profile, for example:

- practical theology and social theology;
- dogmatics/ethics, ethical problems of diakonia;
- diakonia and ethics of social work;
- religious and social pedagogic (educational activities at school and in community);
- organization of the Church social service;
- organization of volunteer activities;
- community social work with children and young people;
- management of social work in diaconal organizations and institutions.

Similar educational programs are realized by well-known scientific and educational centers

of Europe, as: Universität Heidelberg, Evangelische Fachhochschule für Sozialarbeit und Sozialpädagogik Berlin, Fachhochschule der Diakonie Freiburg, Katholische Fachhochschule für Sozialarbeit, Sozialpädagogik, Praktische Theologie und Gesundheit & Pflege/University of Applied Sciences Mainz, FH Campus Wien, Fachhochschule St. Gallen, etc. [Denisova, 2008: 136-140].

Conclusion

The training of specialists for social sphere should include not only the study of models and technologies of social work, which already exist in institutional, municipal or other social services. It needs to take into account scale and rapid pace of societal changes of the present, to offer new innovative approaches to ministry of the Russian Orthodox Church and other confessions, including applied innovation research, scientific management and support of projects, scientific advice of founders and organizations, etc. The graduates of Bachelor and Master's degree programs in social work should be ready to manifest their social solidarity, spiritual and civil maturity, interethnic, interconfessional and interreligious harmony, actively participate in maintaining peace and unity in our society and strengthening of social stability in our country.

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Resocialization of Professional Athletes

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Abstract. The article focused on the unique problem situation that depends on the social status of the sportsmen when they finish their professional career. The method of content analysis of semi-structured biographical interviews was chosen.

Keywords: professionalization; resocialization; employment; professional athletes

Sport is central to the construction of identity in many modern societies, acting sometimes as a cult. The sport of high achievements is characterized by a diversity that defines its social functions. General functions include those functions that are realized on the basis of other spheres of human activity: health-improvement, education, entertainment, communication, etc. while socio-emotional function, integration and implementation can be attributed to specific functions. Professional sport contributes to the formation of personality, provides employment opportunities for broad masses of people.

Today, the sport of high achievements starts to play a considerable role in strengthening the image of the Russian Federation on the world arena, a significant element of both internal and foreign policy of the state. The government actively engages young people in professional sports environment, promoting the prestige of sport as a career choice. Thus, the state forms a positive image of the sphere and professional athletes.

For a long time the subdivision of sport into "amateur" and "professional" had been a serious problem affecting the lives of many athletes. In XX century the issue had been almost neglected until the revision of the Olympic Charter allowed professional athletes to compete legally at the Olympics. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that the problem has several solutions, as experts so the very athletes proceed to take the professionalization of sport controversially.

For a great while the work of professional athletes was regulated primarily by the Federal law dated 29.04.1999 N 80-FZ "About physical culture and sport in the Russian Federation", but it didn't reinforce clearly the specificity of employment relationship in the sphere of sports. Nowadays, this law is repealed owing to the adoption of the Federal law dated 04.12.2007 N 329-FZ "About physical culture and sport in the Russian Federation" (as amended on 18.07.2009, hereinafter - the Law on sport).

According to the Federal law dated 04.12.2007 N 329-FZ "About physical culture and sport in the Russian Federation": "professional sports are a part of sport, aimed at organizing and conducting sports competitions, while the participation in (which) and the preparation to which

represent the main activity of the athletes, that is rewarded by the responsible for the event and (or) by wages".

The main difficulty of profession "an athlete" consists primarily in psychological and physical readiness to compete. Moreover, the profession requires huge mental, physical and intellectual inputs. Most sports activities are carried out in team, and this teamwork presents the necessity of the professional communication. Besides, the presence of coach in the training process is compulsory.

Despite the fact that sport became a profession in 1999 by law, it still has no legislation that protects the rights and social guarantees for the athletes after retirement: in the list of professions providing for early retirement, athletes are not mentioned.

Features of the profession, its recent inclusion in the list of professions and positions, the specificity of the employment relationship in sport suggest that this socio-professional environment possess a serious problem, the solution of which, at the moment, the government does not attend to. The problem, in essence, is the socialization of professional athletes and their resocialization [Pirinskaya,2005: 161] after their professional sports activity.

Labor socialization of an athlete occurs during childhood, sometimes even in the period of early childhood. In addition to the primary institutions of socialization such as family, school, in life of a young athlete appears the institute of physical culture and sports, which contributes to significant changes in a person's life. This institute is of critical importance as it obeys its own rules and regulations, affects the family and the school, which are now adjusted to the mode of athlete's exercise, training camps and competitions.

In the period of professionalization athletes experience difficulties because of the emergence of a new social status. There is a risk of severe conflicts after being familiarized with the sporting elite: the contradiction within the groupe is likely to increase. Furthermore, constant work at the breaking point of person's physical possibilities is required.

When socialization in socio-professional group of athletes ends, the man is finally formed as a person with a particular set of characteristics. Each member of this group is obligatory to experience the process of socialization in the group and the process of resocialization at the time of exit from the socio-professional group of athletes and entry into a new professional circle. The process of resocialization proves to be distressing for most athletes. In the first place, this can be accounted for by the physiological rehabilitation after retiring: the athlete's body, accustomed to heavy loads, disorganizes due to the sudden cessation of sports activity, the work of practically all functional systems disrupts.

In addition, after retirement athletes have to change completely the way of life: to find a job and learn another profession, to acquire and get used to a new social status, to develop social

relations in new particular conditions. The process of leaving professional groups is characterized by an increase in interpersonal and intrapersonal conflicts. For many it is a period of «the life crisis of a former athlete» [Stambulova,1997]

The problematics of our research can be defined as a mismatching of the current high social status of a person as a professional athlete and inadequate social status, at least in the first time after leaving professional groups (the discrepancy between the existing and the expected social status, change of group affiliation). Additionally, sport is connected with some issues related to sociology: the influence of gender on sports, interaction of the media and sport, the problem of illicit drugs, etc.

In order to study the process of resocialization of professional athletes and their strategies of resocialization to a new profession, we applied to former professional athletes. The choice of athletics, in turn, is explained by its equal popularity among both men and women.

Athletics doesn't belong to highly paid sports like football and hockey. It is quite within reason to suggest that the retiring athletes don't possess significant financial savings and are forced to acquire a new profession. We were interested in those who have achieved significant results in Russia and abroad, at world level with ranks of CCM (candidate master of sport), MS (master of sport) and MSIC (master of sport international class) and have ceased their professional sport activity in the past ten years.

We suggest that athletics doesn't provide athletes with a significant cash prize, which means that athletes who have finished their career in sport have a constant necessity to urgently search after a new source of income, and it complicates the process of resocialization.

For the research we've chosen the method of content analysis of semi-structured biographical interviews, which dictated to use a sample of typical cases. Typical characteristics of professional athletes were identified with the help of key informants [Respondents: 5 coaches - three male and two female coaches, with the experience of at least 20 years of work as a coach in athletics which have released not less than four masters of sports of international class] (to select for the research exactly typical athletes); the received information includes the typical career path of an athlete from the start to the retirement. Here below are the results that were obtained using the coaches' interviews.

According to the coaches, they treat students like their own children. They know that sporting success and achievements can turn the head of a young athlete and make him/her stop to listen to the coach. Most often, athletes finish the career at the level of master of sports (MS). And the main reason for this is the disagreement with the coach and the inability to continue working at the breaking point.

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All professional athletes receive an education. At least they have the specialized secondary education - for instance, it's possible to study in College "Sparta", Schools of the Olympic Reserve No. 1, No. 2 and No. 3. If they want to get the higher education, they certainly receive help to enter the universities or institutes with the faculties of physical culture and sport or sport management to obtain the specializations of "teacher of physical culture", "athlete-instructor" and "coach."

"An athlete undoubtedly receives help with the entrance, if he/she is worth it, then everybody is interested in such promotion".

Coaches believe that it's much easier for women to become accustomed to life without sport. They usually plunge into the family, where find opportunities for self-realization. Former female athletes behave quite differently in this situation in contrast to men. They attempt to immerse themselves in family relationships and household activities, be realized as a woman and require recognition. It's much harder for men to reconfigure themselves: leaving sport, they have no material and, often, moral support of others, they don't have qualitative education and work experience, so men are more likely to remain in the sports activity, while women are opened to other areas.

"Usually girls don't choose coaching, and rarely become teachers of physical education. Most of them graduate from sports institutions. The boys, on the contrary, almost always remain involved in sport. Girls can become whoever they want to. They often choose a completely different profession and cope with it successfully".

"Concerning those for whom it's easier to adjust to life without sport - undoubtedly for girls."

"It's much harder for people who have achievements at the international level. They readjust difficultly. Such athletes have inherent ambitions - to quit them and come down to earth is too hard. They come back to life with the feeling of superiority, and think that they must be respected everywhere. Arriving at work, they don't understand how to build relationships within new group and how to behave when you are not recognized. Thus, there comes a moment of crisis and either this person leaves the group, or experiences a kind of abstinence syndrom, somehow adapting to circumstances, but still, it's quite a painful moment in life."

The skills and qualities that athletes acquire in sport, allow them to hold their ground in life: *"The qualities imparted to a person by sport always accompany him/her through life. They are: persistence, obstinacy, the ability to succeed"*.

"Athletes are used to be responsible for themselves and their actions, and are not accustomed to obey anyone...those people are characterized by high internal egoism."

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The following statements of athletes come to confirm the words of coaches about high internal selfishness: *"We're more self-confident. We are resistant to the sudden problems. We are persistent and achieve what we strive for. We look for different ways and solutions and never give up. Broadly speaking, we have more opportunities to find various approaches to solving problems. We constantly have to overcome ourselves while training. We have a backbone."*

"We're simply the best"

"...Well we are not standard office "nerds". We are more organized, and dynamic. We are better than others."

"..the coach is calling and says like... «you're so talented and promising, try not to waste such talent». I felt like «God», won the team championship. And that's it. So much confidence right away."

"The sport school simply adored me." "Well, I always guessed that I'm pretty good and able. Everything comes easily."

"My plasticity was at the level of "God". "Although I was the best in the group and even had a yellow belt, I probably only now realize that, naturally, in all sports, which I did, I had some positive results." "As a child, by the way, I'd set the 2000 meters record in Moscow. It's still kept! It's so cool that at my age I've qualified for the world Cup. And, by the way, I'm the European Club's champion."

Of course, there are some exceptions: *"...there is a large percentage of former professional athletes who result in embracing a bottle. It happens exactly due to the lack of recognition in life unlike in sport and, accordingly, not all athletes turn out to be psychologically strong. So, they cast prudence to the winds and it is often either a drug addiction or alcoholism to come next".*

Interviews with former athletes [Respondents: 6 former male athletes and 6 former female athletes] showed that the research failed to identify theoretically based stages of resocialization of the professional athletes: they are absent. The interviewed athletes have switched from one activity to another rather easily and deliberately: all our athletes stated that had retired because of incapacity to reach higher and higher sports results.

"I'd warned the coach at once that «I'm no longer running cool. I'm 25 years old. Well, what if I won't suddenly succeed the next year? What is the sense to train then»."

"The coach had been saying from time to time that she didn't hold me...We could not find the common ground." "But she didn't want me to pass to another coach either. And only a year later, she claimed: «the decision we accept depends on your current performing: we'll break up or not."

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Coaches' point of view was confirmed by the stories of the athletes. All former male athletes somehow remained in sporting activities.

"I was thinking where to go...yet I'm a kind of an athlete. Thus, identified three options: to work either as fitness instructor or as a gym teacher in the school coaching in the evening, or to apply directly to the administration of the area – it's also associated with sports. A friend's mom worked there and had some contacts to help me with employment. "Well, I went to school first.... and failed miserably."

"And then I went to RSUPESY&T (Russian State University of Physical Education, Sport, Youth and Tourism) where we were helped to enter. And I started to attend the preparation courses to get a certificate of a «personal trainer»...at the same time I attended the massage classes."

"Well, it was the first "coaching". I could even become a policeman. But I was offered to coach. They said «we can no longer keep you here as an athlete, but we'll be glad to see you as a coach». It's silly to miss such a great opportunity. So, I'm still taking the adults to train".

Our female respondent completely disengaged herself from her working group limiting herself to the fulfillment of functions and responsibilities while male choose such a profession where they can get some recognition, they need to be considered necessary and useful:

"I haven't ever wanted to work as a fitness instructor. I'm not that kind of person. And it's a very thankless job. I'm just a perfectionist, and I'm sure – if you do something, you should do your best. But people there believe that if they came to train and paid for this it means that I should do exercises instead of them and follow them constantly, whereas I try to inculcate fitness sports culture on them, the right nutrition. They really need me. "

"Good kids make you feel such an emotional response. On the whole, children are awesome. In fact, the work is very cool. Plus, I have an opportunity to be in good shape."

"When I come at work... there's always "Hello, Konstantin Andreevich". They turn to me with various problems...some want me to set a skating rink; some need me to set up gates. I feel so old. But I want to lead the basketball section. Recently, we've gone out to play with the "boys". I want to train kids."

"I feel the clients need me. Once they are on the edge to break the regime, they immediately write me in 'WhatsApp', and get my support. In that way they attend training with such pleasure. I feel my efforts are not in vain."

As far as male athletes were somehow involved in sport, they didn't face the specific problems. The staff recognizes them while their students are in need of them. We can draw a conclusion that those who remain in sport pass the process of resocialization successfully and are not confronted with the difficulties of mastering a new profession. To detect the difficulties faced

by ex-professional male athletes, we should question those who were forced to radically change the professional sphere.

Regarding the girls, none of the respondents links a new profession with sports. One respondent went into banking. According to her, she quickly felt comfortable there and delved into a new business. But she had problems in communicating with the staff. She came in to find a common ground only with two colleagues out of fifty. She also had a strained relationship with headships. However, she had worked in this company for more than two years and left only because the salary was cut. She admits that she gained all her close friends in sport and does not need anyone else. She is certain: "at work you must work and nothing more".

Another interviewee works in a construction company where she got a job through pull and at the same time she visits regularly the former sport school, where does a little exercise.

After leaving the professional groups, the life of a sportsman is in his/her own hands. The state doesn't provide any assistance to former professional athletes. But, according to athletes themselves, they don't even count on such support as from the state so from any other organization.

To sum up, all interviewed athletes are content with their lot. They have no considerable problems and are satisfied with their status:

"Well, I'm not sorry at all that got into sport. But in principle, I could have tried something else. I just love to change the scenery."

"Impossible. What I supposed to feel sorry for? My life is wonderful. I look at my friends, sisters and thank my lucky stars for bringing me together with athletes. They are great people, faithful friends. This is a worthy tribute for all the time spent on sport".

"I don't know what I would do in a life without sports, but I would never refuse mine. I like everything very much, I don't think that sport impeded me anyway. On the contrary, sport has developed me as individual and I like the person I have become. I believe, that even in the future, it will be easier for me to arrange some business, than for those who are not engaged in sports. The business, in fact, is the sport too. Just the mental one."

According to the results of the conducted research we can draw the following conclusions:

1) After leaving the professional groups, athletes do not go to the labour exchange. If they feel the need of help with employment, they usually apply to their coaches, that are always ready to support their "children".

2) None of the interviewed athletes consider the state to be obliged to them for the years of training. Athletes believe that they don't need the help of the state and their whole life depends on them.

3) The process of resocialization of male athletes is not complicated by the fact that socialization of the professional athlete begins in the period of primary socialization. Their resocialization can be difficult provided they completely eliminate their connection with sport.

4) Unlike female athletes, the male athletes prefer to stay in the field of sports even changing their profession. We can assume that this can be accounted for by the fact that sports group remains for male athletes a reference group and they find it very hard to replace it.

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Foreign Gouverneurs in Russia after 1917: Virtual Image and the Real Status

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Abstract. The history of the “gouverneurship” in Russia starts with the XVII century. The Foreign tutors and governesses had a special impact on the development of the system of the home education and all the national system of the education in Russia. Areas of sociological research are: studying of changes of the professional status of the tutors and governesses depending on the state protectionist policy; the analysis of the professionalism, the competence and the educational status of tutors and governesses at various stages of formation of professional group; an assessment of individual social mobility and social mobility of group of the Foreign tutors and governesses. The features of realization of the status of the tutor and governess in Russia since 1917 are described in this article.

Keywords: professionalism; governess; tutor; mobility; home education; social status; legal status; social cultural resource; market of home education

First of all, we will focus on the terminology. Preparation of article has caused some difficulties in translation into English. We could not find of English equivalent to the word “gouvernerstvo”. The Russian language has borrowed the word “gouverner” from the French (gouverneur).

The authentic definition of profession has been given in Encyclopedia of Diderot and d’Alembert [Rzheutsky, 2011:69]. “... Like the mentor, he, imparts necessary moral qualities to the children belonging to a particular social class and like the teacher forms their mind”. We adhere to this understanding of the functional tasks of the gouverneur.

There are two linguistic forms of this professional activity in Russian: “**gouverner**” (a male) and “**gouvernantka**” (a female). Interestingly, that in the Russian language are both forms of this word have the same root. In all Romance languages, these words are not the same root. This is primarily due to the gender status of the profession in a historical context

“Gouvernerstvo” as a derivative word means: on the other hand, the type of educational activity; on the other hand, annoying custody; in addition, as a social institution which has significant influence on the formation of educational space. In English, this concept could be referred to as “gouverneurship”.

We have identified six stages in the history of the foreign “gouverneurship” in Russia. It is possible to allocate two significant periods since 1917.

Our proposed periodization is based on the following criteria:

- change in the professional status of foreign gouverneurs, depending on the state of protectionist policies in the field of education;

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- changes in the competence and educational status of gouverneurs - foreigners;
- a change in the scenario of the formation of professional and educational trajectories of foreigners working in Russia;
- the impact of external factors on the choice of motivation of foreigners.

By the beginning of XX century, the measures taken by the government to improve the quality of home education have led to tangible results:

- professional group of home gouverneurs which consisted before the beginning of XIX century, mainly of the representatives of foreign countries began to expand at the expense of local gouverneurs (for the most part governesses). The legal and the professional status of the home teacher was legally issued;

- professional level of teachers, gouverneurs and governesses (including foreign nationals) increased;

- the state system of preparation and certification of home teachers and, the most important, women - teachers was created;

- the market of Home Education outlined the competitive relationships within the professional group:

- between foreign gouverneurs (governesses) ;
- between Russian gouverneurs (governesses) who have received specialized education;
- between Russian and foreign gouverneurs (governesses);

- established a system of control and monitoring of activities of gouverneurs and governesses;

- restrictions on the activities of foreign gouverneurs led to the following processes:
-the assimilation of various forms of horizontal and vertical social mobility (marriage; forced adoption of citizenship due to the lack of social garanties to foreign educators and teachers);

- the change of professional activity: upward and downward social mobility (heads of private boards and schools, teachers at institutes and boarding schools; research activity in the field of history, philology, pedagogy, etc);

- mixed migration: the outflow of gouverneurs from Russia (not adapted to the conditions of a new state policy; not adapted to the conditions of life in Russia; had decided the task to improving the economic and social status;and so forth.); inflow of gouverneurs into Russia (high-level professionals, political refugees, seekers of high economic and social status and so on.).

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Since 1917, the home education was practically forbidden. The foreign "gouverneurship" has ceased to exist. During the emigration of Russian nobility in the first years of the Soviet power the part of the gouverneurs and the governesses left Russia together with the employers, but a small part of them has assimilated. Their fate in the USSR is little-known. Some worked as school teachers of foreign languages. Of the known fates of foreign gouverneurs - the life of Pierre Gilliard. "He was the mentor of Tsarevich Alexei Nikolaevich. After the murder of the royal family he remained in Siberia. In 1920 he returned to Switzerland. Gilliard began to teach French at the University of Lausanne, he was awarded the French Legion of Honor "[Pierre Gilliard].

However, classical literature, memoirs, letters, dramatic works, periodicals, articles in academic dictionaries and encyclopedias was maintaining the stable image of the gouverneur-foreigner and retained a virtual image of the profession and secured him a virtual professional status. This image was as a rule negative, but with irony and nostalgia. The negative attitude towards activities of foreign gouverneurs was continued in Soviet science tradition in even more nihilistic aspect. This trend was weakened to the 60-th years of the twentieth century. Since the late 80s. XX century the researches about foreigners working in Russia XVIII-XIX centuries appears. The theme of foreign "governership" return into the sphere of interest of researchers. [Solodyankina, 2007:128] .

"The gouverneur-foreigner is engaged in the upbringing of children in the elitist, aristocratic families." It is the defining characteristic of a foreign gouverneur activity in Russia, which has never, anywhere and nobody questioned [Ivanova, 2013: 117]. Formal logic leads to the following conclusion: "The presence of the gouverneur in the family is one of the criteria for its belonging to high society." The Ersatz criterion of elitism emerged in the Soviet period on this information - psychological background. Migration in the early decades of the Soviet power of the rural population in the city has created a large market offers of unskilled labor. The Families of citizens with children became one of places of application of such work. Nurses made up a significant professional and social group. According to the Soviet census of 1939, there were 372,488 of female domestic workers in the RSFSR [Klotz, 2012: 257-258]. If the family had the opportunity to invite a nanny for education and child care, so she took place on higher level of the social ladder compared with those families who did not have a nanny. A new contender for the criterion of elitism like a gouverneur for school-age children came later.

Any kind of a rendering paid services at home was illegal and was persecuted by the authorities. In this regard, the market of home care and education was left in shadow. However, the society began to feel the need for the revival of various forms of education and training, including home care and education at home.

Since the 90s of the twentieth century The Renaissance of home education begins. In fact, the law "On education", has legitimized family education and has equated it to the education provided by specialized organizations [Ob obrazovanii, 2012]. The Home education becomes an actual educational trajectory for children. An analysis of the empirical and documentary sources confirms the active formation of the institute gouverneurs and governesses. The motives of the Russian family to use foreigners as teachers and gouverneurs have not changed over the past 400 years, despite the creation of a developed system of public education, of a system of training of specialized teaching staff.

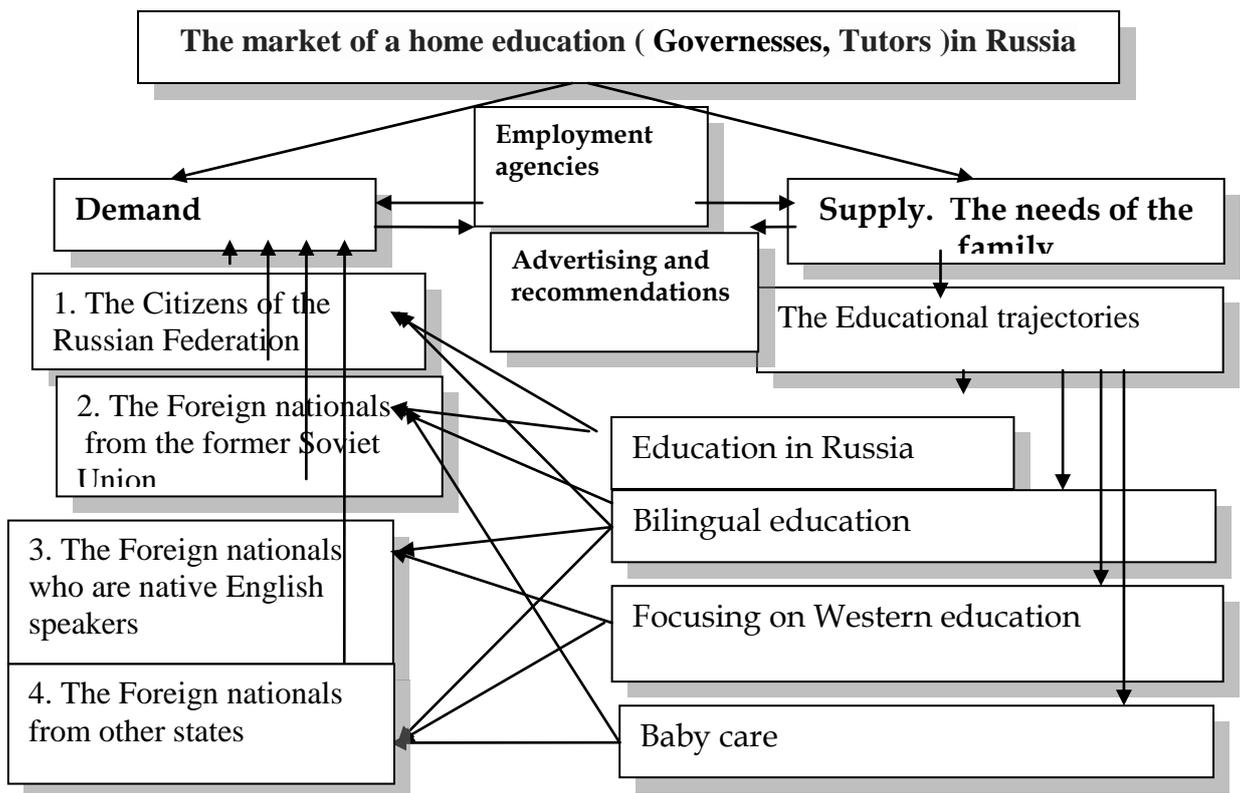


Fig. 1. The Structure of the market of home education

The structure of the modern market of a home education is reflected in Figure 1. We allocated four groups of the gouverneurs providing the services in the market of home education. There are the citizens of the Russian Federation, the foreign citizens of the republics of the former USSR, the Foreign nationals who are native English speakers, the Foreign nationals are from the other states. The educational trajectories for children are forming Depending on needs of a family. The gouverneurs and teachers render the following types of service: educational services according to the Russian legislation; providing the bilingual education; children are preparing to study in prestigious western schools and universities; child care.

Thus, we described four segments of home education. Three of them are focused on attracting foreign experts.

There is a great demand for services of a teacher-native speaker (mostly English speaker). This is most pronounced in families with high income and in families oriented at teaching children in prestigious schools. Thus, the family is planning such educational trajectories for children that provide them with the credentials, which will enable them in the future to maintain and improve their social status and work not only in Russia but also abroad [Abramov, 2007: 35].

We have formulated a number of provisions that allow more fully describe the state of the modern "foreign governance" in Russian:

- **Professional status of the governors - foreigners** has formed outside of the Russian educational methodical and methodological experience and without the interaction with the Russian teaching community. Individualism of the governor is expressed in the concept of the free formation of educational and cultural - educational environment.

- **Resource credentials** of the teacher is expressed in the documentary evidences of the level and quality of professionalism and must comply with the required competencies. Control methods "unconditional statement" of a high level of Western education does not exist. Check of the professionalism of the governors foreigners is assigned on recruitment agencies. However, recruitment agencies operate in a market reality, they are profit-oriented. The quality of services is beyond their responsibility;

- **Differences in the Educational practices in Russia and in other countries are very considerable.** These differences are expressed in the forms of teaching and education; in the methods of motivating students; in assess the results and achievements; in forming a positive and constructive view of the world; in methods of conflict resolution and upholding human rights and freedoms. Having a significant social and cultural resources the governors - foreigner wins this competition. This is not due to his high level of enlightenment but his adherence to value orientations of the Western mentality;

- As a general rule, the work of domestic staff, including governors and governesses, is outside the tax and labor legislation of Russia. According to experts, the percentage of legally correct registration of labor relations with foreign governors is minimal (10 percent%). The disappointing conclusion - the legal status of foreign governor in most cases can be characterized as "illegal labor activity";

- The legal security of relationship between the employer and the foreigners is guaranteed by the conditions signed contract. Analysis of a number of similar documents showed

that the some contracts have such important paragraph : "This contract is drawn up and shall be construed in accordance with the laws of England and Wales". This indicates that the primacy belongs to foreign law in resolving potential conflicts [English Nanny..., 2015]. If employer has signed such an agreement, is hereby has confirmed that a gouverner - foreigner in our time has a considerable legal resource and high social status comparable to the employer's status ;

- Recruitment agencies actively advertise benefits of the educational trajectories oriented for a career outside of Russia that gives a political shade to activities of gouverners foreigners. [British nanny..., 2015]. " Nanny governess from England - it is the foundation of development and education of your child in order that he might in the future to study at prestigious European and American universities, perfectly to know colloquial British English, in order to he absorbed the British style of behavior and rules of European etiquette...";

- We analyzed 150 CVS foreigners seeking work to the Russian families [English Nanny..., 2015]. Of these, 57% - the citizens of the UK, 9% - the citizens of the United States, the remaining 34 per cent are citizens of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, France, Spain. It is impossible to ignore an another group of foreign gouverneurs, consisting of the former citizens of the Soviet Union. According to the materials of the agency "Premium personnel": 50% of the gouverneurs of this group are the citizens of Ukraine, 37.2% are the citizens of Moldova [Utyasheva, 2014: 6];

- 87% of applicants are women, 13% are men. The average age of the applicants are 36 years;

- The analysis of the texts of the CVS allowed to formulate the basic causes job search by foreigners in Russia (They are standardized by the author, based on the semantic content analysis of not formalized information). 58.18% of the specialists are desire to apply their professional skills. 25.5% people would like to find a job in Russia. 50% of gouverners and governesses are already working in Russia (Moscow, St. Petersburg, Nizhny Novgorod, Kazan, Kemerovo, Barnaul). 6.36% of applicants would like to have a separate housing. [Professional..., 2014: 212];

- In our view, the economic component of the total interest of foreigners to the employment in Russia is much higher than fixed in the summary (1.8%) [Linking Great Britain..., 2015]. The wage to the British nanny in Russia is about 850 pounds per week. The Wage 180,000 rubles a month is high not only in UK but also in Russian Federation . Against the background of the salaries of the gouverners - Russian citizens and citizens of the former Soviet Union with the knowledge of English language in the 60000 - 80000 rubles (in Moscow), English gouverner has a priori higher **socio - economic status** [The city lights in..., 2015];

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- 83% of gouverneurs and governesses (analysis summaries) have confirmed their professionalism by the qualification certificates (three or more). This is consistent with the trends of today's world, when the public and professional positions of individuals are determined largely on the basis of their track record (credentials).

The most common diplomas and certificates indicating competency are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

The qualifications required for employment gouverneurs

Abbreviation name certificate	The name of the certificate, diploma	As a percentage of the number of applicants
TEFL	Teaching English as a Foreign Language – Certificate of completion of training in teaching English as a foreign language	13,3
TESOL	Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages – Certificate in Teaching English as a second language	9,32
DCE	Diploma in Child care and Education. A two-year course (contains items the physical and intellectual development of the child, first aid, communication with parents, practice working with children)	5,18
BA	Bachelor – Bachelor's degree in different fields of knowledge (psychology, chemistry, mathematics, education, culture, etc.).	66,67
MA	Master – Master's degree in different fields of knowledge (psychology, chemistry, mathematics, education, culture, etc.).	28,67
Certifications	Certificates issued in various courses.	66,67

- Analysis of the resume has showed that **21% of professionals in the first education are linguists.** 18% - teachers. 7% - physicians. 5% - sociologists. Only 3% had received a technical education.
- Technology Montessori is one of the most widely known in the Russian foreign training and education. 11 percent of job seekers, are specialists in teaching at this methodology..17.3% are skilled specialists in working with children with special needs. **Foreigners do not know the Russian methods of teaching preschoolers.**
- **One hundred percent of applicants speak English.** 34% is in varying degrees, speak Russian, 52% speak French 12% speak German, 13.3% speak Italian.
- Gouverneur-foreigner is considering any place of employment, any State, any family as an opportunity to improve the professional level, to accumulate credentials **needed to provide upward social mobility and maximum self-realization.**

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- In terms of the Russians, who are used to permanence, modern *gouverneur* foreigner has a rare quality. With the apparent ease He changes own social status in connection with the search for jobs in different countries and have different employers.-is that with apparent ease they change their social status in connection with the search for jobs in different countries and have different employers. *Gouverneurs*, as an individual, characterized by a high degree of horizontal social mobility. It is, *inter alia*, an indicator of democratic personality.
- Typically modern *gouverneur* are working at one place not more for 1 year.
- There is no visible contact with the national educational system. Competitive advantages of foreigners in the educational market, their direct participation in the formation of educational trajectories of children of elite groups in Russia,are creating some social tension. This situation is similar to the situation developing in Russia in the early 19th century.

An active process of formation of a professional group of teachers of home education - are the obvious realities of the modern educational space of Russia. Part of this group are *gouverneurs* foreigners. So, High professional, social, economical and cultural status of foreign specialists, emphasizes a certain influence of this segment of the educational market for the development of the entire system of education in Russia, on the one hand, reflects the growing interest in our country among representatives of different countries, on the other hand.

Conclusions

As a component of cross - cultural interaction between Russia and West the Institute of *gouverneurship* in Russia is developing on the new socio-professional and legal basis now . Table 2 summarizes some of the characteristics inherent to the foreign *gouverneurship* in a historical context.

Table 2

Foreign *gouverneurs* in Russia: Comparative characteristics

XVIII - XIX centuries.	XX - XXI centuries.
The principle of Continuing education and care. <i>Gouverneur</i> was kept close to the pupil	<i>Gouverneurs</i> are trying to keep their personal space. As a rule, they do not live in the house of the employer. The principle of Continuing education is not respected.
Functions of the tutor, mentor, <i>Bonne</i> , nannies, governesses, teachers are significantly different.	Functions of the governess and nanny are almost identical. They differs only in the age of the pupils.
Originally The Professional group of home educators consisted mainly of representatives of foreign States. However this group began to expand at the expense of Russian <i>gouverneurs</i> (for the most part governesses)	The professional group of home <i>gouverneurs</i> consist mainly of Russian-speaking <i>gouverneurs</i> and nannies. The number of the Foreign <i>gouverneurs</i> is marginally

Table 2-continued	
The Foreign gouverneurs are invited for the families of the Russian elite	The Foreign gouverneurs are invited for families with high incomes, including elite.
The legal status of a home teacher and gouverneurs was Formalized.	The legal status of foreign gouverneur is virtually absent
The main task of gouverneur foreigner is the forming of moral qualities and learning languages	A wide range of professional competence of the modern gouverneur. Main line of action - language training.
State takes protectionist measures to limit the impact of foreign gouverneurs	The Foreign "gouverneurship" is out of state regulation
Foreigners come to Russia for the following reasons: to work; in connection with the forced emigration; for the implementation of relevant opportunities for upward social mobility	Modern gouverneur is arriving in Russia to carry out their professional interests; to work; to spread their value systems.
The image of a Gouverneur foreigners is enshrined in literature, in the letters, in a dramatic works, in a memoirs.	The image of a gouverneur foreigner enshrined in literature, epistolary, drama, memoirs of 18-20 centuries. This is not correspond to the actual qualities and to image of the modern educator

Historian [Klyuchevskii, 2011: 3-4], wrote about the three waves of influx of foreigners in Russia in the XVIII century. Thereby he marked the three types of professional and life trajectories of foreign gouverneurs, influencing the minds and moral position of the Russian elite. Namely About anything:

- not thinking hairdresser-gouverneur ;
- freethinker;
- conservative and Catholic.

Modern foreign gouverneurs we could characterize as mobile professionally- Democrats

The role of foreign tutors in modern Russian social process is poorly understood and is not formulated. However, the facts of history and modern practice testify to their certain impact on the socio - political mood, as well as on the directions of the vectors of the education system as a whole. This represents a significant social and political resources of foreign gouverneurship as it is.

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Development of Intercultural Interactions of University Students

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Abstract. The article describes main factors that affect the formation of intercultural interactions among students and the role of the University in this system; it also describes potential of the university education that affect the formation of future expert's willingness to intercultural cooperate.

Keywords: Intercultural interactions of students; potential of higher education; fullness of specialist's preparation; university; the system of in-class works and out-class learning

Fullness of specialist's preparation in the modern university orients science and practice for searching potential that can effect formation intercultural interactions of students as an aspect of the preparation. The successful solution of this problem possible if management team and teaching staff of the university will take into consideration main factors that affect formation of cross-cultural interaction of students. We described factors of social, social-pedagogical, pedagogical, social-psychological and psychological kind, based on the analyses of scientific literature and professional practice in the field of the specialist's preparation in modern higher education.

Cross-cultural environment in the student's live activity. This environment of student's life can stimulate the requirements for intercultural dialogue and influence the formation of cross-cultural interactions of students. Cooperation with those who don't belong to the native culture is due with need to demonstrate knowledge of deferent culture and another language. It's important to know the language and culture of your partner and also significant is use this knowledge to practical solutions professionals and personal challenges when you cooperate with those who belong to other different nationalities. Friendly meetings are implemented at the level of interpersonal interactions that in turn requires knowledge of traditions and understanding aspects of the partner's behavior, knowledge about the history of the partner's state. Cross-cultural area gives chance for future expert demonstrate knowledge, competence and express himself as a professional and as a person. Cross-cultural environment allows future specialist independently evaluate their readiness to cooperate with students from other cultures. It also allows to model variants of interactions that can be in the future.

Professional requirements of future specialist. Such student's requirements can arise while he is studying at university or while he gets some professional practice. This kind of

student's requirements arrives from student's vision of the necessity in intercultural interactions for successful professional activity. Students from different disciplines focused on intercultural communication, with prospects of joint projects with students from other countries. Students find out in the system of the university education necessity to develop cooperation experience, including intercultural, as a means of their career development. Acquaintance with the content of professional activity that focuses on regular contact with representatives of various nationalities and countries stimulates to develop the intercultural experience of young specialists. First of all this process is manifested in the needs to learn a foreign language and then it manifested in the requirements to know traditions and business partner's customs, farther student seeks to study fundamentals of history and culture of the people. Future expert carries out search of forms, methods and means of acquisition of experience of cross-cultural interaction in system of classroom and out-of-class occupations, including through courses of additional education.

Tolerant attitude of the student towards culture of other people and towards representatives of culture. Significant factor of formation student's experience of cross-cultural interaction is the tolerant attitude of future expert towards nonnative culture and its representatives. Young man realize that he lives in the world when the fullness realization of his professional and personal competence is possible only if he can cooperate with partners from different cultures. Young man understands that he lives in the world where full realization of professional and personal competence is possible only if it's able to cooperate with partners from different cultures. Students gain experience of cross-cultural interaction gradually at the higher school. Primarily future specialist detects the requirements for tolerance towards the culture of other people and their representatives. It is possible due to the system of special courses and general education subject matters at the higher school where teachers have opportunities to carry out high-quality training of the student in professional knowledge and abilities, and also, to knowledge and abilities of sociocultural character (philosophy, history, sociology, psychology, foreign languages, cultural science and others). Teachers create conditions in order that the student could use the knowledge and abilities which he gained in classroom and out-of-class activity, also teachers stimulate development of experience of cross-cultural interaction of future experts.

Openness of university education of experts. Openness of university education assumes expansion and deepening of integration processes, which provide interaction of various cultures in educational space. The modern higher school is actively integrated by various spheres of activity of the person (science, production and other spheres). Teachers and students are able to "penetrate" into a different educational and cultural environment. Openness of the higher education demands from participants (heads, teachers and students) more profound sociocultural

knowledge and experience of cross-cultural interaction. For future expert is important realize prospects of acquisition and improvement not only professional knowledge and abilities, but also experience of formation of effective cross-cultural communication. Partner communications between the Russian and foreign higher education institutions that include cooperation of scientists and teachers, and also active communication between students, leads students to successful knowledge of other cultures, development of experience of effective cross-cultural interaction.

Sociocultural orientation of joint activity of teachers and students. Teacher has opportunity to help future expert to cope with problems of sociocultural character in the conditions of classroom and out-of-class activity. University teachers in cooperation with the student form the scientific knowledge, develop practical skills on training courses and also form a worldview that allows the student to carry out evaluation of the world and himself in this world. The world of the human relations is diverse and many-sided; it consists of interactions of the people different in age, sex and education, on a nationality and religion. To be able to realize the interaction with people of other cultures is an essential quality of the student as a person and a professional. Cooperation of teachers and students allows young people to properly assess the socio-cultural situation, to gain experience of intercultural interaction. Possible to use the variation forms and methods of joint activities of teachers and students in system of classroom and out-of-class occupations (for example, conferences, research projects, etc.). When a student knows that the teacher is interested in the success of the student, the student seeks to broaden and deepen the knowledge and experience of intercultural communication. Such work is successfully carried out in system of mass and group out-of-class occupations. Student's active participation in the organization of festivals, evenings of meetings with representatives of different cultures stimulates the development of tolerant thinking and intercultural experiences. Getting to know a different culture, relations of people of other cultures in the course of watching the show, visit an art gallery, music room, the centers of intercultural relations allows future specialist to understand and take into account the peculiarities of life of different nationalities, the specifics of their relationship, traditions and customs, which positively affects the development of young people's experiences of intercultural interaction.

Professionalism and personal qualities of the teacher. Lack of professionalism at the teacher eliminates all his actions in pedagogical process and negatively influences a psychological state of students. The professional competence of university teacher affects the formation of the future experts experience intercultural interaction. Professionalism of the teacher in the solution of this problem reveals in its actions as the complete personality possessing ability to estimate universal and specific in object which is required to be studied to

students. The student estimates the teacher and possibilities of effective cooperation with it if sees in it the person and the professional in unity. Efficiency of formation at students of experience of cross-cultural interaction becomes the indicator of professional competence and development of the identity of the teacher, thanks to the importance of the personal attitude of the teacher towards other culture, cross-cultural interaction, to representatives of other cultures. As the professional, the teacher should resolve issues of training of students for cross-cultural interaction, to impart necessary knowledge and own experience of realization of this process. Professionalism and personal qualities of the teacher positively influence the development of the students' experience of intercultural interaction at any stage of working with students. Professionalism and personal qualities of the teacher play an important role even in such matters of joint activities such as language training students or shared historical and cultural excursions in the country.

Integration of classroom and out-of-class work. Students are active in a process of the organization of meetings with famous people who represent various national cultures. process of preparation of various kinds of extracurricular activities provides the opportunity to learn the educational material quality. Lack of educational extracurricular work related to the content readable courses often lead to that the knowledge that were obtained in the courses of a foreign language, psychology and special courses remain virtually untapped. It is quite often observed that students are poorly prepared for interpersonal or business communication because of weak understanding of communications between disciplines, Such students understand this things in theory but they not practice the communicative activity as future professionals. Integration of classroom and out-of-class occupations allows to solve - to provide positively specified problem effective formation at the student of experience of cross-cultural interaction.

Humanization of the relations between the teacher and students. Young people of many nationalities study at modern university. Such condition of university's practice assumes emergence at students of requirement in diverse knowledge of culture and history of the different people, of a foreign language, ethnopsychology, and also in experience of cross-cultural interaction. The humanization of the relations between teachers and students is expressed in their respect for culture for representatives of culture and personal mutual respect, goodwill and need for contact for the solution of personal or business problems. Mutual aid of partners characterizes the humanistic relations which development is conducted by both parties. In a similar situation the student starts showing requirement not only to knowledge of effective cross-cultural communication, but also to development of experience of cross-cultural interaction. The teacher creates conditions for use of this knowledge and experience to develop these skills at the student. The teacher promotes self-realization of the personality, there is a deepening of the relations

between students and representatives of other cultures in system of classroom and out-of-class classes in subject matters. As examples of the extracurricular occupations we can name various mass actions, group work on a profile of the received specialty with representatives of other states and the people (creative associations of students), individual occupations and consultations.

Positive psychological climate in student's collective. Positive psychological climate in the student group and high school team generally creates conditions for effective solution the challenges facing higher education, in particular, the task of forming the students' experience of intercultural interaction. One aspect of the effective social activity is psychological stability. Group's high psychological stability helps them better executes a task which is required from them. At the higher school personal qualities and professional abilities of future experts are checked in practice because every student is a subject and object of relations in this educational space, which represents the micro and meso social environment. As the subject of interaction with teachers and colleagues-students, the student seeks for achievement of qualitative results in interpersonal and corporate communication. That's because educational space of high school is a multicultural environment, and because students require the experience of intercultural interaction. Development of the students's competence in high education's multicultural environment is possible if the management of university and the teachers will carry out a pedagogically sound management of the educational system. The system of classroom and extracurricular activities in the quality of the organization and the skillful management of it provides unique opportunities to acquire the students the necessary communication expertise and experience of intercultural interaction. Uniqueness consists in big variability of the organization of various models of training of specialists when all subjects of this system consider the importance of creation of positive psychological climate in collective, cooperation between students that in finally impact to understanding of effective cross-cultural interaction of participants of educational process.

Student's need for self-improvement. Effective formation of the students experience intercultural interaction promotes the systematic cultivation of personality, one of the most important qualities of tolerance which is expressed in the pursuit of the individual to understand and accept the other with his different culture, religion and build the optimal interpersonal and business relationships.

The need of future expert for self-improvement provides a basis for variants of programs of positive acceptance of as personality and professional. The most important point of the program of self-improvement of the personality is process of effective communication with people as means successful self-realization of creative potentials of the personality in

multicultural social space. Interactions with people of other cultures and nationalities, becomes the logical process in the program of self-improvement of the young man. It is expedient for teacher to pay attention on such purpose of student, to help with a choice of means and ways of achievement of progress in self-improvement process. Self-improvement is connected with development of all spheres of the personality – intellectual, strong-willed, emotional, motivational in their unity. Development of these spheres in unity allows the personality to estimate the integrity, which is realized, first of all, in interaction with surrounding people.

Studying and the accounting of major factors of formation at students of experience of cross-cultural interaction, allows solving purposefully pedagogically reasonably this problem at the higher school.

The higher education is focused not only on professionalizing of student's youth, but also on socialization and formation at students of experience of self-realization. Triune strategy of the higher education puts the basis for fundamental training of the experts, providing universality and mobility of use of the gained knowledge and abilities, stimulating at them requirements for creative style of activity, for development of experience of cross-cultural interaction.

The higher education in modern society represents a social institution that has optimal opportunities for the development of the formation of the students' experience of intercultural interaction. Reserves of the higher education are considerable in aspect of formation at students of experience of cross-cultural interaction.

We allocated a number of the main aspects of use of reserves of the higher school in formations at students of experience of cross-cultural interaction: communicative, cognitive, motivational, administrative, emotional.

Communicative aspect. The higher education's space provides successful functioning and development of cross-cultural interaction. Formation of experience of student's cross-cultural interaction is possible in system of classroom and out-of-class activity. It is expediently effective using the contents, forms and methods of the teaching and educational work directed on expansion and deepening of communicative knowledge and abilities in time of various class-works or out-of-class activity. Complex use of studies on various disciplines is more successfully carried out in the course of integration of lecture and seminar occupations, and on occupations of scientific organizations, creative associations and circles, in the course of individual out-of-class tasks, and also, at the organization and carrying out mass out-of-class occupations – subject decades, evenings, festivals, competitions, exhibitions.

It is expedient to pay attention of future experts about features of interaction with representatives of various cultures in the complex of work on expansion and deepening of communicative knowledge and abilities at students on various subject matters. It's important to

note specifics of creation of the relations with people of various cultures and nationalities; it is necessary to form interests and needs for studying of history, psychology and culture of the different people, foreign languages at students. Expansion and deepening of communicative knowledge and abilities at students in the context of prospect of development of experience of cross-cultural interaction at them – a significant task of teachers of the higher school. For teacher of the higher education is expedient to know ethnic stereotypes of students and to create the conditions providing understanding and self-liquidation of young people those of them who "blocking" an effective cross-cultural interactions. When in classes student gets knowledge and communicative abilities that necessary for implementation of effective cross-cultural dialogue, he becomes able to join to various forms of out-of-class activities where he has all potentials to use this knowledge and abilities for intensive communication with colleagues – students from the countries of the near and far abroad.

Cognitive aspect. The higher education provides intensive development of informative strategy of the personality, formation of creative activity in future expert are created. Student deepens and expands knowledge and abilities of professional and general education character, improves ways of independent acquisition of knowledge in the conditions of educational space of higher education institution. Student has opportunity to get acquainted with historical aspects of development of different cultures and the people, learn something new about languages of various people, philosophical views of representatives of various cultures, traditions and customs of national communities, to gain experience of implementation of cross-cultural dialogue.

Motivational aspect. At the higher school there are created school prerequisites for detection by the identity of vital meanings and values, and also, realization of interests and requirements of personal and social character. The higher education focuses the teacher on development not only cognitive interests and requirements at students, but also on formation of professional and social requirements. It is necessary to create in the future expert such the need for cross-cultural interaction as the major requirement for personal development and professional growth. The graduate of modern higher education institution can't be content only with professional knowledge and abilities any more, knowledge of sociocultural character is necessary for it. Considering intensive integration of modern education and all spheres of production and non-productive activity of future expert, it is expedient to focus on awareness of the importance of cross-cultural interaction in social and professional life. It is important to to develop need for improvement of the business and friendly relations with representatives of different cultures and the people.

Administrative aspect. At the higher school there are considerable resources for management and self-government of polycultural educational system. The guide and teachers of

universities in the course of development of the concept of development of higher education institution needs to define accurately strategic reference points of social and professional adaptation of student's youth, including, development in future expert of experience of cross-cultural interaction. During the planning, the organization, control of educational process, definition of means and ways of motivation of its participants, it is expedient to consider specifics of faculty, its tradition, structure of teachers and students. It is important to reveal possibilities of the all-university and faculty chairs providing classroom and out-of-class activities of students for subject matters. The purpose and tasks, the content of teaching and educational work, methods, means and forms of the organization of classroom and out-of-class occupations are pedagogically reasonable. It's all focused on formation at student's youth of experience of cross-cultural interaction provide effective development in future experts of experience of cross-cultural interaction.

Emotional aspect. At the higher school are created conditions for such things as formation of psychologically comfortable activity of the student, for realization of emotional potentials of the personality, manifestation of high feelings and complete functioning of all spheres of the personality. The cross-cultural educational environment introduces a considerable emotional charge in all forms of activity of the young man. Creation of the cross-cultural and international relations demands continuous self-improvement of the personality. While improving the intellectual, esthetic and moral beginnings, the student improves experience of emotional reaction. Emotional life of student's youth is rich and various. Emotionally attractive atmosphere of joint classroom and out-of-class activity of students of different nationalities and cultures enriches their social and professional arsenal, stimulates interest in cross-cultural dialogue at them, forms need for cross-cultural interaction, providing to them successful formation of experience of cross-cultural interaction.

In modern conditions of development of a human civilization the university is the main social institute, providing complete training of the expert which assumes formation at the student not only systems of professional knowledge and abilities, but also experience of cross-cultural interaction.

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Perspectives of the (de)Professionalization of Child-preschool care: Governesses as a Part of Preschool Teacher Professional Group

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Abstract. This article presents an analysis of governesses, as part of a professional group of preschool teachers. This research is a part of the project "Processes of actual market of preschool education". The localization of this job within the private sector and informal employment stimulates problems of social stratification of the population and purchasing power in the evaluation of structural characteristics of professional groups and perspectives of its professionalization.

Keywords: sociology of profession; sociology of education; preschool education; professional group; governess

In Russia the segment of care and education of children of preschool age is quite diverse. In the Soviet period it included mostly state-owned quite a well-developed network of nurseries and kindergartens and informal private sector (mainly the labor of mother and/or with the assistance of relatives (grandmothers, aunts, etc.). In actual life we can see presence of public and private, formal and informal services. They represent a wide range of variations on the basis of pre-school educational institution (from classical public and private "kindergartens" to "day care groups") and individual services (nannies, tutors, teachers, etc.).

This article presents an analysis of governesses, as part of a professional group of preschool teachers. The work is done in the framework of the project "Processes of actual Russian market of preschool education services". In the project professional group is analyzed as a corporate actor and its professionalization as the process of increasing of autonomy, economic and cultural resources, with the aim of improving the situation on the labor market [Mansurov V. A., Yurchenko O. V., 2009]. This part of the project included expert interviews with practicing governesses in Moscow and Samara (N=5) and interviews with experts who teach at public institutions of preschool teacher education, specialty "Home education" in Moscow (N=3). Data of the expert interviews allow us to identify important elements of the institute that reflect current trends in its actual situation and prospects of development.

For social sciences the most common is the analysis of the problems of care and education of preschool children in the context of gender and feminist direction, and in connection with the social policy of equality. Studies indicate the combination of a high level of activities related to the care, in the main content of labor, women in the workforce, and low

earnings [for example: Cameron C., Mooney A., Moss P., 2002; . England P., Folbre N., 1999]. The analysis of the public participation in the sector for equal access to quality services regardless of family income is very interesting [for example: Gender equality; Laere K.V., Peeters J., Vandebroecck M., 2012]. And also the problem of conditions for the maintenance and increase of civilian spending on these services [for example: Himmelweit S., 2005; Shalev M., 2009], which confronts the problem of social inequality [Shalev M., 2009]. In Russia is more popular the analysis of governesses in pedagogy [for example: Babayan A.V., 2000; Ganitcheva A. N., 1996; Tykhenko T.V., 2000] and the study of pre-school children care-professions (nannies) [Zdravomyslova E., 2008].

Sector structure and staffing of "governesses"

Institute of early childhood care and education in the world presented by different combination of public, private, community and voluntary services, reflecting the national context and public policy goals of each country to support women's employment, stimulate the birth rates, social equalization [Leira A., 1994]. In Russia in the late 90th the state system of pre-school education experienced a serious crisis that resulted in the closing of almost half of preschool kindergartens and similar large-scale reduction of professional group that practiced in the Soviet times. If in 1991 the sector of preschool education in Russia was presented by 87600 pre-school kindergartens, in 2001 - 51329, and in 2010- 46160 kindergartens [Education in the Russian Federation, 2003; 2008; 2011]. And if in 1991 there worked 993900 preschool teachers, in 2001 - 605300, and in 2010 – 605084 preschool teachers [Education in the Russian Federation, 2003; 2008; 2011]. Also changed radically the coverage of pre-school age children by the system of preschool education. So in 1991 8433 thousand children were involved in preschool education, in 2001 only 4263 thousand children, and in 2010 - 5204,5 thousand children [Education in the Russian Federation, 2003; 2008; 2011]. But at the same time we should mention a new impetus to the development of the private sector of pre-school care and education and the segment of governesses, not only from the point of demand, but from the standpoint of the pedagogical staff.

Access to this service (governesses) is fundamentally linked to the issue of social stratification of the population and effective demand. The experience of countries that historically had the developed private sector of care and education of preschool children (UK, West Germany and USA) demonstrate the prevalence in the public discourse of referring these matters to the category of "private family life questions" and their decision by the gender division of labor and unemployed (or part time employed) mother [for example: . Evers A., Lewis J., Riedel B., 2005; For Love and Money...; Fuller B., Strath A., 2001]. In this case, the principle is the willingness of families to spend an increasing portion of their budget on services

of care and education for children [Land H., Rose H. ,1985].

A most significant moment here is the lack of a generally accepted set of requirements that ensure access\enter to professional group and practice. This makes the situation of entering the profession a very ambiguous and dependent on the educational strategies of the family. And at the same time stimulate a serious polarization in the professional group.

The market is very, very blurred. Today it is represented either by incompetence and a small layer of those who knows how good she is in the profession (teacher of pedagogical college).

When people say that they need a governess, they always mean completely different things. They're always looking completely different people (practicing governess).

The concentration of governessing within the private sector strongly associates it with the employment of the mother and family income. In Europe income is the principal rationale of variations of family behavior from the point of view of consumption of services of care and education of children [Blau D ,2001; Folbre N., 2006]. The active involvement of paid labor to the care of children is most prevalent for wealthy parents [Sylva K., Melhuish Ed...; Tuominen M., 1991]. The same situation is in Russia. The even existence and development of governessing as a professional practice is bound (historically and actually) with high status and income social group, with its desire and ability of consumption of “high status educational services”. Orientation on individual pre-school education, specialist with significant cultural resources (e.g., teachers-foreigners, or with the same level of a foreign language) enhances public acceptance and commercial success of this segment by the recognition of expertise as more complex.

If we talk about the actual situation, then ... in the ' 90th happened the democratization and the new law of education, which opened wide doors (welcomed) to private enterprise. Happened the creation of the private sector and again the question of governessing had become actual. Appeared a consumer, appeared a class of owners, and appeared the desire and the ability to give their children special education and don't visit mass kindergarten and school, and to have all home (teacher of pedagogical college).

This is an expensive service. Now there is a demand, but not much ads about the governess from UK, those who “with a language” (native speaker). The family then pays the visa, arrival, accommodation, salary of such governess, about 150 thousand rubles a month. It's obviously that they expect that their child will live not in Russia. Invite them as native English speaker, for pronunciation practice, certain skills. Parents prepare their child for absolutely another life (practicing governess).

For low-income families increase the cost of the service leads to the switch to the

informal and illegal care [Blau D ,2001]. It stimulates the decline in the quality of services, by reducing the staff and its cost, such as the influx of migrants in the sector [Bettio F., Simonazzi A., Villa P., 2006; Ehrenreich B., Hochschild A.R., 2002; Whitebook M., 1999]. In the analysis of the history of paid work-care in the U.S. it is noted that white women refuse employment related to the care and education of children of preschool age as soon as other areas of employment become available to them [Duffy M., 2011]. And sociologists Stellard, Ehrenreich and Shklyar [Poverty in the American dream...] in the study of poverty and limitations of professional career women in America used the term "pink-collar ghetto" (service/care work), by analogy with "blue collar" (manual labor) and "white collars" (mental work). And this group of occupations includes preschool teachers too. In Russia you can see a very similar situation with the stratification of demand and of the professional group, with domination of "non-specialists" and "precarisation" of the employment relationship in the segment of low price. It is not only migrants from neighboring countries and former republics of the USSR, but also students of pedagogical educational institutions, and also experts of the public sector of pre-school education. If for migrants this type of work is a full-time employment, for other categories it is rather part-time employment.

Governesses are: students; those who have already raised their children, people close to retirement age who are tired of the mass kindergartens or schools. And thirds - are those who work in the state public system and during the holidays they work as a part-time job. They are preschool teachers or teachers in informal (additional) education (teacher of pedagogical college).

The feminization of professional care and education of pre-school children

Another factor that significantly determining the staffing structure of the professional group and its status position, is the feminization of discourse and practices of caring of preschool age children. The understanding of who should and can work in this sector, how complex and costly expertise is.

From the standpoint of theoretical analysis are significant researches done in the framework of gender analysis, showing that this work not only statistically is mostly staffed by women, but also normative treated as a "woman's job" [Cameron C., Moss P., Owen C., 1999; Murray S.B.,2000]. The gender aspect of the Institute of child care is viewed and in the interpretation of differences in social commitments of caring for men and women [.Duncan S., Edwards R., Reynolds T., Alldred P.,2003; Himmelweit S., 2005], which degenerated into differences in patterns of employment and professional choices [. Himmelweit S., 2005]. The obligations of child care included differently in experiences of men and women, and exactly

women will face great pressure of public opinion [Finch J., 1989; Finch J., Groves D., 1983; Graham H., 1983; Ungerson C., 1983]. As a result, paid labor of care and education of children is women's employment and its choice as a professional employment is treated as natural for women [Cameron C., Moss P., 2007].

According to statistics, Russia belongs to the category of countries with the highest proportion of women in preschool and primary education (99%) [Ovsyannikova E. A.]. Also in the previous stages of our research we have uncovered a fundamental unification of gender and professional discourses in ideas of preschool teachers [Kolesnikova E. M., 2013].

... as was this profession is female, and it is... (teacher of pedagogical college)

"Educational work" in general and governing in particular has a strong symbolic connection with femininity and motherhood. "Natural" connection "motherhood - care - the professionalism of the work of education" is an important basis for admission to practice, a symbolic and commercial marker of "professional" competence.

... the existence of own children is important. Although nobody is interested in what kind of experience it was. Just "existence". To others this fact is a kind of experience that seems to employers, can be the basis for the fact that this person may be admitted to the children ... is some kind of warranty. ... It's like a pass, "I'm just like you, we're the same blood". I am familiar with children, childhood diseases, I know how hard it is. Anyone position themselves: I'm a good mother and successful, therefore you can trust me. It's easier to find a job (teacher of pedagogical college).

Despite the fact that maternity of governess hypothetically could impair effective performance of her professional duties, this aspect is extremely popular. The worker-woman in this case is faced with a situation of possible loss of control of significant features of her own life outside of the profession, related to the performance of her own motherly duties: ability to manage personal time and space. For those who have no their young children, families, who loose, the easier it is. They are more mobile. Often parents call at night and say: we need you to stay the night because we (parents) decided not to spend the night at home, stay away with friends, have a late dinner somewhere or stay at work. Woman with a husband and children will unlikely to happily and easily agree (practicing governess).

Symbolic capital of professional care and education of pre-school children

The concentration of this service in the private sector leads to the prevalence of views of the client, parents of children in the assessment of the professional activity. Their understanding of the nature of the profession, the content of work, but not internal corporate standards of

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scientific knowledge, becomes the dominant.

For example, preschool-teachers interpret their care practice as cooperation of care and educational activity. And this interpretation gives the basis to distance themselves from professional activities focused mainly on supervision and care (for example, nannies).

The nanny focuses on the care and most often on children very early age. They often need medical education, which is justified. Governess oriented on educational activities, if this is a care, then that which is associated with education. For example, water dousing, training hygiene procedures. Caring is not that when I washed his shirt and cooked porridge. Even in infancy can not only be "care", but also you can play special games, doing special exercises for the development of active speech, but here "care" more (then "education") due to the fact that the duration of wakefulness is significantly shorter than the duration of sleep. The older the child, the less we "care", because we practice it rather as learning. For example, properly and accurately eat, to use a knife and fork. It is "care", but it is also educational activities. There is employment training - watering the flowers, care for houseplants, self-care - erasing his handkerchief. This is an educational activity and not a care in pure form (teacher of pedagogical college).

The position of the client (parents) concerning the responsibilities and competencies of the governess is not determined by scientific knowledge, and by their own everyday ideas about this work. In this case, the concentration in the public consciousness of preschool education within the framework of everyday gender\parents contracts gives a basis for their transfer to the field of professional labor. The combination of care and education in the parent\maternal practice provides a basis for a similar overlapping of responsibilities in the work of the governess.

They (parents) want you to do all: clean the apartment, go shopping, cook food, raise children. So you are the housekeeper and the governess at the same time (practicing governess).

This situation also reduces the symbolic capital of the profession and the market value of services, especially in the mass sector. You must take into account the fact that the cost of service is much more obvious fact than its quality. This is a complex and requiring individual assessment work. The service is provided to the child but not to the one who pays for it (the parent). Benefits from services and the quality of services as such are unobvious and ambiguous. Therefore, it requires evaluation in the framework of scientific expertise. But in reality it is evaluate within the framework of everyday perceptions of consumers (parents).

Economists pay attention to the fact that the labor in the sector of intellectual services is usually the most expensive in the economy. It is almost impossible to enhance its effectiveness quantitatively and is very difficult to measure accurately. This is naturally reflected in the price and its maintaining exclusively by the purchasing power of the consumer (state or parents)

[Baumol W.J. ,1967]. In turn, the real payer is not always ready to accept theoretical high cost of care and education of pre-school children, as we have said above. As a result the everyday perceptions of the employer dictate the situation on the market wage and encourage the alignment of its cost in segments without "status" view of consumption.

... the price is almost the same as for the girl (who just met a kid from school, brought him home, feed him by cooked dinner and took him to the sports section) as for specialist (who knows techniques, learns your preferences, go with the child to a museum, take a tour, exercise, practice educational games, teach etiquette, play and at this time would develop child's imagination). Both get for their services 250 rubles for hour. One will just accompany and watch your child, and the other will work (teacher of pedagogical college).

The specificity of expertise and professional education

The development of expertise and its promotion could contribute to the change in the position of "professional care and education of preschool children" in the labor market. In the framework of scientific discourse presents a segregation of governing as expert area from other neighboring professions. The basis of this segmentation is to focus on education \ teaching component with practicing in the home space, in the child's family. This is reflected in the categorization of expertise in "home education".

A logical consequence of the development of scientific discourse and practice of governing is the formation of a specialized educational training program within the state and private educational programs. But within the state pedagogical Institute of education this educational direction partly included in the more general pedagogical education. The development of this sector had a moment when the state teachers' colleges had such a formal specialization as "Home education". It was a moment of its official separation from more general and already institutionalized pre-school and primary school education.

In 1998-2000 in the system of professional pedagogical education in colleges has developed a special standard "Home education". The state has created a model and some pedagogical colleges in Russia were recruited specialists for learning (teacher of pedagogical college).

But gradually this program was again included in a more general professional teaching program. Some discretion is retained by adapting the curriculum feature. For example, the inclusion of subjects that not necessary from the point of the classical preschool pedagogy, but really necessary from the point of practice. Professional work outside the institutionalized dominance of the scientific competence of the educator – kindergarten – makes more important knowledge about institutions of family and marriage.

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But ... not so many students wanted to choose directly this program, especially in comparison with a "preschool teacher" and an "elementary school teacher"... And when standards were changed again this program was not identified as a separate specialty. And the state gave the opportunity to the institutions to decide for themselves and to do just additional training in "home education". Basic education should be "preschool teacher", and with specialization in "home education". Students will have more disciplines, mainly conflictology, psychology of family, etc. (teacher of pedagogical college)

Respondents explain this return to the General format of preschool pedagogy by orientation of public education programs on the state employment market. Because home education is practically excluded from official mass practice of budgetary organizations of preschool education, it stimulates the reorientation of special professional education in the field of care and education of preschool children.

Especially in other towns, not in Moscow, students were afraid that will be hard to find a job if they will choose this program, "home education" (teacher of pedagogical College).

The system of vocational training exists within the private sector too. In this case we mean not private educational institutions but recruitment agencies. Private educational institutions operate under state licensing programs and are forced to endorse official standards for the quality of education. Courses, organized by recruitment agencies, do not undergo such accreditation; they are designed for fundamentally shorter period of time. Their necessity is clearly stimulated by the need to "expert legitimation" of the staff, which has a recruitment Agency. But respondents expressed some skepticism regarding this type of education.

In the market you can see a various kinds of courses that may be in the beginning were a long time of training and gave a quality, but agencies unable to have such programs for a long time. We, the staff of the College, cooperated with one Agency, which was good, it would seem that standing up for quality, but in the end our education plan of six months was reduced to two weeks (teacher of pedagogical College).

The state and the profession as guarantors of professional expertise

"Governessing" as an educational service is focused on home education and on practice at home place. But child's parents can have a formal labor contract not only directly with the specialist but, for example, with kindergarten (if it has a program of governessing). In Russia there is such a practice and it certainly stimulates not only the legalization of labor relations, but also the growth of status indicators of the profession by the transferring practice from "private and domestic" into the framework of scientific and professional expertise.

Part 3. Education and Professionalism

The inclusion of the private sector of pre-school education in programs of state-co-financing can contribute to legalization of governessing, but rather through the mediating structures (kindergartens) that will be a legal representative of the governess. From the point of view of the respondents, this strategy will not solve all of the problems, as not all consumers/parents will be interested in the formalization of the employment relationship.

Now, when you accept the standard of preschool education, there are state grants for governessing. And of course the private sector will actively use this. And the fact that the state eliminating itself from this educational practice, it is certainly a sad situation (teacher of pedagogical college).

Some regions have no resources to build new kindergartens and to provide places for children in them, they pay a small subsidy to parents, but from the budget. Family can add some money and invite a specialist from governership service. Such services are created in kindergartens, colleges, it is an opportunity to meet supply and demand. ... this is a comfortable situation, because governess are educated, they have been training, have an annual medical examination, know the technique, work half a day in the kindergarten, and the rest of the day by the contract of social hiring come individually to the family and provide this service professionally. Because in the face of kindergarten or college, you receive a third part, which can control, be responsible for the quality of services, it is good to all (teacher of pedagogical college).

Conclusions

Localization of this work within the private sector and informal employment relationship leads to taking into account problems of social stratification when evaluating the structural characteristics of the professional group and the prospects of its professionalization. Focus on educational, gender and social concepts and stereotypes of the employer (parents) and not on the scientific expertise in governess's practice leads to segregation in the professional group. The most obvious is the problems of the precarization of labor relations, the lack of formal institutional affiliation of practitioners to the Institute of education in general, to Institute of workers' rights protection. All these factors do not contribute to growth of status indicators and complicate the practice of professionals.

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Medical Workers on The Russian Medical Drugs’ Market: problems and experience of empirical research

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Abstract. The problem of the scientific knowledge’s objectivity has become very serious issue nowadays. It is not the only point of the science polarization in some ways that has begotten large field for falsifications and fabrications.

In this article, we want to examine the process of outcome interpretation and interest of the researcher in the capacity of the problem space of the humanitarian way of knowing. We will examine the author’s research of medical workers on the Russian medical drug market as an example.

Keywords: sociology of medicine; humanitarian knowledge; knowledge’s subjectivism

Introduction

The problem of the scientific knowledge’s objectivity has become very serious issue nowadays. It is not the only point of the science polarization in some ways that has begotten large field for falsifications and fabrications. There is the problem of which researches we can trust in case of the increasing number of publications.

Scientists have to face many different issues in the field of the humanitarian studies. For example, sociologists should make the proper instrumentarium for surveys, the correct sample group and choose the right way to interpret his data.

Specific approach to the social way of knowing seems especially important recent years because of the inherence of the researches outcome interpretation. In case of natural sciences results interpretation is the challenge of the science competence rather, than the philosophical problem, and we have reversed situation with human studies.

In this article, we want to examine the process of outcome interpretation and interest of the researcher in the capacity of the problem space of the humanitarian way of knowing. We will examine the author’s research of medical workers on the Russian medical drug market as an example.

Social character of the way of knowing in humanitarian researches: characteristics and specificity

If we’re talking about the research process itself, the interest of the scientist and the data interpretation, than the problem of truth in scientific humanitarian researches has always been very critical. In this work, we want to spotlight the outcome interpretation problem of the research related to the relationships between two professional groups: doctors and medical

representatives. Data interpretation is becoming more tangled primarily in case of the possible researcher's prejudice and secondary because of the complex relationships of the latter professional groups between each other.

At first, let us talk about the concept of "scientific cognition" itself.

Cognition – is the portion of human experience comprising thought, knowledge, belief, and inference (as opposed to sensation, volition, or feeling). Cognition itself in this case is the form of subject-to-object relationship, which is active examination by subject (by actor of cognition) of the object (area of the cognition). Element's relationships options within the process of cognition may slightly differ.

Diversification and relation of the cognizing and cognized presuppose the presence of the scientific and philosophic reflection. This is the main characteristic of the humanitarian cognition. That is why it is inadmissible to lose sight of the social character of cognition in humanitarian studies, which determines the special approach to it.

The particularity of this kind of cognition is that work area of the subject of cognition is the object of humanitarian research. Subject of cognition is associated with (sometimes even coincides with) the object, because the researcher is the subject of cognition and real actor at the same time. In this case, the subject-to-object relation becomes the subject of cognition itself. In parallel with that, object of the socio-humanitarian cognition includes the subject.

Society, history and human are included into the field of study of humanitarian sciences. It makes such processes as describing of observed relations, understanding and interpretation of them critically important. Along with subject-to-object relations, subject-to-subject relations play significant part into them. In this context, examination of the subject's structure becomes the focus of much attention, because the subject lend a weighty contribution in the quality of researches.

As early as this step of the concept analysis we face the so-called human factor – researcher, being both the subject and the object of cognition, could intervene into the cognition process by means of choosing target of research. Inasmuch as the role of the researcher in the process of cognition is double natured this much, we need to pay a lot of attention to this issue. The researcher, being a human, is designedly choose the field of his work in keeping with his personal desires and need for information. Arguing this way, researcher could also be prejudicial while he analyzing outcome of the research. It can happen designedly or not, but distortion of the data analysis leads to wrong conclusions, which is inadmissible in objective research. However, let's return to the concept of cognition.

Variety of the social life's forms and the complexity of social system determine multitier structure of the humanitarian cognition. Complex specificity of the cognized in the social area is

accompanied with multivariate structure of researcher's personality i. e. the subject's of cognition personality. While characterizing the social cognition, we cant come by the influence of the scientist on the research. Person, being involved into the social processes, systems, groups, possesses the unique personal experience, values, individual needs and interests. This fact explains the innumerable count of theories and ideas. We can't cognize without philosophical reflection.

The circumstances that the subject matter of the relations between different groups of the medical workers belongs to related area of the sociology of medicine and sociology of profession is the fact of particular importance. Certainly, any humanitarian scientific research is directed on revelation of common factors in society and culture. But whether it primarily reveals point of view of the subject of cognition or not? Because the choosing of the research's aspects lies on the scientist. Therefore can we argue that every specific research is, in some ways, self portrait of the researcher? Can we in this circumstances trust the researcher?

Any humanitarian research should be conducted by the group of researches, instead of the only one scientist.

We want to take the marketing method of focus-group as an example. The group should be heterogeneous, along with one or more common characteristics. In oue case the characteristic is the interest to the field of study, but not in the concrete results or confirmation of the hypothesis. In some way. Academic community plays this role now in some way, but it communicates with the researcher on the wrong step of the research. Is there any sense to criticize the research when time and other resources are already spoiled? Of course, it helps to evade something – for example, consequences of the wrong conclusions. However, it is important not only to defend external world from scientist, but to defend scientist from himself too. We need to safe his resources – time, physical and financial – from spoiling on the wrong goals.

It must be said, that the result of the research interpretation should not vary even with subjectivity of the researcher factored in, if we have unambiguous data. And here we face another problem of this research on the different groups of medical workers – prejudice of the objects of cognition on each other. This is paradoxical, but the groups with common goal, which is maintaining of the Institute of Healthcare protection, have some contradictions in their relations. We will try to examine this kind of issues further in this work.

The specificity of the sociology of medicine and problems of interpretation of the author's research results

In this work, we would pay much attention to the doctors and medical representatives, as they are the main agents of interpersonal interaction in this professional area.

Part 3. Education and Professionalism

Medicine, as a rule, is associated with primal universal values like humanity, kindness or compassion. Patients value two main characteristics of any doctor working in any health care providing institution - professionalism and possibility of trust-based relations [Shilova, 2007 :3].

It must be said, that particular characteristic of the interactions between doctors and med-reps is antinomical direction of their activity. Medical worker is directed (or should be) on the supreme effectiveness of the treatment, when med-rep is directed on the maximizing of profit, as the majority of doctors thinks.

There was no normative acts in Russian law that regulated relationships between doctors and medical representatives until 2012. This partially determines the absence of long-standing norms in relations of these two groups. Pharm companies work in the field where market and social need intersect; it explains the duality of relationships between med-reps and doctors.

Articles, which are in force since Jan. 1 2012, of a law “About fundamental principles of the healthcare of citizens of Russian Federation significantly limit relationships between medical workers and med-reps. It should: “*provide transparency between doctor and Pharma Company and bring distinct mechanisms, which regulates these relations*”. It is also “*induces pharma companies to correct actions of medical representatives and to create new innovational ways of information dissemination among the professional audience*” [Gromeka, 2012].

Among other things, the law limits visits of the med-reps to doctors in their labor hours and one-to-one interviews.

Appearance of the law is determined, among other things, by dual attitude of doctors to medical representatives. In particular, over half of doctors thinks, that oral information provided by med-reps should be verified [Suchova, 2009 :7].

However, medical representatives had solved earlier another, unobvious problem of a doctor – lack of time, determined by standards of practices.

Thus, the strongest incentive to write a prescription of a certain drug, which was promoted by med-rep, until more recent time was filled form of a recipe, 46,76% of doctors called attention to that.

Interaction with med-rep from the materialistic point of view, however, has never been the main goal for doctors. The majority of medical workers appreciate med-reps as informers, who can tell them some news about new medical drugs or invite to a conference, where doctors can communicate with their colleagues.

However, the increasing number of doctors recognize that goals of doctors and med-reps are different. It is obvious that any relations of a medical representative are built up with an eye on producing necessary capacity of sales, but it happens by dint of the demonstration of self-competence to involve a doctor to dialogue, to mutually beneficial cooperation. The role of

personal oral recommendations of a doctor to patient dramatically increased in case of the law that has restricted usage of the patent name of a drug in a recipe. Recommendation of a doctor now is the only chance for the patient to be just a little competent regarding to choosing of a drug, and med-rep can help doctor with this function.

To help in bringing about resolution to the dispute of doctors and med-reps, latters should not only describe advantages of their drug or give the samples, but also become some kind of doctor's assistant. Doctor should trust medical representatives on practice, what is possible only in case of ethical responsibility's enlargement of a medical representative.

In accordance with outcome of our research we have discovered, that attitude of doctors to med-reps is ambiguous, because the latter often tell up to date and important information about medical drugs and invite doctors on conferences, where they can communicate with their colleagues, nevertheless, occupation of medical representatives do not arose a lot of trust. Doctors do not consider med-reps as their colleagues, because their goal is to sell drug rather than cure a patient. Further some of doctors are confirmed that medical representative do not simply evade telling side effects of drugs, but even do not know anything about them as he learned only the remunerable information.

In the light of the foregoing, we can reasonably argue, that interaction between doctors and medical representatives are dual or even antinomical. There appears the issue of tendentiousness in characterization of med-reps by doctors. Is it possible that doctors estimates all the professional group of medical representatives in accordance with rare «negative «stars»(let's take this concept from psychology of small groups)? Or, vice versa, is it possible that quite a few medical representatives truly are informers rather them sellers?

Here we face the keystone of a humanitarian cognition i.e. subjectivity of the research's results interpretation. Does scientist have a right to interpret the results in some way, when even actors of the relations are not completely sure in marking each other?

Would be the conclusion of a researcher, no matter how it would be look like, tendentious from the start, because researcher himself chose the theme of research advisedly? If we are talking about this particular research, the fact that relations of these two professional groups are very young could weigh in on the results. That means that possible fluctuation in characterization of med-reps by doctors may be the result of “environmental” change in the professional area.

Nevertheless, we consider, that tendentious of a researcher is not singular problem, that can arise in one particular research. We can negotiate this problem only by means of collective work.

Conclusion

Thus, having the analysis of the author's research done, we examined the specificity of receiving and analyzing of the humanitarian knowledge.

We've made a conclusion, that work of a researcher in the sphere of social sciences – sciences of individuals, society and interactions within is connected with additional complications as the as the human factor reveals.

Regardless of a researcher's prejudice degree, receiving of a humanitarian knowledge, close to the objective (let's call it inter-subjective) is possible only in case of communicating with academic community.

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Formation of Social-Professional Group of Ecologists in Post-Soviet Area

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Abstract. In the article the formation of social-professional group of ecologists in Post-Soviet area is examined.

Keywords: profession; ecology; competency; social-ecological phenomena; education; professionalization

The present study is devoted to the phenomenon of institutionalization of quite new social-professional group in contemporary Post-Soviet area. The competency approach is used for better understanding of their status in society. The findings of the expert survey present the social attitudes and system of values of these professionals and the views of the lay public about their role in the society. The data selected in the article is the result of comparative sociological research, conducted in Post-Soviet area since 2006 till 2014 under the sponsorship of Russian Foundation for Basic Research. The main hypothesis of research is that the new social-professional group is institutionalised, which features are: adequate axiological and emotional relation to society and nature, the availability of specific knowledge, capacities to creative action and thinking, which help them to analyze the real socio-ecological problems and to make the balanced optimal decisions in the sphere of nature protection. The institutionalization of the ecologists is influenced by its special characteristics: firstly, the special role of ecological ethics and morality in activity of the professional and secondly, the importance of professional activity of ecologists in conditions of local ecological crisis which leads to development of professional self-identity and appearing of professional pathos. We consider that the new profession of ecologists differs a lot from the traditional specialists of ecology as a part of biology and “improvising” specialists of other specialties, who is occupied by socio-ecological problems of necessity because of the absence of true professionals. Nowadays the “ecologist” is characterized by unique specific – its sphere of activity for mass consciousness is quite uncertain and vague, even inside of scientific community there is the free interpretation of this definition. The modern practice gives the evidence that the disadvantage of professional ecologists leads to social, economic, political and other expenses which are predominant to the costs for their training and education.

Current Reforms and Early Educators' Status

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Abstract. The main aim of this article is to present a discussion of selected findings from the recent research on early education and early educators' status undertaken in three large Russian cities, including Moscow, Samara and Syktyvkar in 2013-2014. First, we interviewed 25 experts: heads of public and private preschool educational institutions and trade unions leaders. Second, we studied the views and attitudes of the rank-and-file early educators. We undertook a quantitative questionnaire survey of 779 Russian early educators in the same three regions. *The research indicated that the social standing of early educators started to decline in the 1990s. This negative tendency continues to this day, although the state tries to stimulate early educators' professionalism through the imposed changes in the knowledge-base of the profession.*

Keywords: early educators; education reforms; sociology of professions

The current reforms of preschool education have been taking place at social, organisational and financial levels [Ministry of Education and Science Report, 2010]. Here we shall draw on selected findings from our research to analyse the issue of the knowledge-base changes of Russian early educators and to explore whether current reforms have increased the potential for greater professionalisation. We expected Moscow to be in the vanguard of reforms. However, the major differences among the regions was the financial status. The financial situation of preschool educators in the regions was much worse than in Moscow [Yurchenko & Mansurov, 2014: 668]. The other differences concerning working conditions and social attitudes of early educators were less pronounced.

A new policy of the Ministry of Education and Science fostered changes in the content of basic and additional preschool education programmes all over the country [Ministry of Education and Science Report, 2010: 8]. It proclaimed the need to change the content of the early education job and to build an open and collegial management system in preschool education. State officials adopted Federal state requirements for preschool education [Decree of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation № 655, 2009]. This document stated that preschool educators needed to retract from a school-type model of education. Instead they were encouraged to create an atmosphere of learning through play, to give children greater freedom of choice and to communicate with children as equals. The Federal requirements were intended to promote initiative and creativity in preschool educators, who were given instructions to create their own education programmes and teaching methodologies.

In practice we found out that rank-and-file early educators had next to no influence on creating education programmes and teaching methodologies. Most interviewees explained that

the Federal requirements became a straight-jacket for many preschool educators, as traditional lessons and tried and tested educational programmes were outlawed: *"It's a dead end. We are not allowed to give lessons the way we used to give them, and we have no clear instructions what to do instead"* (head of public educational institution, Moscow). The internal and external criteria for assessing the outcomes of preschool educators' activities were blurred. All curriculum related decisions are concentrated in the hands of kindergartens' senior management, as shown in Fig. 1 below.

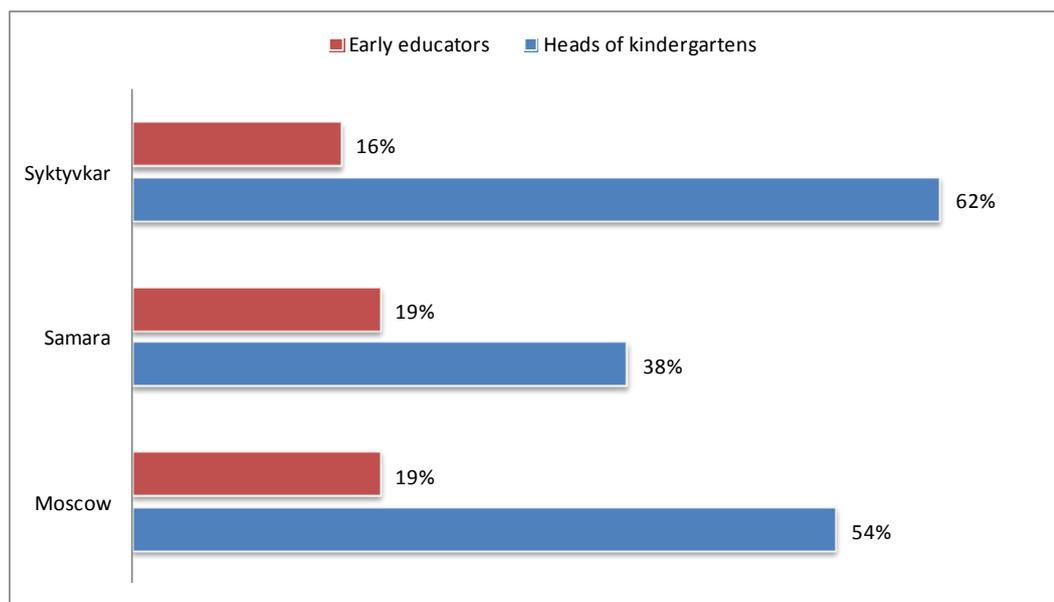


Fig. 1. The degree of influence of heads of kindergartens and rank-and-file early educators over the choice of education programmes

This Fig.1. is based on the following values: great influence and very great influence. Some interviewees argued that the most difficult task was the demand to change the type of communication during lessons. Preschool educators, particularly those who had been in the job for a prolonged period, had grown accustomed to the school-type learning model, in which preschool children were seen as pupils rather than children. They felt that their professional competence and professional knowledge were at stake. They were seen not as skilled professionals or experts in children's development but rather as baby-sitters or surrogate parents. Many interviewees noted that overcrowded groups of children (30-35 children in a group) were also seen as an obstacle to the introduction of this new paradigm of preschool education.

The number of early educators who were not happy with their working conditions in the state sector was high. The most discontented group was the Muscovites where 51% were dissatisfied with the scope of paperwork and 41% with the overcrowded groups in the kindergartens as shown in Fig. 2 below.

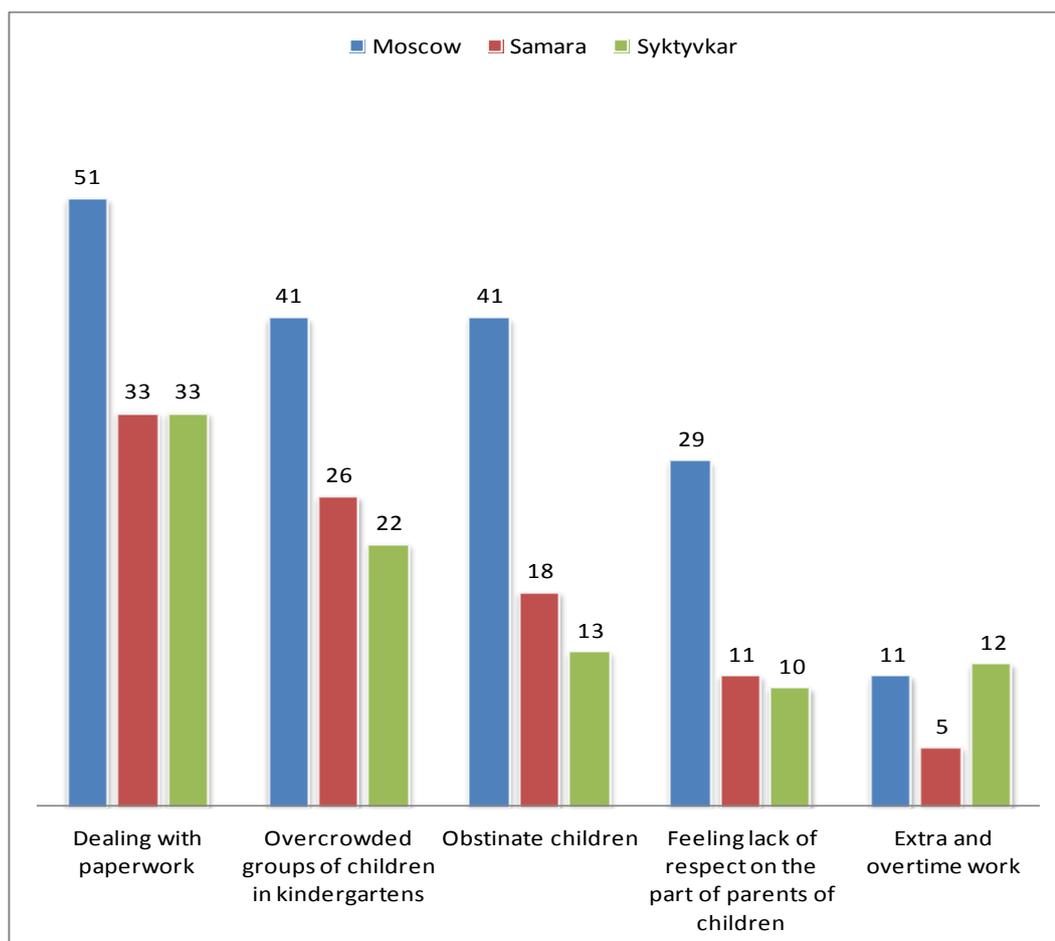


Fig. 2. The areas with which early educators are dissatisfied most (%)

Answering this question respondents could check up to three answers.

As shown in Fig. 2 above, almost third of Moscow early educators and about tenth of regional early educators are worried about the lack of respect on the part of parents. The inability to identify the differences between mothering and teaching creates tensions between early childhood educators and the families that entrust their children into their care [Watts, 2009]. Our interviewees felt that these differences needed to be made more clear and accessible to the general public: *"There's such a negative image of the profession. We do wish there was more respect for our competence, patience and care"* (trade union leader, Moscow). On the one hand, parents expected that, by school-age, their children would be able to read, write and know the basics of mathematics. On the other hand, the essence and the boundaries of the expert knowledge in preschool education became indistinct. Several interviewees said that some parents tended to think that preschool educators did not possess any special professional knowledge, which was not consistent with aspects of parenting.

It was argued that state policymakers' control over this professional work grew, as did that of the parents who made higher demands of preschool education. One interviewee said: *"Parents are becoming increasingly consumerist. They have all the rights, whereas preschool*

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educators have no rights... We are so vulnerable" (head of state preschool educational institution, Moscow). Moscow preschool educators also mentioned that parents' increased control was reflected in the popularity of a hot-line opened by the Moscow Department of Education. Parents could call a hot-line to lodge a complaint about any particular preschool educator's work openly on the site of the Department of Education.

In the questionnaire survey, an attempt was made to assess what decision-making powers early educators felt that they had within their educational institutions. Overall, many interviewees worried about their inability to influence decision-making in early education. Fig. 3 below shows the data on the degree of influence that rank-and-file early educators could exercise over different forms of activity.

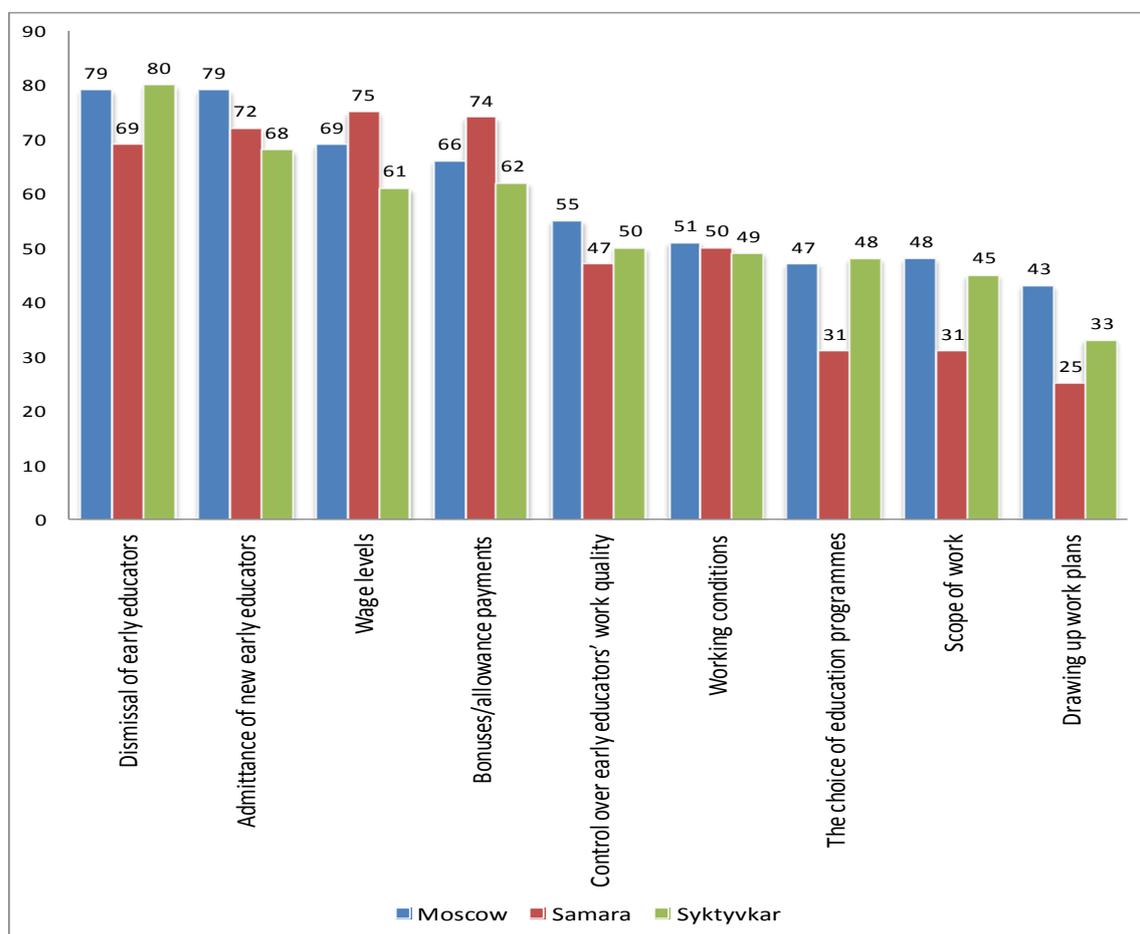


Fig. 3. Rank-and-file early educators' influence in the following areas (the percentage of those who chose answers "low influence" and "no influence")

As Fig. 3 above shows, rank-and-file early educators appear to have had almost no influence over (1) the admittance, and dismissal, of their colleagues and (2) remuneration, such as wage levels and bonuses/allowance payments. And they could not change their working conditions and control the quality of work of their colleagues. As an antidote to this situation,

peer interactions and informal autonomy served to strengthen early childhood educators' esteem and confidence. An important aspect of the informal autonomy was the ability to determine working conditions such as work plans and the pace of work. Preschool educators confessed that when there was no control exerted by the management body, they could introduce changes in the essence of their work, alter their work routine and its tempo. The scope of informal autonomy enjoyed by rank-and-file preschool educators depended on their relations with those in the relevant managerial bodies. Early educators looked to their education colleagues for informal support, whereas the role of professional organisations was less pronounced and mostly confined to trade-union concerns. They were not strong enough to redefine the social and occupational status of the group.

Discussion of the results

The above mentioned current state policy concerning the changes in the system of education and management can be interpreted as 'professionalisation from above' which meant to stimulate early educators' professionalism. However, the professional community was discontented with the implications of diminished discretion and imposed changes in the cognitive base of the profession. As our research showed, Russian preschool educators no longer believed that their knowledge was valued, as compared to Soviet preschool educators who felt that their knowledge was an important wellspring of their social respectability.

This profession experienced a negative shift in prestige. In the Soviet era, intellectual professions were considered as forming the cultural elite. Most school graduates aspired to become doctors, scientists, engineers or teachers. Intellectual occupations enjoyed greater prestige than manual ones did in Soviet society, just as in the West. Most interviewees were dissatisfied with the prestige of their profession. This corresponds to a recent research which showed that every second preschool educator was concerned about the lack of professional prestige [Korableva et al., 2010: 127]. In the city of Yekaterinburg, only 5% of preschool educators stated that their profession was prestigious and only 6% believed that the profession was valued by the wider public.

Peoples' perceptions of the status or prestige of occupations have remained very stable over time and vary little from country to country [Svensson, 2012]. The profession of preschool educator has never occupied a top position in terms of prestige in Europe. However, it can be counted as a profession in a wider sense in some industrialised countries and in some historical periods. In Sweden, for example, preschool teaching is referred to as a profession. However, it is attributed lower status, on a par with social workers and librarians, as opposed to physicians,

lawyers and professors who belong to high status professions [Svensson, 2012: 13]. What is important is that, compared to the question of what status occupations *should* have, teachers in Sweden were found to be clearly undervalued.

In the new Law on Education in the Russian Federation, preschool education is proclaimed to be the first education stage [Federal Law 273 'On Education in the Russian Federation', 2013]. This means that preschool education may be growing in importance. This new perspective aims to equalise the initial learning opportunities of all children at primary school entry stage, and increase the overall quality of education. Another recent Ministry of Education and Science initiative is the introduction of the Professional standards for preschool educators in 2014. One of the demands of the Professional standards would be obligatory higher education for all public preschool educators [Decree of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation № 1155, 2013]. Implementing these initiatives may result in the growth of the prestige of preschool education and preschool educators. International research has shown that when early childhood educators hold higher qualifications there is a greater chance of quality programmes and better outcomes for children [Sylva et al., 2010].

Preschool educators in the private sector enjoy higher prestige, income, and relatively high autonomy. They have greater chances for upward social mobility. Private preschool educators are usually people no older than 40 years old with higher teacher's training or psychological education. They often acquire several credentials and regularly take refresher courses. Among them there are many preschool specialists, including speech-therapists, psychologists and defectologists. As some interviewees stated, private preschool educators were 'more open to reforms', 'more creative', and 'more flexible'. Their working conditions and pace of work were more satisfactory. They were provided with support personnel and all the necessary equipment: educational toys and study aids. Preschool educators in children's learning centres often had efficiency wage. The more children were enrolled in the group, the better they were paid, although private groups were never overcrowded, with about 6-10 children per group.

At the same time, the private sector has not offered its employees any guarantees. Many children's learning centres did not provide their workers with labour contracts, as they did not want to pay for sick-leave, holiday pay, or maternity leave. Most preschool educators interviewed did not give up their job at a public preschool institution, as this might lead to the loss of their social and welfare benefits. Another reason given was the importance of retaining registration as an employee in a public preschool institution in order to maintain their work record and qualify for a pension. Importantly, the research showed that the Soviet work ethic [Clark, 2002] endured, particularly among elder people in public kindergartens. It involved not only a commitment to the profession, but also an attachment to the labour collective as what

many workers referred to as their second home. The Soviet sense of the labour collective, shorn of its Communist rhetoric, continued to be a factor. Preschool educators felt empowered and affirmed when they were able to share information with and learn from their colleagues.

Similar to public preschool educators, private early educators often came across the problem of the indistinct nature of their professional expert knowledge. As we discovered, many children's learning centres did not give their employees much freedom of choice regarding learning programmes and working routine. Many large private children's centres employed unified programmes using a teacher's book that gave an outline of lessons. The role of preschool educators was confined to the reproduction of a particular learning programme. As a result, the authority of private preschool educators in the eyes of parents and managers of children's learning centres was not high enough. Nevertheless, the subjective self-perception of autonomy in the private sector remained higher than in the public one, as there was no daily managerial scrutiny. As our interviewee related: "*I have more freedom and more chances to fulfill my potential in the private centre... The managers come to my lessons once in a quarter of a year*" (private preschool educator, trade union leader, Moscow).

Our interviewees from the private sector felt that they lacked a sense of collective identity and common interests. Working and life conditions in various private children's learning centres varied greatly. The dominant form of professional associations for public preschool educators was the trade-union type organisation primarily concerned with protecting its members in dealings with organised users of professional services. Private preschool educators had no dedicated trade-unions. The only type of professional association they considered possible for themselves was 'the learned society', using Burrage's terminology, which gave primacy to developing the profession's knowledge base and could be seen as a place for sharing ideas and educational achievements [Burrage et al., 1990: 208]. Although some interviewees had doubts about the need to create any professional association for private preschool educators, as they saw their colleagues as 'rivals' rather than as partners. The private sector provided an opportunity for professionalisation at an individual level, while the status of occupational group remained unchanged.

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Scientists' Careers: Factors of Development and Turning Points in the Context of Reforms in Russia¹⁴

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Abstract. The paper presents data of longitudinal research conducted during two stages within two international projects - with support of INTAS (1999-2001) and RCSF (2010) - among groups of Russian population, which affected intensive social transformation. One of them – the group of scientists from institutes of Russian academy of sciences (the sphere of natural sciences).

In the focus of attention – changes of the careers of Russian scientists, formation of different types of activity in sciences, on the one hand, and escape from the sphere of scientific activity, on the other. We are focusing our attention on the turning points, or moments of crisis in the trajectories of professional careers of the respondents during more than 10 years. One of the research questions is – what types of prospects for professional development are created by changing patterns and structures of scientific careers.

The methodological basis for the analysis is an approach utilized in biographical research that examines the importance of studying socio-historical context in shaping of social structures through the biographies of people. The content-analysis of qualitative interviews is used, there are 23 interviews in 2001 and 19 in 2010 with the same persons.

Keywords: scientists; professional career; professional development; biographical research; Russian academy of sciences; Russia

In the focus of attention – changes of the careers of Russian scientists, formation of different types of activity in sciences, on the one hand, and escape from the sphere of scientific activity, on the other. We are focusing our attention on the turning points, or moments of crisis in the trajectories of professional careers of the respondents during more than 10 years. The methodological basis for the analysis is an approach utilized in biographical research that examines the importance of studying socio-historical context in shaping of social structures through the biographies of people [Мицис, 2001; Bertaux, Kohli, 1984; Bertaux, 2003], in this particular case – the scientists of research institute in the sphere of natural science.

This study is based on approaches that analyze career transformations in the face of social change. Within the framework of this particular approach, which might be developed in sociology of professional groups, professional career development of scientists may be examined based on the status changes of the professional group of scientists within the occupational structure of society. Changes in career patterns are analyzed from the standpoint of interrelation of various types of professional activities, such as transitions from one type of occupational

¹⁴ The study was implemented in the framework of the Basic Research Program at the National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE) in 2014.

activity to another, or, alternatively, much more defined legal regulation and their separation from each other.

Accordingly, definition of career is associated with its structural aspect (in conjunction with occupational structure) – change of professional status and advancement in their chosen field of activity, continuity of professional roles, statuses and activities.

In this case, we are only analyzing professional career in one sphere of activity – research in the field of academic science.

Scientists' academic careers are very distinct in their character. It is deeply connected with the identity of an individual, as well as main stages of socialization – lengthy period of training and entry into the professional group, constant maintenance of the status through self-education and development, complexity and duration of advancement in scientific professional hierarchy, achieving certain status and recognition of the value and importance in society, orientation toward scientific community. As a result, we have an emerging phenomenon that A. Abbot defined as demographic rigidity of a professional group – rather complex and stable mechanism of reproduction that protects the group from major changes [Abbot, 1995: 129].

At the same time, this distinct status of occupational group of scientists is attributed, on the one hand, to its high degree of professional autonomy, and its dependence on state science policy on the other. Therefore, in terms of the mechanisms of its reproduction, scientist's professional career can be affected by changing conditions and demands of society, primarily changes in state policy with regard to science, and respectively, infrastructure of career development and evolution of its models.

This also determines the complexity of formation of turning points in scientists' careers that define their transition into a related area of activity, or their departure in an entirely different sphere, unrelated to science.

Identifying and analyzing critical, crisis periods in people's biographies related to social changes, is traditionally an important part of research of individual life trajectories. *A turning point in life*, or fate of an individual, where the countdown of significant changes begins, is an important element of all biographical narratives, especially in the situation of social transformation [Glaser B., Strauss, 1971, Floyd, 2012, Kupferberg, 1998]. For example, Denzin points out *Epiphany* – “a moment of truth”, turning points and experiences in people's lives that alter basic semantic structures of their existence [Denzin, 1989].

In this study, *we refer to complex situations of occupational change, significantly altering one's socio-professional status, as well as character and plan of an existing (or emerging) professional career, as the turning points in biographies of the specialists.*

The research question is related to the fact that under reform conditions in society, on the one hand, it is necessary to utilize an existing potential of highly skilled labor and optimize the structure of its utilization, on the other, including creating conditions (building infrastructure) for successful career patterns. It is therefore of particular interest to consider in more detail, based on the biographical stories of scientists' careers, the trajectories of changes in their endeavors in the sphere of science, their changing career patterns under conditions of its crisis and reform.

The situation, which defined these specific conditions of formation of such turning points in careers and biographies of scientists is associated with the state of Russian science and changes toward it in government policy.

The unique feature of situation in Russia lies in the fact that sciences here were historically and organizationally developed as a subsystem of the state and traditionally almost entirely depended on government support and priorities in its policy [Gokhberg, 2011]. During the years of market reforms, especially during the first period (prior to the mid-90s), this support has collapsed. Over the period of just two years, an unprecedented in its scale reduction has occurred, which is still, to this day, perceived as a disaster and is assessed as degradation of Russian science: the number of scientific personnel has decreased by 32%, and funding – three times. Throughout the 90s, this situation continued to remain the same. During this time, negative trends in its reproduction, associated with outflow of qualified scientists abroad or into private sector (business), as well as breach of continuity, were being formed and reinforced. Young people stopped replenishing academic institutions due to extremely low wages and lack of prospects, as well as decline in prestige of science and scientific work in society [Gokhberg, 2011; Gokhberg, 2010, Indicators... 2012].

During the 2000s, under the reform conditions of Russian science, the shaping of an environment for the future development of the professional group of scientists is taking place. The current state of Russian science combines intertwining positive and negative trends. Scientific funding increased by 5 times during these years. The number of personnel that carries out research work is gradually stabilizing. Russia is maintaining its position among the leading countries in the world in the number of researchers per 10,000 workers engaged in economy (69 persons), but, according to the same indicator, its rating has declined during recent years (for example – Finland – 166 people, Sweden – 126, OECD countries – 74 people on average). Percentage of young researchers once again started to increase, but, at the same time, there is general aging of the personnel – the group of scientists over 70 is growing (6% of the total number of employees of research organizations), 30% - 60 years and older; the share of researchers between 30 and 49 years old has decreased by 20% since 2002. The level of wages in

science is still 5-10 times lower than in leading developed countries. (Gokhberg, 2011; Indicators..., 2012).

This is clearly demonstrated by the results of longitudinal research conducted during two stages – 1. 1999-2001 and 2 - 2010 - among groups of Russian population, which affected intensive social transformation (grant INTAS No INTAS-97: 20280, grant RCSF, LSE, the head of S. Ashwin)¹⁵. During the first phase (4 waves) 1999-2001, they conducted qualitative semi-structured interviews with 250 respondents, combined into four groups, based on specific strategies of labor market transitions of the respondents in four various Russian cities. Among them – scientists of the institute of natural-scientific profile (23 people). During the second phase, in 2010, a survey was conducted, using the same sample, which has become the 5th wave, where only 18 people remained in the institute sample (3 – migrants, 2 refused). I will focus on the analysis of work stories of researchers. The content-analysis of qualitative interviews is used (QDI-Miner program).¹⁶

During the early 2000s, we can single out three main groups in this sample.

1. Scientists that were able to find various resources for self-support of their status – mainly through employment outside of the scope of scientific endeavours – i.e. still conducting some research in their laboratories, but forced to constantly work on the side due to extremely low wages. In this group – respondents, whose extra earnings and part time work were within the scope of their speciality, or they had additional resources (relatives, renting real estate) – 13 people; and those who had permanent secondary employment in a different sphere (3 people – photography, realtor/ real estate agent). This is a phenomenon, which in my earlier studies of the processes of labor market I named «displacing secondary employment», when employment that initially was regarded as supplement, support of their main professional activity, gradually displaces and then replaces it, often times becoming primary occupation. This destructive form of status support, according to the study, really pushed many scientists out of this sphere of employment.

2. Scientists that were a part of successful research teams and scientific associations – typically working in collaboration with their foreign colleagues, or working (heading) commercial structures within the institute (3 people). In the beginning of 2000s, this was primarily through large foreign grants, such as INTAS. Another trend – collaboration with firms of the profile similar to the profile of the institute, conducting applied research for such companies, i.e. market activity. This transition toward commercialization of science was

¹⁵ INTAS No INTAS-97: 20280, the second - 2010. grant RCSF, LSE, the head of The. Ashwin

¹⁶ For referring to respondents we use a three number code: the first indicates the respondent's city (1-4, where 1 - indicates Moscow); the second is the respondent's number, and the third indicates the stage of research from which information is drawn.

assessed and received by the scientists with a mixed reaction. An example of a laboratory, considered «elite», is very characteristic. Along with all the changes in conditions, came the change in management style, reflecting the changing style of the very existence of science. Former manager of the laboratory handed over the management /reins/ to his younger colleague, since he *"...felt that there was a need to look for some new approaches in today's conditions, which are unfamiliar of unpleasant... Before, we were dependent, so to speak, only on the state. It was something so great and noble. We all understood that we were sovereign people. And now we beg for grants from many sources, prostitute ourselves every time... We sell out like at the marketplace."* Present head of the lab accepted new rules of the game: *"Currently, it is not very easy. Lots of negative points that are quite unpleasant. But, we have to accept them...the worst thing is the constantly changing rules of the game"*. The result is a fairly well functioning mechanism that the respondent characterized as scientific management, and due to which the lab is developing a specific scientific field, and which, at the same time, ensures a perfectly acceptable level of compensation for its employees.

3. Young scientists that migrate abroad, periodically or permanently (at the time of the study there were 4 people, after 10 years, three of them permanently left to live and work abroad).

We should separately mention young promising scientists – those, who only began their careers and were defending their Ph.D theses in early 2000s.

The following trends in their status change were noted after 10 years: the status of 6 people has increased (defending a dissertation /Ph.D theses/, promotion, obtaining larger grants, awards, incentive in the form of housing, provided by the Academy of Sciences); status remained virtually unchanged – 5 people; status of the other 7 people has changed: a) 1 (1-25) left her research position for the job related to scientific-auxiliary work; ,b) 3 left for commercial firms; other spheres of activity.

Out of 7 young scientists under the age of 35, only 4 remained working at the institute.

Let us take a closer look at the two opposite groups – those who left science and those who succeeded in 2010.

Those who left science (6 people). There are several subtypes. Moved into the sphere of activity not connected with science (3 people). These were the workers that initially combined their scientific research with continued secondary employment, (2 people), who eventually moved on to their new careers, related to photography. Moreover, these strategies did not produce large income, and even resulted in abandoning this new occupation, as in the case of the chief scientist, who became a guard at an auto firm (1-31m, 59 years). A young graduate student, who left the field of science as well, having retrained to become a veterinarian, and finally ended up working as a self-employed freelance translator, specializing in professional subjects. Three

of the respondents managed to preserve a relative connection to their chosen sphere of occupation, becoming consultants, engineers in commercial firms and structures (consulting for major foreign companies in Russia and in England).

Successful scientists in our study (i.e. those who raised their status, with the wages equal or above the subsistence minimum for Moscow) work in two science associations (laboratories) – 3 respondents. One of the laboratories is focused almost entirely on collaboration with foreign scientists (in particular within the 7th Framework Programme of the European Union), as well as large Russian and foreign grants. We should also point out that in recent years, there were actual major grant programs of the Academy of Sciences and Ministry of Education and Science emerging, which were aimed at developing science in strategic directions with the help of active scientific associations and research groups (establishment of so-called “centers of excellence” in science). This helps create and foster an environment for success.

The following types of tuning points have emerged, which dramatically change or interrupt academic careers during the last 10 years:

1. Transition into a related field of activity. As an example, young respondents that switch to more profitable spheres of activity – most often, large foreign firms with high salaries, utilizing prior professional experience and knowledge (3 persons). This turning point in their careers has been brewing for quite some time, as a result of active search for more efficient and productive application of their abilities. Motivation and success of this quest are primarily associated with particular aspects of this phase of socialization – mainly, young age, as well as demand for their educational and professional experience in the context of their application on the labor market. Additionally, the fact that the degree of identification with scientific careers of academic type is not very high, aids the flexibility of this quest.

“...very many young scientists want to deal with applied science. Especially if they are not particularly good at fundamental (science), then, as a rule, they want to do something useful.” (1-26-5).

At the same time, this new career path is also facing a crisis, as well as an emergence of a new turning point, i.e., the search for new areas of activity:

“I used to have some sort of a program back then – what I wanted to do. It was very modest. And it is fully implemented. And where do I go from here is not very clear. That is, I somehow was not preprogrammed to move on somewhere beyond that...” (1-26-5).

A young scientist, who immigrated to England in ,, 1990’s, was also forced to break from his academic career

“After all, I...cannot get the money (grant) as a young scientist any more. And I have not achieved the status of “an old scientist” yet... Actually, because I left (Russia) too late. Because my degree is not local (British), I started learning English after I immigrated...” (1-28-5).

And although his new career – a consulting engineer at a large firm is progressing rather well, he also does not foresee any substantial future growth:

“I am happy with my status of a British citizen, but as far as my job status – generally speaking, probably not. Because... well, if this was my native language, I would be capable of accomplishing much more” (1-28-5).

Thus, a new type of a professional career is emerging. It is associated with scientific background, but not scientific interest, and is aimed at finding highly skilled work, generating high income.

2. *Departure to a sphere of activity, unrelated to science.* For two respondents a turning point was coming for a long time and gradually became the most profound crisis in employment. It started with a failure to advance and promote their scientific research abroad, i.e., lack of adequate market skills under new, changed circumstances. This prompted a search for jobs unrelated to science. Their new professional career is based on amateur skills (photography), which have now been forming new occupational environment and skills.

“...At first I still thought about finding a science, research firm. Then someone suggested, they said – What are you doing? Its nonsense. You basically have a ready-made profession (photography), you know it pretty well. And what you don’t know, you will learn very quickly” (1-23-5).

However, the respondent admits that his identity of a scientist remains intact in his new place of work, helping him rise above its limitations:

“...perhaps these days, in this area, I am one of the most advanced, in a sense, experts in Moscow (...) well, a scientist is always a scientist. Scientist – it’s a diagnosis. – Does it help? – Yes, it helps, because it’s a skill of gathering information, analyzing information... It is just thinking skills, which nowadays practically no one has. Or, perhaps, never did. Analytical skills always help” (1-23-5).

Identification with the sphere of scientific activity is also preserved in social status and professional community orientation.

“still, office people is certainly a deeply alien environment for me. (...) It is simply just uninteresting for me (socializing) with the people there. Absolutely. – Why? – They are different. They are different... A familiar environment for me is some sort of scientific one” (1-28-5).

As a result, new careers, pursued by the respondents in our study after leaving science did not bring substantial income, stable prospects or opportunities.

A young graduate student, who left the field of science as well, having retrained to become a veterinarian, and finally ended up working as a self-employed freelance translator, specializing in professional subjects. She represents a type of an independent career path, associated with a certain type of professional skills, aimed at self-employment rather than recognition at some major hierarchical structures.

Stable scientific careers are shaped, molded in fairly successful institute laboratories. The following factors help with continuation of research activities – a high level of involvement in international collaboration, participation in research activities on major Russian grants (mega-grants) that became available in 2000s within the framework of establishment of so-called centers of excellence in science, or, in some cases – additional resources (help from relatives, etc.). However, at the same time, negative assessments of the development of infrastructure of Russian science by the scientists themselves are an important characteristic of the state of scientific careers today. This affects the assessment of their own career prospects (table 1).

Table 1

Structure of organizational problems of scientific sphere as perceived by respondents, 2010

Lack of adequately trained specialists	<p>...generally speaking, the entire situation is strategically lost, since we should have a budget of 100.000.00 dollars per person (wages), and we are starting with 2,000.00 – a sum of 100.000.00 is definitely unreachable. We can increase this several times by utilizing internal resources, but, beyond that, it becomes an infrastructural government issue...Therefore, competing head-to-head with the leading world centers is simply impossible, not so much due to the lack of finances, as shortage of people – all is scattered, falling apart (...) Mad scientists are the only ones remaining, they don't care if they are getting paid, not getting paid. But they have nothing to work with. And businessmen from science also stayed (...) the problem is people, only people. Personnel. Weak personnel. Weak. Very weak. All over the country. (1-20m-5, male, director)</p> <p>...science has made a huge leap forward... but here, we somehow put on the brakes, everything is extremely expensive, there are no specialists. Even when we buy a new device, instrument, very modern and expensive, we have no idea how to use it. Because technology became so complicated. Now we have to send a person for training. Then this person has to work. And we have to pay this person, so that he would work, take care of this new equipment. (1-30f-5, female)</p>
Brain drain internal, external	<p>Remaining, surviving employees, the young ones, are only staying, because they have some sort of personal problems at home (...) tearing them apart and preventing from functioning effectively. You cannot work three hours a day in science. In science, you should work from dawn till dawn [quietly and without pathos]. Such is the specificity of our sphere. But here, the majority of our young employees have some sort of part time work. Working part time – hence, they lose real interest. It's lost. (1-27-5, chief researcher, male).</p> <p>The state of science – how many, do they say, left (abroad) – 200,000 scientists? Some say, the number is even greater. And somehow, no one has returned. This is a colossal gift for the development of Western civilization – the best, most highly skilled people left Russia. (1-27m-5)</p>

Table 1-continued

<p>Continuity, succession, younger generation in science</p>	<p>Young people do not stay in science for long, they energetically move on to graduate school, but afterwards they try to go into private sector, various firms (...) – restaurant business of some sort, selling electronics, i.e., absolutely unrelated (to science). Some, of course, leave for work to Western countries... (1-22-5, head of department, female)</p> <p>Do you have any idea, how many young people, especially males, left us during these years. No one really stayed. All gone, and their fate is unenviable. (...) Since they all finished graduate school, successfully defended their dissertations – and went on to sell hardware for cabinets – funny, huh? (1-16-5, head of lab, male)</p>
<p>State of abstract science (basic research)</p>	<p>Science is dying, that's for certain, iron clad. Especially fundamental [abstract science] (...) it is practically washed away. It is clinging to life ... only because of some inertia, you know, back from the Soviet period. That is, my generation is its boundary. It is moving, moving, aging, getting older.... And behind us is the abyss. (1-33m, male, head of the laboratory)</p> <p>...it is a common, widespread ideology. Its [abstract science, or basic research] value is unrecognized. Certain bureaucratic mentality cannot grasp it... (1-35m-5 – male, senior researcher)</p> <p>they just do not invest in abstract [fundamental] science. Everyone is interested in its practical (applied) utilization. But, from my experience, when certain institutes completely shifted towards applied direction – they eventually simply disappeared. (1-30-5, female, researcher)</p> <p>...if these basic [fundamental] studies have already reached the level of practical application, then they find financial support. Foundation – is entirely Soviet. (1-27-5, male, chief researcher).</p>
<p>Integration of abstract science (basic research) with higher education</p>	<p>...academy told us – either we, you know, economically [put you in disadvantageous economic conditions], or, like in the Anglo-Saxon model, go educate the youth, teach, merge with the university... (1-20m-5, director, male)</p> <p>It is virtually impossible to combine (experimental basic science) with teaching. If you are, of course, not some super-genius, with energy bursting out of you like some kind of an energizer. (...) But, as long as you have the strength, you should pursue either one, or the other. (1-35m-5 male, senior researcher)</p>
<p>Infrastructure of science</p>	<p>Of course we purchased a few things over these years, but we are still significantly behind in terms of serious equipment. I would like to double-check all of my data... But, it is yet not possible. I cannot do everything with my bare hands! Some things, yes, I can manage. With the help of a device that should have been purchased for 8,000.00 dollars. I made it from trash. I was thinking, I should buy a small new lathe on my own, install it, and, if I need a specific part – I can make it myself on the spot. Because buying all the equipment – it is just not possible! (1-21-5 male, senior researcher)</p> <p>This is a bureaucratic organization (about the fund). A lot of scribble, paperwork, purely bureaucratic, formal, which should all be taken care of by a designated person, but here, it still has to be done by our research staff... gathering these pieces of paper instead of dealing with the matters of science. (1-35m-5, male, senior researcher).</p> <p>I do not understand the position of the leadership [of state]... - there is no need to invest any money! Well, just make sure that, say, tariff barriers (for scientific equipment and reagents) are dealt with faster, more efficiently, or change taxation system (in science) (1-16m-5, head of lab, male).</p>

Table 1-continued

Commercialization of science	This is a psychology of a firm, rather than an institute of fundamental science. Fundamental researchers will not make good businessmen. (1-35m-5, male, senior researcher).
Practice of incentives and performance evaluation of the impact of scientific research	...the amount of these increases (allowances) is so insignificant. And it only happens once or twice a year. Not every month. (1-16-5) ...it does not reflect anything, damn it, this PRND (measure of impact of scientific activity). ...Because people can bust out articles – 10 articles, all about the same thing. Yes, he is getting some bonuses, but this does not reflect the essence of his work. (...) And then there is work... - you keep digging and digging something new, which needs to be checked and rechecked several times, moreover, by several methods, which is simply impossible, since we don't have the infrastructure (1-21-5, male).
Informal practice (corruption)	our president is making a speech, or our prime minister, and they are perplexed – we invest so much money into science! And it must be true, apparently these are very large sums of money that are being invested in it and so forth. Well, you know where it all ends up... (1-16, head of laboratory, male) The money should be handed over directly to the scientists. Not some government officials that would manage the entire thing. That's when things will start getting created in the country. And when senior officials are just plundering the money, while scientists are getting some measly pennies (kopecks), new technology cannot be created (1-21-5, male, senior researcher).
Autonomy at work	<i>Are you satisfied with you position, status in scientific field?</i> Well, relatively so. If it was not for some organizational problems (...) in terms of my shrinking freedom over managing my own work time (1-35m-5, senior researcher, male).

Development of scientific careers of young scientists that escaped the turning points is of some interest as well. Career changes are fairly positive – defending dissertation, scholastic degree and active participation in a variety of projects, as well as apartments awarded by the housing program of the Academy of Sciences for young scientists. At the same time, an ongoing, traditionally adopted policy of career restriction (time/age) in relation to official hierarchical promotion, seems rather paradoxical considering general shortage of young employees.

“it takes a very long time here (career advancement). We don't like young people here. (...) well, old habits, like they say. It is common practice (to promote) at, say, that many years old (certain age)” (1-34-5).

Conclusion

Samples of scientific careers in post-Soviet Russia are undergoing profound changes related to both general trends of job instability, among others, in the field of highly skilled labor,

as well as specific situation of the Russian crisis and social transformations. The latter shaped the turning points of various types, which marked the beginning of these changes in the careers of scientists.

In cases of leaving scientific field after such turning point, new career lines take shape in adjacent or completely unrelated areas of employment. In the first case scenario they develop their existing professional skills and education in a new direction. In the latter case, new professional resources (skills, connections) are molded. In any case, former science career resources often have a positive effect on the competitiveness on a labor market. New career lines, as a rule, are aimed at a permanent job change.

One of the characteristics of scientific careers continuation lies in the sense of vagueness, lack of clarity in regard to their prospects, negative assessment of infrastructure of scientific activity in general. This limits both, careers of the young, as well as mature scientists.

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Unequal Status of Healing Versus National Medicine in Russian Society

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Abstract. The article discusses the problem of unequal status of healing versus national medicine in modern Russian society occurred after adoption of new Federal Law “On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation” in the end of 2011; there are analyzed article 50 of the adopted new Federal Law and article 47 of the project of this Federal Law to determine the rights and opportunities of healers and practitioners of national medicine to civilized work in the sphere of providing alternative health and healing services.

Keywords: analysis of documents; Federal Law; healing; national medicine; professionalization; professional association; social inequality; unequal status

This paper considers a problem of unequal status of healing and national medicine in the modern Russian society.

It is unknown, when the first rudiments of medical care and healing appeared. The most common version – simultaneously with the appearance of a man, that is, a few hundred thousand years, and perhaps earlier, BC, at the beginning of the Quaternary period in Earth's history. This hypothesis has repeatedly expressed not only by historians, but also by physicians. So, the great physiologist I.P. Pavlov wrote that “medical activity is as old as the first man... it would be unfair to assume history of medicine starting from its writing period” [Pavlov, 1951].

National medicine is the oldest branch of medicine in the history of Russia. The roots of national medicine were paganism, which professed Slavic tribes before the combination and creation of the state and adoption of Christianity. Therefore, the moment of origin of national medicine can be attributed to the time of beginning the historical description of the life of the Russian people, i.e. to prehistoric times.

With the adoption of Christianity, national medicine has experienced more than a millennium of historical life of the people. National healers were able to do bloodletting, trepanation of the skull and treat injuries, wounds with the aid of a variety of ointments, as well as by cauterization [Great Soviet encyclopedia, 1972: 442].

National healers wrote treatises on the use of healing forces of nature – herbals and medical manuals. It received particularly widespread after the adoption of Christianity and the emergence of writing. Unfortunately, we have inherited only a small fraction of those sources, since most of them were lost during the various wars. It is interesting that those books described the means used not only after the adoption of Christianity, but also before it.

Nowadays, national medicine continues to develop, it is widely used in practice by the people who own by this art and sometimes they argue with the official medicine. There exist

cases, when conventional medicine was helpless before some cases of diseases despite the fact that it has reached the highest theoretical and practical development and technical equipment. There fixed cases when people with skills of national medicine literally “pulled out a man of the coffin” and returned him health.

At the end of the XX century, the radical transformations of Russian society have led to structural changes in the health care system. Today this sphere is in crisis due to lack of material security of budget medicine, reducing the quality of medical education and health care and lack of incentives to work in the official medicine. Reform of the health care system has helped to broaden the range of “alternative” medical services. People's interest in the methods of practitioners of national medicine and healers is not only dried up [Salo, 2012: 3207] but continues increase from day to day already in XXI century, especially after new reform of system of health care in 2014.

The official medicine does not recognize the right of practitioners of national medicine and healers to treat people. Till now, basic science isn't in a hurry to explore this social phenomenon seriously, although as the field of scientific knowledge the problem of existing of national medicine and healing in modern society is beginning to be studied within the anthropology of professions [Anthropology, 2005].

In 1993 there was adopted Federal Law “On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation” with subsequent versions within almost 20 years. Due to inconsistencies and contradictions in Article 57 of the Federal Law “Fundamentals of Legislation on Health Care of Citizens”, the lack of an adequate system of state regulation of national medicine and healing, the practitioners of national medicine and healers could not legally and civilized conduct their activities in the legal field, which led to the discrediting of national medicine and healing in society.

New Federal Law "On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation” entered into force on January 1, 2012. Article 50 of new Federal Law must regulate the activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers.

The conducted study was aimed at the analysis of the process of becoming the legal field in order to legitimize the activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers in Russia over the past 20 years.

The main purpose of the study was the detailed analysis of Article 47 “Healing” of the Draft of new Federal Law and Article 50 “National Medicine” of the new adopted Federal Law to determine the rights and opportunities of practitioners of national medicine and healers civilized conduct their activities in the market of alternative health services.

The study was conducted within the framework of qualitative methodology; there was used such a method as an analysis of documents.

Legal and Socio-Economic Regulation of National Medicine and Healing In Russia

In Russia, the main founding document for the activities of the practitioners of national medicine and healers is the “Fundamentals of Legislation on Health Care of Citizens.” Before 2012, Article 57 of this document asserted the right to engage in national medicine (healing) on the basis of a healer diploma. The same article also defined national medicine as: “...*methods of healing, prevention, diagnostics and treatment based on the experiences of many generations of people, entrenched in the folk traditions but not registered in accordance with the legislation of the Russian Federation*” [Law, 1993, etc.; Collected normative and methodical materials, 2007]. However, the “Fundamentals of Legislation...” permitted to carry out medical activities only to persons with medical education, and a diploma of healer is not provided it. Thus, one article of the “Fundamentals of Legislation...” regulated the use in medical practice only techniques authorized for use in the manner prescribed by law; and the other article referred to national medicine practices that are not registered in the manner prescribed by law.

These inconsistencies and contradictions have led to the situation that healing activities have dropped out of sight of medical and legislative oversight bodies. National medicine (healing) as the type of activity was not included in the List of Types of Medical Activities Subject to Licensing, although from 1993 to 1998 it was subject to licensing in accordance with the Order of the Ministry of Health of the RF in the section “Power Information Science” [Law, 1993, etc.].

To avoid the uncertainty and contradictions, it should be noted that Article 57 of the Federal Law had a clear definition of national medicine:

“National medicine should be considered as an integral part of traditional medicine having pronounced regional or national character, which carrier is a special group of people with unique abilities of positive impact on the human body to diagnose diseases or correct health by confirmed by special expertise in the manner prescribed by Ministry of Health of the RF. The concepts of “national medicine” and “healing” should be recognized as identical” [Collected normative and methodical materials, 2007].

From a formal point of view, practitioners of national medicine (healers) “were not engaged in treatment”, their activities were not licensed and had no clear standards for certification.

Healers did not need a medical degree; they worked like any other taxpayers – businessmen, public organizations and had the proper accounts.

Healers were interested to seriously study their abilities and to obtain a license similar to medical one. For this purpose, it was necessary to examine the therapeutic effect, the treatment effect and standardize the method. They could provide the results of some studies of their therapeutic effects, reports on scientific work, but these documents were not licenses as such.

Before 2012, in practice health authorities in the Russian Federation didn't regulate the activities of national medicine (healing) and didn't give diploma of a healer, although all spheres of human activity should be governed by the laws in our country. It was very difficult to develop a law for the biosensor actions and other methods used by the healers. Nevertheless, a legitimate base for healing activities existed. Unfortunately, not all knew about it. About healing and national medicine were written in the "Law on Health Care of Citizens": permission for healer work is the diploma; healers work must be coordinated by self-regulated public organizations – professional associations in the field of healing [Federal Law, 2007].

System of Voluntary Certification

In 2006, on the initiative of the "Federal Service for Supervision of Health Care" (Roszdravnadzor) there has been developed "System of Voluntary Certification" of services in the field of national medicine for the formation of a civilized market of healers services: the security of services and the ability of objective assessment of the quality of such services by consumers [Order, 2006].

"Federal Research Center of the Traditional Methods of Diagnosis and Treatment" of the Ministry of Health and Social Development has developed criteria for the voluntary certification of citizens engaged in healing: voluntary registration as private entrepreneurs; charged studying the base course of medicine with subsequent exams; adding into State Register by the Ministry of Health; other healers activities will be considered illegal [Salo, 2012].

Problems of Certification System

1. Assessment of the security of services for health and life.
2. Confirmation of the declared parameters of quality (effectiveness) of services.
3. Provide consumers with reliable information about the service and its performer.
4. Drafting of the Uniform Register of specialists, whose services have been tested.
5. Providing tax services.
6. Promoting scientific research.
7. Creation of additional legal field for specialists in the field of national medicine.

8. Avoiding unnecessary administrative actions with respect to certified specialists.

Features of Voluntary Certification

1. The voluntary decision on the need for certification.
2. The compensatory nature of the relationship with the certification body.
3. The requirements used for certification are not fixed by Laws as mandatory requirements and are fixed by normative documents of Certification System or reasonably recognized such by Certification System (referred to as system standards).

However, the criteria for the certification system were such that only people with medical education could pass the certification. Some healers, having a medical degree, could be able to get this certificate, but it turned out that it has no legal power.

Professional associations and representatives of social-and-active healing community see the decision of legal issues in the field of national medicine in the need to:

- adopt a special law on national medicine and subordinate governmental regulations on the procedure for getting permits and rules to engage in national medicine;
- carry out activities for the organization and training of the healers as part of educational programs.

Thus, the legislative base was existed, the form of work permission was provided and the procedure for obtaining permission was registered. Professional associations could determine the degree of skill and quality of the healer work better than anyone else and decide whether to grant him permission. However, the system was not working.

As a result, since the enactment of the law in 1993, almost in any region diploma of a healer has not been issued or issued in violation of the meaning of the law. Under existing legislation only healer diploma gave the right to practice national medicine.

In such a situation, the healers were not able to make arrangements for training, retraining and development of their communities; and this inevitably affected the level of provision of healing services. They remained isolated and alone couldn't overcome the difficulties. Some of them were forced into healing without permits at their own risk, while others concealed their activities under other forms of business: consulting, massages, etc.

For over fifteen years, the citizens were not protected from low-quality services of persons providing services in the field of national medicine and from charlatans posing as specialists in this field.

At the same time, some talented practitioners of national medicine with special health-restoring ability were unable to officially confirm their abilities and efficiency of services which prevented the execution of legal practice.

All the mentioned above demonstrate the inadequacy of state regulation system of this sphere of services and lead to the discrediting of national medicine in the eyes of citizens.

Conceptual Fundamentals of Law Regulation of Activities of Practitioners of National Medicine and Healers

Inconsistencies and contradictions in the Law “Fundamentals of Legislation on Health Care of Citizens” have led to the fact that after 1998 there appeared a large number of psychics, magicians and all sorts of charlatans in the market of healing services. The primary objective was to adopt a law that would separate the practitioners of national medicine and healers from charlatans [Let “cure”, 2006; Pozdnyaev, 2006].

In recent years, from 2004 onwards, the mass media has widely discussed the problem of improving the activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers. There were a lot of ideas, suggestions and opinions [Balasheva, 2004; Moscow deputies, 2006; Ryabinina, 2006]. Moscow City Duma tried to develop amendments to the Federal Law “On Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation”; then Duma tried to pass a new law regulating the activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers in Russia [Order, 2006].

In 2010, the question about the activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers in the territory of the Russian Federation arose particularly sharply.

Taking into account the suggestions of the World Health Organization, the heads of the Ministry of Health and Social Development of the RF, the scientific community and representatives of the healing community, the State Duma, Moscow Duma and the Moscow City Government have found a way out of this situation – to use the experience of foreign countries in this sphere of activity. In the USA and some European countries the activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers are regulated by the government and professional associations [Burrage et al, 1990].

In this regard, there was established a Working Group of the State Duma Committee on Health Care for working on a new project of the Federal Law in May of 2011.

New Federal Law “On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in Russian Federation”

Draft of New Federal Law

In the draft of new Federal Law Article 47 was devoted to healing [Salo, 2014: 228–229]:

1. Healing is the methods of diagnostics, prevention and treatment of human diseases that cannot be introduced into clinical practice due to the lack of clear rules, a large

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proportion of their subjectivity in the selection and application, poor reproducibility of the results and difficulty in conducting objective tests of their effectiveness.

2. Citizens who received a healer diploma issued by the executive authorities of the Russian Federation in the manner determined by the authorized federal body of executive power have the right to engage in healing.

3. The decision to grant a healer diploma is made on the basis of application and representation of professional medical public association or citizen's application and the joint representation of professional medical public association and medical organization. The diploma of a healer gives the right to engage in the healing in the territory of the Russian Federation whose executive power body issued the diploma.

4. Individuals who got a healer diploma are involved in healing in the procedure established by the executive authorities of subjects of the Russian Federation.

5. Conducting mass healing sessions, including the mass media, is prohibited.

6. Deprivation of the healer diploma is made by the decision of the executive authorities of the subjects of the Russian Federation issued the healer diploma and can be appealed in court.

7. Healing is not included in the Program of State Guarantees of Free Medical Care to Citizens.

New Federal Law

Article 50 of the new Federal Law, which is now called "National Medicine" and entered into force on January 1, 2012, reads:

1. National medicine is healing methods which have been established in the national experiences and which are based on the use of knowledge and practical skills in assessment and rehabilitation of health. National medicine does not include the services of the occult and magical character, as well as performance of religious rites.

2. Citizens who got a permission issued by the executive authority of the subject of the Russian Federation in the sphere of health care have the right to practice national medicine.

3. The decision to grant permission to practice national medicine is taken on the basis on the application of a citizen and representation of medical professional non-profit organization or a citizen's application and the joint representation of medical professional non-profit organization and medical organization. Permission gives the right to engage in national medicine in the territory of the subject of the Russian Federation whose executive power body issued such permission.

4. The person getting the permission is engaged in national medicine in the manner prescribed by the executive authority of the subject of the Russian Federation.

5. Deprivation of the citizen permission to engage in national medicine is made by the decision of the executive authority of the subject of the Russian Federation issued such permission and may be appealed in court.

6. National medicine is not included in the Program of State Guarantees of Free Medical Care to Citizens.

7. Illegal practice of national medicine as well as harm to life or health of the citizens during the practice of national medicine entails responsibility under the legislation of the Russian Federation.

The Federal Law “On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation” was adopted by the State Duma on November 1, 2011 in the 2nd reading. 306 State Duma deputies out of 450 were voted for the new law. The Federation Council approved a new law on November 9, 2011 [Federal Law, 2011].

Study Results

Analysis of Documents

There have been studied and analyzed such documents as Article 47 “Healing” of the draft of this new Federal Law and Article 50 “National Medicine” of the new adopted Federal Law “On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation” [Salo, 2013: 182].

The analysis of Article 47 and Article 50 showed that these documents contain 7 provisions each, which have the similarities and differences:

Provision 1 represents the definition of the concepts of healing and national medicine and healing methods, which relate to them.

Provision 2 determines who has the right to engage in healing and national medicine and on basis on what documents.

Provision 3 shows how decisions are taken on the issue of documents to engage in healing and national medicine.

Provision 4 fixes who establishes the procedure to engage in healing and national medicine on the basis on obtained documents.

Provision 5 reflects the differences to engage in healing and national medicine: in the first case, it is the ban on public sessions of healing, and in the second – what is the procedure of deprivation of a citizen of permission to engage in national medicine.

Provision 6 also reflects the differences to engage in healing and national medicine: in the first case, it is a procedure of deprivation of a citizen of the healer diploma to engage in healing, and in the second – clarification that national medicine is not included in the program of state guarantees of free provision of medical care to citizens.

Provision 7 fixes the differences to engage in healing and national medicine: in the first case, it is clarification that the healing is not included in the program of state guarantees of free medical care provision to citizens and in the second – what is legal responsibility for the illegal occupation of national medicine.

Analysis of the provisions of Article 47 “Healing” of the draft of a new Federal Law and Article 50 “National medicine” of adopted new Federal Law “On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation” has shown that now healing and national medicine are parted, i.e. healing is separated from national medicine which corresponds to the essence of these concepts:

“Healing is the process of recovery of the energy-informational structure of a human in accordance with the original set program of its development; the task of healing is to help the body itself to restore the lost harmony in work of all human bodies and their relationships” [Healing].

“National medicine is part of alternative medicine which includes knowledge about the diseases, treatment methods and tools; they are passed among the people from generation to generation” [National medicine].

Article 57 of the “Fundamentals of Legislation on Health Care of Citizens” acting prior to January 1, 2012 identified these concepts, what was wrong.

So, from January 1, 2012 national medicine in Russia has got an independent status and practitioners of the national medicine are now required to obtain permission to carry out their activities in the Department of Health Care on representation of professional associations to which they belong.

Thus, starting from 2012, the healing is legally derived from the national medicine. The occult services (such persons constitute 70% among the healers) are legally derived from national medicine and the provision of such services does not require permission for healing; such persons are registered as businessmen in the frames of subgroup 93.05.12.150 “services of astrologers, spiritualists, fortune-tellers, magicians and psychics” of the “All-Russian Classification of Products by Kind of Activity”.

This fact testifies to the unequal status of the healing versus to the national medicine and social inequality, which have arisen since the adoption of the new Federal Law “On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation.” The working group members voluntarily or involuntarily admitted unforgivable mistake when creating an article of the new Federal Law on the regulation of activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers, which demonstrates their unprofessionalism in taking decisions. Such huge massive, as

healing, has dropped out of sight of medical and legislative oversight bodies, which can lead to serious problems.

Conclusions

The key findings of the study are as follows: members of the Working Group of the State Duma Committee on Health Care have shown their unprofessionalism when developing the document regulating activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers though professionalism is the basis of any activities. Unfortunately, the members of the Working Group haven't understood an essence of such concepts as healing and national medicine and made a serious mistake – created only one article having called it “National medicine” (in the draft of the new Federal Law the article was called “Healing”). As a result, such a huge massive as healing has been referred to category of services of occult-and-magic character, which testifies that the status of the healing is unequal versus the status of the national medicine.

In our opinion, in order to avoid a social inequality it should be necessary to develop and enter into new Federal Law 2 articles regulating the activities of practitioners of national medicine and healers, having called them “National medicine” and “Healing” with the indication of criteria for implementation of such activities.

In order to have the right to engage in national medicine or healing it would be enough five criteria:

1. Practitioner of national medicine or healer must be registered as an individual entrepreneur.
2. Practitioner of national medicine or healer should be a member of professional medical association.
3. Practitioner of national medicine or healer must have the Permission for practicing national medicine issued by the Department of Health Care of Moscow.
4. The services of practitioner of national medicine or healer should be safe for life and health of citizens what can certify the professional medical organization.
5. Practitioner of national medicine or healer must keep the following documentation:

(1) a register of applications and services with the necessary introduction of information about client into it (surname, name, age, address of registration by residence or place of residence, date of primary and next visits);

(2) individual records with the introduction of mandatory information into them about the dates of the primary and next visits of the practitioner of national medicine by the client, the

diagnosis of a doctor of the health care organization having a license for medical activity, the diagnosis of the practitioner of national medicine, used methods, sessions and procedures, current changes in his health and objective changes in the state of his health as a results of recovery with appropriate healing methods.

So, it is necessary to finalize new Federal Law “On Fundamentals of Health Care of Citizens in the Russian Federation” and eliminate all the defects leading to unequal status of the healing versus the national medicine and as a consequence to social inequality.

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Current Trends in the Modernization of the System of Pre-School Education of the Russian Federation

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Abstract. The article offers a method of using an empirical intersection of content analysis studies of similar case studies. Its application is illustrated by examples of secondary analysis of data from several content analyzes Russian media coverage of large-scale terrorist acts carried out by the author in 2002, 2004 and 2010 and 2011. The conclusion of the article: three-step encoding, developed by the authors, based on the adaptation of qualitative coding procedures proposed in the framework of grounded theory by Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, and it's connection with the coding procedures of traditional analysis, allows to remove many of the technical problems using the principle of empirical intersection of content-analytical studies.

Keywords: content analysis; coding; empirical intersection; replication.

Recently, empirical sociology has clearly visible movement towards integration and combination of different methods and approaches to improve the quality of empirical research. Particularly active, these trends are manifested in the field of communication studies. Most attention, in this regard, of researchers is attracted methodological principle of empirical intersection because it fits well with the modern trends in communication research and opens up interesting prospects for it's development.

The main advantage of using an empirical intersection - is that the understanding of communication processes increases, expanding its boundaries and becomes deeper in the case, if the research is carried out not in an isolated mode, and relate to other similar studies. Recently, at the forefront of research in which certain aspects of the communication are studied by means of a series of studies, linked by context. In this approach, each individual component of such a series of studies to reinforce and deepen allows findings from other studies to follow the dynamics of significant substantive aspects of a researcher.

The basic attitude of empirical intersection between at least two research projects is replicated when one study repeated the procedure of another. Secondly, in the same study could be used more homogeneous (either quantitative or qualitative) methods. Thirdly, both qualitative and quantitative methods can be combined within a single research project. For maximum effect when using replication should be clearly and very close to follow the procedures of previous studies in this series. In connection with this requirement when we apply a series of studies in the content analysis, formal replication is usually rather weak effect, because here it is faced with the difficulties that are inherent in any single original content

analyzes. In particular, this alignment problem between the encoders, which in such cases is further strengthened.

However, most researchers believe is extremely important to use replication in content analyzes. For example, in order to assess what are specific forms and organized flow of messages in different time and different social contexts.

The purpose of this article is to provide a method of replication of content analysis studies of media coverage of similar events, so-called case studies. In this case, a series of studies that using a content analysis of a single method for 10 years, studied the cases the Russian press coverage (i.e., the newspaper "Moskovsky Komsomolets") large-scale terrorist acts in Russia.

The essence of this method consists in that, firstly, replication takes place as a kind of meta-analysis. Namely, it is replicated through a secondary analysis of data from several studies of the same type, making it possible to do a review the empirical analysis based on the summed and reduced to a common denominator the results of several projects. Second, the technique involves the intersection of different approaches within a single method (content analysis), namely quantitative and qualitative approach to coding based on borrowing and adapting to the specific content analysis of three-stage coding method of grounded theory, developed by Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin [Strauss, Corbin, 1990].

Borrowing encoding method of quality procedures and its connection with the traditional coding quantitative content analysis is a logical step in the empirical intersection, allowing on the one hand, as much as possible to maintain objectivity and regularity in obtaining data, and on the other, to focus on internal communication with researchers subject of study, the researchers used theoretical sensitivity, and also take into account the value of the situational constraints surrounding context. Compound quantitative and qualitative approaches within a method allows, on the one hand, understood as formed and has a definite meaning specific social experiences and on the other hand, to measure and analyze the casual relationship between variables. The use of quality procedures in coding the data content of analytical case studies can be justified by the fact that, as the cases studied, for example, cases of large-scale coverage of political terrorism in the Russian press, we can consider to some extent the content analysis as a method of observing the behavior of the media in certain similar situations, but in a different social context. And then the attraction of quality procedures is absolutely justified. The combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches helps to overcome it's methodological limitations and to assess a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under study.

Another feature of this approach is that the computer is not used, namely manual content analysis, assuming a greater depth and detailed analysis, fixing the maximum nuances content. It

is allowed because of small sample sizes, which are specific to case studies. Primary researches were conducted to study the coverage of hostage-taking in the Nord Ost (2002), Beslan (2004), Moscow Metro bombings (2010) and at the airport "Domodedovo" bombings(2011). Whenever the sample size, which got all the publications in one way or another connected with the terrorist attacks for a period of sufficient activity of the media, did not exceed 150 publications. Accordingly, not required, and the encoder side, the researcher himself spent primary content analysis in all cases.

The procedure itself is a three-step encoding, developed in the framework of grounded theory, was adapted to the problems of our content analysis of media materials as follows. *Open coding.* At the stage of open coding the researcher as it marks all the threads in the text, as a category, are at a fairly low level of abstraction. They are derived from the general research questions and the first dive in the text. After the initial encoding of the researcher identified a common list that serves as orientation and an incentive to their further concretization. This list fully reflects the breadth of the information collected. In outlining topics and attributing primary code, the researcher performs the first attempt to condense the mass of data obtained in the search. The level of detail in coding depends on the research problem, "wealth" the sensitivity of the data and theoretical sensitivity of researcher.

Axial coding. This is the second pass through the data. During open coding the researcher focuses on the data itself, and assigns code values art without thinking about the relationship between them. There is the most complete set of categories. In axial coding the researcher proceeds to the organization of a set of codes or pre-primary concepts. He focuses on the codes themselves and their possibilities of sharpening applied to the specific context. The main task is to review and verification of primary codes, organization of ideas, the formation of semantic units to identify key areas in the analysis. It sets the logical relationship between the central theme of the study and its members scattered in different texts. The researcher finds out the causes and consequences of events, conditions and interactions, strategies and processes. Axial coding stimulates reflection on the relationship between the semantic units and methods of their supply and raises new questions. This relationship is enhanced by numerous examples of empirical facts, which are fixed as possible.

Selective coding. Selective coding is the last passage through the text, when it becomes clear logical structure and fullness of meaning units, as it emerges from the submissions received. Optional is to found and fixe the episodes that are the most vibrant and meaningful illustrations to the topics at the same time carried out a comparison or contrast between different forms of submission. This procedure provides the basic direction and specific themes for future analysis. Specific topics identified in the previous encoding, are reorganized and become the

base for the major thematic blocks, categories of analysis. During selective coding the final basic semantic units definitively determine the direction of the search of the investigator.

In fact, as we see, the researcher is completely immersed in the text material as a qualitative study. Only after such immersion it is possible to develop categories of analysis, to determine its direction. The traditional set of categories of content analysis (frequency and volume of publications and their individual elements) is only the foundation on which applied semantic diversity of the categories identified in the qualitative analysis, based on the author's interpretation of texts. It is very important to use theoretical sensitivity of the researcher, because it helps both to identify the main logic circuit and the reference points for the analysis and not to miss the nuances of meaning and methods of representation of events by journalists.

In our case, it was very important to use this encoding in the first study of press coverage of a large-scale terrorist attack, which gave a basic set of categories that form the basis of future similar studies. However, each time completely pass all three stages of encoding, so as not to miss changes in the editorial policy of the empirical source.

The benefits of this approach are obvious. In the traditional content analysis often count the number of publications on a particular topic, it is counted and classification of the authors on any basis, calculated the incidence of a certain category of content regardless of subject matter as a whole (positive or negative supply). This approach makes a certain minimum of useful information, but because of the alternative classification leads not only to loss of useful information about the text, but also to the estimates of the superficial content. The proposed approach involves the quantification of texts combined with qualitative analysis to identify the most complete information describing not only manifest, but the latent tendencies of the content.

Weight and diversity of data obtained in the primary studies allowed in more detail later develop different semantic units in their dynamics using secondary analysis. In particular, the authors have conducted secondary research on the following topics: "The image of law enforcement agencies in the media coverage of terrorist acts", "Transformation of the image of power in the Russian media coverage of terrorist acts", "Problems of ethnic tolerance in the Russian media," "Transformation of image of terrorism in the Russian media coverage of terrorist attacks".

As you can see, three of these themes - are the studies of images created by journalists, the three main actors, allocated when covering acts of terrorism - terrorism (terrorists), the security forces, power. But one theme is the development of related issues, namely, inter-ethnic tolerance that is usually presented in a number of texts covering the attacks when they are accented ethnicity terrorists.

Thus, the allocation of clusters in key primary studies took place in several stages. The first phase was carried out semiformalized filling out forms of content analysis, which specifies all threads Article and give retelling of the content articles in a free form, not limit the scope. Further, the reorganization of the whole spectrum allocated in the broader sense and formed blocks. In the third stage, based on an understanding of the internal logic of developments identified in the first two stages of coding allocated and recorded the most significant and vibrant illustrative elements of the content and forms of presentation of texts. Thus, we are moving towards a gradual narrowing of the field of analysis, without losing its important elements, relationships and connotations. The basic principle of this analysis - is a cyclical return to the initial text to validate interpretations of context. In this way, the researcher organizes raw data into conceptual categories and creates themes and concepts, which are then used in the analysis of the data, the calculation of semantic units. Thus, the coding becomes the part integrative of analysis.

The purpose of initial case studies was to analyze the press coverage of events related to the current large-scale terrorist attacks, and the identification of key images and socio-political issues that formed the media in covering the events, as well as specific journalistic techniques that were used at the same time. The units of analysis were completed some printed materials on how directly the events surrounding the terrorist attack illuminated, and everything that is connected with Chechnya, terrorism, Islam and international relations. As a result, we identified the following key conceptual blocks that are common to the whole series of primary research:

- The image of the "enemy": international terrorism and the home;
- An image of authority;
- The image of law enforcement agencies;
- The problem of inter-ethnic tolerance, Islam and its flow;
- Proposed causes and origins of the events;
- Proposed an alternative resolution of conflicts, the forecasts for the future. Also were solved a number of the following tasks:
- Identification of the degree of attention to the main parties to the conflict;
- Identification of the dominant emotional and pictorial means, journalistic methods of presentation;
- Clarification of authorship and the volume of the quoted opinion.

In the future, the transition to the secondary analysis was quite logical and relatively easy to move into the center of research on selected semantic units and develop them over time and in greater detail. Wealth obtained and documented before the initial data provided necessary and sufficient information base for secondary analysis.

Part 3. Education and Professionalism

In all four secondary studies we use theoretical sampling –the articles were selected for the analysis of data based on a specific thematic content. Thus, in the study of terrorism image from the primary study data set we selected those relating to materials address issues such as ideological, political and economic causes of extremism and terrorism, the goals and objectives of terrorist organizations, social and psychological portraits of their leaders and ordinary performers motivation and methods for a set of recruits in extremist and terrorist organizations, the social base of terrorism, the gravity of contemporary terrorism for Russian society and for the world as a whole, the connection between "domestic" terrorist international, value judgments about various aspects of terrorism as experts and journalists and ordinary citizens. In the secondary sample of 2002 events were selected 68 articles, 2004 - 51 articles in 2011 –41 articles.

The image of the law enforcement agencies revealed through the following thematic blocks - search for the causes of the terrorist attack, finger-pointing, the evaluation of existing parties to the conflict, the subject of vulnerable citizens, projections of events, advice and solutions offered by experts and journalists. Accordingly, the materials were sampled data blocks, which appeared in one degree or another law enforcement agencies - both in general and in the face of individual representatives. In 2002 events were selected 53 articles, 2004 - 37 articles in 2010 (the study was conducted before the explosion at the airport "Domodedovo" in 2011, so were taken the events of the explosion in the Moscow metro in 2010) - 23 articles . To study the problems of inter-ethnic tolerance we selected materials that are to a greater or lesser degree, positively or negatively, could have an impact on public opinion of the part of the audience, who considers himself to the titular nation (Russian) against Chechens, Caucasians, people, professing Islam, the Islamic world as a whole. In 2002 events were selected 14 articles, 2004 - 13 articles, 2011 -10 articles. These articles can be divided into two groups: the exciting xenophobia, or calling for tolerance, understanding and peaceful coexistence.

To study the image of state power the papers were selected that contained mention of the power structures and its specific representatives. We used the same semantic blocks as for the security forces. Because power is always one of the main actors of this conflict as a political terrorist attack, then the secondary analysis was selected almost half of the primary array of materials. As events in 2002 - 56 articles, 2004 –62 articles , 2011 - 26 articles.

As an empirical indicators in all four projects have been identified:

- 1) the number of articles containing information on topics of interest to us, ie theme among all the weight of the selected material;
- 2) evaluation of their coloring (positive, negative, balanced, neutral);
- 3) the degree of validity (expert opinion, witness or the participant's events, etc.);

- 4) the emotional content of the material;
- 5) the genre of the article;
- 6) the amount of the article;
- 7) the presence of illustrations, their scope and content.

A more detailed thematic splitting of semantic blocks in the secondary analysis, comparative analysis of the dynamics of changes in the editorial policy of the empirical source led to the following conclusions.

Image of terrorism.[Semenova, 2014]

Comparing both the content and its external supply when designing the image of terrorism in "MK" 2002, 2004 and 2011, we can say that the principles and techniques of the material remained mostly the same. This "speaking" headings "and a large number of materials with a high emotional background (decreased slightly in favor of a neutral factual submission in 2001). For greater reliability in most materials available eyewitness and participants of the event, experts are widely involved. For the same purpose used the genre of investigative journalism based on facts and evidence. At the same time there is an original d, use the "MK", way of presenting the material in the form of "argument on the subject ..." (cut in 2011). In these articles the audience connect to the newspapers offer unsubstantiated emotionally formalized reasoning. This is done to achieve the effect of participation of the reader to the conclusions offered by the authors of such articles, but for the most part based not on rational and the emotional component of consciousness.

Talking about the semantic content of the constructed at different times by journalists "MK" the image of terrorism can be significant to note similarities (with slight differences) the proposed constructs in 2002 and 2004 and a significant principle of the image transformation in 2011.

Journalists are encouraged to the image of terrorists to a greater extent than negative (although the negative definition it contains), but causes sympathy and understanding related to the motivation of terrorists (the struggle to end the war in Chechnya, the suffering of the Chechen people). It emphasizes ideology and selflessness of ordinary performers. Understandable and elicits the sympathy of the audience seems to aim the terrorist attack - to end the war in Chechnya. Terrorism itself is defined as an internal, having the desire to cause Chechen separatism and opposition to it in the Russian government. In most materials denied bond domestic terrorism with the international. Therefore, the identification of terrorism is a question on a national basis - belonging to the Chechen people. At the same time, another

hallmark of this image is its maximum demonization, approval inevitability and increasing the risk of future terrorist threats, the absolute ontological insecurity in front of their face ordinary people.

The image of the terrorist (from experts): terrorists - arête unbalanced people with obvious mental disorder, living in a state of extreme stress, so are inadequate. 2004. In contrast to the 2002 terrorist has sharply negative image (thugs, drug addicts, self-serving, not ideological terrorists). It does not cause sympathy. Ending the war in Chechnya as a whole remains a major, claimed terrorists aim, but there are other motivational version. For example, the goal of terrorists - to humiliate and intimidate Russian people against the authorities. Itself domestic terrorism is already beginning to be seen as part of the chain of international terrorist attacks, there is the theme of Islamic fundamentalism - Islamic structures used Chechen separatism in the war against "Western civilization". It is planned to move from the image of a Chechen terrorists to the image of radical Islamists terrorists. Nevertheless, the identification of terrorism on a national basis still prevails (terrorism identified with the Chechen people, and in the most negative light). Continuing demonization of terrorism (but not as intense as in 2002).

The image of the terrorist (from experts): terrorists - people with higher education and a sick imagination. They have mastered the technology business, but transferred them to the murder. They have developed a set of omnipotence and contempt for others. Among them there is almost no fanatical idealists. Idealists are among the performers, but after the first terrorist attack idealism disappears and turns into a fanatic butcher. 2011. There is a significant transformation of the image of terrorism associated with the absolute recognition of the journalists "MK" as its ideological basis of religion - radical Islam. The image of a Chechen suicide finally transformed into the image of a terrorist, radical Islamists. Identification of terrorism is not going on the national, but solely on religious grounds. The purpose of the terrorist act - "a bloody message of" Islamic Front of Western civilization, which aspires to become part of Russia, as well as the Caucasian youth (especially unsettled, devoid of clear guidelines in life). The dramatic influx of terrorism younger generation - requires extreme, did not find a place in life, wanting to correct the injustice of the world, based on the progressive ideology of Islam.

Religious basis due to the nature of terrorism, because Islam is not a national trait. The nature of terrorism on the basis of radical Islam - implacable, fanatical, suicidal (base - suicide bombers). At the same time demonizing the image of terrorism is practically no reporters. No unequivocal and negative against terrorists - they are determined as the ordinary people of different nationalities, perhaps because of decent families because of troubles in life to seek

solace in religion, but fell under the influence of radical Islamists. The image of the terrorist (from experts): the terrorists - are educated people, professionals, ready to sacrifice prepared, smart and very motivated.

The image of the security forces. [Semenova, 2010]

As the main culprit, who could not prevent the attack, called the security forces. Basic charges imposed on the police - and the venality of inactivity, the secret services - negligence and incompetence. The most direct and concrete actions of power structures were evaluated in the semantic unit dedicated to the rescue of the hostages. The article notes the low intellectual level of development operations, their inability to think one step ahead. Total number of articles with a pronounced negative assessment - 38 of 53.

2004. The negative trend in the formation of the image of law enforcement agencies continued (but slightly increased the number of positive materials). A large proportion of the charges of negligence and corruption, as well as in 2002, accounted for law enforcement. Estimates of law enforcement agencies relating to the operation to rescue the hostages, also sharply negative (about 70% of the material), however, marked altruism and heroism of the specific participants of the storm. In addition, if in 2002, the charges for the deaths of the hostages were aimed at the security forces, in 2004, this wine rests entirely on the terrorists.

Main trends in the creation of a negative image of power structures have remained the same, but increased the rigidity of feed materials - the predominance of anger, indignation, accusing tone, high emotional tension articles. Most of the materials contained a statement that security forces failed to protect society from terrorists. As the perpetrators of the explosions (they are not prevention) in a number of materials directly called special services and law enforcement agencies. Virtually all materials contained both negative evaluation of the security services in general, and their specification. In general, the observed critically low professionalism of special services, their failure in confronting terrorists, inefficiency, corruption, the desire to replace the real deal a nice report. As in 2004, held the opposition leadership of power structures ordinary employees and ordinary people, indifference and unwillingness to protect him. Repeatedly he has been indicted senior management of special services and law enforcement agencies in the collapse of the already existing system. Summary of journalists: "Public confidence in the law enforcement officers is lost."

However, there is wine of the journalists themselves. As the results of the analysis, for 10 years, Russian media suggest public opinion is negative, repulsive image of the security forces. The security forces appear to an audience of newspaper unprofessional, corrupt, incompetent, unable to confront the terrorist threat and to ensure the security of Russian citizens.

The image of the government. [Semenova, 2013]

As the results of a secondary analysis, throughout the decade, the method of supplying materials on this subject in varying degrees, there were elements of psychological manipulation of public opinion in terms of the negative perception of government institutions. As the main reception is especially popular among journalists "MK" impact in various ways on the emotional component of social consciousness. Although a number of analytical articles and appealed to reason and logic, but mostly dominated play on emotions.

The most active was constructed negative image of power in 2002 and 2004. So, in 2002, the degree of fault of the authorities in the incident a terrorist attack, the number of negative evaluations comparable to the degree of guilt of the terrorists themselves. In 2004, some of the materials is almost substitution terrorists as the direct perpetrators of the tragedy of power. Actively exploit the theme of opposing the government and the people, their interests throughout the study period.

It should be noted, in 2002 and in 2004 V.V.Putin distancing from bureaucracy, which did not happen in 2011 with the D.A. Medvedev. In 2011 and V.V. Putin was filed more negative than previously, although the general tone of grade power in general has become more calm. Let negative, but not in massive and heavy in 2002 and especially 2004. Throughout the analyzed period it maintained a "special" ironic and condescending attitude of journalists "MK" to the deputies of the State Duma as useless and manageable power, but quite harmless characters. They do not cause such anger and resentment, unlike the executive, especially the ruling bureaucracy. In 2011, it highlighted the systemic management problem consisting in dictate of the executive over the legislature.

In general, the main negative features of the way Russian authorities created by journalists "MK" in this period, almost the same for all time points, differing only in intensity and emphasis. The collective image of Russian authorities (according to the editorial policy of the "MK" in the decade) is as follows:

- Lies, hypocrisy, indifference to the people, weakness, cowardice, stupidity, greed, opportunism, the divergence of words and deeds;
- Ambition, intrigue, corruption, impunity, irresponsibility, weakness, incompetence, inability to protect its citizens, the impotence of terrorism;
- Dangerous, vicious, wrong policy, the reluctance to admit mistakes and learn from them, in pursuit of the policy of their own interests and ignoring the interests of ordinary people, the ineffectiveness of the measures proposed and implemented;

- The power is not credible people, far from the common people.

Problems of inter-ethnic tolerance. [Semenova, 2011]

Materials carrying the ideas of xenophobia and the ideas of tolerance, distributed in quantity roughly equal. However, materials with a mood of xenophobia were qualitatively stronger in terms of impact on the audience. This was achieved by the following methods:

1) Most of the articles concerning the problems of personal security that much more affect their vital interests than calls for friendship and mutual understanding on the background of the terrible events of the terrorist attack. At the same time constantly accentuated the theme of total insecurity of citizens in the face of the Chechen threat. Let's pessimistic forecasts of experts about the tightening of the nature and the inevitability of a repetition of acts of terrorism.

2) The materials of this group dominated by emotional, angry, indignant tone resonates with the emotional mood of the audience. While materials with calls for tolerance and peaceful coexistence were generally quite calm, neutral.

In 2004, the first group of materials (xenophobia) have significantly prevailed over the materials of the second group (tolerance) both quantitatively and qualitatively. In contrast, in 2002 there and actively developed in a number of materials topic of jihad in the Arab world, opposition - Islam versus Christianity. Chechnya fades into the background and is considered only as a point of force application of the global Islamic extremism. Geography enemy expanding. Audiences inspired the idea of the dangers of all those who profess Islam. Such an attitude is automatically transferred to all migrants and migrant workers. Thus, the push for total audience of suspicion against all immigrants from the Muslim world, warn against having to take immigrants as equals in our society. All this leads to the excitation migrantophobia and shape the image of the enemy.

In general, the materials of the 2004 theme of Chechen terrorism is transformed into the theme of the world of Islamic extremism. It becomes a much larger scale and goes from the struggle for the independence of one of the Russian republics to fight Islamic fundamentalism for domination of the world. Thus, the theme of ethnic xenophobia, developed by journalists in 2002, goes to religious and becomes xenophobia, religious acquires a large area of distribution, a greater number of facilities for the audience imposed xenophobic sentiments. In 2011, the editorial approach of "MK" to the coverage of a terrorist act in terms of the ratio of the ideas and xenophobic ideas of tolerance varies sharply both quantitatively and qualitatively. The percentage of the total array of materials in the terrorist act the number of publications devoted to problems of tolerance has increased in comparison with 2002 and 2004 twice. In 2002 and 2004, such publications constituted approximately 10% of the total sample, then in 2011

they accounted for about 20%. In addition, the publication did not publish any material containing ideas of xenophobia.

All publications that fall into a secondary sample can be attributed to the second type, promotes tolerance and peaceful coexistence. Most of the material is characterized by a neutral tone calm, slender solid logic and reasoning, bringing particular facts and analytical commentary. Thus, in 2011, the editorial policy of the investigated source of information in relation to interethnic and interreligious relations has changed radically. The main course of revision took over the promotion of the principles of tolerance in inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations.

Thus, the above examples show that the content in analyzes of similar case studies, in which data encryption is being proposed by the author on the qualitative and quantitative method of encoding within the manual content analysis allows then to carry out a more detailed and in-depth secondary analysis of selected topics included into meaningful units of primary research. While using traditional content analysis techniques of coding problems of comparability of primary research, as well as their content completeness.

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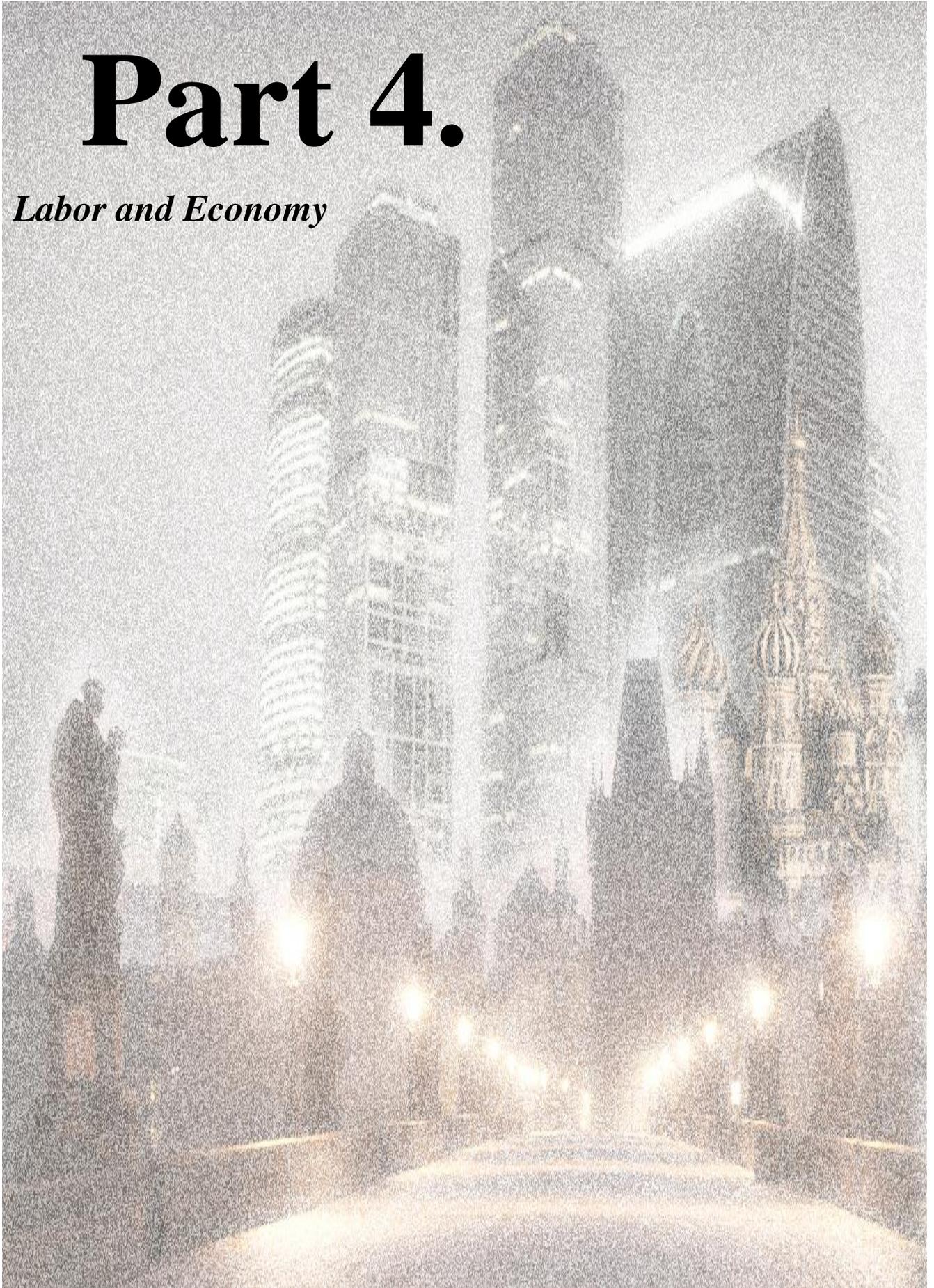
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Part 4.

Labor and Economy



Financial Situation and Employment of Pensioners in Modern Russia

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Abstract. The study of Russian pensioners as representatives of particular social groups of society, revealing their demographic, economic, social and political characteristics and values in life, is one of the most pressing problems of the modern Russian society. The empirical basis of article data were self-study "Social appearance of modern Russian pensioner", conducted by the sociological laboratory of the Voronezh State University in February 2014 in the Voronezh region. The study was conducted by questionnaire about 600 pensioners

Keywords: financial situation; income level; employment; age discrimination; active aging

Steadily strengthening economic stratification of the population is currently one of the most serious social and political problems in Russia, as well as throughout the civilized world, and, as a consequence - increase in the relative poverty of a large part of the population. Particularly pensioners, as the most vulnerable people, are affected by poverty - [Solovyov, 2014: 12].

Pensioners is a large part of the most countries population, regardless of their level of economic, political, cultural and social development. Increase in the proportion of pensioners in the social structure entails social, economic and political consequences.

The older age cohorts of Russians (60 years male and older, 55 years female and older) - it is a large and permanently growing group. According to the Federal State Statistics Service data for 2014 today there are 33, 7 million people of retirement age in Russia, accounting for 23.5% of the total population of Russia [Demographiya,2015]. This is one of the most socially active and at the same time one of the most vulnerable groups in conditions of social and economic perturbation, The main, and often the only source of income for the vast majority of this category of the population is a pension, which varies by type: labor pension (old age, disability, survivor's) and state pension. Dominant characteristics of social tension in this group are associated with low levels of life, negative social mood, dissatisfaction aggravation by various aspects of life. The loss of confidence in the future and pessimistic assessment of its future affect the level of anxiety in the mood of Russians in this group.

According to the Federal Law "On State Social Assistance" of July 17, 1999 № 178-FZ (Art. 12.1) the total amount of material support for pensioners and not working people residing in the territory of the Russian Federation, can not be less than the subsistence level set in accordance to Item. 4 of Art. 4 of the Federal Law "On the Subsistence Minimum in the Russian

Federation" in the subject of the Russian Federation. This means that currently at the legal and regulatory level, the problem of absolute poverty pensioners concretized. However, at the household level, where per capita income is determined based on family composition and income of all its members, pensioners can get into the category of the poor. That is why in 2010 after the increase of the small pensions to the subsistence level of a pensioner, radical reduction of poverty among them did not happen. [Solovyov, 2014:12]

Therefore, the survey of Russian pensioners as members of particular social group of society, revealing their demographic, economic, social and political characteristics and values in life, is one of the most pressing problems of the modern Russian society.

The empirical basis of the article were self-study data "Social appearance of modern Russian pensioner", conducted by the sociological laboratory of the Voronezh State University in February 2014 in the Voronezh region. The survey was conducted by questionnaire about 600 retirees.

Pensioners income is determined by the socio-economic policy in the region in relation to them, by such factors as the level of pensions and employment of retirees, when labor acts as an aid, as a way to maintain a minimum level of survival.

Questioning of the pensioners showed that being in retirement respondents see both positive and negative sides. Among the pros a great opportunity to live in the pleasure (12%), increasing the time to communicate with family and friends and leisure activities (28%), the ability to change the type of activity (7%) can be attributed. The negative changes accompanying retirement, interviewed attributed a significant reduction in the financial security level (39%), deterioration of health (35%) and an increased sense of loneliness (22%).

Material status of older people, their income levels is a recurrent theme in the media and the government level theme.

The results of public opinion surveys show that for the vast majority of old-age pensioners' today's pension is not the pension in the strict sense of the word, but social benefits at the subsistence level, i.e. the poverty line. The notion of retirement and old age is often accompanied by an association with poverty. Two-thirds (77%) of our fellow citizens have not yet reached retirement age, believe that when they retire, it will not be enough to live on. Entitled to a pension and long seniority does not guarantee a happy old age, so the key to good health in old age, according to the Russians, is not lived and interesting life (39%), but the presence of significant personal savings (56%) 62. Such ideas are sustainable, because it is constantly confirmed by personal experience of people over the years. [Rzhanitsyna,2012: 98]

In the course of our survey, it was found that 2% of respondents do not have enough money even to buy food, while 24% indicated that they have enough money only for food. The

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largest group was those who have enough money to buy the necessary food and clothing, but larger purchases have to be delayed (60%). At the same time, for 11% of the majority the purchase of durable goods does not cause difficulties and 3% of people have enough money not to deny oneself anything.

Termination of employment entails a number of changes in daily human life that can shake his opinion of himself, as well as the surrounding opinion about him: social status changing, associated in particular with the loss of a valuable and socially recognized duties and with a significant drop in income; a decrease in income; way of life changes. For example, a person will have to give up some activities and habits, increase the time required to search for cheaper food, and so on. [VCIOM, 2010].

Loss of principal activity, which, on the one hand, occupied a significant amount of personal time, on the other hand - determined private daily, weekly or other schedule. At retirement, the individual faces the need to fill free time by one or another way, and also set a new personal schedule, which for some may be a significant problem.

Thus, even if the retired continues working, the issue of identity arises for him. On the one hand, any working pensioner considered the issue: to work on or to retire. On the other hand, even if a person of retirement age continues to work officially he is still called a "pensioner". Therefore, he also decides for himself how to deal with this new status.

A person retiring, loses two-thirds of his modest salary. First time conducted in the 2000s survey of pensioners family budgets shows that today's pension does not allow elderly people to provide oneself. Their quality of life they support from other sources, often at the expense of economic activity [Kushtanina,2008:153-155]. Continued work after retirement for many pensioners is still the question of not personal preferences, but a vital necessity. It is obvious that one of the reasons for the continuing employment after retirement is associated with low pension benefits. Every third of them are still working. Among the reasons that motivate them to do so is the inability to live on a pension (73%), the need for team, communication (36%), the need in maintaining the same social status (16%), as well as the desire to pass on their knowledge and experience to the young (18 %). Thus, it is the lack of material security is the determining factor in the continuation of retirees to work. As the data in Table 1, working pensioners are different from their non-working counterparts in the estimates of the material provisions of their families. Especially the part of the two poorest groups of pensioners decreases.

Table 1

Assessment of the financial position of working and non-working pensioners (in%)

Which of the assessments most accurately reflects the financial situation of your family?	Do you work?	
	Yes	No
We have enough money for the family to do oneself well	3	2
Purchase of most durable goods does not cause us difficulties	13	11
We have enough for the necessary food and clothing, but larger purchases have to be postponed for later	66	58
We have only enough money to buy food	17	27
We have not enough money even to buy food	1	2

The overwhelming majority of the population believes the main motive of continued employment for pensioners appears insufficient amount of pension (81%, for the capital - 91%). In the second place should be the desire to help the children and grandchildren materially - this factor is more pronounced in the province. Other reasons - the habit of working, the desire to avoid loneliness, interest in the work - for Russians are significantly less important factors, 22-28% among retirees indicated them [VCIOM ,2010].

Speaking about the purchasing power of pensions received, it should be noted that most retirees have enough of their income on food (94%), payment of utility bills (87%), as well as for the purchase of medicines (62%). Only 5% of people can afford to relax in health resorts, as well as to buy nice clothes. 1.5% of Voronezh retirees have the opportunity to go abroad.

Expanding access to the labor income of pensioners allows not just compensate the failures of the pension system in terms of risk prevention poverty in old age, but also partly solves the failures of other segments of the social protection system. As seen from Table 2, there is a difference noticeable between working and non-working pensioners for some expenditure.

Table 2

The purchasing power of pensioners (in%)

Pensioners' income is enough for	Pensioners:	
	Working	Not working
Buying clothes, shoes at low prices	56	39
Buying books, magazines	29	22
Going to the cinema, theatre, swimming pool	7	6
Having rest in health resorts	8	3
The purchase of good quality and beautiful clothes and shoes	9	2
Going abroad	3	1

An important point that reflects the purchasing power of pensions, was the question of 'how long did the pensioners buy necessary things?'. It was found that half of the Voronezh

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retirees had bought shoes and clothes a year ago. The vast majority of respondents purchased furniture and appliances a few years ago (81% and 70%, respectively). These data confirm that today the pension is able to meet only minimal nutritional needs, medications and paying utility bills.

The vast majority of our respondents work, usually up to 70 years, after - only 7% of respondents. The level of education of respondents matters: the higher it is, the greater the share of working pensioners. Finally, the share of working pensioners in the city (39%) is twice that in countryside (17%), which is explained by more employment opportunities in the city.

The demand on the labor market in the elderly shows that a person maintains, firstly, health, and secondly, the skill and educational characteristics, and thirdly, the motivation to continue the work.

It is known that retirement on superannuation is not always voluntary, and many of the non-working pensioners left work due to external circumstances. According to the FOM survey of non-working pensioners from 08.12.2013, 44% of them have stopped working because they wanted this themselves, and 53% - against their will. 43% of non-working pensioners would like to go work, of which 19% would like to continue working in their field, while 21% would prefer to do something else. [Obraz-zhizni,2015]. Y.P. Lezhnina remarked, that to work in conditions of age discrimination in Russia, it is often necessary for pensioners (subject to satisfactory state of health) to qualify for any unclaimed by others jobs or have a very high and rare skill to be able to full competition with other applicants. [9] Negative social stereotypes about old age and aging that contribute to the consolidation of practices of age discrimination in the professional and business sector, do not conducive to employment of retirees.

According to I.B. Nazarova, among working pensioners the share of unskilled or partly skilled manual labor is 8% higher than the rate among working-age workers. While the share of persons employed in manual labor, having higher education among working pensioners is 18.3%, and among people of working age - 10% [Nazarova,2015]. These figures relate to the results of other studies, according to which civil servants often mention unclaimed skills of older people (52.7%), engineers (50.7%), representatives of humanitarian and creative intellectuals (47.3%) [Pisarev,2004]. According to a study T.V. Smirnova, 48% of working pensioners are ready to work, where necessary, i.e. at any job, including not associated with their profession. [Smirnova, 2006: 98]

Thus, today we can speak on the implementation of the labor force of older Russians primarily in terms of detection limits. It should be stressed that this trend is typical for the majority of countries where employers are very reluctant to accept into their organizations people older than 50 years. One of the outputs of the current situation in European countries and

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the United States was an active participation of older people in a small business. Identifying opportunities to include older people in business, the definition of their role and place in a small business - an actual, yet virtually unexplored social problem.

Attracting older people to participate in the activity of the economy should be carried out taking into account the motivations of older people to continue working, and when acceptable working conditions created. The data of our study show that only a third of working pensioners present work related to previous work.

Having a job - it is not only the need for pensioners in our country, but also an incentive to continue an active life. Due to changes in living conditions (primarily material status), pensioners has changed the structure of free time, when the most pressing problem is the problem of loneliness of older people. Every fourth not working respondent notes the problem of loneliness as one of the most important, while among working - one in six. Almost twice as many among the unemployed pointed to worsening health problems. The negative impact on the psychological state of the elderly and the loss of links with many people is obvious, the lack of a wide range of communication (see. Table. 3).

Continued employment significantly affects the design of social and self-evaluations, behavioral strategies. Interviewees working pensioners more favorably disposed and have a better opinion of their peers than older people who stoped working. Among the latter is four times more common in agreement with the fact that older people are angry (7% and 32%, respectively), twice as many of those who believe that with age, memory and mental abilities deteriorate (25% and 55%). 22% among the employed pensioners consider old age is the period of living out, among pensioners who left a career this position is shared by 44%. Termination of employment contributes to the influence of stereotypes age-related changes in the older person, a stronger sense of loneliness and lack of demand, accelerates the development of emotional aging, develops a tendency to increase social distance with the other age groups. The explanation for this is the fact that in modern conditions a real alternative to continued employment is a "passive pensioning" centered mainly on family and domestic sphere [Smirnova, 2010:16].

Table 3

Influence of retirees employment on their assessment of social status (in%)

What does it mean to you to be a pensioner?	Do you work?	
	Yes	No
The opportunity to live happily, feel free	14	11
The emergence of time for their favorite activities, communication with friends and family	25	30

Table 3 - continued

Loss of communication with many people, the lack of a wide range of communication	22	32
A significant reduction in the level of financial security	45	36
Exacerbation of health problems	23	42
Opportunity to change the type of activity	9	6
Feeling of loneliness and uselessness	17	25

There are a lot of options for the active involvement of senior citizens in employment. However, for the development of adequate proposals and measures, careful analysis of opportunities and motivation of pensioners to continue working, assessment of the potential segments of the labor market in which labor pensioners' labor will be demanded, required. Among the important factors that affect these processes, there are significant differences in the gender composition of the elderly population, which require a separate analysis of the socio-economic behavior of men and women of retirement age in the labor market

Engaging in various forms of labor activity (continued work at the same place, part time employment, and so on.) seniors implement various strategies for active aging. Explanation of work in the retirement age only by economic motives, poverty and lack of pension provision seems insufficient. Important incentive for the continuation of employment after retirement is involvement in the social and professional relationships.

Contrary to the notion of the inevitable health depending on the age, certain influence on the subjective assessment of health not only age has, but the presence of current employment and diversity in employment practices.

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Gender Agenda in Russian Independent Trade Unions

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Abstract. Despite the facts that the leaders and activists of the Confederation of Labour of Russia (KTR) often overestimate their knowledge of gender issues, their gender sensitivity is relatively low, and the trade-union practices account the needs of women workers are limited, the organization supports the gender agenda in the field of labor relations whole, and within the trade unions.

Keywords: gender; gender sensitivity; trade unions; equality in social and labor sphere

Background

Compared with European countries the trade union movement in Russia is almost in its infancy. The most mass organization - The Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, according to some experts, has an obvious pro-government orientation, performs a decorative function and non-transparently controls the property pulled out from the Soviet period trade Union.

20 years ago it was formed The Confederation of Labour of Russia (KTR) uniting democratic trade unions created by the workers themselves. KTR covers its membership transportation, extractive industries, construction, producing and food sectors of the economy, the service sector, small and medium-sized enterprises, of culture, education and health service. It is associated with KTR dramatic struggle of workers on their rights, which is often accompanied by persecutions and dismissals of activists fighting for labor rights.

For last years some state-financed organizations trade unions became the members of the KTR. These trade unions represent traditionally feminized sectors of economy – health service, culture, education, science.

In that situation, KTR saw the need to build its own full-fledged policies on equality between women and men in social and labor issues in general, and in the internal structure of the KTR and its membership organizations. Among the first steps in this direction - a survey of leaders and activists of trade unions to determine the awareness of and attitudes towards gender agenda, sensitivity to gender issues, the existing practice of addressing the needs of women in the trade union work.

Methods

The IX Congress KTR participants were interviewed by the method of self-administered questionnaire (20-21 May 2015), N = 70 (82% of the total number of participants of the Congress), the ratio of women and men 33% and 67%.

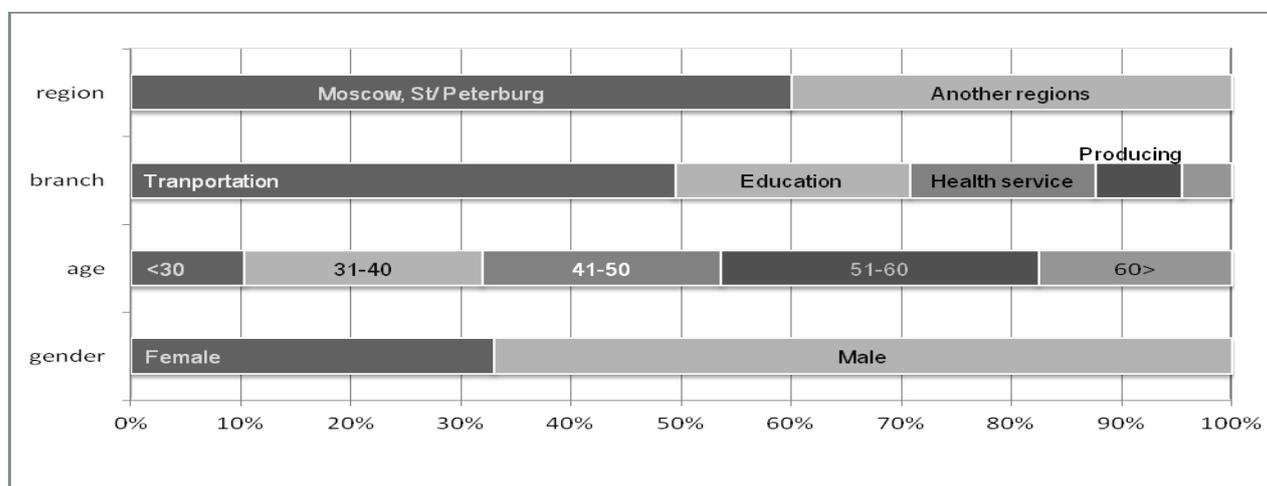


Fig.1. The sample characteristics.

Results

Respondents self-evaluation of general knowledge in the field of gender equality at work is rather high score of 3.3 (on a 5-point scale). Less than 20% rated their knowledge lower than the average.

It looks modest the level of knowledge of four ILO Conventions as key instruments for achieving gender equality in the world of work. This is especially true of the Conventions on workers with family responsibilities and maternity protection. Women consider their knowledge lower.

Table 1
Knowledge of ILO Conventions ?" (mean, % of respondents in each group)

ILO Conventions	Average score N=70	Lower than the average, %	
		Male n=46	Female n=24
Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100)	2.93	39	46
Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111)	2.89	38	46
Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981 (No. 156)	2.26	64	54
Maternity Protection Convention, 2000 (No. 183) (Russian Federation have not ratified)	2.60	52	46

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Both men and women are about equally assessed how the general principles of gender equality are observed at their workplaces. The most notable difference: men 1.7 times less often than women saw a complete lack of inequality in principle «equal remuneration». Also, women have slightly less optimistic view on compliance with the principles of "equal opportunities for learning and growth and "equal participation in decision-making processes".

Table 2

"How often comply with the following principles of gender equality at your work?" (% of all respondents)

Gender equality principles	N=70	
	Always	Often
Equal access to safe and healthy conditions of work	73	19
Equal access to social guaranties and contributions	66	20
Equal Remuneration	56	27
Equal opportunities for learning and growth	41	36
Equal participation in decision-making processes	37	31
Work-family balance	31	24

Respondents were presented with a list of descriptions of the problems faced by women and men at work. This list was formed by participants of the workshop for KTR members (April, 2015).

With few exceptions, the problems that are visible for men and women are different. The biggest gap in the matter of a glass ceiling ("career development often worthy women prefer men with mean abilities"), which marks the half (50%) of women and only a quarter (24%) men. It is noteworthy that one-third (33%) of men agreed that men considered shameful to maintain a gender agenda.

Table 3

Gender discrimination at the workplace (%% of all respondents, in each group)

Problems faced by women and men at work	Male n=46	Female n=24	N= 70
Women are hired less willing than men	50	58	53
The male labor collectives may prevail rough manners	42	50	44

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Table 3-continued

In matters of career often worthy women are less preferred than men with mean abilities	24	50	33
On the "male" works often pay less attention to decent work, safety	33	21	29
Men considered shameful (out of a sense of "male solidarity") to support a gender agenda	33	21	29
To be in the "circle of the elect" men often have to engage in collective drinking, hikes in the sauna and so on	30	21	27
Women have significantly less access to resources, their allocation, decision-making	22	33	26
Sexual harassment of female subordinates	15	17	16
None of the above	15	13	14

A set of practices aimed at achieving gender equality, which are currently present in the activities of trade unions is narrow. Only the inclusion of women among the negotiators from the trade unions is relatively common.

Table 4

Gender equality in trade union practices (% of all respondents)

Practices	N=70
The inclusion of women among the negotiators from the trade unions	61
The inclusion in the collective bargaining issues are a priority for women workers	30
Educational work on gender issues in work collectives	24
Ensuring equal representation in the primary and the central trade union organizations	21
Conducting a survey of female union members to understand their priority issues before the collective bargaining	17
Training for organizers to communicate with women, so that they saw what their specific problems are understood and considered by trade unions	17
Promoting a balance between work and family responsibilities	11
None of the above	13

The most of respondents supported some or another arguments in favor of a gender agenda for KTR. Doubts and negative ratio is in the range of 10%. Women often find it necessary to create a special structure on gender issues.

Table 5

**Gender agenda for KTR: arguments “pro and contra”
(%% of all respondents, in each group)**

Arguments	Male n=46	Famale n=24	N=70
The inclusion of gender issues in the work of KTR will contribute to a more favorable image of KTR as an organization committed to democratic principles	59	58	59
Underlined attention to gender issues can KTR recruit more new members	48	38	44
KTR makes sense to create a special structure for promoting a gender agenda	26	50	34
It is strange that KTR does not state gender issues, while The Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia articulates these issues, although formally	13	17	14
Gender agenda is not compatible with the values of Russian society	4	8	6
There is no need to pay special attention to gender issues in the KTR now	11	-	7
Gender discourse is mostly just a fashion, artificial issues that have little to do with the Russian reality	13	-	9

Conclusion

In general, the situation in the KTR can be characterized as favorable for gender agenda promoting Among the contributing factors:

- the presence of the respondents knowledge, at least the desire to inform about it,
- the most of respondents recognize the existence of gender-based problems,
- a very small group totally rejects a gender approach for the trade union,
- the significant part of respondents in favor of the promotion of gender agenda in the work of KTR.

Limitations:

- knowledge of gender issues remeasured that reveals more detailed analyze
- it is not enough KTR practice to identify and incorporate the interests of women workers,
- in general the attitudes of men are more conservative,

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- declarative knowledge, lack of real mechanisms to consider the needs of women-workers is likely to reduce the ability to recognize gender issues in labor relations and in the activities of the union itself.

The KTR congress adopted the separate resolution on gender policy in the organization, and voiced the results of research will be considered as part of the baseline to assess progress in the KTR, the thematic groups to promote the gender agenda.

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Social Well-Being of Workers in the Stavropol Region

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Abstract. The article reflects the results of monitoring the social well-being of the labour community from the point of view of investment attractiveness of the region and labor activity of people. Define the content of social well-being, manifested in uncertainty in the stability of tomorrow, which caused a labor model of human behavior: «the search for better conditions outside edge» and «acceptance of existing conditions in the region».

Keywords: social well-being; employment; workplace

Social well-being: research interest

For Russia in the last decade it is typical to have certain transformation with some modernization taking place in the economic, socio-cultural and political industry. The main aim of all the changes in the Russian society - is to achieve a real quality of life of Russian citizens, which is reflected in the social well-being of people.

Stavropol region is one of the Russian regions, located over several decades in the focus of not only politicians' attention but also of scientists' including sociologists, political scientists, conflictologists, ethnologists, etc. This is due to the unique features of the Stavropol region, having both positive and negative consequences for the regional community. These can be classified as follows. Stavropol Territory - the intersection of immigration and the south of Russia; and the region with the ethno-political tensions; and the only territorial-administrative unit in the North Caucasian Federal District; and the main educational centre for North Caucasian youth. That is to say, the stability in the region depends largely on the stability of the macro-region in the North Caucasus, and its level is largely determined by the social wellbeing of the population. It is characterized by emotional and subjective evaluation of reality and perception of itself in it with respect to different situations, problems, events occurring in the region. The inclusion of the Stavropol Territory to the North Caucasian Federal District explained by the presence in the region of high socio-economic and cultural potential, which can be fully used in the North Caucasus Federal District. In this regard, there is a need for reliable sociological data on social well-being of residents of Stavropol region. To this end, since 2006, there has been carried out continuous monitoring of the status and development of the object of the same system of indicators and methods - in 2006, 2009 and 2012 [Gritsenko, 2011]. The comprehensive study included population of the region, the sample - quota, taking into account the multi-stage socio-economic division of Stavropol. Quotas were the type of settlements,

ethnic and socio-demographic specifics, gender and age parameters, the sample size - more than 1,000 people. The method of the study was a questionnaire. Instrumentation of the research included 4 sets of questions: self-esteem of life; life strategies; attitude to the situation in the region; social, emotional and psychological self-awareness. In addition, the analysis of empirical material used the research "Monitoring the quality of life of the population of the Stavropol Territory", held under the leadership of Y F Kosintsev in 2014 [Zritneva, 2014].

Self-evaluation of employment

In the context of determining the level of social well-being the most important aspect is a population estimation of the labor market and employment conditions. According to a 2006 survey, constantly working 67.0% of respondents, worked occasionally - 6.1%; temporarily not having work, because could not find it - 6.1%; retired - 8.7%, the rest - pupils, students, the disabled and others. The survey in 2014 reproduces a different structure of employment: permanent workers - 40.0% of respondents, ones who receive pension and have work - 6%, temporarily not having work - 6.0%, cannot find work - 3.0%, retired - 30% or otherwise. Comparative analysis of the data allows to suggest a narrowing of the labor market, since at present less than half of respondents (46%) are constantly working together with working pensioners, which is 20 portions less than its analogue in 2006. This is the first trend of the formation of the labor market. The second trend is the expansion of the share of pensioners: it has been increased by almost four times. This situation may indicate "aging" of the population. The latest trend is also confirmed by other indicators. According to the research conducted in the period: in 2006, 2009, 2012 years, the share of respondents who want to move beyond the Stavropol (to the new location in the South of Russia, in another region of the country, abroad), changing over the mentioned period 14.8% - 21.5% - 26.7%, especially an increasing proportion of those who intend to go to other Russian regions: from 7.5% to 11.6%. These figures are typical for the entire sample. As for young people only, there are higher figures: in 2012 35.7% of young people expressed their desire to leave the "little motherland", which is 15.4% more than in 2006. Thus, in the Stavropol region there is a narrowing of the labor market being accompanied by the outflow of labor, especially the young. Detected trend is typical for economically underdeveloped areas.

However, the natural conditions in the Stavropol region are optimal for the development of agriculture and processing industry, which is especially important in the conditions of implementation of the policy of import substitution. This is evidenced by the results of the survey in 2014. Most of the respondents are engaged in agriculture, and twice more than in all

the industries (23.4% vs. 12.6%) [Kosintseva, 2014:30]. But the low level of investment activity increases edge backwardness of agriculture, reducing the degree of mechanization: every fourth respondent indicated that his workplace is characterized by a large and very significant physical tension [Kosintseva, 2014:30]. All this, according to experts, determines the growth of the outflow of young people.

A similar area is the Krasnodar region, but as an investment-attractive center, Kuban region, according to our case study, remained an attractive place for young people for permanent residence and work. Consequently, the Stavropol Territory is among the Russian regions, which are still characterized by stagnation, crises, which cannot successfully solve the problem of creating effective market-incentive mechanisms for sustainable investment activity of the population and entrepreneurs, the problem of risk insurance, guarantee domestic and foreign investors, as well as problems of technology spillover from the financial investment potential in the manufacturing sector of the economy.

Self-awareness in the workplace

Other aspects of work, affecting the social well-being are the content and working conditions. Firstly, it is correspondence/discrepancy between the Career profile and professional education. In recent years, the share of those whose profession is partially or completely corresponds to their work has increased from 18.8% in 2006 to 29.0% in 2012 and from 13.1% to 17.5%. Secondly, satisfied / not satisfied with the work of the respondent will be mentioned. Only 15.0% of respondents satisfied with their work, even though there has been a positive trend: gradually increasing the proportion of those who are all satisfied with their work: those in 2006 were 8.1%, in 2009 - 11.8%, and in 2012 - 15.0%. Problem area at work for nearly a decade, as noted by respondents remains low wages. According to our survey, mentioned problem is exacerbated: almost 10 points increase in the proportion of respondents concerned about low earnings. Named difficulty ranks first among the problematic aspects of the work, and according to monitoring in 2014 [Kosintseva, 2014: 35]. In addition, there are working conditions, which include the poor condition of the equipment, the violation of safety requirements for enterprises. A third problem area was the mismatch between work and workers' professional level, the lack of opportunities to achieve something. Problematic aspects of the respondents (6% to 10%) of the complex relationships with management, non-creative nature of the work, violation of labor rights, big responsibility, job unreliability, lack of opportunity to earn some money, a little vacation. Thus, according to the analysis of primary and secondary data, the respondents are largely not satisfied with the workplace rather than happy with where

and how they work. The results once again confirm the low technological level of production in the economic region, that is, the economic potential is insignificant, although today in front of the Russian regions is an urgent task - under sanctions by the West as much as possible to involve all internal resources.

It is important to note that, despite the negative assessment of their place of employment, most are not going to move to another job, while there is an increase in this category of workers from 19.9% in 2006 and 24.5% in 2009 to 51.1% in 2012 and a decrease of those who decided to find a new job: 19.0%, respectively, 18.4% and 5.5%. But as a negative social well-being conserved, and remains a constant proportion of survey participants who would like to change their job in the future: it is the desire to express every fourth respondent.

In this case, it should be emphasized that constantly working respondents tend to work in good faith, so as not to lose their jobs. That is why almost half of respondents (42.0%) believe that in the next 2-3 years they do not lose their jobs and become unemployed, while the other half (45.0%) experienced difficulty in answering the question about the prospects of their employment; only 13.0% are afraid of becoming unemployed. According to nationwide statistics [Unemployment in Russia, 2015], currently there has been a rise in the unemployment rate, which makes a difficult situation on the labor market: this is why, according to most respondents, with the need to find work, they are faced with great difficulties. In case of losing the job respondents would seek help first of all to its immediate environment, and then to the employment service, the media and the Internet. Thus, the population assumes seeking state support in the last turn.

So, social well-being of the labor community territory, mainly corresponds to national trends subsidized regions: the uncertainty of the stability of the next day because of the weak development of the labor market, on the one hand, leads to the outflow of labor outside the region, especially the youth, yet on the other hand " forces " to work so as not to be dismissed, to save, though low, but real earnings. This situation ultimately leads to the preservation of the investment unattractive edge, low labor activity of Stavropol region citizens. Accordingly, in the analyzed context must be entered in the policy of the regional authorities innovative mechanisms for socio-economic development of the region.

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The Economic Aspect of Access to Higher Education

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Abstract. Background - the assessment of Russia's place in the global ranking of affordability of higher education (the economic aspect of availability of higher education). The assessment is based on the calculation of the indicators proposed by the Canadian researchers in 2010 and the use of the data of Russian educational statistics. Calculations have shown that in the pre-crisis period by the ability of the population to pay for higher education Russia was ranked sixth among 16 countries (between Sweden and the Netherlands). It was also shown the relevance of development in Russia of distance higher education.

Keywords: higher education; accessibility; global rankings; distance education; distributed university

In the global rankings of educational systems the problems of payment for higher education are highlighted in a separate area. On the basis of the separation of the concepts of accessibility of higher education and its ability to pay (affordability), the authors [Usher, 2005: 2010] presented the methodology and results of the two rankings: the ranking of countries according to the ability of citizens to pay for higher education (Affordability); the ranking of countries according to the availability of higher education (Accessibility).

An approximate estimate of Russia's place among the 16 countries considered in these rankings, reveals the strengths and weaknesses of Russian higher education in the pre-crisis period and allows to determine the prospects for further development.

The six indicators (Table 1) are based on different combinations of five separate inputs:

- education costs (including tuition, books, and other necessary materials);
- living costs (for these purposes, room and board);
- grants;
- loans;
- tax expenditures.

Table 1
Indicators characterizing the ability of citizens to pay for higher education

Affordability indicators (cost minus support/atp-“ability to pay”)		Weightings %
1	education costs as a % of median income it also includes any additional mandatory ancillary fees and the cost of books and study materials	10
2	total costs as a % of median income - education costs plus living expenses	10

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Table 1- continued		
3	net costs as a % of median income - total costs minus grants	25
4	net cost after tax expenditure as a % of median income – total costs minus grants and tax expenditures	15
5	out-of-pocket costs as a % of median income – total costs minus grants and loans	25
6	out-of-pocket costs after tax expenditures as a % of median income - total costs minus grants, tax expenditures and loans	15

SOURCE: Alex Usher, Jon Medow. Global Higher Education Rankings 2010: Affordability and Accessibility in Comparative Perspective. Toronto: Higher Education Strategy Associates, 2010, Table.3

When considering the results of the global ranking it is of interest not only the ranking of countries according to the final result (total score), but also rankings by each component of this outcome - for each of the indicators.

To assess the role of Russia there were used the results of the national monitoring of the economics of education and official data of the Russian statistics (Rosstat). In order to fill in the missing data we had to make additional calculations. Still, we believe that even in the absence of improved data, the results of our calculations help to answer the questions of what makes Russian higher education truly “affordable” and “accessible”.

In fig. 1-3 we can see the changing position of Russia among other countries in the share of education costs as a % of median income depending on types of costs and size of government support of students: education costs as a % of median income – 7-th place (weak point– low value of median income); total costs as a % of median income – 1 place due to the relatively low value of living expenses; out-of-pocket costs as a % of median income – going back to 7-th place due to insufficient support of students (low grants, no loans). There are no tax expenditures in Russia, however, in other countries they do not play a significant role.

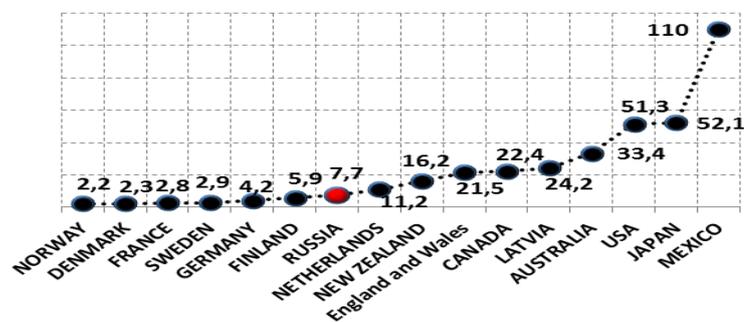


Fig.1. Education Costs as a % of Median Income (2007-2008)

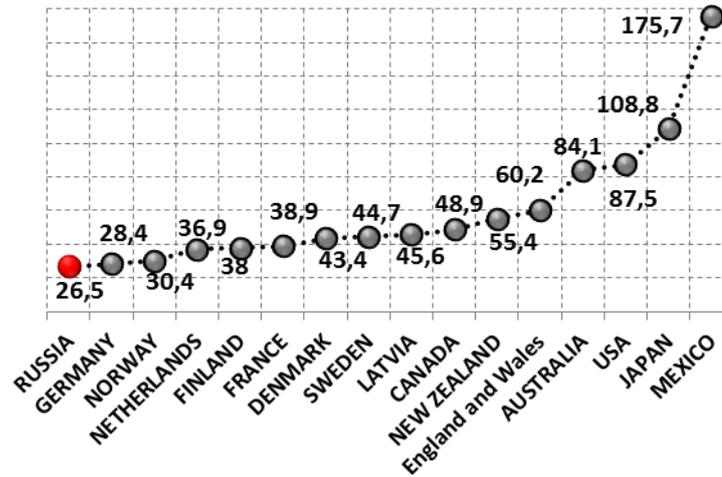


Fig.2. Total Costs as a % of Median Income (education costs plus living expenses)

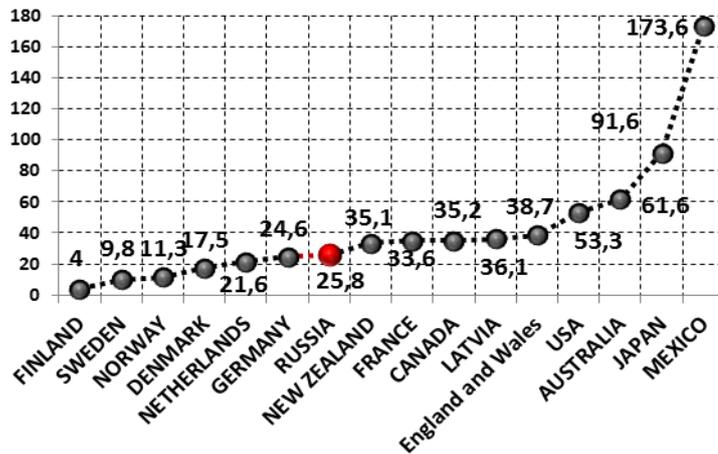


Fig.3. Out-of-pocket Costs as a % of Median Income (total costs minus grants and loan)

In overall ranking of “affordability” the value of the indicators with regard to their weight were used. The values of all six indicators are summarized; the “best” result is given a “score” of 100%. All other results were given scores in relation to the “best” score. Where a “good” result was a low value (such as those for all the affordability indicators), other values were scored as the inverse of the fraction of the best score.

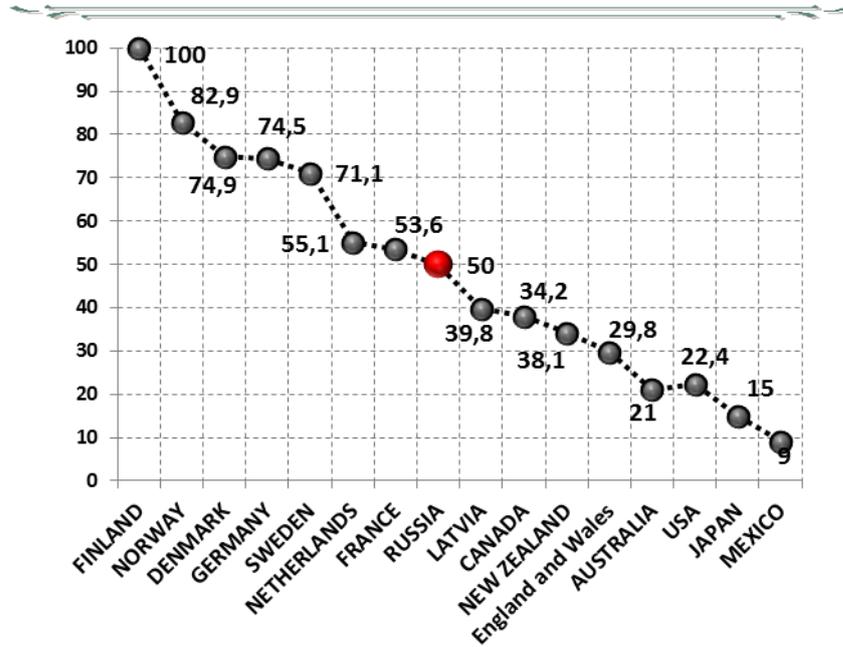


Fig.4 Final Affordability Ranking

Intercountry differences in the possibilities of the population to pay for higher education is very high. Minimum outcome indicator (Mexico) is less than 10% of the maximum score. Only 6 countries, including Russia, have outcome indicator of more than 50% of the maximum value (Finland).

Russia despite its low total education costs did not enter top five countries on the final result. The reason for this is not so much the lack of a programme of financial support for students (low scholarship, no system serving loans and tax incentives), but low median household income (lower than that of all the countries participating in the ranking, except Mexico).

Affordability of Russian higher education , according to rough estimates, should be recognized quite high, and taking into account the scale factor one of the best:the first 6 places are occupied by countries with a population of 4 up to 16 mln., followed by France (67.5 mln.) and then Russia (over 140 mln.).

Thus, according to tentative estimates, the possibilities of Russians as to “affordability” of higher education exceed the capabilities of such countries as France, Canada, and far beyond the capabilities of the British, Australians, Americans, not to mention the Japanese.

Maintaining the level of financial opportunities for higher education should be a priority of the process of reforming the system of education in Russia. This is a necessary condition for achieving the equality in access to education in our country

In modern conditions this task is possible only through the development of new educational technologies that combine high quality education with the efficiency of the

educational process. These aspects of development of Russian education is considered in detail in the monograph by M.P.Karpenko "Teletraining"[Karpenko M.P.,2008]. The monograph and several other works demonstrate the economic and organizational advantages of a distributed university. This new type of higher education institution consists of a basic research and administrative core and a network of training centers united by a flexible system of delivery of educational resources to the place of residence of their customers, using modern information and communication technologies (ICT). Monographs [Karpenko O.M.,Bershadskaya 2009; 2013] consider the possibility of improving the indices of accessibility of Russian higher education including indicators studied in this paper.

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Geo-Ecological and Sociological Analysis of the Relation of the Population of Berezovsky area to Environment Problems

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Abstract. The article deals the relation of the population Berezovsky area of Ugra to results of the industrial development of entrails in the context of sociological researches. The paper gives presents the geo-ecological assessment of the state of the region and district. In the article analyzes in a comparative context of respondents' views on the process of industrial development of the subsoil and its results.

Keywords: respondents; environment; an ecological condition of region; indigenous peoples of the North.

Has established a system is focused in the main of natural resources to generating economic benefits without due consideration the social and environmental aspects, situation of the indigenous peoples of the North deteriorates, that is particularly worrying in society. In this situation the public interest are ignoring, and foremost the indigenous population, are damaging the health of the population, the natural environment and traditional nature areas, which are forming the basis of the indigenous peoples of the North.

This problem is very actually with the development of natural resources in the North, because landscapes of northern regions are different, weak resistant to anthropogenic influences.

Need to take account of public opinion in the planning and use of natural resources and management decision-making is celebrated in a number of legislative acts of the federal and regional level, including in the Law "On Environmental Impact Assessment".

L.G. Lobkovsky [Lobkovskaja, 2004] marks, perception of the environment of man formed own assessment of it state, own relationship to it. For rational wildlife management becomes important it is to understand motivations of human behavior in their relationship with the environment, based on the objective realities of functioning, are determining the "perception-action."

Brief characteristic of the study area.

The Berezovsky district is located in the northwest of the Khanty-Mansiysky Autonomous Okrug - Ugra in the taiga zone. In the western part of the district are located Subpolar Ural mountains, and has a common boundary with the Republic of Komi. The southern and eastern part of the district is bordered the Beloyarsky district, Sovetsky and Oktyabrsky District. In the north it is bordered with Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District.

Most part of territory is located on the flat terrain, dissected river basin and the North Sosva and Ob. The main natural zones – a taiga and bogs. The total area of the district is 90

thousand sq.km. The composition of Berezovsky district includes 27 settlements. The total population of the district is 27,400 people. The district is inhabited by indigenous peoples: the Khanty, Mansi, Nenets and Komi peoples. Their total population is 6138 people. (01.01.2010).

The former Department of Indigenous Peoples of the North gives the next information (now the Department of Natural Resources and the non-oil sector of the economy) at present in the district are located 12 territories of traditional environmental management (of tribal lands, communities) Indigenous Peoples of the North, total area of 408486 hectares, there are 8 families (64 people) of the indigenous population on this area. The main activities of indigenous population are hunting, fishing, reindeer herding, harvesting of wild plants [Korennyye narody, 2010].

In the context of this subject assessments by respondents are important the of positive and negative results of mining in the territory of the region.

In 2008, the staff of the Ob-Ugric Institute of applied research and development (Khanty-Mansiysk) ethno-sociological researches were held among the inhabitants of Berezovsky District. The purpose of the study identify the respondents ' opinions on this problem. The author of the article is the author and organizer of research.

The survey involved:

-2003 – 80 respondents: of them: men – 40%; women – 60%. Some of them indigenous peoples of the north (hanty and mansy) – 93.8%; other ethnic groups – 6.2 %.

-2005 - 118 respondents: of them: men – 39.8%; women – 60.2%. Some of them indigenous peoples of the north (hanty and mansy) – 34.8%; other ethnic groups – 65.2 %.

-2008 - 271 respondents of indigenous peoples of the north, of them men – 39.85%; women – 60.15%; other ethnic groups (10): 20% men, 80% women.

As a result of researches, we needed to learn views of respondents to the industrial development of mineral deposits and their results on the territory of Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug.

Answering the question, "What do you think about the development of mineral resources in our region?", in comparison with 2003 the share of the persons who have a positive opinion to development, increased practically twice (from 31,25% in 2003 to 64,41% in 2005). The obtained data in the result of conducted studies in 2008, showing different results. A tendency of decrease of the share of persons, whose opinion is positively. A tendency of increased of the share of persons, whose opinion is negative of the mineral deposits relating to industrial development. A tendency of decrease of the share of persons, whose opinion is

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negatively (from 22.50% in 2003 to 7.63% in 2005 and 6.05% in 2008). We believe that it is connected with that fact that recently large-scale works on industrial exploitation are conducted of natural resources of Subpolar Urals (especially mineral and raw material) according to the development program of the Polar Urals and in the framework of the mega-project "Ural Polar - Ural Industrial").

The situation is similar in Beloyarsky district. According to the results of our research, in 2005, the proportion of persons who are opposed to the development of mineral deposits (21,43% in 2005 to 10,87% in 2003). The proportion of persons who are indifferent to developments decreased in half (from 17.39% in 2003 to 8.57% in 2005), which respondents indicated to active civil position.

To find out the cause of the positive attitude of the respondents to the industrial development, we clarified by asking the question, "Why do you treat is positive to industrial development?" The survey results [Haknazarov, 2006, with additions] showed that, 23,75% (22,03% in 2005) of respondents district thought that it helps create job vacancies. On the second place (18,75%) residents of the town of Berezovo has delivered profitability to the economy of the region, and only 2005, this factor has become in the first place (40,68%). A smaller number respondents think that helps to improve the mining and settlement of social infrastructure in the region - 11.25% (2003) and 19.49% (2005). According to the research, conducted in 2008, respondents' opinions have not changed, a tendency of increased of the share of persons, who couldn't answer on this question.

On the question of what happens as a result of industrial development of the subsoil [Haknazarov, 2006; Haknazarov, 2008], the majority of respondents noted of Berezovsky district, as a result of industrial development of the subsoil to occur deterioration of ecological situation in the region (60,00%, 65,00% 66,41% respectively by year). To second place, respondents denoted a variant about that as a result of industrial development is displaced of the indigenous population from the territory of their residence and the degradation of their culture (39%, 23,00% of 22.78% overall and according to years).

Note that the results of earlier polls conducted by us in other districts of Ugra [Haknazarov, 2006], 81% of respondents expressed the view of the Kondinsky district, 74% of the Khanty-Mansiysk district and 56% Oktyabrsky district, that as a result of industrial development of the subsoil resources is deterioration of ecological situation in the region. It is the opinion of most respondents. Some respondents noted, that as a result of industrial development is displaced the territory of their residence and degraded of their culture of the indigenous population (31% of respondents of the Kondinsky District, 47% of the Khanty Mansiysk district and 41% Oktyabrsky District).

Answering the question "How do you assess the ecological status of our region at the present time?" by results of three surveys, all respondents is considered satisfactory of the environmental condition of the region (52,50%, 59,32% 65,12% overall and according to years). We assume that this is due to the fact that at the present time in Berezovsky district are not conducted large-scale development of mining operations. Deemed unsatisfactory - 47.50%, 39.83% and 32.03%, respectively, over the years.

To find out the causes of the unsatisfactory estimates of the respondents, we have raised the following question: "Why do you think the ecological condition is poor in the region?". This question were not considered in the 2008 survey. Most respondents of the Berezovsky district as the main cause lead pollution of rivers and reservoirs (45% and 37%, respectively, over the years). In the second place there is a decrease in the number of animals, poultry and fish (43% and 34% respectively, over the years). In our opinion, this is due to the fact that the district conducted commercial development of placer gold, and mostly - along the river basins.

In conclusion, we note that the point of view of the respondents Berezovsky district practically differ on some of the issues discussed above. For example, unlike the respondents of Berezovsky district, practically the majority of respondents Nizhnevartovsk and Surgut districts are considered unsatisfactory of Ugra environmental condition of the region. And, according to respondents, is displaced of the indigenous population from the territory of their residence and degradation of their traditional culture.

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Economic Risks of Internet-Employment as a Cause of Social and Psychological Problems

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Abstract. This paper examines the impact of the economic risks of Internet-employment on the worker. It is based on theoretical and empirical data of two sociological surveys: the online survey «E-work in region of Nizhny Novgorod» and discourse-analysis of messages on professional forums on social issues of E-work. The author makes the assumption that the Internet-employment is unstable and insufficiently regulated form of employment in Russia and it may cause the social and psychological problems.

Keywords: E-work; atypical employment; Internet; economic risks; social problems

Social and cultural, economic, scientific and technological, political changes in modern society are characterized by a change in some of its spheres or the emergence of entirely new phenomena. With these global changes, a role of information significantly increases, it has become a new overvalued resource and it can accumulate in unlimited quantities, can be transferred with great speed, and at any distance, which required the development of new devices of receiving, transmitting, storing and processing information.

In the wake of scientific and technological discoveries there have been significant changes in the social and labor structure of modern society. Usual employment is now beginning to rapidly lose its importance and is replaced by new and atypical forms and types of work [Sizova, 2013: 41-42]. Changes in social and labor relations are characterized by the processes of decentralization, employee's autonomy, informatization and, as a consequence, virtualization of labor relations. With the entry of humanity into the informational age there are new forms of an employment, for example the development of Internet technologies have led to the emergence of new forms of employment – e-work.

E-work can be characterized as a form of work that was previously carried out in the workplace in a special room provided by employers (for example, the office), and now with the development of modern information and communication technologies (new tools for information processing and transmission) it has appeared a home or mobile work and it can be performed flexibly, depending on a choice of e-worker.

In spite of all the prospects and benefits of using the Internet employment in modern social and labor relations, this form of work has a number of negative effects, which haven't been discussed in the scientific literature.

In our work we consider the problem of unstable income, by which Internet workers are suffered, and what are the social and psychological problems these problems can cause.

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In our sociological research we used the method of discourse-analysis and studied the professional internet forum “WebLancer.net”; we identified the major social problems of e-work. The empirical base of the study is involved texts of messages on an Internet forum “Weblancer.net”. The sample is the texts of messages in Russian language for the period from the first of November to the first of December in 2013, there are 2085 messages from the section “Communication”.

The problem of income instability of e-worker is due to several causes:

- The lack of legal regulation of e-work in the Russian Labour Code, because the last one cannot take into account all features of new forms of employment; the lack of informational law, the lack of effective operational detection in the investigation of cyber crime, and the lack of international agreements on the joint jurisdiction for such investigations may become the grounds for fraud against Internet-workers and depriving them of their income;
- The problem of the small number or lack of orders may be due to low demand for certain areas of the Internetwork, and because of the high decentralization of the labor market and the existence of a large number of different channels of placing orders;
- Low prices for Internet-workers’ services in some areas are due to the high competition in this market, the reluctance of employers to pay more, and the unequal economic situation. The employer prefers seeking workers in the most economically depressed regions where the cost of services is significantly lower (China and India for the USA, Belarus for Russia).

The problem of income instability is actual for the Internet-workers, as for the half of respondents (53%) interviewed in the sociological research” Employment in the Internet in the region of Nizhny Novgorod” (N = 140, February-April 2013), the income from this activity is the main, and a permanent job with one company is specific for a small group of employees - about 9%; an employment contract is found in only 10% of those surveyed [Khusyainov, 2012].

Thus, we can conclude that the Internet employment is not only convenient and advantageous form of labor, but it has a number of negative consequences, one of which is income instability that can cause both economic and social and psychological consequences. Moreover. it can cause family conflicts and health problems, lead to an increase of working hours and an overemployment or may result in stopping the work in Internet.

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Russian specialists' integration in the European Labor Culture

Aleksandr S. Mishchenko, St. Petersburg

Abstract. Conceptual idea of research integration of Russian specialists working in European culture, as a necessary condition for rapid economic growth and professional involvement of Russian specialists in the new production and technological orders

Keywords: work culture; creative and innovative potential of a specialist; labor employee behavior; employment; human wealth of the sphere of production

The first conceptual idea of our research states: creative and innovative potential of the modern man is the core component of the formation of general and vocational-education culture, which is based on a developed system of personal values. Historically, and culturally it is determined by laws of formation of continental institutions of a socially oriented market economy, needs and interest of the European Community to counteract to the rise of «mosaic» of labor and vocational culture, in particular, to the extending alienation of the material world of economy and world-ethnic spiritual culture. The efficiency of the taken measures in this area depends on many factors, including total quality of vocational labor, cultural potential of the European labor force, from senior generations and education of contemporary youth. It determines need for sociological research, the subject of which are the real multidimensional trends, opportunities and processes of formation of a single professional working culture and the creative innovative potential of the citizens of modern European society.

The meaning of the second key idea of our research can be formulated as follows: creativity of professionals as two-track mechanism of innovative potential realization and professional labor integration of individuals into a modern civil European Community is the most productive form of the realization of their ethno-cultural and labor competitive on its nature behavior in the sphere of public production. Because of its multi-dimensionality, this mechanism has a complicated structure, here it is a synthesis of culture, economy, trade, labor and creativity of a man as a worker - a specialist acquires sound from position of philosophy, history, cultural studies, economics, sociology and vocational education.

From a philosophical and historical point of view of economic and social processes of European integration through the creativity of a person concerns the deepest ontological foundation of its cultural essence of labor - the ability of human individuals to think systemically and produce accurate according to the measure of any subject of the objective world. From

historical point of view the genesis of professional working culture and creative and innovation potential of European communities (where we refer Russian specialists to) unites a range of factors. The development of creatively charged individual as «historically inevitable» ethno-cultural needs of emerging and dynamically developing social community is open.

From cultural point of view the ability of professionals to creativity, their willingness to integrate into a specific vocational and employment culture – it is a certain result, which expresses the real possibilities of individuals to adequately (in the exact accordance with the requirements of their specific device socium) to form and creatively transform the process of expansion deepen the professional knowledge, skills, civil and personal activity in the socio-political and cultural sphere of specific society.

Thus, we confirm that creativity and innovation potential as a core of professional labor culture of a specialist genetically connected with the culture. The opposite effect of culture to concrete individuals is determined by creative work. Labor activities of the individual - is the first ontological form of its «humanity» and «the sociality», - is a special phenomenon of objective and spiritual deployment of human wealth in the sphere of social production – it is subject expressed public form of organization and presentation of historical integrity of creative development of every person, both as a goal and essence of modern civil society.

It systemically expresses measure the whole process of social and professional formation of individuals, their essential power as subjects of a particular national, social and professional community. In this regard, all system of the principals of social formation of professional labor culture and creative and innovational potential of Russian specialists, which are implicitly aimed at the integration into European production systems should be based on ontological trends of development and interaction of social and cultural mechanisms of formation integrally unified continental institutions of market economy and civil society.

The bases of the above phenomena are the economic and social processes of social production. From this point of view each individual in order to integrate effectively into the European vocational and labor culture objectively has to show his ethno-cultural, professional, creative, innovative and personal qualities, not only as an identity, but also build a range of socio-economic, professional behavior in the labor and social production, responding not only to national, but continental needs to the traditions and vital needs of the cultural possessing of «the surrounding landscape». Sociology of the formation of professional working culture and the creative and innovative potential of modern specialists allow to focus the study for consideration of their professional life as a special area of the intersection of formation, continental and regional; national dyed socio-economic basic factors.

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The approach to the creation of professionals from the point of view of sociology of vocational education «quite» concretizes its scientific analysis to complex study of the indirect impact of the integrated basic continental and national socio-economic factors on «conversion» by them the content of training people in vocational school at various levels, up to the refractive index via the identity specific individuals (as the special «prism») movement of the totality physical, social, economic and spiritual values foundations taking place in the world or a country of social, economic and political changes, forming their life content.

These processes, as shown by our analysis, result in all spheres of education to a new socio-cultural and logical semantic integration of vocational education content and its methods, as a principle of organization of social and cultural life of society and all its subsystems. These processes serve as mechanisms of effective integration of complex phenomena of social and cultural universe and the sphere of professional labor culture in particular.

Scientific analysis of data collected allows us to formulate the following conclusions. The system of vocational and labor integration of Russian workers in the European industrial structure should be based on the need for radical transformation of modern domestic productivity. Especially in part of its formation as particular valuable subject-substance «single» European professional culture of workers. The social cultural mechanism for the conservation of our «Eurasian code» must be implemented in these trends realization and our deepest national interest must be rooted. But, for it safeguarding should be directed not to the old, as they are, not to ready already embodied forms and relations, but to the continuity and sustainability of the creative development, the vital activity of Russian citizens, especially youth.

Our modern opportunities of the formation of «new professional working culture of the person» are directly determined by the maturity of civil society institutions (including institutions of vocational education) and indirectly - with the expanded reproduction of a culture outside of our country. It is determined by the evolution of a modern market economy and formation of institutions for continuing professional education of youth people in Russia, as a part of the Bologna Process, transformation of our citizens in the subjects of professional labor culture, which is in themselves, both national supranational elements. In the post crisis conditions of development of our country the basis on these dependences will give us the opportunity to build effective social and economic policies at various levels, including in the area of creative and innovative potential of Russian workers, allowing them to effectively integrate into vocational and labor culture of modern Europe.

The Employment Structure of Rural Youth in Russia

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Abstract. This article analyses the structure of employment for rural youth in the Russian countryside using the findings of Russia Longitudinal Monitoring Survey of the population's economic condition and health (RLMS-HSE) conducted between 1994 and 2013 and of the Integrated Survey of the Living Conditions of the Population carried out in all 86 Russian regions in 2011 (15 to 30 year-olds). This investigation has shown that in spite of the rise in the educational level the share of unemployed and occupied in the informal sector of the economy is great in the rural youth employment structure, which leads to the growth of poverty and migration.

Keywords: rural youth; employment; education; occupational structure; unemployment

We shall examine the rural youth employment structure and dynamics on the basis of RLMS data. The first is the panel data on the population's economic condition and health taken from the findings of Russia Longitudinal Monitoring Survey conducted by the Higher School of Economics between 1994 and 2013 (RLMS-HSE). The investigations carried out until 2009 covered yearly about 1000 rural households and more than 2300 rural residents aged 14 and over and living in 38 regions of the Russian Federation. In 2010, the sampled population was expanded to 4747 respondents – members of 1606 households, which is representative of the size of population aged 14 and over. This article uses the findings of individual interviews obtained from rural young people aged between 15 and 30. They amount to 968 persons or 20.4% of the sampled population [The Russia Longitudinal Monitoring Survey...]. The results of this monitoring will show us the dynamic series of indicators characterizing changes in the rural youth structure.

The second source is the Integrated Survey of the Living Conditions of the Population carried out by the Russian Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat) at the end of 2011 in all federal administrative okrugs of 86 regions of the Russian Federation. The survey was based on sample interviews of representatives of different population groups and strata and covered 10,000 households and 20,000 household members aged 15 and over. The study of rural population covered 5763 members of 2835 rural households. We apply to the results of individual interviews with rural young people aged 15 to 29. They amount to 1250 persons or 21.7% of the sampled population [The Integrated Survey of the Living Conditions...].

The modal group in the rural youth employment structure in 2013 were people working at enterprises, organizations, sovkhozes, kolkhozes and cooperatives – 52.0% in the 23-30 age category. As concerns employment by branches of economy, the greater part worked in the trade sector (20%), education and health (14.0%), agriculture (12.0%), construction (11%), and the

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food industry (7%). Although the number of organizations in the public sphere decreased over the past two decades, rural young people work at schools, medical centres, shops, public services, recreation centres, post offices, local administrations, etc. The specifics of work in the state-financed organizations is that they guarantee relatively stable employment to their personnel and monetary payments, even though they may be minimal.

As it was noted earlier, changes that took place in education in the 1990s opened wide access to higher education. The number of higher school and college students grew. Higher education became available to the masses. The number of students among rural youth grew more than fourfold in 2013 compared with 1994. At the same time the number of students in vocational schools that trained skilled workers dropped sharply.

There is a sizeable share of jobless, seeking for a job, and the unemployed who did not seek for a job and did not try to find a job in the rural youth employment structure. It should be noted that their numbers were growing from year to year. The lacking motivation for work and attempts to find a job may be explained by the people's way of life and forms of existence. Some might toil at their own land plots all day long, others might have a temporary job, did legwork, or were freelancers, still others were probably asocial elements (spongers, drunkards, etc.).

The share of young countrymen in the 15-22 age category working at an enterprise, organization, kolkhoz, sovkhoz, cooperative dropped by half.

The share of working young people in the occupational groups requiring an adequate educational level grew in 2013 compared with 1994. As to the intergroup changes in professionals having higher education, there was a shortage of young agricultural specialists, such as agronomists, veterinarians, and livestock specialists. A particularly noticeable growth, nearly threefold, was recorded among those employed in trade and services (from 5.6% to 15.4%). The number of young professionals having specialized secondary education also grew on the whole. The share of unskilled workers in the same age category decreased from 22% in 1994 to 12.6%, evidently because of the bankruptcy of agricultural enterprises. The shares of industrial workers and craftsmen in the 15-22 age category also decreased toward 2013. There were no skilled agricultural workers among young countrymen.

A nine-point scale was used for the rural youth's professional self-assessment. 6.3% of young workers in the 23-30 age category placed themselves in the first, the lowest position. The greater part (19%) placed themselves in the middle, fifth, position, and 2% of the young countrymen indicated the highest, ninth place for themselves.

The analysis shows that Russian and foreign businesses, agriholdings, having high-tech equipment and production facilities, influence employment and unemployment in the regions,

especially in the Southern and the Central-Chernozem regions, the leaders in agricultural production.

Agriholding as part of the Agrindustrial Complex is a new type of a large production enterprise located in a vast territory having a high-level agroindustry. There is a strict division of labour in agriholdings: agricultural production and agricultural processing. Agriholdings are multipurpose and multifunctional enterprises. As their activities are based on the principle of profit maximization, they are a powerful lever in market relations. Agriholdings practice rational types of worker's functioning and labour control. In fact, agriholdings act as the key factor in the agrarian market formation, the market of agricultural production and labour. They can also serve as an important channel of modernization in agriculture.

At a certain stage of structural reformation in agriculture, agriholdings became an important factor of influence on rural employment and rural socio-structural processes in general. It is apparent that high-tech equipment raises the demand for labour quality and lowers the demand for workplaces at agricultural enterprises. Business and government interacting closely in the area of agricultural production with its rational forms and methods of work exert influence on the social organization of rural economic activity constructing the Russian countrymen's social practices and behaviour in a similar way.

Informal occupation of rural youth

The sector of informal occupation of the rural population is a structure formed as a result of institutional and social transformations in the agrarian branch of economy in the 1990s. The informally occupied are classified by statisticians as "persons who during the period of survey were engaged at least in one production unit of the informal sector irrespective of their employment status and whether this job was primary or secondary for them. The absence of state registration in the capacity of a legal entity is taken as the criterion for an informal sector unit identification" [The concept and definition...].

The analysis of age groups by the data of the survey of rural households undertaken by Rosstat in 2011 testifies that young people aged 15-24 made up the majority of those engaged in the informal sector – 40%; the share of young people aged 25-29 was 30%. Young people of the older age groups made up 24%. Jobs in the informal sector were a primary occupation for a third of rural youth (33%). They worked as hired labourers at the enterprises of individual entrepreneurs (43%), as labourers hired by physical persons or individual entrepreneurs (36%), or independently, on an individual basis, in the entrepreneurial sphere without registration as a

legal entity, at farms, or on household subsidiary plots producing agricultural products (20%) [Mukhanova, 2013: 79-80].

It can be supposed that occupation in the informal sector might be kind of practice for part of young people, where they get skills for independent work in a competitive environment and acquire elements of market behaviour. This would make for the selection of young rural residents capable of individual entrepreneurship. It is obvious that the present-day environment viewed as a sociocultural field and its social institutions with the functioning consumer society values exert influence on the young people's social behaviour and determine their characteristics. In this way, a structure or layer could be formed having certain chances and tending to a certain style and mode of life conditioned by the economic and social capitals possessed by individuals. And they would live the next periods of their lives in this continuum. However, the realization of individualist orientations as market-based values remains problematic for young countrymen, which is evident from the RLMS data for 1994-2011. The RLMS figures show that over the entire period of observation the great majority (95%) of rural youth, as well as the people of the older generation, had not tried to organize their own enterprise or to open their own business, that is, market-oriented behaviour was not characteristic of them. The number of those who tried to start their own businesses but failed (4%) was greater than the number of those who eventually gained success (1%). Among the reasons why rural people do now wish to open their own businesses or fail to do it is not only the lack of market experience but also their distrustful attitude to the officials and rich people [Mukhanova, Zhvitiashvili, Bessokirnaya, 2014: 61].

The informal sector of the Russian labour market is characterized by its high vulnerability. Informal workers are exposed to various risks of unstable working life. The informal sector of the economy is distinguished, in the first place, by low payments, its negation and unprotectedness by law, unavailability of labour rights and the absence of social security. Young rural informal workers are the most insecure contingent of all. The Rosstat sociological survey carried out in 2011 confirms these inferences. The greater part of young working countrymen (about 70%) were not satisfied with the size of payments; half of them (50%) doubted the job stability and an opportunity for professional development, were dissatisfied with work conditions, and were not satisfied morally as they would have been regarding their work as "useful".

The analysis of the rural youth working in the informal sector of the economy by the education level allows a conclusion to be made that the prevailing categories were persons having primary vocational, general secondary, secondary vocational and incomplete secondary education. They made up 87% in aggregate. The greater part of young countrymen engaged in

the informal sector of the economy (67%) worked not in the specialities they had been trained for.

Incomes of 41% of the households of young countrymen engaged in the informal sector ranged from 10,100 to 20,000 roubles; 32.4% had incomes from 5000 to 10,000 roubles. There were not money enough even for food in 9% of the households; 36% households had money enough for food only, but were hard put to buy clothes and pay for communal services. The cost of communal services in rural areas was 3000-5000 roubles on the average, that is, practically half of incomes went to pay communal services. Those who had money enough for food and clothes but could not afford buying durable goods (a TV set, refrigerator, etc.) made up 42% of young workers. A comparison of the household monetary incomes of young countrymen working in the informal sector with the living minimum, which is the survival standard, shows that the dimensions of poverty among rural youth, and the rural population in general, are significant. That is, the survival model as a process and way of life remains a persistent qualitative characteristic of rural youth.

Labour remains an important aspect of the rural youth life activity providing them with the means of existence. However, peripheral or marginal jobs make up a considerable part of the jobs offered on the rural labour market. These jobs do not ensure economic stability and career growth for the working young countrymen. The low level of economic stability and no prospects for career growth in the formal sector of agricultural production account for wide involvement of young people in the informal sectors of the economy. Informal sectors perform an important function in the Russian countryside by minimizing social expenses in the formal agrarian economy, but informal workers fall to and remain in the most vulnerable social category.

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Problems of Youth Unemployment in Russia

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Abstract. The problem of unemployment influences youth more strongly than other age groups, this social marginalization of youth is the burning issue for any society. Unemployment among the young population leads to extension of poverty which becomes a steady phenomenon. Young people meet with job search difficulties of adaptation on a labor market. Reliable protection against unemployment is high education level.

Keywords: youth; unemployment; labor market; education; adaptation; motivation

Young professionals are honor and hope of any developed country, and if this ‘hope’ doesn’t have a job and appropriate social security, such absence of demand for professionals becomes one of the most important threats to economic security and social stability of the state.

As a rule, unemployment impacts youth more strongly than other age groups for which reason social marginalization of youth is the most pressing problem for any state. Some particular social and psychological characteristics such as vagueness of social and labor objectives, insufficiently formed motivational sphere, rigidity of social behavior, inability to manage available resources, inadequate level of aspiration, instability of life approaches towards values and objectives make situation of youth on labor market difficult and sensitive.

According to the data from the Russian Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat), the average age of unemployed Russians was 34,8 years as of June 2011. Young people under 25 years amounted to 27% of unemployed, of which 6% between the ages 15–19, 21% between the ages 20–24 [Mareeva, 2011: 267].

Unemployment among youth leads to extension of poverty that becomes a steady phenomenon. While in former times youth could fully provide for themselves and give financial support to their relatives, today having faced the problem of unemployment youth begins to join the army of “new poor”. Moreover, the probability of becoming unemployed is three times higher for young people than for middle-aged people. Low income of young workers does not correlate with exorbitant prices of dwelling and expensiveness of food, pharmaceuticals, high transportation charges. Poverty provokes not only young people’s health deterioration but also that of their future children which leads to the further degeneration of the quality of national human potential. Reduction of social security and inadequate evaluation of youth labor facilitates decline of national patriotism, results in attrition of young professionals to the developed

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capitalist countries, fosters interest in search of non-conventional earnings in the sphere of illegal business, and undermines interest in education.

However, youth unemployment is vastly selective; it doesn't affect all the young people similarly but concentrates inside certain groups. The latter include young people from economically weak regions, young people with low-quality school education and without professional education, young people from socially disadvantaged families. It means that in many cases unemployment among younger generation favors poverty retaining and transfers from one generation to another.

A great problem for a young worker is an insufficient experience of practical activities that turn a young professional into not very attractive and competitive and, therefore, frequently discriminated workforce. For example, according to the data from the Center of Social and Labor Rights that were obtained in 2008 in the course of sociological research "Employment discrimination: prevalence, forms and causes", more than 14% of surveyed Russian workers faced with manifestation of labor discrimination in their working practice. What's more, age discrimination became number one in the list of the forms of employment discrimination named by the respondents: it was mentioned by 19% of respondents, 55% of them being young people under 30 [Bizyukov P.]. Above all, this discrimination manifested and manifests itself as: undervaluation of labor compensation (23%), inhibition of professional growth (7%), artificial slowing of career (6%), deliberate retention on the least prestigious job (4%). 35% of working youth have difficulties in professional competition which is caused by the following reasons: absence of possibilities of advanced training (33%), absence of required work skills (30%), necessary qualification (26%), absence of possibilities of necessary education (15%) [Gorshkov, 2011: 383].

Also, among the problems for young workers one can distinguish imbalance between supply and demand on the labor market, disproportionate employment structure, inconsistency between existing job vacancies and actual preferences of youth.

As a consequence, young workers encounter difficulties of adaptation on labor market. When analyzing the issues of adaptation of graduates that they experience during entry into labor market, employers typically mention unreasonably high salary expectations, as well as lack or absence of work experience (it was pointed out by 64 and 62% of surveyed employers, respectively). The third one in the list is the problem of inflated self-esteem of young professionals (36%). Another group of problems consists of unreasonable career growth expectations, poor teamwork skills and disconnection of young professionals' knowledge and skills from reality (it was pointed out by 28% of respondents) [Gorshkov, 2011: 385].

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This being the case, we understand that the main objective of adaptation on labor market is finding appropriate job position, i.e. vacancy that corresponds with profession and skill level of a young person, satisfies him or her in terms of working conditions and schedule, salary level, career and personal development prospects. At the same time failures of adaptive process have serious consequences as a result of which ex-graduates more often than not find themselves on the periphery of social and economic relations, experience problems with professional fulfillment, give up employment by profession and, consequently, have to change specialization on a mass scale. All of this causes inefficiency of young professionals' labor, has a negative impact on economic structure as well as on social development in general.

According to a survey conducted by Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM), in December 2014, the number of unemployed people in respondents' environment was virtually unchanged although talks about potential loss of job became more frequent. Amid the financial crisis Russians talk more about loss of job: more than one third of the respondents (37%) participate in such kind of conversations. The indicator that reflects respondents' expectations in regard to probability of their own dismissal during the nearest months stays within the range of 35-37% since the beginning of the year. 63% of Russians consider their dismissal to be probable to a greater or lesser degree during the next few months but only 2% are sure of it, 23% suppose that loss of job is quite possible, while 38% find it hardly probable [VCIOM...].

A number of experts believe that high level of education serves as a reliable protection from unemployment. Statistics data show that higher level of education provides higher level of employment and lowers unemployment. In 2010 level of employment for population with higher professional education was 81%. More than one third of the respondents (37%) who have already built a career accrue to persons with two higher educations. In the meantime, lack of plans regarding achievement of success in professional area is typical of persons without higher education and, consequently, with low social and professional status [Tiurina; 2011, p.50-59].

These conclusions, among other things, are confirmed by answers to the question: "If you lose your job, would it be easy to find an equivalent job, in your opinion?" Currently every fifth person (19%) shows absolute certainty that he or she would find a decent job without any obstacles. One third of the respondents (32%) also think that they'd be able to get a job equal to the present one by making small efforts. 33% of respondents foresee big difficulties in finding a similar job. Only 13% think that it would be almost impossible to find employment without reduction in position or salary [Available at: <http://wciom.ru/index.php?id=459&uid=115101>].

What kind of competitive advantage one must have in order to get a required job? The majority of young people (50%) think that high level of knowledge and professional qualification may facilitate this process. The second condition (40%) is to have necessary

connections and contacts. And only after that (28%) comes such a quality as willingness to work at one's best. It is important to note that this opinion is more widespread among youth who live in metropolitan cities (42%), persons with better education (39%) and persons with medium or high incomes (36%). But only 29% of younger generation like their occupation and 56% more are certain they will like their job [Gorshkov, 2011: 408].

Taking into account this complicated situation on the youth labor market of Russia, state and society shouldn't withdraw from solution of this issue and let things slide. In our opinion, it is necessary to develop in every possible way employment bureaus and job centers for youth that should house job fairs with participation of regional companies. Moreover, there is a need for constant promotion of youth initiatives in business areas that involve creation of new vacancies. However, this process requires significant state support, in particular by means of preferential tax treatment. Not only government authorities but also regional and local authorities should actively participate in preparation and financing of youth employment promotion programs. It is necessary to correct educational activity of modern higher education institutions. A graduate should have a distinct professional direction definition of which will be supported by a course dedicated to issues of professional career planning. We consider it appropriate to establish employment centers or human resources agencies as part of higher education institutions in order to cooperate with graduates and give them stable interconnections with active employing companies.

Naturally, scope of measures aimed at reduction of unemployment among young professionals goes beyond the proposed measures. Only comprehensive approach to the problem of youth unemployment can help to define ways out of the current situation on labor market.

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Social Image of Russian Pensioners (Regional Aspects)

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Abstract. On the basis of survey data characteristics of the social fabric of the modern Russian pensioners are considered. The various activities that include the elderly analyzed, characteristics identified. The effect of different conditions and circumstances on the formation of the devil look determined.

Keywords: financial position; orientation; pensioners; pension; social aspect; value

Pensioners compose a large part of the population of most countries, regardless of their level of economic, political, cultural and social development. Increase in the proportion of pensioners in the social structure entails social, economic and political consequences. The population of our country is largely old. The proportion of people aged over 60 years is 24%. Over the past 15 years, this number's increased for 11%. In the Voronezh region index value is somewhat higher - 26%. This means that every fourth inhabitant of the region belongs to the older age group and is a pensioner. In this case, a little more than a third of the Voronezh pensioners live in countryside [Federal State Statistics Service, 2014b].

Therefore, the study of Russian pensioners as members of particular social groups of society, revealing their demographic, economic, social and political characteristics and values in life, is one of the most pressing problems of the modern Russian society.

Social face of retirees described by a set of indicators and is influenced by many factors. The empirical basis of the study was a survey of pensioners in Voronezh region, conducted by staff of the Department of Sociology and Political Science and the Laboratory of Social Research, Voronezh State University in 2014. 584 people were interviewed, selected for the non-random survey method using quotas. Quotas was made on the basis of statistical data on the socio-demographic characteristics (sex, place of residence).

The survey revealed the characteristics of the social aspect and to determine the influence of several factors on their formation.

The most important characteristic of social image is elderly representation of the pensioner status.

Voronezh pensioners survey revealed the following opinion.

1. Retirement meant for pensioners in Voronezh worsening health problems (more than 40% in the countryside, in the city slightly less - 35%).

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2. Nearly one in four of the respondents noted the loss of connections with other people. In this case, the same number of older people called loneliness that emerged after retirement.

3. Every third pensioner in the Voronezh region noted worsening of their financial situation.

Estimates of male pensioners are slightly different from those of female pensioners. Representatives of the cohort of male pensioners note the emergence of health problems more often than women; they are more likely to notice the deterioration of their financial situation. In addition, they talk about narrowing of their communication surrounding, loss of communication with other people.

Retired women have more characteristic evaluation of the possibility to live happily, feel free. At the same time, women as well as men-retirees are concerned about the fact that the retirement and the acquisition of the status of pensioner create a sense of loneliness and uselessness.

Income of older people, their income levels - a recurrent theme in the media and on the level of government theme. On the one hand, the financial situation of the elderly, along with other characteristics acts as the main indicators of their lifestyle. On the other hand this is the most important factor that determines the various aspects of the life of this social group. Health status of seniors, and the structure of nutrition and features of leisure and social activities, and the nature and characteristics of communication with the nearest environment and much more depend on financial status.

Accordingly to statistics by the time of the survey about 3% of the Voronezh pensioners receiving a pension, the amount of which was less than the subsistence minimum. In rural areas, every tenth of a pensioner had such pension. In 2013, the cost of living for a group of retirees in the Voronezh region amounted to 5997 rubles [Voronezh stat. Yearbook, 2014: 63]. About a third of the Voronezh pensioners at this time getting a pension of up to 8,000 rubles a month, and almost half - to 12,000 rubles. Please note that the vast majority of this group of pensioners receive pension payments in the amount of 9000-10000 rubles. One-fifth of Voronezh retired were getting pensioners whose size exceeds 12,000 rubles [Voronezh stat. Yearbook, 2014: 59].

This fact makes the third part of the Voronezh retirees to continue working. However, the material causes are not the only ones. In addition to material causes pensioners call the need to be in a team, communicate with other people, to keep their social, including professional status.

The survey noted a considerable part of working pensioners - people in the age group of 70 years; they have a fairly high level of general and vocational training. Among working pensioners citizens make up almost 40%, while the villagers half. Why such a difference in the responses? Firstly, city pensioners have more job opportunities after retirement than the rural

elderly. Villagers can not always find a place to work, where they would be useful with their knowledge and skills. It should be noted that rural work is usually hard physical labor. Thus there is reluctance to work after retirement. Villagers in the Russian province used to live modestly, their needs as compared to the needs and demands of the urban retirees, much less. These data confirmed by the materials research conducted in other regions of Russia [Lezhnina 2008, Kozlova, 2008].

Health status is the most important characteristic of pensioners as a social group of Russian society. A survey conducted in 2014, revealed the assessment and opinion of seniors about their health.

Pensioners name the three main causes of the deterioration of their health, bearing the objective nature:

- Age
- Environmental insults
- The quality of medical care.

According to pensioners other reasons (bad habits, poor nutrition, stress due to the forced break-in period, poor housing conditions) not so seriously affect their health.

There is a difference marked by rural and urban retirees in the assessment of the circumstances of health worsening. Retired citizens more than rural named age-related changes as the main reasons for the deterioration of their health (68% vs. 59%). There are differences revealed in assessing the impact of environmental conditions (every third in the city and 40% in the countryside), which is explainable by realities of life.

At the same time, Voronezh pensioners state that their health becomes worse due to the fact that they can not purchase the necessary medication. In rural areas, this figure is higher (17%) than in urban areas (10%). Drug prices are rising steadily. Almost 40% of the Voronezh retirees, accordingly to information received, can not purchase them. This is understandable: for a significant portion of people from this social group retirement means reducing the level of material support.

What are Voronezh pensioners trying to do to improve the performance of their health? Universally recognized and recommended by doctors ways - increased physical activity and stress, physical training in the vast majority of older people are not credible. Only 6% of urban and rural pensioners- 4% of the Voronezh region give them value. It is noted that more than 40% of Voronezh pensioners do exercises, according to them, while working on farmlands. However, the major part of this social group hopes that you can improve your health with medication. Widespread judgment has an impact in the minds of most Russians, regardless of their age, education, occupation, that this is the only way to recovery.

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The survey showed that only every fifth pensioner uses Voronezh State aid and does not pay for the medicine he needs. As a rule, these are people with complex diseases, registered in the hospitals. They need expensive drugs for their treatment and life-sustaining. Retired citizens rely on the participation of the state in their lives more than rural pensioners (22% vs. 16%). The same trends are observed regarding the use of vouchers for rest and treatment: in the city - 13% in rural areas.

Social and psychological well-being of pensioners is also an important characteristic of their appearance. Pensioners continue to work experience less feelings of loneliness, helplessness, as they retain social circle, especially professional, being in the thick of things, can be supported, have great financial opportunities. It should be noted that the difference in the responses of working pensioners and those who are not working, being retired, relative to their psychological state is 7%.

Social face of pensioners is impossible to describe, unless you consider another indicator - communication with your friends.

Table 1

Discussion of problems by Voronezh pensioners with friends, according to a survey in 2014, in%

	Problems	Data
1.	Family relationships	42
2.	Health status	37
3.	High cost of living, rising prices	22
4.	Problems of living for pensioners	18
5.	TV shows, TV series	18
6.	Political problems of Russian society	15
7.	Increase in their pension	7

In a survey of Voronezh pensioners the following points were revealed. Retired citizens less than rural, meet with friends, which can be explained by, first of all, different conditions and way of life. Rural life dictates its own rules: the people living nearby, assist each other, spend their free time together and discuss different issues.

Growth in food prices, the cost transport travel, utilities become a constant subject of not only urban but also rural pensioners discussion. Problems of cost of living takes third place

among them. However, first place is given to the problems of family relationships (between spouses, between parents and children, other relatives). It's pointed that the villagers tend to discuss these issues even with their friends to a lesser extent than the citizens. A certain closeness of the villagers and their desire not to let others in their lives affects. This is despite the specific conditions of the rural way of life.

Among the characteristics of the social appearance of pensioners there are indicators associated with their free time observed. It is characterized by a diversity of preferences of older people from watching television to extra sleep.

Table 2

**Activities of Voronezh pensioners in their spare time,
according to the survey of 2014, in%**

	Free time activities	Data
1.	Watching television, TV series	65
2.	Activities with children and grandchildren	43
3.	The work at the dacha, garden	40
4.	Communication with the neighbors	27
5.	Reading fiction	20
6.	Activities with appliances, sewing, knitting	19
7.	Sleeping	18
8.	Listening to music	8
9.	Physical training	6

Urban retirees as well as and rural ones prefer television viewing of different level and character, including all kinds of shows. Differences of opinion between women and men are almost not detected, except for sports. At the same time, rural pensioners pay less attention to their grandchildren than urban pensioners. Most likely, this is because young people leave the village to the city. There are few young families in rural areas, and, consequently, little young children.

Work at the dacha or garden - a way of spending free time of urban retirees. Rural pensioners spend all the time at work on private land, including the spare time.

Circle of readers' interests for Voronezh pensioners - classics, detectives, love and historical novels. There are no differences between rural and urban retirees. Voronezh pensioners

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do not refuse technical innovations and capabilities - use of the Internet, social networks. It is about citizens (not more than 3%).

One of the indicators of social and psychological well-being of retirees is to assess the opportunity to get help in the difficult moments of life. 14% of pensioners ask friends for help. And one in five relies only on himself and their strength.

Most retirees in Voronezh, responding to a question about to whom they turn for help in time of need, first of all, named their families - over 70%. This is not surprising: almost two-thirds of the villagers claim a relationship of trust and understanding that have developed in their families. And women pensioners and retired men are unanimous on this issue. It should be noted: retirees expect little help from the state, the organization in which they work, and even neighbors.

However, it has been found that females have a little more patience and strength to overcome all sorts of bureaucratic obstacles in obtaining state aid medicines, aids in the preparation of other social benefits. In addition, they are more emotional and sociable by nature, are well aware of their inner circle (over one third of pensioners constantly in their spare time talking with the neighbors and less than one-fifth of male pensioners do this). And that's why female pensioners, more often than men rely on neighbors for help in difficult situations. But they rely only on themselves lesser than men.

Another component of the social appearance of pensioners linked to their attitude to politics and public activity. More than half of pensioners show Interest in politics. In the spectrum of their political views built on democratic, communist, patriotic and conservative values included.

The most common form of participation in social activities for Voronezh pensioners is the election - 43%. The proportion of citizens participating in the elections for the last period of development of Russian society has decreased, it's an indisputable fact. Traditionally, however, the villagers, including pensioners, have always been more active. Their turnout index was always higher.

Retired people have also public activities as taking part in the activities of various organizations, including organizations in the new format.

22% of the respondents are involved in the activities of trade union organizations. As a rule, it is still working pensioners. Many of them were engaged in such activities before retirement. So they now continue to do this. A new phenomenon is social activities pensioners in the homeowners association (HOA), houses management - 10% of urban retirees. The proportion of seniors who said that their active participation in the work of parties is small - only 5% (we

are talking primarily about the citizens). At the same time pensioners note: 16% of them are ordinary performers and 9% - activists.

Pensioners are very active with regard to religion. 70% of pensioners consider themselves to be believers. They profess to be Christians, primarily Orthodox views. 33% of pensioners pray often at home, while not more than 10% constantly visit the temple.

The level of material situation of pensioners, health and socio-psychological well-being, family relationships, the presence of friends and communication with neighbors, social activity and exhibited faith Voronezh rural pensioners are closely interconnected. These indicators serve as important characteristics of the social appearance of rural pensioners.

Table 3

Assessing the significance of Voronezh pensioners faith according to the survey of 2014, in%

	Faith meaning	Data	
		Countryside pensioners	Urban pensioners
1.	Consolation in life	40	41
2.	Support for the loss of loved ones	23	17
3.	Reconciliation with reality	21	18
4.	Search for the meaning of life	12	13
5.	Searching for a new surrounding	2	4

These characteristics of the social appearance of pensioners largely depend on what mood these people live, how they see their future. The survey showed that 15% of the Voronezh pensioners of the future painted in optimistic tone, they hope that their future life will be all right. This group of seniors actively manifests itself in all kinds of activities that characterize their lifestyle. Representatives of this part of pensioners continue to work after receiving a pension, they are very active in communicating with friends and neighbors, read more, more engaged with their grandchildren, their family relationships are characterized by goodwill and understanding, they are more interested in the events in the country and in the world. They have better health characteristics (less ill).

Mood of anxiety experienced by nearly a third of pensioners. The group concerned with their future retirees can add and those who experience fear and despair before tomorrow afternoon (10%). Significant fact is that every third pensioner has perception of life, mood,

feelings and expectations painted in dark tones (in the countryside – half has the same!). They are worried about their future and are not waiting for positive change, either now or in future years.

And only a quarter of retirees are looking to the future calmly, without any worries. They are soberly assess their condition and their capabilities. And try to treat life circumstances with understanding, without succumbing to fear, despair.

Such estimates and judgments can not affect the perception of the world, events and phenomena taking place in the country, in the city and in rural areas, where pensioners live in their environment. And as a result, they act as the most important factors determining the characteristics of their social image.

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Attitudes to Innovations of Employees of the Modern Russian Industrial Enterprises

Evgenia V. Zhelnina, Tolyatti

Abstract. The paper presents an analysis of attitudes to innovations, innovations in modern Russian industrial enterprises, carried out within the framework of sociological research on staff training as a factor of innovative activity of industrial enterprises. Work is performed within the Project No. 383: «Workers of the industrial and scientific and technical sphere in the conditions of the monotown (on the example of the sociological analysis of Tolyatti) ».

Key words: innovation; industrial enterprise; vocational training; personnel

Due to increased demand on various innovation in modern Russia (the innovations of new technologies, products and services, control systems, interaction and communication upgrades), we considered it necessary to study this phenomenon (innovation and innovative) both in terms of theory and methodology, and empirically [Andreeva, 2013: 37]. Consequently, the aim of this paper is to present the results and conclusions of this study.

The authors involved 400 respondents in the empirical sociological study. All of them are the employees of 70 industrial enterprises of the Volga Federal District. 16 cities took part in the survey: Dimitrovgrad, Zavolzhsky, Izhevsk, Kazan, NaberezhnyeChelny, Neftekamsk, Nizhny Novgorod, Orenburg, Ryazan, Salavat, Samara, Solikamsk, Sizran, Tolyatti, Ulyanovsk, Ufa, and Cheboksary. Among the surveyed enterprises prevails big business (81 %).

During the analysis of the data, it was revealed that in top and senior management there are people with the higher education (100 %). Six middle managers from seven trained in higher educational institution. In addition, half of line managers also have a diploma of higher education. These figures allow us to make a conclusion that the appointment to the executive position in modern Russia must be preceded by receiving a diploma of higher professional education and the specialization does not matter.

This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that about 25 % of the experts , having worked for some time, decided to study at universities by correspondence. Every fourth of professionals in the process of labor activities concluded that university degree is required for a successful career growth in modern conditions.

Slightly more than half of respondents (51 %) consider the company not only as a job, but as an opportunity of friendly relationship. It is important to note that this figure dominates among employees of industrial divisions. About one-third of respondents (29 %) within the enterprise implement their own meaningful vocational goals. Moreover, among the administrative personnel of the enterprise this figure is much higher (37 %). Only 19 % of

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respondents do not allow personal contacts at work. Summarizing, we can say that the majority of respondents has an active social and professional position within selected industrial enterprise. Moreover, the representatives of manufacturing units of the company in most cases focus on communication, cooperation and teamwork. While representatives of managerial staff focus on implementing personal career plans.

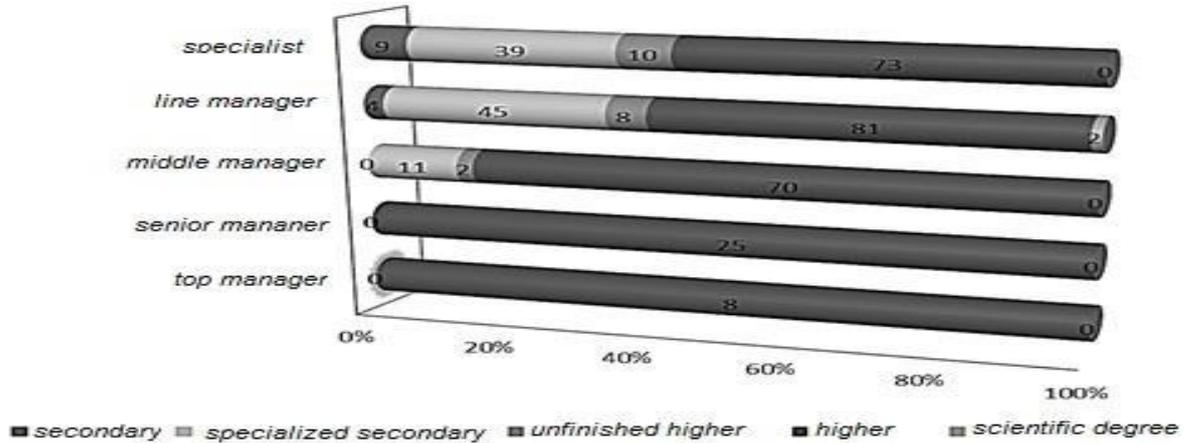


Fig. 1. Ratio of post to education

About 50% of respondents rated the economic condition of own enterprise as a good one; third of them (34%) – as satisfactory; 7% - as bad and only 4% – as excellent. 7% of respondents found it difficult to assess the performance of their company, and 80% of them have technical education and 70% of them work in manufacturing sector. These data clearly show that intersection of specialty areas is not accepted in modern Russian industrial enterprises. In our opinion, this is a serious obstacle to an active innovation policy of the company, because there is no adequate exchange of information between the departments.

On the issue of innovation policy most respondents (90%) indicated that innovations in the company are taking place, but with varying degrees of intensity (Fig. 2).

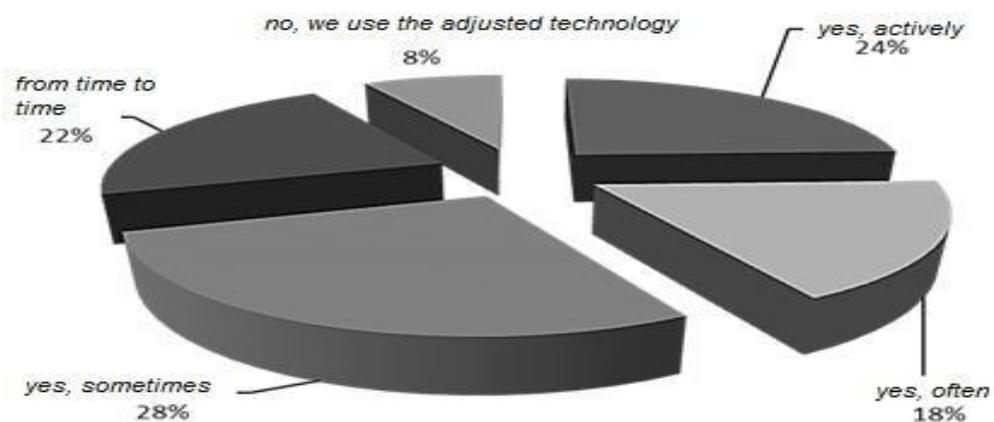


Fig. 2. Innovation implementation on enterprise (according to staff opinion)

Only 8 % of respondents said that the company is working on tuned technology and innovation are not allowed. On closer examination of the data (Fig. 3) it can be noted that small and medium businesses more inclined to different kind innovations, while large companies either actively working with innovation, or completely reject them in their activities.

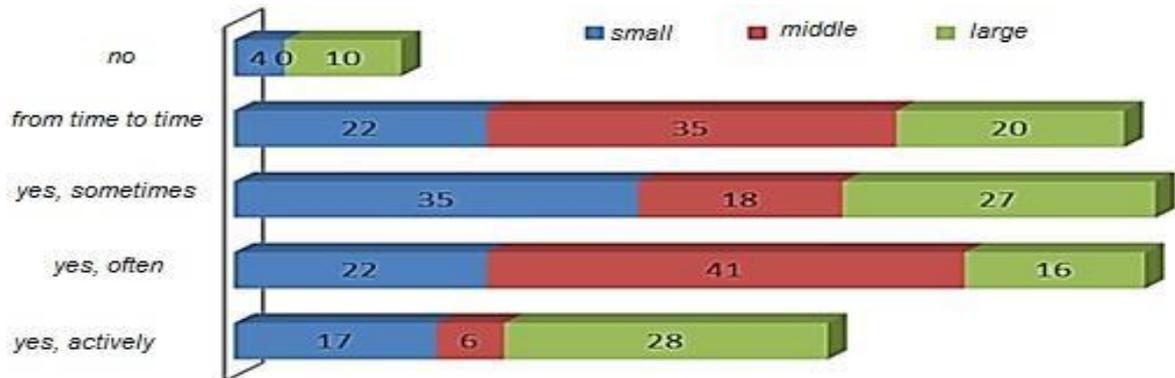


Fig. 3. Intensity of innovation implementation, depending on the size of enterprise

Some differences in the evaluation of enterprise innovation activity can be identified with respect to the branch, where the employee works. For example, administrative staff in the greater degree indicates its company in terms of innovation, and nobody of them has chosen the answer «no, we use the adjusted technology».

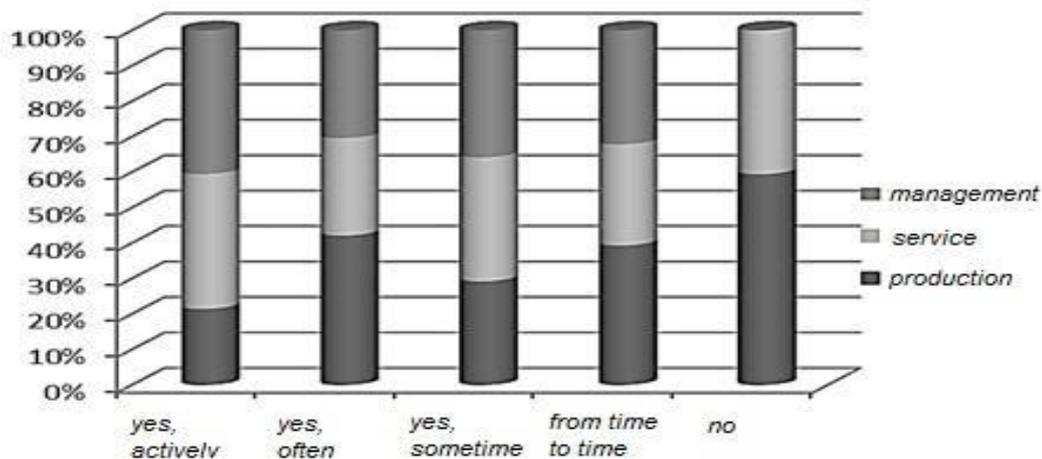


Fig. 4. Intensity of innovation implementation, depending on the branch

Along with opinion to innovations, we tried to find out what ways of changing the negative attitudes towards innovation exist. The result was the following rating: information (26 %), education (26 %), mentor-operation (15 %), personal example of a significant person (12 %), belief (9 %), coercion or sanctions (5 %), bonuses (just over 1 %). This rating ways shows the average data. We have identified some of the features (although they are not very significantly – the overall trend remains the same) for age, record of service and the role of the

worker in organization. For example, for respondents under the age of 24 years on the first place in this ranking is learning (23 %), which in general coincides with the main activity of a person in this age period. The importance of training for people over 60 years (42 %) can be attributed to their low adaptation to rapidly changing environmental conditions and the complexity of mastering the technology work independently. As for the distribution of these methods with respect of service, mentoring is the most important for the group of respondents with less than 1 year respect (36 %). Furthermore, the group with average length of service (10 to 24 years) shows the resistance of their professional beliefs. These professionals will refrain in their positions, which can be the least changed with bonuses, although information is the best way to eliminate negative feelings about innovation in this category of respondents.

Undoubtedly, the most significant cause of innovation is economic results. This is the large group, including improving product quality (13 %), increasing the efficiency of work (13 %), cost reduction (4 %), improving the competitiveness of enterprises and products (16 %), expansion of enterprise activity on the market (9 %), and optimization of staff the (1 %). The second place on the importance occupies the social group of results: socio-psychological (15 %) – skills–development, adaptation, overcoming feeling of inevitability of change, and socio-economic (2 %).

The main purpose of this study was to determine the sociological impact of corporate training at innovation activity of the modern Russian industrial enterprises.

The answer was received after the analysis of respondents' answers to the question of existing ways to change the negative attitude of employees. The result was the following rating information (26 %), education (26 %), mentoring (15 %), personal example of a significant person (12 %), belief (9 %), coercion and sanctions (5 %) and last turned bonuses (just over 1 %). Obviously, working at the enterprise system of corporate training personnel is capable to ensure the search processes, evaluation and innovation activities to be necessary activities.

Thus, it can be noted that there is the good attitude to innovations in modern Russian industrial enterprises and there are innovative processes at the production, but with different pace and different intensity.

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Part 5.

Social practices in management and policy



Religious Views and Practice of Young Gamers

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Abstract. The main goal of this article — to reveal the impact of gaming on the socialization of religious ideas and practices of young gamers. The study was conducted by in-depth interviews of two groups of informants — gamers and non-gamers. Comparing the responses of these groups revealed the specific features of the religious beliefs and practices of gamers and their impact on the different types of computer games.

Keywords: religious views; religious practices; gamers; computer games; game socialization

The dynamics of the value orientations of the young people in the XXI century is largely determined by the entry of society into the information age, which is characterized by the deployment of the modern informational and telecommunicational revolution, the rapid spread of information technology, the globalization of social processes, the formation of the infosphere. A special place in the information society belongs to the global computer network Internet. A special field in it is occupied by the on-line computer games, which serve as an indicator of gamezation of the modern society. This means the implementation of the principles of the game in a pragmatic life's strategy [Kravchenko, 2010:245].

A specific phenomenon of the modern society is the gaming, which combines "the intrinsic human desire for the competition, the rivalry, the game with the possibilities of information technology" [Baeva, 2014:28]. The main consumers of the computer games are the teenagers, young people whose values and beliefs form very active. That is why the question of determining the extent and the nature of the impact of computer games on the attitude to the religion is so important.

The rapid development of the computer games industry cause a number of social and socio-cultural consequences, including the institute of religion and religiosity as the characteristics of the individual or the group.

One of the most popular online games is the «Word of Warcraft». In 2010 it was attended by 12 million players from around the world [Baeva, 2014:31]. The well-known American sociologist W.S. Bainbridge made a detailed sociological analysis and came to the conclusion that this game creates a special civilization with a particular type of religious beliefs and practices. [Bainbridge, 2010].

The study of religion virtualization is a current sociological problem [Belova, 2011]. In April 2014 we have done the research with the purpose to study the virtualization of religion. It

was consisted of the number of interviews among young students in Ivanovo. The research method was in-depth interview, which is referred to the orientation of "not massive data collection and achievement of a deeper understanding of the social phenomena" [Belanovskiy, 2011: 5].

There were the two groups of informants that were interviewed: gamers and non-gamers. This technique enables to reveal the changes in the attitude (position) to the religion among the members of the group of gamers. The sample was created on the basis of social networks by using the "snowball" method. The group of gamers includes 16 men and 4 women at the age of 17-26 years, who are actively playing the computer games. The second group of non-gamers consisted of 10 men and 10 women of the same age, who are not addicted to the computer games.

There are 2 informants who are receiving the second higher education, 26 informants who are studying in the university, 6 pupils, 1 gymnasium pupil and 5 pupils from the junior technical colleges. This suggests that computer games are popular not only with the teenagers and young people, but also with the informants who are already working and living independently from their parents. Thus, it is important to notice that the average age of a gamer is constantly growing.

It is important to remember that a social group of gamers require a special approach during the interviewing. Being a conditionally open, this group is largely isolated. It has clearly defined scopes and the so-called "face-control." The communication with the representatives of this group is getting better for a long time, because we are so far from the field of our research. That is why there are some difficulties in the collecting of sociological information. The general problem connects with the access to the members of the group, with the search of the informants, because in most cases we have to communicate with the gamers indirectly (through the social networks or gaming forums). Moreover, the reluctance of the members of this social group "to waste their time" and to discuss "intimate" questions in the Internet leads to the difficulty and the slowdown of the communication process with them.

We decided to learn more about the games before the empirical research, because it could help us to understand each type of computer games. Generally, the games are divided into three major groups: role, shooting, strategy. All games in the group are very similar to each other, but at the same time, there are games with variations. The main criterion of division of genres is an action, which is committed in games of this genre mostly. The position of the camera: the view from the eyes, rear view, top view, view from the cockpit; the passage of time: real-time or turn-

based mode; the number of players are not the criteria for the genre, because they only change the way the filing of gameplay.

During the study we developed our own typology of computer games based on the analysis of gaming sites, games, magazines, forums. The structure of the game genres will help us to understand their specificity, the possible degree of player's "penetration" in the playing field, help to compare the possible ways, mechanisms of influence on players in different game genres.

The main types of computer-games were classified as follows:

1). Arcade Games. The main task is to collect all the objects at the level (sometimes a particular IP task: to paint the whole level, find a way, to get to a certain point). Serene collection process is disrupted by the presence of things at the level enemies or traps.

2). Adventure Games -games with an element of adventure. The game is a one big card, usually with the differences of the gameplay. There is no special restrictions in the movement on the map.

3). Qwest Games, where the main idea is to archive a goal that heralded all sorts of plot twists.

4). Strategy Games - games that require strategic planning and problem solving.

5). Sport Games - computer version of sport events. The main idea is competition. The aim is to confront opponents (not enemies or competitors).

6). Logic Games. The main action is planning of follow-up. Logic games are very abstract. The player can make simple, primitive actions, but the particular combination or sequence of these steps may lead to the goal.

7). Learning Games - educational games. The main goal here is to get a new information. The simplest of them are the study of numbers, the alphabet, the names of things.

8). Action / Shooter / Fighting. The main action is the destruction of rivals.

9). Role-Playing Games – games in which you "can live", where you get used to the role of the hero. At one border of this games are the plot which is straight as a rail, (where there is only one right way and it is impossible to move at least one step from this path), on the other edge - absolute freedom (a huge open world, freedom of action and a complete lack of plot).

10). Simulator Games - games that simulate the real objects.

11). Second-life - Is a virtual space, designed as an image of the real world, a reflection of the society, which is composed of a variety of social, political and cultural aspects of the life of each individual. It is «second life» - "second chance", where players "can play a role, or the role of both near and far from your" under the guise of an anonymous "depending on their own

choice"[Turkle, 1994]. Consequently, second-life games are the "parallel realities" for gamers, or an artificial world. In the terminology of John Suler, it is a virtual reality that has "the effect of the actual reality," and what is extremely important – it has "the effect, real in its consequences"[Suler, 2004].

At the same time we need to pay an attention to the choice of the type of game in both groups. We found out a clear pattern: a group of gamers often talked about the preference to the strategies, militants and simulation games, but the role-playing games (RPG) are favorite. RPG were chosen by everyone in the gamer's group. The second group of informants interested in puzzles, adventure games, quests and simulator games, although two male informants play in role-playing games. The most popular games among men are Fifa 14, Devil May Cry, Counter Strike, Skyrim, World of Tanks, Lineage 2, League of legends, and the most popular -World of Warcraft and Dota, which were mentioned by the 25 informants. The simpler games as Sims, Zombies, Nancy Drew, card games attract women more. However, there are two girls in the group of gamers who are playing in League of Legend and World of Warcraft as well as men.

During the analyzing the impact of computer games on the transformation of gamer's religiosity the greatest interest was caused by the Strategy games and RPG (role-playing) games. These games genres are a multidimensional phenomenon, encompasses a types of behaviors. On the one hand, the gamer changes the concept of the game "under him" during the game and he has a direct impact on the game. But on the other hand, the computer game affects the players by imposing certain limits and conditions of the game, thus affecting the user and forming player's behavior patterns, which he, in turn, transfers to the real world.

Our empirical research leads us to the following conclusions:

1. There is the transformation of the understanding of God in a group of gamers. They talk about God as something supernatural, as a tool of the management, which is close to the function of God in a the computer game. Gamers always emphasis the role power of God. According to informants the role of God in the real world reduces to the help. Gamers think that God creates only the illusion of human freedom, and, in fact, exists as a control unit of the society.

2. The gamer's religiosity is mainly the external religiosity [Ollport; 1998, p.189]. Gamers reproduce the actions of the close environment. The conscious observance of religious practices due to the extraction of profit for them. At the same time non-gamers have all attributes of the inner religiosity. Religion is dominant symbol for them. They are in harmony with the religious beliefs and regulations. They carried out the religious practices knowingly.

3. The gamers who are mostly involved in the game have strong quasi-religious views. Also, the hallmark was the young gamer's consideration that they are religious, but at the same time they do not implement the religious practices.

4. The parents have the greatest influence on the young gamers. The friends have a lesser extent. Fellow believers and priests do not affect the lives of informants. Online games replace the religious practices for gamers. They are a kind of a retreat from the real world. This characterise RPG gamers more.

5. The most important conclusion is the fact that the virtualization and virtual reality of computer games influence the transformation of religiosity: there is a process of reducing the reproduction of religious activities as the goal, nowadays, the position to the religion is a "religion is a means of". This fact causes the migration of virtual practices in real life only in order to achieve a certain goal. The religious practices become a process of an exchange between the individuals, between the individual and a God. Moreover, a God is defined as an illusion in some cases, a fantasy that exists only in the minds of people. Members of the gamer's group have an ordinary religiosity, social religiosity and sometimes protest [Lobazova; 2009, p. 9].

So, our analysis of the different views on the place and importance of religion for gamers leads us to the decision that the contours of the religious transformation begin. Under the affect of game's socialization gamers have specific religiosity that is specified as a believe existence of sacred objects (not only in God, but in the virtual images, etc.), which is fixed in the religious practices associated with their modeling and implementation in a virtual and in real space.

It is well known that the virtual world is more attractive for gamers that the real world, and the number of representatives of the gaming community is constantly growing. So the trends identified in these article relevant for the analysis of the dynamics of religiosity and other value orientations of the young people.

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The Role of Worldview in Designing the Urban Development Strategies for European Cities (Historical and Socio-Cultural Aspects)

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Abstract. The city configuration (whether it is a Roman or Byzantine or a modern city) is merely a consequence. The cause is the ideological target setting which is always expressed through the world outlook of a nation representing the epoch when the city was built.

Keywords: urbanism; world view; landscape; city

The historic image of Ancient Cities has changed beneath our very eyes: the configuration of Ancient Cities has become hardly recognizable, the connection with the landscape has been hardly traceable. Before, the city was admired as an element that enhanced the natural beauty of its environment, but now people tend to go to the country to find a place where the ugly urban skyline would not suppress the surrounding panorama.

The problem of antagonism existing between the city and its surrounding landscape is very acute, however, it is not the only problem on the current agenda, as we witness the buffer zone between the old and new parts of the city being frequently violated. The new buildings literally overhang the old town, and generally predetermine its fate. Contrary to the common sense, the new buildings are allocated the highest positions on location, while the old part of the city, although it is too small in size, appears to be totally overshadowed by the reinforced concrete monsters.

Why are Ancient Cities so different from modern ones? What motivation drives this or that civilization to create the forms that are peculiar to it alone? Why one nation has dedicated its resources to building huge circuses and another to building chapels? Why did one nation experience difficulty in dealing with the surface topography and why did it choose to do the site grading to lay the foundation of the city, while another nation was searching for natural surface conditions to be suitable for building a city and was concerned with protecting them as much as possible? And why was a narrow pathway good enough for some to reach the chapel on top of the hill, while a broad cobbled road was not sufficient for others to reach the public thermal baths? The forms of cities are multiple and diverse.

Being a work of art, the city is a personification of the underlying idea – the idea that provides inspiration to the creator. The city's creator is its people. Thus, the city acquires its configuration depending on which idea is the overwhelming motif for the people's heart. The

cities built by the Romans in the Principate period are different from those built by Greeks over the Archaic and Classical periods. The Western cities of the Medieval era are different from Roman and Greek cities. The cities of the Byzantine Empire and Russia, in their turn, are characterized by their own contours and forms. Each époque has its overriding idea, and consequently, it employs an underlying form to express that idea. The city, with all its needs, accumulates the energy of the culture that has given rise to its emergence, to the utmost. The mere site location, the centerpiece structure or a miserable hovel of a poor man – all this reflects the system of values that was adhered to by the builders of a dwelling unit or a house of worship. An inquisitive mind would never fail to notice through the city's configuration how unambiguously the society's vision and the city's image created under its influence are interrelated.

The configuration of a Classical City was defined strictly by the worldview of ancient Hellenes. The Greek cities were always remarkably distinguished by a harmonious relationship between the landscape and their natural location regarding the surface topography. The width of streets in the ancient Greek cities was very limited, even the Athens Acropolis could be ascended only by a narrow path. The entire architecture of Greece has evolved gradually in a most natural manner following the inherent laws which provided for the buildings and natural environment to be in harmony and in balance. The Acropolis in the Classical Era Greece was the core of spiritual and ideological concept. Its ecclesiastical structures have always exhibited a domineering presence in the city, but have never challenged the local landscape.

Rome represents a totally different example of form and its content. Religion has been perceived by the Romans in a profoundly pragmatic way. Rome has developed from a small town located on the Seven Hills across the Tiber River into the center of an immense Empire that stretched for thousands of miles and controlled nations across the world! Having crushed Carthage and having conquered Hellas, Romans became the masters of the Western and Eastern Mediterranean area. Rome was an acknowledged trend-setter in political fashion for many centuries ahead. Everything that we know about Antiquity is seen by us through the eyes of Roman philosophers, poets and statesmen.

One of the key artistic principles underlying the Roman Urban Development was trying to seek mechanistic completion. The Roman Urban Developer was primarily an engineer, and then – an artist. When they built cities, the Romans were prone to act as if in denial of nature, they created an artificial, enclosed space of their own and surrounded it with porticos, façades and building walls. They preferred to build cities on a flat area.

Founded by Constantine the Great, Byzantine was the natural development in the Christian era of the Roman state doctrine produced as a result of centuries-old political efforts and the brainwork of the best lawyers. However, it amassed the entire expertise not only of the Roman Empire, but also of Ancient Greece. Already at an early period of the Byzantine Empire history, the Christian Church, just like a Peripter in Ancient Greece, became the chief architectural element of the city.

Throughout all the époques, the Byzantine capital was distinct from the Roman example by a very harmonious location accommodated within the surface topography, an impressive configuration and, most importantly, its close connection with the existing landscape. Back in the 12th century, the immense area of Constantinople was surrounded by forests, which were so big that the Emperors went out hunting there. In the 10th century, wild deer were spotted sometimes beside the Thessaloniki walls [Litabrin,1970: 181]. Religion in Byzantine was the actual content of the world outlook, and the Christian Church was the major architectural element of the Byzantine city.

Kievan Rus' adopted Christianity from the Byzantine Empire, and for this reason, everything that was new and came together with the faith had a Byzantine imprint. Alongside the Christian religion, the Church brought from the Byzantine Empire to the Russian land the fundamentals of Christian order and introduced them into the lifestyle pattern. The Orthodox faith set the world alight with its artwork and music. Christianity gave rise to the masterpieces in religious architecture of international magnitude. Originally, the centerpiece and core of the entire city structure was Kremlin that held a paramount importance within the contextual framework. Kremlin embraced the most monumental buildings, while the Cathedral was the focal structure. The Cathedral was distinguished by its height, statuesque shape and the color of its material, as it stood against the background of wooden construction. However, despite the impressively monumental shape, the real height of the Cathedrals was normally not more than thirty meters. Apart from the main Cathedral, the cities accommodated a great number of small churches and chapels. The Architectural and Planning Hierarchy of the Urban Environment, in its turn, was subordinate to the local topographic features. The sprawling city that was perfectly compatible with the land topography was perceived to be part of nature, blending its boundaries with the natural setting.

However, it is essential to bear in mind that the city configuration (whether it is a Roman or Byzantine or a modern city) is merely a consequence. The cause is the ideological target setting which is always expressed through the world outlook of a nation representing the époque when the city was built.

Another example that illustrates the connection between the world outlook of society and the configuration of the cities is furnished by Western Europe of the Holy Roman Empire times.

The outlook of the West-European community was shaped under the influence of the Latin Church, whose strife for political power had not subsided over the entire span of Medieval history. The principal intellectual weapon of the Catholic Church in the struggle for Christian education was Scholastics, it was essentially targeted at bringing together the Divine Revelation and philosophy, faith and knowledge. In this context, the Catholic dualism, viewed as a compromise between the mundane and the spiritual, was revealed through its formal entirety. The spiritual and moral dualism, inherent to the Church, laid an imprint on the lifestyle of all the Western Medieval community. The eternal fight between the Caesaropapism and Papocaesarism in the Western civilization eventually forged the character of the Western man and endowed him with its specific West-European individualism.

While in antiquity, the Chapel was the abode of God, and the people administered their religious rites outside the Chapel, in the Middle Ages, the Chapel was only the place where the man could have a meeting with God, but was also the only place where the man could save his life amid the raging war waged by “all against all”.

The West-European cities owed their emergence to the Castles, in most cases. Generally, the Castle was positioned the top of the hill or a mountain, and the city was located at its foot. The Castle never served as a place of public activities or spiritual life. The chief place inside the Castle was not allocated for the purpose of religious worship, but was occupied by a mundane donjon, while the Cathedral was used for the purpose of religious services, and also for holding city gatherings, burgher meetings, festive events and entertainment.

The configuration of cities in Western Europe, throughout the Middle Ages, was characterized by internal polarity, similar to the community outlook prevalent at that time. Its peculiar feature was still the connection with the outer world, but at the same time, the cities were shut in from it with high walls and sinister looking towers, the construction density was intense.

The above examples of city configuration representing various époques can be classified into two groups. The First Group includes the cities that are open to and friendly with their environment. Let's apply the term Landscape Balanced cities to them. Such cities have a lot in common. We can state with assurance that the chief configuration elements for the Urban Development in the Classical Era Greece, Byzantine and Ancient Russia have a lot of common features. The cities in those countries and cultures are located freely with due account of the local surface topography. The Urban Planning is always in conformity with the local land

conditions. The natural location of construction projects does not exclude the use of Rational Development Elements, such as those pertinent to the Hyppodamian Plan or Radial and Circumferential Planning System. The attitude towards the existing land topography in the Classical City is very delicate. If the land topography is adjusted to meet the needs of citizens, this is done with utmost attention and tact. Undoubtedly, the central buildings in the Greek, Byzantine and Russian cities are Chapels and Churches. The configuration of those cities is blended with the landscape, their contours are the replicas of landscape features, however, all of them have an incomparable identity of their own.

The Second Group comprises the cities that can be referred to as Landscape Antagonists, all harmonization of the Urban Planning policies with the existing landscape is disrupted here. The most vivid impression of such cities is furnished by the Roman and, speaking in broader terms, Romanesque Urban Development practice. The cities of the Second Group are meant to be inverted, they are not related to the space around them. For their citizens, the city exists for itself and by itself, while nature with its estates, villas and manors has no relation to it whatsoever. The configuration of such cities is either flatly plain and unimpressive, or, on the contrary, extremely defiant. The hills are destroyed for utilitarian purposes, the rivers are brought beneath the surface, the canals are backfilled. The plan for a Landscape Antagonistic city is utterly rational. The entire city does not represent a living organism, but is made to resemble a mechanic system – a machine. It is as antagonistic to nature as it possibly can be, it is a foreign body. The deplorable effect of that practice is especially vivid today.

The Crisis of Waste Management in Russia: New Opportunities and Risks

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Abstract. The article discusses the concepts, dedicated to the problem of waste and pollution; studied the problem of the subject area, summarized its history and prospects of the formation of a holistic approach to this issue.

Keywords: waste; pollution; sociological theory; critical theory; sociology of critical states; the theory of risk ecosociology; social ecology; social inequality

The waste became the subject of study not only for engineers, environmentalists, doctors, managers, but are gaining popularity in the philosophical and social sciences, there its discussed in a broad sense the epistemological nature of pollution as a dichotomy cultural orientation clean \ dirty, necessary \ unnecessary, meaningful \ senseless from which formed human values, the idea of order, knowledge about hygiene, as well as the foundations of ecological culture and way of interacting with the environment. A simple mechanism of adoption and rejection forms a complex social reality, there production, consumption, social interests, information, biopolitics, geopolitics facing to each other. Garbage masses, as any contamination, that has reached a critical point, it is a "slow disaster", that has long-term, consistently growing implications. It is a social problem that threatens the survival of the species and environmental degradation. In order to justify a full range of impact of waste on human life and society, it is necessary to analyze the approaches and research results from different disciplines.

Subject-theoretical map of the trends shaping socially oriented view of the problem of waste in the enlarged understanding of the process by analyzing the necessary sources allocated to the following areas, based on the target object of research:

1) Socio-ecological orientation. Sustainable development.

a) Sociobiology, evolutionary biology, evolutionism (E. Wilson, Cavalli-Sforza and Boyd Richardson, R. Hind, B. Panov, Haind, et al.

b) Global Case Study: Case "garbage soup" in the Pacific Ocean (RJ Wilber, Day, Robert H .; Shaw, David G. & Ignell, Steven E.). Case nuclear waste (Hawk II, S. Kuppler, Sliviyak V.).

c) The author's studies.

- Joachim Rodkau (history of environmental protection)
- Catherine de Silguy
- Boris Rodoman (society and the history of the package)

- Green Economy: Alberto Duman (green economy), Martha Chen (green economy at and marginalized societies)

d) urban management and the problem of waste

2) Socio-philosophical direction. The purpose: To identify the meaning of the phenomenon of ontological preconditions waste.

a) Concepts:

- The concept of purity in the philosophy of Plato
- A Treatise on the hygiene of Hippocrates
- psychoanalytic orientation J. Bertolini
- Z. Freud
- D. Skalman (information garbage, philosophy of art and wastes)
- Dominique Laporte (history of shit)
- Boris Zhukov (delineation and marking the spaces)

b) studies and philosophy olfactory pollution -

- E. Condillac,
- miasma theory,
- the impact of Christian religious ethics and the nature of the contamination.

c) Philosophy of art, literature and waste

- Trash art. freeganism, style art-brut as a method, culture recycled,
- the phenomenon of "superfluous man" in Russian literature of A. S. Pushkin, M. Y. Lermontov, I.V. Turgenev, I. A. Goncharov, N.A. Dobrolyubov, D.I. Pisarev , A. I. Herzen, V. A. Giljarovsky and foreign classics (Victor Hugo, Balzac, Werber)

d) cinema, photo and waste

3) Socio-anthropological orientation. The purpose: To study the micro-micro-structuring practices of various communities.

- Classical works of M. Douglas R. Smith, Fraser (study cases notions of purity in small original communities).
- The team of authors of the study Yoruba tribe,
- Hugo Reynert and socio-anthropological aspect of studying waste reindeer
- culture dirty \ pure, dirty of Slavs (Anna Kushkova)
- Marco Armeyro and "outdoor science"
- studies included Elizabeth Royte about transportation and distribution of waste

4) Sociological studies of the global macro-processes. The purpose: a global sense of the problem of waste, the study of macro-structures.

a) The basis of the theory, global processes:

- theory of risk as a separate, O.Yanitsky (critical theory)
- Bauman and the concept of "junk culture"
- the consumption (Jean Baudrillard, de Graaf, Ilene A.)
- Social conflicts, wars and catastrophes as a source of production of intellectual, human and material waste (Charles Tilly, K.Pinnonemi, D. Ruchti, de Soto, J. Stiglitz, A. Yanitsky).

b) Stratification. Disputes about the phenomenon of exclusion.

- The phenomenon of "thrown out of society" (U. Beck, Bauman, Anthony Giddens, de Soto, P. Shtomka, A. Yanitsky)
- The concept of exclusion. The problem of "exclusion" (F. Borodkin)
- Culture of poverty, (O. Lewis, G. Myrdal, N. Manning, Tikhonov, G. Merdoll «underlass»).

c) Local theory.

- David Pellow and environment injustice
- Anna Davis and the geography of waste management
- K. Marx, Karl Polanyi - notes about capitalism, the bourgeoisie and the nature
- Competition of social communities (R. Park, R. Mackenzie, Mildred L., E. Burgess, H. Zorbaha.)

d) Researching major problem waste pickers risk- taking niches.

- Global networks of the waste pickers (Sonia Diaz, Catherine Millar, Cesar Rodriguez, Martin Medina, research organizations Wiego,, Govan, J. McGovern, K. Furedi,
- Local studies of communities of waste pickers Ch. Chegappa (Indian) Vietnamese studies waste pickers (Nguyen HTL, Chalin CG, Lam TM, Maclaren VW, as well. Manmohan Singh Gill, AmrajKaur, Shivani), Latin American waste pickers (C. Rodriguez, H. Herrera), a number of local geographical research communities of waste pickers.

The object orientation provides a general idea of the studies undertaken on a global scale with respect to the phenomenon of "waste culture", focusing on the social aspect, which becomes central to the formation of understanding how society relates and waste, whatever the discipline was not at the same priority. If social - philosophical orientation is spatial, constantly reinterpreted for the answer to that what the waste is, and the degree of physical and mental presence in the life of mankind, then follow directions - a study of specific interaction processes at the micro and macro level of social reality. Sociological studies on waste, particularly paying attention to the beginnings of stratification, poverty and theories of global risk. It is important to

prioritize the main provisions, which is based in the construction of a holistic approach. For example, studies of poverty linked spread global practice waste pickers community on one side and forming a special social-valuable niche in the general theory dedicated to junk culture, global inequalities in the management of waste - on the other, there biopolitical processes deployed.

As a practical social problem is to find a strategy for survival, where the waste and pollution has become one of the major risks in biosecurity, adopted the concept of sustainable development should serve as a guide, the main vector for the logical search for solutions. On the basis of the prerequisites to find solutions, we appeal to the series 1) the environmental aspects of a global format 2) try to answer the question "What the waste is?" as the ontological, phenomena 3) to find the problem risk- taking niches turn to micro-macro researches 4) based on the collected theoretical and empirical givens for forming an expanded, understanding of social issues, in terms of a holistic approach,.

I. Socio-ecological orientation

The global triune concept of sustainable development (environmental, economic and social) - a common human vector of development, its principles were formed in the 70 - years as the benchmark for development. In many respects, the concept of sustainable development is in tune with the ideas of Vernadsky. The main problem in the first stage of the concept - is to come to a rational use of natural resources. Its basis is not merely to implement the idea in many ways it has affected the organization and the genesis of the various disciplines related to the ecological and economic trends. In particular, the idea of a green economy, as opposed to a loss of natural resources, "brown", transforming the idea of life, and consciousness of the modern consumer [Bobylev, 2004: 66-80].

The history of the environment, "Nature and Power: A History of the environment" of Yoham Rodkau [Radkau, 2014], we see that the effects of environmental disasters is based on 1) the social basis, in an attempt to divide and produce the necessary economic growth and environment resources and nature always comes down to the question of power 2) the result of social and cultural structure of a particular society that created the disaster, expressed in beliefs; 3) invariably arise as a result of human interaction with the environment; 4) the paradigm of ecological consciousness is cyclical - "indifferent irrationality of" provoking and encounter people with catastrophe (impoverishment of the soil, massive fires, the lack of healthy forest areas resulting from cattle grazing, irrational use of original resources) is replaced by an increased attention to environmental and technical solutions for get rid of the problems. Waste

appear first in ecology as a result of resource extraction, in the process of separating the desired materials, the same applies to the production of objects and the scale of the disaster, this phenomenon is only in the second half of the twentieth century, when it is to ignore the consequences of production becomes impossible. However, the universal recipe green economy does not exist. Ecology is always a matter of political power, social movements - of the power structures. Although the ideology of the economy should be centrally ecologized, more important is the integration of resources of business, society and government, in relation to Russia this idea is supported by domestic experts, separately, as indicated by Georgy Safonov, they are not very capable of holistically allocate resources and upgrade the environment.

Highly detailed experience in dealing with waste management in Europe (and France in particular), are told in the translated into Russian book of Catherine de Silguy [Silguy, 2011]“The history of waste: From the Middle Ages to the present day, "published in 2011. The main conclusion to which the author comes: "We need a global approach, and it should be based on four principles:

- 1) The precautionary principle - to minimize emissions.
- 2) The principle of responsibility – polluter paying and as far as polluted.
- 3) the principle of security.
- 4) The principle of proximity - waste must be handled in the same place where they are produced. "

It is the first work of similar subjects, translated into Russian. Call a global approach is not accidental, even official legal documents relating to waste management in the world (the Basel Convention, the principle of Zero Waste, a lot of the United Alliance) provide a very clear orientation: these principles should apply globally, otherwise they are not effective.

Boris Rodoman [Rodoman, 2006] leading model, similar to the principles of the green economy. The author mentions that the market mechanism is likened to the social evolution of the race in an effort to overproduce, but you want to synchronize the consumption to the needs of not only human but also wildlife. There are three levels, which can be used to deal with the presence of the mass of waste:

- The generator of the waste generator. To do this, revise the whole cycle from production to waste because of its environmental friendliness at every stage, to adapt the small area of waste management
- At the level of the translator (transmitter) - pay attention to the quality of the areas that serve mediator (logistics, water supply, housing and utilities), particularly soiled machine line

- The recipient (recipient) - build a life and a living space, so to protect themselves from dirt, harmful chemicals, organize household environmental savings.

Urban managerialism - the theory of urban sociologist Paul Ray. He thought the city as a system of resource allocation, "manifested in identifiable ways of organizing urban space and inevitably leads to the systematic reproduction of social inequality. Resources - land, various kinds of capital, buildings (commercial, industrial, residential) and social resources (infrastructure, recreational facilities, health and education). Scientists have suggested that the way to understand the logic ways of organizing urban space lies in the way of studying the motivation and ideology of the "city management" - employees of municipalities, planners, developers, investors, bankers, realtors and others. It is they who decide when and what will build. Crenson mentions that the city government and political parties are united to pursue a policy of not addressing the urban public and are therefore not taking into account the social interests.

Igor Smirenyy [Smirenyy, 2007] tells about the history of packaging. The leaves of plants were a Temporary "Proto-pack" that could be used, then long-term role packaging plays adaptations of clay, so there, and household items. Together with the increasing complexity of the original technology development items, mixing various materials became more difficult not only household items, but arise along with the growth of industrialization package which primarily needed for transportation.

The paper examines the impact of Kathleen Millar [Millar, 2014]]temporary, casual earnings the example of the famous catadores in Brazil, reveals "savings garbage." Summarizing such earnings as a manifestation of the consequences of neoliberalism in the global economy because of its mass and emerged in several parts of the developing countries, it concludes that the "unstable work destabilizes the everyday life" in the same way is also true: a penchant for maintaining unstable life provokes this phenomenon as "a kind of postfordist work" on the rights of his membership of the interethnic scale. Philippe Bourgeois pays special attention not to the mass distribution of the work, and the constant return to this work. Polygon, involves not only the ability to control their primary informal earnings, but also an opportunity to provide themselves with the necessary, though inferior things. The shadow economy, which is subject to the principles of the whole system of the world's landfills, creates a "form of resistance to degrading and burdensome aspect of wage labor", ie. e. the opposition between wage labor and work in a landfill is an advantage of the latter, therefore, and receives a huge spread in the world politics of waste management. Initially, based on the normative concepts of free activity, and despite the overall risk to health, injury, and their consequences (and these injuries are an

important collective narrative), combined in cooperation in the search for the collective regulation of working structure. Millar explains the high level of cooperation and the value of freedom of the opposition to the profound consequences of Brazilian slavery, which was canceled in 1888, and turned into a disdain for slavery work. Unemployed residents of favelas, legally pursued, become an outcast in the eyes of the man in the street, but in his own quest trying to find a new identity - self-sufficient and responsible activity.

Stephen Connor [Connor, 2013] holds an interesting observation: stressing that waste is always a consequence of any activity, and they are especially active in the work itself produce, as the reverse side of the remainder of any art form, it refers to the early stages of the structure of society - sedentary and nomadic his species. If the waste is not settled societies are moving, they are not allocated, if they do not appear to interact with them skills, there is a succession of domestic practices. In nomadic societies are reversed: they are dynamic distribution of waste, used to leave them "behind", does not generate the practice of their savings. However, the spread of cities and the subsequent process of industrialization process is broken - we are sedentary with "nomadic" attitude to waste.

Alberto Duman [Duman, 2006]. In recent years, the term "green economy" applies in the context of political debate for its recovery from the global economic downturn in 2008, the exact meaning of the term (and related concepts such as the "green growth" and "new green deal") was a matter for the discussion. Nevertheless, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) has recently developed a more precise operational definition. According to the UNEP (2011a): Green economy is such only when it leads to an improvement in the context of social equity while significantly reducing environmental risks and lack of resources. Green economy can be seen as a holistic approach, and as a social tool, and how resource-saving strategy. In a green economy, the growth in income and employment should be determined by public and private investments that reduce carbon emissions and environmental pollution factor, increases the efficiency of the use of energy and resources, and prevents the loss of biodiversity and ecosystem services. These investments need to be catalyzed and supported by targeted public expenditure policy, reform and change management.

Key elements include:

- Improving the material and energy efficiency and, ultimately, the use of income and power economic growth;
- transition from linear to cyclical economy, reproducible
- transition from non-renewable to renewable resources.

Martha Alter Chen [Chen, 2012] Marginal culture has traditionally generates the way of the economy, which today is called the informal sector or "informal economy". The Informal Economy in the context of any critical social status, especially on centralizing its environmental component, is formed on the principles of uncertainty composition of its workforce, in a variety of risks, based on self-organizing chaotic emerging cooperatives. Given the population only wastepickers (1-2% of the population according to World Bank, 2008), as well as the fact that any "transitional" marginalized communities experiencing symptoms and fits at some point in a "contract" of informal activities, in view of the scale and permanence These niche should be considered only an equal element in the current economic theories and systems, taking into account, first of all, it was his "transitional" state. In the future, it is particularly important to use these principles in drawing up a green economic strategy, where it must acquire a new dimension: the "shadow" sector must be culturally oriented social - directed sector affected by the formation of environmental skills of one of the first because of its high risk- taking, growing inside and outside, and thereby contributing to the overall global critical condition.

1) payments for ecosystem services, focus on saving environment.

2) the introduction of a system of indicators of sustainable development (Nature intensity and energy intensity of economic growth, specific indicators of pollution)

3) Eco-culture and education system

"According to the definition given in the reports of the UNEP Green Economy is defined as an economy that improves the welfare of the people and ensure social justice and at the same time significantly reduces the risks to the environment and its degradation" (towards "green economy": Pathways to Sustainable Development and Poverty Eradication .

The term "prekariat" coined sociology professor at the University of Munich Ulrich Beck. Prekariat it is all unreliable, unstable, unstable, provided at the time of employment, and the people who imposed this form of employment. Legal (quasi-judicial) clearance of such defective, contrary to the rights of an employee in an employment relationship, which may be terminated by the employer at any time, called "prekaritet."

First, to ensure market demand for natural goods and related characteristics of the goods, a request of consumers (including population and state), suggesting the role of the human factor, based on the priority of increasing the value of nature and man. The second thing you need - to enable the work mechanism of competition. Over the years, the discussion about large and diverse informal economy is crystallized in four main schools of thought as to its nature and composition, as follows:

- dualistic school sees the informal sector of the economy including in marginal activities, different from and not related to the formal sector, which provide income-poor and social protection in times of crisis. Dualists argue that informal operators are excluded from the current economic opportunities because of the imbalance between population growth and modern industrial employment and a mismatch between the skills of the people and the modern structure of economic opportunities.
 - Structuralists' school sees the informal economy, subordinate economic units (micro-enterprises), and workers who are used to reduce input and labor costs and thus improve the competitiveness of large capitalist firms. Structuralists' argue that the nature of capitalism / capitalist drives the growth of informality: specifically, attempts formal firms to reduce labor costs and improve the competitiveness of firms and the official reaction to the power of organized labor, government regulation of the economy (in particular, tax and social legislation); global competition; and in the process of industrialization (in particular, offshore industry, subcontracting chain, and flexible specialization).
 - Legalist school sees the informal sector consists of "brave" micro-entrepreneurs who have decided to work informally to avoid the cost, time and effort, and that official registration of property rights need to convert their assets into a legally recognized assets. lawyers argue that the legal system is hostile causes employment to work informally with their informal extra-legal norms.
 - Voluntarists' school also focuses on informal entrepreneurs who consciously seek to avoid regulations and taxes, do not blame the cumbersome registration procedures. voluntarists argued that informal operators prefer to operate informally, after weighing the cost-benefit of informality with respect to formalities. Voluntarists' argued that informal operators prefer to operate informally, after weighing the cost-benefit of informality with respect to formalities.
- The informal economy and labor should be recognized as a broad base of global economy and workforce. Both informal enterprises and informal labor force need to be evaluated for their contribution and are integrated into economic planning and legal frameworks.

Most of the economic and social policies affect directly or indirectly on the informal economy. The aim is to monitor the impact, both positive and negative, of different strategies for different categories of the labor force in the informal and address the negative effects.

It requires recognizing and addressing the fact that the implications for employment growth to work its way through the markets, policies and institutions (social, economic, political) different ways to formal and informal enterprises; Formal and informal workers; and for women and men in each of these categories. What should be most important, this new economic paradigm: a

hybrid model of the economy, covering both traditional and modern, small scale and large scale, informal and formal. This allows the waste pickers to access waste and bids for solid waste management contracts for large corporations as well.

Global cases. Analysis of the critical state of the waste. This primarily will focus on the "Great Pacific Garbage Patch", explore the many environmental authorities, and represents significant waste management in the geography of world-wide catastrophe. It was formed about 1950 years -x. the last century, just as the era of growth of plastic products, rise of mass production. Circulation, formed as a result of submarine and upper reaches, falls into the ocean causes the debris to circulate inside the ocean, and the spot is mostly made of plastic, which is part of the poison marine life, taking the trash for food, and then the fish gets to the person on the table. According to the researchers of the Institute 5 – cycles [Tanabe, S.; Watanabe, M., Minh, T.B., Kunisue, T., Nakanishi, S., Ono, H. and Tanaka, H., 2004], the substances contained in the plastic and decaying garbage can change hormonal marine inhabitants and man, and thus lead to the infertility.

Floating waste from the water can absorb organic pollutants, including polychlorinated biphenyls, polyaromatic hydrocarbons and dihlordifeniltrihiormetilmetan. Dimensions of pollution are uncertain, the account goes on indefinite millions of tons, and waste can be found virtually anywhere in the ocean where there is evidence whirlpools contribute add and tsunami that occurred recently in Japan. Usually waste are small pieces of different materials dispersed throughout the ocean, so the informal name floating dump - "garbage soup." According to Charles Moore, 80% of the garbage comes from land-based sources, 20% is emitted from the decks of ships in the open more³. How huge area of ocean was contaminated? Here we are faced with a number of factors. The main sources of pollution - South Asia, where widespread habit to throw garbage near the house and into the water bodies as waste treatment in these countries largely entrusted to the conscience and the possibility of citizens. This behavior does not punished, and the neighborhood becomes waste. The most interesting is that these are water and sewage pond for fishing and food at the same time. In addition, waste help people survive. Millions of poor people around the globe, especially in developing countries (Russia, China, part of the United States and Latin America is also affected) trying to survive by selling garbage that they collect in landfill sites or their own streets.

Sociobiology.

The founder is considered to be an American zoologist E. Wilson, who in his work "Sociobiology: A New Synthesis" (1975), "Biophilia" (1984) has formulated the main provisions on the basis of natural sciences and humanities. He made an attempt to analyze some forms of

human social behavior similar to the behavior of animals. He argued that human behavior is caused by natural selection, and genetically determined; and the main problem is sociobiology in certain genes that affect the behavior of individuals.[Cavalli-Sforza, L. and M. Feldman,1981] According to Wilson, the main problem is the question of the existence of a genetic predisposition of the individual occurrences in a given class or social group, and the performance of their social roles. In addition to Wilson's sociobiology problems involved many scientists, for example, D. Beresh, Charles Lumsden, J. Smith, William Hamilton.

Sociobiologists believe that human behavior as well as the behavior of the animal can be to some part be explained as the result of natural selection. Application category of evolutionary theory and, in particular the concept of natural selection has been criticized as the dominant force of human behavior is considered to be culture.

Sociobiology is based on three basic concepts: 1) the concept of "evolutionarily stable strategies" (Smith), the main thesis of which is the provision that prevailing in the population of conduct can not be replaced by others if they should be most of the individuals. The behavior of members of the population, deviating from accepted norms and has no benefit to the population of the properties in the population is not fixed; 2) the concept of "inclusive fitness" (Hamilton), the essence of which is that in each generation contribute not only to individual parents, but also the next of kin that contribute to the genotype of the population; 3) The concept of altruistic behavior, which consists in the ability of the individual to sacrifice himself for the benefit of another individual or the species.

2. Socio-philosophical direction. The ontological meaning of the waste

2.1 Concepts.

The concept of purity is closely woven into the ecological representation of a community, where deep cultural roots originate in the justification of biological interaction between organisms. Perceptions of environmental subjects, the development of biological beliefs (which we can highlight the consideration of - a distinctive local societies) include the idea of "how the living world." Influence of social context, the formation of ideas - the central procedure in structuring ecological picture of the world of man.

Cleanliness (catharos), according to Plato - a cleansing as a value distinction, purity contemplation of the subject, as well as the purity of the mind and beauty. It is this concept and cognitive point of view (as a method of knowledge) and how physical condition, and the spirit, the body opposable. He thinks the state and the city clean only when it is not only free of dirt, but spared the social filth - criminals, "noble" people. All regulatory positions, ranging from sovereign and ending sentinels should contribute to the purification of severe state of evil,

defamatory, their cleaning function - a vocation. And nature, and people tend to separate the beautiful from the ugly, the healthy from the unhealthy. The spiritual and physical cleansing should observe any individual wishing to conceive being.

Another difficulty presented in the Greek tradition, was the Hippocratic treatise "On Airs, waters and places", "On a healthy way of life" which he wrote in his work on the rules of keeping the body and environment clean. In ancient Greece, it was a well organized system of waste water sewage, as well as in ancient Egypt. Care of the Lord was placed on the shoulders of slaves, cleanliness - and in terms of health and in terms of the ruling class, was quite doubtful category, slaves were a priori doomed to work Zolotarev and to be the personification of slops. Although attacks plague and epidemics occurred here, dishwasher, fecal matter - all that from the viewpoint of aesthetic self-awareness brought discomfort, it was unacceptable.

Christian tradition has interesting ideas about the physical and spiritual pollution, poses on cultural orientation. Self-flagellation and asceticism manifested in the denial of bodily purification practices, where the accumulation of dirt and secretions become a manifestation of martyrdom. This study appeared in the interweaving of hygiene concepts of the time, where frequent cleaning of the body was considered dangerous to health and the right orientation in space \ unnecessary, dangerous \ Security was due to olfactory perception and so-called concept of miasma. Culture of the body and spread to the feeling of space, clear boundaries dirty \ net in closely populated habitats were accompanied by blurred experimentally and contamination of soil and water that has repeatedly contributed to the spread of deadly epidemics.

Dominique Laporte [Laport, 2010] in his "History of shit" creates bad smells ideology, describing them sweet and bad origin, he brings cultural restrictions and prohibitions. He believes that the process of purification is always extended to all cultural values - it means not only cleaning the streets, but also the creation of etiquette, the visual space. Its main metaphor, the idea is that every culture contains a cleaning space, gutter, which "makes it a product entering into gold", ie. There is a "turnover" of sewage. His second argument - the one who controls waste and excrement, has power. The third thesis - "at the heart of any production is the production of sewage" - quite controversial, in our opinion the judgment relating to the subject they modern times, but in most cases are characterized by industrial production. His sociology sewage separates the private sphere, t. E. The submission of hygiene parcels and intimacy, and it forms the social distance and the ethics of attention to smells, the threshold of sensitivity and rejection of the other. He believes that civilization is ambiguous in relation to the waste, on the one hand, it wants to get rid of them, on the other - they are necessary fertilizers. Influence of

location and situation to determine the ratio of waste. Duality of waste that is their only permanent feature due desire benefits.

Gerard Bertolini [Bertolini, 2007], a sociologist and economist, in his essay "Rubbish - it's the other" is trying to determine the value of garbage and waste in the life of mankind throughout its history. The essay is largely philosophical nature, but in the meantime shows us how the mass consciousness of the people in relation to the various forms of waste formed until now. It brings the concept of waste under the excrement of household and industrial waste, as well as dead bodies. At the same time, he relates the action of waste disposal with the actions that are specific to the treatment of human waste "coffin - trash, hearse - garbage truck, burial - garbage in a landfill or disposal; cremation - incineration; Bank of organs for transplantation, extracted from the corpse - separate collection of waste; cannibalism - recycling".

Bertolini insists that the concept of "waste" somehow similar to the concept of excrement that negatively and disgust are perceived by others, as well as everything that can be with them indirectly connected - the people who are related to waste management, as well as things that They concern them. So, trash becomes "defiled" dangerous and ugly. The scientist uses the psychoanalytic concept of Freud where maturing person passes a certain stage, including those related to the attitude towards their own wastes. We know that some specialize in community waste, and strive to disarm themselves of their presence in everyday life, make it hidden. In general, the culture needs to conceal allocation, but before such a conviction is formed, a person can somehow perceive waste - do not know that there are dirty and clean, why excrement disgusted.

Drinking waste (in the sense that offered Bertolini) can trigger mental illness, due to the fact that he defines as the repressed unconscious of consciousness, presenting him essentially mental garbage, which contains something that can cause adverse reactions. Bertolini driving any domestic action to defecation: taking out the trash - "removal of slag." Dump - refers in his understanding with the feminine, and the publicity of the landfill equates it to "public woman". Neuroses and fears associated with the waste management (in the broadest sense) - a group of pathologies tends to accumulate things, the other - to use, dirty, and the third is expressed in the excessive love for purity and pathological fear of dirt and, in principle, the desire for a distinctive luxury.

In opposition to them Bertolini gives an example of the art of sublimation - the list of people who have turned trash into art: Van Gogh, Klein, Arman, Dufresne, Deschamps, Jean-Paul Sartre; second-hand as a means of self-expression. "Absolutely," there is no waste - says Bertolini, most negative attitude to waste, it also attracts other - out of necessity, out of a desire

to resist the consumer society, or of a special sense of beauty. Hiding and rejecting waste society produces phobia and pathology, puts stringent negative difference between me and not me, t. E. I can be clean, "their", while others - not "I," it is - dirty, unknown, garbage. Separate waste collection is a relative panacea - it allows you to work with waste, and feel responsible to see that the result of the processing can be positive. This comparison makes it clear that domestic practice largely forms the consciousness, "orders" is not only objects, but also thinking about the subject.

Translating the social level of the value of waste, it is rubbish as the "wrong side of progress," quite rightly observed that the culture of waste in terms of the high percentage of recycling and to organize the collection, recycling and level of activity and interest in virtually all citizens and business entities characterized for countries with a high standard of living and well-organized economy. Bertolini is dismissed as a social "brink", where there are marginal - from the dregs of the dregs, and this simple pattern we will see throughout the history of mankind.

J. Scalman [Scalman, 2005] conducted the study of the concept of waste in the works of different directions in the history of philosophical thought, as well as on the analysis of waste in the reproductions of famous paintings, artistic images. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word "waste" originally comes into English in the fifteenth century from the old French language, first used to refer to food waste, and later there are other common values: 1. The animal by-products used for food production inside. 2. The rejection of the whole, dirt. 3. Waste literature, art. These are the main meaning of garbage summarizes the results of the desired separation of the unwanted; valuable from worthless. But at the same time meant "dust should go to ashes, litter to litter," pointing out that socially acceptable theory can not be here, because the status of things is transformed into space over time. Scalman enters and tries to explain such a thing as junkspace, a super modern space available for neglected, unidentified company or not found its identity, and as an example of the ideal type, he cites the metaphor of purgatory, but that same space in our century surprisingly similar to virtual reality : here there are events which involve very definite consequences, however, is embossed in the capacity of many developing countries, the information field. Such property junkspace in its non-locality, i.e. the presence of both nowhere and everywhere. Following this definition, Scalman says "dejunking", the opposite pole, and the process of forming reality. Dejunking - this is the future and the present, we are committed to plan, organize. The closest symbol is an example of purgatory, which the author sees in transit points, expressed in everyday life : morgue, clinic, administrative regulatory mechanisms, refugee camps, as a whole - a transitional state.

Part 5. Social practices in management and policy

From concepts Scalman goes to the most diverse philosophical trends of the past and the present. An interesting interpretation of the ideas of John Locke in his ideas about what kind of Locke priode- nature (and human relation to the land) is strongly reflected in the Calvinist view, where humanity is God. For example, in a commentary on the Book of Genesis, John Calvin mentions that one of the objectives of God for mankind - is the preservation of nature and its careful use for future generations. "Let each one thinks he is God in all things, that he has" nothing is more controversial order of nature than to consume life in eating, drinking and sleeping, while we do not expect anything to create this "this understanding relates to the ownership of the land proper use of nature. Turning to the topic of creation and use, Scalman goes to the production of tools for creating massive wealth. Our technology is a word derived from the Greek word *Techne*, which means that systematic and skill, craft, art, where creativity is opposed to man-nature (*phusis*). *Techne* is a "paradigm of knowledge that gives us a way of controlling, social institutions, suggesting stability ". This brings Scalman to Kant, who wrote about the basics of the *Metaphysics of Morals*:" Now the man is the ability with which it distinguishes itself from all the other things influencing and being influenced by the object that causes his thinking. "The combination of intelligence and differentiation in the ability and the ability to manipulate natural materials ensures that human knowledge can develop specific procedures to more effectively achieve said stability. And that this division It takes place between man and the natural environment, when the word "technology" is understood in terms of its etymology deeper than we used to think, where he is a creative person, influencing the nature, creating out of it. Possession nature - a very important aspect of the formation of the self, as the impact the determination of individual freedom, awareness of their own natural and closest resources. Citing Marx, who tied the "impersonal" forces of industrialization, lead to the division of the mass production of its corrosive effect on human potential, and that it led to "alienation." And excessive differentiation forms the debris and chaos - there is a transformation of a formless uncomprehended in meaningful. On the central concepts of order and identity - fundamental to modern society - can be described in terms of what Slavoj Zizek sees as an act of self-creating " indivisible remainder which results in the creation of social and cultural coherence, sense of communication, which is the ratio of the values of life " .

Jean Baudrillard [Baudrillard, 2006] in his "City and hatred" is hatred as occurring "in front of us a holistic social phenomenon, which is reflected certain universal process - the process of concentration of the population and increase the production of waste." Hate - the mother of violence, contempt, oppression, and hence emissions, the process of forming the niche of rejection. "The concept of waste should be modified and extended. Tangible, quantitative

scum formed as a result of the concentration of industry and population in large cities - it's just a sign of quality, human, structural waste resulting from undertaken on a global scale attempts to perfect programming, artificial simulation of the world, specialization and centralization of functions (modern metropolis in an obvious way It symbolizes the process) and spread around the world these artificial constructs. "

Like Bauman, Baudrillard focuses on the production process - in the creative process, the use of materials produced a huge amount of waste, which is obtained from substances required, and from the place of production - "desert". However, the process of production and consumption becomes psychological. The Company, in an attempt to build, modernize itself, and seeking efficiency, creates a compelling and human emissions. Baudrillard writes about human, informational, social, intellectual desert, where the desert represents metaphorically thrown - millions of thoughts, people, things - Ghost-towns, ghost-people. The growth of investment and the growth rate of the market, corporate, global economy Bauman calls the production of waste, where the main element - a statistician, gear, as opposed to the exchange, the traditional, slow the economy, which is aimed at specific distribution of goods and the construction of high-quality interdependence of people. "People are getting the dregs of their own waste - that is characteristic of a society indifferent to their own values, a society that pushes itself to indifference and hatred.". Evidence of convenience, accessibility is good cities generates a certain biological and psychological mechanisms of rejection and indifference from misunderstanding a certain part of the population "should strive" to lack a guide to self-development of the existential problems of man. Urbanization in the early Chicago School Research clearly identified increased aggression, a greater percentage of total depression, addiction to a single way of life in the cities, as a communicative space activity centers are built in this way, this is their task.

Boris Zhukov in his article "weed problem" wrote about such rituals as the distinction and labeling of wastes of different social boundaries "Sometimes it is said that the" threshold of the apartment starts right country "- meaning it is the absence in Russia of real communities and municipalities", a certain aura of post-Soviet fragmentation and the need to observe the new private borders, it is in the degree of mental attitudes are on the constant search for a place in getting rid of the unnecessary. "Bottle in the window, bull at his feet, plastic ware in the bushes - it is like the beginning of the development of the territory, marking its presence in it.". But the territory, as mentioned Boris Zhukov, not "draw" - it belongs to the state, an individual, municipality, she becomes such in cause comfortable in the eyes of those to whom it is unprofitable to clean.

2.2 The olfactory researching

According to E. Condillac [Aromaty i zapahi v kul'ture, 2010], who in his treatise on the sensations it gives an imaginary statue in the first place and smell it explains that the sense of smell is the least of all the cognitive feeling inherent in man, but history shows that the sense of smell also passes several stages of involvement in consciousness. In the era of the pressures on people's minds, it is a miasma epistemologically effective because it helps to separate the dangerous from the rest, in the era of flourishing hygienists and perfumed products carries a high aesthetic value. Good health and safety can not be associated with a bad smell. In an age when the mass of feces everywhere plagued the people, their sense of smell could be blunted. "The judgment of the beautiful - a judgment of taste", i. e. always deeply personal, but from a phenomenological point of view, such an interpretation is misplaced, the smell - a priori relative category, it carries only the necessary information olfactory properties of the object, but the judgment does not stand out, along with the smell, and the conclusions about the smell and the "good" or "bad" - the lot of reason. Opinion on the subject imposed smelling always interconnected with the two sides - the dominant culture and individual perception.

The Christian tradition of martyrdom is interrupted only with the discovery of Pasteur bacteriological contamination of nature, which makes the concept of miasma neakutaolnoy. Gradually changing and European mentality in relation to the body and living space, rooted clear dirty space \ purified \ apartment.

The value for the smell of the subject is not so small as it may seem at first glance. There are individual likes and dislikes, says Simmel, but there are the smells of social classes, it is built on the olfactory perception of "Personal contact between educated people and workers, who are often so actively promoted as an important factor of modern social progress - the very thing already taken educated as an ethical ideal, the convergence of two worlds "in which one does not know how the other lives" - is impossible simply because of the invincibility of the olfactory impressions ... to give and sacrifice they have agreed to a thousand times rather than physically in contact with the people covered "noble labor later." The social question is not only a question of ethics, but also the question of the nose. "Man builds his environment primarily pushing unpleasant.

Z. Freud [Aromaty i zapahi v kul'ture, 2010] believed that the role of smell decreases as becoming more and more a man erectus, replacing the olfactory to visual instinct. The desire for purity arises from a desire to destroy the feces, but it only appears in adulthood, small children, he said, do not carry the smell of excrement unpleasant until they inspire is that they are harmful.

"Untidiness in any manifestation seems incompatible with civilization. We also require a person to maintain the purity of his body. ... The same concerns about. He, as well as clean, apply only to human affairs. However, while the purity and is not intended in nature, order, by contrast, it originated from. The order is a kind of coercion, the repetition of which, if the rules are set once and for all, determines when, where and how to do something; Thus, in similar circumstances, a person is relieved of hesitation and indecision. Beauty, cleanliness and order without doubt a special place among the requirements for civilization. No one will deny that they are as important to life as well as control over the forces of nature, or some other factors, which we met. "

2.3. The philosophy of art, literature, visual art and waste

In general, the literature on "superfluous men" may be mentioned are infinitely many. The fact of the narrative - is against the ordinary phenomenon it describes the trajectory of a special occasion, literature is based on an event, and the special character of specific characters, , and already it, generally similar and discarded everyday reality context. However, deep social phenomena are not always discussed. In the heyday of the XIX century theme superfluous people stood in the works of Ivan Turgenev "The Diary of a Superfluous Man" (1850), a deeper and more widely discussed social context AI Herzen "Very dangerous" (1859) and "The extra people and zhelcheviki" (1860). Lermontov, Goncharov, N.A. Dobrolyubov, D.I.Pisarev continue this line and topics in almost every work. Famous characters often embody the dream of Russian individualism bordering outsider, and in a category gets anyone in the wrong place, featuring: a landowner who lost the meaning of existence of boredom, a revolutionary, an emigrant, well painted in the fate of Alexander Herzen. Although this phenomenon is deeply we can not say that this is the central theme for all the classic Russian writers of the time, a special shade of the genre. Gilyarovskii engaged everyday life of the capital at the end of the XIX century, his work "People from" stressed social problems and monitoring the discarded segments of society, raised hitherto neglected topic. "Terrible time - midnight in a jungle forest. Incomparably more horrible and disgusting midnight in the slums of the city, in the slums of brilliant, crowded city. "Tale" former people ". The faces of the workers, convicts with the rejection of the time thin, any hint of otherness that distinguishes being heroes and social movements, creating a layer of "Les Miserables", because in fact, some of the islands unwavering uncertainty created by the community around. Russian and Russian ordinariness of life can not be presented without the phenomenon of excess, to contrast the values sought by the general vector of the company, because it was apparent excess is recognized by most. The fatal hopelessness, mundane, and do not portend changes as brand name continues the theme of

Russian Literature of the Russian mentality in the swing of traditionalism and individualism, bordering on rebellion and Christian morality.

There are classic and modern literature cases. In the novel "Les Miserables people" Victor Hugo describes the life of the lower social strata in the era of the Restoration, just something in common with the already mentioned Russian theme, however, is not present so dire predictions reality: through the knowledge of the lower characters are moving to a knowledge of the true good intentions and charity in first of all, this epic novel is built as motbviruyuschy component of identity formation. "Brilliance and poverty courtesans (The Human Comedy)" Balzac opens experiences, which did not say in polite society about prostitutes. Bernard Werber in a fantasy novel describes Cassandra has a harmonious and coherent society waste pickers where outsiders are described as talented, people have lost the way.

Filmography. You can cite the example of a film about the debris and the draft Vik Muniz "Wasteland", film "Garbage Dreams" about ZABBALEEN in Egypt. About garbage is a mass of individual documentary "Trashed". The channel TLC existed a series of programs "buried alive", dedicated to the people who were too lazy to throw waste in the apartment, just burying them. In domestic traditions were "Promised Heaven", "Dump", filmed in 2014.

Waste in the art. Trash-art: the art of trash. The theme of "the things of the things." Recently, designers, artists, advertising companies are increasingly using waste in creative activity, acting to promote eco-fashion, economical and safe consumption. In drawing up a special ethics significant subject in the art of the use of fact - the most important element, it competes with traditional materials. Originally sung by the avant-garde aesthetic of the waste, which beat the problem of waste, and seeking new ways of expression in the revival of the materials, but now is catching what environmentally friendly, t. E. Non-toxic and easy processability. In 1918 Kurt Schwitters first created from waste material cigarette wrappers picture.

Vik Muniz became famous social portraits: first sugar he put the portraits of children working in the sugar plantations, wanting to draw attention to the problem on a global scale, and then the world was the importance of his project wasteland with the same film about life in Brazil musorosobirateley landfill Jardim Gramaho. Things that are both dramatic components of working life and the basis of the formation of identity and everyday life develop in their faces.

Tim Noble (Tim Noble), and Sue Webster (Sue Webster), created a series of piles of rubbish so that when light is incident on the wall appeared a shadow indicating any image of the object. The point indicating the dichotomy and unimportant - at a certain angle, we can see only a small mountain, on the other - the image. Ha Schult (Ha Schult) waste materials from building

houses, work Doctor Evermore building statues, statuettes resembling astronauts wanting to bring the problem of waste sent into space.

Catherine de Silguy [de Silguy, 2011] spoke about the phenomenon of "gaming the transformation of waste." Subject to the following events:

- freeganism - from free - «free, free" and vegan - «veganism"). Lifestyle, denies the principles of consumerism, minimize economic participation, consciously focusing on the scraps, discarded clothes and preferring to use things from the dumpster. Originated in the United States, distributed in Europe, there are supporters in Russia. Subculture of "secondary people" expands.
- Second-hand - the wrong side of the fashion industry is not only a lot of fans of avant-garde, old-fashioned, just the poor and the fans to profit more cheaply. Now, as the industry quality sekondhend already were in vogue things becoming popular for lovers of fashion, hunters values.
- style art - Brut (Jean Dyubuffe, Andre Breton) - fundamentally unprofessional art originates in the work of the mentally ill and aesthetics waste peculiar therapy.
- Fashion for secondary materials as the value of reproduction, the revival of things extends not only to clothes, but also on the architecture cases where the houses are built from scrap materials.

3. Socio-anthropological orientation. Micro-structuring.

Mary Douglas: Purity and Danger. The classic work of a famous anthropologist until now does not lose relevance. Desecration in public life is found in its view, on two levels - instrumental (interference of people against each other) and expressive (pollution as a symbol). In culture, we always passively accept the concept of hygiene, which modern society changes with the scientific and everyday knowledge. "In our view the idea of sacredness narrowed to the point that the net should be sacred" [Douglas, 1992], but in primitive cultures the sacred - is too general concept, "more than a ban," which protects the sacred from the profane. Holy and impure are often mixed to social structure (holy liquid from washing of the feet of the elders that let in a circle, the sacred cow feces) through the desecration of - use of "unsanitary" discharge the sacred object connected and marked the sacred and the secular. And Fraser and Robert Smith confirmed that "primitive man does not distinguish between the sacred and the unclean"[Douglas, 1992]. Proponents of the theory of evolution in agreement that a clear distinction between pure and impure is a new stage in the development of mankind.

Pure and impure is the language of symbols. M. Douglas cites examples from the book Levitt, dietary requirements of different religions, where the meat of animal origin can be eaten (because they have split hooves and horns, while others can't because they are "bad and dirty").

Researchers give many interpretations of the requirements, then bowing to the fact that it is the adjustment mechanism, without the possibility of explaining, in principle, to the discretion of the management of washed - cannot eat pork because pig eats garbage). Brahmanism people Aven, following the example of M. Douglas, strictly regulated limited notions of purity (in this case meaning - clean, cleaned body), only in this case, there are three state of purity - a clean, mean, dirty. In contact with a person with a messy state, pure man becomes dirty, medium - dirty - and unclean. It is necessary to wash before each meal, there is a list of objects and actions that lead to impurity, there are complex relationships between people, in order to maintain purity, because even the saliva released during a meal, according to them, can make a person unclean.

By M. Douglas, there are differences between the European and primitive culture:

- 1) Health - case of aesthetics, not related to religion
- 2) The current understanding of the dirty originates in the 19th century when they were discovered pathogens
- 3) Dirt - this ordering of the social structure, that is, "Things are not in place" - boots on the dining table, unwashed dishes.

"Our behavior regarding sewage - is a reaction, and rejects the idea of any items that do not meet, and contrary to our classifications"[Douglas, 1992] - is a "residual category" throw out the rules, a natural filter of perception. Primitive - undifferentiated, progress - a differentiable. Where there is dirt, there is a system. "

The body - a structure tends to ordering. All bodily fluids are marginal and cross border body. In every culture its own special list of risk related to the spin-off, may be particularly bright example of India, where each caste is on the scale of purity and those who are in contact with the secretions, are lower than those who do not "get their hands dirty"

Marco Armiero [Armeiro, 2008] shared risks and pollution on the visible and invisible, where the latter can be evaluated only by specialists. He observes in the fight against pollution, even if it's mountains of waste and they are visible to the naked eye, are always necessary professional tools, and specialization in order to prove the fact of their toxicity. Referring to W. Beck, he opposes the population as opposed to the experts as the main carriers of the risk, as they do not have the appropriate level of competence, and can't know whether their actions are harmless or not. Seeing a certain level of contamination, they are grouped together to combat environmental inequalities, but in terms of pressure on the government policies are not always able to adequately demonstrate and convey their demands. Those claims and evidence, which are formed as empirical evidence Armiero calls the "local knowledge", "outdoor science» (street knowledge). Street Science is closely connected with the conflict on the basis of environmental

justice; the conflict of popular environmental awareness forged activists mixed "traditional" view, experience (narrative history of interaction with the environment), and scientific findings. Street Science is born out of opposition to the official science and its experts; if there was trust, there would be no need for promoting ways of "knowing". However, the confrontation with what is called Funtowicz and Ravetz (1993), "normal science" should not be confused with the abandonment of scientific knowledge in general, "as it performs the function of justice. Those with the function to measure the required parameters of the medium part of the opposition to the rest of the experts belonging performances by a group of activists makes himself an "activist." However, the scientist, the example 1) culture and ecology of small nationalities, ethnic and cultural values which are mixed views with ideas about the environment 2) as an example of small local communities, argues that such clashes are always a conflict between traditional ecological knowledge and "universal" science. The overall conclusion of the study, however, on the side of the activists: they can properly pose the problem, noted the contradiction, and to act within the "accepted universal" science.

Anthropological discourse analysis of interaction with the waste inside the family cooperatives Yoruba peoples in Ile-Ife in south western Nigeria. Waste perceived as a complex mixture of various substances and items, only some of which are inherently hazardous to health. Household waste and recycling remains a problem in many cities of the Yoruba, but there are differences in the magnitude of the problem in different regions [Adjani, 2011]. However, some scientists have confirmed that the phenomenon of waste in most societies - it is a social problem, and attempts were made to link the various demographic, psychological, social and cultural factors in behavior in relation to household waste. Studies of waste management plans (Derek, gray, Giusti, 2002), the problem of recycling (Biswas, Licata, Mckee, Pullig and Daughtridge, 2000), improved management labour of waste (Dolgen, Alpaslan and Serifoglu 2003) and education of citizens on waste management, as well as social business, based on the MSW showed widespread culture of poverty in the cities of Yoruba, the degradation of the environment [Ajani 2011] . Wasteland and employees are perceived as a useful extra-genetic resource in the environment. Waste management policy, which includes a comprehensive subjective norms perceived behavioral control, public awareness, environmental influences on behavior. In the culture of the Yoruba there is the concept of "Aton", a synonym ejected. This study investigated the phenomenon of discourse ATON among family networks. "ATON" could not exist if people Yoruba not built the concept of system, and if it had not been part of their everyday life. By definition, local residents' waste includes dead animals, defecation and other debris, which is located in certain places. "It is a common understanding of the waste. However,

civilized discourse and the construction of dumps begins with the word "Aton", which respondents described as "a place for the end product useless," met and references to religious interpretation "God decides which should be located unnecessary." The community was able to distinguish three levels the concept of "Aton"

1. ATON as a description of the individual - a person close to the unsanitary conditions, mental invalid, fallen, gone mad, the elderly, infirm people

2. ATON as descriptions scattered family - family conflicts, flawed, at home with mystical curses

3. ATON as a description of the nation. people, society, or the state can be "ATON" because of the nature of the lawlessness of the people, the same applies to corruption, neglect of nature. For example, mentioned that Nigeria remains a dumping ground for obsolete equipment

Hugo Reinert. Rethinking waste in the context of the industrial category in modern Sami reindeer herding. Mentioned that were previously used by all parts of the animal, the deer is now physicality redefined, and some parts of it act as a waste. This is due to biopolitics, environmental intervention in reindeer population. "The above modalities of waste management - we call them the" traditional "and" industrial "- are differently oriented in time: the first-on the possible consequences in the future, the second is in a sense consistent with the very act of disposal that occurred in the past. It interacts with the dead animals, "donor" meat in the context of the ongoing relationship between the consumer and consumed: the relationship does not necessarily one of the participants of the process. Within the industrial modality as the irrational utilization and processing associated with the manufacture of carcasses of useless or unwanted materials are a threat to deer and all animals - both in terms of physical destruction and moral aspects in terms of treatment of people with other species. The traditional method of disposal problematizes moral aspect of the production process waste. Industrial process, by contrast, has already begun with the existence of waste, mainly in this approach is the question of how to get rid of them. Here, the problem is what to do with the waste, and not how to prevent their occurrence as to make the waste (in a technical sense of the word) did not exist. To reduce the risk of potential damage, all organic remains are not used properly, be disposed of as waste. It turns out that the boundary between goods and waste mobile, but at the same time it is unconditional. "[Reinert, 2012]

Reinert points out that the concept of waste in general blurred: it refers to and potentially unwanted animal parts, spent nuclear fuel, a broken TV at the same time, and it all converges in the hold the concept of "junk", while the excess time, waste of money are "wasted" in this context they are not waste, it "lost life".

Reinert points out that the concept of waste in general - is contradictory and vague: it signifies and potentially unwanted animal parts, spent nuclear fuel, a broken TV at the same time, and it all converges in the hold the concept of "junk", while the excess time, waste of money are "wasted" in this context they are not waste, it "lost life".

To contain the risk of further damage, the parameters that define the industrial waste are also very strictly stipulated: any organic residue that is not properly transformed, must be disposed of as waste. There is very limited space in the industrial paradigm of management for the implementation of problematization waste, not to mention the transformation of living beings into useless and unwanted material: it is the main reason produced a comprehensive mass waste problem requiring technical solutions. Here comes the need for the organization of examinations, agencies and different forms of responsibility: technical knowledge about the proper disposal of deer remains a problem even "ritual experts" - scientists, regulators, professionals hygiene, technical operators who work behind closed doors, in the development of guidelines.

Anna Kushkova [Kushkova, 2007]. Waste from ancient Slavs. Trash, *druzga*, *osmětki*, *navyaz bastard*, *izmět* - these are just a few names among the Slavs litter. It would seem that the negative connotation of the language is not in doubt: rubbish - it's all junk, dirty, worthless, something from which constantly have to get rid. The basis of these items is practical, "in rem" understanding of the litter, and in this sense the definition of it as "dirt and *négodi*" seems justified. "It describes a purely physical properties of litter: dryness, uniformity, immiscibility with other substances. However, dirty and in Russian culture acted as an intermediary in the commission of acts of ritual worship everyday - maternity (where accompanied by a sense of isolation sacred act, the author points to their cultural background, where a number of actions performed is followed and only then there ablution), magic (interaction litter the negative forces), and finally purification by means of "exile" litter.

Elizabeth Royte in their work, built on the included observation and participation in following the mass of waste in the city, makes the following remark: "garbage moves in strict compliance with social stratification." [Royte, 2011] Rubbish is adjacent to garbage incinerators being built on the territory of the slum, at the same time introducing them to the work. However, social stratification occurs and what we used to see and understand by "social bottom" waste pickers are divided into strong men and weak, on the possibilities to sort waste.

4. Sociological studies of macro-processes

4.1 The basis of the theoretical constructs. Risk theory and sociology of critical states

At the first stage the theory of risk is reduced to the analysis of statistical unwanted accidents, but translating it into the language of social action, we have to admit that, indeed, individual behavior can be dichotomous due to the constant risk of a miscalculation of a local or purposeful action. Luhmann introduces such important concepts as the central counting of risks in everyday action, risk-taking, the risk threshold that govern our individual and group behavior, especially important is the fact that the risk is always context, it can be seen from the inside of the same system with a completely different side. Much attention is paid to them is a cognitive component as the basis for the formation of the concept of risk. W. Beck. And Giddens is largely transferred to the consideration of the risk focus in social structures. Giddens, based on the logic of his theory of structuration, brings global and local minds in the opposition-minded individual who is forced to constantly find a point of reference risk is based on the collision of two worlds - internal intentions and external events, as projected for the future. It appears the term "ontological security" means safety in the broadest sense, as well as "risk environment", which includes the danger, violence against the person, and not least the threat of ontological and psychological components of human existence. Next thing in common sights W. Beck and Giddens - is that they stress the importance of production risks, purposeful or indirectly contributing to their distribution, which can't change the balance of political, economic and social forces in different sectors of the population. The logic of stratification in the distribution of resources is aggravated by miscalculations in determining the risk-taking risks. Risk assessment becomes important from the point of view of experts of various kinds, which is compounded by methodological uncertainty - is impossible to accurately estimate involves complex models, there is the "acceptability" of risk, until the introduction of the concept of "normal accident." The level of risk in different contexts. Anyway, the cultural component - as defined in the risk of local communities, creates the possibility of a separate action. From the basic tenets of the theory of risk identified above, there is an extension, to issue in domestic trials. Yanitsky O. noting the impossibility of accurate calculation, a high level of uncertainty, instability as the existing realities, he writes that "at the form established in the society about the risk of a critical social order," the destruction of normal life ... ", where instability becomes not subject to the risks of reference and the norm, where the risks are the starting point for the formation of action. Given the number of man-made crises started in industrialized environment

where the level of contamination is not known, environmental conditions, intense conflicts and wars arise spontaneously and are the norm, there is a need to talk about the conservation of the critical state [Yanitsky, 2014]. Specifically, the waste in a global sense - it accumulates a critical disaster, it is part of the material civilization, created and replenished, which will need to adapt. However, the content of the mass of garbage in two ways: thrown - a hidden resource, on which there is a network of interactions, conflicts and even local interethnic scale.

The theory of M. Castells, as said A. Davies [Davies, 2008], is one of the promising areas, refers to the problem of extended geoconflicts, biopolitics, referring not only to the management of waste, but also the information component of the information war, where waste becomes a function of information and informational junk 1) as a means of filling tape news and means of manipulation 2) the inevitable consequence of the spread of democracy the media (for example - a novel by Jean Christopher Rufin "globalies."

Polanyi also pays attention to the bourgeoisie - he believes that because of the exploitation of the worker force was formed first offensive in the country, the result of which was the destruction of the environment, deforestation, pollution of rivers and the "fall of traditional environmentally friendly standards." Particularly strong aggravation of contradictions, Polanyi believed associated with market forces, it was against labor and land. "Isolate nature and turn it into a market - the most paradoxical manifestation of economic activity in the history of mankind." the various stages of the capitalist mode of management in relation to nature was different. It is important that Polanyi by nature means "earth". Until the mid XX century, the development and the onset of the nature of capitalism came with a sharp decrease in attention to social rights. The formula can be expressed as you people, guided by the principles of economic self-interest, damage to nature, I - Nature, answer you the same. It is clear that the nature of the critical phenomena occur by its own laws, independent of human activity, but many people - mainly non-renewable natural resources (geological reserves of mineral raw materials, soil, air and water) are subject to fluctuations as a result of their time unsupervised use. "

Zygmunt Bauman concept of waste culture

Trash culture. Go back to the book *The fluid modernity*, which is opposed to the stability, eternal values, ordering, and comes to the superficiality, the accelerated rhythm of new technologies, the cult of disposability of things and human beings, the consumers, where people are consumable, subordinate concepts of waiting for their efficiency, Z. Baumann introduces such a thing as "waste culture", ie. e. a consequence of consumer attitudes, values and way of life. Trash culture is opposed to the concept of "eternal" as a general mental structure. In infinity there is a linear certainty of eternal existence that - either, and there is no such thing as "overkill"

of some object. However, socio-cultural transformation of modern global culture acquires other features, the opposite direction to the eternal, it acquires a limb in the sense of limitation and separation. Modern civilization - is exceeded, redundancy, waste and recycling.

The social context of the concept of waste. According to Bauman [Bauman, 2003], the main contribution to the spread of "junk culture" has brought mass unemployment and low-paid jobs, new roots which have given rise to other economic and social understanding of reality for a generation 70 years of the twentieth century in the West, the main problem which has become an identity crisis with increased proliferation Depression among young people. Moreover, it is interesting that the state of "unemployment" is both comforting panacea for the population, have been actively disseminated as state aids, making it possible to survive. Recall sharp contrast to the socialist system of penalties for parasitism, which suggests a different logic of social action - the rigid exclusion of implied motivation to be built, as the state was interested in the obligatory inclusion of all members of society, niches were to "punish" and not discarded because of disability. Gradually, these benefits become a symbolic deadlock personal identity as opposed to the unemployed "fullemployment" Busy included, certain positions, they have different, in the words of Bauman "shoulds" -the possibility of, future. Right it meant that the model of so-called most humane "good society" is a place for everyone, including the unemployed, that can be adequately integrated into the system. Unemployment, lack of jobs and lack of productive roles than dismissal - something similar to the state of ill-health, but it fits into the "new normality" over regulated. As a result, to be fired - it means to be a freelance on a national scale, to be unnecessary, unhelpful, because it means that people can work without you, unnecessary ballast, which is removed during contraction. This is the state wasted lives, which are tested in advanced societies, similar to the used bottle, which comes to the fore redundancy feature. The need to promote the unemployed - the recognition that there is a portion of an incapacitated (for a number of optional features in each system) population, not too useless to others. Moreover, this redundancy legitimized and included in the State of taxation, even though the very idea of society has no cell separation "of human waste." Household waste has more features to be included in the secondary market turnover, rather than waste a social, not upgradeable to the new requirements for its functionality. Bauman analyzes the concept of differentiation of M. Douglas and ordering space, which leads him to a common denominator principle distinguish - the order of \ mess. Desecration - opposite view representations of the purity of the "project of public order." "The new can not enter into the light, if the old is not destroyed or thrown out."

Waste - a dark, shameful secret of the whole production. "Survival depends on a modern form of rationality and disposal of waste masses." Therefore, musorosobirateli - the unsung

heroes of our time. Day after day, they update the line between normality and pathology, accepted and was cut, decent and indecent, the inner and outer side of human activities related to the production of waste and processing for food and accommodation of mined waste their lives. "The law defines being" of Bauman, including the moral character of the person and its capabilities in society. The law also defines the structure of its legitimized inclusion and mobility. For example, the phenomenon of self-removal, the ancient Roman law. In the concept of the ancient Roman law there is such a thing as a "shady character" (highlighted by James. Agamben *homo sacer* from *sacred man*, *accursed man*) phenomenon of self-removal, a person is considered "holy" in the most negative, meaning rejection. Shady characters can be killed by the people sacrificed in the course of performing religious rituals may be prohibited to interact with society and the disenfranchised. The historical continuity of such phenomena, not only repeated in the eternal questions of existential difficulties and social contrasts of existence underclass and the formation of institutions of exclusion. Continuing the argument. Bauman leads the notion of overpopulation - a word that is almost never used, but appeared in the Oxford dictionary because of Thomas Malthus. It is the population (recall migration in the late 19th century), which has the participation and increase the benefits of economic progress in the construction, they do not assimilate into the system and leave the victims of its impact on their lives, in contrast with those who managed to embed. And consumers in a consumer society, "unconsciously, sharp and not recognizing the" need *musorosobiratelyah*, but not going to legislate them as an ordinary worker. However, a number of differences, concerns refugees and migrants, who now act as "waste products of globalization." Migrants = aliens that are in a special situation "of persons seeking asylum," another side of the economic burden of disadvantage and growth. There was a particularly discusses the concept of human waste - from their original society they are thrown away, and new ones have not assimilated.

"The Untouchables people" who are entitled to untouchable things - the hard work, the worst working conditions and the existence of acting as a guide on the bottom step, the image of whom would not be worth. The hierarchy of castes established in India, in fact, taken in the course of the life of society is a natural, but not always keep regulated. Example - Electronic waste dumps in India, Vietnam, Singapore, Pakistan - just a few examples of existence thrown societies, and these diverse points of exclusion from the norm by the increasing social surplus - is the quality of the conditions of existence in the first place. Migrants, refugees, Roma, the homeless, as well as any exclusion brings a certain level of dependency in the imbalance of the economic system, and the status of legal and illegal workers. According to Bauman, there is a global law beyond nationality, where the constitution is one of privilege and deprivation,

artificially created for the maintenance and construction of the hierarchy, the hidden knowledge of the legislative practice. Ways of migrant flows is primarily on tolerant West and Europe are ready to provide humane asylum, but not ready to give equal decent working conditions as compared to the citizens of their country. If you formulate a hypothesis, which is based on the position of the original status of migrants - the level of education, security, communications, development of the state structure, it becomes amazing process of exchange, primarily cultural and social environment of migrants and daunshifterov.

Waste as part of the creative activity and Yoham Rodkau Referring to the analogy with the mining industry, mining of valuable minerals leaves a malicious objects in the redistribution of resources - it turns out that part of the space is enriched by other pollution. The process of separating the precious metal on the total weight of useless waste is used as an additional illustration of the mechanism of formation of the value of nature both tangible and intangible things. Calling mining "one-dimensional way" without the possibility of production, "the cemetery of nature", is an example of eco-cultural setting of the time, expressed in the words of Michelangelo on the principle of creating sculptures, where "You just need to cut off the excess." In the "cutting off" any act of creativity hidden, and waste - that's what is wrapped stone statue, has not become an idol carved out of her art, which is allowing the manifest, we refer to the act of breaking above

Waste - a sublimation. Recall M. Douglas, where the ontological essence of extreme relativism lies in understanding a particular situation, because the objects can not be waste in its very essence, and they can not be, according to its own logic. They get them when going through the change of the surrounding space man and his understanding of the material and material necessities, his "mental" path, and only if they can be identified as necessary and unnecessary. Example of treatment of a human hair. Until they are harmonious and the part of the human body, they are carefully washed, namaslivayutsya feed on extracts. But as soon as they become shaven, their discarded pieces immediately gain the status of "dirt", which is to be feared. Hairstyle - modeling process, creativity and ritual offices, as well as the process and substance of any discharge; and the importance of "intermediate" status from the object to be transformed and the object of "separation", an act committed in the process of transmutation department designated as a transitional state.

In 2002, at the time of writing the book Bauman on the internet through various search engines 11 and a half million pages on the Internet in all languages, dedicated to the request "waste" in all possible languages. Now, in 2015 - 502 million pages through googlesistemy to 53 and a half million pages of materials of different directions.

4.2 Stratification phenomenon inclusion phenomenon ejected society inclusion.

On F.M. Borodkin [Borodkin, 2000], a phenomenon of social exclusion was introduced in 1947 to denote the socially vulnerable categories of citizens, that is the "mental and physiological dependence, suicidal, single parents, the elderly, the disabled, marginals, orphans, delinquents, antisocial personalities and other "losers". "There are two campaign to social exclusion - the French and Anglo-Saxon. The first is based on solidarity and the return of citizens in social life, where the interests of exclusive formations considered in the first place. The second approach seeks to equation all the rights of citizens, exclusion is seen as a means of specialization, for example, the division of labor and social identity of communities, making it the basis of individualism. The European tradition of social movements connects the second path to poverty in the first place, where poverty is deprivirovannost. Although, the concept of exclusion relativistically may determine other factors: cultural, value, depending on the subject of the review issues, modern exclusion - economic.

In M. Wolf arises classification situations of exclusion: exclusion from livelihood, exclusion from social services, welfare and social safety nets, exclusion from the culture of consumption, exclusion from political choices, exclusion of mass organizations and solidarity, exclusion from the possibility of understanding what is happening. EXCLUSIVE - a concept associated with social risk groups, which are established in the legislation, with special social positions. In every society, they have similar features but different approaches and responsibilities of other social structures of their treatment. "Analysis of social exclusion involves the establishment of the risk groups, and in particular, the most probable situation of its occurrence. Risk groups include the long-term unemployed or permanent; employed in unskilled or casual work; low-paid workers; landless; unskilled, illiterate or excluded from school; mentally or physically dependent or limited; the poor; delinquents, prisoners and being on criminal records; single parents; Children who grew up in troubled families; Young people, especially without work experience and education; working children; women; foreigners, defectors and immigrants; racial, religious, linguistic and ethnic minorities; politically powerless; recipients of social assistance; in need of social assistance, but do not get it; slum dwellers; Hungry, homeless, without a definite occupation and place of residence; people whose consumption pastimes and other activities (in the consumption of alcohol or drugs, subject to public order, the style of clothing, communication, demeanor) condemned or deemed deviant Russian legislation social exclusion is seen as "a difficult life situation."

European and Russian tradition, in Borodkin has two differences. The Russian strategy is focused on the transformation of the exclusive help, not turnarounds and adaptation of complex

social groups, and secondly, the Russian concept puts the responsibility on the official power structures that do not have adequate security. It is also an important role in uniting the exclusive education plays a social movement, transforming communications at the meso-level, the positioning of the outside world.

The culture of poverty (the term of O. Lewis), and stratification characteristics in the works of Myrdal, M. Gorshkov, N. Manning, Tikhonov, G. Merdoll underclass, O. Lewis, show tseennostnoe ratio and the mentality formed in families poverty. According to Lewis, poverty takes the form of inheritance, inveteracy consciousness. Roberts, 1978; Lomnica 1977, by contrast, argue that the segment of poverty razdelyaetya a high level of adaptation and transformation, and having a certain quality of survival and entrepreneurship that are essential for the environment. Park, L. Wirth, F. Thrasher, WC White described the culture of poverty as a lifestyle inherent in any city. Based on anthropological description method, much attention was paid to life, the rituals, the content of the lives of the everyday process. Later added and mental attitudes - action, evaluation, perception.

4.3 Local theories

The concept of "environmental justice" of David Pellow.

The work "Garbage war: the struggle for environmental justice in Chicago" "Waste of War" - the author's own term designating any conflicts concerning waste, and the struggle for equal opportunity to use natural and social resources. These conflicts arise from the search of secure niche - as a result of political and ethnic conflicts, and usually among people with very low incomes. The author adheres to in his study of ethnographic, historical and biographical methods and offers environmental concept of justice that considers "environmental inequality as a process involving the various parties in the struggle for resources in pursuit of political and economic goals, and it's always a struggle, which aims to income." He also tries to stick to a research facility, which he calls "advocacy research," methodology, i.e. the investigator is obliged to protect the rights of those whom he investigates to take an active social position.

For him environmental justice - is the lack of " environmental racism." In Chicago, in the era of recycling environmental companies (often with hazardous waste) were built in areas with a low standard of living, and suffer from it those workers, migrants and poor people who have no other choice but to go to another on a dangerous and low-paying jobs, where, Pellow argues, are not complied with any technical or environmental, or psychological or labor standards work. The second conclusion of his study is that the government - is always the first violator of these rules. During the collection of garbage separation occurs: those who collect it for those of his throws.

As for the major groups that are engaged in the "black work" in Chicago - are immigrants. Among them, throughout history appear afroamerican, Hispanics, Asians. The author writes - people believe that they are dirty, dangerous and sick because interact with rubbish, but no one comes to mind that the mechanism of selection to the authorities, in actual fact gives them a role of "cleaned" at risk. So he gives the definition of the sociologist Bunea Bryant environmental defining the notion of racism as follows:

"environmental racism - a broader concept of racism. And there it is due to the established rules, regulations, and policies of the government or as a result of corporate decisions that deliberately target specific communities to make them unfit for the land. This leads to a disproportionate division between those who live near toxic and hazardous wastes, and those distant from them. "[Pellow, 2002]

Environmental racism - irregular protection of different social groups by poisonous and harmful effects of harmful substances production. Statistics contained in the study General Accounting Office (1983) showed that three out of four acts of hazardous waste takes place in the south-eastern United States, where they are predominantly African-American community. 60 percent of African Americans and Latinos live near toxic waste sites, among Asian communities - 50 percent of them.

David Pellow clearly showed that it is totally socially disadvantaged classes suffer from the effects of waste disposal and to interact with them. Exemplary of the European powers to seemingly "perfect" implementation of the program for effective use of garbage and maintenance of cleanliness, are not affected. But lagging in various regions of the world most, so the problem does not become less dangerous for them. The concept of Pellow as the explanatory model, can "work" only in a society where there is traditionally a democratic mass consciousness, where they modeled the cycle of "fight-changing" effect in the long run for everyone. As for African countries, Central Asia and Russia, he said that this model can be applied to these processes, it is impossible. With regard to the poorest regions, here we are entering the global arena, where environmental problems are perceived as a consequence of the fact of global stratification.

Geography waste policy Anna Davies

Irish sociologist Anna Davies [Davies, 2008] deals with the analysis of international relations in the field of waste management. She understands Environmental management as structure and the interaction of agents that are linked to certain practices and trying to determine the role of each element in the system. Considering the existing global supranational organizations with governmental authority to regulate the environmental situation, it concludes that the global Environmental modernization policies disposal of garbage need close partnerships

between municipal authorities, government and international regulatory corporations. Waste may only be a matter of global governance. The most productive approach Davies said network theory Castells and institutional direction. Accordingly, it is the state and the region as an exchange network resources - both resource capabilities, and waste exchange, where the main actors are the social institutions of all sizes.

For example, the Global Alliance for Incineration of Waste, Solid Waste Association and the Corporation ZeroWaste (not to mention the United Nations and a number of environmental organizations) are supranational structures conducive to the different companies and the financing of programs in a number of countries, particularly in Africa and Asia. In Europe, the planned two trends waste policy - the nationalization and Europeanization. In the first case, the government is focused on searching for its own management strategy of waste policy, the second tends to follow the program of the European Union with the use of appropriate technologies. For example, in 1960, the United Kingdom, despite the high standard of living, still prefers to use polygons instead of the incinerators. The Netherlands, by contrast, seek to reduce the number of polygons to a minimum, taxing, and tends to burn garbage. Both follow the program zerowaste - the European Convention, which requires at least half of processed waste producing countries.

In Asia (problem areas) and African local government system of government less efficient than the private sector market, including the private sector could be considered here the shadow market, which is a society of beggars and homeless people. Poverty - is another "form of government", braking eco-modernization. She takes over the main damage that causes production. Incidentally, in Africa 40% occurs utilization waste is by manual collection and sorting. Although the United Nations offers them certain programs, citizens are not able to pay the tax, which requires a minimum of the system.

Competing social communities. Urban ecology approach, which was formed in the Chicago school under the direction of Robert Park, R. Mackenzie, Mildred L., E. Burgess, H. Zorbaha. Some social communities to compete with others in the arena of urban space, different social functions are assigned to different participants. Some types of activity are displaced in a certain place other activities. Social Darwinism, which operates on the principle of this school, introduces the concept of concentric zone (author - Burgess) - some specific area or region, rendered habitable a particular social group. There are five areas: 1) Business Center 2) the transit zone (zone transforms), 3) independent workers, 4) arranged well or relatively well-appointed home, 5) zone "of daily passengers." Area transit - transition, marginal region, transformed and variable, it is a process of adaptation of new layers or the formation of its special social space in the event of a successful strategy of migrants, for whom the school was

carried out surveillance, was their assimilation, otherwise they marginalized. Such models of transformation of the city - a normal evolutionary process, and the need, always means competition, not only within the newly denote the group. But citizens for checking the strength of an already established way of life.

Each resident of a special category, each marginal needs special urban space, it has its own needs

The culture of poverty. Gunner Merdoll underclass, Oscar Lewis introduced the concept of the culture of poverty

Ian Douglas wrote that the city, absorbing some substances, other highlights. City - not natural for nature education, dominated by technical equipment and increased consumption - it uses energy in recycled waste and pollution in the complicated system of urban space suitable complicated and "circulation" of the masses of garbage

"For example, twice a year scavengers San - Francisco are going to lunch together with the city authorities: the local wineries offer wine and herbs - farmers. it is recognition of the contribution of scavengers (called workers to clean up the city - sanitation workers) in agriculture, who daily deliver 350 tons of waste in the city compost factory. This is the system Fantastic 3, where the first two - recyclable waste, and the third - for food, for the removal of third-residents pay the rest exported free. This enabled a 70% cut in the garbage landfills. Methane produced in the process of rotting waste disappears if to make compost, it becomes profitable for the owners of the farm. "

4.4 The study of waste pickers.

A large segment devoted to the problem of waste pickers as a distinct field of study. It is a key issue, as part of the culture of poverty and mass movements in the global problem of waste management. For this see References (Sonia Dias, Catherine Millar, Cesar Rodriguez, Martin Medina, Wiego, association, organization, experience, a way out of Medina M., T. Govan, J. McGovern, K. Furedi, S. Diaz, C. Chegappa (Indian waste pickers) Vietnamese studies [Nguyen HTL, Chalin CG, Lam TM, Maclaren VW, as well as Manmohan Singh Gill, AmrajKaur, Shivani, 2014], waste pickers of Latin America [C. Rodriguez, H. Herrera, 1994) and others. According to «The World Bank Annual Report 2008" waste pickers constitute 1-2% of the total world population. The emergence of such a niche consisting of social underground, due to the natural process of stratification and negative selection of the least adapted marginalized. They create a critical contribution to the state of affairs due to 1) lack of knowledge of waste and dangerous handling 2) the formation of residential settlements with the catastrophic level of life 3) the reproduction of Environmental culture . However, there are several national organizations

of global Environmental that bring the market out of the shadow in the real sector, with the protection of the rights and improve living. Niche of waste pickers contact with all of these subject areas, and its empirical study showed that the modernization of the investment community and social and economic resources would help essentially recreate the culture of poverty and "thrown societies."

Urbanization in poor countries is due to the expansion of slum areas and squatters' settlements, located in ecologically untenable areas and unorganized. [Medina, 1997 :35]. The circulation of waste and excreta has not been established, and there are many illegal dumps, because most cities can't collect all the garbage (for technical and economic reasons) that had produced by squatters. Slum dwellers pollute the environment, therefore it is difficult to develop a unified program for waste utilization. The average of waste pickers, as calculated by M. Medina and David Pellow is about 39 years with high infant mortality, while the average of middle citizen is about 67 years. In addition, we can detect up over 35 diseases in scavengers populations [Medina, 1997:46].

Collection or primary sorting of any waste is unsafe for health, as usually there are a number of technological and environmental requirements, and in special cases workers need in specialized equipment. Experience shows that in many areas (China, Guatemala, India, Brazil, in many African countries), independent work with toxic waste accompanied by a number of dangerous violations to human life and the ecology, but the waste delivered to them under the guise of charity [Davies, 2008, p. 236]. We have increasing the number of women and children-watepickers, but their income is generally lower because they can't do hard work.

There is a split by type of material, places of gathering, operations management (sorting, processing, transportation, composting), standard of living, depending on the combination or separation of living space with work. Sorting, according to M. Medina research, is most common in Mexico, Colombia, Thailand and the Philippines, and in China there are settlements that work with hazardous industrial waste, in Egypt and Latin America scavenger employed in the service to the citizens for using their garbage to sale.

Conclusions.

Stratification and bundles with a "parasitic" lifestyle and low observable sociobiology has been everytime, and this corresponds to the general environmental concluded that there are species whose survival is built entirely on the parasitism and mutualism. However, the main problem is that the area of parasitism in the ejected matter with the growth of technological improvements and the composition of things (assuming strict requirements for disposal) for

improper handling becomes dangerous for the whole environment. Definitely niche allocated risk-taking, which can be described as any society where there is no specific level of environmental awareness) can be considered as a society with an increased risk of irreversible pollution, t. To. The view of the composition of the waste has been installed their ultimate toxicity. A special category includes a variety of representatives of the "culture" of poverty, regions and cities with well-developed network of waste pickers. Micro level - the local community - require social training programs and rehabilitation, environmental education, cleanse territories. Global Alliance of regional organizations waste pickers and civil society to cope in part, but not yet fully emerged from the informal sector and are not recognized by the state as an independent unit, since their legal rights are not always fixed, and economic strategy is being finalized. However, for a given segment future. It should be a detailed study of their initiatives, as well as micro-practices. At the macro level, there is an urgent need for a global approach, legislation and strict regulation for the waste problem is clear, but is in conflict with the established economic policy in general, favorable long-term instability and confusion environmental risks that accrue from the development of the informal sector of waste pickers, sprawling on the consequences of unsustainable consumption and inconsistencies of ecological culture industry requirements for disposal. Waste pickers' risk in taking will cease to be a factor that will become a full-fledged labor and social resources only with the proper support from the state on a formal basis and environmental expertise. The government is gradually taking steps to integrate the business into processing in the formation of a common state policy, a major role is played here by the experience of various NGOs with an established system of self-organization and educational work.

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The Culture of Waste and Social Sciences: Looking for an Integral Approach

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Abstract. The article briefly designated existing problems in the field of waste management policies in Russia, indicate possible ways out of the situation, the main actors involved in decision-making.

Keywords: rubbish; waste; waste management; management; politics; ecology; natural resources

Areas of waste in Russia calculates by the cities of Europe's towns. At the moment, the level of waste management in Russia is approaching at the level of developing countries, which indicates a critical condition of the problem [Yanitsky, 2014]. The main problems are 1) the absence of a single federal program 2) a lack of cultural and ecological knowledge 3) The growth areas of legal and illegal dumps 4) the inability to create a single legal framework for the introduction of separate collection, transportation and control of the major players involved in the process 5) inconsistency of the main players of this processes

These issues give rise to risks because of which is unknown territory really contaminated waste, the inability to calculate the long-term consequences, drew the chain of events no one had foreseen. As a result of improper waste management (improper disposal, drew the release of chemicals into the environment, the location of the waste unsuitable for this field) population can't defend themselves and can't check their own safety because of their ignorance. The state does not have the ability to control fully the structure of the population and responsible because they do not provide complete legal framework responsible.

Today, according to the state corporation "Russian Technologies", the largest player in the market of recycling in the country, on the territory of Russia has accumulated more than 31 billion tons of waste that non-recycled. And their number is increasing annually by more than 60 million tons. Ministry of Natural Resources of Russia, stresses that it was estimated each Russian accounting for 400 kilograms of waste per year. Statistics of various levels for the collection and disposal is very different, which is dictated by insufficiently elaborated accounting system, fixed by legislation in 1995, "On general principles of local self-government in the Russian Federation", which clarifies that the removal and disposal handed over to private companies, which immediately leads to the fact that the mass of garbage piling up more intensively as the cycle executed unified system for collecting, processing, disposal and storage of waste remaining is divided into specialized companies: the company's waste collection and transport them to landfills, companies engaged in recycling, and the role of regulatory bodies constantly changes.

The law changed repeatedly. The authors of the journal "Ecology and Law" point to several key changes over the decades: instead of the concept of "hazardous waste" appear five waste hazard class, and "was not spelled out a clear mechanism of how, from a legal point of view, the products are converted into waste and in this case the right to property and, therefore, responsible for waste management, moving from one subject to another. There is also no clear definition of how the wastes are raw materials that can continue to sell, and what happens in this case with the right of ownership to it" [Vandysheva, 2014]. In 2009, the function of regulating waste management rests with the Ministry of Natural Resources in 2011, this law is no longer regulated the placement and disposal of waste, on the instructions of the authors, earlier wording was vague about the powers of the local municipal authority.

Now some amendments are made, new laws systematically rejected, but still not clear functions and powers assigned to each actor in the system: the state, local municipalities, the private sector, reflecting the lack of a common interest in the establishment of the waste problem. At this point, after the introduction of separate collection it is expected that the overall growth rate of waste annually increases by 3-4% per cent per year on existing indicators, and even during the transition to the separate collection of waste and an increase in processing capacity and redistribution of investing resources in this area. It will reduce the first time, the growth of waste only ten percent, and is still opened a question remains with the existing polygons and existing garbage masses, which also have a certain percentage of recycled materials.

As well as around the world, the problem of waste is growing in proportion to the production of various goods and mining. In Russia, "the history of garbage" begins, in contrast to the European and American situation to be visible only in the twentieth century, when the industry is concentrated in major Russian cities.

The main reasons:

Low legal culture

Geographic mentality (extension of polygons possible within the resources area, which gives a visible delay in making the decision to move to a separate collection and increase the percentage of recycling)

- Eco-culture that has developed in the Soviet and post-Soviet period, characterized by an increasing pace of consumption and disposability cult
- growing private sector with different areas of responsibility and the weakening of municipal authorities

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- players with different value orientations: Business, eko-activities, the government, the local municipal authorities and ordinary people perceive the problem under its own perspective. As the advisory question to the above participants, that each category forms a system of interaction management, hinging on itself and does not seek support from higher authorities.
- Profitable uncertainty and instability of the situation to be able to vary the powers
- lack of financial resources at the federal level
- lack of professional staff (specialized waste-processing industry workers, engineers and environmentalists. As a rule, they are members of other professions working in the field of waste management)
- Creation of the black market in the core part (crime, illegal waste handling procedures). The phenomenon of "garbage kings" and the settlement of migrant workers and the workers - the homeless in landfills, engaged in manual sorting
- lack of household and practical knowledge about the dangers of waste, its varieties, the environmental viability

The largest amount of waste demonstrate Rostov and Chelyabinsk region (7.9 million people., And 7.6 million tons of solid waste, approximately 960 kg per capita), the lowest - Republic of Tatarstan and the Tomsk region of 4.8 million people. and 0.95 million tons, about 200 kg per person. Belgorod, Rostov, Chelyabinsk regions formed about 795, 1000 and 880 kg of solid waste per person per year, respectively, "Sometimes this variation indicates that in some parts of the formation of solid waste is probably greatly underestimated. Thus, according to the Krasnodar Territory, it is produced "more than 1 million tons of solid waste" at 5121 million people. (01.01.2008) - that is about 200 kg / year per person, whereas in the neighboring regions, is very close to the Krasnodar region on the natural, social and economic conditions very different assessments: in the Belgorod region - about 740 kg / year per person., and in the Rostov region - about 1 000 kg / year per person. "[Pashinskij, 2011]

Ministry of Natural Resources and Ecology of the Russian Federation (Russian Ministry of Natural Resources) is a federal body of executive authority responsible for the development and implementation of state policy and normative legal regulation in the sphere of environmental protection, including issues relating to the treatment of industrial and domestic waste. But, as we will see later, in respect of cooperation with the market recovery and treatment of solid waste it is to a considerable distance, as opposed to regional and private companies that control this area.

The largest market segment is the collection of garbage from the population. The massive amounts of waste generated from residential buildings on a daily basis, make it possible to do business is the transportation of waste from the point of collection to the point of discharge. Prices of garbage disposal depends on the distance you want to travel in transport to the customer as well as the volume of waste.

Thus, the following results of a study of services for garbage, recycling and disposal of solid waste in most cities with a population of over 100 thousand. Persons:

- 45% of the city - on the market operates one economic entity, mainly municipal enterprise (Belgorod, Bryansk, Ivanovo, Lipetsk, Smolensk, Tver, Vladimir, Petrozavodsk, and others.);
- 39% of cities - collection and removal of solid waste at the same time provide two or three companies (Tambov, Kaluga, Kursk, Ryazan, Novgorod, Astrakhan, Kirov et al.). [Pashinskij, 2011, 2010]

"According to the authorities, the demand for many secondary products is small because of the high cost of processing, and furthermore," even at high recovery remainder recycled waste must be disposed in landfills or otherwise disposed of. " Referring to these factors, Rosprirodnadzor also called "negative" experience of separate collection, produced in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Smolensk and other cities. "[Vandysheva, 2014] However, these sets of activist organizations independently organize separate collection in rural areas and cities, narrate, that citizens come forward voluntarily. According to a survey of experts mentioned that "private accommodation" for the government more than the adaptation to the new system.

At present the situation with waste in Russia is going through a crucial period. The authorities confirmed their readiness to abandon the construction of a waste incineration plant in Moscow but in St. Petersburg continues to struggle with the incinerator and the construction of new facilities; raised the question of increasing the municipal rent approximately 10-15% with plans to implement separate collection. Although expert survey shows that such increases are justified, it is unlikely most of the population is ready to accept these changes at a time. There is already a program to Moscow, voiced in the media statement by A. Kulbachevsky, head of department of natural resources, that in the capital in the summer of 2015 will be implemented a plan for self-sufficiency of each council bins for separate collection, will be able to freely use them most responsible and ecologically oriented citizens. Removal and disposal will be engaged in private companies proven improvement.

While traditionally left open the question of self-education and motivation of citizens. Currently the most active ecological organizations, set a goal to reduce the amount of waste

generated and to explain to the population how to deal with waste is movement "Musora.bolshe.net" regional project "Done!", The project «PRO Waste", and the Center for Economy resources Toxicology Program Greenpeace, in particular the project "Green Supermarket" and share "a million for a separate collection", which can support the organization's website. Very influential and famous motion "blogger against garbage", Ecological Movement "separate collection", "Gryazi.bolshe.net", the project "Sobirator." There are organizations focused on work with hazardous waste - batteries, mercury lamps, a leader in this area "Mercury", "Association of handling mercury and other hazardous waste," As a rule, any regional organization operating in Russia, paying special attention to waste, either by organizing events, attracting different segments of the population to harvesting, or presenting an opportunity to take the garbage separately. There are companies that combine business with environmental responsibility. These examples are "sphere of ecology", "Ostashkov utilities», L & T, «Taratrade" and others. However, despite the fact that organizations are often combined with each other and have a well-developed network of communications, Internet support and access to information resources for citizens , the ecologically oriented group added slower than we would like. So far, the major social movements and projects listed above, and other civil and environmental initiatives, whose interests are formed due to public organizations, suggests that "the authorities do not help, but do not interfere with" them.

S. A. Klimova, the coordinator of the project "Separate collection" on the basis of an internal questionnaire coming sorters draws a portrait of the next ecologically oriented citizens: "As a rule, these people are (on average) of 31, higher education, with family and, basically, not a curse" . If you focus on photo essays, as well as the major players, in fact, the prevailing acts youth activists from 18 to 30 - 35 years [Vandysheva, 2014]. If the school and secondary school age may use through the introduction of school programs, volunteer presentations and even kindergarten concepts, how to raise the motivational component of older people it remains an open question. Thanks to the work of voluntary and community projects, educational Internet resources are working smoothly. In order to create motivation - a targeted program, it is necessary to pay special attention ecologically oriented education. Among the volunteers and setting eco-activities formed to apply practically the knowledge in taking care of nature, to develop a team, to expand knowledge of the interaction of different spheres of the environment by human activities, to transform life so that it reduces the risk of contamination to a minimum. The ecologically oriented human – reflects - on the benefits of what he does, about how he can improve the space around him and the relationship with the environment. Ecology substantive

shifts come to greening mind disciplining personality. He is learning to pay attention to the environment and time to identify existing problems.

Enlightenment and education, no matter how its detailed, unfortunately, at this stage must be backed by sanctions legislation, especially in the field of waste management. They should be defined as the possibility for the development of both population and included all the actors - businesses, private enterprises. Regulation of performance should be accompanied by a coherent system of economic incentives, opportunities to attract good investors. Although you can select the leading companies in the sphere of waste treatment with a strong regional network, the indicators which go to the state on the effect of the scale and performance, as a whole, if the state will invest and provide favorable conditions for the development of the processing industry, to expand the private sector, for According elite business at the local regional level, we can pretty quickly.

Recall that in Russia only about 5-10% of waste are recycled, 90% are legal and illegal landfills. And in countries where waste collection is adjusted, the proportions back, but instead to organize a regular polygon, the funds invested in it, to get rid of them. Landfills are considered "primitive" way to deal with waste to the extent that scientific activity is focused on the development of culture of processing and the search for new technological solutions.

However, if the problem of solid waste and certain other industrial wastes seems to be solved, there is another important aspect disadvantageous effect on the state of the environment. Nuclear energy and its waste, and the effects of nuclear accidents (4 of the 6 largest nuclear disasters occurred on the territory of the former USSR), the substance, the period of expansion which, according to various estimates, several hundred thousand years. When taking into account that there is evidence of the effectiveness of development, economic and local capacity and the latest developments in these "green" forms of energy as solar energy, wind energy, biomass energy, wave energy, thermal gradient energy, shape memory, tidal energy, geothermal energy ... Nuclear energy is considered to be the main resource as energy and the military. "There is no economically feasible technology for the isolation of spent nuclear fuel as long as it will remain dangerous. This period will be at least 240,000 years. " There are several ways of disposal of nuclear waste, but at the moment there is no way of processing or minimize harm. And since the beginning of the development of the nuclear industry are uniformly accumulated.

Socioeconomic situation in third world countries regarding waste management, quality of life and environmental behavior is markedly different from industrialized countries for the better. In terms of waste management Russia, in this context, can be attributed to developing countries, but with some differences. There is observational evidence from Khimki, Domodedovo, Tula,

Yaroslavl, Chemodanovskogo (Penza) landfills, as well as general accounting data processing given Rosprirodnadzhorom and magazines MSW Recycling and waste. We have observed the following trends:

1) There is no single system of work at the sites, the organization of polygons. The degree of compliance with environmental standards landfill is difficult to trace.

2) In order to improve processing efficiency and the desire to reduce the cost of labor, some waste landfills are hired workers and the homeless. It is usually small groups (depending on the scale ranges from 10 to 40 people, not including managers and official employees with higher status). Moreover, there is a tendency to an increase of migrants. The higher the level of poverty in the region, the more people involved in the recycling process. The main work is done on landfills.

3) The device of settlements in the dump is relatively ordered structure. As in any group, formed social bonds, stands the leader, which carries a kind of coordination between the members of the "community" and plays the role of the foreman. Between residents of the landfill rather weak and monosyllabic communication, high rates of alcohol abuse among the homeless. In contrast to the third world countries where there is a whole generation waste pickers in Russia this activity is situational, not constant, due to the loss of the former social status and money. As a result of the Russian climate period in the life of homeless people it is going on for several years. As in Colombia, India, Mexico, - in Russian scavengers get 5% of the price of the whole collection and processing.

4) Hand-made waste, household, requires compliance with certain rules of labor protection, proper ammunition. Compliance with these rules are not always observed, it was reported burning, pollution by garbage surrounding areas to dump water. In all cases, the polygons are within less than a kilometer - from buildings, holiday villages, crowded roads. It is harmful not only to the people who work directly in this dump, but they themselves are violating safety rules complement environmental damage without realizing the effect of chemical interactions on the site. I would like to express to this issue special attention. From niche risk-taking may create a good group of employees if it is to make the action of social assistance with further training simple work at the sites with the required safety. But the status of a scavenger in Russia is low, and employers routinely work with low-paid resource. However, do not dump the problem off, it should show special attention to the social, based on the experience of the Third World.

Conclusion with the words of the one of ecologists from project "done!", "The key to clean Russia, in my opinion, lies in the cultural elite. Charged to change the core of the situation

of adults may be formed or through the organization of group behavior, or by telling touches the soul and penetrating the heart of the story at the individual level. This is what makes the cultural elite. The vision of a clean, flawless, beautiful Russian to be handed over by someone who believes in it - it can be expressed in music, literature or other art forms. "

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The Corporate Ethos of an University and Self-Government

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Abstract. The article based on the analysis of P. Bourdieu, J. Dewey, R. Merton J. Hubermas, K. Jaspers, T. Veblen, J.-F. Lyotard works considers two educational models in the University –liberalist and utilitarian. The conclusions are made that the modern university is alienated from its own ideas, and its condition could be interpreted as a constant conflict between the two scientific ethos.

Keywords: sociology of science; university; liberalism; utilitarianism; autonomy; self-government; scientific ethos

It is an interesting fact that the utilitarians` conceptions of the higher education purpose did not find any objective existence and did not take the shape of any "Idea". At first glance, their role can be described by the metaphor of permanently present "Stranger". As a result, liberalist self-reflection became the foundation for the traditional academic ethos - a peculiar set of values and regulatory requirements that supposedly substantiate the meanings of all the activities of university community members, the key point of which is the idea of self-government.

“Since the inception of the University in the Middle Ages until the present century an autonomy, or a self-government, was a key component of educational institutions` ideology” [Albornos, 1992]. The category of “autonomy”, which became the semantic center of classical university ethos, is rather abstract. After reviewing the basic idealizations of a University, it can be subjected to a more detailed interpretation. Reflection of “architects” basically focused on two semantic units:

- Political autonomy,
- Economic autonomy.

It is obvious that this separation is an analytical procedure. The meaning of autonomy is best described by the concept of "self-government" that makes it possible to notice that the classical ethos of the University has a political strategy of interaction with external social institutions, which at the same time forms the everyday practices of interaction between members of a university corporation. This is the construct that ideally should be shared by all members of university activities. Talking about the research hypostasis of classical University, the autonomy is revealed through the non-interference into research process, planning of research program, as well as the evaluation of research results.

The source of opposition between liberalist and utilitarian educational models can be found in the initial contrast of the theoretical and practical knowledge.

This opposition was criticized by one of the contemporary French theorists in the sociology of education Pierre Bourdieu. Applying the methodology of structural analysis, he considers the field of university education as a history of mental structure reproduction, which is founded on the binary opposition of theory and practice. According to him, the preferred orientation on theoretical knowledge, or "intellectual-centrism" of higher education, is the core of the current university "doxa" [Bourdieu, 1996: 8-31], which is the result of a period of theological dogma during the university scholasticism. The core of an educational program at that time was the constant reproduction of the sacred texts. It is clear that this education system was not aimed at the development of creative abilities, and therefore any innovation could be considered as a heresy. In this "intellectual-centrism" Bourdieu can see the basis of the paradox of the university thought, its internal "brake": scholastic education model has in its foundation a well-functioning mechanism of power legitimization of certain scientific discourse, which does not allow appearing of any internal criticism of legitimate canons. It focuses only on the reproduction of existing categories, not on the creation of new ones.

The solution of this problem for Bourdieu is the formation of a new model where much more attention would be paid to practical or sensory (physical) mastery of disciplines. Such education can form a creative agent rather than reproducer of established social definitions. "Ingenuity (*ars inveniendi*) is transmitted not through the principles and precepts, but through the long-term association with the master, which can be a companion, in the sense it was understood in former times in corporations, and in the sense of the workshop (Renaissance), a sports coach, etc. Master in his form of art transfers all the discourse through the practice and refers to meta-discourse only as an exception, to go beyond what can be transferred directly from practice to practice" [Bourdieu, 1996: 8-31]. However, it is worth noting that here Bourdieu contradicts his own thoughts in the work "Homo academiucus", where he appears for the defense of university autonomy. Focusing on practice, in turn, has always been perceived as harmful for university, as it was destroying its borders from inside.

The realization of the relativity of theoretical views led the utilitarians to preferred orientation on professional education, which purpose was the satisfaction of the external order. Therefore, educational program of the utilitarians was always attracted to the applied and practical arts. The main aim of this project is the formation of a socially adequate actor who is able to fulfill the needs of a surrounding society. As a culmination of the utilitarian model probably the Enlightenment project of the 18th century can be considered, which was completely

contrary to the ideal of a closed elite educational community of the liberalists. The largest contribution to this direction perhaps was introduced by J. Dewey [Dewey, 1925].

The concept of economic benefit or profit was associated by the utilitarians with the progress of science and the introduction of its achievements into the industry in order to improve the process of production of material goods. From here the main interest in the activities of the university follows, which was seen as the main agent for the production and dissemination of advanced scientific knowledge. From this perspective, the University should act as a constant production of educated professionals and scientific research development. The University becomes more applied in nature. The utilitarians contrasted the elitism and religiosity of higher education by the projects of its secularization and professionalization.

The concept of scientific ethos (non-university) has been formulated within the framework of the sociology of science, which main interests are primarily focused on the analysis of the determinants of the process of scientific inquiry. For traditional sociology of science the interest to the educational form of the higher education institutions is not typical. The study of the University phenomenon necessarily implies combining research and educational elements. In our opinion, the notion of the scientific ethos can be very useful here, which appearance is associated with structural-functional paradigm of the sociology of science, and more specifically with the name of its founder, Robert Merton, who used the methodology of structural functionalism to construct his model of science as a social institution. One of the postulates of structural functionalism is the claim that social integration of the members of any group is created by the adoption of certain behavioral rules governing their actions with respect to each other. These norms are institutionalized by the group, i.e. are understood by the majority of its members and especially the leaders of the group as essential foundations of group activities, consistently maintained and reproduced over time.

Merton examines the conflict of science with other social institutions as a natural consequence of the incompatibility of value-normative complex (ethos) immanent to science with the values that lie at the basis of other social institutions.

In this regard, Merton notes that the values of science have an ethical basis - they are created by the scientists' views about acceptable and unacceptable forms of behavior. What is most important, such views are supported by the presence of a common interest in the process of scientific knowledge, in the effectiveness of the collective activity that produces this knowledge. Thus, internal norms of science are ethical norms, and a set of such norms plays a role of quite an overwhelming ethos. "The concept of ethos of science refers to the perceived emotional complex of rules, regulations, customs, beliefs, values and assumptions that press the scientists...

As a social code ethos is maintained by the feelings of its representatives" [Levin, 1980].

Mertonian approach was only the start for the sociology of science. At a later time, all the criticism of this approach was in the line with the discoveries of the post-positivist philosophy of science, which focused on the non-scientific determinants of research process. Here the modernist cumulative ideal of science development was revised. The subject of the analysis changed to the informal norms and values that have always been at the heart of the actions of the scientific community members.

The real innovation of this project was the substantiation of the possibility of combining research and educational activities at university. Up to that point, public statements for the development of the research direction at university were met negatively. An example of this can be the "Idea" of Newman, where the possibility of autonomy blurring was constantly seen in research practice. State benefits from the development of the research base of universities were always evident.

J. Habermas summarized all the central postulates of the German project [Habermas, 1994]. Habermas argues that the planners of the Berlin University were interested in only two points. The first one concerns the institutionalization of modern science, free from the tutelage of religion and the church, and at the same time which autonomy was protected from the claims of the state bureaucracy ensuring its external existence. The solution of this problem was seen in state guarantees of autonomy, protecting higher education institutions from both the political demands and claims of the society.

The second postulate concerns the need to explain the reasons for the government interest in providing unlimited freedom to university. Habermas identifies three specific characteristics of the German ideal model.

1. Fighting for independence of science from the state. Science sees itself out of politics.
2. Protection of the University in relation to the practice of professional specialization, in particular to the demand for education, which may violate the principle of the unity of teaching and research process.
3. Protection of the humanities` prestige, warning against the domination of the empirical, as it would counteract the fundamental theoretical knowledge.

After legitimation of research hypostasis of the University, little has changed in the general idea. The project of the German idealists almost matched the liberalist model. University remained the same elitist institution applying for autonomy. Probably the last uncritical defender of the "University Idea" was Karl Jaspers. In his work in 1923 he again after Humboldt

considered University as a continuous process of climbing to his absolute idea. From the standpoint of the German idealists` tradition Jaspers considers any institutional structure as a form of embodiment of the objective spirit. According to him, any institution maintains its ability to function only as long as it implements its inherent idea. "As soon as the spirit leaves it, it immediately stops as the body without a soul" [Zakharov, 1996]. Thus, Jaspers predicts the death of universities as a result of breaking the bonds of corporate consciousness, which give life to them.

A similar analysis of the educational activities` autonomy reveals the following components. The university itself is empowered to create educational programs, make decisions about teaching methods, put forward basic criteria for evaluating prospective students at the enrolment, as well as assess the graduates.

It should be noted that the classic academic ethos is oriented to the ideal of education and research processes` continuity, or, in other words, it focuses on the aim of the reproduction of the research part of University. As a result, the autonomy is revealed as a project of self-governing closed corporation, developing a strategy of its own reproduction. The economic autonomy of university can be easily explained as the right of free disposal of its own budget within the available funds and search for additional sources of funding for its activities.

University ethos, which was formulated at the turn of the century, was metaphorically titled "the ivory tower" in literature. The political strategy of social closure of universities still takes place. However, as we will see further, it remained largely on paper and never had a substantial realization.

The main role of the corporation`s ethos is well known – it is the formation of its members` self-identity. Ethos sets the boundaries of corporation through self-describing that has symbolic character. These boundaries exist, first of all, for the external environment of university, that is, as "something that should prevent someone else to enter", and secondly (and more importantly) - to the inner content, as any frontier exists to "prevent the locals to get out ". As a result, the formation of the corporation members` identity by ethos is the establishment of internal or mental barrier from all that is outside. Bourdieu describes the social position of universities as requiring corporate image of being or "the whole set of dispositions, including corporal, inscribed into the manner to behave indicating academic dignity; into the forms of sensitivity and categories of understanding, mental structures deeply adapted to the structures of academic institutions (its divisions and hierarchies), and the social structures that these structures reproduce" [Bourdieu, 1996: 8-31].

Ideally, values and norms of ethos provide solidarity to the entire corporation and

sustainable reproduction of itself from generation to generation.

However, is it possible to claim that the absence of the utilitarian ideology objectified in text indicates the real lack of opposite values and norms? Until now it was a question of classical university that could afford the discourse of autonomy as it really was an elitist institution and its main aims grew from the aspiration to get the truth. What is happening to university during the science`s rejection from the ambitions to get the absolute truth? Can modern university allow such self-sufficiency, or will it have to "heal its narcissistic complex" and try to create a kind of synthesis of classics and modernity?

It is obvious that the history of universities cannot be represented as a blind adherence to principles of corporate consciousness. One of the first, who questioned the embodiment of the "Ideas" into reality, was T. Veblen. He opened freely that to see the principle of independent knowledge of the truth as a foundation of corporate ethos at the turn of the century is not to see the actual reality of the University.

According to Veblen, University is no longer an "academic monastery", which trains people endowed with "idle curiosity". From a particular historical moment, higher education begins to exist as an indicator of high socio-economic status.

With the development of technical equipment level of production, education is increasingly beginning to acquire material value; demand on it has caused the rapid development of private education. Changing attitudes to knowledge leads to its transformation into commodity, "commodification". This idea of Veblen became the central for Jean-Francois Lyotard in the "Postmodern Condition". Explicitly or implicitly, but the question asked by a student having professional training, state or institution of higher education is not the question "Is it True?", but "What does it work for?". In the context of mercantilization of knowledge more often this last question means "Can it be sold out?"; in the context of increasing productivity - "Is it effective or not?" [Lyotard, 1998].

The result of knowledge commodification in modern society is a complete reorganization of universities. From the liberalists` "ivory towers» they become "factories" of professionals` production. In "The Theory of the Leisure Class" Veblen argues that philosopher or Platonic ideal of supervisor was replaced by managers and businessmen or the "captains of erudition". Of course, their goal is far from to struggle for the ideals of pure science. University transformed into a product of the activity of executives who care about its prestige and presentability of diplomas on the labor market.

Another consequence of the penetration of the managerial ideology into universities is their bureaucratization, since any mass production requires a strong administrative system.

Thus, at the turn of the century, University begins to alienate from its own ideas, and its condition could be interpreted as a constant conflict between the two ethoses. One, as it is shown by the history of the "Ideas", is an internal or private invention of university; second mostly comes from outside and is a result of university need to perform certain functions of the social system. University and surrounding reality appear as the realization of collision of the lifeworld and the system. The process of University alienation from its idea is the process of colonization of the lifeworld by the system's environment, or the loss of its former inter-subjective system of values. J. Habermas believes that the segregation by the principle of external / internal is initially hypothetical. University was always in some illusion, which ensured strong corporate consciousness to it. Discussion about the internal contradiction of the University is often labeled as the problematization of its "crisis". By the crisis of University we will understand the internal opposition of its ethoses.

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Culture of Speech and Language Trends: the Problem of Communicative Admissions

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Abstract. The article deals with a problem of regulating communicative admissions relative to communicants' observing rhetoric criteria while following language trends. As an illustrative material here are suggested expressive ways of addressing by first names and changes of the Russian vocabulary for the last half a century in the gender context.

Keywords: culture of speech; language fashion trends; communicative admission

Communicants' culture of speech is known to form primarily their language environment. Here we provide a curious observation: in Germany, Israel, the USA, Canada in every day speech Russian speaking youth show tendency in using the Internet slang, but in doing so, they do not address Lena as Lenka, Lenchka, but only Lena. Nevertheless, they know and love Morozko fairy-tale movie since childhood where there is an episode where the main character on the question "What is your name, girl?" replies: "My name is Nastia, but am called in different ways: daddy calls me *Nastenka* (*dear Nastia*), sisters – *Nastka* (*Hey, you, Nastia*)..."

Gaining a complete representation of the *communicative admissions* tradition we should also consider a person's cultural level indication problem in the context of social- and psycholinguistics. Then, it is well to bear in mind that a wide range of expressive name classes in the Russian language reflects the style of the prevailing inter-personal relationships in the community more obviously than in any other one. As applied to Russian names and their expressive derivations this means that in the Russian cultural tradition a prime importance is assumed by the degree of intimacy. Thus, depending on the degree of intimacy a speaker may call a male addressee: *Vladimir* (*formal*); *Vova* (*informal*), *Voloden'ka* (*as an endearment*), *Volod'ka*, (*very informal*), etc., and a female: *Anastasia* (*formal*); *Nastia* (*informal*), *Nasten'ka* (*as an endearment*), *Nast'ka* (*very informal*), etc. The speaker's choice fits the strength of the feeling toward the addressee and the degree of their relationships at the moment of the speech (of course, as the speaker perceives it). In fact, a form of the first name in the Russian traditional communication clearly proves that it is vital for Russian speakers to convey all the tinges of feelings that may appear between people as well as all changes and swings in their relationships. It is interesting to know that bringing innovations from the Western Europe into old Slav way of living Peter I by his Decree of 30 December 1701 banned signing petitions with derogatory half-names *Ivashka*, *Sen'ka*, etc.

Appreciating today's *English borrowing fashion trends* in Russian we should direct our research for comparison to English. Boys *Tommy* and *Eddie* have become gradually called *Tom*

and *Ed* without returning to pet diminutives. Let us remember M. Twain: Tom Sawyer did not like his full name *Thomas* because he got used to hear it from his school master only before being lashed. In Russian *warm endearments* *Voloden'ka* and *Nasten'ka* are not limited just with the reference to children. Meanwhile the neutral form *Volodia* and *Nadia* may be applied to a child. Thus, the degree and quality of tenderness expressed by Russian forms *Ilyushechka* or *Nadyushen'ka* as well as a rude expressive sound of the form *Mityukha* and *Kapitonych* and alike cannot be conveyed in English without substantial losses. That is why English-Americanized names *Vladimir* and *Vladislav* as *Vlad* clearly fail [Wierzbicka, 1992: 422].

The moral extremism of name categorization and its emotional deepness are typical for Russian speakers according to practice illustrations and only in the Russian-speaking environment, and as a rule, not for the representatives of the younger generation (emigrants' children of the fourth wave) who got their education in the second language (German, English).

Here are more *name factors* from our first-hand experience. In spring 1980 a Russian physicist had a baby delivered. That time he was on a business trip in West Germany. His colleagues Germans certainly congratulated him and unexpectedly suggested name *Vladimir* in honor of *Vladimir Vysotsky* a popular among them singer. The acquaintance hesitated: first there occurred notorious children's anecdotes about *Vovochka*... and eventually gave in. The boy was named *Vladimir*. Now he is thirty-five, he has never been called neither *Vova* nor derivatives from the short name as if the given name had a single full form like, for example, *Oleg* or *Vera*.

Secondly, a female student when the author of this article delivered a course of Russian and rhetoric would introduce herself only with her full first name *Sofia* (for friends with derivatives of this form, of course), but not as *Sonia*. I think this is her will not due to the fashion trends. Although language trends towards names, it goes without saying, exist (post-revolutionary *Noyabrina*, *Avantgarde*, etc.). Here we provide one more observation: our friends (*Russian Germans*) living in the suburbs of Stuttgart named their daughter with a double name *Estefania-Katrin*, but at first they were doubtful whether *Stesha* or *Katyusha*. Now they call the girl only *Estefania* since every day communicative practice of the child's correlation with her friends of the same age has played its crucial role and in the family.

A language fashion is following its trends as a cultural phenomenon by means of a language. Practicing languages or for instance terminology it can be long and extended. It may change the general language picture like *download* a computer term which has dissolved in the modern living. It can be local and seasonal (slang words).

A new word, like any novelty, has some sort of balanced by time correlation between its consumer's taste and style. Appreciating the modern language trends which bring calques into a

language we suggest no less interesting presentations of modern sources of linguistic evolution: a change of the vocabulary for recent half a century in the gender context. Searching vocabulary and connected with it units of other linguistic layers (word-building and grammar) by the example of Ozhegov's Dictionary of the Russian Language (1952) and (2003) illustrates that the number of anthroponemes has increased in more than a thousand pairs: there have appeared new pairs of words (*akselerat* (masculine) and *akseleratka* (feminine)): to the existing in the dictionary unpaired anthroponeme has been added a word of the opposite grammar gender (*millionaire* – *millionersha*; *zhemannitsa* female *prude* – *zhemannik* male *prude*).

Hence, a communicant's taste and style (in fact, demonstrating self-esteem) should be formed by means of realized observations with to meet valid culture of speech criteria and what is no less important considering traditions of the native tongue with all the objectivity of the linguistic world changes as a whole and a language of a certain community in particular. Then the problems of cultural-heritage-preservation kind relative to a language will stop be accompanied with an exclamation mark.

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Life World of the Modern Russian Megalopolis: Valuable Measurement¹⁷

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Abstract. In article specifics of valuable orientations of Russians – residents of the megalopolis are considered. Megalopolises in modern Russia became the centers of distribution of innovations in social space that allowed them to concentrate resources for development of new reference points, forming new valuable orientations. In spite of the fact that the valuable landscape of the country is rather uniform, residents of the megalopolis are distinguished by more expressed orientation to individual, rational, activist values.

Keywords: value orientations; megalopolis

The problem of valuable orientations of Russians draws attention of researchers in recent years. Uncertainty and discrepancy of valuable orientations contacts an inefficiency or absence of the institutes urged to realize all-civil values. In society the centers of different density of a prevalence of these or those valuable orientations which divide Russians, including in the place of residence are formed. So, for example, megalopolises concentrate resources for development of new reference points, forming new valuable orientations. The valuable structure of the megalopolis differs in the variety, on set of behavioral and world outlook signs.

In modern social researches studying valuable orientations represents the actual direction. At the same time, to questions of communication of heterogeneity of social space with the formed valuable orientations of the population it is not paid sufficient attention. Though, the emphasis on interrelation and interconditionality of elements of social system and as a result of heterogeneity of social space is present even at E. Durkheim, G. Zimmel, P. Sorokin's classical works. Later works of sociologists indicate existence of the typified positions of social agents, according to P. Bourdieu, the different types of the capital, the benefits and services existing in a situation of unequal distribution.

Essential intersettlement differentiation in Russia a difference of the size and the status of the settlement, level of its economic and social development defines hierarchy of prevalence of

¹⁷ The vital world of Russians and evolution of forms of their participation in realization of the state and public transformations (1990 - the 2010th years). All-Russian sociological poll. It is carried out on October 25-30, 2014. 1750 people in 18 regions of the country taking into account representative selection on a floor, education, marital status, a residence, and forms of ownership and to the seniority are interrogated. Method - questioning. Poll is moved in all economic region of the country representing the Central Russia, the Volga region, the Country South, the Urals, Siberia and the Far East, and also two megalopolises - Moscow and St.-Petersburg. Survey is conducted at the expense of means of a grant of RNF No. 14-18 — 02016.

innovations in social space. Megalopolises as the largest centers of concentration of all social resources provide a bit different localization of values in social space.

Function of values consists in creation of the ordered and intelligent picture of the world, leaning on which people set the purposes of the activity and select means for its implementation. During too time, a problem valuable to orientation of Russians it is interesting to researchers because of absence of valuable public consensus recently on the majority of actual problems of development of the Russian society on the basis of which there is a coordination of actions of people and implementation of social regulation. Valuable distinctions in everyday life of Russians are shown on set of world outlook and behavioral signs which are inherent in inhabitants of this or that type of the settlement.

As showed results of the researches, the main value for Russians of all age is the family — 97% of respondents report about it. The value of friendship (92%) is on the second place on the importance. The value of love is on the third place. Further follow free time which most significantly for respondents is more senior than 35 years (89–91%), and also the situation in the country which has the greatest value for respondents is more senior than 35 years (86–89%). The religion is the most important value for 25-34-year-old (72%) and 45-59-year-old respondents (71%) [Gorshkov, 2013].

In recent years the importance of these spheres has changed. So, in recent years less significant became friendship (with 96 to 92%) and love (with 91 to 86%). Events value grew in the country till 2009 (with 82 to 87%), in 2010 the importance of this sphere was a little reduced (to 85%). Less important is for Russians a profession (from 87 to 83%). And here religion value, on the contrary, grows in recent years (with 63 to 68%) [Glavnoy, 2010].

The main life values for the Russian youth are the financial welfare, while, the ideals of justice and peace are the main things for elderly Russians. And people of middle age value stability most of all. But, despite the difference in life priorities of Russians of different age groups, family (64%), then security (51%) and wealth (43%) [Glavnoy, 2010] were on the first place among the majority of respondents.

Reasoning about the human qualities the respondents noted that such qualities as aggression, cynicism and clearness of purpose had gained strength to the greatest degree over the last 20 years. The weakening is observed among such qualities as respect for elders, disinterestedness and readiness to help, kindness [Glavnoy, 2010]. (see table 1)

Table 1

How have the people and their relationship changed over the last 15-20 years, what have they become, according to the Russians, %.

Qualities of people	Became stronger	Became weaker	Are the same	Difficult to answer
Aggression	79	6	15	0
Cynicism	68	10	22	0
Activity, clearness of purpose, initiative	41	34	25	0
Suggestibility, tendency to obey authorities	34	28	38	0
Intelligence, erudition	32	39	28	1
Ability to cooperate	18	41	41	0
Responsibility for the family, care	18	37	45	0
Diligence	17	51	32	0
Faithfulness to comrades	9	47	44	0
Patriotism, devotion to the Motherland	7	64	29	0
Kindness	6	71	23	0
Heartfulness	6	67	27	0
Respect for women	5	67	28	0
Sincerity	5	70	24	1
Disinterestedness and readiness to help	5	72	23	0
Honesty	5	70	25	0
Respect for elders	4	73	23	0

Over 78% of respondents point out a growth of aggression and a fall of respect for elders, more than 70% of them pay attention to the ill-will, the growth of insincerity among people, 67% of respondents notice the disrespectful attitude to women and the disappearance of such psychologically important quality for Russians and Russian culture as heartfulness, and 68% of people note the growth of cynicism. The Russians, according to their recognition became less patriotic (64%), less honest (almost 70% of responses), less faithful to the principles of comradeship (47%). Over 37% of respondents point out a weakening of responsibility of Russians before the family, while only 17.5% of them see changes for the better (45% of respondents think that no changes have happened in this regard).

It should be especially mentioned about diligence. Over half of respondents suppose that, despite all market incentives, their compatriots have become less diligent over the last 15-20 years than they were before [O chem mechtat, 2014].

Generally we can say that the social world of modern Russian citizen is a small world of his family and friends closed on himself, and to a lesser extent it is the world of his colleagues. He feels the greatest affection for them (almost two-thirds of respondents have pointed it). For

example, 55% of Russians think that there are those people among their relatives, friends, colleagues who consider them the moral authority for themselves; 66% of young people are sure in this [Dominanty, 2011].

In light above told in spite of the fact that the valuable landscape of the Russian society is rather uniform, in society the centers of different density of a prevalence of these or those valuable orientations which can be considered are formed, comparing valuable orientations of Russians in general and valuable orientations of residents of the megalopolis.

At the same time, it is possible to speak about the different density of a prevalence of valuable orientations depending on proximity to the center and availability in use of social resources. Being guided by data of the All-Russian research conducted within the "Vital World of Russians and Evolution of Forms of Their Participation in Realization of the State and Public Transformations (1990-2010th years)" [The vital world, 2014] project it is possible to fix some features in valuable orientations of residents of the megalopolis in comparison with all other Russians.

The important factor, determining the value orientations of population of metropolis, is the satisfaction with their lives in general and, as a consequence, the estimation of the vector of the development direction of the country. The satisfaction with their lives (48% of respondents) and the presence of a positive attitude to the fact that life in the near future will be improved (40% of them), dominate in responses of residents of the megalopolis in comparison with answers of the respondents from other types of settlements. As a consequence, the approval of the direction, in which the country is developing, is formed: the residents of the metropolis consider it correct (48% of them). That thing that only 23% of the population of the megalopolis found difficult to answer this question became the reflection of the unevenness access to intellectual resources for different types of settlements and their degree of involvement to the information environment.

Importance for respondents of certain spheres of life also influences formation valuable orientations of residents of the megalopolis. Russians in the majority incline to importance of such spheres as a family, health, work. However, it is possible to tell that in structure of terminal values "achievable" orientations of residents of the megalopolis are more connected with work, career and personal enrichment. So, by estimates of respondents, work is very important for 79% of residents of the megalopolis. At the same time the passion to enrichment as the negative phenomenon, defect in our society characterizes only 11% of residents of the megalopolis. Thus, "achievable" priorities of residents of the megalopolis are expressed more brightly that can be explained with existence of the structure of opportunities

determined by concrete type of the settlement. So residents of the megalopolis to a lesser extent suffer from manifestation of such negative phenomena in our society as bureaucracy (37%), corruption and bribery (48%), than, for example residents of the village (45% and 55% respectively).

In the megalopolis collectivist values have very low importance. The wide social resource gives opportunity not to care of establishment of the productive interpersonal relations even on a workplace. Rather often for residents of the megalopolis lack of the normal benevolent relations with the management on a workplace is characteristic (16% specify about it).

In labor organization residents of the megalopolis to a lesser extent put into dependence result of a social labor on honesty and obligation in negotiorum gestio from internal workers, partners and all participants of labor relations. Therefore the business non-obligation is considered as very disturbing negative phenomenon in labor ethics (19%). Thus, in case of successful labor relations in the megalopolis when public recognition of traditional merits of the person is provided, honesty and business obligation satisfaction at respondents with the work is not so great (13%). After all within a prevalence of collectivist values admits that work is a duty before society with what only 19% of residents of megalopolises completely agree.

Thus, for residents of megalopolises, existence of personal success allows to provide the solution of social problems by achievement of a certain status. The status, belonging to a certain social group in the megalopolis, allows us to build the social relations according to individual preferences. The megalopolis embodies a certain type of mentality which is more characterized by individualism, rationality, and atomism.

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Air Pollution in Taipei.

The Role of Social Events and Weather Features

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Abstract. Air pollution is a current problem of every big city. However, in Taipei city (Taiwan) the problem of air pollution has specific features: the city area is limited by natural relief but the population increases every year. Naturally, the number of motor vehicles increases with population. This paper discusses under the influence of which social and weather events the concentrations of pollutants can increase or decrease. The current situation of air quality in the city and the annual dynamic of air pollution are also analyzed. In the socioecological metabolism of Taipei there is an imbalance in the interaction between urban residents and the urban environment, especially during rush hours in the morning and in the evening.

Keywords: socioecological metabolism; Taipei; air pollution in the city; air pollution by motor vehicle

Taipei is located in the north of Taiwan, it is situated in the eastern part of the Taipei Basin and neighboring hilly areas. The city length is 27.655 kilometers from north to south; the width is 20.754 kilometers from east to west, with a circumference of 216 kilometers and an area of 271.7997 square kilometers [Taipei City Government, 2015].

Taiwan is situated in a subtropical zone and is affected by monsoons [Department of budget, accounting and statistics Taipei City Government, Republic of China, 2014]. In the winter season the climate is wet and cool because of continental cold fronts and north-easterly winds. In the summers the city is affected by oceanic fronts and south-westerly winds, causing of this in this season there are often thundershowers and typhoons.

Taipei is a city the area of which is limited by relief, but which population increases every year. The factors affecting population fluctuation are divided into two aspects – natural increase (birth, death) and social increase (immigrant, emigrant). Since the restructuring, the rate of natural increase in Taipei City has gradually decreased. In 2013, 10 331 people were added due to natural increase, at the rate of 3.86‰. Under the new administrative system, the most increase in population due to social increase was 72 263 in 1969. The main reason was the adjustment of household registration on the single career soldiers. In the end of 2013 there was an average of 9 884 people populated in each square kilometer in Taipei [Department of budget, accounting and statistics Taipei City Government, Republic of China, 2014].

Development of Taipei

No one knows the exact date of appearance of the first settlement, but in the 1709 settlement began in Mangka (now it is the Wanhua district). After Sino-Japanese War the first

international port on the island appeared in Taipei. That was one of the reasons for fast development of Taipei. In the end of the 18th century the economic development of Taipei outstripped Tainan, the city in the south part of Taiwan, which was the primary capital of the island. «The walls of Taipei were completed in 1884, and Taiwan was officially established as a province in 1887. The first governor of Taiwan, Liu Ming-Chuan, sequentially carried out his plan to develop Taipei during his term in Taipei, building railways, roads, and schools» [Taipei City Government, 2015].

However, the plans of Taiwanese governor were ruined by the war, as Taiwan was ceded to Japan in 1895 as a result of the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). In the first half of 20th century the development of the city was made according Japanese plans. During this period the main infrastructure of Taipei was set up, the city began to develop to the eastward. In the middle of the 20th century Taipei already had some distinguishing features that are so common for us now, such as straight roads, public buildings of grand Western architectural styles, department stores, coffeehouses, a railway station and railway hotel, a full-fledged museum, a broadcasting station, and public parks. Nowadays the eastern districts of the city has become the downtown, while many of its western parts, which were already in decline, have now become the targets of new urban regeneration projects [Jones, 2008].

Taiwan is a typical example of a South-East Asian country, which is characterized by a concomitant trend rapid urbanization with concentration of urban population in large cities. In the beginning of 20th century the island had only 400.5 thousands people of urban population. In 1985 – the urban population had already passed 13.5 million people [Cheng-hung Liao, 1988]. The high speed of urban growth favoured the development of urban transport systems of Taiwan. As the capital of Taiwan and the most populated city of the island, Taipei got with rapid growth several problems which accompany many large cities of this region, such as high density of population in the central districts and rapid increase of personal vehicles which led to ecological problems such as air and noise pollution.

As the capital of Taiwan, Taipei in its development was closely related to the development of Taiwan. In his book “World Regional Geography” Joseph J. Hobbs gives very detail description of historical events which resulted in fast and impressive economic development of Taiwan.

«Driven from the mainland in 1949, the Chinese Nationalist government fled to Taiwan with remnants of its armed forces and many civilian followers. Nearly 2 million Chinese were in this migration. Here, protected by American sea power, the government reestablished itself as the Republic of China with its capital at Taipei (population 8.2 million). The Nationalists, originally

an authoritarian regime but with increasing elements of political democracy, were very successful in fostering industrial development. They united inexpensive Taiwanese labor with foreign capital to build one of Asia's first urban-industrial countries and one of its Asian Tigers. Its major exports are machinery, electronics (notably computers, cell phones, modems, routers, and global positioning systems), metals, textiles, plastics, and chemicals, especially to mainland China and the United States». [Hobbs, 2009].

«Environmental issues in Taiwan run the gamut, from industrial pollution to air pollution from cars in cities to concerns about the protection of agricultural land and nature preserves. They are receiving increasing attention, in part because of the island's size (35.960 km²) and population. The island is incredibly crowded—more so even than Japan, with an average population density of 636.6 persons/km², second only to Bangladesh for states with a population over 10 million persons in 2009». [Gregory Veeck, 2011].

At present, Taipei is separated into 12 districts. The eco-social structure of Taipei districts is dissimilar: in the west and central city districts the urban saturation is higher than in other districts of Taipei. One more specific character of the eco-social structure of this city is that there is an airport in the city center, which has a great impact on the air pollution and on the noise pollution of Taipei.

Specific characteristics of Taipei in the context of South East Asia – Taipei is a developed city, in South East Asia it is at the same level as Seoul, Tokyo and Shanghai. If one examines the transport system of these cities – in Seoul, Tokyo and Shanghai the main part of the vehicle fleet belongs to cars, but in Taipei 58% of vehicle fleet – are motorcycles, what is typical for developing cities, such as Ho Shi Min, Bangkok and Jakarta. However, the environmental policies of Seoul and Taipei have some common features, such as parking fees and car use control. There are some common features between environmental policies of developed cities in South-East Asia. The common key points of policy to stop the rapid growth of motorization in Tokyo, Seoul and Taipei are described by Cheng-Min Feng and John Sun in fifth chapter of book “Transport Development in Asian Megacities”. “Tokyo, Seoul, and Taipei have introduced fuel and vehicle taxes along with stringent parking regulation as measures to restrain car ownership growth. However, in the case of Tokyo, these measures were introduced simultaneously with a road investment package, while they were introduced much later than the major road expansion phase in the cases of Seoul and Taipei. Tokyo also charged toll fees for urban expressways, while some urban expressways are toll-free in Seoul and Taipei. This is perhaps the reason why the rate of growth in motorization in Taipei and Seoul was faster than in Tokyo.” [Cheng-Min Feng, John Sun, 2013]. Except the Taipei government created a Taipei Bike Sharing System. This system is

very comfortable and the prices are democratic. In case of this public bicycles are very popular between urban residents and tourists.

Transport

The public transport of Taipei City is represented by Taipei metropolitan and buses. Taipei metropolitan area is comprised of Taipei City, New Taipei City, and Keelung City, while the core city is the Taipei City itself.

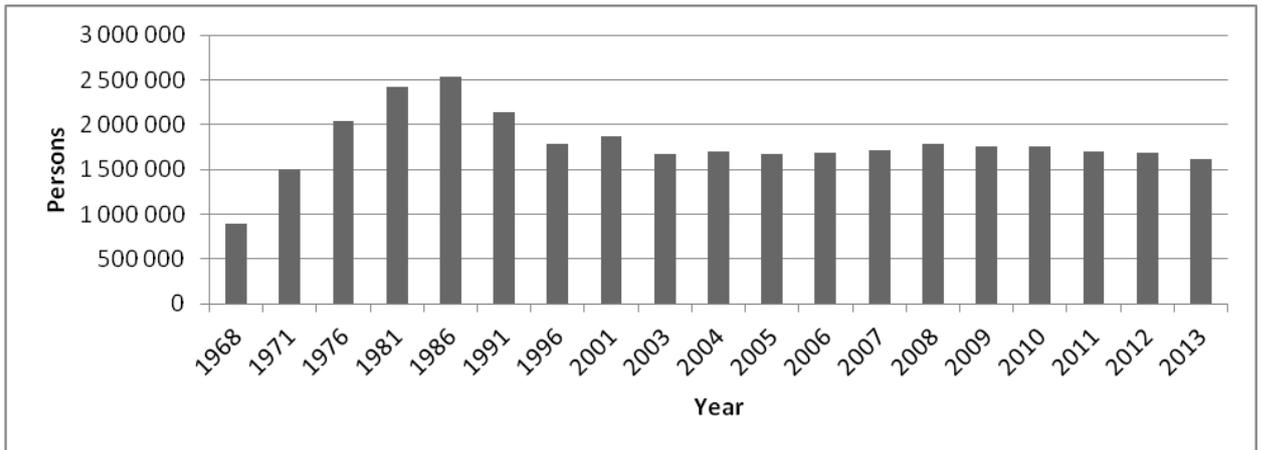


Fig.1. Daily passenger traffic of bus companies in Taipei

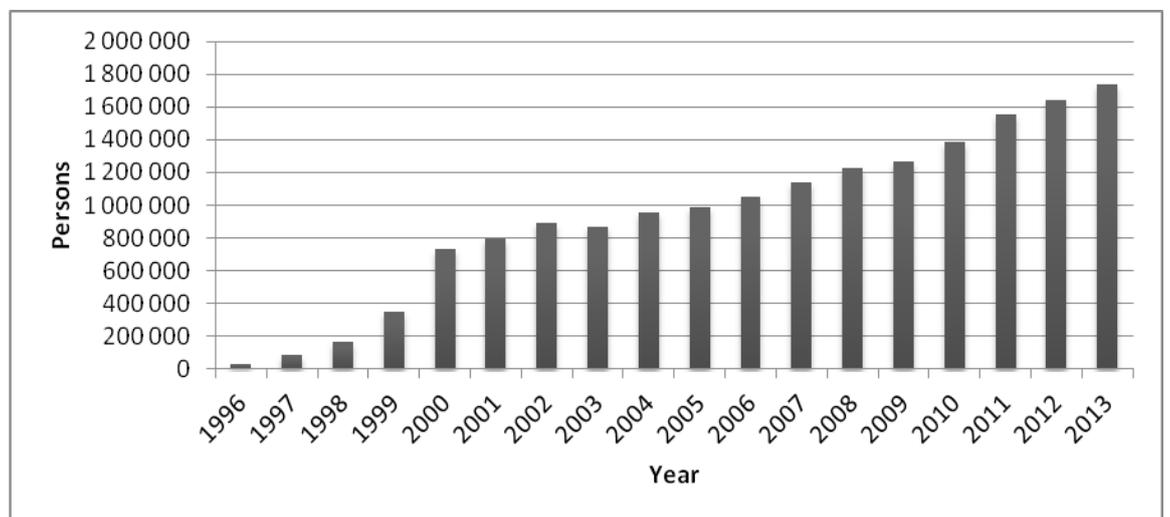


Fig.2. Operation of Taipei Rapid Transit System (MRT)

In the Figure 1 the daily bus passengers traffic during different years is shown. Nowadays buses are less popular than MRT, during 2013 about 1 614 963 passengers a day were transported by bus, and by MRT 1 739 619 passengers per day were transported. As it is shown in Figure 2, the passenger traffic of MRT is growing every year; this can be explained by

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governmental policy and comfortable organization of use of the MRT, which includes moderate prices, comfortable transfers and modern trains etc.

The government of Taipei tries to make the public transport more popular and comfortable to reduce air pollution created by personal vehicles. However, as it is shown in the Figure 4, in the structure of vehicle fleet motorcycles and cars keep the highest positions. The high degree of motorcycle ownership and use in Taipei indicates that even people with car may use motorcycle because of better maneuverability it may offer in congested traffic [Shigeru Morichi, 2013].

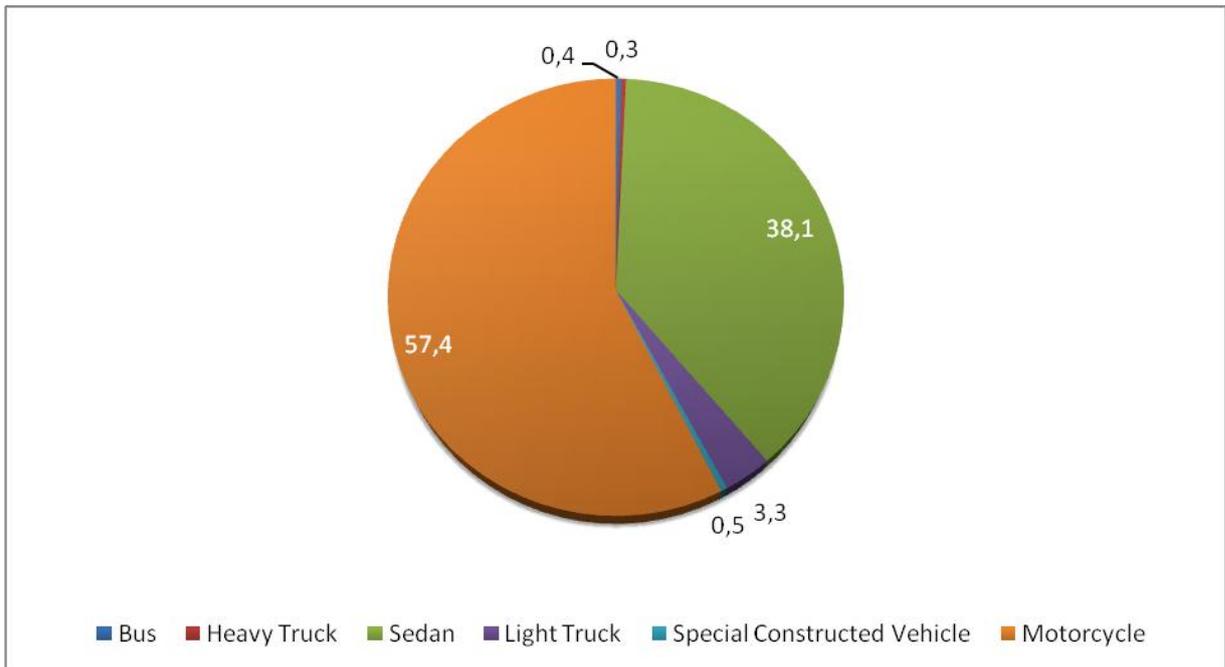


Fig.3.The structure of vehicle fleet of Taipei in the end of 2013¹⁸

If one studies the traffic streams of Taipei in spite of the great number of motorcycles in some situations, some parts of the city show the prevalence of cars in the vehicle stream. For example during typhoon season cars are more comfortable and safer for use than motorcycles. There are also some roads which do not allow the use of motorcycles. In spite of smaller roads they are more popular among motorcycles users. At night there are more police posts on the roads controlling the drivers, especially near nightlife areas such as ktv, nightclubs etc. In this case and at night taxis are very popular. In the night traffic stream there is a prevalence of taxis.

¹⁸ Figures 1, 2 and 3 were created on the base of statistical data which was provided by Department of budget, accounting and statistics of Taipei City Government

The most active night life areas are situated in the west and central districts. In this case during twenty four hours in the central part of Taipei the air pollution level is higher than in peripheral districts.

As it was described earlier motorcycles have the highest percentage in the vehicle fleet of Taipei. The city climate doesn't make any trouble to use motorcycle during all seasons of the year. Only during typhoons using motorcycles isn't comfortable and safe, because of the mass use of motorcycles, when during typhoon rain and wind create a significant possibility of motorcycle accidents the government of Taipei makes a public day off to decrease the number street accidents because of weather conditions.

The air quality under the influence of weather conditions and social events.

84% and 99% of air pollution produced by NO_x and CO is the result of line sources, which is presented in Taipei city by 4 levels of roads (National Highway, Country Highway, Provincial Highway and Country road) [Environmental Protection Administration, 2010].

There is a consistency with natural laws in the annual dynamics of the pollution – the summer season has the lowest rate of concentrations of NO_x and CO that can be explained by climate. As can be seen on the Figure 1 in summer season the ocean air masses bring typhoons, which “ventilate” the city. In winter the typhoons don't pass Taipei and the wind speed is lower so the pollutants stay in the city air longer and because of this the concentration rate rises.

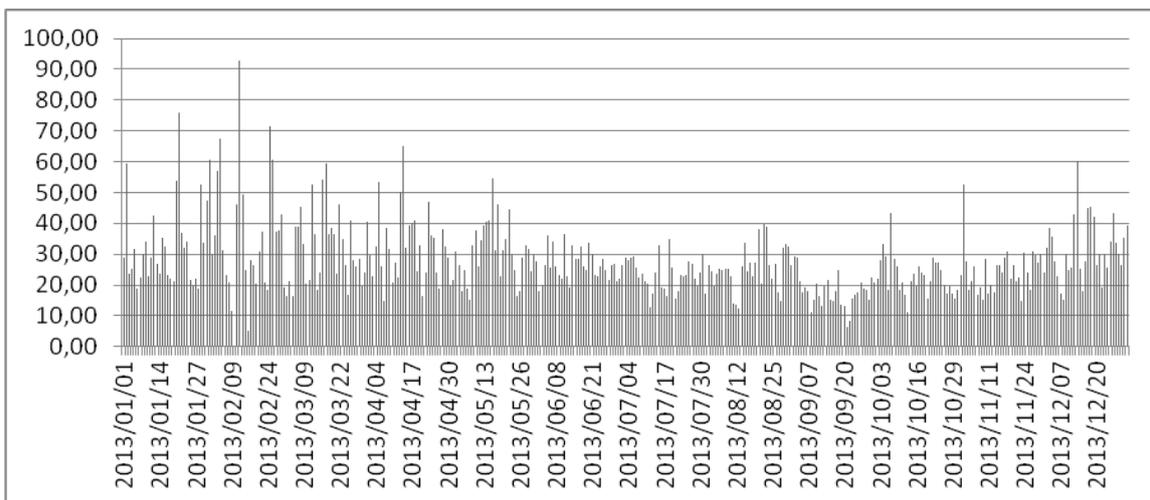


Fig.4. Annual dynamics of NO_x in Guting district of Taipei City in 2013

However there are some points where the rate rises if we watch the monthly dynamics or daily dynamics of concentration of NO_x and CO. As is shown on the Figure 2 there are days with high meaning of CO concentrations and days with low CO concentrations during month. Under

the influence of weather the air quality in Taipei gets high or low meanings of pollutants concentrations. There are days when the weather condition is defined by the highest and the lowest CO concentrations. As it can be seen in the table which is presented below. As described in the table, the temperature is quite common in all these days, the main difference between the high meanings and the low is the wind speed. Wind is a very important indicator, which has an effect on self-cleaning capacity of nature. In the table the days with high CO concentration have low wind speed (5 and 8 km/h) and days with low Co concentration have higher wind speed - from 13 till 19 km/h.

Table 1

Weather conditions of Taipei city in the days with high and low meanings of CO concentrations in July 2013¹⁹

CO	Data	Wind (km/h)	Temp. (°C)	Events
0.81	July 14	5	30	Rain
0.89	July 19	8	29	Rain
0.83	July 31	8	32	Thunderstorm
0.37	July 12	29	13	Rain
0.38	July 17	29	14	-
0.41	July 18	30	19	-

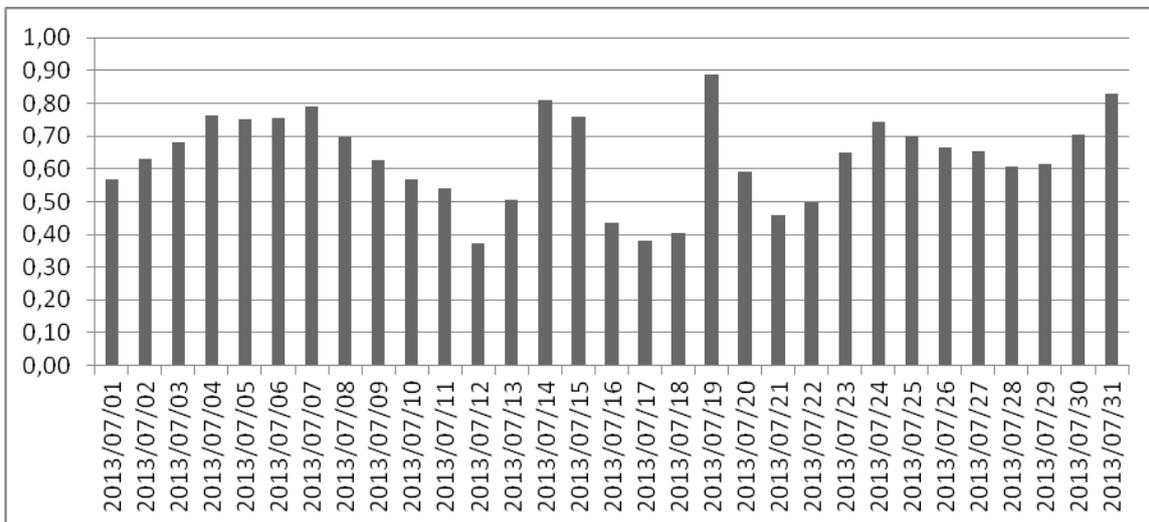


Fig.5. Monthly dynamic of CO concentration in Datong district of Taipei City in July 2013

However weather is not the only factor which influences the air pollution. The second important socio-ecological factor is the social behaviour which includes daily routine and

¹⁹ Table 1 was created on the base of data which was provided by “Weather Underground”. Available at: <http://english.wunderground.com> (Accessed 15 May 2015) /

traditions of society. In this chapter the main attention will be paid to this factor. The most important and prolonged holiday in Taiwan is Chinese New Year. This holiday is important for all Chinese not just because of its origin and historic meaning, but also because this is the holiday which brings all family together and in the Chinese culture family is often more important than a separate person. Traditionally in Chinese New Year's Eve Chinese families gather for their annual reunion dinner, named as Nian Ye Fan, or "the Evening of the Passing". The first day of Chinese New Year is the time to honour one's elders and families visit the oldest and most senior members of their extended families, usually their parents, grandparents and great-grandparents. The second day of Chinese New Year is traditionally the special day when the wife visits her family (like in many countries after marriage a woman doesn't belong to her parents anymore and becomes the part of the husband's family). Nowadays married women aren't so separated with her parents as it was even one century ago, but now in the days of Chinese New Year most families go to visit the wife's family or maternal relatives. In Taiwan Chinese New Year is a national public holiday and the government adds a statutory holiday on the following work day. Because of this people take days off in the dates around Chinese New Year – to be able to spend more time with family or to travel (in most Taiwan companies the vacation duration is only one week in the year).

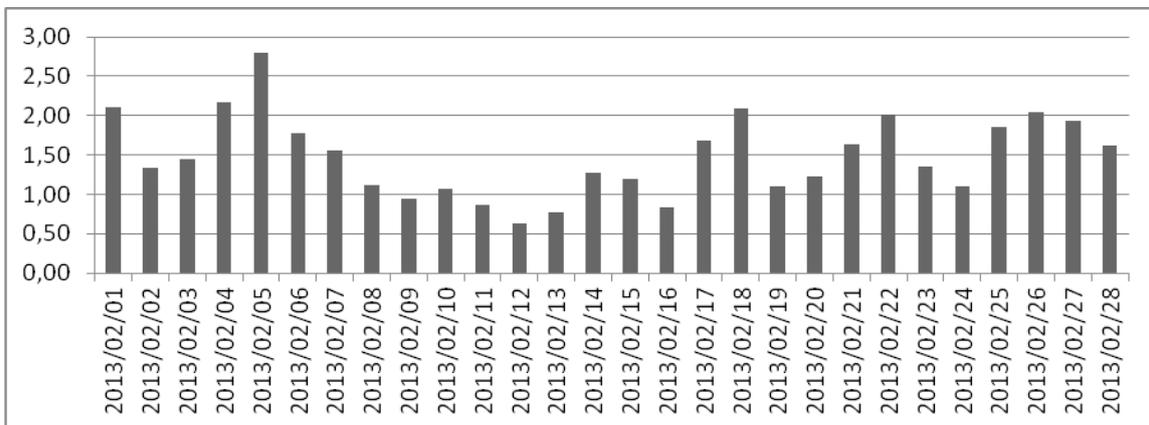


Fig.6. Monthly dynamics of CO concentration in Datong district of Taipei City in February 2013

In 2013 the New Year's Eve (9 February) fell on Saturday and the New Year's Day (10 February) on Sunday and till the 13th of February it was a statutory holiday in Taiwan. On Figure 3, there is a decrease of the CO concentration rate which begins from 8th February and absolutely disappears on 17th February. Because Taipei is the business and political center of Taiwan, there is high social increase – 213 654 people in 2013 (79.73%). But not only commuters leave Taipei during Chinese New Year, many people have older relatives in other cities or go travelling. As the result during Chinese New Year holidays the city is deserted, most

shops are closed, there are much less people outside and, consequently, the number of personal transport becomes lower by several times. Of course Chinese New Year is the most characteristic example of the connection between the traditions and the socio-ecological situation in Taipei.

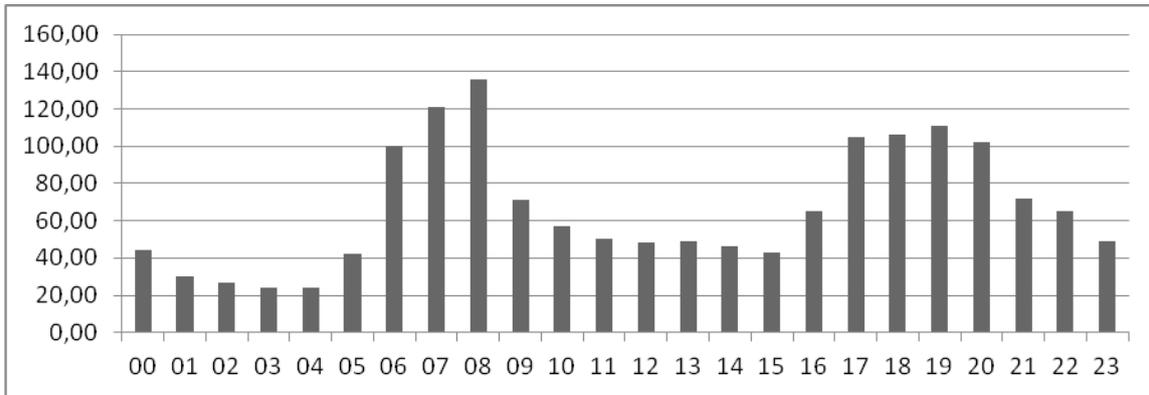


Fig.7. Daily dynamics of NOx concentration in Datong district of Taipei city on 29 October, 2013

The daily routine also has a great impact on the daily CO and NOx dynamics. As it is shown on Figures 4 and 5, the largest concentrations of pollutants in the air are at 8 A.M. and at 7 P.M. – during rush hours, when everybody is using a personal vehicle to pass the distance between office and home. Taipei doesn't have big square so it doesn't make any trouble to use motorcycle to pass the distance between the apartment and the office. However popularity of motorcycles is the result of environmental policy, which was organized to decrease the number of personal cars, because motorcycles make less air pollution than car. As the result now in the vehicle fleet there are 58% of motorcycles. Taipei citizens so got used to motorcycles, that most of the citizens use motorcycles to pass quite short distances. Because of this the level of air pollution is higher, especially in districts which have big density of roads.

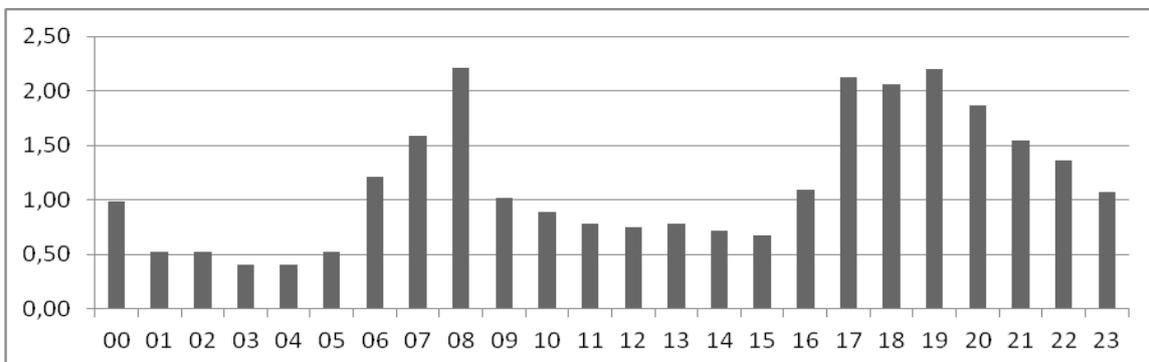


Fig.8. Daily dynamics of CO concentration in Datong district of Taipei city on 29 October, 2013²⁰

²⁰ Figures 4,5,6,7 and 8 were created on the base of statistical data which was provided by Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) of Taiwan

Conclusion

The natural conditions play an important role in the air quality in Taipei, but social activity of urban residents and weather features have also a great impact on the concentrations of pollutants in the air. In the socioecological metabolism of Taipei there is an imbalance in the interaction between urban residents and the urban environment, especially during rush hours in the morning and in the evening. Massive use of motorcycles can increase the concentrations by 3 or more times. The same refers to weather characteristics, as described in Table 1, in the day with the smallest concentration of CO the wind speed is more than 1.5 times higher than in the day with the highest concentration of CO. In this paper, only several examples of connections between air quality and social and weather aspects are described. The variety of the influence on the air quality is great and increases in the course of time.

The interest in the analysis of the impact of transport on the ecological situation of Taipei was due to the fact that the city is one of the most rapidly growing cities, for which the state of transport infrastructure is an essential indicator of the quality of life. The study shows the following patterns:

- The impact of transport on the state of air quality of the city is subject not only to the influence of anthropogenic sources and climatic factors, but also socio-cultural factors, such as the traditional national holiday, during which there is an outflow of people from the city and a reduction in the impact of vehicles
- The dynamics of air quality has a strong correlation with the impact of road transport, which is manifested in the coincidence of the highest values of pollutants and major thoroughfares;
- Air quality in Taipei has a pronounced seasonality: in the summer season the overall level of pollution is lower than that in the winter, due to climatic features of the region, contributing to the scattering of pollutants produced by vehicles;
- During the season of considerable impact on the value of the concentration of pollutants in the air have weather features such as humidity, rainfall and wind speed;
- During the day spiking concentrations of pollutants in the air during peak hours, reflecting the impact of road transport on air quality, as the majority of the population uses a motor vehicle to bridge the gap between home and work;

▪ The dynamics of air quality depends on the capacity of traffic flow, as evidenced by the coincidence of the dynamics of indicators of pollutants and congestion of the main roads;

This, in the course of the work it confirmed that the vehicles have a large impact on the air quality in the city of Taipei. Environmental policy measures, which were proposed by the city administration, are necessary, but do not exhaust the full potential. Therefore the problem of air pollution from vehicles remains valid, requires constant attention and study to develop new recommendations based on the most successful experiences.

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Formation of Social and Political Decisions on the Basis of Reflexive Control in the Process of Discourse

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Abstract. The article is devoted to the problems of the development of the authentic representations about the sub-process of making social and political decisions and the determination of means of measuring quality in the context of the conceptual apparatus of the theory of communicative action and the theory of information.

Keywords: political (government) decisions; deliberation; deliberative politics; discourse; entropy; collective decisions

...A direct, rationally designed path
is a straight path to trouble...
V. O. Klyuchevsky²¹

There are many definitions of the category of social and political (administrative, public) decisions²². Firstly, in the framework of “rational choice” the state decision is a single definition of the behavior of a number of alternatives.

Secondly, in the framework of the “active approach” the state decision (including the socio-political) is conceived as a striving to optimal result of the activity.

Third, descriptive - based on the study of the behavior handle decision-makers and the interaction of political actors in a particular situation (within a descriptive approach and examines the activities of certain political leaders, motives adoption of a decision).

Fourth, regulatory (prescriptive) - based on the development of optimal policies and procedures, algorithms (i.e., a system of well-defined and consistent operations), according to which should be based sub-process of political decision making.

Each of the categories of sub-processes of the political decision brings disadvantages directly linked with the above definitions. Since the first limited by the theoretical analytical procedures and mental operations; the second virtually eliminates stochastic factors and regulators of political life; the third (descriptive) is not free from subjective, partisan actions of political actors; the fourth (prescriptive) “...exaggerates the role of ideal types of rational models of decision, which are to some extent relieved from the controlled subjects themselves (their interests, values and attitudes) ...” [Melville, 2011: 312].

²¹Vasily O.Klyuchevsky (1841 - 1911), a Russian historian, professor of the Moscow State University, academician of the St. Petersburg Imperial Academy of Sciences and author of an extensive 5-volume Course of Russian History.

²² For example: Baldin K.V.Vorobyov S.N. Management Decisions: theory and technology of making (In Russian); Solovyov A.I. The making and implementation of government decisions (In Russian).

It can be assumed that most likely, the desire to minimize the above-mentioned negative features of the processes of formation and political decision-making led to a number of scholarly works²³ of sociologists, political scientists and philosophers like J. Habermas, J. Rawls, Benhabib S. et al., who have devoted their researches to finding the best model of political structure and compliance with the new principles of formation and political decision making. These principles include the concepts of deliberative democracy and politics, communication actions and discursive democracy, the idea of public reason.

A retrospective and *linguo* – political analysis of the concepts of deliberation and a discourse are left behind the scope of this work. Here there are some relevant to our goal - the development of modern methodical fundamentals of shaping of social and political decision-making for a specific number of sub-processes of public administration– definitions. Let us dwell on the definition given by Joseph M. Bassett, whose book “The Mild Voice of Reason: Deliberative Democracy and American National Government” was published in Russia in 2011.

“In the conventional and traditional understanding of deliberative process - logical reasoning - when participants carefully consider independent information and arguments, and then try to independently determine what constitutes good public policy and try to convince each other” [Bassett, 2011:72]. “... In determining the deliberative process, it is important to clarify what it is not, because the political discourse - this is not just any argument in the political process ... a political argument in the deliberative process that provides significant advantages of public policy argument for the public good - good, are external to those who decides” [Bassett, 2011:75]. However, the deliberative process cannot be done “...without the three elements: information, argument, persuasion” [Bassett, 2011:76]. These three elements will be discussed further²⁴.

Analysis of the results of the introduction and the use of the different approaches in the field of support systems of making decisions shows that the key issue - is not equipped with modern sophisticated means of storing, processing, visualization and presentation of data but procedures for the organization of the collective interaction and decision-making to solve problems.

Since, as the decision itself, and its elements and justifications all are the information products, in the beginning it is necessary to specify what kind of information will be discussed.

²³Habermas J. *Moralbewußtsein und kommunikatives Handeln*; Rawls J. *The Idea of Public Reason Revisited*; Benhabib S. *Toward a Deliberative Model of Democratic Legitimacy*.

²⁴In addition, there are other worthy representatives of deliberative theory - Habermas, J. Elter, S. Benhabib, J. Fishkin, J. Cohen, J. Rawls, J. Dayzek, D. Thomson - accordingly there are a variety of definitions for the deliberative process, deliberation, deliberative democracy and discourse. However, all of these definitions fit into the framework of the theory of communicative action of J. Habermas and therefore can be the basis for a variety of methods of forming sub-processes of political decision making.

It is generally accepted information - is data on persons, objects, facts, events, phenomena and processes regardless of their presentation; on the other hand, F. L. Bauer, G. Goos introduces the concept of communication and information as basic undefined concepts and explain their use in some cases. In addition, the same message interpreted in different ways, can transmit a variety of information [Bauer, Goos; 1990, p. 18-95]. Most clearly the connection between the message and the information is visible in cryptography: nobody else should be able to extract information from the transmitted message... At the same time, A.D.Ursul states that "The information itself in the Shannon theory understood ... like ... removed, reduced uncertainty. On the other hand, - specification of content has led to the simultaneous expansion of the concept - the information is now characterized not only by the aspect of the human communication, but also communication phenomena in engineering, biological and other processes. Wherever, various possibilities take place, from which realized, becomes reality, becomes being only one, it makes sense to talk about the information brought by this realized possibility" [Ursul,1971: 9].

"**Entropy** is treated as a specific characteristic of the issue, expressed in the form of judgment. Statistically, the amount of information can characterize the outcome of experience, but the outcome of the experience is interested not by itself, but as a search for an answer to some questions. To identify the entropy of issues of different types it is used the concept of conditional probability statements (hypotheses) in the presence of a set of true propositions. The amount of information that contains a judgment with respect to a problem is determined by how much proof or presumption of truth of this statement reduces the entropy of the problem. The coincidence of the entropy formulas used in physics and formulas of the amount of information introduced by Shannon (up to sign) characterized in both cases the measure of ordering reflection and movement" [Ursul,1971: 22-23].

After a brief discussion of the concepts of information and entropy, becomes clear that it is possible to determine the entropy in a form suitable for the needs of analysis and evaluation of the specific activity of a certain kind, namely, decision-making activities.

We believe that any system S operates to achieve a certain goal P , the result of operation is denoted by R . (The purpose of the system - for example, the team of experts - can be the generation of a solution of the problem). Naturally, the result should be evaluated. The assessment procedure usually multifaceted (has both quantitative and qualitative aspects). That is, the result is evaluated from different sides, in terms of its different characteristics, parameters and so on. You can say that the result R is estimated by N criteria of assessing the quality $q_1, q_2,$

... q_N , so that $q_1(R) = x_1, q_2(R) = x_2, \dots, q_N(R) = x_N$. We introduce also the weight or coefficients of importance criteria w_1, w_2, \dots, w_N , so that

$$\sum_{i=1}^N w_i = 1 \tag{1}$$

We believe that the optimal values of estimates are known $x^* = (x_1^*, x_2^*, \dots, x_N^*)$, for example, set standards or regulations.

Now we can introduce the concept of entropy of system S in terms of getting the result R for the intended purpose P , as the

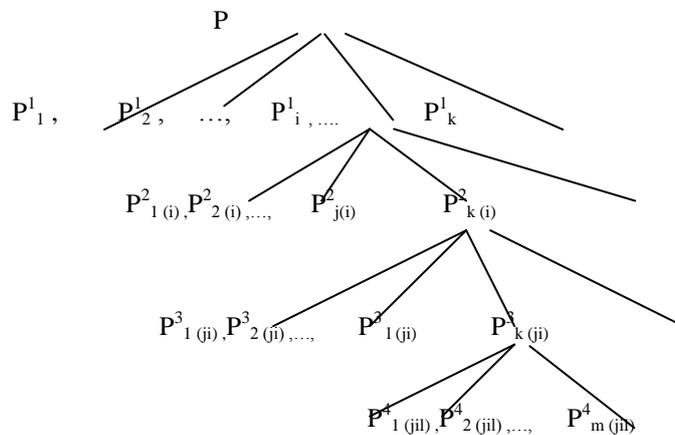
$$I = \sum_{i=1}^N \frac{x_i^* - x_i}{x_i^*} w_i \tag{2}$$

Obviously, $I = 0$ with the proviso that the system perfectly tracks the target, that is, the ideal result of the functioning is achieved.

We note in passing that if the evaluation of the quality of the goal x_i is determined by one of a qualitative scale, the contradiction can be removed by using, for example, approach in the framework of fuzzy logic when verbal gradations of quality are associated with linguistic variables, which values of individual terms²⁵ have a numerical interpretation.

Usually to talk about the tree of goals of the system, that is when the goal P is pecking order into a tree of goals, so that the goal P generates sub-goal of first level $P^1_1, P^1_2, \dots, P^1_{k_1}$. In turn, sub-goal of first level $P^1_i, i = 1, \dots, k_1$ generates sub-goal of second level, so that

$$\begin{aligned} P^1_i &\rightarrow P^2_{1(i)}, P^2_{2(i)}, \dots, P^2_{k(i)} \\ P^2_{j(i)} &\rightarrow P^3_{1(ji)}, P^3_{2(ji)}, \dots, P^3_{k(ji)} \\ P^3_{1(ji)} &\rightarrow P^4_{1(jil)}, P^4_{2(jil)}, \dots, P^4_{m(jil)} \end{aligned} \tag{3}$$



²⁵ The term - in formal logic - is an intuitive definite expression which formally called an object.

Then the entropy I of a two-level hierarchy defined as

$$I(P) = \sum_{i=1}^k I(P_i^1), \tag{4}$$

where the entropy $I(P_i^1)$ is calculated by the above rule.

Quality achievements of each of the sub-goals P_i^1 evaluated according to criteria q_1, q_2, \dots, q_{N_i} , so that we obtain vector of estimates $x(i) = (x_1(i), x_2(i), \dots, x_{N_i}(i))$. And then the entropy $I(P_i^1)$ of sub-goal P_i^1 is calculated as

$$I(P_i^1) = \sum_{j=1}^{N_i} w_j(i) \left| \frac{x_j(i) - x_j^*(i)}{x_j^*(i)} \right| \tag{5}$$

The aim of the system can be a solution of some problem, and that is why the script of solution based on a tree of goals is built. This prototype of the solution is sought in the form of a typical scenario, and therefore in the form of the typical model of a tree of goals. In an extreme case, it is necessary to base on the analogs of problem solution in other subject areas.

We say that on the basis of the tree of goals P is generated scenario C , unless for each node of the tree of goals it is known:

WHAT kind is this sub-goal (problem),

WHO solves this problem (sub-goal),

WHEN is solved this problem,

WHERE is solved,

HOW is solved the problem (what forces, means, resources are needed).

Moreover, to each component from the model list “what, who, when, where, how” can be alternative questions: what else?, who else?, when?, where else?, how else?.

If the entropy of solution $I(R) \gg 0$, that is, the decision is very different from the optimum, then look for the node of the solution (on the tree of goals and his homomorphic tree of decision), where the most significant are deviations, and in these nodes determines the cause of failures: WHAT it did not work, WHO are not provided the implementation of decisions, WHEN implemented the decision and the reason for missed deadlines, WHERE implemented the decision and are there deviations, HOW the decision was implemented and what are deviations from the planned methods, techniques, types of used resources.

Note that the assembly of decision - like plans for realization of the objectives-tasks from the bottom up on a tree of goals - can be formally described in the notations of rules of products

(if A and B and C AND ..., THEND) and the corresponding procedure of logical inference. For example, IF sub-goal $P^2_{1(i)}$ is achieved with entropy $I(P^2_{1(i)}) < I_0$ and sub-goal $P^2_{2(i)}$ is achieved with entropy $I(P^2_{2(i)}) < I_0$ and ... and sub-goal $P^2_{k(i)}$ is achieved with entropy $I(P^2_{k(i)}) < I_0$, THEN we can assume P^1_i as an achievable goal.

Identify the means of measuring the quality of decisions, it is appropriate to move to a scheme of action of “the creator” of collective decisions (CCD).

CCD procedure:

- Generation of the purposes and objectives of the procedure.
- Determination the number of members of group for collective procedure (group of experts).
- Determination of personalities in the group (selection of experts).
- Organization of collective procedures (“start” discussions on specific rules CCD).
- Introduction of the debate directing by CCD (elimination of possible “conflict-free” situation, the organization of the “struggle”, carried out with the help of reasons - language, visual information, organization (establishment of) the exchange of information).
- Mobilization of “adjacent” and “contrast” (associative) erudition and intuition as its own, and in the group (each of the group members - experts).
- Identification of decoys, disinformation and other elements of the information manipulation (building L-sphere (the sphere of lies); selection components from L-sphere relevant to goals and objectives of the group procedures, the use of the principle of commensalism).
- Ranking and selection of components of the R-sphere (the sphere of decisions) in order to minimize their total entropy.
- Synthesis of solutions.

Details of sub-process of the decision-making are described by the author in the article “Reflexive control in the processes of collective decision-making” .

In conclusion, it is worth noting that the above approach is not universal, but it has a certain commonality for a fairly wide range of social and political problems solved by the regional executive power, such as the regulation of public financial and material resources, as well as tasks related to the implementation of the investment and cluster policy region.

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Burden of the support of the social sphere: myths and reality

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Abstract. Methodological substantiation of optimum relationship of liberal and social values is not found. Critical manifestations of market system of a last year, including Russia, stimulate skeptical attitude towards the principles of the social state. Budget funding of social sectors is increasingly presented as obsolete decoration of society of the XX century. In reality, the next technological mode of production will directly depend on the level of development of the social sectors. Therefore, who will be in front of human development - will be the most competitive in the economic sphere.

Keywords: Social government; social branches; dispatching relationships; tax policy; social inequality; poverty

Cumulative combination of liberalism and social guarantees of the state supposes laissez faire reduction of the last in solving of daily problems of citizens. Mobilization of an own manpower in free choice conditions and cancellation from paternalistic orientations is decided through a number of settings related to the organization of society in the framework of the welfare state, in particular:

- supporting of an equal opportunities for every citizen, regardless of place of residence, ethnicity, sex, age, national and historical traditions;
- definition of a balanced development strategy based on an optimal combination in solutions of socio-economic problems, in particular: poorness, poverty, social polarization and exclusion, unemployment and low wages, unavailability of proper housing, quality education and health services;
- using of well-known economic fiscal the use of well-known economic fiscal and other economic mechanisms of redistribution of current income for the successful implementation of social reforms and a more uniform material security of citizens on the basis of GDP growth, which contributes to overcoming inequalities and critical polarization.

Leading tax policy contradict goal of effective redistribution of income from rich to poor for purposes of social polarization and excessive inequality. The basis of the economic mechanism of the successful welfare states consist massive purchasing power, which is aimed at creating incomes policy, and fastest growing productive economic sector of the economy associated with science and education. It is achieved by means of transfer of the tax burden from businesses to individuals and households (and, in the first instance, high-income groups of the

population) by levying based on a progressive scale of tax on income, wealth, inheritance and gift tax, and wealth tax.

In modern Russia, real tax burden of the two poorest income groups of the population twice higher than two rich groups. Declining in Russia from adequate for the welfare state taxation policy was motivated by the desire to derive income from the shadows. However, numerous examples and researches suggest that this problem was not been solved.

As for large-scale social expenditures of the state, in spite of forced myths, the do not put the brakes on the economy, and provide it [Shevyakov A.Y., 2011]. Of course, the social expenses of the state are the economic investments, with the proper management of social and personal strict liability for the using of budgetary funds.

By means of public spending on social services creates necessary for economic growth massive purchasing power of the population; receive orders (and, consequently, develop) a variety of industries producing goods and services for social institutions; increasing the number of skilled jobs directly in social sectors, including the ones that are responsible for the quality of human resources. According to forecasts, in 2030 in developed countries more than 50% of GDP will be obtained through the provision of intellectual services, which primarily related to the social sectors.

In spite of this proved sociological regularities and then presence of financial resources, federal center continue to have policy of significant underreporting of social spending while maintaining disproportionate distribution of the tax burden for the population, clearly hindering economic development. For this adduced objective arguments – fighting against inflation and fighting with corruption, which decades over the past decade. Financial resources are not used for reducing social inequality and for social investment, which ultimately leads to increasing of living standards and leaving quality of wide segment of people.

The underdevelopment of civil forms of expression of public interest and a lack of democratic institutions were not allowed to purpose on a political agenda of alternative projects of new social policies qualifying the challenges of the social situation.

The crisis of 2008 showed that stark exhaustiveness of the model of economic development, who are elected post-Soviet Russia. It is seemed he gives a hope f or a significant revision of social and economic policy in general, and with regard to the social sectors. Moreover, the history of social state formations gives ground to assert that the crisis - this is the time when you need to, and actively build a welfare state.

It is known, historically, that cataclysm apart to construction of the welfare state was accomplished countries of Europe and North America just in the most adverse economic

conditions - in conditions of the Great Depression of the early XX century and postwar devastation [Esping-Andersen G., 2003]. Investments in social sphere were the only way to overcome social divisions, fraught with drastic consequences. However, in contrast to the modern international experience and Russia in the face of serious challenges, and highly problems, including events in Ukraine, continues to follow the same course, which leads to growth of social inequalities, further social polarization.

In 2011, according to the data of the analytical report of the Institute of Sociology "Twenty years of reform through the eyes of Russians (the experience of many years of sociological measurements)" presentation majority of Russians about the optimal model of state control in the sphere of social policy are as follows: equality of opportunity with guaranteed social minimum for all the government should ensure that all the certain minimum, and the rest each must achieve self. This view is shared by 45% of the population. Option of full independence of the social sphere of the state for the past 10 years consistently attracted only 2-3% of the population. For the overwhelming majority of Russians, this model is illegitimate. Help just to the weak and helpless in recent years gained no more than 12% of supporters, with support for the last year of this model was reduced. Judging from the data, the main redistribution of votes took place around the two most popular models: the full equality and models with state-guaranteed minimum for all. The main redistribution of votes took place around the two most popular models: the full equality and models with state-guaranteed minimum for all.

As the result, recipients of low wages, in other words: the majority of the employed population carries nearly fifty percent the tax burden, while about 30% of total income in the country is still exempt from tax and, accordingly, to participate in the replenishment of the budget and extra-budgetary funds.

As for the critical (threshold) values of the assets, 10% R/P ratio of the most extreme and least affluent groups of the population is considered to be the ratio of 8-10:1. In 1991, this figure in our country was 4.5 times, in 2008 - 14 times by the official statistics, more than 25 times, according to expert estimates, and 40 times with the hidden income. This is the subject dedicated to many studies, including academician Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS) D.K. Lvova, professor A.U. Shevyakova was analyzed representations of social inequality, and its manifestations and causes.

The report "The socio-economic development of Russia until 2015" (2007), presented by the RIO-Center team of researchers under the leadership of RAS institutes Institute of Economics RAS Director, member-corresponding Russian Academy of Sciences R.S. Greenberg

stated that the situation in which 14% of the land and 50 % of natural resources are owned by 2.5 % of the world population (citizens of Russia), is becoming less natural and disturbing to the outside world judging by the response of our counterparts. And to weaken such tensions can be a sharing of available resources with the international community, or significantly increasing the share of its economy in the world economy [Greenberg R.S.]. In another report - "Innovation - the last hope of Russia" (2009), prepared by the deputy director of the Institute of Applied Mathematics G.G.Malinetskim based on the results of the IAM modeling argued that a situation in which Russia, producing only 1% of global gross domestic product, has 30% of the world's wealth, does not leave her even as a raw materials appendage, therefore an alternative to accelerated innovation development of the country can only be its disintegration [Malinetskiy G.G.].

Fiscal policy is stayed unchanged. The share of GDP spending on social sphere and science remains inadequate at a low level compared with developed countries, especially in view of problem facing Russia. America invests more than 3% of GDP in researching, Russia 1% of its GDP. Spending on education from the consolidated budget remains at the level of 4% of GDP or less, while in the developed economies of the order of 5-6%, healthcare - 3.5% for the required 8%.

In 1990 was liquidated 800 institutions, which actually led to the death of "industrial science." At the 10th congress of the Russian Union of Rectors, held in late October 2014, academician V.P. Sadovnichiy delicately observed that: "Sector institutions have disappeared, and we have not found alternates to them" [Sadovnichiy V.P.], as if these institutions can disappear.

Unchanged monetary policy, making it impossible to attract credit to the real sector of the economy, instead of easing the tax burden on the real economy leads to increasing of tax pressure on him.

In connection with economic slowdown and the decline in revenues to the government faces a difficult problem: how long is enough factor of safety and what can be saved in order to prevent a decline of wage rates and coagulation of social programs [Glazyev S.Y, 2012; Malinetskiy G.G.].

Key to solving of discussed problems – in new approach of the formation of distributive relations and, first of all - to reforming of tax and budget policy. Today, acting in Russia the tax system cumulative tax burden on low- and medium-income segment of the population far exceeds the tax burden on the rich. Socially oriented tax system, on the contrary, should limit the concentration of income from the rich and redistribute income to use as a tool for the

development of non-market institutions, social services, equal opportunities and the creation of an institutional environment more conducive to the expansion and development of motivation of possibilities of the entire population, and not just its most prosperous part

The main problem of inequality and poverty it is not lying on the plane of the lack of availability of resources, and in the mechanisms of distribution and redistribution. This finding importance in the present conditions, when the lack of growth of the economy limits the ability of the state budget expenditures for social needs.

In spite of positive dynamics of growth of the average cash income in the zero years, social polarization due to the forced growth of the highest incomes and wages did not decrease but continues to grow. As wrote the Nobel laureate James Shtiglitz, "Russia has gained the worst of all possible states of society - huge decline, followed by an equally huge increase in inequality. And the outlook for the future is gloomy: extreme inequality hinders growth, especially when it leads to social and political instability" [Shtiglitz J. , 2003: 188].

It is important to understand that under this approach is achieved by radical reduction of inequality and poverty without additional substantial resources, the total money supply revenue remains unchanged since it only changes the proportion of allocation for different income groups, and the inflationary dangers of such an approach is not. This approach to the adjustment of the distribution mechanism has nothing to do with the expression "everything to pick up and divide", which is often used in the arguments of the apologists of the situation. Reference increase in minimum wages and pensions will stimulate import substitution in the labor market will lead to increased demand for domestic products, which are oriented middle- and lowerincome groups.

Give credit for the positive changes in recent years it must be confessed that the change of the vector of transformation of socio-economic system based on the values of justice, solidarity and continuity, despite the evidence of the exhaustion of the current resource model of development until not changed.

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Some Judgments about Sanctions and Communicative Actions

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Abstract. The work contains a number of statements about the mechanism of implementation of international sanctions and their impact in the context of globalization and multi-polarization of the modern world.

Keywords: authorization; implementation; multi-polar world; communicative action

Sanctions OON²⁶ - coercive measures taken by the UN Security Council in relation to the state (part of its territory or specifically certain individuals) who refuses to carry out the obligations arising from international legal responsibility. UN sanctions - interim measures, which are more severe than verbal condemnation, but less severe than the use of force. The decision about sanctions is adopted by the UN Security Council resolution.

In the international legal doctrine of 1950-1980-ies sanctions are understood as a component of the institute of responsibility. In recent years, domestic and foreign scholars distinguish them as an independent institution.

The History of sanctions is more than two thousand years old. The first cases of the application were known in ancient Greece. In the Middle Ages such measures received regulatory consolidation and the name of "reprisals". They were called Sanctions after the First World War in the Charter of the League of Nations. After the creation of the United Nations, such measures were enshrined in Section VII of the UN Charter. In the period from 1945 to 1990, the UN sanctions have been applied only twice.

Until recently, they were comprehensive and included a declaration (in accordance with UN Security Council resolution) of all UN member states a full embargo on trade with the target State. Such sanctions have been applied to Iraq and Yugoslavia, in a lesser extent to Haiti and Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Nowadays, UN sanctions for the most part represent a travel ban and assets freeze against individuals, brought by the Security Council in the so-called "black list" or the arms embargo in the target State.

Sanctions Security Council resolutions and the norms of the national legislation of the Member States of the United Nations led to the conclusion that the existing difference in the implementation of Security Council sanctions at national level in all cases should be based on the

²⁶Sanction - (lat. Sanctio, from sancire - Decides to identify, make sacred), here, sanctions against deviations from the international norm.

axiom of compliance with Council resolutions. That, in turn, acts as a consequence of h. 2. Art. 2 and the disposition of Art.25 of the UN Charter. Compliance with this "axiom" at the national level is ensured by the interaction of all three branches of government. It should be remembered that they are in any case the interior conductors, the agreed will of the UN member states, reflected in the adopted and executed in the national Security Council resolutions.

Therefore, as it is reflected in the report of "Stockholm Process", it is important that States" are fully informed about the rationale of coercive measures, from the initial steps in this direction up to the implementation of the sanctions regime. "Thus, Member States will be involved in "a sanctions policy", which, in turn, will ensure political support and "political will" to implement²⁷ the sanctions [The Complete Report].

International law, like any other legal system, cannot manage without coercion. The objective is to improve their application. At present, the Security Council stressed the effectiveness of their work, creating a special committee on sanctions, coordinating and monitoring the implementation of resolutions of the Council in respect of the State whose actions are contrary to the UN Charter. At the same time it is not right to exaggerate the role of coercion, both in national and in international law.

What significantly reduces the effectiveness of UN Security Council sanctions in general and is one of the factors destabilizing the work of the UN-is the absence in some cases, indispensable feature of such sanctions as a "collective" of their application.

One positive example of effective implementation of UN Security Council sanctions is a federal law on the implementation of Belgium May 11, 1995. The Belgian law treats the decision to abolish sanctions not as the termination of its obligations under international law, which are the basis of establishing a special regime of foreign economic activity, but as the duty to maintain and fulfill its international legal obligations. The decision on the suspension or lifting of economic sanctions must be fulfilled immediately [Suy, Nicholas, 2004:110].

It should also be considered that excessive expansive interpretation of the possibility of sanctions could have the opposite effect, it can lead to its reduction, and even to attempts to legalize unilateral acts of States under the pretext of defending the UN Charter and international law in general.

Domestic same mechanism of implementation of the resolutions on the issue of the application of legal acts remains quite blurred for understanding not only for justice, but also for those individuals and entities that may affect the result of UN Security Council resolutions. In this area is require the development of a number of provisions directly explaining the internal

²⁷Implementation (from the Latin.Impleo - fill, execute), the implementation, the performance of the state of international legal standards (methods and means of implementation, each state determines its own).

mechanism of the sanctions of the Security Council and their impact on existing national regulations.

In the case of absence of rules of the implementation of Council sanctions States are required to adopt such rules. Analysis of the practice of implementation of sanctions by States indicates the need for a number of cases, of an “expert” help which can create the elemental constituents of the national legislation. International cooperation in the issue of equal implementation of the sanctions could begin with consideration of draft laws and international treaties in order to achieve effective results in the process of authorization of coercive measures. The development of a more harmonious implementation of the law in the matter of coercive measures at the national level of states could contribute to greater coherence in the discussion of the draft resolution of the Council of the future, not only because of obligations in accordance with the UN Charter, but because of the actual conviction of the need to follow the resolution.

The theoretical basis for the implementation of international cooperation in the questions of general perception and coherence authorization of coercive measures, in our opinion, is the theory of communicative action of Habermas [Habermas, 2000a].

Communicative action is the result of the search of the bases that are capable of providing the understanding and integration of social actors. The concept of the public sphere, as a natural result of this search, embodies the ideal-typical model of interaction during which are being established “the moral of equal respect” [Verbilovich, 2013:35-52], and problematization and possible changes in the structures of the social world that are failing.

The theory of communicative action is multifaceted, it accumulates in itself a powerful theoretical resource of philosophical and sociological thought, integrating cognitive potential theoretical schools.

Communicative action - action aimed at achieving understanding and consent; correlation of expectations takes place on all three levels of the public interest (knowledge, norms, intention), its structure:

1. “Focus on understanding the mechanism of coordination”;
2. “The situation of action and speech situation”;
3. “Background of the life of the world”, which defines the conditions and resources of mutual understanding;
4. “Sphere of references” or claim statements on the significance, understanding involves reaching agreement on the level of knowledge, standards assessments and feelings.

Semantic wrapper for these concepts, of course, is a “focus on understanding the mechanism of coordination” and the concept of 2-4 are its content, intended to explain: the environment action “pattern of life of the world”, specifies the conditions and resources of understanding “(medium adoption making), behavioral description of the possible motives of acts “sphere of references” or claim statements on the importance of “an instrument of action”, the situation of speech”.

In the theory of communicative action Habermas established basic concepts in such a way that they form a perspective for life relationships that undermine the false alternative “community” and “society”. “The involvement of other” means, rather, that the boundaries of community are open to all - including those who are strangers to each other and want to remain so [Habermas, 2000b].

In conclusion, it is worth noting:

The effectiveness of the sanctions policy depends on the significance of any country in the world's economy and / or on the balance of power in the world or a particular region. And the relationship is the opposite: the more important the country is, the less effective the sanctions are. At least, this logic is present in the areas of trade, economics and finance. At the same time sanctions can be quite effective in the field of political, cultural, sports and other humanitarian contacts, including tourism. It creates in the minds of people who are the subject to sanctions, the feeling that they are the outcast of the world society, that the passage of time inevitably begins to have a negative impact on the level of popularity of the country's authorities.

A separate study deserve the processes of influence of the effectiveness of implementation of international sanctions of modern trends in the structure of international relations. Most popular of all are two points of view: it will be a unipolar (led by the US with "Seven / Eight" leading states) or multipolar (with leading centers of power in different regions).

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Research of Territorial Aspects of Communication Inequality In Russia

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Abstract. The article reviewed some theoretical approaches that reveal different aspects of inequality forming, defined its special form - communication inequality. This research is aimed to create the preconditions for eliminating the causes that form and support the communication-information inequality in Russia. It is necessary for promoting the state and society development on the basis of positive competitive political and economic environment that guarantees equal access to communication and information resources for all citizens, organizations, social groups as well as the removal of social tension, generated by ignorance, rumors, speculation and bending the truth. To carry out a large scale survey the strictly limited experimental selection of samples is simulated that allows to check the principal hypothesis - the difference of communication life strategies and practices between residents of metropolitan, regional and district centers and villages based on their communication inequality. The analysis of certain aspects of respondents lives connected with obtaining and distributing of vital information revealed, to different extents, barriers and gaps, that indirectly indicates the presence of communication inequality between residents of metropolitan and a regional center and the residents of district centers and countryside.

Keywords: communication inequality; territorial settlement; life strategies; communication practices; aspects of communication inequality

High level of social dynamics persists due to very high speed of development and implementation of new information technology, growth of consumption, spaces globalization in contemporary societies. Russian communication space is constantly changing, new communication strategies, collective and individual actors, new vectors and its forming approaches appear. The focus of Russia on innovation and modernization creates the conditions for the formation of new social phenomena, one of which is communication inequality .

At the moment some other kinds of social separation are manifested in Russia. Income of people, their cultural and mental world is now "measured" in the new "scale": opportunities and means to use all kinds of information, access to technology that provides such use. The studying of the new phenomenon may create the preconditions for eliminating the causes that form and support communication and information inequality in Russia, promote the state and society development on the basis of positive competitive political and economic environment that guarantees equal access to communication and information resources for all citizens, organizations, social groups as well as the removal of social tension in society, generated by ignorance, rumors, speculation and bending the truth.

The statement of research problem of communication inequality deals with three scientific reflection trends. The first is the study of social inequality. Herein we can mark the

important contribution made by K.Marx and M.Weber with their concepts of "exploitation" and "life chances". The staging of this problem is interesting in the E.O. Wright works. He introduced "property rights" to the concept of Marx. J. Goldthorpe developed the theory of Max Weber focusing on the growing role of supplementary and vocational education that resulted in a new vector of inequality analysis. P. Bourdieu pays considerable attention to the problem of inequality in his works. In his "theory of capital," he noted that possession of capital (accumulated labor in its materialized form or its "incorporated," embodied form (following Pierre Bourdieu)) defines a high position of the individual in the structure. Bourdieu emphasizes the cultural and social capitals that can be converted into the economic ones under certain conditions [Bourdieu, 1991]. The interesting modern concepts of social inequality are class structure of Dennis L. Gilbert - Joseph. A. Kahl, works of William Thompson and Joseph Hickey, G. Marshall, S. Roberts and C. Burgoyne. The most interesting social researches of Russian sociologists according to the subject are dealing with problem of social inequality and stratification of society of O.I. Shkaratan, T.I. Zaslavskaya, N.E., Tikhonova, V.V. Shcherbina, M.K. Gorshkov, M.F. Chernyshev and others.

The second trend is the study of communication. Strong interest to forming of the new information and communication spaces arises immediately after widespread of television and then the Internet, as well as to the study of their effects on the human. Thereupon the concepts of appeared H.M. McLuhan, T. Newcomb, J. Habermas, J. Baudrillard, T. Dridze. Several scientific branches studying the effects and effectiveness of mass media were revealed. However, the phenomenon of social distances in the information field became the subject of scientific researches just recently. Researchers such as N. Wiener, M. McLuhan, W. Schramm, H. Schiller and others paid their attention to macro and micro processes in human society that was under transformation: changes of social structure, its culture and industry dynamic, or, on the contrary, psychological individuals transformation due to intensification of information interchange. The problem of the modern communication technologies influence to the development of new social communities and groups is examined both in psychological and socio-psychological directions. The most famous studies of this subject of Western scientists are produced by E. Aronson, M. Gram and H. Niss, D. Myers, T. Peterson and many others.

The third direction is a study of the globalization and modernization processes. Herein the most interesting concepts belong to E.Castells, I.M.Wallerstein, S. Huntington. Researches of E.A.Pain, N.E.Pokrovsky, N.E.Tikhonov and some others are devoted to the problems of Russian society modernization.

Presently the subject of communication inequality is developed by research teams under the project "Features of communication inequality in modern Russia" guided by V.A.Shilova, RHSF grant № 13-03-00593 (2013-2015)

First of all, it is important to diagnose the "pressure points" related to the information needs of citizens, public organizations and private business entities, difficulties in obtaining the necessary vital information and in informing the public authorities of all levels, state corporations, media and civil society structures of their interests.

Today the information society reflects the social relations problems: with huge inner democratic potential that allows citizens to make any governmental institutions or a private company through a variety of information releasing and providing access to it, this society, as well as traditional, heterogeneous, divided into strata, the rich and the poor. The line divides now those who have the technical capability and the necessary education level to use of the Internet, and those who because of lack of money to buy a computer and low-skilled in information technology do not have any access to the global network. This inequality is showed in the use of the new phone and in obtaining information from multiple sources, and media among other that retail price is not reasonable for a wide range of customers. Recently the gap between rich and poor in the field of information becomes more and more conditioned by technological characteristics because the rapid spread of communications means covers only some users, while other ones have to be satisfied with stale technologies.

New digital communication environment created by mobile operators, Internet companies, government programs on internetisation and telephone installation got ready this geographical revolution. At the moment it is possible to talk about overcoming the regional gap in the field of information. But communication inequality still remains relevant between the federal center and the regions, and between different regions. How to detect the real size of these gaps? What are the modern efficient technologies and practices to overcome it? Answers to these questions are the tasks of the project.

The first research results confirming the presence of communication inequality were obtained in 2014 during the mass survey conducted with a specially designed strictly structured selection of samples.

The method of individual interviews Face to Face was used for the research. In interview a respondent was allowed the use of interactive communication means - Skype (by video link).

The administrative-territorial principle was used to determine the specific research objects. The surveys in a big city, medium-size city, small town and rural settlement were necessary for the research. The four territorial administrative units: a large city - Moscow;

medium-size city - Belgorod (Belgorod region); a small town - Belev (Tula region) and rural settlements - villages of Belevsky district in Tula region were selected as such research objects.

Volume and features of sampling.

The total sampling volume included 640 respondents.

256 respondents were interviewed in Moscow, 128 respondents were interviewed in Belgorod and Belev and 128 respondents were interviewed in the villages of the Belevsky district. The sampling was based on strictly structured selection of samples. The selection of samples was based on formation of different groups by the following features: gender, age (citizens of 18 years and older), level of education. These features were basic for such groups. It is worth noting that parameter of level of education was somewhat modified for Moscow respondents, unlike other research objects - the parameter "academic degree" was added to the scale. This is due to the fact that the capital (unlike other cities covered by the research) is described by a large number of people with two or three higher education degrees and academic degree that had to be interviewed for the research.

As a result of this sampling the first database that consisted of equal volume groups selected on a territorial criterion was formed (128 respondents from Moscow, 128 from Belgorod, 128 from in Belev, 128 from the villages and settlements of Belyovsky District (512 respondents total).

The main hypothesis to test simulating the first base is a difference between the communication strategies of residents from big city, medium-size city, small town and rural settlement coming from the communication inequality.

Communication inequality is understood as differentiation that makes individuals, social groups, strata and classes to stay at different stages of social hierarchy and have unequal life chances and opportunities to receive and impart socially important information. Features of communication inequality are failures, gaps, barriers (for example, between center and periphery), and as a result- public distrust.

The first aspect that is basic for communication inequality is ownership of the means of communication and (or) money to buy these ones that provide access to information: newspapers, radio, TV, phone, Internet.

Thus "who can buy whatever he wanted to read" in Moscow -53%, in Belgorod-40%, in Belev-29%, in villages - 41%; "who doesn't have money to buy whatever he wanted to read" in Moscow-5%, in Belgorod-6%, in Belev-9%, in villages -6%.

Almost equally of people in different types of territorial communities have the car stereo with radio (from 40% to 31%), but the FM radio in mobile phone is not so available: in Moscow

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- 41%, in Belgorod - 27%; in Belev - 17%; in villages - 22%. Respondents without radio in Moscow - 18%, Belgorod - 20%, Belev - 43%; in villages - 43%. Respondents with landline phone in Moscow - 69%, Belgorod - 41%, Belev - 46%, in villages- 38%.

100% of Muscovites have the mobile phone, 96% of Belgorod, 98% of Belev and 89% of village residents. Residents of all territorial communities have the TV. The difference is in means of communication: residents of Belgorod, Belev and villages tend to have a regular TV, Moscow residents have LCDs, laptops, tablets and smartphones.

Phone (smartphone) became an integral part of modern business man. The research shows the different territorially reasonable strategies of the phone use. Moscow and Belgorod residents frequently use SMS messaging, photo camera, video camera, but Belgorod and village residents use more often calendar, or alarm notes. The e-money is demanded by 32% of Moscow residents, 20% of Belgorod residents, 10% of Belev residents and 15% of villagers. Mobile Internet is used by 63% of Moscow residents, 54% of Belgorod residents, 35% of Belev residents and 41% villagers.

The second aspect: the difference between information and communication respondents needs by their place of residence. The Moscow residents are interested in following news: weather (72%), political news (70%), criminal activity (69%), social news (67%), medicine news (53%). Belgorod respondents are also interested in the weather news (63%) and social news (63%), political news (49%), criminal activity (47%) and cultural news (41%). Social news (65%) are more important for Belev residents, then information about the weather (63%), medical news (60%), education news (53%), political and criminal news (52%). For villagers the first place is taken by weather (55%), social news (50%), medicine (45), political news (42%), agriculture (39%).

Only 10% of Moscow residents believe that they do not have enough information about the life of the district, county, city, 20% Belgorod residents, 14% of Belev residents, 12% of the villagers think so.

The third aspect: what kind of sources is relevant to obtain the current information, are trusted by the respondents of different territorial settlements. So the big-city respondents (Moscow) more trust the personal observations (84%), relatives and friends information (77%), local television (50%), federal TV (48%), neighbors and acquaintances information (41%) . Regional center residents (Belgorod) also trust the personal observations (54%), then federal TV (52%), family and friends (47%), local television (31%), radio (22%). Respondents of the district center (Belev) trust the most federal television (72%), local television (50%), family and friends (48%), personal observations (47%), local newspapers (43%) . Residents of villages tend to trust

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the most their relatives and friends (54%), personal observations (44%), national television (40%), neighbors and acquaintances (31%), local television (21%).

Marketing and advertising trade magazines are not respected by Muscovites (58% do not trust them), foreign websites, magazines, foreign publications are not trusted too (31%). Belgorod residents do not trust marketing and advertising trade magazines (48%), neighbors and acquaintances(36%), foreign websites (34%), foreign television (29%). Belev residents do not trust marketing and advertising trade magazines (48%), neighbors and acquaintances(41%), russian Internet sites and foreign publications(25%). Residents of villages do not trust, first of all marketing and advertising trade magazines (56%), neighbors and acquaintances(36%), magazines (26%), foreign publications(21%).

A fourth aspect that was isolated and evaluated includes the communication practices that respondents use to interact with their society. Table 1 shows the% of respondents that use these forms of activity at least once.

Table 1

Use of the communication activity forms by residents of different territorial settlements (%).

Type of communication activity:	Moscow residents	Belgorod residents	Belev residents	Villagers
write, call to editorial office (radio, TV)	15%	19%	7%	4%
Appeare on radio and TV	14%	3%	3%	2%
Arrive at the rally	26%	17%	9%	8%
Meet with candidates	10%	25%	43%	8%
Go to representatives	10%	17%	21%	7%
Address the conferences, speak at meetings	33%	24%	21%	3%
Arrange business/friendly meetings	57%	48%	16%	7%
Have an open blog	20%	6%	6%	1%
Hold/visit trainings/lectures	27%	25%	9%	6%

Table 1 shows that Moscow (big city) and Belgorod (medium-size city) residents are the most communication-active. Moscow residents are more active in arriving at the rally and less active in going to representatives. Residents of the regional center (Belev) are highly active,

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unlike other, in communication with real or potential officials. Villagers show lower communication activity on all measured parameters.

Table 2

Political activity of residents of different territorial settlements (participation in the last election) (%).

Participated in the last election:	Moscow residents	Belgorod residents	Belev residents	Villagers
President	58%	67%	70%	67%
State Duma deputies	40%	50%	63%	50%
City Legislative Assembly	18%	38%	56%	46%
Region Legislative Assembly	12%	40%	54%	46%
Local self-government bodies	20%	52%	58%	52%

The less activity in elections is showed by the Moscow residents, the percentage of activity is higher in villages and regional centers.

Table 3

Civic engagement of residents of different territorial settlements (%).

	Moscow residents	Belgorod residents	Belev residents	Villagers
Wrote to different levels of authorities	10%	6%	5%	2%
Appealed to representatives	2%	3%	4%	1%
Appealed to government authorities	8%	7%	6%	10%
Appealed to municipal authorities	6%	10%	14%	6%
Spoke at different meetings	2%	1%	2%	2%

Table 3 shows that Muscovites more often write to the authorities of different levels, Belgorod and Belev residents prefer to go to municipal authorities and villagers go to government authorities.

The fifth aspect: how residents of different territorial settlements feel the hiding of any information.

Table 4.

Do you think that some information is specially hidden from the public very often? (%)

Hidden information:	Moscow residents	Belgorod residents	Belev residents	Villagers
State external debt	31%	35%	18%	15%
Change in GDP	23%	19%	10%	9%
Means of insurance payments obtaining	38%	28%	12%	16%
Hazardous substances in products	75%	48%	30%	27%
Hazardous scientific experiments	60%	42%	25%	22%
Historical facts	24%	27%	5%	7%
Real world political situation	39%	57%	16%	15%
Scandals involving famous people, politicians	20%	26%	10%	9%
Catastrophes, number of victims, killings etc.	24%	37%	9%	10%

Table 4 shows that the most informed and communication active group consists of Muscovites, they particularly feel the hiding of some thematic information from the public. They believe that hidden information is about the content of hazardous substances in food (75%) and the facts of the hazardous scientific experiments (60%). Belgorod residents are alarmed, firstly, by the real political situation in the world (57%). Belev residents and villagers are about half alarmed by hiding of information on the same issues as the Muscovites. A greater number of respondents of all territorial settlements are alarmed by hiding of information on means of insurance payments obtaining. In general, villagers are less inclined to think that any information is hidden.

A sixth aspect: a sense of belonging, involvement in management processes, ensure of respondents views in making decisions at various levels.

Table 5

Respondents of different territorial settlements think that their opinion is absolutely not taken into account in drafting legislation, making decisions... (%)

Think that their opinion is absolutely not taken into account:	Moscow residents	Belgorod residents	Belev residents	Villagers
State Duma	57%	49%	64%	69%
President	46%	41%	60%	56%
Government	50%	46%	61%	62%
Federation Council	64%	45%	64%	69%
Regional Duma	65%	45%	64%	71%

Governor	52%	40%	61%	65%
Mayor of the City	49%	39%	59%	66%
Prefecture	59%	38%	62%	73%
Local authorities	62%	34%	58%	70%
Housing and communal services	67%	40%	61%	68%
At the enterprise where you work	21%	22%	26%	45%
In urban development	45%	43%	65%	66%

Table 5 shows clearly the large percentage of respondents that feel disconnected from the decision-making processes. Villagers feel the most strongly that their opinion is not taken into account, but situation is different for Belgorod region. In general, the table paint a disturbing picture, pointing at the isolation of the state and municipal management elites from opinion expression and solving the difficulties faced by communities.

Conclusions:

Analysis of information needs and opportunities, communication practices, subjective views of respondents of different territorial settlements, highlighted the signs of communication inequality.

The first aspect indicates that, depending on respondent location, he experiences or does not experience any restriction to use means of communication. Big and medium-size cities residents are in privileged position, residents of towns and villages are in the lost position. The second aspect is related to the information needs of the residents of different territorial settlements, it indicates that the level of information claims are much higher among residents of big and medium-size cities, the requirement of residents of towns and villages are minimal.

The third analysis aspect let to find the most trustful information sources for the sampling groups. And here some differences are also evident. Muscovites, for example, trust more the information obtained by personal observations and interpersonal communication (tet-a-tet), the percentage of such villagers is lower. Medium-size cities and towns residents trust as the interpersonal communication as federal and local television.

The fourth aspect concerns the forms and types of communication practices. Level of social activity is very low in villages and level of political activity is low among the Muscovites. The fifth aspect indicates that the greater the need for information in a group, the more likely the feeling of information hiding by the State.

The sixth aspect demonstrates the deeply feeling of different territorial groups of disconnection from management decisions. The numbers of villages and medium-size cities

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respondents that think that their opinion is not taken into account by the authorities is much higher.

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Russia: Clericalization as Inevitability?

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Abstract. The article is based on the analysis of the Constitution of the RF, the legislation on freedom of conscience and statements of representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church. Author concludes that the government is increasingly abandoning the principles of freedom of conscience and worship.

Keywords: freedom of conscience; legislation; Russian Orthodox Church

Relations between the State, society, faith-based organizations and non-believers is a problem that requires constant adjustment because it is the result of many factors. Sometimes these factors are unexpected in the era of global cross-cultural interpenetration, which is forming not only the "plasticine morality", but also "plasticine" legislation. In this situation, the actualization of questions of the relationships between traditional and new values supported by the State and society and realized in the laws and behaviors is becoming inevitable.

Outlined the problem, let us consider it on the example of legislation on freedom of conscience. The difficulties begin with the fact that in the world science there is no consensus on the content of this concept nor the uniform practice of such legislation implementation. This allows each country within the international - in fact, a "framework" - law to adjust the actual content of the rights to freedom of conscience depending on the political priorities of particular situation.

As each State aims to be sovereign if not de facto but at least de jure, the model of freedom of conscience must take into account external and internal risks. To what extent does the Constitution of the Russian Federation account for them?

The Constitution states that "1. Russia is a secular state. No religion can be established as state or obligatory. 2. Religious associations are separated from the State and are equal under the law "(Art.14)."Everyone is guaranteed freedom of conscience, freedom of worship, including the right to profess individually or jointly with others any religion or no religion; to freely choose, possess and disseminate religious and other convictions and act in accordance with them" (Art. 28). "1. Everyone is guaranteed freedom of thought and speech. 2. Propaganda inciting social, racial, national or religious hatred and enmity is prohibited. Propaganda of social, racial, national, religious or linguistic supremacy is prohibited. 3. No one can be forced to express his views and convictions or to reject them. 4. Everyone has the right to seek, receive, transmit, produce and disseminate information by any legal means. ... 5. The freedom of mass media is guaranteed. Censorship is forbidden" (Art. 29).

Items 14, 28, 29 are included into the chapters 1 and 2 of the Constitution, which can only be changed by the Constitutional Assembly by two thirds of the total number of its members, or through a popular vote (Art. 135) [*Konstitutsia Rossiyskoy Federatsii...*]. Nevertheless, there are no relevant laws regulating this procedure. At first glance, the statements of the Constitution are sufficient to ensure the realization of freedom of conscience to all faiths. However, formal equality is not a sufficient condition for real equality: each faith is trying to use the ambiguity of concepts in its favor in specific situations.

The opinion of Deacon Andrei Kuraev who offers four models of behavior of the Russian Orthodox Church in the conditions of freedom of conscience is significant. First is that the Orthodoxy is not the largest world religion, hence the ROC may use the "weapon of the opponent" - "to speak from the standpoint of individual freedom, from position of minorities. There are few of us, and so we ask to give us the opportunity to save our language, our theater, our school, our faith. In this global village, we, the Orthodox, are little in number and let us keep our crankiness; in particular, we do not want to live with these electronic passports or with something else".

Fundamentally different models are presented for the own country. If we recognize Russia as an Orthodox country, "then, as a church preacher, I can pile up myself on the pulpit and pontificate in the aggressive-pastoral behavior pattern. However, if I think that the world around is not Orthodox, but pagan, so then I have to search for saints examples, for instance, in the life ... of the Holy Fathers of the third century. I think that for church itself it is important to preserve the spirit of sobriety and to make a sober assessment of what is going on around us. In any case, I recall that St Cyprian of Carthage have never occurred to come up with a protest, to blame the repertoire of Greek theater, to change the policy of the Roman Empire, to call for the closing of pagan temples, etc.

With the officials, "the tone of the conversation appropriate is on behalf a large group of the population, of people culturally identifying themselves as associated with the Orthodoxy - we ask to give us a possibility to tell about our own culture to our children". It is appropriate to refer to the law on freedom of conscience of 1997, which affirms the unique role of Christianity in Russian history and culture, and the 18th article confirm that the State supports religious organizations if they realize cultural and religious activities of great social value [Kuraev A. ...].

So there are four scenarios offered that are consistent with the scheme announced by the Apostle Paul to the Corinthians. He said: "Wherefore being free from all, I enslaved myself in order to gain more: To the Jews I became as a Jew, to get the Jews, for the by-law I was like a by-law to get them; for without law - as without law".

With the outside world, everything is clear - the role of supplicant is recommended ("let us keep our uniqueness") - this is clearly a trend in the world going towards national culture and national sovereignty. It is possible to stay on this wave just for some short time, because there are such geopolitical realities that stronger players do not need "untouched Klondike called Russia". Ethnic and religious reservations are possible, but in small areas with a minimum of resources. Support of own national originality does not mean that the value of the originality of cultures in other countries will be worth when the question arise: "Where and how to take the resources to ensure stability within own country?"

"Aggressive-pastoral behavior pattern" of any religion is prohibited by the Constitution, but is it true in practice? A more precise answer to this question is provided by the analysis of legislation on the state-confessional relations. The reality is that in the late 1980s the ROC began from "the conversation on behalf a large group of people", but gradually started to move to the "aggressive-pastoral behavior pattern". Russian legislation gives grounds for this.

In 1997, the ROC had insisted on inclusion of the following Preamble to the law "On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations": "The Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, confirming the right of everyone to freedom of conscience and freedom of worship, as well as equality before the law regardless of the attitude to religion and beliefs, based on the fact that the Russian Federation is a secular state, recognizing the special role of the Orthodoxy in the history of Russia, in the development of its spirituality and culture, respecting Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Judaism and other religions constituting an integral part of the historical heritage of the peoples of Russia, considering important to contribute to the achievement of mutual understanding, tolerance and respect in matters relating to freedom of conscience and freedom of worship, adopts the present Federal law".

It was a very far-seeing step of the Russian Orthodox Church. Recognition of the special role in history allows the ROC to claim to a special role in present and future. The clearest manifestations of these claims are proposals to adjust the text of the Constitution without affecting mentioned chapters. This can be done through submitting to the Preamble of the Constitution the thesis that the Orthodoxy is the basis of national and cultural identity of Russia.

Such a method was proposed in late 2013 by E. Mizulina - the head of the Duma Committee on Family, Women, and Children, a deputy from the "A Just Russia" Party, doctor of juridical science, person presenting the State Duma in the Constitutional Court of Russia - at the meeting of inter-factional parliamentary group in Christian values defense where four high officials of the ROC were present. The proposal was approved, but met the rejection in other circles of society. Members of the Council under the President of the RF for Civil Society

Development and Human Rights issued a statement stressing that "to increase the power of the head of the State, to return to ideological monopoly, to establish a state religion is to undermine prestige not only of the basic law, but of the authority itself" [SPCH vstrevozhen popitkami ...] .

Member of the Public Chamber of the Russian Federation, doctor of law E. Lukyanova asked the general public prosecutor of the RF Yuriy Chaika to conduct a check on extremism of Yelena Mizulina statements. As a result, the press-center of the deputy stated that not Mizulina`s proposal was discussed, but the "appeal of citizens to set in the text of the Constitution the special historical role of the Orthodoxy" [Mizulina hochet ...].

Thus, there are two positions. Which of them serves the best interests of Russia? In our opinion, freedom of conscience is possible only in conditions of a secular state, but for Russia it is also a requirement for the preservation of the country in its present borders.

In practice, another strategy is being implemented. If something does not work directly, this is achieved through a gradual "throw-in of projects" not so much to discuss but to prepare the public opinion with their subsequent implementation through laws. The example is the adoption of the Federal Law from 29.06.2013 N 136-FZ "On Modification of the Article 148 of the Criminal Code of the RF and Certain Legislative Acts of the RF in order to counteract the insult of religious beliefs and feelings of citizens". In practice, it protects the feelings of the Orthodox, including from religious minorities.

A critical attitude to religion is becoming more punishable. According to Article 5.26 of the Administrative Code of the Russian Federation, intentional public desecration of religious or theological literature, objects of religious respect, signs or emblems of ideological symbolics or attributes, their damage or destruction are punishable by an administrative fine of the amount from thirty thousand to fifty thousand rubles for the citizens or by compulsory works for a term up to 120 hours, as well as administrative fine of one hundred thousand to two hundred thousand rubles for officials (introduced by Law 29.06. 2013).

The subjectivity of the concept of "insult" allows applying the law selectively: according to p. 1, Art.148 of the Criminal Code as insulting religious feelings can be understood disrespectful judgement, rude ridiculing of religious dogmas and canons, which a citizen professes, or the personal qualities of a citizen related to his religious affiliation [Zakon ob ugolovnoy ...].

Attempts are being made to expand the meaning of "insult" concept. On April 28 2015, the "Memorandum of expertise center of the World Russian People's Council on Russophobia" was accepted. It says: "It should be clearly stated that the manifestation of religious hatred against members of the Russian Orthodox Church, which reach the public insult of religious

feelings of believers, the desecration of religious objects, the organization of anti-religious persecution in most cases are linked not only to religious contradictions or godless mood, but are also an expression of Russophobia in the field of religion. Actions of the defamatory nature aimed to the Russian Orthodox Church must be considered as one of the forms of Russophobia and "cultural genocide" of the Russian people". The authors of the Memorandum expressed regret for the concept of "Russophobia" "still is not appropriately reflected in any international legal documents nor in the regulatory legal documents of the Russian Federation" [Memorandum ekspertnogo tsentra ...]. The question arise – is the information that another priest knocked down a pedestrian being drunk defamatory or not?

Another example: the Federal Law N 103-FZ of 20.04.2015 made a statement into Article 14 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, according to which "Convicted to forced labor, arrest, detention in a disciplinary military unit or imprisonment upon their request can have meetings with priests, belonging to duly registered religious organizations, for choice of convicted". It is known that not all religious organizations have the clergy though [O vnesenii izmeneniy ...].

I assume that due to the Russian mentality ("A price worth paying!") after a quarter of century of national humiliation there were many people who would support the claim that the ROC is the last moralizing defender. However, what is the social structure of this social base? One thing is to agree with such a role of the ROC, another is to take on the responsibilities arising from it.

Here we come to the interrelated issues under discussion:

1. What is the level of religiosity of the Russian population?
2. Is Russia Orthodox or multi-confessional country?
3. What is the place of religion in the structure of values?

In answers to these questions the same facts are differently treated, including the results of sociological researches; in some cases special techniques are used that provide desired answers.

Therefore, first question is what the level of religiosity of the Russian population is. Depending on the selected criteria and their interpretation the number of "Orthodox in Russia varies from 4 - 6 to 70, and even more than 80 percent" [Skol`ko veruyushchih ...]. In 2012, Informational and analytical portal "Religion and Law" presented the results of the "Arena" project that contains the Atlas of religions and nationalities in Russia. According to the survey, Orthodox inside the Church make up 41%, believers with no exact religion - 25%, Atheists -

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13%, Muslims - 4.7%, Christians - 4,1%, Sunni Muslims - 1.7%, Orthodox outside the Church - 1.5 %, Pagans - 1.2%, Buddhists - 0.5%, Old-believers - <0.5%, Protestants - <0.5%, Shia Muslims - <0.5%, Catholics - <0.5%, Jews - <0.5 %, Hindus and others - <0.5%, Pentecostal - <0.5% [Proekt ARENA: ...].

Indeed, there are much less Muslims than Orthodox, but they live in their "native" lands neighboring countries that are close to them in the confessional map (as Buddhists and Shamanists), mainly along the borders of Russia. Secondly, we cannot ignore that the present day the Muslim nations are passionate, according to L.N. Gumilyov.

Thus, a reference to the numerical superiority of the Orthodox is not the argument which proves the necessity of the state policy of clericalization by one - though numerically dominant - religion to preserve its unity and territorial integrity. The unbelievers will not disappear as well. Of course, the mindset affects the religiosity: "Many people believe in God because the analytical system of thinking requires more effort, and most people prefer to go easy ways whenever possible, to proceed to intuition" [Merkulov A. ...]. However, still there is a minority.

The correctness of this conclusion can be confirmed by other data. A lot is written on the cultural, not confessional characteristic of the "Orthodox" concept. Of those surveyed within the project "Arena», 22% comply with all the religious orders in accordance with their religion *as far as possible*. Moreover, 13% of respondents believe in signs, divination, fate, and 12% - pray daily with prayers or in their own words, 5% have read the Gospel, 3% are involved into the life of community of co-religionists, 2% confess once a month or more often. Is it surprising that only 15% stated: "Religion plays an important role in my life"?

However, in our opinion, there is one very important positive indicator, which actually provides a guarantee of the country unity - only 1% of those who believes that "people practicing a different religion than I am commit a sin". The crucial issue is whether after the introduction of religious cultures in schools such a degree of tolerance remains.

Let us remind that the proportion of "churched" since the late 1990th has not changed. It is significant that despite the active building of churches of "walking distance" only 11% of the Orthodox visit church once a month or more frequently, 24% - once or two times a year, and therefore there is no religious actions and financial support [Dannie oprosa FOM: ...].

We can make important conclusion about the level of demand for religion by the population of the country according to the above data [Konstitutsia Rossiyskoy Federatsii . . .]. The level of development of a particular need in sociology is measured through a combination of three indicators: 1 - place in the system of value orientations; 2 - time costs for its satisfaction; 3 - material costs for its satisfaction. All of them are very small and correlate with each other.

A few years ago, there was an idea initiated of church tax introduction by the example of some Western countries. The vast majority did not support it - only 19% of Russians agreed that the Orthodox people could pay a tax for the benefit of the Russian Orthodox Church. More than a half of respondents (56%) are against the tax on the Orthodox. Most often, this opinion is typical for the Muscovites (68%) and state employees. They are followed by the poorest of the respondents, non-working pensioners and respondents poor by self-identification - that is, social groups that seem to require religious support to a greater extent [Nalog v pol`zu Tserkvi ...].

These results surprised even the representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church. Immediately there was criticism of the question wording introduced – it should ask not about the agreement to pay taxes in the same amount, but 3% out of 13% for the benefit of the Church. [Igumen Philipp (Simonov ...)]. In this case, the director of Department of the Accounting Chamber ignored that financing of general interest needs - the army, health, education, etc. – would be reduced to the respective amount and hence the entire population would suffer. The question is why people who does not belong to the Orthodox have to pay social services for them out of their taxes.

The above-mentioned surveys data are widely represented in the Internet. However, according to the publications, data of other researchers on smaller arrays and by separate social groups are similar: the need for religion for the majority of population is much lower than that voiced by supporters of clericalization.

A somewhat different situation is in the Protestant communities, which exclude those who does not comply with requirements. The statement of the representative of one of the ROC congregation is significant: "We cannot banish the guilty as the Protestants do. We have to bring salvation to everyone". The humanity of such position is obvious, but in the end, it reduces the role of the Russian Orthodox Church as a regulator of social life not only for parishioners, but also for society as a whole.

It was mentioned earlier that the materials of sociological studies could be interpreted in different ways. Here is an example. Z. Peykova (Institute of Sociology of RAS) in the report at the IX Christmas Readings (2001) determining the number of adherents of a particular faith based on self-identification of the respondents, stated that "now Russia is *genuinely* (emphasis added - G.S.Sh.) an Orthodox country. More than a half of the population identifying themselves with this religious group is a very high rate "[Skol`ko veruyushchih ...]. Such statements of scientists are used by interested parties in response to the second question – *Is Russia Orthodox or multi-confessional country?*

The fact that confessional characteristic is replaced by cultural in the minds of majority of people is profitable to the ROC as a social institution. The fact that for many people Orthodoxy is a cultural characteristic and there are more Orthodox than believers stimulated the discussion on the issue of religious affiliation question inclusion into the list of Population census. Commenting on this, the head of Rosstat A. Surinov said: "So I ask you: Are you a believer and what religion do you have? What is a believer? Does it mean that you maintain the ceremonies, or is it just some kind of self-appraisal? Many churchmen say this is a kind of self-appraisal. However, the issue is very complex" [Vkluchenie voprosa ...].

Here is the opinion of Patriarch Kirill that he has repeatedly expressed being in the status of the Metropolitan: "We should forget this everyday use term – “a multi-confessional country”. Russia is an Orthodox country with national and religious minorities”, as according to statistics there are about 4 - 5% of Muslims and 1% of non-Orthodox Christians. At the same time, "it is prohibited to discriminate against the minority" [Mitropolit Smolenskiy ...].

Despite this, Russia is a multinational state that "was largely determined by the moral, spiritual attitudes of the Orthodoxy, which categorically prevented the suppression of freedom of all those who professes a different faith. Orthodoxy has always stood in defense of the people against various foreign spiritual aggression, whether of the Teutonic Knights or some more subtle propaganda of other views, including religious. Orthodoxy stood in defense from the so-called proselytism, but has never incited its people, has never pushed them to deprive other nations of religious freedom. And this experience of tolerance became the basis for the formation of a multinational state” [Vistupleniye Svyateyshego Patriarha...].

Status of the Patriarch obliges to foresee "as the word will respond" in the international community, which in recent years expresses concern about the rights of religious minorities. Speech of Patriarch is aimed to the domestic audience as well, especially the clergy and parishioners who sometimes know their own history. Therefore let us recall that it is possible to find stories that both confirm (example - tolerance for other religions in the newly annexed territories to retain them) and refute this statement. In our view, the fact is more important that in the Russian Empire there was the dominant church and tolerable and persecuted religions. Russia is not unique in this as this separation is typical at all times and in all countries. The only point is in the degree of freedom of the members of each group.

Statement of the Patriarch that the country is multinational, but not multi-confessional is a symbolic "red flag" that influences the religious policy of the state, especially at the local level. However, in his speeches V.V. Putin has repeatedly stated: "Russia is developing as a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country" [Vladimir Putin ob`yasnil ...].

Is it discrepancy between positions? In our opinion, the reason is not only in the targeted audience: Putin should "work" both for the entire population and "abroad". More important is that Russia has faced with an exacerbation of ethnic relations. This led to return to practice of creating a special structure - the Federal Agency for the Affairs of Nationalities. Its powers include "State monitoring and analyze of: ...condition of inter-ethnic and inter-faith relations, strengthening the unity of the multinational people of the Russian Federation (Russian nation), ensuring inter-ethnic harmony; ...carrying out scientific and practical, including sociological, researches in the sphere of state national policy, including on counteraction to national and religious extremism; ... methodological support of occupational retraining and advanced training of specialists in the established field of activities"[O Federalnom agentstve po delam...]. As we can see, there is no word on the development of religious policy.

The political task of maintaining the huge geographical space remains, therefore the way is to reconcile to the variety of a religious map. This is the "sketch" from Buryatia: "The need to maximize outcome determines the prevalence of the practice in the region to appeal to different faiths. Visiting datsan, shaman, orthodox and old-believer churches is not considered as a marginal behavior. Moreover, the reason for such visits may be the same question". If the priests begin to condemn such practices, it causes negative emotions [Belkova A.A.].

The similar situation is not only in other border regions of Russia, but also in the center - for example, dual faith of Mari. Special issues are of the Muslim population on the banks of the Volga and in the Caucasus. We should not forget the ubiquitous "inclusion" of Protestant communities and New Religious Movements. "Aggressive-pastoral behavior pattern" in these conditions will be used by centrifugal forces. We should recall that to neutralize them there were federal districts created, which had some strengthen effect. However, how much are they reliable in critical situations?

Lack of own funds because of a small number of "churched" people makes the ROC to increase the requirements for the state and organizations on financial support of the Church on a variety of projects. In a difficult time for the country's population there would be spent about 2 billion rubles from the federal budget on the program "Strengthening the unity of the Russian nation" to create a spiritual and educational centers founded by the Russian Orthodox Church. The total budget in 2015 will amount to 1.4 billion rubles [SMI: RPC poluchit dva milliarda...]. There are other less-paid projects as well. It has also become common practice to make a sanctification of state facilities such as hospitals, subway stations, banks, etc.

All this irritate not only the representatives of other faiths and non-believers. According to "Levada-center" survey, in the autumn of 2014 54% of population regarded "the church and

religious organizations as reliable", 20% - as "not entirely reliable", and 7% - as "not reliable at all" [Rossiyane bol'she doveryaut prezidenty..].

The problem is recognized, therefore some solutions are offered. Let us mention those that should raise the loyalty to the Russian Orthodox Church through the introduction of religious culture into the educational process. In the municipal kindergartens, kids are taken to the church. In schools the basics of religious cultures are embed, but they are often replaced by the God's Law. These processes became especially intensified in 2012 after the adoption of the Law "On Education in the Russian Federation".

It became clear that most of the parents prefer not confessional cultures (the basics of Orthodox culture - 30%, the basics of the world religious cultures - 18%, the basics of Islamic culture - 9%, the basics of Buddhist culture - 1%), but the basics of secular ethics (42%). The textbook "Basics of religious cultures and secular ethics" is published in the "Modern School" series. However, the distribution of hours is the following – 3 hours are devoted to the Motherland, and the other 31 – to religious cultures. Here are the citations from the "secular part" of the course: "We all are very different, but the most important values we share are the same - family, homeland, God, faith, love, freedom". Religion "is a belief in God; proper behavior of people in daily life" [Abramova T.A., Belaya G.B.]. Does not it follow from this that there are no atheists in the country, but if there are, then their behavior is not "correct"?

An important area of the loyalty creation to the Russian Orthodox Church is an example of the impact on such a rigid corporate structure as state employees. The participation of senior officials in religious ceremonies as a laity led to widespread violation of Article 4 of point 4 of the current Law "On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Associations". It states: "The activities of public authorities and local authorities are not accompanied by public religious rites and ceremonies. Officials of public authorities, other state structures and local authorities, as well as military personnel cannot use their official position to form a particular attitude to religion [Federal'nyy zakon ot 26.09.1997...]. Violations of this article can be seen everywhere: icons in the offices of civil servants, "churched" behavior on the orthodox holidays, the consecration of state institutions, maternity hospitals, universities, banks, space rockets, etc. Such cases often become targets of ridicule in the Internet.

Let us draw some conclusions. The process of secularization, which was part of a state policy in the Soviet era, was replaced in the late 1980s by the opposite process of clericalization of main spheres of public life. At present, position of some social groups became more influential, who support not the abolition of Article 28 of the Constitution of the RF on the

secular character of the State, but its neglect in favor of a number of Russian traditional religions, and especially the Russian Orthodox Church.

The balance of power is largely dependent on the political tasks set by the country leaders and only secondarily - on the attitude of Russian population to religion in general, particular faiths, denominations, but above all - to the Russian Orthodox Church. Its indicators are interdependent and adjusting each other parameters fixed in sociological research: verbal self-appraisal of the attitude toward religion in general and its separate parts, the degree of "churching" of different social groups, which manifests itself in the time spent on religious needs satisfaction and the size of the material support of their communities.

Since the results of research to a certain extent influence the choice of priorities of the State in the sphere of freedom of conscience, it would be strange if different political forces did not use this tool. Therefore, the sociology of religion has some acute issues on the research methodology of religiosity level of the population, the degree of compliance with the law on freedom of conscience and its adjustment, as well as on bringing research results to a wider audience. However, scientific studies are not a guarantee from the "aggressive-pastoral behavior pattern".

Comparing the results of studies of various sociological centers Yu. Sinelina concluded that it is possible to distinguish four stages in the development of religiosity of post-Soviet Russia population, and its growth has always coincided with the social and economic crisis [Sinelina Y.]. Therefore, the most effective way against the State clericalization is the increase of people's standard of living and confidence in the future. In a country where a considerable part of the population has income below the poverty line and keep in mind "if only there would be no war" there cannot be neither a secular state nor freedom of conscience, as larger confession will be used as a political tool. At the same time, there cannot be a mono-religion in educated country and therefore inter-religious conflicts and the suppression of religious minorities' rights are inevitable.

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Resocialization of Professional Athletes

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Some Judgments about Sanctions and Communicative Actions

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Religious Views and Practice of Young Gamers

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Social Aspect of Access to Higher Education



The Economic Aspect of Access to Higher Education

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The Role of Worldview in Designing the Urban Development Strategies for European Cities (Historical and Socio-Cultural Aspects)

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Modern Trends of Formation of Upperclassmen's Civic Consciousness and Patriotism

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Glocalization in the European Higher Education

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Training of Specialists for Social Sphere in the Context of Modernization of Higher Education in Russia

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The Role of Worldview in Designing the Urban Development Strategies for European Cities (Historical and Socio-Cultural Aspects)

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Resocialization of Professional Athletes

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Modern Trends of Formation of Upperclassmen's Civic Consciousness and Patriotism

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Social Well-Being of Workers in the Stavropol Region

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The Corporate Ethos of an University and Self-Government

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Culture of Speech and Language Trends: the Problem of Communicative Admissions

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Life World of the Modern Russian Megalopolis: Valuable Measurement

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Foreign Gouverneurs in Russia after 1917: Virtual Image and the Real Status

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Social Aspect of Access to Higher Education



The Economic Aspect of Access to Higher Education

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Development of Intercultural Interactions of University Students

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Professional Occupation as a Measure of Social Adaptation

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Transformation of Family

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Life World of the Modern Russian Megalopolis: Valuable Measurement

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Cases of Postcarbon Sociology

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Criteria for Evaluating the Effectiveness of Universities and Development of the Higher Education System of Russia

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Fuzzy Set QCA Method for Classification of Countries According to the Peculiarities of their Political Culture

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The Predictive Models and Russian Social and Ecological Practices

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Social Image of Russian Pensioners (Regional Aspects)

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Air Pollution in Taipei. The Role of Social Events and Weather Features

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Formation of Social-Professional Group of Ecologists in Post-Soviet Area

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Current Reforms and Early Educators' Status

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Social Well-Being of Workers in the Stavropol Region

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Russian specialists' integration in the European Labor Culture

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Burden of Support of the Social Sphere: Myths and Reality

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Religious Views and Practice of Young Gamers

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The Predictive Models and Russian Social and Ecological Practices

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Unequal Status of Healing Versus National Medicine in Russian Society

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The Experience of Using the Empirical Intersection for Content-Analytical Case Studies



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Formation of Social-Professional Group of Ecologists in Post-Soviet Area

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Civic Engagement of The Region's Population

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Social Image of Russian Pensioners (Regional Aspects)

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Civil-Political Attitudes of The Russian Student Youth

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Social Well-Being of Today's Young People: Political and Economic Aspects

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Modern Wars: are the Sociologists Well Prepared to Them?

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Attitudes to Innovations of Employees of the Modern Russian Industrial Enterprises

Differences, Inequalities and Sociological Imagination: View from Russia

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