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AN IMAGE OF THE INDUSTRIAL URAL IN RUSSIAN ART IN THE XVIII–XIX CENTURY

Antropov D.N.

The analysis of Russian artworks depicting the industrial Ural is presented in the article. Today Russia suffers deindustrialization that spread all over Europe. Deindustrialization is especially hard for countries with Soviet past, which was concentrated on labor and industry. Study of the history of purely industrial regions of Russia helps to find ways of overcoming a trauma of industrial space conversion. It is also essential for contemporary art practitioners creating projects on basis of former and actual industrial spaces to know the history of art representation of the industrial objects.

Results. It is shown the genesis and transformation of the industrial Ural's image during the XVIII–XIX century. Political importance of the Ural began to grow at the same time with the growth of local industry in the early XVIII century. However, only at the end of the XIX century the Ural acquired a complete image in exhibitions of Denisov-Ural'skiy. The image of the industrial Ural undergone particular changes between the XVIII and XIX century.

Keywords: *image of industrial Ural, landscape, genre painting.*

ОБРАЗ ПРОМЫШЛЕННОГО УРАЛА В РУССКОМ ИЗОБРАЗИТЕЛЬНОМ ИСКУССТВЕ XVIII–XIX ВЕКОВ

Антропов Д. Н.

В статье приведен анализ произведений русского изобразительного искусства, где был отражен образ промышленного Урала. Современная Россия переживает процесс деиндустриализации, повсеместно распространенной в Европе. Для стран с советским прошлым, сконцентрированных на концепции труда и индустрии, деиндустриализация протекает наиболее болезненно. Изучение истории исключительно промышленных регионов должно помочь в поиске путей преодоления травмы, переживаемой при конверсии промышленных пространств. Практики современного искусства, создающие проекты на база бывших или действующих промышленных пространств, также должны представлять себе историю репрезентации промышленности в искусстве.

Результатами нашего исследования выступают описание формирования и трансформирования образа промышленного Урала в искусстве XVIII–XIX веков. Политическое влияние региона Урала усиливалось одновременно с ростом местной промышленности, начиная с XVIII века. Однако окончательное формирование образа региона произошло лишь в конце XIX – начале XX века на выставках Денисова-Уральского. В течение двух веков образ промышленного Урала переживал определенные изменения, освещенные в статье.

Ключевые слова: *образ промышленного Урала, пейзаж, жанровая живопись.*

Understanding of conceptions of particular territory is very important for national self-identification especially speaking of non-European regions. M. Bassin wrote, “The identity assigned to these geographical externalities corresponded to the ideological categories of their progenitors, in other

words, the constellation of beliefs and fears, predilections, prejudices, and needs of European society itself. Once created, these images entered this constellation and assumed their own special function within it as a discrete category” [4, p. 764]. The Ural region is among territories that played a large role in Russian history. In addition, it plays a role of border between Europe and Asia that makes important understanding of its symbolism. Moreover, the Ural is one of the main industrial regions of Russia with long history, and it is important to study how it has formed its identity. Answering that questions would help us better understand contemporary state of our post-soviet postindustrial society.

Purpose

Is to describe the image of the industrial Ural analyzing vast number of pictures and drawings of the Ural’s industry.

Materials and methods of research

Human geography has a term “mythscape” which we can adopt to researches in the field of a local art history. A mythscape is “the discursive realm, constituted by and through temporal and spatial dimensions, in which the myths of the nation are forged, transmitted, reconstructed and negotiated constantly” [5, p. 63]. Russian geographer D. N. Zamyatin uses term “geographical image” that means the system of interconnected, interacting signs, symbols, archetypes and stereotypes that describes some territory [21, p. 29].

P. S. Pavlovskiy has formulated the core myth of the Ural in his expression “mining civilization” [6]. It means that industry always was an integral part of the Ural’s image. This local myth had different representation depending on particular period in history of art. The image of the industrial Ural has formed gradually and now it continues to develop according to the prevailing tendencies of art, society and economy.

The research required a scrutiny of archival materials, manuscripts and artworks of XVIII–XIX centuries from major state capital and local museums.

Research results and their interpretation

Russian government began dynamic industrial development in the Urals in the XVIII century. First examples of artistic expressions of the industrial Ural's image appeared simultaneously. Series of illustrations of G.-W. de Hennin's manuscript "Opisaniye sibirskikh zavodov" (A Description of Siberian Plants) [12] is the first work of art dedicated to the industry in the Urals and undoubtedly one of the earliest examples of art representation of Russian industry. You can find detailed description of the manuscript and its illustrations in one of our previous articles [2]. De Hennin's manuscript was a typical scientific treatise of the XVIII century and its author tried to embrace as many themes as he can. Manuscript's frontispiece conveys practically every aspect of a whole series of illustrations. Divided into 9 parts it shows Russian coat of arms, being held by two figures of workers, local flora and fauna, factory buildings, industrial products and even a figure of merchant's protector Mercury. According to such wide range of themes, manuscript's illustrations are distinguished by their simplicity. On the other hand, they are reliable source of the study the image of early local industry.

Unfortunately, de Hennin has not published his manuscript, but I. W. Schlatter included some of manuscript's illustrations into "Obstoyatel'noye nastavlenie rudnomu delu" (Detailed Manual of Mining) [17] and "Obstoyatel'noye opisaniye rudnago plavil'nogo dela" (Detailed Description of Mining and Melting) [18]. Plate no. 18 in the first volume of "Obstoyatel'noye nastavleniye rudnomu delu" is a clear copy of picture called "New invention" from de Hennin's manuscript. In addition, plate no. 6 is a copy of blast furnace from the same manuscript. Illustrations from Schlatter's books has been made in sketchier and more constricted manner according to the time of their creation in the second half of the XVIII century.

There are many drawings of factory-cities created in the XVIII century. R.M. Lotareva wrote a research called "Goroda-zavody Rossii: XVIII–pervaya polovina XIX veka" (Factory-cities of Russia: XVIII–early XIX)

[14] where she characterizes such drawings. They resemble illustrations of de Hennin's manuscript relating to the tradition of cartography meaning lack of landscape visual qualities such as realism and depth of space.

“Sobraniye rossiyskikh i sibirskikh gorodov” (An Album of Russian and Siberian Cities) [20] is an album of engravings made by Engraving Chamber of Saint-Petersburg Academy of Sciences of Russia. City views from this album became the next step toward real landscape art. Album consists of 34 views of cities of eastern and western parts of Russia. M. A. Alekseeva attributed engravings of the album in 1964 [1], but inaccuracies still occur. Series of engravings had been finished by the 1771. In 1780, the album has been put up for sale, but the first drawings for the album was made in the 1730-s. Artists I.C. Berkhan, J.W. Lursenius and J.C. Decker took part in expedition to the Urals and Siberia lead by G.F. Müller and J.G. Gmelin. Artists made 27 prospects of cities during the expedition, 23 of them were engraved afterwards. Academy of Sciences charged J.-E. Grimmel, who was a member of Engraving Chamber, with improving the drawings. In 1769–1771, these 23 drawings has been engraved together with the drawings made by A. I. Svechnin and later improved by M. I. Makhayev.

Despite the essential alterations, “An Album of Russian and Siberian Cities” has some traits of the early XVIII century. There is a prevalence of horizontality in composition, vertical elements such as bell towers and high administrative buildings enliven the scenery. The new feature is a tendency of representing the unique silhouette of every town. For example, Ekaterinburg city and Nevyansk Factory city are depicted in actual environment. Ekaterinburg's regular plan is accented by the row of the houses of the same type on a foreground.

“An Album of the Russian and Siberian Cities” was famous abroad. L. N. de Lespinasse copied some of the album's pictures for the atlas [10] complemented «Histoire Physique, Morale, Civile Et Politique De La Russie Ancienne» (Physical, Moral, Civil, and Political History of Ancient Russia) [8] and «Histoire, Morale, Civile Et Politique De La Russie Moderne» (Phys-

ical, Moral, Civil, and Political History of Modern Russia) [9] written by N.-G. Le Clerc. Lespinasse changed a format of the drawings, lowered a perspective line and as a result made the images more natural.

For a long time artists portrayed industrial cities as if they were on a long distance. Though we know examples of much more lifelike and artistic pictures, we find examples of aloof depicting of industrial cities during XVIII and XIX centuries. For example, P. P. Svinyin made several drawings of industrial cities of the Urals for his journal "Otechestvenniye zapiski". His drawings of "Zolotopromival'nya na Pervo-Pavlovskom priiske" (Gold-washing workshop at a Pervo-Pavlovsk Mine), "Zlatoustovskiy oruzheyniy zavod" (Armory of Zlatoust City), "Razrabotka kamennoy soli v Iletskoy Zashchite" (Salt Mine in Iletskaya Zashchita) had been engraved by S. F. Galaktionov, but they attracted less attention than pictures described therein under.

In the beginning of the XIX century, several academic artists worked in the Urals. V. P. Petrov, A. E. Martynov, Y. M. Korneyev, M. I. Myagkov, F. F. Chernyavskiy were among them. Their works show new attitude towards industrial theme and carefully display ordinary people's lives. We can draw a parallel between such pictures and autobiographical literature of that period, where personal feelings began to play a main role [16].

V. P. Petrov's "Vid Ekaterinburga" (View of the Ekaterinburg) is the first work in Russian art that shows industrial city from a new point of view. This is an intimate sketch of everyday life filled with all kinds of genre scenes. We see on the picture that somebody has broken a carriage's wheel and tries to fix it, several boats are on a pond, people are in a rush. However, the factory is the main core of composition. Unfortunately, Petrov's drawings remained unknown during a long period.

Public at large saw the cities of the Urals thanks to the works of A. Y. Martynov. An album of his lithographs called "Zhivopisnoye puteshestviye ot Moskvyy do Kitayskoy granitsy" [15] (A Picturesque Journey from Moscow to the Chinese Border) has been published in 1819. Views of Perm and Ekaterinburg were among the lithographs. As opposed to Petrov, Martynov cre-

ated broad panoramic city views. He used soft colors and winding lines to create lyric pictures of nature. Artist did not plunge into everyday life, but also he did not abstract from an object of representation like a scientist.

Y. M. Korneyev was another drawer who found his inspiration in the industry of the Urals [11]. During his journeys thorough Russia he created “Solevarni v Solikamske” (Saltworks in Solikamsk), “Vid solyanykh kopey v Iletskoy Zashchite so storony Orenburga” (A View of Salt Mines in Iletskaya Zashita), “Vid kuznitsy na doroge iz Irkutska v Tobol’sk” (A View of a Forge on the Road from Irkutsk to Tobol’sk), “Interyer sibirskoy kuznitsy” (An Interior of a Siberian Forge). Korneyev chose industrial theme to paint complicated light effects. In his “Interyer sibirskoy kuznitsy” daylight in arch entrance contrasts with gleams of furnace fire on a clothes of workers.

Artworks of the 1830-s played the main role in creation of the image of the industrial Urals. P. P. Vedenetskiy and V. E. Rayev made great contribution to that theme. Vedenetskiy visited the Urals in 1835 and has left a series of five cityscapes. State Historical Museum of Russia keeps views of Chernostochinskiy and Nizhnetagil’skiy factories. Nizhnetagil’skiy Museum and Reserve has views of Nizhnesaldinskiy factory, Nizhniy Tagil at winter, and Utkinskaya pier. Factory settlements has distinct appearance. Again, factory is a heart of provincial life; horizontality is a very important part of composition. Author involves spectator into the space of a picture. On a view of Nizhnetagil’skiy factory, he places some buildings just beside the lower border of a picture that makes it more realistic.

V. Y. Rayev worked in the Urals from 1836 to 1838 visiting local factories. He painted landscapes in summer and interiors of workshops in winter. N. N. Skornyakova claims that Rayev brought 12 pieces from the Urals to Sankt-Peterburg [19]. Rayev became the first Russian painter who used oil on canvas depicting interiors of workshops. Light effects of night work let Rayev to introduce romantic notes into his paintings.

There were artists who brought their own life experience into painting. We mean serf artists who were familiar to factory living. Khudoyarov

dynasty created the most outstanding works on local industrial theme. V. A. Kamenskiy called the works of Khudoyarov dynasty the highest point in the history of painting of the Urals [13]. P. F. Khudoyarov's "Listoboyntsiy tseh" (Plate Forging Workshop) and "Na starom ural'skom zavode" (At an Old Ural Factory). Khudoyarov did not get academic education so he did not understand Rayev's aspiration for creating complex light effects. His main aim was to demonstrate work process in detail. There is no romanticism in his "Listoboyntsiy tseh", and artist simply shows every operation at the workshop. Comparing to the works of Venetianov's circle members, Khudoyarov's pieces filled with energy and force instead of calm and peace. There is harmony in Khudoyarov's works, but it is a harmony of a machine.

I. F. Khudoyarov represented a holiday side of factory city living. He has made "Gulyaniye na Lisyye gore" (Celebration on the Lisyia hill). He repeated Rayev's view of Nizhnetagil'skiy factory, but changed previous scale and added some historical details.

Second half of the XIX century was the time of rapid industrial development. However, it seems that artists turned away from industrial theme and began to paint picturesque sceneries of nature. It was the trait of the times though. Industry separates man from a nature and man tries to keep outgoing connection with help of art. For example, Mining Ural Railway Partnership ask P. P. Vereshchagin to paint a series of views of the Chusovaya River, which was an old thoroughfare. Vereshchagin compares river with a railroad in two of his works: "Ural. Stantsiya Chusovaya" (The Urals. Chusovaya station) and "Arkhipovka". Confrontation of river and a railroad stands out in the work "Arkhipovka". The railroad looks like a river running between the mountains and thin Arkhipovka stream seems to be poor reflection of the fast railway.

V. G. Kazantsev worked in the Urals in 1880-s. He was an author of simply composed landscapes of the Ural nature. "Peyzazh s rekoy" (Landscape with a River), "Vid na Zlatoust" (View of Zlatoust City), "Zimneye utro na Ural'skoy zheleznoy doroge" (Ural'skaya Railroad in the Winter Morning)

brought to their author a golden medal of UOLE (Ural Society of Natural History). Kazantsev showed the Ural like a land of endless space and ungracious nature.

The image of the Ural completely formed at the end of the XIX century. The name Ural means particular territorial integrity with its own mythology and history since then. Activity of A. K. Denisov-Ural'skiy, born in a family of stonemason, became a final chord of formation of the early image of the Ural. Denisov-Ural'skiy was an author of pictures of the Ural nature, factories and nearby settlements. Most of his works are known only by the descriptions, for example, "Bogoslovskiy zavod" (Bogoslovskiy factory). L. A. Budrina describes "Kushvinskiy posyelok" (Kushvinskiy township) and "Ekaterinburg s yugo-vostochnoy storony" (Ekaterinburg from Southeast) [7]. State Literature Museum of Russia keeps "Visimo-Shaytanskiy zavod" (Visimo-Shaytanskiy Factory) made in 1903. This relatively small piece was painted in silver and grey color. Nature dominates everything made by human on this picture.

Denisov-Ural'skiy also showed industrial side of the Ural's image. Works showing mix of artistic picturesqueness and scientific precision are the most interesting. Denisov-Ural'skiy combined drafts with depicting of industrial operations and artistic elements in his "Geologicheskii razrez Nizhne-Gubakhinskikh kamennougol'nikh plastov s shakhtoy" (Geological Cut of Nizhne-Gubakhinskiye Coal Measures with a Mine), "Mestorozhdeniye topazov. Geologicheskii razrez. Mokrusha" (Topaz deposit. Geological Cut. Mokrusha), "Geologicheskii razrez. Dobicha ametistov" (Geological Cut. Amethyst Extraction), "Dobicha zolota vimorazhivaniyem" (Freezing Technology of Gold Mining). Similar approach can be found in De Hennin's treatise. Most probably this is the most effective and natural way of representing industry in art. One of our early works includes detailed research in that sphere [3].

Denisov-Ural'skiy made several exhibitions where he tried to show his view of the Ural's image. He organized a section of the World Fair called "Ural'skaya Kaliforniya" (Ural California) in 1904. In 1911, he made exhi-

bition under the name “Ural i ego bogatstva” (The Urals and its Wealth). Undoubtedly, Denisov-Ural’skiy became the first organizer of art projects where the main theme was entirely concerned the Ural. His projects showed the Ural as an integrity. Denisov-Ural’skiy created a brand of the Ural and propagated it among the audience. He has not created the whole image of the Ural, of course, just because it is impossible for one man to do that. He however accumulated everything people knew about the Ural in his projects. Grandiose exhibitions of 1904 and 1911 marked significant stage of evolution of the Ural’s image. The Ural seemed to be a contradictory place of severe and generous land, of traditional and at the same time progressive society.

Conclusion

The industrial Ural’s image originated in the beginning of the XVIII century. Scientific treatises and travel diaries of that time are the main sources of the Ural’s image. Number of artists who resort to industrial theme gradually grown during XVIII and XIX century. Firstly, the style of their drawings and paintings was dry and unemotional, later it became lively and realistic. Industry is an integral part of the image of the Ural. It has an effect on every aspect of local life in the Urals. It forms city plans, architecture, people mentality; it sets the tempo and rhythms of life. That is why artists tried to represent all that in their rare and important works.

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TV SHOW DRAMATURGY THROUGH POSTMODERN PRINCIPLES

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Changes in the media environment entail keen interest in TV dramaturgy. Traditional approaches to television as the kind of journalism, social, institutional or mass media phenomenon prevent from deeper research into the creative side of TV content. The existing domestic classifications of TV programs are generally based on their genre and thematic divisions, which does not help to disclose general laws of programmes composition and construction. However, applying postmodern key principles, such as collaging, mosaicism, fragmenting, contextuality and others, allows holistic approach to analyzing TV programmes and their perception by the audience. Postmodern categories used in creating TV programs uncover general principles, tools of audiovisual language and drama techniques in modern television.

Keywords: *television; dramaturgic principles; postmodern categories.*

О ДРАМАТУРГИИ ТЕЛЕВИЗИОННОГО ЗРЕЛИЩА В КОНТЕКСТЕ КАТЕГОРИЙ ПОСТМОДЕРНА

Кемарская И.Н.

Обострившийся интерес к драматургии экранных зрелищ, в частности, телевидения, вызван изменениями медиасреды. Традиционные подходы к изучению этого «технического искусства» как средства массовой коммуникации социального и/или институционального феномена уже не позволяют анализировать процесс

создания современного креативного телевизионного контента. Устаревший характер существующих отечественных классификаций телепроизведений, основанных на жанрово-тематических делениях, препятствует выявлению общих закономерностей построения программ. Тогда как обращение к ключевым категориям постмодерна применительно к структурным, драматургическим основам телезрелища дает возможность рассматривать экранные произведения в едином потоке, основываясь на особенностях их восприятия зрительской аудиторией. Принципы коллажности, мозаичности, фрагментарности, контекстуальности, а также иные постмодернистские категории, применимые в универсальном приложении к созданию телепрограмм, позволяют выявить целостность и общность приемов использования аудиовизуального языка современного телевидения.

Ключевые слова: *телевидение; драматургические принципы; категории постмодерна.*

Present-day television is in transition from audiovisual journalism to the form, which has not yet acquired the name, but is associated with the digital epoch of conveying the meaning, postmodern era. 'Satellite TV, video, computer, the Internet, e-mail, mobile communication, CD-ROMs are among the components of postmodernity and electronic civilization. Their range and number is constantly growing and expanding the social memory of the individual, the society and the planet.' [1, 9].

In this paper we are going to look at how postmodernity reveals itself in the dramaturgy of TV programmes. However we should bear in mind that in Russia there are several debatable approaches to the research into TV dramaturgy. Television has a short history and what was in the beginning regarded as its basis proved to be an isolated case or one of its development phases after a short period of time. Initially television was referred to 'small screen' entertainment. Half a century ago V. Sappak wrote: 'You should only know what television is. You can only see it by the number of people glued to their

home screens...' (Italics by the author – I.K.) [2, 1]. However, nowadays the screen's size and position are no longer typical characteristics of TV. The very fact of the screen's presence is now questioned after 'nonscreen' technology like augmented reality technology and digital mapping appeared. The dependence of the TV show on its technical characteristics cannot shed light on the creative side of the audiovisual product. Neither is television referred to visual arts: 'Television cannot be even regarded as image... Television is a visual space' [3, 250].

As for the dramaturgical side of TV products nowadays the researchers mention the uniformity of 'creative techniques used in the plots despite the fabula' [4, 1] as a negative trend. They view TV as a simplified version of cinematography and perceive the repeated elements in TV programmes' formats as a simplified creative process, but not as standard dramaturgical forms, which allow creating new content for every issue of the TV programme. V. Sappak, who has successfully anticipated the fundamentals of many TV programmes, stressed the informative function of TV, which 'photographed life' and denied its scripted formats: '...there is nothing worse for the television than a thoroughly rehearsed improvisation, a 'live' speech learnt by heart in advance or laborious naturalness' [5, 2]

In Russia this tendency has revealed itself in the classification of TV content into *fiction* content (script based) and *non-fiction* content (documentary, which involves improvisation, has to be truthful and record things going on in front of the camera). Such classification places non-fiction programmes beyond the framework of dramaturgy and hampers the development of their creative aspect. However unlike theorists TV professionals have always benefitted from using emotional elements of the composition, techniques to create suspense and other dramaturgic techniques in TV shows: 'Classifications made by TV companies have always varied. They were good for production purposes, but useless for comparative analysis... At present to classify TV programmes we need to take into account the topics, the viewing public, the form, the functions' [5, 144–147]. According to the Russian art critic N.M. Zorkaya, 'despite the improvisation, unpredictability and the imprompt-

tu any artistic piece or creative work as an integral unit has a solid structure and system'. [6, 7].

Rapid substantial changes in the modern media (including new types of shows – reality shows, sitcoms, multimedia projects, crowdsourcing, etc.) have destroyed the existing classifications of TV content and have as a result created new and more complex classifications of the growing number of TV programmes. Both Russian and foreign researchers note how complex the task of elaborating the uniform system of evaluation criteria for TV products is. 'Because it is common, television is also dismissed as insignificant, unworthy of respect or care. Because it is pervasive it is voracious – television needs material, and it reproduces like an amoeba, constantly dividing and replicating itself to fill the continuing void.' [7, 13]. Attempts to introduce subsystems make classifications too branched, so they lose system and structure. 'Every next attempt of classification created unadopted areas, every categorization multiplied ambiguity and every road sign revealed new perspectives of impassibility' [8].

However, the problem can be partially eliminated if we look at the television as 'a show organized according to the laws of screen dramaturgy' [9] or apply the terms 'show' and 'screen show'. These definitions may include TV programmes, their separate episodes, and partially level the differences in genres and broadcasting platforms. A TV show is 'a simulation of human life right before our eyes' [10, 19]. A simulation presupposes creating certain cliches, according to which the simulated screen reality is organized.

It is important that screenplay templates of TV programmes are different from those used in cinematography, at the theatre or circus.

Audiovisual aspect, the moving images are typical for both TV and cinema. However their perception is different. A film viewer is continuously looking at the screen during the whole film (with very few exceptions). This continuity is taken into account when the film script is created to hold the viewer's attention. The logic of the plot, dramatic turns and uniformity in the film's style grasp the viewer's attention from the very beginning and hold it till the end. TV viewer's manner of watching is intermittent with frequent

switching ('channel surfing') and digressions. Therefore the composition of a TV show takes into account this 'start and stop' character of viewing: 'Nowadays a cinema performance may still involve a deeper penetration into the material, while TV allows moving tangentially to the information and the show turns into an everyday background' [11, 67]. Improvisational and instantaneous character of a TV show requires a different logic enforced on the screen action as compared to cinematography.

The compositional structure makes TV similar to the theatre. Theatre performances are based on plays. The basis of a TV programme is a repeated format. At the theatre the spectator can watch various productions of the same play while TV viewers can watch their favourite TV shows over and over again. However a theatre performance based on a familiar play is unique due to a different production and acting, while every new episode in a TV show is made unique through introducing new content within the same format.

A circus performance is similar to a TV show due to improvisation and 'open' active performance. Amusement shows with an unpredictable result are the most popular with both circus spectators and TV viewers. However while at the circus the dramatic performance is taking place *in situ* (like in a sports game), on TV the time during the show may be compressed, stretched or fragmented while the viewers are waiting for the outcome.

The key similarities and differences suggest the following characteristics of the TV:

- a) unlike a plot-based film a TV show is fragmented into segments, which are to attract the viewer's attention while they are watching the show as a background;
- b) every TV programme is based on a repeated format, which in different from other programmes and is filled with new content every time;
- c) the 'open-end' action is varied and makes the viewers wait for the outcome.

Let us summarize the abovementioned conclusions in more generalized categories and characteristics of a TV show: fractionality, fragmentarity,

ambiguity, improvisation, playing with the spectator. This sequence may be continued, but even this way it fits into the characteristic features of postmodernity, ‘a special state of mind and world perception, which found its reflection in various philosophical, sociological, literary and culturological theories, known under the general term of ‘postmodernism’ [12, 3]. The main characteristic features of postmodernity epoch pervade the very texture of TV content, leveling genre and type differences between audiovisual pieces. Formulated in the latter half of the 20th century by the researchers, who were at the same time TV viewers and critics, these characteristics could act as instruments of philosophy or art criticism, however in respect of TV they had an obvious negative pathos. ‘The phenomenon of television is a vivid example of postmodernist aesthetics, which arouse as the result of exaggerated idea of equality and the ideas of Western leveling consumer society’ [13, 251].

Pluralism, mosaic character, patchiness, ambiguity, fragmentarity, fluidity, game and irony are the characteristic features of postmodernity. If we apply these to TV shows it will help to unravel certain consistent patterns, which can explain the nature of TV dramaturgy. An outstanding researcher of TV shows A.V. Prokhorov suggested a vivid metaphor by saying that any profession could be compared with a condenser, whose lower plate is made up of numerous techniques used in the professional field and upper plate – its fundamental principles, with the professional activity taking place in between the two’. [14, 108]. If we look at postmodernity principles as the ‘upper plate’ of a TV show, we can see how they affect dramaturgical techniques and tactics at the ‘lower plate’.

Pluralism or variety as a theme line of postindustrial society. In a TV show pluralism is one the main quality criteria. The script and composition of a TV programme and the whole contemporary media context are to present the variety of viewpoints and their consensus. Moreover, the more unipolarity and propaganda a certain media product (a news item, a programme, a sitcom episode) contains, the more angles are offered by the accompanying media context. The viewer develops a pluralistic per-

ception of a TV show and certain skills, which may involve searching for more information in the Internet, channel surfing or avoiding one-sided programmes. Pluralism has substantially interfered with the mechanisms of using television as a propagandist tool as it provokes the viewer's deeper research.

Contextuality – presented information is put within a context, which helps revealing additional meanings. The context depends on the target audience. 'It is important to remember that the meanings of television images and sounds are not naturally attached to signs. The pleasure and understanding which viewers gain from television often depend on the significance of how signs relate to each other in a particular context, and it is often misleading to carry over the connotations of a sign in one context into another' [15, 89] The author's experience as an artistic administrator of entertaining science programme 'Galileo' in 2007–2011 (STS channel) can best illustrate the phenomenon. There was an episode about fermented dairy products, which was shot during the conflict between Georgia and Russia. The episode showed modern techniques of kefir manufacture and traditional ways of preparing kefir in leather bottles used in the Caucasus. A poster, which featured an elderly woman from the Caucasus, cooking matzoon, was to illustrate the story. However, the political context immediately added emotional ethnic subtext to the story, which was not initially implied. To eliminate this effect the original poster was replaced with a re-enactment made by professional actors.

Age category is another crucial factor, which has to be considered in youth programmes to avoid the so-called generation gaps, when the information obvious for one age group acquires a different meaning or loses it when viewed by a different age group.

As a rule the meanings implied in the shows are not multidimensional and are meant for immediate perception, the viewer has no chance to thoroughly review the information. Therefore, depending on the context's complexity some viewers can find the meanings too complex or misinterpret them while others may find them simplified or banal and therefore boring. The drama-

turgy of a TV programme has to balance around this paradox, as TV still remains a *mass* media.

Mosaic structure, decentration is among a TV programme's immanent characteristics. Unlike the cinema a TV show does not need continuity or uninterrupted plot. This principle, which TV theorists did not at first notice, revealed itself in the commercial television era when remote controls appeared and TV viewers were faced with commercials, which interrupted the programme, so they had to switch and then return back. The mosaic structure reveals 'start-and-stop' character of TV viewing (even in case of continuous broadcast). Fractionality and rubrication of narration has been TV's characteristic features since its beginnings. TV dramaturgy presupposes grasping the viewers' attention at any moment during the programme and their further involvement regardless of prior action.

Mosaic principle can be seen in TV series. Unlike films with a continuing storyline TV series combine several story arcs, so that the story unfolds over many relatively disconnected episodes (scenes). The increasing number of main characters, polyphony of stories, decentralized and incomplete main plot of daytime TV series, for example – are how the postmodern principle of fractionality manifests itself. Consequently, this leads to shorter shots, developing 'fast viewing' skills and the ability to grasp the big picture by its mosaic fragments, which have a cumulative effect so that even in case some fragments are missing, the viewer can reconstruct the full story.

Patchiness contributes to the mosaic structure and helps to combine various stylistic elements in one structure. Stylistic differences do not matter as it is still possible to combine seemingly incompatible things in one programme or the channel's schedule (news items can follow entertaining programmes, series, documentaries, etc.) Patchiness can involve a combination of various genres and obvious abrupt 'joints' between topics within a programme and between programmes. The viewer is used to such sudden shifts in audiovisual information. The idea of a 'seamless' schedule and smooth transition between the programmes within one channel seems to contradict the patchiness, how-

ever the two can be easily combined if the diversity of forms is veiled by smooth transitions, which are viewer friendlier.

Digital TV dramaturgy assumes that the viewer creates their own combination of TV shows. When watching several programmes simultaneously, they can remember key turns of the plot, main characters and their basic features without undertones. The authors of the show try to grasp and hold the viewers' attention and the viewers – to predict the development of the plot. The viewer 'is unable to perceive any continuum as an integral unit, but grasps fragments and impressions, which form a collage of post-Soviet cultural experience' [16, 252].

Ambiguity is the absence of a rigid plot with the only possible ending. A key dramaturgical principle of TV shows is their open end (scenes, episodes, etc.) TV shows have involved improvisation since the beginnings. The action on a TV screen is hardly predictable, may involve risks of losing or winning, its artificial reality is a simulation of real life ambiguity. 'What? Where? When?' quiz show (the 1st Channel)¹ with its famous 'a minute to find the answer' exemplifies the ambiguity principle. There was time, when the authors of the show thought this element unnecessary and eliminated it to save time, but as the result viewers immediately lost interest to the show. The authors recall: 'We realized that firstly, eliminating this one-minute interval destroys the game, secondly, it became obvious that the choice of questions is another important thing. The most interesting ones are those, which make everyone search for the answer and suggest their versions...' [17].

Fractionality in TV dramaturgy is closely connected with its mosaic character and patchiness. It is another manifestation of 'clip consciousness' and clip image perception. Perception of audio-visual information gathered pace in mid 90s when TV commercials appeared, which taught viewers to grasp the whole by its separate parts and second-guess the plot development. Small shots typical of video clips and short soundbites (no long explanations on

¹ What? Where? When? is an intellectual quiz show, which has been on Russian TV since 1975. The key element of the quiz is a one-minute brainstorm, during which the players are to find the answer to a difficult question.

camera), several independent plots interweaved in long TV series – these characteristics reveal the fractionality principle. The hallmark of contemporary TV dramaturgy is the transition from sequential narration to fragmented dramaturgy (bright teasers, announcements during the programme, etc.) and open storyline. As American TV script writers say, ‘a TV script always has an open end «...the script is not “complete”. It’s a series of visual impressions giving the illusion of completeness» [18, c. 11].

Some researchers do not find any cause-effect relations in TV shows at all and stress the momentary character of information perception, through feelings instead of logic: ‘A TV viewer is forced to accept and digest TV images as a mosaic reality otherwise they will simply not see it at all. There is no need in trying to connect what is happening in the screen into one organized logical whole (where the reason goes first and the consequence is what happens in the end). The viewer’s consciousness should connect all the elements of a TV mosaic through their relations and create a microcosm of emerging interrelations (this work also involves the viewer’s personal experience, memory and other psychic components)’ [19, 248].

Fluidity as applied to TV is a continuous movement of dynamic shots, audiovisual current and a variety of intermediary variants. At the same time many researchers stress the subconscious rejection of fluidity by TV professionals: «Once a TV show finds itself, gets its formula together with getting rating, networks and exec producers are loathe to change it» [20, p. 199]. So, the show is repeated over and over again in the same format, however with similar, but *not* the same content every time, which is a compromise between the viewers’ wish to experience the same emotions and perceiving varied content.

Show producers often have ‘a vague idea of the viewers’ preferences because they lack knowledge of the people’s needs. Here the author of the virtual screen reality can only rely upon their intuition and self-control when introducing the elements of their world vision.’ [21, 182].

Fluidity results in the *elimination of borders* attempting to hold the viewer’s attention through avoiding predetermined and predictable outcomes. A

characteristic feature of TV dramaturgy is investing positive characters with negative traits and negative characters with at least a few positive ones. The viewers can feel that one-dimensional characters are false and it contradicts the principles of TV reality. The programme 'Geniuses and Villians of the Departing Epoch' (the 1st Channel, Russia-K (Culture Channel of Russian TV) exemplifies the fluidity principle in the way the main characters are presented. Viewers perceive too evident positive characteristics as a dramaturgical 'trap', which only helps to shift the estimate to the opposite viewpoint. There is no search for ultimate truth, the stories are always open-end and the viewer is involved into co-creation of the cutoff action. That is how fluidity principle is applied.

Playing a game with the viewer – this is an interactive feature, which helps to involve the audience into the action. The dramaturgy includes detective elements, a quest, an investigation, 'red herring'. The action may be intentionally slowed down so as to give the viewer an opportunity to check their own solution, the viewer can be shown the participants' reactions, which provokes empathy.

Irony is typical for TV discourse as an entertaining element. By applying the term *irony* to postmodern television dramaturgy we imply the tendency to use paradox, grotesque and unexpected turns in handling the topics so that the meanings and estimates are polarized. Parody, allusions, direct and indirect citations and reference to other pieces, where the initial meaning is put into a different audio visual context make a TV programme multi-dimensional and involve some viewers into the game while others may perceive the action in its direct, not figurative meaning. The extent to which irony is used depends on the target audience and corresponds to its education.

In this article we are not going to study all the postmodern characteristics of TV dramaturgy. However, looking at the screen reality through this paradigm can help to reveal the mechanisms of grasping and holding TV viewers' attention. At the moment the theory of TV dramaturgy is being actively researched mostly in connection with scripts for fiction TV series. The techniques to control viewers' attention at various stages of the programme

proved to be efficient. Fractionality, patchiness, and mosaic principles can also be used for managing the viewer's perception of the programme in any topic. The key point is that a TV programme is a system of relatively independent fragments, which are perceived by the viewer as complete and at the same time as part of a larger whole (the programme or general media context). That is why it is possible to watch most TV-programmes from any point.

Postmodern approach to TV dramaturgy can eliminate the border between fiction and non-fiction programmes as it naturally embraces them all. In terms of this approach the viewer is not much concerned with whether they are watching a fiction TV-series, which is a screen version of a made-up story or a reality show where real people are acting in front of the camera. Applying postmodern categories in TV dramaturgy allows studying the mechanism of influencing the audience as an integral unit without differentiating between genre and thematic clusters of TV programmes. The main principles and techniques of creating TV programmes are derived from the postmodern nature of television and are universal for any TV show.

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ИСТОРИЧЕСКИЕ НАУКИ

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ACTIVATION OF INTEGRATION PROCESSES AT HIGHER SCHOOL OF UKRAINE

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The matter of research in this article are ways of activation of integration processes at higher school of Ukraine. In modern terms the successful vital functions of higher school are possible only on condition of openness and active cooperation in universal educational space. International cooperation is understood as strategic direction of development of the higher educational establishments (further – HEEs). International connections in the field of higher education effectively influence on scientific and educational work of students and teachers, autonomy of HEEs, formation of civil society. Each modern university aims to be competitive at the educational market, and thus creates conditions for an active cooperation with foreign universities that is an important factor of innovative development. The analysis of integration processes ways activation of Ukraine higher education system will assist their use by higher educational establishments for presence strengthening at the world market of educational services.

The aim of the article is revelation of integration processes ways activation in the field of national higher education and examples of their use by Ukraine universities.

At preparation of the article we followed the scientific methods of cognition, and also historical methods. Analysing of integration processes ways

activation in the higher education system was succeeded due to an aggregative method that allowed to collect separate facts from different sources: magazines, published literature, official universities web-sites and concluded in relation to activation of international component of universities vital functions.

Keywords: *academic mobility; higher education; integration; international educational space; international cooperation; students; international connections.*

АКТИВИЗАЦИЯ ИНТЕГРАЦИОННЫХ ПРОЦЕССОВ В ВЫСШЕЙ ШКОЛЕ УКРАИНЫ

Антонюк Т.Д.

Предметом исследования в данной статье являются пути активизации интеграционных процессов в высшей школе Украины. В современных условиях успешная жизнедеятельность высшей школы возможна лишь при условии открытости и активного взаимодействия в мировом образовательном пространстве. Международное сотрудничество понимается как стратегическое направление развития высших учебных заведений. Международные связи в сфере высшего образования плодотворно влияют на научную и учебную работу студентов и преподавателей, автономизацию вузов, формирование гражданского общества. Каждый современный вуз стремится быть конкурентоспособным на рынке образовательных услуг, а потому создает условия для активного сотрудничества с зарубежными университетами, является важным фактором инновационного развития. Анализ путей активизации интеграционных процессов системы высшего образования Украины будет способствовать их использованию высшими учебными заведениями для усиления присутствия на мировом рынке образовательных услуг.

Целью статьи является выявление путей активизации интеграционных процессов в сфере национального высшего образования и примеров их использования вузами Украины.

При подготовке статьи мы руководствовались общенаучными методами познания, а также историческими методами. Проанализировать пути активизации интеграционных процессов в системе высшего образования удалось благодаря агрегативному методу, который позволил собрать разрозненные факты из разных источников: периодических изданий, опубликованной литературы, официальных сайтов университетов и сделать вывод об активизации международной компоненты жизнедеятельности вузов.

Ключевые слова: *академическая мобильность; высшее образование; интеграция; международное образовательное пространство; международное сотрудничество; студенты; международные связи.*

International activity in the higher education system is determined as one of main priorities and index of that, if that or another university corresponds to the difficult and contradictory challenges of nowadays. Assessment of university international connections position is one of the four main evaluation criteria of HEEs under the world leading universities ratings. Other criteria are quality of scientific researches, estimation of preparation of graduating students and quality of studies. All these estimation criteria are bound in the dialectical field of global education and exposed to mutual influence. The status of international connections is also one of three criteria (as well as the quality of pedagogical potential and quality of studies) of the home universities rating 'Top - 200 Ukraine'. Therefore it is very important to study experience of organization and realization of international cooperation by home universities and to find out the activation ways of this important direction of activity. Discovery of reasons, that prevent to successful development of international cooperation, will become a push to the ways search of their solution and strengthening of integration processes at higher school.

Purpose

The analysis of universities international cooperation activity allows to discover strength and weakness sides, achievements and problems of its realization. To reveal the successful integration ways of modern higher school of Ukraine as an important factor of its modernization and reformation, claim of positive image of the higher education national system in the world educational space.

Materials and methods of research

The scientific methods of cognition (objectivity, historical method, logical sequence) and also historical methods (problem-thematic, chronologic, analytical, descriptive) have been used in the process of work. Due to the use of aggregative method separate facts were collected from different sources. Optimal use of the published documents, scientific works, publications of periodicals, electronic resources became possible due to the use of methods of search, analysis and synthesis of empiric material.

Research results and their interpretation

Activation of integration processes at higher school depends on many factors that influence on development of higher education and its entering into the world educational space. An important factor that is able to provide claim of national higher school at the market of educational services, be a subject in the world international space is clearly orientated educational politics, that will provide successful adaptation of the Ukrainian legislation to the principles taken for basis by the educational system of Europe. Among factors, that will assist strengthening of presence of the higher education national system at the market of educational services, is the concerted cooperation of all subjects of the higher education system (internal integration), overcoming of science development problems, that exist at modern universities, improvement of foreign citizens education system and teaching of the Ukrainian citizens outside of Ukraine, increase of academic mobility of higher education subjects, decision of problem

of teachers and students' language preparation, wide using of cooperation possibilities with foreign country Embassies in Ukraine, active deployment of the exhibition-presentations of Ukrainian HEEs, development of fundraising activity in higher education system, perfection of international relations tactics, increase of international events effectiveness and others.

In this article we will focus on some of these factors. Main principles that provide organic entering of the national education system into European and world educational space are absolute autonomy of higher educational establishments, their right to dispose of their own funds independently, freedom in determination of academic strategies and approaches. The questions of quality of education, unification and adaptability of the educational programs, the clearness of their maintenance and possibility of their practical realization, confession of documents about education belong to the problems related to standardization of education [3].

The concordance of legislative providing of the higher education native system functioning with international standards opens large possibilities for solution of the integration problems in world educational space. The new stage of higher education reformation is need of bringing of substantial changes to the normatively-legal acts, development and acceptance of a new Law "About Higher Education" [23, с. 108]. The law must envisage reorientation of educational paradigm from process to a result. Organization of each level of higher education must be related to the National frame of qualifications (further – NFQ), compatible with Frame of qualifications of European space of higher education (2005) and European frame of qualifications for studies during the whole life (2008). The new law "About higher education", that will be based on system conception of corresponding changes at higher school in the context of the Bologna Process and the Lisbon strategy, will take into account leading world tendencies of higher education development, will really provide integration of higher education national system into the European and world space [3].

NFQ is an important step in providing of real mobility of students, teachers, scientists within the limits of European space of higher education. It creates terms for comparison and mutual confession according to the Lisbon strategy (1997) of degrees and qualifications that are given at higher school of European countries [14, p. 260–265]. NFQ inputting at higher school will stipulate systems and successive work in direction of radical upgrading and competitiveness of higher education [23, p. 108].

International cooperation in the field of higher education, at presence of corresponding legislatively-normative base, will be able effectively assist to providing of high competitive status of national universities and transformation of education sphere to important factor of Ukraine international competitiveness providing.

Upgrading of educational services at the national higher school remains the most important task of the nearest prospect.

Introduction everywhere of studies innovative technologies, objective control of students knowledge quality, powerful motivation in studies is the mortgage of quality changes in this question. Capital universities use global network for realization of virtual lessons from different fields of sciences, observe for realization of practical work and communicate on-line with teachers from other universities in Ukraine, and abroad, realize on-line Workshops of distinguished home and foreign scientists as within universities as after their limits, scientific conferences with transformation in universities networks and internet. There is WI-FI in the lecture audiences, reading-rooms of library that gives an opportunity for students to get access to the normatively-scientific bases over the internet. The electronic (distant) form of studies, that is often named ‘education during all life’, is widely used. The students of Kyiv HEEs have opportunity to hear the Workshops of home scientists as well as authoritative scientists from the USA, Portugal, Belgium, France, Hungary, Germany, Switzerland, Spain, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Russia, Moldova and others [17].

Signing of agreements between the profile ministry of Ukraine and the foreign countries is another channel of international cooperation activation.

Agreements on cooperation in the field of education envisage possibility of getting education at HEEs by states-partners citizens, learning Ukrainian, literature, history, geography in a foreign country and, accordingly, language of country-partner, literature, history and geography in Ukraine, cooperation in the field of education through development of general projects under the programs of European Union, Council of Europe, the UNO, UNESCO. Such agreements envisage a effective cooperation in the field of higher and post graduate education between partners – countries, annually exchange by state grants to get higher education according to the preparation program of bachelor and master's degree. Agreements also envisage an exchange grants for preparation of scientific level specialists – namely passing of graduate school at the state expense [26]. Also meetings of the Ukrainian minister of education and science and ministers of foreign countries profile ministry directly contribute to establishing ways of connections and real cooperation between the systems of higher education and universitie [8].

Overcoming of basic problems of science development that exist at modern higher school of Ukraine considerably activates international connections and cooperation with foreign higher educational establishments. The presence of the national program of science development at the HEEs corrected with the programs of academic and branches science development will become the beginning of positive changes, working off the system and constancy of scientific connections of HEEs, academic and branch sci-researching establishments[30]. The establishments should strive to signing and real realization of agreements on scientific cooperation with foreign HEEs and sci-educational organizations. To fight for participating in grant projects, in particular within the framework of the programs of TEMPUS, ERASMUS MUNDUS and others [1, p. 233–236], and also within the framework of individual grants. HEEs must become the active participants of the international forums of scientists and inventors, that at the same time assists to development of intellectual property sphere [2]. Upgrading of sci-technical developments in every HEE and their introduction into the life is an important step on the way of

activation of integration processes at higher school. Commercialization of the university scientific developments is not simply necessary, but also the condition of its successful development and successful integration into the world educational space [16].

Inclusion of index of scientists quotation in editions that are included/ entered into international sci-metric bases (in particular, SCOPUS), into the state requirements on accreditation of the HEEs will provide quality of scientific researches and will strengthen skilled potential of the HEEs. Passing to the international criteria of evaluation of scientists work and presence of Ukraine HEEs in the basic international ratings of the best universities is envisaged by the Program of economic reforms for 2010–2014 “Prosperous society, competitive economy, effective state” [9].

Such constituent of integration processes in education and science as studies of foreign citizens at the Ukraine HEEs and studies of the Ukrainian citizens outside Ukraine needs considerable activation. During the last decade there is observed steady tendency to increase of contingent of foreign students in the world [10, p. 115]. As yet Ukraine has not become leading on popularity of educational services at the world market, but progress is noticeable: amount of foreigners that elect Ukraine, annually grows on 12–13 percents. Amount of foreigners who studied at the Ukraine HEEs in 2006 - 2013 : 2006/07 - 37397; 2007/08 - 39675; 2008/09 - 42782; 2009/10 - 44082; 2010/11 - 46599; 2011/12 - 52711; 2012/2013 - 60141. The action of the Decree of the Ministry “About some questions of implementation of the Law of Ukraine “About a single demographic register and documents, that identify a person”, that inured on March, 28, 2013 will strengthen an integration process [28]. Ukrainian HEEs can teach of three times more foreigners, than they are studied presently. About 37 thousand students from 129 countries were studying In Ukraine in 2007. From teaching of them the state has got 89 millions of dollars. Teaching of foreign students is a powerful source for development of economy [7, p. 14]. Today in Ukraine foreign students from 146 countries are studying at the 186 HEEs. Amount of income from foreign

students since 2008/2009 till 2012/2013 school year increased by 1,3 milliards of hryvnyas [27]. But finances are not the only aim of integration into the world educational space. Ukraine has got serious demographic problems. The export of educational services solves geopolitical tasks and increases the scientific capital of the HEEs [7, p. 14].

As of today an amount of foreign students from ‘Bologna zone’ is not considerable in Ukrainian HEEs. This index characterizes the level of country attractiveness for foreign students and reflects the efforts of the host country to attract students [29, p. 42–43].

To activate the inflow of foreign students into Ukrainian HEEs is possible through making alteration as well in educational politics as in the actions of the government of Ukraine, in particular, MES (Ministry of Education and Science) of Ukraine. Activities of governmental structures must be based on conclusions and recommendations of scientists, teachers, psychologists, economists. Today, unfortunately, Ukrainian pedagogics does not spare the proper attention to development of studies theory and upbringing of foreign students [10, p. 118–120].

To provide of contingent augment of foreign students into Ukrainian HEEs is called up the Ukrainian state center of international education. Improvement of work of the center is one of the ways of the inflow strengthening of foreign students [28].

Studies of the Ukrainian citizens outside of Ukraine demands/requires considerable activation. The increase of mobility of university teachers and students is one of main directions of activity, envisaged by Bologna process.

It needs considerable studies activation of Ukrainians citizens outside of Ukraine. Mobility increase of university teachers and students is one of the activity main directions, envisaged by the Bologna Process. Mobility is the severest test on accordance with knowledge, teaching methods, theoretical approaches of Ukrainian higher school to existing in Europe countries educational standards. European education envisages general basis, unchanging base paradigms of educational practice at approaches variety to teaching of education content component. International activity

in the system of higher education is determined as one of main priorities and index of that, if that or another university answers to difficult and contradictory calls of contemporaneity [12]. The extended programs of mobility of the Ukrainian students, graduate students and young scientists will help to approximate education of Ukraine to the world standards. Participating in the program of mobility allows to be familiarize with Bologna system from within [4, p. 51]. The Decree of the Ministry of Ukraine about the selection of money from a budget for realization of internships of 200 research workers and 1000 students of Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University per year opens new possibilities for a sci-research university, activates the processes of integration in many measurments [20]. However, on the whole, mobility of the Ukrainian teachers remains low. As well as student's mobility, it has a big importance for development of European space of higher education. These two types of mobility closely tie together and identically assist to development and strengthening of connections between educational establishments of Europe [29, p. 42]. Every higher educational establishment must create the terms of development of academic mobility. There are general conditions that include: assistance to providing of attractiveness and openness of European space of higher education; creation of the systems of providing of higher education quality; development of mechanisms of international academic confession; introduction of Appendix to Diploma and European system of test credits (ECTS) and others are indicated in the normative documents of Bologna Process [24, p. 51]. For increasing of academic mobility level at national level, it is necessary, among other, to be concentrated on the decision of important tasks in relation to the facilitation of academic mobility, such as delivery of visas, receipt of permissions for work and employment of graduate students, legislative fixing of procedures, and also encouragement and stimulation of mobility of separate citizens in the system of higher education.

To activate international connections and real international cooperation, to enhance academic mobility, foremost students, it is necessary to plement

the requirement legislatively, that to get master's degree for some studies programs students must pass obligatory curriculum abroad [29, p. 35].

Government and Department of Education and Science of Ukraine must spare more attention to participation of Ukrainian higher educational establishments in the international programs. Presently the Government of Ukraine is interested in improvement of technical–engineering direction of preparation of home specialists. In particular, front-rank computer technologies attract. For internship the scientists of Ukrainian higher educational establishments go to the hi-tech countries, where it is possible to learn [19].

Expansion of the Governmental programs action is the important index of eurointegration of Ukrainian educational space. Since 2001 the Ukrainian students receive from the government unique possibility to get education in well-known foreign educational establishments and scientific institutions [5].

For Ukrainian students it is valuable foreign experience of studies, in fact they get possibility to learn critical thinking and analysing, to produce ability to copy knowledge not blindly, but create something new and really influence on life of all society. Victory in a competition for studies in the best foreign higher educational establishments induces students to clearly realize the aim of grant journey abroad. The fact of studies abroad is an original push for a future career. Especially it is valued by large international companies that have their own filials or representative offices in Ukraine. Employers value that a student who studied in the European HEEs is well-informed with basic principles of free competition and market openness, that the transnational companies confess [25].

Correct tactics of development of international relations is the effective way of activation of higher educational establishments international activity and its successful integration into international educational space. Opening in a civilized manner-language centers on a higher educational establishment base by initiative and on support of Embassies of different countries can provide quantitative and quality staff of the Ukrainian students, and increasing afflux of students-foreigners[18]. The special attention is spared to the questions, related to passing of studies and internship by the Ukrainian students,

graduate students and young scientists in leading foreign higher educational establishments within the framework of the governmental budgetary program, that is realized by the Ministry on implementation of Decree of the Ministry of Ukraine from April, 13, 2011, no. 411[21]. In 2011 at first 275 persons were sent on studies or internship from 36 Ukrainian higher educational establishments to leading foreign ones. In 2012 – 353 persons have already departed on studies or internship abroad, in 2013 – 315 persons [6; 22]. The movement can be valuable only in case if it takes place in both directions. It is therefore important to organize analogical possibility of studies passing or scientific internship for students and graduate students of foreign universities in Ukraine [18].

Work with foreign partners needs permanent perfection. It is necessary to inculcate not only foreign internships and practices but also the program by which a student gets the so-called «double diploma» of higher education after 5 years of studies. If the university annually will forward about 300 students to internship abroad, then such HEE will be well-known not only in Ukraine, but also far abroad. However, by the state on today, only 37 Ukrainian HEE have a high level of international confession [30].

Joining of Ukraine in with the Bologna Process answers to priorities of development of the Ukrainian economy and society on the whole. However there are risks, in fact, in case of success, creation of the system of higher education that corresponds to European standards, will mean its openness not only for innovations and help from the West but also openness of part of western vacancies for the Ukrainian graduates. Consequently sickly for a country-donor the «brain outflow» will proceed with such intensity as it will be kept a difference between possibilities of self-realization of talented scientists and other specialists in Europe and Ukraine [11].

Ukraine acknowledges the diplomas of countries, with which corresponding interstates or intergovernmental agreements were signed. They are France, Vietnam, Poland, Russia, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Bulgaria, Moldova, Turkmenistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Romania, National Republic of China, Hungary, Belarus, Uzbekistan, Mongolia, Libya, Peru. One of instruments that Ukraine

uses for confession of own diplomas abroad and also documents about higher education of other countries is The Lisbon Recognition Convention. The State informatively-imaginary center that realize corresponding procedures – fills in stamps apostille or carries out a nostrification engages of confession of such documents in Ukraine. 90 percents of the Ukrainian students necessarily return on a motherland, and 10% remain abroad (those, who married there, or have got grants abroad). In a prospect, the Ministry of Ukraine plans to issue the list of the world HEE, the diplomas of which Ukraine will acknowledge without realization of nostrification, and apostille stamp will be set without additional confirmation. To this list they plan to include 300 positions from three the most important rating of HEE: the Academic rating of the world universities, World universities rating and British rating of the world universities. The list will have about 300 HEE from more than 30 countries. In addition to the rating positions, it will include such educational establishments to which Ukraine sends students under intergovernmental agreements [15].

Conclusion

System of higher education on the whole, leading higher educational establishments of Ukraine yet have many reserves for strengthening of educational sphere integration, development of powerful international connections. By the pledge of success of the modern educational establishment, attractive basis for foreign partners- HEE is maintenance of traditions, respect to history of the own alma mater, painstaking collective work of above the increase of competitiveness of its graduates, creation of educational and methodical (training) base and application of the newest studies technologies. An achievement of education high quality is the main aim of modern HEE. Taking into account of modern requirements in relation to professional preparation of HEE graduates, providing of competition possibility at national and international labour-markets, incessant perfection of specialists professional preparation quality for economy of the country is inalienable management constituent in organization of quality studies, creation of own teaching-methodological base for this purpose [13].

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UDC 93

**DEVELOPMENT
OF THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCHES
ABOUT PROBLEMS OF THE POLITICAL
EDUCATION IN THE RANKS OF THE SOVIET
ARMY PERSONNEL THROUGH PRISM
OF THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR IN THE FIRST
HALF OF THE 90S OF THE 20 CENTURY**

Bobkova E. Yu.

***Goal:** Reporting of study results about increment dynamics of the historical knowledge about the issue of the political education of Soviet Army servicemen 1941–1945 in the national historical science.*

***Research Methodology:** study was carried out in problem-chronological manner; using both traditional and innovative methods of studying the historical and historiographical narrative material. Results: the main results of the study is detection of the distinguishing characteristics in the analyzed historiographical stage.*

***Area of application of the results:** research results can be used for integrated historiographical researches about political education of the USSR Armed Forces personnel, as well as for research in other branches of the military history.*

***Keywords:** historiography; political education, Soviet Army, the Great Patriotic War, national history, military history.*

The great transformation processes initiated by change civilization paradigms, that began in the national historical science in the middle of the 80s of the last century, most vividly reflected in the Russian historiography publications of the first half of the 90s of the 20 century. This period is

objectively called by many historians "the disintegration of a single historical-scientific space" [1] and "crisis of history" [2, 3].

In the early 90s of the last century the problem of the necessity of actual comprehension of the historical experience, formed in opposition to rapidly filling ideological vacuum of the publicist, was posed in the national historical science.

Was a process of accumulation of particular historical material, opening new directions by removing of the ideological bans and revision of the old approaches [4].

Research Area rapidly cleared of old dogmas and stereotypes. Crisis of Marxist-Leninist methodology led to the collapse of many specific historical concepts of essence and development of the Soviet society [5]. It also led to the problem of political education of the Red Army personnel.

A number of problems associated with the passage of military service by the younger generation and associated with protection of the Fatherland clearly defined in the modern period of the social processes transformation. It has actualized the importance of studying the methodology of political education in Soviet times [6].

The study of the first phase of development of the post-Soviet historiography, modern science, that is free from dogmatized and conceptual principles preceding period, is the scientific importance as historiographical research summarize and generalize the results obtained in the framework of a certain world outlook and epistemological concept, and outline prospects for the development of future research.

A separate area of the historiographical research is the study of the process of historical and scientific knowledge about the problems of the Great Patriotic War.

Total number of historiographical works studying research on various aspects of the history of the Great Patriotic War released in 1992-1995 is 26 pcs., Including 4 books and 22 articles. Historiographical publications is devoted to various aspects of the development of Soviet society during the Great Patriotic War. Problems of political education of the Red Army soldiers is considered fragmented and mediated.

The first half of the 90s of the twentieth century is characterized by active increments of source base (declassification of archival holdings, the publication of selected papers in scientific journals, etc.). That has great affect on the process of thinking and rethinking historiographical problems of the Great Patriotic War, especially in the context of political education.

Works published in the period of 1991–1995 is different by deep historiographical analysis and coverage of a wide range of works devoted to the problems of the Great Patriotic War. Some of these works were written from the standpoint of new methodological approaches.

In general, the following conclusions can be made on the basis of historiographical analysis of the results in the studies about the political education of the Soviet Army soldiers published in the period of 1992–1995:

Increase in the development of historiographical research on certain aspects of the development of Soviet society during the Great Patriotic War was observed in the period of 1992–1995. At the same time there are no historiographical works objectively studying the entire complex of the literature about the political education of personnel of the Soviet Army in the context of the history of the Great Patriotic War.

Critic of the author positions in relation to the achievements of Soviet historiography increases from 1992. Most scientists say about the narrowness of the source base of his predecessors, excessive ideological bias in the works and silence about some aspects and problems. At the same time, it should be noted that since 1993, almost none of the authors have analyzed the scientific form of the assesses works, emotion inherent in the estimates, the level of scientific publications is reduced.

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UDC 93

**THE GENESIS OF THE DOMESTIC
HISTORIOGRAPHY OF POLITICAL EDUCATION
OF THE SOVIET ARMY STAFF OF THE INTERWAR
PERIOD (1920s – June 1941): THE HISTORY
OF THE RESEARCHING THE PROBLEMS
IN DOMESTIC HISTORICAL SCIENCE**

Bobkova E. Yu.

***Objective:** statement of research results of dynamics of an increment in historical knowledge on a problem of political education of the military personnel during the interwar period (20th years of the XX century – to present day) in domestic historical science.*

***Methodology of work performace:** research is carried out in the problem and chronological sense, with the application of cliometric methods of the historical and historiographic narrative material studying. Not only general scientific but also special and historical, historiographic and source study research methods are used.*

***Results:** the main research results are determination of the analyzed historiographic stage characteristics.*

***Application scope of results:** research results can be used in pursuance of complex military historiographic researches and also when conducting researches in other military history branches.*

***Keywords:** historiography; political education, Soviet army, interwar period, domestic historical science, military history.*

Introduction

Studying of the process of accumulation and increment of historical knowledge on a subject of political education of the Soviet army staff during

the interwar period, carried out in the format of a problem and thematic historiography, is actual for a modern stage of domestic historical science development for a number of grounds. The effective system of political education of the military personnel is one of the fundamental elements of ensuring fighting capacity of the country. In the 90th years of the XX century of Armed Forces of the Russian Federation received "a destructive information attack" [1, p. 81] therefore now "we have to define perspective ideology of armies [...] development, clearly designate their objectives and tasks...". [1, p. 85]. The understanding of such situation is promoted by the appeal to historical experience, including the historiographic generalizations. The ideological military concept is inseparably linked with educational work in armies [2] therefore the understanding of historical experience at the level of historiographic generalizations promotes effective activity in the field of development and deployment of new conceptual approaches. It should be noted that at the beginning of the XXI century the dialectically inconsistent situation was formed in the domestic historical science caused on the one hand by the "crisis of domestic historical science", [3] on the other hand by the development of methodological pluralism in the researches not protecting from "sometimes taking place distortions" [4] of the historical reality.

The research objective is the multifold analysis of the processes of scientific knowledge formation on a problem of political education of the Soviet army staff in the interwar period, a quantitative and qualitative state of a domestic historiography, its main tendencies and further prospects.

Materials and research methods

The source base of the research is collections of documents and materials, sources of personal nature, periodicals; research and scientific reference books, documents of the Soviet state governing bodies. The current lack of actual complex historiography on the issue of political education of the Soviet army staff in the interwar period requires historiographical development, capable of identifying the key trends and key positions of the problem, determination of its prospects for further study.

An array of research materials can be represented by the following scheme:

The research is executed in a problem and chronological key with application of the cliometric methods of the historical and historiographic narrative material studying. The work is based on the integration of the modern and classical methodological principles of research: cliodescriptive analysis, principles of historicism and objectivity, principle of a historical context, principles of historical tolerance and critical evaluation. The research methodology includes both general scientific and special and historical, historiographic and source study research methods (see fig. 2).

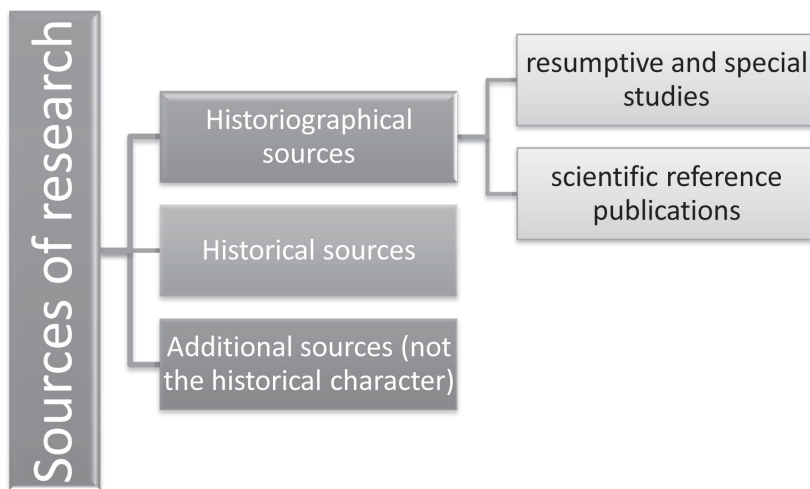


Fig. 1. Array of research materials

Chronological framework of analyzed historical sources are limited for the period of development of the Red Army in the interwar period (1920s – June 1941), while the chronology of the study covers the range from the 1920s. till the present time that can more fully trace the development of historiography of the problem, and enables comparative analysis of Soviet and post-Soviet historiographical sources.

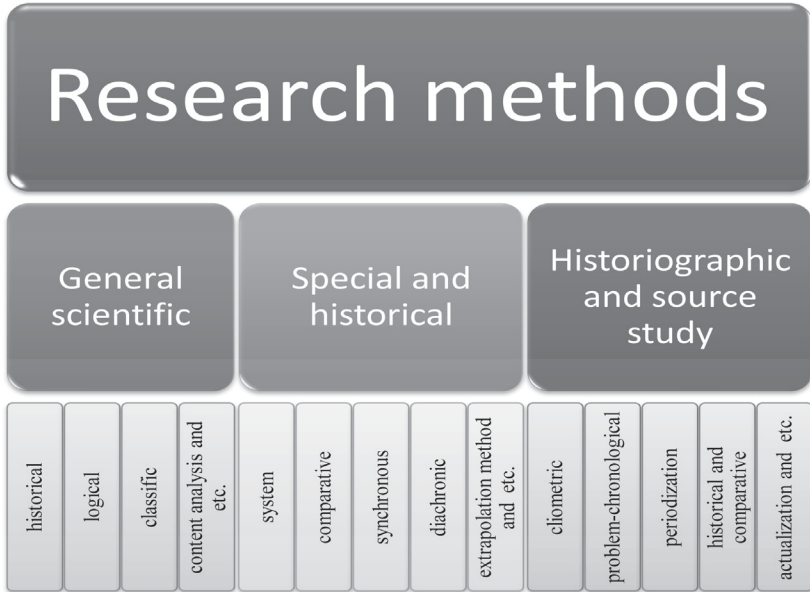


Fig. 2.

The research results and their discussion

In the historiography of research problems of political education of the Red Army in the interwar period in the problem-chronological manner conventionally there are two major historiographical periods: Soviet period (1920–1991) and post (from 1992 until present). In the "Soviet period" history of studying the problem of political education of the Red Army during the interwar period is recorded in general and special investigations.

Common research can be classified into two groups. The first group – the works on the history of Soviet historical science in general that can form an idea about development trends examining issues of public authorities and the military to the political education of the personnel of the Red Army in 1920s – June 1941. Provisions contained therein characterize the effect of socio-political atmosphere of creativity researchers of the problem. Characteristics of this set of papers is partially represented in the works of

Manokhin I.V. [5], Gvozdev M.V. [6], Ippolitov G.M. [7], in the author's publications on topics of inter-war [8, 9], in a study of Kadyrov B.G [10] and others.

The second group contains works, which addresses the problems of studying predominantly military aspects of Soviet historiography, which highlights topics related to the peaceful period of development of the Soviet state. Some information can be gleaned of them, also pertaining to the history of historiography considered in these essays. Characteristics of this set of papers is partially represented in the works of Stepanova E.E. [11], in the author's publications on topics of inter-war [8, 9], studies of Terekhov V.F [12], Antipina L.N. [13], Zaretsky S.F. [14], Bochkova E.A. [15] and others.

The special studies "of the Soviet period" primarily include the research on the history of the problem of party political work in the Armed Forces of the USSR, in the content of addressed and analyzed topics. This group work is plentiful, because it touches such a multifaceted phenomenon of Soviet history, as party-political work in the Armed Forces of the USSR. The analysis shows that in 1920th – the first half of the 1950th. history of the study of party political work took place not very active. They present visibility and a large proportion of the narrative. However, in the late 50th – early 60th of the XX century there has been a qualitative shift: the history of studying the problem of party political work in the Armed Forces of the USSR became replenished with historiographical research. By the time the empirical material was accumulated, the range of sources was expanded, qualifications of scientific personnel increased and they were capable to move from historical research to historiographical. There were the first publications at a scientific level considering questions of historiography party political work in conjunction with other problems and, including some aspects of the study themes, mostly – at the level of publications in scientific periodicals. Since the second half of the 1960s there were resources that have allowed scientists to go on to create historiographical collections and monographs, in which a certain place was given to the history of party political work and research problem. Their detailed characteristics are presented in the author's works on the interwar

category [8,9,16], studies of Cousin A.V. [17], Stepanova E.E. [18], Galdobina S.V. [19], Azarov A.V. [20], Yefremov V.Ya. [2] and others.

In the same period a number of theses was protected, reflecting the history of the studied topic, including – and historiographical aspects considering problem in a composite unit of historiographical interpretation of the theme of military discipline and order, military , patriotic and international education at various military stages in the history of the Soviet state . Separately to emphasize that special works , as well as general , are ideologized and politicized, due, in particular, to their implementation within the theoretical and methodological coordinates of dogmatic Marxism-Leninism in the Bolshevik measurement.

The post-Soviet historiographical period also has both general and special studies involving positions of new approaches, which took place in the early 90th. of the XX century, the process of formation and approval.

Common researches include works on the history of both Soviet and post-Soviet historical science in general. In them, just as in Soviet historiography, provisions are contained, characterizing the effect of socio-political atmosphere of creativity researchers of the problem . But the works were carried out in conditions of uncensored and without ideological dictatorship of the C.P.S.U., which, of course , had a positive effect on their scientific quality. However, the political situation took place too. Their detailed characteristics are presented in the author's works on the interwar category [8, 9, 16] , in studies of Yefremov V.Ya. [2], Azarov A.V. [20], Stepanova E.E. [11, 18] and others.

Special studies of "post-Soviet period" show diversity of methodological approaches using a wide body of narrative and factual material, but historiography of research subject studying for the most part covered under other objects of study: patriotic education [20], morale [2], legal education [21, 22], logistics issues [11] and others, which suggests the presence of a particular locality of a significant part of historiographical works.

Conclusion

History of studying problems of political education of the Red Army in 1920s – June 1941 was a difficult and contradictory way. It was a logical

progressive learning process in several aspects of such a complex area as the Soviet military build-up, a large part of which was a party political work in the army and navy, and within it – the political education of the personnel. It looks so natural that historiographical understanding of the problem took place mainly in the study of historiography and historical sources, which relevant to the problems of party political work that carried out by the authorities in the Red Army in the chronological framework mentioned above. Development of historiography of the topic was caused immediate concrete historical situation. Historiography and historical sources, in which it is reflected, are vast and varied. They became affiliation of Soviet historiography, when it developed a single scientific space of the Soviet Union (1923–1991) and in Russia's post-Soviet space science (1992 – present).

It should be noted that the historiographical and historical sources, reflecting the state power structures for the political education of the personnel of the Red Army in the interwar period still insufficiently investigated . If the role and place of Stalin's repressions , their negative impact on the morale of the personnel of the Red Army, the fall of the level of military discipline and order were written many historical works and defended theses, the theme, for example, of adapting the content of forms and methods to improve the quality of political education of Red Army practiced in peacetime to the conditions of participation of the Red Army in local wars and armed conflicts, were barely researched.

Soviet historiography is the largest in terms of quantity. It has evolved through a complex and ambiguous way. Grand total : scientific development problems of political education of the Red Army in the interwar period was held. However, this process could not get out of the coordinate system of dogmatic Marxism-Leninism in the Bolshevik measurement, which was imposed in the country ruled by the ideologists of the Communist Party as the only true, uncontested theoretical and methodological foundations of historical research. Hence there are the one-sidedness, templates, coupled with excessive ideology and politization in the conclusions, synthesis and evaluation. Also, and this is fundamentally stress problem as stated above, it did not become

the subject of an independent comprehensive study in proper historical and historiographic terms. But the foregoing in any case cannot be a reason to underestimate the developments of predecessors in the development of the problem in Soviet historiography. Critical analysis and reflection and rethinking of new historical approaches, which affirmed today in our historical science, can give reasonably interesting stuff to modern scholars.

Modern historiography problems experienced a difficult time of origin, formation and adoption of new approaches in the national historiography. It develops rapidly, although, of course, is still young. There is no comprehensive case studies as a proper historical and historiographical plan on the theme of political education of the Red Army in the interwar period. However, the available scientific developments on the issue of the above, it is only indirectly reveal (in conjunction with the main topics of research papers), they, nevertheless, can be regarded as the first successful attempts and thinking and rethinking unusual theme in the country's history, which are devoted to real historiographical essays. Historiographical analysis of political education of the Soviet army staff in the interwar period allows to make such a generalization: historiography of our theme had deterministic way of its development, improvement and further development in concrete historical situation. Despite all the difficulties, the principle of continuity in the development of ideas was ultimately met. On the basis of extensive material was investigated a wide range of problems in the sphere of political education of the Soviet army staff in the interwar period, definition of the role and place of public authorities and military authorities, were made important theoretical conclusions, which played a role in different stages of the studying the problem. Some of them have not lost relevance now. Necessary to emphasize the fact that analytical judgment and rethinking of the published literature and defended theses, as well as complex documentary sources and sources of personal origin, are reflecting the theme of political education of the Soviet army staff in the interwar period to the following conclusions: they are precisely the historical and historiographical sources that determine and will determine the main directions of development and accumulation of historical knowledge in this field.

It seems that the main trends, which derived from the analytical material in these historiographical essays for each conditional historiographical stage, have a deep inner self, which can be summarized as expressed in the following theses: continuous quantitative and qualitative increment historiography of the topic; extension of the research source base; transformation of the approaches of local historians to analyze of the object and subject of this study.

Thus, historiographical analysis of political political education of the Soviet army staff in the interwar period suggests the following: a serious problem of national history, despite some achievements, still has not found yet sufficient scientific development.

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**THE GENESIS OF THE DOMESTIC
HISTORIOGRAPHY OF POLITICAL EDUCATION
OF THE SOVIET ARMY STAFF OF THE POST-WAR
PERIOD (1945–1991) AT THE PRESENT STAGE
OF HISTORICAL SCIENCE DEVELOPMENT**

Bobkova E. Yu.

Objective: *statement of research results of dynamics of an increment in historical knowledge on a problem of political education of the military personnel during the post-war period (1945–1991) in domestic historical science.*

Methodology of work performace: *research is carried out in the problem and chronological sense, with the application of cliometric methods of the historical and historiographic narrative material studying. Not only general scientific but also special and historical, historiographic and source study research methods are used.*

Results: *the main research results are determination of the analyzed historiographic stage characteristics.*

Application scope of results: *research results can be used in pursuance of complex military historiographic researches and also when conducting researches in other military history branches.*

Keywords: *historiography; political education, Soviet army, post-war period, domestic historical science, military history.*

**ГЕНЕЗИС ОТЕЧЕСТВЕННОЙ ИСТОРИОГРАФИИ
ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОГО ВОСПИТАНИЯ ЛИЧНОГО
СОСТАВА СОВЕТСКОЙ АРМИИ ПОСЛЕВОЕННОГО
ПЕРИОДА (1945–1991 г.) НА СОВРЕМЕННОМ ЭТАПЕ
РАЗВИТИЯ ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЙ НАУКИ**

Бобкова Е.Ю.

Цель: изложение результатов исследования динамики приращения исторических знаний по проблеме политического воспитания военнослужащих в послевоенный период (194–1991) в отечественной исторической науке.

Методология проведения работы: исследование выполнено в проблемно-хронологическом ключе, с применением клиометрических методов изучения исторического и историографического нарративного материала. Используются как общенаучные, так и специально-исторические, историографические и источниковедческие методы исследования.

Результаты: основными результатами исследования является выявление характерных черт анализируемого историографического этапа.

Область применения результатов: результаты исследования могут быть использованы в проведении комплексных военных историографических исследований, а так же – при проведении исследований в иных отраслях военной истории.

Ключевые слова: историография; политическое воспитание, Советская армия, послевоенный период, отечественная историческая наука, военная история.

Introduction

Studying of the process of accumulation and increment of historical knowledge on a subject of political education of the Soviet army staff during the post-war period, carried out in the format of a problem and thematic historiography, is actual for a modern stage of domestic historical science development for a number of grounds. The effective system of political education of the military personnel is one of the fundamental elements of ensuring fighting capacity of the country. In the 90th years of the XX century of Armed Forces of the Russian Federation received "a destructive informa-

tion attack" [1, p. 81] therefore now "we have to define perspective ideology of armies [...] development, clearly designate their objectives and tasks...". [1, p. 85]. The understanding of such situation is promoted by the appeal to historical experience, including the historiographic generalizations. The ideological military concept is inseparably linked with educational work in armies [2] therefore the understanding of historical experience at the level of historiographic generalizations promotes effective activity in the field of development and deployment of new conceptual approaches. It should be noted that at the beginning of the XXI century the dialectically inconsistent situation was formed in the domestic historical science caused on the one hand by the "crisis of domestic historical science", [3] on the other hand by the development of methodological pluralism in the researches not protecting from "sometimes taking place distortions" [4] of the historical reality.

The subject relevance amplifies in connection with its insufficient readiness, absence of the large special generalizing scientific works on it that demands historiographic development of a problem within new conceptual approaches.

The research objective is the multifold analysis of the processes of scientific knowledge formation on a problem of political education of the Soviet army staff in 1945–1991, a quantitative and qualitative state of a domestic historiography, its main tendencies and further prospects.

Materials and research methods. The source base of the research is collections of documents and materials, sources of personal nature, periodicals; research and scientific reference books, documents of the Soviet state governing bodies. The numerous group of sources is made by works of the domestic historians among which the most important works are works of generalizing fundamental kind. The research is executed in a problem and chronological key with application of the cliometric methods of the historical and historiographic narrative material studying. The work is based on the integration of the modern and classical methodological principles of research: cliodescriptive analysis, principles of historicism and objectivity, principle of a historical context, principles of historical tolerance and critical evaluation.

The research methodology includes both general scientific and special and historical, historiographic and source study research methods.

The research results and their discussion. The use of problem and chronological approach allowed the author to allocate the following key periods in the research (see fig. 1) and to formulate the results directed on the further deepening of the stated problem studying.

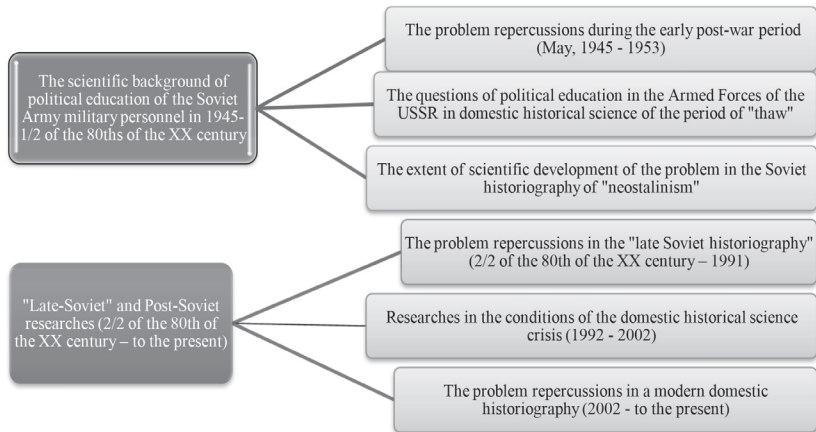


Fig. 1. Periodization of the studied problem

In the period of "The late Stalinism" and "The Khrushchev Thaw" the problem studying developed increasingly. Certainly the time of the Khrushchev Thaw became more fruitful here than in the first post-war decade. In the first post-war decade scientists [5,6,7] seriously tried to comprehend the new phenomena in the life of the Armed Forces of the USSR that appeared in connection with their shift from peace to the martial law. It found repercussions also in the research of the whole complex of problems of party and political work [8]. The authors strictly adhered to the directive sets of the Communist Party governing in the country on problems of studying of the Soviet army history. The democratic assumptions of the "Khrushchev Thaw" times couldn't cancel this research stereotype [9]. In more detail the analysis of historical and historiographic sources of this period is presented in author's

publications on a studied problem [9,10], in the research of Morunov V.A., [11] Yefremov V.Ya. [4], Azarova A.V., Galdobina S.V. [12] and others.

During the reanimation of Stalin approaches in the Soviet historical science the nature of researches was predetermined substantially by the fact that the Brezhnev's paradigm allowed only dosed criticism of the public phenomena, thus the majority of works [13,14,15,16] tend to unification, thanks to rigid determination of their architectonics adjusted to aprioristic schemes and sets made by the official ideologists of the Central Committees of CPSU. It doesn't exclude, however, emergence of the original fragments in certain works which haven't lost relevance even for the present [17].

During the period of "the late Soviet historiography" quite considerable group of works was published. This group covering all range of problems of party and political work fully enough represents also a problem of activity of the public authorities and military management on political education of the Armed Forces staff of the USSR in the conditions of a peace time. Their detailed characteristic is presented in author's publications on a studied problem [9,10], in the researches of Yefremov V.Ya. [4], Morunov V.A., [11], and others.

The main attention in the analysis of the problem of activity of the public authorities and military management on problems of political education in the Armed Forces of the USSR in a peace time is concentrated on a subject of the further strengthening of military discipline and a law order [18,19, 20], and in the majority a key of researches is historical and party. And if, that was noted above, in the theory of political education target researches began to appear but it's the activity aspect of a problem that didn't receive complex target scientific development.

During the period of rise, formation and establishment of new approaches in domestic historical science new opportunities for studying of a considered problem at qualitatively new level were opened [21, 22, 23, 24, 25]. During the Post-Soviet period there was a refusal of a historical and party key of research, but also the problem faded into the background.

At the beginning of the XXI century despite emergence of a large number of scientific artifacts presented in complex historical and historiographic

researches [4, 10,11, 26, 27] having both direct and the mediated relation to the considered problem, it didn't find complete historical and actually historiographic understanding.

Conclusion

Noting the achievements of domestic historiography in research of the analysed subject of activity of government bodies on political education of the military personnel, meanwhile, it is impossible, as the author believes, to recognize it comprehensively studied today. It is necessary to emphasize the importance of the development of the following problem aspects: the critical analysis from positions of modern vision of theoretic-methodological bases of a subject of the problem history and improvement of its concept; structuring of a conceptual framework; research of existing "gaps".

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**THE CREDIT PROJECTS OF THE VYATKA
PROVINCIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT 'ZEMSTVO'
AT THE TURN OF THE NINETEENTH
AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES**

Chirkin S.A.

The Vyatka provincial self-government ('zemstvo'), due to the economical specification of the region, concentrated special efforts on the credit projects for the benefit of local peasantry. The most significant of its initiatives at the turn of the XIX and XX centuries were: establishing of the so-called grain-pawning operations; assigning loans for rural handicraftsmen; attempt to centralize all types of credit support by unveiling of the small credit office in 1912.

Purpose and methods. *The article appeals to the economical influence of these credit projects on the Vyatka peasantry welfare. The main method, used in the article, is analysis in combination with problem-chronological method.*

Results. *Though the technique of the credit projects wasn't well-thought enough, they were solving some urgent economical and social problems of the Vyatka province. Hence, despite lack of funds, the all lasted till 1917.*

Keywords: *Vyatka province, zemstvo (self-government), economy, small credit, peasantry.*

**МЕРОПРИЯТИЯ ВЯТСКОГО ГУБЕРНСКОГО
ЗЕМСТВА ПО РАЗВИТИЮ СИСТЕМЫ МЕЛКОГО
КРЕДИТА НА РУБЕЖЕ XIX И XX ВЕКОВ**

Чиркин С.А.

В силу экономической специфики Вятской губернии земство сосредоточило особое внимание на развитии здесь системы мелкого («народного») кредита. Наиболее значимыми из земских мероприятий в этой сфере на рубеже XIX и XX веков были: так называемые хлебозалоговые операции; кредитование промысловых крестьян; попытка объединить все виды кредитной помощи населению путём создания земской кассы мелкого кредита в 1912 году.

В статье рассматриваются конкретные формы земской кредитной работы и её влияние на благосостояние вятского крестьянства. Основной метод – аналитический, в сочетании с проблемно-хронологическим методом.

Было выяснено, что, несмотря на техническое несовершенство конкретных видов работы, в целом она была нацелена на решение ряда социально-экономических проблем региона, а потому, даже в условиях недостаточного финансирования, продолжалась вплоть до 1917 года.

Ключевые слова: *Вятская губерния, земство (местное самоуправление), хозяйство, мелкий кредит, крестьянство.*

The system of local self-governments in the Russian Empire, established in the course of the Great reforms of Czar Alexander II, was presented in 34 regions of the country [1, p. 34]. These elective bodies ('zemstvos'), one for each province and another for each district, consisted of a representative council ('zemskoye sobraneye') and of an executive board ('zemskaya uprava'), nominated by the former [2, p. 132].

The zemstvos were originally given large powers in relation to the incidence of taxation and such questions as education, medical relief, public welfare, food supply and road maintenance in their localities, but later some of these powers were, however, severely restricted by Czar Alexander III. The zemstvos were then subordinated to the governors, whose consent was necessary for each decision. The governors had drastic powers of discipline over the members [3, p. 521].

Despite all these restrictions, during the 50 years of the zemstvos, they succeeded in solving properly many problems of general education, public medical service, ways of transportation and agronomy [4, p. 56]. Zemstvo expenditure grew from 89,100,000 rubles in 1900 to 290,500,000 rubles in 1913. Of the latter sum, 90,100,000 rubles were spent on education, 71,400,000 on medical assistance, 22,200,000 on improvements in agriculture, and 8,000,000 on veterinary measures [5, p. 89].

Purpose

One of the high priority measures of Russian zemstvos was also to develop small credit operations among peasants and handicraftsmen of average means. Sums, assigned for that aims, were expected to be of vital importance as a mean of economical support for small enterprises in the Russian province [6]. The author of the article investigates the economical influence of these credit projects in the typical Central European region of the Russian Empire – the Vyatka province.

Materials and methods of research

The general method, used in the article, is analysis in combination with problem-chronological method. The research is based mainly on the pre-revolutionary statistical and analytical works as well as on local periodical editions.

Research results and their interpretation

Zemstvo of the Vyatka province, due to the economical specification of the region, concentrated special efforts on this sort of work by the end of the nineteenth century. Although this work wasn't faultless at all, some of the zemstvo's undertakings were able to prove their viability and lasted until 1917.

Among the most successful of these projects were: 1) so-called grain-pawning operations for peasants, 2) small loans for handicraftsmen and 3) general development of all types of cooperation in the region. Below it is given a survey of these main types of credit initiatives of the Vyatka zemstvo.

Since 1890-s zemstvo initiated so-called grain-pawning operations, adopting thereby some useful experience from the Central Russia provincial

assemblies. The main point of this project was to give peasant an ability to mortgage their grain for the period of seasonable reduction of prices on it (from August to May). In this connection zemstvo established a number of granaries or storehouses ('grain pawnshops'), borrowing cash for that directly from the State Bank.

However, the project wasn't compulsory for the district assemblies. Hence, only five of eleven districts of the province were engaged, essentially because of their fear of any additional responsibility. By 1905 zemstvo disposed 36 granaries, mainly in big villages with fairs. Annually those granaries accepted about 1500-2000 kg of grain from the local peasants.

Fortunately, almost all mortgaged grain was has been purchased back by the spring time. The rest was soled to commercial firms. As far as the lending rate was low, all the profits, derived be granaries, were directed for paying salary and equipment maintenance costs [7, p. 638].

Despite of grain storehouses' gradual increase in turnover, their operations, according to contemporary expert judgments, developed quite slowly. The main reasons, in addition to the above-mentioned lack of initiative, were: deficiency in storehouses, absence of grain quality control and even misappropriation of the assigned money [8].

Another direction of the Vyatka zemstvo credit program was assigning loans for rural handicraftsmen.

At the end of the nineteenth century it annually sent every district about 1000 rubles for short-term credits for handicraftsmen and about 10000-12000 rubles for long-term credits for handicraftsmen. Undoubtedly, all those funds were not enough, even despite the fact that 'not every handicraftsman suspected existence of a credit'. As a result, some mediatory and loan operations soon were also undertaken by provincial handicraft storehouse, established by zemstvo on the model of the Moscow manufacture museum in 1882, and by so-called public banks (located in every chief town of the district) [9, p. 11].

Since every handicraftsmen' petition for credit was regarded by district assemblies separately, zemstvo authorities made several attempts to improve

the procedure. For example, there was a long-lasting discussion about establishing of special handicraft bank in Vyatka. Unfortunately, the project wasn't realized [10, p. 42].

The technique of handicraftsmen credit rating also wasn't profoundly thought over. Hence, during all the period of the Vyatka zemstvo existence it was a great problem to get loans back from borrowers. District assemblies regularly reported to Vyatka that loans were paid back mainly in juridical way. For instance, in 1912 the Nolinsk district zemstvo brought 133 suits against borrowers and Urzhum zemstvo brought 156 suits. So, for a long period of time crediting of handicraftsmen turned out to be unprofitable for zemstvo. By 1913 its losses from those type of operations were estimated at 500 000 rubles [11].

Eventually, the most well-thought initiative of the zemstvo was an attempt to centralize all types of credit support for peasants in 1910-s, thus improving the drawbacks of the above-listed initiatives. In this connection on 18 October 1912 zemstvo together with provincial authorities unveiled the so-called provincial small credit office in Vyatka. Before long its bureaus were opened in seven districts of the region – 'uyezds' of Slobodskoy, Malmyzh, Yaransk, Urzhum, Elabuga, Nolinsk and Orlov. At the same time district assemblies ceased assigning loans for craftsmen [12, p. 17].

Except banking activities, all those institutions were commended to develop co-operative movement in the region, establishing consumer, agricultural and producers' cooperatives. Besides, their plans were to carry out such measures as grain-pawning operations, intermediary and trading activities, joint use of agricultural instrument, statistical inquiries [13, p. 12].

Actually, the coverage of the office's responsibility was constantly spreading in the course of time, obtaining socially significant essence for the region. For instance, in 1914–1915 the board of the office prepared a number of social projects, such as interest-free loans for fire safety, special loans for horseless peasants, loans for land-reclamation and for joint purchase of instruments [14, p. 118]. All those considerations were introduced to the Vyatka zemstvo. At the same time the rural credit companionships were thought to be engaged in those projects either [15, p. 622].

According to the head of the office A. A. Valaev, credit cooperation should have become a reliable support for zemstvo in developing accessible credit. Hence, special educational campaign was held by the office's staff among district zemstvo workers [16]. A. A. Valaev himself organized a number of discussions on the small credit with provincial agronomists, insurance agents and statisticians in the course of agricultural conferences in 1912–1913. The fact is, all those people were intended him to be propagandists of the small credit among Vyatka peasants [17, p. 54].

As a result, the office in Vyatka before long got many applications both from district assemblies and so-called rural societies. They asked for help in the matter of organizing credit companionships [18]. So, the board of the office had to send everywhere printed materials and instructions on organization of credit companionship and credit operations [19, p. 620].

However, some initiatives of the small credit office were rejected by provincial assembly and governor's administration. Nevertheless, its work continued despite stress of money even in the years of the Great War. What is more, its greatest measure occurred in 1915. That year the congress of representatives of all credit companionships of the region took place in Vyatka [20, p. 14].

Conclusion

In the upshot, the credit programs of the Vyatka zemstvo, despite all the technical and financial imperfections, contributed a lot to economical development of the Vyatka province. What is more, zemstvo tried to make credit accessible for ordinary peasants, thus solving urgent social problems of the provincial economy. Since then some of the zemstvo's undertakings were able to prove their viability and lasted until 1917.

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**TAYMYR INDIGENOUS PEOPLE
ECONOMY FORMATION
AS A HISTORICAL PROCESS
OF COLONIZATION: FEATURE
ETHNOGRAPHIC STORY**

Malygina N.V.

Some decades of forced oblivion have gone and we watch an interest to the Arctic increase and escalation of the industrial development in Russia. It is connected with a start for some enliven of natural resources of the Arctic continental shelf assimilation. As a result of this we watch the occurrence of destructive processes of habitat relationships of wild reindeer as the main component of the livelihoods of the indigenous population is inevitable, which is likely to Taymyr. Within 1976–2002 some experience data on international research projects at the territory of East Taymyr has been accumulating. This cumulative database has been supported with field literature and archive analyzed for a long time (1976 – nowadays). Results. It became clear that within Arctic territories colonization periods (XVII–XIX centuries) the livelihood of Taymyr indigenous people advanced as a junction of different kinds of economy: fishing, hunting, berries and mushrooms gathering, domesticated reindeer husbandry with some greatest emphasis on wild reindeer hunting. National culture grounded with the livelihood plays the greatest role than a language group identification, so at a war conflict with close Samodians (Nenets), Enets and Nganasans have been supported by Evenki and Dolgans.

Keywords: *wild reindeer hunting, indigenous people economy, Nganasans, Enets, Dolgans, Evenks, Nenets.*

СТАНОВЛЕНИЕ ХОЗЯЙСТВЕННОГО УКЛАДА МЕСТНОГО НАСЕЛЕНИЯ ТАЙМЫРА КАК ИСТОРИЧЕСКИЙ ПРОЦЕСС КОЛОНИЗАЦИИ: ЭТНОГРАФИЧЕСКИЕ ПРИЗНАКИ

Малыгина Н.В.

Начало XXI века ознаменовалось определением Арктики в качестве региона геостратегических интересов России со специфическими требованиями к обеспечению всех сфер жизни и экономической деятельности. Особое внимание уделяется проблеме поддержания благосостояния и просто выживания аборигенного населения северных регионов как последствиям трансформаций эскалации промышленного освоения Арктических территорий, общим характером процессов развития посттрадиционного социума северных регионов. С целью прояснения вопроса об особенностях и направленности хозяйственного уклада в период 1976–2002 на территории Восточного Таймыра в рамках международного проекта был проведён отбор оперативного материала, сопровождаемый аналитическим обзором литературных и архивных материалов (1976 год по настоящее время). В результате было установлено, что за период колонизации (XVII–XIX веков) на Восточном Таймыре сформировался комплексный тип хозяйствования: рыбалка, охота на пушных зверей, сбор ягод и грибов, оленеводство, но основа – охота на дикого оленя. Причём, национальная культура, определяемая хозяйственным укладом, играет большую роль, чем родство народов по языковой классификации, поскольку в конфликте с родственными самодийцами (ненцами), энцы и нганасане объединялись с эвенками и долганами.

Ключевые слова: *охота на дикого оленя, хозяйственный уклад местного населения, нганасане, энцы, долгане, эвенки, ненцы.*

The modern industrial expansions on Taimyr peninsula together with the quickly changing environmental conditions and great anthropogenic pressure

have caused some specific demands of ensure all areas of life and economic activity focusing on a problem of welfare maintenance and even surviving of the indigenous people of North territories whose livelihood has been formed by an ancient wild reindeer hunting culture as some stepped historical process of this portion of an Arctic circum.

Purpose

Because a strict dependence of indigenous people on biological resources, a real threat to indigenous people existence as an ethnos demands in-depth knowledge of interest of Taimyr indigenous people economy formation as a historical process of different steps of colonization.

Materials and methods of research

Place of our interest was the Taimyr Peninsula. This is a huge territory of about 400000 km², northernmost portion of East Siberia. Within 1976-2002 some experience data on international research projects at the territory of Taymyr (west portion) has been accumulating. This cumulative database has been supported with field literature and archive of Krasnoyarsk area analyzed for a long time (1976 – nowadays).

Research results and their interpretation

Aborigines (autochthones) of Taimyr Peninsula **Nganasans** are the most Eastern of the peoples of the Samoyedic language family, descendants of the ancient population of Northern Siberia and the northernmost tundra population of Eurasia Neolithic hunters for reindeer. It was composed of various origin tribal groups. Archaeological data show a close relation between the first inhabitants of the Peninsula with a population of the basin of the Middle and Lower Lena River. From there they went on the Taimyr Peninsula, about six thousand years ago, who had been subsequently influenced by the Taimyr Samodians came from the West to. Sometimes Nganasans identify with tau-nganasans who are known by some myths only. Some other point of view: Nganasans are the descendants of Neolithic hunters, the bearers of

some elements of buolkollachsk culture. The evidence of non-ceramics wild reindeer hunting culture of V–IV thousand BC (time of climate optimum) was found at the mid-territory of Avam and Kheta-rivers (place of modern dwelling of Nganasans) [2, 6, 8]. This was a period of wide invasion to Polar territories by roaming groups of hunters which had ethnically and culturally been closed to some late-Mesolithic tribes dwelled in East Europe and Siberia taiga. These hunters were decedents of the original population of Arctic at a time of next climate worsen (fracture of III–II thousands BC). And at that time wild reindeer hunting culture (buolkollachsk culture) characterised with ceramics and three-edged arrow-heads developed in mid-territory of Olenek and Khatanga – rivers (the same of late-Neolithic Yakutia). The evidence of this culture presents at the Cheta-river (XIIth century – II thousand BC) [2, 6, 8, 10]. This up to now is a place of water-crossings of one of the main migration wild reindeer streams. Wild reindeer has always played and still plays in their lives that particular place. Hunting was considered and is considering as the most favorable work. The meat of wild deer admits as the only acceptable food, unlike any other, including domestic reindeer meat [13]. In the Nganasan's folklore all other types of meat appeared as the food of the poor only, standing on the risk of famine. Nganasans stood out for the special importance of wild reindeer hunting in their economy. They bagged wild reindeer mainly in the autumn by collective hunting on river crossings, killing them with some spears from shuttles. Also Nganasans used a belt net, in which hunters drove the wild reindeer. Besides, in summer and autumn Nganasans hunted for wild reindeer on foot, alone or in small groups [3]. So, Nganasans stood out for the special importance of wild reindeer hunting in their economy. They bagged wild reindeer mainly in the autumn by collective hunting on river crossings, killing them by spears from shuttles. Also Nganasans used a belt net, in which hunters drove the wild reindeer. Besides, in summer and autumn Nganasans hunted for wild reindeer on foot, alone or in small groups. This territory was of good forest cover and was dotted with a lot of rivers, lakes, streams abundant with poultry (especially geese sp.) and fish (especially arctic salmon and chirr), hundreds of migration and sometimes all-year-

round dwelled reindeer which was the ground of a livelihood of people [11, 13]. So, this territory was a Promised Land both for the ancient inhabitants and for some new-comers. **Colonization period I (period of assimilation).** **Enets** is a little group of indigenous people of Taymyr; – their forefathers lived in the territory of mid-Ob-river. By B. Dolgikh [4] south they embraced a vast territory of Taz-river basin-the low and mid-stream and Turukhan-right bank of Yenissei-river (a mouth of Kureika and Nizhniy Tunguska-rivers) north. A source of the end of XVth century is the first data about this people but with some other name – molgonzei which has been the main portion of the prominent Russian yasak Mangazeia (based in 1601). In XVIIth century Enets have been a portion yasak Mangazeia population [1]. The terminal time formation of this little north population was XVIIth century. At the end of second half of the XVIIth century-beginning of XVIIIth century Enets had been forced by their south and west neighbours from their basin Taz- and Turukhan-rivers territories and were leaving for North-East, right bank of the river of Yenissei. They started sharing a territory with nganasans and a portion of them joined and assimilated aborigines. Their economy was complicated with the emphasis on wild reindeer hunting by the influence of nganasans as their “relatives” whom they shared a territory with. Low Yenissei tundra and forest-tundra have been abundant with wonderful places of fishing, berry-places, wild reindeer, partridges and poultry and sheltered by the Enetz thoroughly [2, 4, 8, 10] **Evenks** (non-autochthons of Taymyr) historically and ethnically are connected with Evenkia where they by small groups or families have come to Taymir from. A few ethnic Evenk group inhabited south of Taymir, in the foothills of and in the Putorana Mountains, Khantaiskoie-lake basin. They roamed here from Evenkia which had intensively been dwelling by Russian merchants and amount of sable had decreased. In the end of XIXth beginning of XXth century Evenks were the very reserved nomadic group, engaging in a hunt, fishing and reindeer husbandry. But exclusive commodity occupation was hunting (arctic foxes and wild reindeer). They no more than two-three onetime per a year went out on the trading post of Plakhino for the fur sale and purchase of all necessity. An-

imals have been obtained mainly by “mouths” (traps) “guarded” on considerable distance from each other as a line. An ordinary type of dwelling for Evenks is a pole tent, covered with “nukes” (overlays of tent). But however some portion of population also wooden “golomo” presenting the type of stationary building and located usually on the banks of large lakes, on the places of fishing. Being nomadic and limit nature of transport vehicles of Evenks, the amount of the articles of home everyday life was taken to the minimum, thus all home goods and chattels and family during roaming were placed on a few sledges. With such a history Evenki economy was constituted, with the emphasis on hunting (wild reindeer, arctic foxes) [9, 12, 13, 14].

Dolgans. The “youngest” of indigenous people of Taimyr have been formed in the XVIIIth century on territory of peninsula. In the XVIIth century, when Russians had come to Middle and East Siberia, dolgans did not exist. Only on the river of Lena near the mouth of Vilyui- and Muna-rivers some sporadic tungus tribes presented this name. Dolgans are considered being the first mentioned in some dispatches sent by the Yeniseisk province administration to the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1841, when have issued the expedition by A.F. Middendorf. Dolgans have composed multicomponent substrate by junction of north Yakuts, “Yakut Tunguses” (Evenks, historically located Vilyui-river territory) and the Starozhily, so-called beyond-tundra-peasants**. During XVIII and XIX of centuries the process of a junction of culture and way of life of these different groups of population of the mixed Samoyedic-Tiurk-Tungus ethnos with Slavic elements increased. Yakut language became dominant; mastered not only by Tungus origin groups, but mostly by beyond-tundra-peasants. Mutual marriages are increasingly erased earlier differences between Evenks, Yakut and Russians. Material and spiritual culture was influenced by Dolgans mentioned above (economy, clothes, food, and housekeeping). Due to the peculiarities of origin lifestyle Dolgan has mixed character. But what is the most important, from the Samoyeds (Nenets, Enets and especially Nghanasans) they took the basic element of their culture - wild reindeer hunting [1, 5, 6, 9]. **Colonization period II (period of expansion).** **Nenets.** At first the Nenets attempted to penetrate east in mid-

30s of the XVIIth century. Two centuries of isolation from Western Nenets (near Yenisei) and assimilation of the Enetz led to the formation of a separate group East Nenets language with its own characteristics and culture. Nenets economy has long been and remains complex, focused on domesticated reindeer husbandry [4, 6, 14]. That is why the only type of Nenets dwelling was Chum (a portable fur-house). Chum is closely influenced by reindeer herding and nomadic way of life. Nenets settled on the banks of the Yenisei-river and its tributaries [7, 9]. Period of colonization-assimilation ended. During the XIXth century Komi reindeer herders and European Nenets have been the owners of the best pastures on the eastern slopes of the Urals. Jamal Nenets, vigorously advanced eastward, mastering Gueydan peninsula until the Yenisei-river [10]. In the early XVIIth century the number of the Enets as a whole was more than 3 thousand people; it was of quite a large number of North Western Siberia people. In the year of 1630–1631 due to some smallpox epidemic Enets number decreased significantly, apparently extinct genera whole [6, 13, 14]. The second half of the XVIIth century and XVIIIth century was a period of continuous military conflicts (from south, west and south-east) and Enets displacement most of their ancestral territories. Despite strong resistance, in the most cases Enets defeated, such as temporary success of Enets leader named Leder (1649–1653) the fight against Selkups on the river of Taz ended in 1654 by the death of warriors of his camp and capture of women and children; by the end of the XVII century Selkups already fixed in the upper and middle basin of Taz. The reasons of the Enets defeat in these collisions apparently may be clarified by – the number superiority of their neighbours, more progressive military organization and equipment (for example Selkups had experience of war with the Chants and Siberian Tatars), more progressive economy structures, primarily – domesticated reindeer husbandry with large nomadic herding of West Nenets. Enets had more primitive economy, based on hunting (wild reindeer) and fishing – and related forms of social organization, more archaic methods of belligerents and etc. During the collisions of the second half of XVIIth century – XVIIIth century some portion of the Enets retreated to the north and north-east, some of them joined the Ngana-

sans. In the middle of XVIIIth century on the left bank of the Low Yenisei-river developed coastal Jurak group, consisting of fragments of Enets clans who migrated to the north and east, in which these groups are gradually assimilated Nenets (probably assimilation occurred simultaneously with the assimilation of nomadic Nenets reindeer herding). West Nenets expansion ended by their settlement on the right bank of the Yenisei and forcing Enets from the mid-Taz-Yenisei territory, but had not progressed beyond the Yenisei, because of the Enets strict resistance with the help of Evenks and Dolgans joined Enets. Movement of Nenets east - despite attempts of the Russian administration to establish firm boundaries between Nenets and Enets in 1822 – did not end with the conquest Taz tundra. In the 1830–1840s Nenets of the Ob-river moved to the left bank of the Low Yenisei, and conflicts over control of the Yenisei-river developed. Their top was the battle at Lake of Turuchedo in the forest of the right bank of the Yenisei River in winter 1849/1850. Enets-Nenets fables close by the description of the circumstances of the battle differ in assessing its outcome [1,2, 13]. In any case, the coalition Enets, and Evenks-Nganasans if not won the Nenets, at least do them so much damage that stopped the further movement of the latter east. Thus, in the middle of the XIXth century, a contemporary settlement area Enets was formed, mainly on the right bank of the mouth of the Yenisei River and the Yenisei Gulf (Dudinka-Pura-river). Mid-XIXth century warfare on the Yenisei-river ended in Nenets failure at the lake of Turuchedo ** and stopped the advance of the Nenets east. West Nenets developed domesticated reindeer herding, which led to an almost total exclusion from this territory wild reindeer and consequently wild reindeer hunting. But further east, inland Taymyr, large-Nenets domesticated reindeer herding has not penetrated. Thus, historically, that has passed the boundary of the Nenets influence on the Yenisei-river [1, 9, 13, 14].

Russians. A starting point for the movement of Russian explorers east was fishing encampment on the site where Mangazeya jail was built in the beginning of seventeenth century on the Taz River. In the early seventeenth century the rapid development of the Taimyr Peninsula, from the south, from the Lower Tunguska River , tributaries that comes close

to the mouth of the river Kotuyi, later – from the east, mostly from the sea. According to the covenant of Peter the 1st in the eighteenth century the Great Northern Expedition was performed in, which detachment headed by the famous polar explorers and navigators Khariton Laptev and Semyon Chelyuskin based downriver Khatanga. After exploring the historical data the date of birth of the village Khatanga and date of acquisition by territory to Russia Hatangskiy district was determined the year 1626, when the first Russian settlement in the form of state Yasachnaya wintering was created. Emerged in the eastern half of the Taimyr Peninsula hundreds of kilometers from Mangaseia nevertheless, its birth owes much Mangazeysky Sea Way, rural settlement Khatanga – most northern Russian settlement from the very beginning of its existence has become an important center of promotion of Russian explorers in North Siberia [1, 10]. A special role in the development of Khatanga-river, East Taimyr and in adjacent territories, resulted in new geographical discoveries in the middle of the northern regions of the Asian continent. In the XVI–XVIIth centuries the first Russian settlers came from the European part of Russia into Pyasida (Taimyr called at that period). Descendants from Central and Eastern Pomorie became the basis of the permanent population of the Taimyr-Turukhansk area and of Low Angara-river. Over the time, some culture and housekeeping of the Russian inhabitants of the few inland areas of the Taimyr (Khatanga, Pyasina-river) acquired specific features of Evenks and Yakuts. So-called beyond-tundra-peasants were heavily influenced by neighbours, embraced many features of everyday life, the language of the Yakuts, getting them often married. Within all the time of development almost all of these groups merged with the local Russian population. *** The interaction of the Evenks, Yakuts and Russian beyond-tundra-peasants in the late XVIIIth-first half XIXth centuries formed Dolgan ethnicity [1, 5, 13]. **Future Directions.** As Taimyr region continues to develop its natural resources, human-induced changes will continue to affect the availability and use of habitat by wildlife species in the region. Taimyr population of wild reindeer (*Rangifer tarandus* L.) is one of the most popular wildlife species in Taimyr and one of the

most important for subsistence and recreational hunting, and for viewing. In the worst cases, these alterations will have been resulted in regional and local extirpations. In order to understand these human-induced alterations, and therefore to be better prepared to prevent their occurrence in North territories the wild reindeer using is redefined as environmental protection and as a basic right of indigenous people to protect their health and welfare. The environmental justice has set out clear goals of eliminating unequal enforcement of environmental, civil rights and public health laws, faulty assumptions in calculating, assessing and managing risks, exclusionary policies and practices that prevent the indigenous people from participating in decision making. Many of these problems are eliminated by existing environmental, health, housing and civil rights laws. But regardless to the character and causes of pasture complexes destruction while not eliminating, or attempts to mitigate the destructive processes, taking into account the strict dependence of indigenous people on biological resources, there is a real threat to their existence as an ethnos that demands in-depth knowledge of interest of indigenous people. The only way of overcoming negative relations between industrial progress and environmental degradation is research and development. Some essence of its schedule may be done in two key ways: co-existence as ecological value and extraction activity and universal knowledge of the region's specific nature, its needs and conditions as well as awareness of the necessity of conducting further research.

Conclusion

Within Arctic territories colonization periods (XVII–XIX centuries) the livelihood of Taymyr indigenous people advanced as a junction of different kinds of economy: fishing, hunting, berries and mushrooms gathering, domesticated reindeer husbandry with some greatest emphasis on wild reindeer hunting. Taymyr ethnography shows that the livelihood of different peoples is grounded by some light differences of ecological conditions of environment. Taymyr peoples livelihood focused on wild reindeer hunting for the greatest population of wild reindeer has not been replaced with the most effective for

West Siberia domesticated reindeer husbandry because some labour expenses for that on Taymyr are fruitless. National culture grounded with the livelihood plays the greatest role than a language group identification, so at a war conflict with close Samodians (Nenets), Enets and Nganasans have been supported by Evenki and Dolgans. taking into account the strict dependence of indigenous people on biological resources, there is a real threat to their existence as an ethnos that demands in-depth knowledge of interest of indigenous people. The only way of overcoming negative relations between industrial progress and environmental degradation is research and development. Some essence of its schedule may be done in two key ways: co-existence as ecological value and extraction activity and universal knowledge of the region's specific nature, its needs and conditions as well as awareness of the necessity of conducting further research.

* The Samoyedic peoples (also Samoyedic peoples) are those groups that speak Samoyedic languages, which are part of the Uralic family. They are a linguistic grouping, not an ethnic or cultural one. The name derives from the obsolete term Samoyed used in Russia for some indigenous peoples of north of West Siberia and European North-East. The term "Samoyed" was originally a Russian word, a corrupted form of the ethnonym Saamod. Samoyed in Russian literally means "Self-Eating" and thus from one side the term came to be considered pejorative, although this is not the original meaning, being a false etymology, but some other point of view this term is of Old Church according [9, 10].

** A.V. Golovniiov is the "Talking cultures", Chapter II "Warriors and leaders" gives a picturesque story of this fight [1].

*** Beyond-tundra peasants are an ethnographic group of the Russian Starozhily (The Starozhily are the descendants of the Russian Settlers of Eastern Siberia in the 16th and 17th Century. Most of them were Old Believers, living along the rivers of Dudinka and Khatanga on Taymir peninsula (East Siberia). By the end of the XX century practically fully met with surrounding Russian population. From data of the All-Russian Census of Population (2002) 8 persons have itself been taken this ethnographic group to [1, 4, 13].

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MAIN DIRECTIONS OF THE RUSSIAN SCIENTIFIC HISTORIOGRAPHIC RESEARCH IN MILITARY AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE USSR AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Melisheva E.P.

Objective: statement of research results of the main scientific directions in military historiography of separate political and ideological aspects of the history of the USSR, presented to the world in the early twenty-first century. **Methodology and materials research:** Body of scientific publications, presented in the national information-analytical system, is exposed to subject-semantic analysis to identify key positions in the areas of scientific interest of modern military historiographers. **Results:** the scientific research results in the field of subject-semantic analysis of publications on the development of housing historiographical sources, covering various aspects of political education of military personnel in the USSR using the Scientific Electronic Library (<http://elibrary.ru>), are presented. **Application scope of results:** general and special historiographic researches in military history.

Keywords: historiography of the USSR, subject-semantic analysis, military personnel of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and Soviet Army, military historiography.

Introduction

In modern conditions of development of information technologies and the ongoing information war, Russia is constantly faced with the attempts of outside influence on the cultural identity of the nation, which actually affects

the combat capability of the armed forces. It is necessary to oppose these attempts to patriotism and political education of military personnel. Hence, because the problem of increasing the defense of Russian Armed Forces is closely linked to the political education of personnel [1], these issues deserve attention of researchers, especially when they are presented in format of Topical historiography.

Development of the concept of organizational learning with regard to the political education of personnel, forming, so to speak, "corporate culture" of the Russian Army, naturally must be based on the experience of previous years, in particular, the experience of political education of personnel in the USSR in the first half of the XX century. Thus, redefining the historical heritage of the USSR, experience of political education of personnel become relevant and meaningful after decades of neglect and silence.

Main part

Domestic and foreign history shows that the development of many areas of science related to the activities of scientific schools. They are such a social phenomenon that allows us to solve complex problems of scientific activity on some direction in their unity and interdependence. In theory of science concept of "scientific school" has many meanings and has different connotations. Theory of science is the scientific school as one of the types of the scientific community, a special form of cooperative research activities. Scientific school is a special phenomenon, coupled with other social science associations and institutions of science, such as a scientific discipline, scientific direction, organization (institute, laboratory, sector, department), etc. Materially, it is an effective model of education, such as broadcasting, in addition to purely objective content, cultural norms and values (in this case, the scientific community) from the older generation to the younger [2]. Unlike scientific school where the key term is "scientific community" scientific direction can be developed by one scientist. Scientific direction is the backbone element of scientific activity that transforms the organization of science in various scale and influences dynamics of scientific potential.

The first large-scale mentions in the information scientific space about development of the scientific directions of military historiography, devoted to research of dynamics of an increment of knowledge of military-political and ideological aspects of work with personnel of the Army and Navy of the national information-analytical system, are dated 2006: 82 publications, including two dissertation researches. Up to this point there is a fragmentary presence of scientific activity (average 5.10 publications per year). In 2007 there is an increment of scientific knowledge: from 133 publications three are qualified scientific works, and two are monographic studies. In 2008 also there is the positive dynamics (180 publications, including one patent), but since 2009, the development becomes mixed. The results of subject-semantic analysis of publication activity in the chronological framework 2006–2013 are presented in fig. 1.

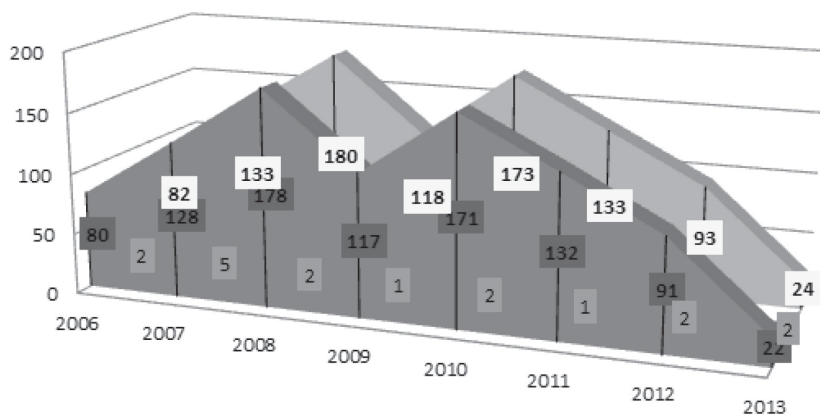


Fig. 1. The results of subject-semantic analysis of the military-historiographical publications on the researched topic in the chronological framework 2006–2013.

Blue area in the figure shows the kind of publication "memoir", their number in the figure denotes a purple marker, green area is the final number of publications for the period (yellow marker), and red marker indicates the number of monographic studies and dissertations available in the national information-analytical system on January 31, 2014.

Distribution of scientific interests of researchers in these chronological frameworks is shown in fig. 2.

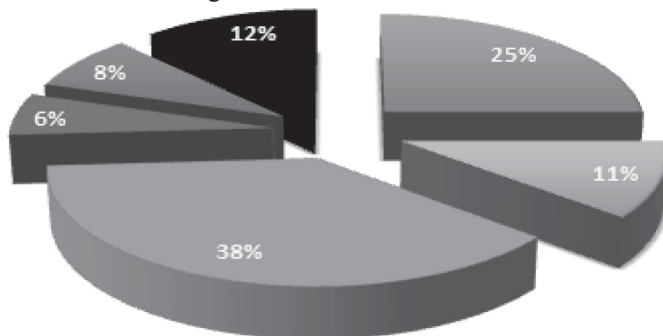


Fig. 2. Distribution of research in military historiography on scientific publications, presented in national information-analytical system on January 31, 2014.

Purple (6%) are designated historiographic researches on the problems of strengthening the morale of the army, red (8%) – in the field of ideological and legal education of the military personnel, black (12%) – in the field of legal education of the army and navy, the methodological problems of the development of historiographic research in military historiography devoted 25% (blue), the patriotic education – 11% (orange). The greatest group of works is made by researches in historiography of political education of soldiers of the Soviet Army and Navy during the Soviet era.

Thus, we can assume that in 2014 the following research directions for the study subjects successfully built and developed:

- military historiography of ideological education, covering the entire historical period of the Army and Navy of the USSR [3,4];
- historiographic researches of military and ideological aspects of educational work in the Army of the USSR some key historical periods [5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11].

The research results

Subject-semantic analysis of publications on the topic of political education of military personnel in the USSR using the Scientific Electronic Library

(<http://elibrary.ru>) allocated the next cluster of sources, which is conventionally stratified by the following domains:

- research methodology of historical research on the problems of military historiography [12, 1, 13, 14];
- historiographical study of the development process of construction and development of military-ideological paradigms in time [5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11];
- analysis paradigms [3, 4, 12–14];
- formalization of accumulated knowledge in research monographs and dissertations [15, 3–9].

Called strata go well into the concept of ba, proposed by the Japanese philosopher Kitaro Nishida and adapted by I. Nonaka and N. Konno for the model of knowledge creation [16].

"Unwinding" above the spiral model of knowledge development, in essence equivalent to the use of Deming's P-D-C-A cycle identified and demonstrated on the basis of the analysis, indicates the presence of systemic approach to the research of political education of military personnel in the USSR in domestic historical science.

Conclusion

Thus, the history of the study of problems of political education of personnel of the Red Army continues to evolve today by the efforts of individual enthusiasts and researchers. This is a natural process of learning a number of progressive, but not all, aspects in such a complex area as the Soviet military construction, a large part of which was a party political work in the Army and Navy and the political education of the personnel is within it. It looks so natural that historiographic understanding of the problem takes place mainly in the research of historiography and historical sources relevant to the problems of party political work, undertaken by the power structures of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in the chronological framework mentioned above.

Development of historiography of the topic is determined by immediate concrete historical situation. Historiography and historical sources, in which

it is reflected, are vast and varied. They became affiliation Soviet historiography, when it developed in single scientific space of the Soviet Union and in Russia's post-Soviet scientific space.

However, in this connection, it is sure to emphasize the fundamentally important fact: the scientific problem of political education of personnel of the Red Army was the subject of a separate complex historiographic research in domestic historical science.

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THE KNIGHT ORDERS AND THE PRESENT: THE METHODOLOGICAL AND HISTORIOSOPHICAL ASPECT

Oreshkin M.V., Oreshkina M.A.

The purpose of this article is to study the appearance of the knight orders archetype in our times.

The methodological basis of the work is the historiosophical analysis and the theory of archetypes applied to the historical space and movement over time.

The result of the work is determination of regularities of the knight order archetype movement over time.

The field of application is scientific researches dealing with the study of elite communities.

Keywords: *archetype, knight order, movement over time, elite, history, present.*

РЫЦАРСКИЕ ОРДЕНЫ И СОВРЕМЕННОСТЬ: МЕТОДОЛОГИЧЕСКИ- ИСТОРИОСОФСКИЙ АСПЕКТ

Орешкин М.В., Орешкина М.А.

Целью статьи является изучение проявления архетипа рыцарских орденов в наше время.

Методологической основой работы является историософский анализ и теория архетипов, применительно к историческому пространству и движению во времени.

Результатом работы является установления закономерностей движения во времени архетипа рыцарского ордена.

Областью применения являются научные исследования посвященные изучению элитных сообществ.

Ключевые слова: *архетип, рыцарский орден, движение во времени, элита, история, современность.*

Foreword. The elite and the elitism, the connection of the past with the present – all this needs to be studied in detail and thoroughly in our extremely changeable world. Elite organizations existing just throughout the centuries give us an example for study. First of all, these are knight orders. Studying this very historical phenomenon we can better determine and understand the real significance of the elite in our world.

The review of foreign and domestic publications. The analysis of researches and publications provides the possibility to consider how the order organizations interact with the society and how their archetypes reach right up to the present throughout the centuries on the example of the Order of Knight Templars. As per many authors, the Order of Knight Templars is one of the oldest orders (and secret societies at the same time). It was established in 1119 [1]. The order existed till 1307. The full name of this knight organization is “The Order of Poor Knights of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon” [2]. With the course of time the Templars accumulated enormous wealth and stood apart sufficiently. They had complicated rituals and a system of signs. In 1306 the king of France Philipp 4th the Beautiful banished Jews from France. Next year he dealt shortly with Templars. D. Pipes saw the paradox in those events: why Jews were banished if Muslims were much more dangerous? Why did Templars suffer serving as the most valiant warriors of Christ? Even regularity can be derived from it: suspects of conspiracy are very seldom those who would be pointed out by the logic. The other way round, those people should be suspected who the least capable are of. [3]. The situation with Jews was well-understandable. Mostly, they were banished in order to make the way free for “French domestic personnel” like merchants, crafts-

men, moneychangers [4]. But it was much more complicated with Templars. They were not blamed, as Jews, for ritual murders and water wells poisoning [3], they were charged with infringement on the dominating Catholic ideology. In fact, the religion, the ideology and the politics were incorporated within an entire system at that time. They could smoothly replace each other. It also makes sense that the Jews and the Templars in France were done away with almost at the same time. Both Jews and Templars are united with the keyword “temple” [5; 6; 7; 8; 9]. The Christianity, the Islam and the Judaism (Moses’s Judaism) are Abrahamic religions and all of them are temple religions as well [5; 6; 10; 11]. The Templars’ proximity to Sufis was acknowledged by Templars themselves [12]. Other sources confirm it too [13] and show that there is “some brotherhood, community of people linked geographically to the Holy Land and to Provence (as well as some Jews and Muslims having a similar notion about “the hidden Messiah” and/or “the hidden Imam”) continues keeping allegorically and transferring to the next generations the knowledge about the “lost”, “hidden Reign of Peace being in direct relationship to Christ!” [9]. Moreover, the Templars discovered the transcendental plan of unity of the three temple religions just in the temple theology [14]. The connection of Templars to the Orthodox Church and to Russia is also very significant and interesting. It can be seen in icon-painting and in special Templars’ adoration of Mother of God [15; 16; 17]. The wooden statue of Saint Nicholas the Wonderworker kept in Moshaysk since 1380 till now can be actually the statue of Saint Bernard de Clairvaux who was one of the founders of the Order of Knight Templars [18]. The connections of Templars with Russia could be confirmed in Mozhaysk [19; 20] and implemented in Novonikolskiy cathedral, in linear and volume dimensions of which, even in its location, the reference dates related to the Order of Templars are encrypted in numbers and proportions. This order was widely represented in Poland too. Templars were situated in the border region – in Galician and Volhynian Rus and in Yotvingia [21].

Even more incredible transformations could be observed in the Order of Templars in 20th century: the so-called “spiritual templary” became the

world outlook basis of “order circles” appeared in Russia in 1920-ties [5]. In the early 1930-ties the Order of Neotemplars was liquidated in Russia by the State United Political Administration. For the most part, this organization had a playing nature [13]. In West Europe the line of Templars’ development must not have been ever interrupted. Thus in the beginning of the 21st century there are three organizations at least, which call themselves Templars and say that they have been tracing their genealogy since 1314. Particularly, we should mention the Neotemplars of Austria and Germany whose organizations were created by Adolf Josef Lanz more known as Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels. There is the opinion that just those very ideas of Austrian Neotemplars formulated by Lanz were adopted by the national socialist party of Germany [13]. So is the dialectics of the archetype: on different soil it can bring very different shoots... It depends to a considerable extent on the historical memory of a nation. Just this can be estimated rather exactly.

Problem definition. The purpose of the article is to study the appearance of the knight orders archetype at our times.

Description of researches. Materials and results of researches. The attempts (successful and failed) to recreate and to construct order organizations amaze with their purposefulness and regular repeatability. For example, the attempt to create in USA “The Noble Order of Knights of Labour” in 1869 [22], which ceased to exist at the end of the 19th century. It did not get a long life as it had no core: there was no elite, it was just a form without content and the form was the framework of everything. There was no spiritual basis and the order did not have the main thing: the archetype of knights. There was an attempt to recreate the order structure inside the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (the church of Mormons) in USA as well [23; 24].

The idea to create an order-like structure – The Monarchist League in Great Britain – was pretty successful. (The Monarchist League, PO Box 466111. E-mail: enquiries@monarchy.net). It was created and led by the great grandson of Lev Tolstoy. The League declares the following principles: “The Monarchist League believes that both the history and the present confirm the fact that the monarchy was, is and will be of great importance in

establishment and maintenance of stability, welfare and dignity of all countries and nations... Constancy and political impartiality being attributes of a strong monarchy guarantee the freedom from civil and military dictatorship to the people and perform the true care for the welfare of all the society. Being established in the United Kingdom the League has delegates and branches all over the world and unites all those who share its belief in advantages of the monarchy as a form of state structure in their country... The purpose of the League is to support the advantages of the monarchy” [25].

Some authors incline to consider the People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs in USSR and the Protective Squads (Schutzstaffeln, SS) in Germany as order organizations [13] but this question is too controversial: it is still more “like” than “as”.

The most entire concept of an Order in the modern world was developed by Maksim Kalashnikov (Vladimir Kucherenko). The purpose of this “Order of New Sward-Bearers” is revival of Russia as an independent imperial state [26]. It can be supposed that the word “Order” actuates some mechanisms hidden inside us and bringing to the implementation of its archetype and then to the development of this archetype, as it were, “sprouting of seeds” throughout the centuries and even thousands of years.

Various structures can be material bearer of archetypes. For instance, it can be the genetic level appearing in complicated multi-shape and multi-level structure of the human psychics, i.e. of the brain as well [27]. It can be field structures accumulating information and where the human brain is only the device for transmission and reception and the antenna [27; 28], in view of the fact, e.g., that the nature of the planetary supermind is an integrated combination of biofields of billions of organisms for billions of years [29], the understanding of which V. Vernadskiy could reach very closely at his time [30; 31]. The problem becomes more complicated as well because the human, both as individual and as community of people, can move from one reality to other and bear inside and get every time differently directed information not only in course of life but just during a day. These transitions occur in the common three-directional space [32].

Nevertheless, there are also other realities adjacent to our three-dimensional world [33] and if these transitions occur in the first case like in a plane – for this particular case we can talk about a volume.

We can mention as well that sometimes we do not see some obvious things. So children transfer information about games throughout thousands of years without transmitting it over adult people [imago]. It means in fact that those games, interests and archetypes of children's consciousness came to us from the depths of thousands of years almost in primeval form. Leaving the juvenile stage and becoming imago, people "forget" the information they entirely possessed in "tender age". But the transmission of information in age categories is obvious, independent and specific. It takes place in the same way in different sexes. We can even conclude that there is a child and a teenager subcivilization and it can be suggested as well that there are male and female subcivilizations within the global civilization of humankind.

However, notwithstanding the methods, channels, peculiarities, bearers and repositories of information about the archetype, this information is actually being transmitted and the channels are working. The information flows actuate the flows of energy. Thus the archetype lives travelling in our mind. The Order archetype hides the peculiar and powerful energy of sanctity the access to which we try to find so hard [5]. This can be seen so well in the idea of the temple as well. The temple on the earth is an implementation of forms of the perfect Temple and of the archetype, the construction of which was the very first act of creation [14]. The Knight Orders appearing in ancient times changed deeply in course of the history but kept their peculiarities. They adapted to requirements of the new society. So the model of a spiritual knight order created in the crusade environment was replaced with the model of a corporation acting for the benefit of the (Christian) society [21]. Thus the modern Orders are a suitable form for solving various problems of the European and, sometimes, of the international elite [34]. In view of the fact that a compression of the historical time takes place [35,36] with subsequent merging of realities, the significance of Knight Orders can grow and even transform, giving a new quality to the Orders [26].

The archetype and the knight orders as elite organizations, being replicated in the society and in the time by means of the so-called “genetic code of the society”, can resolve problems of intellect and information concentration, realize the continuity, contribute to development of the sound ideology and to good survivability of the society in general, becoming the spiritual basis of a sound society through the archetype of sanctity.

It can be suggested that Ukraine under today’s conditions should “get” a couple of ecumenical knight orders. Studies of the very rich spiritual history of nations populating Ukraine and populated it before should become one of the primary tasks. Thus the true spiritual history of our nation should be reconstructed, where the Christianity is the top of its spiritual development. Support of the ideas of Christianity, both in their diversity and in their primeval purity, needs to be developed and protected as well.

In view of the above mentioned, the ecumenical program of spiritual revival of the nation should be determined and implemented as it is impossible neither to feed people nor to create proper living conditions if the main problem is not resolved – the Problem of Spirit. Here we have to understand clearly: the human freedom is to be realized through the freedom of choice and the freedom of will – the basic existence postulates of the positive spiritual life. We have to remember as well that the economic welfare of a person does not matter at all for the Order as for an organization. Another thing is important: how deep the person’s spirituality is, if this is a person of faith and if having any real positive intellectual achievements.

Summary. The Order is not just a club or an organization with the right to join and retire freely. The Order is a STYLE OF LIFE. And this is not for everybody and not everybody is up to it. It is important that the Order makes people unite beyond political, ideological and religious principles, actually – on the timeless basis of eternal values. And it is not just a union for itself but the union FOR A GOOD CAUSE.

And this all is overshadowed with the traditions. What else can keep the traditions better than the Order? The traditions are sacred in many aspects (to reasonable extent) because they are the element of the integral system of

signs of the world. The traditions based on the true spirituality are timeless. However, on the other part, they have the particular reference “here – now”. It can be especially observed when they appear because it occurs in certain place. So their dialectics is.

Therefore, positive traditions should be cultivated in a newly created Order, based on the experience of forerunners. For this purpose, the mutual communications of Order members has to be developed along with proper centres of communication. On one hand, this is something enclosed and intended for elite, and on the other hand – completely open for any member of the community. Various cultural events should become the “visiting card” of the Order. Joint measures of various purposes, frequent communication of the members of the Order are the most important factors of its period of formation on rather stony spiritual land of our country and our region. This can be the practical result of the considered approaches to the analysis of Knight Orders archetypes.

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**NEW FOREIGN-LANGUAGE
PUBLICATIONS ON THE COSSACKS
IN THE RUSSIAN INDEX OF SCIENTIFIC
QUOTATION OF 2013–2014: STATISTICAL
ANALYSIS AND BIBLIOMETRICS**

Yurchenko I. Yu.

***Aim of the article:** it is for the first time the main trends in studying the topical issues of the modern historiography of the Cossacks are considered, on the basis of the analysis of the articles in academic periodicals from the Scientific E-Library of the Russian Index of Scientific Quotation funds over the last year:*

***Method:** the statistical analysis of the total amount and the publishing dynamics of the articles devoted to the problems of the Russian Cossack-land written in foreign languages over the years of 2013 and 2014. The analysis of the main bibliometrical publishing figures related to the Cossacks. The comparative analysis of the number, dynamics, and subject of the foreign-language articles devoted to the Cossacks.*

***Results:** there have been adduced the statistical data concerning the scholarly publications in journals, and the results of their analysis. A conclusion was made about the increase of the number of topical works devoted to the Cossacks. Then, there have been considered the foreign-language articles from the pre-reviewed periodicals from Russian Index of Scientific Quotation. Altogether there were 46 titles under analysis (out of 482 articles written on the subject). The author's earlier hypothesis of this increase in number of the articles on the Cossacks in the second decade of 21 century having exponential nature has been partially proved.*

The sphere of applying the results: historiographical analysis, bibliometrics, scientific statistics, general history of science, the methods of statistical analysis of the subjects of topical scientific research.

Keywords: *Cossack; Cossacks; modern historiography; articles in journals; academic periodicals, Russian Index of Scientific Quotation (RISQ); Scientific E-Library (SEL); SCIENCE INDEX; statistics; bibliometrical analysis.*

НОВЫЕ ПУБЛИКАЦИИ О КАЗАЧЕСТВЕ НА ИНОСТРАННЫХ ЯЗЫКАХ В ИНДЕКСЕ РИНЦ ЗА 2013–2014 г.: СТАТИСТИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ И БИБЛИОМЕТРИЯ

Юрченко И.Ю.

В статье впервые на основе анализа статей в научных журналах, отложившихся в фондах Научной электронной библиотеки Российского индекса научного цитирования за прошедший год, рассматриваются основные направления изучения актуальных проблем новейшей российской историографии казачества.

Метод: *статистический анализ общего числа и динамики публикации статей по проблемам казачества в России за 2013–2014 гг. на иностранных языках. Анализ основных библиометрических показателей публикаций по казачьей тематике. Сравнительный анализ числа, динамики и тематики статей по казачеству на русском и иностранных языках.*

Результаты: *приведена статистика научных публикаций в журналах, а также результаты ее анализа. Сделан вывод о росте числа актуальных исследований феномена казачества в последние годы. Рассмотрены статьи в рецензируемых журналах из Российского индекса научного цитирования, изданные на иностранных языках. Всего приведены результаты анализа 46 наименований из общего чис-*

ла 482 статей в научных журналах по рассматриваемой проблеме. Была частично проверена выдвинутая ранее автором гипотеза об экспоненциальном росте числа научных статей по казачьей тематике во втором десятилетии 21 века.

Область применения результатов: *историографический анализ, библиометрия, научная статистика, общая история науки, методы статистического анализа тематики актуальных научных исследований.*

Ключевые слова: *Cossack; Cossacks; казачество; новейшая историография; статьи в журналах; РИНЦ; НЭБ; SCIENCE INDEX; статистика; библиометрический анализ.*

Over the last two decades there has been a stable trend for increasing the amount and widening the thematical range of the scholarly researches devoted to Cossacks. As it has been mentioned earlier, in the author's special monograph, the total number of these researches over the last three decades is 2475 [1, p. 7], with the number of the theses defended in connection to the subject being 397 [2, p. 72]. The number of articles published in the leading pre-reviewed journals included into the Russian Index of Scientific Quotation is growing especially fast in recent years. From 2001 to 2010 their number was increasing in the following tempo [3]: 2001 and 2002 had 3 articles per year; 2003 – 6; 2004 – 5; 2005 – 15; 2006 – 34; 2007 – 24; 2008 – 65; 2009 – 82; 2010 – 84; which is, in total, 321 articles written about Cossacks over the decade [4, p 160]. The further research conducted in 2011 showed that there were 105 publications, and in 2012, according to incomplete data – 35 [1, p. 97]. On the basis of all data, which were processed with the help of mathematical methods of statistical analysis, there has been constructed a model of publishing activity development in the given cluster. The model was substantiated and the results of the research published in a number of the author's articles [3; 4; 6 – 12 and others] and monographs [1; 2; 5]. Despite the obvious “fall” of the figures indicating the number of articles in 2011–2012, the statistical prognosis as per the model constructed on the basis of the data analysis of the three de-

cares (with the general figures over the 20th century, decade by decade, being taken into account) demonstrated the trend for the growth of the figures, and the author has even verbalized a supposition that this growth has an exponential character. All this allowed to suppose there has appeared a new research area, wholly devoted to studying the Cossacks as a unique phenomenon. The author has recently conducted a new research on the basis of more accurate data (as nowadays by far not all publications get to libraries in time and are being indexed). It gave new, fuller results. In 2010, there were 95 titles; in 2011 – 153; in 2013 – 422; and, finally, 74 over the incomplete five months of 2014. Therefore, the hypothesis the author had previously brought forward seems to have been proved, at least in the cluster of scholarly articles.

Purpose

In the present article we will consider the situation in such a specific area as publications in foreign languages.

Materials and methods of research

The original material (the articles in digitalized academic periodicals) is kept in Scientific E-Library (SEL) of the Russian Index of Scientific Quotation (RISQ) [13]. The period under analysis was the years 2013 and 2014. In total, as on June, 1, there were found 46 publications in foreign languages. It should be immediately underlined that these fall into two big groups: the articles written in Ukrainian (and some other Slavonic languages like Polish or Belarusian) and the articles written in English. Of the total amount of 46 titles, 9 were in Slavonic languages and 2 are Russian reviews of the books written in English [14; 15]. The other 35 titles are written in English, usually by Russian or Ukrainian authors and published in Russian or Ukrainian journals included into the SCIENCE INDEX system of the RISQ.

Research results and their interpretation

General statistics on the selected subset can be represented in a following way. The total amount of the articles is 46; the total amount of authors – 56;

the average amount of publications per an author – 0,82. 2013 saw 29 articles, and there has been 17 more since the beginning of 2014. At the same time the average number of quotations is amounted to null, which is hardly surprising in view of that it was quite recent articles that were under analysis.

As to their subject, the articles are distributed into the following groups: 19 titles in the sphere of historical studies; 3 – in social studies; 2 – in political studies; 1 in literature and 1 in pedagogy. Distribution by keywords gave the following picture: «Cossacks» and «the Cossacks» are mentioned in 27 articles in total; «Culture» – in 10; «Ethnicity» and «State» – in 9 articles each; «Class» and «History» – in 8 each; «Traditions» – in 6; «Russia» – in 5; «Tradition» – in 3. All the other keywords can be come across in less than three articles.

The most articles in foreign languages were published in such journals as «Наукові праці історичного факультету Запорізького національного університету» (6 articles); «Сборники конференций НИЦ Социосфера» (5); «Вісник Національної академії керівних кадрів культури і мистецтв» (4); «In the World of Scientific Discoveries, Series A» (3); «История и историки в контексте времени» (3). The journals «Журнал Сибирского федерального университета. Серия: Гуманитарные науки»; «Достижения вузовской науки»; «Культура. Духовность. Общество»; «Молодий вчений»; «Наука и современность» each published two articles. All the other journals published per one article devoted to the Cossacks over the period in question.

Among the authors registered in the SCIENCE INDEX of the RISQ system – and the system detected 13 such authors – the distribution was as follows: Ivan Yur'evich Yurchenko wrote 3 articles [4; 11; 12]; Igor Yur'evich Erokhin – 2 articles [16; 17]; while Mikhail Georgievich Tarasov – 2 [18; 19]; while Nikolay Fedorovich Bugay [20], Violetta Sergeevna Molchanova [21], Ekaterina Sergeevna Norkina [22], Vladimir Dmitrievich Puzanov [23], Oleg Valer'evich Ratushnyak [24], Alexander Pavlovich Skorik [25], Sergey Georgievich Sulyak [26], Irina Mikhaylovna Fedina [25], Georgy Ivanovich Finin [27], and Alexander Arvelovich Cherkasov [21] wrote one article each. The fact that most Ukrainian authors did not register in RISQ should be taken into consideration, because it results in them being not seen by the system. The dis-

tribution by the number of co-authors gave the following results: there are 38 articles by single authors, 7 by two co-authors and 1 published by five co-authors. On the face of it, thereby, the SCIENCE INDEX system demonstrates that the most articles were written by the author of the present article, I.Yu. Yurchenko, with I.Yu. Erokhin being on the second place. However, if do not blindly believe the automatized system and look up the very articles in the library in a manual way, we will see a completely different picture. I.Yu. Erokhin published 16 articles in total, out of which the system recognizes only 2, while the rest 14 are not related to the author. It becomes possible if the surname and the initials are spelled differently from the Russian variant, which was, naturally, the case. It must be especially noticed that I.Yu. Erokhin (or the editors offices of various journals) transliterate his surname and initials in a number of different ways, which further confuses the system. In this case the system puts the publications in a “queue” to assert them. Which means that the author registered in the system should attach his publications to his profile manually and send an electronic confirmation in a “separate window” stating that the authorship is really his. In our case the identification was conducted by the following parameters: 1) full name; 2) the subject of the articles; 3) cross-references; 4) the author’s place of work (e.g. Croydon College, UK, London); 5) references to his works in other editions; besides, the co-authors are also analyzed. A few references to this author’s works with different variants of transliteration and the same co-authors will serve an example [28–35].

This bit of an example shows how dangerous it may be to trust blindly any automatized systems which analyse publications, count quotations, etc. In humanities in general and in historiography in particular the final decision lies, nevertheless, with the expect, the man who is still irreplaceable by the machine. And this plays a vital role not only in such a complicated question as internal review of a source, but also in solving such seemingly purely technical problem as bibliometrical statistics.

Our Ukrainian colleagues publish quite a lot of articles written in English in their academic periodicals registered in the SCIENCE INDEX of the RISQ system. It should be marked that Russian specialists in the

Cossacks sometimes publish their works in Ukrainian journals, as well. Over the period in question, on the subject of Cossacks there have been written 9 articles in English that we were able to find in SEL, all in the four following editions: «Молодий вчений», (Gelvetika Publishing House, Kherson, Ukraine); «Наукові праці історичного факультету Запорізького національного університету» (Zaporizhzhya National University, Zaporizhzhya, Ukraine); «Гуманітарні студії» (Taras Shevchenko Kiev State University, Kiev, Ukraine); «Вісник Національного університету “Юридична академія України імені Ярослава Мудрого”. Серія: філософія, філософія права, політологія, соціологія» (Yaroslav Mudryi National Law University, Kharkov, Ukraine). To illustrate the point, we adduce several articles from the journals [36–39].

Conclusion

Therefore, the results of the bibliometrical research allow us to arrive to a number of conclusions. Recently in Russian science there has been a general tendency for increasing the absolute number and a relative proportion of publications in foreign languages (above all – in English), and this tendency is becoming more and more prominent. It is a reflection of both integration of the Russian science into the world intellectual sphere and a further development of globalization in the world science on the whole. A corresponding cluster of publications can be found in the funds of the leading Russian libraries. The Scientific E-Library, which was the source of illustrative material for this article, also contains the specimens of this cluster. Publishing the articles devoted to the Cossacks in the journals accepting the material in foreign languages is in the general mainstream of the trend. Besides, there is also the trend for increasing the number of publications on the Cossacks, which has been marked before, in the author’s other researches and publications. Today the main feature of this cluster of publications is that the number and the proportion of publications on the subject of the Cossacks in the leading western editions (but for the countries of the so-called «Russia’s near abroad») remains unchanged, on the whole. What is growing fast is the number of the

Russian authors' articles written in English and published in Russian "international" journals and in translated editions. Very similar processes are now taking place in Ukraine which is the second country after Russia by the total amount of publications devoted to the Cossacks. All this demonstrates the further growth of scientific and political topicality, as well as the social importance of the problem of the Cossacks, for Russia and Ukraine on the first place. In far less prominent a scale the interest to the issues connected to the Cossacks is revealed in such countries as Kazakhstan, Belarus, Moldova and Poland, despite the fact their history and culture are also entangled with the phenomenon of the Cossacks, to this or that extent. And, finally, in such countries of "the West" as Germany, France, Great Britain and the USA the interest in the Cossacks has recently remained on the same stable level.

Summing up the results of the conducted bibliometrical research one may note that the statistical data concerning the cluster of publications in foreign languages partially confirm the author's previously suggested hypothesis which stated that the increase of the number of the scholastic articles related to the Cossacks and written in the second decade of 21 century is exponential.

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ПОЛИТОЛОГИЯ

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POLITICAL OPPOSITION IN THE HYBRID REGIME: THE POST-SOVIET RUSSIA EXPERIENCE

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Political development of Russia during last two decades is more often considered by researchers as transformation process from one form of the hybrid regime – defective democracy, to another one – competitive authoritarianism. Thus, political experience of Russia gives the opportunity for comparative analysis of political opposition evolution in the context of different hybrid regime types. How do regime characteristics influence the dynamics of opposition competitive opportunities? Is it possible to calculate real political opposition competitive opportunities under such conditions when electoral results are essentially slanted and cannot be evidence of real support for oppositional actors on the part of citizens? The measurement procedure of political opposition competitive opportunities by means of the index analysis is presented in this article. The proposed coding scale of opposition merits and demerits valuation considers both structural possibilities and regime incentives that determine resources distribution between government and opposition. Measuring of opposition competitive opportunities dynamics in Russia during 1993-2012 made it possible to reveal specific features of influence of various forms of the hybrid regime on oppositional actors' evolution.

Keywords: political opposition, hybrid regime, Russia, competitive authoritarianism, defective democracy, index analysis.

ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ ОППОЗИЦИЯ В ГИБРИДНОМ РЕЖИМЕ: ОПЫТ ПОСТСОВЕТСКОЙ РОССИИ

Шкель С.Н., Шакирова Э.В.

Политическое развитие России последних двух десятилетий все чаще исследователями рассматривается как процесс трансформации от одной формы гибридного режима – дефектной демократии, к другой – конкурентному авторитаризму. Таким образом, политический опыт России дает возможность сравнительного анализа эволюции политической оппозиции в условиях разных гибридных режимных типов. Каким образом режимные характеристики влияют на динамику конкурентного потенциала оппозиции? Можно ли рассчитать реальный конкурентный потенциал политической оппозиции в условиях, когда электоральные результаты существенным образом искажаются и не могут в полной мере объективно свидетельствовать о реальной поддержке со стороны населения оппозиционных кандидатов? На основе анализа политического развития постсоветской России в период 1993–2012 гг. эти вопросы обсуждаются в данной статье.

Ключевые слова: политическая оппозиция, гибридный режим, Россия, конкурентный авторитаризм, дефектная демократия, индексный анализ.

Introduction

In modern democratic countries the significance of political opposition isn't disputed. In authoritarian states it is pro forma recognized but is subjected to persecution in reality. Political opposition holds a specific place in states with transient regime characteristics. Such-like regimes

are determined by researchers as “hybrid”, i.e. including both democratic institutional characteristics and authoritarian attributes [4; 62; 7]. Among variety of hybrid regimes typologies worked out by modern theorists concepts of “defective democracy” [39] and “competitive” (“electoral”) authoritarianism [26; 27; 55; 2] got recognized most of all. Political development of Russia during last two decades is more often considered by researchers as transformation process from one form of the hybrid regime – defective democracy, to another one – competitive authoritarianism [17]. Thus, political experience of Russia gives the opportunity for comparative analysis of political opposition evolution in the context of different hybrid regime types. How do regime characteristics influence the dynamics of opposition competitive opportunities? Is it possible to calculate real political opposition competitive opportunities under such conditions when electoral results are essentially slanted and cannot be evidence of real support for oppositional actors on the part of citizens? These issues based on the analysis of the post-Soviet Russia political development are discussed in this article.

The Dynamics Factors of Political Opposition Competitive Opportunities

Political Opposition Competitive Opportunities (POCO) can be understood as a certain level of possibilities and resource achievements; using it opposition can not just increase chances of obtaining authority positions by means of loyalty strategy, but do it on basis of competitive rivalry. Hence, not only immediate developing of political resources by opposition, but also the factors that stimulate opposition adherence to principles, changing it from loyal quasi-opposition to disloyal opposition, can be considered the determinants contributory to increase of opposition opportunities level [28, p. 91].

Operationalization of this notion is necessary for POCO measurement. Relying on theories in modern political science, factors that influence opposition possibilities increase can be divided into two clusters: *structural and*

procedure-agential [38]. Structural factors are variables that greatly influence political regime dynamics, its characteristics can extend or, vice versa, reduce possibilities for opposition resources expansion. Therefore, opposition strength is composed of advantageous structural factors that can be indicated as structural possibilities (SP), political-regime incentives (RI) and resource achievements (RA). Opposition Index (OI) calculation formula can be presented in the following way:

$$OI=SP+RI+RA$$

Structural possibilities. Structural factors that influence regime changes dynamics are usually meant as such characteristics of a state and society as degree of national consolidation [53], national identity nature as far as opportunities for population mobilization based on oppositional nationalism are concerned [6; 60], predominant type of society political culture [1], government efficiency [30; 60], polity macroeconomic parameters [31]. In relation with the problem under analysis the majority of these factors matter in the long-term prospects entirely, that is why only some of them with proper interpretation are used in this research. In particular they are: polity macroeconomic parameters in one or another period of time, predominant social sentiment, political ranking of government and opposition, government capacity. We will reveal major theoretical ideas which point out causative interrelation between these factors and opposition possibilities.

Macroeconomics (1). Significance of economic factors in government and opposition relations is underlined by many researchers [33, p. 91–110; 21; 48]. Economic growth facilitates stable operation of government machine, retaining of power elite possibilities to politicize and capitalize state institutions, maintain overall stable politico-social situation, remove the threat of elite split and possible disloyal counter elites strategies in due time, invest resources into loyal political blueprints, form the network of patron-client relationships and contribute to marginalization of opposition. All of these factors determine power elite stability and reduces the approval level of opposition. Economic development in resource “petro-states” including modern Russia often subverts modernization effects and is able not so much to reinforce de-

mocratization as to form «resource trap of oil curse», enhancing possibilities not for opposition but for retention of authoritarian rulers' power [50; 56].

Alongside this, the idea that economic growth strengthens government does not ensue that economic downturn leads to opposition reinforcement. Not only economic slump in itself but also its duration should be taken into account. Nevertheless, crisis character is significant. As T. Pepinsky mentioned, external shocks caused by international economic fluctuations may turn out to be less dangerous for government than internal economic crisis, as long as under the conditions of exogenous factors government can shift the responsibility on to external circumstances and look “as innocent as a lamb” [45].

Social sentiment (2). This factor is connected with predominant trend-lines in social sentiment that changes on scale “reforms – stability” and is recorded by means of sociological measurement [48]. Whichever trend-line is predominant and what represents it at a certain time period – government or opposition – the variable points at maximization or minimization of one or another political actor's possibilities.

Government Ranking (3). This factor is closely related with the previous two but is not confined to them. The dynamics of government ranking is easily defined on the results of regular sociological measurement carried out by leading research centers. It should be mentioned that government popularity decrease does not immediately lead to increase of opposition public support. Under decrease of power elite popularity the regime often quite efficiently applies the strategy of opposition discredit, taking away choice from society and creating the effect of “forced acceptance” of political reality, which in the eyes of society leaves much to be desired [49]. Hence, to make a valuation of this variable one should pay attention not only to government ranking but to opposition ranking as well, their trend-lines can be irrelevant. Nevertheless, government ranking decrease builds facilities for developing of opposition competitive opportunities.

Government capacity (4). By this factor we mean not only efficiency of public management but also power elite resource availability that allows it to

restrict counter elites influence, politicize public sector and turn to account its components (government-funded organizations, courts, force authorities, business, etc.). According to Greene and Way's conclusions [21; 60] it may be stated that government capacity decrease is in direct proportion to opposition capacity increase.

Regime factors. If a political regime is interpreted as a set of explicit and implicit models that determine the forms and access links to the main positions in government, and also actors' characteristics and their strategies used [43, p. 73], then the whole array of procedural-agential factors can be considered as regime factors, which include existing institutes, understood as the "rules of the game" [42] in keeping with neo-institutionalism, elites constellation and resources distribution among them, which determine strategies of political actions and opposition possibilities [15]. A form of government, type of electoral system, institutionalization degree of opposition, barriers to opposition access to political market, political competition character can be recognized as the most important institutional factors in the context of influence on opposition capacity. The degree of fragmentation or elite split is the essential factor enhancing opposition possibilities; it is well-grounded within a framework of classic transitological concepts [22]. Strategic choice of the incumbent can be referred to the regime factor presenting certain stimuli and restrictions for opposition, and it can be expressed in such a factor as degree of regime repressiveness. Basic theoretical backgrounds supporting the influence of mentioned factors are the following.

A form of government (5). One of the most significant criteria of political regimes typology worked out by W. Merkel and A. Croissant is the notion of "constitutionalism" [40]. As a matter of actual practice the absence of constitutionalism in the institutional structure manifests itself in the establishment of presidential government with wide powers of the head of the state which, in fact, destroy the system of "checks and balances" and infringe the concept of separation of powers. The result for opposition is occurrence of incentives, encouraging its development toward s a principled stand. As J. Linz pointed out, presidential government works on the principle "winner- takes-all" that

makes politics a “zero-sum game” [29, p. 56]. The same factor is the incentive for opposition consolidation and solution of “the collective action problem” [44]. Even though these incentives can be blocked up by other regime factors, in general it is possible to assume that presidential government is ministerial to opposition adherence to principles and its ambition to develop competitive opportunities, while under the conditions of parliamentary government the incentives of opposition development towards loyalty and the strategy choice of systemic actions play a major role.

Although modern states can have mixed forms of government, in general by means of the index analysis [63] it is possible to determine parliamentarism or presidentialism prevalence in institutional structure of the state.

Electoral system (6). As in the case of a form of government voting rules of majority and proportional types have different effects on opposition strategic choice. In case of majority system opposition tends to integrity and has incentives for consolidation with other oppositional actors for maximization of victory chances in political rivalry. This statement was validated by a M. Duverger’s famous thesis about majoritarian electoral system influence on the formation of political bipolarity [8]. Proportional electoral system does not create such stimuli and contributes to fragmentation effects, opposition loyalty, consequently, benefits its weakening.

Opposition institutionalization degree (7). This characteristic makes the difference between pure types of regimes and hybrid ones. In liberal democracies political opposition is institutionally established, and in the limit form it is expressed in constitutional entrenchment of its rights and commitments [59, p. 11]. Under the conditions of closed authoritarianism institutionalization of opposition activity is absent. In hybrid regimes political opposition status is more ambiguous. On the one part, political opposition exists beyond institutionalization at the law level, on the other part its activity is regarded as legitimate and it is recorded whether in Constitutions or in other laws connected with election process. For instance, in Russia there is still no law enacted on opposition fundamental guarantees, though since 1996 there have been three attempts, but neither of them was crowned with success [54]. At

the same time, oppositional parties and organizations exist on legal grounds. But their not clearly stated legal status allows government to arbitrarily regulate their activity and raise obstacles for free political activity of many of them. Consequently, under the conditions of the hybrid regime this variable can have ambivalent nature. Nevertheless, institutionalization may be supposed to contribute to opposition power and its absence – to weakness.

Barriers to opposition access to political market (8). In closed authoritarianism barriers are of high and excluding character. In defective democracies as well as in liberal ones government keeps low barriers of market entry for opposition, and existing restrictions are applied to all political actors. In this context competitive authoritarianism has its specifics. In this case opposition is excluded from the legitimate field not only on the basis of ideological dominance and open repressive practices but also because of high administrative barriers. In other words political opposition is not so much suppressed as marginalized. Concurrently with it the regime of competitive authoritarianism creates preferences (administrative, financial, media) for certain parties and organizations that play the role of spoilers or democratic facade creating authoritarian system stability and continuity. It causes a specific structure of opposition, split into loyal quasi-opposition and principal opposition.

This circumstance creates a specific status and political possibilities structure for opposition under the conditions of hybrid regimes. Under the conditions of defective democracy the existence of opposition lets it participate in elections, and it makes the election process quite competitive and somewhat unpredictable. In competitive authoritarianism elections remain a significant institute of political developments, though principal opposition is excluded from election procedures, nevertheless, it can indirectly influence electoral process by various ways. For example, using various strategies of influence upon loyal quasi-opposition behavior, which despite its dependence on government under certain circumstances can grow out of the ruling group control and increase political competition level, thus creating real threat to the regime stability.

As a result, more complicated continually developing disposition between loyal quasi-opposition and principal unlegalized opposition keeps the ele-

ment of instability in competitive authoritarianism functioning, and it acutely emerges during elections and solving the succession of power problem by the incumbent elite. Even though electoral institutes can be used by autocracies for the regime legitimation and entrenchment of their power by means of elites' cooptation and monitoring of government weak points [3, p. 134; 12; 34; 13, p. 145–146; 19] under certain conditions the same particularities of elections and political opposition existence can shake competitive authoritarianism stability and initiate the process of its destruction or transformation by means of “tipping elections” [24, pp. 178–181).

Taking into account mentioned political opposition particularities in different types of political regimes, it can be assumed that low political market access barriers for political actors contribute to opposition strength and high – to its weakness. Under the conditions of the hybrid regime and opposition split into legalized and unlegalized high barriers effects can have ambivalent nature.

Political competition character (9). This parameter can be recorded on the basis of electoral processes analysis or their assessment by neutral election monitoring organizations. Under the conditions of liberal democracy political competition is free and just, it is determined by implementation of democracy classic requirements formulated by R. Dahl [5, p. 8]. Surely, it contributes to increase of political opposition competitive opportunities. Closed authoritarianism being the antipode of liberal democracy ignores all these conditions, and determines unfree and unjust nature of political competition. Defective democracy is characterized by the following features: under the conditions of defective democracy all oppositional actors have free access to electoral procedures; nevertheless, it admits infringement of some liberal democracy conditions that does not guarantee the victory for the incumbent but increases the chances significantly.

Competitive authoritarianism is distinguished from other regime types by the fact that it admits free elections only for political subjects loyal and harmless for government, at the same time cutting principal opposition off the election process by fiat. In that context from the point of view of regime

legitimation increase elections turn out to be especially profitable for power elite, as electoral results technically demonstrate great public support of the incumbent and elections become one of the mechanisms of opposition marginalization and discredit – it is one of the conditions necessary for autocracy strength and long-term survival [34, pp. 728–729]. In such a way under the conditions of competitive authoritarianism political competition nature can be defined as partially free and unjust. For opposition this factor results in its weakening.

Degree of repressiveness (10). Liberal and defective democracies are characterized by low degree of regime repressiveness against political opposition, as a rule, it increases opposition competitive opportunities and stimulates it to choose the strategy of conventional struggle. It is not the case with autocracies. However if in closed authoritarianism repressions against opposition are carried out permanently and frequently leading to political actors' radicalization, then competitive authoritarianism is characterized by low repressiveness, using more flexible strategies of cooptation or marginalization of potential opponents. It may be stated that competitive authoritarianism is characterized by low or selectively high repressiveness which, as a rule, has local and temporary nature. The consequence of this is the nature of incentives determining opposition strategy selection, which can vary from conventional to radical methods of struggle.

The general supposition can be formulated in the following way: high degree of repressiveness increases the price of opposition and reduces oppositional actors' influence. Low degree of repressiveness reduces the price of opposition and expands opposition possibilities. Inconsistency of repressive actions leads to differently directed situational effects.

Elites split (11). The split of power elites increases opposition competitive opportunities and its absence yields a reverse effect. The nature of the split and its danger level for the ruling group should be taken into account at determining the fact of split. The appearance of active counter elites in supreme authorities can be regarded as high danger level. The fragmentation or split of elites at the regional level offers medium level of possibilities for opposition.

The absence of these factors indicates minimal possibilities for expansion of opposition competitive opportunities.

The scale of political opposition competitive opportunities index analysis

All eleven factors listed above offer both restrictions and possibilities for redistribution of resources between government and opposition. Leadership, ideological, strategical, media, organizational resources can be considered the most important while resources distribution registration. All enumerated structural and regime factors and resources can be used for POCO index measurement. For this purpose we use the method of the index analysis that is widely applied for measurement at various aspects of politics [57; 63; 41].

As long as both opposition advantages and weak points to a wide extent depend on the corresponding parameters of power elite, coding of variables should be carried out on the basis of dichotomic division: government index (GI) and opposition index (OI). These indices are calculated by summing up the values of 16 parameters measured on scale from 0 to 1. If there is a sign accompanying government superiority on a certain parameter, then value 1 is assigned to GI. On the contrary, value 0 is assigned to GI if the sign points to the advantages of opposition. Variables relating to OI are coded in the same way but inversely. As long as a number of parameters can have ambivalent effects in relation both to government and opposition which is often connected with ambiguous influence on opposition of hybrid regimes effects, we provide for possible coding of sub-aggregates by value 0,5 apart from binary values from 1 to 0. The generalized structure of indexation and operationalization of all 16 calculation parameters of government and opposition index is presented in Appendix (Table 1).

Subtracting government index from opposition index we get the *Index of Political Opposition Competitive Opportunities* (POCO):

$$\text{POCO}=\text{OI}-\text{GI}$$

Positive values of POCO point to opposition wide possibilities and high probability to convert its opportunities into electoral success. On the contrary,

negative values point to opposition weakening and minimization of its role in society political life.

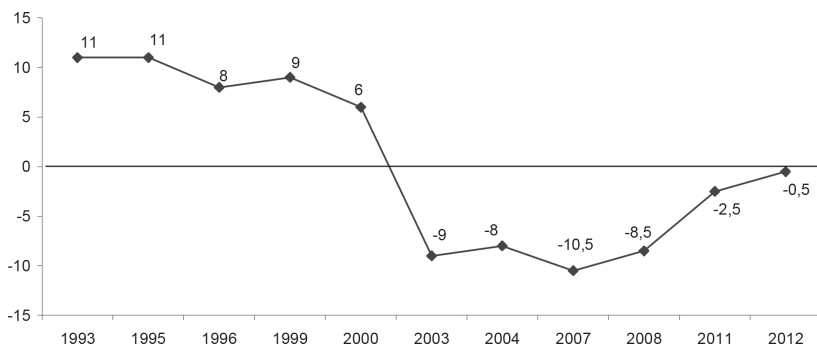
Measuring and analysis of opposition competitive opportunities in Russia in the period of 1993–2012

According to foregoing method, measuring of structural, regime and resource factors made it possible to reveal POCO dynamics of Russian opposition in the period of 1993–2012 which is shown on Diagram 1. The estimation of values was carried out on the basis of the analysis of 16 variables that reflect the situation before presidential and parliamentary elections in Russia in the period of 1993–2012. Summary data of coding and indexation are presented in Appendix (Table 2).

It is reasonable to deliver the results analysis on the basis of two different stages: 1993–2002 гг. и 2003–2012. Each of these periods was described by the specific features of regime characteristics. The first stage fit the basic parameters of defective democracy, but since 2003 a political regime began to take the form of competitive authoritarianism more distinctly [20; 17].

Diagram 1.

The dynamics of the Index of political opposition competitive opportunities in Russia in the period of 1993–2012



POCO dynamics in the period of 1993–2002. The index calculation showed that POCO reached quite a high value of 11 points before the State

Duma elections in 1993 and 1995. However, later the general trend of decrease was observed. In 1996 it came down to value 8 and after a short-term rise in 1999 it dropped to value 6 in 2000.

The results analysis helps to establish as a fact POCO decrease when all *structural* factors (parameters 1–4) remain constant. It means that dynamics of opposition and government index was determined not so much by changes of social-economic macro parameters and trends in the social conscience and as by regime factors.

In case of presidential elections in 1996 *regime factors* had ambivalent influence on opposition opportunities. It is proved by changes of parameters 6 (electoral system) and 9 (political competition character). Unlike presidential elections with majority election system, the State Duma elections were held with mixed incoherent system; this fact minimized incentives for opposition consolidation and objectively weakened it. Majority character of presidential elections contributed to this consolidation. However, ideological polarization of society and opposition prevented the majority of voters from uniting around G. Zyuganov. Although the representative of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation got the highest percentage of votes (40,3%) [46] for all the Post-Soviet period, it was not enough for victory.

Meanwhile at presidential elections such a regime factor as “political competition character” evolved in favour of government; it was reflected in growth of electoral process inequality and injustice [9; 52]. It may be stated that presidential elections in 1996 and 2002 due to their high price for the ruling group forced the latter to act harder and employ restrictions towards opposition, which in general can be classified as regime fluctuations from defective democracy to competitive authoritarianism. Thus, to a large extent opposition competitive opportunities decrease was determined by the dynamics of regime characteristics.

The largest decrease of opposition competitive opportunities at presidential elections in 1996 is connected with reduction of oppositional actors' resource achievements – parameters 14 (strategical resources) [36, p. 273] and 15 (media resources). Consolidation of business representatives and media

magnates around B. Yeltsin provided him with dominance in mass media [23, pp. 174–200]. Participation of professional political consultants who helped to work out a brighter, innovatory and effective electoral strategy determined defeat in election of communist opposition represented by G. Zyuganov.

Comparative analysis of presidential elections in 1996 and parliamentary election in 1993 and 1995 brings us to the conclusion that even under the conditions of disadvantageous structural factors and high political opposition competitive opportunities the incumbent representatives are able to keep governmental positions in case of: 1) society ideological polarization and opposition strategical debility to consolidate voters under the conditions of majority election system and strong presidentialism; 2) reduction of opposition resource achievements with regard to their media representation; 3) correction of regime characteristics with regard to diminution of electoral procedures equality and justice.

During the State Duma elections in 1999 POCO index increased by 1 point and was equal to 9; it is explained by mixed election system used (parameter 6). Level upturn of political competition equality and justice (parameter 9) had influence upon it as well, that became a side result of confrontation between federal centre elites and regional counter elites [25, p. 102]. Nevertheless, POCO index didn't rise up to 11 points due to changes of parameter 14, i.e. loss of opposition strategical achievements. Acceptance by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation the "power entree" strategy reduced the support level on the part of its more radical adherents [36, p. 273]. At the same time regional counter elites being the consolidated force within the framework of the bloc "Fatherland – All Russia" stole the agenda of federal authorities radical opponency. As a result, opposition became even more fragmented.

At presidential elections in 2000 POCO index decreased to 6. As in the case of elections in 1996 the reasons of it were: decrease of political competition level (9), reduction of strategical (14) and media (15) opposition achievements. Moreover, at these elections opposition lost leadership resource (parameter 12) for the first time. All these factors determined the victory of B. Yeltsin's "successor".

Thus, POCO index decrease was connected with loss of resource achievements. If we compare components of opposition index in favourable years 1993–1995, when it was equal to 13,5 to 2000 when the index fell down to 11 points, we can discover that index decrease took place mainly because of factors belonging to resource achievements. The dynamics is observed in three points (12, 14 и 15) out of five resulting in reducing by 2,5 points. 0,5 points were reduced due to parameter 9, but in opposition index they were compensated for by the advantage of electoral system parameter (6). Majority character of elections turned out to be evened under the conditions of opposition strategical weakness and ideological polarization; it didn't influence the final results of elections.

POCO dynamics during 2003–2012. Calculated indices of opposition competitive opportunities in the period of 2003–2008 recorded negative values; it means liquidation of oppositional subjects' former advantages. During elections in 2003 POCO was equal to -9, in 2004 increased by 1 point and was equal to -8, in 2007 fell down to the lowest point -10,5, in 2008 it was -8,5. Population analysis of determinants responsible for decreasing dynamics of POCO index in the period of 2003–2012 allows to make the following main conclusions.

Unlike the previous period all four *structural* factors (parameters 1–4) were no longer opposition advantages. Macroeconomic dynamics (1), predominant social sentiment (2), political ranking of government (3) and growing government capacity (4) gave way to expanding of incumbent possibilities [37; 58; 48, p. 12]. The leader's change in the form of Putin's accession to power helped government to maximize these potentialities and turn them into real political victories.

Political-regime parameters played a great role in reduction of opposition opportunities alongside with structural ones. Dynamics of parameter 8, 9, 10 and 11 testifies it. In particular, rise of barriers to opposition access to political market (8) played an important role for the first time; it is connected with establishment of harsher party and electoral legislation [16, p. 136]. It is worthy of note that earlier diminution of political competition democratic

character (9) pertained to presidential elections only, since 2003 it was characteristic to the State Duma elections as well [51; 61]. For the first time in the post-Soviet period the regime changed under the parameter of degree of repressiveness (10). Selective repressions against magnates reduced source of funding for oppositional parties and weakened their media resources to a great extent [23; 11]. As for regime incentives the rate of elites split (11) became negative. By 2003 supreme authorities of the Russian Federation suppressed fragmentation among elites and it obtained the qualities of integrity. Counter elites opportunities were put out of existence by means of “forced consensus” that diminished possibilities of political opposition [14].

Thus, decrease of opposition competitive opportunities index was determined not only by changes of structural parameters, but by evolution of political-regime characteristics to a large extent; it meant the regime transformation from defective democracy to competitive authoritarianism, that imposes considerable constraints on political opposition possibilities.

It was accompanied with loss of *resource achievements* by opposition. It is indicated by changes of parameters 12, 13 and 16. For the first time at parliamentary elections leadership resource (12) was efficiently used not by opposition but by government. Interception of state-patriotic slogans from opposition by “the party of power” wiped off ideological achievements of opposition (13). Finally, previously at parliamentary elections opposition, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation in particular, enjoyed superiority in organizational resource (16), after the party «United Russia» formation this advantage of opposition was greatly minimized for the first time ever [35].

During presidential elections in 2004 a slight increase of opposition competitive opportunities index was connected with parameter 6 – electoral system. Majority character of presidential elections created incentives for opposition consolidation. However, in this time period these possibilities were not translated into action due to opposition strategy, which under the conditions of the regime evolution towards authoritarianism had to choose loyalty strategy; it did not contribute to negotiation of oppositional forces disunity and extended the gap between «systemic» and «non-systemic» opposition.

Further unimportant changes in dynamics of POCO index during elections in 2007 and 2008 are connected with parameters 6 and 9. Transition of the State Duma deputies' elections to proportional system (6), applied for the first time in 2007, and lowered opposition incentives for consolidation making it weak. As before majority system of presidential elections theoretically created incentives for consolidation but it was actually neutralized by regime and resource factors. At the same time during the electoral cycle of 2007–2008 the character of political competition became unequal and partially unfree [61, p. 537]. These effects of the regime stiffening reduced political opposition possibilities and competitive opportunities.

Since 2011 there was a new trend in POCO dynamics characterized by increase of opposition opportunities and resource achievements. Though POCO index still has negative values by 2012 it came right up to the zero mark. Changes are observed in the sphere of structural possibilities; it is referred to the influence of economic crisis [47]. However, in general structural parameters dynamics is insignificant and ambiguous in the context of fundamental risk for government [10]. It means that like in 1993–2000 opposition is able to change its characteristics towards either diminution or expansion of its competitive opportunities regardless macro parameters of society development, though their influence is significant as well.

Nevertheless, taking into account results valuation we can state that growth of POCO index is connected with resource achievements parameters, it can be explained not so much by changes of socio-economic environment as by redistribution of political actors' strategical and resource initiatives. For example, results of the index analysis show that growth of opposition advantages was due to the change of regime parameters values.

At the present stage opposition to a great extent has solved its problems with regard to leadership crisis (12), has undergone ideological evolution (13), has taken to pragmatic and rational strategy of actions (14) [18], and has efficiently used the sphere of Internet expanding its media resources (15) [32, p. 4]. At the same time many of these resource factors are not fully utilized

and have the opportunity for expansion. It is referred to leadership (12), media (15) and organizational (16) resources.

Parameter 10 – the degree of repressiveness turned into a positive factor for strengthening of opposition opportunities. Under the conditions of economic growth the regime gave up repressive actions, thus reducing the price of oppositional activity. However, in general regime factors remain the main constraints for expansion of opposition opportunities. Within the framework of regime factors POCO index does not get points. It is referred to such parameters as institutionalization of opposition (7), access barriers to political market (8), character of unequal and partially free political competition (9), and unity of power elites (11).

Conclusion

Results of this research show that *political-regime factors* have significant influence on political opposition competitive opportunities. At the same time peculiar features of the hybrid regimes produce specific effects on opposition possibilities, influence its strategic choice, thus determining the dynamics of competitive opportunities. In particular, lack of constitutionalism and presence of strong presidential power, determining monocentrism of the hybrid regime in both forms (defective democracy and competitive authoritarianism), can have different influence on opposition strategy due to the certain type of the hybrid regime.

Under the conditions of defective democracy majority character of elections create incentives for the choice of principal opponency strategy and opposition consolidation – it leads to the growth of its competitive opportunities. Under the conditions of competitive authoritarianism majority policy factor can create opposite incentives, as long as restriction of elections justness leads to reduction of victory chances within the framework of electoral policy. The consequence of growth of political market access barriers is price increase of the choice of principal opponency strategy. As a result opposition has stronger incentives to choose bargaining strategy and turn into loyal quasi-opposition; it leads to diminution of its competitive opportunities. Thus,

the same institutional parameters (a form of government and a type of electoral system) can have different effects on opposition choice of strategy, and as a result influence opposition competitive opportunities in a different way in combination with other regime characteristics.

Opposition institutionalization degree benefits the growth of its competitive opportunities. Diminution of opposition competitive opportunities in the period of 2003–2008 to a large extent is the result of institutional engineering which was initiated by the power elite. Stiffening of electoral and party legislation led to reformatting of Russian party system permanently cutting down the number of legal parties. It can be viewed as deprivation of institutionalization for some political forces and formation of such danger for the rest of the political players. The result of this was not only cutting off principal opposition from the electoral process but loyalty incentives strengthening on the part of legalized parties; it obviously caused diminishment of opposition competitive opportunities. Nevertheless, *resource factors* have a great impact on opposition competitive opportunities.

Diminution of opposition competitive opportunities in 1996-2000 was governed by loss or lack of resource advantages which passed into the hands of power subjects.

It is referred to: leadership resource which became predominant for government since Yeltsin's retirement and Putin's ascension; ideological resource which was lost by left-wing opposition due to power subjects' ideological shift from the right wing to the centre and effective maneuvering contributing to interception of popular patriotic ideologemes from opposition; strategical resource which turned out to be in favour of the incumbent due to the regime transformation and institutional innovations undertaken by government, as long as loyal strategy tactical win which opposition came to in 1996 led to reduction of electoral base; media resource which turned out to be restricted for opposition as well in consequence of the regime changes; organizational resource which was minimized by the incumbent effort to form the vertical power system of governance and invest into the party project «United Russia».

Likewise at the present stage increase of political opposition competitive opportunities is mostly determined not so much by structural changes as by the dynamics of resource possibilities distribution between government and opposition. In recent times resources redistribution reversely repeats processes of the beginning of 2000s – now to the advantage of opposition. Thus, owing to generational change and involvement of new politicians into political struggle opposition achieved significant growth of leadership resource, while government is inferior in this parameter. The same point is valid for ideological resource, as conservatism of power elites conflicts with the appeared demand for changes in social conscience, and it is efficiently used by opposition in its oratory and ideologemes.

Formed features of competitive authoritarianism appeared to be efficient enough to divide opposition into «systemic» and «non-systemic». The same factor appeared to be attackable for the ruling group, as soon as opposition managed to work out a new strategy and government turned out powerless against it. This refers to the strategy of principal opposition which during the electoral cycle in 2011–2012 for the first time moved from the boycott of electoral procedures to the call to vote for the representatives of loyal quasi-opposition. This strategy unexpectedly formed a completely different political disposition in the triangle «government – quasi-opposition – opposition». Under the conditions of a new strategy quasi-opposition objectively became the main beneficiary party of electoral results and was interested in realization of oppositional but not pro-governmental blueprint. Thus, this strategy was a competitive incentive for quasi-opposition in comparison with incentives initiated by government and aimed at keeping legalized opposition within loyalty bounds. This leads to quasi-opposition attempts to grow out of ruling groups' control and get the status of principal opposition. Though these processes only have situational and restricted character, nevertheless they create less stable position of ruling groups and open up new opportunities for oppositional actors.

However, at the present stage not all regime parameters are beneficial to opposition. So, reduction of the visible trend of POCO growth will greatly depend on further political regime development. Transition to defective democracy will open up new opportunities for opposition strengthening, while

transition towards closed authoritarianism and closing up even of relative freedoms common to the hybrid regime in the form of competitive authoritarianism can block up the growth of opposition opportunities. In its turn the vector of regime changes will mostly depend on structural factors. Keeping them stable will let the ruling group invest resources into repressive actions that can turn into a quite efficient limiting mechanism for opposition opportunities providing low population mobilization. It will be difficult to carry out this strategy under the conditions of national measures degradation, as it can cause diminution of state administration opportunities, growth of protest moods and other symptoms of overall instability; all these factors can expand opposition possibilities and block up governmental repressive intentions.

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Appendix

Table 1.

Valuation parameters for opposition and government indices calculation

№	Factors	Operationalization	Data Source	Coding of Opposition Index
Structural possibilities				
1	Macroeconomics	GDP dynamics	Russian Federal State Statistics Service, World Bank	Growth-0; stagnation-0,5; recession-1.
2	Social sentiment	Predominant social sentiment on scale «reforms - stability»	Sociologic services «Public Opinion Foundation», «All-Russia Public Opinion Research Center», «Levada-Centre», Institute of Sociology of Russian Academy of Sciences	Over 50% of respondents approve of administrative policies – 0; over 50% of respondents don't approve of administrative policies – 1.
3	Government and opposition Ranking	Society level of credibility towards authorities in power and opposition	Sociologic services «Public Opinion Foundation», «All-Russia Public Opinion Research Center», «Levada-Centre», Institute of Sociology of Russian Academy of Sciences	Government ranking is over 50% - 0; Government ranking is under 50% – 1.
4	Government capacity	Presence or absence of physical and organizational resources that let minimize elite fragmentation and politicize the government machine	Data of the Russian Federation Ministries about income and expense items of a government budget, expert data.	High government capacity - 0; medium - 0,5; low – 1.
Regime stimuli				
5	A form of government	The index of a form of government by A. Crowell – O. Zaznaev	The Constitution and laws of the Russian Federation.	Parliamentarism - 0; mixed type – 0,5; presidentialism – 1.

6	Electoral system	Recording of electoral system type when elections are held.	Electoral Legislation of the Russian Federation.	Proportional system - 0; mixed - 0,5; majority - 1.
7	Opposition institutionalization degree	Presence or absence of the law on opposition activity guarantees.	The Constitution of the Russian Federation, Electoral Legislation and expert data about law enforcement practice in the sphere of party construction.	Legislative or ideological grounds for prohibition against oppositional organizations – 0; absence of thereof – 0,5; presence of the law on opposition activity guarantees - 1.
8	Political market access barriers	Presence or absence of administrative barriers for candidates and parties registration, level of electoral barrier at legislature elections, index of effective numbers of parties.	Electoral Legislation of the Russian Federation, electoral statistics.	Vote threshold is over 5%, coefficient of electoral parties under 5, and electoral under 2 – 0; vote threshold is not over 5%, coefficient of electoral parties not under 5, and electoral not under 2 – 1.
9	Political competition character	Character of electoral processes according to the criteria of «freedom» and «justice».	Expert data and reports of Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe about the electoral process character.	Unfree and unjust elections – 0; free but unjust elections – 0,5; free and just elections – 1.
10	Degree of the regime repressiveness	The proportion of the politically repressed as percentage of total amount of citizens and presence of systematic repressions against the key opposition leaders.	Data of event-analysis and expert data.	Mass repressions (not less than 0,5% of total amount of citizens) – 0; absence of mass repressions (less than 0,5% of total amount of citizens), but systematic repressions against opposition leaders - 0,5; absence of mass repressions and opposition leaders' victimization – 1.

11	Elites split or fragmentation	Presence or absence of outright political contradictions among the incumbent or strong regional fronde.	Expert data.	Consolidated elite – 0; fragmented elite – 0,5; split elite – 1.
Resource achievements				
12	Leadership	Parameters of resources distribution from the point of view of growth or diminution of opposition advantages.	Expert data and event-analysis.	Predominance of resources in hand of government – 0; equal distribution - 0,5; predominance of resources in hand of opposition – 1. Valuation is made separately on each parameter.
13	Ideological			
14	Strategical			
15	Media			
16	Organizational			

Table 2.

Summary sheet of Government Index and Opposition Index coding with calculation of Political Opposition Competitive Opportunities Index in Russia in the period of 1993–2012

Cases	Structural				Regime							Resource						Total	POCO
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16			
1993	GI	0	0	0	0	0,5	0,5	0	0	0	0,5	0	0,5	0	0,5	0	2,5	11	
	OI	1	1	1	1	0,5	0,5	1	1	1	0,5	1	0,5	1	0,5	1	13,5		
1995	GI	0	0	0	0	0,5	0,5	0	0	0	0,5	0	0,5	0	0,5	0	2,5	11	
	OI	1	1	1	1	0,5	0,5	1	1	1	0,5	1	0,5	1	0,5	1	13,5		
1996	GI	0	0	0	0	0[*]	0,5	0	0,5	0	0,5	0	0,5	1	1	0	4	8	
	OI	1	1	1	1	1	0,5	1	0,5	1	0,5	1	0,5	0	0	1	12		
1999	GI	0	0	0	0	0,5	0,5	0	0	0	0,5	0	0,5	1	0,5	0	3,5	9	
	OI	1	1	1	1	0,5	0,5	1	1	1	0,5	1	0,5	0	0,5	1	12,5		
2000	GI	0	0	0	0	0	0,5	0	0,5	0	0,5	1	0,5	1	1	0	5	6	
	OI	1	1	1	1	1	0,5	1	0,5	1	0,5	0	0,5	0	0	1	11		
2003	GI	1	1	1	1	0,5	0,5	1	0,5	0,5	1	1	1	1	1	0,5	12,5	-9	
	OI	0	0	0	0	0,5	0,5	0	0,5	0,5	0	0	0	0	0	0,5	3,5		
2004	GI	1	1	1	1	0	0,5	1	0,5	0,5	1	1	1	1	1	0,5	12	-8	
	OI	0	0	0	0	1	1	0,5	0	0,5	0,5	0	0	0	0	0,5	4		
2007	GI	1	1	1	1	0	0,5	1	1	0,5	1	1	1	1	1	0,5	13,5	-10,5	
	OI	0	0	0	0	1	0	0,5	0	0,5	0	0	0	0	0	0,5	3		
2008	GI	1	1	1	1	0	0,5	1	1	0,5	1	1	1	1	1	0,5	12,5	-8,5	
	OI	0	0	0	0	1	0,5	0	0,5	0,5	0	0	0	0	0	0,5	4		
2011	GI	0,5	1	1	1	0	0,5	1	1	0	1	0,5	0	0	0,5	0,5	9,5	-2,5	
	OI	0,5	0	0	0	1	0,5	0	0,5	1	0	0,5	1	1	0,5	0,5	7		
2012	GI	0,5	1	1	1	0	0,5	1	1	0	1	0,5	0	0	0,5	0,5	8,5	-0,5	
	OI	0,5	0	0	0	1	0,5	0	0,5	1	0	0,5	1	1	0,5	0,5	8		

* Marked values point out the dynamics in comparison with previous elections.

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СОЦИОЛОГИЯ

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INTEGRATIVE CIVIL IDENTITY WITHIN GLOBALIZATION, TRADITIONALISM AND NEOTRADITIONALISM TRENDS

Aksyutin Y.M.

Post-Soviet society appeal to a problem of integrative social and cultural identity is explained by both sequences of social and cultural transformations that led to Soviet identity disappearing and specific character of development processes in post-traditional society that inspire changes of group and individual identities accordingly to civicism, democracy and pluralism ideas.

Purpose and methods. *In 2013 in Republic Tyva (290 pers.), Republic of Khakassia (520 pers.), and Republic Altay (190 pers.) empirical research was held by formalized interview.*

Results. *It became clear that under contradictory influence of globalization, traditionalism and neo-traditionalism trends civil identity consisting of stable state identification, wide-spread political culture and civil self-conscious, has rather fragmentary character that blocks civil identity creation in the area.*

Keywords: *state identity, political culture, self-conscious, civil identity.*

ИНТЕГРАЦИОННАЯ ГРАЖДАНСКАЯ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТЬ В КОНТЕКСТЕ ТРЕНДОВ ГЛОБАЛИЗАЦИИ, ТРАДИЦИОНАЛИЗМА И НЕОТРАДИЦИОНАЛИЗМА

Аксютин Ю.М.

Обращение постсоветского российского социума к проблеме обретения интеграционной социокультурной идентичности объясняется как последствиями социокультурных трансформаций, повлекших исчезновение прежней советской интеграционной идентичности, так и общим характером процессов развития посттрадиционного социума, диктующих необходимость изменения групповых и индивидуальных идентичностей в соответствии с идеями гражданской ответственности, демократии и плюрализма.

С целью прояснения вопроса о месте гражданской идентичности в структуре идентичностей жителей регионов постсоветской России, в 2013 г. в республиках Тыва (290 чел.), Хакасия (520 чел.), Алтай (190 чел.) методом формализованного интервьюирования было осуществлено эмпирическое исследование. В результате было установлено, что в условиях противоречивого воздействия трендов глобализации, традиционализма и неотрадиционализма, гражданская идентичность, включающая стабильную государственную идентификацию, развитую политическую культуру и гражданское самосознание, имеет фрагментарный характер, что препятствует становлению гражданского общества в регионе.

Ключевые слова: *государственная идентичность, политическая культура, самосознание, гражданская идентичность.*

Post-Soviet society appeal to problem of finding its integrative identity which is able to unite society and to prevent its disintegration can be explained by not only consequences of social and cultural transformations that

caused disappearance of former Soviet integrative identity but also by the general specifics of post-traditional society development. Processes of involving into global political and economical structures highlighted a necessity of group and individual identities changes according to civicism, democracy and pluralism ideas [1]. On one hand, fear to disappear in west-like world cause strengthen of traditional identities [2]. This contradiction has quite conflict potential and causes creating cultural communicative area when local identities turn from barriers for civil society creating into a condition for it [3]. This is very relevant for those territories where different ethnical groups communicate face to face daily. Southern Siberia is one of those territories.

Purpose

It to analyse state and to characterize of civil and state identity nature in post-Soviet Russia areas (on the example of Southern Siberia: Khakassia, Tyva, Altay).

Materials and methods of research

The modern social and humanitarian study, which is based on ideas of B. Anderson [4], P. Berger, T. Lookman [5], E. Ericsson [6] etc, considers civil identity as perception of connection to community of some country citizens (state identification), which can be reached by debt relations between authority and citizen (wide-spread political structure, expressed in constitutional rights perception), and self-authentication with country citizens (state self-conscious).

Mentioned unity of civil identity components cause Southern Siberia inhabitants' civil identity.

In 2013 in Republic Tyva (290 pers.), Republic of Khakassia (520 pers.), and Republic Altay (190 pers.) empirical research was held by formalized interview to make question about civil identity within region inhabitants' identities clear.

Research results and their interpretation

When determine character and nature of respondents' identity, most attention was paid to how they determine term "Russian" which is the basis of

civil identity. During researches of 2012–2013 it was discovered that about ¼ of respondents consider Russians as “those, who are bred on Russian culture and think it their own” (2012 – 30%, 2013 – 23,4%) [7, 8]. 21% in 2012 and 20,8% in 2013 think that the main factor considering “Russian citizenship” is “love to Russia”. Great amount of respondents determine Russian identity as Russian citizenship. This criteria is more important when migration pressure increases. Thus, in 2012 18%, and in 2013 24,8% mentioned necessity to have citizenship.

Should mention changed opinions to concept “The Russian citizen”. “That one, who considers himself to be the Russian” is the Russian citizen for 11,3% of respondents in 2012 and for 18,1% in 2013. And, finally, 3,3% in 2012 and 2,8% in 2013 think Russian citizenship is speaking native Russian language, and 2,3% in 2012; 1,5% in 2013 is being of Christian church.

It’s evidentially that all these answers are rather of social and cultural character then of biological. As we can see from research results, the amount of those who consider Russians are those “who have Russian parents”, is 11,3% in 2012 and 7,2% in 2013.

It was important to discover which factors have the major role while forming ethnical and national identity among Southern Siberia inhabitants. The analysis of results demonstrates that 54% in 2012 and 49% in 2013 consider the main reason for national identification is that “my parents (or one of them) are of this nationality”. But some respondents (2012 – 44,3%, in 2013 – 48,4%) demonstrate self-identification (2012 – 14,3%, 2013 – 11,8%), identification with history and culture (2012 – 16,3%, 2013 – 19,6%), language (2012 – 13,7%, 2013 – 17,0%) of their own nation. In other words, ethnicity reproduction comes into force from parents to children. But traditional mechanisms of identity constructing are constantly moving nowadays. Intention to gain community feeling is caused mostly by social and cultural factors.

As most specialists think, civil identity should be constructed based on civil management regional authorities, with the help of those society identifies itself as a political and social and cultural subject. R. Dahl names four basic criteria of forming and functioning of civil identity – these are 1) taking

active part in current events; 2) taking this participation into account; 3) high degree of familiarity of political and social events; 4) high level of activity while realizing right to participate in political affairs [9, p. 82].

People involvement into current events is one of the most universal indicator of civil society mature [10]. Discovering of respondents' interest to political and social life helps to reveal some preconditions to political involvement because there is right correlation between grade of interest and grade of participation. Besides, participation in activity of social and political unions is one of the most effective linking channel for political socialization.

According to results of the 2013 research, 53,6% of Khakass respondents are interested in politics and situation within the country. However, only 13,6% (in 2012 – 19,7%) take part in non-political social organizations and unions activity. It doesn't matter how old is the respondent. In other words, majority of people are out of social unions activity (except just formal trade-unions).

As for participation in political unions activity, situation is similar. Like in Russia in general, in 2013 only 7,5% of interviewed mentioned their participation in political unions (2012 – 18,3% of respondents). 92,5% of population can be characterized by absence of wide political activity (in 2012 there were 81,3%). Similar answers were given about respondents' membership in political parties and social organizations. Participation in political party was mentioned by 10,3% in 2013 (18, 7% in 2012) of respondents. Only 10,6 % (15,3% in 2012) are members of social organization. It is necessary to mention that while there are about one hundred thousand social units in Russia nowadays [11, p. 7], majority of country population is excluded from basic civil society institutions. Depressing dynamics of interest to citizens' participation in current events decreasing is noticed.

Speaking about inhabitants' perception of necessity to participate in social and political decisions we should notice that only 18,0% in 2013 thought that their opinion has real influence on authorities and decisions they take. 38,0% of interviewed thought of partly influence, while 36,6 % took position "doesn't have any influence".

Khakassia inhabitants also bad-informed about political and social and cultural events (53,2%). Only ¼ of respondents discovered themselves to be quite informed, but every 10th respondent considered to be non-informed.

Less then a half of population ids ready to take measures for solving their problems. Inquiry results demonstrate that only 28,7% of respondents take many efforts to realize their rights for participation in political activities. But, “from time to time” and “on opportunity” participation are typical for 30,5 and 19,2% of respondents accordingly. 18,4 % announced their political out-of-body experience. 3,2% of interviewed didn’t give any answer.

These data demonstrates contradictory Russian culture, which combines features of “participating democracy” and “subject” traditions. We want to suggest that quite a big amount of those who takes part in politics (though from time to time) – it’s a sequence of civil society self-organization. But we should remember that rhetoric of obligatory participation in state and social affairs are the part of Soviet ideology and propaganda. That is why such value orientation, unfortunately, can’t be known as exclusively post-Soviet period profit [12, p. 19]. These forms of participation and attitude towards rights and freedoms that create modern political Russian culture are rather evidence not of stable civil identity development, but of trend for adaptation to values and ways of social and political participation.

Conclusion

When summarizing let’s mention that political rights and freedoms are not priority for post-Soviet Russians and yield to personal and social-economic ones. Besides, it’s unable to discover great citizens’ interest to events that take place in Russia and republic. So, weak interest of people to politics and activities of social and political unions can be easily explained. It’s an evidence of absence of necessity to take part in social life and making decisions perception, weak involvement into basic structures of civil society. People of Southern Siberia (Khakassia and Tyva) are more worried about prices decreasing (2011 – 67,5%, 2012 – 46,3%, 2013 – 58,5%); drug and alcoholic

addiction (2011 – 39%, 2012 – 46%, 2013 – 40,8%); unemployment (2011 – 32,3%, 2012 – 34,3%, 2013 – 42.8%); criminality (2011 – 22,3%, 2012 – 32%, 2013 – 27,7%); educational situation (2011 – 25%, 2012 – 25,5%, 2013 – 15,5%); social and medical service (2011 – 37,5%, 2012 – 21,7%, 2013 – 27,4%) [7, 8, 13].

Creating of integrating civil identity and stable connections between social and cultural communities is of great importance for conflicts overcoming. Civil identity produces conditions for identities' and interests conflicts reduction. It's necessary to verify that civil society self-organization, both in Russia in general and in Southern Siberia, is on a rather low level. That gives much opportunities for alternative identities burst into life.

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COLORFORMATIVE ASPECT OF THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD AND THE RUSSIAN ADVERTISING

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The author consider the example of the process of formation and development of Russian and global advertising analyzes the impact of color on people in different historical epochs. The results of the socio-cultural analysis of the relationship of consumers to color semantics prove that by choosing a particular color can be controlled consumer attitudes toward advertising, and by giving the advertised product (goods and services) required color content required to cause emotions. Value of operational information for the life of society increases, thus increasing the impact of advertising and, as one of the main areas of operational information flows. Amount of knowledge required for the interaction between society and the individual, is constantly increasing. Priority is given to operational information that appeals to the emotional component of human consciousness. Examples of the impact of color symbols for various ethnic groups, are practice-oriented nature.

Keywords: *advertising, promotional activities, the global advertising, sociology of advertising, color, ethnic culture, ethnocoloristic.*

ЦВЕТОФОРМИРУЮЩИЙ АСПЕКТ СТАНОВЛЕНИЯ И РАЗВИТИЯ РОССИЙСКОЙ И МИРОВОЙ РЕКЛАМЫ

Керимова А.Т.-Г.

В статье автор на примере рассмотрения процесса становления и развития российской и мировой рекламы анализирует влияние цве-

та на людей в разные исторические эпохи. Результаты социокультурного анализа отношений потребителей к цветовой семантике доказывают, что с помощью выбора определенного цвета можно управлять отношением потребителя к рекламе, а, создавая у рекламируемого продукта (товара, услуги) необходимый цветовой контент, вызвать требуемые эмоции. Ценность оперативной информации для жизнедеятельности общества возрастает, следовательно, растет и влияние рекламы, как одного из основных направлений оперативных информационных потоков. Количество знаний, необходимых для взаимодействия общества и личности, постоянно увеличивается. Приоритетность отдается оперативной информации, которая обращается к эмоциональной составляющей человеческого сознания. Примеры, отражающие воздействие цветовой символики на различные этносы, носят практико-ориентированный характер.

Ключевые слова: *реклама, рекламная деятельность, мировая реклама, социология рекламы, цвет, этнокультура, этноколористика.*

Advertising originated in the period of the ancient world, but the object of theoretical study began immediately at the beginning of the twentieth century. The first theoretical works have been devoted to the economic dimension of advertising, where advertising communication is considered, including, from the standpoint of psychology, but in the context of socio-economic living conditions of the individual [9, p. 76].

The emergence of sociology advertising associated with the activities of prominent philosophers and sociologists of the twentieth century. German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche has made a significant contribution to the development of philosophy and culture, justifying the idea of relativism - a methodological principle, consisting of metaphysical absolutism relative and conditional content of cognition [14, p. 374]. A. Mole – French physicist, philosopher, cultural studies, sociology, explored cultural aspects of mass communication [15]. Jean Baudrillard - French sociologist, cultural and post-modern philosopher, photographer developed the theoretical aspects of the

sociology of mass communications (their most important component is the advertising) [5]. In the XVIII century. central aspect of the sociology of advertising was the problem of the dual nature of advertising communication, which on the one hand contributes to the stability of society, spreading the values of the society, on the other - changes through the creation of new needs and values.

First information on the history of Russian color mechanism of action on the mass consciousness related to the state of activity of Peter I. In 1694 Peter I was adopted Russian flag colors, which includes white, red and blue, which, according to V. Trutovskii (former in the early twentieth century. keeper Armory, author of a treatise on the state of Russian symbolism [20]), it is consistent with the spirit of the Russians. Less fortunate colors of the Russian flag, according to historians, considered color, approved in 1858 by Alexander II (black, yellow, white).

The postulated genetic color perception among all peoples different: for example, black in Russia has always been the color of humility and sorrow. In Slavic ornaments and costumes he appeared rarely. Yellow, which was associated with the sun, gold is also not preferred. «In Russia, the gold has never been a major metal – writes V. Trutovsky – she grew up on silver». White has long been a color symbolizing purity of soul and body. Considered a truly popular red – topping. Were red flags, the girls of the people got married in red headscarves, they were decorated with household utensils. Blue color and its shades also had widespread – is the color of heaven, religious, which is often combined with red. In the Orthodox symbolism: red – the blood of the Lord, white – the holy vestments, blue – heaven [16, p. 35].

Since the XVIII century. Russia has begun the process of the birth and development of the advertising business, which further has a special role «dvizhetelya» production under capitalized state [21, p. 27].

Starting a print advertising newspaper put the time of Peter I. «Vedomosti», government publication, which did not lead a regular, large-scale promotional activities, but it sometimes appeared ads, the number of publications which increased over time, and they stood in a special «Suplement». In the

middle of the XVIII century. Declarations section volume equaled the basic information section of the newspaper.

Also appeared in other publications private ads advertising, sales of anything, ie formed an image of today's newspapers, which are commonly used nowadays. The main stages in the development of advertising activity in human culture marked initial alloy advertising with rituals and other forms of interpersonal communication. Evolution of advertising texts occurred in the direction of differentiation of their content and interaction, mutual symbolic means to ensure this activity, namely: word, sound, drawing, gesture, color, font. Clear separation of advertising and information institutions in Russia takes place in the 1st half of the XIX century. In the evolution of Russian journalism promotional activities held throughout the XIX century. In the west, in the period ranging from the 20s to mid 30s., Significant competition was press color poster, but in Russia, small forms of display advertising appeared in the early XX century.

Many details about the development of promotional activities in Russia (they are often peculiar chaotic, not systematic in nature, bias, which ultimately leads to a distortion of the history of the Russian advertising) are presented in foreign studies. Meanwhile, located in the Russian archives, book stores documents and materials on the development of the advertising business in Russia, providing an opportunity to recreate the historical and scientific orientation of advertising as a functioning social and economic phenomenon of national history.

Application forms and methods of information and educational impact in a certain historical period was in close collaboration with various changes in Russian society and is closely linked with the development of the state and public institutions [1, c. 49].

Sociocultural information, advertising in all its diversity (political, economic, cultural and entertainment, etc.) is an important element of public administration and development of capitalist relations in Russia. This fact allows us to conclude that the studied range of issues beyond addressing specific issues.

Domestic researchers analyzing the general processes of writing and books in different historical periods, paid great attention to Russia. In partic-

ular, the spread of the originality of the book and study the characteristics of individual forms of advertising in the XVIII. dedicated work by SA Racer, claiming that the Russian bookseller advertising originated in 1728 in St. Petersburg as a result of the constant publication of newspaper ads to sell books Academy of Sciences [17, p. 31]; EI Katsprzhak noted that in the 2nd half of the XVIII century. in Russia there are three types of bookselling advertising:

- 1) individual«pospisi» bookstores or catalogs;
- 2) advertisementsin newspapers;
- 3) «pospisi» and «peesty» sold books that print in addition to two or three pages at the end produced publications [11, p. 43–44], etc.

In the aspect of research theme pay particular attention to himself works whose authors have studied the history of Russian book XVIII century. .

To study the advertising culture and leisure and entertainment activities in the XVIII. of interest in the history of circus, theater and mass entertainment (for example, [6]), which stated the originality of folk festivals and celebrations, as well as held during the holidays fairs, as it was in the XVIII century. fairground advertising began to emerge (see [7, p. 133], [8, p. 46–47], [13, p. 133], etc.).

Appeared in the early XX century. small-format book, which is a kind of teaching aids in advertising, on the following issues, in which the authors provide specific recommendations for the creation of advertising: how to use advertising; how to successfully advertise and become a good salesperson, agent, representative; what are the art and technique of advertisement, etc. In the late 1970s – early 1980s. the book «From neon to herald» N.B. Filchikova and L.V. Kornilov, in which a small part is devoted to Russian advertising, mainly in the beginning of XX century [22].

A special place among the modern works on the history of the Russian advertising works belongs V.V. Uchenovoy and N.V. Saryh. In the first book, published in 1994, «The history of advertising. Childhood and adolescence»,consistently regarded the Russian advertising from the period of ancient times to the end of the XIX century. The authors have expanded the understanding of advertising, following the concept of V.V. Uperova variety

of types of advertising, arrange them according to various aspects of human activity, and identified areas of research on the history of the Russian advertising.

In recent decades, the problems intensified promotional activities the attention of researchers, mainly economists, sociologists, linguists.

Modern post-industrial civilization has led to the emergence of new information technologies that transform information into the main value of the individual and society. As is known, in the information environment significant role for advertising. Value of operational information for the life of society increases, thus increasing the impact of advertising and, as one of the main areas of operational information flows. [23, p. 56]. Number of knowledge required for the interaction between society and the individual is constantly increasing. Priority is given to operational information that appeals to the emotional component of human consciousness. Advertising, providing information in conjunction with the emotional and psychological impact on the human becoming increasingly important for the individual and society. For the preservation and development of civilization is the continuity of socially significant values and value orientations, historically present in the ideological structure of a religious, philosophical, sociological, moral-oriented theories. They form the so-called fundamental information, which is the basis of the individual's life and ensures the stability of society. Advertising is now actively influences the perception of fundamental information and, consequently, on the formation of certain values of the individual and social groups [12, p. 114].

At the present stage of development of society shaping the worldview, values is not so much under the influence of family, education, religious institutions, cultural institutions, etc., as a result of the influence of media and advertising. However, as confirmed by research, the role of advertising is increasing, and the role of family, education, cultural institutions reduced. We agree with the opinion of D.V.Tomba that modern advertising in its main manifestation in the form of commercial advertising in constructing universal value consumption rather than creation, which affects the process of identity

formation, reducing its creative, creativity as a subject of long-term development of the society [10, p. 152].

Processes of perception and understanding of advertising, formation of interest, positive attitude to the advertised product, product, service, wish to purchase it due to certain social and mental characteristics of consumers of advertising messages, ie those individuals for whom this ad is intended [24].

No matter what tactical task is called to solve the advertised product, a decision should foster the image of a product, service, and therefore the choice of a particular advertising medium acquires special importance. Well-chosen promotional image functions effectively only when the advertising message creates a stable relationship between the advertised object and needs of the target audience [4, p. 45].

Sociocultural component of advertising as an integral part of modern society is multi-dimensional. Considering the features of the triad in the «consumer-goods manufacturer», it should be noted a significant role etnokoloristic information (etnokoloristic – complex discipline of color, including systematic collection of data of physics, physiology, psychology, and related areas, studying natural phenomenon of color, and collection of data philosophy, aesthetics, art theory and history, ethnology, philology, studying color and its use in folk art culture, which is found in various types of advertising) [25]. Color in advertising is often an important place. At the same time, advertising is now regarded as a new type of communication and the most important integrative part of the culture in human history and culture and its transformation in different historical epochs [3, p. 78].

In the cave paintings of primitive peoples are the most common three colors - white, black and red, which allows the conclusion of the special role of these colors in the life of ancient people, however, the prevalence of these paints can not be explained, for example, ease of extraction. Leading role in three colors confirmed by a study of magical rites of primitive peoples of today, living in Africa, South America, etc. Special merit here belongs English ethnographer V. Turner, gather more evidence on the “color classification” of primitive peoples, in particular African tribe Ndembu.

Observations of the rites and rituals of the Ndembu, as well as interviews with members of the tribe, will allow researchers to describe in detail the symbolic values of the three “basic” colors in the life of primitive man. Ndembu associate these colors with three rivers (the entities) one God, which they presented. Specific symbolic meanings of each color (river) following.

White. Benefit; source of strength and health; cleanliness; comfortably; force; no failures, tears, death; meeting with the spirits of their ancestors; life and health; conception or birth of a child; hunting prowess; generosity; remembrance of ancestral spirits; friendliness; eating food; Reproduction; maturing or ripening; ablution; lack of ridicule.

For primitive man white – not only visual-sensual character, but also a concept expressing the basic ethical principles of conduct. Thus, a number of African people still swear there is a custom of his liver. If giving the oath wants to emphasize that his intentions are honest and he harbors no malice, it specifically indicates that it “white liver”. It makes sense, therefore, to note the white regulatory role in the behavior of primitive people, as a kind of criteria by which they organized their behavior. In this aspect, the white color can be seen as a sign of psychological – ie control means their human mental functions and behaviors. As pointed out by V. Turner, Ndembu is the concept of «white behavior» that is meant to be apparent to the tribesmen, ie not bad scheming to be «clean», etc. [19, c. 35].

Black. Evil, evil things; no luck, purity; suffering; disease; witchcraft and sorcery; death (including ritual); libido; night darkness.

Black color is also used for protection against the evil eye and spoilage, but the meaning of this symbolic protection in comparison with the other white. In ancient times, the use of black meant that his carrier does not have anything that would be worthy of envy. Proceeding from this, the faces of newborns applied black dots, black animals, homes (black cornerstone), etc.

Black was the color of evil sorcery and witchcraft. By «black magicians» treated with fear and hostility. At home people suspected of witchcraft, evil, black paint was applied. Expression of his black liver means a person with evil intentions. Despite the fact that primitive life black symbolized negative,

this color was not only negative values, but also positive, that is, as opposed to white, was ambivalent character. For example, among the tribes of black African drylands still revered as the color of rain clouds, and especially people with black hair considered beautiful [16, p. 76].

Red. Red symbolic meanings defined «type» of blood: the blood of animals; placenta blood (mothers); blood of all the women (menstrual blood); blood circumcision procedure; blood murder; blood sorcery and witchcraft (associated with necrophages) [26].

In contrast to the white and black, red refers to chromatic colors and all three of the most ambivalent character.

Power – the main value of the red and explains its role as a magic solution. For example, in a ritual dedicated to the birth of a child, deposited red dots on the head, genitals and other parts of the body of a newborn in order to grow up healthy and strong. Coloring red paint individual soldiers had magically give them strength and courage and at the same time to intimidate enemies. As a symbol of strength, red and used as a remedy for the evil eye and slander.

Primitive people believed curative red color that can heal wounds and return to health. To this end, the affected areas of the body were applied red cloth or clay, deposited on the blood of subjects who wanted to revive [2, p. 92]. Primacy of white, black and red in color symbolism occurs practically all living tribes in Africa with the organization of the primitive: Dogon, Mana, Bacta, Semang, Sakai et al [19, p. 78.]. A similar picture is observed and Madagascar. Among primitive tribes of the island black expresses mean, nasty, evil; White – joy, light, hope, purity; red – force, power, wealth and success. Australian aboriginal cave paintings also mainly made by these three colors. In North America, at the Cherokee Indian tribe white symbolizes peace, happiness; red – success, triumph; black – death. [28] In antiquity (the time period of antiquity adopted purely arbitrary and covers the period from the ninth century. BC to the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 AD) formed a different attitude to color. Along with the continuing perception of color, as a religious and mystical, magical symbol, there is

also naturalistic position. Interim solution can be regarded as attempts by a number of prominent Greek philosophers to create a taxonomy of color elements, but not mystical, and natural.

Empedocles, highlighting the four basic elements, gives each of them a different color: black color corresponds to the water; ground – yellow; fire – red; air – White, ie, determining the color of the elements, he relied on the visual impressions. Aristotle, wishing to establish their «true» color, using the experimental method. According to Aristotle, «basic» colors – three: white (colorless) corresponds to water, air and land; Yellow – the color of fire, black – the color of destruction or transition state. The assignment of the elements «land» to a group of white, Aristotle explains the results of experiments on the calcination of the soil, which as a result became white. Carefully examining the fiery flame, Greek scholar came to the conclusion that it probably yellow than red. Such an experimental approach, of course, destroyed mystique colors, relegating them to the ordinary phenomena of the physical world.

The traditional role of color as a symbol of the supersensible, magical powers are much more preserved in the philosophical school of the Pythagoreans, a lot of knowledge pocherpnuvshih Babylonian and Egyptian priests and magicians. Despite attempts to study natural science of color phenomena related to color as mystical character prevailed in Plato and the Neoplatonists. White and gold (yellow) were considered in these philosophical schools of divine flowers (including the world-mind - the Logos), expressed good, truth, happiness, goodness, knowledge, harmony. Dark and especially the black color is a symbol of evil, disasters, forces hostile to man, etc. [27, c. 90].

Color symbolism Enlightenment is characterized by eclecticism, replacement of traditional content color symbols new associations and connections. Because of this, color symbolism becomes more individualized, testing the influence of different cultural traditions. Moreover, if among the common people of color content of character for a long time remains traditional, retaining its ancient roots, in the environment of the intellectual elite of the

Enlightenment actively forming new color options symbolism; placed in the appropriate color as physical phenomena and processes, and physiological sensations, moral categories, etc.

Thanks to artists and scientists, a list of color associations with time expands. So, the French scientist Roger de Peel separates colors for «heavy» and «light», «remove» and «approaching», «earth» and «air», «impressive» and «subtle» and using its «semantic system» it gives a completely new color descriptions [29, p. 115].

XVIII century can be taken as a reference point for the third component of the teachings of the color – color psychology, the occurrence of which is associated with the name of the great poet of Germany IV von Goethe («The doctrine of color»). Job Goethe has not lost relevance in the present time. On the observations and conclusions made by the German scholar on the relationship of color and psyche, and referred to link many outstanding scientists and thinkers (Hegel, Kandinsky, Niels Bohr, Losev, M. Lüscher, etc.).

Current stage of development colorformativefactor in advertising based not only on situational perception of color depending on the current objectives and targets the respondents' attitudes, but also taking into account age, sex, religious, psychological and ethnological aspects of the unconscious and rationalized color perception [18, p. 45].

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DOI: 10.12731/wsd-2014-9.3-15**UDC 330.828.4****THE PURPOSE OF LIFE AND PROFESSIONAL
APTITUDE IN THE INTERPRETATION
OF NIKOLAI KAREEV***Lyskova I.E.*

Purpose and methods. *This article suggests a common analysis of the views and research of a famous Russian historian, philosopher, sociologist, lecturer, statesman and public figure Nikolai Kareev (1850–1931) in terms of self-development, purpose of life and professional aptitude. His works devoted to Russian students were very popular in Russia and some other countries of Western Europe at the end of XIXth and the beginning of XXth century. He paid great attention to the problems of students' comprehensive and professional education, self-education and self-development. His ideas about the value and purpose of life, vocational attitude and professional aptitude are topical nowadays in aspects of constant social and individual perfection and self-management.*

Results. *The modern situation requires new approaches to studying Kareev's many-sided scientific heritage, especially in points of the history of economic studies, the history of socio-economic processes in Russia and in the countries of Western Europe, in the point of self-development and self-management dealing with the economic, political, historical and cultural processes in Russia at the end of XIXth and the beginning of XXth century. These problems of N. Kareev's scientific heritage have not been thoroughly studied yet.*

Keywords: *education; self-education; self-management; purpose of life; vocational attitude; professional aptitude; scientific heritage of N.I. Kareev.*

Н.И. КАРЕЕВ О ЦЕЛИ ЖИЗНИ И ПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНОМ ПРИЗВАНИИ

Лыскова И.Е.

В статье предлагается анализ взглядов известного русского историка, философа, социолога, педагога и активного общественного деятеля Н.И. Кареева (1850–1931) по вопросам персонального развития, осознания цели жизни и профессионального призвания. В конце XIX – начале XX века труды учёного, адресованные учащейся молодёжи, приобрели широкую популярность в России и ряде стран Западной Европы. Значительное внимание Н.И. Кареев уделял проблемам общего и профессионального образования, самообразования и личностного развития. С точки зрения значимости непрерывного социального и индивидуального развития, а также в аспекте персонального менеджмента идеи Н.И. Кареева о ценности и цели жизни, профессиональном самоопределении и профессиональном призвании не утратили актуальности в условиях современности.

В связи с этим требуются новые подходы к изучению многогранного научного наследия Н.И. Кареева, особенно по вопросам истории экономических учений, истории социально-экономических процессов в России и странах Западной Европы, по проблемам личностного развития в аспекте экономических, политических, исторических, культурных процессов современного Н.И. Карееву общества. Данная проблематика в освещении учёного ещё не подвергалась тщательному анализу современными специалистами.

Ключевые слова: образование; самообразование; персональный менеджмент; цель жизни; профессиональная ориентация; профессиональное призвание; научное наследие Н.И. Кареева.

Present day reality confirms the absolute necessity of purposive and systematic work on forming the reference points for the young generation in

the sphere of the meaning of life and values. Social infantilism of young people, inanity of life, and neglect of the importance of education, self-determination and constant self-development constitute a serious social threat for our community.

The end of the XIXth and the beginning of the XXth century have a special appeal for the current researchers because of the process of modernization in different spheres of life. Various considerable changes took place in industry, agriculture and trade. But as for the system of education, it did not satisfy the demands at that time. It is important to mention that state educational policy, being very conservative, served as one of the negative factors, defining Russia's social, economic and cultural backwardness.

State institutions of autocratic Russia had less and less instruments, which were able to restrain people's endeavour to education. The need for education became of current importance for the society. However, very often it was not enough just to have a will to study. Factually, according to the first all-Russian population census of 1897, out of 126 billion people only 26, 5 billion were literates, while 99, 5 billion people could neither read, nor write. It meant that there were 788 illiterate people per thousand, whereas in Germany only 20 people per thousand were illiterate, in England – 80, in France – 150. Educational opportunities were restricted by independent circumstances. Thus, in North America in 1906–1908 there were 210 schoolchildren per thousand people, in England – more than 170, in Germany – about 160, in France – more than 140, in Japan – over 110. As for Russia, the number of schoolchildren was about 40 per thousand. In 1906 there were 141, 5 billion people, living in Russia. Out of them 12, 736 billion children were of school age, but only 5, 389 went to school. The rest of them, more than 7, 3 billion children, could not study because of the shortage of schools [1, p. XIV; 2. pp. 126–150].

The problem of qualified specialists training should have been solved because it was needed in all the spheres of economy. That is why the leading scientific and pedagogical communities raised the problems of professional calling, vocational orientation, deliberate attitude to the choice of

educational institutions, the problems of motivation for work and studies. What's more, the ideas, that education and many-sided development of personality are the essential needs of a person, became widespread.

A famous Russian scientist and public figure Nikolai Ivanovich Kareev paid special attention to the problems of development of education. He always was a supporter of the idea of democratization in the system of education. As he wrote, "the right to education is a natural human's right, as the right to life, freedom, happiness, and the ideal of general education is that it should be general for every member of a nation" [3, p. 126].

Purpose and methods of research

Our aim is to analyze and emphasize the topicality of N.I. Kareev's scientific heritage, devoted to the some problems of the determination of purpose of life and professional aptitude in the context of socio-economic and socio-cultural development of Russian society at the end of the XIXth and the beginning of the XXth century.

The results of the research and their interpretation

For a long time N.I. Kareev worked as a teacher, was a lecturer at St. Petersburg State University and Warsaw University, at the High women's courses (Bestuzhev Courses), Imperial Alexander Lyceum, later, at the beginning of the XX century at the Polytechnic and Psychoneurological institutes. When in Western Europe, he was often asked to speak to the public on various acute questions. N.I. Kareev was widely known as a scientist, philosopher, and sociologist. Moreover, he got recognition as an active social and political figure. His creative potential was enormous. He was continuously and productively occupied with science, was the head of the Historical society at St. Petersburg State University, the editor of the magazine called "The Historical Survey", the editor of the historical department of "The Brockhaus and Efron Encyclopedic Dictionary" and worked at the Literature Foundation. It's important to mention that he was the organizer of the Department of assistance to self-education at one of the museums in St. Petersburg and was elected to the State Duma. All

that was just a part of his social activity, he had so many interests and ideas and “even wondered how he could find time for everything” [4, p. 191].

During all his life N.I. Kareev was involved in the research of the problems of Russian youth’s education. He gave prominence to the tasks of self-education and personal development. The series of works addressed to Russian youth was immensely successful and included such works as “The letters to students about self-education”, “The talk about the process of development of world-outlook”, “The choice of the faculty and studying at a university”, “The ideals of comprehensive education” and others. Many of his ideas on the problems of education, self-education, self-development, the importance of social and professional activity are still relevant and interest a lot of people nowadays [5].

N.I. Kareev in his works suggested theoretical substantiation of the tasks of personal development and emphasized the significance of practical issues in social activity. His work “The choice of the faculty and studying at a university” became the first experience of pedagogical and psychological support to young people in questions of the choice of educational institutions and adaptation to the process of studying [6; 7; 8; 9].

From the practical point of view N.I. Kareev’s work “The thoughts about the essence of public activity” is also very remarkable. N.I. Kareev raised many questions about the specificity of individual and social behavior of a person. One of the most difficult questions for profound understanding was about the purpose of life and life calling.

This question was viewed by Kareev as a part of the system of public activity of a person, the system which is inseparably linked with economic, political, juridical, and cultural processes, which determine the substance of social life. N.I. Kareev accentuated that “besides the responsibilities to the society a person has responsibilities to himself” [10, p. 22]. According to the scientist one of these responsibilities is making an independent decision on the purpose of life. The scientist called to pay more attention to thinking over and studying the essence and value of life. He wrote that “everyone should learn himself (herself) first of all and determine the mission of personal life according to interests and abilities

... According to his thoughts, being occupied not with your business you will get nothing but great misfortune, regret and dissatisfaction in life” [10, p. 28].

The founders of western positivism A. Comte and H. Spenser were the ideological precursors of N.I. Kareev in the conception of education and upbringing of young generation [11; 12; 13; 14]. Among those who influenced N.I. Kareev were Russian populist thinkers P.L. Lavrov and N.M. Mihailovskii. The “anthropological point of view” on social progress was the basis of their philosophy. The influence of the ideas about the importance self-development to Russian youth was great. The self-development conception of P.L. Lavrov and N.M. Mihailovskii was named “sociological subjectivism”.

These views of P.L. Lavrov became the basis of the theory of “critically thinking personalities” providing a social progress. P.L. Lavrov wrote that “the development of a personality in physical, intellectual and moral attitude, and perfection of different forms of social justice ... are the main formula of social progress”. “The common interests of personal and social development” were the scientist’s ideal of social progress [15, p. 53–54].

N.M. Mihailovskii characterized subjectivism in the same way as P.L. Lavrov. He connected the ethical essence of social progress with the phenomenon of “the struggle for individuality”. Moreover, he mentioned that it should be provided with respect for a personality, with person’s aspiration to freedom in creative activity, to personal inviolability, to equal rights for all the members of community and solidarity. In N.M. Mihailovskii’s opinion a person can not make a sacrifice to a good aims of a society and for a social progress. The main purpose of N.M. Mihailovskii’s philosophy was the search of truth which was defined as human value. The contradiction between objective and subjective nature was one of the most important reasons for social progress. On the one hand it is man’s struggle for the existence in nature, on the another hand it is “the struggle for individuality” and constant development of a personality. N.M. Mihailovskii suggested the idea about different types of social progress. The first was the progress of society, and the second was the development of individuality [16, pp. 44–70].

Some decades later the ideas of P.L. Lavrov and N.K. Mihailovskii took a further development in scientific creative activity of N.I. Kareev. The po-

sitions of the scientist about individual and social potential of a person were close to his precursors. But N.I. Kareev linked these problems with students, with very important tasks of education and self-education as the main condition of individual perfection and opportunity of self-development, self-government and self-realization in different spheres of public life.

According to N.I. Kareev the answers to the questions about the value and purpose of life, vocational attitude and professional aptitude should be found not outside a person but inside. The most suitable and right means in this attitude are critical thinking and self-analysis. N.I. Kareev talked about the analogy between the highest aims of “socio-cultural progress” and the tasks of all-round and continuous personal development. In N.I. Kareev’s opinion, “a person should be taught, his thinking ability and ability to analyze different phenomena of social life and the results of his own thoughts and the thoughts of other people should be developed. It is very important to develop the habit to critical attitude to any question and making decisions, to enrich the mind by real and ideological knowledge and thus to help to find the purpose of life and professional aptitude. It is the way of mind, way of studying, analysis and criticism, the way of evidence and belief, the way of knowledge and science. This way is the right and the most reliable” [10, p. 28–29].

N.I. Kareev talked about principles of moral, freedom, independence and self-determination in the process of choosing the aims of life and professional aptitudes. N.I. Kareev directed students’ attention to the independent issue and active development of personality. He emphasized that “personality is the aim”. He was against different characteristic features of dogmatism in thinking and social behaviour. He believed it is very dangerous when a man “acts as somebody else, and doesn’t have his own opinion”. He claimed that development of world-outlook is impossible without active individual work in the aspect of scientific, ethical and social philosophy of life. According to N.I. Kareev, education and especially self-education are the main means to solve the most significant problems of social and personal life. A lot of N. Kareev’s ideas dealt with the personal task of development of world-outlook (“*vyrabotka mirosozertsania*” in Russian) [17]. In N. Kareev’s opinion, world-outlook is “a world understanding of

everything that exists, can exist and should exist” [17, p. 66]. It consists of systematic philosophic, scientific, moral and social ideas. The formation of life philosophy of young people is the process of intellectual and social development, efficient process of socialization. The scientist believed that students’ initiative in this process is immensely needed.

Science in N.I. Kareev’s opinion is the principal source of education, self-education, the formation of world-outlook and self-development [18]. N.I. Kareev mentioned that science is “complex and many-sided”. It is based on “more or less exact and reliable knowledge of laws or phenomena of the world, obtained by experience, observation, research. Its aim is to satisfy the inquisitiveness of mind and to serve the practical tasks of human life” [19, p. 146].

It is impossible to overestimate the significance of education in our life. N.I. Kareev wrote that “the highest ideal of education is not to know everything that all the scientists over the world know, but to understand all the ideas of a century which are the ideas of common concern... On the whole education is not a sum of knowledge which is collected in the heads of the scientists, but the quantity and quality of ideas which are in common conversation” [20, p. 26].

Absolute value of education is determined by totality of the most important social and individual needs. N.I. Kareev told that “education would never give good social results if the needs, human rights and dignity were ignored” [3, p. V; 21]. First of all education is absolutely needed for a person as a means of spiritual and moral development, as a means of improving abilities, skills and qualification. All this is very important for each person to be happy.

N.I. Kareev gave great opportunities to students for thinking over the value and purpose of life, vocational attitude and professional aptitude. But he avoided universal prescriptions. There was some advice, such as “to find the purpose of life for yourself; to determine your living aptitude independently. It is very important to think about many interesting things, to learn yourself and the environment, to listen what other people say, to read more and to analyze, to compare and choose but not to think that there is anyone able to make a decision about your life and interests for you” [10, p. 35].

Conclusion

As we can see the common analysis of the views of N. Kareev about the purpose of life and professional aptitude is characterized by an insight into the interests of the youth, and sincere willing to help young people to solve the main tasks which they meet in life but can not solve independently by the reasons of age, psychological and others individual and social characteristic features. Scientific heritage of N. Kareev is very deep and many-sided and it demands the further studying.

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MIGRANTS' INCLUSION IN A FOREIGN CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT: INTERACTION PROBLEMS WITH THE HOST COMMUNITY

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The article is devoted to problems of migrants' inclusion in the host community. It pays attention to migrants' self-realization needs, transformation of their value, moral and ethical orientations in new conditions. The novelty is that authors describe the results of their own research, showing cultural and value needs of a person, the comparative analysis of cultural and social differences worldview and value orientations of different culture representatives (Turkic, Iranian and Slavic) is done. These results are validating because to confirm the hypothesis and check the equality of average values we use the method of Student's t-test. The main methods are survey and the method of "Cultural-value differential". For the first time the term "affinity" is introduced. It is concerned establishment of interethnic links in a foreign culture environment. Referring to the problem of interaction between migrants and the host community, it is clear that a positive result can be observed only in the scenario when interlocutors involve verbal and non-verbal channels of perception. The article concludes that for the full migrants' inclusion in the foreign cultural environment, getting into the non-indigenous cultural universe is necessary to construct the personal value and cultural needs for implementation and comprehension of the host community the national world model.

Keywords: migration; host community; foreign cultural environment; assimilation.

Migration processes today perform one of the key characteristics of modernity. Presenting a complex socio-economic phenomenon, migration has a

significant impact on virtually all aspects of society, radically transforms the geopolitical and cultural cooperation between the two countries, and affects the formation of ethno-cultural space of different nations. In fact, migration in the context of the profound globalization processes encompasses the centrifugal and centripetal forces. On the one hand, the whole world is turned into a universal ethno-communication process, freedom of people movement, education and labor migration, the interaction between the different countries, ethnic groups and cultures have become multidimensional and permanent. On the other hand, migration is accompanied by a clash of interests, the spread of xenophobia, highlights the issue of ethnic identity preservation, and poses the problem of self-identity in the new living conditions [1–3]. Today we can easily imagine universal distribution of business ideas, scientific, medical, military and IT achievements, but we are not always able to perceive the dynamics of human relationships and changes in the ratio of goals and means of human activity. However, acceptance of the Other, as a carrier of other logic, other way of thinking, other behavior and values, is an indispensable condition for the existence and survival in the modern world. Realizing this, we go to the next new level of intercultural and interethnic interaction – axiological assessments’ level of socio-cultural processes at present, and in this context, self-identity (both migrants and the host community) can act as measuring instrument, which is required for the transition to this level [4].

This problem is particularly topical for Siberia, historically receiving flows of migrants in their ethno-cultural semiotic space. Tomsk region in this regard is significant; its territory is home to over 120 nationalities. Thus, in the late 1990- the first decades of the 2000 there was a migrants’ influx increase in the Siberian region from neighboring countries, Asia and the Caucasus.

These circumstances led to the intensity of social problems, a trend towards national disunity, spread household ethnophobia among residents of Tomsk and region. This is also particularly troubling because the uniqueness of Tomsk is scientific and educational potential: a small area centered six state universities and is the formation of the intellectual elite of the country. College students are 20% of the total population of the city, many of them

came from other regions of Russia and foreign countries. Moreover, the new socio-economic development strategy of the city “Tomsk 3.0” is aimed at creating an image of Tomsk as comfortable place to stay, creative and competitive. In this regard, the determining factor in shaping the brand is expanding socio-educational space by bringing to the city the population of working age due to educational and labor migration.

However, the data of the sociological survey revealed [5] that migrants once appeared in foreign ethnic environment, outside the context of their culture, often have difficulties in communication and form national enclaves, and as a result, poorly integrate into the socio-cultural city area.

To solve problematic issues related to the adaptation of migrants national-cultural autonomy (hereinafter – NCA) and national groups are partially included and they function as conductors for newcomers in the new society. As practice shows, NCA sees its primary mission in the implementation of legal aid for the registration in a stay place, in solving everyday problems of migrants [6]. But in general, they do not solve the problem of migrants’ occurrence in society, do not focus on their needs for self-development, do not set orientations for mental changes, value-philosophical, moral and ethical orientation points in the new conditions of existence. This ultimately creates barriers to self-realization, leading to the marginalization of the individual. It is noted that in this problematic field both migrants and members of the local society are included [7]. Meeting with the new reality creates an identity transformation of both groups mentioned above. In our opinion, it is an appeal to the side of human understanding of his/her place, role and purpose. Revealing human’s sense making and purposeful activity is becoming fundamental in the context of global cross-cultural interactions and requires a dialectical deployment. In other words it is necessary today to answer the question “If to be, then what?” Being a zombie or robot, having no ambition, only meeting the basic needs or a genuine person seeking and implementing own plans.

To determine the value of migrants’ and the local community cultural needs in Tomsk region the research was done and methods were: 1) Survey.

The questionnaire aims to explore topical issues that arise in the migrants' and the host community in the process of adaptation to a new environment and a new culture. The questionnaire consists of 10 questions of free-answered and closed type. 2) The method of "Cultural-value differential", developed by G.U. Soldatova [8, 9], I.M. Kuznetsov [10] and S.V. Ryzhova. The aim of the methodology is to measure the group value orientations. Procedure comprises four scales: 1. Targeting group – individual; 2. Openness to change – resistance to change; 3. Focus on interaction – interaction rejection; 4. Strong social control – weak social control [8].

The study involved 82 people, including 19 representatives of the Turkic peoples (Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, Azerbaijanis, Kazakhs, Uighurs, Tuva, Altai), 23 representatives of the Iranian peoples (Tajiks) and 40 representatives of the Slavic peoples (Russians), 25 of them are migrants and 15 are native inhabitants. The average age of respondents was 19–25 years. Migrants participated in the study, are voluntary migrants, duration of residence in the territory of Tomsk from six months to four years.

To confirm the hypothesis and check the equality of average values we use the method of Student's t-test.

Table 1

Comparison of the average values of migrant groups and native inhabitants in the test "Cultural-value differential"

	Migrants (representatives of Turkic and Iranian culture)	Natives	t-Student test
Targeting the group (mutual)	10,46	7,57	0,00
Orientation to themselves (dissociation)	6,8	6,93	0,84
Openness to change	8,54	6,93	0,02
Resistance to change	9,46	8,5	0,08
Focus on the interaction	8,69	8	0,20
Rejection of interaction	8,14	8,14	0,86
Strong social control	10,35	6,21	0,00
Weak social control	6,82	7,64	0,22

The comparison results presented in the table 1 show that migrants have most peculiar orientation to their own cultural group and a strong social control, rather than natives. This is largely determined by the membership of the Turkic and Iranian culture to the types of collectivist cultures. Moreover, it is connected with the need to protect workers in the psychological process of adaptation to the new environment. Usually, coming to a new place, migrants closely interact with national and cultural autonomy that in the early stages of getting used to the society has a positive effect, helping to reduce “culture shock”.

However, the main problem for most immigrants is the process of mastering Russian language and culture as one of the most effective means of socialization, which improves the quality of education and helps to build a career [11, 12]. 67% of respondents denied any problems in communication with the natives, and only 7% of respondents indicated that they faced cultural barriers in the process of interaction. These data reveal an apparent contradiction between the existence of mastering Russian language migrants’ problems and their denial in communication. These conclusions are logical in the implementation of the following communication scenarios: 1. I do not enter any verbal communication. 2. I speak, not paying attention to the interlocutor’s and the communicative act result. 3. Interlocutors involve verbal and non-verbal channels of perception.

Thus, referring to the problem of interaction between migrants and the host community, it is clear that a positive result can be observed only in the third communicative scenario. Also to the positive dynamics of migrants’ interaction with the local population those 7% of respondents belong who fixed communicative problem because the problem fixation is an initial stage for its solution.

Further, it should be noted that migrants are more open to new experiences and focused on the future than natives (Table 1). This is because resettling voluntarily in another culture, moving to the new place of residence migrants psychologically associate it with new prospects and positive changes in life [13].

Further comparative analysis was carried out to determine the cultural and socio-psychological differences in the worldview (mentality) and value orientations in different cultures (Turkic, Iranian and Slavic culture).

Table 2

Comparison of average values of people from different cultures to test “Cultural-value differential”

	Mi-grants (Rus-sian)	Mi-grants (Iran-ian peo-ples)	t-Stu-dent test	Mi-grants (Tur-kic peo-ples)	Mi-grants (Iran-ian peo-ples)	t-Stu-dent test	Mi-grants (Tur-kic peo-ples)	Mi-grants (Rus-sian)	t-Stu-dent test
Targeting the group (mutual)	8	11,1	0,00	9,13	11,1	0,00	9,13	8	0,04
Orientation to them-selves (dis-sociation)	7,13	6,57	0,33	7,33	6,57	0,28	7,33	7,13	0,68
Openness to change	6,65	9,1	0,00	7,8	9,1	0,07	7,8	6,65	0,06
Resistance to change	9,04	9,61	0,25	8,8	9,61	0,13	8,8	9,04	0,6
Focus on the interac-tion	8,39	8,91	0,27	8,2	8,91	0,21	8,2	8,39	0,61
Rejection of interaction	8,3	8,43	0,76	7,67	8,43	0,13	7,67	8,3	0,15
Strong so-cial control	6,39	11,17	0,00	9,07	11,17	0,00	9,07	6,39	0,00
Weaksocial control	8,17	6,52	0,00	6,642	6,52	0,88	6,64	8,17	0,03

As can be seen from the table 2, most powerful social control and the focus on its own peculiar cultural group are characteristics of Iranian culture representatives, the lowest rate on these parameters are characterized for representatives of Slavic culture. This can be explained in the case of Iranian ethnic groups by the dominant influence of the NCA. As noted above, in the

period of adaptation autonomies play a leading role for migrants, they artificially create a positive environment that does not always reflect actual reality. In this case, the host community in the perception of migrants is away to the periphery. That is legitimate to say that in this case migrants are guided by the ghettoization model in the process of sociocultural adaptation.

Let's refer to the famous ethno-adaptation models of interethnic interaction in foreign culture environment. So, scientists-adaptologists (Berry J.W., Sam D.L. [14], Dodd C. [15], Bock P.K. [16]) highlight four basic models: 1. Model "ghettoization" (passive autarchy), which is realized in situations where adaptants, being in a new environment, try to avoid direct contact with a foreign culture and thereby eliminate the negative symptoms of culture shock. Following this model, workers create their own custom microcosm, in which there is only "native" ethnocultural environment, live their compatriots and fellow tribesmen. Passive autarchy is usual characteristic of members of ethnic minorities (immigrants and refugees) living in large cities, industrial centers, metropolitan areas. 2. Model "cultural colonization" (aggressive autarchy) is characterized by active manifestation in "Aliens" ethnocentrism and intolerance. In this case, the new reality is perceived as extremely inadequate, different culture sharply criticized and rejected. Moreover, migrants (colonizers) are actively seeking to move their attributes of culture and ethnic stereotypes in the new environment, the receiving environment to impose their own worldview and lifestyle. 3. Assimilation model, the alleged refusal of migrants (voluntary or forced) of native culture and full identification ("dissolution") with the new ethnocultural community. 4. Model Integration (acculturation) - the most preferred and successful adaptation strategy is to maintain by ethnominorities own culture commitment and parallel internalization of foreign cultural attributes. This model also implies activation parity intercultural dialogue between migrants and the dominant ethnic majority, mutual adaptation of the latter: when minorities need to learn basic values, norms, knowledge and examples of the new social and cultural environment, and the host community - to adapt their social institutions to the needs and demands of all its

constituent ethnic groups [17]. The choice of a model depends on several factors. Thus, migrants, when choosing a new residence, are usually guided by external socio-economic conditions in the universe and the degree of similarities and differences between cultures. Cultural distance is indexed by similarity / difference of language, family structure, education, material comfort, as well as the similarity of the landscape, climate, food, clothing between their own and new culture for immigrants.

Dutch sociologist G. Hofstede [18, 19] identified four indicators by which can be characterized and described the dominant value systems of ethnic groups, “individualism”, “distance in relation to power”, “uncertainty avoidance” and “masculinity.” In this regard, referring to the results of the study (see table 2) is correct to note that a strong social control of the Iranian ethnic group is due to value orientations of own cultural group. Another example, are provided by the research data concerning members of the Slavic culture, which according to the results there is a weak social control. The fact of being in the own social and cultural environment does not require a permanent national identity a priori existing in reality [20, 21].

Further, the study found that representatives of the Turkic and Iranian peoples perform various difficulties arising in the process of socio-cultural adaptation. Thus, representatives of the Turkic peoples secrete insufficient number of national holidays – 37% of respondents, the lack of material wealth and decent work – 37% of respondents, lack of friendly relations associates – 16% of the respondents. 37% of respondents plan to stay in Tomsk for permanent residence, 42% have not yet made a final decision, and 21% do not plan to stay in Tomsk.

For the representatives of the Iranian people have become major challenges: the lack of friendly relations associates – 35% of respondents, the lack of material wealth and decent work – 48%. However, 43% of respondents plan to stay in Tomsk for permanent residence, and 30% had not decided yet, 17% do not plan to stay in the city of Tomsk.

Thus, the results confirm the migrants’ orientation in the adaptation process to the cultural environment on the ghettoization model and isolation on

value orientations of own cultural group. However, the host community is demonstrating a rather stressful attitude towards migrant workers [5]. According to studies, many residents worried about migrants' poor level of Russian language, neglecting of Russian culture and traditions study. However, if the worker is personally their friend or close friend, it is replaced by irritation to tolerant position [22, 23].

In our opinion, the most productive adaptation model is the model of acculturation. In this case, under the acculturation we imply the perception by one ethnic group fully or partially culture of another ethnic group. In other words we would like to suggest the concept of *affinity*, which refers to the establishment of strong links between persons in the context of interethnic interaction. Affinity means "deliberate, meaningful stay in a foreign country in keeping with the overall perspective way of life personality, generally contributes to a positive perception of the new culture and greater satisfaction from it", which in turn increases the effectiveness of adaptation to the cultural environment." Otherwise, migrants are faced with the fact that "forced, hopeless stay in a foreign country that violates the integrity of the individual life path <...>, leads to substantial violations of his mental health, negative perception of a new culture, frustration and disappointment in it" [24, p. 19], which in turn reduces the success of adaptation in foreign culture environment.

Thus, for the full migrants' inclusion in the foreign cultural environment, getting into the non-indigenous cultural universe is possible only in the case of affinity, i.e. strong links which are migrants produce in an effort to comprehend the national world model of the host community. Moreover, there are permissible discrepancies between different cultural realities, peculiar meaning gaps that are always found in the process of intercultural and interethnic communication.

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MUNICIPAL NEWSPAPER IN URBAN SOCIETY

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An aim of the article is a study attitude of townspeople toward activity of municipal newspaper «City News». Empirical basis for the analysis are the results of a citywide questioning of respondents and research by the method of focus group conducted by authors. The social structure of readers of newspaper, his difference from the readers of other newspapers, channels of distribution of print edition, the preferences of respondents and requirement, is analyzed in information about work of government, organizations and their leader's bodies. Suggestions of research participants had collected about increase of attractiveness and popularity of newspaper «City News». Analyzed the position of the municipal newspaper in the last local elections in 2013.

It is shown: a municipal newspaper to a great extent satisfies informative needs the least socially protected groups of population from number pensioners, elderly people, poor in material relation citizens, persons with a not high educational level, for people limited in their ability to subscribe or buy print edition.

A trend had detected in aspiration of editorial collective of municipal newspaper to influence on public opinion in the necessary direction for the government. However, it is not set the hard determined connection between informative support of candidates from the current government and level of their electoral support on local elections.

Keywords: *mass-media; municipal newspaper; municipality; sociological questioning; focus-group; Krasnoyarsk.*

What place do print editions (newspapers) occupy in public life of city? An answer for this question is given by the results of a citywide questioning, conducted in January 2007 and December 2010.

Researches are realized on the stratified multistage sample and represent the territorial placing of townspeople (borough, type of settlement in district: bedroom community, industrially-sleeping district, private sector) and socially-demographic composition of townspeople in age 18 and older. The sample consisted of 789 and 945 respondents, respectively.

Comparison of the data shows that the TV was and remains the main source of information about events and phenomena in the public life of the city (91.3% in 2007 and 87.5% in 2010). Print editions (newspapers) in this rating occupy the second place (40.8% vs. 35.0%, respectively). For the past four years has grown considerably Internet audience: from 6.0% to 29.6%, which allowed him to go to the third position. Popularity of the other information sources is markedly lower and ranges from 6.0% to 15.7% (radio, work colleagues, friends and acquaintances, the rumors).

According to official figures, in 2010 an about 600 printed electing is registered in the Krasnoyarsk edge, the zone of scope of greater part of which is concentrated in city of Krasnoyarsk. However, in the regional center operates only one municipal publication – newspaper «City News» with the founder in the face of the city administration.

In this connection large interest presents a study attitude of townspeople toward activity of municipal newspaper. Which is composition of readers of this newspaper and does he differ from composition of readers of other newspapers, doesn't he? How does a municipal newspaper come to the reader? What is in her does it like the townspeople, and what is missing? The research is devoted to the search of answers for these and other questions, conducted in December, 2010. At development and realization of the research program authors leaned against works of soviet, Russian and foreign scientists [1–8].

Initially seek the views of respondents on the main tasks to be performed by the newspaper as a source of information? When answering this question, respondents were resolved 13 of the proposed answers to choose no more than four (see Table 1, the data are ranked according to frequency of choice of one or another position).

The data obtained: respondents that the main task of the newspaper is to inform the public about current events (64.8%). In the second place, respondents consider – advisory services and the preparation of various useful advices (43.4%), the third – to inform the public about the activities of the authorities (31.5%). The Next positions is the protection of human rights (28.1%); helping people in certain vital situations(27.1%); education of the younger generation (25.1%); protection of the interests of society (21.4%); the promotion of dialogue between authorities and society (20.5%).

Table 1

**Respondents' perception about which basic tasks a newspaper must execute
(% from the number of polled)**

To inform the public about current events	64,8
Provide consulting services, giving useful advices on home economics, health, education of children, subsistence farming, etc.	43,4
To inform the public about the activities of the authorities	31,5
The protection of human rights	28,1
Helping people in certain vital situations	27,1
Education of the younger generation	25,1
Protection of the interests of society	21,4
Educate and raise the educational level of the people	20,6
The promotion of dialogue between authorities and society	20,5
To inform the authorities about problems that matter to readers of newspaper	16,6
Enable readers to be distracted from everyday problems and difficulties of life	14,6
To form public opinion	13,3
Difficult to answer	4,2

Data of questioning testify to the mature enough approach of respondents to the purpose newspapers as a source of information. Its main task - to inform the public about current events. And in this position Krasnoyarsk reflect the opinion of Russians in general [9, p. 93] and journalists [7, p. 198]. Differentiating factors in this regard are the educational level of the respondents, their age and financial situation.

Further studied the social characteristics of the most popular newspapers readers. The list was determined on the basis of previous opinion polls.

To clarify the legal status of newspapers. «City News» newspaper is the local government of the city of Krasnoyarsk, «Nash Krasnoyarskiy Krai» – Government of the edge, «Rossiyskaya Gazeta» – the Russian government. «Arguments and Facts», «Komsomolskaya Pravda», «Moskovsky Komsomolets» – private Russian editions with regional insets. «Konkurent» and «Krasnoyarskiy Rabochiy» – regional editions with private ownership.

All these newspapers, depending on the size of the audience may be split into two groups. The first group consists of the four most popular newspapers in the city – «City News» (regularly read 12.0% of respondents, and from time to time – 13.1%), «Arguments and Facts» (10.7% and 11.2%, respectively), «Komsomolskaya Pravda» (9.8% and 8.1%), «Krasnoyarskiy Rabochiy» (8.6% and 9.1%). The second group is the less popular newspapers. This is newspaper «Moskovsky Komsomolets in Krasnoyarsk», which continually reads 5.4% of respondents, from time to time – 5.1%, «Nash Krasnoyarskiy Krai» – 3.4% and 4.3%, respectively, «Rossiyskaya Gazeta» – 3.8% and 2.6%, «Konkurent» – 1.3% and 3.6%.

Social portrait of the municipal newspaper readers

Table 2 shows the social characteristics of these newspapers readers. Compare portrait of readers of the newspaper «City News» with a portrait of readers of other newspapers. The table shows the newspaper is reading mostly women (67.9%), whom age about 50 years and older (63.7%). Their educational level is lower than the readers of other publications.

Thus, the share of persons with primary, lower secondary and secondary education, 18.5% versus 7.9% – the average for all publications. While the proportion of people with incomplete higher education or higher education, 36.8%, and an average of the sample – 50.4%.

«City News» ahead of other publications by number of readers – pensioners (41.5% vs. 25.0% on average in the sample) and lagging behind in the number of employed people (43.4% vs. 56.6%) and young urbanites (18–35 years) (18.7% vs. 23.5%).

Table 2

Social portrait of newspaper readers (% of respondents in a social group)

	«Arguments and Facts»	«City News»	«Konkurent»	«Komsomolskaya Pravda»	«Krasnoyarskiy-iRabochiy»	«RossiyskayaGazeta»	«Moskovsky Komsomlets»	«NashKrasnoyarskiyKrai»
Sex								
Male	39,1	31,1	63,6	28,2	35,9	32,3	57,1	35,7
Female	60,9	67,9	36,4	71,8	64,1	67,7	42,9	64,3
Age								
18–35	22,7	13,7	36,4	28,2	16,4	29,0	31,2	10,7
36–50	28,2	22,6	27,3	29,5	18,4	32,3	29,7	35,7
50 and older	49,1	63,7	36,3	42,3	65,2	38,7	39,1	53,6
Education								
Primary and secondary	11,6	18,5	0,1	6,8	20,9	6,5	7,6	14,8
Secondary special	35,7	44,7	45,4	32,9	24,7	25,8	43,8	53,6
Incomplete higher and higher	52,7	36,8	54,5	60,3	53,8	67,7	48,6	31,6
Occupation								
Head	3,6	2,5	9,1	1,3	0,4	0,2	0,1	0,9
Engineering	7,3	3,8	18,2	9,0	12,8	6,5	14,3	13,7
Employee	8,2	6,6	0,0	12,8	10,3	16,1	0,0	13,7
Police officer	7,3	3,3	9,1	6,4	0,1	6,5	14,3	3,6
Worker	8,2	6,6	0,0	5,1	5,1	6,5	17,1	7,1
Housewife	2,7	4,7	9,1	5,8	0,2	6,5	2,9	3,6
Businessman	3,1	0,9	9,1	0,0	0,3	3,2	2,9	0,0
Tradeworker	12,9	14,2	27,3	21,2	11,3	9,7	14,8	17,9
Student	2,2	4,2	0,1	4,8	0,1	16,1	9,6	0,0
Retired	27,3	41,5	9,1	19,3	41,5	19,4	14,3	28,6
Intellectuals	6,4	8,8	0,0	7,5	7,9	3,2	5,7	10,7
Unemployed	1,7	0,1	9,1	1,3	5,1	0,1	0,1	0,1
Other	9,1	2,8	0,0	5,1	5,1	6,0	3,9	0,1
Income level								
Poor	19,1	24,5	0,1	10,3	20,5	22,6	20,0	23,5
Average income	48,2	56,1	45,5	51,3	66,7	45,2	48,6	50,0
Rich	29,1	16,0	54,4	34,6	12,8	32,2	31,4	21,4

Reader's municipal newspaper worst financial position indicators. The percentage of poor is 24.5% versus 17.8% in the total sample, the proportion of wealthy: 16.0% vs. 28.9%, respectively.

Distribution channels municipal newspaper

Noticeable dominance as part of readers of the newspaper «City News» elderly and poor people, as compared to other prints, explained the status of the newspaper. «City News», being a municipal publication is available at low cost money. And implementing statutory tasks, revision has the opportunity to preferential subscription for certain categories of citizens and distributes free part of the circulation on Budget, veteran and civic organizations.

According to the survey, the number of regular readers of the newspaper «City News» only one in four (27.6%) buys her kiosk and one in five (19.7%) – subscribe. More than half of reader are reading the newspaper or in the workplace, or from friends, acquaintances, relatives, or when visiting the budgetary organizations (19.7%, 20.3% and 18.1%, respectively). In most «availability» is the main competitive advantage of the municipal newspaper compared to other Krasnoyarsk edition.

Analyses of results of questioning testify: channels of receipt of newspaper «City News» of respondents depended on their social characteristics. For example, a subscription mostly retirees, executives, humanitarian intellectuals and businessmen. While reading a newspaper at work – mainly employees, humanitarian and technical intellectuals, workers trade and services.

The Need for municipal newspaper readers in information about the activities of agencies, organizations and authorities

Answering to a question of the questionnaire, respondents could mention any number of proposed lists containing the names of 17 different institutions, organizations and authorities. More often than other positions the respondents called the main Department of Social Welfare (38.1%), the main health department (36.1%), Department of Transportation (31.8%), urban and regional administration (30.9% and 27.0%) , Department of Urban man-

agement (28.4%) (See Table 3).

Results of the survey are quite logical and easily understandable. Respondents would like to obtain first of all information about the organizations whose activities are directly related to the solution of vital problems for them – to maintain health, to social protection and support, the work of housing and communal services and public transport.

The table data allow building a hierarchy of «significance» of the readers to different levels of government. Approach is the following: than higher the need of respondents in publications on the activities of a particular authority than more important role it plays in the life of the respondents, that is more «important». From these positions the most «important» is the city administration (30.9%). Regional administration in this ranking in second place (27.0%), next follow the administration of districts (16.9%), and only next, the Government of Russia (16.7%).

Table 3

The need for publications on the activities of agencies, organizations, governments and their leaders (% of respondents)

General Directorate of Social Protection	38,1
General Directorate of Health	36,1
Department of Transportation	31,8
Administration of the city of Krasnoyarsk	30,9
The Department of Municipal Economy	28,4
Administration of the Krasnoyarsk Territory	27,0
RosPotrebNadzor	19,2
General Directorate of Education	17,7
Administration of the districts of the city	16,9
Russian government	16,7
Department of Urban Planning	15,5
Department of Municipal Property	12,2
Department of Economics	11,0
Department of Architecture	10,7
General Directorate for Culture	10,5
Service Construction Supervision and control of housing	8,7
Government statistics	6,4

Answering the question: «Who are you personally would be interested in reading newspaper articles?» Respondents in the first place put the governor of the territory (57.7%) for second place – the head of the city (36.9%), the next is representatives of creative professions (writers, artists, actors, architects) – 26.4%, heads of administrations of districts (21.9%).

Less interest of respondents to the activities are members of the city council (19.8%), ministers of the regional government (14.3%) and very little - Vice governor of the region (11.2%), deputy head of the city (9.5%), managers departments and offices of the city administration (8.5%), chairman of the city Council (8.4%).

The information provided allows you to indirectly evaluate the nature of perception by respondents of political processes and the distribution of powers between the authorities and their leaders. In the public mind the executive authorities «primary» in relation to the representative authority, leaders - in relation to his assistants, even a status (deputy governors, ministers of the regional government, deputy mayor of the city department and management and administration of the city). Most likely, the respondents did not perceive the last persons as independent figures and would like to communicate mainly with the first region and the city leaders.

Proposals to increase popularity of the newspaper

Along with the questionnaire, the method of focus groups has also been exploring dedicated to the study of the relationship of citizens to the work of the newspaper «City News». In January 2011 there were three panel discussions with many participants from 8 to 12 people, covering three main age groups: youth up to 30 years, residents of middle age (33–50 years) and older age group (60 years and older). In developing a program of research recommendations were used by Russian and foreign authors [10, 11, 12, 13]. Based on the experience of George Gallup, each respondent before the debate issued copy of the newspaper «City News» [14].

In the analysis of the information obtained in the course of discussions, highlight the most important point. Respondents repeatedly in different vari-

ations indicated that the materials in the newspaper served mainly in a favorable light for the current government. To pay attention at little or not pay at all to current social issues of concern to the population. It is issues such as: the «traffic jam» on the roads, infill development in the city, the quality of services in the field of housing, health, the fight against corruption, bureaucracy in government. According to respondents, the newspaper format is practically no «discussion», presentations by people whose views and positions differ from the official position of authority.

Deserve attention and specific suggestions made by the participants of discussion. For example, proposed the creation of a historic site with the publication of biographies of famous people of Krasnoyarsk, history, businesses, local names. There were statements about the feasibility of organizing a «hot line», which every citizen could ask his question and get an answer in the future (column «Question – Answer»), etc.

About the influence of the municipal newspaper on the electoral choice of voters

Well-known fact: increasing age increases citizens their voting activity, reaching a maximum value in the older age group (60 years and older). Given the dominance in the composition of the readers of the newspaper «City News» pensioners and elderly voters logical to assume: the newspaper, being printed by a local authority, influence their voting behavior in the municipal elections in favor of the current government. And, indeed, in the elections of the city in 2000, 2004 and 2008, the acting mayor of Krasnoyarsk PIP-imashkov received unanimous support from voters (from 70.4% to 89.0%) [15, p. 112, 113]. The election of deputies of the city council supporters PI Pimashkov involved in the campaign as part of the bloc «For Krasnoyarsk» or «United Russia», received the bulk part of mandates: 68% in 2000, 56% in 2004 and 73% in 2008 [15, p. 129].

In the early elections of the Mayor of the city of Krasnoyarsk in May 2013 performed by duties ES Akbulatov through semiannual promotion in the media won a convincing victory with 69.4% of voter's support [16, p. 78].

Significant contribution to the final victory made newspaper «City News», showing him as a state policy, economic manager, taking care of the population and the development of the city.

At the same time in the early elections of deputies of the Krasnoyarsk City Council in September 2013 voting results were largely unexpected. The fact that the «United Russia», whose party list single-handedly led the Mayor of the city alone ES Akbulatov noticeably ahead of their opponents in the activity of conducting advertising campaign [17, p. 117]. So total cost of campaigning in the «United Russia» was twice higher than that of «Civic Platform» and «Fair Russia» (18.2 million rubles against 9.9 and 8.3 million rubles respectively). These costs are in the «party of power» six times higher than similar costs in the «Patriots of Russia» (2.7 million rubles), who managed to hold the largest number of supporters in the City Council (see Table 4).

As for the newspaper «City News», the content analysis of 14 issues of the newspaper, issued in August 2013, showed surname Mayor ES Akbulatov, who heads the party list of "United Russia" was mentioned 35 times, and only in a positive way. And only 2 times mentioned party «Patriots of Russia» and once – «Civic Platform» in the skeptical and critical tone. In addition, the pre-election period was produced newspaper «City News +», which had a logo and design, which coincides with the municipal newspaper «City News». A new newspaper received a certificate of registration on the eve of elections on 21 June 2013. Based on the output, a new newspaper circulation has nine times the circulation of the newspaper «City News» (310 thousand copies.) Distributed free of charge.

August 19, 2013 released the sixth issue of the new newspaper, dedicated sports life of Krasnoyarsk, which including information submitted on urban projects implemented by the party «United Russia» during the election campaign («Good Garden», «Pull up in every yard», «School of Champions»). Detailed interview with the head of the city was located on the third page of the newspaper. [18].

The newspaper «City News +» from August 19, 2013 is marked with the number 6. This implies that among the population was spread out 1869

thousand copies of this newspaper two weeks before the vote (6 rooms * 310 thousand copies.). In other words, every voter in the city had an average of 2–3 copies of the newspaper.

Table 4

The volume of funds spent by the parties to agitation and the number of mandates received by them in the election of deputies of the city council of Krasnoyarsk September 8, 2013

	The method of agitation			The number of mandates		
	TV	Print edition	Total*	In the districts	The lists	Total
«Patriots of Russia»	0,8	0,8	2,7	8	6	14
«United Russia»	9,4	0,7	18,2	4	8	12
«Fair Russia»	3,3	0,3	8,3	3	2	5
«Civic Platform»	3,1	1,7	9,9	3	1	4
CPRF	0	0,06	0,7		1	1

Note. * In total costs include the costs of production and distribution of printed agitation materials and conducting public events.

This indicates the total benefit of «United Russia» in the campaign through print. The more surprising results of the vote 8 September, 2013, in which most of the voters were people in older age groups. Thus, according to the survey on exit polls conducted in single-mandate constituency number 2, the proportion of voters over the age of 50 years was 66,7% [19].

«United Russia» won 12 parliamentary seats (33.3% of total), giving leadership «Patriots of Russia» (14 seats or 38.9%) [17, p. 155]. The most sensitive defeat «party of power» has suffered in single-member districts. Only four of the mandate of 18 (See Table 4). This situation is not typical for the political practice of modern Russia and wonderfully reminiscent to the situation in the U.S. presidential election in the period 1932–1940 gg., when Franklin D. Roosevelt received the support of voters in defiance of moods of the American press. [20]

It should also be noted: these elections demonstrate the political phenomenon of the «spiral of silence» described by German political scientist Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann. It is based on that people are afraid to be social ex-

clusion are less likely expresses his position if he feels that is in the minority [21]. And indeed, the results of pre-election polls single-member districts do not indicate potential winning candidates from the party «Patriots of Russia», which is in opposition to the «United Russia». Obviously, both of these phenomena deserve special, more in-depth study.

Thus, the analysis allows us to highlight a few important points.

1. Based on these data we can make a portrait of the average reader of urban municipal newspaper. This woman (67.9%) over 50 years (63.7%) having educational level and financial situation is markedly lowers than the readers of other newspapers. In a part of the municipal newspaper readers is clearly dominated by pensioners (41.5%), a smaller proportion of working people and youth.

2. Municipal newspaper «City News», compared to other newspapers in Krasnoyarsk has the highest readership of 12.0% of respondents read it constantly and another 13.1% – from time to time. Relatively high popularity due to its status as a newspaper (municipal newspaper), allowing part of the edition distributed free of charge. Therefore, half of the readers of «City News» acquainted with her in the workplace or while visiting the budget or public organizations, or from friends, acquaintances and relatives. This is a competitive advantage over other municipal newspaper prints.

3. Judging by the results, the main purpose respondents see the newspaper to inform the public about current events. In this regard, the municipal newspaper «City News» plays an important role in the lives of urban society, and especially for the least socially protected groups (pensioners, the elderly, the poor, those with low educational level), who rarely buy newspapers.

4. However, interpretation of results of research suggests: information policy municipal newspaper has its own specifics associated with the desire to influence public opinion in the right direction for the current government. Most clearly this tendency can be seen during the election campaigns. Meanwhile, the data do not indicate the presence of a rigid, deterministic relationship between the information policy of the municipal newspaper and electoral behavior Krasnoyarsk voters in supporting local authorities. Information

support is certainly important, but not enough resources to win the local elections and, judging by the results of pre-election studies can lead to success only in combination with other factors (trust in government, etc.).

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ФИЛОСОФИЯ

PHILOSOPHY

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UDC 101

PHILOSOPHICAL REFLECTION IN RESTORING A TRAUMATIZED IDENTITY

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The aim of this paper is to examine philosophical reflection as a tool applied to assist individuals in a search for grounds to identify themselves, to grasp who they are and what they are destined to do in this world, especially after surviving a traumatic event. Philosophy is an area whose huge therapeutic potential is often overlooked – potential related to its freedom from excessive scientism, broader horizons in comparison with psychology or sociology, with its critical, rational reason and a well-developed methodology which makes it possible to extrapolate methods from adjacent spheres onto the laws of the development of human consciousness. Thus the paper will attempt to restore the status of philosophy as a human-centered discipline which might help us to grasp the essence of our true selves and to realize that shedding the old, growing the new, returning to the old in the new shape, for instance as a harmless memory – in a constant dialectical flow the human gains a weapon of survival in the world, where not only the other (be it nature, society, enemy or friend), but some parts of oneself may traumatize one.

Keywords: *identity; reflection; trauma; philosophy; dialectics; communication; selfness; otherness.*

ФИЛОСОФСКАЯ РЕФЛЕКСИЯ В ПРОЦЕССЕ ВОССТАНОВЛЕНИЯ ТРАВМИРОВАННОЙ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ

Вавилова Ж.Е.

Целью настоящей работы является изучение философской рефлексии как инструмента самоидентификации индивида в попытке понять, кем он является и каково его предназначение в этом мире, инструмента особенно необходимого в посттравматической ситуации переосмысления идентичности. Философия – это сфера, обладающая солидным терапевтическим потенциалом, что связано с ее свободой от излишнего сциентизма, более широким полем исследования, по сравнению с частными науками, например, психологией и социологией, с ее критичным подходом и рациональным мышлением, а также богатым методологическим инструментарием, позволяющим применять методы смежных наук к изучению законов человеческого сознания. В работе будет предпринята попытка укрепить статус философии как дисциплины, ориентированной на удовлетворение потребностей человека, пытающегося постичь свою суть и осознать, что отбросив старое, перейдя к новому, приняв старое в новой форме, например, безвредных воспоминаний – в постоянном диалектическом потоке он обретает орудие выживания в мире, где не только другой (природа или общество, враг или друг), но и он сам может нанести себе травму.

Ключевые слова: идентичность; рефлексия; травма; философия; диалектика; коммуникация; самость; гетерология.

*Only snakes shed their skins in endless
Rounds for their souls to refresh.
Humans here bear no resemblance:
We remodel souls, but not flesh.
(Nikolai Gumilev, *Memory*²)*

²Translated by Zhanna Vavilova

Lacuna, Inc. was an imaginary firm featured in *Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind*, a science fiction movie by Michel Gondry and Charlie Kaufman – a place where people could have their distressing memories of the hurtful past erased, as the main characters of the film did, to get over their romantic relationships that proved too hard to carry on with. Reality can offer us neither safe memory erasing technologies nor experience machines providing a person with any thinkable pleasure like the one conceptualized in Robert Nozick's *Anarchy, State and Utopia* [1] – or cannot yet; however, humans seem to have methods to withstand the pressures of life, starting from basic defense mechanisms like sleep which enables one to escape the stressful reality, at least for a while, to more sophisticated psychological adaptive techniques analyzed, for instance, in George Vaillant's papers [2]. One area which is often overlooked in this respect is philosophy with its huge therapeutic potential related to its freedom from excessive scientism, broader horizons (in comparison with, say, psychological research) and a well-developed methodology which makes it possible to extrapolate methods from adjacent spheres onto the laws of the development of human consciousness³.

Such features of reality as human existence, the relationship between its past and present, between memory and consciousness, are viewed by the study of being, or ontology. Who am I? What am I? Is it still me as I was ten or twenty years ago? Is it the same me when I am alone and when surrounded by people, when I work and when rest, when I am awake and when asleep, when I am a mother and when a daughter, before the car crash and afterwards? Philosophical reflection helps us to formulate suchlike questions in a search for grounds to identify ourselves and provides us with certain instruments in looking for the answers – for instance, dialectics that will be touched upon further in this paper. It will also look at the reflection upon alien elements in human existence – elements that ought to be survived, with the consequent revelation of those to be kept as the person's core, and at a way in which philosophical

³Communication is another remedy for traumatized feelings: from talking to a professional psychoanalyst to “chatotherapy”, sharing with others proves extremely helpful – see, for instance, the article *Resisting Suicide; Using Semicolons* by Mike Smith [3] – though involves a different mechanism: philosophical reflection demands solitude and silence, while communication is a space to scream about one's pain, in a hope to be heard.

reflection may assist one in this challenge – thus endeavoring to disclose the psychotherapeutic potential of philosophy, when by musing over who we are and what we are destined to do we manage to shed what no longer belongs to us and what hinders us from reaching this destination.

In defining what should be left behind as no longer an immanent part of oneself, one can be guided by the concept of trauma, as a suddenly inflicted severe wound, an injury caused to one by an external source. Why trauma? For the reason that when something in one's life is causing discomfort, suffering, pain – be it past relationships, one's own traits of character or even appearance – only then does the person feel an insistent need to change this aspect of his or her existence, to get rid of this discomfort by eliminating its cause.

In the book *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* Cathy Caruth [4, p. 151] describes post-traumatic stress disorder as a phenomenon in which “the overwhelming events of the past repeatedly possess, in intrusive images and thoughts, the one who has lived through them” – in fact it is a possession by the past immanent to survivors of traumatic events. Analyzing trauma, she states that it is not a simple memory of what the subject has suffered, not just the truth of the experienced, but something more – namely the truth of the event's incomprehensibility. It gives one the capacity to distort the recollections, giving a slightly different story of the past event – perhaps, simply to forget. Hence the notions of trauma and the memory of it are closely related. Having been hurt is inseparable from recollections of this event.

Specialized editions on psychotherapeutic practice provide a profound insight into the problem of surviving the traumatic experience – see, for instance, the abovementioned anthology [4] as well as more recent works [5; 6; 7; 8]. The issues discussed there are mostly of psychopathological nature and can be of special interest to professionals in the field. But what about those whose troubles have not grown to the degree of pathology, though cause considerable suffering? Most of us – it can be argued, everyone⁴ – have suffered from a

⁴Even the young Siddhartha Gautama (Buddha) who, according to the legend, was carefully shielded by his father from all the commotions and shocks of life, especially from the scenes of human suffering and death, encountered all this on leaving his palace.

traumatic event and need to cope with it after it is over. Slavoj Zizek, a modern philosopher and cultural critic, for instance, views such states as love (erotic, passionate love between humans) as a kind of a traumatic experience, ruining the balance of one's orderly ordinary life, poisonous, violent, terrorizing – “a permanent emergency state” [9], not to mention such attending circumstances or consequences as jealousy, betrayal, divorce, physical separation from the beloved. Of course not everyone will seek for a psychoanalyst to cure these wounds⁵. Having survived a situation involving any of these factors, one gets to reflect upon the reasons and the possible solutions to minimize the distressing memories, to alleviate the suffering and to prevent this from happening again.

An important facet of trauma relevant for this discussion is its exteriority in relation to the subject – an event triggered by meeting the other in the exterior world. It may be a natural phenomenon (a tiger in the jungle, a tsunami), or a social fact – equally, or even more painful to the one who experienced it: social exclusion, rejection on the part of the beloved, being misunderstood by close relatives, becoming a hostage. It can even be a borderline, socio-natural, phenomenon: falling victim to rape when both one's body and social ego get injured, for instance, or a situation when a person dies naturally, and the feeling of being abandoned strikes the family as a fracture in their ordinary social life.

On the other hand even one's own decisions may result in a traumatic experience. In one of his essays Charles Peirce describes a situation that may serve as an example for such a case: “I have done something of which I am ashamed; could I, by an effort of the will, have resisted the temptation, and done otherwise? The philosophical reply is, that this is not a question

⁵According to Zizek, marriage advisors aim at explaining people how to find themselves in love without actually falling in love – for even this phrase, “falling in love”, betrays its traumatic character. Indeed, this loss of erect position is always uncomfortable, always humiliating, especially when witnessed by an on-looker. Falling means yielding to gravity, passing to it one's control over the situation. Falling may be viewed as giving in to a sinful temptation, losing primordial innocence, so love perhaps is that symbolical apple, one bite of which brought humanity to suffering. Another meaning of falling simply implies dying, and dying of love is a common motif in songs and poetry.

of fact, but only of the arrangement of facts. Arranging them so as to exhibit what is particularly pertinent to my question – namely, that I ought to blame myself for having done wrong – it is perfectly true to say that, if I had willed to do otherwise than I did, I should have done otherwise. On the other hand, arranging the facts so as to exhibit another important consideration, it is equally true that, when a temptation has once been allowed to work, it will, if it has a certain force, produce its effect, let me struggle how I may.” [10, p. 261]

Wrongdoing here may be interpreted both as a consequence of outer circumstances (temptation) and as one’s own choice – but in any case philosophical consideration might recast the logic of the events, leading to their clarification and ultimately to relief. Thus on the one hand, the subject did what he or she thought important to be done at that moment of time – hence this will to act should be taken for granted as volition of me-as-I-was-then. On the other hand, a fatalist approach might prompt the belief that nothing else could have been done. Irrespective of the way one treats the problem of free will, and whether responsibility lies upon the subject or is declined, this elaboration enables one to step aside and assess the situation from a different angle, as if one were not directly involved in it, with the purpose of being able to move further. Getting an insight into the context that engendered the choice, from a distance, and practicing this reflection will necessarily teach one to spot suchlike situations from afar.

Applying Peirce’s ideas to this study, trauma can be defined as “an element we cannot help” – exactly an exterior circumstance, an event of the outer world that disrupted the subject’s inner cosmos: “... we separate the element under control from the element we cannot help... We separate the past and the present. The past is the inner world, the present the outer world” [11, 8.282]. Thereby apart from the spatial outlook of a traumatic situation, the temporal perspective may help to shed light onto the way it should be treated. The difficulty here is to recognize what part of the present penetrated the past causing a traumatic experience, and to “amputate” the injured fraction and dispose of it together with the “splinter” – the

aspect of the exterior world that violated the inner cosmos. In this respect it should be possible to deduce what first seemed inherent but stopped being such in the course of time, and went to the exterior of one's identity. Philosophy is exactly the tool to enable one to become aware of this exteriority, of this illusion of an event or a trait being inherent to a person (and thus integral), to separate it from one's identity and leave it behind, with philosophical doubt and reflection underpinning this process. From this temporal perspective, reflection gives one a point of delay, some time "to stand and stare", as if having pressed the pause button while playing a computer game⁶.

This pause can become the Hegelian dialectical moment – when the initial universe (or, in relation to this study, subject), determines itself from within as *the other of itself* [12, p. 741]. So the aspects of the outer world oblige the subject to experience these dialectical moments and to change, becoming different from the one he or she used to be; through exercising such an influence some of these aspects get integrated into the structure of the subject, while others get rejected by the mind, though either may be equally traumatic – and realizing this comes through the moment of philosophical reflection, for only in becoming aware of the change one can let the past go.

The Chinese philosophical system of *Feng shui* whose study is aimed at harmonizing the relationships between the human and the outer world, or the environment, admonishes one to get rid of things that are no longer important to one in one's dwelling (or, as is put in the classical *Feng shui* tract *Book of Burial*, lair), to enable the vital energy of *qi* to circulate freely through one's home. If we treat consciousness as a vessel for suchlike energy (analogous to the Greek

⁶This option – to stop the game, as well as other peculiarities of the virtual reality of the computer world, as an ability to restart the game after one lost "life" (or "lives") – is changing the perception of life and death among all those who lead an Internet existence alongside their off-line lives, thus contributing to devaluation of the latter which becomes so easily confused with the former. Perhaps this happens exactly because we are not accustomed to making pauses in our daily routine and thoughtlessly multiply mistakes and get tangled in their consequences like flies in the web.

pneuma), its traumatized elements can be viewed as obstacles on the way of the flow of *qi*– and identifying them is an important step in moving on, in continuing one’s existence, in actually living because “life is accumulated *qi*” [13].

So having been hurt by someone or something in the present outer world, one uses reflection to leave the traumatic situation and become, in one’s turn, exterior to it, taking it farther from heart, and to linger in a moment where time does not urge one to react immediately. Meditation techniques often aim at the same effect, but philosophy enables one to maintain consciousness and awareness of what is happening, which is immanent to humans – and to dwell in the sphere where reason and logic dominate, without reliance on magical relief. The process may be as painful as the trauma itself, but healing as well, and leading one to realize what one has under the rust of past offences, wrongdoing, shame, guilt, and anguish – that is, the core that is called one’s identity, the set of characteristics intrinsic to an individual or a group.

Traditionally an analysis of identity begins with Descartes. Paraphrasing his “*Cogito ergo sum*” as “I am the one who thinks” leads us to the statement that the subject is identified only in the process of reflection viewed as self-revelation through introspection, looking inside oneself. From the Cartesian viewpoint, this self-determining is based on acknowledgement of reason as one’s integral part. Reason and doubt, exactly the tools to answer questions of the same kind as those in the introduction of this essay.

In determining what should be retained as the core of oneself, one can be guided by the concept of *ipseite*, selfness – for instance in the aspect it is viewed by Paul Ricoeur in his book *Oneself as Another* [14]. Ricoeur also begins his study with this Cartesian thought, “I think, therefore I am”, stating the necessity to determine the conditions of reflection in the act of establishing one’s subjectivity. Further analysis brings him to distinguishing between two aspects of identity: Latin *idem*, or identical, resembling, analogical, as opposed to other, differing, changing, and *ipse*, referring to selfness, being oneself, as opposed to other than self, alien.

In fact, these notions sometimes overlap. Selfness necessarily implies identity, identity to oneself. Defining myself is in essence determining the

identity between the subject and the predicate. Moreover, here again we come across this temporal perspective, namely how identical are we to yesterday's (last year's) us? Hegel understood identity (or self-identity) as a certain immediacy of reflection, defining it as "a self-equality which, in producing itself as unity, does not produce itself over again, as from another, but is a pure production, from itself and in itself, *essential* identity" [12, p. 356]. According to him, internally identity is non-identity as it carries in itself the possibility to become different, contradicting to the mere concept of being self-identical. This moment of difference, again, gives one a gap, an instance of silence, delaying this "immediacy of reflection" in order to grasp the conditions of identity turning into difference.

Apart from the dimension of "sameness" (which dialectically carries certain "otherness"), identity implies the subject's uniqueness, his or her bearing an individual, unrepeated set of traits. Russian philosopher Alexei Losev called this absolute individuality of the subject "its very selfness": "each person experiences his or her own Ego so sensitively, so intimately! Nobody will confuse him- or herself for someone or something else" [15, p. 315]. This uniqueness is based on self-definition, self-identification. In addition, it is determined by the other's perception of the subject, his or her reaction, feedback. In analyzing Hegel's approach in the context of ethnic identity, N.M. Asratyan, for instance, resumes that self-consciousness is related to contemplating oneself in the other [16, p. 6]. In the same way that the ultrasound reflected from an object tells us about its size, relief and other qualities, this signal from the other, this reflected identity, enables us to make a judgment about ourselves: "Someone made me a compliment; it means I am beautiful. Someone thanked me; it means I am kind". Being aware of oneself at a certain moment of time, comparing this sensation with past ones, on the one hand, and with the responses from the environment on the other, a person becomes conscious of him- or herself and projects this identity outside again, for the cycle to repeat over and over again. Anticipating the next curve, correcting this projection, staying the same or changing – the human communicates, which means, lives.

Hence philosophy helps us understand that identity is always revealed in society, through communication. Social exclusion, gaps in communication lead to aberrations in one's efforts to get identified. For instance, evidence from a range of researches [17] suggests that the perception of being excluded from the society, rejected, devaluated by those whom one would consider close, is often accompanied by the symptoms of physical pain⁷. Both physical and social types of pain originate from threat-response survival mechanisms, reminding us of the times when it was important to be part of the tribe to stay alive in the wilderness: "... a picture is emerging that people are so vitally important to each other that social needs are ingrained in our very biology" [17, p. 218⁸], and social pain is a signal of this profound need for each other. Social pain has a huge traumatic potential – and getting through it involves re-inclusion in the company, even at a risk of being further traumatized. Philosophy could put forward dialectics as a way to treat such cases – namely through a return to the former position, but in a loop-like manner, following the dialectical spiral, that is on a qualitatively higher level. Heraclitus is said to have argued that "all things are in motion and nothing at rest; he compares them to the stream of a river, and says that you cannot go into the same water twice" [18, p. 98]. This eternal movement, from a thesis to its antithesis, lay at the basis of Hegelian dialectics. Looking at different criticisms of the Hegelian approach, Zizek notes that a certain resistance, reluctance of a process to be exposed to this dialectical movement is a matter of fact: "... far from being a threatening abnormality, an exception to the "normal" dialectical movement, this – the refusal of a moment to become caught in a movement, its sticking to its particular identity – is precisely what happens as a rule. A moment turns into its opposite precisely by way

⁷For instance, the so-called symptom of the broken heart implies the feeling of the somatic heart pain caused by purely emotional sufferings, through certain chemical reactions in the organism.

⁸According to the authors, this connection is disclosed in a language: in most languages people use the same words to describe their physical ailment and their suffering from social exclusion (e.g. wounds of love, hurt feelings, etc.)

of sticking to what it is, by refusing to recognize its truth in its opposite.” [19, p. 294]

Indeed, too often we stick to past experiences, in a fear that if we let them go, something essential will vanish – thus continuing doomed relationships, lingering in a place where we no longer belong, or otherwise holding on to the reflection of former happiness. Shedding something important, however, will lead to its re-integration to the subject’s identity. Zizek gives us a psychoanalyst example of suchlike negation of negation: when a rigid ego excludes the seemingly irrational elements that hardly fit its image (for instance, feminine features cut out from an expressly masculine identity), they may return in the shape of neurotic symptoms that have to be integrated back to the ego, and not negated – because they proved to be important for that particular personality, and not inherently evil as it could seem.

Specialists in the field argue that “...the trauma, almost inevitably, will be revived in the therapeutic relationship and that the meaning schemes built around the traumatic experiences will be activated in the form of irrational perceptions and fears. The taming and utilization of these transference expressions of the trauma to integrate past horror with current experience is one of the great challenges in the therapy of traumatized patients.” [20, p. 179]

This is a manifestation of the synthetic nature of the principle of identity, implying “not only empty, simple self-equality, but the other of this self-equality”, thus entailing the disappearing of this otherness in the movement of reflection [12, p. 360]. “[I]n a Hegelian dialectical process, in which we are dealing with a continuous metamorphosis of the *same* substance-subject which develops in complexity, mediates and “sublates” its content into a higher level” [21, p. 306], the past is never erased, hence there is no end or beginning – just a flow. At the same time, in analyzing the features of the post-traumatic subject, Zizek argues that after the trauma, the subject changes completely, and a stranger emerges – though, paradoxically, on the substratum of the previous one, unlike a novelty inscribed on Locke’s *tabula rasa*, or a blank sheet. Hence some of the elements of the previous personality are re-synthesized to form a new, more resistant one.

The same equals to *different*, and it has to be accepted: I will let the past go and will change, because change is life, nature, law, everything. Thus if haunted by a threat of something essential being lost in this process of “clearance” – something without which a personality ceases to exist as such and becomes fundamentally different – one must be comforted with the thought that losing is universal, a law no one can breach, a fate no one can escape. At the same time nothing is lost – it only changes shape, like the world energy.

So dialectics tells us how hard it is to separate traumatic experience that should be discarded from the past that has to be kept. Memory of pain may guide one in escaping hurtful situations in future; remembering that snakes bite, one will avoid coming in contact with them. Thus philosophical methods can be applied not only to theoretical thinking, but in one’s day-to-day activity, as a method of practical philosophy and introspection, especially in times of trauma and after it, when one still suffers. In Russian, the concept of suffering is close to that of passiveness. The grammatical passive voice, for instance, is denominated as the ‘suffering’ voice. As it seems this is not a coincidence. To be passive means “to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune”. Realizing this means taking action against the external present that tries to disrupt the inner order. Taking action – or becoming active. Engaging in new activities and practices, as well as learning what previously one had no idea about are a way to oppose the trauma, to substitute the damaged elements of one’s psycho with newer layers, assimilating those activities as parts of one’s identity.

This paper has attempted to get an insight into how philosophy with its systematic approach to these issues and with its critical, rational reason might help us to grasp the essence of our true selves and to realize that shedding the old, growing the new, returning to the old in the new shape, for instance as a harmless, or even protective, memory – in a constant dialectical flow the human gains a weapon of survival in the world, where not only the other (be it nature, society, enemy or friend), but some parts of oneself may endanger one’s existence.

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NORMATIVE FOUNDATIONS OF ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS

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The problem of implementation of environmental norms is closely connected with more general questions of moral normativity and its sources. In the history of ethics at least two alternative ways of thinking about the ground of existing moral norms are presented. In general, the norms can be deduced either from moral duty or from moral responsibility. Each of these traditions has its own goals, and uses different ways of imputation of norms.

Purpose and methods. The purpose of the study was to explore the main characteristics of responsibility and duty with regard to ecological issues and to show how the environmentally friendly actions can become morally obligatory. Comparative and axiological methods are used.

Results. The article shows that despite all the differences between the ethics of duty and ethics of responsibility, they do not seem fully incompatible. The differences may be constructive: they may coexist only under condition when one source of normativity exists in constant dialogue with the other, constantly corrects and complements it.

Keywords: *normativity, environmental ethics, morals, duty, responsibility*

НОРМАТИВНЫЕ ОСНОВАНИЯ ЭКОЛОГИЧЕСКОЙ ЭТИКИ

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Проблема внедрения норм экологического поведения в жизнь тесно связана с более общим вопросом о моральной нормативности и ее источниках. В истории этики были предложены, по меньшей мере, два

альтернативных способа рефлексии об основании существующих моральных норм. В целом, нормы могут быть выведены или из морального долга, или из моральной ответственности. Каждая из этих традиций имеет собственные цели и использует свои способы вменения норм.

Целью настоящего исследования является выявление основных характеристик ответственности и долга применительно к экологическим вопросам и показать как действия по защите окружающей среды могут стать морально обязывающими. Использовались аксиологический и сравнительный методы. Результаты исследования показывают, что, несмотря на все различия между этикой долга и этикой ответственности, они не являются несовместимыми. Отличия могут быть конструктивными: они могут сосуществовать в ситуации диалога, постоянного дополняя и корректируя друг друга.

Ключевые слова: *нормативность, экологическая этика, мораль, долг, ответственность*

Environmental crisis is more moral than scientific problem. Technology, economic, and ecology can only give the necessary resources and knowledge but they cannot make people to act responsibly. People will voluntarily comply with environmental laws, principles, regulations and prohibitions only if they are sure that they are legitimate and morally justified. Thus the problem of legitimization of environmental norms is closely connected with more general questions of moral normativity and its sources.

Purpose

The purpose of the study is to explore the main characteristics of responsibility and duty with regard to ecological issues and to show how the environmentally friendly actions can become morally obligatory.

Materials and methods of research

Comparative and axiological methods are used. Two alternative sets of values concerning the immediate ground of existing moral norms are compared.

It is considered that they can be deduced either from moral duty or from moral responsibility. *Duty* is understood as a voluntary agreement with the moral demands of society, which is expressed in the recognition of their legitimacy and in the willingness to act in strict compliance with them. Such demands are applied to all the people on equal grounds, so that moral duty has no exceptions or preferences: it is always universal. In contrast to duty, *responsibility* is unique – it depends on the potential of the person, on the acts committed by her, etc. Each person (or even the same person in different periods of time) has her own sphere of responsibility. Only within this sphere she can be accused or credited and her actions can be evaluated as moral or immoral.

The difference between duty and responsibility is a particular case of the difference between the general and the individual. Duty is abstract, universal, eternal, while responsibilities are unique, concrete and historically conditioned. In the classical ethical theories, where priority is always given to duty, responsibility is regarded as a form of its personal specification. It is seen as an imperfect empirical reflection of the ideal duty. On the contrary, in the non-classical theories where the priority is given to responsibility, duty is nothing more than a general notion used for labeling various forms of responsibility. From the point of view of non-classical theories when personal responsibility is turned into duty it is diluted, becomes abstract and vacuous.

Research results and their interpretation

The most influential classical doctrine, considering *duty* as an immediate source of moral norms, is the deontology of Immanuel Kant. Duty here is extremely formalized and expressed in the form of the universal law that defines a common basis for every individual act. Following duty is a free choice of personality, committed solely out of respect for the moral law. “Yet this law is the only law which makes us conscious of the independence of our power of choice from determination by all other incentives (of our freedom), and thereby also of the accountability of all our actions” [4, p. 51].

Responsibility arises in the course of the procedure of specification of the general duty in accordance with the abilities and peculiarities of a moral sub-

ject, who is taken in a certain place and a certain historical time. The resulting ways of implementing the imperativity to the act depend on the circumstances in which the subject is situated: she is responsible only for those actions which are in her power and depend on her choice.

The use of deontological paradigm in relation to environmental ethics presupposes the recognition of environmental protection as an absolute moral duty of the humankind. The specific formulas of duty may vary depending on the position of the researcher, but in general all of them boil down to the necessity of protecting life and natural environment.

Hans Jonas formulates the common human duty on the basis of environmental considerations: "An imperative responding to the new type of human action and addressed to the new type of agency that operates it, might run thus: 'Act so that the effects of your action are compatible with the permanence of a genuine human life'; or expressed negatively: 'Act so that the effects of your action are not destructive of the future possibility of such life'; or simply: 'Do not compromise the conditions for an indefinite continuation of humanity on Earth'; or again turned positive: 'In your present choices, include the future wholeness of Man among the objects of your will'" [3, p. 11].

This imperative, according to Jonas, in the contemporary situation overrides the Kantian one, since the latter is possible only if Man and the humankind continue to exist. Human existence is not possible without the natural environment, that is why protection of nature takes the form of a universal moral demand.

There is a set of characteristics of the environment where serious changes are unacceptable. It means that some kinds of human activity which have negative impact on the environment should be strictly limited or at least controlled. In this connection Nikita Moiseev introduces the notion of "ecological imperative" which is understood as a set of rationally prescribed restrictions imposed on the forms of human activity, which can lead to environmental disaster. "We now know that there is some kind of 'forbidden limit' beyond which people may not go in any circumstances. Beyond it begin irreversible processes that will convert the biosphere to a new state in which there may be

no room for people. The risk of forfeiting the future is far too great to allow the human race to cross that boundary... This means that people's activity cannot follow the principle of *laissez-faire*: it must be subject to many prohibitions, most of which still have to be established. These prohibitions form the 'ecological imperative', one of the most important phenomena of modern times. Defining the conditions of the ecological imperative must be one of the main tasks of contemporary science" [8, p. 171].

Environmental imperative is objective as it is based on the correlation between certain properties of natural environment and social characteristics of humankind [14]. But the knowledge is an insufficient condition for action. Since the identification of limits and prohibitions does not lead to the solution of the problem, the process of nature protection must have a normative dimension, which means that the nature should be included into the sphere of moral responsibility.

Implementation of the ecological imperative to everyday life undoubtedly depends on the good will of each human being. Here science meets ethics and ecological imperative turns into the universal moral duty. It is the moral duty which sets the agenda of environmental activities and predetermines the sphere of concrete responsibility of each human being.

Imperatives are abstract: they dictate only general rules and it is not possible to define the specific responsibilities of different people out of them. That is why the moral duty should be operationalized. It means that we should determine specific moral principles corresponding to the common formulas of the moral duty. These principles should be evidence-based and scientifically proved so that all the rationally thinking people could agree to act in correspondence with them.

In the course of development of environmental ethics different moral principles are being formulated. The goal of all of them is to change the relationship between Man and nature in the situation of contemporary environmental crisis. Some of the moral principles were accepted by politicians and environmental activists and included in various international normative documents ("Earth Charter", "World Charter for Nature", "Rio Declaration

on Environment and Development”, “Johannesburg Declaration”, etc.) In the list there are the principles of biodiversity, sustainability, environmental justice, collective responsibility, precaution, etc. All these principles delineate specific areas of environmental responsibility of an individual and define the peculiarities of her acts in a particular situation of moral choice.

Within the paradigm of deontological normativity, duty is set externally, specified in advance and issued in the form of moral imperatives and principles. In environmental ethics it usually has rational grounds and is supported by a complex system of reasoning. It is connected with the fact that moral principles are developed and crystallize very slowly, lagging behind both the moral practices and challenges of our time. However, issues of environmental security are urgent and are associated with the survival of humankind. It forces social researches to respond to public demand and boost the development of moral standards complying with strict scientific principles and real needs of society and nature.

In environmental ethics based on duty, normativity is usually based on rationality. In order to fulfill one’s duty, the person must voluntarily accept social demands; recognize their legitimacy, necessity and normative force. In that case she will be able to act in accordance with known and widely recognized social demands autonomously, without any external pressure and control, i.e. interpret them as her moral duty.

As a matter of principle, the same result can be achieved if the principles of environmental ethics will be implemented in a non-voluntarily way, against the desire of people, i.e. by the state regulations or the force of law or other external authority. From ethical perspective such enforcement is not welcomed because it is traditionally considered to be the way to alienation of moral actor from moral choice, but in some cases there is no alternative to it. Traditional moral principles were developed in the situation where humans could not have any serious impact on the environment; under the condition of latest environmental challenges these principles proved to be inadequate. But it is still extremely difficult to convince people that their everyday actions have far-reaching consequences. From this point of view morals should be

able not only to convince, but to force, control, and apply effective negative sanctions.

This practice of artificial implementation of morality to life is more or less successfully applied at the level of large corporations realizing their social responsibility. The concept of corporate social responsibility has been formed in the process of extrapolation of views on the subject of responsibility from the individual to the organizational level. Its normative source here, as well as in Kantian ethics is the predetermined universal duty of the organization to its stakeholders: from this point of view, the theory of corporate responsibility is the development of ideas on deontological normativity.

The transition from the abstract duty to the particular responsibilities demands the institutionalization of moral standards in corporations. Organizations establish rational mechanisms of management, leadership strategies, incentives, and ways of encouraging moral behavior. As the result, a company creates a corresponding “ethical infrastructure”, which includes ethical committees, ethic audit, moral education programs for employees, special trainings for managers, etc. The business community and ethicists develop appropriate algorithms of implementing organizational values to practice, issued in the form of codes, regulations, guidelines and standards. Furthermore, the organization voluntarily assumes the obligations to follow the requirements stated in these documents. At the same time members of the organization are put in the conditions where they do not have the practical possibilities to act contrary to the principles of environmental responsibility.

Nowadays there are various international norms and standards which specify the social responsibility of business in general and environmental responsibility in particular. For example, the standards of the Global Reporting Initiative (GRI) allow comparing economic, environmental and social performance of various companies and their contribution to sustainable development. It also produces the standard for sustainability reporting widely known as “ecological footprint reporting”. The standard “AccountAbility 1000” (AA1000) introduces the basic principles of accountability of business organizations and defines the grounds of their relations with stakeholders. The

standard “Social Accountability 8000” (SA 8000) focuses on the issues of child and forced labor, health and safety, discrimination, disciplinary practices, working hours, fair compensation for work, etc. A family of international standards of environmental management (ISO 14000) helps organizations to minimize their negative impact on the environment and comply with environmentally oriented laws and regulations.

The international standard on social responsibility (ISO 26000), adopted in 2010 is an example of complex guide on the organizational implementation of standards of corporate behavior to practice. It combines many ideas and concepts related to the issues of the social responsibility of business. Environmental responsibility is recognized here as an integral part of social responsibility. Environmental issues are examined in their relation to other key issues of social responsibility: human rights, social development, justice, etc. Accordingly, it is proposed to solve these problems in package.

In general, the deontological attitude to responsibility affirms the priority of the analytical, deductive approach in ethics. Before identifying any act as responsible, responsibilities should be deduced from the abstract duty and clearly defined. In the course of it the common duty breaks down into a series of principles, and principles are specified in the list of possible actions, the performance of which can be imputed to a particular individual or organization.

The general trend, associated with the development of applied ethics, is the gradual expansion of the circle of human responsibility. Ethics of duty, setting a moral ideal, requires a person to continuously measure her life with this ideal, long for it and constantly perfect herself. Moral development (for example in Lawrence Kohlberg conception) is understood as an extension of the scope of responsibility. At the lower levels people are irresponsible because decisions are taken by the authorities – adults, state, community, scientists, etc. At the next level her responsibility is connected with immediate social ties - family, friends, labor. At the highest level, she should feel responsible for everyone, for the fate of humanity and nature in general.

This extension of the circle of responsibility can be traced not only on the example of the individual development, but also against the background of

the human history. Under the conditions of the primitive tribal ethos responsibility rested not with the individual, but only with a group. At later stages, when the person branched off the community, she was responsible only for her own immediate environment. Finally, the present day challenges demand the global responsibility: “Scientific-technical civilization has controlled all nations, races and cultures regardless of their group-specific culturally relative moral traditions, – with a common ethical problem. For the first time in the history of the human species, human beings are faced with the task of accepting collective responsibility for the consequences of their actions on a world-wide scale” [1, p. 228].

Ideally, responsibility of an individual should be expanded so that it will coincide with her duty; in this case the cycle of development of deontological ethics will be closed up.

In the ethics of *responsibility*, which proceeds from the priority of the subjectivity over the universality, duty as a principal source of moral norms is replaced by responsibility. Whereas in classical Kantian deontology responsibility is derived from the formalized universal duty which, in its turn, is rooted in the reason, the non-classical personalistic ethics, by contrast, starts from responsibility, which is associated not with rational but with emotional dimension of human nature and life.

The source of morality in the ethics of responsibility is not its subject but its object. Ruben Апресян puts it this way: “While the traditional moral philosophy is focused on the agent of moral action and the subject of moral responsibility, ethical and environmental discussions on the basis of respect for nature raise the question of the recipient of moral action and the object of moral responsibility, which... by very virtue of their abilities to be recipients and objects of moral action and moral responsibility are recognized as morally respected actors and members of the moral community of the inhabitants of the Earth. Non-anthropocentrism dramatically expands the object of moral responsibility extending it to non-human individuals, communities and systems of living organisms. This normative ethical conclusion requires rethinking of philosophical grounds of morality... ethical-environmental normative

and value innovations enable us to establish a broader subject referentiality of new ideas, and thus to extend the ontology of morality” [9, p. 25].

For a brilliant representative of the non-classical ethics E. Levinas there is no question about justification of moral responsibility: it is paramount, primordial and does not require any justification. Quite the contrary: all other practices should be justified by responsibility. “Responsibility is saying prior to being and beings, which not saying itself in ontological categories” [7, p. 91]. Here responsibility becomes the basis of moral norms.

Responsibility appears in a sphere of dialog, on the site of the “face-to-face encounter”. The moral norm is crystallized as an emotional response to the needs of others; awareness of their vulnerability and dependence works as an incentive for moral action. The nakedness of human face “orders and ordains” and calls a person into serving the Other [6].

Non-classical approach challenges the traditional conception of human development and re-thinks its origins and purposes. As a result it proposes the model of normativity which in many of its important positions is opposite to deontological one.

Model of moral development, based on responsibility, is offered by the “ethics of care” of Carol Gilligan. She points out the differences in the central ideas of her concept from the Kohlberg model in this way: “This conception of morality as concerned with the activity of care, centers moral development around the understanding of responsibility and relationships, just as the conception of morality as fairness ties moral development to the understanding of rights and rules” [2, p. 19].

The archetype of the ethics of responsibility is the image of mother. In the context of motherhood the ties between her and her child are manifested in two ways: mother is the source of relationships (she gives life to her children), and she needs to support them (without the mother’s help children cannot live.)

In contrast to persuasion, violence and control, which are common characteristic of the ethics of duty, the normative grounds of responsibility are care, attention, sympathy, support. For maternal attitude feelings and emotions are more important than intellect and rational calculation. If the ethics

of duty is the highest manifestation of cultural, artificial life, the ethic of responsibility is primarily a manifestation of natural life [11].

The basis of maternal responsibility is the birth experience, the feeling of integrity, unity with the child. This feeling does not end with the birth of child, it is projected to all areas of moral relations, manifested as an orientation to an ongoing dialogue with the Other: “Sensitivity to the needs of others and the assumption of responsibility for taking care lead woman to attend to voices other than their own and to include in their judgment other points of view” [2, p. 16].

The peculiarity of the non-classical model is rooted in the absence of a universal and predetermined ideal. This means that the exact vector of moral development is not known, and before a moral subject there is a wide range of opportunities for development, among which she can choose one unique opportunity, which will become reality. Numerous ideals proposed by different traditions, for her now are not strict imperatives anymore, but just examples and guides, “other voices”, which are informing and counseling rather than binding.

We can say that under contemporary conditions the concept of “ideal” as a normative example loses its binding force. Vladimir Bakshtanovskiy and Yury Sogomonov argue: “It would be better for everyone who crave for the “true” ideal to give up these vain hopes, as any ideal is speculative by nature and can not be the real purpose of education as a practical activity; no one, not an individual, or any segment of the social structure or organization has the right to play the oracle on behalf of universal moral truth” [10, p. 36].

From the point of view of ethics, based on responsibility, a person can not be driven into a framework of duty set by someone in advance, especially since there are no general rules that can embrace life in all its complexity. There are various opportunities opened for her in the wide variety of levels and dimensions: from local to global [13] and from scientific to religious [12]. They can help to fulfill her desires and reveal her unique talents. This does not mean that a person must reject duty: she just needs to be aware of the

variety of ideals proposed by various traditions, but she also should be free to choose which one to try or to reject.

In the ethics based on responsible attitude duty is nothing more than an abstract concept referring to some common characteristics which are present in various manifestations of responsibility. Thus, the parental duty is derived from the “original” maternal responsibility for the child, and not vice versa as in the classical ethics. The main argument in favor of the non-classical approach is based on the fact that the sources of maternal responsibility are rooted in parental feelings that exist before and beyond the human activity. It can be found in the caring attitude of animals for their offspring, or even in their readiness to sacrifice their lives for the sake of it – that is in actions, where pre-moral feelings and instincts are dominated and where it is not possible to talk about any parental duty.

Normativity within the framework of the non-classical paradigm requires empathy, compassion, and love as a starting point for the birth of a moral attitude. Thus, the forming of moral attitudes to animals in the ethics of duty requires that a person consciously accepts the moral principles related to animals (such as their right to live a life free of suffering or the right to die painlessly) and agrees with the arguments in favor of such relationship. In the ethics of responsibility the development of moral consciousness should begin with the actual practice of caring for the concrete animal.

Non-classical paradigm in ethics suggests that the direct source of normativity is the emotional connection with nature as the Other. A. Leopold, one of the forerunners of environmental ethics, wrote: “Your true modern is separated from the land by many middlemen and by innumerable physical gadgets. He has no vital relation to it, to him it is the space between cities on which crops grow... It is inconceivable to me that an ethical relation to land can exist without love, respect, and admiration for land and a high regard for its value” [5, p. 261].

This approach gives the priority not to education or informing, but to the support of forms of activity in the framework of which people can directly interact with the environment – ecological tourism, farming or peasant way of living, life in eco-villages and eco-communities etc.

Conclusion

If the classical model of ethics focuses on the ideal as the final point of development, the non-classical is founded on empathy as the starting point of development. In the first model normativity is based on the rules and principles, in the second model it is based on the experience of unity, love and trust. The first model is monological, directive, authoritarian. The second offers a dialogic interaction aiming to preserve all the best in the person and make it more visible. Ways of development of moral consciousness in the first case are the instruction, control and persuasion, in the second case these are care, compassion and cooperation.

Ethical and environmental normativity can be presented in the form of two parallel, divergent and even competing processes directed correspondingly from responsibility to duty and from duty to responsibility. Each of these processes has its own goals, and uses different ways of imputation. However, despite all the differences between the ethics of duty and ethics of responsibility, they do not seem fully incompatible. The differences may be constructive, as it occurs in the interaction of male and female principles in culture: they may coexist only under condition when one source of normativity exists in constant dialogue with the other, constantly corrects and complements it.

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