DISCOURSE IN MODERN THEORETICAL SOCIOLOGY

D. D. Golubev

Institute of Sociology, Moscow, Russia

Annotation

In the historical and cultural context, the author analyzes approaches to versions of traumatic development, as well as to the theory of social trauma itself. P. Sztompka's theory of becoming reveals how the effects of "society in action" and "pathological agency" cause sociocultural trauma. The theory of cultural construction of trauma and "dramatization of consciousness" by J. Alexander diagnoses the role of artificially created short-lived meanings of a mystified sense in the deformation of public consciousness. In the center of the article is Zh.T. Toshchenko, substantiating the special modality of development. With the help of the theoretical and methodological tools of this theory, the traditional criteria for the progress of countries, previously defined as "developed", "developing", "catching up", "lagging," are reassessed - they do not take into gifts "and the fact that their realities and development trends do not coincide with either the evolutionary or revolutionary modality. Complex causes contributing to traumatic development are considered. Based on the provisions and conclusions of the theory of Zh. Toshchenko, the author of the article outlines promising directions in the study of societies of trauma.

Keywords: trauma • nonlinearity • reflection • becoming • "society in action" • construction of trauma • "dramatization of consciousness" • society of trauma • modality of development • human capital • digitalization

1

Raised in the new book by Corresponding Member of RAS Zh.T. Toshchenko "Society of Trauma:between evolution and revolution (experience of theoretical and empirical analysis) "questions so significant that it prompts us to look at the phenomenon of social trauma in historical in a general sense, in the context of the existing theoretical approaches to its analysis. In the ordinary life, trauma means damage to the body "as a result of external influences 1 (injuries, bruises, burns, etc.) "or" nervous shock ". Medical discourse uses concepts that are close in meaning - crisis, crisis. Trauma in psychology is the suppression of an experienced negative unexpected event, as a result of which this event is distorted in the imagination and memory of the individual [Caruth, 1995].

With the emergence of capitalism, accompanied by active urbanization and human impact on nature, the problem of trauma begins to enter the socio-political sciences, which considered the influence of various external factors on changes in social corporeality - people's lives, their consciousness, behavior, living conditions, although the term trauma itself has not been used for a long time. Thus, E. Durkheim's theory of anomie is devoted to the analysis of value deformations caused by the abnormal division of labor. Karl Marx's concept of alienation examines the socio-economic factors that form people's "alien will". F. Engels points to the barbaric attitude to nature - destructive for the society itself: "People who are in Mesopotamia,

Greece, Asia Minor and other places uprooted forests in order to get arable land in this way, and it was never dreamed that they thus initiated the current desolation of these countries "[Marx, Engels. T. 20: 496]. S. Gilman studied the social and psychological upheavals of

women emanating from the world created by a man. M. Weber - latent manifestations of the rationalization process; G. Simmel - the nature of threats from the expansion of culture; A. Schutz - challenges to the life worlds of people emanating from institutional structures. In these cases, the traumatic consequences were considered in the local space-time realities of specific societies.

P. Sorokin was the first to analyze the large-scale disintegration of society, which he defined as a "civilization crisis" in a global context, noting "firstly, the movement of the creative leadership of mankind from Europe and the European West, where it was concentrated over the past five centuries, into more the vast area of the Pacific and Atlantic, especially to America, Asia and Africa; secondly, the continuing disintegration of the still prevailing sensory type of man, culture, society and value system; thirdly, the emergence and gradual growth of the first components of the new - integral - sociocultural order, its value system and personality type "[Sorokin, 1997: 11]. According to his theory, periodically occurring deformations of values, truth, ethics, law, world leadership are natural in the complex of fluctuational changes: disintegration of the sociocultural order - crisis - or the death of society, or mobilization of forces - the birth of a new sociocultural order [Sorokin, 2000]. This led to the conclusion that humanity is destined to exist with cataclysms, and to minimize their manifestations, it is necessary to supplement the creation of Truth and Beauty with an adequate production of Good [Sorokin, 1991].

Actually the theory of trauma, applied to the analysis of societal and social realities, appeared in the late XX - early XXI centuries, which their authors associated with the nonlinear development of society. The main thing in these theories is an innovative theoretical and methodological toolkit of a reflexive type, which allows analyzing the complex causes of the changes occurring, which can be both external and internal factors in the form of self-development, self-creation, self-reflection of individual and collective actors, and also nature.

2

P. Shtompka: becoming as a new type of social development and the main source of social trauma. According to the Polish sociologist, social change is now taking place in the form of becoming, the quintessence of which is expressed in the permanent incompleteness of the development of structures and their functions, which reproduces the effect of "society in action", causing accompanying sociocultural trauma [Sztompka, 1991]. Social trauma, being an attribute of becoming, is "an active, driving force of social change inherent in human collectives". They also arise as a result of "pathological agency": "the destructive impact on the social body of unforeseen, partly undetectable, processes that have an unpredictable ending." An example of this is the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, "considered a revolutionary breakthrough and greeted with enthusiasm by the participants", but "revealing a different, ugly face". Becoming is a dynamically developing process that presupposes a "traumatic sequence" in the form of a series of stages: "structural auspiciousness" in the form of an environment conducive to the occurrence of trauma; the actual traumatic events; special ways of interpreting them; the emergence of "traumatic symptoms", expressed in shared patterns of behavior in the context of generally accepted opinions; post-traumatic adaptation; ambivalent overcoming of trauma - the final phase or the beginning of a new cycle of the traumatic sequence. The nature of the trauma is ambivalent: "despite the direct negative painful consequences, it demonstrates a positive, functional potential as a force of social formation. Despite the destruction and disorganization of the cultural order caused by it, it can be considered as the seed of a new cultural system, an incentive for cultural consolidation " [Shtompka, 2001a: 5–7, 16]. Accordingly, people are forced to constantly reflect on traumatic changes, carrying out a reassessment of values. A number of stages can be traced in this

process: 1) development of mistrust. After enthusiasm and enthusiasm, the "next morning syndrome" appears, which is expressed in a steady decline in confidence in the institutions of power; 2) a gloomy outlook on the future is spreading, manifested in fear and anxiety; 3) nostalgic for the past, people believe that under socialism they were more satisfied with life; 4) the spread of political apathy, electoral absenteeism, lack of civil initiative; 5) post-communist deformations of collective memory arise, the past and the role of people in it are being reassessed. Over time, the trauma enters the stage of "healing", which is manifested in the growth of trust in society in the institutions of democracy, the market, the church - a "new cultural consolidation" is being formed [Shtompka, 2001b].

From the theory of P. Sztompka it follows that becoming is a new type of social change that occurs in the form of social trauma and people's reflection on their consequences. It has been substantiated that the emerging realities are characterized by structural and functional incompleteness, uncertainty, social development without a clearly expressed guiding principle - centrifugal tendencies (escape from the past) and manifestations of centripetal forces (nostalgia, attempts to return to a previous life) are paradoxically combined ... However, this theory does not explain what specific actions need to be taken by social actors in order to purposefully move towards a "new cultural consolidation". Potential factors that reproduce and sustain it in the face of increasing uncertainty are not shown. In our opinion, such consolidation can only be in an unstable equilibrium, adequate to the realities of nonlinearity and "normal anomie" [Kravchenko, 2014b: 3–10].

J. Alexander: Cultural Construction of Trauma and "Dramatization of Consciousness".

3

The sociologist devoted three large books to this problem, each of which introduces significant innovations in understanding the nature of trauma. In The Meanings of Social Life, the example of cultural construction of trauma is used to substantiate the subject of cultural sociology (cultural sociology) - the production and dissemination of social meaning. In this paradigm, trauma is interpreted not as a real social fact, but as a result of coding, denoting evil through the prism of certain cultural values and norms. "In order for a traumatic event to acquire the status of evil, it must become evil. This is a question of how trauma enters knowledge, how it is encoded ... I would like to propose not to consider the very existence of the category of "evil" as something existing, but as an attributive construction, a product of cultural and sociological work ". Valuable in his theory is the disclosure of the mechanism for the formation of a specific symbolic meaning: it is produced through certain binary representations and binary discourses, allowing one to identify the "degrees of evil" that "have great semantic meanings concerning responsibility, punishment, corrective action and future behavior. Normal evil and radical evil cannot be the same "[Alexander, 2003: 31–33].

The fundamental innovation of the book "Trauma. Social Theory ": trauma is not a condition, but a process that prejudices the functioning of the collective, establishes a victim, assigns responsibility [Alexander, 2012]. In the book The Drama of Social Life, trauma is presented in the form of a "dramatization of consciousness" - a process that leads to the breaking of old and the formation of new pragmatic solidarities, which, in the author's opinion, is the quintessence of the current modernity, based on the transition of society from ritual to performance ... "Drama is a fundamental factor in the search for meaning and solidarity in the post-ritual world ... Drama displaces, but includes, however, shreds of the premodern religious order." And further: in the modern world "without drama, collective and personal meanings could not be maintained, the devil could not be identified, justice could not have

been achieved "[Alexander, 2017: 102–103]. The result of social drama is social trauma, breaking of people's consciousness and their former solidarities.

The dramatization of consciousness begins with traumatizing the meanings acquired by individuals in the process of socialization, which are replaced with new mystified ideas about values and referents. Through the performance, a "rational narrative" is formed, whose "drama is empty and the goal of which is pure mystification. In the staged modern societies everything is turned upside down, nothing comes from the bottom up ... We can never be active as drama-producing agents "[Alexander, 2017: 2-3]. At the same time, the author reveals and analyzes the latent aspects of the mechanism of dramatization of consciousness. When problems of wages, unemployment, corruption, repression, etc. "Enter the turmoil of the revolutionary social struggle, they, acting as signs that form empirical facts (" signified "in semiotic terms), eventually form a chain of already significant symbols. While their materiality is illusory, they have actual value - this fiction is actually used ... For participants, just like observers, revolutionary conflicts are perceived as a struggle for life and death not between just social groups, but between social positions, on the one hand, of the sacred, and on the other, of the wicked "[Alexander, 2017: 40, 46]. As a result of the confrontation between the narratives of national salvation and decline, a mystification of good and evil occurs. At the same time, the victory of one of the parties is not the end of the process - "counterperformances" are possible, involving zigzags and reversals: "The past is becoming a golden age; the present is framed as falling into depression, nihilism, or anomie "[Alexander, 2017: 107]. Some individuals may not even be aware that their consciousness is traumatized - they accept deformed values, showing readiness for life in a new mystified solidarity and with mystified ideas, of course, about future happiness, future freedom, which are unlikely to materialize.

4

J. Alexander's theory re-interprets the role of trauma based on short-lived meanings and mystified ideas, which, however, can radically change the nature of society. At the same time, when referring to the fact that to a certain extent the "premodern religious order" is preserved, its potential role, as well as the importance of other factors in maintaining long-lived meanings, which are the basis of "ontological security" (E. Giddens), have not been analyzed - an important condition for the full life of people subject to semantic turbulence.

J.T. Toshchenko: Society of Trauma as a Special Modality of Development. I would like to point out ten of the most significant innovations in the theory of trauma society by J.T. Toshchenko, which differ from the approaches outlined above to the analysis of social trauma and its theorizations. 1. Previously, trauma was interpreted as a very significant, but still taken separately, a social phenomenon; in this theory, the phenomenon of trauma is seen as a factor that determines the character of the whole society, and therefore we are talking about a society of trauma. Interpretations of the ongoing changes, the author writes, "can be expanded to the concept of a 'society of trauma', if we bear in mind the contradictory, turbulent and deformed nature of social processes, when the analysis of the changes taking place in the world and in specific societies makes great sense with the point of view of explaining and understanding the essence of the ongoing transformations (catastrophes) "[Toshchenko, 2019: 25]. In this context, the realities of the society of trauma appear as determinants of the character of society as a whole, forming pathologies of all spheres of human life - deformations in one of them entail traumatic changes in others.

2. Previously, injuries were interpreted as a specific manifestation of the crisis. In the theory of J.T. Toshchenko, these concepts are divorced and each of them gets its own definition.

"Attempts to describe these new phenomena by means of the concept of" crisis "did not give a proper answer to the processes taking place in many countries. Arising regularly in In the capitalist world, crises had rather distinct causes, were limited in time and were exposed to the impact that led to their overcoming. But along with them, a number of countries arose and / or continued to be in the stage of recession and stagnation that could not overcome the reasons for such a specific phenomenon as the absence or extremely slow economic growth, political instability and, as a rule, an increase in social inequality "[Toshchenko , 2019: 25].

3. The previous concepts of crisis, catastrophes, and other manifestations of social destructiveness were interpreted in the context of two types of development - evolution and revolution. According to Zh.T. Toshchenko, the society of trauma is "the third modality along with evolution and revolution. This means that it is necessary to apply new methods of analysis, resort to the use of a different conceptual apparatus and try to find generalizing and specific characteristics of these societies "[Toshchenko, 2019: 27]. We would not rank the modalities of development, believing that, in fact, its new, specific form is being substantiated. In addition to evolution and revolution, P. Sorokin singles out "social fluctuations, that is, processes that repeat from time to time in social and cultural life and in human history", which are understood as "any kind of movement, modification, transformation, restructuring or" evolution " "[Sorokin, 2000: 80]. U. Beck substantiated the possible modality of development in the form of metamorphosis: "Metamorphosis is not social change, not social transformation, not evolution, not revolution and not crisis. This is a way of changing the nature of human existence "[Beck, 2016: 18].

4. Since the Enlightenment, progress has been considered a criterion for the development of states, defined through the prism of "universal, correct" values and lifestyles of the Eurocentric liberal wing. The movement towards it could be evolutionary or revolutionary, but certainly ascending from "lower" to "higher" in this context of values. Accordingly, countries were defined as "developed", "developing", "catching up", "lagging behind". However, "from the logic of progressive and balanced development, which does not coincide with either evolutionary or revolutionary modality, a significant number of countries fall out that belong to" unstable states "" [Toshchenko, 2019: 30]. They are characterized by stagnation or recession of the economy, instability of institutions, continuous emergence of armed conflicts, acts of ethno-confessional violence. "This means that the path of long turbulent, unstable, unstable development is prepared for these countries of the world, which allows us to assert that it is this form of existence and functioning of many states and societies that deserves to be referred to the third modality - traumatic development, to societies of trauma". Countries that are generally characterized by successful development find themselves in a trauma situation (the United States from the late 1960s to the early 1980s was at the stage of stagnation and recession along with a severe process of stagflation). Consequently, "all countries without exception, including those with a powerful economy, highly developed industry, successfully functioning agriculture and other sectors of the national economy, can fall into a state of injury". At the same time, for the first time, an attempt was made to classify countries that are in a state of trauma, including: 1) societies with a "disturbed logic of objective and consistent development"; 2) societies created by means of "violent, including military, pressure from external forces"; 3) societies that emerged under the influence of color revolutions; 4) societies in which ethnic and confessional contradictions have become a long-term traumatic factor; 5) countries not oriented towards purposeful economic, social and political development; 6) Russia and a number of Eastern European countries, which found themselves in a state of trauma "as a result of an erroneous course to change the social system" [Toshchenko, 2019: 31–36]. This

5

classification allows you to take a critical look at the existing interpretations of progress, at the criteria of the "development" of countries.

5. It is also significant that the author has examined and analyzed a wider range of complex causes that contribute to traumatic development. In particular, the reasons for the emergence of a society of trauma of both internal and external origin are highlighted: "... the ruling circles often do not take into account (ignore) or absolutize (hypertrophy) national specifics, what has been accumulated by countries in their historical development". We are especially talking about such a reason as "the ambiguity and uncertainty of the strategic goal - what kind of society is being built in the country. This is not known not only by the masses, but often also by those political forces that are in power ". Particularly important reasons include the fact that "there are no clear ideological ideas that would be embodied in the state ideology. Its absence leads to confusion in the public consciousness, to the loss of clear life guidelines and the impact of random and spontaneous centers of influence ". As for foreign policy reasons, they are "usually associated with direct intervention in the economy of the state", which manifests itself both in the form of sanctions and in provoking "the excitement of discontent among large groups of the population dissatisfied with the processes taking place in the country" [Toshchenko, 2019 : 42–47]. As you can see, the author is talking not only about the pluralism of causes, their complexity, but also about their mutual conditioning, which nonlinearly enhances the effect of trauma to society.

6. For the first time, the generic traits of a society of trauma are highlighted, including: the lack of development prospects, the conservation of outdated methods of production management, the constant reformatisation of the political space, the preservation of ethnic and religious conflicts, the influence of selfish personal and group interests is great, the absence of stable influential social forces, and political parties "rather represent the opposition". The emergence of generic traits of a society of trauma in Russia, the author believes, is due to the uncritical borrowing of the ideas of neoliberalism [Toshchenko, 2019: 50-60]. The Russian sociologist's justification of the generic traits of a society of trauma allows one to look in a new way at the "pathological" and "healthy" society from the standpoint of modern realities [Fromm, 1995].

6

7. We are not aware of any early attempts to address trauma to social justice in the context of the formation of new types of exclusion. J.T. Toshchenko believes that injuries manifest themselves primarily in alienation between social strata, communities, groups. In the presence of stagnation in the income of the population, a process of over-enrichment is taking place - the livelihoods of wealthy groups are far from the interests of the people. "In the public consciousness, a strong conviction is formed in the injustice of the created social order. People are not opposed to wealth as such, they are protesting against its uneven distribution and the methods (including official, legal) by which this wealth is acquired ". Of particular importance is the fact that the author has shown the impact of the trauma of social justice on the formation of a "specific life world with short-lived reflections, which is expressed in the following: 1) it is determined not only by the objective conditions of the" trauma society ", but also by subjective realities in the form of paradoxes in the minds of these social groups; 2) is based mainly on short-term or temporary interactions; 3) is not stable, since to an insignificant extent it can rely on previously accumulated practical, previous, and even more so historical experience; 4) it is a world of limited rationality, spiced with sensual and emotional assessments; 5) it is aimed at the implementation of the primary desired goals; 6) it is often deprived of perspective, citizens do not see the future ". Social justice trauma manifests itself in both inter- and intraprofessional alienation. Almost half of the aggregate

demand for labor is concentrated in 27 professions, which "are on the sidelines (in isolation) from technical and technological progress" [Toshchenko, 2019: 117, 119–120, 126–127]. In our opinion, new manifestations of alienation are justified here, which, in principle, can and should be resisted; specific funds should be reflected in the country's development strategy.

8. The traced connection between the society of trauma and "ideological timelessness" is very significant. According to Toshchenko, now "a conglomerate of different worldview orientations has formed." Among the main ones: 1) a liberal ideology declaring "such outwardly attractive values, such as the development of democracy and ensuring human rights, but in a rather specific interpretation "- it" largely contributes to the fact that Russian society bears the features of a society of trauma "; 2) socialist ideology, which "has not disappeared anywhere and, moreover, has a tendency to spread it more." It is represented by groups that "do not reject the existence of private forms of property, and advocate the establishment of social (but not equalizing) equality"; 3) conservative-patriotic ideology, which is personified by "a number of rather diverse socio-political trends"; 4) there was an attempt to give the national ideology "the image of religious fundamentalism, primarily Orthodoxy"; 5) ersatz-ideological forms as quasi-, pseudo-, counter- and parasitic cultures, parasitizing on, "on the one hand, people's insecurity in their position in the existing society, on the other, the transformation of culture into business culture". Such ideological dispersion is a serious challenge to the consolidation of Russian society. In this regard, the author stands for "state-social ideology with a clear designation of the means and methods of achieving it. Without such an ideology, Russia cannot fully get out of the traumatic state "[Toshchenko, 2019: 195-200]. Let us note that the undertaken attempt to differentiate and systematize ideologies, in a significantly different way than in the theory of J. Alexander, reveals the ambivalence of the production of ideological meanings. On the one hand, each worldview orientation has specific meanings, some of which traumatize society. On the other hand, for the consolidation of society, the minimization of paradoxes in the public consciousness, clear, structured ideological meanings associated with the state strategy and created by meaning-producing institutions that have state support are needed.

9. In a society of trauma, social and human capital is deformed. Here, the role of four components is especially significant - education, upbringing, science and health care. By definition Zh.T. Toshchenko, "there is an acute question of how to overcome the accumulated backlog and how to reform education". The trauma-producing postulates that "education is a service" dominate, with "the ability to make money" of paramount importance; "... universities are plunged into the abyss of quasi-market relations." In contrast to these formal and pragmatic approaches, the author advocates for education to become "the sphere of achieving and satisfying the good of society, ensuring creativity, freedom of search, and disclosing the intellectual potential". Such a humanistic interpretation of education is very significant in the context of the ousting of educational and intelligence-developing programs from the Russian media, which are replaced by all kinds of shows. For the formation of social and human capital, systemic upbringing is also extremely important, which has now been destroyed: "There is still no definite, clearly coordinated work to educate young people to feel a citizen, a patriot, a future intellectual, a responsible production worker". Disregard for science contributes to the trauma of social and human capital, which, in particular, manifested itself in the attitude to scientists, "who reacted to this situation in different ways - by leaving for other industries, in business, leaving for border ". At the same time, as we see it, the social activity of scientists themselves is in demand. There is no proper answer to the representatives of pseudoscience, the hoaxes emanating from the increasingly widespread business trainings aimed at "growing personal capital" are not exposed, the consequences of which are

7

depression, fears, loss of trust in science and its representatives. Finally, the health factor: without improving physical and mental health, an increase in human capital is impossible. "Optimization" of healthcare "turns out to be a limitation of the availability and quality of medical care for the population of the Russian Federation, which will inevitably lead to a deterioration in the health of citizens and their quality of life. This problem is most urgent for residents of small and medium-sized cities and rural areas. " As a result, deformations in health care "have increased the traumatic state of the Russian society" [Toshchenko, 2019: 209, 211-212, 228, 239, 256, 269].

10. Most importantly, the means of exiting the society of trauma are substantiated, and the "treatment" of its pathologies and risks is proposed. The author's starting point is that "the society of trauma is not eternal, it cannot continue indefinitely. This form of its existence will surely be interrupted either by the next revolutionary explosion, or [society] will find the strength and possibilities for the non-violent implementation of the logic of development and successful existence ". To overcome the trauma of society, a clear and unambiguous "definition of the strategic development goal and means of achieving it" is specifically proposed. Such a strategy should be reflected in state documents and become part of public consciousness, people's understanding of what the population of the country is striving for and wants to achieve (get) in the future. This goal is inevitably called upon to acquire the form of ideology so that at least the majority of the country's population would be clear about what kind of society awaits it in the future. This strategy will demand the growing role of science, the real involvement of the people in the management of state and public affairs, the development of political competition, urgent improvement of management, the elimination of the ever-growing social inequality [Toshchenko, 2019: 301-311]. The contours of a realistic strategy of "healing" a society of trauma are proposed, designed to replace the traditionally used methods of "symptomatic" and "symbolic treatment" of risks, which are flawed in their essence [Beck, 2000: 68].

8

The innovativeness of the theory of society of trauma Zh.T. Toshchenko is manifested in the fact that in it, in essence, there is a rediscovery of social reality, possible ways of its development in the conditions of a nonlinearly developing universe, which is an indicator of the validity of sociological knowledge [Kravchenko, 2014a: 27–37]. The provisions and conclusions of the theory stimulate further research in this direction. In general terms, we outline the following five of a number of possible ones.

First. Based on the noted complex causality of the formation of a society of trauma, it seems that it is necessary to concretize the specifics of injuries depending on three macro factors: 1) the realities of nonlinear development objectively reproduce complex vulnerabilities in the form of "normal accidents" (Ch. Perrow), "collateral damage" (Z. Bauman), "Resource dependence" (J. Urry), giving the injuries a "normal" character. Trauma of this kind can be described as ideal types as "normal trauma"; 2) subjective sources of traumas of various kinds arising from both the incompetence of the leadership and the cultural construction of hoaxes for various political purposes. Their conditional name is "man-made injuries"; 3) in a number of cases, when there is an interference of objective and subjective causes of external and internal implications, "complex injuries" can form.

Second. The expressed idea of the emergence of new complex forms of alienation is undoubtedly fruitful in the context of studying the unintentional consequences of digitalization, traumatizing the natural process of socialization, which can be resisted by the

humanization of all knowledge and the transition of societies to a humanistic development trend [Kravchenko, 2017: 3-14] ...

Third. The author's idea about the flawedness of the "life world with short-lived reflections" is practically in demand. Nowadays, various societies are taking measures to preserve traditions, return to conservative lifestyles and, in general, form long-lived meanings and reflections. We believe that the corresponding trend is needed in sociology and other sciences in the form of a turn of rigidity. The quintessence of his subject area: an interdisciplinary study of the factors contributing to the stable functioning of society, sustainable development, routinization, understood as "the prevalence of habitual styles and forms of behavior, a controlling feeling of ontological security, as well as controlled by it" [Giddens, 2003 : 501], ie anything that counteracts turbulence and traumatic development. Fourth. Half a century since the creation of the theory of pathological and healthy societies by E. Fromm in the context of the realities of the society of trauma, one should think about the formulation of new criteria of public health.

Fifth. With all the complexity of diagnosing pathologies in the society of trauma, it is even more difficult to develop adequate means of "treating" them - the nature of the future healthy society, which functions in nonlinear conditions, depends on the results in their justification.

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9

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SOCIOLOGICAL DIAGNOSIS AS ANALYTICAL STRUCTURE

Maria Gordeeva & Sergey Dubkin

Siberian Institute of Arts, mgreeva@gmail.com

Annotation

 The article discusses sociological diagnosis in the context of methodological structuring. The point is that diagnostics as a method of social recognition and assessment achieves its goals when conditions such as structuredness and coherence are met. The author believes that the levels of sociological diagnostics include the acceptance of the diagnosis model, the choice of research tools, and the interpretation of the final results. Coherence as the consistency of levels of sociological diagnosis increases the likelihood of an adequate description of the diagnosed phenomenon or process and reduces the possibility of the influence of external "disturbing" factors.

Key words: sociological diagnostics • social modeling • diagnostic tools • interpretation of diagnostic results • coherence of sociological diagnosis

In modern domestic sociological thought, a situation has arisen associated with the definition of an effective theoretical and methodological toolkit capable of analyzing the social realities of Russian society. The point is that the difficulties of transferring to the Russian "soil" concepts determined by the influence of the theories of post-industrialism, globalization, and postmodernism have emerged. This is evidenced by the disputes about the Russian middle class, when the dominance of the ideological construct of the middle class becomes obvious, which, while adopting the Western normative model, actually states the absence (of this class) or deviation from the sociological norm. Therefore, sociological diagnostics is so important, aimed at obtaining objective and, at the same time, socially effective knowledge about the processes and phenomena in Russian society. Sociological diagnostics is based on analytical constructs, free from introduced ideological assessments and influences, if it is built on well-grounded theoretical foundations, is associated with social modeling.

The problem of modeling in sociological diagnosis is in what is meant by a model. The model can be perceived as a simplified, if you like, "packed" knowledge that carries certain limited information about an object (phenomenon), reflecting its certain properties. The model can be considered as a special form of information coding. Unlike conventional coding, when all the initial information is known and we translate it into another language, the model, whatever language it uses, also encodes the information that people did not know before. It can be said that the model contains potential knowledge that a person, exploring it, can acquire, make visual and use in their practical needs [Moiseev, 1981: 166].

If we consider the model of sociological diagnosis as a reference, that is, correlate it with the real fact and phenomenon that lies outside its description, it is necessary to exclude self-reference, something that cannot be a model of itself. The model only resembles an object, or looks like an object, having been reconstructed in its qualities and properties in accordance with the goal of sociological diagnosis. Despite the ambiguity of the notion "model", the theoretical restrictions are fully valid, connected with the fact that the model is understood as an analogue of an object, and the object is understood as an object. In the first case, the model is used in sociological diagnosis if the goal is only to explain, describe and recognize

11

processes or phenomena. In the second, it acts in a normative version of sociological diagnosis, where the goal is to build a system of ideal functioning and development of the diagnosed object.

The difference between the analogue and the exemplary model is that the first does not claim to expand knowledge and in a schematized form translates the studied qualities and properties into the language of sociology. The exemplary model focuses on the ideal phenomenon. Since its goal is not only to identify the blocking factors, but also the development factors of the system under study, in the form of coding ideal samples and certain parameters of compliance / non-compliance with the standards of development functioning are laid. That is why modeling, as the first level of sociological diagnosis, is associated with normative and systemic research methods.

Modern systems analysis, best known in the 1950s - 1960s. [Plotinsky, 2001: 11], in sociological diagnostics is associated with the postulate of the integrity of the system being diagnosed. Therefore, for modeling, the priority is the description of the studied social phenomenon by elements and the stable fixation of connections between the elements of the system. This takes into account the degree of emergence, irreducibility of the properties of the system to the properties of the elements of the system.

Considering the models included in the system analysis, a description of the functioning of the system, its goals and existing feedbacks is required. An example of such a model is the situation in the economy associated with inflationary expectations, when feedbacks affect the functioning of the system (economic life), diagnostics is manifested in the measurement of inflationary expectations as a factor in changing the very functioning of the economy. Speaking about this, it should be remembered that modeling in sociological diagnosis is associated with the problem of coherence, compatibility of various coding of sociological information.

12

It is obvious that for sociological diagnostics in the study of processes in the consumer market or political expectations (calculus of political rating), the codes used for socio-organizational diagnostics cannot be fully used. If in the first case the language of marketing behavior is used, in the second - of electoral preferences and political expectations, then organizational diagnostics is associated with the concepts of organizational structure and organizational relations.

The level of modeling in sociological diagnostics also encounters difficulties with what we call the description of unstable social states. As L. Ye. Blyakher writes, the social situation in Russia in the last decade, constantly interpreted as a rupture, rift, chaos, requires the adoption of methodological foundations for the study of crisis situations at the level of adequate nominations [Blyakher, 2005: 51]. For this, it is necessary to include the category of social risks, pre-crisis, crisis and post-crisis state of social institutions. In any case, the formula for the researcher is that expectations and projects correlate with what could have taken place if not for the catastrophic change in circumstances [Blyakher, 2005: 111].

In this sense, the models cannot be interpreted as target points of restructuring of diagnosed states. It is mandatory to describe and identify changes in circumstances that have destructive consequences. We can say that modeling requires typologization of the studied social changes in the state of objects and phenomena. The most important and crucial stage of modeling is a qualitative analysis of the constructed model. Assuming that the models recorded in Russian

sociological thought should include three types of correspondence to the ways of organizing the social world and the ways in which the model describes this world, between the apparatus used in the modeling process and the conceptual apparatus of the modeled theory, between theory and the social world , it should be emphasized the obligation and implementation of the following methodological elements: formulation of the problem, definition of the object and subject of research, definition of the goal and formulation of research objectives, clarification and interpretation of research objectives and the results obtained, preliminary system analysis of the research object, deployment of working hypotheses [Yadov , 2004: 56].

Modeling in sociological diagnosis, therefore, is determined by the criterion of the content (structure, structure) of the object under study and the target criterion (definition of goals and formulation of research objectives). The typology of models is associated with the fact that a natural or formal language is used, respectively, a meaningful or formal research model.

When forming a model of an object, it should be noted, firstly, the dependence on the methodological choice, the cognitive map of the study, the construction of a meaningful model, which, in turn, is subdivided into descriptive, explanatory and prognostic. It should be noted that, in contrast to sociological expertise, sociological diagnosis does not pretend to build a conceptual model, although an attempt was made to build models associated with a theoretical vision of a problem situation within the framework of structural and functional analysis.

The elements of the diagnostic model are all statements and facts included in the description of the diagnosed object. It must be remembered that for sociological diagnostics at the present stage, an unresolved methodological problem remains the identification of criteria for the selection of essential and insignificant elements, the described properties and qualities. When diagnosing an object as an integral system, which should be disconnected into its constituent parts, components and elements, the goal is often to cover all the elements, while this can divert from the possibility of identifying which causes and effectual connections are main in the functioning and development of the object under study. ...

Aiming at modeling the processes taking place in Russian regions, sociological diagnostics often focuses on identifying all components, on a detailed description of the object (regional society), since factors of global influence or the state of interregional ties can be excluded to describe the state of the region, since they are manifested in an undeveloped form or do not record changes in the regional community. Speaking about the study of the causes of the investigated mechanism, one should also assume the existence of explicit and implicit changes. The requirement of clarity in the initial understanding of the situation for diagnosis is the task of transforming uncertainty into a state of certainty by sufficiently stable cause-and-effect relationships.

The spatial dimensions of the social have recently come to the forefront of social diagnostics, since the studied phenomena appear as complex spatial formations. The difficulty lies in understanding social space not only as a space of social institutions, an official space. Addressing the problems of the Russian creative class shows that "creative solidarity, as solidarity for a better life and a better states "[Volkov, 2014: 90] brings together, makes public and private spaces equivalent. In the process of modeling, it should be noted the presence of cross-cutting integrative characteristics, accompanying or included in the object under study, despite the diversity of social sublevels.

13

The complexity of modeling makes the researcher fear that the sociological diagnosis is not perceived as an image of a deferred future, which is not a reference point for social planning and design. At the same time, the experience of social diagnostics in Russian society shows that for the operationalization of the diagnostic research model, it is necessary to introduce into the analogue of the object parameters connected by meanings and values external to them, those that provide social trust, fasten the objects under study during crisis and semi-crisis states. It means that the formal model does not take into account what M. Weber called transcendental meanings [Blyakher, 2005: 205].

Obviously, the "model" dictates the choice of research tools. The fact that sociological diagnosis is associated with sociological pragmatics, that is, with the priority of methods of obtaining sociological information, facilitates and, at the same time, complicates diagnostic tasks: it facilitates in the sense that the researcher is free from rigid restrictions in the choice of research tools; complicates the fact that the problem of adequate use of the means of sociological diagnosis does not disappear. The means of sociological diagnosis include both "classical" methods of obtaining sociological information (polls, interviews), and modern ones related to focus groups, case studies, with measuring the relationship between the state of the system under study and shifts, its desired images. ...

In a normal state, the social space is organized according to the laws of an "ordered text", is demonstrated by an interpretive state, gets meaning through comparison with a certain image, a standard, which is present in the social-communicative network [Blyakher, 2005: 137]. Nevertheless, it cannot be ruled out that sociological diagnostics is confronted with a disordered social space, a state in which working standards and standards can entail complete destruction of the system as a practical result. It turns out that instead of a desire to help in understanding the state of the described object, there is a procedure for eliminating the diagnosed situation.

14

This is reflected in the fact that the construction of a new structure proposed in the diagnosis leads to an increase in social and economic costs. Adherents of the "knowledge economy" often argue that it is easier to destroy and abolish the production structures left over from the Soviet Union than to engage in their reconstruction and modernization. In the current conditions, when the country has found itself in a certain isolation under the influence of economic sanctions, it comes to the realization that time has been lost for the reconstruction period, that rebuilding production means missing 5-10 years that Russia needs to preserve national security and national sovereignty ... However, modeling, as an analogue, a substitute for social reality, includes an adjustment for the degree of inconsistency with the real state, and depending on the normative-situational or systemic approach, this degree is correlated.

In the process of modernizing Russia, due to its cultural characteristics, it is obviously impossible and impractical to directly copy anyone's experience, both Western countries and the experience of the "Asian tigers". Separate elements of such experience can be used [Modernization ..., 2011: 137], the models receive the advantages of the system model, which include both elements of normativity and consideration of realities, and most importantly, subordinate to the logic of the system's integrity. Therefore, the choice of methodological means is determined not only by identifying the features of the functioning of the object - we are talking not only about social, but also about cultural images within the Russian society. It is characteristic that the means of modeling and sociological diagnostics vary from large-scale sociological research to the level of micro-research within a separate social micro-group. The

main thing is to correctly carry out the sampling procedure, ensuring the level of social representativeness.

Expanding the flexibility of the used means of sociological diagnostics is associated with the transfer of the required tools to the state of operationalization, that is, the possibility of giving empirical verification of knowledge. The modern paradigm of sociological knowledge is often divorced from reality, from the possibility of empirical verification. Meanwhile, attempts to squeeze into the framework of empirical verification the paradigms that do not lend themselves to this procedure create the risk that there is an artificial linkage of theoretical elements to the results obtained.

For sociological diagnostics, it is indispensable to correlate the language of the model with the possibility of interpreting the research results. Rational is the orientation towards the means of diagnosis, correlated both with the features of modeling a specific situation and with the expected results of the study. In turn, the means of sociological diagnostics, as noted above, are obliged to correlate with the state of the diagnosed system. As a rule, the researcher is guided by the already available samples of conscientious sociological diagnosis. The difficulty lies in the fact that the objects of sociological diagnosis record a state that differs from the normative, modal parameters, therefore it is so important to take into account the inclusion and operationalization of means that provide additional information or give an explanatory meaning.

According to the current state of sociological diagnostics in Russian society, it can be said that there is a gap between the diagnosis of macrosystemic generalizations and the diagnosis of individual spheres of social life. The gap is expressed in the fact that there is no connecting sociological diagnosis that makes it possible to typologize research situations relatively independently to the spheres of the studied objects, and in what can be called the applicability of macrosystemic generalizations. Thus, the diagnosis of the state of the Russian economy, if it has a sociologically valid value, does not affect changes in the sectoral spheres of the economy due to the fact that the diagnostics of the parameters focused on identifying the problems inherent in all socialized spheres has not been carried out.

It can be said that the means of sociological diagnosis are based on sufficient research potential, on the accumulated research groundwork. This is what M.K. Gorshkov, pointing out that sociological diagnostics in Russian society began in the early 1990s. Another thing is that in the field of sociological diagnostics, there is no variety of used research diagnostic tools. The use of survey methods leads to the fact that those who order a sociological diagnosis most often select performers not according to their research potential, but according to the criterion of financial expediency.

This situation can be explained by the fact that so far, diagnostic centers have not proven themselves and have not shown themselves, which would use the latest methods of sociological research to prove the greater accuracy of sociological diagnosis and, most importantly, stimulate the sociological community to adopt new research methods. It turns out that the new diagnostic tools are still perceived as theoretical schemes characteristic only of certain areas (study of youth fashion based on a case study). Meanwhile, the means of sociological diagnostics, as a level of sociological diagnosis, represent the possibility of transition from a descriptive to an explanatory version, which significantly increases the attractiveness of diagnostics. Until now, diagnostics is associated only with descriptive parameters, which creates a barrier to its development. Therefore, the inclusion of tools

15

containing analytical procedures and meanings significantly increases the possibility of expanding the role of diagnostics in social processes and phenomena.

If the diagnostic model includes a correlation with the social world, the study of which the model is aimed at, then the means of sociological diagnostics inevitably vary, since we are dealing with a situation of social turbulence, changes in old social and cultural norms and the emergence of new ones. What may be perceived as the need for situational modeling is in fact not an individual phenomenon, but the phenomenon that has not been studied by sociology as socially generalized, with a certain degree of generalization.

It can be assumed that it is precisely in the choice of the means of sociological diagnosis that the escape reason paradox is resolved, the independent position of diagnosis is restored, whose point of view coincides with the point of view of a participant in the process under study, but is not opposed to it. Thanks to an adequately chosen means, sociological diagnosis acquires the qualities of dialogicity, the possibility of accepting the models of explanation and description presented by diagnostics that deserve confidence and require taking into account in the implementation of desired changes or prevention of emerging risks.

In order for the structure of a sociological diagnosis to be coherent, compatible and, at the same time, verifiable, it is necessary to determine the boundaries and nature of the interpretation of diagnostic results. The end result cannot be put ahead of a sociological diagnosis; one should distinguish between the goals of the diagnosis and the possible results of the study. Here, of course, an important role is played by the way in which the hypothesis is formulated, including possible results based on the selected research tools.

16

The interpretation of the results of a sociological study of a sociological diagnosis is included in its structure, since it meets the requirement for the implementation of the tasks set. The point is that a sociological diagnosis can admit variable meanings. We can talk about negative expectations about the diagnostic data and positive ones aimed at the implementation of certain social changes.

The description of the state of a diagnosed object cannot be interpreted according to the principle of an optimist / pessimist vision, but there is no doubt that the interpretation (understanding and comprehension) of the results determines the practical orientation of diagnostic knowledge. We can say that sociological diagnostics of the early 1990s. originated in the form of organizational and was associated with the introduction of foreign organizational models, worked on normative models. The current research situation is fundamentally different, since the sociological community is dealing with new Russian realities that are not analogous to the systems being introduced. The direction of the diagnosis has also changed, due to the fact that various spheres of public life are subjected to diagnostics as they are problematized in sociological discourse.

Sociological diagnosis, as social recognition, the identification of certain qualities and properties that contribute to or block the functioning of the social system, assumes that the interpretation of the results corresponds to the set goals and is based on the methods of analysis adopted in diagnostics. Meanwhile, the interpretative component is relatively independent, since different meanings and meanings can be given to the same series of sociological data obtained. So, noting that the demand for high-quality sociological information is being satisfied, it is important to understand what goals are achieved by

diagnostics: whether they are calming, mobilizing, or aimed at positive mobilization, uniting efforts to resolve a situation that is not amenable only to industry changes.

Based on the fact that the interpretation of the results requires its own verification, correlation with a certain model, it is required to proceed from the fact that the results must correspond, at least, to the implemented model.

Otherwise, we are talking about a theoretical discrepancy, about a weak explanatory power or incorrectness of the initial diagnostic actions. The foregoing allows us to state that interpretation can be regarded as a practical sociological knowledge. However, it would be a mistake to equate research results with the desire of a social diagnostician.

For the selection of results, only their potentially effective influence is important, while the state of the diagnosed object is fixed by means of standardized analytical procedures. Indeed, the introduction of certain results as successful leads to their acceptance as a standard. It should be noted that under the influence of social diagnostics, it is assumed that an expanded application of the qualitative methodology of data registration and the corresponding conceptualization in the logic of the study of diagnosed objects is assumed [Yadov, 2013: 27].

In this sense, the interpretation of the results of the diagnosis presupposes the rejection of the structural and functional analysis, adopted since the late 1980s. domestic sociologists as the main one. Bringing results to the desired state of equilibrium as applied to the public inquiry may mean an emphasis on non-differentiation in theories of sociological and social reality. The sociologist-diagnostician has the right, in accordance with the research choice, to create his own vision of the problem, but if it is at odds with social reality, the question arises about the unbalanced structure, about the unstructuredness of the sociological diagnosis.

17

Considering that socio-diagnostic knowledge has its quality a prerequisite for the growth of knowledge, the transition to the state of sociological expertise, we mean that the procedure for interpreting the results is based on the possibility of including new conceptual meanings based on the emergence of a new theoretical problem situation ... Obviously, the results obtained can stimulate the development and expansion of the subject field of diagnostic knowledge. Reproduction of a different situation associated with reproductive procedures leaves diagnosis at the level of applied sociology and the derivation of descriptive schemes.

Considering interpretative landmarks, one cannot reduce them to theories of social interaction. It is important that the interpretation leads to relief, to social communication between the contractor and the customer, so that satisfaction with the results is expressed in a unified position on understanding the problems that have arisen. The fact is that, according to the Russian sociologist N.E. Tikhonova, Russia is still a country of extremes. This also applies to the attitude to collectivism and individualism, and to theoretical diagnostic knowledge [Svoboda ..., 2007: 277].

Thinking in terms of social exchange, diagnosis must lead to compromise. But if it is believed that the results of the diagnosis can have a noticeable impact on the studied situation, it is important that the interpretation of the results has a powerful persuasive effect. It should also be noted that there are pluses in the systemic model of the diagnosis: the possibility of an emphasis on certain problematic elements is not excluded; the disadvantages are the inherent tendency towards standardization of the situation, towards finding an analogue in the previous diagnostic practice. The introduction of unified diagnostic standards is dictated by the fact

that without this procedure, it is impossible to assess the quality of the sociological diagnosis itself. However, the degree to which the status of sociological diagnostics is raised is determined by the degree to which it is able to solve problems that are beyond the power of other types of diagnostic knowledge. This is evidenced by the fairly successful programs to create an ecological environment, problems of social urban planning.

Analyzing the current situation in the field of sociological diagnosis, we can also say that the development of interpretation procedures means an increase in the sociological culture itself, the inclusion of the mechanisms of sociological imagination, the ability to think systematically and take into account the genesis of the phenomenon. By the ability to interpret, one can judge the qualification of the diagnosis. The modeling procedure, of course, requires a certain level of conceptual training. But the interpretation of the results requires the ability to correlate the model, as images of the studied phenomenon, with an object in which versatile, multidirectional manifestations of functioning and development can coexist. Interpretive procedures are of primary importance for sociological diagnostics to show advantages over other types of diagnoses that do not have a conceptual apparatus for interpretive procedures.

Sociological diagnosis, therefore, is measured according to the criterion of social efficiency as a preparatory condition for sociological examination. In other words, for the "editing" of sociological expertise, developed sociological knowledge is required. In addition, claims for a sociological examination cannot be perceived if there is no diagnostic culture in society, assessment of the diagnosis as a normal form of implementation, as control over the implementation of managerial decisions in various spheres of public life.

18

Consequently, sociological diagnostics grows from the logic of the development of sociological knowledge, from the fact that the developed sociological approaches and methods are guided by involvement in social and cultural changes. Sociology open to society is characterized by a movement towards understanding society as an environment in which sociologists work creatively, as an environment that is vital for the actualization of new sociological knowledge.

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POWERLESSNESS IN FRONT OF THE FUTURE

Gulgina Shamsutdinova

Russian Science Academy

Annotation

A number of possibilities for realizing positive scenarios for the future are being considered. In particular, the plot of the total "hostage" of the multibillion-dollar community from the conflicts of global actors, the predisposition to social destruction and the weakness of the general scientific humanistic potential are characterized. The reproduction of the same tasks facing the sociological community is noted: the search for ways to mitigate social inequalities, the finding of breakthrough social practices in an environment where the turnover of industrial structures and technological revolutions does not cause the expected cardinal qualitative changes in the system of social relations. Realization of the global choice remains relevant: humanity will again "zero" its own achievements, or it will still be able to at least identify less painful ways of progressive development.

Key words: future • sociological community • social inequality • destabilization • forecasts • humanistic potential

Anxiety about the fate of the social world has recently become even more aggravated due to the obvious likelihood of a transition to the stage of uncontrolled global conflict with absolutely unpredictable consequences. Even economically successful enclaves no longer seem unshakable in the face of various factors of destabilization, starting to focus on themselves the despair and anger of residents of less fortunate geographic and socio-economic niches. Obviously, the world can once again "roll" with increasing acceleration or has already "rolled". And no one knows where, at what line it will "stop". Numerous predictions and visions do not give any digestible picture of even the nearest future. It is only realized that gigantic changes are coming, the largest reformatting, perhaps, will be worse than following the results of previous hot world wars.

Any important intellectual calculations are of little value when it comes to the threat to the existence of humanity. In such periods, it is clearly manifested that the potential of applied scientific knowledge in the true humanitarian component is minuscule. It is barely enough to mitigate the most acute phases of cataclysms. Reasonable, decent and unwilling to worldwide self-destruction scientists are fragmented, with forced doom looking at the next peak of their good hopes for building a non-aggressive system of relations, at best only soundly fixing the permanent phases and stages of planetary annihilation. As a result, not indifferent representatives of the humanitarian scientific community, including sociologists, are often forced to break into abstract desirability, which is unlikely to satisfy the authors of benevolent aspirations themselves, and even more so opponents or simply looking for an instrumental, technologically verified, and not a declared way to less conflict-prone configurations of the world order.

One way or another, during periods of danger, as a rule, a significant part of the sediment, insignificant, secondary is eliminated. Therefore, denoting the purpose of the publication, Note that at the present time, when it is trivial to talk about the onset of the next stage of restructuring of the geopolitical, geo-economic, and, consequently, the geosocial space, it is

19

necessary to critically assess the potential of opportunity or, on the contrary, the doom of aspirations to some more acceptable the future. In this regard, it is important to consider such problematic aspects as the plot of the total "hostage" of the multibillion-dollar community from the conflicts of global actors, the predisposition to social destruction, and the weakness of the general scientific humanistic potential.

About external and internal "hostage". When we speak of "hostage taking", it is understood that at the moment the feeling of dependence and subordination of the events taking place on some unknown agreements, as well as the disruption of certain behind-the-scenes decisions that determine the trajectories of our life existence, is even more aggravated. The almost total dependence of billions on units is especially painful during periods of destabilization, and even more so with the transition or the immediate threat of its transition to the military phase. Social history is always personified. In concrete figures, the whole set of technological, economic and social transformations is personified and manifested. Any serious crisis, the ways to solve it, are, first of all, an indicator of the general level of culture of the most influential part of the world management establishment. And today, as Y. Habermas stated: "... there are no collective actors who are able to find ways to political compromises at the transnational level and implement them all over the world" [Habermas, 2008: 169]. A kind of powerlessness of the ghostly omnipotence of those in power.

"Hostage" cannot but evoke feelings of hopelessness. After all, all or much of what is being created becomes meaningless. Finally, non-pragmatic people realize that anger, envy, greedy practicality, inhuman prudence turn out to be much more viable than correctness, respect, tolerance, disinterestedness. The victory, or at least not a clear loss of the positively human, again passes into the category of faith, is transferred to an indefinite perspective. In fact, it is assumed that once again, shuddering from their own super-mass (massive is already taking place before our eyes) collective suicide, the remnants of humanity will become more scrupulous to seek ways of more humane coexistence. At the same time, the question remains insoluble: how can people exhausted from economic, social and moral catastrophes, having gone through countless victims, accustomed to being detached, indifferent to an unthinkable number of dramas, create a truly "new world".

The current round of actualization of the problem of inequality, which, as you know, was the subject of the last sociological congress of the ISA (see, for example: [Kravchenko, 2015]), is a sad testimony to the fact that, in essence, there are no qualitative shifts on the most fundamental issue - social justice. A significant period of time that has passed since the adoption of secular doctrines, which proclaimed their goal to build a more just society, has not yet led to the desired result, and again some under-elites have won. Ideologies made it easier, with varying degrees of efficiency, to reproduce the key principles of social inequality and, according to the numerous arguments and arguments of researchers, in the end were actually involved only in aggravating the situation. Primary living conditions may have improved, however, not the content of life itself.

Therefore, the attempt to return to the once almost axiomatic Marxist call among adherents of leftist ideas to change the world into an alternative to its numerous forms of description is indicative. This appeal sounded again at the aforementioned ISA Congress, albeit in a modified form [Vdovichenko, 2015: 28; Romanovsky, 2015: 18]. However, here, most likely, there is evidence of the continuing crisis of positive social ideas. Indeed, the very fact of a return to the famous "11th thesis" means that either there were no changes (although this is true in fact), or the changes were never properly implemented, the results obtained are

unsatisfactory, and therefore , the following transformations are required. Since the end of the XIX century. the world has repeatedly changed and changed dramatically, having paid precisely with hundreds of millions of lives for the lack of a contractual culture, abilities and focus on mature, effective, progressive and non-military reform in the world ruling class, and, along with this, for the abundance of ambition, stubbornness, banal greed interspersed with colossal potential of envy. Now, having exchanged half of the first third of the 21st century, the global community is again demanding transformations, appealing to the authority of the young Marx, and, at the same time, not eliminating any of the causes and foundations of the world cataclysms of the past centuries. On the contrary, "the growth of individualism, the strengthening of chauvinism and nationalism, a decrease in the influence of humanism and tolerance" [Toshchenko, 2001: 17] and known difficulties with "the pacifization of history and the formation of a consensus culture" are recorded [Golovakha, 2010: 60].

The characteristic of "hostage-taking" can and should be extended to the whole set of our internal traits that prevent us from choosing less bloody trajectories of social development. Ultimately (and initially!) We are our own hostages. In contrast to the events of a century ago, when it seemed to proactive intellectual transforming people that, at least, solving the problem of satisfying vital needs and raising the level of education would become the foundation for more harmonious social relations, among the current successors of ideas about social progress it is more likely that skepticism. Now it is clear that it is possible to feed a significant part of humanity, as well as to actually give it an education. However, until now, the scattered universal civilization does not have a practical understanding of what to do next with billions of hungry and, at least, primarily literate people. There is a strong impression that the global society, represented by ourselves, periodically carries out a process of "zeroing", so that then "heroically" painfully scramble out through the next gigantic hard work of a huge number of human individuals, restoring bit by bit of knowledge and skills, betraying some meaning social process. Only threats become incentives to search for ways out of "hopeless" situations into which we drive ourselves, being at the same time not at all hungry or illiterate. In a banal sound, the tragedy of the state of affairs lies in the fact that it is still unknown how to live, meaningfully and not sadly, without fighting for life.

21

The attractiveness of social destruction. While noting the problematic aspects of the near and distant future, one cannot ignore the persistently sounding forecasts about the upcoming "inevitable" collapses, decays, cataclysms expected in various states and interstate formations. In fact, these kinds of expectations and the initiation of self-fulfilling prophecies have a significant impact on the overall social atmosphere and perception of perspective. The state of affairs is aggravated by being in a stream of events confirming the high probability of such destructive scenarios.

One of the most significant factors of recent decades that has created an attitude to what is happening as a constantly changing political, social, legal and ethical scenery is the same collapse of the USSR, discussed countless times, but continues to be the focus of discussions. The rapid and for many unexpected fall of the Soviet Union meant not just the disappearance of the bipolar rules of the game, but, among other things, initiated a sense of transience , the transience and mortality of any even seemingly stable and almost omnipotent system, state, social structure; provided a basis for some kind of external ease of perception of reformatting the foundations of the world order that seemed unshakable yesterday. This was the choice of the dominant at that time among the "collective actors" of the attitude to receive dividends not from the development of the quality of macro-associations, more equitable cooperation, but from the effects and profitability of the disintegration. A precedent that set the logic and

foundation for subsequent practices of a similar nature, the reproduction of proven templates, socio-technological procedures proceeding from the financial, economic and military-political effectiveness of destruction actions visible to certain groups of capital. From the standpoint of the most influential pragmatic managers, this is a customary, albeit in its own way, radical redistribution of property and further monopolization of assets. From a social point of view - mainly losses, tragedies, the growth of extremism, social and personal pathologies, in the end, a decrease in the overall already low moral and ethical potential of mankind. Until now, the world cannot stop at its half-life trajectory. In fact, people inhabiting various parts of the entire planetary community continue to be drawn into necrophilic intrigue dominated by attitudes according to which the destruction of some part of the modern politically formed space is an imaginary way out of the general field of the most difficult tasks. The idea is imposed that it is only necessary to wait or even contribute to the collapse of state X or the union of states Y, and after that some significant positive breakthrough will take place for almost all of humanity. There is a clear craving for expectations based on the desire to see the death of the "enemy". A kind of competition in the dynamics of the destabilization process, in fact, death with the excitement of participating in a worldwide social reality show or online game.

Creative aspirations are mainly manifested only in their own lagoon. It is all the more difficult to observe when people of the humanitarian profile sometimes become the most active and vociferous adherents of these expectations, gloating in mood and inhuman in content. At the same time, they even believe that such an outcome can be not only useful, but also the only salvation. In the heat of excitement from "re-partitioning through disintegration," the inevitability is deliberately emphasized: a) the creation of a socio-political and ideological atmosphere of revenge, revenge, an "adequate" response for the long term; b) the consolidation of social groups that receive nourishment on these sentiments for the realization of their own economic interests. It is almost impossible to prove that dreams of local prosperity, in parallel with the destruction of social systems, are utopia, self-deception and speculation. On the whole, the voices of moderates, accurate in assessments and actions of people in the implementation of destabilization scenarios, as a rule, are muffled and self-muffled. Hatred prevails as a social catalyst, and the enemy is habitually a mobilizing factor. Thus, we get an increasingly "angry" than "kind" world. There is a perception of the existence of not a plurality of truths, but their absence.

At the same time, the trend of enclave and subanclave unification is gaining momentum within the framework of confrontation strategies with a steady vector towards general pseudo-consolidation. We have to use the "pseudo" particle, proceeding from the preservation of narrow corporate thinking in interstate unions when setting tasks and understanding the need to take into account the interests of the general order. Numerous and already overlapping macroeconomic associations (for example, APEC and the Trans-Pacific Cooperation project), both on the peripheral and in individual dominant states, continue to be latent, and outright confrontation, a violent clash of positions of key actors in active geoeconomic disputes.

General competition, implicated in aspirations for total domination, historical revanchist complexes, fears of real, fictitious and hypertrophied threats of weakening or destruction is accompanied by a search for contractual forms of reconciling trade and economic interests. Military alliances are being replaced by economic and political ones with contradictory and largely alternative motives. These associations look both progressive and archaic, acting either as the notorious "road map" to more universal forms of consolidation, or, in the worst

22

scenario, to total collapse as a result of confrontation. A kind of logic of intense rivalry based on fragmentary creation (alliances as an alternative to counter-alliances).

Weakness of the general scientific humanistic potential. The contrast between this titanic struggle for supremacy and the desire to give the future more "good" features is obvious. Of course, one way or another life-affirming expectations and prophecies of all humanists proceed from basic positive attitudes: a socially just society, a planetary society and people engaged in creative activities that contribute to their all-round development.

To demonstrate the ambivalence that breaks the consciousness of entire generations of socially responsible researchers, namely between the expectations of a more reasonable-humane form of social structure and a ruthless assessment of reality, we will cite two quotes from the publication of P. Sorokin, which has not lost its relevance, "Conditions and Prospects a world without war ". On the one hand, the dream of a world in which "the main motives of socially useful economic and political life will not be profit or power, but the motive of creative service to society ..." [Sorokin, 1999: 7]. A few paragraphs later, an inexorable statement: "States and countries will remain as selfish and predatory as before. Those who believe that the spread of democratic forms of government will change this forget that the so-called democracies of the past and present are just as imperialistic as autocracies "[Sorokin, 1999: 9].

Speaking directly about the invariants of the development of society, we see the same continuity and inviolability of positions. No matter how hard they try to differentiate and rank predictive scenarios depending on the criteria set, in the "dry residue" everything comes down to a maximum of three fundamental assumptions regarding the external configuration of world civilization: a) further consolidation of mankind, b) segmentation of the global space with different share of conflict potential along the borders of "macrocivilizations" and c) catastrophe. It is in the same vein that one of the last "Sorokin Mohicans", the American sociologist E.A. Tirikyan [Kravchenko, 2015: 33]. A similar number of variations can be consolidated for qualitative assessments of the future. Let us refer again to P. Sorokin: a) humanity living a creative life; b) humanity, immersed in the slumber of a brooding herd and c) the agony of decay [Sorokin, 1999: 10].

23

Rationally, one of the ways out of the impasse at the same XVIII World Sociological Congress of the ISA was, as you know, the idea of creating "real utopias" (E. Wright) [Vdovichenko, 2015: 28], and as priority steps it was proposed to define the values that will lead us to a more just world. This is consonant (borrowed?) With the well-known proposals of the same P. Sorokin, who during the next all-human meat grinder expressed the need to agree on common values and affirm them as the basis of a new global culture [Sorokin, 1999: 6–9]. However, it is difficult to refrain from a number of fundamental clarifications. And we are not even talking about the diversity of cultural characteristics and the well-known complexities of the political background.

A consolidated definition of common human constructive values presupposes the presence of influential "subjects of interest" with tangible financial, economic, political and media resources for the mass recruitment of supporters. At one time, anti-clerical ideologies received a powerful boost from various groups of the new industrial-financial class, since they made it possible, with varying degrees of success in terms of dosage and efficiency of their use, to make the transition to an industrial, urbanistic society. As of today, the controversy about the

social basis for the never-realized transition from the "kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom" continues unabated.

Of course, initiatives like "real utopias" should be supported. But even with our corporate commitment to a more humanized world, proposals for a transition to an inclusive, fair and multi-billion dollar, creative community seem more than naive. It's not about the notorious question: "What to do?" More significant is the search for an intelligible and honest answer to the problem, whether we can do something, even if we realize and know "what needs to be done and for what purpose". I have to repeat the banality: never before the present moment in the history of human civilization has there been a coordinated and planned transition to a new phase of the technological and social order. Even the discussed variant of the formation of a multipolar future, on which those thirsting for more responsible and non-aggressive international relations, do not remove the key problems. A multipolar world can be just as unfair as a unipolar one. As well as being unable to provide the conditions for the fulfillment of the main aspirations of enthusiasts about a harmonious society, in which a new person essentially prevails, not driven out by unloved, exhausting work, but also not lost, degrading from idleness and aimlessness.

It is characteristic that at present, in wide use among the world managerial beau monde, polemics about the onset and possible consequences of the "fourth industrial revolution," "the sixth technological order," etc. are popular. However, at the same time, there are no adequate definitions for social changes proper. Disputes about the N-th social revolution or the N-th humanistic way do not appear. This once again testifies: the dynamics and parameters of changes in production, technology, economy can be recorded, imagined, observed developing or fading trends, but with the quality of human relations - a significant crisis. The entire lack of criteria for fixing the substantial evolution of society is manifested in the continued dominance of the prefix "post", added to many definitions, including the category "human" itself (see, for example, "posthuman future" by F. Fukuyama) [Fukuyama, 2004]. Attempts are being made to look for some clues and assess possible parameters of social change, referring, for example, to the developments of N. Kondratyev [Kozakov, 2014]. But his theory of cycles is essentially "economized", and to set social criteria as a dominant and even more so to find ways to influence the inexorable fluctuations with an output to a positive result is still an insoluble task.

Currently, there are no real scenario projects based on the principles of global consensus, adopted by at least a minimally critical part of the world's key actors. A. Peccei many years ago stated: "Fundamental scientific thought still, in fact, does not give any clear and intelligible answers to questions about the fundamental possibility and real ways of such a transformation of the national state, which, while retaining the current the role of the state would be able to establish a more stable and effective world order corresponding to the century - the global empire of man "[Pechchei, 1985: 301]. She does not give "intelligible answers" even today. Even if some initiatives do arise, their authors cannot avoid suspicion and accusations of bias, work for some secret organizations with unscrupulous goals. Knowledge and experience give us the understanding that literally everything can be used in political games, including striving for humanism, pacifism, internationalism, cosmopolitanism, etc. If we talk about the essence of the proposals, then, in addition to the development of the already repeatedly declared principles of universal election, the expansion of the initiative activities of civil society and the struggle for transparency of financial flows (combating corruption), it should be proposed to improve the socio-political system in a breakthrough sense and there is nothing.

24

The scientific world is fragmented and, apparently, significantly demotivated. In the event of a cardinal aggravation of the situation, he would rather adopt a position akin to the social democrats of the beginning of the last century, supporting the actions of national governments, rather than act as some kind of superstructure capable of at least mitigating the planetary cataclysm. Until now, all the sophisticated formats of "wise men" have failed and, at best, slowed down crises, but did not fully resolve extreme situations. The eternal gap between the awareness of the world's unity and its fragmentation continues to prevail. And clean, decent scientists, endowed with knowledge about the universality of the universe and its laws, striving to develop technologies for low-conflict management, should turn from knowledgeable people into limited persons, for obvious reasons, inclining to support "friends" against "aliens", even to the detriment of the truth, and simply the purity and kindness of interpersonal relations between colleagues, if they find themselves on the territory of "unfriendly" states.

If we talk directly about the sociological community, then periodic international congresses at intervals of four years are not enough to solve problems of a general civilization scale. In a hundred years, we risk looking as frivolously utopian as our colleagues, who planned to share developments on the topic of progress at the 8th International Congress of Sociologists, which did not take place in 1911 (just before the First World War) [Sorokin, 1992 : 507].

Conclusions. Once again, there is growing anxiety about the instability and unpredictability of the future, and indeed the preservation of the very category of "future" in relation to common human civilization. The whole set of problems is essentially reduced to one thing: the ability / inability of contractual relations between governing strata on a global scale, to overcome contradictions not through total or partial mutual destruction, in fact, "zeroing out" of the human planetary civilization, but through the coordination and ordering of interests. As trivial as it sounds.

25

The existence of effective resources, internal and external capabilities of mankind to make a real transition to a more just and less destructive society without cruel "lessons", as well as dramatic and long-term adverse consequences of these "lessons", raises doubts. One gets the impression that the expectation of the consequences of cataclysms dominates, when a new international legal, socio-economic and socio-political system will emerge on the wreckage of the current order.

Even if we assume that some constantly expected, but permanently postponed in time, the onset of the "kingdom of freedom" may begin to form after the supposed universal financial, economic, environmental, social, and possibly military cataclysm, then the price of such progress is already very high. It is difficult, if not impossible, to recreate a creative and non-aggressive society in which millions, if not billions, learned only to survive, without truly and meaningfully creating, without creating themselves, relationships, and the world order.

Skepticism is added by the next actualization and visualization of the problem of social inequality. And it is no longer only a matter of broad coverage of the numbers and indicators of the aggravation of the situation. The most painful is the recognition of the very fact that all the good intentions and actions of sincere fighters for social justice for at least the last one hundred and fifty years, which have passed under secular slogans and calls for the elimination of the system of inequality, have so far been ineffective.

A constructive sociological international, not only advocating a more humanized future, but also knowing how to consistently shape it, is not taking shape. Politically and economically, the sociological community is powerless and forced to submit to the inexorable logic of local expediency. We must once again acknowledge the absence of a precedent model of more humanely configured social relations capable of attracting public attention and giving proactive, rather than fictitious, perspective to social development.

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26

ABOUT EMPIRICAL INDICATORS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Olga Zhivtsova & Yurii Kuznetsov

Russian Science Academy

Annotation.

Empirical indicators of the social structure and social stratification of Soviet and modern Russian society are reflected in the toolkit of sociological research in different years. Topical issues, mediated by the scientific worldview of sociologists and reflected in the research tools, allows us to see the development of Russian sociology, the change in its conceptual and conceptual apparatus. In different periods of history, social differentiation and visible pointers to it were sometimes suppressed and masked, or, on the contrary, were demonstrated to society. Overcoming ideological attitudes and administrative pressure, sociologists strove and are striving to find indicators that reliably reflect not the declared, but the real social structure of society and fix its indicators. The analysis was carried out on the basis of research questionnaire forms presented in the Unified Archive of Economic and Sociological Data (http://sophist.hse.ru/) for the period from 1980 to 2014. The study of the questionnaires made it possible to observe - on the example of the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. - how the empirical diagnostic capabilities of Russian sociology were improved. Some objective changeable "codes" of the foundations of social structure and social stratification, reflecting the key problems of social development and reflected in the forms of sociological questionnaires and interviews, have been identified.

27

The study of social structure and stratification is the task of sociology, the solution of which in various years has been devoted to large-scale scientific projects, including national polls. This kind of research provides not only formal information, but also reveals the directions of development of society, the nature of relationships between social strata, the causes and foundations of inequality. All this is to a greater or lesser extent connected with the state ideology, so researchers have always had to find a balance between scientific freedom and ideological, political pressure. In this respect, the scientific solutions of Soviet sociology are especially interesting.

Indicators of inequality and the ideology of homogeneity. The problem of social differentiation and the place of a person in the structure of society was actualized in Russia in the 1930s. Social tension and discomfort was caused not so much by the fact of inequality as by its external manifestations (Rodin, 1998). In the Soviet period, similar problems were solved in the ideological struggle and, as a result, by the 1960s. a three-term formula of the social structure was formed: "workers - peasants - the intelligentsia", which remained relevant until the 1990s. Thus, political mechanisms allowed for some time to reduce the value of any indicators of social stratification and create a formalized image of the social homogeneity of a socialist society.

However, sociology was not relieved of the task of studying the real, and not the declared, social structure. Turning to the studies of the 20th century, we can see how the categorical-

conceptual apparatus developed and the content of empirical indicators expanded in the unified methodological framework of Marxist sociology.

The need to identify the real picture was determined by comprehensive prerequisites. First, the leveling of social differences excluded the requirements for social adaptability, responsibility, mobility and other personality traits that contribute to social development. Second, the ideological camouflage of reality was periodically violated by events revealing its artificiality, by various forms of hidden and latent protest - from everyday nationalism in the union republics to political dissidence of the movement and economic unrest. Therefore, the scientific search for Soviet sociologists could not be limited by party prescriptions and, despite the administratively regulating state guidelines, to the extent that it was possible, reflected the structural and stratification picture of Soviet society.

The 1990s and subsequent years reduced ideological pressure on sociology and brought methodological diversity to the research process; new, so far incomprehensible directions of the dynamics of the social structure of society appeared. These events have actualized the search for new empirical indicators that make it possible, if not to predict, then at least to quickly record the structural changes in Russian society.

Research tools as a source of information. Large-scale studies of social structure and social stratification provide up-to-date quantitative information about social strata, their demographic, professional, ideological and other characteristics, about the nature of relationships between large social groups. However, due to the high labor intensity and resource consumption, such studies have been and are carried out infrequently.

28

An additional, constantly updated source of relevant information about the social and stratification structure of society is needed. Such information, to a greater or lesser extent, is contained in practically any toolkit of sociological research in the part of the "passport". The research toolkit of authoritative authors is of no less informational value than the quantitative data obtained with its help. "Passports" can also be used to study the current state of social and structural dynamics, but they are especially important for retrospective assessment of the social structure and social stratification of society. Of course, the results of the analysis of the tools of sociological research do not give the same complete and systematic picture of social structure as research in which it is the subject. However, they allow us to see the picture of society as it looked for a contemporary researcher overcoming attempts by state, ideological, administrative or other influence on scientific research.

The construction of a "passport" largely depends on the purpose of the research, and on the scientific outlook of the researcher, his personality, theoretical preferences, scientific outlook, therefore the results of the analysis of the tools of each sociological study are as unique as they are diverse. Consequently, to obtain a convincing summary result, it is necessary to combine various examples of research tools of sociological research and such a synthesis of observations can provide no less valuable grounds for conclusions than quantitative data obtained independently from individual studies. In addition, the analysis of the toolkit, which reflects both the research methodology, the set goal, and the individual, in some ways even subjective, research view, effectively reveals unexpected and non-obvious features of both social reality and its contemporary scientific conceptual apparatus.

A necessary requirement for the inclusion of a research toolkit in the analysis procedure is a high level of quality, which corresponds to the research of the Unified Archive of Economic

and Sociological Data (http: // sophist. Hse.ru/). The second requirement is the conditional "similarity" of research tools, for example, as in this case - the intended use of tools for mass polls. The third requirement is that the analysis included tools that were developed for conducting sociological research in the Soviet and post-Soviet Russian space. In the course of work, the following opportunities were realized: using key variables as units of analysis (education, social status, quality of life); a relatively free number of studies that meet the requirements and termination of the selection of studies as duplicate information is received; identification of new variables as a result of rethinking different parts of the existing results in different aspects; active use of reflection of the results obtained.

Information from the archive. Reliable information about how changes took place in the conceptual apparatus of analyzing social dynamics in practice is presented in the Unified Archive of Economic and Sociological Data (http://sophist.hse.ru/) and is available to a wide range of interested users. The empirical indicators used by researchers can be used to trace both changes in the social structure and a person's place in it. Separate questions "passport" - "gender", "age", "marital status" have been repeated in each questionnaire since the 1980s. up to now and traditionally allow to identify the connection between demographic characteristics and the performed social role. In the USSR, sociologists also asked questions about nationality, religion and party affiliation. In the 1990s. these indicators lost their popularity, and then began to be found in specialized studies of national, religious problems or electoral behavior. "Nationality" began to sound more often as "national-ethnic group"; "Partisanship" as "political views" and "political preferences". However, more interesting are other indicators reflecting the characteristic features of our time, indicators of economic status, social status, quality of life and the like.

29

In the 1980s. the place of a person in the social structure was measured by sociologists in terms of parameters that somewhat expanded, but mostly retained the three-term formula, for example, "worker, including a worker of a state farm; a collective farmer, a clerk performing work that does not require special education; an employee performing work requiring special secondary or higher education ". An additional variable here was the variable "education," which, along with such variables as "talent, conscientiousness in business, social connections, active participation in public life, selfishness, altruism, initiative, money, life purpose, health, pleasant manners, and appearance, honesty and integrity "was studied as a means of achieving success [Lifestyle ...]. Sociologists also measured the quality of work: "earnings, working conditions, prestige, intensity, attractiveness, qualification requirements, secondary benefits," as well as the quality of life and opportunities for organizing it in addition to working hours: "income, food, clothing, living conditions, availability of a summer residence, personal transport, household appliances, free time, rest, being busy with household chores "[Ibid]. In this case, examining the way of life of Soviet people and using the terminology acceptable for this in Soviet science, the researchers touch upon the dimensions of social stratification recognized in the external scientific world and unacceptable in the USSR: "prestige of professions," "degree of power and power," "income or wealth "," education or knowledge "[Baber, 1972] and reveal these parameters adequately to the Soviet reality. In addition, when revealing indicators of social status, whether it be a place of work or a branch of the national economy, the researchers did not neglect the answer "other", allowing the respondent to go beyond the formal limitations of the questionnaire, which makes it possible to get a more accurate social picture.

Empirical indicators of the education variable. The variable "education", which is widely used by researchers of different years, reflects its meaning as a kind of "code" that sets the foundations of social differentiation of society in different time periods.

So, in the 1980s. sociologists used such indicators of education, which today have practically lost their meaning: "no primary (up to 4 grades)"; "Primary (grades 4–6)"; "Incomplete secondary education (grades 7-9)"; "Incomplete higher education" [Ibid.]. It is interesting that in the 1981 study, when assessing the education of the respondent's parents, there is an indicator of "illiteracy" [Family as a factor ...]. In the studies of 1983-1985. the variable "education" reflects the level of education of the respondent not at the moment of the survey, but at the moment of the beginning of his labor activity. The answer options reflect the possibility of starting work not only without general secondary education, but even without initial [Social displacement ...]. The 1987 study contains the indicator "incomplete higher and higher education" [What is hindering ...]. Such a combination can be explained by the low prevalence of cases in which students, after completing the 3rd year, still did not graduate from higher educational institutions, and today this situation looks all the more unique.

In 1996, sociologists used the "hard to answer" indicator to measure the level of education. Probably, the prevalence of new educational institutions, representative offices, branches, courses, seminars that provide various forms of education and have not received an official status led to this assessment [Politics ...].

In 2000, the indicator "higher education with an academic degree" was added, as well as the attention of researchers was drawn to the presence of a respondent with a second education and, in addition, in addition to the formal side of the issue, researchers are interested in the respondent's competence in the practical use of foreign languages and Denia car [Economic and social ...].

30

In 2005, the growth in the number of persons with a scientific degree is reflected in the fact that the scientific degree in the questionnaire is subdivided into candidate and doctoral degrees [Diagnostics of corruption ...]. In 2007, attention was directed not only to the availability of education, but also to its profile, and "higher humanitarian or economic" was divided; "Higher technical or natural science education", as well as the emphasis is on the quality of education and the opportunity to receive it [Youth of new Russia ...]. In 2012, the indicator "primary education" is removed and replaced by "lower secondary and lower"; in addition, new forms of graduated educational institutions (college, lyceum) are added, the levels of education are divided (diploma of a specialist, bachelor, master) and higher forms of professional training are taken into account (postgraduate studies, doctoral studies) [Open opinion ...].

Thus, empirical indicators of the variable "education" in sociological questionnaires allow us to observe the dynamics of the growth of education in society in the 20th century. and its acceleration in recent years. In fact, this variable fixes the process of structural changes that are implemented in the growth of the social stratum of people with higher education and academic degrees, and a decrease in the prevalence of secondary and secondary specialized education. Education level in the 1980s and earlier it could be called the basic basis for determining the place of a person in a three-member social structure. However, along with the increase in the number of people with higher education, its importance for maintaining social status, determining a person's place in the labor market and in the social hierarchy decreases. Thus, we can assume that the dynamics of the indicators of the "education" variable should be

accompanied by the dynamics of the indicators of the "social status" variable. Consider how this is reflected in empirical research.

Empirical indicators of the "social status" variable. The dynamics of social structure and social stratification is even more vividly illustrated by the variable "social status", defined by sociologists through the place of work, position held, sphere of work, and the corresponding inequality of social positions. In the 1980s. the three-member "workers - peasants - intelligentsia" in sociological research takes the following forms: "worker, including a worker of a state farm; collective farmer; an employee performing work that does not require special education; an employee performing work requiring special secondary or higher education "[Lifestyle ...]. At the same time, the researchers expanded and at the same time refined their view of social status, taking into account the place of work and the sphere of work of the respondent and his parents or spouse [Family as a factor ...]. For example, the branch of the national economy in which the respondent works has differentiated: "industry; construction; transport and communication; agriculture and forestry; trade and catering; logistics and procurement; Housing and utilities; consumer services for the population; health care, physical education and social security; education, culture, science and scientific services, art; lending and state insurance, the apparatus of government bodies, cooperative and public organizations, etc. "; place of work "at a plant, factory; on the collective farm; on the state farm; in the institution; etc. " [Lifestyle...]. A more detailed differentiation was also applied, in which sociologists combined the sphere of labor activity and the position held: "a worker in production, in construction, in transport, a worker in a state farm; collective farmer; an ordinary worker in the service sector (salesman, cook, etc.); an engineer and technical worker in production, construction, design bureaus; an employee in production (with the exception of engineers and technicians) or in an institution; scientist, doctor, lawyer; art worker (artist, artist, etc.), writer, journalist; business manager in industry, agriculture, service sector; party, trade union worker; serviceman; worked (a) in a personal household; a housewife; pensioner "[Family as a factor ...]. All the proposed differentiation in the 1980s. based on qualifications and educational attainment: "low-skilled worker; average worker; highly skilled worker; a collective farmer engaged in physical, non-mechanized labor; collective farmer-machine operator; collective farmer of other categories; an employee without a higher or secondary specialized education; an employee with a higher or secondary specialized education "[Social relocation ...].

In the 1990s. the relationship between the level and nature of the received education and work activity is being transformed. The sociological questionnaires reflect new forms of employment: "independent entrepreneur; farmer; persons employed in subsidiary plots "; and groups of "unemployed" or "temporarily unemployed" also appeared.

New interpretations of previous occupations also appeared, for example, the occupation was determined in conjunction not with the level of education, but with the field of activity "managerial worker; a specialist in the field of industry, agriculture; a specialist employed in the non-manufacturing sector; a soldier, an employee of law enforcement agencies; employee (in the manufacturing sector); employee (in the non-production sector) ... "[Politics ...]. The transitional period of transformation of the social structure is evidenced by the interesting fact that in 1996 the name "state farm" and the occupation "worker of the state farm" were still retained [Ibid.].

In 2000, a fundamentally new interpretation of employment spheres appeared, which is no longer associated with the level of education: "work for hire; company owner; self-

31

employment ". The interpretation of "temporarily not employed" is replaced by "does not work," which actually reflects the acceptance in society of the norm of unemployment as a norm for able-bodied citizens [Economic and social ...].

In 2001, new areas of employment were recorded, based on the attitude to property: "a joint-stock company with state participation; joint-stock company without state participation, private, cooperative enterprise, including family; joint, foreign enterprise (organization); non-profit organization, foundation; individual entrepreneurship, trade (including street trade), services, order fulfillment, manufacturing or growing of products for sale; work for private individuals or families "and new jobs:" for private persons, is engaged in entrepreneurship, self-employed (self-employed) ". The interpretation of unemployment "unemployed" and "temporarily unemployed" is combined in one answer, since the concept of "temporality" becomes prolonged [Living standards ...]. So, at the beginning of the 2000s, along with the spread of higher education, there is a separation of education from work and a stable exclusion of a certain group of persons from the labor market, who, despite the received education, do not own property and are not in demand in society to work on hiring. This change in the basis of social stratification, recorded in our country at the turn of the 1990s – 2000s, receives its natural continuation and is currently being discussed in sociology as a variant of the process of social exclusion [Tikhonova, 2014].

In 2007, in the study of the lifestyle and value priorities of young people, sociologists actually fix the phenomenon of dequalification discussed today [Zubok, Chuprov, 2015], examining the correspondence of labor activity to the acquired specialty and dividing for this the respondents into "working in their specialty; previously employed, but forced to change their profession and never worked in their specialty "[Youth of new Russia ...]. There is a separation of the social position from the education received and a new phenomenon of social stratification is formulated - the "social and professional group".

32

In 2012, a simplification in the definition of occupation again manifests itself: "works, studies, does housework, temporarily does not work, retired," and all possible diversity fits into the interpretation of "other". The place of work is differentiated on the basis of the relationship to property as "employment in a state, municipal, private enterprise, or ownership of a private enterprise" [Open Opinion-3]. And then in 2014, when determining the place of work, only the state or private sector of the economy is determined without specifying the position held [Open Opinion-5].

This change in social stratification in recent years is recorded in the popular research method of differentiating the population as economically active and economically inactive [Varshavskaya, Denisenko, 2015]. This new foundation of social stratification emphasizes the importance not of a formal structure, but of an individual's individual activity in determining his place in the social structure of society. In fact, neither the education received, nor any sector of the economy can today guarantee either the required place in the social hierarchy or the expected social status. The variable "social status" is losing its former code value in the social-stratification structure of society, already due to the fact that not only does it not provide external manifestations of belonging to a certain social status, but does not even set their signs.

Empirical indicators of the quality of life variable. The final variable of social stratification, which characterizes its external manifestations, is the "quality of life", which is interpreted through "the quality of the place of work," "material status," "place of residence, and the"

respondent's time budget ". In the early 1980s. the indicator of the financial position is "financial income, the indicator of which is the absolute value; living conditions; availability of a summer residence, personal transport, household appliances "[Lifestyle ...]. In the middle - the dynamics of the financial situation over the past ten years is investigated and the sources of its improvement are identified: "increase in wages; the total income of family members; getting an apartment; an increase in the size or profitability of the home farm; increase in the total number of valuable things "[Social movement ...]. In 1987, against the background of "perestroika", sociologists assess the social conditions at the workplace: "catering; medical service; trade service; organization of "change houses"; organization of recreation; physical education and sports; kindergartens; living conditions; salary "[What interferes ...]. In the 1980s. indicators of the quality of a place of work, apart from wages and working conditions, are "prestige, intensity, attractiveness, qualification requirements, secondary benefits" [Lifestyle ...].

In 2001, when studying the standard of living, a new empirical indicator appeared - the lack or absence of elementary means and living conditions, namely: "malnutrition (lack of meat products, lack of fruits and berries, sweets); lack of outerwear, shoes; lack of living space, tightness or lack of own housing; lack of money to buy fuel for heating, a water heater, pay for emergency repairs; lack of the most basic furniture, a working TV set, VCR, refrigerator, washing machine "and so on. [Standard of living...]. Thus, the emergence of a new, numerous stratum - the poor - is recorded. A characteristic indicator of belonging to this group, uniting the poor in the 2000s and the poor, for example, in the 1930s or 1940s, is determined - the daily lack of basic material living conditions and financial resources, for example, "there is no money to pay for food a child at school "[Ibid.] - as in the 1930s. [Rodin, 1998]. In addition, we see in the questionnaires new distinctive indicators that are characteristic of poverty in the 2000s. - these are indicators of social and informational isolation: "due to lack of funds, guests are not invited to family holidays; no working TV; there is no money for a trip to another locality, there is no money for a child's stay in a kindergarten, for organizing summer vacations for children "[Ibid.].

To identify the level of material well-being, sociologists of the 2000s. more and more often they refuse absolute values and resort to a subjective self-assessment of the standard of living in comparison with the majority of friends, neighbors, and colleagues [Diagnostics of corruption ...]. At the same time, in the 2010s. new indicators of financial position, which are still popular, were formulated and widespread: "there is not enough money even for food; there is enough money for food, but not enough for clothes and shoes; enough for clothes and shoes, but not enough for large household appliances; we have enough for large household appliances, but we cannot buy a new car; we have enough money for a new car, but we cannot buy an apartment or a house; we are not experiencing financial difficulties "[Open opinion ...]. In 2013, these indicators, as follows from the wording of the questionnaire in the study "Open Opinion-4", began to determine not the situational financial situation, but to fix belonging to a certain group of the population, which actually reflects the actual today - financial assessment criteria the social structure of society, the applied identification of a person's place in society and his well-being, and the role of money as a "code for ordering reality" [Zarubina, 2009].

In addition to the material and financial situation, sociologists are developing such a diagnostic indicator of the quality of life as a place of residence. Official Soviet rhetoric has never focused on the differences that are defined by the place of permanent residence, graduation from school or receiving vocational education. However, these indicators of social

inequality are revealed to varying degrees in studies of different years. So, in the 1980s. sociologists identify such indicators of place of residence: "Moscow, Leningrad; the capital of the union republic; regional, regional center, the capital of the ASSR; another large city; small town; Urban-type settlement; village "[Social displacement ...]. Later, in the 1990s. and further, the importance of physical space for the social development of an individual and a group acquired an axiomatic character in the 2000s. when assessing the strategies of the middle class, not only the place of residence is taken into account, but also the place of graduation: "Moscow or St. Petersburg; regional center; city, town, village "[Economic and social ...]. And in 2012, during a survey in Khimki, the place of work was taken into account: "Khimki; Moscow; Moscow region; another region "[Open opinion ...]. Indeed, in conditions of private ownership of housing, the indicator "place of residence" reflects not only the availability of various opportunities, as in the 1980s, but to a greater extent reflects the material situation of the respondent, as well as the indicator "place of work", with a certain probability indicating his income.

Time management is a significant traditional variable in quality of life diagnostics. In the early 1980s. the time budget is defined as "free time, rest, being busy with household chores" [Lifestyle ...]. Free time from work consisted of activities: "reading; the television; theater, concerts, exhibitions; movie; meeting with friends, relatives; trips out of town, to the park, walks; collecting; visiting sports competitions; playing sports, visiting the pool; tourist trips; needlework "[Family as a factor ...].

In the 2000s. there are more options, but we cannot say that they have changed meaningfully: "I read books; I visit discos, night clubs, youth parties; I visit sports clubs, workouts, swimming pools, fitness centers; I visit theaters, cinema, concerts; additionally I study to get education or improve qualifications; I visit museums, exhibitions, vernissages; doing homework; I have a hobby that I do at home (needlework, modeling, photography, etc.); I participate in the activities of youth clubs, movements, associations (including informal ones); I study in circles, associations of interests (design, music, dance, etc.); I read periodicals (newspapers, magazines); listening to music, watching videos; I am fond of the Internet, networking, playing computer games; watching TV; I visit cafes, bars, restaurants; I participate in the activities of political organizations; meet and chat with friends; I attend church, other religious associations; I am just resting, relaxing "[Youth of new Russia ...]. Different types of occupations actually diagnose financial situation, the possibility of communication, mobility, political views, interests and other signs of social space and the corresponding social status.

34

The variable "quality of life" requires not only a search for objective evaluative indicators, but also a study of the subjective perception of one's economic achievements and living standards. In the 2000s. ideologically unacceptable ones began to be widely used in research in the 1980s. variables of self-assessment of life satisfaction, quality of life in relation to others, and one's life potential.

In 2001, this is an assessment of one's own standard of living in comparison with the standard of living of the majority of colleagues, acquaintances, neighbors [Diagnostics of corruption ...]. In 2007 - an assessment of promising opportunities "to get a good education, a prestigious job; create your own business; become a rich person; do what you love; make a professional, political, public career; have an interesting job; to be your own master; have access to power; achieve more in life than parents "[Youth of new Russia ...]. In 2014, satisfaction with life, measured on a five-term ordinal scale from "quite satisfied" to "completely unhappy",

becomes an indicator. Thus, constantly looking back at the respondent's subjective perception of the social structure and his place in it, sociology manages to avoid, of course, not ideological, but quite possible scientific declarativeness in the study of social reality. Subjective assessments of the fairness or injustice of social inequality, the possibilities and prospects for overcoming it on the basis of personal activity allow, on the one hand, to use self-identification as a kind of "code" for decoding social differentiation, and on the other, to predict the development of society in a timely manner. in the direction of social tension, conflict and social destruction.

"Codes" of social structure and social stratification. A review of the dynamics of empirical indicators allows one to see some objective and subjective "codes" for deciphering the foundations of the social structure and social stratification of society, which change over time. In the 1980s. such an objective "code" was education, the receipt of which provided a person with a predictable fall into a certain social group and determined his further way of life. This link between education, professional affiliation and social status is destroyed in the 1990s. and during this transitional period, a new "code" for decoding the social structure is formed - money, which is masked by social status, prestige of occupations, special knowledge or competencies, but in fact is identified with the quality of life.

Along with objective "codes", subjective "codes" for interpreting social reality, for example, self-identification - "code", which includes self-esteem, assessment of individual opportunities for obtaining the desired place in the social structure, etc., are of no small importance in modern society.

The "codes" that were relevant at different times ensure the stability or, on the contrary, the conflict nature of socio-structural relations and interactions, and therefore society as a whole, and therefore are now in the focus of empirical research.

35

The problem of creating empirical indicators of social structure and social stratification has another very important aspect, attention to which is excluded in the Soviet and minimized in modern sociology - this is the amount of power and authority of various groups of the population. Meanwhile, any hierarchical society cannot ignore these aspects of social inequality. There is no doubt about the fact that the amount of power directly determines the quality of life. Without taking into account this "code," the social structure will be incomplete, and the processes represented are far from reality. In recent years, bureaucratic structures and administrative staff have grown in number and expanded their powers. This process is not unique and is present to varying degrees in other countries. But changes in the social structure associated with the growth and influence of the bureaucracy affect many areas of society, sometimes leading to negative results (corruption, monopoly, etc.), which contradict the objectives of other social groups. The attention of researchers to this indicator of social structure and social stratification can reveal a new "code" for deciphering social processes - social influence as a factor still hidden from researchers, shaping the quality of life of various social groups and even the direction of social development in general.

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36

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37