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СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

CONTENTS

Тематический номер по итогам
Международной научно-практической
конференции «РИСКИ В ИЗМЕНЯЮЩЕЙСЯ
СОЦИАЛЬНОЙ РЕАЛЬНОСТИ: ПРОБЛЕМА
ПРОГНОЗИРОВАНИЯ И УПРАВЛЕНИЯ»

Theme issue to the results of International
scientific and practical conference
"THE RISKS IN A CHANGING SOCIAL REALITY: THE
PROBLEM OF FORECASTING AND MANAGEMENT"

Благоевич М. Десекуляризованное общество как показатель витальности религии	3	Blagojevic M. Desecularized society as an indicator of the vitality of religion	3
Зубок Ю.А., Чупров В.И. Рискогенность среды обитания как фактор изменения социальной реальности: проблема социальной регуляции	8	Zubok Yu.A., Chuprov V.I. Risk-taking environment as the factor of social reality change: the problem of social regulation	8
Иванов Д.В. Виртуализация общества как цивилизационный тренд	18	Ivanov D.V. Virtualization of society as a civilizational trend	18
Каменский Е.Г. Топология среды обитания человека: параметрический анализ и верифицированная модель для России	30	Kamensky E.G. The topology of the human environment: parametric analysis and the validated model for Russia	30
Канаева Л.В. К проблеме минимизации рисков в высшем образовании России	42	Kanaeva L.V. On the problem of risk reduction within the higher education of Russia	42
Кравченко С.А., Салыгин В.И. Социокультурная динамика рисков в контексте «стрелы времени»: востребованность гуманистического поворота	47	Kravchenko S.A., Salygin V.I. The socio-cultural dynamics of risks in the context of the "arrow of time": humanistic turn demand	47
Кученкова А.В. Межличностное доверие молодежи в условиях трансформирующейся реальности	55	Kuchenkova A.V. Interpersonal trust of young people in terms of transforming reality	55
Макарова А.К. Управление информационными рисками при организации электронного архива документации	60	Makarova A.K. Information risk management within the organization of document electronic archive	60
Мозговая А.В. Методологический потенциал концепции ответственности в социологическом обеспечении управления технологическими рисками	67	Mozgovaya A.V. Methodological potential of responsibility concept in a sociological provision of technological risk management	67
Хайкин М.М. Национальные риски в условиях институциональной трансформации: социально-экономические аспекты	73	Haykin M.M. Domestic risks in terms of institutional transformation: socio-economic aspects	73
Шаповалова И.С., Гоженко Г.И. Структура современной среды обитания: онтологическая и факторная модель	78	Shapovalova I.S., G.I. Gozhenko The structure of modern habitat: an ontological and a factor model	78
Шлыкova Е.В. Молодёжь в ситуации риска: ресурсы и способы адаптации	85	Shlykova E.V. Youth in a risk situation: adaptation means and resources	85
Яскевич Я.С. Социокультурные и геополитические риски в современном обществе	95	Yaskevitch Ya.S. Socio-cultural and geopolitical risks in modern society	95

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**ДЕСЕКУЛЯРИЗОВАННОЕ ОБЩЕСТВО КАК ПОКАЗАТЕЛЬ
ВИТАЛЬНОСТИ РЕЛИГИИ**

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Аннотация. В своей работе автор делает попытку показать, что не подтвердились прогнозы отдельных теоретиков, философов и социологов теории секуляризации о неизбежном исчезновении или маргинализации религии в процессе модернизации общества. Религия выжила, а в некотором отношении предвещала свое возвращение в общество и значение не только для индивида, но и для коллективных представлений и действий. Детерминистические рамки поворота от секуляризации к десекуляризации общества складываются из сплетения нескольких важных изменений общества. С одной стороны, имеет место приобретение религиозной традицией политического значения, а с другой стороны, упомянутые традиции, предвещая свое возвращение, деприватизируют принятые, синкретические верования и поведение, что является существенными элементами процесса десекуляризации религиозной жизни. Многие социологи и специалисты по религиоведению в период указанных общественных событий с середины 70-х видят религию, которая, готовя свое возвращение, ставит под серьезное сомнение тезис секуляризма или же сужает его в культурно-географическом смысле, ограничивая Европой или даже только Северной, точнее Западной Европой, как ранее предложил это «правоверный» сторонник парадигмы секуляризма Питер Бергер, а затем и Дэвид Мартин.

Ключевые слова: теории секуляризации; маргинализация религии; процесс модернизации; десекуляризация; рынок религиозных взглядов.

Blagojevic M.

**DESECULARIZED SOCIETY AS AN INDICATOR
OF THE VITALITY OF RELIGION**

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Abstract. The author aims to show that the forecasts of some theorists, philosophers and sociologists about the secularization and inevitable disappearance and marginalization of religion in the process of modernization of society, did not come true. Religion as a social institution has survived and has indicated its return to society and its importance not only for the individual but also for the collective consciousness and action. Deterministic frameworks of the processes of religious changes toward desecularization of society are the result of important changes in society itself: on the one hand the religious traditions acquire political significance and importance in the society, while on the other side they deprivatize faith and behavior of individuals, which can be considered as representing the crucial elements of the process of desecularization of society. These examples compelled the authors like David Martin and Peter Berger to review their theories about secularization of society during 1960s and 1970s, by presenting new ideas about desecularization of society or by limiting the theory of secularization to Western Europe countries only.

Keywords: theory of secularization; marginalization of religion; process of modernization; desecularization; market of religious ideas.

Как определить десекуляризацию

Проявление отдельных элементов десекуляризации общественной жизни мы встречаем еще с 70-х годов прошлого века. Однако, только в конце прошлого и в начале

нового века робко ставится вопрос концептуализации теории десекуляризации и лишь немногие авторы рассматривают проблемы и неоднозначность религиозных изменений в направлении десекуляризации подобно авторам,

которые в течение 50-70-х годов прошлого века занимались понятием и процессом секуляризации. Парадокс состоит возможно и в том, что в отдельных случаях речь идет об авторах, которые за минувшие время подорвали свои собственные теоретические исходные установки. Парадигматичным является пример Питера Бергера, бывшего некогда одним из серьезных сторонников теории секуляризации [1], который в конце прошлого века в своем, сейчас известном и часто цитируемом тексте [2; 3], пишет о процессе десекуляризации многих обществ и даже всего мира, и о том, что предположение, что мы сегодня живем в секуляризованном мире ошибочно. «Сегодняшний мир, если не считать некоторых исключений, ...безмерно религиозен, каким был и всегда, а в некоторых районах даже больше, чем ранее. Это значит, что вся литература, созданная историками и социологами, которые достаточно легко опубликовали «теорию секуляризации», по существу ошибочна» [3, с. 12]¹. А больше всего ошибочно предположение просветительства, что модернизация ведет непосредственно к снижению роли религии и религиозности, хотя это предположение может быть точным для некоторых обществ, например на Западе, и отсюда определенные географическо-цивилизационные сокращения парадигмы секуляризации, к которым прибегает Дэвид Мартин [4, с. 123-128; 5, с. 23-24]. Ясно, тем не менее, что отношения между модерностью и религией непростые и неодносторонние ни в обществах Западе, не говоря уже о тех обществах, которые не принадлежат к данной группе обществ². При всем

этом особенно важны общественные группы и индивиды, которые не приспособляются к современному секуляризованному миру, а борются против секуляризации или секуляризма. При этом мы не принимаем во внимание тех индивидов и общественные группы, которые не проявляют активности в этом противостоянии, но не могут вынести состояние относительности общественных ценностей, индивидуализма, неопределенности и неуверенности в современном секуляризованном мире. Консервативные, ортодоксальные и традиционные религиозные организации и движения не только в христианстве, но и в других мировых религиях, – пишет Бергер, которые на международной религиозной сцене активны в отрицании или борьбе с эффектами секуляризации, повсюду в экспансии в отличие от тех движений и организаций, которые в течение многих десятилетий вложили много энергии в то, чтобы приспособиться к современному миру. Все это важно как раз потому, что современный процесс десекуляризации в первую очередь определяется и понимается в виде контрасекуляризации и должен обозначать общественный процесс, противоположный процессу секуляризации [6; 7]. Это, с другой стороны, говорит о сложности религиозной и глобальной общественной ситуации: во многих современных обществах сосуществуют секуляризационные и контрасекуляризационные тенденции, деятели и силы и их изучение как процессов, которые не взаимоисключают друг друга, и далее является важной задачей современной социологии религии.

Примеры витальности религии: в прошлом и в настоящем

Детерминистические рамки поворота от секуляризации к десекуляризации общества складываются из сплетения нескольких важных изменений общества, относительно которых у социологов в основном нет разногласий, которые парадигматично подтвердили изменение как положения самой религии и религиозных институтов в обществе, так и духовной атмосферы в культуре. С одной стороны, имеет место приобретение религиозной традицией политического значения, а с другой стороны, упомянутые традиции, предвещая свое возвращение, деприватизируют принятые, синкретические верования и поведение, что является существенными элементами процесса десекуляризации религиозной жизни. Речь идет о

¹ «Разрешите мне повторить то, что я уже сказал. Сегодняшний мир в массе религиозен и является чем угодно, но только не секуляризованным миром, предсказанным (с радостью или с опасениями) многими аналитиками современной эпохи» [3, с. 20]. «Не существует ни одной причины, чтобы думать, что в двадцать первом веке мир будет немного менее религиозен, чем сегодня» (стр. 23).

² О классическом тезисе в социологии религии во второй половине прошлого века об отношениях между модернизацией и секуляризацией известный британский автор, Грейс Дейви (Davie) пишет: «Тезис о секуляризме возник в рамках Европы и для определенных фаз европейского религиозного развития существует убедительное соответствие между аргументами и фактами. По мере развития экономической и политической жизни в Европе религия теряла общественное значение, религиозные устремления были перенесены в сферу частной жизни. Мало-помалу аргументы взяли верх над фактами. Их «соответствие» стало аксиоматическим, теоретически необходимым в большей мере, чем было эмпирически оправдано – в такой мере, что европейская религиозная жизнь считалась прототипом глобальной религиозности: все, что Европа делает сегодня, все остальные сделают завтра. Секуляризация была составной частью модернизации и с

модернизацией мира автоматически происходила его секуляризация» [8, с. 93].

событиях, которые показали, что религия не проиграла, т.е. что она опять восстановила потенциалы, чтобы вдохновить значительные коллективные усилия людей, направленные на изменения, которые касаются самой сути их политической и религиозной жизни. Даже в Европе, центре процесса секуляризации в начале 80-х годов религия и церковь начинают публично выступать с все более очевидными политическими притязаниями. И католическая, и протестантские церкви поднимают свою голос против ядерного вооружения, а также против загрязнения окружающей среды, подчеркивая таким образом не только свою современность, но и ангажированность, касающуюся ключевых вопросов и проблем современного мира. В это время, или несколько позже, и в коммунистических странах религия начинает играть все более заметную роль в обществе, прежде всего в Польше, а затем и на Балканах в ситуации военных конфликтов и распада югославской социалистической федерации. Занятые делами, которые в значительной мере превосходят заботу о душе, религиозные организации в упомянутых регионах приобретают ощутимый вес в обществе, который используется больше всего в политике, что является очевидным сдвигом по сравнению с предыдущим десятилетием при социалистическом строе.

Многие социологи и специалисты по религиоведению в период указанных общественных событий с середины 70-х видят религию, которая, готовя свое возвращение, ставит под серьезное сомнение тезис секуляризма или же сужает его в культурно-географическом смысле, ограничивая Европой или даже только Северной, точнее Западной Европой, как ранее предложил это «правоверный» сторонник парадигмы секуляризма Питер Бергер, а затем и Дэвид Мартин. Как мы уже отметили, Бергер кратко обосновывает отдельные важные тезисы парадигмы секуляризма, среди которых и тезис о неизбежном последствии модернизации – снижении значения религии как в смысле общественных институтов, так и в смысле индивидуального сознания. Этот тезис основан на ряде предпосылок, которые Юрген Хабермас систематизирует следующим образом: первая предпосылка касается научно-технического прогресса, который влияет на развитие антропоцентричного понимания развенчанного мира в ущерб теоцентричным и метафизическим картинам мира; второе, в процессе дифференциации общественных подсистем, церкви и религиозные общины теряют влияние на

правоведение, политику, культуру, образование, науку – и ограничиваются предоставлением «милости Божьей» тем, кому она необходима, теряют прежнюю роль в обществе и третье, в индустриальном и постиндустриальном обществе возрастает экзистенциальная безопасность людей и исчезает потребность людей прибегать к Богу или потусторонним силам, чтобы обуздать обстоятельства, на которые невозможно влиять [9].

Но эта теория никогда не была подтверждена эмпирически и споры вокруг нее в конце 70-х годов прошлого века, становясь яростными, ставили ее сторонников в неловкое положение, вынуждая корректировать теорию определенным культурно-географическим ограничением, так что она «была, также как сегодня, правильной для одной части мира, для Европы, нескольких обособленных территорий и немногочисленных европейски образованных интеллектуалов в разных странах мира. Остальное человечество является столь же глубоко религиозным, как и раньше, вероятно даже больше, чем это было в начале века» [5, с. 23-24]. Причины неспособности социологов объективно представить религиозную ситуацию в мире автор видит не только в идеологических убеждениях социологов, но и в их ограниченности: социологи плохо знают «остальной мира», поскольку действительно живут в секуляризованной среде, далекой от верований и религиозной практики.

Мартин признает энергичный ход секуляризации в Западной Европе в виде определенных обстоятельств, таких как конфликт церкви и просвещения, разрыв органического сообщества (урбанизация) и появление мегалополисов. Однако, даже в этих обстоятельствах отдельные национальные сообщества или субсообщества, которые выносили чужую и внешнюю власть (Польша, Ирландия, Страна Басков, Фландрия, Словакия, Хорватия и Бретань, затем миграционные мусульманские общины в современной Европе) находят свой источник и идентичность в исторической вере и их религиозность заметно более жизнеспособна, чем где-либо в другом месте. Констатируя, что Европа не является центром мира, и изучая религиозную ситуацию в Северной и Латинской Америке и на исламском Ближнем Востоке, а также в Северной Африке, Мартин показывает, что в тех областях динамика религии несколько отличается от европейского опыта и европейского образца религиозных перемен и приходит к идее о необходимости фундаментального сужения действия парадигмы

секуляризма на Европу, где «социологическая модель секуляризации создана и, возможно, поэтому к ней и относится» [4, с. 123-128].

Любопытно при этом то, что индивидуализация, всеобщая рационализация общественной жизни и общественно-экономическое развитие, столь характерные для европейского опыта модернизации и секуляризации, не действительны для других территорий с теми же самыми характеристиками. В качестве лучшей иллюстрации этого чаще всего приводят Соединенные Штаты Америки. В протестантских странах Европы процесс секуляризации наиболее выражен по сравнению с другими конфессиональными областями Европы, чего никак нельзя сказать о протестантских США с весьма многочисленными и активными церквями и высоким уровнем религиозной веры. Здесь как будто не действует тезис о модернизации и секуляризации общества как ее последствия. Секуляристы находили ответ в определении специфики, точнее отличии Америки. Эти отличия заключались в нескольких важных аспектах истории Америки и развития культуры на этой территории: в Соединенных Штатах религиозные организации традиционно играют важную роль в социализации и интеграции людей в общество путем формирования групповой солидарности; там существовал плюрализм, характерный для культуры в целом, и в итоге религия в Америке исторически сопровождала модернизацию. Другие авторы толковали тезис о секуляризации и модернизации общества в контексте европейской эксклюзивности процесса секуляризации, где теория секуляризации хорошо объясняет общественные и религиозные изменения, являясь при этом не вполне эффективной для остального мира.

Тарнер выделяет несколько макро социальных факторов, которые могут помочь в объяснении актуальности религии в современном мире. В первую очередь он выделяет крах организованного коммунизма и упадок марксистско-ленинской идеологии в Европе, особенно в Польше, Украине и бывшей социалистической Югославии. Наиболее важной была связь между православной церковью и русским национализмом и патриотизмом с примерами периода II мировой войны и постсоветского периода. Но и в других коммунистических странах, от Вьетнама, Кубы до Камбоджи, возвращение к религии происходит из-за разочарования людей в упомянутой идеологии.

Второй фактор касается глобализации и роста миграций в мире и расселения мигрантов в

странах с развивающейся экономикой, где их до того времени не было, что привело к возникновению диаспорных общин, которые чаще всего складываются на религиозно-этнической основе. Примером этого являются турки исламского вероисповедания в Германии, китайские буддийских меньшинства по всему миру и т.д. «Сложная связь между религией и политикой идентичности устанавливается повсюду в мире – от индуизма в Индии до католицизма в Польше и синтоизма в Японии и таким образом религия становится частью внутренней структуры публичной сферы общества» [10, с. 31]. С другой стороны, такая ситуация порождает напряженность и конфликты, не существовавшие ранее. Любопытны данные, отражающие опыт Европы, и статистика. Так, по данным Европейского социологического исследования (*The European Social Survey, ESS, Round 4, 2008-2009*) в странах Европы абсолютное большинство верующих составляют представители христианских конфессий, так что религиозно-конфессиональная карта показывает, что Европа остается христианской. Но упомянутые современные миграционные процессы и социокультурные тенденции привели к ослаблению ранее однородного культурно-религиозного европейского пространства. На этом пространстве можно наблюдать различные этнические и религиозные группы, которые относят себя к другим религиозным традициям, прежде всего к исламу. Например во Франции 8% верующих исламского вероисповедания, в Бельгии – 6%, в Швеции – 5%, Швейцарии – 5%, а в Великобритании – 4% [11, с. 23]. Интересно, что доля мусульман больше как раз в тех европейских странах, в которых установленный уровень религиозности коренного населения особенно низок. Отсюда вытекает серьезная проблема при поиске возможностей для мирного сосуществования различных религиозных традиций, а также большой вызов для государства, которое должно регулировать взаимные отношения этих традиций, что, как пишет Тарнер, может заставить его отказаться от традиционно либерального подхода, предполагающего отказ государства от вмешательства в дела церкви. Например, в США и Сингапуре государство начинает регулировать ислам, чтобы включить в общество «умеренных мусульман».

В качестве третьего фактора присутствия и публичности религии в современном мире Тарнер приводит слом постколониального секулярного

национализма на Ближнем Востоке и в Северной Африке и подъем духовной революции (Иран) и различных видов радикального ислама, имеющих свои корни, с одной стороны, в массовом протесте против банковского сектора и коррумпированных и авторитарных секулярных структур власти, а с другой стороны, в борьбе за защиту культурной и религиозной идентичности против либерального и секулярного влияния Запада.

На секуляризацию, указывает Тарнер, можно смотреть и другими глазами, а именно, в контексте современного превращения религии в товар на рынке религиозных идей и практик. Это новое в либеральном обществе, поскольку раньше на религию смотрели как на систему идей и практики, основанной на неизъяснимой природе религиозной коммуникации. Сейчас религия изъяснимое выражение, которое имеет свой сбыт на рынке и поэтому в полной мере совместима с современным миром.

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**RISK ENVIRONMENT AS SOCIAL REALITY CHANGE FACTOR:
THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL REGULATION**

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Abstract. The article explains the theoretical concept of modern environment study transformation based on risk approach. The risks occurring in the environment are conceptualized as the environmental and the activity phenomenon appearing during the transition from certainty to uncertainty and vice versa. The dialectical relationship of uncertainty and non-linearity is argued in changing social reality of modern risk society. The problems of risk social regulation in a changing reality.

Reflecting in the construction of own social reality by people, in the formation of ideas about it, the risks are mediated by the subjective interpretation of environmental conditions and are manifested in the interpretation of its phenomena, endowed with subjective senses, and in activity motivation during the interaction with risk environment. Risk environment as the changing social reality is only partly the determination of objective reality, but mostly becomes a culturally constructed phenomenon, the product of human relationships. Phenomenological paradigm acts as the theoretical and methodological source of its justification.

The change in the mechanism of social regulation within the new social reality, the weakening of its institutional aspects and strengthening of self-regulation aspects is substantiated. The processes of symbolization, simulation and performance are revealed in the risk self-regulation.

Keywords: risk; risk environment; uncertainty; non-linearity; changing social reality; social regulation and the self-regulation of risk.

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**РИСКОГЕННОСТЬ СРЕДЫ ОБИТАНИЯ КАК ФАКТОР ИЗМЕНЕНИЯ
СОЦИАЛЬНОЙ РЕАЛЬНОСТИ:
ПРОБЛЕМА СОЦИАЛЬНОЙ РЕГУЛЯЦИИ**

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Аннотация. В статье обосновывается теоретическая концепция исследования трансформации современной среды обитания на основе рискологического подхода. Риски, возникающие в среде обитания, концептуализируются как явления средового и деятельностного характера, возникающие в процессе перехода от определенности к неопределенности и наоборот. Аргументируется диалектическая связь неопределенности и нелинейности в изменяющейся социальной реальности современного общества риска. Проблемы социальной регуляции риска в условиях изменяющейся реальности.

Отражаясь в конструировании людьми собственной социальной реальности, в формировании представлений о ней, риски опосредуются субъективной интерпретацией средовых условий и проявляются, в истолковании ее феноменов, наделенных субъективными смыслами, и проявляются в мотивации деятельности в процессе взаимодействия с рискогенной средой. Рискогенная среда как изменяющаяся социальная

реальность лишь отчасти является детерминацией объективной действительности, но преимущественно становится культурно сконструированным феноменом, продуктом человеческих отношений. Теоретико-методологическим источником ее обоснования выступает феноменологическая парадигма.

Обосновывается изменение механизма социальной регуляции в условиях новой социальной реальности, ослабление институциональных его аспектов и усиление саморегуляционных. В саморегуляции риска выделяются процессы символизация, имитации и перформанс.

Ключевые слова: риск; рискогенная среда обитания; неопределенность; нелинейность; изменяющаяся социальная реальность; социальная регуляция и саморегуляция риска.

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The risks occurring in the global environment are manifested uniquely and influence the life activity of individuals and groups. They are reflected in the construction of own social reality by people - in the development of perceptions about it mediated by a subjective interpretation, in the interpretation of its phenomena, endowed with subjective senses, and are manifested in the conscious intent and the motivation of activity during the interaction with risk environment. The changing social reality is only partly the determination of objective reality, but it becomes mostly a culturally constructed phenomenon, the product of human interaction.

A number of new social risk related problems appears due to the interaction of individuals and groups with risk environment. They are the social consequences of the threats caused by the violation of the natural-environmental, anthropogenic, information and socio-cultural security. The features of these threats overcoming in a changing social reality actualize the problem of risk social regulation.

Risks in modern global environment

An objective prerequisite of risk in modern society is an innovative component of its dynamic development, which changes a person and his environment.

Understood in broad terms as the environment, the conditions of human existence, the habitat is divided into natural and artificial one. The first one is the set of all natural and social conditions of a particular place of his residence, while the second one is a man-made material world, forming a socio-cultural, technological, informational and economic infrastructure (subenvironmental loci¹). The uncontrolled consequences of these conditions

¹ Locus is understood as a place in the human environment, defining the features of his life activity conditions associated with specific natural, technological, social and cultural environment.

change and development contribute to the increase of uncertainty and the emergence of risks.

The variety of habitat arising risks includes the risks of ecological (environmental) disaster caused by human intervention in nature; all kinds of risks associated with the negative effects of scientific and technological development, as well as with the development of global information systems; the risks resulting from the alteration and destruction of the social and cultural human environment and his everyday practices; the risks appearing in commercial, industrial and economic activity². «They are the product of advanced industrial technology and they will be continuously strengthened with their further improvement» [1, p. 24]. According to U. Beck, the systematic human vulnerability to threats caused by modernization itself, produces an innovative risk which becomes a systematic and complex one in modern rapidly changing society. The production of wealth in it prevails in comparison with the production risk and the benefits of technical and economic progress is pushed increasingly into background by the production of risks [1, p. 14].

The constructive, technical, technological imperfections, the errors during their operation, the limited knowledge about potential threats and their neglect because of commercial interests, the non-compliance with the technological discipline and the violation of safety regulations, the negligence and carelessness in present conditions increases the severity of a mistake and the burden of social

² See: Beck U. Risk society. On the way to another modernist style. M., 2000; Giddens E. Elements of structuration theory // Modern social theory: Bourdieu, Giddens, Habermas. Textbook. Novosibirsk, 1995; Yanitsky O.N. Sociology of risk. M., 1998; Mozgovaya A.V. Sociology of risk: the possibility of theoretical and empirical knowledge synthesis // The risk phenomenon in social space / Chief editor A.V. Mozgovaya. M., 2001; V.I. Chuprov, Zubok Y.A., Williams K. Youth in risk society. M., 2003; Zubok Y.A. The phenomenon of risk in sociology: Youth study experience. M., 2007; Yakovenko I.G. The risks of Russian society social transformation: culturological aspect. M., 2006.

consequences immensely within the complex of subenvironmental technological loci. In this regard, L.G. Ionin wrote: «The incredible complexity of the technological, economic and social systems in the process of their permanent partial improvement and upgrade led gradually to the fact that they become incomprehensible and uncontrollable on the part of their creators and develop their own, unplanned and uncontrolled ways of working. This explains the plurality of so-called man-made disasters, this explains the failures of political democracy, providing power to authoritarian leaders, that this, finally, due to the economic crises that people learn to predict on the basis of «circular process», «big waves» theory, etc., taking paradoxical attempts to expose to an objective analysis the things they invented and created themselves. Pure and simple this means the acquisition of its own organic or quasi-organic life by technical, economic and other systems ...» [2, p. 143]. In these circumstances «serious incidents are unavoidable even with the best management, and full attention to safety» [3], causing the so-called «normal accidents».

The accidents at nuclear power plants, transport and space disasters, the explosions of gas pipelines, the danger of new biotechnology use in medicine and food industries proves the ambivalence of innovations that provide a modern man an opportunity to enjoy the scientific and technical achievements, and at the same time increase the likelihood of accidents and destructive effects on himself and its habitat. And the concentration of hazardous materials and the population in such hazardous areas makes the consequences of natural and industrial / technological disasters even more dramatic [4].

The qualitative changes of the environment are associated with the transformation of subenvironmental loci, the emergence of the global threat to a human life on the planet, provide a clear man-made sense to a risk and bring to the agenda the issue of human survival within the rising wave of environmental threats. The problem of global warming and flooding of entire regions of the world, the change of biological balance in the environment and the deterioration of biological resources entail the deterioration of life quality and conditions, causing poverty and forced migration, introducing uncertainty and risk to the vital activities of different communities around the world.

Due to the spread of information technologies, the process of reality virtualization, the development of an imaginary, artificial world of signs and symbols become important sign of the modern environment

transformation. Real relations are superseded with simulacra - signs or images without the meaning of the specific objects, phenomena, events and acting as falsifications of an original thing [5, p. 568-570]. They are perceived by people due to the associations with specific objects and acquire autonomous meaning.

The development of information technologies as a separate cluster of technological advances allows to perform a manipulative influence on mass consciousness [6]. The manipulation is based on the substitution or on artificial belittling or exaggerating of some social needs, ideals and actions. In contrast to the propaganda, manipulation restricts one's consciousness. Manipulation introduces unambiguous patterns designed to change the behavior of communities for the benefit of other persons, social groups, institutions, state and public structures. The manipulative techniques are one of virtualization factors.

The changes typical for the era of postmodernism are related to the acceleration observed in all spheres of modern society activities. They are manifested in the growing dynamism of social interactions, in a rapid birth and fast withering of new social formations in the expansion of individual and group freedom, in the reduction of changing life situation predictability. They are characterized by «the reduction of the present - the process of time interval shortening where you may be sure in certain constancy of our vital relationship» [7, p. 94].

This directly influences the socio-cultural sphere as a subenvironmental locus and is expressed in the transformation of value, standard and moral grounds of activities. Blurred and uncertain, and thus flimsy and fragile new cultural assumptions are not unambiguous by their nature and may be violated without special effects. Creating the sense of pluralism, democracy and tolerance, they are not able to ensure the predictability of social relations.

The collapse of the value-regulatory models and the weakening of social control become the cause of normativity destruction. An anomic state as the result of normativity destruction, once being E. Durkheim analysis subject in the context of culture disorganization and the dysfunctionality of values, R. Merton analysis in terms of institutional dysfunctions and socially significant differences of values and the means of their achievement, as well as Erich Fromm analysis, from the perspective of human destructiveness production [8] becomes an immanent state of modern society that promotes the growth of social uncertainty and an increased risk. Since unambiguous standards are subject to atrophy, they are changed by particularism, instantaneousness, an accident, where the truth is mixed with falsehood and

is inseparable from it as well as the virtue from vice, and the nobility from meanness and the promises become not obligatory; explanations do not find out anything, the expressed opinions are not based on convictions.

The refusal from absolute values and the transition to temporary contractual arrangements creates a situation where each develops his own system of values, which is convenient for his comfortable life. It is characterized by fragmentation, according to T. Luqman definition, «the lack of general knowledge about the due one, that is the morality comprehensive and shared by all». Since the uniquely shared understanding of the permissible and impermissible disappear, the concern that certain behavior will be followed by complications in career, or relationships with others is weakened considerably. Moral regulators lose their stability, people, including decision makers that influence the lives and welfare of others, become «morally ambivalent» and their moral actions are rather random ones [9]. Diversity, duality, the relativity of value, norms and moral criteria remove the last restrictions on the production risks. Thus, universal and specific values are inferior before the onslaught of personal needs and commercial interests of individuals and corporations in the socio-cultural sphere.

At that the only certainty in the sociocultural locus is in the fact that the vector of «time arrow» is irrevocably directed towards increasing complexity, increasing change and constant restructuring of a man's life environmental conditions, as well as the entire system of social connections and relationships, i.e. towards the complete and absolute «end of certainty» [10]. And the destruction of standardization in this context acts as an objective process, the part of «normal anomie» development, reflecting the form of a complex society existence. [11]. S.A. Kravchenko describes normal anomie as «the expansion of aggregate vulnerabilities for society as the side effects of innovative, rational and pragmatic activity of a man». Its essence and accompanying risks developing new vulnerabilities for society are marked by constant update of social and cultural patterns, pluralism of standards and the admissibility of its configurations; «temporal time-zone disease» as well as the coexistence of different «tempoworlds» when the regulatory representations of different groups are related to different types of social time and are opposed together to «institutionalized cosmopolitanism» (U. Beck term), reproducing and distributing the so-called global norms as the universal phenomena of modern culture;

virtual reality with its simulative practices, performances and the inevitable blurring of edges between the real and imaginary; multiparadigmatic character, at which none is true one in the classic sense, but each represents only the part of reality, and together they give a more or less complete representation about it, the combination of knowledge and ignorance which is the basis for the choice. On this basis, the criterion base of risk assessment significantly eroded, and natural or «normal anomie» as an objective result of the normativity destruction concerning a modern complicated society creates the situation of blurry, hazy, ambiguous, incomplete and the absence of structuring that can not be covered with a single system of description (the Heisenberg principle). On the basis of modern ideas about society, permanently losing certainty, there are some reasons to talk about the absence of structuring as the form of social and cultural locus functioning and the determination of new forms of risk.

Thus, the risks that make the part of modern global environment, reflect the negative effects of a modern man natural interaction with complex technical and technological systems, periodically providing «standard» failures, and define the state and trends of objective reality by the reformatting of axiological structures.

At that the condition of its occurrence is the transition from certainty to uncertainty, or vice versa. In the transition state the signs of certainty necessary for the selection of alternative actions still exist, while in the terms of complete uncertainty the possibility of a purposeful choice is absent. An important base in the sociological understanding of a risk was the extraction of its two forms - environmental risk as the life activity condition (an objective one) and activity risk (a subjective one). Based on this risk is defined as the characteristic of activity or environmental conditions of a person's life, group, society during the transition from the state of certainty to the state of uncertainty, and vice versa, when there is a reasonable possibility of choice when the likelihood of a presumed result achievement, a failure or the deviation from a target is assessed, taking into account the moral and ethical norms¹. Environmental risks reflecting during the construction of social reality, take the form of activity-related risks. In its turn, the escalation of activity-related risks within the conditions of growing uncertainty becomes a determinant of all its new

¹ See in details: V.I. Chuprov, Zubok Yu.A., Williams K. Youth in risk society. 2nd ed. M., 2003, p. 41; Zubok Y.A. The problem of risk in the sociology of youth. M., 2003, p. 122; Zubok Y.A. The phenomenon of risk in sociology: Youth study experience. M., 2007, pp. 136-137.

phases. And they risks become the factor of social reality change.

The dialectics of uncertainty and non-linearity in the changing social reality of modern risk society

An uncontrolled change of natural, technological, information, socio-cultural systems is reflected in the change of social reality (environment) as the uncertainty and non-linearity of its changes. In a broad sense, indefinite, indistinct or not fully cognized processes and phenomena, unclear, vague ideas about the existence, the evasive judgments or behavior of individuals and groups are considered as not definite ones.

The uncertainty in modern society is the result of its acceleration, the collapse of stable social structures and relationships, the blurring of their contours and shapes, is realized in the unstructured environment, the blurring of boundaries between its properties and states of its subenvironmental loci when it is impossible to comprehend whether risk is its inherent characteristic, or a short-term condition.

Social uncertainty stems from the infinite public relations that are constantly going through the stages of formation and decay. It is associated with the emergence of new structures and norms, new nuances of relationships and is the prerequisite for social development. The variety of social relationships, interactions and emerging alternatives is a necessary source of possibility selection. The variety of possibilities transformed into a result, becomes a certainty in its turn. Ultimately, the transformation of uncertainty in certainty actually means the turning of many possibilities into reality. The transition of the social system from one state to another is accomplished by selection of the most effective ones in a certain situation from the plurality of possible ones. At that, the certainty in the development process characterizes a tough, unambiguous relation and an uncertainty characterizes a many-valued relation. In a state of uncertainty the necessity is expressed via the uniqueness of opportunity transition into reality. For the uncertainty the manifestation of the need is not as an inevitable thing, but as an opportunity and a chance. In the broadest sense the phenomena that may be or may not be are called random ones. In the most general form of an accident is «such type of communication, which is conditioned by irrelevant, external attendant causes for this phenomenon» [12, p. 207]. That is a casual type of communication is not determined by a phenomenon, but is brought in from outside. The randomness perceived as a subjectively unexpected, has an unpredictable, unstable character. In such random phenomena the uncertainty is manifested fully and becomes a nonlinearity factor.

Non-linearity understood as indeterminacy, openness and an accident implies the absence of direct forms of relationship between different variables, that is, a change of one does not necessarily entail the change of the other. Non-linearity causes the unpredictability, irrationality, involuntariness in the course of social development. According to S.A. Kravchenko, it is caused by «the transition of a new threshold of dynamic complexity by a significant part of modern society, which resulted in a global local diversity permeated by disordered vibrations» [5, p. 23]. In other words, it is conditioned by the result of uncertainty.

Nonlinear developing conditions are characterized by «wave, oscillatory processes of fight, competition and alternate victories of two dialectically opposed trends - the sustainability of relations in this system and the instability of fluctuations introduced from the outside and shaking the structure from within» [13, p. 54]. Then, non-linearity becomes the form of uncertainty, and the system acquires a nonlinear character of development. However, the non-linearity may strengthen the possibility of positive social change, and intensify dramatically the absence of structural connections within a system. Thus, it becomes the factor of uncertainty growth, i.e. it becomes the cause of uncertainty from its result. Accordingly, it ceases to be a form of uncertainty and it becomes its condition.

«The non-linearity of social evolution is not an infinite multiplicity of historical opportunities during the bifurcation period, but a certain social dilemma, since the choice is made by cognitive subjects capable to understand and assess the impact of society differentiation with respect to a limited number of future societal attractors» [13, pp. 36-37]. As the result, the creation of non-linear emerging media, organizes multi-directional actions of social actors, realizes their potential for self-organization, becoming the social order factor of postmodern type, defined by I. Prigozhin and I. Stengers as the order generated out of chaos [14, p. 96-115].

In comparison with the Heisenberg «uncertainty principle», an unfinished state and incompleteness mean that «one and the same event, the same reality may be covered ... by the two opposing ways of description, the reality acquires the features of uncertainty, i.e. the combination of two (or more) opposite opportunities» [15, p. 81]. If «it is possible to determine the degree of an option probability qualitatively and quantitatively» the individual risk situations appear [16, p. 19]. But the presence of opposite opportunities creates the situations with many unknown variables that do not have a clear outcome and making people or the system as a whole

to have an inevitable choice - a necessary risk act. Consequently, risk is an activity mechanism removing the uncertainty through the practical transformation of capabilities into reality within multi-variant terms.

However, uncertainty is manifested not only in the combination of several opposite features, but in the absence of clearly defined relationship between the events and their consequences, which makes the relation between an action and a result a non-linear, i.e. an ambiguous one. Therefore, the risk of activity does not become a calculated one within the extent where he is able to give a secured result, but creates a new uncertainty, provoking the talks about the incompetence of decision-makers and an unjustified risk [17, p. 68]. From this viewpoint, any administrative intervention consisting in the choice of the means and methods of ordering within the system embodying an activity risk may provide the result opposite to an expected one, i.e. to provoke a new uncertainty instead of achieving a certainty.

This is the mechanism of formation of a modern «risk society» development. The following factors became the determinants of the intrusion in its backbone elements and in its social nature: radicalism and the relative speed of change; the absence of clearly progressive, and most importantly, the positive direction of change; the duration and the depth of anomie caused by an advance decomposition of old social institutions compared with the creation of new ones; principal relationship of progress and results with the subjective factors which are almost equal to objective ones by importance (or, let's say, are objectified in the process), including the behavior of the ruling elite and the groups of influence; a weak controllability and predictability of a process; a significant share of natural elements of development and its unclear results [18, c. 133; 19, pp. 42-43]. These processes are vividly manifested in the Russian society. And the risk became an immanent part of individual and group interaction with the environment.

The specified processes are intensified by periodically occurring crisis at the absence of sustainable mechanisms of its regulation, when the discontinuity of social and cultural environment existence is associated with the reproduced sudden and dramatic changes - the crisis - in each of its main segments (loci). The crisis becomes the cause of a risk acquiring a systemic character. Appearing uniquely in each complex subenvironmental loci, a risk influences the fundamental mechanisms of social reproduction. O.N. Yanitsky writes: «In such a society the key natural conditions to ensure a human activity (water, air, soil, food), as well as socio-technical life-support systems developed by him (urban environment, energy

and transport systems), turn into the sources of risk. Thus, the life support medium is transformed into a life destruction environment», it experiences an «organic violation in the production system of resources required for the normal functioning of society It only degrades, turning into a pile of protective systems «[20, p. 26, 31].

Since «natural and social environments are not limited to the role of risk accumulation and become their producers» [20, p. 26], this changes the nature of public relations, interactions and relations of social reproduction as a whole. Thus, risk society is a particular way of social relations, interactions and relationship development between people who are in a transition state from certainty to uncertainty (or vice versa) when the reproduction of the life means (living conditions), physical and spiritual powers of an individual is mostly casual and spontaneous displacing by the risk production [21, pp. 162-163].

Thus, the risk on the one hand, becomes the property of individual environment objective reality, and on the other hand, it is manifested in their individual unpreparedness and the inability to operate in such conditions, the inability to optimize its possible consequences.

Problems of risk social regulation in a changing reality

The special report of the British Royal Society states that the fact of an objective risk existence is questioned by individuals in more or less subjective manner [22]. On this basis, risk is considered as a constant value, while the response of people on its occurrence is interpreted as a dependent variable. Therefore, the problem of risk management is updated when risk itself is seen as a social reality phenomenon.

A man perceives directly the part of an objective reality, about which he has his own knowledge. The knowledge and experience obtained during intersubjective interactions is objectified and transformed into an image that corresponds to some object. And the object becomes a known, familiar and real one. Therefore, «social reality» is understood as «the entire set of objects and events in the socio-cultural world as the object of everyday consciousness of people living their daily lives among similar ones and related to them with various interaction relations» [23, p. 485]. The objects which are cognized by a person as the space of their own life activity become real. The subjective relation to the objects is performed in comparison (the assessment) of object properties, mediated by the consciousness of other people. The evaluation of an object significance and the degree of its risk happens due to this. This evaluation consists of its nature understanding (basic relation aspect) and the

understanding of his relation with the specific conditions of life activity (social and situational aspect). Both aspects are interrelated, and are resulted in an object image form. An imaginative cognition of reality requires a special form of relation to its objects - not just to techniques and technologies, but also to emerging risks. In general, research shows that people tend to calculate the risks, the information about which is more accessible; an easily imagined risk is usually overestimated, the threats that are in close proximity, i.e. among the habitat are the most dangerous ones; rare but memorable types of risk are treated as more serious and dangerous than frequent and general risks, which is obviously conditioned by the effect of addiction to dangers [24, pp. 42-44].

The source of emerging risk knowledge is the study of objective reality i.e. the conditions of the habitat. Due to the knowledge about the condition of man-made, natural, informational, social and cultural environment, the understanding of subenvironmental loci features and the resulting dangers and threats, a more or less adequate subjective view appears about them as the objects of reality. But the reality objects are realized by different groups as the risks of life and the object of regulation.

One of the significant contradictions of the modern risk society is an objective and a natural contradiction between progress and its negative impact on the environment, between new opportunities and the growing dangers and threats. When ineffective policy takes place contradictions are not solved timely, and accumulate, leading to the reproduction of risk. Thus, the environmental balance between the living conditions of individuals and groups and their needs and expectations is disrupted, which requires appropriate regulatory interventions.

With regard to the issue of risk regulation social regulation involves a purposeful action, carried out by the means of direct management influence or self-regulation, as the consequence of living condition conscious change, the creation of the necessary incentives or other means of indirect effects. Their common goal is the reduction of threats appearing in subenvironmental loci.

A special role in the risk regulation mechanism belongs to reflection - the «theoretical understanding of one's activity reasons» [25, p. 239], and the ability to respond to changes in a risk habitat. The interaction of institutional structures and self-organized groups during risk reflection provides a more complete understanding of risk and its manifestations in specific subenvironmental loci. Due to the critical analysis of the environment state and its risk, the risk management measures are explained. The system of formal and informal rules and procedures aimed to monitor the risk processes is

developed at institutional level, and an adequate response as the basis for the selection of optimal behavior strategies within risk terms is developed at individual and group level.

However, in modern society, social regulation is not based mainly on enforcement but on information-communicative interaction of subjects. Accordingly, the redistribution of the priorities from a focused impact takes place within the control system of social organization as an external factor, to self-organization, as the result of internal self-reflection. Therefore, the subjects of regulation are not only the institutional structures that organize regulatory strategies and provide them a systemic nature, but also individuals and groups as self-organized actors who are aware of their own needs, interests and values. In the course of their interaction with each other and with social institutions the most common criteria for risk assessment are developed and its regulation aims are specified in the environment. Together they allow you to determine the extent of an acceptable risk, the basic steps for its optimization and to expect an effect.

The study show [26], that even an active risk-reflection of regulatory process entities entails, as a rule, the positive evaluations of risk management capabilities and expands the space of social reality. Not only new risks, but also the ability of their control becomes real. Similarly, the ideas, aspirations and the actions of other participants of the regulatory process (institutional or public organizations) are valued. Positive assessments are resulted in trust, and negative assessments are resulted in distrust towards them. In practice, trust increases the level of certainty and security in the environment and distrust caused by unfulfilled expectations, increases the state of uncertainty and generates the social structure of unsafe environment. The result of new scientific knowledge or rumors about environmental conditions is the replacement of certainty into uncertainty and vice versa. At that a man does not remain a passive observer of changes in the environment, and acts as an active subject and acquires knowledge as after interactions. Therefore, during the transition from certainty to uncertainty, and vice versa, that is, activity related risks change from the credibility to the distrust in respect of habitat objects (technique, technology, government and public institutions, or the decision-makers). Integrating into the social reality, they strengthen or weaken the degree of subenvironmental loci risks and the environment in general.

A number of urgent problems appears in a changing social reality during the process of risk regulation.

Firstly, an order is not so much the result of self-organization but the motion thereto, i.e. not the result

but the process of self-ordering and self-regeneration based on synergy. Risks and threats regenerating due to uncertainty and non-linearity are not eliminated, but at best are reduced and located in different subenvironmental loci or social groups.

Secondly, the choice of an alternative regulation method is not performed through a determined need, but via an accident, and is the result of conflict, competition and synergy of opposing attractors (the set modes of a system evolution), as well as the activity of subjects. The branching (bifurcation) of possible ways of evolution occurs at the moment of maximum stress.

The choice in a bifurcation point is the consequence of fortuitous circumstances confluence or a conscious activity of subjects. The first model of selection is implemented in a nonlinear developing and little predictable processes of self-organization, when non-linear social fluctuations (random deviations from the mean values), give rise not only to chaos, but also the possibilities of change. The condition of the second selection model is the revealing possibilities of changes when the transition from uncertainty takes place inherent for the bifurcation point, to the certain specific ways of influence on risk environment. In such a situation, the choice becomes the result of possible deviation probability evaluation by participants, providing the self-conscious, calculated risk for a self organization. And the risk becomes the factor of certainty increase and stimulates social activity.

Thirdly, new forms of risk optimization appear in terms of nonlinearity. With the acceleration of social reality and the nonlinear relationship between investments and the result achieved in the process of risk regulation the situational understanding about the rational, i.e., the most optimal in a given situation varies. In the situation of conflict between an urgent need to respond to the risks of the environment by the adoption of concrete measures and their high cost and unpredictability the modern forms of rationalization become useful. The symbolization and performance as the attributes of virtualization are among them.

The symbolic exchange, in contrast to the economic one does not involve the direct exchange of funds, they are replaced by signs. The interaction of people entering into the relations of exchange is virtually unlimited and may include the setting of any objectives, including the most attractive ones, but far from reality, as they are entirely virtual and do not influence the reality itself. «The activity by the means of symbols and signs, which in a certain sense is a virtual activity only, involves only the potential changes in a physical world» [2, p. 145]. The ongoing exchange between the characters, but not between the characters and reality creates the hyperreality under

which Jean Baudrillard understands the simulation of anything. Simulative reality is more attractive than the reality that we face in everyday life. For example, a carefully created idea of control strengthening over the quality of food, the use of new medicines, toxic waste disposal, the preservation of cultural monuments, etc have the character of promotional ideas for the development of a positive public opinion about the non-existent or ineffective risk reduction programs. The place of real measures protecting the habitat are occupied by scientific debates, competitions, festivals and spectacular media reportages about them, serving exclusively as the signs and symbols of risk reduction actual policy. Although the relation with reality in the process of symbolization and imitation becomes broken [5, pp. 565-568], it should be noted, that such strategies are quite functional in terms of tension reduction and the statement of some level of certainty. Its retention depends on the search for new vivid forms of presentation.

Thus, the expected achievements in the field of risk regulation are transformed in a bright show called «risk management», develop positive attitudes in the form of hope, people's willingness to trust the propaganda or hope for the best. However, at the exposure of fakes and its comparison to reality, unfulfilled hopes do not lead to frustration by the actions of the institutional structures immediately, and they achieve a symbolic form for some time («if only there is no war») or is replaced by other existential manifestations - patience («I've had worse»), fear («let it be so, the things of others are worse»).

Post-modern forms of rationalization act as the factors of people social life dynamic organization, an active role of which belongs to themselves. For example, organizations, movements, associations, which take over the functions of environmental protection, historical heritage, etc. are created with the help of a state support. Their actions become symbolic ones. And they exist in the form of signs - the attributes of civil society, public or political pressure groups with their offices, elected to the authorities, but without a real impact on the process of risk regulation and only pretending. Such theatrical activities (like the The Mickey Mouse Company, described by Ilf and Petrov), in practice becomes the way of a purposeful regulation of risk in terms of non-equilibrium environment and constantly increasing threats. Thus, the risk regulation funds become the part of the sign system, and the process of its regulation becomes the act of manipulation with signs.

Implementing simulative practices, social institutions are adapted to the management in a non-linear social dynamics, and the individuals and groups, simulating real activity, giving it a playing, not a real character, gradually adapt to the risk environment.

Through self-reflection successful gaming practices are institutionalized gradually, become habitual ones, are included in the value-normative structure of social representations and in everyday interactions, in political, economic, social structures and organizations, ensuring the involvement of individuals and groups to the policy of risk regulation and the access to resources provided for the development and implementation of risk regulation measures. While these strategies are based on the principles of ritualism in his Merton understanding as the replacement of socially significant goals using socially approved means the system of social management in general acquires flexibility and mobility paradoxically. It acquires an opportunity to respond quickly to rising social tensions by old or new simulacra.

An individual self-regulation of risk is associated with the exposure on individuals and groups in order to achieve a status that will be compared to a reference sample. In the case of risk regulation institutional mechanism weakening and the increase of confidence to them self-regulatory mechanisms are enhanced. And, although the regulatory framework is made by social institutions, social behavior is often a direct result of happening by people's perceptions, the attitude towards created situation and is regulated by personal considerations, individual or group experiences, intuitive perceptions about a possible future. Uncertainty and the experience of interaction with the risk medium start a transgressive exit mechanism beyond the virtual boundaries of space and time in order to detect the potential dangers and future threats, realizing the expectations of risk, based on an intuitive foresight and the anticipation of still invisible, but intuitively perceived future changes. According to U. Beck, the concept of risk changes the relationship between time loci: past, present and future. The past loses its power over the present, its place as the cause of the everyday experience and activity is taken by the future - something non-existent, constructed and fictitious. The discussions and debates evolve around fictions, the things which could happen if we did not alter the natural course of development [27, p. 214]. The transgressive mechanism is manifested in the construction of reality with the focus on preventive technologies of interaction in potentially risk-taking habitat.

An important role in the selection performance during the bifurcation point belongs to mentality. It is presented by a deep level of collective and individual consciousness, and including unconscious non-reflected images, behaviors and reactions [28, pp. 616-617]. From a sociological point of view, mentality is considered as a historically evolved system of spiritual codes predetermining people's perception of happening things in a certain light, the assessment of

events in a certain way, the general vector of their actions. Formed under the influence of natural and social factors embodied in historical memory, mentality manifests itself in the form of phenomena, convictions, beliefs, values, norms of behavior sound estimate [29; 30; 31]. From these positions mentality plays the role of conscious and unconscious risk control.

In the self-regulation of choice mentality role is determined by the fact that, on the one hand, it is directly related to the conditions and way of life of individuals and communities, and on the other hand, it influences the formation of a certain type of «everyday consciousness», which determines the criteria of rationality. Mental representations and sets are reflected in the motivational structure and act as reference samples during the choice of alternative courses of action in terms of risk.

While mental structures that combine unconscious and reflected elements of reality reflection, form a basic aspect of the attitude towards risk environment and the risk as the way of interaction with it, the idea of his connection with the specific conditions of life activity are reflected in the minds of individuals and groups by social-situational risk characteristics. Reflecting in the form of stereotypes, i.e. schematized, simplified images of reality, they dictate the sets on some methods of risk perception, with some risk level in life strategies and daily activities. So, against the acceleration, freedom and openness of modern societies one has a developed sense of fear in respect of unknown, the desire for self-preservation and self-defense, while others have the same developed fear of monotony and boredom, the maniacal search of fun and excitement, the fear of settlement, archaic and cultural backwardness. The need to do everything without losing tempo causes the incorporation of risk in everyday life practice as the sign of modernity and the faster pace of life as the only possible way to adapt to a rapidly changing, escaping reality.

Thus, the development of discussed social regulation issues in risk habitat on an interdisciplinary basis will allow to optimize the process in a changing social reality.

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SOCIETY VIRTUALIZATION AS CIVILIZATION TREND

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Abstract. The article analyzes the processes of society virtualization, forming the civilization trend of a century turn. The substitution of things and real actions by the images and communications is characteristic for all countries that passed modernization and were caught up in the post-modern social and cultural situation. Based on the analysis of economic and political trends, characteristic of most developed countries it was concluded that the orientation of practices on images and not things leads to the simulation of social institutions. Institutions become some sort of virtual reality. In such countries of catch-up modernization as Russia, where industrialization, the development of mass consumption society, the development of mass democracy institutions began later than in Western Europe and North America, virtualization has its own characteristics.

Keywords: virtualization; images; communications; computerization.

Иванов Д.В.

ВИРТУАЛИЗАЦИЯ ОБЩЕСТВА
КАК ЦИВИЛИЗАЦИОННЫЙ ТРЕНД

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Аннотация. В статье анализируются процессы виртуализации общества, образующие цивилизационный тренд рубежа столетий. Замещение вещей и реальных действий образами и коммуникациями характерно для всех стран, прошедших модернизацию и оказавшихся в социокультурной ситуации Постмодерна. На основе анализа экономических и политических тенденций, характерных для наиболее развитых стран мира сделан вывод, что ориентация практик не на вещи, а на образы ведет к симуляции социальных институтов. Институты превращаются в своего рода виртуальную реальность. В таких странах догоняющей модернизации, как Россия, где индустриализация, становление общества массового потребления, развитие институтов массовой демократии начались позже, чем в Западной Европе и Северной Америке, виртуализация имеет свои особенности.

Ключевые слова: виртуализация; образы; коммуникации; компьютеризация.

The computerization of all spheres of social activity and everyday life which occurred at the turn of XX-XXI centuries is the most impressive phenomenon of modern civilization. The number of computers per thousand people in the most technologically and economically developed countries - the US, Germany, Britain, Japan, reached 300-500 units by the end of 1990s and made 700-900 units by 2010. The saturation level of human existence with computers is higher than with such «idols» of XX-th century civilization as a car and a tv-set [1]. In addition to quantitative growth, a great impression on any analyst is produced by the

growing number of functions - the methods of computer technology use. A computer turned from a simple calculating machine, called earlier by such half-forgotten acronym as ECM, into a universal device which may equally serve as a professional tool for scientists, engineers, businessmen, lawyers, doctors, and as a means of learning, everyday communication, and entertainment.

The phenomenal spread of computers and their penetration into the social and existential structures of mankind caused an interest of social philosophers and sociologists, theorists, many of whom began to interpret the computerization as a key trend in the

transformation of modern society. However, the scientific community generally follows the path of new trend «embedding» in the overall series with the previous ones, according to the way of fitting the facts under the traditional explanatory models. Perhaps the most popular is the thesis, which states that the proliferation of computers and computer networks (in particular the development of the Internet) is a crucial step on the way to the information society. But if we take into account the fact that the theorists of the information society D. Bell, A. Touraine, A. Toffler, P. Drucker, Z. Brzezinski, J. Masuda, M. Castells et al. [2; 3; 4; 5; 6, 7, 8], understood information as scientific knowledge mainly, the analysis of trends at the beginning of a new century leads to a paradoxical conclusion: the introduction of digital technologies in a person's life rather removes us from the society based on knowledge.

The society, where the following principle is implemented «who owns the information, owns the world» did not appear, although the basic technical and economic attributes of the post-industrial era are obvious: the predominance of services in GDP, the reduction of employment share in «secondary» and the growth of «tertiary» sector in economics¹, total computerization, etc. We live in the world where produced knowledge is apparently less profitable than the produced impression. Basic facts prove it. For example, scientific knowledge is, at best, brings one million dollars one time (usually at the end of life) to several outstanding scientists - Nobel Prize winners. At the same time hundreds of people who do not operate scientific knowledge and do not have any unique information - supermodels, professional athletes, actors, entertainers and pop singers receive several million dollars annually. And the «superstars» of the post-industrial economy get an order or even two orders more. So in 2010, the TV-hostess Oprah Winfrey earned \$ 315 million, the golfer Tiger Woods earned 105 million, the pop singer Beyonce earned 87 million, the actor Johnny Depp earned 75 million, the footballer Cristiano Ronaldo earned 36 million, the model Gisele Bundchen earned 25 million. The fact is that «superstars» earn in a single year, and the average entertainers and athletes in 5-10 years, the money which the holders of academic degrees can not earn in a lifetime. In the US the average earnings of a Doctor of Science and a Professor will be at best \$ 5 million, but only after 40 (!) years of continuous career.

These facts are hard to explain, believing in the reality of the «information society» based on the

priority of knowledge. But they can be easily explained if one understands that in the context of post-industrial capitalism, the main principle is different one: «who owns the attention, owns the world». It's really a new society and a new economics that is different from the industrial economy, where the production i.e. the work with a product was the major factor. The principal novelty is not in informatization, but in the fact that the operation with eye-catching images, exciting the emotions of consumers, creates another economics and another society, which is similar to virtual reality. In this new reality a high-tech, knowledge-intensive product and a product primitive from the standpoint of science and technology, but full of image perceived as a fashionable, prestigious, exclusive one, etc. are costly.

The refusal of information society model from uncritical acceptance with its characteristic technological determinism opens the prospect of a more adequate interpretation of the computer revolution as one of society transformation trends. The computerisation of everyday life enters virtual reality into use as the computer simulations of real things and actions. It is important, for example, not only that you can make purchases via a computer connected to the Internet node, but also that the process of buying is organized more often as a virtual visit to a store. If using a sophisticated computer graphics a web-page of a vendor simulates the layout of the goods on a shop-window, their inspection and exchange for a fee in the form of banknotes or checks, then it should be interpreted not just as the transfer of purchase and sales operation from a real space into a virtual one, but as the simulation of commodity exchange institutional form. This institutional form turns the exchange as a technical operation into some kind of economic interaction, into the execution of a buyer and a seller social roles. The exchange through the Internet allows you to make the exchange of money, goods and services without complying with this institutional form. There is some communication, but it lacks a usual social skill, the society as the medium of interaction. So the society in its traditional sense is replaced by a cyber prosthesis - a virtual shop. Using the technologies of virtual reality the simulation of institutional exchange is created. An exchange is carried out as a simulation - a virtual analogue of a real social interaction.

The cyber prosthetics of institutional forms is a characteristic feature of other forms of virtual collaboration - virtual communities, virtual corporations, virtual entertainment, virtual crimes and virtual absolutism. Today, using a computer equipped with a modem, you may discuss politics, pop stars, weather or have idle conversations with virtual friends or neighbors - the members of chat rooms, forums, social networks. You may earn money by taking orders for advertising on virtual billboards -

¹ In economic theory, an agricultural and commodity sector is usually called "prime" one and the production (industrial) sector is called "secondary" one, and the service sector is called "tertiary" one.

banners, win money in virtual casinos or steal money, hacking the virtual locks of an electronic accounting system of some bank. You may reveal one's sins and repent of one's deeds using virtual sermons and confessions on the web-pages that are opened by priests as virtual parishes [9].

All of these listed and not listed interactions are performed as the virtual analogues of real social interactions. At that there is the substitution of a real performance of social roles by simulation, an image of institutionality real attributes is developed. Virtual communities simulate a direct presence in communication and a social proximity of communicating people. Virtual corporations simulate contracting procedures and the existence of an organization as a business entity. A virtual casino simulates a game partner competition. Virtual hack simulates the violation of property rights among bank depositors. A virtual parish simulates the arrival the education of a humble flock by a shepherd.

Such an intense use of virtual reality technologies during recent years has a social significance - the replacement of the social reality by its computer simulations. This social aspect of computer technology development clearly prevails a technical aspect. That is why the processor speed and memory capacity increase with is converted almost completely to improve the graphics and sounds of computer simulations and are not accompanied by noticeable functional changes. The revealing of virtual reality technology social meaning brings sociologists necessarily to the idea of virtuality concept use in order to explain social changes.

There are two basic meanings of the concept «virtual». The first one goes back to the traditional natural science, in which the meaning of the term «virtual» is revealed through the contrast of ephemerality between infinitesimal movements of objects or the infinitesimally small periods of particle existence and stable reality within their spatial and temporal characteristics. The second meaning is generated by the practice of computer simulation creation and use and is revealed through the contrast between illusory objects created by the means of computer graphics, and the reality of material objects. Both meanings are related paradoxically in the concept of «virtual reality». The behavior of an imagined object reproduces the spatial and temporal characteristics of a real object behavior.

One may specify three characteristics as the universal properties of virtual reality:

- Non-material exposure (a depicted image produces the effects that are typical for a real thing);
- Conditionality of options (objects are artificial and changeable);

– Ephemerality (freedom of input/output allows the interruption and the resumption of existence).

One may speak about the virtualization with regard to the public as society becomes like a virtual reality, that is, it may be described with the same characteristics. Virtualization in this case is any substitution of reality by its simulation / image - not necessarily with the help of computer technology, but always with the use of virtual reality logic. This logic may be observed where computers are not used directly. For example, the virtual economy may be represented by the business operations which are conducted primarily through the Internet, and the situations when the speculations of the stock market prevail over material production. Virtual policy may be represented by the struggle for power and agitation using web-pages, or press conferences in the Internet, and through advertising campaigns in a TV studio or on a specific platform.

The definition of social phenomena using the concept of virtuality is appropriate when the competition of images replaces the competition of institutionally specific actions - economic, political or other ones. The social content of virtualization i.e. the simulation of the society institutional structure of society is primary one in relation to the technical content. The general understanding of reality substitution phenomenon by images allows you to develop an own sociological approach: society is not virtualized through the computerization of life but the life is computerized through the virtualization of society. That is why the distribution of virtual reality technologies occurs as cyber prosthetics. It is caused by the desire to compensate the absence of social reality using computer simulations.

Virtual reality involves human interaction with simulations but not with things. The reality of the modern era society is a reified institutional structure, making practices independent of an individual aspirations. An individual, being in a social reality of institutions, perceives it as a natural reality in which he has to live. During the postmodern era an individual is immersed in a virtual reality of simulations and increasingly sees the world as a game environment, cognizing its conventionality, the control of its parameters and the possibility of getting out of it. The distinction between old and new types of social organization using the dichotomy «real/virtual» allows us to introduce the concept of virtualization as the process of institutionalized practices substitution by simulations. Thus, the term «virtualization» is not only an adequate phenomenon describing as post-modernism and the «end of the social», but appears as a more heuristic than two latter concepts, because it opens the

prospect of conceptualization not of the «end» or «disappearance» of the old society but the process of a new one development.

With regard to society as a whole, virtualization is presented not as a single process, but rather as a series of diverse but similarly aimed trends in various spheres of life. This may be illustrated by the description of the modernist institutionalized practice simulation in key institutional areas of (post) modern society: in economy and in politics.

The economics virtualization is clearly visible in the transformation of main economy institutions of capitalism occurred during last three - four decades: market, firm and finance. Economic institutions form a set of rules and regulations which determine socially acceptable ways of creation from the point of view of modern people, the distribution and the use of wealth. Following regulatory requirements turns economic activity into the performance of «manufacturer», «consumer», «businessman», «worker», «creditor», «borrower» social roles, etc. Institutions - a market, a firm, finances is the reality in relation to the individual objectives. This reality has to be taken into account.

The reality of economic institutions becomes a virtual one while the industry ceases to dominate in the economics, ceases to determine what is an «economic thing» and what is worth doing. Economy becomes a post-industrial one because the production of any thing after two centuries of technological progress is not an economic problem anymore. Mass production provides the filling of the market by a huge number of almost homogeneous things by quality, and the production itself is a precondition for the production of a new economy. Consumption is the number one problem for a developed economy or rather the transformation of produced things into commodities. Manufacturers manage to solve this problem highlighting their product from a series of other competing products and attracting the attention of consumers. Thus, within the conditions of mass production and mass consumption a brand acts as a commodity - an image created by advertising and marketing and associated with a product or a company by consumers. A manufacturer produces not a thing (a shampoo, a costume, a car ...) for the market, but the image (attractiveness, respectability, prestige ...).

A physical object of advertising ceases to be signified and becomes a signifying in relation to an advertised image. The commercials and posters depicting a happy family, a cheerful company at a disco or a lone hero, engaged in extreme tourism, do not indicate the real product properties for a

consumer, which may be anything from yogurt and beer to a deodorant and a car. But such a product met after the view of an advertising clearly indicates an attractive lifestyle and image for a consumer, virtually contained in a product somewhere between bifidobacteria and calcium, or between an original design and high maneuverability. In the new economy a product acts only as an information occasion for the promotion of goods and becomes an alibi for those who initiate promotional campaigns to promote «health, happiness» under the sign of yogurt, «sex appeal», under the guise of cosmetics or «success» under a brand of a car.

A brand defines the cost of a thing, and a brand requires a lot of work with images. Therefore, an actual economic process, that is, the creation of value, leaves an arable land, a mine, a design bureau and an assembly line moves to an office of marketing and business consultant, in an advertising agency and a mass media studio. Thousands of employees also rush there, changing the economics structure and making the branches previously attributed to the «non-manufacturing» the most productive ones.

The increase of an image economic role is illustrated by the data about the faster pace of advertising industry growth in comparison with the conventional production. At the turn of XX-th and XXI-st century an average annual growth of advertising costs in the world made about 6%, while the growth of the world GDP made only 3% [10]. The economy of images develops a new type of a market. Companies and consumers interact now not within real product market and their manufacturers but within the market of brands and the rightholders controlling the use of brands. The number of independent producers decreases and the number of brands increases. For example, P&G company, acquired the right to use 11 trademarks in 5 years, and in 2005, it became the holder of 50 brands and it may create and maintain the «competitive» markets of washing powders, shampoos, toothpastes or shaving supplies on its own.

The example of car markets is also representative: during the 1990s the number of independent car manufacturers operating on a global level decreased from 21 to 13 and the number of automobile brands rose from 63 to 65. Absorbing the competitors and unifying the design and vehicle manufacturing technologies, the company maintains the competition at the expense of the images that define the behavior of consumers. The varying of models differing by an image is more cost-effective than the development of various designs. At the beginning of the XXI-st century the competing automaking corporations started to use common «platforms» for the production of their own models that are offered to a consumer in the same market segment as «wide range» options.

So the performance of market agent roles dictated by institutional norms - competing producers reacting by offer to a demand becomes a virtual one. If you can make the same thing (from a functional point of view), and the differences in formal details may represent the variety of choice, then the market is a virtual reality as a social institution and as the regulator of economic behavior.

Consumers plunged into the virtual reality of market brands seem like innocent victims of manipulators. Especially this impression is reinforced by «umbrella» brands covering a long line of different products in one way. The limit of brand managers, marketers and advertisers craftiness is the sales of motorcycles and children's clothes with the logo Harley-Davidson, or the sale of shoes, a mobile phone and a Bluetooth headset with a common logo of Dolce & Gabbana. Purchasing such clothes or a headset, consumers pay (a lot) for the quality of cut or the quality of communication, which in the best case no worse than among the others, and for the involvement, even illusory one, to the image of «tough guys» or «rich and stylish». The acquisition is a clearly virtual one, however, such virtualization of consumption is a beneficial process which is even necessary for consumers. The brands carrying more information about a consumer lifestyle rather than about the product, serve as a convenient material for identity creation and getting symbolically «loaded» products, consumers act quite rationally. Identity as a self-expression and belonging to a group, community, etc. is achieved by a man through consumption.

The virtualization of production and the development of brand market change the relation to the traditional organization of labor, resulting in the virtualization of a company as an economic institution. Since the value is created not on a line and not at a design office, the attributes of an industrial organization are not needed often any longer: offices, where jobs are developed and filled by workers according to the model of the technological chain conveyor; the procedures of labor cost control; the complex hierarchy of authorities, and so on. All the more those who are engaged in a post-industrial economy and work with a virtual product - images, new information and communication technologies make work almost everywhere: at home, at a client's office, at a hotel, in a car, in an airplane.

The respond to this challenge is the emergence of a new organizational form idea in the early 1990s, which was called «a virtual corporation» [11, 12]. Virtual corporation is a temporary alliance of independent companies or even individual agents to address the strategic, but a single task. An alliance, according to the adherents of virtual corporation

concept should exist as a network structure based on the information and communication technologies, by which companies coordinate their efforts of project implementation. A virtual corporation has no vertical integration, a central office, a job hierarchy, and other attributes of «real» corporation. After the completion of a project a network may be easily reconfigured or even dissolved.

Since the mid 1990s, large industrial corporations and banks form a «one time» alliances for the creation and promotion of a product, and open virtual offices in the Internet. For example, such a computer industry giant as IBM develops new projects on the basis of temporary strategic alliances. At that a quarter of IBM employees spend 80% of their time at home or on the road, sharing the results of their work with each other and with their headquarters through computer networks forming a virtual component of the company organization. Such corporations as Nike and Dell are even more virtual and they do not have their own production facilities, but they are market leaders, respectively in the field of sportswear and personal computers. These corporations have perfected the practice of outsourcing, i.e. the removal of inventory management and production functions outside the company, and formed an established network of suppliers around their brands involved in the business processes of the company by contractual relationships. Another type of a virtual corporation are presented by the companies that create a network of small firms operating on the basis of licenses and subcontracts. For example, McDonald's or Benetton work in such a way. They are large corporations only virtually - they are the networks of autonomous market agents, combined by brand: a brand name, a work concept and style. Thus, a virtual corporation at the beginning of the XXI century turns into a routine and widespread practice from an extravagant organizational form.

The organization of labor in the form of a «work day» as the routine of office presence or a schedule of technological operation performance loses an economic content. However, there is no full «dematerialization» of the companies and the global operation within the Internet, suggested by the ideologues of corporate virtualization. Of course, there are «exemplary» virtual organizations, such as the company Dell, which already by 2000, received and processed 90% of orders for the supply of computers on-line, as has formed a global network of suppliers, who produced the computers ordered by users. But the amount of such companies is small: in 2005 only 14% of companies in the US and 10% of companies in the European Union carried out orders and provided customer services through a global computer network. The vast majority of companies use the Internet to maintain communications and restrict its presence in

the global «web» by placing digital advertising brochure - a corporate website.

The virtualization of the company did not turn into «dematerialization», because the image of a large, «real» company largely ensures the success to the image of goods/services. Therefore, along with a network, project-oriented structure and Internet offices traditional corporate bureaucracy and huge headquarters are maintained and are even developed. And it is also the manifestation of virtualization, as the main function of these armies of clerks is the creation and the maintaining of a corporate image. Now the «non-economic», aesthetic and socio-psychological aspects of work organization and the company functioning - office design, corporate style, the cultivation of public relations (PR) attain a directly economic sense, because their sense is to maintain the attributes of an employee image and the operating organization. They become important components of a company image creation that determines the price of its offered goods/services. That is why an office design, a corporate image and PR events are converted into a special kind of products and develop new and rapidly growing economy sectors.

An image of a company is not only the factor of its product value, this image has its own and even self-sufficient cost. For example, the Apple brand in 2015 was recognized as the most expensive one in the world and was priced by the international rating agency InterBrand at the amount of 170 billion dollars, and the agency MillwardBrown priced this brand at the amount of 247 billion. At that the cost of all material assets of the company - factories, offices, equipment, vehicles, stocks is much smaller. A «promoted» brand is a virtual asset, which is the main asset of the company.

Brand is a virtual, that is not material, but very tangible capital. A company image as a specific commodity is thrown into the stock market. The virtualization of the company enhances the virtualization of the market, creating a completely virtual sector of economy - a market where not the company securities but their images are quoted: pictures, goodwill, rumors. In the most economically developed countries, the volumes of capital traded on stock exchanges, rose during the last years of the XX-th century so much that they became comparable to the size of an annual gross domestic product. A stock exchange boom on the background of a much less intensive production growth (2-3% per year), and thus the return on equity may be interpreted as the autonomization of corporate image market in relation to the «real» economy sector. Multimillion-dollar assets may appear at quote increase or disappear at quote decrease within days or even hours at a stock

market, while the physical assets of the companies, whose shares are quoted, remain the same.

The phenomenon of speculative capital demonstrates the virtuality of the company institute: the company value depends more on an image and communications than on company physical asset owing and on their use. A company is important as an organization image. Therefore, getting rid of hierarchically integrated organization and transferring the functions of a physical product manufacture to «manufacturing partners» (Nike executives named shoe and garment factories working for corporations in South-East Asia), the companies retain the focus of business processes and corporate identity by the development of a communication network around the brand. In such network structures the execution of organization member roles, who clearly follow the official duties of employees and managers, set by institutional standards becomes a virtual one. The competencies that are typical for the organization of industrial type are represented only, but the main competence becomes the maintaining of effective communications. The efficiency of communications depends on the ability to create and broadcast the images which attract the attention of target audience to a product (including internal one i.e. its employees), every second facing intense flows of alternative proposals.

The virtualization of production allows to raise the price of goods from the level of the product cost to the level of the brand cost would have to stumble across the barrier of reality created by the most symbolic component of the traditional economy i.e. money. Solvency, limited by the number of existing currency value possessed by a consumer should limit the «sales potential» of brands. But in the new economy the process of virtualization seized money. The function of money is performed not by material (metal, paper or plastic) equivalent of value but by drawing rights. The consumption rate in developed countries is not determined by the amount of money among consumers, but by their financial capabilities.

The credit system extended to a wider range of goods and services, brings the financial opportunities beyond real payment capacity. By 2001, the volume of consumer loans made made 74% of GDP in the US, i.e. more than \$ 25,000 per capita on average, and in the European Union countries it made 52%, or about 10,000 euro per inhabitant¹. Creating a virtually solvent demand from consumers, the credit system makes the «origin» of this demand an important factor. «Good origin» is guaranteed the solvency method, which may be created by a potential borrower. The solvency image

¹ Data taken from the magazine "Expert" (2002).

determines the financial capacity of credit institution clients, which have the same amount of real money, but different financial reputation, obtain different volumes of drawing rights.

Money is personalized, it loses the properties of indifferent objective reality in respect to a person. The tracking of individual «credit history», an electronic signature, the ability to block a lost credit card, the application of photo and fingerprint samples on a credit card are convert the solvency into the function related to a person identification, but not from the possession of anonymous money signs. The lending of an image and personalization lead to the fact that money is increasingly replaced by the possibility of money in a new economy.

A virtual solvency of individual customers, based not on the possession of real payment means, but on the access to the rights of borrowing, manifests itself in a rapid spread of credit cards and an equally rapid growth of a credit card debt. The leader in this regard, is the US economy, where the number of banknotes in circulation during doubled during 1985-95 and increased to about 350 mln. pieces, and its debt tripled during the same period, surpassing the mark of \$ 300 billion. After another decade, by 2006 the number of credit cards reached 1.5 billion pieces¹, and credit card debt amounted to about 600 billion.

Playing the solvency by using credit cards in shops and by the means of guarantees, references and a respectable appearance in banks, consumers open their access to new financial sources and may accumulate debts that exceed their income and therefore will not be returned in principle. However, such an economy of debt is not destroyed, because it is balanced within the conditions of virtualization: the producers of brands receive a virtual payment in the form of consumer debts.

Banks also create an image of solvency as they operate through virtual money repeatedly transferred («manipulated») drawing rights that expand the money supply M_0 (cash) to M_3 aggregate (cash + «almost money»). The virtual part of the total monetary aggregate M_3 is formed by short-term deposits, deposits, bonds, and can not be converted into cash immediately for a simple reason that this part is the product of multiplication. For example, a bank which received a certain amount of cash reserves from a client as a deposit keeps in its safe a part of a sum determined by the central bank standard as a reserve, and the bulk of the sum provides as a credit to another customer. As a result, there are two clients with the rights to same money. And additional money appears created by the bank, not a state, contributing the virtual mass M_3 increase.

Therefore, the virtualization of money, its turning into an image function leads to the fact that performance of a «payer», a «creditor» and a «debtor» roles pursuant to the rules prescribed by institutional standards «payer», «creditor» and «debtor» becomes a virtual one. The picturing of solvency turns finances as an economic institution in a virtual reality.

The virtualization of production and organization of money developed a post-industrial economy, the basic elements of which is an image, a network, an access. Accordingly, the most effective tool of the new economic activity is presented by those technologies that provide the work with images, the construction of networks and the organization of access. These qualities are presented in communication technologies, and therefore all their varieties from newspapers and magazines to radio and television were integrated into a new economy of image creation. However, a universal media tool - a personal computer with a moden - became the symbol of the new economy.

Generally speaking, the first computers (mainframes) appeared in the 1940-s, and the first PC-s appeared in the 1960s. But total computerization began only when the computers could become a virtualization tool when they gave the opportunity to work with images, to build networks and to organize access. The last two decades of the last century became a critical period. In 1981, IBM company released a computer which set the technological standard of «PC», and after 10 years the US had 200 computers per 1,000 people, and after another 10 years the number of computers amounted to 600 per 1,000 people. When at the beginning of the new century US computerization reached the level of penetration into the daily lives of most people, the rest of the world is only started this process. In 2001, the computerization level in European Union countries was 1.5-2 times less on the average, in Russia and Brazil it was 10 times less, and in India and China it was 20 times less². Computer networks were also rapidly distributed in the late XX-th century. In 1981, about 200 computers were included in the newly created network called the Internet, and after 20 years in this network included more than 100 million computers with 400 million of sites [13].

Table 1

Communicative possibilities of different media

Message appeal	«flat»	«multidimensional»
According to the need (24/7)	Press	Internet
According to a program	Radio	TV

¹ For reference: the US population in 1995 was 263 million and in 2010 it made about 300 million people.

² Data taken from the magazine "The Economist" (1996-2006).

Virtualization stimulated such a large-scale computerization because computer multimedia have the greatest communicative potential - they are able to provide the most intensive communications (Table 1). A reader may appeal to the messages of printed media several times, re-reading a newspaper or a magazine issue when he sees fit. But the messages of printed media are «two-dimensional» only: they offer a text and an image. Television provides a «multi-dimensional» message by video and sound, but a viewer may appeal to these messages not when he wants, but according to a tough scheduling - a program schedule. Radio combines the weaknesses of printed mass media and television: a «flat» message, to which you may turn not at any time, but only according to a single program for all listeners.

All kinds of communication technologies may ensure the transmission of information, that is information / data that increase the level of knowledge to the same extent. But communication as the exchange of symbols leading to the the support of connections, the establishment of a community is best of all ensured by computer multimedia. They allow you to create a «multi-dimensional» message combining text, image, video and sound. They allow to perform an interaction in a real-time mode and a virtual common space mode and allow you to have an access to the communications network 24/7. Therefore, computer networks became the most effective tool of virtualization. And that is why virtualization is often equated with the virtualization, although virtualization is not reduced to the expansion of computer networks.

Computer multimedia did not replace the traditional communications technologies. Statistical data show that for the time being television remains the most powerful tool of value creation by the means of image broadcasting. In 2014, the share of television accounted for approximately 40% of global spending on advertising, the advertising via the Internet takes the second place (24%), which is ahead of print media (22.5%). Economically Internet only catches up with the more traditional media, although the pace of growth for this segment of the advertising is the highest one. Besides, the images broadcasted by print and electronic mass media, are created with the use of computers, and many newspapers, magazines, radio and TV stations create their own websites. So virtualization as the development of the image economy is not reduced to the commercialization of the Internet, but gives rise to the growing need for computer technologies.

The virtualization of the economy in 1990s, caused an intense commercialization of cyberspace, which emerged in the 1970s as a virtual communication space of scientists and engineers.

Now, computer networks are turned into the means of economic activity where a complete transaction cycle may be performed and where the virtual representations of firms, virtual stores and virtual banks function. Operations performed at virtual display windows using the virtual wallet, demonstrate that not so-called information, but completely different economy develops. Not information as such, not the transfer of data on the properties of a product/service that is a rational denotation but an image creation, mobilizing affective connotations is profitable.

We live during the era of the economy of images and the images of economy. The basic components of modernity economic practices are simulated in a new economy - the production of goods, innovation, the organization of work, the possession of money, and as the result, such institutions as the market, the company (corporation) and finances are virtualized.

Virtualization is a dual process that combines a computer and an image component. But if the computer virtualization is developing still, an image-virtualization is in excess already. This ratio of two aspects of virtualization is even clearer than in the economy, notable in politics, where since the end of the last century an intensive process of real action replacement by images also developed. Virtual democracy is developed, when the votes of not particularly able voters willing to deal in political programs are needed by the candidates who do not have a particular ideology, but who have an attractive image created by image-makers. A political struggle is increasingly conducted through mass media in the style of show business and using the techniques borrowed from advertising, branding and marketing. Once marxists developed the following formula: «Politics is the concentrated expression of economics». Now we are dealing with other economics, which in the conditions of post-industrial capitalism creates the means of expression for policy, whose traditional ways of expression - ideology, propaganda, party meetings are markedly weaker than branding, advertising, promotions, and business presentations.

The struggle for political power now is not a competition program of actions. After two centuries of democratization as the accumulation of people will determination experience, the organization of mass parties, the performance of state apparatus and law reforms in the name of liberal values, the creation and the implementation of the action program that embodies these values, is no longer a real political problem. The number one problem for the developed democracy is the political participation, i.e. the maintaining of interest in political programs and

actions of politicians on the part of that population majority, which now has the right to vote, but does not have the ability and/or willingness to evaluate the programs and activities and to make a choice between them. At the beginning of the XIX-th century, even in the countries which are considered the «cradle» of modern democracy - the United States, Britain, France, only 2 - 5% of the adult population had the right to vote, and politically powerless poor, women, youth fought for the opportunity to participate in elections. By the beginning of the XX-th century the proportion of voters reached 25% on the average: the right to vote was received by all adults (over 21 years) and wealthy people (who have a house and who pay taxes). By the end of the XX-th century, almost 100% of the adult population (starting from 18 years) in the developed countries acquired the right to vote, but the voting is performed now by 50-60% at best of those who have so long sought for the right to participate in political life. In conditions of mass democracy, the intensity of competition is growing among politicians, and the activity of voters is reduced.

In the situation of excessive deficit of politicians and political participation of citizens the virtualization becomes a new and the most reasonable mode of democratic institution functioning. The political struggle is turned into the struggle of images, that is, political images that create rating and image-makers, press secretaries and the «stars» of show business are recruited during political campaigns.

A real politician personality and activity are needed only as «information events» that is, they serve as some kind of an alibi for those who shape an image. Moreover, the less real actions a politician makes, the more his biography is similar to a smooth and clear sheet of paper, the greater freedom of action image-makers have to create the image, which is in demand within a current situation. They develop scripts, slogans, special effects, for the supply of which some events are performed for public, which are perceived as political ones. An electoral campaign is becoming an advertising campaign, and not a political one in the traditional sense, which dictates the need of its management key functions transfer from professional politicians to the advertising industry experts.

Actually, the political process left the meetings of party and government committees that make up the programs of reforms, distributing functions and supervising their implementation. It also left factional negotiations and party meetings. Politics is created now in PR-agencies, television studios and on concert stages. Management and policy in the late

XX-th century, were divided in the same way as production and economy. The cost of goods is a virtual one and the powers also become virtual. The consequence of this virtualization is the changing of political regime nature i.e. mass democracy. During the elections there is no significant change of officials, experts who carry out the routine work management in the «corridors of power». The so-called public politicians are changed, that is, those who work for the audience. They and some sexy staff of press services present to the citizens and to the whole world the political image of a state and its individual institutions. Voting for an image and the competition of images lead to the virtualization of a state, based on an electoral system.

In most developed countries, the replacement of the actual political programs and actions by images is not a cynical practice of a voter fraud. The transition from a real policy to the policy of images is necessary. On the one hand, the institutional rules that embody the values of freedom and progress require permanent reforms of society and a vigorous clash of ideologies. On the other hand, the presence of a clear ideological position among the candidates for elective public office, the trying to follow a stated course of reforms is just socially dangerous in a prosperous and a stable society. The replacement of real political programs and actions created by advertising images of «new initiatives», «radical reforms», «national projects» retains the usual policy in the form of images and provides the attention and the success of those candidates, whose image, but not a program or an action, vividly embodies the values of freedom and progress.

A collective political action is replaced by the images as well as an individual action. Parties, emerging as a mass organizations - the «Armies» of agitators, representing the class, ethnic, religious, regional interests, with the advent of image-makers teams, acting through the channels of mass media have lost their effectiveness in the mobilization of voters. Political parties used to be mass organizations, the membership of which was associated with the commitment to ideology and the participation in a regular daily work. Now they become brands attracting the electorate, the promotion of which is transferred to professionals from the mass media and advertising industries. Parties have become «brands» - logos and advertising slogans, which traditionally attract the electorate. The idea of commitment to «brand» use drives the process of political struggle organization image maintaining as the struggle of parties.

The places where a «brand» is a long-standing tradition, the attributes of «good old» liberals, social democrats and communists image is carefully maintained, even if the original ideology and practice changed fundamentally and continue to evolve. This is the way of Republican and Democratic party functioning in the United States, the Conservative and Labour Party functioning in the United Kingdom, the Christian Democrats and the Social Democratic Party functioning in Germany.

Where a «brand» is missing, parties and movements are formed, combined and disintegrated with kaleidoscopic rapidity in an effort to find an attractive image. The example here is a so-called reformist party created in the early 1990s in the US and the UK as an alternative to the leading parties - the result of Ross Perot efforts, a businessman carried away politics, and the Liberal Democratic Party, which appeared from the union of Liberals and Social Democrats who lost their popularity. But the most revealing in this respect is the party system that emerged in Italy after the simultaneous collapse of all traditional parties in the early 1990s, when their total corruption was exposed. In the next decade and a half the composition and the nature of party coalitions constantly changes, and the crucial role was played by the movement of «Forza Italia!», which was suddenly created by a media magnate Silvio Berlusconi in 1994 and which is a permanent advertising campaign of the group of politicians in the greater extent than an actual mass organization.

Another symptom of mass democracy institution virtualization is the replacement of appeals to a public opinion by the manipulations with ratings. The ratings which are based on a sample survey, when respondents agree with the variants of opinions, engineered by experts, represent only a model, an image of public opinion. Participating in a survey, respondents animate these models, and then the images become real factors of political decision adoption and implementation. Since images and models replace the real actions of politicians and the will of the citizens, then the performance of social roles of politicians - the candidates and the «statesmen» and also the roles of a voter becomes a virtual one. The virtualization of public opinion, which used to be an expression of real social groups intensions interested in politics now takes place in the form of a media «war of ratings» when the interests and groups which express them, are designed by surveys initiated by political technologists.

The policy of images requires an intensive use of telecommunication technologies, and that's why the turning of global computer network into the

means and the environment of political activity happened quickly at the end of the XX-th century. Nearly all political campaigns are accompanied now by the creation of specialized servers and Web sites, through which a politician image is formed (via a political event or a political organization). A campaign, the communication with supporters, and so on is carried out through the Internet. The state bureaucracy (especially ministries, tax and immigration authorities) is increasingly presented now in the Internet by pages and portals, simulating the interaction of citizens (or guests) with the government officials. You may receive advice, seek for information, provide tax returns, and so on through the network.

It is significant that the functionaries of political parties/movements, and the employees of public institutions and citizens communicate through the network technology, which basically allows you not to maintain communication in the format of a party organization or a bureaucratic procedure. However, the potential of these technologies is used here primarily to maintain the image of social role usual distribution. The following things are offered for web site visitors: registration of participants, filling in all sorts of forms, the voting on a given issue, and so on. Thus, in the absence of a real institutional interaction an image of «an operating organization» or «a working state» is supported. An intense politicization of a cyberspace demonstrates that a new policy is based on the compensation of real resource deficit and deeds and the abundance of images. The «cyber prostheses» of mass democracy political institutions are created in such a way.

The logic of virtualization which equally seized economic and political institutions, had an impact on those who seek to confront these institutions or even destroy them. The opponents of an economic and a political system of modern society are faced with the need to adjust their actions under the format of mass media and begin a war of images. The acts of protests and even the acts of terrorism began to be practiced by radical movements so that they produce the effect which is needed by virtualization logic. When instead of attacks on objects that are vital for the functioning of an economic and a political regime operation, the attacks on the objects of great symbolic value take place, they are considered essentially as virtual attacks. According to the number of victims and material damage such attacks, regular at the turn of XX-XXI centuries, could be varied greatly from the attacks of anti-globalization protesters at McDonald's restaurants to the attacks of Al-Qaeda militants in captured planes on the World Trade Center in New York. But in all cases these were

the acts oriented not on enemy defeat but on the creation of a spectacular image in a format suitable for mass media. In the context of virtualization terrorism is the PR for poor. In the world of virtualization, those who have no direct access to mass media, make any sacrifice to achieve a shock concentration of attention. In case of success, they manage at least to get to the place where the following principle rules «who owns the attention, owns the world».

We live in the era of policy of images and the images of policy. The simulation of the basic components of modernity political practices - an ideology, an organization, a public opinion - lead to the virtualization of mass democracy institutions - elections, state, parties. And this virtualization allows and provokes the transformation of the global computer network Internet in the means/the environment of political struggle. Almost all political acts and campaigns are accompanied now by the creation of dedicated servers and web-pages, by which a politician image is developed (stocks, organization), an agitation is performed, the communication with supporters takes place, etc. An intense politicization of cyberspace demonstrates that a new policy is based on the compensation of real resources and deeds deficit by the abundance of images.

The virtualization of society is a civilizational trend at the turn of the centuries. The substitution of things and real action by the images and communications is characteristic of all countries that passed modernization and appeared in the post-modern social and cultural situation. Based on the analysis of trends, typical for most developed countries, we may conclude that the orientation of practices not on things, but on images leads to the simulation of institutions (a virtual adherence to roles). Institutions become images, turning into some kind of a virtual reality. However, in the catch-up modernization countries, where industrialization, the development of mass consumption society, the development of mass democracy institutions began later than in Western Europe and North America, virtualization has its own characteristics.

Russia is a typical catch-up modernization society. Here, after the period of an intensive industrialization in the XX-th century the transition to a postindustrial society started. This transition occurred in a specific form, which differs significantly the processes of post-industrialization in Russia from the processes in Western Europe and North America. In a technologically and economically developed countries, the reduction of industrial production share was achieved through the

export of capital and the outsourcing of production of goods at the intensive development of brands like virtual assets, providing the control over the markets and supply chains. In Russia, the shrinking of goods production was accompanied by the import of western brands and the increase of service sector capacity related to the supply chain functioning.

The specifics of virtualization processes in post-Soviet society creates the situation where the controlled development of social structures should be both subordinated to the objectives of technological and industrial infrastructures, which is rather characteristic for the completion of the modern era, and the tasks dictated by the transition from modernity to postmodernity.

The Russian economy is not an exception from the general trend of structural changes for the industrialized countries, when the share of employment in the secondary sector (industry) is reduced and share of employment in the tertiary sector (services) grows. However, at the view through the prism of virtualization on Russian trends two opposite trends are revealed. On the one hand, the proportion of the traditional agricultural sector and the mining industry remains a relatively high. On the other hand, with the increase of service share in GDP and the share of employment in the tertiary sector of the economy - the service sector, the role of communication, the creation and maintaining of images increases and, thus, ICT role increases.

An essential feature of the economic situation in Russia is a sharp contrast between the capital and provinces. A more developed transport, communication and social infrastructure became the basis for the expansion of the economy tertiary sector in the capitals. Banks, trade, real estate transactions, entertainment, advertising and tourism are the new fields of employment compensating, at least partly, the collapse of industrial production. Here you may find the emergence of the virtual economy. The migration flows from stagnant regions and sectors come here, which create the additional structural gaps between a traditional social reality and new virtualized structures of social life.

A typical structural gap in the societies of catch-up modernization is the gap between generations. Different generations live in different virtual realities. According to the survey of Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VTSIOM) 55% of the adult population used Internet and 82% of Russian Internet users had the accounts in social networks at the beginning of 2012. But TV remains the dominant tool for the virtualization of societ. 60% of the adult population called television «the main source of news of the country events», Internet was called such a source only by 23% (VTSIOM survey of 2013). At that Internet was selected as the major source of news

by 50% of respondents at the age of 18-24 years and only by 11% of respondents at the age of 45-59. Television is the main source of news for 72% of 45-59-year-olds and only for 34% of 18-24 year old persons.

Modern Russian politicians and political technologists actively use mass media to create and broadcast images. The virtualization of policy in the society of catch-up modernization in some aspects goes even further than in Western democracies. The images of politicians line up purposefully using the techniques of advertising and show business, and political parties operate as long-term media projects. But the existence of different generations in different virtual realities becomes a challenge for political elites, when one part of the electorate lives in the world of images and communications, created by traditional media, and the other part is focused on the images and communications circulating in new media. During the early years of the second decade of the new century the cognition of this call led to increased use of Internet resource opportunities by major political forces within the post-Soviet space.

The virtualization of policy acquires a new character as the projects of state body functions translation are implemented into electronic communication platforms. The implementation a state procurement and delivery system and the provision of public services via the Internet, as in Russia, makes the interaction between citizens and state officials a part of modern society virtual reality. The implementation of public initiative development projects using specialized communication platforms in the Internet leads to the virtualization of social movements.

The marked symptoms of economics and politics virtualization are enough to argue that the society in Russia changes in the same direction of the post-industrial civilization as the society in the West countries. Apparently, the ways of society integration and the resolution of its conflicts change in the same manner. Further development of traditional institutional means of social control going beyond the level of modern era would be not only effective, but also a negative factor for the consolidation and the development of society. The development and consolidation of society will now depend on the creation of attractive images - economic, political, ethical, etc., as well as on the development of a new type of social interaction infrastructure - communication networks.

There are the prerequisites for such a development, but the virtualization in such countries of catch-up modernization as Russia, is well ahead of computerization. In relation to the most developed countries the level of computerization of the social

life in Russia is 2-3 times less. For example, in 2008, according to the World Bank data in the US, there were 810 computers per 1,000 people, and Russia had only 130 per 1,000 people. In 2010, according the same source there were 710 Internet users in the US per 1,000 inhabitants, and 430 Internet users in the Russia per 1,000 inhabitants. A low level of the technical infrastructure development of a new social organization prevents more and more the positive use of virtualization trends.

The provided data do not constitute the grounds for the thesis about the need of a speed-up computerization. It is not worth to be charmed (as it happened many times) by technical and economical view of social problems. Sociological view allows to realize clearly that industrialization does not modernize society but modernization industrializes it, and computerization does not virtualize society, but virtualization computerizes society.

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ТОПОЛОГИЯ СРЕДЫ ОБИТАНИЯ ЧЕЛОВЕКА: ПАРАМЕТРИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ И ВЕРИФИЦИРОВАННАЯ МОДЕЛЬ ДЛЯ РОССИИ

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Аннотация. Базовой гипотезой исследования выступает положение о латентном индикаторном значении социологической эмпирики в вопросах оценки состояния объективных в отношении социума и индивидуального сознания техно-природных феноменов. Объективным феноменом такого рода выступают не традиционные для социологического анализа социальные факты, а объекты отличной от социальной онтологии. В частности, природа и техника. При этом речь идет не об общественной оценке каких-либо аспектов и характеристик данных объектов, а об идентификации их реальных состояний опосредующих соответствующие значения массового сознания. Подобные значения выступают индикаторной эмпирической базой теоретических обобщений. Основной задачей исследования является попытка проиллюстрировать эвристические возможности социологической эмпирики в контексте нетрадиционных для социологии предметных областей знания на основе междисциплинарной методологической ориентации и императивов. То есть осуществить попытку осмысления не прямых индикаторных значений состояния общественного сознания населения для выявления специфических характеристик состояния техносферы России как элемента среды обитания человека. Базовыми методологическими установками послужат ранее разработанные априорные теоретические модели субсредовой структуры и топологии среды обитания человека. Суть данных моделей заключается в рассмотрении среды обитания как системы, элементами которой вступают субсредовые локусы, в макро-масштабе представленные традиционно природой, техникой и социокультурной сферой.

Ключевые слова: техногенные риски; среда обитания человека; топология; социологические исследования; междисциплинарная методология.

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THE TOPOLOGY OF THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT: PARAMETRIC ANALYSIS AND VERIFY MODEL FOR RUSSIA

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Abstract. The basic hypothesis of the research is the position of the latent indicator values sociological empiricism in assessing the state of the objective in relation to society and the individual consciousness of techno-natural phenomena. The objective of such a phenomenon does not appear for the traditional sociological analysis of social facts, and objects other than social ontology. In particular, the nature and technology. At the same time we are not talking about public evaluation of any aspects and characteristics of these objects, and the identification of their real states mediating the corresponding values of the mass consciousness. These values are the basis of empirical indicator of theoretical generalizations. The main objective of the study is an attempt to illustrate the heuristic sociological empiricism in the context of non-traditional subject areas of sociology of knowledge, based on an interdisciplinary methodological orientation and imperatives. That is an attempt to implement the judgment of indirect indicator values of the state of public awareness of the population to identify the specific characteristics of the state of the technosphere Russia as part of the human environment. The basic settings will serve as a methodological a priori previously developed theoretical models subsredovoy structure and topology of the human environment. The essence of

these models is to consider the environment as a system whose elements come subsredovye loci in the macro-scale, traditionally presented by nature, technology and socio-cultural sphere.

Keywords: technological risks; human environment; the topology; case studies; interdisciplinary methodology.

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Топология среды обитания человека это методология установления и описания форм пространства его деятельности, его человеческой репрезентации, а не просто видового существования. В этом случае пространство понимается в определенных или неопределенных границах и смыслах, категориально конструируется сообразно границам предмета научного внимания. Для появления возможности подобной научной работы необходим синтетический, междисциплинарный конструкт содержания топологии, таких ее базовых элементов как топос и локус, значения которых можно почерпнуть в опубликованных исследованиях [1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17].

Для построения наглядных моделей мы должны попытаться структурировать пространство среды обитания человека, для чего удобнее всего использовать уже традиционное для науки представление о ней как о совокупности трех субсредовых элементов: природного, антропогенного и техногенного. Мы будем называть эти элементы субсредовыми локусами, так как именно в подобного рода субпространствах происходит реальное осуществление жизнедеятельности человека. Данные субсредовые локусы подразумевают определенное наполнение, то есть содержание, определяемое их генезисом и онтологией, что также традиционно называют сферами – например, техносфера, и так далее [13].

Под топосом среды обитания человека мы будем понимать устойчивую форму организации пространства этой среды, а локусами будут являться онтологически устойчивые, то есть относительно однородные по генезису и содержанию группы условий пространства (сферы). То есть понятия пространства и сферы среды обитания человека будут отражены в конструктах, построенных на основании идентификации топосов и представлении их субсредовой структуры (локусов).

С целью развития эмпирических репрезентаций построенных ранее теоретических априорных моделей субсредовой структуры [13] и топологии [14] среды обитания человека нами будет произведена верификация рискогенного

содержания ее современного состояния на основе результатов всероссийского экспертного опроса, проведенного с 30 апреля по 1 июня 2015 г. сотрудниками совместной научно-исследовательской лаборатории трансдисциплинарных исследований (НИУ «БелГУ», ИСПИ РАН, ЮЗГУ). Экспертная группа в составе 120 человек включала в себя профильных специалистов отраслевых организаций, административных работников и государственных служащих, сотрудников профильных кафедр высших учебных заведений и НИИ, специалистов общественных организаций из числа субъектов Российской Федерации ранжированных на основании данных ГУ МЧС России по критериям «уровень техногенной безопасности» и «уровень экологической безопасности».

Критерием эмпирической верификации состояния онтологических и факторных структур системы субсредовых локусов будет выступать уровень их рискогенности. Рискогенность в данном исследовании понимается амбивалентно собственной онтологии, то есть как способность субсредового локуса продуцировать риски отличной от своей онтологии и как его способность продуцировать риски аутентичной онтологии.

В первую очередь по указанным критериям может быть идентифицирован масштаб представленности локуса в субсредовой структуре среды обитания человека, то есть будет выполнено построение модели качественных состояний системы на основании количественных показателей. Для реализации подобной задачи необходимо основываться на частоте рисков как репрезентации рискогенности.

Оценка масштаба представленности локуса осуществлялась на основании выявления максимальной представленности какого-либо риска с наибольшей частотой реальной репрезентации (по экспертной оценке). В количественном измерении техногенный локус в своей рискогенности представлен максимально. То есть техногенные риски с периодичностью раз в год или чаще максимально представлены в общей структуре всей совокупности рисков (70,0%). На второй ранговой позиции по шкале частоты реализации

идентифицируются экологические риски (66,7%). На третьей – социокультурные риски (26,7%). Информационные риски, представленные в числовом значении во внутривидовой структуре как 50,0% тем не менее не включаются нами в оценку общего состояния субсредовой структуры, так как являются интегративным феноменом, имеющим онтологические и семиотические каналы связи со всеми субсредовыми локусами. Следовательно, детерминационно-результатирующая, а также контекстуальная роль информационной среды не входит в предмет анализа.

На основании приведенных данных может сформироваться впечатление о явных пропорциональных особенностях субсредовой структуры регионов РФ, где техногенный локус представлен в максимальном масштабе, природный (экологический) в близком, но несколько менее значительном, социокультурный (антропосоциокультурный) минимально. Тем не менее, мы считаем подобное описание, основанное лишь на обобщенных данных, крайне схематичным, не учитывающим корреляционных особенностей элементов внутривидовой структуры самих локусов. Кроме того, даже в подобной схеме не наблюдается очевидного превалирования техногенных факторов в общей структуре, так как природный локус оценивается экспертами крайне близко по критериям частоты репрезентации своей рискогенности: 70,0% против 66,7% соответственно. Лишь социокультурный локус в своей рискогенности очевидно менее представлен, иллюстрируя уровень по максимально часто свершающемуся рисковому событию во внутривидовой структуре как 26,7%.

В связи с этим, с другой стороны, мы полагаем, что подобная картина может отражать и реально существующее положение дел. Имеется ввиду следующее. Увеличение скоростей и актуальности распространения техногенных продуктов в бытийственной структуре и связях общественной жизни не вызывает сомнений. Равно как и сохраняется, или даже увеличивается масштаб разрушительных последствий природных катаклизмов, несмотря на все достижения технико-технологического развития человечества. При этом научное и управленческое внимание к проблемам социальных рисков остается незначительным, сохраняется состояние несформированности как самого экспертного сообщества, так и методического обеспечения выявления, прогнозирования и превентивной работы с подобными деструктивными состояниями. Следовательно, с определенными обозначенными выше ограничениями, мы можем описать состояние

субсредовой структуры среды обитания человека, опираясь на оценку состояния рискогенности ее элементов как индикаторное значение их явных и латентных онтологических свойств.

Для уточнения первичных выводов необходимо обратиться и к особенностям внутривидовой структуры локусов по критерию их рискогенного содержания. Наибольшая частота проявлений в структуре техногенного локуса представлена следующими рисками: транспортные аварии (70,0%); аварии на коммунальных системах жизнеобеспечения (66,7%); пожары и взрывы (53,3%). Достаточно близким к последнему показателю является частота риска аварий на электроэнергетических системах (50,0%). Нетрудно заметить, что указанные техногенные ситуации являются типичными для современной России, и для определения корреляции подобных состояний с другими субсредовыми локусами требуется уточнение факторных характеристик самого локуса через уточнение его системных связей в составе средовой структуры. Какой-либо значимой техногенной специфики, связанной с развитием именно новейших (конвергентных или иных) технологий не иллюстрируется.

Внутривидовая структура рисков природно-экологического локуса представлена следующими его проявлениями: ежегодно или чаще происходят природные пожары (66,7%); опасные гидрологические явления (половодья и др.) – 50,0%; сокращение земельных ресурсов (истощение, выветривание и др.) – 48,3%. Как иллюстрирует статистика, подобные явления также являются обобщенно типичными для регионов России.

Для социокультурного локуса характерна следующая статистическая картина: утрата исторической памяти в различных группах населения – 26,7%; изменение или утрата культурных традиций (норм, обычаев и др.) – 23,3%; разрушение нравственных ценностей и моральных норм – 23,3%. Также близко оценивается угроза кризиса культурной идентичности (20,0%), одна мы полагаем ее скорее производной от указанных трех приоритетных рисков социокультурной безопасности. Заметим, что в социокультурном пространстве отмеченные угрозы в основной своей массе идентифицируются экспертами менее частыми и комплексными, нежели угрозы, характерные для иных субсредовых контекстов. Отмечаются в основном лишь их отдельные проявления. В частности для указанных позиций в статистическом выражении это выглядит следующим образом (таблица 1).

Таблица 1

Уровень (масштаб, частота) распространения угроз социокультурной безопасности в регионах России (обобщенные данные)

Table 1

Level (scale speed) dissemination of social and cultural threats to security in the regions of Russia (a generalization of the data)

	Разрушение исторических и культурных объектов в регионе	Проявления вандализма, надругательства над историческими памятниками	Несанкционированный снос памятников	Утрата исторической памяти в различных группах населения	Изменение или утрата культурных традиций (норм, обычаев, нравов, обрядов, ритуалов)	Угроза кризиса культурной идентичности в различных группах населения	Угроза разрушения культурных оснований национально-этнической и религиозной идентичности населения	Разрушение нравственных ценностей и моральных норм среди населения	Проявления дискриминации, нарушения прав и свобод граждан на основе национальных и религиозных различий	Возникновение неформальных объединений контркультурной направленности
Широко распространены	16,7	,0	10,0	26,7	23,3	20,0	16,7	23,3	10,0	6,7
Отдельные проявления	56,7	70,0	23,3	50,0	50,0	40,0	46,7	63,3	53,3	43,3
Отсутствуют угрозы	26,7	30,0	66,7	23,3	26,7	40,0	36,7	13,3	36,7	50,0
Итого	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Однако, в частности, вызывает интерес позиция экспертов в отношении угроз возникновения неформальных объединений контркультурной направленности. Половина экспертного сообщества (50,0%) полагают что подобные угрозы отсутствуют. При этом угроза терроризма и иных форм экстремизма является крайне конъюнктурной далеко не только в мировом социально-политическом, но и внутривосточном пространстве. Одна только проблематика участия российских граждан в движении «Исламское государство» достаточно полно представлена в масс-медиа пространстве страны. Не подвергая ценностно-личностной оценке экспертные позиции, можем лишь предположить, что последние иллюстрируют состояние массового сознания населения, в том числе в профессиональной среде управленческого корпуса, образования ввиду того, что 46,7% опрошенных представляют структуры государственной службы, 26,7% – образовательную систему.

С учетом указанных выше соображений, репрезентативность изначально проиллюстрированного состояния субсредовой структуры может подвергаться сомнению и нуждается в дальнейшей верификации. Вероятно, масштаб представленности социокультурного локуса в общей структуре несколько занижен. Для уточнения вопроса необходимо обратиться к факторным онтологически-контекстуальным значениям субсредовых локусов, то есть выявить их детерминационный статус в корреляциях к самим рискам, если это будет возможно.

При оценке по семибалльной шкале степени влияния конкретных факторов на возможность возникновения угроз социокультурной безопасности в регионе, наши выводы были подтверждены самим же экспертным сообществом. При интерпретации полученных данных на основе принципов проективной оценки экспертных позиций, иллюстрируется, что наиболее значимыми факторами угроз социокультурной безопасности при распределении по ранговой шкале являются:

1. Недостаточное внимание государства к обеспечению сохранности культурных объектов (4,6 балла);
2. Человеческий фактор (халатность, идеологическая позиция, мошенничество, ошибки в обеспечении социокультурной безопасности) (4,23 балла);
3. Слабая воспитательная работа в школе и пропаганда нравственных ценностей среди населения (4,17 балла);
4. Распространение образцов безнравственности и низкопробной культуры под видом современного искусства (4,17 балла);
5. Состояние правовой и законодательной базы по обеспечению социокультурной безопасности (3,97 балла).

Техногенные и природные факторы представлены гораздо менее значимыми: 3 и 3,07 балла соответственно.

Особняком мы отмечаем факторы, связанные с изменением со временем свойств культурных объектов (4,3 балла) и связанные с появлением новых, неизученных свойств культурных

объектов (3,23 балла), не включая их в общую структуру рангового распределения по причине их объективности как в отношении самих объектов влияния, так и в отношении их собственной онтологии. Изменение свойств в хронологической динамике и возникновение их новых неизученных форм как нелинейных и эмерджентных состояний лежит скорее в предметной области междисциплинарной теории сложности, а не социологии.

Верифицировать наши выводы возможно также обратившись к анализу факторов повышения угроз экологической безопасности. В частности, к наиболее актуальным в ранговом распределении, по аналогичной 7-ми балльной системе оценки, относятся:

1. Человеческий фактор (вандализм, вредительство, мошенничество, ошибки в обеспечении экологической безопасности и т.д.) (5,03 балла);
2. Недостатки в управлении экологической сферой (4,6207 балла);
3. Недостаточное внимание государства к обеспечению безопасности природно-экологической сферы (4,59 балла);
4. Особенности экологического сознания населения (4,5862 балла);
5. Состояние правовой и законодательной базы по обеспечению экологической безопасности (4,1034 балла).

В данном случае очевидно онтологическое сходство всех наиболее значимых факторных позиций, заключающееся в их социально-управленческой природе. Влияние техносферы (особенности региональной структуры экономики, экспансивное развитие производства, техногенные аварии и катастрофы) имеет гораздо более низкий факторный вес – 3,52 балла. Даже факторы объективного характера, связанные с изменением со временем свойств природных объектов (3,28 балла) и появлением новых, неизученных свойств объектов природной сферы (2,97 балла) не имеют столь значимого влияния на ухудшение состояния природно-экологической безопасности как социокультурные факторы.

Аналогичная ситуация наблюдается в оценке факторов, детерминирующих угрозы техносферы. Человеческий фактор, включающий в себя ошибки в проектировании и в эксплуатации техники, нарушение технологий и техники безопасности оценивается по представленной шкале на 5 баллов. Недостаточное внимание

собственника к обеспечению безопасности объектов техносферы оценивается в 4,21 балла; недостатки в управлении в 3,59 балла. Тем не менее отмечается и некоторая специфика. В частности, максимальное значение отмечено для факторов, связанных с изменением со временем свойств объектов техносферы (старение, изношенность) – 5,57 балла; также высока оценки значимости природных факторов – 3,9 балла. Однако мы не считаем данные результаты существенными для корректировки представленных выше позиций по той причине, что старение материалов, в том числе под воздействием факторов окружающей среды, является естественным для технических объектов процессом.

Кроме того, сам уровень техногенной безопасности в соотношении к экономическим возможностям его достижения в среднем по регионам России считается приемлемым (93,1%): полностью каковым его считают 27,6% экспертов; скорее таковым – 65,5%. При этом принципиальной разницы для регионов с максимальным и минимальным уровнем риска нет: 78% и 63% соответственно. Для экологического локуса показатели являются близкими: полностью приемлемый и скорее приемлемый по 10,3% и 69% соответственно. Аналогичные тенденции иллюстрируется и в оценках для регионов с максимальным и минимальным уровнем риска: 78% и 88% соответственно. При этом необходимо отметить, что наблюдается тенденция к снижению оценки адекватности возможностей регионов по достижению необходимого уровня безопасности. Если для техногенного локуса она составляла 93,1%, а для экологического – 70,2%, то для социокультурного уже 66,7%. Следовательно, наиболее высока для социокультурного локуса оценка возможностей как в той или иной степени неприемлемых - 33,3% против 29,7% в отношении экологической безопасности. Разница в оценках с техносферой составляет уже 33,3% против 6,9%. Мы полагаем, что это является еще одной иллюстрацией особой актуальности параметрического статуса социокультурного локуса в структуре среды обитания человека в условиях российской действительности.

Кроме того, отмечается и интенсификация тенденций повышения уровня угроз социокультурной безопасности, идентифицируемого через индикаторную группу рисков, приведенных в таблице 2.

Тенденции снижения или повышения вероятности возникновения социальных рисков (по балльной шкале)

Таблица 2

Trends reduce or increase the likelihood of social risks

Table 2

	Минимум	Максимум	Среднее
Риск снижения качества жизни	1	7	4,73
Риск роста социальной напряженности	2	7	4,67
Риск роста вынужденной миграции	2	7	4,73
Риск роста социальной неопределенности в регионе	2	7	4,70

Также иллюстрируется устойчивая связь социальных рисков с повышением

уровня техногенных угроз, что иллюстрирует таблица 3.

Связь социальных рисков с увеличением степени угрозы чрезвычайных техногенных ситуаций в регионе (по балльной шкале)

Таблица 3

Contact social risks with the increase of man-made threats to emergency situations in the region

Table 3

	Минимум	Максимум	Среднее
Снижение качества жизни	1	7	4,24
Рост социальной напряженности	1	7	3,24
Рост вынужденной миграции	1	7	3,03
Рост социальной неопределенности в регионе	1	7	3,03

При этом связь социальных рисков с повышением уровня экологических угроз связывается

экспертами как гораздо менее устойчивая (таблица 4).

Связь социальных рисков с увеличением степени угроз экологической безопасности (по балльной шкале)

Таблица 4

Contact social risk with increasing environmental threats

Table 4

	Минимум	Максимум	Среднее
Снижение качества жизни	1	6	3,5517
Рост социальной напряженности	1	6	3,1379
Рост вынужденной миграции	1	6	2,7586
Рост социальной неопределенности в регионе	1	6	2,97

Мы полагаем, что подобные результаты закономерны в формирующемся представлении о российской специфике субсредовой структуры среды обитания человека. Низкий уровень экологической культуры, проявляющейся далеко не только в неразвитом экологическом сознании населения, а также в нерациональном природопользовании и т.д., является основной причиной отсутствия в России надлежащих стратегических ориентиров и методических практик оценки долгосрочного влияния социокультурного кризиса на экосистемы страны. В то же время, взаимообратная связь социума с уровнем его технико-технологического развития очевидна и прослеживается даже на раннем этапе развития цивилизационных форм существования человеческих сообществ, вопрос только в уровне.

Россия в этом вопросе не может держаться в стороне от процессов глобального технико-технологического развития человечества. Однако четко идентифицируется определенная национальная специфика.

Мы считаем необходимым проиллюстрировать полученные выводы визуальными моделями топологии среды обитания человека на основании разработанной нами методологии [14].

Как мы указывали, идентификация топоса возможна на основании особенностей конфигурации составляющих его субсредовых локусов, то есть типа иерархии параметров, определяемой факторным весом локуса. На современном этапе развития человечества можно представить динамику топологических изменений

основываясь именно на пространственно-хронологических изменениях факторного веса локусов, то есть определить репрезентативную

тенденцию на основании ретроспекции и экстраполяции. В наиболее общем виде она представлена на рисунке 1.

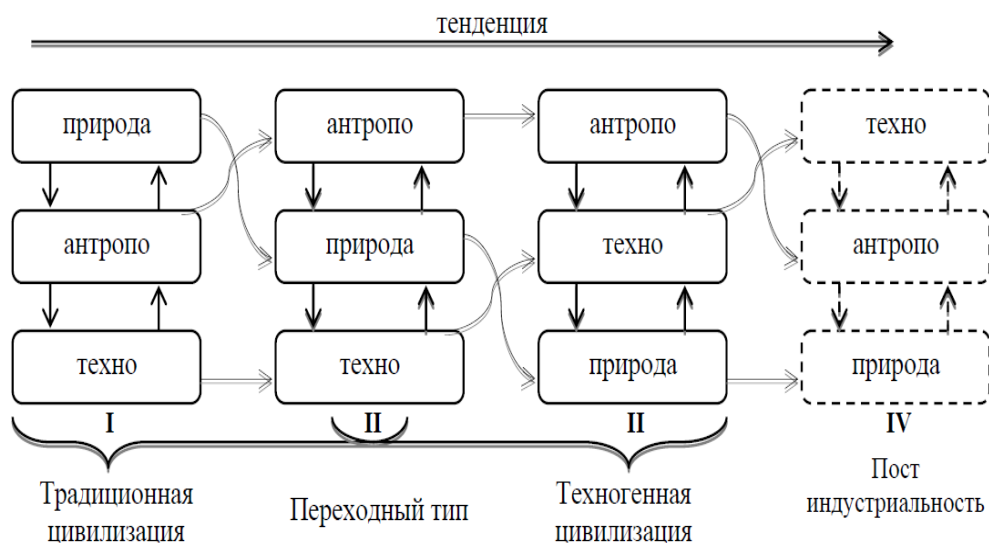


Рис. 1. Соотношение топологической и цивилизационной динамики среды обитания человека
Fig. 1. The ratio of biological and civilizational dynamics of the human environment

Принимая во внимание футурологический характер категории «постиндустриальность», можно видеть, что современное общество характеризуется как техногенное по В.С. Степину [6]. В данном случае антропный (или социокультурный) локус находится все еще в статусе управляющего параметра, однако технолокус имеет статус параметра порядка, подчиняя природу хотя бы в целе-ориентирующем, идеологическом аспекте. Вероятностная тенденция иллюстрирует переход последнего в статус управляющего параметра с сохранением низшего параметрического статуса у природного локуса. Однако для России, как мы полагаем, подобная ситуация не больше чем мифологема. Как показали проанализированные данные, социокультурный локус действительно занимает статус управляющего параметра, однако на этом области соотношения российской среды с техногенным типом заканчивается. Попытаемся более подробно проиллюстрировать данный вывод на основании верификации высказанных соображений.

В первую очередь, можем идентифицировать в обобщенном виде риски в ведущих отраслях российской техносферы. Согласно экспертной оценке, наибольшим уровень риска признается в электроэнергетике – 57,1%. Далее таковым он отмечается в химической и нефтехимической промышленности (39,3%), нефтедобывающая и нефтеперерабатывающая промышленность (39,3%). Как мы видим, наиболее рискованными являются отрасли, связанные с нефтересурсами,

что отражает расхожий тезис о сырьевой зависимости России. Также и российская электроэнергетика преимущественно основана на использовании природного топлива, а не экологически чистых технологиях, таких как использование солнечной энергии и аналогичных. Подтверждается это и данными по иным отраслям, имеющим четко идентифицируемую природно-ресурсную специфику: газовая промышленность (17,9%); лесная, деревообрабатывающая и целлюлозно-бумажная промышленность (14,3%); сельское хозяйство, рыболовство (14,3%). Также масштабно представлены традиционно основанные на расходовании медленно возобновляемых природных ресурсов транспортные отрасли: автомобильный и железнодорожный – 17,9% и 21,4% соответственно.

В свою очередь уровень рискогенности отраслей, требующих внедрения и развития наукоемких технологий, значительно ниже: городской транспорт (3,6%); машиностроение и металлообработка (7,1%); строительство и промышленность строительных материалов (7,1%); легкая и пищевая промышленность (7,1%); черная и цветная металлургия по 3,6% соответственно.

Мы полагаем, что преобладание по рассматриваемым позициям ресурсо-ориентированных отраслей наглядно иллюстрируют тесные связи между техно- и природным локусом. С учетом описанной выше

наибольшей актуальности природных факторов в аспекте их рискогенности для техносферы, мы видим эти связи горизонтальными, то есть оба локуса находятся в одинаковом параметрическом статусе в иерархической субредовой структуре. Наглядно иллюстрируется подобный вывод данными таблицы 5, коррелирующей природно-

экологические факторы с частотой рисков в отраслях техносферы. Как становится понятным, тенденции подверженности природно-экологическим влияниям идентифицируются именно в указанных выше ведущих областях народного хозяйства, носящих ресурсозависимый характер.

Уровень природно-экологического риска в отраслях хозяйствования

Таблица 5

Table 5

The level of natural and environmental risk management in the fields

Отрасли	Процент наблюдений
Электроэнергетика	34,6%
Нефтедобывающая промышленность	23,1%
Нефтеперерабатывающая промышленность	26,9%
Газовая промышленность	7,7%
Угольная промышленность	7,7%
Черная металлургия	11,5%
Цветная металлургия	19,2%
Химическая и нефтехимическая промышленность	42,3%
Машиностроение и металлообработка	3,8%
Электроника	3,8%
Лесная, деревообрабатывающая и целлюлозно-бумажная промышленность	50,0%
Строительство. Промышленность строительных материалов	19,2%
Легкая и пищевая промышленность	15,4%
Сельское хозяйство, рыболовство	61,5%
Железнодорожный транспорт	23,1%
Городской транспорт	15,4%
Автомобильный транспорт	19,2%
Магистральный трубопроводной транспорт	30,8%
Морской транспорт	15,4%
Внутренний водный транспорт	11,5%
Авиационный транспорт	19,2%

Тем не менее, отдельные позиции приведенной таблицы вызывают вопросы, касающиеся газовой и угольной промышленности. Уровень рискогенности в корреляции к природно-экологическим факторам отмечен как один из наиболее низких, по 7,7% соответственно. Однако, даже с позиций обывательского подхода, подобное положение дел кажется преувеличенным по причине очевидной зависимости этих отраслей от состояния природно-экологических контекстов. Вероятно, эксперты считают, что несмотря на подобную зависимость, в современных условиях созданные технологические комплексы газо- и угольной добычи обладают высочайшей

степенью устойчивости к природным катаклизмам. Мы полагаем, что приведенные данные диктуют необходимость поиска максимально рискогенных факторов для данных отраслей, которые могут лежать в области социокультурных причин, однако экспертные мнения по этой проблеме у нас отсутствуют.

Итак, анализ экспертных мнений позволяет сформировать представление об особенностях конфигурации субредовых локусов и построить общую репрезентативную топологическую модель субредовой структуры среды обитания человека для современной России (рисунок 2).

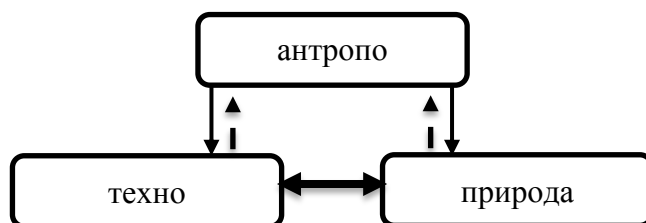


Рис. 2. Репрезентативный топологический тип среды обитания человека в России
Fig. 2. Representative topological type of the human environment in Russia

Как мы видим, российская модель имеет определенную специфику по сравнению с приведенной на рисунке 1, отражающей общемировые тенденции, хотя бы в отношении наиболее развитых индустриальных стран, в числе которых США, Евросоюз, Китай. В данном случае три базовых онтологических локуса, ранжированные по своему факторному весу, в своей конфигурации не представляют собой строгой иерархической системы. Техно- и природный локус находятся в равном параметрическом статусе управляемых параметров. Социокультурный локус находится в статусе управляющих параметров и параметров порядка, к содержанию которых мы можем относить как репрезентативные современности формы политической деятельности, так и устойчивые паттерны массового мировоззрения и аналогичные. Однако столь подробный анализ и верификация моделей на мезо и микро-уровнях не входит в задачи нашего исследования и может быть произведена лишь на основании соответствующих предметных социологических исследований (массовые опросы населения и другие).

Мы полагаем, что проанализированные эмпирические данные позволяют идентифицировать устойчивые горизонтальные взаимопределяющие связи природы и техники, заключающиеся в следующем. Низкий уровень технико-технологического развития России, доминирование отраслей третьего и четвертого технологических укладов по Н.Д. Кондратьеву, находится в отношениях круговой причинности с процессами разработки природных ресурсов. То есть особенности природно-экологической системы России (наличие и перечень полезных ископаемых, биологические ресурсы и аналогичные) определяют уровень развития технико-технологического инструментария их освоения. В свою очередь уровень технико-технологического определяет масштаб освоения природных ресурсов страны. Подобный замкнутый цикл иллюстрирует ресурсозависимость России и может быть разрушен лишь направленной политической волей, так как сама экономическая целесообразность подобной необходимости не диктует. Следовательно, мы и имеем достаточно

оснований говорить о наивысшем иерархическом (факторном) статусе социокультурного локуса. Системно представленные доводы и позволяют сформировать приведенную выше топологическую модель состояния среды обитания человека в России. При оценке места данной модели (рисунок 2) в общем процессе топологической динамики (рисунок 1), мы можем идентифицировать ее как переходный тип от топоса II к топосу III, где топологический тип II сам является переходным от традиционного к техногенному типу цивилизаций. В данном случае топологическое описание состояния среды обитания человека в России может быть произведено через понятия «догоняющей модернизации», «технологического отставания» и аналогичные, так как репрезентированный в нашем исследовании российский топос не соответствует репрезентативному общемировому.

Кроме того, нужно понимать, что политически декларируемая необходимость экспоненциального роста темпов социокультурного развития России в условиях общемировых геополитических тенденций формирует потребность в интенсификации устойчивого роста национальной экономики. В российских условиях, где технологический прорыв остается декларируемой идеологемой, в контексте современного состояния технико-технологического комплекса, возможно осуществлять рост экономики лишь повышая степень интенсивности экспансивной эксплуатации природно-экологических резервов. Техника в перспективе продолжит оставаться в инструментальном статусе, так как иных объективно-целесообразных причин ее развития в сложившихся условиях нет. Все это позволяет экстраполировать тенденции в идентифицируемый топологический конструкт, характеризующий существующую конфигурацию субсредовых локусов повышением параметрического статуса природы. В итоге результатом должно стать формирование «чистой» иерархической конфигурации системы субсредовых локусов, определяющих устойчивый топологический тип среды обитания человека в России (рисунок 3).

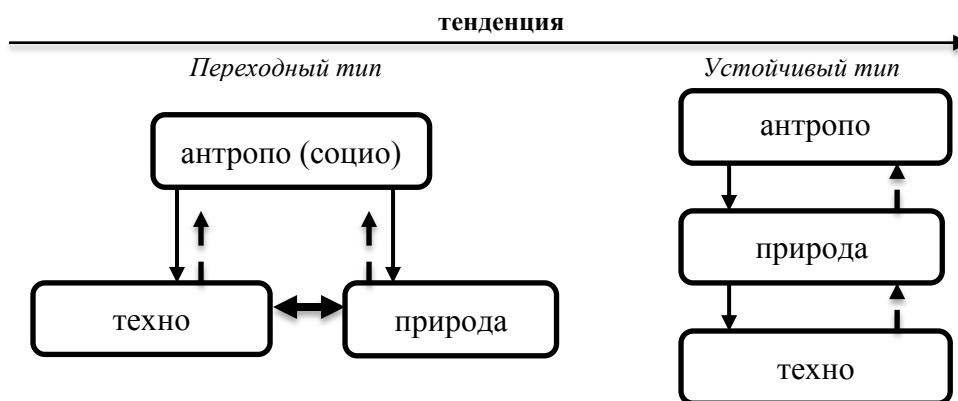


Рис. 3. Прогноз тенденций топологической динамики среды обитания человека в России
Fig. 3. Forecast trends topological dynamics of the human environment in Russia

Если сопоставить существующую и прогнозную модели субсредовых структур (топосов), то иллюстрируется определенный тип топологической динамики с ретроспективным вектором, то есть деградация. При соотношении

представленной выше (рисунок 1) и построенной (рисунок 3) динамических моделей это идентифицируется наиболее наглядно (рисунок 4).

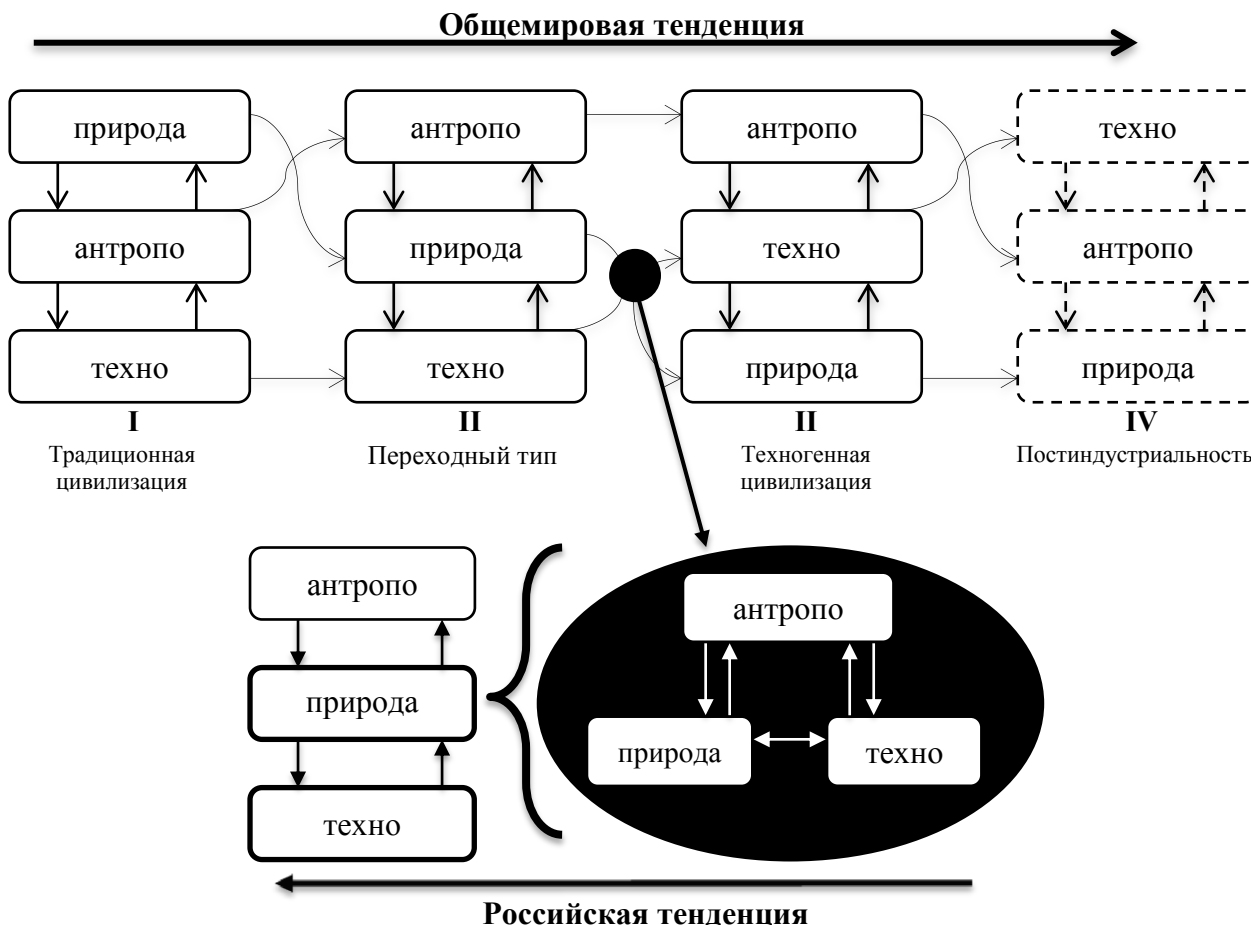


Рис. 4. Соотношение общемировой и российской топологической динамики трансформации среды обитания человека
Fig. 4. The ratio of the global and Russian topological dynamics of transformation of the human environment

Таким образом, на основании моделей и методологических императивов, представленных выше априорных теоретических верифицированных данными социологического

исследования, нам удалось построить визуальные стационарные и динамические макро-модели состояния топологии среды обитания человека в России исходя из установления существующих форм конфигурации ее субсредовых локусов. По сути, представленные модели основаны на определении факторного веса каждого онтологического локуса и установлении его корреляционных связей с другими элементами системы на основании выявления индикаторных состояний их внутривидовой структуры. Идентифицированные тенденции иллюстрируют усугубление состояний ресурсозависимости страны, эксплуатационного характера процессов разработки ее природно-экологического потенциала, значительного отставания от авангардных течений общемировых векторов технико-технологического развития, превалирования политической и социальной конъюнктуры над реализацией принципов инновационного прорыва в контексте архаичного экологического сознания. Клише «догоняющей модернизации» в отношении Российской Федерации продолжает оставаться актуальным как в национальном, так и в геополитическом масштабе. Однако, как отмечалось выше, для верификации и уточнения подобных выводов требуется дополнительная масштабная социологическая работа.

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**К ПРОБЛЕМЕ МИНИМИЗАЦИИ РИСКОВ
В ВЫСШЕМ ОБРАЗОВАНИИ РОССИИ**

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена описанию и структурированию наиболее проявленных рисков системы высшего образования. Актуальность данной проблемы обусловлена необходимостью корректировки курса образовательной реформы с позиций социального выравнивания социально-экономического развития страны через межвузовскую консолидацию опыта и усилий по наращиванию квалификационных потенциалов регионов. Автором делается ряд предложений по исправлению назревших недостатков.

Ключевые слова: реформа высшего образования; образовательные риски; образовательный сервис; клиенты образовательных услуг.

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**PROBLEM TO MINIMIZE RISKS
IN HIGHER EDUCATION RUSSIA**

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Annotation. The article describes and structuring the most risks identified higher education system. The urgency of this problem is due to the need to adjust the course of the educational reform of social leveling position of socio-economic development of the country through the consolidation of inter-university experience and efforts to build the capacities of regions qualifying. The author makes a number of proposals to remedy the urgent deficiencies.

Keywords: higher education reform; educational risks; educational services; customers of educational services.

Сегодня, когда страна испытывает геополитическое и экономическое давление, конкурентоспособность высшего образования должна возрастать. Пока же суммарный эффект реформирования свидетельствует скорее о рецессии или стагнации, нежели прогрессе. Принятые до недавнего времени либеральные методы самоорганизации образовательного рынка, утрачивают актуальность. Консервативное же управление через контроль мониторинговых показателей эффективности вузов использует слишком медленный путь в решении задач снижения и упреждения общесистемных рисков в оказании образовательных услуг. Происходивший процесс неорганической (догоняющей) модернизации не способствовал формированию стандартного качества высшего образования. Конкурентно-коммерческие интересы стали доминирующими и

разделяющими вузовское сообщество, породили межвузовский плюрализм в понимании стратегии развития отрасли, а равно и беспомощность в осуществлении ожидаемого инновационного прорыва. Недостатки реформирования системы высшего образования привели к накоплению «слабых мест» или рисков, дискредитирующих и тормозящих развитие.

Риски образовательной деятельности, как и любой другой, зависят от системных причин: международных вызовов и государственной политики, региональной специфики и стиля администрирования в конкретных вузах, заказа рынка труда и конечно, от эффективности самих клиентов образовательных услуг.

Поэтому цель данной статьи – провести структурирование рисков, существующих в высшем образовании России на организационном и клиентском уровнях, представить некоторые

предложения по коррекции стратегических принципов и практики.

1. Сервисные риски образования

Образование, в том числе и высшее, входит в особый сегмент сервисной экономики – информационный. Специфика образовательной услуги заключается в том, что клиент не может быть пассивен как в других сервисных случаях. Образовываясь, он вступает в сотрудничество с преподавателями и наравне с ними тратит свою энергию, время и средства, надеется на социально-экономическую долгосрочную отдачу. Поэтому заинтересован, чтобы образовательные риски были минимальными [1, с. 67].

Однако, если способности и трудовые затраты клиента были недостаточными и неэффективными, то его претензии к надежности услуги эквивалентно снижаются, а выпускные результаты дискредитируют ценз высшего образования. И тогда рискуют вузы не только своей репутацией, но и доверием ко всей российской системе, что наблюдалось в последние годы. При этом постепенно снижается профессионализм преподавания, мотивация и эффективность труда вузовских работников, как и корпоративная ответственность перед обществом.

Считается нормальным, что не у всех клиентов образовательные результаты стандартно одинаковы и в пределах вуза, и тем более в едином образовательном пространстве страны. Если бы они были таковыми, то у работодателей исчезли бы трудности отбора молодых специалистов. А у вузов, работающих по общим высоконадежным учебно-методические комплексы (УМК), исчезла бы необходимость конкурировать и бороться за рейтинговые позиции. Увы, государственная вузовская система, имеющая общего учредителя, пока не обладает унифицированными свойствами и гарантиями качества. А существенные различия в качестве квалификационных потенциалов территорий указывают на острую потребность в межвузовском выравнивании образовательных результатов посредством тесной интеграции и отраслевого обмена. И проблема обеспечения фундаментального и инновационного качества образования, без рисков для клиента, работодателей, общества не решается более 20 лет.

Риск есть у каждой услуги, и образовательной в частности:

Во-первых, услуга *не осязаема* и потому в случае недостаточно детализированной стандартизации учебного процесса, гарантии клиенту априори абстрактны, и требовать какой-то договорной точности ни частные клиенты, ни работодатели не могут.

Во-вторых, услуга *не сохраняется* (если не фиксируется на видео как в дистанционной форме обучения), но имеет лишь след в письменных работах студентов и оценках преподавателя.

В-третьих, услуга *субъективна*, то есть всегда содержит индивидуальную корреляцию как в преподавании материала, так и его усвоении.

В-четвертых, услуга *процессуально не постоянна*, поскольку передача информации и восприятие не могут быть одинаковы в пространстве (в связи с регионально-территориальной спецификой) и во времени (изменчивого событийного контекста).

Учитывая эти объективные сервисные риски, необходимо своевременно их превентировать, совершенствуя образовательные технологии, стандарты, компетенции как профессорско-преподавательского состава, так и клиентский менеджмент.

Кроме того, принятое в риск-менеджменте деление на прямые и косвенные риски [2, с. 569] в образовании также присутствуют. Прямые – когда откровенные недостатки присутствуют в конкретном вузе или образовательной системе в целом, косвенные – когда выявляется их неконкурентоспособность, упущенные выгоды по сравнению с другими вузами или национальными системами. Логика вариантов решения проблемы известна: честный критический самоанализ и устранение несовершенств, либо сравнительный анализ лучших вузов и бенчмаркинг.

В этом контексте становится целесообразной используемая в бизнесе классификация рисков на страхуемые и не страхуемые. Сегодня, когда обсуждаются способы страхования рисков потребителей образовательных услуг по аналогии с моделью КАСКО, озвученная в Форсайте ВШЭ [3, с. 27], встает вопрос фиксации гарантий и ответственности за их неисполнение, что серьезно осложнит деятельность вузов. И потому необходимо искать простые и эффективные решения проблемы гарантированного качества: во-первых, посредством принятия в стране унифицированных высоконадежных образовательных стандартов и технологий; а во-вторых, обязательную организацию постоянной обратной связи с преподавателями и клиентами с целью своевременного упреждения рисков, фальсификаций, имитаций и оперативного снятия конфликтов, неудовлетворенности.

2. Отраслевая структура рисков

Структурируем риски российского высшего образования с позиции вузов:

Стратегические риски – сегодня проявлены в разновекторных приоритетах противоречивой реформы высшего образования. Долгое время было

не ясно: вузы работают на глобальные интересы или государственные, готовят студентов для мирового рынка труда, федерального или локального, и нужно ли вносить в их образование территориально-региональные компоненты? Даже внутренние рейтинги университетов были сориентированы на международные стандарты; ценилась публикационная активность, индексируемая на зарубежных платформах; студенты стремились к иностранной академической мобильности; догоняющая неорганическая модернизация доминировала над органической. Но сегодня, в условиях санкционных международных отношений это обернулось рисками целеполагания и активизацией консервативных настроений, призывающих к отмене прозападной реформы. Разрешение обострившихся противоречий лежит в плоскости стратегических уточнений.

Управленческие риски – это дефицитная финансовая обеспеченность процессов реформирования; это и корректность применения аналитических инструментов – рейтингов, мониторингов, аттестаций, учитывающих формальные показатели эффективности, но игнорирующих важный социальный смысл – через неравенство вузов усугубление неравенства темпов развития регионов. Поэтому важно выровнять качество образования в стране, организовать межвузовский обмен опытом, поддержать отстающих, вместо закрытий и слияний-поглощений неэффективных организаций. Сегодня, когда очевиден географический дисбаланс размещения вузов, имеющих для каждой территории градообразующее и экономическое значение в плане удержания трудовых ресурсов и развития квалификационных потенциалов, следует тщательно взвешивать рискованные последствия таких мероприятий.

Инструментальные риски касаются обеспеченности передовыми и едиными для страны инновационными УМК в широком смысле слова, то есть содержащих полноценные комплекты учебно-методических и оценочных инструментов, как переоснащение высокотехнологичными средствами образовательного производства, вместо индивидуально произведенных в каждом вузе. Не менее важно передовое качество лабораторий и рабочих мест для студенческих практик.

Переход на принципиально новый уровень педагогического труда делает невозможными коррупцию, преподавательскую халтуру и прочие формы неконтролируемых злоупотреблений. Остановит разрастание *рисков от девиантной и теневой деятельности* в вузах, сопутствующих

неэффективному управлению и ошибочной стратегии.

Кадровые риски связаны не столько с административным аппаратом, сколько с профессорско-преподавательским составом, который должен иметь постоянно улучшающиеся условия труда и увеличивающийся пакет стимулов, чтоб обновлять свой арсенал компетенций, расширять содержание и качество труда.

Поскольку уровень компетентности и самоорганизации среди управляющих и подчиненных по сути равный, то преподавательский персонал, организующий непосредственную образовательную работу с клиентами, способен достаточно точно формулировать свои потребности и проблемы для административного реагирования. Но подавленная долгие годы «демократия снизу» стала тормозом реформы, срочное восстановление её позволит оздоровить трудовые отношения в вузах, удержать педагогические кадры, активно переходящие в бизнес сферы.

Рыночные риски отражают межвузовскую конкуренцию за контингент и инвестиции, и возрастающие требования к подстройке образовательных услуг к рынкам труда. Поправки в Трудовом кодексе (ст. 195 ч. 2) с 2016 г. в бюджетном секторе вводятся нормы обязательного образовательного (профильного) соответствия занимаемой должности, а с 2018 г. и в частном. Для вузов же это чревато ужесточением претензий к уровню подготовки нового поколения специалистов.

Клиентские риски для вузов имеют как общие, так и специфичные проблемы: а) недобор абитуриентов в провинции в связи с возрастающей образовательной миграцией в центр; б) входные качества абитуриентов, измеряемые в основном ограниченными ЕГЭ-экзаменами, без учета профпригодности и профориентированности; в) непредсказуемая мотивация и работоспособность студентов; г) образовательные девиации – массовая шпаргализация, плагиат, заемный труд, не исключают дальнейшей экстраполяции на другие сферы самореализации.

Репутационные риски перед обществом и работодателями, складывающиеся из суммы предыдущих и измеряемые опросно-рейтинговыми инструментами. Полученные, таким образом, приблизительные результаты начинают конформировать общественное мнение и подтверждаться в деловой практике работодателей, например, при отборе резюме соискателей.

3. Образовательные риски с позиций клиентов и работодателей

Клиенты для любой бизнес-организации всегда *источник неопределенности*, [4, с. 111] именно их уровень притязаний оказывает позитивное или негативное влияние на профессиональную культуру преподавателей, производительность труда, возможности оптимизации организационных процессов.

Опросы относительно удовлетворенности студентов качеством образовательных услуг, морально-психологической атмосферой, социально-бытовыми условиями, уровнем развития научно-исследовательской деятельности, взаимоотношениями студентов с кураторами, например в НИУ «БелГУ» [5, с. 162], как и в других вузах, показывают общую позитивность восприятия клиентами образовательных процессов. Но потенциальные риски и упущенные возможности реформирования студенты не способны оценить. Это сфера компетентности экспертов и исследователей, которые к наиболее серьезным рискам относят [6, с. 53] содержание программ и организацию образовательных взаимодействий.

Суть содержательных рисков, прежде всего, связана с *авторским субъективизмом преподавания и учебных пособий*. В российской практике в большинстве случаев разрозненные преподаватели, создают учебно-методические пособия по-своему субъективно «кустарному» разумению и порой заручившись формальным рецензированием, вершат судьбы будущих поколений и общества в целом. При этом часто авторские версии содержат высокую долю компиляций из устаревшего по содержанию плагиата. Поэтому существующее частное производство учебно-методических пособий несёт главную угрозу и должно быть заменено выверенными и высокотехнологичными методическими продуктами, выполненными солидными коллективами, прошедшими через добросовестное профессиональное обсуждение, то есть аккумулирующими лучший опыт страны. Тогда останутся лишь риски трансляции (преподавания, применения) и будет восстановлен баланс *коллективного и личного начала, общегосударственного, регионального и местного компонентов* в образовательном процессе.

Это немного облегчит информационные перегрузки профессорско-преподавательского состава, но увеличит ответственность госагентств и профессиональных советов при министерстве образования и науки. Очистит и электронные библиотеки общего пользования (типа ресурса «Лань») от избыточного, некачественного и часто дорогостоящего контента.

Суть организационных процессов касается:

– *Ненадежности оценивания* – опять же по причинам: преподавательского субъективизма, ненадежности критериев, формального применения балльно-рейтинговой технологии, коррупции. Корректирующие меры должны основываться на рациональном разделении труда: когда тот, кто учит, не может оценивать, так как это и его педагогический результат. Однако, общее осознание этого не означает незамедлительного исправления, инерционные силы всегда блокируют назревшую оптимизацию. Идея внешнего аудита и сертификации знаний, компетенций давно обсуждается, и в частности предлагается [3, с. 28] внедрение открытых электронных дипломов, где не только отражены все оценки, но и прикреплены файлы отчетно-итоговых работ, сопровождаемые и онлайн-рейтингами их руководителей. Такой электронный диплом будет более наглядным доказательством для работодателей, если они захотят тратить время на его приложения. Если даже широко используемая в США и Европе балльно-рейтинговая технология оценки выпускников, среди российских работодателей не обрела популярности.

– *Понятности оценок для работодателей*, поскольку сегодня указанные в дипломах более половины дисциплин ещё оцениваются абстрактным «зачетом», а экзаменационные предметы – не менее абстрактной трехбалльной шкалой (3,4,5), когда в тройке явно присутствует недопустимый риск.

Также и сами названия изученных курсов не раскрывают работодателям детализированного содержания. Пока нет стандарта представления достигнутых студентами компетенций и видов деятельности, а также социально-психологической характеристики выпускника, которую при трудоустройстве молодые специалисты создают в своём резюме сами (?!).

– *Оперативной обратной связи клиентов и работодателей*, которая важна в рамках целевых направлений (образовательных заказов муниципалитетов и корпораций), когда это не просто слабо структурированный процесс общих опросов и электронных форумов, а конкретное обсуждение индивидуальной образовательной траектории, промежуточных результатов и оперативных согласований инновационных возможностей.

– *Международной академической мобильности студентов*, которая, как правило, ассоциируется с престижным дополнительным шансом образования за свой счёт, а не просчитанной и гарантированной работодателем

перспективой. В современных условиях укрепления внутренней интеграции целесообразно задуматься о программах краткосрочной региональной образовательной мобильности, особенно в плане инновационных практик, которые позволят сформировать ценные личностные качества – географическую эрудицию, адаптацию, профессиональные связи.

4. Выводы и предложения:

1. Актуальные угрозы качеству образования, инфляции дипломов, отраслевой репутации требуют срочного упреждения угроз и выработки низко рискованных норм, стандартов, регламентов, технологий, коммуникаций.

2. Риски для клиентов и работодателей краткосрочного порядка должны своевременно корректироваться, чтобы избежать квалификационную деградацию в долгосрочной перспективе.

3. Образовательные риски для клиентов, работодателей и общества созданы не по вине вузов, а из-за несовершенства реформирования системы высшего образования, срочно нуждающейся в пересмотре стратегических принципов, образовательных гарантий, обеспеченности передовыми средствами производства.

4. Повышение надежности *содержательной основы* образовательных программ через единые УМК нового поколения, наконец, освободит преподавателей страны от распыления сил на производство несовершенных личных инструментов труда. А созданная экономия трудового времени позволит вузовским сообществам целенаправленно организовать освоение инноваций и прорыв на новый уровень качества образования.

5. Отказ от дифференцированной системы оценок, в пользу только отличной успеваемости (к достижению которой студент может идти в соответствии со своим режимом продуктивности, естественно индивидуально оплачивая все контрольные процедуры) приблизит долгожданную стандартизацию качества подготовки.

6. Внутренняя межвузовская мобильность, интеграция и выравнивание темпов развития будет способствовать интеграции и выравниванию социально-экономического развития всех регионов страны, что поможет реализовать основополагающую конституционную задачу – построение социального государства.

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**SOCIO-CULTURAL DINAMICS OF RISKS THROUGH
«ARROW OF TIME»: THE NEED FOR HUMANISTIC TURN**

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Abstract. The article analyzes the postulate of «arrow of time» founded by the Nobel Prize winner I.R. Prigozhin, according to which there takes place the self-development of a matter, its acceleration and, above all – the complicated dynamics, which is extended on socio-cultural dynamics of risks. The authors trace the development of risks from their origin in the form of personal risks up to new generation of complex risks that are typical for world risk society. Respectively, the theoretical-methodological tools of risk-analysis are also changed in the context of “arrow time” through the transition from one paradigm to another. Thus, to receive the valid knowledge of complex risks, it was necessary not to improve and correct the existing tools but to create qualitatively other interdisciplinary paradigms based on integration of actually sociological theories with other sciences. So, there were turns of sociology to theoretical tools of natural sciences. For the last decade, the famous English sociologist John Urry offered the whole three new turns in sociology – complexity, mobility and resource turns, the theoretical-methodological tools of which are extremely important for understanding of the dynamic nature of modern risks. Recognizing their innovation and the scientific importance, the authors of the present article consider these approaches insufficient and suggest to add the humanistic turn focused on integration of social, natural, and also the humanities in a modern theory of risk.

Keywords: complex society; society of risk; world at risk society; new generation of risks; complexity turn; mobility turn; resource turn; humanistic turn.

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**СОЦИОКУЛЬТУРНАЯ ДИНАМИКА РИСКОВ
В КОНТЕКСТЕ «СТРЕЛЫ ВРЕМЕНИ»:
ВОСТРЕБОВАННОСТЬ ГУМАНИСТИЧЕСКОГО ПОВОРОТА**

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Аннотация. В статье постулат «стрелы времени», обоснованный Лауреатом Нобелевской премии И.Р. Пригожиным, согласно которому имеет место саморазвитие материи, ускоряющаяся, а главное – ее усложняющаяся динамика, распространяется на социокультурную динамику рисков. Прослеживается развитие рисков от их зарождения в виде личностных рисков до новой генерации сложных рисков, характерных для мирового общества риска. Соответственно, теоретико-методологический инструментальный анализ рисков также изменяется в контексте «стрелы времени» через переход от одной парадигмы к другой. При этом, чтобы получить валидное знание о сложных рисках, пришлось не улучшать и подправлять существующий инструментальный, а создавать качественно иные, междисциплинарные парадигмы, основанные не только на интеграции собственно социологических теорий, но и на синтезе социологических подходов с другими науками.

Так возникли повороты социологии к инструментарию естественных наук. За последнее десятилетие, известный английский социолог Джон Урри предложил целых три новых поворота в социологии – сложности, мобильности и ресурсный повороты, теоретико-методологический инструментарий которых крайне важен для понимания динамичной природы современных рисков. Признавая их инновационность и научную значимость, авторы настоящей статьи, считают данные подходы недостаточными и предлагают их дополнить гуманистическим поворотом, ориентируемым на интеграцию социальных естественных, а также гуманитарных наук в современную рискологию.

Ключевые слова: сложный социум; общество риска; мировое общество риска; новая генерация рисков; поворот сложности; поворот мобильности; ресурсный поворот; гуманистический поворот.

According to the «arrow of time» postulate, substantiated by the Nobel Laureate I.R. Prigozhin, the self-development of matter happens, its speeding, and, most importantly, its dynamics becoming more complex that is applied not only to organic and inorganic worlds, but also to the human communities [5]. We believe this postulate should be extended for the social and cultural dynamics of risks that are not only increasing quantitatively but become more complex qualitatively during the process of human development from industrial to a modern reflexive modernity.

The German sociologist Ulrich Beck (1944-2015), a pioneer in the creation of an integrated interdisciplinary theory of «risk society», in fact, consider in it a complex socio-cultural dynamics of risks since their inception. According to his opinion, the risks in its development passed three phases of its quantitative and qualitative complexity increase. During first phase two types of risks originate in terms of traditional and early industrial society: 1) personal risks - Columbus tried to discover new parts of the world, that in the context of existed values and norms was interpreted as bravery, courage, an accident action, which, depending on the result could bring glory or condemnation and neglect. During that historical period it was possible to choose whether to take risks or not; 2) the risks of unpredictable natural hazards or disasters, which had to be reacted somehow. The common feature of these risks is their abundance: on the one hand, there were no scales, no lines to compare the courageous deeds objectively; on the other hand, natural hazards were prescribed solely to external forces, for example, to gods or devils. Therefore, during that period the concept of risk, as such, was not used. All these risks were interpreted in a word: destiny, which acted as the force impersonating the otherworldly uncertainty.

The second stage also had two types of other risks, adequate to the first, industrial modernity: 1) the risks of a voluntary acceptance of industrialization dangerous practices (professional or everyday ones) - the driving of vehicles, the working

at factories, mines or smoking, which is associated with the possibility of health loss by specific people. But then the choice of taking a risk still retained. Such risks of professional qualification, health, could be actually calculated and financially compensated, one could be protected from them in a certain way - the institute of life and health insurance develops. These risks were understood in a new way, as a «calculated ambiguity»; 2) the risks of industrial development, but with «the insufficient provision of hygiene technologies» [1] - the dangers perceived by the senses (all sorts of poisons, fumes, dust as the byproduct of technology imperfection). They could also be more or less accurately calculated and monitored by the means of scientific knowledge and the introduction of technological innovations. At that as a whole, these risks were localized in a certain space and time. It was possible to detect the source of risks, their cause and state who is responsible for their production. The principal difference between the second period and the first period risks is the binding of responsibility for these risks with the human factor.

The third phase is a new generation of reflexive modernity sophisticated risks with new qualities. They are the side effects of a modern, more advanced modernization, they are latent, as a rule, not perceived by the senses, they are rooted in the chemical and physical formulas, radioactive materials and genetically modified food. «They are in general the product of advanced industrial technologies and they will be continuously strengthened with their further improvements» [1, p. 24]. These risks are beyond the space of specific businesses and gain a timeless character. They can't be controlled any longer by a better knowledge and more improved scientific technologies because they are their derivatives. These risks appear at «the highest stage of productive force development», which deal with the substances inaccessible for the perception by senses, but whose negative effect on plants, animals and a man has a lasting impact and is spread almost all over the planet - Norway and Sweden almost do not have industry with toxic waste, but pay by dying forests and plants, endangered species «for the toxic production of other

industrialized countries». By the virtue of knowledge dynamics these risks «may vary, increase or decrease, be dramatized or underestimated» [1, p. 25]. As you see, the sociologist talks about a non-linear socio-cultural dynamics of risk, which, in our opinion, corresponds to the postulate of «the arrow of time».

The sophisticated risks of reflexive modernity change not only the institutional structures, but also social consciousness. «In class societies being determines consciousness, while in risk society consciousness determines being» [1, p. 26]. The sociologist emphasizes an increasing role of knowledge about risks, which determines what kind of society we live in and will live. According to him, this knowledge has significant flaws: an «organized irresponsibility» takes place which reflects the following paradox: the process of natural degradation increases, new laws on the environment are adopted and at the same time, neither individuals nor institutions are not responsible specifically for the things which happen. From the point of view of a scientist, a deep essence of this paradox is that the perception of modern risks is rooted in earlier qualitatively different era of industrial modernity, where the following notions dominated: «a man is the conqueror and the master of nature» who is entitled to «exploit» it. While the visible, simple risks could be easily solved by the introduction of innovative hygienic technologies or, in extreme cases, the possibility of acting without risks remained, moving away from an industrial way of life.

However, the complex risks of reflexive modernity develop and become more complex, sometimes their threatening manifestations take on a paradoxical similarity with the consequences of industrial modernism risk. So, Beck noted: «The phase of risk threat latency comes to an end. Invisible dangers become visible ones. The destruction of nature happens in the field of chemical, physical and biological chains of harmful effects inaccessible for a man's experience, but makes a striking effect» [1, p. 66]. Sociologist cites numerous examples of this: a progressive dying of forests, the pollution of seas and lakes, smog, the erosion of buildings and monuments of art, caused by harmful substances. The barriers to «extreme values» of toxic substances are constantly revised upwards, they are often juggled that is objectively detrimental to the population security and health. For example, the poison tolerance limits by a man and nature are set for some substances. Beck notes reasonably and at the same time emotionally that «a man and nature absorb all possible harmful and toxic substances from air, water, soil, food, furniture, etc. Those who really want to determine the limits of tolerance should summarize it all ... It's just a

mockery and cynicism when, on the one hand, the limit values are determined, thereby partially open a way for poisoning, and on the other hand they do not take the trouble to think about the consequences of poison summation in their interaction» [1, p. 81]. As we see, the development vector chosen by people led to the approval of risk society that produces dysfunctional threats to a man and society.

W. Beck examines especially the risks of individualization, noting that the side effects of a reflective modern and risk society that affected people privacy generate now unprecedented biographical risks. These are not personal risks of traditional and early industrial society, when it was possible to live by the following principle: I take risk and I do not take it if I want. Due to its structural functionality new risks are born by the institutions of reflexive modernity, which leave no choice for people but make their own everyday decisions, i.e., to risk.

A sociologist identifies the following objective factors which reproduce the institutional individualization and its risks. Market and democracy institutions forcibly release an individual from the established social and class relations, from the attachment to the local cultural context, neighbors and professional colleagues. And most importantly, they release from the paternalism of marriage and family relations, from former quite predefined relationships between men and women. In the first, industrial modernity the process of individualization concerned only certain social groups an emerging bourgeoisie and «free laborers». They risked much more than other social groups. Within the conditions of reflexive modernity the process of individualization extends to everyone - all take risks when they choose a cooperation strategy (usually a short one) and competition with each other, which practically covers all social space and time. «The trend towards individualized forms and situations of existence appears that forces people to put themselves in the center of planning and the implementation of their own lives due to their material survival» [1, p. 106]. Labor activity changes radically and acquires more risk-taking nature due to the development of individualization process. This is particularly evident in the fact that the decentralized labor market is expanded, the registered and unregistered unemployment is increased, a full employment is displaced by a partial one - a flexible working day is developed, staggered working hours take place more often, etc. If in the industrial modernity social cataclysms and crises were considered through the prism of social group inequality, the current «social crises manifest itself as individual ones» and are turned into «the individualization of social inequality» [1, pp.

107-108] and accordingly, by the increase of biographical risks.

According to W. Beck, two related approaches of risk «overcoming» were developed in the context of a public risk perception: a symptomatic and a symbolic «treatment». Their essence is in the following paradox: in principle, the increase of risks with their overcoming is allowed, for they do not eliminate the sources of risk and are reduced to the «cosmetic treatment of risks». It is confirmed by the following examples: the production and installation of water purification filters at the increase of its pollution sources; civilization diseases (diabetes, cancer, heart disease) may be treated by the elimination of operating overloads, environment pollution, introducing a healthy lifestyle, or you may alleviate the symptoms only using a medical-chemical method. The sociologist bitterly states that only symptoms are «treated» but not the disease itself. Besides, the symbolic elimination of risks is performed that in fact leads only to their accumulation and complexity. Thus, all the «healers» of risks (technologically oriented scientists, anti scientists, the representatives of the phenomenon that is called «self-help», advertising agencies, etc.) actually work to «create new markets for risk sales» [1, p. 68].

However, U. Beck is optimistic about the future of human civilization. His optimism is based on the fact that «risk society is a self-critical society according to its capabilities» [1, p. 271], which results in the reflection of people concerning the plan of their future development on the subject of self threats potential reduction. However, self-criticism is not a panacea, but merely the factor which minimizes the risks of decision taking.

The fact that the socio-cultural dynamics of risks is in the context of the «arrow of time» is confirmed by the substantiation of a fundamentally new tools of risk research proposed by William Beck only a quarter of a century later. Developing their own views on the nature of risks becoming more complicated, the scientist has put forward an innovative theory of «world risk society», emphasizing that «the category of world risk society contrasts with the one that specifies risk society». According to Beck, the thing that puts a world society of risk beyond the risk society «is represented by the following formula: a global risk is the simulation of global risk reality... «Simulation» here does not imply the deliberate falsification of reality in the colloquial sense by the means of «unreal» risk exaggeration. The difference between risk as an expected disaster and an actual disaster forces us to accept the role of simulation seriously. Only through the imagination and the

simulation of a world risk a future disaster becomes the present - often the significant decisions are taken at the present time in order to avoid it. In this case, the diagnosis of risk would be turned into «a self-fulfilling prophecy»¹ ... Exaggerating a little, we can say that not an act of terrorism, but the global simulation of an act and political expectations, the actions and reactions in response to simulation - these are the phenomena that destroy the Western Institutes of liberty and democracy. The limitation of individual freedoms is noticeable on many levels - from security camera increase to the restrictions of an immigration - that is not just the effects of actual disasters (for example, the acts of terrorist violence). They are the result of such practices and their globalized expectation» [6, p. 10].

The theory of world risk society justifies the difference between the old and new risks. «The latter has three characteristic features: they are - 1) «delocalized» (their causes and consequences are not limited to one geographical space); 2) «uncountable» (as they «include «hypothetical» risks based on scientifically generalized ignorance and normative dissent»); 3) «can not be compensated» (no money may compensate for «irreversible climate change» or «irreversible interventions in a human existence», caused by a genetic influence) [6, p. 52].

In the world risk society a qualitatively new stage of individualization emerges. «Neither science, nor mainstream politics, nor the media, nor business, nor a legal system, or even military force is able to identify and control risks in a rational way. An individual is forced to trust the promises of these institution rationality. Because of this, people are pushed to themselves: the release without rootedness is a tragic ironical formula which determines the size of individualization in the world risk society» [6, p.54].

The role of ignorance factor changes qualitatively compared to the risk society in the world risk society. «The world risk society is the society of ignorance in its direct sense. In contrast pre-modern era it can not be overcome by more extensive and better knowledge, by more extensive or better science; rather, the picture is just the opposite one: it is the product of more extensive and better science. Ignorance rules in the global risk society. The life in the environment created by ignorance of the unknown means the search of answers to questions which no one may formulate» [6, p. 115]. W. Beck emphasizes that the explosion of a nuclear reactor at Chernobyl was accompanied by «the explosion of ignorance» that essentially resulted in a

¹ The things that we call here the "initiation" of risk is also discussed in terms of "social construction" or "social determination" of risk. Note by U. Beck.

«post-Chernobyl world» appearance [6. p.116]. It is noteworthy that on the issue of the ignorance role Beck does not accept the positions of other well-known sociologists. «What distinguishes my concept of reflexive modernization from Giddens and Lash concept? In short and to the point: the «environment» of reflexive modernization is not knowledge, but more or less a reflexive ignorance» [6, p. 122]. At that a sociologist stands for the nonlinear theory of knowledge, postulating that «the types, structures and effects of ignorance constitute a key problem at the transition to the second, reflexive modernization» [6, p. 125]. Thus, W. Beck stands for «cosmopolitan sociology», which makes the realities of the world risk society the subject of his study.

The turns of sociology to the tools of natural sciences, undertaken by scientists, above all became a new evidence of «the arrow of time» in the socio-cultural dynamics of risks in order to obtain a valid knowledge on more complex nature of risks. Over the last decade, a well-known British sociologist John Urry proposed three new turns in sociology - the complexities, mobilities and resource turns, the theoretical and methodological tools of which are extremely important to understand the dynamic nature of modern risks. Recognizing their innovation and scientific significance, we believe these approaches are insufficient ones and we offer to supplement them by a humanistic turn, oriented on the inclusion of humanity achievements in modern risk theory.

In particular, the following trends became the objective factors of sociology turn demand to scientific knowledge. The global transformations of the early twenty-first century brought a significant disruption of society. However, the new realities personified not only chaos, but, in essence, a «global complexity», which started to organize according to a new and specific way due to the movement to indicative information and communication controllers, as well as to the formation of global networks [7] which were approved beyond particular societies.

A complex society emerged not only under the influence of new social facts, but also due to the radical technological, organizational, communication innovations which within the joint cooperation and at the global level changed and reorganized such «universal» qualities, as space and time. The state borders and cultural barriers became relative ones: «Globalization is considered as an emerging new era, as a golden age of cosmopolitan «infinity». National governments and societies are not able to control the global flows of information» [10, p. 6]. All these processes affect the nature of risks, greatly complicating their nature.

In the development «theory rules» as the turn of complexity the scientists who combine the

achievements of sociology and the natural sciences succeeded most of all, based on the fact that they may have a common subject field concerning the multifaceted problems of risk. For example, some representatives of natural sciences, joined by sociologists (Immanuel Wallerstein, J. Urry et al.) developed a new approach to the relationship of social and natural sciences, advocating for the overcoming of their separation, based on the fact that have to deal now with the problems of risk taking complexity and they are also characterized by complexity. Recently, the whole pleiad of «physically oriented sociologists» appeared [12, p. 235]. No single science is able to encompass a subject field of integration processes of nature and society and the risks appearing at that. That's why, as Urry states, a special postdisciplinary paradigm is needed urgently: «complexity theory, which appears now in a generalized form as a potentially new paradigm for social sciences ... non-mathematical foundation, the theory of chaos, nonlinearity and complexity are considered as a single paradigm» [10, p. 12,17].

The immanence of «butterfly effect» is common to all spheres of a complex society and it complicates the qualitative nature of risks. Its essence is in the fact that even seemingly insignificant steps in a complex society may cause risk-taking snowballing effects which appear non-linearly in time and space. Under the influence of the butterfly effect clearly stable modes are in collapse suddenly [12, p. 237]. Thus, one shall consider risk-taking of even seemingly «insignificant actions» in a complex society: getting into social networks and acquiring a politically predetermined angle of perception they may be turned into risks in respect of which it is difficult to take a single «right» decision.

Particularly Urry identifies and analyzes the integrated global networks and global fluids (liquid matters) and their risks. They represent a semi-structured network (information, money, images, risks) and move in a «heterogeneous, irregular, unpredictable and often unexpected waves. Such waves demonstrate the absence of a clear point of departure, a movement in vacuum» [10, p. 60]. Rather complex risks of these networks may be studied using the tools of attractors included in a social synergy. This term usually denotes a steady state of a system, which «attracts» to itself the set of its trajectories: if the system enters an attractor sphere it begins to evolve into this steady state. There are «strange attractors,» which are called «attracting chaos» in some complex systems [2, p. 237]. These attractors are presented by unstable

space, but attracting the trajectories of dynamic systems through multiple repetitions of certain actions. In this case, a system carries out self-creation or autopoiesis, which may be observed, according to Urry, in non-linear processes of urbanization. With the help of attractor tools and strange attractors one may study the risks of an open society openness increase / decrease, the risks of social networks, etc., getting enough valid prediction about possible intentional and unintentional consequences of certain actions.

The turn of mobility gave new possibilities of risk study. In particular, it allowed to link the analysis of different forms of travel, transport and communications with complex ways of economic and social life implementation and organization in the context of time and different spaces, including «the processes of flows ... I use the term mobility - Urry says - for the reference to a broader project of social science approval, conditioned by the problems of movement» [11, p. 6, 18].

The demand for a proposed paradigm is conditioned, in his opinion, by three most important factors. First of all, the existing social sciences diminish the traffic, communication and activities which are very important for people's life (vacation, walking, driving, phone calls, flights, etc.). Secondly, the significance of these forms of motion is minimized to determine the nature of work, education, family life, politics (for example, in conventional structural analysis the importance of movement factor on social institutions is often belittled - in particular, the types of families are conditioned by the patterns of their members regular communication). Thirdly, the role of material infrastructures in the economic, political and social daily life (roads, railroads, telegraph lines, water pipes, airports, etc.) is ignored [11, p. 19]. Besides, the scientist consider that it is necessary to study not only the mobility of social actors, but also «moving spaces». As places «like ships move here - there and are not fixed within a single location. Spaces travel slow or fast, for longer or shorter distances within the human or non-human networks» [11, p. 42], which also produces increasingly complex risks.

Indeed, this very important issue prior to J. Urry was not reflected in independent studies in general and in sociological approaches to risk in particular. The turn of mobility allows to review critically the postulate on the fact that consciousness and behavior of people does not depend on the dynamics of their physical environment and also to take into account the changes in risks and risk perceptions.

We believe that the resource turn is even more important for the study of the increasingly complex nature of risks. The sociologist, talking about its quintessence, writes: «I include in the society and, therefore, the subject of sociology, the analysis of climate change, and in a more general plan - the world of objects, technologies, machines and environments. A seriously state claim is that social and physical/material worlds are extremely intertwined, and the dichotomy between them is an ideological construct that must be overcome» [9, p. 8]. And then in a more decisive manner: «I stand up for «resource turn» in sociology, which allows to analyze societies through patterns, scales and the nature of their resource dependence, as well as the effects of resource use. It is necessary to develop a more postcarbon sociology than the post-Ford or postmodern sociology ... I aspire to nothing else but to the development of postcarbon sociology, and more importantly to the development of postcarbon society» [9, p. 16].

In this regard, according to Urry, the science about climate change is particularly demanded. The scientific language was enriched by the concept of «global warming.» «But «warming» is a simplified term as the things that may happen in different parts of the world differ considerably, there is the possibility of a significant cooling in some places. In fact, the problem of warming term comes from the sheer complexity of climate future long-term prediction» [9, p. 23]. In our view, it is actually a sociological interpretation of warming that is focused on turbulence, the unpredictability of climate change, possible consequences that could become a risk-taking reality, if the politicians of the world do not create institutional and legal structures, regulating and introducing truly «innovative resource constraints». And most importantly a humanistic approach to a climate change is required.

Resource turn, emphasizing the social and environmental consequences of climate change, is important, of course, for the analysis of environmental risks. It draws attention to a sharp increase of social and natural areas in which new and complex risks appear, in particular conditioned by the inequalities of environmental character. These new inequalities are related to the change of nature status that acquires a societal character and largely becomes a man-made. These processes are essentially divided people into those who had to live in «environmentally friendly» environment, and those who are forced to live in areas environmentally risky for human health. In most cases, these spaces have were quite suitable earlier for human life, but they changed environmentally

under the influence of human activity side effects, producing risks for food safety [3]. This once again demonstrates the relevance of a humanistic turn which allows to analyze a man's innovation in the context of its life activity improvement real results.

Finally, let's note the theory of «activity on the brink» in our view, making a significant contribution to the disclosure of an increasingly complex socio-cultural dynamics of risks in the context of the «arrow of time». The sociologist Stephen Ling who studied risks proposed the theory of «edgework», i.e. an extreme activity in order to denote a voluntarily and knowingly accepted risk, which represents a challenge for the socio-cultural boundaries. The author positions it as a «general theory of voluntary risk-taking behavior» that offers «an alternative to the strict objective and constructive approaches, including the elements of both approaches» [8, pp. 109-111]. Its tools are designed for the analysis of risk-taking activities undertaken for the sake of fun and enjoyment. Today, some sociologists have expanded the scope of voluntarily assumed risk from pleasure to a number of professional activities, including the service in law enforcement, fire and environmental agencies, the participation in rescue operations and stock exchange transactions.

An activity on the verge denotes risk-taking practices, exploring the boundaries between sanity and madness, the consciousness and unconscious, life and death, ordered and disordered self-identification. However, the concept of «edge» is of fundamental importance: «an individual does not cross the line», seeking to avoid the real issues of health and life. The second component of «activity» (work) involves K. Marx sociological conceptualization, who distinguished between free activity and alienated labor, seeing in the first one the historical opportunities for human freedom [8, p. 111]. In this theory, the thing is about purely voluntary activity, involving risks and uncertainties. A number of areas of this activity involve certain skills (parachuting, car racing). Finally, the activities on the verge refer to the ability of individuals for mental and physical flexibility, improvisation, which makes them exceptional in a positive or a negative sense. However, these improvisations suggest the control over the situation without its transition into chaos.

The activity on the verge includes the following characteristics of risk taking: voluntariness; carried out in order to achieve specific objectives; it involves the abilities and skills which allow to control a situation, while avoiding harm to health and life; the desire to experience intense emotions; the aspiration, at least a temporal one, to get rid of the pressure of structures and routine practices that

may be shown during the participation in criminal and deviant activities.

A modern activity on the verge involves the use of innovative technical and technological means (new racing cars and motorcycles, sports aircraft). Its members blur the lines between themselves and the machinery according to their risk perceptions that bring out fundamentally new sensations. Therefore, fear is sublimated and turns into something positive. A typical expression of emotions: «We do it because it's fun!».

In essence, a new social type of a risk person is developed, culturally predisposed to risk. The social motivation of such people is the belonging to «chosen ones», «scanty elite». Risk taking is regarded by them not as stupidity or irrationality, but as the evidence of the highest quality, which allows to overcome the dangers without causing self-harm. The cultivation of risk taking in this context is considered as the manifestation of will, courage, valor, self-esteem, the ability to live in high-risk conditions and uncertainties. Such people tend to be admired by others. According to the author of the theory S. Ling it is very important for these people, let's call them «edgeworkers», to trust their mates on the verge of activity. Not everyone is tested successfully by risk situations, but those who passed the test are entered in the «club of chosen ones».

Some edgeworkers take downshifting risks, involving the voluntary renunciation of demonstrative consumption, the transition to a more economical way of life, usually as the awareness of the negative effects of consumerism in modern society, but as a result pursuing the long-term moral or political goals.

Some edgeworkers participate in the activities on the verge, where gender performances are used in one way or another, which are considered risk ones. So, young people are keen to demonstrate their exceptional masculinity in fighting competitions. The participation of women in such events also develops. It is intended to demonstrate the «singularity» of their gender, which is expressed in the neglect of dangers. Many women started to consider their risk-taking in a particular expression of sexuality (erotic dancing in nightclubs, flirting on the verge, «adventure vacation», some forms of sexuality related to deviation, and are accompanied by the feeling of fear, guilt and anxiety). Other women prefer to show their «singularity» in professions previously considered exclusively male ones, or taking part in risk types of sports.

In our opinion, the management of the socio-cultural dynamics of risks becoming more complex and developing in the context of the «arrow of time», is

based on the ways a humanistic turn strategy the quintessence of which will be expressed as follows.

1. In order to analyze increasingly complex risks the synthesis of natural scientific, social and human knowledge is necessary, the result of which would be a humanistic theory of an interdisciplinary complexity, implying the involvement of sociology turns to other sciences [4]. This integral theory would allow, on the one hand, to take into account the complexity of social and cultural dynamics completely, including all kinds of risks and vulnerabilities, and, on the other hand, to begin the search and adoption of new forms of humanism concerning human existential being.

2. The strategy of a humanistic turn assumes the rediscovery of a scientific postulate «knowledge is power», replacing it with the formula of an ethical, humanistic-oriented responsibility of scientists: «an integral knowledge of all sciences - a qualitative increment of innovative achievements for an active life and the health of all people». Of course, the abovementioned things shall not be limited to a simple declaration. This principle should be implemented in practice.

3. We believe that it is necessary not to «treat» obvious and latent manifestations of contemporary neoliberal policies aimed at pragmatic consumerism, inherently producing increasingly complex risks, but to perform the transition to a humanistic policy, bearing in mind the strategic focus on the humanization of society and nature, especially the prospects of access increase to healthy food and water.

4. It is very important to transfer to the new principles of complex risk management in Russia. We believe that the country enters now in such a temporary corridor that allows to enter into the epicenter of a fruitful humanistic development at the global level due to the activation of self-organization capacity and an adequate assessment of complicating risks.

5. The introduction of scientific and technological innovations should be preceded by the adaptability test to existing complex systems as the part of the humanist turn strategy. The addition of a new complex link to a rather complex system should be considered in the context of unintended risk potential production. It is important to note that even seemingly insignificant actions («butterfly effect») concerning the production change in a global scale within the terms of a developing complex society may cause the risks that appear nonlinearly in time and space.

6. Humanistic turn strategy takes into account the fact that society and nature, its resources become an integrated whole, forming a super complicated socio-ecological system. We reached such a

threshold of complexity and interdependence, when the activities in social, scientific and technical aspects generate socio-natural turbulences. We believe that the negative effects of these realities may be minimized with the help of humanistic ethics, as well as by the transition to the «realm of human mind» (V.I. Vernadsky).

7. Basically modern risks are man-made ones and conditioned by the following of scientism, formal rationalism and mercantilism principles. They could not be understood or minimized by previous rational-pragmatic approaches. Humanistic turn strategy assumes that super complex socio-ecological systems and the global risk society are created objectively on a real planet. However, they can be changed using a humanistic oriented responsibility of scientists, politicians and ordinary citizens. At that the strategy of humanistic turning involves the principle of risks and safety indivisibility for all peoples of the world.

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**МЕЖЛИЧНОСТНОЕ ДОВЕРИЕ МОЛОДЕЖИ В УСЛОВИЯХ
ТРАНСФОРМИРУЮЩЕЙСЯ РЕАЛЬНОСТИ**

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Аннотация. В статье анализируется специфика проявления межличностного доверия современной российской молодежи как одного из важных факторов по снижению различных социальных рисков в условиях трансформирующейся реальности. В качестве основных видов межличностного доверия рассматривается доверие близкому кругу лиц и большинству людей. На основе результатов всероссийского опроса (2014 г.) выявляются социально-демографические особенности проявления молодежью межличностного доверия. Установки молодого поколения раскрываются в сравнении с представителями среднего и старшего возраста.

Особое внимание уделяется обобщенному доверию, отражающему представления населения об атмосфере в обществе (заслуживают ли окружающие нас в современном социуме люди доверия). Анализируется взаимосвязь этого вида доверия и социального самочувствия молодежи (представления о положении семьи в данный момент и ретроспективе, социальный оптимизм, оценки ситуации в стране). Показаны отличия в характере взаимосвязи между этими феноменами для молодых и более старшего поколения. Выявленные закономерности объясняются особенностями ценностных ориентаций современной молодежи.

Ключевые слова: доверие; российская молодежь.

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INTERPERSONAL TRUST OF YOUTH IN CHANGING REALITY

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Abstract. The article analyzes peculiarities of Russian youth's interpersonal trust as an important factor for decrease of social risks under conditions of changing reality. Two main types of interpersonal trust are trust to nearest circle of people and generalized trust. On the basis of the results of public opinion poll (2014) the influence of socio-demographic characteristics on trust is examined. Attitudes of youth are compared with attitudes of older Russians.

The special attention is paid for the generalized trust, which indicates the perception of atmosphere in society by population (whether people in our society are trustworthy or not). The influence of youth's social well-being (including perception of family status at the current moment and in the past, situation in society, social optimism) on generalized trust. The differences in the specificity of this phenomenon for youth and older population are showed. The findings are explained by the peculiarities of youth's values.

Keywords: trust; Russian youth.

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Доверие представляет собой категорию человеческих отношений, оказывающую существенное влияние на поведение людей. Оно выступает в качестве базовой, фундаментальной предпосылки восприятия действительности человеком, общечеловеческой моральной ценности [5, 10], важным фактором снижения социальных рисков в условиях трансформирующейся реальности. Взаимодействие и общение людей, в том числе прежде не знакомых, в повседневной жизни базируется на определенной степени взаимного доверия: «без взаимопомощи и сотрудничества, основанных на вере в держащих свое слово и выполняющих взятые на себя обязательства других людей, без этой моральной ценности, человечество в целом не могло бы существовать и развиваться» [5, с. 3].

Доверие проявляется в наличии у человека или группы оптимистического ожидания по отношению к другому человеку, группе, институту, от которых зависит исход их взаимодействия. Как ожидание взаимности в осуществлении каких-либо действий оно определяет социальные отношения, обеспечивает поддержание социального порядка, интеграцию и стабильность в обществе. Наряду с солидарностью, готовностью к кооперации и сотрудничеству оно необходимо для эффективного функционирования организаций и общественных институтов.

Оценки уровня доверия в современной России расходятся. Одни исследователи утверждают, что именно недоверие превращается в доминирующую социальную норму [3, 6], другие говорят об

умеренно положительной ситуации [5]. В этой связи особую значимость приобретает измерение уровня доверия молодежи различным адресатам для оценки перспектив формирования в российском обществе атмосферы и культуры доверия [9]. В качестве эмпирической базы исследования используются результаты всероссийского опроса, проведенного в рамках проекта «Жизненный мир россиян и эволюция форм их участия в реализации государственных и общественных преобразований (1990-2000 гг.)» (опрошено 1750 чел. в 18 регионах страны 25-30 октября 2014 г.; выборка репрезентирует население России по полу, образованию, семейному положению, месту жительства, форм собственности и трудовому стажу).

Степень доверия молодежи близким и знакомым достаточно высока, как и среди старшего поколения (см. табл. 1). Попав в затруднительную ситуацию, молодые люди будут обращаться в первую очередь к членам семьи (86,9%) и друзьям (63,1%). По отношению именно к этим адресатам проявляется максимальное доверие в сложных жизненных обстоятельствах. При этом некоторые, в первую очередь работающие, готовы просить о помощи коллег (19,6%) и руководителей (6,3%). В качестве опоры и источника поддержки в трудную минуту подавляющим большинством не рассматривается священник (2,5% готовы обратиться к нему) и представители местных органов власти (5%). В этом отношении приоритеты молодых не отличаются существенно от таковых среднего поколения.

Таблица 1

Адресаты, к которым обращаются за помощью (% от числа опрошенных)

Table 1

People, whom asking for help (% of respondents)

Предположим, Вы оказались в затруднительном положении, к кому обратитесь в первую очередь за помощью?	возраст		
	18-29	30-59	60+
К членам семьи, родным	86,9	87,6	85,1
К друзьям	63,1	63,6	41,4
К товарищам (коллегам) по работе	19,6	21,8	7,1
К руководителям предприятия (организации)	6,3	10,5	2,4
К местным органам власти	5	3,9	12,8
К священнику	2,5	4	8,9
В профсоюзную организацию	0,9	3,1	0,6
В политическую партию	0,2	0,3	0,6

Приведенные данные отражают общую структуру ценностных приоритетов молодежи, для которой очень важным в жизни является семья (91,4%), работа (74,1%), друзья (68,7%). При этом работа, занимая второе место по «важности» и даже обгоняя друзей, не воспринимается в качестве первоочередного источника помощи в трудную минуту: лишь 19,6% опрошенных обратились бы к коллегам и

6,3% к руководителям предприятия (организации). Интересы и жизненные приоритеты индивида определяются его ближайшим окружением, теми, с кем человек вступает в ежедневные коммуникации, от кого зависит его личное благополучие.

На помощь близких родственников в меньшей степени рассчитывают состоящие в гражданских отношениях (77,6%) и больше –

заключившие официальный брак (86,6%) и холостые (88,7%). В случае с друзьями и коллегами по работе, наоборот, именно находящиеся в гражданском браке готовы обратиться к ним за помощью чаще остальных (на 10-14%). Эти адресаты пользуются большей популярностью у жителей областных и краевых центров, чем у представителей мегаполисов и сельских поселений. Частота обращения за помощью к членам семьи, друзьям, коллегам возрастает с повышением уровня образования. Доход существенного влияния на доверие близкому кругу лиц не оказывает.

В отношении большинства людей россияне не зависимо от возраста проявляют осторожность и придерживаются мнения, что доверять можно, но не во всем (70,3% среди молодых, 72,6% среди старшего поколения, 68,5% среди пожилых). Тем не менее, молодежь демонстрирует более низкий уровень обобщенного доверия: только 11,5% утверждают, что доверяют большинству людей и 17,3% – не доверяют. В то время как среди других возрастных категорий «доверяющих» и «не доверяющих» поровну, либо первые преобладают (см. табл. 2).

Таблица 2

Обобщенное доверие (% от числа опрошенных)

Table 2

Generalized trust (% of respondents)

Доверяете ли Вы большинству людей?	18-29	30-59	60+
Доверяю	11,5	13,5	16,7
Доверяю, но не во всем	70,3	72,6	68,5
Не доверяю	17,3	13,4	12,8
Затрудняюсь ответить	0,9	0,5	2,1

Предыдущий опыт исследований [7,8] свидетельствует, что социально-демографические характеристики оказывают влияние на уровень обобщенного доверия людей. Это справедливо и в отношении молодежи. В частности, состоящие в зарегистрированном браке проявляют большую готовность доверять окружающим, чем не женатые / не замужние (среди первых доверяющих 14,8%, среди вторых – 11,3%; не доверяющих 13,4% и 17,6% соответственно). Причем положительный эффект на доверие оказывает именно статус официального брака, поскольку среди молодых респондентов, вступивших в гражданские отношения, значительно распространены «не доверяющие» (22,4%) и практически не встречаются «доверяющие» (4,1%).

Повышение уровня образования негативно сказывается на обобщенном доверии. Если среди молодежи со средним и средним специальным образованием «доверяющих» 12,3%, а «не доверяющих» 8,8%, то среди молодых с незаконченным высшим и высшим образованием таковых 8,8% и 16,9% соответственно.

Повышение субъективной оценки дохода не способствует распространению обобщенного доверия. Среди молодых, чьи семьи живут в достатке доверяющих на 6% меньше, чем среди тех, чьим семьям хватает в основном на еду и одежду, в остальном приходится экономить (8% и 13,9%). Аналогично увеличение объективного ежемесячного дохода семьи сказывается на уровне доверия большинству людей отрицательно. Респонденты из семей с

ежемесячным доходом на одного члена до 11 тыс. руб. демонстрируют более высокий уровень доверия, чем молодежь из семей с доходом 11-20 тыс. руб. на человека.

На уровень обобщенного доверия молодежи оказывает воздействие место проживания. Среди живущих в сельских поселениях «доверяющих» значительно больше, чем среди проживающих в районных, областных и краевых центрах (19,8% против 6,8% и 8,8%). Однако «не доверяющих» достаточно много во всех населенных пунктах (14,7-21,8%).

Декларируемая готовность доверять большинству людей отражает представления населения о текущей атмосфере в обществе: можно ли доверять окружающим людям в современном социуме. На эти представления могут влиять различные обстоятельства, в том числе оценки индивидов ситуации в стране, собственной жизни в данный момент, ретроспективе и перспективе.

Для молодежи удовлетворенность жизнью не способствует повышению уровня обобщенного доверия: среди удовлетворенных жизнью на 10% больше «не доверяющих», чем среди неудовлетворенных, доля «доверяющих» примерно равна (11,8% и 11%). Положительная комплексная оценка собственной жизни, отражающая отчасти уверенность в стабильности и отсутствии непреодолимых проблем как минимум ближайшей перспективе, не приводит к уверенности в поведении окружающих людей. Для россиян среднего и старшего возраста закономерность обратная (среди

удовлетворенных жизнью на 2-8% больше доверяющих, чем среди неудовлетворенных и на 5-10% меньше не доверяющих).

Аналогичные тенденции прослеживаются в характере взаимосвязи обобщенного доверия и оценки воздействия реформ 1990-х гг. на положение семьи (см. табл. 3). Если среди россиян среднего возраста, относящих себя к категории «проигравших» не доверяющих в три с половиной раза больше, чем доверяющих (25,8% и 7,3%), а среди «выигравших» в три раза меньше (5,3% и 14,5%), то для молодых взаимосвязь имеет противоположное направление. Среди молодежи, убежденной, что их семьи «выиграли» от реформ 1990-х гг. не доверяющих в два раза больше, чем доверяющих (20,5% и 10,3%), среди

«проигравших» – поровну (15% тех и других). Удовлетворенность изменением положения семьи по результатам экономических и политических преобразований существенно влияет на доверие большинству людей, но по-разному для представителей различных возрастных категорий. Чем увереннее респонденты среднего и старшего возраста чувствуют себя в современном обществе, тем позитивнее у них представления о соотечественниках как заслуживающих доверие, и об общественной обстановке в целом. Для молодого поколения, напротив, ощущения положительных перемен в жизни семьи вследствие реформ 1990-х гг. не способствует повышению уровня доверия окружающим.

Таблица 3

Оценка воздействия реформ 1990-х гг. на положение семьи и доверие (% от числа опрошенных по каждому столбцу)

Table 3

Perceived impact of the reforms in 1990s on the status of the family and trust (% of respondents for every column)

	Лично Вы, Ваша семья выиграли или проиграли от происходящих в стране перемен?					
	18-29		30-59		60 +	
	выиграли	проиграли	выиграли	проиграли	выиграли	проиграли
Доверяю	10,3	15,2	14,5	7,3	33,3	10,1
Доверяю, но не во всем	66,7	69,6	80,3	66,1	58,3	75,4
Не доверяю	20,5	15,2	5,3	25,8	8,3	11,6
Затрудняюсь ответить	2,6	0	0	0,8	0	2,6

Изменения жизни семьи не только в долгосрочной, но и в краткосрочной перспективе сказываются на обобщенном доверии для большинства населения среднего и старшего возраста, но не для молодых. Последние, вне зависимости от того, улучшилась или ухудшилась жизнь их семьи за последние три года, демонстрируют низкий уровень доверия большинству людей.

Немаловажным показателем социального самочувствия является социальный оптимизм, отражающий общий настрой населения по отношению к будущему, ожидания положительных или отрицательных перемен в жизни семьи и общества. Для представителей среднего и старшего возраста положительный

взгляд на будущее и перспективы собственной жизни немного увеличивают долю доверяющих и снижают долю не доверяющих (см. табл. 4). В отличие от них среди молодежи, оптимистично настроенной в отношении собственного будущего, не доверяющих в два раза больше, чем доверяющих (20,8% и 11,4%); в то время как среди не ожидающих улучшений – чуть меньше (5,8% и 8,7%). Подобная тенденция вызывает некоторую тревогу относительно перспектив формирования и закрепления атмосферы и культуры доверия в обществе, поскольку ожидаемое улучшение в собственной жизни не связывается молодыми с потенциальным укреплением общественных отношений.

Таблица 4

Социальный оптимизм и доверие (% от числа опрошенных по каждому столбцу)

Table 4

Social optimism and trust (% of respondents for every column)

	Как Вы думаете, Ваша жизнь в ближайшем будущем улучшится?					
	18-29		30-59		60 +	
	улучшится	не улучшится	улучшится	не улучшится	улучшится	не улучшится
Доверяю	11,4	8,7	17,1	9,9	18,6	16,8
Доверяю, но не во всем	66,5	85,5	70,3	70,2	67,8	67,7
Не доверяю	20,8	5,8	12	18,7	6,8	14,4
Затрудняюсь ответить	1,2	0	0,6	1,1	6,8	1,2

Оценка ситуации в стране, (не)удовлетворенность текущим состоянием не приводит к ожидаемым изменениям в уровне

обобщенного доверия молодежи. Среди убежденных в благоприятности текущей обстановке доверяющих почти в два раза меньше,

чем не доверяющих (13,5% и 21,6%). Вместе с тем среди тех, кто оценивает ситуацию как обычную и кризисную доверяющих примерно столько же (12,9%, 13,4%), а не доверяющих значительно меньше (11,2% и 12,7%). Тем самым для молодежи обобщенное доверие не отражает оценки ситуации в обществе и даже самые положительные представления об обстановке в современном социуме не способствуют повышению уровня доверия.

Приведенные эмпирические данные свидетельствуют, что более успешные представители молодого поколения проявляют значительно менее низкий уровень доверия большинству людей, чем менее успешные (вероятно, вынужденные ориентироваться на окружающих и доверять им). Вместе с тем молодежь реже, чем более старшие россияне испытывает беспомощность и невозможность повлиять на происходящее (22% против 28-31%) и страх перед будущим (19% против 24%); их меньше волнуют такие проблемы как падение морали (57% против 70%), распространение страсти к обогащению (19% против 38%), грубости и хамства (48% против 65%); для представителей молодого поколения важнее воспитывать в детях умение постоять за себя, деловую хватку, такие качества как трудолюбие, доброта, честность для них важны, но в меньшей степени, чем для старших сограждан.

Возможным объяснением выявленных тенденций (обратной связи между высокими оценками собственного положения, ситуации в обществе и доверия) может служить формирование у представителей молодого поколения особого «синдрома» установок и ориентаций, проявляющегося в вытеснении общественно значимых ценностей сугубо индивидуалистскими ценностями [1, 2], распространения принципов эгоистической парадигмы, замещающих альтруистические [4], стремлений к материальному успеху любой ценой. В этом контексте недоверие окружающим становится частью ценностных ориентаций молодежи и препятствует распространению атмосферы и культуры доверия в обществе.

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**УПРАВЛЕНИЕ ИНФОРМАЦИОННЫМИ РИСКАМИ
ПРИ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ЭЛЕКТРОННОГО АРХИВА ДОКУМЕНТАЦИИ**

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Аннотация. Автор описывает требования, предъявляемые к электронному архиву в современных условиях: системность, структурированное хранение электронных документов, обеспечение надежности хранения, конфиденциальность, возможность отслеживания истории использования документа. Дает обзор крупных российских центров, специализирующихся на электронных архивах, а также специализированных систем и продуктов в сфере IT-архивирования. Характеризует основные информационные риски, связанные с созданием и функционированием электронного архива организации. Относя к их перечню размещение некорректно обработанных документов при оцифровке, а также трудности обеспечения сохранности электронных баз данных и систем электронного документооборота, в которые входит электронный архив. Отмечает, что задача дирекции предприятия – выбрать наиболее стойкий продукт, способный противостоять хакерским атакам и учитывающий человеческий фактор. Настаивает на принципе резервирования информации, который значительно снижает риск её потери.

Ключевые слова: информационные риски; электронный архив; управление рисками; электронные документы.

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**INFORMATION RISK MANAGEMENT
TO THE ELECTRONIC DOCUMENTS ARCHIVE**

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Annotation. The author describes the requirements for the electronic archive in modern conditions: the systematic, structured storage of electronic documents, ensuring storage reliability, confidentiality, the ability to track the history of the use of the document. It gives an overview of the major Russian centers specializing in electronic archives, as well as specialized systems and products in the field of IT-archiving. It describes the basic information risks associated with the creation and operation of an electronic archive of the organization. Referring to their list of accommodation incorrectly processed documents for digitization, as well as the difficulties of securing electronic databases and electronic document management systems, which include an electronic archive. He notes that the problem of management of the company - to choose the most durable product that can withstand hacker attacks and takes into account the human factor. It insists on the principle of redundancy information, which significantly reduces the risk of its loss.

Keywords: information risks; Electronic archive; Management of risks; electronic documents.

Электронный архив в современных условиях должен обладать рядом характеристик: представлять собой систему структурированного хранения электронных документов, обеспечивать надежность хранения, конфиденциальность и разграничение прав доступа, отслеживание

истории использования документа, быстрый и удобный поиск.

Как отмечают специалисты, основная задача архива – обеспечить сохранность данных. Традиционно создается картотека дел, которая хранит информацию о том, где находится документ, отслеживает, кто его запросил, на какой

срок, и когда должен вернуть. В архиве должна быть предусмотрена возможность делать выборки файлов по указанным параметрам, например, по сроку хранения, чтобы вовремя избавляться от документов, не требующих хранения.

Наиболее крупным центром в России, специализирующимся на электронных архивах, на протяжении последних десятилетия является Корпорация ЭЛАР («Электронный архив»). Она предлагает комплексное решение для построения архива современной компании, основанного на оптических дисках, что является единственным форматом архивного хранения, соответствующего требованиям однократной записи (True WORM). Согласимся с формулировкой представителей данной компании, и под трактовкой понятия «электронный архив» будем понимать программно-технический комплекс, предназначенный для приема, долговременного хранения и использования электронной информации. СобираТЕЛЬНЫЙ термин, описывающий комплекс проектных работ, поставляемых программно-аппаратных средств и услуг, включая внедрение и сопровождение у заказчика.

ЭЛАР предлагает помимо специализированных носителей, программного обеспечения и оборудование по оцифровке бумажных документов. Например, контактный сканер SKAMAKS 3000/2000, скорость сканирования – до 300 стр/мин, ширина документов от 15 до 320 мм, длина – от 60 до неограниченной (представлен на рис. 1); универсальный сканер для бережного бесконтактного сканирования любых сброшюрованных книг и папок – Планетарный сканер ЭЛАР ПланСкан Репро; комплексы высококачественного сканирования ПауэрСкан-Д.



Рис. 1. Контактный сканер SKAMAKS 3000/2000
Fig. 1. Contact the scanner SKAMAKS 3000/2000

В комплексное решение «ЭЛАР – Хранилище для документов на предприятии» включены: архивный накопитель на оптических дисках; специальное программное обеспечение для управления архивным накопителем; программные средства для интеграции

архивного накопителя с внутренними информационными системами предприятия [1].

К преимуществам данного решения относятся такие характеристики как: эффективность (минимальная общая стоимость хранения данных; оптимальная рабочая нагрузка на сервер; оперативный кэш на жестких дисках обеспечивает мгновенный доступ к наиболее часто запрашиваемой информации; интегрированное хранилище документов предприятия с использованием комбинированных решений на архивных накопителях и RAID-массивах; возможность организации архива неограниченного объема за счет использования магазинов горячей замены (off-line хранение дисков) при централизованном управлении).

Данное решение характеризуется надежностью (гарантированный срок хранения записанной информации – несколько десятков лет; не требуется проводить специального обслуживания носителей в течение всего срока хранения; нет необходимости в резервном копировании; быстрое восстановление доступа к хранилищу для документов в случае сбоя сервера).

Анализируя характеристики безопасности, констатируем, что данное хранилище обеспечивает: физическую невозможность изменения или уничтожения информации (благодаря носителям True WORM); пользовательский доступ к архиву в соответствии с требованиями и политикой безопасности; также архивирование по расписанию снижает зависимость от человеческого фактора.

Достойным конкурентом и признанным лидером по предоставлению услуг в сфере IT-архивирования предстает Компания Электронные офисные системы. Она предлагает комплекс проверенных решений для электронных архивов и бумажных документов, и электронных подлинников, файлов, информации произвольного вида. Так система «Архивное дело» позволяет автоматизировать архивное делопроизводство в точном соответствии с действующими нормами законодательства и сложившимися практиками [2]. Она автоматизирует весь комплекс работ для архива организации в соответствии с действующими нормами и стандартами, в том числе обеспечивает формирование отчетных

форм, утвержденных Росархивом, и передачу дел на хранение в государственные и муниципальные архивы.

Примером обязательной формы, систематизирующей и проводящей первый этап экспертизы ценности документов выступает составление номенклатуры дел. На рисунке 2 представлено изображение рабочего окна «Составление номенклатуры дел» в программе

«Архивное дело». Папки с распределением документов проиндексированы по направлениям деятельности, в списке рабочего поля виды документов охарактеризованы сроком хранения с обязательной ссылкой на источник и номером статьи из перечня управленческих документов, что соответствует требованиям Росархива и в значительной степени ускоряет работу архивиста.

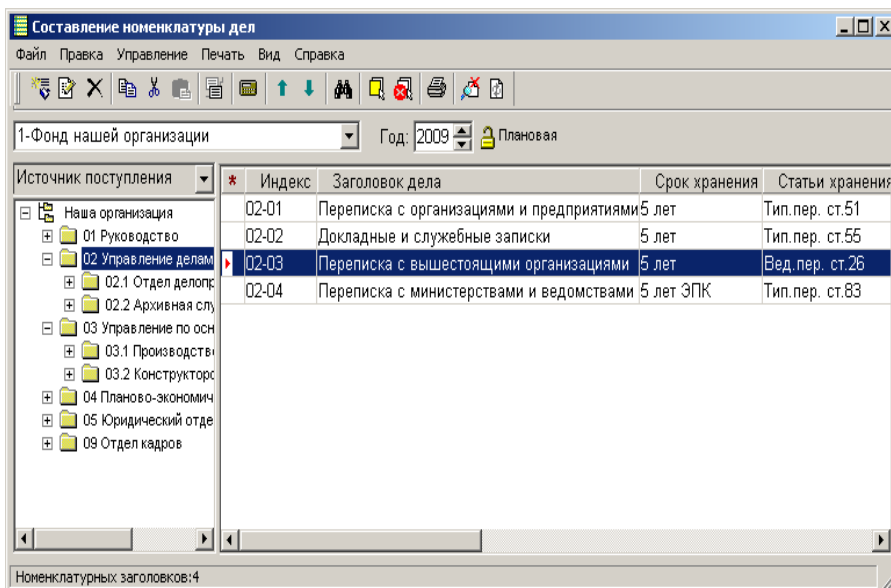


Рис. 2. Рабочее окно «Составление номенклатуры дел» в программе «Архивное дело» ЭОС
Fig. 2. Working window «Making the nomenclature of affairs» in the «Archiving» EOS

Резюмируя возможности и преимущества предлагаемого продукта, отметим: функцию поиска дел и документов по любым реквизитам карточек, включая поиск по тексту прикрепленных файлов и по штрих-коду; удаленный (через Интернет/Инtranет) доступ пользователей к электронным образам дел и документов с гибким разграничением прав (подсистема «Читальный зал»); возможность формирования основных архивных отчетных форм, утвержденных Росархивом. А также полное соответствие требованиям действующих стандартов формирования и ведения документов архивного фонда, а также правилам и приемам, используемым в практике делопроизводства и архивного дела отечественных предприятий. Данное хранилище обеспечивает интеграцию с системой автоматизации всех государственных архивов РФ ПК «Архивный фонд 4» в части передачи дел на постоянное государственное хранение.

Анализ данного предложения для системы электронного архива организации устанавливает,

что данное программное обеспечение решает практически все важнейшие задачи архивистов. Так по заключению специалистов Росархива «бесспорным достоинством системы «Архивное дело» является ее построение, основанное на действующей законодательной и нормативно-правовой базе по делопроизводству и архивному делу, а также соблюдение традиционных, проверенных временем правил работы отечественных архивов». Сегодня компаниям, у которых есть архивная служба или которые хотят создать архив, требуется автоматизация процессов управления ведомственным архивом в соответствии с правилами, утвержденными Росархивом.

Тем не менее, описанные передовые технологии архивной отрасли не в полной мере застрахованы от ущерба. Актуальной выступает необходимость предвосхищения информационных рисков и их управления в системах электронных архивов.

Наиболее полно отражающей все аспекты работы информационных систем, одним из видов

которых и предстает электронный архив, представляется, на наш взгляд, трактовка понятия информационные риски, сформулированная В.И. Завгородним. С его точки зрения информационные риски – это возможности наступления случайных событий, приводящих к нарушениям функционирования информационной системы предприятия и снижению качества информации, а также к неправомерному использованию, распространению или противодействию распространению информации во внешней среде, в результате которых наносится ущерб организации [3].

Под информационными рисками также понимается опасность возникновения убытков или ущерба в результате применения компанией информационных технологий. Иными словами, IT-риски связаны с созданием, передачей, хранением и использованием информации с помощью электронных носителей и иных средств связи.

Применение информационных технологий при создании электронного архива организации имеет свою специфику. Как отмечает О.В. Манихин, проведение работ по переводу бумажных документов в электронный вид на основе создания производственного участка в структуре организации, то есть, опираясь на собственные силы, имеет ряд особенностей. Так в организации создается участок ввода текущих поступлений документов. На каждом рабочем месте в организации, на которое поступает документ, который должен быть зафиксирован, устанавливается офисный сканер (поточковый или планшетный, либо универсальный) [4]. Сотрудник самостоятельно сканирует документ, при необходимости проводит атрибутирование (вводит одно или несколько значений полей). Далее автоматически (возможно в автоматизированном режиме, если в электронную карточку документа необходимо добавить значение полей) документ обрабатывается и поступает в электронный архив.

Как преимущество метода следует отметить, что время размещения документа в архиве оказывается минимальным. Как следствие начнет увеличиваться частота обращений к электронному архиву, эффективность использования и окупаемость вложенных средств. Начальные финансовые вложения существенны. Однако в дальнейшем затраты стабилизируются. Квалификация сотрудников, которые будут вводить документы в электронный архив, увеличится. Поскольку они

самостоятельно вводили документы в архив, то практически все сотрудники начнут пользоваться электронным архивом. При этом сократятся сроки окупаемости вложенных средств и электронного архива.

Тем не менее, недостатками метода выступают следующие моменты. Так нагрузка на каждого сотрудника, которому придется вводить документы, возрастет. С учетом того сотрудники, которым придется вводить документы, обладают высокой квалификацией, временные затраты по сканированию и атрибутированию лягут на стоимость обработки одной страницы, которые при учете всех затрат, могут оказаться выше, чем при аутсорсинге. Начальные вложения на организацию участков ввода будут высокими (стоимость оборудования, ПО, обучение). Если такой вариант реализации участка ввода окажется несостоятельным, то вложение этих средств окажется напрасным: организация не сможет использовать сканеры и ПО в таком объеме, и оборудование будет простаивать.

В таком способе информационный риск предстает следующей проблемой. Обеспечить качество информационного ресурса на высоком уровне может оказаться непросто. При размещении некорректно обработанных документов (в такой ситуации оказывается, что они «утрачены» либо «не введены» в электронный архив), у пользователя создается впечатление, что документ отсутствует в электронном архиве.

Если такая ситуация будет регулярно повторяться, то вся идея электронного архива может быть дискредитирована (у архива не будет целостности). В данном случае частота обращения к архиву будет уменьшаться, и вложенные ранее средства могут не окупиться.

Масштабируемость при такой организации участка ввода оказывается очень слабой и может быть реализована только посредством дополнительных затрат (отсутствие «облачных» технологий). Таким образом, при анализе выборов вариантов создания и дальнейшего развития электронных архивов необходимо оценивать не только первичные затраты, но и дальнейшие расходы и возможные риски при использовании электронного архива.

Еще один вид информационных рисков при организации электронного архива сформулирован представителями петербургской компании. По мнению аналитиков Фирмы «АС», основной причиной серьезных проблем, с которыми сталкиваются желающие создать электронный архив и осуществить перевод

архива документов в электронный вид на своем предприятии, это недостаток у выбранного подрядчика фундаментальных знаний, таких как понимания разницы между определением «документ» и «электронный документ» [5]. К сожалению, в повседневной жизни понятие документа не известно или ошибочно воспринимается в большинстве случаев. На сырую теоретическую базу следующим слоем накладывается незнание технических и прикладных различий базовой функциональности выбираемых программных платформ для создания решения. Программных платформ отвечающих не только всем современным требованиям, но и спроектированных с запасом на десятилетия вперед не так много.

В основном все стремятся решить насущные бизнес проблемы и получить моментальную выгоду и мало кто обращает внимание на то, что архив должен обеспечивать возможность долговременного хранения, а не просто разовый запуск системы и обеспечение доступа ко временным материалам, которые быстро теряют свою ценность и значимость. Современные бумажные архивы имеют экземпляры, возраст которых исчисляется столетиями и вряд ли кто возьмется утверждать, что современные технологии по организации электронного архива и хранения цифрового контента способны обеспечить допустимую гарантию по сохранности электронных материалов. Не стоит отказываться от возможностей, которые предоставляет новые технологии, главное знать, как правильно к ним подходить. Получаемые преимущества значительно превосходят возможные риски, и современные решения вполне себя оправдывают, важно только верно подобрать под свои задачи конкретную программную платформу и конечно определиться с исполнителем работ.

Важным аспектом эффективного менеджмента выступает результативная организация работы с документацией и ее хранение. Изучающий теорию, практику и искусство менеджмента, обязан владеть готовностью применять правила подготовки управленческих документов [6, 7; с. 134], а так же методы оптимизации документопотоков и т.п. О рисках применения информационных технологий при хранении документации акцентируют внимание теоретиков документационного обеспечения управления и другие специалисты [8]. Действительно, с

появлением новых технологий защищать информацию становится все труднее. Множество конкурентов не упустят малейшей возможности получить конфиденциальную информацию об организации конкурента и использовать ее в своих целях. Один из путей минимизации информационных рисков следующий. Для того чтобы избежать утечки информации, составляющей тайну организации, создаются службы по контролю за документами конфиденциального характера, их передвижением и хранением в организации [9, с. 132].

В контексте особенностей управления информационными рисками отметим, что наиболее совершенными являются стратегии управленческого аппарата организации, направленные на использование, как механизмов предотвращения информационных рисков, так и механизмов снижения ущерба от информационных рисков. Столкнувшись с проблемой минимизации угроз документальным архивным фондам организации руководитель, принимающий решение может исходить из своего опыта или из того каким он видит будущее решаемой проблемы [10, с. 134].

Вопросы технической сохранности архивных документов на местах – вопросы для контроля руководства организации, для этого необходимо соблюдать требования, сформулированные, в первую очередь Росархивом в Правилах организации хранения, комплектования, учёта и использования документов Архивного Фонда Российской Федерации и других архивных документов в государственных органах, органах местного самоуправления и организациях 2015 г., соответствующих современным условиям.

Ущерб от кражи, стихийных бедствий практически минимизируется при соблюдении стандартов по размещению и установлению охранного режима, описанных в данном нормативном документе. Согласно п. 2.21. охранный режим обеспечивается путем оборудования архивохранилищ, а также других помещений, где постоянно или временно хранятся архивные документы, охранной сигнализацией и соблюдением порядка их опечатывания, сдачи под охрану и снятия с охраны, установленного приказом руководителя организации. Вынос из архива архивных документов, материальных ценностей и книг научно-справочной библиотеки разрешается

только по специальным пропускам, выдаваемым в установленном порядке.

Обязательными условиями хранения электронных документов являются: наличие в архиве организации не менее двух экземпляров каждой единицы хранения электронных документов; наличие технических и программных средств, предназначенных для копирования, конвертации и миграции электронных документов, контроля их физического и технического состояния; обеспечение режима хранения электронных документов, исключающего утрату, уничтожение или искажение информации.

Для передачи на хранение в архив организации электронных документов проводится их конвертация в форматы архивного хранения. Форматы архивного хранения электронных документов устанавливаются нормативными актами федерального органа исполнительной власти, уполномоченного в сфере архивного хранения.

В случае изменения программно-аппаратной среды и выхода из употребления компьютерных форматов, повреждения носителя архив организации проводит работу по конвертации электронных документов в новые форматы и/или на новые носители. Технический контроль электронных документов и физического состояния носителей проводится не реже одного раза в 5 лет. Для оперативного доступа к электронным документам в справочных и поисковых целях архив организации может создавать фонд пользования электронных документов. Фонд пользования электронных документов подлежит учету¹.

Вопросы сохранности электронных баз данных и систем электронного документооборота, в которые входит электронный архив организации, это прерогатива программных разработчиков, задача дирекции предприятия – выбрать наиболее стойкий продукт, способный противостоять хакерским атакам и учитывающий человеческий фактор.

Подводя итог, отметим, что даже налаженный архив электронных документов не застрахован от рисков потери информации. Современные носители информации не дают 100% гарантию сохранности от таких чрезвычайных ситуаций, как пожар, затопление и прочих катаклизмов. Только

резервирование информации значительно снижает риск её потери. Резервирование электронного архива во много раз менее дорогостоящая операция чем, создание резервных бумажных копий обычного архива.

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**METHODOLOGICAL POTENTIAL
OF RESPONSIBILITY CONCEPT IN SOCIOLOGICAL
PROVISION OF TECHNOLOGICAL RISK MANAGEMENT**

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Abstract. The article is devoted to the assessment of the responsibility concept methodological potential as the basis of scientific sociological substantiation of management decisions to minimize risks. The actualization of needs to risk analysis in a sociological approach relates by the author with the understanding that the explanation, prediction and risk management is not possible without taking into account the interests, values, attitudes, the lifestyle characteristics of individuals and social communities.

The proposition is introduced that the essence of risk management is in the substantiation the scope of its social acceptability sphere, and risk communication is the control technology as a form of responsible relationships. Responsibility in the context of risk issues is considered in relation to such concepts as the attitudes, the value of life, living conditions, resources, subjects and responsibility adaptation and implementation strategies.

The data of sociological research in the territorial communities are presented where the core of conflict between the potential participants of risk communication are the technological risks and their acceptability. The interpretation of these studies confirms the thesis that the risk management in specific conditions shall be based not only on technological parameters, but also on sociological diagnosis data.

Keywords: responsibility; social acceptability of risk; risky communication; sociological support of management decisions.

Мозговая А.В.

**МЕТОДОЛОГИЧЕСКИЙ ПОТЕНЦИАЛ КОНЦЕПЦИИ
ОТВЕТСТВЕННОСТИ В СОЦИОЛОГИЧЕСКОМ ОБЕСПЕЧЕНИИ
УПРАВЛЕНИЯ ТЕХНОЛОГИЧЕСКИМИ РИСКАМИ**

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена оценке методологического потенциала концепции ответственности как основы научного социологического обоснования управленческих решений по минимизации рисков. Актуализация потребности в социологическом подходе к анализу риска соотносится автором с пониманием того, что объяснение, прогнозирование и управление рисками невозможно без учета интересов, ценностей, установок, особенностей жизненного уклада индивидов и социальных общностей.

Вводится положение о том, что сущность управления риском состоит в обосновании сферы его социальной приемлемости, а технологией управления является рисковая коммуникация как одна из форм ответственных отношений. Ответственность в контексте рискованной проблематики рассматривается в связи с такими понятиями как установки, ценность жизни, жизненные условия, ресурсы, субъекты и стратегии адаптации и реализации ответственности.

Приводятся данные социологических исследований в территориальных общностях, где ядром противоречий между потенциальными участниками рискованной коммуникации являются технологические риски и их приемлемость. Интерпретация данных исследований подтверждает тезис о том, что управление рисками в конкретных условиях должно

опираться не только на технологические показатели, но и на данные социологической диагностики.

Ключевые слова: ответственность; социальная приемлемость риска; рискованная коммуникация; социологическое обеспечение управленческих решений.

Sociological approach to risk analysis

The objectives of risk management by the majority of researchers and experts are formulated as an event occurrence probability reduction, an event that may lead to the destruction of material objects and population death, and the minimizing of damage in case of such an event implementation (the mitigation of consequences) [1]. The damage, however, is understood by the experts in various fields within the framework of those scientific disciplines, the basic concepts of which they share. A serious problem is that an «intangible» possible damage from a realized risk is acknowledged not by all experts and decision makers in the field of risk management.

Initially, the need for analysis, prediction and risk management was actualized in the economic sphere and was caused by the need of investment safety provision, life and property insurance.

The emergence of complex technological objects and the resulting anthropogenic hazard, implemented in the form of accidents and disasters (Seveso, Bhopal, Chernobyl, etc.), required enormous efforts and funds for the rehabilitation of territories and population, conditioned the development of socially oriented trends in the study of risk: cultural and psychological one (psychometric paradigm).

The need in a sociological approach to risk analysis was actualized together with the understanding of an obvious fact that the explanation and, therefore, the prediction and risk management is not possible without taking into account the interests, values, attitudes, characteristics of the way of life and a number of other components making a personality structure and a social experience of subjects, referred to in specific literature as risk producers and consumers [2].

The impetus for empirical risk studies was given by Charles Starr works in the late sixties of the last century [3]. He convincingly showed that the concepts of benefits / costs firmly established in the measurement of risk are not applicable on the level of individual actors and territorial communities acting in the situations of implemented accidents and risk disasters. Charles Starr introduced into the scientific circulation the notion of «voluntariness» convincingly demonstrated at an empirical level that

the assessment of the risk acceptability is not directly dependent on the amount of benefits. Further foreign and domestic studies, including more than twenty year personal experience of empirical research and expert activities in the areas of placement of objects with a potentially risky technological manufacturing in the areas of environmental disasters and catastrophes, have convincingly shown that such an assessment is performed not mathematically, but in a very different format.

For technical objects risk may be expressed numerically as the basic condition for an object stability is in the system rationality, the predictability of element functioning, including staff. The accidents at industrial facilities, that is, an implemented technological risk, have shown convincingly that the outcome is predictable roughly: the behavior of a facility personnel, experts involved in the process of destruction consequences minimization of the affected population can not be predicted clearly. The risk assessment is complicated manifold: it can't be quantified as it is carried out efficiently, often unknowingly using all the experience of of an individual socialization, shaped by the experience of internal personal and social attitudes.

The methodology, the methods, the techniques and the procedures of empirical sociology allow to identify the factors and conditions that correlate with the specifics of subjective and group attitudes that make up the positions of communities that are or may fall into specific conditions of technological risks. The perennial methodological and empirical research and developments in the field of risk sociology, the analysis of practices and strategies to risk adaptation allowed us to substantiate the conclusion that one of social inequality types is the inequality in the distribution of risks, the specificity of which consists in the differentiation of living conditions and the access to various resources required by subjects to adapt to risk. This fact is of great importance for the provision of risk management process efficiency, understood by us as the cooperation of all interested subjects in order to achieve an acceptable level of risk in a situation when it is impossible to achieve an absolute security.

This inequality, in its turn, stipulates the differences of starting positions and resources of

such subjects as the risk producers and consumers in the process of adaptation and the achievement of a mutually acceptable level of risk. Socially acceptable risk, in its turn, as our research shows, depends on the interaction of individual and status estimates of an uncertain social situation, the probability of damage, the extent of vulnerability concerning natural and social environment objects and communities. Individual, group, status assessments of uncertainty, vulnerability, handling and other indicators characterizing a risk differ substantially among the representatives of various social subjects.

Sociology offers its view on the management within these conditions: the scope of risk acceptability shall be sought through the interaction of social actors, whose interests intersect in a risk situation: communities, the institutions of power, business, science, civil and social movements, mass media, etc. This search makes the essence of risk management, in its turn, risk communication acts as a tool, a mechanism, the social technology of control as a form of social communication [4]. A current and a complex problem is based on the following: the degree of result relevance concerning the humanitarian risk research on the part of business community and a power institution is extremely low. The results of research among psychologists and sociologists are difficult to imagine in the form of brief summaries, adopted in the technical sphere, prescribing the solutions in the form of nonvariant recommendations, as the technique is conditioned by a unique determination, as we noted above. Social problems are solved by the specific social administrative procedures between subjects, the procedures requiring qualitative sociological provision.

We used the methodological potential of sustainable development concepts, strategic risks and the quality of life since the studies of the Chernobyl disaster social consequences, during the development of recommendations on the basis of management decision sociological support. However, over time, the operation experience in the regions and territorial communities within the situations of technological risks or affected by man-made disasters showed that the most productive methodology of such sociological support is the concept of responsibility.

Liability issues in the context of the risk sociology issue.

In order to develop the sociological notions of responsibility as a methodological basis of empirical research we performed a comparative analysis of

this notion definitions within the structure of various scientific discipline categories and the fields of social practices. Such key words as debt, obligations, dependency, rules, sanctions turned out to be similar in different definitions.

The assessment of the methodological value concerning various general sociological concepts led us to believe that the category of liability should be considered on the basis of the sociological notion concerning social control. We believe that the responsibility in the structure of sociological categories is a derivative of the social control function as the method of a system self-regulation, ensuring the orderly interaction of its constituent elements by standard (including legal one) regulation.

The subject of monitoring is a subject - object activity or subject - subject relations in a particular field of social life. The essence of responsibility as the derivative of the social control function is to ensure the performance of subject obligations institutionalized in law, social and moral standards, rules and traditions during the process of activities and relationships. The mechanism of responsibility implementation is in the sanctions for the breach of obligations, in a kind of dependence on them.

The features of perception and the attitudes of subjects, depending on the own and other subject responsibilities, a social and an individual experience on a personal level are formalized in the attitudes on an institutional level - in normative documents.

In the subject area of risk sociology a special interest is presented by activities and relationships, which are characterized by uncertainty, the potential for damage and subjectively experienced vulnerability. An empirical sociology, in particular the sociology of risk is interested in factors, on the basis of which the decision for a specific action is taken under or against the standards and duties prescribed by social control and as a consequence - the risk of failure (adverse effects) during the process of adaptation and the achievement of an acceptable risk level.

Responsibility in the context of the risk perspective, as the analysis of our research and expertise, research, the fellows of «humanitarian research workshop» shows, is appropriate to consider in relation to such concepts as the attitudes, the value of life, living conditions, resources, subjects and adaptation strategies and responsibility implementation.

One of the major challenges is the identification of factors correlated with the perception of and the

attitude to social the responsibility of social actors involved (voluntarily or involuntarily) in the communications concerning the management of technological risks. The most common situation is the situation that we identified as ecological and economic controversy one time [4], the essence of which is in the contradiction of interests concerning the conservation of the environment and public health on the territory of potentially hazardous industry placement and the economic interests of certain persons, including the representatives of local communities.

The abovestated perception and attitude towards liability have an attitude in its basis, understood as the value attitude to this or that social object. The attitude requires primarily an empirical interpretation. In the most general sense in relation to a risk and responsibility the attitudes may be classified according to responsibility taking criteria, that is, a full and a strict compliance with the obligations; the transfer (concession, alienation) of liability in favor of other activity and relationship subject; a partial or a complete refusal from the performance of duties. The acceptance and the transfer of responsibility is characterized by security in relation to sanctions; a refusal is a risk decision, the consequences of which could be the use of different kinds of sanctions.

An attitude, in particular a social attitude as a value relation to a particular object (including a social object) is the product of life experience and is developed in the process of socialization, which in its turn depends on the interest and the activity of a person. The wider the range of interests and the higher activity is, the more successful the process of socialization is and the more comfortable the feeling of an individual in a social environment.

The acquisition of social and cultural experiences, materialized in the patterns of behavior, social norms and values occurs in the communication process at different structural levels of a social environment: in a family, in educational institutions, in the work teams, in different reference groups according to the degree of proximity (friends, neighbors, partners for leisure activities, civic engagement, etc.)

For the purposes of our analysis, it is important that the transformation of sanction nature, the replacement of the external individual sanctions imposed by the social environment on the internal self-regulation, self-control in the form of certain attitudes take place in the process of socialization. The most difficult part in the sociological study is to measure an attribute interesting for a researcher. As

you know the main method of an attitude measurement is scaling (Likert, Thurstone, Guttman scale). In order to measure a specific attitude, the factors correlated with its properties and the structural elements its «decomposition» is required in concepts (operationalization) and indicators (empirical interpretation). The process, of course, is a subjective one, but a practicing sociologist does not have any other way from it.

Thus, we need to «spread out» the following concepts: responsibility, the attitude towards responsibility in a certain situation, the specificity of a situation, social subjects - the participants of a situation, the factors correlating with the properties of an attitude.

It is not possible to measure such a structural component of an attitude as an emotional one, it is extremely difficult to measure a conative (behavioral) component, it is possible to measure the cognitive component of an attitude actually with some degree of certainty. The attitude properties that are known for researchers may be measured now by a survey: availability, stability, intensity, direction, modality (whether this attitude is necessary, possible or accidental one). The determination of an attitude type interesting for a researcher seems to be possible: according to a place the system of values (base / peripheral one), according to functions (instrumental, cognitive and protective one).

General sociological arguments about the responsibility is vividly illustrated by the example of such a social subject as a large holding during the implementation phase on the territory of accommodation with the profile far from the specificity of the holding company, not differing by technological risks. The specifics of the situation is precisely distinguished by the contradictions between the interests of natural environment maintaining and the economic benefits from the introduction of a new large-scale industrial production. The core of the controversy are the risks the acceptability of which is estimated differently by the parties and may be found, as noted above, only in the communication process, called risk communication in the specific literature. The participants of communication (conflict parties) are presented (voluntarily or involuntarily) by the community («placement area» according to RSPB terminology), the company, the mass media, the neutrality of which is implied.

Local community is represented by social organizations, civil movements, initiative groups, etc. as an active part of the population, local authorities, the passive part of the population. The

company is represented by the shareholders, as the residents of the local community and foreign ones in respect to the site of the company placement, the employees of various levels (from managers to workers), «lobbyists» promoting the interests of the company for one reason or another, not being its shareholders or employees. The mass media, participating in the process of risk communication should provide equal information opportunities to present the interests of the parties.

The sociological provision of the risk management process in this situation requires the identification and the analysis of various categories of population attitude specifics as one of the environmental and economic contradiction subjects concerning the responsibility of a particular type, namely - a responsible attitude towards the environment, and also the social factors that correlate with it. Operationalization is performed for two basic concepts at least: an attitude towards responsibility concerning the environment and the factors that characterize the specificity of the socialization process during which this attitude was developed (socialization experience).

The data from one of our studies in the communities which are directly in the situations of environmental and economic contradictions, revealed in particular the following specifics. The non-economic factors shaping the behavior of the population have the significance as important as the material factors during the formation and the reproduction of worldviews, influencing in particular the attitude to one's own responsible behavior and responsibility expectations from other participants of interpersonal and social relations. These non-economic factors are represented by trust, control and adaptation. Trust meets the expectations of a responsible behavior - the performance of obligations by individuals and social institutions; control reflects the level of impact on the implementation of social subject obligations; adaptation shows the degree of socialization and the level of involvement in social interaction. The level of control and adaptation may be considered as derivatives from the confidence indicator to social interaction participants.

In particular, a number of studies showed the following. The population control as an indicator of the impact level on the implementation of the duties by social actors in relation to health and the environment protection is extremely low. The awareness of legal rights for a healthy environment and the participation in the protection of their rights is weak, the appeal to corresponding authorities on

issues of environmental protection from the harmful influence of enterprises is low and the feedback is almost a zero one.

The interest in the information about the environment state is high and the level of awareness is low, the confidence in the sources is low. Trust as an indicator of obligation performance expectations by social institutions in the field of public health and environment protection is extremely low; the assessments concerning the levels of social actor interest in environmental protection are also extremely low.

There is a social situation, the essence of which is that the social partnership of population, the representatives of authorities and businesses concerning environmental protection issues exist only as a declaration. Population is mainly passive, it does not take the responsibility for the preservation of the environment and transfers it to other social actors - the business community, governmental structures and in fact it does not participate at all and at that demonstrates high demands on social security. Obviously, a developer with such data may develop a more reasonable management decisions than the one who does not have such data.

Another example from our practice of studying the factors associated with the formation of the population trust attitudes and the implementation of control as the attributive characteristics of responsible cooperation within the territorial community, which is in the situation of an acute, imposed risk. A special sociological procedure allowed to carry out the typology of respondents concerning an attitude focus on the evaluation of the power institute and large business responsibility concerning the protection of the environment and public health. The analysis revealed within a territorial community some stable groups of respondents who positively or, on the contrary, negatively evaluate the actions of authorities and large business as a social entity (a generalized attitude) and a particular company, whose work with the new risks is «imposed» to the community (a situational attitude). Another target group of respondents was formed additionally who had common focused and generalized situational attitude - these are the «consecutive» respondents who equally (positively or negatively) assess the responsibility of authorities in general, and a specific situation in particular where a territorial community appeared according to the decision of authorities. The results of comparative analysis show convincingly that the focus of attitudes is correlated with the differentiation of respondents across a whole range of social indicators. Scientifically substantiated

management influence on these social indicators may be adjusted over time and the orientation of the respondents' attitudes regarding the responsibility estimates of social actors specified above.

These examples confirm our repeatedly expressed thesis that social management and risk management in specific circumstances should be based not only on technological parameters, but also on the data of sociological diagnosis, not on public opinion surveys, namely on well-conducted sociological research, considered as a scientific basis for administrative decisions [5].

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**NATIONAL RISKS WITHIN INSTITUTIONAL TRANSFORMATION:
SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS**

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Abstract. The article examines the institutional conditions and factors of national risk formation in the context of national economy development. The author is focused on the social aspects of the institutional environment transformation, the role of government, business and society at national risk management.

Keywords: national risks; human and social capital; formal and informal institutions; institutional transformation; socio-economic development.

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**НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЕ РИСКИ В УСЛОВИЯХ ИНСТИТУЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ
ТРАНСФОРМАЦИИ: СОЦИАЛЬНО-ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИЕ АСПЕКТЫ**

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Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются институциональные условия и факторы формирования национальных рисков в контексте развития национальной экономики. Автором особый акцент сделан на социальные аспекты трансформации институциональной среды, роль государства, бизнеса и общества в управлении национальными рисками.

Ключевые слова: национальные риски; человеческий и социальный капитал; формальные и неформальные институты; институциональная трансформация; социально-экономическое развитие.

Since the mid-80s of the last century the economy of the USSR, and since 1991 - the economy of Russia is characterized by a greater openness. This phenomenon is a consequence of the general laws of modern society in the context of the economic space globalization and a specific policy that Russia started to conduct - the policy of a sustainable entry into the world economy.

Against the background of the obvious advantages of the «iron curtain» elimination and, as a consequence, the development of a common economic space, not only economic relations but also informal institutions are transformed: the values of life, morality and ethics, the attitude towards the government, national traditions and national history. The openness of the national economy, as the experience of nearly three last decades shows, not only contributes to a social and economic growth of the country, but also to the onset of different kinds of «imported» values on the background of the

problems ignored by society and associated with the formation of a common national idea. In these terms many foreign «recipes» of social and economic system of Russia improvement and development make a certain effect on the national consciousness, provide fertile ground for the denial of the need to take into account the identity of economic life in our country, its fundamental differences, including the differences from the developed economy countries.

However, the pride in one's country, its people, the love to the fatherland «is not born in a vacuum». Certain objective and subjective factors influencing the state of patriotism in society within all its forms are the major ones here.

It is known that only three countries in the world - Russia, Canada and the United States almost have no problems with the lack of natural resources. On the other hand, according to the official statistical data on values of quality of life Russia is

far behind dozens of countries [1]. In this regard, a number of issues appears.

1. Why did the national economy can not compete with many countries of the world?

2. Does the so-called «human capital» of the national economy deserve some respect, the economy which is often not perceived as the main productive force, able to provide crucial economic growth?

3. Whether the modernization and the transition strategy to an innovative path of economic development is justified?

These and other issues are systemic ones, the answers to these issues are not as simple as it may seem. In this regard, it is worth noting that:

First of all, economic theory is not accidentally presented by the coexistence of different, sometimes opposing schools, the search for «consensus» among which is associated with the formation and the development of new economy;

Secondly, the practical embodiment of economic school ideas in the economic life of society is in the content of performed economic policy;

Thirdly, the nature of economic policy and its concretization in the spatial and temporal framework is the essential issues of economic theory not only as a science but as a discipline which is not compulsory for all professions of higher education institutes according to current social standards.

Russian society is in a deep crisis. It is systemic in nature and covers not only economy, but also politics, formal and informal institutions, the activities of many organizations and social institutions.

The constructive solutions in the field of patriotism development among the society are in the institutional environment of modern society. They are formed and implemented at an angle of a purposeful management by socio-economic factors - objective and subjective ones.

Objective factors are associated with the realities of economic life, the content of conducted economic policy at all levels of government: federal, regional and local one.

An adequate assessment of the current status by society in formal institutions is impossible without a high level of education among the population. Education is considered not only as good education received in educational institutions, but also the educational level of an individual, which allows to think, analyze, formulate conclusions and get self education. It is necessary for an extensive development of a person's culture - his education, health, culture, production, the culture of life. Thus, we approach to the subjective factors of patriotism development, which

have a direct impact on the consciousness of an individual and society as a whole.

The labour migration of population, the import and export of capital, the export and import of goods, the «brain drain», the use of English as an international language - all this are not the exhaustive effects of the modern Russian society which in many ways, to the contrary, have an impact on the content of patriotism.

Only the highest consciousness, the coexistence of national and international could eventually determine the level of Russian people patriotism. It is the result of all public and social institutions development that perform multiple function of an individual development - his education, training, self-actualization. In particular, a crucial role in these processes is played by the state social and economic policies at all levels of government, the institution of family, the social responsibility of the business sector, the social sphere of economy.

At the same time, it should be emphasized that any positive trends in the field of socio-economic development of a country and its regions always have positive impacts not only on the quality of life values, but also on informal institutions of an economic space, social relations, social and human capital.

On the other hand, the state of social capital influences economic growth. Modern economic science proves that the formation of special informal institutions - a new type of culture, based on a particular culture - the culture of social community and solidarity contribute to the progressive development of social capital, which, in its turn, has a positive effect on the expanded reproduction of aggregate human capital, economic growth, the increase of life quality in society [2]. However, it should be noted that an opposite situation is also possible: the households of the Western type of civilization the formal resources, rules and procedures are more significant and may predominate in social relations. The countries and regions with a high social capital are less acute unresolved social and economic problems. The macro environment in these countries is more stable, they develop progressively, the patriotism of the people is vividly pronounced.

The processes of social capital production and consumption are carried out only in the sphere of social interactions of any subjects. These interactions always have the form of services and operate in the service sector [3].

Social and human capital is closely related directly and indirectly. Human capital is always produced as the result of a complex interaction of

internal and external social relations. It is not able to replicate in a domestic system. Numerous examples prove this. From this point of view a social capital is a primary one and human capital is a secondary one.

On the other hand, the growth of human capital in a society makes a positive impact on the development of its social capital. The more intelligent, professional, cultural level of social development is at all things being equal the more understanding concerning the need to strengthen social cohesion - the process of socialization, unity and joint solution of many social and other problems.

The increase (decrease) of social and human capital at all levels of economy management is directly proportional. The management of social capital factor functioning is the management of human capital factor functioning at the same time [4].

Social capital performs several important functions: socialization, informatization, institutionalization, accounting and control, economic, socio-political, synergistic, intellectualization, innovative economic development and human capital reproduction. The development of social capital is the condition for the reproduction of human capital.

One should consider the following things during the analysis of human capital reproduction process: the total human capital (of the world community, a country, a region); the human capital within this sphere of activity (business entities of one branch or allied industries); the human capital of a household; the human capital of a family (including the nucleus one, i.e., the with minor children); an individual human capital - a particular individual.

In the case of human capital reproduction we need to recognize that in essence the thing is about the reproduction of a man as a bio-cultural individual. In this sense, the biological and social factors of population reproduction take place. They are the object of study not only economic, but also historical, philosophical, cultural, sociological and other fields of science. At that one should recognize the following fields of research as the most relevant ones: marriage, family and its historical types; the role of marriage and family relations in the reproduction of a man; the production of a man and the genesis of moral consciousness; the interconnection of material and spiritual aspects in the reproduction of a man; the role of ethnicity as a type of a social subject for the reproduction of a man; the impact of race, nationality on the reproduction of an aggregate human capital; the ratio of an ethnic and a class structure in the reproduction

of a human capital at the level of the national economy; socio-cultural and ethno-cultural nature of cultural production, etc.

The structural elements of an individual human capital are represented by the reproduction of his biophysical capital; intellectual capital; and social capital [5].

The biophysical human capital is usually represented by the life of a person - his physical and psychological potential. Biophysical capital may take a significant share of human capital and be very costly. Traditionally, the problem of biophysical capital increase is considered from the standpoint of the healthcare system efficiency, which largely depends on the investment policy of this industry. However, one should recognize the equal importance of physical culture and sports, healthy lifestyle in this issue, including a common nutrition culture [6].

The intellectual capital of a person is formed and increased in formal and informal learning and is presented by knowledge, information and creative abilities. It depends on the original and developed abilities of a man during the process of upbringing.

The intellectual capital of a person is determined by experts as the system of characteristics, the most important of which are: general and professional training; the ability to provide the best option for a problem solution (including life, home issues - beyond working hours); possession of tactical abilities; the realization of taken decision implementation; initiative; flexibility and efficiency; the ability to self-development (including self-correction); steadiness; independence; the ability to take responsibility and the delegation of authorities. Taking into account the multifactor approach their hierarchy and importance is determined in fact.

An important component of human capital is the social capital of an individual - the potential of his social interaction, or the interaction with the social environment.

The State performs a major role in the accumulation of human capital, the growth of its identity. The content of social relations depends largely on the effectiveness of the government social policy - in education, healthcare, culture, physical education and other social sectors.

In order to stabilize and increase the population in a country and regions, to increase life expectancy, to improve the quality of population health by one of the priorities in the state social policy is the creation of a system that ensures the access to medical aid, the effectiveness of health care services, the amount, types

and the quality of which will correspond to the level of morbidity and population needs, to the advanced achievements of medical science. In the area of physical culture development among the population it is necessary to create favorable conditions for the mass orientation of citizens to a healthy lifestyle, including physical culture and sports, the development of sports infrastructure. According to leading Russian experts, the state social and economic policy in the field of education should be aimed at the increase of the qualitative education availability for the current stage of society development that meets the needs of each person. Within the culture development a priority trend of the state policy should be the development and the implementation of cultural and spiritual potential of every individual and society as a whole, and the maximum availability shall be ensured for this, the quality of the relevant socio-cultural services, the preservation and the promotion of cultural heritage of all peoples of Russia and the fullest possible use of cultural potential shall be provided [7]. In order to improve the organizational and economic mechanisms, aimed at the development of culture the joint efforts at all levels of government are required.

In order to link the taken decisions in individual regions with the overall strategy of regional development and the concept of national economic security one should:

1) Rank the regions by the degree of a negative from the prevailing situations on the national security of Russia; the determination of crisis regions, the situation of which should be controlled by the Security Council;

2) the development of priority actions aimed at situation change in crisis regions within the terms of limited resources;

3) a continuous monitoring of progress and the evaluation of the actual effectiveness of measures adopted to the implementation; the control will allow to take timely measures in case of social and economic tension increase in the regions up to a critical one.

Socio-economic crisis led to a sharp weakening of inter-regional relations. The desire of certain regions, particularly rich in natural resources and raw materials, to the unilateral use of preferential export advantages, to the retention of tax revenue within its territory, to the administrative set of own product prices or the prohibition of its export outside the region undermines the integrity of the economic space of Russia and prevents the development of integration processes.

The withdrawal of the state from a centrally-planned economy in 1991 led to the growth of the

regional monopolies. The regional monopoly in the production of major products serves as the basic support for the regional trends enforcement.

The monopolistic market with a high degree of stability concerning the technological and economic relations is characteristic of electricity, coal, oil and gas supply at a sufficiently rigid linking of producers to consumers and a limited competitive supply.

Economic threats are intensified due to the predatory use of resources. Insufficient legal and economic aspects related to the delineation of jurisdiction spheres and powers between the federal and regional levels of governance in respect of the property rights to natural resources and their sources (deposits, etc.) allow their uncontrolled use.

The state bears the loss from the sale of strategic raw materials (non-ferrous metals, timber, etc.) at dumping prices due to the increased competition among Russian exporters.

A steady and an unfavorable trend of differentiation increase appeared concerning the income levels within RF regions.

A natural decline of population in the central regions, as well as in Siberia and the Far East is quite anxious one.

«Closed» cities are considered as the problematic ones. The underestimation of the territorial factor at the implementation of military facility conversion leads to the lack of demand for thousands of unique experts. The potential centers of a dangerous level of unemployment are also multi-functional towns or cities, where the vast majority of employment is concentrated in one or two companies.

On the one hand, the regions should solve the problems of trade, services, education, healthcare development, etc., on the other hand, one should keep a single military-political and socioeconomic space. The problem of state regulation by the economic and social policy of the regions becomes a particularly important here.

The methods of state regulation should support the processes of economic integration in the regions of Russia as a whole and contribute to the solution of complex social and economic development of individual regions, the prevention of crises within these regions. It is necessary to determine the optimal ratio of federal and regional budgets, the formation of funds for interregional redistribution of financial resources used for economic and social programs.

The positive shifts in addressing the issues of regional social policy are possible only within the conditions of stabilization and economic development. Along with this, a certain role in the

social policy provision of the regions may be performed by the accounting of regional factors.

Summing up, it should be noted that a new economy, a new social doctrine of Russia, the crisis of market fundamentalism contribute to the creation of a fundamentally new institutional framework for the state of patriotism in society. Under these conditions, economics and the government should rethink the generally accepted and common approaches concerning the content of the processes and the mechanisms of «human factor» regulation within the social and economic development of the country and regions and the state of a socio-political superstructure of society.

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**MODERN ENVIRONMENT STRUCTURE:
ONTOLOGICAL AND FACTOR MODEL**

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Abstract. The article proposed the analysis of evolutionary variations for the formation of human environment. The preconditions and consequences of technosphere historical emergence are analyzed. The transformation the technical system role is demonstrated from the perspective of social and cultural sphere element to the position of a primate sphere, the determinant of the human environment development vector. The properties of modern technosphere are analyzed, causing its assignment to a separate system in the habitat structure. The system openness, adaptability, self-organization and the ability to a non-linear development are proposed as the defining features. The paper presented a new look on the factor model of the human environment conditioned by the independence elements of the habitat and postulating intra-sphere production of influence factors for the environment elements. The result of the article is the attraction of attention to the need of environment modern vector study and research.

Keywords: human environment; natural sphere; social and cultural spheres; technosphere.

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**СТРУКТУРА СОВРЕМЕННОЙ СРЕДЫ ОБИТАНИЯ:
ОНТОЛОГИЧЕСКАЯ И ФАКТОРНАЯ МОДЕЛЬ**

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Аннотация. В статье предложен анализ эволюционных вариаций формирования среды обитания человека. Рассмотрены предпосылки и последствия исторического возникновения техносферы. Показана трансформация роли технической системы с позиции элемента социокультурной сферы на позиции сферы-примата, определителя вектора развития среды обитания человека. Рассмотрены свойства современной техносферы, обуславливающие ее отнесение к отдельной системе в структуре среды обитания. В качестве таких определяющих свойств предложены: открытость системы, адаптивность, самоорганизация и способность к нелинейному развитию. В статье представлен новый взгляд на факторную модель среды обитания человека, обусловленный самостоятельностью элементов среды обитания и постулирующий внутрисферное продуцирование факторов влияния для элементов среды. Итогом статьи становится привлечение внимания к необходимости изучения и исследования современных векторов развития среды обитания.

Ключевые слова: среда обитания человека; природная сфера; социокультурная сфера; техносфера.

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A man's habitat as a biological species, included originally his biological (natural) environment with the characteristics of natural conditions, most of which belonged to a climate group.

The development of social relations was crystallized first as a characteristic, and then as a separate subsystem, social and cultural part of the environment - a complex and a dynamic formation, transforming the faster, the smaller its historical foundation is and including the causal bonds between social, cultural and political factors, and the facts that form a system, social relations and traditions.

The evolution of human thought, creates one of its product varieties in the socio-cultural subsystem of the environment i.e. technical innovations. Each of them becomes an event in the life of society and makes the part of cultural achievement historical descriptions. At this stage, the elements of a future technosphere are inseparable with society culture are the hallmarks of a number of national cultures. However, along with the technological advances the first man-made risks appear caused by the antagonism with the biosphere and human nature. Since they could not become a conscious purpose of people one has to admit: the technosphere was not under the full control of a man who created it, even at an early stage of its development [1].

The development of machine production puts technical innovations into a separate but not an isolated cluster from the social and the cultural environment of a subsystem - the union of technical products to meet human needs.

The development of production, the emergence and the implementation of risk associated with industrialization, may be considered as the starting point of the formation and the development of human environment subsystem - a technical subsystem. The transformation of social life, which entails the development of technology, does not allow us to refer it to the elements of culture, as it is

not subject any longer to the laws and principles of the of cultural product creation (rather these principles may be used, but they are secondary ones): ethics, aesthetics, spiritual development, individuality, exclusivity, uniqueness, and more, but most importantly, ideally, it is the original lack of economic burdens (the benefits of creativity). But, at the same time it is not possible to distinguish fully between these two subsystems in a historical retrospective - the sociality of technical products, the function of human energy saving, the improvement of life, the aesthetics and the facilitation of work, make this subsystem an inextricably related with the social sphere.

The separation of the technical sphere happens on the stage of line production appearance for technical products and the development of domestic manufacturing sector. While maintaining the social function the products of the technical subsystem begin to solve the problems not only of paramount importance (facilitation of human life), but also the problem of the second, the third and the fourth order. Then a moment appears when a technical product induces a problem itself for which it is intended - two basic types of reproduction appear: an artificial creation of a technical request (making the technical problems of a lower order the most important ones (e.g., the boiling of eggs)), the solution of the request which occurs during the operation of technical subsystem products (ionizer, as the response to an air conditioner operation).

At the moment of the large-scale loss of skills «the non-technical existence» of a man, it is possible to talk about a full-fledged department of a technical subsystem, which acquires all the properties of an independent system like a natural and a socio-cultural environment subsystem (according to the laws of the system hierarchy and at the same time the law of emergence) (Fig. 1).

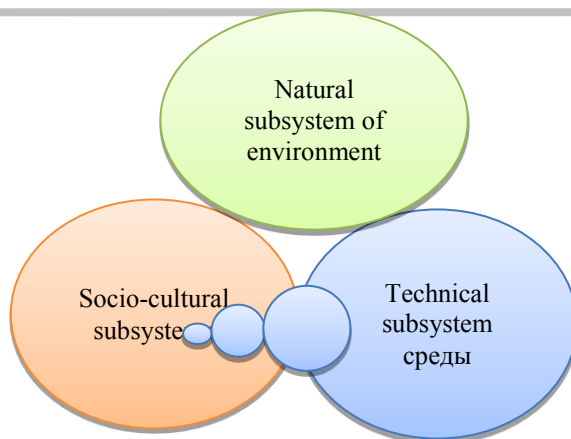


Figure 1. The subsystems of the human environment

Like any artificial system, the technical area makes a series of steps for the formation and the acquisition of system properties, the strength of which continues to increase even now. During the development of the system properties, the technical sphere not only becomes a full member of a human environment, but also acquires the features of self-organization, characteristic of independent systems of natural or socio-cultural ontogenesis.

Perhaps, the property of openness is the defining feature of a technical subsystem (Fig. 2 (1)). This property was originally the basis of a young technical sphere evolution, then it becomes the key to its successful expansion within the natural and socio-cultural subsystem territory. A constant exchange and the focus on the evolution of the fraternal environment subsystems allowed to rise the subsystem analyzed by us to the rank of irreplaceable elements, and moreover, to move into the category of fundamentally hierarchical according to their properties and relations. The use of socio-cultural and natural subsystem request and the reciprocal nature of operation, gradually transformed into a life-support function and the safety of primary habitat subsystems through the scientific and technological progress. The openness of the technical system, its delicate response, first of all, on the socio-cultural trends and the natural origin of the natural and cultural systems, predetermined its resistance to any factors, including stochastic ones.

In the first place the paradox of this system is that a great openness did not make it vulnerable and,

over time, it transformed such characteristic as «dependence» into «adaptability» (Fig. 2 (2)). The speed of technical scope adaptation to the operation request is so great that at this stage of development may be adapted to future changes, which are calculated on the basis of sustainable socio-humanitarian and environmental trend analysis. This phenomenon suggests to talk about a possible risk as a «technological singularity» - the possibility to calculate casual relations by the means of an artificial intelligence at higher speeds, and the appearance of an uncontrolled chain reaction that could destroy a human civilization [2].

A unique experience of «self inquiry» creation (described by us earlier) allowed the technical subsystem to use and develop the mechanism of «self-replication», self-reproduction, which led to the emergence of technical capacity for self-development and self-organization (Fig. 2 (3)). Then we shall refer to the scenarios of the technosphere development repeatedly, and the abovestated mechanism is the first harbinger of this system closing start in itself. The thing that was originally defined as the way of the system stability increase, may be the beginning of its end, going through all the stages of regression: the omnipotence and supremacy, uncontrolled self-reproduction, the loss of control and the subject and the object of servicing. Unfortunately, in this scenario, the expansion technological environment leads to the elimination of its nucleus - a man and to the complete destruction of his habitat.

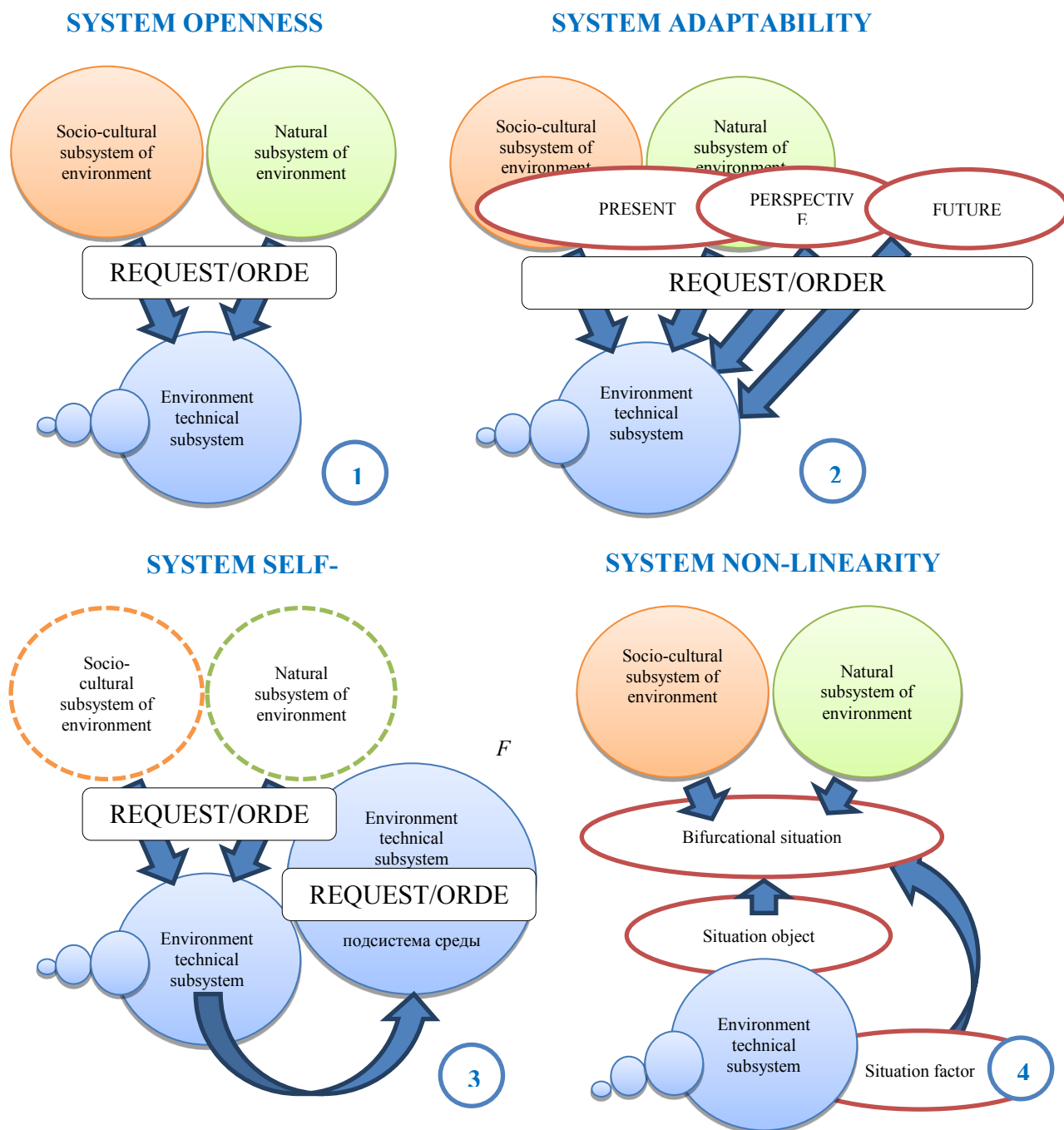


Figure 2. Acquisition of system properties by technical sphere

The independence of initially artificial technical subsystem at this stage of development increases so that such a property of natural systems as nonlinearity becomes an integral part of its existence. The effect of a technical subsystem presence in the natural and socio-cultural component of the environment allows it to be subjected to and included in the same bifurcation states. But the interest of such mimicry and the omnipresence in the fact that being in a state of bifurcation as a system, the technical sphere becomes at the same time the

vector factor that determines the trajectory of natural system postbifurcational development.

The choice of such a trajectory is associated with a known technically progressive development scenario («progressive» in this case can not be used as «a positive moment for the environment development», rather as «a positive moment for the development of a technical sphere») (Fig. 2 (4)).

The abovestated conclusion makes researchers to perform in futurological predictions, although you can not ignore another point of view.

For example, D.V. Ivanov points to the ambiguity of epistemological analysis to establish the causal relationships in the modern human environment: «... whether the changes of social relations are the function of technological changes or whether social changes are a series of technological, economic, political and other developments, the correlation between which does not necessarily presuppose the existence of unambiguous causalities» [3].

The choice of the first one among two alternatives, obviously, means the acceptance of technological determinism concept (that is confirmed by the fact that no society may exist without a particular technology), the choice of a second one is the rejection of this concept, as «technology like any other single «factor» can not determine the development of society as a whole, especially «at all times»: it influences the society together with other social factors, closely related with them» [4].

In this regard, in terms of socio-cultural expertise, A.P. Nazaretyan thought is an interesting one [5]: describing the relationship of technology and society, the researcher formulates the hypothesis of the techno-humanitarian balance, «... the higher the power of the industrial and military technologies, the better cultural regulation means are needed to save the society. However, this idea does not exclude the things described by us and V. Vinge scenario, but is rather the basis for a new paradigm of social and cultural development of post-industrial society.

The technical development of civilization, as an object of study, led to the emergence of antagonistic views and the assessment of scientists. For example, D.M. Gvishiani highlights three trends in the evaluation of technological progress role during the development of society: 1) the technocratic-optimistic aspect: the limitless possibilities of science and technology development are approved that could lead to the solution of all economic and political contradictions of modern society; 2) Socio-pessimistic aspect: science and technology are considered as one of the evils inherent to any advanced civilization and bringing the destruction for human existence; 3) the trend, which is not adjacent to the extremes of technocratic optimism and social pessimism and includes a wide range of mindsets that constitute the social criticism of scientific and technological revolution negative effects, the calls for the humane use of science and technology achievements, or the proclamation of a harmonic fusion of science and technology gains of a man with a religious outlook, or dispassionate theories proposing the development ways of the modern «technological civilization» [6].

In our opinion, a different approach to the problem of the technical expansion is possible of our world: the scientific and technological progress is a necessary attribute and the condition for civilization development, and its speed and direction determines its global perspective, but as the product of human thought, it should be under control of constructive mind and be in harmony with the social and cultural development of mankind.

Thus, we may draw the following conclusion: the evolution of technical sphere took place along with the evolution of a man and society, and its progress is conditioned by the planned development of the following evolutionary system parameters:

1. The change of a hierarchical status - the technical subsystem of sociocultural subsystem element becomes an independent self-hierarchically meaningful unit in the human environment;

2. The expansion and the modification of a functional field - the transition from a functional rank of a serving subordinate subsystem to the functional rank of life support and the determination of other sub-system status and their components;

3. The increase of the number and the scale of elements of its own structure, the penetration into all levels of the human environment through the variability and the quantity of products for subsystem functioning;

4. The transition from an artificial controlled subsystem state into a self-organizing system capable of self-evolution, and furthermore, to an evolutionary selection.

Different approaches to the retrospective analysis of technical subsystem development and its separation into a separate, significant element of the environment may be found in the works of such authors as A. Toffler [7], N.V. Popkova [8], A.N. Kochergin [9], Y.S. Vasilyev [10], I.S. Demidenko [11] and others.

Developing an environmental factor model in an external aspect, we find ourselves in the so-called «closed spiral of analysis». It's a paradox, but the habitat is probably one of a few systems, the structural and factor basic models of which coincide. As the subsystems (elements) of environment, according to the laws of hierarchy, act as independent systems with independent factor sets, then the consideration of influence factors for each of them, inevitably leads us to the consideration of other subsystem elements. Thus, considering a natural subsystem, we will talk about a group of technological, social, cultural, human factors, and certainly we will not ignore the direct factors of natural origin, thus «closing the spiral of analysis.»

The reason for this «closed» factor, in our opinion, is in the stage of civilization development - on the one hand, the development of the human environment reached the tops, which allow to specify a technical subsystem in some areas, and even the environment of existence, but on the other hand, the development is very weak currently and perhaps, such given vectors, which do not allow to expand this environment for the emergence of additional fields and factors of influence (cosmos, universe, other civilizations). Currently, the factors that we can refer to these megasystems are so rare and small, there is no reason to talk about the factor groups affecting the human environment.

On the one hand, this can be interpreted as a positive effect of megasystem non-interference in the human environment (if we're talking about stochastic influence of natural megasystem factors), since even the smallest (but important one) intervention fact in the environment on this side, may be the last fact in the history of mankind (the change of star orbits and planets, the collision of Earth with a comet). But on the other hand, new knowledge and goals, as well as new civilizational contacts, may have an incredible impact on the development of our civilization and environment (especially on technical and socio-cultural subsystems).

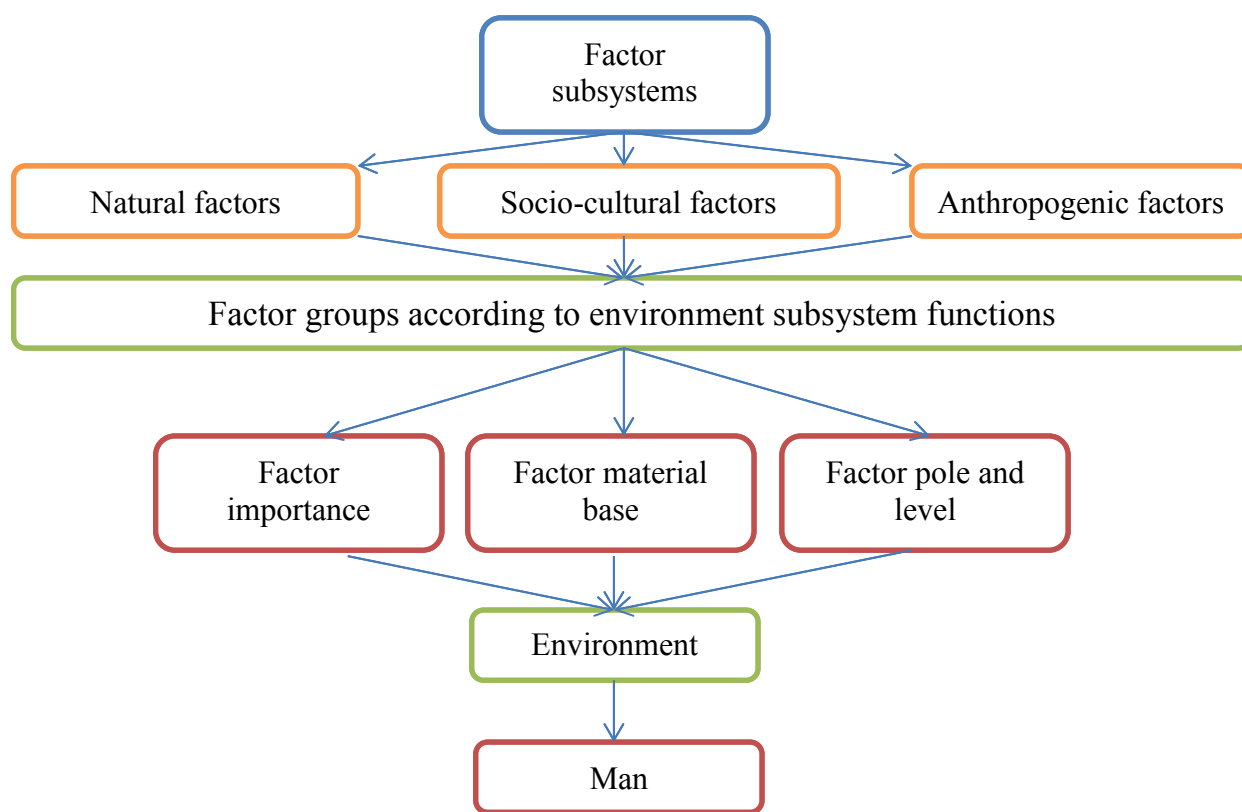


Figure 3. Factor Model of human environment

Considering the factor model of the environment in the inner aspect, when it produces the factor groups for its core, first of all, we define this nuclear component. Of course, the core of the environment is a human being, and all existing factor groups make an impact on it. The hierarchy of factor groups, first of all, starts with the subsystems and their structure (natural, socio-cultural, technological factors).

Further, there may be several reasons for the classification of factor groups in the factor model of

the environment. For example, the material basis of a factor (tangible and intangible one); the level of need for a person (major, important, necessary and neutral); impact pole (positive and negative one) and the level of exposure as an option (very favorable, favorable, moderately favorable, neutral, moderately unfavorable, unfavorable, very unfavorable).

In our opinion, the most interesting could be the environment influence typology of factors, based on the functional model of environmental subsystems. This model deserves further theoretical study and

verification, and yet may be presented in the form of an alleged typological outline (Fig. 3).

Thus, the abovementioned analysis highlights the uniqueness of the human environment as a system, showing its scope and capacity for an internal reproduction of all actors of any collaborations, for the production of a subject and an object, and the means of a factor influence.

Returning to the issue of technical subsystem separation and the increase of its importance level, describing a technical subsystem as an element of human environment, we are talking about a pervasive and an all-consuming system, evolving expansively in a state of high resistance and maximum development of adaptive potencies. Weighing the importance and the reversibility of each factor from the abovementioned groups, we may confidently assert that the integral assessment of these characteristics concerning man-made group factors will multiply more than any other assessments.

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**YOUTH IN A RISK SITUATION: ADAPTATION
METHODS AND RESOURCES**

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Abstract. The paper studies the choice peculiarities of adaptation methods and the updating of the resources included in the adaptive potential concerning the young people in the communities which are in the situation of an imposed a particular risk and the daily «blurred» risks. The empirical basis of the analysis are the results of two sociological studies: the first was carried out at the methodical maintenance of risk and disaster problem sector staff of IS RAS during late 2013 in the social community, to which a risk is imposed; the second study was carried out in 2015 and it is the survey of the control group, which lives in the area of everyday, «fuzzy» risks.

Based on comparative analysis of youth target groups from both data arrays it was substantiated that young people living in the areas of a particular imposed risk and daily «fuzzy» risks vary by the choice of adaptation ways to the risks as well as to the relevance of the resources that make up an adaptive potential, and some possible ways of a certain security status achievement among youth in the process of adaptation to risk.

It was shown that in a situation of a particular risk the main factors of young people successful adaptation to risk (or the achievement of a specific security status) are the reduction of risk to a socially acceptable level and the development of an adaptive capacity by increasing the subjective feeling of environment safety, the protection from unpleasant experiences and the satisfaction by living conditions. In the situation of everyday risks the development of an adaptation potential among young people may be achieved if the preventive measures of health protection are maintained and the satisfaction of its state increases, if an overall level of anxiety is reduced and interpersonal relations are expanded.

Keywords: risk; adaptation; social resources; youth; safety.

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**МОЛОДЁЖЬ В СИТУАЦИИ РИСКА:
РЕСУРСЫ И СПОСОБЫ АДАПТАЦИИ**

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Аннотация. В статье изучаются особенности выбора способов адаптации и актуализации ресурсов, входящих в адаптационный потенциал, молодёжи в общностях, находящихся в ситуации навязываемого конкретного риска и повседневных «размытых» рисков. Эмпирической базой анализа выступают результаты двух социологических исследований: первое осуществлено при методическом обеспечении сотрудников сектора проблем риска и катастроф ИС РАН в конце 2013 года в социальной общности, которой навязывается риск; второе исследование проведено в 2015 году и представляет собой опрос контрольной группы, проживающей в зоне повседневных «размытых» рисков.

На основе сравнительного анализа молодёжных целевых групп из обоих массивов данных обосновано, что молодёжь, проживающая в зонах конкретного навязываемого

риска и повседневных «размытых» рисков, различается по выбору способов адаптации к рискам, а также по актуализации ресурсов, составляющих адаптационный потенциал, и намечены возможные пути достижения определенного статуса безопасности молодежи в процессе адаптации к риску.

Показано, что в ситуации конкретного риска основными факторами успешной адаптации молодежи к риску (или достижения определённого статуса безопасности) являются снижение риска до социально приемлемого уровня и развитие адаптационного потенциала за счёт повышения субъективного ощущения безопасности среды, защищенности от неприятных событий и удовлетворенности жизненными условиями. В ситуации повседневных рисков развитие адаптационного потенциала молодежи может быть достигнуто при условии профилактических мер сохранения здоровья и повышения удовлетворённости его состоянием, снижения общего уровня тревожности, расширения межличностных связей.

Ключевые слова: риск; адаптация; социальные ресурсы; молодежь; безопасность.

In modern society the familiar environments are transformed into risk-taking ones under the influence of risk factors. In this regard, risk becomes an important component of quality of life and requires adaptation. The essence of an adaptation process for some social subject to a risk-taking environment, from the risk sociology point of view, is in the achievement of a certain security status, and the success of this process depends largely on the efficiency of risk interaction methods - the ways of adaptation to possible damage.

The differences in the nature of modern risks and the scale of possible damage cause uneven distribution of risks for different social actors and territorial communities. In some cases, one or another social subject is influenced by a number of potential threats at the same time or the effect of one factor is replaced by the influence of another one, that is, one or another risk is updated. In the broadest sense the thing is about daily «fuzzy» risks, the specifics of which turns the adaptation to these risks into a permanent process. In other cases, social actors experience a prolonged exposure to a particular threat, often imposed by the environment, which is a real source of danger. In such cases, the thing is about a particular risk imposition. According to the analysis of sociological data, we were able to identify that in a specific risk situation imposed by the environment, the differences of adaptation strategies are determined by the potential of resources available to different categories of population; and there is an inequality in the distribution of resources which makes up an adaptive potential [1]. Nowadays, the features of resource actualization in the process of choosing a

particular method of adaptation to daily «fuzzy» risks remain unstudied.

The purpose of the article is to identify the similarities and differences in the choice of ways for resource adaptation and update included into adaptive capacity within the communities which are in the situation of a particular imposed risk and the daily «blurred» risks, on the basis of the obtained results to identify some possible ways to achieve a certain security status of social actors in the process of adaptation to risk. To do this, let's perform a comparative analysis of the target groups from the area of «fuzzy» everyday risks and one of the Russian regions which is in the situation of particular imposed risk. There is a potential for the certain damages related with the presence of an adverse effect source in the mentioned region - ore deposits, the development of which is planned in the near future. The sustained protests in the region suggest the public perception of a real risk situation and specify the security gaps in a social community in respect of this impact. Since the decision concerning the development of fields was taken without considering the population opinion, the risk for a considered social community is an imposed one.

Youth is chosen as the object of study in the article according to a variety of reasons. Firstly, youth from the risk sociology point of view is a specific category. The youth environment manifests the dual objective-subjective nature of risk. Youth is exposed to the environment dangers, that is, risk is an objective condition of their lives. The subjective nature of risk is manifested among young people as a social category, to which «risk is inherent immanently and may be recognized by its peculiar group

forming factor» [2, p. 170]. Secondly, «modern young people are mostly more pragmatic than their parents, so they use the probabilistic method of risk assessment more often» [3, p. 42]. Thirdly, according to recent research performed by Levada Center and dedicated to the study of an adaptive potential of Russians. Young people turned out to be the least adapted to the institutional, psychological and social changes of recent years [4].

The main hypothesis is presented by the assumption that young people living in the areas of particular imposed risk and daily «fuzzy» risks varies by the choice of adaptation ways to risks as well as to the update of resources that make up the adaptive capacity.

An empirical base of the analysis is the results of two sociological studies. The first one was performed at the methodological support of risk and disaster problem sector staff of IS RAS at the end of 2013 in the social community, for which the risk of multi-representative quota sample is imposed (394 profiles). The second study is presented by the survey of the control group, which lives in the area everyday «fuzzy» risks and is carried out according to a representative quota sample in 2015 (100 profiles) at the financial support from RHSF within the scientific project № 14-03-00139. In both studies the quoting was carried out by sex and age.

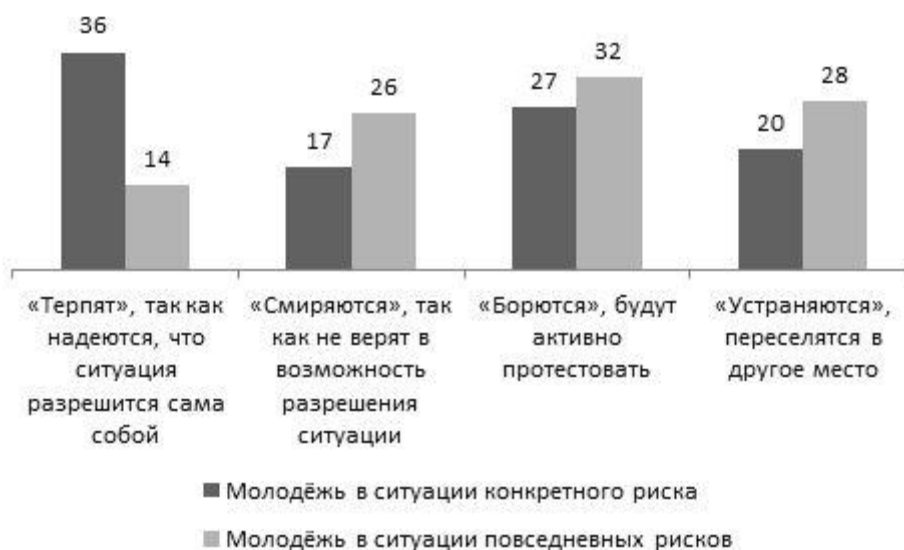
In order to test the hypothesis the youth groups at the age of 18-29 years were taken from each data array. The youth group living in the region with a particular risk is presented by 75 respondents, the group living in the area with daily «blurred» risks is presented by 50 respondents. Let's perform the comparative analysis of selected target groups of young people according to two criteria: (1) according to a risk adaptation way: the specified differences will show the preferred method of adaptation to a risk within the conditions of a specific and everyday risks; and (2) according to the types of social resources: the specified differences will show the particular actualization of various social resources that make up the adaptive potential of youth groups living in the terms of an imposed specific risk and «fuzzy» everyday risks. Before we proceed to the main part of the analysis, let's clarify certain concepts and provisions on the basis of which the interpretation of empirical evidence is performed further.

An adaptive potential is the collection of resources that the subject of adaptation has in a latent form, and which are revealed during adaptation. The analysis of empirical data in the article was performed on the basis of the author's typology, interpretation and the operationalization of social resources¹. The further analysis of the article includes the following resources: «adaptability», «the involvement in a certain social network», «readiness to a risk», «social well-being», socio-psychological characteristics and philosophical peculiarities, social activity.

An adaptive potential is realized by the means of adaptation - the «specific social actions, behavior, the acts in unusual situations» [5, p. 7], which correspond to a particular adaptation strategy. There are two strategies for adaptation in the most general sense - an active and a passive one [6, p. 19]. An active adaptation strategy involves the desire of a subject to change the environment, a passive adaptation strategy involves the desire to follow the life circumstances. In previous empirical studies, we found out four most common ways to risk adaptation. Two of them are based on a passive adaptation strategy and involve the assumption of a risk with the hope that a situation will be resolved itself, or due to the lack of faith in the possibility of an actual problem solution («tolerate» / «submit»). The rest are based on an active adaptation strategy and suggest a struggle for risk reduction, or an escape from a dangerous environment («struggle» / «go away») [7]. The results of a comparative analysis among target youth groups according to the methods of adaptation to risks and social resources are presented below.

In order to identify the differences in the choice of an adaptation method to the risk of youth in particular and everyday risk situations let's analyze the answers to the question about the preferred ways of behavior in a situation of possible damage (risk) to health, property and environment in each target group (see. Figure 1).

¹ Read [1] to know more about the criteria and the scheme of the author typology of social resources that make up an adaptive capacity.



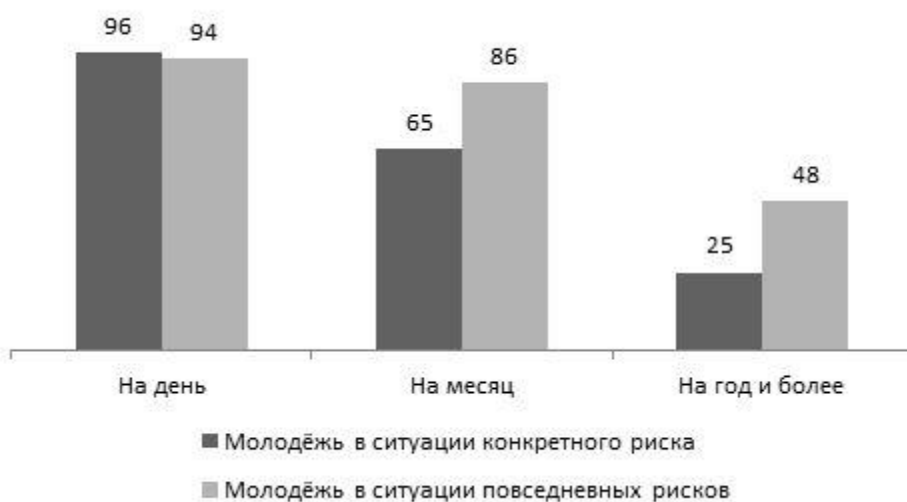
Терпят, так как надеются, что ситуация разрешится сама собой. - Suffering as they hope that a situation will resolve itself. Смиряются, так как не верят в возможность разрешения ситуации. - They submit because they do not believe in the possibility of the situation resolution. Борются, будут активно протестовать - They struggle and will protest actively. Устраняются, переселяются в другое место - They go away and move to another location

Fig. 1. The methods of adaptation to the risk of young people in particular situations of everyday and specific risks (in % to the number of respondents in each target group)

The results of the analysis presented on Figure 1 show that young people in a situation of everyday risks compared with another target group are more inclined to the choice of risk adaptation methods corresponding to an active strategy, namely in a situation of possible damage to health, property and environment they will protest actively or move to another location. More than half of young people from the region with a particular risk prefer a passive adaptation strategy to a risk, at that the proportion of those who hope that the situation will be resolved without their participation is significantly higher (36% vs. 14% in the daily risk group).

Then let's perform the comparative analysis of youth target groups according to the types of social resources outlined above: the revealed differences will show the peculiarities of various social resources actualization that make up an adaptive potential of each target group in the process of adaptation to a particular and everyday risk situation.

«Adaptability» is empirically interpreted through the planning of life for a substantial period and the confidence in the ability to control your own life. Figure 2 shows the results of a comparative analysis of youth from target groups according to the specifics of your own life planning.



На день - During a day. На месяц - During a month

На год и более - During a year and more. Молодёжь в ситуации конкретного риска - Youth in a specific risk situation
Молодёжь в ситуации повседневного риска - Youth in a daily risk situation.

Fig. 2. The features of life planning by young people in particular and everyday risk situations (in % to the number of respondents in each target group)

Figure 2 shows that a group of young people with everyday risks plans their lives more often for a medium and a long term if we compare it to the other target group.

The ability to control your own life is considered through particular approaches to the solution of one's own problems. The results are shown on Figure 3.



Берут ситуацию под контроль, активно пытаются найти решение, организовать процесс, влиять на ситуацию - Take a situation under control, try to find a solution, to establish a process, to influence a situation
Обращаются к тем, кто мог бы решить проблему - Appeal to those who could solve a problem

Fig. 3. The approaches to a problem solution among young people in particular and everyday risk situations (in % to the number of respondents in each target group)

The data presented on Figure 3 show that the young people from the group with daily risks prefer to solve problems actively and independently, the young people from the region with a particular risk prefer to seek help. The amount of those who prefer to do nothing and «wait» (if a problem appears) in both target groups is insignificant.

In general, young people have a higher adaptability level in the situations of everyday risks than in the situations of particular risks.

«The inclusion in a certain social network» is interpreted via the nature and the volume of bonds, contacts and interaction with the social environment at a certain level of trust in various subjects of this environment. The inclusion in a particular social network is the developed social resource if a subject is in an extensive system of reliable akin-friendly contacts, satisfied and by communication capabilities, confident in family support, if necessary and is characterized by a state of psychological comfort without the sense of loneliness [8].

The vast majority of respondents from both target groups (more than 95%) say that they talk to friends and family in person, by phone or Internet. However, there are differences in the frequency of such communication. 79% of young people from the region with a particular risk communicate with friends constantly, and only 57% from the different target group, 84 and 72%, respectively communicate with relatives constantly. However, the highest satisfaction degree from the socializing with friends is selected by 61% of young people in the situation of a specific risk, and 52% chose it in the situation of daily risks. In both groups, the proportion of those who believe that relatives could help to cope with various problems is rather high, however, this proportion is smaller in the group from everyday risk area (84% vs 92). About 80% of young people in each target group feel themselves protected from loneliness in varying degrees.

100% of respondents from the regions with a particular risk communicate with colleagues and 84% from the area with daily risk communicate with hobby and shared leisure partners - 71 and 54%, respectively, 84% of young people from the first group and only 44% of the latter communicate with neighbors. The respondents from the region with a particular risk are characterized by a significantly higher frequency of communication with colleagues, hobby and leisure partners and neighbors.

The confidence to an inner circle is measured by the assessment of confidence level in problem situations, when you need help, including the protection of rights, freedoms, health and life. Young

people from both target groups are characterized by a high level of trust to their families, relatives (about 95% in each target group) and friends (about 80%).

In general, young people from the region with a specific risk is characterized by more developed interpersonal relations, based on virtually constant communication with the closest and more distant people, a high level of satisfaction by the communication with friends and some confidence that relatives will help in a difficult situation. Thus, young people have a higher level of inclusion in social networks in the situation of a specific risk than in the situation of an everyday risk.

«The readiness to risk» is interpreted as an individual decision on acceptance or rejection of life within a risk (a possibility of various damages). The experience of our long-term studies shows that the adoption / rejection of a risk is influenced by a number of empirical indicators. In this article, we have an opportunity to develop an explanatory model of readiness to risk differences among young people from target groups on the basis of the subjective sense comparison concerning an environment security and the preparedness for different types of damage.

The subjective sense of environment protection is measured through the self-assessment of various real threats presence / absence during the survey. Let's develop an environment safety index¹. The results of the procedure are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Subjective feeling of environment safety (index)

Real threats	Young people in a specific risk situation	Young people in a daily risk situation
Loss of property	0,9	0,72
Deterioration, loss of health	-0,52	0,12
Stress, loss of life situation control	0,76	0,16
Loss of employment, occupation, status	0,44	0,44
Disregard of humanistic ideals, the devaluation of human life	0,6	0,44
Lifestyle change, the breaking of life plans	0,5	0,16
Financial losses, loss or depreciation of savings	0,46	0,04
Discomfort from the environment degradation	-0,28	-0,12

¹ The index takes a maximum value equal to +1 when all respondents in the group do not feel a particular threat. The index takes the minimum value of -1, when all of the respondents in the group feel a particular threat. The index value makes 0 if the number of people feeling a threat in the group is equal to the number of people who do not feel it.

The analysis results presented in Table 1 show that in a daily risk situation young people feel more the threat of stress, loss of control over the life situation and the change of an habitual way of life. Young people from the region with a particular risk feel the threat of health deterioration and the degradation of natural environment much greater. We believe that the revealed differences are related to different nature of risk sources. As we noted, their sources are not always certain in the situation of a daily risk, the specificity of effects and possible consequences is poorly predictable and it increases the overall level of anxiety and stress. The source and the vector of possible consequences are known in the situation of a particular risk, in the considered case it is a negative impact on the environment and population health.

Let's develop the index¹ of risk taking according to different types of damage. The results of the procedure are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2

Risk taking at different types of damage (index)

Damage types	Young people in a specific risk situation	Young people in a daily risk situation
Material damage - Loss of property	-0,78	-0,32
Physical damage - Deterioration, loss of health	-0,94	-0,64
Psychologic damage - Stress, loss of life situation control	-0,98	-0,64
Social damage - Loss of employment, occupation, status	-0,9	-0,28
Spiritual damage - Disregard of humanistic ideals, the devaluation of human life	-0,98	-0,92
Moral damage - Lifestyle change, the breaking of life plans	-0,9	-0,42
Economic damage - Financial losses, loss or depreciation of savings	-0,98	-0,36
Discomfort from the environment degradation	-0,84	-0,68

The results presented in Table 2 show that both target groups are presented mainly by the respondents who do not take the risk for all types of damages. The comparison of index values shows that young people in everyday risk situations are usually ready to take the risk for all types of damages.

«Social health» is interpreted in the broadest sense as a comprehensive indicator of comfort in the environment, operationalized through repeatedly proven satisfaction self-estimation sectors in other studies of the sector of concerning living conditions (18 conditions), the protection from unpleasant events (23 events), the state and dynamics of health.

The differences in the level of satisfaction by material security, family relations, housing, public services and the police work, the opportunity to receive education and realize themselves within the profession were not found between the considered target groups. Figure 4 shows the living conditions, the satisfaction evaluation of which demonstrates the significant differences between the youth of the target groups.

According to Figure 4, the young people in the situation of everyday risks is more satisfied with living conditions in general compared to other target group except of the satisfaction with health. It is important to note that the state of health is an essential component of social well-being overall index [6]. According to the self-assessments of health status the target groups of youth are not differed. However, there are differences in the assessments of health state dynamics: more than a third of respondents from the daily risk group note the deterioration of their health during last 2-3 years, while the majority of young people from the region with a particular risk claim that their health has not changed.

¹ The index takes a maximum value equal to +1 when all respondents in the group take a particular risk. The index takes the minimum value of -1, when all of the respondents in the group do not take a particular risk. The index value makes 0 if the number of people taking a risk in the group is equal to the number of people who do not take this risk.



Ситуация в стране - The situation in the country. То, как складывается жизнь - The state of affairs
 Положение, статус в обществе - Society position, статус - Status
 Отдых в период отпуска - Recreation during vacation
 Ситуация на работе - The situation at work. Возможность проведения досуга - The possibility for leisure time
 Медицинское обслуживание - Medical service. Состояние здоровья - Health status
 Приобретение одежды - Purchase of clothes. Питание – Nutrition

Fig. 4. High estimates of satisfaction with living conditions among young people in particular and everyday risk situations (% of people who chose the score 4 and 5 according to satisfaction scale in each target group)

An important indicator of social well-being is the level of protection against a variety of unpleasant events¹. Let's develop the index² of protection from unpleasant events. Young people in the situation of everyday risk, compared to the respondents from another target group, estimates above the private security level according to all submitted unpleasant events. According to the assessments of security

¹ The level of security is measured in relation to these unpleasant events: the trouble in professional activity, work; burglary; hooligan attacks; the acts of an organized crime; ecological disaster; discrimination based on sex, age; persecution on ethnic grounds; persecution for the religious beliefs; persecution for the political views; poverty and homelessness; loneliness; feeling that a life has no reason; unemployment; refuse to provide free medical care; accident in public transport, railways, highways; infectious diseases; radiation exposure; poisoning by harmful substances contained in products; exposure to harmful substances contained in building materials; poisoning by harmful substances discharged into water, air; wrong diagnosis and treatment; military or other action, followed by relocation; the acts of terrorists.

² The index has a maximum value equal to +1 when all of the respondents in the group consider themselves protected from any unpleasant event. The index takes the minimum value of -1, when all of the respondents in the group consider themselves vulnerable to any unpleasant events. The index value is 0 if the number of protected ones in the group is equal to the number of unprotected ones.

from trouble in professional activity, the actions of criminals, discrimination and the harassment on various grounds, troubles in life the significant differences between the target groups were not revealed in general. The observed significant differences between the evaluations of security in considered groups of young people are shown in Table 3.

According to the results of the analysis in Table 3, the youth from the region with a particular risk appeared to be not protected from the exposure to adverse environmental factors and threats to health and life compared to other target group.

In general, according to the terms of social well-being among young people in everyday risk situations the level of comfort in the environment is higher than in the situation of a particular risk.

Table 3

Protection from unpleasant events (index)

Unpleasant events	Young people in a specific risk situation	Young people in a daily risk situation
Ecological disaster	-0,78	0,36
Radiation exposure	-0,68	0,48
Poisoning with hazardous substances in products	-0,68	0,4
Exposure to harmful substances contained in building materials	-0,78	0,64
Poisoning with hazardous substances discharged into water, air	-0,9	0,24
Infectious diseases	-0,62	0,72
Wrong diagnosis and treatment	-0,58	0,38
Transport accidents	-0,84	0,28
Military or other acts, followed by involuntary resettlement	-0,2	0,6
Actions of terrorists	-0,58	0,44

According to the socio-psychological characteristics, which are interpreted through a character and a self-preservation behavior, the young people do not differ in the focus groups.

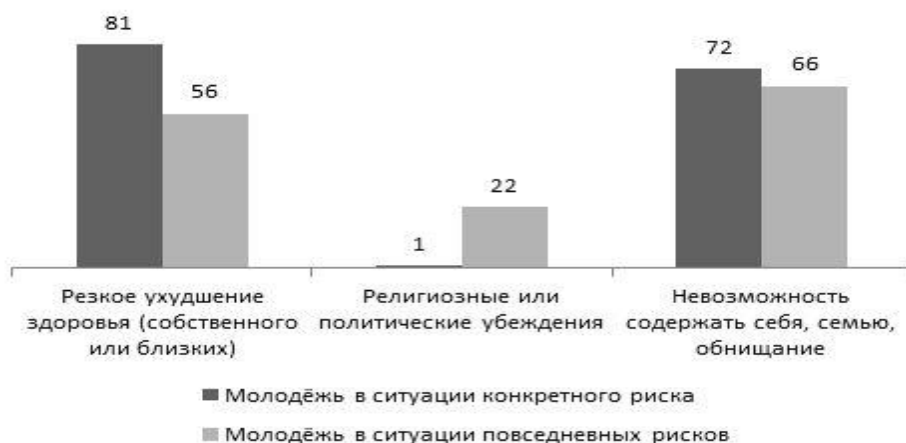
The ideological features are interpreted through tolerant attitudes, the interest in social and political information and the self-assessment of social and political literacy. The differences between the target groups of young people in relation to people are revealed, the philosophy and religious ideas of which differ from their own. The group with daily risks has more people who are sympathetic to people with different religious and worldview ideas (66% vs. 57% - in the other group) and among young

people from the region with a particular risk are presented by those who treat such people indifferently (35% vs. 28%). Young people in everyday risk situations are characterized by a high level of tolerance compared to other target group.

Youth in the situations of everyday risks compared with other target group is more interested in social and political information (about 60% are interested in country and the place of residence events and in the order group only 40% are interested in such events) and is characterized by a higher level of social and political literacy (34% of one target group are well known about the country and the place of residence situation and 18% from another target group are also well known about such situations).

According to social activity index among the youth target groups the following differences are revealed. Among young people in the situations of everyday risks higher the proportion of those who shows the desire to work in a social initiative group, in a volunteer movement, in a fund is higher (34% vs. 20% - in another target group) and some of them are engaged in such activities (16% vs. 4%, respectively).

About 18% of respondents from each target group were involved in active actions (meetings, pickets, strikes, hunger strikes) to protect their rights, freedoms and positions. Some similarities between the considered groups are observed according to a number of motives stimulating to the participation in actions to protect their interests, attitudes, ideals: about 10% of each target group claim that nothing could induce them to engage in active operations, 20 % would be active in the case of environmental destruction and the death of animals. The revealed differences are shown on Figure 5.



Резкое ухудшение здоровья (собственного или близких) - Sharp deterioration of own health or the health of close people
Религиозные или политические убеждения - Religious and political beliefs
Невозможность содержать себя, семью, обнищание – The inability to support themselves, a family, misery

Fig. 5. Motives of youth participation in actions to protect their interests, attitudes, ideals (% who answered «yes» in each target group)

The differences in motivation for active actions, reflected on Figure 5, suggest that young people from the region with a particular risk is more ready to act

according to the socio-economic reasons than the respondents from another target group, young people

in the situations of everyday risks is more ready to act according to political and ideological motives.

Thus, young people in the situations of everyday risks are characterized by a higher activity, interest in information about the events and by social and political literacy, they are more tolerant to dissent and, in contrast to the youth of the region with a particular risk, they are ready for actions on political and ideological grounds.

Summary. An implemented comparative analysis of young people groups from the region with a particular risk and in the situation of everyday risks concerning the selection of adaptation and the specific update of social resources allows to outline their comparative social portrait.

In a particular risk situation young people:

- tend to choose an adaptation means corresponding to a passive adaptation strategy;
- are characterized by low adaptive capacity, based on the inability to plan life for the long term and ask for help in order to solve their own problems in a significant number of cases;
- are characterized by a high inclusion in social networks;
- are characterized by lower willingness to take risks if they are compared to other target groups;
- have a high enough level of social well-being, based on a lower the level of satisfaction with living conditions and vulnerability to the impact of environmental hazards and threats to health and life if they are compared to other target groups;
- have less activity, tolerance, interest for information and social and political literacy.

In a daily risk situation young people:

- tend to choose adaptation methods corresponding to an active adaptation strategy;
- have a high capacity for adaptation, based on independent problem solution and the ability to plan their lives in the long term;
- are characterized by a low inclusion in social networks if they are compared to other target groups;
- are characterized by a high level of willingness to take risks;
- have a good social well-being, based on a high level of satisfaction with living conditions and a sufficiently high level of protection from unpleasant events;
- have negative health state trends;
- are characterized by the activity, tolerance, interest for information and the social and political literacy, the willingness to take action on political and ideological grounds.

Thus, the following main hypothesis is confirmed: the hypothesis about young people

differences is in the choice of ways to risk adaptation and the peculiarities of resources actualization that make up an adaptive capacity within the situation of a particular imposed risk and daily «blurred» risks.

In the situation of a particular risk the main factors of the youth successful adaptation to a risk (or the achievement of a certain security status) are the reduction of risk to a socially acceptable level and the development of an adaptive capacity due to subjective feeling increase concerning the environment safety, the protection from unpleasant experiences and the satisfaction with living conditions.

In a daily risk situation the development of an adaptive potential of youth can be achieved if the preventive measures for the protection of health and the satisfaction increase by its condition are maintained, the reduction of overall level of anxiety and the expansion of interpersonal relations are performed.

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**SOCIO-CULTURAL AND GEOPOLITICAL RISKS
IN MODERN SOCIETY**

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Abstract. The specifics of political and socio-cultural risks in the context of globalization is revealed, the formation factors of geopolitical and local risks are described and the content models of contemporary geopolitical scenarios are analyzed.

Keywords: geopolitics; globalization; geopolitical risk; risk factors; sociocultural risk.

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**СОЦИОКУЛЬТУРНЫЕ И ГЕОПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ РИСКИ
В СОВРЕМЕННОМ ОБЩЕСТВЕ**

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Аннотация. Выявляется специфика геополитического и социокультурного риска в условиях глобализации, описываются факторы формирования геополитических и локальных рисков, рассматриваются содержательные модели современных геополитических сценариев.

Ключевые слова: геополитика; глобализация; геополитический риск; факторы риска; социокультурный риск.

The radical transformations natural of the modern world economy, politics, social and cultural space increase the likelihood of unforeseen events, initiate the growth of socio-cultural and geopolitical scenarios and risks with such their threatening components and consequences as the risk of a state conquest, the risk of a state disintegration under the influence of external forces, at least the risk of a state sovereignty reduction as its ability to defend its interests at the international arena, triggering internal risk mechanisms [4, p. 212]. The globalization of the world history, accompanied by the aggravation of the social and political risks, the crises in economic, financial, social, political, environmental, social and spiritual spheres of modern civilization development highlights the problem of natural process regulation for mankind survival within the new conditions of existence [12, pp. 6-7].

The patterns that put before the subjects of the government some theoretical and practical issues, causing thereby their thoughtfulness, rationality and restraint in political decision-making and risk

behavior were revealed in the classical geopolitics [14, p. 153-154]. Geopolitics as a science determined in its relation to authorities that sometimes the benefits are provided for the subject that controls the key geostrategic points of space, and the strength and weakness of a geostrategic subject depends on its risk appetite, the degree of its self-sufficiency and the ability to control some key points. Space control is lost by the geopolitical subjects that do not have the necessary and sufficient opportunities to win and retain the territories which do not show the required signs of self-sufficiency [9, pp. 63-68]. The post-classical models of geopolitics expand the problematic field of scenarios and strategies for global development, complementing eurocentrism by the idea of interaction, interdependence, the unity of modern world in the context of globalization processes. According to the concept of civilizational and cultural synthesis developed by an American scholar Samuel Huntington, the world after the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union will

be determined not by an ideological confrontation but by interaction (competition and struggle) of 7-8 different civilizations [11, pp. 33-57]. The main axis of international relations will be between the West and the rest of the world, the Western countries will play a lesser role at the same time. Jacques Attali shares Huntington's ideas in respect to the idea that the Pacific civilization countries will move away the United States soon, which «steadily decreased their market share at mechanical engineering market» during the last 30 years and nothing new was invented except for a microprocessor [1, p. 64].

Classical geopolitics was not accidentally called the geopolitics of power, because it was born in the era of the world redistribution between imperialist states. With this in mind, Huntington figuratively notices that the West has conquered the world not because of its ideas, values or religion superiority, but rather by the superiority of organizational violence application. In contrast to the doctrine of a new world order development and the concept of «controlled chaos» announced by Washington after the tragic events of September 11, 2001, non-classical geopolitics is transformed into a global (civilization) geopolitics at the present stage. It should be based on the postulates about a single historical and cultural space, the diversity of geocivilizations, the tolerance of ideologies, political cultures, religions, the transition from the logic of confrontations and understanding of war as a continuation of political relations to the logic of compromise and cooperation [3, pp. 11-15].

The socio-cultural, civilizational and anthropological matrix of post-classical geopolitics is developed in response to regional rhythms, being the basis of an agreed cooperative interaction of a supersystem social, political, economic and socio-cultural institutions. Today, the so-called Bialowieza geopolitical era (1991, Post-Cold-War era), which came after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the world socialist system, marking the end of «cold war» with the US claim for a unipolar world, should be transformed for the survival of humanity into globally communicative geopolitical era of the world history with the models of dialogue of cultures and civilizations, peoples and religions, a non-force model of decision-making at a national and a global level, in spite of still realistic scenarios and the forecasts regarding the configuration of the modern multi-polar world with economic, political, military and civilization «poles» and «power centers» [5, p. 112]. Considering that during the era of instability and permanent changes experienced by contemporary humanity, the prerequisites for making the influence on

the future world structure are developed, it is important to «fit» the ideals of mutual respect and tolerance, harmony and cooperation in the non-classical geopolitical picture of the world.

National interests are represented fairly fundamental at national and state level. The way of the problem solution concerning the relation of security at mega, macro and micro levels, taking into account civilizational-cultural dynamics and human interests - such issues require a rationally balanced position from modern geopolitical entities based on the ideas of global unified world history, the preservation of national self-sufficiency and consent. The harmonic combination of global and national aspects is particularly necessary in the current situations of globalization and permanent risks. In this respect, the arguments of advanced analysts noteworthy, the analysts who emphasize the radical changes in the system of international relations, such as the relations associated with the dynamic development of China, thus creating a kind of «faults» along East-West line, actualizing the phenomenon of so-called «diplomatic revolution». The reason for it is an economic rise of China and the rise of its military power, which began during the last years [6, p. 5-18].

The «faults» along the East-West line are revealed in the transformation of other countries. Thus, the modernization of India in the first half of the twentieth century was carried out mainly according to the model of Western artifacts with a significant preservation of traditional structures, the formation of the local bourgeoisie and the establishment of democratic institutions. However, the westernization of India did not lead to the interruption of traditions. Previously unknown forms of Indian civilization and the values of democracy, for which Congress acted «fit» through the archetypes of national consciousness, the Indian religious and philosophical heritage, and in particular through the concept of Mahatma Gandhi non-violence.

The panoramic picture of East countries and other countries transformation shows that the preservation of traditional values, their way of life, cultural and religious priorities that are inconsistent with globalism and mass culture are exposed to a real risk today. This is evidenced by regional conflicts in Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan and other countries (during the Cold War), the US armed intervention under the auspices of NATO in Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya (after the breakup of the Soviet Union), the «color revolutions» and similar scenarios of «regime change» in Georgia, Kyrgyzstan and Ukraine (the former Soviet Union), the events during the «Arab Spring» (the Middle East), in the course of

the protest movements in Venezuela, Argentina (Latin America), etc. To minimize the global and local risks, their management and security provision in risk society, the recognition of self-sufficiency and the sovereignty of individual countries is important first of all, and secondly, understanding of the impossibility concerning a complete lack of risk in society; an organized social interaction of managing and managed entities, mediated by social norms, value regulatives and specific social conditions is necessary; the formation of governance mechanisms and the leveling of risks, an expert evaluation of risk level within a particular society and its security [2, p. 4-9].

Risk taking situations created at the present stage by the geopolitical strategies of the United States, give an impetus to the development of various models concerning the future world order. A unipolar vector of world development is not possible within these models. This statement is quite clearly stated in the report «Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds», prepared by the National Intelligence Council, which notes: «Due to the rapid growth of other countries a «unipolar moment» ended and the era of Pax-Americana - the era of American dominance in world politics, which began in 1945 is rapidly moving towards its conclusion» [15]. In the situations of an imminent choice of its historical path, many countries have to overcome sometimes manifested uncertainty, indecision, an economic and political instability, and to carry out a civilizational entry into the world economic and political space, focusing on the multi-vector nature of a national policy.

The cultural, historical, socio-political, economic and ethno-religious relations in the country are the essential components of national strategies. The adoption of adequate temporary solutions, the provision of public security at the national level aimed at the predictability of foreign economic relations development increase and the security of the external operation stability within individual and national corporations. In terms of unavoidable risk management an urgent need appears in a reasonable assessment of the national economy, the construction of a long-term economic strategy of the country, taking into account the imperatives, trends and the driving forces of the global economic system evolution in a globalized world, the real and potential resources of the national economy transformation, based on the world market conditions, the role and the place of the innovation policy in the knowledge economy formation [13, p. 9]. In this context, researchers pay attention to the potential risk groups: the risk of

nationalization and expropriation without an adequate compensation; The transfer risk associated with the possible restrictions on the conversion of local currency; the risk of a contract breach because of the country authority acts where a contracting company is located; the risk of a war and a civil unrest [8].

In modern world, the emergence and projecting of macro risks is carried out in the context of geo-strategy of the leading countries. Thus, the concept of the Greater Middle East, stated in the Washington geo-strategy of the 1990s includes the richest countries of the Caspian basin and Arabian Peninsula (Iran, Turkey, Iraq) in terms of energy in the spheres of influence, the perimeter of which has military bases, and the economic and political development of which is influenced significantly.

The complex dynamics of some global processes of economic and political issues, the functioning of the global capital and energy market, the global banking system and the global exchange of goods and services, the trend towards the synchronization of international economic processes necessitate the need in analysis scenarios concerning the development of geopolitical risks. Today, the center of power offset in the Asia-Pacific region, the end of the «American» historical period (B. Bzezinski), gives rise to such geopolitical turns, which may threaten the security of most countries in the world, the protection of their national interests and independent existence.

The reasons of geopolitical and local risks are presented by economic factors related to the fact that the cause of political risks could be the lack of necessary financial resources for the performance of some reforms, the absence of a developed and a stable economic infrastructure, the illiquidity of state-owned shares of enterprises, the lack of a clear economic program, the lack of direct investments in the country, an unreasonable monetary policy, etc. They include also information factors that indicate the absence of clear and complete information about all current political processes, the lack of analysis concerning a political situation in general, an inadequate response of the authorities to it, the lack of a clear calculation of gains and losses, the misunderstanding and ignoring of other participant interests in a political action, the struggle for dominance in the information space and «cyber wars», etc. Social factors are initiated by instability, aggression and the radicalism of a political course, the activity of separate political institutions, a low public support policy, political, ethnic and other conflicts, unemployment and a difficult economic

situation, the presence of many unresolved social problems, etc. which may serve as a «detonator» for the escalation of national risks and conflicts into geopolitical ones (similar to modern Ukraine).

As the part of a modern risk-taking geostrategies, inter-civilizational models of world governance development the doctrines of power and influence growth of certain countries, such as China in Southeast Asia are hardly relevant. These are the doctrines launched by Barack Obama administration, combating the Eurasian integration process, the activities of the BRICS (as the implementation of a «silk» way new concept of five countries - Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa), the scenario of «regime change» and civil wars in some countries. In order to analyze the assessment of a political risk in international business practice different applied models are developed that differ from each other in terms of the study (mega, macro and microrisks) and in vector (oriented to a greater or lesser extent on the economic or political environment), etc. The task of applied risk research is performed to decrease the uncertainty, provide for possible negative and positive effects of it. The monitoring of a political risk is aimed at company foreign investment protection by the prediction of possible risks arising from the socio-political space [10]. A mixed (combined) approach synthesizes the information from experts and objective data, thus ensuring the formation of the most optimal model for a political risk study. Comparative rating systems, using similar methodologies are developed by the consulting firms Frost & Sullivan (the World Political Risk Forecast), Business International and Data Resources Inc. (Policon). Podkolzina I.A. specifies two financially-oriented rating systems: Institutional Investor's Country Credit Rating and Euromoney's Country Risk Index, covering 109 and 116 countries respectively. According to Euromoney model the country risk rating is made by combining a set of indicators such as the London interbank offer rate of interbank loans (LIBOR), the initial pricing, interbank loans, etc. [7].

The methodological analysis of modern geopolitical scenarios and risks should be carried out in the context of of national state integration into the world economic and political space, into the mechanisms of the global division of labor, in a close solid connection with the economic policy strategy, the development of market relations, the influence of national governments, as well with various political forces as domestic as abroad ones, making an impact on economic entity activities.

Currently the search for new socio-cultural and political scenarios of modern risk-taking society is aggressively manifested by the search for ways to overcome the negative trends of modern civilization and the implementation of the geopolitical strategy of a unipolar world, the ways of the world and a man humanization are substantiated, the attempts to joint efforts of the public for the prevention of the third world war are performed, the termination national disputes, the preservation of the environment, the overcoming of a human person alienation and its preservation is carried out.

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