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Russian humanitarian intelligentsia: contradictions of the life world

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Abstract. This article analyses the life of the modern Russian humanitarian intelligentsia based on the sociological concept of life, the key concept of which is the life world in all its richness of manifestation: social (group and individual) consciousness, behaviour (activity) in the social macro-, meso-, and microenvironment. This approach allows to reveal the specifics of life of the contemporary Russian intelligentsia and its diverse life worlds, which were analysed: a) as social and professional groups; b) as world outlook communities (socialist, liberal, nationalistic, patriotic, technocratic, and other orientations); c) through the characteristics of the main types of its activities (labor, politics, culture, way of life, etc.); d) as social groups, the precarious work and lifestyle of which is becoming increasingly distinct. The article provides the results of representative studies of humanitarian intelligentsia, conducted in 2016 in 14 regions of the country (n = 1,450). The author draws conclusions about the existence of many problems in the life of the Russian humanitarian intelligentsia that require urgent solutions. He emphasises that the present and future of the intelligentsia cannot exist on their own, but are valuable when they rely on the experience of the past and feed on the blood and flesh of the problems that are really solved.

Keywords: humanitarian intelligentsia, life world, meaning of life, value orientations.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is to analyze the modern Russian humanitarian intelligentsia from the standpoint of the sociological concept of the sociology of life, the key concept of which is the life world in all its richness. The article is based on the results of the all-Russian research *How do you live intelligentsia?* On 15-20 May 2016, 1,450 workers in the sector of education (450 teachers and university professors), health care (700 workers, including 360 doctors and 340 representatives of the paramedical personnel), and culture (300 workers) in 14 regions of the country were surveyed including in Moscow and St. Petersburg. These groups of the humanitarian intelligentsia were chosen because they are the largest among the humanities scholars and they represent the modern intelligentsia along with the natural science and technical groups engaged in intellectual work. A certain role in the selection played the fact that it was the humanitarian intelligentsia in the 1990s that stood in the perestroika forefront, and it was important to see whether its role changed in the 2010s. And finally, since it was precisely humanitarian intelligentsia who always formed the public consciousness and attitudes, it was necessary to determine what situation we have at the present time (for more, see [5]).

MAIN PART

The basic concept became the life world and its meaning as a special form of value orientations, since, according to a number of researchers, they acquired special significance in connection with solving pressing socio-economic, socio-political and sociocultural problems (for more details [6, 7]).

The researchers proceeded from the fact that the meaning and role of the life world can be understood only from the standpoint of understanding the whole of the past, present, and future in the life of that stratum of society that we call intelligentsia. We can understand the future of life aspirations and orientations and their carrier—the intelligentsia—only if we consider the life world in the context of past achievements and the search for solutions of the problems in the present and future. In this case, the theoretical and methodological basis for the analysis of the life world of the intelligentsia are the modi of time—past, present, and future. It is from this angle that the meanings of life of various groups/communities of the intelligentsia were considered. When it comes to the past, we mean a huge role that plays the memory. When analyzing the present, the meanings of life reflect values, value orientations, when people use judgments. When considering the future, it is important to see the goals (public and personal) that the intelligentsia is guided by, resorting to such a tool of predictive thinking as imagination (for more, see [8]).

We suggested our vision of the life world of the modern Russian humanitarian intelligentsia in the combination of various meanings related to the past, present, and future. Let us add that we have left aside judgments about the difference between the concepts of *intelligentsia* and *intellectuals* (for those interested in this problem, see, for example, [1, 2, 9]), considering that in real life people still use the intelligentsia

concept referring to the people with higher and/or secondary vocational education, engaged mainly in mental work. What are the main conclusions obtained while studying the life world of the Russian humanitarian intelligentsia?

First, the life world of the Russian intelligentsia is presented as a colorful canvas of social relations, which reflect fundamental changes in both objective conditions (state of the economy, social policy) and subjective factors (consciousness and behavior, traditions and innovations, expectations and evaluations of the achieved result), as well as the controversial search for the meaning of their public and private life. Accordingly, at the moment it is impossible to speak of the intelligentsia as a single homogeneous group, which has only common features, as it was to some extent a characteristic of the Soviet intelligentsia (for more see [4]).

Secondly, the intelligentsia in many respects lost the leading civic and cultural-moral role that it has played since its inception in both the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Its reaction, assessments, attitude to the events and processes occurring in the world and the country have little or no difference from similar indicators that reflect the position of the entire population. The differences between the studied groups of the intelligentsia in the evaluation of labor, attitudes towards culture and some other aspects of life are present, but they are very insignificant, so we can hope that all is not lost and the importance of social and labor activities of the intelligentsia for the development of Russian society can not only be preserved but also grow (see Table 1).

Thirdly, for the intelligentsia, the guarantee of permanent employment is of particular importance. Until recently, the permanent labor contracts have been prevailing in the sphere of education, culture, and health care. Such contracts include the now of a limited time interval which is now applied more and more often—it now covers ever third or fourth person. Moreover, the phenomenon of having no legal guarantees while performing the official duties (see Table 2) also penetrates into these areas of employment.

Table 1. Assessing the social significance of the intelligentsia in modern Russia (% of the respondents' number)

How do you assess the role of the intelligentsia in modern Russia?	Population (2014)	Intelligentsia (self-assessment) (2016)
The role of the intelligentsia is significant	9,7	15,1
It has a mid-level impact on society	21,9	25,2
It plays a minor role	23,7	26,7
Practically, it does not play any role	19,7	16,1
Not sure	25,0	16,9

Table 2. The extent of guaranteed labour relations (% of the respondents' number)

How are labour relations formalized?	Groups of employees		
	Teachers	Health care workers	Cultural workers
Permanent contract	73,8	68,7	58,9
Term contract (up to 1 year)	4,4	6,1	8,7
Term contract (from 1 year and more)	19,0	21,4	24,7
Temporary contract (several weeks or months)	1,2	2,4	3,3
Without a contract	1,6	1,4	4,3

To these data we should add that 18.7% of respondents do not see prospects in work, professional career (21% of teachers, 16.8% of health workers, and 22.7% of cultural workers). It is particularly depressing that the creative potential of the intelligentsia, its “social elevators” have lost their significance and even have been supplanted by other rules of the personnel policy, as a result of which not the most talented representatives of the intelligentsia are moving upward the social ladder.

Fourthly, stable worldview reference points have been lost, as well as the attempts to link them with certain behavior. As a result, there is a minor discrepancy in traditional political orientations (left-wing or right-wing views). Teachers slightly differ; among them practically every fifth (18.3%) adhere to the left-wing views, which, in our opinion, is connected with their wider contacts — with parents and students — who are not limited to information about the learning process: teachers constantly encounter problems of housing, health, welfare, and unemployment of the population, affecting the success of children in school. That is, they are more likely to encounter social problems than their colleagues in the fields of education and culture.

Analyzing the data on the worldview of these three groups of intelligentsia, we should note that the outwardly attractive, but in reality amorphous orientations to patriotic and national sentiments, to which both supporters of socialist and liberal views can put their names, not excluding those who adhere to extravagant (for example, monarchical views), destructive behavior, and even criminal rhetoric (see table 3).

Fifth, the precarization of both the labour activity and the whole way of life of the humanitarian intelligentsia is clearly revealed, which is expressed in its unstable, unguaranteed social situation, constant infringement of its rights and freedoms, which is especially clearly manifested in the so-called optimization in education, health and culture sectors (see Table 4).

Table 3. Ideological orientation of the intelligentsia (% of the respondents' number)

What political views are closer to you?	Groups of employees		
	Teachers	Health care workers	Cultural workers
Left-wing views (socialist, communist)	18,3	13,0	13,0
Right-wing views (liberal)	15,5	12,3	17,7
Patriotic views	26,6	22,0	18,4
National views	5,6	6,8	6,0
Monarchical views	2,4	2,3	4,0
Others	1,2	0,8	1,0
Not sure	30,6	42,9	39,8

Table 4. The main problems that concern the intelligentsia at their workplace (% of the respondents' number)

Problems at workplace (in your organization, institution)	Groups of employees		
	Teachers	Health care workers	Cultural workers
Uncertainty in salary	29,4	32,0	25,1
Lack of normal relationship with management	13,1	12,3	8,0
Lack of social benefits, medical care	9,5	6,5	19,7
Lack of job prospects	21,0	16,8	22,7
Fear of losing job	25,4	35,0	35,1
Poor labour organization	10,7	13,3	4,3
Remoteness of work from home	15,9	15,4	14,0
Not sure	11,9	8,4	7,4

Table 5. Forms of participation in public and political life in 2015 — 2016 (% of the respondents' number)

Forms of participation	Groups of employees		
	Teachers	Health care workers	Cultural workers
Elections to republican, territorial and regional authorities	15,9	11,5	14,7
Local elections	28,6	26,8	28,8
Signing of petitions, appeals	7,1	8,0	9,4
Strikes	0,0	0,0	1,0
Pickets	0,8	0,5	0,7
Appeal to the deputy or to the authorities	7,1	5,1	7,7
None of the above	55,2	59,7	54,5

Sixth, the modern humanitarian intelligentsia has a high level of anomie—passivity, indifference, inertness and, as a result, retreat into personal life or, at best, in the process of doing “small things” directly in their organization or institution (see Table 5).

Seventh, the intelligentsia largely does not believe in its prosperous future, although they have hope for it, they doubt and are skeptical about the future. This skepticism applies to all manifestations of the life world—work, social relations, politics, culture—personifying the degree and level of their interaction not only with the surrounding world but also at the level of the meso- and microenvironment.

Analysis of the research data shows that the intelligentsia, like the whole adult population of the country, is mainly concerned with such a problem as a sense of injustice—35% of respondents stated this. Although the interpretations of this feeling are very different (from injustice in society to its manifestation in a labor organization or at the place of residence), it forces people, if necessary, to make serious claims to the social and political order, which clearly manifested itself during the gubernatorial elections in 2018, when many protégés of the ruling party *Edinaya Rossiya* [United Russia], were defeated. Something no less significant, which is inherent in the intelligentsia, was such a stable feeling as the inabil-

ity to influence what is happening in society (24.9%) and the shame for the current state of the country (11.7%). A feeling of anomie correlates with these characteristics, manifested in the fact that 21.1% of respondents are afraid of the future, and 10.8% believe that it is impossible to continue to live like this. Undoubtedly, the uncertainty of the social situation, its precariousness and instability are evidenced by the fact that 33.5% of respondents found it difficult to answer this question since the factors of uncertainty in their future tend to increase.

Finally, we should also note a very increased skepticism about the existence of the intelligentsia—from its complete denial to its characteristics as a deformed social community. Moreover, this distortion of the essence and nature of the intelligentsia is connected both with the erroneous policy of the state, especially domestic, and with those who have developed and tried to implement it in the last quarter of a century. Therefore, it is not surprising that 49.5% of representatives of the humanitarian intelligentsia have avoided recognizing such positive features of the modern intelligentsia as truthfulness, honesty, decency, morality, kindness, sympathy, openness, modesty, generosity, unselfishness, nobleness, respect for the work of others, and the fight for their position, attitudes, willpower, determination, valour, fortitude, and courage.

It is on this basis that the following point of view appeared: according to Yu. Oleshchuk, a so called semi-intelligentsia played a key role in the transformation both in the 1980s and the 1990s. The main feature of which was and is the imitation of intellectuality, intellectual inactivity and passivity, conformism, and “a complete inability to think independently on social topics” [6].

In conclusion, we can say that the present and the future of the intelligentsia cannot exist on their own. They are of value when they rely on the experience of the past and deal with the problems that can be solved. And what is happening with the intelligentsia at the moment, raises many questions that require urgent solutions.

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Theoretical foundations of studying the emotional phenomena of social inequality in contemporary Russia

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Abstract. This article rationalises a sociological analysis of the emotional phenomena of social inequality in contemporary Russia. The author refers to emotional experiences, states, and feelings (moral feelings in particular), as well as basic emotions. This problem involves the lack of generally accepted theoretical approaches to the study of various emotional forms of social inequality (which is one of the most acute problems) in the contemporary Russian sociology. As shown by numerous empirical studies, the most of the country's population perceive it very painfully and emotionally. At the same time, Russian sociologists are actively studying individual emotional phenomena, which includes social fears and a sense of satisfaction/dissatisfaction with life. However, this does not belong to the context of the sociology of emotions, which has been actively included in world practice for several decades. This article discusses a number of western theoretical approaches that exist in this subject area, and which could benefit a sociological analysis of the emotional phenomena of social inequality in Russia. In particular, the author follows the opinion of R. Thamm, who believes that there is an emotional stratification in the society, which results from socio-structural differentiation. According to the approach by J. H. Turner, emotions are unevenly distributed valuable social resources, and they are one of the foundations of social stratification. In addition, according to Turner, the emotional division in society is similar to other types of social and economic inequality. In conclusion, the analysis of emotional phenomena of social inequality opens up new perspectives for the development of existing approaches to the analysis of social inequality in Russia.

Keywords: emotional phenomena of social inequality, sociology of emotions, emotional distress, emotional states, emotional feelings, basic emotions, emotions as a social resource.

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INTRODUCTION

The problem considered in this article is the lack of generally accepted theoretical approaches to the study of manifestations of social inequality in various emotional forms in Russian sociology. The urgency of the problem under consideration is due, on the one hand, to the acute perception of social inequality among the residents of contemporary Russia. Thus, according to the studies of the Federal Research Sociological Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences conducted in March-April 2018 among 4,000 respondents, “citizens consider the inequality of people in terms of their income level (84%)” to be the deepest chasm in society [21]. Such problems are directly reflected in the emotional sphere of people and can manifest themselves in their social behavior. On the other hand, in the Russian sociological science, such a direction as the sociology of emotions is extremely poorly developed. A very little-studied aspect of social inequality in Russian sociology remains its manifestations in the emotional sphere of society. Meanwhile, in the world sociological science, these questions are being studied very actively in the last few decades. However, in the theoretical and methodological approaches presented in Russian sociology, the problem of both emotions in general and various emotional phenomena expressing social inequality (emotional experiences, emotional states, emotional feelings, moral feelings, and basic emotions) is revealed very poorly.

In general, emotional phenomena in Russian sociology are studied in fragments, there is a lack of their systematic and interdisciplinary analysis, involving data and approaches of psychology and social psychology, cultural studies, anthropology, cognitive sciences, etc. Some emotional constructs that are empirically studied in our country are considered in isolation, as a rule, without reliance on a clear sociological theoretical and methodological justification, connecting them with the emotional sphere of society, and also outside the context of the world sociology of emotions. Appeal to the sociological study of the emotional phenomena of social inequality is also due to the practical relevance of its sociological study in contemporary transitive Russia.

At the level of mass consciousness and behavior, social inequality manifests itself not only in the form of rationalized judgments but also gives rise to various affective phenomena (emotional experiences, emotional states, feelings, and basic emotions), which are poorly studied. Negative emotions generated by social inequality, especially among representatives of certain “risk groups” (for example, low-income groups of the population, the unemployed, representatives of a number of youth subcultures, residents of both large cities of the country and distressed single-industry towns, and others), can become factors of forming their deviant behavior that threatens the society, including propensity for terrorism and ideological extremism, unauthorized protest speeches, etc. Therefore, the results of the analysis of previously unstudied emotional phenomena of social inequality of people in Russia

could become an important scientific basis for the formation of various social mechanisms of reducing social inequality, as well as for the weakening of the negative emotional phenomena caused by it or their “channeling” in a desirable direction for society. Ultimately, this will contribute to the successful opposition of society to various modern sociocultural threats. Thus, the goal of the article can be formulated as a theoretical substantiation of the sociological study of the emotional phenomena of social inequality in contemporary Russia.

MAIN PART

In modern science, social inequality in its most general form is commonly understood as a special form of social differentiation, in which social actors, occupying different levels of the vertical hierarchy in society, have unequal opportunities for social advancement and satisfaction of their needs. We must note that it has traditionally been one of the central concepts in various sociological and social-philosophical systems. In this context, the theories of K. Marx, E. Durkheim, M. Weber, V. Pareto, P. Sorokin, T. Parsons, E. Shils, R. Dahrendorf and others can be mentioned.

In the second half of the twentieth century, structural social changes led to the search for new interpretations of social inequality in the world sociology. The theory of the “post-industrial society” by D. Bell emerged, which was developed in the ideas of the “information society” by M. Castells, the theory of P. Bourdieu, and many other well-known authors. According to N. Smelser, contemporary sociologists are characterized by contradictory views on social inequality, which are based on various theories, primarily the theory of conflict, functionalism, and stratification [27, pp. 301-302].

The contemporary Russian sociology actively studies this topic. In the Russian sociological science of recent years, a considerable number of works have been published, devoted both to theoretical and methodological and empirical studies of social inequality. In accordance with the multifactorial nature of this problem, many publications are interdisciplinary, regardless of the scientific specialization of the publication that published the specific article. Nevertheless, among the works examining the social, economic and socio-economic forms, and manifestations of inequality, including those with the active use of sociological research methods, we can mention primarily the works by L. A. Belyaeva [2, pp. 83-100], S. V. Mareyeva [19, pp. 101-120], O. I. Shkaratan [23, pp. 6-35], N. E. Tikhonova [31, pp. 53-65], and others.

Of considerable interest is the analysis of social inequality in a socio-political context, implemented by E. Sh. Gontmakher [7, pp. 68-81]. A number of publications study social inequality in socio-cultural and cultural aspects: N. N. Zarubina [42, p. 62-72], E. D. Korkiya [15, pp. 59-67] and others.

A broad discussion of the social inequality and justice took place at the Vth All-Russian Sociological Congress in Yekaterinburg. In fact, it summed up the

results of many studies of Russian scientists, determined their most significant perspectives—Sociology and society: social inequality and social justice [18].

Taking into account the analysis of existing publications on the topic, we should note that the forms of social inequality under study have, as a rule, rationalized nature. In most of the works, the authors consider the list of forms of social inequality that has already become classics: differences in income, property, power, social status, prestige, and education. In the past two decades, researchers have actively been attracted by such forms of social inequality as gender and national-ethnic. The emotional phenomena of social inequality (emotional experiences, emotional states, moral feelings, basic emotions, etc.) are little studied. In this context, the subject of research is mainly satisfaction/dissatisfaction with life, social well-being, social mood, fear of various dangers, and risks. As a rule, there is no theoretical and methodological substantiation of a sociological analysis of emotional phenomena of social inequality.

In the world science, the sociology of emotions as a specific area of sociology has existed for several decades; many publications are devoted to it. We must note that historically (the second half of the nineteenth—the first half of the twentieth century) the interest of researchers to the study of emotions in a social context was connected with the analysis of the functions that they perform in public groups. In fact, it was during this period that a number of well-known representatives of the world sociology turned to analyze both the social conditionality of emotions and the social functions, which is closely connected with psychological approaches. Later on, emotions were even more actively involved in the study of various social processes and phenomena (F. Giddings, W. McDougall, G. Le Bon, L. I. Petrazhitskiy, P. Sorokin, G. Tarde, F. Tönnies, L. Ward, et al.)

The result of the development of ideas about the social functions of emotions and their dependence on social factors of different levels was the formation, about 50 years ago, of the sociology of emotions as one of the full-fledged areas of the world sociology. In recent decades, various scientific schools have been actively competing among each other in the sociology of emotions. Undoubtedly, we should agree with J. H. Turner that, with the existence of a number of poorly studied areas, the sociology of emotions has great prospects for its development [35, p. 348].

More than a decade ago, *Sociology of Emotions*—the fundamental encyclopedic work was published, which summarized the results of many years of research in this field and is very popular among sociologists and representatives of related scientific disciplines. The high level of scientific institutionalization of the contemporary sociology of emotions is manifested, in particular, in the fact that J. H. Turner and J. E. Stets developed their own classification of the directions of sociological studies of emotions [38, pp. 294-295].

The rapid development of the sociology of emotions abroad, like any other field of knowledge, could not but reveal a number of problems that a Russian

researcher O. A. Simonova examines in detail [26, p. 419]. We should add that as the most important, from the standpoint of the goal of our article, we should highlight the relationship between the characteristics of social structures and the nature of the emotions they generate.

In general, among Russian scientists, the sociology of emotions has not yet received wide recognition. Nevertheless, over the past decade, a number of publications by certain Russian scientists (M. Yu. Gorbunova, M. I. Deyeva, O. A. Simonova, and L. A. Figlin) have been published, which examine various theoretical and methodological approaches that exist in foreign sociology of emotions.

A qualitative change should be noted in the sociological study of emotions in contemporary Russia. Thus, in recent years, M. A. Kozlova and O. A. Simonova have published several works already devoted to empirical research in the problematic field of the sociology of emotions [17, pp. 93-106; 24, pp. 338-363, et al.].

A significant indicator of the institutionalization process of the sociology of emotions in the theoretical and methodological field of Russian sociology is the release in 2016 of the *Vestnik of Saint-Petersburg University* journal. Sociology, one of the sections of which is devoted to the problem of emotions in sociology. In particular, *The Problem of Emotions in Sociology* a number of profound articles have been published, covering important theoretical and methodological issues in the area [7].

It is important to note that empirical studies are traditionally widely carried out in Russia, in which various emotional phenomena are analyzed (as a rule, these are a state of happiness, life satisfaction, various fears and social mood, recently—the life world of a person), but without including them in the subject field of the sociology of emotions. We consider the approach implemented by J. T. Toschenko in his studies of social mood [32, p. 32], as well as emotional and sensual components of the person's life world [33, p. 28-31] highly heuristic in terms of the sociological study of the emotional phenomena of social inequality.

However, the problem of emotional phenomena of various groups of the population in the context of social inequality remains in our country completely unexplored. In theoretical and methodological terms, we rely on the approach known in the modern sociology of emotions, presented primarily by the works of the authors, who consider the relationship between emotions and the social structure of society. According to J. Turner and J. Stets, emotions are important factors in shaping and maintaining the viability of social structures [38, p. 1]. This issue was considered in sufficient detail by R. Thamm, according to whom, the emotional differentiation existing in society is the result of socio-structural differentiation [30, pp. 649-671]. Other foreign sociologists also paid considerable attention to this topic [1; 4, pp. 27-57; 5, 9, 10].

Thus, T. Kemper actively develops the ideas according to which the social structures condition certain emotions [11, pp. 45-58, 87-113; 13, pp. 207-237, et al.]. According to J. Stets,

“... there is a lack of a sociological analysis of socio-structural processes at the macro level, the distribution of power and wealth across society, gender-based discrimination or discrimination based on racial prejudices that significantly affect the emotions of large populations” [29, p. 267].

A significant contribution to the study of various aspects of the problem, the analysis of which is this article is devoted to, is made by J. Turner [36; 37; 38, pp. 319-342 et al.]. In our opinion, the author’s approach is crucial for the realization of the purpose set in the article. It regards emotions as unequally distributed valuable social resources, acting as one of the basic foundations of social stratification, while emotional separation, in his opinion, resembles other forms of social and economic inequalities [34, pp. 168-199].

Of undoubted interest is the publication of H. G. Wallbot and K. R. Scherer [41, p. 267-283]. It presents the results of cross-country comparative studies of emotional phenomena and economic differences (inequalities). In particular, the authors, relying on data from a large-scale survey of 2,400 respondents from 30 world countries, evaluated the influence of cultural and social factors on emotional experience and expression of emotions. In this study, the respondents had to describe in detail the situations in which they experienced emotions of joy, sadness, fear, anger, disgust, shame, and guilt. The high variance of the duration and intensity of emotions experienced in different countries was established, the differences between respondents from countries with different standards of living are shown. The authors link these differences with the economic data of different countries, in particular, the gross domestic product.

J. Sabini and M. Silver substantiate the point of view according to which emotions are not exclusively social constructs, using the classical psychological theory of William James for the explanation [22, pp. 223-235]. In fact, this is a reflection of the position of a number of sociologists who turn to various aspects of natural science approaches, primarily the neuropsychology of emotions. We should note that a similar tradition has been characteristic of the sociology of emotions over the years, see, for example, [3, pp. 183-191] and others.

Moreover, as noted by J. Turner and J. Stets, emotions are investigated only at the micro level, sociology borrows a lot from related areas, such as experimental psychology, biology, neurophysiology [38, pp. 296-299]. It is these conclusions that seem to us crucial for the formation of the sociological concept of emotional phenomena of social inequality with the use of natural science approaches in sociology.

Therefore, the desire of C. von Scheve and R. von Luede to develop an integrative approach to the interdisciplinary theory of emotions and social structure [40, pp. 304-328] seems to be quite logical and relevant to us. It seems to us rather heuristic in light of the realization of the theoretical substantiation of the analysis of emotional phenomena of social inequality.

The sociology of emotions uses a wide range of research methods, which is largely due to its multidisciplinary nature. As J. Stets notes, since 1990 there has been a burst of empirical research based on such diverse methods as in-depth interviews, ethnography, surveys, experiments, and even computer modeling [28, p. 326-336]. Currently, many publications have been published, which highlight certain methods of research that the sociology of emotions operates on. A number of such methods are common to various related scientific fields. For example, in *Methods of Exploring Emotions* [6] one of the first works in this sphere, sociological, historical, linguistic, anthropological, psychological, cultural, and mixed approaches to the study of emotions are covered.

CONCLUSION

Thus, analyzing the emotional phenomena of social inequality, it seems appropriate to rely on the following theoretical principles:

- aspects of structural-functional and interactionist approaches, implemented in the works of modern Western sociologists J. Turner, J. M Barbalet, R. Thamm, J. Stets, and others, revealing various sides of the relationship between emotions and the social structure of the society, have never been studied in Russian sociology before;
- T. Kemper's approach, which considers the emotional aspects of the status and power perception, as well as positive and negative emotions in the reproduction of the social structure of the society;
- R. Thamm's concept of status and authority, revealing the connection between social status relations, social identity, and emotions;
- J. Barbalet's macrostructural theory of emotions, which describes the interaction of macro- and micro level of social structure and emotions, interpreting their function as providing interaction between different levels of social structure;
- the integrative concept of the interdisciplinary theory of emotions and the social structure of C. von Scheve and R. von Luede, providing the opportunity to integrate sociological and natural science approaches in the study of the emotional constructs of social inequality and the scientific explanation of the data obtained;
- an interdisciplinary approach to the study of emotional phenomena, allowing to integrate sociology, social psychology, psychology, and anthropology for the analysis of the emotional manifestations of social inequality;
- concepts and approaches of the understanding sociology and connected with it sociology of life, based on the works of E. Durkheim, M. Weber, A. Schütz, P. Berger, T. Luckmann, Yu. A. Levada, M. K. Gorshkov, J. T. Toshchenko, et al.

All this opens up prospects for the development and refinement of the theory of social inequality. A systemic model of emotional phenomena of social inequality can be created, based on a multi-paradigm approach, with an appeal to the possibilities of social psychology, psychology, anthropology, and cultural studies traditional to the sociology of emotions. There is a possibility of theoretical substantiation and identification of various emotional phenomena on the basis of the sociology of emotions, which are currently not studied empirically or at all in Russian sociology or, as a rule, are considered separately, beyond the analysis of their factors and interrelations in the context of social inequality of the population. This will give a possibility to strengthen the prognostic function of the sociological theory in the field of evaluation of the consequences of social inequality, to deepen the understanding of the mechanisms of their formation taking into account not only rational but also emotional phenomena.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

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Russian version of the formation of local governments

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Abstract. This article deals with an on-growing problem that the model of state administration and regional and local self-government (that is being built in Russia) is focused on Western social forms. They consider neither the specificity of the historical development of Russia, nor its cultural identity. The liberal mechanism of the formation of local and regional authorities, generally imposed by the will of the supreme power “from above”, causes massive rejection and forms a conflicting social climate, destroying the traditional community and contributing to the progressive atomization of society from below. This article asserts that, according to the Russian version of the liberal theory of local self-government, the formation of its organs should be ultimately based on a mechanical and institutionalized system of “popular representation”. The authors prove that the implementation of the Russian version of the liberal concept of local self-government should be accompanied by the nationalisation of local self-government bodies with their gradual transformation into the lower level of the vertical of power, which should become a school for training all subjects of social and political interaction. Thus, this article aims to develop the fundamentals of a model for the formation of local authorities, taking into account the domestic political and administrative tradition. The latter includes the formation of people’s councils of houses, neighbourhoods, districts, and subjects of the Russian Federation. The authors show that such a model will contribute to social consolidation through the gradual “build-up” of social ties and the formation of stable social cells. According to the authors, this will stimulate social activity of the population due to the increasing involvement of initiative citizens in the solution of regional and municipal issues. This article substantiates the relevance of such actions for the development of Siberia as a macro-region. The authors conclude that self-government in Siberia has its own specifics and needs intensive development with its account.

Keywords: local government, sociology of management, regional sociology, local community, pseudo-sphere of functioning, sphere of life-affirmation, liberalism, Eurasianism.

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INTRODUCTION

The relevance of this topic for Russian society is obvious, since the question of the correlation of state self-government, on the one hand, and local on the other, as well as the status and the role of the local community in the development of the country, has been widely discussed and has been on the agenda for many decades. At the same time, the collapse of the USSR provoked another surge in discussions. The solution of complex tasks related to the life support of urban and rural settlements of the Siberian macro-region is considered to be particularly important for the authors. If we transit from the theoretical and methodological calculations to the subject plane, then we can indicate the following line of reasoning.

If competition relations in “civil society” prevail over cooperation relations, and individual interest is placed above public (“society is market”), then in “traditional society” (or a collectivist type of society), the situation is opposite—relations of cooperation dominate relations of rivalry (“society is family”). Russian society was originally built as a collectivist-type of society: its culture, containing the idea of Eastern Christianity (Orthodoxy), constructed under its influence the whole state of spiritual life, giving rise to a specific type of statehood.

According to V. V. Zenkovsky, in Russia, a structure of quite specific requirements referring to the state was developed [2, p. 40]. This institution is considered, on the one hand, as a family unit. Hence, there is the understanding of national unity as the unity of spiritual, of the greatest value, characteristic of the history of Russia, as well as the desire to put morality in the place of legal regulators. Therefore, in Russia, attitudes towards the leaders of the state as to a kind of shrine is historically contingent through the sacrament of “the tsar’s coronation to the kingdom.” On the other hand, the government is recognized as a special, divine service. Such a supreme power—total and indivisible, strong, freed from the whims of the unorganized majority, connected with society not by paper casuistry of scholastic legality, but by real everyday experience of church unity—only it can achieve the highest goal for which it exists, that is to lead the people’s life in purity of highest ideals. Therefore, power-without difficulty and necessarily-limits itself in desires and actions to the framework of morality. We point out that freedom, in accordance with the dialectical approach, is implied here as an understood need, as the ability to rational behavior based on the comprehension of the truth—the world of phenomena and objects, existing regardless of human consciousness [7].

The purpose of this work is to show the mechanism of development of the local community in Russia based not on the pretentious, but natural to our culture and mentality democracy, as well as to indicate the adaptability and applicability of its work in Siberia and Federal subjects and cities attached to it.

MAIN PART

The world has faced serious crisis manifestations, for which even the latest theories cannot always provide a satisfactory explanation. Liberalism as a philosophical doctrine develops in the era of the New Age owing to anthropocentrism, rationalism, absolutism, and the power of religious doctrine. Despite the fact that a liberal idea has many different manifestations, the main values of this ideology are the specificity of the mode of production that has developed in a particular society, characteristics of a separate individual's development, freedom of choice, individualism, and independence from state institutions. The legal right provides a free citizen with the fulfilment of most needs, except for direct and hard influence on state [16].

This is how the concept of liberalism is presented as a possible solution of all economic and political problems in society. Nevertheless, in both Western Europe and Russia, views were borrowed from the textbooks of the "newest" liberalism, in which confidence was expressed in economic and household definitions, and not in the political aspects of the democracy manifestation. The ideas and expectations that it is the liberalized economy that will determine everything, smooth out sharp corners are erroneous: the theorists-liberals do not understand and underestimate the eternal disunity and fragmentation of social life, the impossibility and unreality of establishing rational, objective solutions of the political problems facing modern society. The realities of local self-government largely based on the principles that exist in the countries of United Europe are also materialized in Russia. The influence and successful impact of liberalism on the political situation in Russia became possible due to the need of an individual to dominate, which is manifested in various social institutions and organizations [12].

Thanks to the tactics of avoiding unpopular decisions, the state has managed to increase its legitimacy. The confrontation between the state and the citizens was a success and turned out to be useful both to the state, which found the source of political power and to the citizens, who could get material welfare and the source of ideological faith. As a result, this led to the strengthening of both the state and the so-called civil society. This model is characteristic of the Western civilization development.

In Russia, another model developed. An important feature of the state administration was the vast territory, which implied the development of local self-government. The Constitution of the Russian Federation proclaims recognition, guarantee, and independence of local self-government within the limits of its authority from state bodies [17, Art. 3, 130]. The existence of local governments in the form of an independent institution implies their considerable autonomy [18].

So, it turns out that in Russia a liberal approach to local self-government allows the state to establish a pseudo-sphere of local governments action. According to the liberal model of management, the material is primary in relation to the ideal, which determines the functioning of local governments. Their task is to ensure freedom and protect the rights of the representatives of the local community. Moral and other social norms and rules recede with this approach into the background. However, both political problems and governance issues cannot be solved purely technically. They imply a certain choice of a single proposal out of conflicting opinions and views on the problem.

In the evolution of liberal thought, developing between economics and ethics, two main paradigms are usually defined:

1. The first is finding a balance between the diverse rival sectors of society. And a compromise is based on the idea of a market that can sometimes be applied to the sphere of politics. Individuals in politics are considered sufficiently rational beings and act to achieve maximum benefit for themselves, mainly instrumentally.
2. Another paradigm is developed in the form of a reaction to this instrumental model, and its task is to find a connection between morality and politics. Because of this, political debates are presented as a distinctive application of morality. The right to choose morality radically underestimates the meaning of the norms of morality that have been established and settled under the influence of cultural and historical circumstances. Therefore, in modern Russian society, the cause of many social contradictions is the vicious nature of individualism. Most of the values of Western liberal ideology, such as rationalism and individualism, were successfully formed in the special conditions in which competition in market relations dominated. These same conditions ensured the value of consumerism and the particularities of an individualistic society. But the practical activity of the life affirmation of the local community was built on the first social reality that came across, which led to the destruction of the dialectic connection and created only the illusion of controllability [10].

In modern times, ideology was the best possible tool to achieve the identification of citizens with collectivity and its interests, which was the goal of republicanism. By measuring their own interests with the interests of the country, citizens inevitably entered into relations with themselves. The greatness of democracy consisted in its ability to recognize the conflict and resolve it [3]. But the “death of ideology,” which occurred at the end of the twentieth century, significantly weakened the position of the state in relation to its citizens. Without a state, ideology is helpless, and without ideology, a state cannot have a program of political action, either to solve state problems or even to solve problems of local self-government.

In an era that can no longer afford revolution, being stuck in such preliminary problems caused by the failure of our political top means putting yourself at a great risk. The nature of the politics, the issues of future democracy, the objectives and

goals of local government—these problems must be discussed and investigated. Modern voters are not ready and do not know how to correctly compare the causes and unintended results. They suggest that it is possible to get the best of worlds where ideological goals would be realized, but they do not think how to avoid results that were not expected. History seemed to have abandoned the voter, passing it to an expert as the only person who is still able to tell the citizen who he really is and what his true political interests are. Today, the expert also dictates the citizen what really important questions he should ask. We will be able to solve problems that arise and will arise in the near future, only by a deep understanding of the nature and philosophy of a democratic country.

These issues concern all aspects of the management of society's life, especially at the local level. A citizen today can come to the conclusion that all his political ideas and desires are strangely separated from his true interests because now he lives in a world that he will never understand so well as to satisfy his own even the most immediate interests that are closest to his desires. As a result, he may conclude that his opinions, as well as his actions, have become politically insignificant [3].

Thus, to organize a local self-government, it is necessary to understand that a representative body acting for the local community as a whole should be divided, which will help reconcile differences in attitudes and opinions. A logical question arises about the effectiveness of sociological opinion polls of the electorate. Surveys do measure something, but can it be equated with political or social reality? Sometimes sociological polls are used to substitute the interaction between the electorate and the state, just as pictures representing reality can open the way to a deeper understanding of it. If elections in democracy (undoubtedly conducted without violations) are the only real sociological survey, then the artist decides how to depict reality, without copying the object with photographic accuracy.

As to the principles of the local community organization, it can be noted that the rules of law are a priority over most other social norms. Most norms, be they moral, religious or ideological, are replaced by the choice between them and, as a result, the emergence of social norms governing the most important aspects of the life of the Eurasian human community. The implementation of the basic principles of the local self-government liberal ideology, such as individualism and uncontrolled freedom, creates a sense of superiority over the whole surrounding, leads to a loss of communication with the most important social institutions; satisfaction of material needs becomes an incredibly significant value for a person, spirituality is relegated to the background.

In modern Russian society, which has many social problems, the values of liberalism, and in particular individualism, cannot contribute to their solution. Western society, built on consumerism and market competition, created a fertile ground for the formation of rationalism. In the field of the formation of the local community, the very ideas about labor as a value change. The transformation of individual and collective consciousness has become more profitable than the production of things [10].

Copying Western liberal-democratic values and attitudes leads to the destruction of the communal consciousness of the Russian people and the integrity of society (see more [11; 2, p. 21], etc.). The life in the Western world and in the Russian world differs significantly due to the discrepancy of the ways of forming and constructing social life, which L. N. Gumilyov once pointed out, relating this to the specifics of Russian passion and imperatives of behavior [8]. A number of modern scientists adhere to a similar approach, for example, S. G. Volobuev, when defining Russian identity, speaks of the need for its diversity, at the same time Russia is obliged to shape Eurasian thinking [10]. The formation of Eurasian thinking can only be ensured by maintaining the relations of unity and integrity of nature, man, and society. Only such an all-unity can contribute to the development of a person's individual and professional potential, which is directly reflected in the model of local self-government [9].

As Russian social practice shows, since the main goal of the effective functioning of the local community is the participation of all its members in management activities, democratization of various spheres of public life is necessary, which will contribute to the development of personal and collective responsibility for their own destiny and the fate of all members of the community. A person will be able to independently make and implement decisions that he or she had made, to control public events. All of the above will be the key to their true freedom.

In other words, the more people are attracted to the management activities, the wider the space for self-development of members of this community, the more likely it is that people will become more independent, more responsible for their decisions, living according to their conscience and mind. It is these factors are evidence of the most effective and competent model of the formation of local self-government. In this regard, S. S. Sulakshin notes:

“A person can be free only within himself. ... he can choose between good and evil. And nothing else. Nobody can dictate anything to him, cannot control him in this, nor punish him—except for his conscience” [21].

The implementation of a local community model in the context of a liberal idea implies the preservation of individual rights and freedoms, which will allow local governments to have freedom in making and executing decisions. As for the members of the local community, they also participate in the partnership based only on their own interests and pursuing personal benefits—that's what will contribute to their self-affirmation. Thus, both for local self-government bodies and for its members, the functions of legal norms are reduced only to the definition of levels of freedom.

It is known that attempts to impose a number of European civilization values on Russia led to bureaucratic profanation. As A. N. Dementiev rightly notes, the legal rules of the Western type were introduced with little or no significant changes to the Russian laws on local self-government. Therefore, there appeared problems that cannot be solved at the local level, in particular, the issue of municipal property, which is the basis of any power, a guarantee of human freedom [5, p. 112].

Having such a powerful resource as property, local governments are able to become independent subjects of inner authority. This practice of exercising inner authority with self-affirmation of the local community, according to the liberal concept, could have negative consequences for the country, since it would be the beginning of denationalization.

The metamorphosis of social life in Russia, which was under control and powerful pressure of the West, had two sides. The first side seemed to reflect the “reality”, and the other side showed how everything really was. Thus, although local governments must act independently of the state, in fact, the state has a great influence on them. The city authorities were provided with organizations of social value, the illiquid property of bankrupt enterprises. This circumstance significantly reduced the ability of local governments to independently solve most of the issues related to the sphere of self-development of the local community, since the material and financial capabilities of these bodies decreased significantly, that is, the pseudo-sphere of their functioning was reduced. The influence of state can also include subsidies provided to them, which ensure state programs, as well as the strengthening of state rights and other conditions reducing the role of local self-government [1].

The structure of taxation and the work of fiscal authorities with this approach does not encourage municipalities to develop their own economy. It turns out that it is easier to expect financial assistance from the state than to take the initiative yourself, moreover the expenditure of funds is also determined by the interests of the Federation. The result is that the liberal concept of local self-government, in reality, is supposed to ensure the freedom of the individual over the general but, in fact, the freedom of citizens and their rights may be restricted in the interests of the state or other people, which is also reflected in the Constitution of the Russian Federation [17, Art. 55].

It can be concluded that there is a significant narrowing of the boundaries of the pseudo-sphere of the local government bodies functioning. The independence of these bodies is reduced to a minimum since they are transformed into a lower level of the vertical of power and are subject to governmentalization. The result of governmentalization is the conformity of the position of local authorities with the definitions of a transcendental subject. As a result, the concept of liberal democracy for the subjects of the local community itself presupposes to a greater degree the ability to solve local issues, in particular, to take part in a local referendum or municipal elections. The defect in material and financial potential, the lack of genuine authority of municipalities reveals the one-sided potential for the implementation of the model of local self-government by its participants. In other words, by definition of N. N. Alekseev, the essence of the concept of “liberal democracy” for members of the local community lies in the automatic system of “popular representation” [2].

As a result of the fixation of this automatic system, and also due to the fact that the organization of local government activities involves the representation of the above democratic procedures, the formation of local governments takes place due

to the participants of the commercial sector, for whom local government is a special level of power and not a space for life affirmation of local community. Representatives of small, medium, and large businesses undoubtedly realize that local governments are a special channel of government management, they are a part of the system of social and political management of various spheres of public life. Analyzing the possibilities of forming not an imitative but real democracy in Russian, N. S. Rozov determines the real ways of its development and formation in the future. In his monograph N.S. Rozov notes that such a path of development of real democracy involves tremendous efforts in the intellectual and organizational spheres. It is also a huge work of the whole society on the rejection of social habits and short-term benefits [19].

The Russian President V. V. Putin wrote about the significant role of local self-government in terms of strengthening Russian statehood and the need for its improvement [15]. Political and social interaction, which should closely link all political actors, both state and local community, contributes to the formation of such ties. Local government as a social institution establishes such forms and maintains these ties, which will build social relations. The principle “with the whole world”, “with the whole earth” should form the basis for the adoption and execution of the most important decisions.

This principle will reflect the Eurasian model of local self-government, which is based on the unity of all subjects of political and social interaction, such as state, its main institutions, local governments, and people. The state is an external form of such unity, and people is an internal one. L.N. Gumilyov repeatedly stated that the future of Russia is beyond Eurasianism and that only there we need to look for friends:

“... the British, the French and the Germans ... can only be cunning exploiters. <...> ... If Russia can be saved, then only as a Eurasian state and only through Eurasianism”[7].

The onset of Western culture after the collapse of the Soviet Union made it possible to choose cultural values. Moreover, this choice was determined by the influence of the basic liberal principles: individualism, freedom of conscience, private-ownership business, etc. For an individualistic society, these values are absolutely natural and normal. The values and principles of other cultures began to penetrate the cultural field of Russia. Thus, P. N. Savitsky notes that the Russian culture was influenced by the cultural values of the East, the West, and the South. As a result, Russian culture combined the best features of all these cultures, which were historically conditioned [20]. The types of society sociality were determined by cultural values, as well as its historical development. The type of sociality of Russian society (collectivist) is the opposite of the type of sociality of a Western individualistic society. Unlike Western consumer society, where hoarding and enrichment become the goal and the meaning of the life of many people, in Russian culture wealth has never been a goal, and hoarding has never been a stimulus [13].

Thus, the state as a higher authority in Russia, applying laws and acting on behalf of the force, determines the functions of local governments, that is, the formation of the pseudo-sphere of local governments functioning. Thus, the state reserves the right to intervene in their activities, and they acquire the status of one of the “lower” elements of the state administration system. Local governments to a greater extent can be defined as a transcendental subject, while the state, as a subject of management of the highest level, acts as an independent subject. Through the rules of law, it establishes the powers of local governments, thereby determining the boundaries of the pseudo-sphere of their functioning. The liberal concept of local government in the Russian version implies for local governments a large variety of pseudo-spheres of their functioning, however, this diversity is largely determined by the goals which the state sets for each specific territory, and not the level of freedom of local governments.

With all the diversity of social norms, the ideals of truth, goodness, and justice, as well as moral values, are of real significance in the field of self-affirmation of the local community. And as a result of the dialectic interaction of social norms, another striving for the formation of local self-government can come out, which, when restoring a truly Russian collectivist type of social relations, can ensure the ideal social ties, when all solutions to issues in the sphere of the local community are carried out by the “whole world” and “the whole earth”.

CONCLUSION

The demotic state project, which is the project based on the democracy natural to the Russian society, built on the principle of participation of people in their destiny, reflects the principles of the “synodical ideology” traditional for Russia. This project is an alternative to the Western model of democracy, in particular, formal democracy, based on a simple majority of votes, and meets the specifics of the social life of the Russian people.

The mechanism of forming local and regional authorities, alien to the collectivist society, being forcibly (by the will of the supreme power) introduced into political practice, causes, on the one hand, massive rejection — hence absenteeism and widespread indifference to the problems of managing society, and on the other, it forms social climate in the spirit of conflict, destroying the commonality of the traditional type (“family”) and contributing to the progressive atomization of society.

In this situation, it seems relevant to return to the mechanisms of ruling selection that are traditional in Russian practice, which correspond to the mentality of the overwhelming majority of Russians. Of particular interest is the experience of the formation of:

- local authorities (departmental, volost wardens, etc.), formed in the pre-Peter the Great era;
- representative power in accordance with the principle of estate representation (Zemsky Sobor);

- local governments in Cossack villages, stanitsas, and districts;
- experience of local government councils and labor collective councils in 1990-1991.

One of the possible models for the formation of local authorities—in the context of national tradition—may look as follows:

1. Residents of high-rise flats (variants—one small house, several private houses) elect wardens (among the neighbors).
2. The wardens of several apartment buildings (variants—a certain number of smaller houses, a village consisting of many private houses) constitute the MICRODISTRICT COUNCIL, a Chairman of the Microdistrict Council is elected from among them.
3. The chairmen of the Microdistricts Councils located in the territory of the given area constitute the DISTRICT COUNCIL.
4. The chairmen of the City District Councils constitute the CITY COUNCIL, the chairmen of all the district councils of the territory constitute the REGIONAL COUNCIL.

If desired, this scheme can be extrapolated further—right up to the head of state—the chairman of the SUPREME COUNCIL of Russia. Such a system of government authorities formation will serve the cause of public consolidation (choosing from among candidates well known to the voter eliminates the need for expensive and confrontational, sometimes dangerously confrontational, election campaigns) and stimulates social activity of the population (in this regard, a simple and effective mechanism of elected officials recall doesn't seem to be unnecessary), which, in turn, will be a serious step towards the exit of the Russian society from the crisis.

Returning to the discussion on the development of the eastern part of Russia, we should note that, of course, Siberia is one of the most important regions of Russia, and any all-Russian problems are also directly manifested in this macro-region. It is impossible not to mention the process of the formation of democratic institutions in Siberia.

A secondary analysis of sociological data indicates the existence in many cities of Siberia of such problems as a low degree of civic participation, gaps in legislation, insufficient funding of the local community, and a shortage of professional personnel. On the other hand, for a decade in some regions of Siberia, there has been functioning a city-management model that has proven itself from the positive side. For example, in the Trans-Baikal Territory, the position of city manager has existed since 1998, in particular in Chita, in the Republic of Buryatia—since 2006 in the Kurumkansky district, since 2008—in the Pribaykalsky and Muysky districts, from 2012—in Ulan-Ude.

It should also be noted that for the past thirty-two years, such institute as the Association of Siberian and Far Eastern Cities has been functioning quite successfully. This voluntary organization, which deals with cooperation between municipalities, has the goal to contribute to local government organization, provide inter-municipal cooperation, and also social and economic development of Siberia and the Far East cities.

First of all, the Association has positive fitbacks due to the use of a systemic innovative approach to information support of the activities of local authorities, organizing the transfer of experience in resolving issues of municipal importance, and activities in increasing the level of competence of municipal employees. Today, this Association includes 70 municipalities of the Far Eastern, Siberian and Ural Federal Districts, the population of which is more than 13 million people.

In our opinion, in the conditions of Siberia, it is possible to create an optimal model of the work of local governments on a democratic basis only taking into account and adopting the successful experience of other cities and regions. As the results of expert surveys conducted among the highly experienced heads of regions and municipalities show before making decisions at the federal level, it is necessary to rely on scientific data, and above all on the results of mass surveys.

To identify the Siberian specificity, comparative empirical studies on this issue in various regions and cities of the region are necessary. In general, stronger and more decisive steps from the state and local government will be required if we want to deal with the new problems that history has brought to our political and social agenda.

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Regional housing market: problems and prospects of development (the case of the Tyumen Region)

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Abstract. The key role in the socio-economic well-being of the territory belongs to the real estate market, the state of which is one of the main indices of the development of the region. The availability and affordability of housing for citizens reflects the state's efforts to improve the quality of life of the population. The problem of the study is that effective management of the regional real estate market requires improving the mechanisms of interaction between professional market participants with each other and authorities. In this regard, the subject of scientific interest of the authors was the main problems of the housing market of the Tyumen Region. The relevance of the topic lies in the need to use the economic and sociological approach to study the problems of regulation of the regional real estate market and formulation of recommendations to ensure its sustainable development in the transition to project financing. The scientific novelty of the study is the consideration of the structure and specific characteristics of the residential real estate market and the identification of violations in its functioning at the regional level to develop effective measures to improve the situation in the field of construction and sale of housing. The methodological basis of the work consists of general scientific and special sociological methods: structural and functional method of comparative analysis, analysis of documents, interviewing, and expert survey. This article describes the state and dynamics of the real estate market in the region over the past five years, presents an analysis of statistical information on the volume of housing construction and the structure of housing supply in different market segments. Particular attention is paid to the interaction of real estate market participants and the role of the state in their regulation. Based on the survey of experts and potential buyers of housing, the authors identified the main problems of development of the real estate market in the Tyumen Region, as well as proposed recommendations aimed at their resolution and ensuring conditions for achieving an optimal balance between supply and demand for residential real estate.

Keywords: market, real estate, residential real estate, residential real estate market, regional housing market.

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INTRODUCTION

Real estate is one of the main components of the regional economy and has a significant impact on the economic, social, and political development of the territory. The dynamics of the real estate market and the degree of its development are indicators of the well-being of the population. The relevance of the real estate market research is confirmed by the role that is assigned to it in the process of economic reforms.

The real estate market is the object of studying of various sciences, the questions of its formation and functioning arouse great interest among economists, but from the point of view of the economic and sociological approach, the real estate market is studied rather poorly. Studies concerning the formation and development of the real estate market were made by a number of foreign and Russian authors, such as A. N. Asaul, V. M. Bezdenezhnykh, J. A. Vasilenko, E. N. Ivanova, G. M. Sternik, and others. Problems of housing provision are covered in the works by A. M. Akatnova, I. A. Liman, E. V. Sklyarova, N. E. Tikhonova, and others. Nevertheless, considering the real estate market only from the standpoint of the economy does not provide enough opportunity to analyze the conditions of its functioning and growth prospects.

Sociological analysis (in addition to economic) provides an opportunity to study the social aspects and mechanisms of interaction between the main market participants, describe their behavior, ways of building business strategies and control over the situation. The reforming of the housing construction sector carried out by the state requires the willingness of all subjects of market interactions to the changing conditions. As a result, the importance of conducting an integrated economic and sociological analysis of the regional real estate market is growing, the results of which will help to ensure its sustainable development during the transition to project financing of real estate developers in accordance with the Decree of the President of Russia no 204 "On national goals and strategic objectives of the Russian Federation development for the period up to 2024" dated 7 May 2018. Therefore, the purpose of our research is to study the problems and prospects for the development of the residential real estate market in the region.

The empirical basis of the study was the data analysis of the documents, the formalized interview with potential consumers of residential real estate, as well as the expert survey of the professional market participants and representatives of regional authorities. Regulatory acts of the real estate market and analytical reports on the state of the real estate market of the Tyumen region were used as documents. The experts were the heads and specialists of real estate agencies, development companies, employees of the Department of Urban Development Policy and other structures.

MAIN PART

In the scientific literature there are many definitions of the term *real estate market* reflecting the various approaches of the scientists:

- “a set of mechanisms through which the creation of real estate, the turnover of rights to its objects, the interaction between supply and demand, the establishment of an equilibrium price, the distribution of real estate between various competing options for its use, operation, investment, and financing of real estate” [10, p. 52];
- “economic and legal space in which there is an interaction between the demand and supply of all currently available buyers and housing sellers and where the totality of all current operations with it take place” [13, p. 32];
- “a system of organized measures by which buyers and sellers come together to determine the specific price at which such specific goods as housing can be exchanged” [2, p. 10].

The real estate market can be characterized as a certain set of social relations connected to various real estate objects. The real estate market is a socio-economic institution which main function is to provide interaction between the buyers of real estate (demand presenters) and sellers of this product (suppliers of goods and services). This socio-economic institution has five main features that separate it from the historically preceding “pre-market” forms of business, namely, the regularity of exchange operations, their mainly monetary nature, mutual benefit for both parties, voluntary exchange, and competitiveness [8].

According to the experts, the residential real estate market differs from other markets by insufficiently high levels of standardization and interchangeability of selling items (real estate items), an imbalance between the “seller’s market” and the “buyer’s market”, incomplete transparency of product information, low information exchange rates, and a relatively small number of sellers and buyers. Analyzing the structure of the residential real estate market, scientists pay attention to a number of its specific features in comparison with other markets:

1. localization, since its goods are immobile and their value depends to a large extent on the external environment;
2. a significant level of state regulation by law, as well as through zoning of territories;
3. fewer sales transactions;
4. inappropriate of the mechanisms of market actors interaction and their weak legal support [6, p. 124].

There is also no any common approach to understand the category of “regional real estate market” in science. S. B. Globa and Yu. A. Zhuravlev propose to consider the regional residential real estate market as “an organized territorial set of subjects, objects, and processes that ensure the implementation of activities on the construction and distribution of housing, the implementation of state policy in the housing sphere, and the satisfaction of the population’s needs for housing” [4, p. 6]. The term *regional* here is of great importance since taking into account the

peculiarities of a particular territory's development allows one to achieve positive results in various kinds of activities within the framework of national policy.

Analysis of statistical indicators of housing construction development in three territorial entities of the Tyumen region (in Tyumen and in the south of the region, Yamal-Nenets and Khanty-Mansiysk Areas) for 2017 showed that apartment buildings occupy a leading place in current housing construction (only 1.6 % of housing units under construction are not in this category). At the same time, 85% of the total area of housing units is concentrated in Tyumen. The largest share of housing is in the high-rise buildings sector, although recently there has been a tendency towards a decrease in the number of construction floors and a transition to houses of varying floors. This solution allows us to take into account the needs of several categories of customers. Another trend in the regional market was a reduction in the supply of small-sized housing: the average area of apartments in 2017 increased by 3.3 m² compared to the last year and amounted to 52.9 m², exceeding the national average by 3.6 m² [3]. According to the Federal Service for State Registration, Cadastre, and Cartography (Rosreestr) for 2017, in the Tyumen region, the registered contracts for participation in equity construction were 13.4% less than in 2016, which is caused by a decrease in the index of real monetary income of residents [8].

Based on the data of analytical reports of the *Etazhi* real estate agency and the UPconsAllt sales agency for December 2017, we can state the fall in supply in the primary housing market. The dynamics of its change over the past five years indicates an annual increase up to 2017. In 2013, the supply on the market was 8.0 thousand apartments, in 2014 it increased by 35%. However, since 2015, the growth has slowed down (the cumulative number of apartments increased by 32.4%). In 2016, the growth rates fell markedly: the increase in the number of dwellings was only 1%. In 2017, there was a negative trend: the supply decreased by almost 7%.

In the structure of proposals on the primary housing market in many large cities, at least half are one-room apartments and studios, about a quarter are two-room apartments, only a little more than a tenth are three-room apartments. Multi-room apartments occupy an insignificant segment of this market: less than one percent. In recent years, only the proposals for one-room apartments have been affected. Thus, over five years, their share increased by 10% (from 49% in 2013 to 59% in 2017), for the remaining categories the fluctuation was no more than 2%.

Segmentation of new housing by classes is a reflection of not only the development of the real estate market in the city but also the purchasing power of the population since the product is focused on the consumer with a sufficient level of income. In Tyumen, the situation is somewhat different from similar cities and some cities with a population of a million or more. The main feature of the local market is that the product, which is represented by individual developers of Tyumen in the "economy" class, in terms of comfort and living conditions corresponds to the "comfort" and "business" classes in other major cities of the country (Rostov-on-Don, Volgograd, Krasnodar, etc.). At the end of December 2017, the share of

“economy” class apartments remained at the level of 87.5%, in the “comfort” class segment—10.7%, and “business” class—1.8% [1].

Supply on the secondary housing market slightly exceeds the volume of primary real estate: 16.2 thousand apartments by the end of 2017. The market dynamics in the period from 2013 to 2016 is also positive, with fluctuations in growth rates more pronounced: in 2014—32.8%, in 2015—43.5%, in 2016—13.5%; in 2017, the supply fell by 1.2%. In terms of the supply structure, the secondary market is different from new buildings, it has fewer one-room apartments (36%) and more multi-room apartments (6.2%). If we consider the change in distribution according to the type of room for the last five years, then we can talk about minor advances towards one-room housing, which supply increased by 4% during the period under review.

At the end of last year, there was a slight increase in the unit price of supply in all segments of the market that were allocated according to the number of rooms of apartments. According to the experts, this, first of all, is due to the slight increase in the price level in the primary market, since the secondary market has the property of unreasonably increasing the price while the increase in the cost of new housing.

The distribution of demand in the secondary housing market is close to the structure of the supply of new buildings, while the preferences of buyers of multi-room apartments tend toward the secondary market. The most serious changes over the past five years have occurred in the structure of one-room and three-room apartments sales. According to the data of I. A. Saenko and E. V. Vasilchenko, “the demand for one-room apartments from 2015 is gradually decreasing, while for three-room apartments, on the contrary, is increasing” [1].

As you can see, the primary real estate feels more confident. The primary market, unlike the secondary one, is not overloaded with supply. Based on the analysis of statistical information, we have identified some features of the regional real estate market, namely:

1. the fall in real incomes of the population was reflected in an increase in the number of transactions using mortgage lending;
2. a large number of multi-storey construction and a relatively small proportion of small and mid-rise buildings led to a glut of the market with single-format high-rise housing;
3. the Tyumen real estate market is developing much more dynamically than in the south of the region and in the districts, which confirms its relevance for conducting a sociological survey.

The low activity of the subjects of the real estate market in the Yamal-Nenets and Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Areas allowed us to narrow the area of the empirical research to the borders of Tyumen. Small towns in the south of the region were also not included in the sample due to the small ranges of construction and the lack of accurate data on the current supply of real estate.

To study the consumer preferences of house buyers, 384 residents of Tyumen who plan to buy an apartment on the primary real estate market over the next three years were surveyed.

The sample was formed on the basis of the size of the general population, for which the number of adult residents of Tyumen was taken (20-65 years), according to the data for January 2017, the sampling error was 5% with a confidence interval of 95%. The type of sample is quota. A proportional distribution was carried out taking into account the supply in the residential real estate market, and the number of rooms of the apartment considered for the purchase was used as the quoting characteristic.

The main group of respondents was youth aged 20-34 years (57%). The distribution of respondents by the rest of the age groups is as follows: 35-44 years—36%; 45-54 years—7%; 55 years and older—1%. 55% of respondents have a higher education, 32% have vocational secondary education. The majority of the respondents are women (63%).

The survey results of the potential buyers showed that the overwhelming majority of respondents (74%) plan to purchase housing for personal use, 18% buy housing for relatives, and only 8%—for the purpose of investing. According to the experts, the maximum share of investors in the real estate market is usually 10-15%, besides, in the last 2-3 years, the percentage of investments in residential real estate has gradually decreased.

Many buyers at the stage of choosing apartments face certain difficulties, of which the most common was the refusal to issue a mortgage loan (33% of respondents), which postponed the purchase of housing for a fairly indefinite period. The second place is a high interest rate on the loan (24%). The third place is the lack of companies working with certificates under state programs and the unreliability of information provided by developers on the cost and quality of residential properties offered on the market (19%). Unsuccessful layouts and bad communications became a problem for 5% of buyers. A long-term choosing of an object for purchase (more than six months) is most often associated with the lack of suitable options (38%) and a sufficient amount of financial resources (26%).

Most buyers trust the selection of an apartment to professional market participants: specialists of the developer's sales departments and real estate agents, which confirmed the hypothesis put at the beginning of the study. At the same time, buyers most often prefer to contact the developer directly (51% of respondents), only 26% of respondents contacted real estate agencies.

The most attractive factors when buying a secondary housing unit are a comfortable living area (28% of respondents), the development of social infrastructure (21%), and relatively low repair costs (20%). Among the weaknesses of the secondary housing market, respondents identified depreciation of the housing, parking problems, and narrow streets in old city districts, an already formed team of neighbors, and a higher cost compared to new buildings.

Among the advantages of the primary housing market, the respondents especially highlighted the availability of service when buying (74% of respondents), good location of houses and proximity of the social infrastructure objects (69%), comfortable apartment layouts (60%), reliability of developers (55%), well-thought-out yard space (50%). The main disadvantages of the primary market that buyers iden-

tified were the underdevelopment of social and transport infrastructure in new areas and the high cost of housing. When choosing a construction company, many respondents are mainly focused on the level of service and attitude towards customers (72%). Such factors as location of the microdistrict (39%), the reliability of the company (37%), quality of construction and finishing (25%) turned out to be less significant for the respondents.

To assess the state and development prospects of the real estate market in the region, we conducted 15 expert interviews. The experts were commercial directors of the large construction companies of Tyumen, managers, and leading realtors of real estate agencies, specialists of mortgage departments of banks, representatives of consulting companies, and employees of the Department of Land Relations and Urban Planning of the Tyumen Region.

According to ten experts, the real estate market in the region can be described as a developing one. This statement is based on the fact that the number of developers' apartments keeps growing, and the competitive situation and the quality of the offered product do not allow even strong market players to relax. The abolition of state support for mortgage lending forces market professionals to constantly look for new ways to attract customers. At the same time, the experts point at such favorable conditions for the development of the market as the attractiveness of the city for residents of the north of the region (Khanty-Mansiysk and Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Areas) and their high solvency, which creates the necessary market demand. According to them, up to half of the property buyers are residents of the northern districts.

The remaining five experts consider the market to be stagnant, recalling a slowdown in sales growth due to the tendency of consumers to postpone the purchase of housing for an indefinite period, as well as their orientation towards the purchase of small apartments.

The experts described the development prospects of the real estate market for the next 3-5 years as positive. In their opinion, the crisis period is ending, and many experts expect an increase in business activity in the market, since construction is one of the largest sectors of the Russian business, and this will allow not to lose the growth potential. In addition, the housing provision of the population has not yet reached the norm. Several experts pointed out the need for renovation of the housing stock since many buildings were built in the 1970s and 90s and require reconstruction. Representatives of the realtor community have suggested that developers are soon reorienting to the development of low-rise construction, which is gaining popularity in the region.

Among the distinctive features of the regional real estate market, the experts noted a high level of formation of partnerships among professional market participants: from 50 to 90% of transactions are carried out precisely by the realtor community. Close cooperation is observed not only among developers and agencies but also with banking organizations in view of the fact that mortgage lending is the main instrument for the acquisition of real estate by the population.

All experts identified the regional residential property market as open. This situation, according to the experts, is due to the fact that most of the market players are local companies, they are well acquainted and can trust each other. In addition, the presence on the market of a on obvious leader (the Brusnika company) sets the bar high for other developers and requires their continuous development and improvement.

Another feature of the local market is the reduction in the age of the main housing buyers. According to experts, the potential buyer has become younger by at least 10-15 years: if earlier the average age was 40-45 years, now it is 25-30 years. Experts also note the increased demands of buyers who have become more attentive not only to the choice of the apartment itself but also to the quality of the service provided by the agency and the developer. The current buyer has become more literate from a legal point of view: they understand the terms of the contract, when they contact a bank, they are often aware of the necessary set of documents and the conditions to obtain a mortgage loan. The requirements for apartment planning have also increased, preference is more often given to modern formats of accommodation (studios, apartments with terraces, highlights, etc.).

The real estate sellers are doing all they can to attract the buyer. According to one of the specialists, “even if a person does not have the opportunity to buy an apartment, they will find it”. This position is mostly held by the representatives of construction companies and banking structures, the realtor community is less optimistic. The representatives of real estate agencies believe that some market participants do not pay enough attention to marketing policy and do not strive for the quality development of the service.

Relations of the state and participants of the real estate market, according to all experts, can be described as neutral: “the best support for a business is not to interfere with it”. Some representatives of construction companies said that the state did not always comply with the time frame of its promises to develop the social and transport infrastructure of new areas. This affects the reputation of companies and reduces consumers’ confidence. In general, market participants consider the absence of administrative barriers as an effective way of support from the authorities. According to most experts, the largest intervention in the industry was subsidizing mortgage rates, which provided substantial assistance to participants in the crisis period but at the moment has lost its relevance.

Experts identified a number of problems that have a negative impact on the development of the real estate market in the region, namely:

- 1) unpreparedness of developers for the transition to low-rise construction. Buyers are “tired” of high-rise buildings, but constructing low houses for developers is unprofitable;
- 2) lack of engineering communications capacity in some areas. Existing engineering networks are often not able to handle the extra load;

- 3) long terms of paperwork for construction and commissioning of houses;
- 4) buyer's fear of a mortgage loan. According to experts, not many people are able to take risks and make such long-term commitments: "it is easier for the majority to rent a house than to risk."

Among the actions needed to solve these problematic issues, the experts highlighted state control over the sale of housing under certificates, fulfillment of obligations for the construction of social infrastructure and transport interchanges. Specialists emphasized the need for state control over the architecture of new projects and the development of standards that would allow to "market" a higher-quality product.

Regarding the prospects for the development of the real estate market, the experts called a number of changes that await its participants in the near future. All the experts we interviewed agreed that after the implementation of the amendments to the law on escrow accounts as of 1 July 2018, which are the first stage in the transition of the construction market to project financing, many developers will have to switch from equity to ready-made housing construction if there are a necessary financial security and mutual agreements with banks. Another change that awaits the construction industry and will inevitably affect buyers is the increase in the cost of primary housing, due to the fact that the developer will have to put the costs of inflation in the square meter cost. Developers will need to either put items for sale at a higher cost or keep current prices and lose profits. However, considering that the profitability of the development business since the onset of the crisis has already declined significantly, most experts agree that prices will increase. The average price increase at the initial stage will be about 5-8% of the current average market price per square meter. Given the fact that the population has not yet fully formed confidence in developers and the primary real estate market as a whole, such a prospect may adversely affect the development of the entire construction industry in the region.

CONCLUSION

The regional residential real estate market is distinguished not only by the high level of development of partnerships between its participants, considerable openness, and disposition to dialogue but also by a broad professional look at the current situation.

According to the results of our research, a set of recommendations was proposed that would level out the problems existing in the residential real estate market, as well as prepare the conditions for its systematic growth and development in the region.

First, it is necessary to create a permanent communication platform between developers and local and regional authorities. Such a decision will help eliminate the barrier that impedes the adoption of operational constructive solutions. Currently, regular meetings are held at the platform of the Russian guild of managers and realtors, but the decisions that are made there are implemented only at the

level of interactions of professional market participants and do not reach the legislative level.

Secondly, the organization of state control is needed to ensure a comfortable transition from equity construction to project financing not only for market participants but also for buyers. Currently, when developers are trying to adapt to new rules, buyers are worried, not being able to understand how these changes will affect their plans for house buying. It is necessary to conduct high-quality, timely, and phased instruction of the population, which will allow buyers not to make a mistake and not to get into new fraudulent schemes. Thus, there is a tendency to conclude loan agreements instead of equity participation agreements. In this case, the developer is not liable for the postponement of construction, and the money received from shareholders can be used not only for the construction of the house but also for other purposes.

Thirdly, it is advisable to prepare and implement in practice a set of training activities for potential home buyers, in order to avoid problems at the conclusion of transactions. In the conditions of market transformation, the population lacks information to plan their actions to acquire real estate. Some buyers do not fully understand all the subtleties of the contract execution of equity participation, as well as the procedures for registration of property rights and their obligations to the bank when obtaining a mortgage loan.

Fourth, it is important to develop a clear and fairly flexible system of architectural standards for the development of the appearance of the city. Currently, there are no standards for architectural and visual standards, based on which the administration could issue building permits. According to the current legislation, the developer may be denied of the permission for only four reasons: an incomplete set of documents for obtaining a permit; inconsistency with town planning standards applicable to a particular land plot (for example, the building is higher than it was provided by the city development plan); violations of the rules for land surveying and land arrangement in the framework of the draft; inconsistency of the data stated in the documents provided to the construction plan [11]. In addition, projects for integrated development of the territory have a fairly high chance of obtaining permission even with minor defects. Architectural appearance in such a situation receives little attention, and this issue, in fact, remains solely the responsibility of the developer.

Fifth, it is important to improve the process of phased control over the developers' compliance with the norms and rules of urban planning. At the moment, after obtaining a building permit and until the completion of the work, developers are not checked by departmental bodies. As a result, many violations are detected only at the stage of acceptance of the house before issuing permission to put the house into operation. In such situations, equity holders are most often affected, since they have to wait until the developer resolve all complaints of the inspection committee. In addition, there are cases when the commission is ready not to react to minor violations in order to preserve indicators on housing con-

struction. The introduction of stage-by-stage control will allow detecting violations at the early stages and correct them before the object is accepted by the final commission, which will positively affect the quality of housing and the time it will be put into operation.

Thus, an important place in the development of the residential real estate market holds the development of additional measures which regulate the interaction of its subjects in the framework of the implementation of state regional housing policy, which should be formed taking into account the resource potential of the territory.

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The modernization of traditional socio-cultural practices in Siberia

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Abstract. This article describes the trend of revival of traditional socio-cultural practices that previously existed in rural areas of Russian regions: rituals that accompany daily activities, ethnic, cultural and religious holidays, and traditional crafts. The relevance of addressing such practices is associated with the need to find points of growth of rural areas. This process is quite complicated: on the one hand, socio-cultural practices fall into the field of social design, on the other—socio-cultural practices can have a religious format. More successful ones are submitted to social and cultural projects and revive them on the basis of practice in the European part of Russia, as to Siberia—the problem with the historical settlements and post-Soviet consciousness of the inhabitants of rural areas, as well as weak project activity prevents the development of these territories. The process is considered on the specific case of the Kolyvan village of the Novosibirsk Region, where the project on the development of socio-cultural practices with the involvement of local communities gave some results there, but faced a number of problems. The case was developed on the basis of focus groups and in-depth interviews with the representatives of local communities. The study found, on the one hand, the motivation of residents to the development of traditional socio-cultural practices in the territory, on the other—the rejection of the innovative format proposed by the city group. It was found that public participation in Kolyvan is passive, which also does not contribute to the development of the territory. In fact, the question of how to overcome the contradiction between conservatism and passivity of the community and demanded project activity was raised. Now, individual projects can be successful and continue to exist only with constant support.

Keywords: traditional socio-cultural practices, traditional crafts, local communities, modernization, development of territories, project activities, cultural and historical centres, socio-cultural Park.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is to analyze the process of reviving traditional socio-cultural practices that used to exist in Russian rural areas, and the problems related to it. Modernized, or renewed, traditional socio-cultural practices previously present in villages such as rituals accompanying daily activities, ethnic and cultural-religious holidays, and traditional crafts, imply their adaptation to modern conditions and trends. Recently, traditional socio-cultural practices have begun to actively recover, with new socio-cultural technologies applied [3, 5]. This trend has received support and coverage in scientific publications (G. G. Dmitrieva, N. D. Kaminskaya, O. S. Kudinova, M. S. Lebedev, E. A. Shmeleva, E. V. Ertman, and others). On the one hand, the restoration of traditions in the territories takes place within the development of religious practices. On the other hand, it has become a part of social projects and Russian small towns and rural areas branding. The problem lies in the two different tendencies of the same territory that influence its growth or lead to decline. Meanwhile, the search for sources of growth in rural areas, especially in remote ones, requires urgent attention as to effective mechanisms for activating communities and modernizing practices that are natural and familiar to rural residents.

MAIN PART

It should be noted that religious socio-cultural practices in the European part of Russia have a substantial base. This applies to all known Russian monasteries and temples, which the Russian Orthodox church is gradually regaining. Rural residents of the Asian part of Russia, partially due to the preserved culture, are also, and even more, inclined to use religious traditions in their everyday life. However, religious socio-cultural practices are only relatively subject to modernization, rather, it is the matter of their restoration in the original form. Obviously, this is the need of the church institution as an organizational-bureaucratic structure of religion, which is gaining new positions, under the pendulum effect. There is a social base for this, and, what is important to note, it is uneven. Some local communities supporting the restoration of religious practices tend to be stable, which forms conservative thinking. Modernization under such conditions becomes mostly difficult. Anyway, there is an obvious contradiction between the conservative religious thinking and the “project” thinking, which is tuned to modernization. Another tendency related to initiative socio-cultural projects, business projects, tourism, and branding (for example, the town of Myshkin, the town of Uryupinsk, etc.) also has its own problems, despite good intentions. The development of this tendency needs people who can perform project activities, and local communities ready for innovations in the territories. Some researchers (P. Bourdieu, Z. Bauman, E. Giddens, P. Sztompka, and others) think that the project acquires a special role in the construction of modern reality. Project activity develops into project practices relevant to the challenges of our time:

“Public participation can be understood as a project or a number of projects that, through a combination of social practices localized in social, discursive, and physical space, directly influence the involvement of individuals and social groups in a joint project activity to modify their life in accordance with the forecast or the program projecting future actions”[9, p. 20].

Social and cultural projects are focused on changing everyday life, transforming wide space and involving local communities [10, 11]. Most active projects develop in the European part of Russia (Astrakhan Region, Vologda Region, Tula Region, Leningrad Region, Krasnodar Krai, etc.). Technologies for project activities began to be mastered from the west, which was supported by grants. To understand the expansion of project activities aimed at the development of small towns and villages, one can use cases related to projects supported by the Elena and Gennady Timchenko Foundation (*The Cultural Mosaic of Small Towns and Villages*). Case analyses showed that successful socio-cultural projects can be observed in the Asian part of Russia, namely in Siberia.

To develop territories, the following points should be considered: active local communities and the image to attract people and investments. However, it is significant that the majority of successful social and cultural projects are developed and implemented by the city teams, and the target audience of these projects are not local communities, but investors and tourists. On the one hand, this annoys local communities. On the other hand, the use of traditional socio-cultural practices is a way for rural areas to find their place in the post-industrial urbanised world. The best way to revive old traditions is to modernize them, taking into account both the interests and character of the local population, and the socio-cultural potential of the territory. Old socio-cultural practices are becoming increasingly popular, but this does not happen everywhere. Socio-cultural projects are individualised and initiated by a team having an idea. The absence of any political strategy leads to the initiatives emerged “from the lower level”. This is a rather slow process that resembles “redecorating”. Recovered practices lose many functions and cannot be fully reconstructed. The significance of turning to old traditions is connected with the return of meanings and values to people living in the territory, without which the social life of the village stops, and the local communities transform and disappear. Meanwhile, the passive attitude of rural residents is associated with the deformation of socio-cultural space, filled with meanings, which are also deformed. Thus, it is important to involve most local residents in some socio-cultural project implemented in the territory, and to include emerging practices in everyday life. In fact, particular events, as well as local folk dance or song clubs, do not solve the problems, although they partially help to motivate people to support projects to modernize traditional practices. Besides, it should be noted that a local club that has resumed its activity can become a certain project to modernize socio-cultural practices. Any appeal to historical memory and modernized socio-cultural practices actually stimulates the construction of an intersubjective world based on archetypes in a particular territory. This is not about the duplicate traditional practices, since this is impos-

sible without an appropriate social basis, i.e. values, norms, and structures. This construction can be based only on practices adapted to the modern lifestyle. It seems to be real to modernize traditional socio-cultural practices and include them in the existing structures and systems of values and norms.

In Siberia, the modernization of traditional socio-cultural practices is implemented just as elsewhere through socio-cultural projects. This activity requires a rational approach, since, as we know, projects are aimed at verifiable results. A major barrier is a lack of project thinking and skills of project activities among the population. The type of thinking in rural areas could be described as post-Soviet and post-traditional. Actually, ethnic culture is associated with religious traditions, which began to return after the Soviet period. We think that religious thinking combined with the Soviet culture led to the formation of its specific, post-traditional option. It is extremely difficult to work with a community that has this type of identity; it is passive, regressive, and incapable of rational project activity. In addition, the lost Soviet collectivity did not receive an adequate replacement, and therefore the design of intersubjective space appeared complicated.

“The cultural environment today is becoming a key concept of modern society. It is not a separate area of government regulation, but a complex and multi-level system, within which the solution of problems can only be complex, taking into account many related factors and connecting the efforts of various departments, public institutions and businesses”, says the Federal target program “Culture of Russia (2012-2018)” [12].

As a result, many projects have emerged aimed at the development of traditional craft industries and cultural tourism. The successful municipal reform and the territories development are directly related to interesting effective projects developing and revitalizing local communities. In Siberia, Altai Krai, Krasnoyarsk Krai, Novosibirsk Region, Tomsk Region, Tyumen Region, and others show great activity. The examples can be found in Novosibirsk Region: Kolyvansky District, Iskitimsky District, Ordynsky District, Suzunsky District, and other areas. The case of *House of Crafts*— a socio-cultural center of traditional crafts of Kolyvan—is a successful one. Such centers function as a social means to involve local communities into the activities [8]. The model was developed by the creative team of the Novosibirsk State Technical University in 2014 (the Department of social work and social anthropology) and implemented jointly with the representatives of the administration and local communities of Kolyvan District, Novosibirsk Region. Today (2018), the project is not closed and helps to promote traditional socio-cultural practices.

The historical context is known to have a significant impact on the modernization of socio-cultural practices, since in this case restoration has the ground. Traditions always “emerge” on the basis of old ideas [4].

“Historical settlements are in a more beneficial position because they have a socio-cultural basis for identity, which serves as a means to change the entire

situation in the territory. In Novosibirsk Region, the district centre Kolyvan, has this famous historical context. The cultural past of this settlement can be considered as a resource for the territory development; however it needs to be updated. Kolyvan is an old merchant town with a rich history and social mythology, located thirty kilometers from the city of Novosibirsk [8, p. 754].

Back in the late 19th—early 20th centuries, Kolyvan was a town of merchants and artisans, on the Moscow route. Kolyvan annual fairs welcomed merchants from Siberia, Central Asia, Mongolia, and China. By the end of the 19th century, European merchants also got interested in merchandise in this area. In Kolyvan, there were 126 factories and plants producing rope, metal, brick, pottery, oil, soap, leather, sheepskin, and saddlery. Though, the development of Kolyvan turned out to be suspended after the bridge was built across the river Ob, the railroad appeared away from Kolyvan in the area of Novonikolayevsk (now, Novosibirsk), and the social revolution broke out in the country. The metropolitan style that began to form was replaced by the provincial rural status and traditional socio-cultural practices remained only in a religious format, since Kolyvan was able to preserve the role of a religious centre. Historically, Kolyvan has acquired the status of a “holy” place, which is supported by both the local diocese and communities. There is Alexander Nevsky’s Pokrovsky Monastery. In recent years, a special interest in history has been observed in Kolyvan District. The examples are the restoration of old merchant houses, the relocation of the local history museum to a new reconstructed building, the development of tourism, the development of festival activities, such as the *Siberian Flame Festival*, the *Living Waters Festival* of ethnic cultures, the *Easter Festival* of Siberian bell-ringing art, the *Bacon Festival*, the Festival of historical and cultural reconstructions, etc. Moreover, these events have been deliberately and specifically aimed to attract the citizens. Such practices are well adopted due to the interest of the urban population to the ethnic environment, as well as, the close location of Kolyvan to Novosibirsk. Some events are organized by the city teams who have experience in the project activities.

Despite the revival of cultural life, local communities cannot be called fully active. Residents are happy to attend the events, but are not involved in their organization. Only a few people are involved in project activities in the area. The projects brought from the outside also make the residents observers only. As a result, the level of project thinking does not grow, and we face the phenomenon of passive participation [11, p. 225-226]. What the residents of Kolyvan are ready to offer (the events and accompanying souvenirs) are focused on their ideas and tastes, thus we have a gap between the demands and expectations of citizens who come to the events at the cultural and historical centre, and the offers that Kolyvan can provide. In this process, Kolyvan is unprepared to match its historical image. Traditional socio-cultural practices in these conditions are not modernized and, accordingly, do not become a part of the community’s lifestyle. The potential of Kolyvan seems to be frozen, meeting the criteria of the civilization that

does not respond to the present challenges [13], with the mechanisms for its disclosure absent.

The problem analysis of traditional socio-cultural practice development in Kolyvan and the possibilities of modernization showed that:

- Kolyvan has a rather strong human potential, which should be set active. The residents should be motivated to take part in socio-cultural projects. The population should be ready to be self-employed. The procedures should be worked out to support local initiatives;
- citizens have an increasing interest to Kolyvan as a historical cultural centre, therefore it is necessary to support this interest, working over the territory branding, and use the prospects for the development of tourism, which requires a new level of events and craft products (souvenirs);
- modernized traditional socio-cultural practices and developed project activities in Kolyvan can be supported by a centre that can become a ground for attracting and rallying people interested in the development of traditional crafts and implementing social and cultural projects.

Thus, the SWOT analysis showed that the increased activity of the local community is impossible without support by a centre, which should contribute to the development of the territory. At the same time, the lack of craftsmen and the need to develop traditional crafts also lead to the concept centre that activates and systematizes project activities. Such a centre may not be the only one, but the new format and the use of project technologies are important. What should be done now is to find the desired format. The *House of Crafts* center was created in Kolyvan as a “socio-cultural park — a platform where the craft community is “grown” and craft practices are recreated as traditional industries aimed at the development of the territory” [8, p. 757]. It was planned to combine the functions of a business incubator, which operates within a certain socio-cultural framework, due to both the cultural peculiarities of the crafts and the goals of the community development. The Kolyvan case initially assumed a more simplified version. First of all, the Kolyvan House of Crafts socio-cultural park was created to work with local communities and provide the following services:

1. Training the population in handicrafts, arts, and crafts, organizing master classes by the local artisan community and invited experts, free provision of equipped creative sites for master classes (pottery, brewing, basket weaving, wood products, etc.).
2. Providing sites and equipment for the club activities of the local community, certified courses on social and cultural design, service technologies, and socio-cultural design for the territory development.
3. Organising permanent sales and exhibitions, online store services for products, organising and supporting experts and amateurs in trade fairs and cultural events at various levels.

4. Conducting lectures and seminars on culture and folk art (history of art, experience of artisans from other regions).
5. Delivering consultant services for creating one's own projects and developing business plans, accounting and tax issues related to the implementation of craft and creative projects, expert support of products, etc.

Along with the above mentioned activities, the functions of the House of Crafts center included teaching traditional crafts and activities to various ages and socio-demographic groups, physically challenged people. It was assumed that the souvenirs, advertisement, and information products that popularize and promote artisans and crafts, would contribute to the socio-cultural development of the territory and make it more attractive to tourists. Finally, one of the important tasks of the House of Crafts center was to prepare and hold various events arising from its activities. Thus, the House of Crafts center was to become a growth point for the transition to the developing creative industries. It was created as a long-term project involving the development and gradual introduction of the model.

The gradual establishment of a socio-cultural center should have taken place in accordance with the following strategy: the first step was to set local communities active, to form a territorial handicraft community; the second step was to adapt the model to local conditions and form the incubation medium; the third step was to start an incubator aimed at the territory development through culture. It was assumed that the steps should not just evolve, but intersect. However, the actual implementation of the model corrected the process very much.

In 2015, in order to understand where to start the implementation, which can be relied on, and how the residents of Kolyvan see the settlement centre and the territory development, two focus groups were interviewed (focused group in-depth interviews), which included the group joint mapping sessions (group one, n = 8; group two, n = 11). In the process of conducting focus group interviews, we managed to find out that the community did not have a holistic image of Kolyvan, it was fragmentary. The main element of the image was the church, and separate architectural objects. It turned out that in many respects the residents created their socio-cultural space around the church. The church is significant, the religious values are also significant and quite naturally embedded in the routine. This may justify a stable image of the "past" (old) Kolyvan, but an understanding of the "new", "future" Kolyvan was not found. From the survey results of the focus groups, it became clear that there would be problems with the network model, since the internal connections between artisans and people in general were weak. The immature community manifested itself in a significant predominance of personal communication and interests over public ones. It became clear that, as in any non-developing community, young people were poorly integrated into the public structures. A negative factor in the local community development was a lack of "heroes" and famous people in the territory, a lack of public leaders. Despite the barriers mentioned by the participants of the focus groups, the initiative to create the *House of Crafts* center was welcomed, while a special interest

was found in the place to go, “to do something, to talk, to solve problems together, and to spend time”. Thus, the need for integration and joint activity was evident. Further, the project required a separate room, which was found in the former building of the local history museum. Bureaucratic barriers and a lack of interest from the local and regional authorities led to the fact that the problems arising with the maintenance of the premises (heating, repairs, cleaning, etc.) were difficult to solve and harassed the planned rapid implementation of the model. The opening of the *House of Crafts* center was quite an event for both the district and the region. The innovation model developed by the city team was not fully understood by the local community. Nevertheless, the basic principles and directions of work have been preserved. The past adaptation of the model led to an interesting, distinctive site, closer to the lifestyle of local residents. The implementation of the project confirmed that the main difficulties in the territory development are related to the weak formation of the local community, its insufficient organization and a low degree of social involvement.

It means that craft practices cannot become an industry due to the fact that no organized professional associations have emerged in Kolyvan. The formation of craft associations is largely determined by the degree of the local community development and its interests. Therefore, in such work it is important to rely on the idea of raising the level of the professional community and the formation of intensive communications with the city, as well as the development of sustainable horizontal links. The need to return to a network model based on stable and intensive communications has become apparent [2, 6]. However, the created centre, in its simplified format, does not fully solve the problem, although it unites people who view the craft as their hobby. To understand how to continue the project in 2017, an in-depth interview was conducted with the active project participants living in Kolyvan: the head of the House of Crafts, heads of creative societies in Kolyvan, craftsmen and active people, representatives of the Kolyvan district administration (n = 14). All opinion leaders noted that the traditional craft had recently become popular both in the city and in rural areas. Their answers prove that the reflection of Kolyvan residents on a new fashion trend is quite emotional and is associated with local traditions. At the same time, the attitude is growing from passive to active, because the leaders did not only recall and describe historical facts, but also drew a parallel with the current situation. This is what forms the residents' motivation to restore the lost or weakened socio-cultural practices. The interviewees said that older people were more active, but at the same time, everyone felt a need for self-realization. Younger people are interested in old crafts, but it is important to have sites where this self-realization would be possible. In Kolyvan, there is a small group of craftsmen engaged in arts and crafts, ready to pass on their experience. Nevertheless, it is unclear which site can make it possible: “Yes, you can live on crafts and they can be learned. Yes, of course, conditions must be created for this: equipment, craftsmen, and marketing support.” The discussed problem of accompanying craftsmen showed that the authorities understood the situation: from their point of view, some in-



sight was needed. Accompanying craftsmen means that they must learn too, they must be able to improve technology. Craftsmen do not always know the market, so marketing assistance becomes particularly important. Organising exhibitions and fairs also requires assistance. In this regard, the idea of developing the House of Crafts center was supported by all the interviewees. The data analysis (interview texts) showed that local project participants did not have a development strategy, their language and perceptions differed from those of the original model developers. The proposed format has been lost. The interview showed that the emphasis was clearly shifted from the format of a socio-cultural park and business incubator to the format of a leisure centre. In this regard, the House of Crafts has been reoriented from the project activities to leisure and, in part, educational activities. The unformed project thinking does not allow people to build project activities, while the House of Crafts center performs a number of functions. The case analysis showed that the traditional socio-cultural practices, revived naturally by the rural residents, were difficult to restore, and even more difficult to modernize. To improve the situation, constant project support and administration support are required. Any particular project should be closely considered. There is still a lag of typical Siberian settlements from similar ones in the European part of Russia, in terms of the innovative projects.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, it can be argued that with regard to the House of Crafts project in Kolyvan, it is too early to talk about the established modernized socio-cultural practices. The natural process of their formation requires more time, and there is no control system that could rectify the situation. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the House of Crafts is a long-term project, rare for Siberian settlements, implemented by the residents themselves, involving the community and raising questions to the authorities. The case has the right to be considered in the discourse of research of the modernization processes in Siberia as a whole, since “it is socio-cultural factors that play the leading role in the implementation of modernization processes” [7, p. 13]. The created, albeit reformatted and small, centre now serves as a site for discussing the issues of further development and attraction of new participants and partners, possibilities of both leisure and self-employment. The territory identity is formed. This is what reality looks like. Thus, even the springs of project thinking in the territory lead to certain results. Project thinking must be supported by active community. Both of these internal factors are completely manageable. What we need is the political will and development strategy, which relies on both external and internal resources. So, the territory branding should be clear to the local population and promote the formation of socio-cultural space and socio-cultural practices that meet the interests of local communities. Along with branding, and attracting investors and tourists, the population should be involved in the territory development. The study showed that at present, the local residents (in this case, Kolyvan, Novosibirsk Region) wish to be involved in the projects. But, since the projects and the leaders who are ready and able to manage them are

not enough, the motivation falls, giving way to a passive observation and dissatisfaction. For Russian regions, due to their size, the issue of growth of small towns and villages is extremely important and is associated with the search for growth points and effective projects. In addition, this is an issue of new mobility, especially important for the settlements located near big cities [14]. The situation in Kolyvan is typical for Russian regions, and, therefore, the existing experience is completely convertible. As shown, the project took into account the peculiarities of Siberia, which, we think, mean conservative thinking, but suppose a high degree of tolerance and readiness to move from a passive observation to an active participation. Consequently, such a deadlock can be overcome.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

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Social factors in the formation of the educational plans of high school students (based on sociological research materials in Barnaul in 2018)

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Abstract. Modern scholars agree that a true modernization of the current education system in Russia is impossible, unless sufficient attention is paid to the educational plans of high school students. This research aims to analyse the influence of social factors on the formation of educational plans for students of senior classes of secondary educational institutions. The objectives of the study also include a) the study of the entire system of interaction of the recorded factors, b) the determination of their potential, and c) the identification of the main consequences of the impact of individual factors on the educational plans of schoolchildren. The article presents the results of an empirical sociological study of high school students, conducted in 2018. There were interviewed 268 people who, at the time of the study, were all students of the 11th grade at Barnaul educational schools. The results show that the process of formation educational plans occurs under the influence of a variety of factors: the social status of parents or guardians of children; the opinions of members of their inner circle; indicators of academic performance at school, etc. The authors conclude that the parents' position and the opinion of the friends of a high school student plays a significant role on the child's future. It seems appropriate to carry out such studies in the monitoring mode, not only in the city of Barnaul, but also in the Altai Krai as a whole.

Keywords: educational plans of schoolchildren, the social status of young people, the modern education system in the Russian Federation, the process of social reproduction, the social environment of the individual, "significant others".

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INTRODUCTION

Today, no one can achieve a higher social status without having proper education. Education is essential for the society in shaping its human, intellectual, and professional potential. Education enables a person to improve a social position. Having received good education, a person has more chances to be promoted in a successful company, to guarantee a desired level of income, etc. Generally, Social Philosophy interprets the problem of choosing educational paths by high school students in the context of the search for the meaning of life.

The modern society stipulates its conditions, and young people face the instability in the socio-economic and political systems, both in Russia and globally, when defining their professional activity on the way to choose their educational paths. Since it is a complicated task to forecast the further development of Russia's international relations and overcome the ongoing consequences of the 2008 global financial and economic crisis, most young people undergo stress. It is extremely difficult for them to answer the question of how they will live in the future and what profession they want to choose now. For this reason, the need to identify the key factors affecting the process of choosing educational paths by high school students, and the peculiarities of their choice regarding their future profession are becoming more relevant now.

MAIN PART

The educational path is directly related to the way it is followed, often being adjusted throughout the entire process. Accordingly, it is possible to give the following definition to the concept of “high school students’ educational paths”—this is the system of actions taken by high school students, which determine the institution to study at and help to choose future professions. The process of forming high school students’ educational paths implies a certain level of their social activity, awareness of their interests and abilities from the point of view of further education. High school students’ educational paths are formed by a variety of social and other factors—the parents’ social status, their education, and the immediate social environment (family members, close relatives, classmates, friends, acquaintances, teachers, tutors, etc.), the interests of high school students in certain academic subjects and sciences, their level of academic progress in the disciplines of the school curriculum, etc.

High school graduates, by virtue of their special, “marginal” social position in the social structure of any society, have long attracted keen interest among representatives of many social sciences, both abroad and in Russia. Numerous sociological researches in the second half of the 20th century resulted in a rather painstaking analysis of high school students’ educational paths, nationwide and globally. Researchers studied the real possibilities for the practical use of high school students’ educational paths. For example, it is now generally accepted that a sociological concept developed by A. G. Zdravomyslov is about the triad of a young person’s needs, interests and values. Accordingly, these links form a solid unity of subsequent plans for their life [18].

Speaking of the first Russian sociological works on the subject of high school students' educational paths and their further professional preferences, it is necessary to mention the studies that were conducted by a group of well-known sociologists from Novosibirsk supervised by V.N. Shubkin. The scientists conducted annual sociological surveys of high school graduates on the territory of the Siberian region during 1961-1991. These empirical studies have provided very interesting information about the social phenomenon under study. The authors recorded the results of the questionnaire given to young people over that period, concerning the attractiveness of various majors and professions. Unfortunately, the obtained empirical data was analyzed only in the context of the dependence of the high school students' educational paths on the gender and the typological characteristics of the settlement. The influence of other factors was not studied [11]. Anyway, it was Siberian sociologists who launched the whole trend of domestic sociological research of high school students' educational paths in different regions of the country. Thus, M.N. Rutkevich from the Institute of Social Sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences, led a group of young scientists to conduct a sociological study called "School as a factor in changing the social structure of the society". The scientists interviewed more than 10 thousand high school graduates from different regions of the country. As a result of the study, the authors found that 45% of young respondents at that time were determined to enter a higher educational institution [8].

The process of studying high school students' educational paths makes sociologists perform a very special form of sociological research—long-term longitudinal projects. Longitudinal sociological research involves a careful analysis of the behaviour of the targeted social group of people when they reach certain age lines. The first sociological survey of the kind was conducted in 1966 by Estonian scientists supervised by Professor M. Titma. The targeted social group was high school graduates of the region under study. The purpose of that project was to study the main social strata reproduction processes in the Soviet society when high school graduates joined it gradually. The project led to several important conclusions. First of all, the researchers found that each social stratum of the society forms its own degree of openness for young people with different social backgrounds to enter it. Also it turned out that young people fall into a certain social stratum of the society as a result of exposure to various factors, in particular, the place of residence, the regional differences, and the range of institutions offered by the existing educational system. In our opinion, a significant shortcoming of the longitudinal research project conducted in Estonia by M. Titma, was the fact that the targeted group of young people who graduated from high schools did not include all the social groups and strata of young people of the same generation in the then existing socialist country [15].

Further, the longitudinal methodology for conducting a sociological study was used in the Generation Paths large-scale interregional sociological project. The main goal of that sociological research was to study in detail the process of choosing higher educational institutions by high school graduates in throughout

the country. The results of the conducted sociological research observed the regularities in the main social strata reproduction processes in the Soviet society when high school graduates joined it gradually. The sociologists who conducted the research found that higher and secondary educational institutions of the Soviet Union acted as the main channel through which the outflow of young people from the countryside to the city actually took place. In addition, the researchers found that young people could not give strong arguments in favour of their future profession [13, 14].

Sociological studies of high school students' educational paths have been conducted for a long time abroad as well (for example, in the works by such authors as R. Becker, H. White, A. Thomas, E. Erickson, R. Holton, H. Marsh, J. Wilks, and others [1,2,5,7,12,16,17]). The works by these authors destroy the myth of equality in the countries of Western democracy. Educational opportunities are not equal for young people from different social strata. Moreover, intelligence does not play a crucial role in obtaining good education. These studies show that a variety of factors influence high school students' educational paths.

As shown by our analysis of the scientific literature on this issue, a large number of foreign sociological studies of high school students' educational paths are devoted to studying the influence of the social environment on the creation of such paths. A classic example of a typical sociological study is the *Wisconsin concept of youth's educational behaviour in the state*, developed by the American sociologist W. H. Sewell in the 1990s. [9, 10]. The main explanatory category of this concept is the term "my mirror self": young people make a decision on their further education, relying not only on their own ideas about their abilities and hobbies, but, above all, on the expectations of the certain social group, i.e. on the opinion of individuals who are important for them ("significant others"). In addition to their opinions, young people are guided by some other spheres of life that they consider important in this situation. Thus, a very significant role in forming high school students' educational paths is played by their progress in the main subjects of the school curriculum.

We are also interested in the results of American sociological studies of social networking where modern young people are involved (works by Joseph Davis, Richard Sennett, Frederick Corney, and others). Social networks, as a rule, show a very high level of social homogeneity—modern young people often tend to communicate with people like themselves. At school, the homogeneity of small social groups is observed according to such characteristics as gender, socio-economic status, and academic performance. Schoolchildren with "excellent" and "good" grades make friends with each other, whereas not very successful students also form their own social group, a group of "losers". The question of the influence of the social environment on high school students' educational paths is quite traditional for modern sociology. Numerous studies show that if the parents of high school students have a high social status and level of education, these students are more likely to have high academic performance, they want to achieve an education level not lower than that of their parents, and have a profession that

gives an appropriate social status. There are many arguments explaining why young people from higher social strata “inherit” their parents’ education: their large social capital, substantial material resources, diverse connections in educational institutions of the appropriate level, favourable social and psychological situation in the family, etc.

In the beginning of the 21st century, sociologists are returning to the problems under study, i.e. how to form high school students’ educational paths. These are becoming increasingly interesting from the point of view of sociology as such, but not social philosophy or social psychology. Moreover, the subject of research is not the nature and individual characteristics of modern young people, but the social factors forming high school students’ educational paths.

As mentioned above, the research on high school students’ educational paths in Russian sociology is still ongoing. Modern sociologists analyze high school students’ educational paths mainly in the context of studying their individual characteristics, the impact of the dominant culture, the existing social norms, etc. The concept of “high school students’ educational paths” is viewed today in the context of becoming a successful manager, etc., the entry of young people into various social and professional spheres of modern Russian society (O. I. Karpukhin, E. A. Latuha, T. V. Masharova, I. V. Shiryayeva, and others). The issues of professional choice by high school students are studied by such authors as E. M. Borisova, E. A. Klimov, L. A. Kravchuk, S. A. Sidorenko, and others. The problems of forming high school students’ educational paths are considered by A. E. Golonshtok, E. N. Vasilyeva, I. V. Nikanorova, V. A. Polyakova, O. S. Rantsevich, V. S. Sobkina, N. A. Sukhanova, and others. Having compared the obtained results with the empirical data from the 1960-1990s studies, a number of authors now talk of the evolving content of high school students’ educational paths. Today, the majority of high school students (about 75%) strive for higher education [6].

Below are the empirical results of studying the influence of various social factors forming high school students’ educational paths in the city of Barnaul in 2018. The research was carried out among 12 secondary schools of the city. The object of sociological research was eleventh-graders of the indicated schools. The sample size is 268 students, including 147 girls and 121 boys. The sample type is a focused (non-random, targeted) group, the method of selecting observation units is spontaneous. The researchers interviewed all available respondents. The method is a formalized interview. The purpose of this study was to analyze the system of social factors forming modern high school students’ educational paths, the peculiar influence of individual factors on high school students’ educational paths, etc. The researchers also conducted an in-depth interview with the experts (42 respondents)—parents, teachers, university professors, and representatives of local authorities (target sample). High school students’ educational paths, in their most general form, became clear after the question: What did you decide to do after school?

As Table 1 shows most high school students of the city of Barnaul (92% of respondents) are going to continue to study after school, 6% have not yet decided what they will do, and only 2% are not going to study further (see Fig. 1).

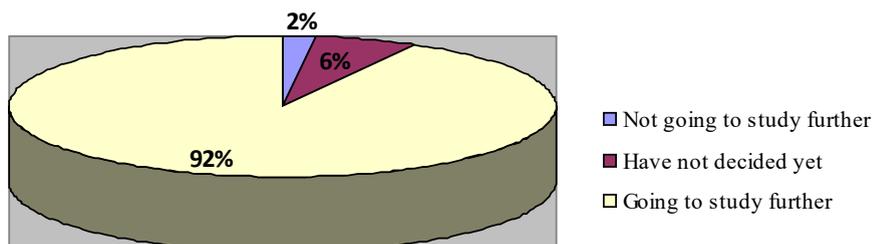
This can be explained as follows. The survey was conducted in the 11th grade, whereas students who are focused on vocational education leave school after the 9th grade. Another explanation of this situation is a relative accessibility (when you can pay for education in higher education institutions) and at the same time the prestige of higher education in the modern Russian society. It is noteworthy that there are few people who want to study at the correspondence department of the university and at the same time work immediately after graduating from high school—2% of the respondents.

The majority (72%) of the interviewed high school students plan to stay in Barnaul after school, 6% want to go to Novosibirsk, 5%—to Moscow, St. Petersburg and other major cities of the Russian Federation, 1%—abroad, and 16% cannot say.

Table 1. Distribution of answers to the question What did you decide to do after school? (% of the respondents)

Answers	%%
I'm going to enrol in university	76
I'm going to go to college, technical school, secondary vocational school	11
I'm going to study in professional school, vocational school, professional lyceum	2
I'm going to go work, start my own business	0
I'm going to take short courses and go to work	1
I am going to go to work and study in correspondence department of university or vocational school	2
I'm going to go to serve in the army	1
Other answers (going to be a housewife, etc.)	1
I do not know, hard to answer, have not decided yet	6
Total	100

Fig. 1. High school students' educational paths in Barnaul



The interview showed that high school students in the city of Barnaul are determined to receive higher education, to enrol in universities majoring in trade and services (managers, economists, lawyers, accountants, translators, advertisers, psychologists, freelancers, etc.). The respondents are less focused on blue-collar jobs, not a single respondent expressed any intention to have a blue-collar occupation in the near future (see Table 2).

Next, the researchers studied the influence of other factors (academic performance, social status and education of parents, opinions of closest social environment) on high school students' educational paths. As Table 3 shows, high school students' educational paths are formed under the following significant factors (by degree of influence): recommendations by parents and relatives (78%); advice from best friends and acquaintances (64%); the same level of the chosen education compared to the parents' education (62%); high academic performance in the school subjects related to the chosen major (61%); the proximity of the chosen major to the parents' profession (60%). Then come the factors such as: the major is interesting for a high school student (47%); the major is recommended by teach-

*Table 2. Professional choice of high school students (% of the respondents)**

Desired Profession	%%
Teacher	2
Economist, financier, manager, sales representative	24
Lawyer	17
Engineer, technician, technologist, mechanic	12
Architect, construction engineer, designer	5
Journalist, advertiser, PR, translator, linguist	9
Doctor, nurse, medical examiner	10
Specialist in State administration	5
Agriculture	1
Psychologist, social worker	8
Military, police officer, ER	16
Tourism and services	4
Culture, Art, Design	2
Coach	2
Other profession	17
Uncertain yet	5

* The sum of answers is more than 100%, since respondents could choose several professions (no more than three).

ers (36%); the major is supported by the state budget (33%) and is definitely taught in Barnaul universities (28%); the major is now one of the most prestigious areas (25%); graduates majoring in this field can find a job easily (16%); it is very interesting to study in this area (15%); high school students liked the meeting with university representatives (10%); high school students read information about this major on the Internet (9%). The research proved that the most insignificant factors that have little effect on high school students' educational paths are the advertisements of the major on the university website (8%); the opportunity to get

Table 3. Distribution of answers to the question Why do you want to learn exactly this field of study (specialty, profession), who or what influenced the formation of your plans? (the question was asked to the respondents who intended to continue their education; as a percentage of the number of respondents)*

Answers	%%
This major is recommended to me by parents, relatives.	78
This major is recommended to me by my best friends and acquaintances.	64
This kind of education matches the education of my parents.	62
I have high academic performance in subjects close to this major.	61
This major is close to the profession of my parents.	60
This major corresponds to my interests.	47
This major is recommended to me by my teachers.	36
There are quite a lot of budgeted places in this area.	33
I choose majors that are taught in universities of the city of Barnaul.	28
This is now one of the most prestigious areas.	25
Graduates of this major are in demand in the job market.	16
It is very interesting to study in this area.	15
I liked the meeting with representatives of the university.	10
I read information about this major on the Internet.	9
I liked the advertisement of this major on the university website.	8
In this area I will be able to get fundamental knowledge.	7
I chose this major according to the results of career guidance tests.	4
Many representatives of my nationality are studying in this area.	3
Other reasons.	34
I do not know, hard to answer.	17

* The sum of answers is more than 100%, since respondents (high school students) could choose several answer options (any number).

fundamental knowledge (7%); the results of tests for vocational guidance (4%); the presence of the same nationality (3%). Among other reasons, high school students noted “the university is close to the home”; “it is a matter of chance”; “they called from the university and invited”; “the major has a nice name”; “I want to try myself in this”; “In spite of the parents’ insistence”; “It is easy to study there”; “I need a diploma in this area; 17% of the interviewed high school students could not say.

Participating in extracurricular activities and obtaining additional education outside school also affects high school students’ educational paths. The most “essential” are extra classes in foreign languages, then come clubs (mathematics, physics, Russian, social studies, and history) and personal interests (technology, art, sports, etc.). The study showed that participating in extracurricular activities contributes to the improvement of academic performance in various school subjects.

The family, its composition, is one of the most significant factors determining high school students’ educational paths. According to the results of our sociological research, the family plays a decisive role in forming high school students’ educational paths. The family is the primary social group where young people get ideas about worthy life goals and values. The analysis shows that the family, in terms of forming high school students’ educational paths, is ahead of the teachers’ councils, the media, advertising, etc.

The parents’ education influences high school students’ educational paths to the same extent as the social and professional status of the older generation. Most high school students whose parents also have only secondary vocational education still aspire to get education in vocational colleges or technical schools. If the mother has a higher education, it is likely that a high school student will also express a desire to go to university. In particular, 84% of high school students whose parents have higher education also seek admission to university. And only 8% of high school students expressing a desire to study at a university have parents with vocational diplomas or school certificates, 22% of high school students have parents with secondary vocational diplomas.

The results of the study show that the parents’ educational level, socio-professional status, and position have a direct impact on forming high school students’ educational paths. Another result of the study was that high school students equally take into account the point of view of their friends and the opinion of their parents. Moreover, when choosing the path to get higher education, high school students are more influenced by their friends who plan to enter a university than by their parents’ social and professional status.

The opinion of friends also has a greater influence in comparison with other factors, in particular in comparison with academic performance; the gender of the respondent and the level of extracurricular activity are less important. According to the data, 50% of eleventh-graders, whose parents have a low social status, are unlikely to express a desire to enrol in a university if their friends do

not do that; 75% of eleventh-graders may go to university if all their friends are willing to do that.

If most friends want to study at a technical school or a vocational college, high school students will not go to university even though their parents have higher education.

High school students' educational paths are influenced by their best friends' choices much more than the social status of their relatives. Besides, it can work both ways, either concerning studying at a university or a vocational school. The results of the study show that high school students in Barnaul think it important to continue studying. Despite the fact that the respondents had vague ideas about the area of their future professional activity (over 75% of them did not work and did not receive a salary), the research showed that high school students pay special attention to such facts as the possibility of obtaining a higher social status, applying for a prestigious and well-paid job, the possibility of starting their own business, etc.

The study revealed a controversy about forming high school students' educational paths in Barnaul. On the one hand, the majority of the respondents say that further education is of high importance for them and express a desire to go to university after school. On the other hand, the majority of the interviewed students are not at all motivated to study in order to obtain fundamental, best-quality knowledge and professional competence. In particular, only 20% of the respondents say they are really interested in the school subjects, and only 10% say they enjoy studying hard. The main goal of every high school student when studying at a higher educational institution is to acquire higher social positions, but obtaining best-quality knowledge comes second for them.

The study fully confirmed the following hypotheses:

1. The parents' social status, their level of education, their profession, and their opinion are the leading factors in forming high school students' educational paths. In particular, the higher is the status of both parents, the more ambitious are high school students' educational paths. Thus, when choosing the form and level of their further education, high school students strive to achieve the socio-professional and educational level of their parents.
2. Forming high school students' educational paths largely depends on the progress in the main academic disciplines of the school curriculum. Extracurricular activities help high school students to improve their academic performance in the main subjects of the school curriculum, to motivate them to continue their education, determining the students' choice of the major, the form and the level of their further education.
3. Extracurricular activities give high school students the opportunity to improve academic performance both directly, by attending tutorials, various academic clubs, and indirectly, by increasing their self-confidence in the ability to enter a university to receive chosen professions.

4. Friends' opinions and advice on further education are other important factors in forming high school students' educational paths. They seriously influence the choice of the form and level of further education.

The present study revealed the key role of the parents' opinion and the closest social environment (best friends and good acquaintances) in forming high school students' educational paths. Although high school students' social background remains important, the social environment can either significantly strengthen this factor or change the entire educational path. With a significant divergence of positions, opinions and plans of friends, and social affiliation of parents, there is a great possibility that high school students will follow their friends. This may lead to both upward and downward social mobility.

CONCLUSION

The main conclusions are as follows:

1. High school students of the city of Barnaul have a rather high motivation to receive higher education and further levels of education (Master's Degree, second higher education and other levels).
2. Eleventh-graders in Barnaul are not at all determined to have blue-collar jobs.
3. A rather large part of high school students postpone the choice of a certain major (specialty, profession) and leave "for later".
4. High school students' educational paths in the city of Barnaul are influenced by many factors. The leading ones are the social status and level of education of the parents and other family members.

The study revealed that the process of forming high school students' educational paths is a key moment in their lives, but it is not fully realized. Forming high school students' educational paths is, in fact, a process based on activities related to the analysis of their abilities, interests, performance indicators in various school subjects, points of view of people who are in the group of "significant others". The main goal of forming high school students' educational paths is to develop their conscious readiness to identify promising areas of their life prospects (personal, educational, and professional).

To improve the management of the process forming high school students' educational paths, it is important:

1. To develop students' ability to forecast their future prospects of modern professions; to develop skills to abandon the influence of fashion on certain types of professional activity (legal, economic, managerial, psychological, etc.).
2. To assist students in understanding their own motives for choosing a professional activity, since this choice is made most often contrary to the original desire.

The main factor that has the maximum influence on the process of forming high school students' educational paths should still be their willingness to make a conscious and independent choice of their education and profession, starting from

individual traits of their character, interests, and orientations for the immediate prospects of professional growth. We believe that high school students' educational paths are the result of conscious personal activity, with the goals and preferences specified. Such forms of joint school work as gathering and presenting the most complete information about the peculiarities of certain professions and the ways high school students can continue their education in the future have the greatest relevance in forming high school students' educational paths.

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REVIEWS. CRITIQUE. INFORMATION

BOOK REVIEW

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Contemporary Youth's Image of the Future

Book Review: The Image of the Future Inherent in the New Generation of Russians: a monograph / V.V. Gavrilyuk, L.L. Mekhrishvili, N.I. Skok, H.N. Sadykova, Sh.F. Farakhutdinov, V.V. Malenkov, T.V. Gavrilyuk, O.L. Sotkov, I. N. Golikov. Tyumen: Tyumen Industrial University Publishing. 2016. 166 p.

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The contemporary highly competitive social environment generates the need for effective foresights on social development. Managing social processes, setting specific perspectives, selecting and implementing life strategies depend on the existing set of ideas of individual social groups about their future. The image of the future among the younger generation of Russians has great relevance in such research context. Contemporary youth possess specific features derived from the dramatic changes that have occurred in Russian society. The authors point out that making foresights and creating the images of the future are socially significant. The images of society, which social groups and individuals have, are methodologically important. A person consciously or unconsciously anticipates the individual future and prospects for the development of a community, a nation, or a state. In one way or another, people are aware of themselves as parts of a community, feel their belonging to it. A person correlates his subjective ideas about the social future with the ideas of social groups.

Thus, the levels of an individual, a generation, and an institution create a complex image of the future. Generalized images reflect the context for recognizing the social future. It is worth mentioning, that, surveying the image of the future among contemporary Russians, researchers make foresights on national future.

The authors of the book emphasize that the current structure of Russian society has influenced the value orientations, priorities, and ideas of Russian youth. Patriotism ranks high among young people against the background of promoting patriotic themes through mass media.

During 2015 sociological survey in the Tyumen region, the authors tested a number of hypotheses put forward by them. The aim of the project was to study the value world at the levels of the contemporary community, social groups, and individuals, as well as to observe young people's ideas about the future of various social actors. One of the survey sections comprised the study of the image of the future inherent in modern youth and the influence of this image on the choice of their life paths. The authors employed various methods, but the basic among them was the questionnaire survey. This survey was conducted in urban and rural settlements at the territory of the Tyumen region (autonomous districts were not surveyed).

The authors conducted 3 mass surveys employing various samples and technologies; 1,252 respondents took part in the first online survey of young people in the age from 15 to 30 (schoolchildren, students, and young professionals). The second survey concerned 635 respondents from working youth and specialists with higher, incomplete higher, or secondary vocational education. The third population survey included 700 respondents from different generations and age groups (between the ages of 25 and 65). According to the results of conducted sociological surveys, the total number of respondents was 2,587.

Thus, the work bases on solid empirical data that encompass a series of mass surveys with various samples and technologies for obtaining data from respondents. The total number of respondents testifies to the objectivity of the study results. The surveys show various age groups of Russian population. This enabled the research team to make a comparative analysis of a number of indicators regarding the respondent's belonging to a certain age group.

Thus, the authors of the collective monograph have done serious work on implementing main theoretical and methodological approaches to the sociological survey on the image of the future. They analyzed the future in the categorical field of sociology, relying on the work of such prominent sociologists as M. Weber, K. Marx, E. Toffler, and others. The authors conducted a supplementary study on fundamental features of the image of the future, as well as its dualistic character. The role of the image of the future in the formation and choice of life strategies of modern Russian youth was defined. Such theoretical analysis made it possible to reveal the essence and content of the image of the future inherent in the new generation of Russians.

The connection between such categories as "spirituality", "mentality", "values", and their influence on the process of making foresights among young people takes a leading position in the book. The authors emphasize that young people turn to innovative activities, especially at the age of 16 or 17. However, there is also an identified contradiction between the focus on innovative activity and the lack of willingness to "break the traditions" (p. 64). The analysis of empirical data reveals that as the younger generation grows up they become more concerned about traditional values.

The research team explains the identified contradiction by the following trends. On the one hand, there is "a transmission of paternalistic attitudes to the interaction between the state and the civil society from the generation of parents". On the other hand, "the general properties of the postmodern culture popular among young

people has an impact on them resulting in the cultural core erosion, fragmentation and gamification of identity, and pluralism of life styles ..." (p. 70). This way to explain the paradox of existing attitudes among contemporary youth looks quite reasonable.

The results of the study testifying to the young people's acceptance of the "cultural hegemony of the ethnic majority" are relevant. Thus, the authors of the book draw attention to another contradiction between the presence and growth of ethnic "intolerance" among young people and the declared goals, the objectives of state policy, as well as the norms of interaction in the multi-cultural social space. In addition, young people show intolerance to the representatives of informal subcultures. Such intolerant attitude depends on the gender of the respondents. Furthermore, the book addresses the issue of the youth's creative potential. Creative self-realization is the first practical and objective action of a young person to design and implement his image of the future. Researchers have recorded a shift in creative self-realization towards "applied" creativity as a person grows older. This change in interests occurs when "young adults start their own families and concentrate on more pragmatic areas of life, achieving comfort and aesthetic transformation of private space" (p. 77).

More to the point, the researchers focus on the attitude towards citizenship as one of the segments that forms social reality of the youth. The results here depend on the answers to the question on patriotism as a social phenomenon. A comparative analysis of data for 2005 and 2015 enhances the value of the conducted survey. The authors record a significant decrease in the share of respondents among the younger generation of Russians, who think that "being ready to defend their homeland means being a patriot" (from 48.9% in 2005 to 33.2% in 2015). According to the researchers, the decrease is caused by the fact that the issue of military service has become less significant than a decade ago. We can note that a possible factor why being ready to protect the homeland has become less significant among young people is probably a decrease in terrorist acts within the country compared to the beginning of the 2000s, as well as military stability in the regions of the North Caucasus.

The authors of the study observe a significant increase in the number of respondents who are ready to go abroad forever, compared to 2005 (from 13.7% to 22.1%). At the same time, there is a decrease in the number of those who would like to go abroad for some time (from 59.6% to 45.1%). Thus, we can talk about the changes in the underlying causes of being ready to migrate among the younger generation of Russians.

The data on the image of Russia in the perception of the population are of great interest as well. Relying on the material presented in one of the chapters, we can make a number of conclusions. Firstly, people under 30 have an inclination to see Russia as "a great power that other countries respect and fear", however, for people from 31 to 40 years old, the image of "not such a strong country, but with a high standard of living" is more relevant. Secondly, contrary to media perception on the opposition between Russia and the West, majority of the younger generation

agree that “Russia is an integral part of Western civilization”. At the same time, it is even more significant that there are people who support the Western way for Russia (42.8% of the population).

For a modern person the image of the future is inseparable from professional self-realization. That is why the authors of the book consider some characteristics of young people’s individual attitude to work. The authors correlate the ideal place of work to the age group of respondents. It is noted that the younger the respondents are, the more categorical are their work requirements. However, when people get older they experience a shift towards stability, lack of pressure from the management, and availability of prospects. Analyzing the vision of modern youth on work and career, the researchers make some valuable conclusions.

The final chapter of the collective monograph comprises a comparative analysis of assessments of the image of the future among various generations of the Tyumen region residents. The practical and theoretical value of such a comparison is beyond doubt. In this regard, a comparative survey of assessing the prospects for Russian society is of great relevance. The youngest group of respondents (15-17 years old) alarm the authors by their radical opinions about the future of Russian society. More than half of these respondents (57.1%) are sure that there will be a decrease in the family value and an increase in the generation gap.

In conclusion, the researchers point out that, despite noticeable negative socio-economic trends in Russia, modern youth are much more satisfied with life in the Russian Federation than their predecessors. Thus, there are positive prerequisites to strengthen the social identity of modern youth, as well as their effective social, professional and economic integration into a city, region, and country dimensions.

The authors make a conclusion that the variability of the image of the future among young people at the present time can serve as the only basis for social action. One can agree that in an unstable transitive society one is to have different images or scenarios for the development of the future, and not be limited to any of them. The modern rapidly developing and globalizing world, with a high rate of change, does not provide an opportunity to plan either a professional career or even a private life once and for all. In this regard, the concept of “the image of the future” is significant for new generations in choosing their life strategy. This concept enables young people to make a generalized and strategic choice of a life path, contains the possibility of its variation without damaging basic values and achieving success on the path of self-realization.

Thus, the collective monograph *The Image of the Future Inherent in the New Generation of Russians* is undoubtedly relevant for everyone professionally interested in social policy, youth policy, and regional development. The book provides an expertise on the correlation between the empirical data analysis and theoretical interpretation of the results with reference to the concepts and ideas of many prominent scientists. This approach will be of great interest for the academic community, professional sociologists, teachers, graduate students, and students of social sciences and humanities.

REVIEW

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The University of Tyumen hosted the International Scientific and Practical Conference “Education, youth, and competitiveness”

Conference Organizing Committee

The international scientific and practical conference *Education, Youth, and Competitiveness* (Tyumen, September 21-22, 2018) marks the 80th anniversary of Gennady Filippovich Kutsev, a member of the Russian Academy of Education, Ph.D., the founder of Tyumen sociological school that provides research widely known not only at the regional level, but also at the national as well as international levels.

The conference tackled the major challenges that Russian society, educational system, and scientific community face nowadays. The conference participants shared experiences and generalized the results of the sociological research on educational system, its development prospects, the impact on socio-economic and socio-cultural trends in the development of society, on the formation of youth competitiveness.

The conference theme aroused considerable interest within the scientific and expert community, media, and government officials. The participants contributed 94 lectures and 110 reports. Among the conference participants there was a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, two academicians of the Russian Academy of Education, one corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Education, 35 doctors of science, and 57 candidates of science. The conference participants came from 16 regions of the Russian Federation, as well as Poland, the USA, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Germany, and Macedonia.

A.A. Likhanov (an Academician of the Russian Academy of Education, a public figure, and a famous Russian writer) devoted his report to current aspects of modern morality and fates of childhood. Zh.T. Toshchenko (a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Philosophy, Professor, Scientific Director of the Sociology Department of Russian State University for the Humanities, and Principal Researcher at the Institute of Sociology of the FNISTS RAS) made a plenary session report that outlined the key problems of Russian higher education.

N.D. Podufalov (a member of the Russian Academy of Education, Doctor of Physics and Mathematics, a member of the Bureau of the Department of Vocational Education of the Russian Academy of Sciences) contributed a report entitled “On the Forecast and Key Problems of Educational Development”. G.F. Shafranov-Kutsev (a member of the Russian Academy of Education) and G.Z. Yefimova (Associate Professor) dwelled on the issue of shaping the competitiveness of young people within the modern system of vocational education.

B. Slyusage (President of the Polish Economic Association in Zielona Góra, Deputy President of the Polish Economic Association, a member of the Scientific Council for the Polish Economic Association, Professor at The University of Zielona Góra) outlined the significance of the economic literacy contest in the process of developing the competitiveness in young people. G.Ye. Zborovsky (Doctor of Philosophy, Professor of the Yeltsin Ural Federal University, Honored Scientist of the Russian Federation) considered the development of universities in the cities of provincial Russia. B.A. Binkin (an economic observer of Boston Almanac Lebed (the USA)) focused on the interaction of education systems and cross-country competition in the formation of a new multi-polar world.

V.D. Chukhlomin (Candidate of Economic Sciences, Professor of the Department of Marketing and International Business, Empire State College (State University of New York, the USA) reported on the management of individual skills and competencies as a way to achieve competitiveness for young people in modern labor markets.

Panel sessions reports and presentations of the conference participants make five large thematic blocks: Competition in the socio-economic development of Russian society; Educational space in the context of globalization: development problems and trends; Youth and education in the modern world; Social and professional competitiveness of youth; Higher education as an upward mobility opportunity for young people with disabilities.

The conference participants drew attention to some acute problems in the development of continuous professional education environment and labor behavior of young people:

1. Social integration of younger generation into cultural, moral, legal, and political traditions by means of exteriorizing dominant social norms in the process of education and upbringing ensures civic awareness and professional and social status of new generations. That means that education serves as a main factor that stabilizes the social structure.
2. Social and professional stratification of younger generation occurs as a result of educational and economic selection. Thus, it is essential to examine these mechanisms as a way to ensure social justice and equal opportunities in achieving life goals and personal fulfillment of new generations.
3. Young people's civic, professional, labor, and family identity determines the gradual replacement of the older generation following the principles of historical continuity and preserving national identity.
4. Being job- and career-oriented as well as having efficient team working skills and competitiveness become priority trends in general and vocational education in modern Russia.
5. The unresolved and socially acute problems of labor motivation and job guarantees for graduates of professional educational institutions exacerbate competition in the labor market. In this situation, the issues of high-quality education and adequate educational technologies appear among most significant tasks.

6. The lack of special conditions and inclusive culture in higher educational institutions is a barrier for training students with disabilities and a factor of decreasing competitiveness.
7. Moreover, the intergenerational distance of values and lifestyles still exists. Thus, research in social practices of young people's participation in the development of regions is really on-going.
8. A cross-country research acknowledges similarities in youth labor problems.

The conference showed the need to update the educational system in Russian, study its current state, trends and development problems against the background of global trends and the impact of education quality on the competitiveness of young people in the domestic and international labor markets.

The conference participants agree that education determines the scale of economic growth and shapes the quality of the country's human capital. This context prioritizes entrepreneurial abilities of young people, which are essential for the renewal of society, social institutions, and the business environment; intellectual capital and the ability to generate and master innovations; personalized learning and consideration of special educational needs due to the widespread use of digital technologies and modern information resources.

It is paramount, that the education sphere shapes the key factors to achieve social justice and to ensure equal starting conditions so that young people could implement life strategies, compete in the labor market, and achieve success in life.

Studying the prospects for Russian education system, the conference participants expressed concern about the sharp decline in the volume and presence of sociology in the curricula for training students in all areas and formulated some recommendations:

- to focus on overcoming academic failure in general and vocational education, cultivating a practical approach to knowledge, supporting and developing talents, primarily in the areas of creating and using technology, social activity and entrepreneurship; to consider the possibility of improving financial, legal, and digital literacy assessment criteria for graduates;
- to improve the system of higher and secondary vocational education in Russia, so that it could contribute to the country's economic growth; to take more measures to overcome the formal nature of education and to increase education significance in the innovative development of regions and industries; to enhance students' learning activity, the quality of teaching, the level of professional training of graduates, and their relevance in the real sector of economy and other activities.

The conference participants adopted a resolution with important practical recommendations for leaders and organizers of Russian higher education system, as well as for Russian sociological community.