Changing
Societies &
Personalities

Founder and Publisher:

Ural Federal University named after the first President of Russia Boris N. Yeltsin.
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The Journal is registered by the Federal Agency for Supervision in the Sphere of Telecomunication, Information Technologies and Mass Communication, Certificate of Registration: ПИ № ФС77–65509 from May 4, 2016

Aims and Scope:

Changing Societies & Personalities is an international, peer-reviewed quarterly journal, published in English by the Ural Federal University. *CS&P* examines how rapid societal-level changes are reshaping individual-level beliefs, motivations and values – and how these individual-level changes in turn are reshaping societies. The interplay of personality traits and sociocultural factors in defining motivation, deliberation, action and reflection of individuals requires a combination of theoretical and empirical knowledge. Since an interdisciplinary approach is needed to understand the causes and consequences of the contemporary world's changing socio-political institutions, moral values, and religious beliefs, the journal welcomes theoretical and empirical contributions from a wide range of perspectives in the context of value pluralism and social heterogeneity of (post)modern society.
Topics of interest include, but are not limited to
- value implications of interactions between socio-political transformations and personal self-identity;
- changes in value orientations, materialist and post-materialist values;
- moral reasoning and behavior;
- variability and continuity in the election of styles of moral regime and/or religious identity;
- the moral bases of political preferences and their elimination;
- social exclusion and inclusion;
- post-secular religious individualism;
- tolerance and merely "tolerating": their meanings, varieties and fundamental bases;
- ideologies of gender and age as variables in political, moral, religious and social change;
- educational strategies as training for specific social competences;
- social and existential security.

The journal publishes original research articles, forum discussions, review articles and book reviews.

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Beliefs, Opinions, and Expectations as a Resource of Re-Shaping Societies

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In accordance with our Aims and Scope, *Changing Societies & Personalities* is particularly concerned with "how rapid societal-level changes are reshaping individual-level beliefs, motivations, and values—and how these individual-level changes in turn are reshaping societies." This subject is obviously related to an old philosophical problem of the primacy of being over consciousness or vice versa, which basically determines quite a number of social research concepts. We prefer to consider this correlation as highly ambiguous, when social changes, on the one hand, and people's opinions, moods, and expectations, on the other, continue to co-exist in the state of complex mutual influence and interdependence. In this vein, religious faith is influenced by secular values shaped by people's way of life; people's beliefs that rule their daily behavior are unconsciously borrowed from the norms common in the social environment; personal psychological characteristics determine political choices; attitudes toward nature and environmental issues directly affect everyday habits; the strive for continuous improvement of the educational level affects the level of social acceptance; personal development and professional success form a certain type of family relationships, etc. These and many other related topics are discussed in the current issue of *Changing Societies & Personalities*.

The opening ESSAY *Moral Choice and the Concept of Evil in Military Narratives of Orthodox Christians* by Andrey S. Menshikov examines the attitude of Orthodox Christians to war. The essay is based on personal accounts and documents concerning the appropriate Orthodox Christian behavior in the wartime collected in two volumes: *Bog i Pobeda: veruiushchie v velikikh voinakh za Rossiiu* [God and Victory: Believers in the Great Wars for Russia] and *Iz smerti v zhizn'. Svidetel'stva voinov o pomoshchi Bozh'ei* [From Death to Life. Soldiers' Account of God's Help]. As Menshikov notes, his main research focus "is the construction of narratives about the religious experiences of the witnesses

and participants of war in all their complexity and controversiality." The research methodology involves critical discourse analysis (CDA), which was adapted for the study of religion, namely, the "lived religion" approach. The author demonstrates that patriotism was considered an important element of Orthodox identity during the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945.

Francesco Rigoli in the ARTICLE *Belief Formation in the Social Context: A Bayesian Decision Account* raises a fundamental question, which amalgamates the main topic of the present issue: What social dynamics is responsible for the formation of beliefs? To address this question, Rigoli explores two research perspectives: one examines the individual level of belief formation, the other analyzes social dynamics, aiming "to integrate the individual and social levels of analysis by developing a broad theoretical framework describing how beliefs emerge within the social environment." The method developed by the author and focused on the mechanisms of arbitrating among alternative hypotheses in order to explain life and reality, relies on a Bayesian decision framework, and is referred in the article as the Bayesian Decision Model of Beliefs (BDMB). According to BDMB, three factors underpin belief formation. The first factor is represented by prior beliefs, or general views, about the world and society already available before reasoning. The second factor is represented by novel evidence, "which can be experienced in two ways: directly, when evidence is conveyed by one's own perception, or socially, when social sources, such as another person or the media, provide indirect information." The third factor is utility, in terms of reward or punishment, expected if any hypothesis is accepted or rejected. According to Rigoli, "BDMB assumes that people are largely unaware of the factors shaping their beliefs, and simply perceive these beliefs as being true." Employing BDMB as a framework, he proposes an explanation for how beliefs emerge in the interaction of individuals with one another and with their environment, as well as why beliefs vary among people.

In the ARTICLE *Narcissism and Political Left-Right Orientation in View of Basic Human Values: A Sample of Faculty of Management Students From Turkey*, Fatma Ülkü Selçuk and Nil Demet Güngör explore such a personality trait as narcissism, which in recent decades has been deemed an epidemic especially in Western cultures. The authors consider narcissism as a significant factor in forming political orientations. The research sample included 257 university students from a foundation university in Anatolia (Turkey), which is largely attended by children from upper middle-class families. Such students are commonly exposed to Western culture and media at the same time as having diverse cultural backgrounds. As the authors underline, students "predominantly receive a pro-modernization education in Turkey where capitalism has been the dominant mode of production almost from the first few decades of the 20th century." Thus, the authors expect "both similarities and differences with research studies that used Western samples in terms of the relation of political orientation to narcissism, its diverse facets and the underlying values." The results for the sample described in the article displayed similarity with those from Western countries, at least partly.

Chulpan I. Ildarhanova and Vera A. Gnevasheva in their ARTICLE *Socio-Demographic Construct of Social Loneliness in Modern Russia* investigate loneliness

as a socio-philosophical phenomenon, which is generally associated with the degree to which people are involved in a community of people, family life, social reality, and macro-social environment. The authors intend to understand, evaluate, describe, and analyze the "degree of involvement, whose cessation leads to behavioral deviation caused by an increased self-inflicted sense of social loneliness." They show the difference between the social role of an individual in a traditional society, which is frequently considered in the family context, and "contemporary thesaurus of personal development and success connected with psychic, physical, and financial safety, resulting in the choice of single life." The article aims to assess the degree of happiness as a counterbalance to social loneliness setting the following objectives: to determine factors of loneliness; to study age differences in perception of loneliness; to identify loneliness risk groups, etc. The study is based on a digital questionnaire completed by 1350 respondents aged 18–60; the sample represents such large cities, as Moscow, St. Petersburg, Volgograd, Arkhangelsk, Yekaterinburg, Novosibirsk, Tomsk, Irkutsk, Khabarovsk, etc.

In the ARTICLE *Between Career and Motherhood: Factors Affecting Women's Career Trajectories After Childbirth in Russia,* Elena N. Gasiukova addresses a woman's orientation toward career development and motherhood after childbirth, a problem having received little research attention. She seeks to answer the questions of "whether childbirth actually causes a woman to drop out of the labor market for a long time, which mothers are more oriented toward returning soon, and which mothers prefer to devote themselves exclusively to maternal duties after having a child." Among other research questions are those related to career and life trajectory choices after childbirth, their connection with the previous professional positions, as well as identification of values affecting the choice between motherhood and career. The study is based on data from the Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey of the Higher School of Economics (RLMS–HSE) from 2001 to 2021.

Marina N. Kicherova, Galina Z. Efimova, and Svetlana M. Gertsen in the ARTICLE *Non-Formal Education as a Resource of Social Inclusion: Intergenerational Approach* argue that different social groups have unequal access to education, which affects the overall level of social inclusion and integration into society. Therefore, non-formal education as an addition, alternative, and/or a complement to formal education could contribute to social inclusion of different generations in different spheres of life. The authors present a typological picture of peculiar generations in the non-formal education market including their interest and motivation, and set up the following research questions: "What is the impact of non-formal education on social inclusion? How do non-formal education practices differ across generations?" The survey involved 944 people from the Tyumen region of Russia aged 18 to 82 years.

In the ARTICLE *Assessment of the Psychological Well-Being of Russian Youth With the Perma-Profiler*, Elena N. Volkova, Anna Yu. Akimova, and Oksana M. Isaeva define well-being "as an integral indicator that corresponds to each individual's positive psychological functioning and ability to experience happiness and life satisfaction." They stress the role of positive emotions, which have a direct impact on the degree of individual psychological stability and the level of life satisfaction. The research was

carried out using the PERMA model with five pillars of well-being: positive emotion, engagement, relationships, meaning, and accomplishment. The authors present the results of a survey of the psychological well-being of Russian young people conducted at the beginning of 2021 and based on the authors' own adaptation of the PERMA-Profiler questionnaire for Russia. A Google form of the questionnaire addressed to young people aged 18–35 was developed and subsequently disseminated through the Internet; 11,811 forms were completed by young people from central Russia.

The ARTICLE *Metabolic Transformations in the Area of Municipal Solid Waste Management in Russian Megalopolises: The City of Moscow Case* by Polina O. Ermolaeva, Yulia V. Ermolaeva, and Dmitry V. Efremenko analyzes causal relationships in the area of municipal solid waste (MSW) disposal in Russian megalopolises, and Moscow in particular, "with a focus on the reciprocity and interplay of social, informational, technological, economic, and environmental processes, as well as their metabolic transformations." The authors' hypothesis takes into account the controversial processes of MSW management in Russian cities, which occur in association with the rapid growth of material and informational waste, construction of waste incineration plants, politicization of environmental protests related to poor waste management, criminalization of waste management businesses, etc. At the same time, as the authors note, one can observe and determine changes in the attitudes and behaviors of social groups that are sometimes overlooked. The research was carried out in two stages: in the first stage, the existing discourse in the field of education and management of MSW and regional characteristics were employed through an analysis of public opinion, media, federal and regional programs, etc. In the second stage, 90 semi-structured interviews with experts including academicians, representatives of environmental organizations, and "garbage" operators were conducted.

In the ARTICLE *The Importance of Green Practices to Reduce Consumption,* Olga V. Zakharova, Anna V. Glazkova, Irina N. Pupysheva, and Natalia V. Kuznetsova argue that a solution to environmental problems is not possible without radical change in social practices, including consumption as a driving force for modern way of production. The authors identify green practices aimed at reducing consumption, which are discussed in the Tyumen regional communities on social media platform VK. The dataset comprises 1987 textual posts, which deal with separate waste collection. As the authors underline, their "study was framed by the scientific discussion around the Anthropocene as a term that asserts the importance of human activities for the future of our planet," especially among ordinary people who make daily purchases, use transport and household appliances, and develop certain values and traditions.

In the ARTICLE *Hotel Employees' Attitude and Acceptance Toward Human-Robot Co-Working Based on the Industry 5.0 Concept*, Khaled Ghazy and Alena E. Fedorova explore employees' psychological and social attitudes toward robot co-working in the hotel business. The authors describe Industry 5.0 collaboration between humans and robots in the workplaces, which maximizes efficiency by using human intelligence, artificial intelligence, and creativity enriching the workforce by transitioning workers from physical to cognitive jobs, switching from mass customization to mass personalization, and placing a high value on personalized

consumer services. As a result, "humans will concentrate on critical thinking, decision-making, innovation, and creativity, leading to increased personalized services, while robots will perform repetitive, tedious, and labor-intensive work." Implementing new technologies, such as robotics, artificial intelligence, and service automation, brings remarkable changes to how hotels serve their customers. At the same time, despite many positive cases regarding robots supporting human partners, not everyone has a positive attitude toward robots. The authors seek to study if there is a significant difference regarding attitudes toward robots between employees' males and females, age groups, and educational levels. The study sample consisted of 67 questionaries completed by employees from 20 hotels in Yekaterinburg, Russia.

The ARTICLE *The Role of Managers' Cultural Intelligence and Demographic Variables in Building Trust in Business Relations* by Eva Boštjančič, Fayruza S. Ismagilova, and Sara Pavlović Milijašević investigates cultural intelligence as related to the emergence of multicultural environments. According to the authors, the goals of partners in business partnerships could be achieved only as a result of their joint work. This implies that each party is ready to avoid taking excessive advantage of the others. Cultural intelligence as the capability to function effectively in an intercultural context plays an important role in business relationships and in the formation of trust. Thus, "studying the differences between national cultures, organizational cultures, forms of leadership, and their consequences can help not only in understanding business partners with another cultural identity, but also in establishing and developing productive cooperation." The research sample involved a total of 560 leaders and managers in mutual business relationships: 115 Croatians, 114 Russians, and 331 Slovenians. The authors posed the research questions concerning the possibility to predict the level of trust based on the participants' gender, age, country, and level of cultural intelligence, and expected certain differences to emerge despite the relatively similar cultural backgrounds of these nations.

Alexandra Yu. Smirnova and Igor V. Tolochin in the ARTICLE *Dreams in the Bible and in Modern English Discourse: A Shift in Perspective* argue that research into the contexts that contain the word "dream" can contribute to getting "an important insight into human nature with its aspirations for spiritual growth and access to transcendental experiences, as well as into cultural phenomena reflected in the process of dream interpretation." The article presents a comparative study of dream narratives in the Bible and in modern English texts. The authors reconstruct the meaning of the noun "dream" from its context based on the semiotic tradition laid down by Ludwig Wittgenstein and argue that the process of secularization among other things has a significant impact at the level of linguistic structures: "On the one hand, it creates new patterns of evaluation in the religious discourse, producing contextual shifts and, therefore, shifts in word meanings. On the other, older patterns of the verbal representation of transcendental experiences are transformed and transferred into non-religious genres." Their presumption is that "the linguistic sign as a vehicle of cultural information is sensitive to major shifts in value judgements. New evaluative patterns create new word senses, whereas the deconstruction of older evaluative patterns brings forth changes in the status of already existing ones." The case study of

biblical texts about various types of dreams seeks to prove the novelty of the authors' method, which presupposes the broad understanding of the term "context".

In the RESEARCH NOTE section, the study *At the Crossroads of Marriage: Experiences of Young Urban Middle-Class Women Negotiating Family and Sexuality Within Heterosexual Intimate Relationships in North India* by Tanya Lamba is presented. The study is inspired by the personal experience of the author. She states that the practice of arranged marriage is still the most prevalent form of marriage in the country. Arranged marriage restricts personal choice where individual ambitions are suppressed. However, urban educated middle-class women are experiencing a new trend of arranged marriages, where their choice is given some consideration. Lamba addresses the following questions: "How do young middle-class professional women negotiate marriage within urban contexts relationships? What are the various ways women negotiating with their partners, family, and society at large? How does the transition from personal relationships to marriage take place? Why do women have to struggle for this transition?" To find answers to these questions, Lamba conducted a number of in-depth interviews with unmarried urban middle-class women in Delhi in the age group of 25–30 years who are in a heterosexual intimate relationship. They work in a development sector and have completed their post-graduation in social sciences.

The BOOK REVIEWS section includes two reviews. The first one by Ekaterina S. Lebed is entitled "Heidegger in Russian Philosophical Thought: History of Reception and Current Interpretations." The review observes the collection edited by Yury M. Romanenko, which represents the variety of M. Heidegger's philosophy by modern Russian authors. Lebed underlines that Martin Heidegger remains one of the most popular philosophers among Russian intellectuals and seeks to offer some answers to the question as to why it is so. The second review of Duncan McDuie-Ra "Debating Race in Contemporary India" is written by Bhasker Malu and Santhosh Kareepadath Rajan. They point out that the book aims to explain how the Indian Government's stance on racism moved from its complete denial to acceptance and the development of policy formulation to protect the racial minority.

Discussions around the topics raised in the present issue will be continued in the subsequent issues of our journal. In planning to introduce new interesting themes, we welcome suggestions from our readers and prospective authors for thematic issues, debate sections, or book reviews.

For more information, please visit our journal web-site: https://changing-sp.com/

Moral Choice and the Concept of Evil in Military Narratives of Orthodox Christians

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ABSTRACT

The article contributes critically to the current discussion of militant piety in Russian Orthodox Christianity. It argues for a more historically informed use of the notion of militant piety, which can benefit from critical discourse analysis of personal narratives and the focus on lived experience and lived religion of Orthodox Christians who were involved in wars. The article analyses ego-documents collected in two recent volumes: the first showcases the stories of Orthodox clergy and believers in WWII; the second volume gives voice to army officers of late Soviet wars. Both volumes mold personal accounts into a larger narrative with the view to provide Orthodox believers with discursive means for reflection upon wars and to offer an exemplary Orthodox Christian attitude to war. In these narratives, beliefs and principles were understood by religious people not abstractly but in the context of their individual and collective experience. The first narrative reveals how the course of the Great Patriotic War changed the Orthodox Christians' attitudes from initial self-sacrificial service in defense of the Motherland to waging the sacred war against the Antichrist forces of evil and later to ensuring the retribution for Nazi criminals who were interpretatively exempt from Christian commandment of love. The second narrative does not present a normative ideal of an Orthodox warrior but rather it sheds light on real "militant piety", on practical religiosity of soldiers and officers, who built their relationship with God and religion in the context of their professional activity, regularly described as "work". Christian doctrine of love and forgiveness in its abstract form would be inapplicable in this "work". In personal accounts, however, Orthodox Christian ethics is adapted to the circumstances of the military service and is transformed into the lived religion based on the principles of self-sacrifice, loyalty, and duty.

Introduction

Among a vast body of literature on Orthodoxy in the wars that Russia was involved in, in my further discussion, I will focus on the following two volumes: *Bog i Pobeda: Veruiushchie v velikikh voinakh za Rossiiu* [God and Victory: Believers in the Great Wars for Russia] (2014) edited by V. Zobern and *Iz smerti v zhizn'. Svidetel'stva voinov o pomoshchi Bozh'ei* [From Death to Life. Soldiers' Accounts of God's Help] (2011) edited by S. Galitskii. Unlike the publications of archival documents[1] aiming to give an objective picture of the activities of the Russian Orthodox Church, or the publications of oral histories conveying a broad spectrum of subjective emotions and memories[2], these two books mold personal accounts and documents into an exemplary model of the Orthodox Christian attitude to war and weave them into a narrative of appropriate Orthodox Christian behaviour in the wartime. These volumes provide Orthodox believers with discursive means for reflection upon the war's tragic events as well as practical examples to emulate in time of war.

The first book, *Bog i Pobeda* [God and Victory], mainly contains the war accounts of Orthodox believers, especially those of the higher clergy and parish priests, while the second book, *Iz smerti v zhizn'* [From Death to Life], gives voice to Soviet army officers—participants of the military conflicts in Afghanistan and in the Caucasus. In the latter case, the narrators' social or professional background would suggest that they shunned any religiosity, but the narratives show how army officers discovered religious faith and what it meant to them.

Currently, scholars approach the Orthodox perspective on violence and war by analyzing "the theoretical premises of the militarist discourse in contemporary Russian Orthodoxy" (Knorre, 2015, p. 559; trans. by Ekaterina Purgina [E. P.]) or "legitimation of real wars, social conflicts" (Zygmont & Knorre, 2019, p. 11; trans. by E. P.). These studies aim to describe "socio-cultural attitudes inherent in Orthodox tradition, forming a type of militant religiosity called 'militant piety'" (Knorre & Zygmont, 2020, p. 1). The theoretical framework for Knorre and Zygmont's studies draws on the

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[1]   For example, Vasil'eva et al., 2009.

[2]   Numerous publications on this topic include, for example, Ot Soldata do Generala: Vospominaniia o Voine [From Soldier to General: Memories of the War] (Vols. 1–18) (2003–2016).

idea of "cosmic war" introduced by Mark Juergensmeyer. To illustrate this point, they select examples from canonical, theological texts and opinion pieces supporting the "socio-cultural orientation" of Orthodoxy towards the legitimation of violence. The bewildering denunciatory tone prevalent in these studies seem to imply that the Church should always oppose violence and condemn all military action. I would try to add some historical nuance to their main conclusion that

> in the church environment, a consistent tradition of war justification is being actively formed, that is, what can be called *theology of war* with a certain system of axioms, priorities, inferences, and aesthetically-tinged formulae. There is an obvious trend to use stylistic and sociomorphic metaphorization of the army implying that the Church is a military institution or a part of it. (Knorre, 2015, p. 577; trans. by E. P.)

As I will try to show further, the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC), following its tradition and pursuing its mission in the world, did not deem it necessary in the past to condemn violence *per se*, nor did the Church see it appropriate to oppose itself to the Russian army as an institution. On the contrary, the Church never refused to provide spiritual guidance to the military servicemen, to recognize warrior saints and honor those who laid down their lives for faith and country. Moreover, if we look at the messages, addresses, and sermons of the ROC leaders or the numerous letters, accounts, and memoirs written by Orthodox believers, we will see that patriotism was considered an important element of Orthodox identity long before this idea was aired by present-day "militant pietists".

If religion is considered not as a set of theoretical premises, socio-cultural practices and abstract norms expressed in the public discourse but is approached through the analysis of materials that show *la religion vécue* [lived religion] (Ammerman, 2007, 2021), then we observe a different picture of the Orthodox attitude to violence and war. What seems especially valuable to me in this approach is that it aims to reveal the connection people build between their faith and their everyday life, including their experience of violence and war. The believers connect their tradition and the new circumstances; they connect their fluid emotional attitudes and their solid ethical principles in the actual behavior. These connections can be examined by looking at narratives of personal experience rather than public discourse. Personal accounts reveal how people reconcile their ethical principles with their actual experiences of war, suffering, hatred, and loss; how they justify their moral choices.

This analysis does not deal with normative documents[3], which has become a widespread practice in the studies of the ethics of war. Nor does it use quantitative methods such as the search for Orthodox categories and biblical allusions, calculating their relative frequencies. The main research focus in this paper is the construction of narratives about the religious experiences of the witnesses and participants of war in all their complexity and controversiality. Methodologically, this study relies on the

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[3]   See, for example, the official document on military chaplaincy (Polozhenie, 2013).

revised version of critical discourse analysis (CDA) which was adapted for the study of religion. CDA places a special emphasis on the construction of social identities, social relations, systems of beliefs, and systems of knowledge in narratives (Hjelm, 2016, p. 20), thus enabling us to connect the analysis of narratives with the "lived religion" approach, that is, to examine personal accounts as a form of individual reflection within the system of the narrator's views, beliefs, and values, which are, in their turn, determined by the Orthodox faith.

Sacred War: From Self-Sacrifice to Retribution

In *Bog i Pobeda* [God and Victory], V. Zobern starts with the Bolshevik repression of the ROC after the Revolution. He provides accounts of the fierce persecutions of priests and believers, of churches being damaged and destroyed, and religious sites vandalized. Thus, he leads us to the idea that

> these years were a cruel and harsh school of suffering and cultivating within oneself courage and resilience in the shadow of the oncoming Great Patriotic War. It is not for nothing that during the war many priests, upon their return from the exile, took up weapons and went off to the front to defend their Motherland. (Zobern, 2014, p. 46; trans. by E. P.)

Examples of such moral fortitude include the stories of saint elders (*startsy*) and believers: their influence is said to be "outwardly indiscernible but strong and vast" (Zobern, 2014, p. 46; trans. by E. P.). Quite illustrative in this respect is the case of Seraphim Vyritsky: people strove to protect him from arrest and execution and ensuring his survival was a source of comfort for them: "In this mayhem and in the whirlwind of violent events there was a refuge of strong faith, calm hope, and unhypocritical Christ's love" (Zobern, 2014, pp. 46–47; trans. by E. P.). Whence Zobern comes to more general philosophical and historical conclusion:

> For centuries, Christian faith fostered in Russian people resilience and ability to sacrifice themselves for the higher good and for the sacred. Faith, which in recent years has demanded a lot of courage from believers, did not allow true Christians to betray their Motherland. Forgetting the grave insults, humiliations, and abuse they suffered, forgetting about the danger of being executed by the authorities, believers, together with all the people, joined the struggle against the horrendous destructive force of fascism […] Persecutions had failed to make Christians bitter. Examples set by martyrs and confessors inspired those who survived and taught them that there are sacred things worth giving their life for. (Zobern, 2014, p. 52; trans. by E. P.)

Even though Orthodox believers shared patriotic feelings with the majority of the citizens, it should be noted that for many believers the crucial factor in their decision-making was the call of the higher clergy to defend Motherland.

Among people's recollections of how they found out about the beginning of the war, the central role is played by the Address to the Pastors and their Flock of Christ's Orthodox Church of 22 June 1941 issued by Sergius (Stragorodsky), the Patriarchal Locum Tenens, Metropolitan Bishop of Moscow and Kolomna. In his address, Sergius calls the believers to stand for their motherland[4]. He compares Hitler's invasion to other foreign invasions and expresses hope that

> with God's help, this time, they [Russian people] will turn to dust the invasive fascist force. Our ancestors [...] disregarded risks to their persons and set aside their interests, they heeded their sacred duty to their motherland and faith and this is why they emerged victorious. (Vasil'eva et al., 2009, p. 38; trans. by E. P.)

The "sacred duty" of defending Motherland, however, is associated not so much with Soviet citizenship and USSR's civic identity but with such figures as Alexander Nevsky and Dmitry Donskoy, "saint Russian monks, interceding before God on behalf of the Russian Motherland, great Russian warriors" (Zobern, 2014, p. 55; trans. by E. P.). This duty is exemplified by the following Biblical quote: "Greater love has no one than this, that he lay down his life for his friends" (English Standard Version Bible, 2001, John 15:13). The Metropolitan Bishop goes on to explain that "the person who lays his soul is not only the one who will die on the battlefield for his people and for the good of his people, but also each and every one who sacrifices himself, his health and interests for the sake of the Motherland" (Zobern, 2014, p. 39; trans. by E. P.). By invoking the values of self-sacrifice and examples of self-sacrifice for the sake of the Motherland and Orthodox tradition, the Metropolitan Bishop connects Christianity with the concept of patriotic duty:

> Through self-dedication countless thousands of our Orthodox warriors, laying their lives for the Motherland and faith, in all times went to fight against the enemy invasion. When they were dying, their last thoughts were not about glory, they thought that their Motherland needed their sacrifice and so they humbly sacrificed everything they had and their life itself. (Zobern, 2014, p. 40; trans. by E. P.)

Zobern reminds his reader of the fact that the war started on the Day of All Russian Saints (22 June 1941), many of whom were martyrs for the faith. He also mentions the Orthodox service of A. Alexandrov, author of the song *Sviashchennaia Voina* [Sacred War]. Zobern's narrative comprises not only stories of believers' self-sacrifice during the war but also talks about their participation in various initiatives, for example, fundraising for the tank column named after Dimitry Donskoy[5], civil defense, medical service, and volunteer corps. Zobern emphasizes that "the Church's patriotic

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[4]   In Zobern's collection this document is referred to as the Address (Zobern, 2014, p. 55).

[5]   Apart from the accounts presented by Zobern, there is documentary evidence about the donations made by dioceses, cathedrals, and parishioners. For more details, see Vasil'eva et al., 2009, pp. 46, 62, 81, 82. There were also fund-raising events for the Defense Fund (p. 57) and the Red Cross (p. 59).

activities won the recognition and respect not only among the believers but also atheists" (Zobern, 2014, p. 103; trans. by E. P.). Thus, self-sacrifice was not limited to service in its civilian forms but also included donations to weapons manufacturing.

Among the private and public prayers relevant to the war efforts, not only prayers for peace or prayers commemorating those who laid down their lives were sung but also prayers for victory in the war became widespread. For this purpose, as the author explains, the prayer *Podazhd' voinstvu nashemu o imeni tvoem pobediti* [Give Our Army Victory in Your Name] was written by archbishop Avgustin (Vinogradovsky) in 1812 (Zobern, 2014, p. 74; trans. by E. P.). Another example is *Moleben o nashestvii supostatov, pevaemyi v Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi v dni Otechestvennoi voiny* [Prayer About the Invasion of Foes Sung in the Russian Orthodox Church in the Days of the Patriotic War]. Both prayers evoked strong emotions in the believers. In his Easter Address of 1942, Metropolitan Bishop Sergius puts forward the analogy between Christ's victory over death/ Satan and the victory over fascism, as Sergius puts it, "by celebrating Christ's victory over hell and death forever and in temporary earthly life—the victory of Christ's Cross over the swastika" (Zobern, 2014, p. 77; trans. by E. P.). At the first stage of the war, church leaders clearly formulated their attitude to the enemy as an anti-Christian, anti-Orthodox force: Metropolitan Bishop Sergius condemned and excommunicated those Orthodox priests who collaborated with the occupying forces either because they were seduced by Nazis' calls for struggle against Bolshevist atheism or out of fear. Either way, Orthodox hierarchs made it crystal clear which side all Orthodox believers should be on.

The Church leaders were perfectly aware of the fact that the army's effectiveness depends significantly on the public support, which is why they placed particular emphasis on the importance of self-sacrifice of the people behind the front lines. In my view, quite significant in this respect is the speech of Metropolitan Bishop Alexius, describing people's desire to be active participants in the struggle against the enemy:

> Yet, to acknowledge only these reasons and conditions would mean to present all the people, except for those in the army, as doomed to inaction during the war, reduce them to the state of passive spectators of the unfolding events. No, there are moral conditions for victory, much broader and much superior, it seems fair to say, much more powerful than the number and effectiveness of modern weapons. These moral conditions invigorate a victorious army that needs inspiration, strength to withstand all kinds of tribulations, suffering, wounds and death itself; these moral conditions are no less necessary for the people behind the front lines, the people who fostered the army before the war and who provisions the army and nurtures the souls of soldiers during the war. Such moral factors that contribute to the army's success include the strong faith in God, who gives His blessing to the just war; spiritual uplift; combatants' certainty that they are defending the just cause; awareness of their duty to God and Motherland. (Doklad Mitropolita Aleksiia, 1943; trans. by E. P.)

Even though civilians did not participate directly in military action, they didn't remain mere spectators. In other words, they did not stay passive in their anticipation of the battle's outcome but invested all their spiritual powers into supporting their army. A vivid example illustrating the recognition of the fact that what seems to be passivity—the act of waiting—may in fact be active participation in the national struggle is the poem *Zhdi menia* [Wait for Me] by Konstantin Simonov (1941)[6].

At first, the war was declared just, the enemy was named an Antichrist and the Cross was pitted against swastika, hence the Church called to self-sacrificial action as well as to armed struggle against the enemy. But as the enemy troops were advancing and civilians were forced to flee their homes, as they were captured, tortured and killed, the official discourse of the Church changed. After the meeting of the Church hierarchs with Stalin and Molotov in 1943, when the latter offered state support to the Orthodox Church, brochures such as *Russkaia Pravoslavnaia tserkov' i Velikaia Otechestvennaia voina* [Russian Orthodox Church and the Great Patriotic War], and renewed periodical *Zhurnal Moskovskoi Patriarkhii* [Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate] were published. They contained accounts of priests and believers, telling the stories of the heinous crimes committed by the Nazis, of their false promises to support Orthodoxy. In one of such accounts, the author quotes the letter of Alexius, the Archbishop of Ufa, dated 27 March 1942, relating the retreat from Orel,

> [the believers] were able to find inner strength, [...] resist panic and bring hope to those who were left behind and convey their confidence that the time would come when they all could re-unite and the hateful enemy would be ousted with shame and disgrace from Orel land; they told those who stayed that God would not let the strangers' dirty boots tread on the sacred Russian soil. We believe deeply that God will hear their prayers. The Russian land will belong only to Russians. Our confidence rests upon the incorruptible loyalty of Russian people to the Russian Orthodox Church, its saints, the strong, unbending love to the Russian soil which nurtured and fostered them. Russian people sacrifice whatever they can to defend their Motherland! Everything in Russian people is imbued and blessed with the prayer and faith in Christ, and this faith will incinerate those who dare to step on our sacred land. (Zobern, 2014, pp. 112–113; trans. by E. P.)

In this letter, readiness to self-sacrifice is intertwined with the pain of loss and hatred for the enemy. Similarly, Orthodoxy is identified with the national (Russian) identity through the traditional trope of "sacred Russian land" and its derivatives, which means not so much the land itself but the country abundant in saints. Thus, all Russian people come to be perceived as "blessed with the prayer and faith" and the Russian land itself, as "sacred". Such broad interpretation of sacredness leads the author to assert the sacred nature of the war. Thus, faith becomes militant because it can "incinerate" those who dare to desecrate holy places. Self-sacrifice, summed up by the maxim "lay down his life for his friends", becomes the core of the sacred

war with the anti-Christian force, which is fought not by the holy lamb of redemption but by the angel of retribution seeking to exterminate evil.

Instead of constructing the narrative in accordance with the chronological order of events, Zobern follows his own logic. For example, after describing the beatings and abuse of believers by the Nazis, he quotes metropolitan Sergius's address dated 24 November 1941:

> Orthodox believers who had managed to escape from the fascists told us about the desecrations of churches [...] Not only does vicious enemy Hitler organize persecutions of Christians but he also wants to exterminate the Slavic peoples [...] This is why the progressive mankind has declared a sacred war on Hitler, a war for the Christian civilization, for the freedom of conscience and faith. (Zobern, 2014, p. 151; trans. by E. P.)

The war is not only just but also sacred, prayers for victory are accompanied by the belief that "the wrath of God will exterminate the fascist pack, for the blood of innocent wives and children cries out to the heavens for vengeance" (Zobern, 2014, p. 162; trans. by E. P.). The sacred war is driven by sacred hatred, to which Zobern devotes a separate passage of the same name. To prove his point, he quotes the texts by metropolitan Nicolas (Iarushevich), metropolitan Alexius (Simanskii), priest Nicolas (Khar'iuzov), arranging them in a non-chronological order.

Zobern starts by claiming that "God blesses the just war in the name of the triumph of good over evil" (Zobern, 2014, p. 169; trans. by E. P.); then he goes on to point out the heavenly protection that the Russian army obviously enjoyed after 1943. This, in turn, leads him to the question of retribution. In his discussion of the article *Mozhno li prostit' fashistov*? [Can the Fascists be Forgiven?] written by Nicolas Khar'iuzov (1945), Zobern first quotes directly from the article:

> from the perspective of the correctly understood Christian doctrine, the fascists undoubtedly have to be justly punished for all their atrocities, retribution for them is inescapable. The Saviour's teaching to love our enemies, to forgive past wrongs cannot be applied to fascism, its ideologists and followers. (Zobern, 2014, pp. 170–171; trans. by E. P.)

Zobern then argues that victory alone is not enough, that what is necessary is the "ultimate victory", "complete and perfect", which means that "even the memory of the inhumane fascist doctrine will be wiped out" (Zobern, 2014, p. 171; trans. by E. P.). In his own reflections, the author states that in relation to the fascists

> one cannot talk about revenge. Revenge is not always just; it is not immune to blinding passion. What awaits the fascists is retribution, that is, impartial justice for what they have done [...] Fascists will face the trial, they will stand before all the humanity, and this trial will be the true "voice of God", "trumpet of Doom", the punishment will be severe and just. (Zobern, 2014, pp. 171–172; trans. by E. P.)

Punishment in this case exceeds the scope of mercy, as "it is not appropriate to invoke Christian mercy for judgment is without mercy to one who has shown no mercy'" (Zobern, 2014, p. 173; trans. by E. P.). The community of believers is thus extended to all Russian people while Russian people are identified with Orthodox believers, with Orthodox Christianity itself. In this case Orthodox values—the saints, holy sites, Orthodox faith—become the shared Russian heritage and a common source of the "will to win", which has been frequently mentioned in the narratives in relation to priests' efforts to boost the morale of the military and civilians or in the context of the Church's information policy. In regard to the latter, the ROC appealed to the international community and to the Christian churches all over the world, urging them to take a more active part in the war (open the second front, provide economic and other aid to the USSR, etc.)[7]. In contrast to this community building both on national and international level, the Church, in Zobern's account, due to the evidence of the hideous crimes committed by the fascists, instructs its believers that Christian morality and in particular the responsibility to love and forgive should not take them so far as to forgive the enemy.

In this context, of special interest are Zobern's theological and political arguments in the part of the book where he discusses and quotes the article *Pravednyi sud naroda* [Just Tribunal of the People] written by Archbishop Luke (Voyno-Iasenetsky) (1944). Archbishop Luke starts with the condemnation of the Nazis' crimes from the point of view of universal human values, emphasizing that it is the collective will all nations rather than solely Russian people that punishment be done because the moral feeling of all the humankind had been trampled upon. The trial over the Nazi leaders was greeted by stormy approval and their execution was considered an event worthy of celebration by all the mankind:

> And Christ's Church, the pillar of the law of truth, will not stand aside from this holiday as this will be the victory over the forces of hell that shocked all the mankind, the punishment of the Antichrists who have defied the law of brotherhood and love. (Zobern, 2014, p. 174; trans. by E. P.)

This praise of death and capital punishment, this celebratory tone are particularly noteworthy. Zobern further justifies it by the following Biblical examples: in "the divinely inspired law of Moses", capital punishment was meted out to those whose "deeds threatened the spiritual and religious integrity of Israeli people, their moral purity, obligatory for God's chosen people" (Zobern, 2014, p. 175; trans. by E. P.). The reign of the judges as an important period in Israel's history shows that God did not just tolerate the punishment but ordained the judges to uphold His law and actively eliminate evil. This interpretation is confirmed by the statement "Vengeance is Mine, saith the Lord, I will repay" (Berean Standard Bible, 2021, Deuteronomy 32:35). Moreover, in the New Testament, "Paul the Apostle associates the punitive function of the judge with serving God, 'For the one in authority is God's servant for your good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for rulers do not bear the sword

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[7]   For example, Obrashchenie Sobora episkopov Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi ko vsem khristianam mira [Address of the Council of the Russian Orthodox Church to all Christians of the world]. (1943).

for no reason. They are God's servants, agents of wrath to bring punishment on the wrongdoer' (Romans 13:4)"[8] (Zobern, 2014, p. 177; trans. by E. P.).

The most interesting is the interpretation given by archbishop Luke to the words and representation of Christ himself. I think it is best to quote Luke's words as they are related by Zobern:

> Lord Jesus Christ rejected the sanction of capital punishment in the famous story of a woman taken in adultery (John 8). The light of the new law of God's grace, which rose above judgement, took precedence over the severity of the Old Testament Law. How could Christ, the reader of the human heart, accept the truth of the execution of a weak woman for a sin of which her judges—the legalists—were also guilty? Compare the guilt of this poor woman, which is so common, with the satanic crimes of the Germans who buried babies alive or threw them into fire and it will become evident that the holy answer of God's Son about the punishment to the woman taken in adultery cannot be used as an argument against the execution of these butchers, exterminating thousands of innocent people in their diabolical gas chambers. Can we, speaking of the Nazi monsters, invoke Christ's command to love your enemies? No, absolutely not! We cannot do this because it is totally impossible to love them and it is impossible to love them neither the people nor the angels nor even God of Love Himself could love them. Because God hates evil and extinguishes the evildoers. Not only are the Nazi monsters our enemies but they are also God's enemies and who can or who dares to speak of love in relation to God's enemies! (Zobern, 2014, pp. 177–178; trans. by E. P.)

Thus, for their crimes it is not only obligatory that the German Nazis should face human and divine justice, but they should also be excluded from the commandments to love thy neighbour and to love thy enemy.

The final chapter encompasses the narratives about the celebration of the Victory Day, reflections about the significance of the victory in the Great Patriotic War and the price paid for it. One of the key analogies that are drawn in this regard between the war and the Calvary:

> The road taken by the Orthodox Church and by every Christian who saves himself or herself is the same road as the one taken by Christ. It is known that the Church grew and became stronger on the blood of martyrs and men of faith and Christ said to his followers, "You will be sorrowful, but your sorrow will turn into joy" (John 16:20)[9]. (Zobern, 2014, p. 527; trans. by E. P.)

The motives of Russian patriotism and of Russian people's heroism are inseparably linked with the Orthodox faith. While Isaiah's triumphal exclamation

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[8]   New International Version Bible, 2011.

[9]   English Standard Version Bible, 2001.

"Speak a word, but it will not stand, for God is with us" (English Standard Version Bible, 2001, Isaiah 8:10) the Orthodox tradition is interpreted, for example, by Basil the Great as a prefiguration of God's incarnation in Jesus Christ, Zobern's narrative opts for a more militant interpretation and alludes to Constantine's vision of the cross and cry, "In this sign thou shalt conquer" (Zobern, 2014, p. 532; trans. by E. P.).

The search for Divine Providence, for providential signs in the development of the war (retreat, losses, then victories, recapturing of occupied territories, advance into Europe, and ultimately victory) are major drivers in Zobern's narrative. The logic of his narration, sometimes defying chronology, moves from glorifying self-sacrifice and patriotism of the Orthodox believers to the revelation that this war is sacred, and it is the war of good and evil, in which the Cross is triumphant. The Russian people were called to execute the universal mission to eradicate the evil of Nazism. The victory will bring peace not only for Russia but the "peace for the peoples of the world". The historical future of the mankind depends on whether the evildoers will be brought to divine justice rather than to human justice alone. Thus, Zobern, while relying on personal accounts and stories, constructs a narrative of the cosmic struggle against evil which was won by the Russian people motivated by their Orthodox faith. The official atheism, Bolshevik ideology, multiethnic Soviet army, contributions of the allies to the war—all these factors are practically eliminated from this account of the WWII. Moreover, the conventional teachings of the Orthodox Christian ethics are adapted to the official Soviet history of the WWII: initial self-sacrifice in the defensive war is replaced by all sorts of mobilization—from voluntary conscription to spiritual support—in the sacred war and subsequent retribution is justified by rejection of the Christian supreme command of love and charity.

"There are No Atheists in the War"

A somewhat different logic can be traced in the narrative or, to be more precise, in a series of narratives compiled into the book *Iz smerti v zhizn'. Svidetel'stva voinov o pomoshchi Bozh'ei* [From Death to Life. Soldiers' Accounts of God's Help]. S. Galitskii undertakes this mission:

> In the army, stories of immediate participants of the warfare are spreading by word of mouth, they talk about the miraculous salvation in the situations which, from the perspective of the warfare science, were absolutely hopeless. The time has come to gather these priceless stories of God's protection so that they could reach those who need them most of all. (Galitskii, 2011, p. 5; trans. by E. P.)

Out of the ten accounts of the Soviet and Russian officers who took part in the armed conflicts in Afghanistan, Chechnya, and Ossetia, only two convey the narrators' interest in the Russian Orthodox Church, its teachings, canons, and sacraments. For the rest, their faith in God fits into the category of "ad hoc religiosity".

Apart from the casual expressions such as "Thank God" or "With God's help", the divine is represented in these accounts not in the dogmatic form of a personal deity but rather in the form of a miracle personally experienced by the narrator, e.g., a radio set miraculously coming back to life (Galitskii, 2011, p. 34). This might the miracle of surviving a life-or-death situation[10] or the miracle of performing a seemingly impossible military task, of completing a military operation[11] successfully despite insurmountable obstacles or utter despair and hopelessness of the troops[12]. In the *Foreword,* S. Galitskii observes that

> there is no war without casualties. But we must always remember, first and foremost, those paratrooper officers for whom in the most violent battles the life of every soldier was as valuable as their own. These commanders were the first to get into the thick of the battle, they were the last to board the helicopters to be evacuated, with a sinking heart, they counted their soldiers before the takeoff: is everyone here? [...] And they refused to leave if they found somebody missing. They searched for the missing soldiers and found them—dead or alive [...] For these officers, the success of their military operation always fitted into the same formula: "I have performed the task and my soldiers have come back alive". (Galitskii, 2011, p. 7; trans. by E. P.)

This ideal does not so much correspond to the idea of Christian ethics but it does reflect the ethics of solidarity—of military brotherhood and the commander's responsibility.

Although all the narratives in Galitskii's book foreground the examples of heroism and courage on the part of soldiers and officers, they also make clear that the motives behind these people's appeals to God were largely grounded in self-interest and in practical considerations: to survive, to save your comrades-in-arms,

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[10]   "And I hear the munching sound of the bullets biting into the mudbrick wall 10–20 centimeters from me! And I am still alive after that! Sometimes a thought flashed through my brain: "At least one bullet has been bound to hit my 'dome' to put an end to all of this for me". And then a calmness came over me. God exists. He will save me because in these circumstances He is the only one who can do it!" (Galitskii, 2011, p. 136; trans. by E. P.).

[11]   "Now imagine: all my subordinates boarded [the helicopter], and I, the newly appointed squad commander, was the only one who didn't. I was going back to Kunduz with the landing force commander on board. At this point I realized that if I can't leave now, I simply won't be able to survive this. I would have to shoot myself in the head out of shame right here, in front of the helicopter on the airfield. I also realized that I cannot board [the helicopter] and at this moment I remembered my grandmother. I grabbed the collar in which a small icon was sewn and said: "Saint Nicholas, God's helper, save me and help me!" It was my fourth or fifth mission (I actually wondered how come they had not shot down my helicopter yet!). Suddenly it seemed like the helicopter had acquired some extra aerodynamic force—the Divine force. I landed the helicopter, the assault troops exited and the mission was accomplished. It was then that I came to believe in God. I suddenly realized one simple truth: among those who have been to war, there are no atheists" (Galitskii, 2011, p. 63; trans. by E. P.).

[12]   "Then they got quiet but it was even worse—the flies swarmed all over me. I tried to cover my face with my hands but it didn't help much. At that moment I thought that this is what hell possibly looks like. It was in this abominable pit that I came to believe in God. I prayed fervently to Him!" (Galitskii 2011, p. 126; trans. by E. P.).

to fulfill the mission. In this context, God is equivalent to fortune or good luck or any other mystical force:

> For twelve years I was in command of a helicopter regiment. For all of these twelve years, when I was teaching aerodynamics to young pilots, I told them: "There are laws of aerodynamics. But there are also the supreme, divine laws, believe it or not. Only the existence of God's law explains the situations that were completely hopeless from the perspective of physical laws, but one still managed to get out". (Galitskii, 2011, p. 66; trans. by E. P.)

Only one officer-narrator demonstrates a truly Orthodox attitude, describing his decision to become a practicing Christian:

> Looking back on how baptism had changed my life, I strongly wanted him to get baptized as well. I myself got baptized rather late. When I came back from that nightmarish trip. The country had collapsed. And so had my family. I had no idea what to do next. I found myself in some sort of a deadlock [...] I have a clear memory of how after the baptism a sense of calmness came over my soul, everything fell into place, I finally understood how I was going to live my life. Afterwards, when I served in Kronstadt, on several occasions I sent sailors to help the dean of the Kronstadt Cathedral. (Galitskii, 2011, p. 226; trans. by E. P.)

The situations of a person turning towards religion because he or she sees it as a safe haven amid life's tragedy and horror were a recurring motive in the first book *Bog i Podeda* as well. In these accounts, the losses, horrors, and moral suffering the narrator endured became the main motive behind his decision to come to Church. This decision helped the troubled soul find peace and ultimate meaning in life. In such cases one specific person—the priest—becomes particularly important: the priest is the first to meet the seeker's soul. If the priest had some warfare experience, then he could find the right words:

> At that time the priest there was Father Sviatoslav, an Afghan War veteran. I said, "I want to have my baby baptized. I am not a believer, though, I don't know any prayers [...]" I remember what he said to me word for word, "Sergey, have you ever been under water? Have you been to war? Then you believe in God. You can go now!" This was the decisive moment for me and I turned towards the Church once and for all. (Galitskii, 2011, p. 227; trans. by E. P.)

Even in this case, however, neither the teachings of the Orthodox Church nor the Christian way of life play a significant role in the narrative. Orthodox Christianity becomes a part of the narrator's identity, it provides psychological and moral resources to the person who suffered and whose ethical views were based on other foundations—the army ethic.

The reflections about the moral aspects of Orthodox Christianity and the clash of different ethical principles, in particular the military duty and the medical duty of care, are in more detail described in the account written by "Doc", a colonel of the medical service. In his reflections about what he was taught and what he had to go through, "Doc" writes the following:

> When I was a student in the Military Medical Academy, I noticed a direct contradiction between what I had to do during the war and what we were taught. Respectable professors told us that one cannot become a good surgeon without being a good person. But during the war, I had to do many appalling things which I am still scared to think about [...] And I realized that the solution to this problem should come naturally. If after all the events in Afghanistan I would have rejected any morality and ethics, or if I had developed some pathological inclinations, then it would mean that I had become a moral monster. If thinking about the past disturbs me, it means that I still have my conscience. Even though I am well aware of the fact that I will answer for my deeds before the Supreme Judgement. (Galitskii, 2011, pp. 143–144; trans. by E. P.)

The Orthodox moral ideal, which supposedly conflicts with the military duty of the soldier, can still become the foundation for evaluating soldiers' behavior, especially the behavior of those soldiers who perform heroic deeds or acts of bravery in saving their comrades:

> We were really lucky to have such a man as Misha Rumiantsev. Otherwise, we would all have been dead by noon. He and his soldiers brought us some ammo. At the cost of his own life, he kept the commandment in the New Testament, "Greater love has no one than this, that he lay down his life for his friends". (Galitskii, 2011, p. 142; trans. by E. P.)

The very possibility of self-sacrifice and active love shown by soldiers provides their comrades with evidence for Divine Providence and Divine Protection:

> By all laws of war, we were bound to get killed in this battle, every last one of us. We were far outnumbered by the enemy! The enemy also had a tactical advantage, the enemy knew the terrain better. We were encircled by the enemy forces and we were fighting for twelve hours, on top of that, we were fighting on two fronts. I still don't understand how I managed to survive there. (Galitskii, 2011, p. 144; trans. by E. P.)

Thus, the accounts collected in Galitskii's volume *Iz smerti v zhizn'* does not present a normative ideal of an Orthodox warrior but rather it sheds light on real "militant piety", that is, practical religiosity of soldiers and officers, who built their relationship with God and religion in the context of their professional activity (commonly described as "work").

Conclusion

In Zobern's narrative, a mosaic of personal accounts and observations creates a tapestry of the collective experience of Orthodox believers during the greatest war Russia knew. At the first stage of the war, the Orthodox Christians shared the patriotic feelings with the majority of Soviet people and, despite the preceding persecutions, considered what was happening a defensive and, therefore, just war, which required true self-sacrifice in order to prevail over the German Nazi invaders. The Orthodox Christians felt compelled to go beyond civilian—non-combatant—activities in defending the Motherland such as fund raising, civil defense, medical and nursing service, when they labored at the factories manufacturing weapons or enlisted in military service and took part in military action. They felt no contradictions with their faith in doing so. The Orthodox Christians prayed for peace, they prayed for the fallen, but they also prayed for the victory and for the utter destruction of the enemy. After the believers learned more and more about the atrocities of the German troops, however, their patriotism and desire to protect the Motherland gave way to visceral hatred towards the enemy. Thus, Hitlerism came to be seen not just a national enemy and invasion force but rather as an absolute evil. This hatred culminated in the notion of the sacred war: this cosmic war was fought by the Russian people, "blessed with prayer and faith", with the Antichrist. The aim of this sacred war, therefore, came to be associated not only with defense but also with the eradication of this evil from the history of the mankind. Finally, in ensuring the just retribution for the crimes committed by the Nazis, the Orthodox Christians excluded the Nazi criminals from the jurisdiction of Christ's commandments about love and forgiveness.

Beliefs and principles were understood by religious people not abstractly but in the context of their individual and collective experience, as part of their daily life on the front lines or at home. Moreover, even though most of the personal accounts belong to ordinary believers and priests, Zobern leaves no place for doubt that the higher clergy (especially metropolitans Sergius, Alexius, and Nicolas) determined the moral choices and the course of action for the Orthodox community. These three hierarchs were the ones to meet Stalin in 1943 and to obtain the permission from the Soviet government to conduct propaganda both inside and outside the country. Condemnation of collaborates in the first months of the war, dissemination of the information about the Nazis' crimes in church periodicals as well as the information on decisions taken in the aftermath of the hierarchs' meeting with Stalin had a great influence on the moral evaluation of events and morale of believers in the USSR and abroad. The questions of identity of the Orthodox Christian community were inseparable from the questions of power and of the choice made by the leaders, thus setting the limits for the moral choices of their flock.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the call for self-sacrifice, for the proof of true faith (that is, martyrdom), justified by the maxim "Greater love has no one than this, that he lay down his life for his friends" (English Standard Version Bible, 2001, John 15:13), by no means solves the problem of "laying down' others" lives, that is, of killing enemies and/or giving orders to do so. On the practical level, however, we see

that the narratives we looked at avoid the direct question about the permissibility of killing an enemy soldier. While discussing the categories of the sacred war—of the cosmic war with the forces of the Antichrist—and attempting to justify the limits to the supreme Christian commandment of love, the text of *Bog i Pobeda* purporting to offer an exemplary model for being an Orthodox Christian at war leaves this moral problem of killing others unanswered on the theological level.

For officers' accounts in *Iz smerti v zhizn'*, their everyday "work" implies participation in military action involving the risks of being killed or suffering casualties among the soldiers in their charge but it also entails the inescapable destruction of other lives—killing the enemy and commanding others to do so. The Christian doctrine of love and forgiveness in its abstract form would be inapplicable here. It, however, is adapted to the circumstances of the military service and is transformed into the lived religion based on the principles self-sacrifice for the salvation of the lives of comrades and civilians; into the principles of military loyalty and *esprit de corps*; into the recognition of officers' responsibility for the lives of their subordinates; into the hope for God's help in the struggle for the just cause. Even though self-sacrifice, loyalty, hope, and mercy acquire a specific context, they remain dominant value orientations in Orthodox "militant piety".

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Belief Formation in the Social Context: A Bayesian Decision Account

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ABSTRACT

A recent computational model argues that people's beliefs arise from two basic sources: a motivation to be accurate plus other forms of motivation such as pursuing economic interests. Yet, this previous proposal has focused exclusively on the individual level of analysis, neglecting the question of how social contexts shape belief formation. The present paper addresses this by examining how group dynamics underpin the formation of beliefs. The argument is that different social groups vary in their beliefs because, at least to some degree, each group acquires different life experiences and is motivated by different incentives. At the same time, the proposal is that each group can influence other groups' beliefs in three ways: by expressing opinions to other groups, by affecting the experiences acquired by other groups, and by setting incentives for other groups. This picture suggests that, within a community, three types of groups can often be identified: (a) the dominant groups, defined as those particularly capable of affecting other groups' experiences and incentives; (b) the intellectual groups, regarded as those whose opinions are particularly influential; and (c) the subaltern groups, encompassing people with minimal power to affect beliefs of others. By examining influence dynamics among these groups, the paper investigates how consensus or disagreement emerge within a community. Altogether, the paper offers insight on the interaction between social dynamics and psychological mechanisms that contribute to shape people's beliefs.

KEYWORDS

Bayesian decision, belief, influence, persuasion, dominant group, intellectual

Introduction

Beliefs can be defined as perceptions about whether a state of affair is true or false (e.g., "I believe that it is raining"). Research on the nature of beliefs is at the crucible of different social science disciplines, including psychology, neuroscience, sociology, and political science (Converse, 1964; Harris et al., 2008; Hutto & Ravenscroft, 2021; Jackson & Pettit, 1990; James, 1889). This research has raised several fundamental questions: What are the mechanisms underlaying the formation of beliefs? Why do some people hold some beliefs and other people embrace other beliefs? What are the social dynamics responsible for the formation of beliefs? To address these questions, two separate research perspectives have been developed. Focusing on the mental processes at play, one perspective (common in psychology and neuroscience) examines the individual level (Harris et al., 2008; James, 1889; Shermer, 2012), while the other perspective (common in sociology and political science) analyses social dynamics (Converse, 1964; Spillman, 2020; Swidler & Arditi, 1994). Individual and social approaches have each offered insight about the nature of beliefs. Yet, although individual approaches provide a fine-grained description of the psychological mechanisms, they typically disregard how these mechanisms arise in social contexts. Conversely, social perspectives explore social dynamics in detail, but often remain vague about the underlying psychological mechanisms. Accounts integrating both approaches are rare (Boudon, 1989; Goldthorpe, 1998; Opp, 2012); as a consequence, the interaction between the individual and social levels of analysis remains poorly understood.

This paper aims to integrate the individual and social levels of analysis by developing a broad theoretical framework describing how beliefs emerge within the social environment. The argument builds upon a recent computational model about the psychological processes underpinning belief formation (Rigoli, 2021a, 2021b, 2022; Rigoli et al., 2021). While this previous model focuses exclusively on the individual level of analysis, the goal here is to broaden the perspective and embed the model within a general framework where the psychological processes shape, and are simultaneously shaped by, social dynamics. Let us start by introducing the above-mentioned model in the next section.

Psychological Processes

The number of accounts examining the psychological mechanisms underpinning belief formation is enormous. Although an exhaustive overview of these accounts is beyond the scope of this paper, I propose to group these in two broad families. On the one hand, *explanation theories* presuppose that beliefs emerge from an attempt to describe reality accurately. Examples of these include the philosophical proposals of Plato, Aristotle, and Kant (Edwards, 1967), contemporary cognitive models claiming that Bayesian inference underpins mental processes (Friston, 2005; Knill & Pouget, 2004; Oaksford & Chater, 2007), and rational-choice theory (Boudon, 1989; Goldthorpe, 1998; Opp, 2012). Many of these accounts acknowledge the limits and biases of the human mind (often attributed to the restricted computational

capacity of the brain), but nonetheless maintain that, despite these mental constrains, beliefs ultimately reflect humans' effort to explain reality as accurately as possible (Gigerenzer & Selten, 2001). Contrary to explanation theories, *motivation theories* argue that beliefs arise from motives other than accuracy seeking. Examples are the philosophies of Marx, Nietzsche, and Freud (Edwards, 1967), as well as contemporary perspectives in social psychology such as cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1962; Harmon-Jones & Mills, 2019) and social identity theory (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Tajfel, 1982). For example, Marx famously argued that, far from being grounded upon a disinterested analysis of reality, the beliefs advocated by the dominant class conceal its economic interests (Marx & Engels, 1970).

        Does empirical evidence lend more support to epistemic or to motivation theories? The picture emerging from empirical research suggests that each family of theories captures some, but not all, aspects of reality (Bartels, 2016; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost et al., 2009; Kunda, 1990). Thus, the emerging picture is one where epistemic and non-epistemic motives coexist and both contribute to the formation of beliefs. This means that a sound theory of belief formation should acknowledge both epistemic and non-epistemic drives. However, how these two kinds of drives interact has been rarely explored. A recent computational model developed by the author of the present paper has offered a possible answer to this question (Rigoli, 2021a, 2021b, 2022; Rigoli et al., 2021). The model relies on a Bayesian decision framework, and hence it is referred here to as the Bayesian Decision Model of Beliefs (BDMB). The BDMB focuses on the mechanisms through which individuals arbitrate among alternative hypotheses for explaining aspects of life and reality. To illustrate how the model works, consider the example of landowners operating within the slave system in the USA South before the civil war erupted in that country (Rigoli, 2021b). Imagine that these individuals formed their opinions about races by arbitrating between two hypotheses, one—a racist hypothesis—claiming that Blacks are genetically more violent and less intelligent than Whites, and the other—an antiracist hypothesis—claiming that Blacks are not different from Whites in any respect. The first hypothesis implies that, by providing slaves with a regulated existence under the landowner's paternalistic eye, the slave system benefits landowners and slaves alike. Conversely, the second hypothesis implies that the slave system is detrimental for slaves, inasmuch as they are exploited at the advantage of Whites. According to the BDMB, three factors establish which hypothesis will be endorsed by a landowner. The first factor is represented by prior beliefs, namely, by relevant assumptions already available before reasoning. Prior beliefs capture various aspects such as general views about the world or about society. For example, one prior belief might be the conviction that human races are genetically different; the alternative view might be that all races are characterized by an equal genetic endowment. A landowner who entertains the former prior belief, the argument goes, will be more likely to accept the racist hypothesis.

        The second factor envisaged by the BDMB as being central to belief formation is represented by novel evidence, which can be experienced in two ways: directly, when evidence is conveyed by one's own perception, or socially, when social sources such as another person or the media provide indirect information (Rigoli, 2021b). In our example, spending time working with Blacks is an instance of direct evidence,

whereas listening to the opinions expressed by other landowners is an example of social evidence.

The third critical factor for belief formation proposed by the BDMB is represented by the utility, in terms of reward or punishment, expected if any hypothesis is accepted or rejected (Rigoli, 2021b). In our example, the landowner assesses the utility expected to occur (a) if the racist hypothesis is true and is accepted (and slavery is supported), (b) if the antiracist hypothesis is true and is accepted (and slavery is opposed), (c) if the racist hypothesis is false but is accepted (and slavery is supported), (d) if the antiracist hypothesis is false but is accepted (and slavery is opposed). To understand the influence of expected utility, compare two landowners, one who owns slaves and the other who does not. For the first landowner, accepting the racist hypothesis (and supporting racism) is obviously conducive to higher utility, in terms of economic incentives, compared to accepting the antiracist hypothesis (and fighting racism); the opposite is true of the second landowner. Therefore, the BDMB implies that the first landowner will be more likely to believe in the racist hypothesis compared to the second landowner[1].

In summary, according to the BDMB, three factors contribute to belief formation: prior beliefs, novel evidence (either direct or social), and expected utility. Note that, because of the influence of expected utility, a hypothesis might be selected because it is the costliest to reject even though it is not the best supported by evidence and by prior beliefs (i.e., even though it is not the most accurate). However, prior beliefs and novel evidence remain fundamental because a hypothesis will be less likely to be accepted if it is poorly supported by them. In this way, the BDMB integrates epistemic and non-epistemic motives, the former captured by the role assigned to prior beliefs and to novel evidence, the latter embodied by the expected utility component. The BDMB assumes that people are largely unaware of the factors shaping their beliefs, and simply perceive these beliefs as being true: in our example, a landowner might be staunchly convinced about the validity of the racist hypothesis, without realizing that this conviction does not stem from a disinterested analysis of reality.

In a nutshell, by integrating both epistemic and non-epistemic factors, the BDMB offers a systematic description of the various psychological processes responsible for belief formation. The implications of the BDMB have been examined in several domains, including the domain of political reasoning (Rigoli, 2021b), the domain of religious beliefs (Rigoli, 2021a), the domain of conspiracy theories (Rigoli, 2022), and the domain of delusional beliefs (Rigoli et al., 2021). Yet, all these domains pertain to the individual level of analysis. It remains to be assessed whether the BDMB can offer any insight about how the individual and social levels of analysis interact. In other words, can the BDMB elucidate how beliefs emerge during social interactions? The aim of the present paper is to employ the BDMB to explore how social dynamics shape belief formation.

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[1]   Although, in this example, expected consequences reflect economic interest, more generally the BDMB adopts a broad definition of expected consequences, encompassing any sort of value such as fostering social bonds, exerting power, realising bodily pleasures, or avoiding other people's suffering (e.g., Schwartz, 1992).

Social Context

Beliefs are not the result of an individual mind interacting with the environment, but of multiple minds interacting among themselves and with the environment. Along this line, scholars have argued that, in an evolutionary perspective, humans have developed a remarkable ability to share beliefs that has enabled them to cooperate effectively (Adolphs, 2009; Balliet & van Lange, 2013; Castelfranchi & Falcone, 2010; Dunbar, 2003). Following this argument, evolution is deemed to be responsible for humans' predisposition to influence other people's opinions and, at the same time, to be influenced by other people's opinions (Friedkin & Johnsen, 1990; Turner, 1991). Employing the BDMB as a framework, here I propose an explanation of how beliefs emerge when individuals interact with one another and with their environment. The argument starts by asking two apparently trivial, but in fact fundamental, questions. First, why do people vary in their beliefs? Second, how can a person influence other people's beliefs? This section addresses the first question, while the second question will be explored later.

Following the BDMB, an obvious reason why beliefs vary among people is that everyday activity, and thus the everyday experience one gains, varies greatly among people. Consider the European Medieval society as an example. This was arranged in three orders: the nobility, the clergy, and all other people who were collectively grouped in the third estate (Duby, 1982). The third estate, the clergy, and the nobility were engaged in working, praying, and fighting, respectively. Obviously, these different tasks imply that very different everyday experiences were acquired by the different orders: for example, a life spent cultivating the fields had little in common with a life spent praying or with a life spent fighting. Adopting the BDMB as a framework, different everyday experience implies different direct evidence—one of the key factors which, as explained above, shape beliefs according to the model. Thus, within the BDMB, differences in direct evidence among groups are one reason explaining why people vary in their beliefs.

However, according to the BDMB, differences in direct evidence are not the whole story: expected utility is also another critical factor. Remember that the BDMB posits that, beyond any role played by prior beliefs and by novel evidence, beliefs are shaped by expected utility. Regarding the latter, let us assume that any individual of a community is motivated by two types of values (Schwartz, 1992): *community values*, aiming at the well-being of the whole community, and *self-interest values*, aiming at one's own well-being or at the well-being of one's own specific group. Distinguishing community versus self-interest values is useful to understand why beliefs vary among people: although community values are typically shared by everyone, self-interest values are specific for each group. Consider again the example of the nobility, the clergy, and the third estate in the Middle Ages (Duby, 1982). It is safe to assume that all orders shared certain community values such as fostering agricultural productivity and protecting the community from invaders. Yet, it is also reasonable to imagine that self-interest values varied widely among the orders. For instance, the tolls destined to the Church were probably evaluated very differently by the nobles and by the clergy. Given divergent

self-interest values, the BDMB implies that each group embraces beliefs that are not shared by other groups. In the example of Medieval society, it is reasonable to imagine that, more than the nobility and the third estate, the clergy was convinced that the tolls destined to the Church were necessary for ensuring God's grace.

In summary, following the BDMB, two factors are proposed to explain why beliefs vary among people: differences in direct evidence and differences in self-interest values. Yet, as argued above, humans do not live in isolation, but they live in social environments. This means that each person's beliefs are constantly under the influence exerted by other people (Friedkin & Johnsen, 1990; Turner, 1991). Can the BDMB offer any insight on how such social influence works? The next section addresses this question.

Social Influence

We can employ the BDMB to interpret how a group can influence beliefs embraced by other groups. Following the BDMB, the proposal is that beliefs can be influenced in three ways (Fig. 1): (a) by novel information experienced via one's own perception (direct evidence), (b) by opinions expressed by others (social evidence), and (c) by changes in expected utility (note that prior beliefs cannot be influenced directly, but via direct or social evidence). Social influence can target any of these aspects. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that groups vary in their ability to target each aspect. Some groups appear to be particularly capable to shape the direct evidence experienced by other groups. In the Middle Ages, an example of this is the nobility, with its power to determine, among other things, serfs' labour schedule. Moreover, there are groups who are especially influential upon the utility experienced by other groups. Again, Medieval nobles are an example of this, as evident from their power to request tolls from serfs. As the example of the Medieval nobility suggests, the groups capable of affecting direct evidence have often also great power to impact upon utility. These can be referred to as the *dominant groups* (Gramsci, 1948–1951/2011). However, groups with power regarding direct evidence and utility are often not as powerful in terms of affecting social evidence. This is because, in many complex societies, some groups emerge who, despite being unable to influence direct evidence and utility, have specialized in acquiring knowledge. The opinions expressed by these groups are therefore typically judged as highly trustworthy, endowing these groups with a special power to affect social evidence. In the Middle Ages, an example of this is the clergy, a group with poor influence upon direct evidence and upon utility but, at the same time, a highly powerful group in terms of affecting social evidence. Groups in this category, encompassing roles such as priests, academics, artists, and journalists, can be referred to as the *intellectual groups* (Gramsci, 1948–1951/2011).

In summary, the BDMB offers an interpretation about the nature of social influence processes. The model identifies three potential targets of influence: direct evidence, social evidence, and utility. Groups can be classified based on their power to influence each target. This classification highlights three broad categories of groups: (a) the dominant group, influential upon direct evidence and utility, (b) the

intellectual group, influential upon social evidence, and (c) the subaltern group, characterised by a minimal ability to influence the beliefs of other groups. Armed with this model of social influence, the next section enquires about how influence dynamics can lead to consensus or to disagreement within a community.

Figure 1

Role Played by Social Influence According to the BDMB
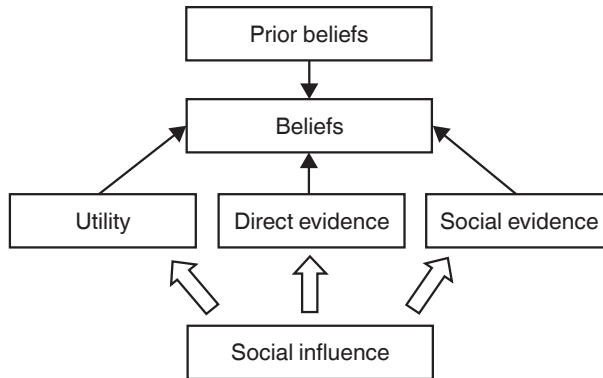
Note. Source: Developed by author.

Consensus Versus Disagreement

Let us focus on a simple scenario where the three groups identified above interact within a community: the dominant group shaping direct evidence and utility, the intellectuals influential upon social evidence, and the subaltern group encompassing people with little or no power in shaping beliefs (Gramsci, 1948–1951/2011). This scenario is obviously simplistic: in real communities, more than three groups can be identified, and, even more fundamentally, it is debatable how groups should be defined (e.g., based on class, gender, or ethnicity). However, as we shall see below, this simple scenario highlights interesting aspects emerging from the BDMB.

A community can be assessed based on whether the three groups identified above share their beliefs or not. Adopting this criterion, a community can manifest either consensus or disagreement, the former occurring when beliefs are shared, the latter when beliefs are not shared. Here, I aim to describe the characteristics of consensus and disagreement as interpreted by the BDMB.

Let us start by examining consensus. I propose to distinguish between two possible cases: *spontaneous consensus* versus *manipulated consensus*. The former occurs when the dominant group abstains from influencing the subaltern group (i.e., it abstains from affecting the latter's beliefs), and yet all groups share the same beliefs. During spontaneous consensus, the shared beliefs are grounded upon community values, rather than upon the self-interest values specific to the dominant group. Conversely, manipulated consensus occurs when beliefs are shared because the dominant group has actively modified the subaltern group's beliefs. When consensus

is manipulated, the shared beliefs are not grounded on community values, but on the self-interest values of the dominant group. Manipulated consensus occurs when the dominant group has successfully targeted the direct evidence or the utility of the subaltern group: as a consequence, the subaltern group is now convinced that, although the shared beliefs might not be palatable, they are nevertheless true. As an example of manipulated consensus, consider a dispute between employers and workers. Imagine that, despite poor supporting evidence, employers claim that a salary cut is necessary for the economy to remain aloft, and threat to fire workers if they protest against this measure. Threatened workers might end up accepting the argument that the salary cut is in fact necessary to protect the economy from unravelling. This is an example of manipulated consensus: both the dominant group (the employers) and the subaltern group (the workers) share the same belief, that is, they both believe that salary cuts are necessary; thus, we can talk about consensus. However, consensus is not spontaneous, but manipulated, because it is not grounded on evidence; rather, it arises from an attempt of the dominant group to pursue its own self-interest by targeting the utility of the subaltern group (by threatening to fire workers).

The idea of manipulated consensus can explain why subaltern groups sometimes accept stereotypes against themselves, such as when ethnic minorities embrace racist stereotypes (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Sagar & Schofield, 1980). The argument is that this occurs because, by targeting direct evidence or utility, the dominant group succeeds in persuading subaltern groups that the stereotypes are true. For example, the dominant group can arrange society in such a way that a subaltern group receives less education and thus performs worse in the future (e.g., people in this group obtain worse jobs, have poorer health, exhibit more criminal behaviour, etc.); in other words, this represents an instance in which the dominant group succeeds in affecting the direct evidence experienced by the subaltern group. Rather than being interpreted as due to environmental factors, the poorer performance of the subaltern group can in turn be interpreted as evidence consistent with a stereotype claiming that the subaltern group is congenitally inferior.

As another means to realise manipulated consensus, the dominant group can co-opt the intellectual group (Gramsci, 1948–1951/2011): for instance, the dominant group can reward intellectuals (e.g., in terms of economic wealth) if they sponsor the beliefs promoted by the dominant group. Given the trust typically attributed to intellectuals, this strategy is often highly effective in persuading the subaltern group. Historical examples of this are many, such as when, at the start of the 19th century, European church hierarchies claimed that the Ancient Regime, and not liberal regimes, conformed to God's will, encouraging the bulk of the peasantry to resist political change (Hitchcock, 2012; Vidmar, 2014)—the interpretation being that church hierarchies took this position in order to protect the interests of the ruling class in exchange of protection.

Now that we have examined the notion of consensus, let us focus on disagreement, which arises when groups do not share beliefs. This typically occurs when the dominant group, driven by self-interest values and neglecting community values, attempts to persuade the subaltern group but fails to do so. Here, there is a struggle to

persuade (from the perspective of the dominant group) and to resist persuasion (from the perspective of the subaltern group). As above, the dominant group's effort can target the direct evidence or the utility experienced by the subaltern group. Examples where the dominant group intervenes upon the direct evidence experienced by the subaltern groups are when employers rearrange the workplace with the aim to discourage interactions among workers, and when governments drift towards war as a way to distract the population from domestic concerns. Sometimes these attempts fail and leave the subaltern groups unconvinced about the claims of the dominant group, producing a condition of disagreement. The role of intellectuals is critical here too. During disagreement, intellectuals are sometimes co-opted by the dominant group—thus supporting the latter's beliefs—thanks to the rewards they receive in exchange. Other times, especially when they perceive that the rewards offered to them by the dominant group are inadequate, intellectuals support the subaltern group's beliefs.

In summary, the BDMD offers a framework to explain how influence dynamics can result in a state of consensus or in a state of disagreement among groups. Whether a community is characterised by consensus or by disagreement is important because, while disagreement spurs conflict, consensus allows cooperation to be established, and cooperation in turn is necessary to allow a community to mobilize all its available resources. Yet, the reasoning outlined above suggests that cooperation is not always beneficial for everyone: all can benefit from cooperating only when consensus is spontaneous, that is, when consensus is grounded on fostering community values. On the contrary, when consensus is the product of manipulation, that is, when it is instrumental to protecting the self-interest of the dominant group, cooperation benefits the dominant group alone while damaging the subaltern group.

Discussion

Previous literature has introduced the BDMB to examine the psychological processes at play when beliefs are formed (Rigoli, 2021a, 2021b, 2022; Rigoli et al., 2021). Yet, this literature has so far neglected the question of how social processes contribute to the formation of beliefs. Can the BDMD offer any insight on this question? The paper addresses this by proposing that, following the BDMD, different groups within a community are characterised by specific direct evidence and utility, and thus end up entertaining divergent beliefs. At the same time, groups are predicted to influence other groups' direct evidence, social evidence, and utility, thus impacting on the beliefs embraced by other groups. Dominant groups are defined as those particularly capable to affect other groups' direct evidence and utility, while intellectual groups are regarded as those who are powerful in shaping other groups' social evidence. Based on this, the BDMB offers a perspective to interpret the notion of consensus and disagreement among the different groups of a community.

Although the BDMB shares characteristics with many previous works, I highlight Gramsci's theory of ideology as particularly relevant (Gramsci, 1948–1951/2011). This is based on a Marxist outlook concerning the structure of society, grounded on the notion that classes, defined by their economic position, compete with one another in

the social arena. Gramsci's analysis focuses on the social superstructure, namely on the set of values and beliefs embraced by the different classes. The argument is that the dominant class (e.g., the bourgeoisie in the age of capitalism) builds an ideology which justifies the current social structure: although the dominant class exploits the dominated class (e.g., the workers), the argument is that the dominant class conceals this exploitation, or at least depicts it as just and unavoidable. The concept of hegemony is adopted by Gramsci to describe circumstances when the dominant class succeeds in persuading the dominated class: when the dominant class is hegemonic, it has no need to exert coercion, because the dominated class does not resist exploitation. Conversely, when the dominated class is not persuaded, class conflict ensues: in this scenario, the dominant class can preserve the status quo only through coercion. If coercion fails, the dominated class can revolt and overthrow the dominant class.

The similarities between Gramsci's perspective and the BDMB are numerous. In both accounts, different groups tend to develop their own specific beliefs. The psychological mechanisms underlying this remain unspecified in Gramsci's writings, while the BDMB interprets these mechanisms in terms of experiencing different direct evidence and utility. Moreover, both accounts postulate that groups influence and are influenced by other groups, with some groups being more influential than others; again, while the nature of this influence is not fully specified in Gramsci's writings, the BDMB offers an explicit analysis by identifying influences upon direct evidence, social evidence, and utility. Another similarity is between the idea of hegemony and the idea of consensus or, more precisely, between the idea of hegemony and the idea of manipulated (but not spontaneous) consensus. Finally, both theories highlight the key role played by intellectuals in shaping the beliefs embraced by other groups.

Notwithstanding many similarities, Gramsci's view and the BDMB have also important differences. While the former is firmly grounded on a Marxist notion of social structure, the latter is more flexible and independent of whether a Marxist social structure is postulated or not. In addition, consistent with a Marxist outlook, Gramsci presupposes that self-interest is the driver of belief formation, while the BDMB argues that both self-interest and community values can be important. Finally, the psychological processes driving belief formation remain poorly specified in Gramsci's writings: it remains obscure to what extent beliefs reflect an attempt to be accurate or to fulfil other motives (in the terminology of this paper, it is not clear whether Gramsci's proposal can be classified as an explanation or as a motivation theory). The BDMB offers an explicit description of this aspect, clarifying the specific contribution of epistemic motives captured by evidence and prior beliefs and non-epistemic drives captured by utility.

Limitations

The argument proposed here relies on simplifications that should be carefully reconsidered by future research. For example, when discussing the notion of consensus and disagreement, I assumed the existence of three social groups only (the dominant, intellectual, and dominated group). This is obviously simplistic. For example, the dominant group is rarely monolithic, encompassing subgroups such as political, military, or economic elites, each with its own self-interest values and its own life experience.

The same applies to the dominated and intellectual groups, often including subgroups based on region, age, gender, and class. Moreover, in realistic cases, it is debatable if a clear-cut distinction between dominant and dominated group, with only the former affecting beliefs of the latter, is meaningful; adopting a more fine-grained approach where, to some degree, all groups influence other groups is likely to be preferrable in most cases. Likewise, the idea that social evidence is affected only by intellectuals is dubious: one can even debate whether intellectuals should be considered as a separate group, especially in recent times where social media allow everyone to play the role of intellectuals to some degree. The notions of consensus and disagreement appear simplistic as well: with numerous groups at play, consensus can rarely be total, and spontaneous consensus might emerge for some groups but not for others. Despite these shortcomings, simplifications are helpful to highlight the key points raised by the BDMB. A promising research avenue is nonetheless to progressively add complexity to the problem and explore the theory in more elaborated settings.

Future Directions

The framework articulated in the paper opens up a set of potential avenues for future research. First, the BDMB can inspire empirical research on social influence processes. So far, research on this has focused primarily on which features of a message are most effective in changing the beliefs embraced by a target person (Turner, 1991). In the context of the BDMB, this prior research can be interpreted as being focused on social evidence alone, which is only one component of the picture offered by the theory. Indeed, the BDMB not only identifies social evidence, but it also stresses the role of direct evidence and utility as potential targets of social influence. These two targets have been largely neglected by research so far. The BDMB encourages empirical investigation to address this by exploring how social influence can affect direct evidence and utility.

The BDMB can inspire further research also by providing a conceptual framework to interpret dynamics characterising society in the present or in the past, and to examine how these dynamics shape people's beliefs. Above, I have offered a sketch of how this analysis may look like in the context of European Medieval Society. A possibility is to extend this analysis further by exploring in detail the historical circumstances in which the actions performed by one group affected the direct evidence, social evidence, or utility of other groups, and how this had an impact on the beliefs embraced by the other groups. Of course, this type of analysis can be applied to Medieval societies as well as to any other form of social organization in the past or in the present.

Conclusion

To summarize, the paper develops a theory describing how social processes underpin the formation of beliefs. The aim of this theory is to bridge perspectives focusing on the individual domain with perspectives examining the social domain. Such an integrated approach, I argue, is ultimately necessary, because individual and social processes are deeply intertwined during belief formation.

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ARTICLE

Narcissism and Political Left-Right Orientation in View of Basic Human Values: A Sample of Faculty of Management Students From Turkey

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ABSTRACT

A growing number of studies investigate the relationship between narcissism and political orientation. This study uses an undergraduate sample from Turkey to explore this relation for a relatively understudied population. Given findings that link basic human values to narcissism and to political orientation, we also investigate the possibility of a mediating role for human values in this relation. Leftwing orientation is weakly and negatively correlated with narcissism and with narcissism's self-sufficiency dimension. In multinomial logistic regression, we find that the odds of placing oneself in the extreme right position verses moderate left position increases as narcissism increases. The effect of narcissism on political orientation appears fragile, however, when this relation is controlled for self-esteem, sex, and human values. Among Schwartz's basic human values, tradition turns out to be a stronger predictor of political orientation than narcissism and mediation is supported only for the values tradition and universalism. We find a positive indirect effect of narcissism on leftwing orientation through the value tradition and a negative indirect effect on leftwing orientation through the value universalism.

KEYWORDS

narcissism, political orientation, basic human values, mediation, Turkey

Introduction

Personality as the relatively enduring composition of individual level traits or qualities that influence how we feel, think, act/behave is known to interact with political and economic structures. Findings associating particular personality traits with political orientation (Bardeen & Michel, 2019; Carney et al., 2008; Furnham & Fenton-O'Creevy, 2018; Gerber et al., 2010; Jonason, 2014) are accompanied more recently by a growing number of studies investigating the relationship between narcissism and political orientation (Cichocka et al., 2017; Hatemi & Fazekas, 2018; Lichter & Rothman, 1982; Marchlewska et al., 2019; Mayer et al., 2020; Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006; Van Hiel & Brebels, 2011; Zeigler-Hill et al., 2021). In the meta-analysis by Sibley et al. (2012), openness to experience and conscientiousness were the only personality traits among the Big Five to be reliably associated with political orientation, albeit weakly. The cultural and historical-political contexts have also been reported to be significant factors in the relation of political orientation to personality traits (Fatke, 2017; Roets et al., 2014), and to narcissism (Cichocka et al., 2017; Marchlewska et al., 2019).

Among maladaptive personality traits, narcissism has been deemed an epidemic especially in Western cultures (Twenge & Campbell, 2009). In Western cultures where narcissism seems to be boosted by competitive individualism (Twenge & Campbell, 2009), the rightwing is associated with the relatively anti-social entitlement and rivalry dimensions of narcissism rather than the prosocial exhibitionistic and admiration-seeking dimensions (Hatemi & Fazekas, 2018; Mayer et al., 2020). Critics have argued that Western samples still dominate much of the research in behavioral sciences leading to skewed results that may not be informative of other populations (Henrich et al., 2010).

Turkey, geographically and culturally being in the middle between West and East, embodies an amalgam. In spite of being more collectivist than the West (Marcus et al., 2017), individualism and self-enhancement values have gained support among younger generations. Since the relation between narcissism and political orientation has been little studied for Turkey (Şen, 2019), this study investigates whether and how narcissism and its dimensions are associated with political orientation in relation to basic human values for the Faculty of Management students from a Turkish university who are commonly exposed to Western culture and media while at the same time having diverse cultural backgrounds.

The Construct of Political Orientation and the Turkish Context
Rather than being a stable construct, political orientation reflects fluid combinations of numerous micro and macro level factors. Since the French Revolution, ideas promoting freedom and equality have spread across the world. At the same time, history has witnessed the clash of communitarian and individualistic values regardless of the discourse adopted, whether traditionalistic or (post)modern. Disputes over the credit to be given to the sources of knowledge and power remain a source of conflict while competing views on the principles, means, and practices of the distribution of economic, administrative, and cultural resources continue to give rise to political

clashes. Priorities of individuals and communities as well as the political discourse and practices sometimes diverge, sometimes converge.

According to Jost et al. (2008), the meaning attributed to the political left-right or the liberal-conservative orientations mainly refers to "(a) advocating versus resisting social change and (b) accepting versus rejecting inequality" (p. 128), although depending on the issue considered, both liberals and conservatives might accept or reject social change (Proch et al., 2019). For Turkey, the distinguishing feature of the left is an emphasis on secularism, which in the Turkish context is associated with ensuring that civic and state affairs are not governed by religion. The center right, on the other hand, by embracing a mixture of conservative and liberal worldviews along with a paternalistic attitude towards those with low socio-economic status, has attracted the majority of the votes in multi-party politics (Özbudun, 2006). Notwithstanding the unique characteristics of Turkish politics and the impact of varying perspectives on international questions, including the blurring of left-right cleavages on the issue of globalism versus nationalism (Öniş, 2007, 2009), there appear to be similarities with Western contexts. Dirilen-Gumus et al. (2019), for example, found system justification and social dominance orientation to be associated with voting for rightwing political parties. In addition, the research by Çarkoğlu (2007) suggests that while the rightwing is associated with a preference for state authoritarianism and status quo, the leftwing is "characterized by progressive, tolerant, democratic attitudes with low levels of religiosity and critical evaluations of the economic policy performance of the government" (p. 268). The author claims it is education along with sectarian and ethnic cleavages that predicts political ideology rather than economic deprivation (p. 267).

Still, the political landscape of Turkey is quite volatile. Turkey ranks lower in perceived political stability and absence of politically-motivated violence scores than a wide range of countries including the UK, US; Canada, Austria, Netherlands, Singapore, Japan, Australia, Qatar, and Malta; it is in the lowest quartile among all countries for these scores except for a few years between 1996 and 2018 (Worldwide Governance Indicators, 2019). A further complication is that it is quite difficult to associate particular parties in Turkish politics with fixed political positions across a wide range of issues including economic liberalism versus protectionism, pro-migrant versus anti-migrant policies, religious versus secular arrangements, and centralization versus dispersion of power, among others. Indeed, subject to varying degrees of change in their discourse, practices, and influence over time, a multiplicity of political parties has entered, exited, and re-entered the political stage, while between 1990 and 2011, as Esmer (2012) indicates, a shift from the center to the rightwing occurred (p. 53).

Irrespective of the varying meanings attributed to political concepts such as political ideology, rightwing, leftwing, liberalism, conservatism, fascism, communism, and anarchism, for decades, the relationship between personality and political orientation has been investigated mainly with reference to the authoritarian personality and maladaptive personality traits, with roots in psychoanalytic theory. The Fascism Scale, developed by Adorno and his colleagues (1950), provided the chief impetus and inspiration to this line of research. Studies investigating the link of politics with

individual narcissism (Cichocka et al., 2017; Hatemi & Fazekas, 2018; Lichter & Rothman, 1982; Marchlewska et al., 2019; Mayer et al., 2020; Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006; Van Hiel & Brebels, 2011; Zeigler-Hill et al., 2021) and with collective narcissism (de Zavala et al., 2009; Marchlewska et al., 2018) can be considered as part of this tradition. Yet, the relationship between narcissism and political orientation has been little studied for Turkey (Şen, 2019).

Narcissism and Political Orientation

As for narcissism, the conceptualization of narcissistic personality disorder varies from one approach to another (e. g., alternative schools in psychodynamic approach, cognitive-behavioral approach), while it is defined with reference to a "pervasive pattern of grandiosity (in fantasy or behavior), need for admiration, and lack of empathy" along with at least five criteria listed in DSM-IV that have been kept fundamentally the same in DSM-V (American Psychiatric Association, 2012).

Although the ideal self-image of those with high narcissism might even be one of being tolerant, flexible, and peaceful; low empathy along with high intolerance, rigidity, and aggression may also accompany this self-image. Intolerance, rigidity, and aggression remind one of authoritarianism, since "authoritarians are characterized by a propensity for cognitive rigidity, intolerance, and aggression" (McHoskey, 1996, p. 709). Owing to the studies implying a proximity between authoritarian personality and rightwing extremism, one can expect that the political orientation of those with an authoritarian personality and those with high narcissism might be similar. Indeed, echoing a positive relation between narcissism and rightwing politics, Zitek and Jordan (2016) found that the higher narcissism is the more likely one is to support income inequality and the hierarchy between groups, in organizations and business. However, they also found that the correlation between narcissism and support for hierarchy is positive if it is possible to rise in rank and negative if it is not possible to rise in rank. While it is possible that having central political positions might provide a greater opportunity to rise in rank, it might be also possible that those with higher narcissism might adopt any political position in line with their expectations of having more power, respect, admiration, and status in a particular segment of society, and develop a boosted self-image accordingly. This again implies a diversification of the paths across the political spectrum. It is also possible to move towards the extremes through challenging the established political, economic, and social order at the local, national or global level, for that might satisfy the grandiose feelings of certain narcissists, enabling them to feel more superior than the ruling elites and their supporters.

There are findings relating narcissism positively with conservatism (Jonason, 2014; Van Hiel & Brebels, 2011); with rightwing nationalism (Mayer et al., 2020; Şen, 2019); and with social dominance orientation (Cichocka et al., 2017, controlling for self-esteem in Western samples). These may bear certain similarities with those studies associating extreme rightwing with authoritarian personality (Adorno et al., 1950; Tetlock, 1983), with the caveat that neither rightwing and extreme rightwing nor narcissism and authoritarian personality are the same. Again with the caveat that, at least during the last few decades, the extreme leftwing has encompassed

not only those against multi-party democratic procedures but also those in support of participatory and radical forms of democracy, the research relating narcissism negatively with democracy (Marchlewska et al., 2019) seems also to have parallels with those studies stressing the psychological similarities of the leftwing and rightwing extremists (de Regt et al., 2011; Eysenck, 1954, 1975; Eysenck & Coulter, 1972; Greenberg & Jonas, 2003; Taylor, 1960). Lichter and Rothman (1982) found that "narcissism and phallic-assertive orientation each significantly increases the variance explained in radicalism" (p. 222) and Zeigler-Hill et al. (2021) found a positive correlation between leftwing authoritarianism and the extraverted, antagonistic and neurotic aspects of narcissism. Still, several studies (Cichocka et al., 2017; Marchlewska et al., 2019) indicate that the results for the relation of narcissism to political orientation through Western samples are only in part replicated in post-communist Eastern Europe where the relation of narcissistic self-evaluation to social dominance orientation or democracy is reported to be weaker with Polish samples, which might be in part on account of diverse political histories.

In addition to the abovementioned disparities for the relation between narcissism and political orientation, diverse dimensions of narcissism are also reported to be associated with diverse political positions in the West (Hatemi & Fazekas, 2018; Mayer et al., 2020). For a US sample, while entitlement is higher among those in conservative positions, exhibitionism is higher among those with liberal values. These seem to outweigh each other given that as a higher construct narcissism is equally distributed across the political spectrum (Hatemi & Fazekas, 2018). For a German sample, narcissistic admiration is negatively and narcissistic rivalry is positively related to the support for radical right (Mayer et al., 2020). While the exhibitionism and admiration dimensions call to mind an aspiration for the recognition and validation of one's self by means of feeding a self-image through the gaze of others, the entitlement and rivalry dimensions evoke a more aggressive style of meeting one's needs at the expense of others. Therefore, the underlying factors that those with higher narcissism are drawn to diverse political positions might vary. In addition, given the findings that link basic human values to narcissism (Güngör et al., 2012; Kajonius et al., 2015; Rogoza et al., 2016) and to political orientation (Caprara et al., 2017; Duckitt & Sibley, 2010), as well as those studies that suggest a mediation role of the worldview of individuals in the relation between personality and political orientation (Hodson et al., 2009; Van Hiel et al., 2007; Zeigler-Hill et al., 2021), it is possible for the human values to mediate the effect of narcissism on political orientation.

A review by Duckitt and Sibley (2010), for example, reported that rightwing authoritarianism (RWA) is positively correlated with security, conformity, and tradition; and negatively correlated with stimulation and self-direction while a social dominance orientation is positively correlated with achievement, power, and hedonism; and negatively correlated with egalitarian values, specifically with universalism and benevolence (pp. 1866–1867). Caprara et al. (2017) compared a wide range of countries that included Turkey and found that basic values are good predictors of political ideology except for post-communist countries, while left-right (liberal-conservative) self-placement predicts voting except for Ukraine. In general, a preference for right/

conservative ideology is predicted to a great extent by security, conformity, and tradition and to a lesser extent by power and stimulation, while universalism and hedonism appear to predict a preference for left/liberal ideology. According to the authors, the general pattern highlights "that the critical trade-off underlying ideology is between values concerned with tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people (universalism) versus values concerned with preserving the social order and status quo (security)" (p. 402). Yet, for Turkey, only tradition and universalism revealed statistical significance (p. 400).

Since our sample is composed of those students with diverse cultural backgrounds who predominantly receive a pro-modernization education in Turkey where capitalism has been the dominant mode of production almost from the first few decades of the 20th century, we expect both similarities and differences with research using Western samples in terms of the relation of political orientation to narcissism, its diverse facets and the underlying values. Given the characteristics of our sample and given that politics in Turkey has been marked by those cleavages triggered by a pro-modernization project with three basic pillars—secularism, capitalism, and nation-building based mainly on language—the underlying values providing those with higher narcissism a convenient medium for grandiosity might be mainly on account of looking down on religion on the leftwing, and the support for ethnic and class inequalities on the rightwing. Since the nationalist and religious extremes together make the main body of the extreme rightwing, compared to especially moderate political positions, we expect the extreme rightwing to be more appealing for those with higher narcissism scores. At the same time, we thought, this would lead to a positive association of the rightwing with narcissistic superiority, entitlement, and authority. With these suppositions, our study examines how narcissism and its dimensions are related to political positions as measured by a left-right self-placement scale and the possibility of a mediating role for human values for the Faculty of Management students in a Turkish university.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 257 students (123 female; 134 male) enrolled in various undergraduate programs in the Faculty of Management at a Foundation University in Turkey, to which mostly the children of the upper middle-class families from Anatolia attend. The data was collected via an in-class questionnaire form administered in May 2014. The purpose of the study was clearly stated at the beginning and students were ensured of anonymity. Participation was on a voluntary basis. The participants' ages ranged from 18 to 32 years ($M = 22.5$; $SD = 2.31$).

Measures

Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI-16). NPI-16 is the 16-item short version (Ames et al., 2006) of the 40-item forced-choice NPI-40 developed by Raskin and Hall (1979, as cited in Raskin & Terry, 1988). The short version includes items that measure the authority, self-sufficiency, superiority, exhibitionism, exploitativeness, and

entitlement dimensions of narcissism, while no items are included for measuring the vanity dimension. Scores for the Turkish version of NPI-16 used in this study (Güngör & Selçuk, 2015) ranged from 0 to 15 (*M* = 7.1; *SD* = 3.44; α = .74). Convergent and discriminant validities were tested with Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale (Tukuş, 2010, p. 53) and the General Belief in a Just World Scale (Yalçın, 2006, p. 109) respectively, in parallel with the English version (Ames et al., 2006). As expected, NPI-16 scores were found to be positively correlated with Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale scores (*r* = .31, *n* = 234, *p* < .01) and uncorrelated with the General Belief in a Just World Scale (α = .77) scores (*r* = –.10, *n* = 233, *p* = .13).

Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale (RSES). We use the Turkish adaptation of RSES (Tukuş, 2010, p. 53) to measure self-esteem. The scale consists of five positively and five negatively worded items, coded on a 4-point scale (3 = strongly agree; 0 = strongly disagree). The negatively worded items are reverse coded, and the total score is found by adding up the score for each item. A higher total score indicates a higher level of self-esteem. Scores range from 8 to 30 (*M* = 22.45; *SD* = 4.69; α = .84).

Nine-Point Left-Right Self-Placement Scale for Political Orientation. The scale relies on the self-report of participants' perceptions of where they see themselves on the left-right political spectrum. Scores range from 1 to 9 where 9 represents extreme left; 1 represents extreme right; and 5 represents center. We treated political orientation as a continuous variable in linear regression and as a categorical variable in multinomial logistic regression. When used as a categorical variable, the categories are *right4stars* (*n* = 18), *right3stars* (*n* = 13), *right2stars* (*n* = 21), *right1star* (*n* = 15), *center* (*n* = 73), *left1star* (*n* = 23), *left2stars* (*n* = 25), *left3stars* (*n* = 20), and *left4stars* (*n* = 19). As Van Hiel (2012) argues, "the self-placement scale is not a measure of ideology", but a measure of an individual's "general political orientation. Some people may attach high importance to social-cultural issues when placing themselves on the left-right scale, whereas others might consider economic-hierarchical issues" (p. 181). Political self-placement is further complicated by the fact that perceptions of particular attitudes as "extreme" or "moderate" are subject to change over time and across contexts (pp. 166–167). Moreover, even where two individuals vote for the same political party, share similar attitudes and have a similar level of intensity of those attitudes, they may still perceive and report a different political position with respect to each other. Lastly, the Turkish context should be interpreted with caution because, as Yılmaz et al. (2016) suggest, "the one-item political orientation scale commonly used in Western contexts has the power to predict moral foundations even though the Turkish ideological landscape appears more complex and social democracy in Turkey, unlike Europe, emphasizes binding foundations" (p. 560).

Schwartz's Basic Human Values Scale (BHVS). The BHVS comprises 21 items covering 10 basic values. The Turkish Version of the BHVS was obtained from the European Social Survey (2004). We reverse coded the items so that 1 corresponds to "not like me at all" and 6 to "very much like me". In our analyses, we used centered scores for each value as suggested by Schwartz (n.d.) and for all of the BHVS items. The item labels for the facets of 10 basic values are revised from

van Herk et al. (2018): benevolence (helping others, loyalty); universalism (equality, understanding others, care for nature); self-direction (independence, creativeness); stimulation (looking for new things, excitement); hedonism (having a good time, having fun); achievement (being admired, being successful); power (being rich, getting respect); security (safety, strong government); conformity (following rules, behaving properly); and tradition (familial-religious customs, modesty). Schwartz (2001) subsumed the 10 basic values under two orthogonal dimensions: self-enhancement (power, achievement, partially hedonism) versus self-transcendence (universalism, benevolence) dimension; and openness to change (self-direction, stimulation partially hedonism) versus conservatism (security, conformity, tradition) dimension. Self-enhancement and openness to change "emphasize independent action, thought and feeling and readiness for new experience" while self-transcendence and conservatism "emphasize self-restriction, order and resistance to change" (p. 269).

Striving for Justice Measures. We included two items to measure a person's desire to struggle in the face of perceived injustice. One of the items measures the eagerness to seek justice for oneself: "I do not want to struggle against the injustices against me". The other measures the eagerness to seek justice for others: "I do not want to struggle against injustices against the other". We labelled these *justice for self* and *justice for others*. 6 indicates the strongest and 1 indicates the weakest desire to strive for justice.

Statistical Procedures

Statistical analyses were mainly carried out with the IBM SPSS and Stata software packages. To overcome the shortcomings arising from a small sample size at least partially, the mediation analyses were carried out using JASP software with 1000 replications (Delta method standard errors, bias-corrected percentile bootstrap confidence intervals). After evaluating the descriptive statistics and sex differences (Table 1), we present zero-order correlations for our main variables (Table 2) and for the relation between political orientation and the six dimensions of narcissism (Table 3). Using the BHVS items, we also test the association of each human value facet with political orientation and narcissism. Multinomial and binary logistic regressions covering several combinations were carried out to check the relationship between narcissism and political orientation for various positions. For these regressions, the reference categories include individual positions (*right4stars, right3stars, right2stars, right1star, center, left1star, left2stars, left3stars, left4stars*) or combined positions: rightwing (merging right 1-2-3-4 stars); leftwing (merging left 1-2-3-4 stars); left-right extremes (merging *right4stars* and *left4stars*); moderate right (merging right 1-2-3 stars); moderate left (merging left 1-2-3 stars); and moderates (merging all categories except *right4stars* and *left4stars*). In addition, hierarchical regression analysis was used to control for the overlaps among the predictors (Table 4). In mediation analysis, we treat narcissism as the predictor and political orientation as the outcome variable, while human values and their facets are tested for possible mediation (Table 5).

Results

Table 1 indicates that females are more leftwing oriented than males in our sample. On the other hand, males and females do not differ significantly in terms of narcissism [similar to the findings of Jonason et al. (2019) for Turkey; cf. Torgersen (2012) reporting higher scores for males] and in terms of human values except for two. Males have higher scores for the value tradition, while females have higher scores for the value security (cf. Dirilen-Gumus & Buyuksahin-Sunal, 2012). Females also score higher in terms of striving for justice for others.

Tables 2 and 3 suggest that leftwing orientation is negatively and weakly correlated with narcissism and its self-sufficiency dimension. As might be expected, leftwing orientation correlates positively with universalism and negatively with tradition. Narcissism has a positive association with the values of self-direction, power, achievement, stimulation, and hedonism; and has a negative association with the values of universalism, security, conformity, tradition, and benevolence. Being positively correlated with narcissism, self-esteem is also associated positively with self-direction, achievement, stimulation, hedonism and negatively with security and tradition. Universalism is positively associated with striving for justice for both self and others. Striving for justice for others is negatively correlated with power and positively correlated with leftwing orientation and striving for justice for self. Yet, no association appeared between striving for justice and narcissism.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics and Sex Differences for Our Main Variables

	Mean (*SD*)			*t*	*g*
	Overall	**Male**	**Female**		
Political orientation	5.24 (2.205)	4.87 (2.183)	5.62 (2.171)	2.688**	0.344
Narcissism	7.10 (3.444)	7.10 (3.220)	7.10 (3.683)	−0.004	−0.001
Self-Esteem	22.45 (4.692)	22.74 (4.383)	22.14 (5.001)	−1.018	−0.128
Self-Direction	0.31 (0.692)	0.34 (0.643)	0.28 (0.743)	−0.706	−0.089
Power	−0.49 (0.932)	−0.43 (0.949)	−0.55 (0.912)	−1.069	−0.134
Universalism	0.20 (0.670)	0.15 (0.646)	0.25 (0.694)	1.179	0.148
Achievement	−0.16 (0.909)	−0.19 (0.902)	−0.13 (0.919)	0.557	0.070
Security	0.17 (0.755)	0.05 (0.836)	0.30 (0.631)	2.735**	0.338
Stimulation	−0.21 (0.926)	−0.27 (0.931)	−0.14 (0.919)	1.153	0.144
Conformity	−0.45 (1.005)	−0.35 (0.902)	−0.56 (1.102)	−1.608	−0.204
Tradition	−0.13 (0.914)	−0.02 (0.888)	−0.26 (0.929)	−2.118*	−0.266
Hedonism	0.26 (0.678)	0.27 (0.709)	0.25 (0.646)	−.0173	−0.022
Benevolence	0.38 (0.672)	0.36 (0.729)	0.41 (0.605)	0.566	0.071
Justice for self	5.47 (1.146)	5.48 (1.037)	5.46 (1.256)	−0.153	−0.019
Justice for others	5.09 (1.258)	4.94 (1.347)	5.26 (1.137)	2.061*	0.255

Note. g is Hedges' *g* for effect size. * *p* < .05. ** *p* < .01.
Source: Authors.

Table 2

Zero-Order Correlations for Our Main Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Political orientation	–														
2. Narcissism	−.133*	–													
3. Self-Esteem	−.064	.305**	–												
4. Self-Direction	.044	.188**	.183**	–											
5. Power	−.076	.349**	−.119	−.138*	–										
6. Universalism	.200**	−.383**	−.072	−.043	−.419**	–									
7. Achievement	−.017	.425**	.178**	−.027	.223**	−.329**	–								
8. Security	−.023	−.179**	−.143*	−.262**	−.052	−.039	−.029	–							
9. Stimulation	.082	.204**	.166**	.085	.044	−.175**	.030	−.330**	–						
10. Conformity	−.059	−.181**	−.094	−.286**	−.179**	−.019	−.264**	−.040	−.323**	–					
11. Tradition	−.248**	−.292**	−.200**	−.215**	−.246**	−.044	−.307**	.000	−.390**	.238**	–				
12. Hedonism	.112	.158*	.236**	.208**	−.037	−.146*	−.051	−.206**	.215**	−.298**	−.246**	–			
13. Benevolence	.010	−.253**	−.048	−.050	−.283**	.096	−.286**	.039	−.137*	−.100	.112	−.168**	–		
14. Justice for self	.070	.021	.061	−.040	−.108	.169**	−.042	−.010	.061	.014	−.023	−.017	−.051	–	
15. Justice for others	.136*	.026	.071	−.010	−.161*	.205**	.006	−.081	−.078	.053	.014	−.033	.052	.373**	–

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$
Source: Authors.

Table 3

Correlations Between Political Orientation and the Dimensions of Narcissism

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Political orientation	–						
2. Authority	–.088	–					
3. Self-Sufficiency	–.134*	.300**	–				
4. Superiority	–.076	.268**	.397**	–			
5. Exhibitionism	–.100	.343**	.303**	.447**	–		
6. Exploitativeness	–.096	.344**	.333**	.360**	.310**	–	
7. Entitlement	.080	.061	.050	.065	.083	.174**	–

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Source: Authors.

Logistic regression analyses suggest that only extreme right (*right4stars*) versus moderate left ($B = –.192$, $SE = .080$, $p = .016$, Odds Ratio = .825), versus *left2stars* ($B = –.217$, $SE = .094$, $p = .021$, Odds Ratio = .805), and versus *left3stars* ($B = –.228$, $SE = .099$, $p = .021$, Odds Ratio = .796) showed statistical significance. For a unit increase in the narcissism score, the odds of locating oneself in *left2stars, left3stars* or the merged moderate left positions is approximately 20% lower or .8 times the odds of locating oneself in the extreme right position.

As for the associations with BHVS items, there is a positive correlation between narcissism and "creativeness" facet of self-direction ($r = .19$, $p < .01$); "excitement" facet of stimulation ($r = .23$, $p < .01$); "having fun" facet of hedonism ($r = .16$, $p < .05$); "being admired"($r = .43$, $p < .01$) and "being successful" facets of achievement ($r = .22$, $p < .01$); and "being rich" ($r = .30$, $p < .01$) and "getting respect" facets of power ($r = .21$, $p < .01$). There is a negative correlation between narcissism and the "helping others" ($r = –.18$, $p < .01$) and "loyalty" facets of benevolence ($r = –.22$, $p < .01$); the "equality" ($r = –.31$, $p < .01$), "understanding others" ($r = –.15$, $p < .05$), and "care for nature" facets of universalism ($r = –.22$, $p < .01$); the "safety" facet of security ($r = –.18$, $p < .01$); the "behaving properly" facet of conformity ($r = –.18$, $p < .01$); and the "modesty" facet of tradition ($r = –.25$, $p < .01$). Leftwing orientation is positively correlated with the "equality" facet of universalism ($r = .30$, $p < .01$); the "independence" facet of self-direction ($r = .13$, $p < .05$); the "looking for new things" facet of stimulation ($r = .15$, $p < .05$) and the "having fun" facet of hedonism ($r = .15$, $p < .05$), while it is negatively correlated with the "familial-religious customs" facet of tradition ($r = –.30$, $p < .01$).

In the hierarchical regression (Table 4), the predictor variables are narcissism alone in Model 1; plus self-esteem in Model 2; plus sex in Model 3; plus the values universalism and tradition in Model 4; plus striving for justice for others in Model 5. There is a significant increase in the predictive power from Model 2 to Model 3 when sex is accounted for; and from Model 3 to Model 4 when the values universalism and tradition are added. The significant predictors are narcissism in Models 1, 4, and 5; the value tradition in Models 4 and 5; and sex alone in Model 3. These results point to the fragility of the relation of narcissism to political orientation.

Table 4

Ordinary Least Squares Hierarchical Regression Predicting Political Orientation

Predictors	Unstandardized coefficients		Standardized coefficients		R^2	R^2_{adj}	R^2 change	F change	p
	B	SE	$β$	p					
1.					.021	.016	.021	4.623	.033*
Narcissism	−.092	.043	−.144	.033*					
2.					.021	.012	.001	.148	.701
Narcissism	−.087	.045	−.136	.054					
Self-Esteem	−.013	.033	−.027	.701					
3.					.051	.038	.030	6.873	.009**
Narcissism	−.085	.044	−.133	.057					
Self-Esteem	−.009	.032	−.020	.778					
Male	−.767	.292	−.174	.009**					
4.					.156	.137	.105	13.380	.000**
Narcissism	−.106	.048	−.166	.029*					
Self-Esteem	−.034	.031	−.072	.277					
Male	−.545	.281	−.123	.054					
Universalism	.361	.228	.112	.115					
Tradition	−.729	.160	−.309	.000**					
5.					.164	.140	.007	1.891	.171
Narcissism	−.114	.049	−.178	.020*					
Self-Esteem	−.037	.031	−.079	.238					
Male	−.497	.283	−.113	.080					
Universalism	.284	.234	.088	.227					
Tradition	−.746	.160	−.316	.000**					
Justice for others	.153	.111	.090	.171					

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$
Source: Authors.

The mediation analyses found support for the possible mediation of only two values. As Table 5 suggests, when the analysis was done for each human value and their facets individually, we found that the indirect effect of narcissism on leftwing orientation is negative through the value universalism; negative through the equality facet of the value universalism; and positive through the value tradition. However, when universalism and tradition are placed simultaneously as mediators in the model, the indirect effect of narcissism occurs not through the value universalism, but through the value tradition, with partial mediation: the direct effect suggests that narcissism predicts leftwing orientation negatively; the indirect effect suggests that narcissism predicts leftwing orientation positively through attributing less value to tradition (Figure 1).

Table 5

Mediation Analyses for Universalism, Tradition, and Their Facets
(Bootstrap analyses with 1000 replications; non-standardized estimates)

Direct effect	Lower BC 95% CI	Upper BC 95% CI	predictor → mediator	mediator → outcome	Mediator variables	Indirect effect	Lower BC 95% CI	Upper BC 95% CI
— Narcissism → Modesty facet of tradition (MOD-TR) → political orientation (leftwing)								
−.085	−.171	−.011	+	0	MOD-TR	5.507e-4	−.033	.020
Narcissism → Familial-religious customs facet of tradition (CUS-TR) → political orientation (leftwing)								
−.085	−.159	.017	+	0	CUS-TR	1.888e-4	−.015	.020
Narcissism → Equality facet of universalism (EQU-UN) → political orientation (leftwing)								
−.048	−.132	.037	−	+	EQU-UN	**−.034**	−.073	−.004
Narcissism → Understanding others facet of universalism (UND-UN) → political orientation (leftwing)								
−.086	−.183	2.28e-4	+	0	UND-UN	7.69e-4	−.018	.008
Narcissism → Care for nature facet of universalism facet of universalism (CAR-UN) → political orientation (leftwing)								
−.086	−.175	−.003	+	0	CAR-UN	6.78e-4	−.021	.015
Narcissism → Tradition (TR) → political orientation (leftwing)								
−.147	−.235	−.065	−	−	TR	**.061**	.029	.106
Narcissism → Universalism (UN) → political orientation (leftwing)								
−.039	−.130	.059	−	+	UN	**−.043**	−.087	−.008
Narcissism → Tradition (TR); Universalism (UN) → political orientation (leftwing)								
−.114	−.209	−.021						
			−	−	TR	**.057**	.026	.099
			−	+	UN	−.028	−.067	.006

Note: BC denotes bias-corrected.
Source: Authors.

Figure 1
Mediation Analyses for Universalism and Tradition
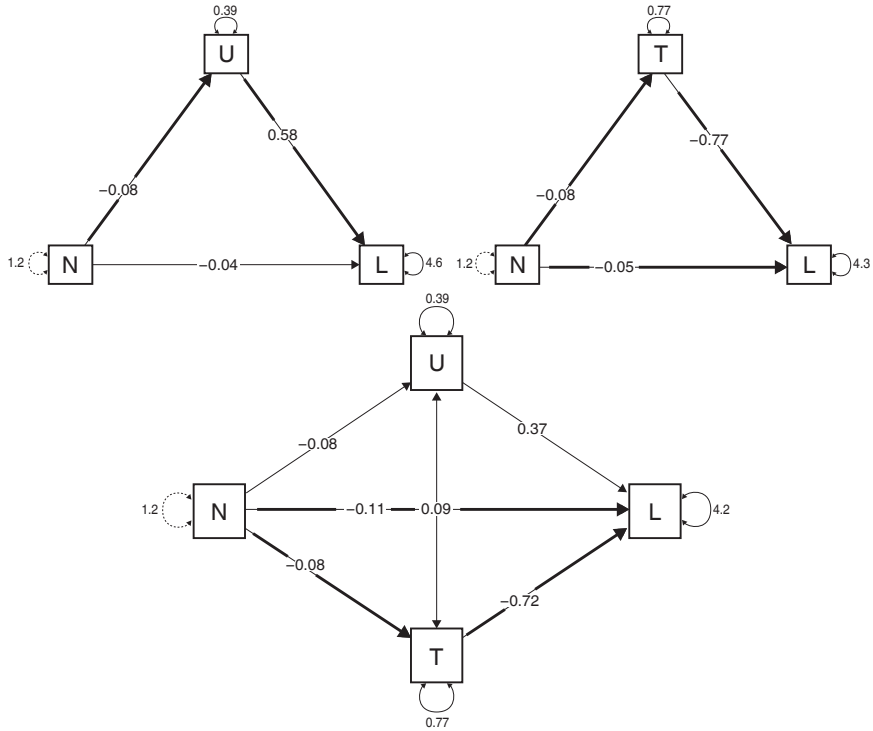
Note. U = universalism; T = tradition; N = narcissism; L = leftwing.
Source: Authors.

Discussion and Conclusion

While the relation of personality to politics has a longer history than the emergence of capitalism and modern state forms, studies investigating this relationship in terms of maladaptive personality structures gained momentum with the rise of fascism in Western Europe. The support given to mono-party politics by Communist political parties led some authors to suspect the presence of shared personality attributes among those backing extreme rightwing and extreme leftwing politics. Subsequent investigations attempted to distinguish leftwing and rightwing politics in terms of personality characteristics. The exploration of the relation of narcissism to political orientation may be considered a further offshoot of this line of enquiry. In Western cultures where narcissism seems to be boosted by competitive individualism (Twenge & Campbell, 2009), the rightwing is associated with the relatively anti-social entitlement and rivalry dimensions of narcissism rather than the prosocial exhibitionistic and admiration-seeking dimensions (Hatemi & Fazekas, 2018; Mayer et al., 2020). Our study explored the narcissism-political orientation link for a non-Western sample of

undergraduate management students from a private foundation university in Turkey who, being trained for the administrative ranks of a capitalist society, are nevertheless highly exposed to Western culture.

Although our study could not support an association between narcissism and the combined political extremes category vis-à-vis moderate positions (cf. Eysenck, 1954, 1975; Eysenck & Coulter, 1972), there are some similarities with mainstream arguments highlighting the uniqueness of the extreme rightwing in its relation to narcissism. Indeed, with the caveat that our multinomial logistic regression results have limited power due to the relatively small number of participants in each category when the political scale is divided into nine categories, the finding that narcissism is higher for those placing themselves in extreme right positions compared to moderate left positions parallels the findings of research that suggest an association between rightwing extremism and the authoritarian personality (Adorno et al., 1950; Tetlock, 1983).

Unlike Western samples associating the relatively anti-social dimensions of narcissism with rightwing positions, only the self-sufficiency dimension of narcissism showed a statistically significant positive association with political orientation (cf. Hatemi & Fazekas, 2018; Mayer et al., 2020; Zeigler-Hill et al., 2021). Thus in our sample, those on the rightwing are slightly more likely to view themselves to be self-sufficient, where self-sufficiency is characterized by the belief that they will be a great person, that they always know what they are doing, and that they are more capable than others. The close relevance of self-sufficiency dimension with self-esteem might be the main factor for the disappearance of the statistical significance of narcissism as a higher construct when controlled for self-esteem in predicting political orientation. Indeed, for our sample, the hierarchical regression results indicate that the positive relation of narcissism with rightwing orientation appears to be quite weak and fragile (cf. Cichocka et al., 2017; Jonason, 2014; Mayer et al., 2020; Şen, 2019; Van Hiel & Brebels, 2011) and the value tradition is a stronger predictor of political orientation than narcissism.

In terms of the relation between human values and political orientation, our results are compatible with Caprara et al. (2017) in that we found statistical significance only for universalism and tradition as predictors of political orientation in Turkey, a result that is not congruent with the findings from Western samples. In addition, we found the "looking for new things" facet of stimulation to be positively correlated with a leftwing orientation, similar to studies relating the personality trait openness with liberal/leftwing orientation (Bardeen & Michel, 2019; Carney et al., 2008; Furnham & Fenton-O'Creevy, 2018; Gerber et al., 2010; Jonason, 2014). However, unlike studies reporting a positive relation between the rightwing and a need for security (as summarized in Cichocka & Dhont, 2018), there was no statistically significant association between a rightwing orientation and security, neither for its strong government nor for its safety facets. Individual mediation analyses for the human values and their facets indicate that as narcissism increases, one might be oriented towards both rightwing and leftwing through lower universalism (specifically lower equality) and through lower tradition values respectively.

In brief, the results for our sample displayed similarity with previous studies at least in part. The similarities are attributable to the rightwing and specifically extreme rightwing orientations, being characterized by higher narcissism. The difference is mainly on account of the associated dimension of narcissism: for our sample, it is not the relatively anti-social aspects, but instead the self-sufficiency dimension that seems to be relevant. Not finding an association unique to narcissism's highly anti-social facets might be on account of the unique characteristics of the rightwing in Turkey, still having relatively collectivist values backed by the Turkish traditions and moderate Islamic culture of Anatolia, when compared to the individualistic rivalry that characterizes especially the rightwing of Protestant samples.

Our sample mainly consists of those coming from upper middle-class families. This means that most participants would have an opportunity to rise in rank through their family network. Since Napier and Jost (2008) demonstrated that the reasons for why those with lower socio-economic status are attracted to rightwing ideology might be different than for others, investigating the influence of socio-economic status would be informative in the future. While we acknowledge that the results that we present has limited generalizability and call for caution in comparing the results with data from other socio-political contexts, we hope it has some explanatory power for a segment of Turkish culture embodying both traditional and pro-modernization values.

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Socio-Demographic Construct of Social Loneliness in Modern Russia

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ABSTRACT

The article examines the theory and methodology behind social loneliness in the family context, as well as empirically assessing the socio-demographic manifestation of this phenomenon in modern Russia. Several factors exacerbating and minimizing social loneliness are presented. A strong emphasis is placed on the importance of families in alleviating social loneliness and on family construct preservation. Using the cluster method, the authors analyze criteria-defined groups from the general sample of an empirical study that was held by the Family and Demography Center of Tatarstan Academy of Sciences (TAS) in 2022. As a result, a conclusion is drawn about factors that the respondents consider to be the most significant in minimizing social loneliness. In this connection, the authors find it important to define the family as a synergistic mechanism for reducing such social risks and assess the risks of transforming the traditional family construct. In addition, the study uses the female subsample to examine the role of gender in the severity of social loneliness. Determining the role of women in the creation of family relations and the transfer of social value-based attitudes, the authors assess the family construct stability and the likely features of its transformation to develop a preventive socio-demographic policy for reducing social deviation and maintaining stable social value-based relationships.

Introduction

Loneliness constitutes one of those concepts whose actual meaning is seemingly clear to the ordinary consciousness. However, such clarity is deceptive since it hides a complex, largely contradictory socio-philosophical content, which is often hard to construct using rational analysis.

Recent years have seen a surge of interest among psychologists in the concept of loneliness. This concept has been associated with both physical (Lynch, 1976) and a range of serious mental illnesses, including alcoholism (Bell, 1956), suicidal ideation (Wenz, 1977), and depression (Bragg, 1979; Cutrona, 1981; Peplau et al., 1979; Weeks et al., 1980). Laboratory studies into the social behavior of lonely people revealed social skill deficits (Jones, 1982), i.e., negative attitudes towards self and others (Jones et al., 1981), unresponsiveness to others in social interactions (Jones et al., 1982), and inappropriate patterns of self-disclosure (Chelune et al., 1980; Solano et al., 1982). These and other studies (Peplau & Perlman, 1982) suggest that loneliness constitutes a significant psychological construct.

The empirical clarification of social loneliness in the family context differs in various countries due to cultural, economic, and housing reasons, which became relevant during and after the pandemic. For example, Japan has produced a number of well-known loneliness researchers. In fact, the scale of the loneliness problem there and its negative impact on the nation's well-being prompted the Japanese government to recommend distant employment as a way to restore work-life balance (Fujii et al., 2021).

Cross-national research (17 participant countries) conducted in order to discover the effect of family ties on loneliness helped to refute some myths: e.g., it is marriage rather than parenthood that alleviates loneliness; however, when occurring simultaneously, these demographic events make people twice less lonely (Stack, 1998). An analysis of contemporary research reveals several areas of social loneliness studies in the family context: (a) loneliness in parenthood (Nowland et al., 2021); (b) loneliness during pregnancy (Kent-Marvick et al., 2022); (c) loneliness in an intergenerational family (Heshmati et al., 2021).

A large number of researchers agree that as a socio-philosophical phenomenon, loneliness is generally associated with the degree to which people are involved in a community of people, their family life, social reality, and macro-social environment (Alwin et al., 1985; Klinenberg, 2012; Putnam, 2000). In this connection, it is vital to understand, evaluate, describe, and analyze this degree of involvement, whose cessation leads to behavioral deviation caused by an increased self-inflicted sense of social loneliness, as well as to the inner (in exceptional cases outward) urge to

enter into social and personal dissonance with the social environment or personal self-organization.

In the modern world, physical isolation does not always coexist with a feeling of loneliness. Most acutely, people can experience loneliness in situations of intense, sometimes forced communication in a city crowd, in a family circle, and among friends. Introduced in the 1950s by the American sociologist David Riesman, the term "lonely crowd" has become symbolic of our time (Riesman et al., 1961/2020). In contrast to the objective isolation of a person, which can be voluntary and full of inner meaning, loneliness reflects a painful personality discord, prevailing disharmony, suffering, and an identity crisis. Painted in tragic colors, the entire world is perceived as insignificant.

The assembly line fashion in which socio-psychological stereotypes (habits, customs, tastes, assessments, and types of perception behavior) emerge deprives people of their individual differences while providing an outward unification of the social environment, which essentially dissolves the community into largely contrasting social atoms.

As people started to realize their connection with the human race, they also discovered pain associated with losing such a connection or even weakening it (Parkes, 2006). This phenomenon has not always been called "loneliness." Having existed for centuries, the full depth of its general philosophical meaning was not always considered, though invariably woven into the spiritual development of humankind.

As a small social group, the family undoubtedly plays a decisive role in personal development, determining the marital and reproductive behavior of each individual. An empirical study conducted by the Family and Demography Center of Tatarstan Academy of Sciences (TAS) revealed that in the modern Russian society, parents discourage their children from early marriages, as well as early pregnancies. In this way, they intend to take a break (also economically) from raising their children while directing their attention to securing stable positions in the labor market. For a large number of individuals, this results in the choice of employment over family formation. Thus, delay of important demographic events can lead to loneliness (Abdul'zianov et al., 2022), while kinship serves as a base for expectations, support, and identity (Mason, 2008).

Traditionally family ties, as well as parent and spouse statuses, have been associated in the public consciousness with social roles that help to alleviate loneliness; however, the contemporary thesaurus of personal development and success is connected with psychic, physical, and financial safety, resulting in the choice of single life. Having a partner and a child is viewed as a challenge and a risk to a person whose primary life goals include a stable, well-paid job, personal life full of hobbies, self-development, etc.

Thus, the social role of an individual in traditional society is very often considered in the family context. In public perception, such a social group a priori provides tools for minimizing the risks of social loneliness, predetermining an opposite feeling—happiness.

In this article, we examine the relationship between the social constructs of family and children in society and their sense of self in the context of social loneliness. The article aims to assess the degree of happiness as a counterbalance to social

loneliness. To this end, the following objectives are set: to determine factors of loneliness; to study age differences in perception of loneliness; to examine how marital and parental statuses affect the identification of family members as the inner circle; to identify loneliness risk groups; to ascertain the degree of fulfillment in social value-based spheres according to the self-assessment of female respondents.

Theoretical Framework

Loneliness researchers have generally concluded that the experience of loneliness can be characterized in two ways (Peplau & Perlman, 1982). On the one hand, loneliness constitutes an aversive experience that is similar to other negative affective states such as depression or anxiety (Hawkley & Cacioppo, 2010). On the other hand, current studies reveal loneliness to be distinct from social isolation and reflect an individual's subjective perception of flaws in their social relationships (Cacioppo & Patrick, 2008; Chudacoff, 1999). These shortcomings can be quantitative (e.g., not enough friends) or qualitative (e.g., lack of closeness with others).

Some studies indicate that "loneliness" is represented by a common core of experiences (Hughes & Gove, 1981). Thus, it is essential to determine what common experiences form the construct of loneliness. An alternative view (primarily sociological) holds that loneliness can be divided into two or more qualitatively different types (Hortulanus et al., 2005; Yang, 2019). According to this theoretical point of view, the construct of loneliness is exclusively subjective, i.e., the subjective experiences of loneliness differ from person to person.

Social loneliness studies adopt a large number of approaches. For example, existential psychology (Moustakas & Moustakas, 2004; Yalom, 2014) believes loneliness to be inherent in human nature. The existentialist Moustakas defines the "vanity of loneliness" as a system of defense mechanisms, stating that "true loneliness" arises from the awareness of the "reality of a lonely existence." Another representative of the existential approach, Irvin Yalom, emphasizes that lonely existence is preceded by some borderline life situations, such as death, life shocks, and tragedies experienced by an individual alone. In existential philosophy, the concept of conflict is adopted to define an individual's relationship with the objective world, with existentialists focusing on the underlying causes of loneliness in the context of an individual's existence (Berdyaev, 1949/2021; Dahlberg, 2007; Sartre, 1946/2007). According to the psychoanalytic approach within the neo-Freudian paradigm, certain childhood events and experiences can lead to loneliness (Fromm-Reichman, 1990; Smirnova, 2010; Sullivan, 2001; Zilboorg, 1938). Proceeding from this idea, Gregory Zilboorg distinguishes between the concepts of loneliness and solitude, considering the former as inescapable, with its causes arising from the personality, and the latter to be a normal state.

Humanistic sociology (person-centered approach) views loneliness as a consequence of some external impact on the personality (Hjelle & Ziegler, 1992; Rogers, 1942/2007); according to Carl Rogers, loneliness manifests itself as poor adaptability of the personality. According to the socio-psychological approach (Riesman et al., 1961/2020), society causes loneliness, specifically, by weakening

ties in the primary group, which in turn exacerbates this feeling. It is emphasized, however, that one of the key causes of loneliness lies in the tendency to focus on others: striving to be liked by others, people adapt to circumstances while losing their identity, to which David Riesman refers as a "lonely crowd."

The cognitive approach focuses on the discrepancy between the social and individual experience of the individual (Peplau & Perlman, 1982; Perlman & Peplau, 1980). Some approaches consider loneliness as a part of a broader concept: e.g., Erich Fromm (1956) identified consumer society as a cause of loneliness. Karen Horney (1994) developed a psychosocial doctrine of loneliness to comprise multiple factors, including the problems of modern families. Using an integrative model of loneliness, W. Sandler and T. Johnson (1980) examined this phenomenon in the context of relationships and human connections, considering the inner world of a person to be a dynamic process determined by certain experiences. Having a certain potential, people must realize it by determining their place in the world at all levels and establishing the number of connections it requires in each case. The problem of loneliness comes down to determining the characteristics of interpersonal relationships, specifically in the family as a small group. Changes in such a phenomenon as social loneliness lead to the transformation of interactions, including within small social groups, as well as to the transformed understanding of the family as a social unit.

Several theories consider loneliness as part of a broader social problem (e.g., Perlman & Peplau, 1980); however, minor factors are found to be essential in exacerbating social loneliness in society (e.g., Fromm, 1956). A large number of researchers turn to the family level to identify the origins of this social deviation. According to Karen Horney (1994), social autonomy at the family level, furthers the development of social autonomy among the members of society. Loneliness is a recurring theme in modern philosophical, psychological, and sociological literature. As the "plague of the 21st century," loneliness calls for serious reflection from the perspective of various social science disciplines, which must correlate with the general interpretation of loneliness in history and culture.

In contrast to social loneliness and associated exacerbating factors, researchers study the phenomenon of happiness as subjective well-being. For example, R. Shamionov (2008) defines subjective well-being as an individual's attitude to his personality, life, and processes, i.e., the degree of satisfaction, while all the concepts of psychological well-being that are similar in meaning are defined as "happiness". All this characterizes the feeling of satisfaction. The concepts of psychological well-being that are similar in meaning include the concepts of "optimism," "happiness," and "life satisfaction." Most studies treat subjective well-being as synonymous with happiness (Bartram, 2012; Cieslik, 2017).

As Iu. Povarenkov (2005) maintains, professional happiness is the highest expression of professional identity. In this connection, the well-being of women and the sense of fulfillment can be defined as "happiness," yet another question to be explored here is what determines a person's degree of "good life," sense of fulfillment, as well as social and personal well-being.

In this connection, the methodological objectives of this study are as follows: to examine the theory behind social loneliness; to identify the social factors of an individual's involvement in small and large communities; to evaluate self-identification with community involvement; to establish the system of individual's social interactions; to identify the empirical features of self-identity formation in the context of an assessment trend within the range of social loneliness to happiness.

Methodology of Empirical Research

Ideologically and conceptually, this 2022 study was inspired by the involvement of the present authors (as staff at the Family and Demography Center of TAS) in a scientific study of the family and demographic problems at the levels of the region and the Volga Federal District, as well as in all-Russian scientific and practical social work with various social categories (married couples with and without children, social groups who have never been married and have no children, parents deprived of parental rights, divorced with or without children, young people considering whether to start a family of their own). As the pilot pool for studying opinions about loneliness, we used round table discussions held by the Civic Chamber of the Russian Federation in conjunction with specialized non-profit public organizations dealing with the social problems of families, such as *Pod Krylom Sem'i* [Under the Wing of the Family], *Soiuz Ottsov* [Union of Fathers], etc.

In terms of methodology, the focus was on identifying the social component, context, and prerequisites of the individual's self-identification. Since the goal was to find the common characteristics of loneliness for different social groups, as opposed to some specific aspects that are the focus of psychological research, a conventional social survey was chosen as a method for data collection. All participants were informed about the purpose of the study and gave their consent to the impersonal generalized processing of the obtained data. The present researchers assured the survey participants that they would be informed about the study results. The analytical processing of these materials became the basis for the development of thematic sections comprising a questionnaire. Implemented using an online Google form, the questionnaire survey was conducted with the support of designated NGOs, other organizations keeping close ties with the Family and Demography Center of TAS, and volunteers by sending a link to complete the survey online. The analysis of obtained results revealed a 20% rejection rate, which is attributed to the failure to answer open-ended questions asking the respondents to define loneliness. The obtained results were processed in Excel with the construction of one-/two-dimensional and cluster tables.

The selected empirical research tool (questionnaire) was presented in electronic form (Yandex forms); it included 20 questions comprising multiple choices with the opportunity to supplement the answer with their own ideas. The study included answers from 1,350 respondents aged 18–60 years. Geographically, this sample was represented by almost all Federal Districts of the Russian Federation, primarily determined by the territories of big cities: Moscow, St. Petersburg, Volgograd, Arkhangelsk, Yekaterinburg, Novosibirsk, Tomsk, Irkutsk, Khabarovsk, etc. With the

general population amounting to 91,448,000 people, the sample is representative at a 95% confidence interval (384 people). The obtained sample is continuously random in nature, defined as nested at the last stage according to the age criterion.

An empirical clarification of social loneliness and happiness relies on both the network graphs of interpersonal communication and the index method, proposed in the present authors' interpretation as a tool for numerically comparing different social situations of an individual's involvement in social groups.

The following primary methods were used in the empirical data analysis: econometric methods of sociological analysis; determination method; factor analysis; methods for building paired and multiple linear regressions having normal and log-normal distribution drawing on panel data with the assessment of descriptive statistics; principal component method.

Results

One thousand and fifty people participated in the study, with slightly more than half represented by the male population. In terms of age distribution, the modal group comprises people aged 36–45 years (37.5%). Every second respondent has a higher education, with the study participants mostly considering their income level to be average (43.3%). When asked about their inner circle, 35.9% chose the option "my husband (wife), children, and I," while a large share selected the option "my parents and I" (30.1%). The respondents consider the creation of a family to be the primary goal of marriage (65%). Overall, 45.6% of the participants maintain that they never feel lonely.

An analysis of the survey results revealed four factors of loneliness, three of which will be categorized as social: unfulfillment in terms of the family and children, unfulfillment in the professional sphere, and most importantly, lack of self-realization defined by an individual predisposition to this state, which is primarily socio-psychological in nature (see Fig. 1).

Figure 1
Factors of Loneliness

(a) caused by family → family-related
(b) lack of family → no family
(c) lack of children → no children
(d) caused by self-realization → lack of self-realization
(e) lack of favourite work → no favorite occupation
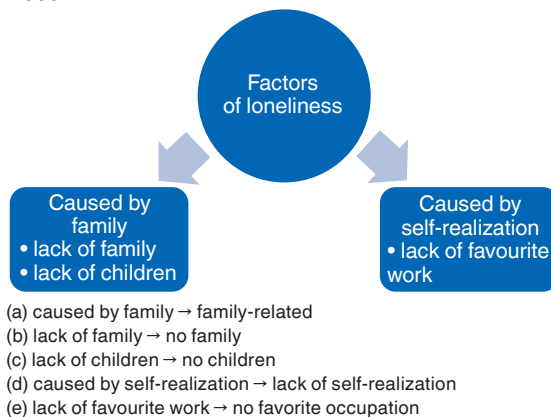
Note. Source: Authors.

Differentiation of the Sample Into Criteria-Based Groups
According to the differentiation criterion, the answers to the question: "Why are people lonely?" (see Fig. 2) revealed four dominant groups in accordance with the selected options: "personal predisposition" (43% of the total sample); "no children" (11%); "no favorite occupation" (20%); "no family" (12%).

Figure 2
Why are People Lonely? (%)
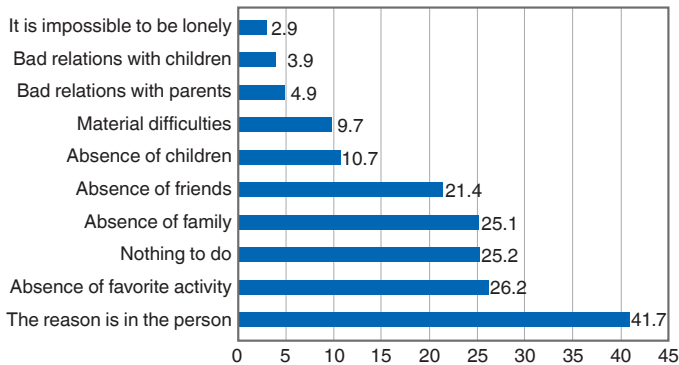
(a) material difficulties → financial difficulties
(b) absence of children → no children
(c) absence of friends → no friends
(d) absence of family → no family
(e) absence of favorite activity → no favorite occupation
(f) the reason is in the person → personal predisposition
Note. Source: Authors.

The first group, which determined that the causes of loneliness should be sought in the person himself, is the most numerous, 51% of which are men, 30% are people at the age of "26–35 years" and another 23% are at the age of "36–45 years", slightly less than half of this group have higher education (44%), every fourth representative of this group defines their level of income as "enough for me" (24%), another 21% define their income as "below average", every third of describes the groups as "me, my husband (wife), children" (27%), another 16% defined their inner circle as "me and my husband (wife)", that is, half of the representatives of this group do not define family as their inner circle, children, while these are usually people of active reproductive age, both men and women equally. 56% of the representatives of this group define the purpose of marriage as "creating a family", 53% of the respondents in this group never feel lonely, 27% noted that "sometimes" they still feel loneliness, 44% of the representatives of this group consider material security as a criterion of well-being.

The first group represented by 42% of the total sample comprises people who consider loneliness to be a personality characteristic unrelated to the surroundings and social ties, i.e., a self-inflicted state, to which the person is predisposed. This group does not exhibit any gender peculiarities (51%—men, 49%—women). However, the survey statistics reveal a steady trend for young adults (30% are 26–35 years old) and middle-aged people (23% are 36–45 years old) to find reasons for loneliness in

themselves. Slightly less than half of this group have higher education (44%). Every fourth representative defines their level of income as "enough for me" (24%), while 21% consider it to be "below average." Every third respondent describes their inner circle as "my husband (wife), children, and I" (27%), while 16% define it as "my husband (wife) and I." Also, 56% of this group representatives consider the "creation of a family" to be the primary goal of marriage. These are usually people of active reproductive age (both men and women; the paradox is, however, that despite being married and having children, half of this group representatives do not define the family as their inner circle (Fig. 3). In addition, 44% of this group representatives consider material security to be a criterion of well-being. Of note is that the respondents generally do not perceive loneliness negatively, treating it as a temporary part of life.

Figure 3

Loneliness in Married Couples Due to Individual Predisposition
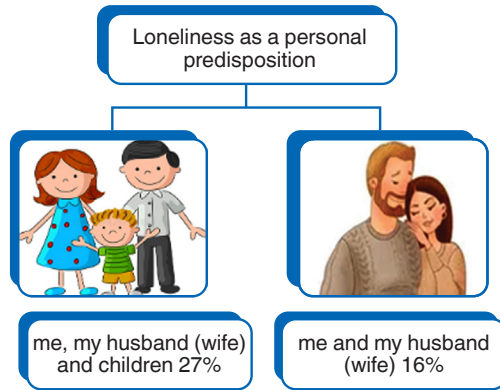
(a) me, my husband (wife), and children 27% → my husband (wife), children, and I—27%
(b) me and my husband (wife) 16% → my husband (wife) and I—16%

Note. Source: Authors.

Thus, the question is whether marriage can save people who created their own family units from feeling lonely. While 27% of respondents note that they still feel loneliness "sometimes," 53% of this group representatives never feel lonely. It is not our intention to make judgments and conclusions about the general benefits and drawbacks for society. However, noteworthy is that having a family is a lot like running a company—every member has to contribute in order to work as a team. A hefty 75% of marriages arise from the desire to avoid loneliness and to be with the loved one (81%—women vs. 64%—men). When the needs of one of the marriage partners are not satisfied, the feeling of loneliness appears, which can lead to divorce. In this situation, 42% of respondents would not keep the family together for the sake of their children. That is how the concept "to be lonely in a family" emerges.

The second group primarily aged 36–45 years comprises representatives who selected "no children" as a loneliness factor (only one in ten of the total sample). These adults mostly have a higher education (73%) and consider their income to be "average" (54%). In 27% of cases, respondents chose the "children and I" option as their inner

circle. When asked about the goal of marriage, 26% of people say that they see no point in getting married. While 45% of them feel lonely sometimes, the majority of this group (64%) consider material well-being to be their life goal.

The third group (20%) consists of respondents who chose "no favorite occupation" as a probable reason for loneliness in society. These are primarily the representatives of two age groups: 26–35 years old (30%) and 36–45 years old (35%). In 55% of cases, the respondents have a higher education, while 45% have a secondary vocational education. Every second representative of this group considers their income to be average (45%). Although they believe that the creation of a family is the primary goal of marriage (50%), 65% of this group representatives note that they feel lonely "sometimes."

The fourth group (12%) comprises those who chose the "no family" option as the probable cause of loneliness in society. These are predominantly male respondents (67%) aged 36–45 years (42%) that have a secondary vocational education (67%). Every third of these adults consider their income level to be below average (34%) and their inner circle to be "my parents and I" (35%). While clearly being aware of the fact that marriage is meant for creating a family (67%) and often (30%) feeling lonely, in contrast to the above groups, they seldom consider the level of material security as a significant well-being criterion (17%).

According to the presented distribution, three groups are at risk of social loneliness (Fig. 4): married couples aged 36–45 years without children; unmarried men aged 36–45 years having a secondary vocational education; unmarried women aged 36–45 years with children.

Figure 4

Loneliness Risk Groups
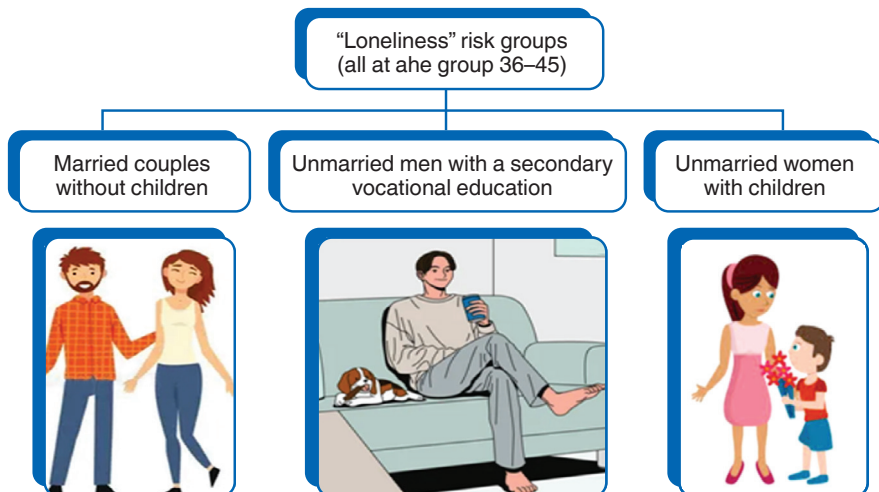
(a) married couples without children
(b) unmarried men with a secondary vocational education
(c) unmarried women with children

Note. Source: Authors.

Despite a general public perception of significance underlying the traditional family construct, stable social trends indicating the personal criteria-based unawareness of what well-being implies emerge through marriage, family, and childbearing, with the role of childbearing being particularly under-recognized. In many cases, a frequent feeling of loneliness is noted; however, in the absence of a clear message about social reproductive and marital behavior, the personal reasons for such loneliness are attributed to entirely different factors or may not be apparent in one's life attitudes, obscured by other life criteria.

Loneliness in the Construct of Women's Social Environment

As part of the study, we will identify the features of the female thesaurus according to the criteria of family and reproductive behavior. The obtained results will help to ascertain the key factors in the formation of the family and female reproductive behavior, as well as to determine how the family is reflected in the structure of value-based attitudes adopted by modern women.

At the time of the survey, almost half of the women were married (46%), 37% had never been married, 11% were divorced, and 4% were in a cohabiting relationship. In the presented sample, two marital statuses are predominant among women: "married" and "never married." A stable family thesaurus can be ascertained only for half of the women: the rest develop their family values outside of marriage, within a single-life context.

Of those who were not married at the time of the survey, about 55% are still going to get married, 26% have no such intention, and 20% found it difficult to answer. Thus, using the focus on family values as a criterion, the following three groups can be distinguished: "family-oriented" "singletons," and "those in doubt."

Marriage registration does not constitute an integral part of entering into a relationship; rather, premarital cohabitation is considered to be an important step prior to marriage registration, which enables the couple to determine whether they are compatible (47%). For a mere 5% of respondents, the birth of a child can also be a reason for marriage registration.

Most women note the desire to be with someone they love and not to feel lonely as their main reason for getting married.

The correlation estimates of three factors studied in the survey regarding the process of forming a family thesaurus (namely, marital status, factor of marriage, and marriage registration) allow the following conclusions to be drawn. A stable positive correlation is observed between the decision to marry and registration (0.63), as well as an extremely weak negative correlation between the existing marital status and the factor of marriage registration, for the reason that the decision to register a marriage is associated with the very fact of marriage. Also, a weak, yet positive, correlation is noted between the marital status factor and the factor of matrimony. Despite the fact that about 37% of respondents were unmarried at the time of the survey, it is possible to assume that they have no strong desire to get married.

General estimates on the topic of childbirth indicate that the reproductive behavior of women is highly dependent on material wealth primarily acquired through labor.

The level of material pressure associated with the need to contribute to the family's budget prevents women from focusing on higher (including social) motives in their reproductive efforts.

In accordance with the answers to the question "Do you feel lonely?" and general socio-economic characteristics, it is possible to identify several groups. In the sample, 29.2% note that they never feel lonely ("No, never" option). These respondents are women aged 26–35 years who live with their husbands and children and chose "creation of a family" as their goal in marriage.

According to the criterion of "social loneliness," two social risk groups can be identified in the presented sample:

- those who define "children" as the goal of marriage;
- those who define "creation of a family" as the goal of marriage, yet for some reason lived only with children (without a husband) at the time of the survey.

When asked about feeling lonely at the time of the survey, both group representatives chose the "often" option; however, in terms of the entire sample, this is just 7.3% of respondents. Nevertheless, such social markers point to the fact that social dissonance between what is expected and what happens is a contributing factor in the social destruction of women (specifically, the increased social loneliness).

Women do not tend to see loneliness as a matter of social dissonance related to marital or reproductive behavior. Every third respondent (36.5%) attributed loneliness to personal characteristics, while 26.8% noted "no favorite occupation" as the reason for loneliness. These data emphasize the importance of both the social identification of women in the social sphere and their social inclusion, but according to the criterion of social significance rather than the family or reproductive role of women.

For women, the criteria defining a "good life" include health (70.7%), family (56%), material security (53.6%), and children (26.8%). Arranged in decreasing order of importance in the respondents' answers, the indicated responses nevertheless reveal that women value the material side of their lives, the family, their health, and, to a lesser extent, children. Nearly every second person is optimistic about the future, i.e., views it "with hope and optimism" (48.7%).

When determining prerequisites for the formation of social perception and self-identification in women, it is also imperative to consider their families. Approximately half of the respondents noted that they have normal relations with their parents (48.8%).

Recalling their childhood, respondents noted that they spent most of their free time with "friends," "siblings," "parents," and "grandparents."

The respondents also mention their childhood while recalling the time when they did not feel lonely: "with the parents" (31.7%), followed by the options "in a family circle with a husband and/or children" (29.2%) and "among friends" (26.8%).

When determining the success criteria for their current life and noting what they have already achieved, the respondents chose the following options (in order of decreasing importance):

- I have a family (53.6%);
- I have people who understand me (51.2%);

- I have a trusting relationship with my children (41.4%);
- I am healthy (38.5%);
- I have a good relationship with my parents (39%);
- I have many friends (14.6%).

According to the respondents, they lack:

- material well-being (51.2%);
- health (31.7%);
- faithful friend (14.6%);
- housing (14%);
- children (7.3%).

The respondents were also asked to select an option best reflecting their state at the time of the survey. Among those selected, the most popular include

- I need support from my children (51.2%);
- I consider myself self-sufficient (26.8%).

As reported by the respondents, the distribution of loneliness estimates on a five-point assessment scale is as follows (where 5 points—feeling of maximum loneliness and 1 point—absence of loneliness):

1 point—34.1%;

2 points—19.5%;

3 points—29.2%;

4 points—2.4%;

5 points—7.3%.

Thus, the answers are predominantly distributed from 1 to 3 points (in particular, 1 and 3).

Over half of the respondents (53.6%) noted that they sometimes turn to others for help, while 26.8% reported that they prefer not to rely on others.

Defining loneliness, the respondents give the following characteristics and definitions: "sad;" a state when there is "no support;" a state of emptiness; the absence of loved ones; when no one is around; when you are rarely remembered; when there is no one to confide in; etc. When defining the concept of happiness, respondents identify it with a state of self-sufficiency, health, time spent with your family, and situations when everything is going well.

Happiness Index

Considering social loneliness in the context of women's marital and reproductive behavior, significant factors can be identified that provide us with avenues to reduce such a social and personal deviation. In general, the factor system for minimizing social loneliness in women is expressed through their fulfillment (both personal and social) in three main social value-based spheres: professional (public), marital (family), and reproductive (children). In self-assessments, the significance and consistency of involvement are distributed from the professional through marital to reproductive spheres. In this connection, women define social loneliness as the lack or absence of fulfillment in one (or several) of the presented spheres. In contrast to this definition, the concept of happiness, as a state of satisfaction in relation to the research categories,

is a state of complete fulfillment in the presented social value-based spheres. All the categories are socially valuable and, therefore, subjective.

According to the study results, the term "women's happiness" can be interpreted as the fulfillment of women in a system of interrelated social value-based spheres: professional, marital, and reproductive.

In this connection, in addition to trying to assess the degree of happiness as a counterbalance to social loneliness, it is proposed to use the happiness index defined as the degree of fulfillment in the specified spheres as per women's self-assessments. This index is evaluated by means of a three-step measurement scale, where 0 means absolute social loneliness and 3 denotes absolute happiness (Table 1). Each point corresponds to the degree of fulfillment in women in the corresponding social value-based sphere on a 100 percent scale.

Table 1
Three-Step Measurement Scale of the Happiness Index

Degree of reproductive fulfillment	0.34
Degree of marital fulfillment	0.54
Degree of professional fulfillment	0.56
Total	1.44

Note. Source: Authors.

For the subsample, the general happiness index is estimated at 1.44, which, according to self-assessments, is largely determined by insufficient reproductive fulfillment (0.34), family and marital fulfillment (0.54), as well as professional fulfillment (0.56). However, while the pressure of fulfilling one's potential remains high in the professional sphere, it is much less significant in the marital and reproductive spheres of the social value-based system under consideration.

Of note is that the index should be considered in dynamics (not as an absolute indicator) as a means of estimating trend changes over time or for comparing age, social, and regional groups. When differentiating between the social value-based spheres under consideration, it is essential to introduce socially accepted criteria as a way to ascertain the inclusion of women in these spheres, including to ensure the comparability of assessments, e.g., over time or for a priori culturally or religiously diverse societies where the traditionally transmitted values of women's social roles have a given degree of significance.

Discussion

The study provides an insight into the emerging family and reproductive behavior preferences, which are characterized by increased social autonomy both for men and women. As evidenced by the desire of individuals to marry and have children, the problem of social loneliness is clearly reflected in the thesauri of both sexes; yet, with the significantly delayed age of marriage, social autonomy is characterized by a certain level of adaptation.

Loneliness can be viewed as a consequence of external influence on the personality, manifesting itself as poor adaptability of the individual. Partially defining the external social construct, this study determines the mechanisms of interaction between the individual and society in the context of social autonomy.

Psychosocial doctrines on loneliness comprise multiple factors, including problems of the modern family, with regard to which the conclusions of the study are primarily drawn and the typical constructs of families in the gender context are formed. Future work could attempt to define an integrated model of loneliness, drawing on the main findings of the study.

Conclusion

The study reveals no direct correlation between the respondents' social involvement, inner social fulfillment, as well as family and reproductive fulfillment.

The answers indicate no strong focus on the social role of women as wives and mothers. Also, the respondents expressed general concern about their financial situation, which, according to the respondents, constitutes a significant factor in the formation of families and the birth of children. In addition to their own health, women are also concerned about the health of their loved ones.

In accordance with the general motivation system, such a distribution of answers may indicate the insufficient satisfaction of such basic needs in women as material well-being, life stability, and health. This fact does not allow women to rationally move up the motivational pyramid while defining the social component (family, marriage, and children) as the dominant motivation in their future life.

The noted high expectations of women in relation to their children, as well as the strong desire to have their support, underlie the problem of intergenerational misunderstanding and/or the fear of its onset. In relation to their own parents, the respondents note the preservation of normal relations, which also prevents women from perceiving family-related factors, marriage and childbearing, as dominant motivation in their current lives. As a result of the basic motivational inadequacy to fulfill the social role of the wife and the mother, as well as the threat of motivational dissonance from the husband and particularly children, women are further demotivated to accept these social roles as significant.

Using the Pareto principle, it is possible to demonstrate the significant role of material well-being and health in reproductive behavior formation. In 80% of cases, the trend characteristics of female reproductive behavior are predetermined by the factors of material security and health. Noteworthy is that material security also comprises a social component of women's fulfillment, but within the context of a working community (team, colleagues, and friends). In 10% of cases, the dominant factor is the internal rejection of the social roles of the wife and the mother as a stable position in life. Conversely, the remaining 10% reflect social and internal readiness, contrary to external social prerequisites, to accept and fulfill these roles primarily due to inner desire and intrinsic motivation.

The findings can be used for assessing social loneliness in the context of marital and reproductive behavior in order to develop social mechanisms for increasing motivation in these spheres; create demographic programs both at the regional level and for the entire society; develop strategies for establishing the family institution, thus strengthening traditional family constructs.

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ARTICLE

Between Career and Motherhood: Factors Affecting Women's Career Trajectories After Childbirth in Russia

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ABSTRACT

The paper puts forward the idea that a woman's class (occupational position) contributes to the formation of certain orientations and values, which further determine a woman's choice in favor of particular labor and life trajectory after the childbirth. The authors follow the career trajectory of women after the childbirth in Russia to determine which women are more career-oriented and which are more family-oriented. For this, "Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey–Higher School of Economics" (RLMS—HSE) panel data from 2001–2021 are employed. Drawing on a six-year period—the year before the birth and four years after the childbirth—the authors construct the sequences of various status changes (employed, unemployed, parental leave) and identify the featured patterns of mothers' career trajectories. The authors also analyze the number of years it took for women to return to the labor market after the childbirth. It is assumed that a later entry into the labor market suggests that women are less career-oriented, and vice versa. Additionally, the factors affecting the decision to return to the labor market earlier or later are evaluated. The results of the implemented analysis (an ordinal logistic regression and a multinomial regression) show that women from the higher class tend to return to the labor market quickly, while women from the middle and working class delay entry into the workforce or refuse to develop a career.

KEYWORDS

career trajectories, attitudes to motherhood, class, profession, childbirth, women, RLMS—HSE

Introduction

In the modern gender literature, issues such as gender inequality (including "the second shift"), work-life balance, and barriers to motherhood have received the most attention (Atencio & Posadas, 2015; Attwood & Isupova, 2018; Chernova, 2012b; Savinskaia, 2013; Tarakanovskaia, 2021). The problem of combining both the roles of a mother and an employee was also raised but mostly in qualitative studies (Abramov et al., 2019; Bagirova & Blednova, 2021; Tartakovskaia, 2019). Evaluations of the motherhood penalty have also been implemented well (e.g., Karabchuk & Pankratova, 2013). However, to date, the problem of a woman's orientation towards career development after the childbirth and towards motherhood have not been addressed. We do not find works in the literature that would provide an explanation about what happens to a woman's work trajectory after the childbirth, or clarify the factors that condition the choice of that trajectory. An exception is the panel study by Ermolina et al. (2016), which examined the employment of women after the childbirth, but the authors analyzed only aggregated indicators and did not identify factors of women's choice of a particular work trajectory.

There didn't seem to be answers to the questions of whether the childbirth actually causes a woman to drop out of the labor market for a long time, which mothers are more oriented towards returning soon, and which mothers prefer to devote themselves exclusively to maternal duties after having a child. This study seeks to answer these questions.

According to the literature, an occupation or class largely determines an individual's social surroundings, sets standards of living and mold values (Fagan et al., 2008; Hall, 2005; Xiao, 2000). We put forward the idea that a woman's occupational position contributes to the formation of certain orientations and values, which subsequently, after the childbirth, determine a woman's choice in favor of the particular labor and life trajectory. That is, for example, a professional job that requires a high level of skills may incline women towards career tracks and encourage them to return to the labor market as early as possible after the childbirth. Thereby we make an attempt to test the relationship between class, which is measured through occupational position, and a woman's employment path after the childbirth. This analysis contributes to answering the question of why some mothers choose career-oriented trajectories, while others focus primarily on the role of the mother.

The Childbirth as a Stage in Life's Trajectory

Russian research demonstrates the prevalence of traditional gender roles in the Russian society and the desire of women to create a full-fledged family, while the commitment to the idea of a child-free is not so widespread in Russia (Tyndik, 2012). The high value of motherhood is also evidenced by the fact that Russian women

are ready to give birth and raise a child even without being married. For many, the absence of a husband or male breadwinner is not a barrier to parenthood (Rotkirch & Kesseli, 2012), and women often combine the roles of breadwinner and mother (Khasieva, 2021)[1].

In Russia, for most, childbirth is not a spontaneous event, but a conscious one that requires a special preparation. Usually, women make a joint decision with a partner to have children (Chernova & Shpakovskaia, 2010), which generally increases the age of birth (Makarentseva, 2022; Tyndik, 2012; Zhuravleva & Gavrilova, 2017). For example, in 2001, the highest fertility rates were for women aged 20–24 years, and in 2020—for women aged 25–29 years. The fertility rate (live births per 1,000 women at a certain age) of women aged 35–39 years also increased (even among the rural population) more than three times, and the average age of the mothers giving birth was almost 29 years old in 2020 (Federal State Statistics Service, n.d.). At the same time the share of children born outside of a registered marriage decreased from 30% to 21% in the period from 2001 to 2020. The shift in the age of birth is primarily explained by the fact that women decide firstly to become well-educated workers and gain work experience, and then to give birth (Chernova, 2012a; Zhuravleva & Gavrilova, 2017). Thus, the expectations of future "falling out" from labor market and fears of future inability to compete in the labor market shift the age of birth (for example, Archangelskiy et al., 2020; Blednova & Bagirova, 2021; Chernova & Shpakovskaia, 2010; Ipatova & Tyndik, 2015; Isupova & Utkina, 2016).

At the moment, Russian women with higher education are more oriented than others to have a child, but they postpone it more frequently and some of them, according to the study by Zhuravleva & Gavrilova (2017), eventually do not have time to implement their reproductive intentions. The study of the life trajectories by Ermolina and colleagues (2016) showed that women with higher education usually stay out of the labor market longer, having the opportunity to be officially on leave with children. Women also tend to be officially employed before the childbirth to be able to receive child care benefits and not interrupt their work experience (Ermolina et al., 2016).

Considering the high opportunity costs and the fact that women do not receive state child care benefits after a child achieves 1.5 years old, many women return to the labor market before the end of paid parental leave (Karabchuk et al., 2012; Karabchuk & Pankratova, 2013)[2]. According to the studies (Biriukova & Makarentseva, 2017; Karabchuk et al., 2012)[3], after parental leave the growth rates of earnings of many women who gave a birth are aligned with the earnings of those who did not give birth during this time.

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[1]   The education, position and income of a husband, in contrast to similar characteristics of a woman, are insignificant for the probability of having a child in the family (Zhuravleva & Gavrilova, 2017).

[2]   While the availability of grandmothers in a household weakly correlates with the mother's earnings (Nivorozhkina et al., 2008), the help of relatives facilitates the entry into the workforce. Zhuravleva and Gavrilova (2017) also show that the presence of relatives facilitates a woman's decision to have a child.

[3]   These findings are aggregated.

In Russia, the level of remuneration of a woman is largely determined by the certain professional field (Roshchin & Emelina, 2021)[4]. The authors have repeatedly attempted to evaluate the contribution of gender segregation to income inequality between men and women. For example, Oshchepkov (2021) showed that occupation impacts the income gap, but the earnings of highly skilled women contribute to narrowing this gap. That is, the incomes of such women can be comparable to men's incomes. Consequently, the costs of staying out of the labor market for highly skilled mothers are higher than for low-skilled ones. This suggests that women of higher-status are more likely to quickly return to the labor market.

It is important for women to have a partner who would be willing to take on the responsibility of a parent (Siniavskaia et al. 2015; Zhuravleva & Gavrilova, 2017)[5]. It is a registered marriage with a man prevails as a preliminary life stage (Chernova & Shpakovskaya, 2010), followed by the expected birth of children. The difficulties of raising a child alone are highlighted in the article by Lytkina and Iaroshenko (2021). Therefore, marriage may also serve as a factor in choosing a certain career trajectory and act as another determinant in the combination of life paths after the birth of a child.

In the modern world the normative expectations towards mothers are also changing. For example, today we can claim that education is a valuable resource not only in the labor market, but also in the family sphere. In particular, qualified women may invest their educational capital in their children, i.e., homeschooling and bringing them up by an educated mother becomes a certain standard of education in Russia (Dorofeeva, 2020). A new norm of motherhood as intensive work is emerging (Isupova, 2015, 2018). However, this does not mean that a woman is oriented to devote herself only to children: a successful woman is expected to combine two roles, a good mother and a professional (Gurko, 2008; Isupova & Utkina, 2016; Magun, 2009)[6].

Child Benefits

Social policy is an important factor of a mother's behavior in the labor market. In this section, we address the legal framework regulating the payment of various child benefits and the peculiarities of state assistance that women can rely on after the childbirth.

In Russia, women can receive different benefits connected to the childbirth and its further upbringing. This aid can be divided into those that is paid to all pregnant and birth-giving women, and those that is paid to women who need additional financial assistance (women whose income level is below the cost of living and whose property status is not excessive). Separately, we can distinguish assistance from the regional subjects of the Russian Federation, which additionally finance

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[4]   The authors also revealed a decrease in the impact of gender segregation on the wage gap.

[5]   A partner's reluctance to have children can also lead to the abandonment of the idea of motherhood to preserve relationships (Duprat-Kushtanina & Lutoshkina, 2014).

[6]   Women with children also show higher rates of life satisfaction than women without children, while the parental leave stage is perceived as the most favorable for women (Karabchuk et al., 2012).

young families[7]. A low-income family can receive both lump-sum and monthly monetary payments, established in the regions of Russia, as well as assistance in the form of free services, benefits, discounts and in-kind assistance (the latter is more often provided to single mothers).

The mandatory payments include pregnancy and maternity benefits; a lump sum childbirth payment (in 2022 it is 20,472 rubles; for women in the Far North the payment is increased by the regional coefficient) (Posobie pri rozhdenii, 2022); a monthly child care benefit up to 1.5 years for non-working citizens; a monthly benefit for a child under 3 years (50 rubles; from January 1, 2020 this payment was canceled, but 50 rubles can be paid to parents whose children were born before January 1, 2020).

The pregnancy and maternity benefits are paid for 140 days of pregnancy (Ob obiazatel'nom sotsial'nom strakhovanii, 2006). Its amount ranges from 63,932 rubles to 360,164 rubles in 2022 (for childbirth without complications). The sum depends on the woman's work history. If a woman's work history is less than six months, she cannot be paid more than the minimum wage a month; working women receive a benefit of 100% of their average earnings (O gosudarstvennykh posobiiakh, 1995).

The child care benefits are paid to both unemployed and employed women with children up to the age of 1.5 years, only the amount of payments differs. These benefits make up 40% of the average earnings, starting from a minimum of 7,677 rubles and not exceeding the established maximum of 31,282 rubles in 2022 (Pension Fund, n.d.). However, if a woman wishes to go to work during her parental leave and retain her right to receive the benefit of 40% of her salary, she may take up part-time employment with a maximum payment of 60% of the full salary. If a woman is entitled to receive child care and pregnancy benefits simultaneously, she must choose only one of them (O gosudarstvennykh posobiiakh, 1995). The parental leave until 1.5 years is included in the working experience (however, if a woman decides to take parental leave until 3 years, it is also regarded as working experience, but not as labor insurance period for further pension counting). A study by Kolosnitsyna and Philippova (2017) found that child care benefits were volatile: there was a sharp increase in 2007 and a drop in 2015. Generally, 2007 marked a new stage in family policy: benefits for children were increased, maternity capital was introduced, additional benefits for low-income and large families, housing assistance programmes were developed (Gurko, 2008; Siniavskaia & Golovlianitsina, 2010).

In addition to mandatory payments, financial assistance is provided for pregnant women and families with low income. Households are entitled to a monthly payment (50% of the minimum living cost in the region) only if a future mother has registration in a maternity hospital.

Monthly benefits for families with children (O ezhemesiachnykh vyplatakh, 2017), or "Putin payments", are provided for the first or second child up to the age of 3 years, its size makes up one regional living cost per child per month. They are assigned for

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[7]   For example, there is the compensation for the purchase of children's goods and food (Gosudarstvennye i munitsipal'nye uslugi, n.d.) in St. Petersburg. As determined by the Government of Moscow, young families with a newborn child in Moscow shall be paid an additional lump-sum benefit. The amount of this benefit is equal to five subsistence minimums established in Moscow per capita (O molodezhi, 2009).

one year and can be renewed[8]. These payments are entitled to parents whose first or second child was born after January 1, 2018 and whose average family income per capita is no more than two regional subsistence minimums for the year. If a third child is born, the family becomes named a large family and it is entitled to additional benefits (subsidies for utility service, compensation for payment of kindergarten and school expenses, compensation for transportation costs, a tax deduction).

In addition to the described benefits, in 2007, a new type of birth support was introduced (O dopolnitel'nykh merakh, 2006), maternity capital, which was addressed to families that had a second child or subsequent children; from 2020 it started to be paid to families with one child. It is a targeted support ("in hands" money is not given; it is kind of a certificate) and it can be spent for certain purposes (since 2011 maternity capital can be also spent on improving living conditions). Maternity capital can be received only once, in some cases, a woman may receive an additional payment due to the birth of the second or subsequent children.

Based on this information, we can conclude that state child support mostly contributes to the well-being of low- and middle-income groups. Similarly, Kolosnitsyna and Philippova's (2017) empirical analysis showed that the share of child benefits in the total family budget had fallen among precisely affluent families. As well, the relative losses in earnings after childbirth are higher for women with a higher level of human capital (Arzhenovskii & Artamonova, 2007; Nivorozhkina e al., 2008). Thus, the incomes of highly skilled women usually drop significantly because of parental leave. Therefore, the social policy designed to increase childbearing rather stimulates the transition to parenthood in lower educated families with scarce economic resources (Siniavskaia & Golovlianitsina, 2010); wealthy women prefer to rely on their own family resources (Popova, 2009). For low-income groups, child benefits are more likely to be a significant aid and it is often a buffer against sliding into extreme poverty. While well-to-do families focus more on the birth of one child (and their income per family member is higher due to this), the recipients of benefits are often families with more than one child (Kolosnitsyna & Philippova, 2017).

Methodology

Database

The study is based on data from the Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey–HSE (RLMS–HSE) from 2001 to 2021 (30th Round RLMS–HSE, 2021). Since the data has a panel structure, we could reveal the dynamics of women's employment status at different stages—before and after the childbirth. Since not all survey waves included a question about the childbirth ("Please tell me, have you given birth in the last 12 months?"), in some cases we took a similar question from the data of the module on female reproductive health, or used a question about the year in which the respondent

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[8]   According to the analysis by Karabchuk and colleagues (2012), the most financially vulnerable persons are women with children aged 1.5 to 3 years, this is a life stage when women can be on official parental leave but do not receive benefits.

expected to give birth (for example, if in 2008 she expected to give birth in 2008, we considered it the year she gave birth). Because the panel component of the sample tends to deplete, we tried to cover as many female respondents as possible and used full samples for each year and then bound them[9]. We did not restrict the pooled sample by a certain age, but checked the age when the women gave birth. It varied from the earliest birth at age 15 to the latest one at age 52 (see also Rotkirch & Kesseli, 2012), which satisfies reasonable assumptions about birth age (but these borderlines were also marginal for the entire 20-year period covered). 2,205 respondents had given birth at least once between 2001 and 2021, this sample was analyzed.

Since we are interested in the career trajectories of women, women with more than three children were excluded from the consideration, as such mothers with many children are rather already orientated towards family values and their life trajectories are not relevant for the questions posed. To reconstruct a woman's career trajectory over several neighboring years, we had to select cases without missing values for several years at once. For 239 of 2205 respondents their employment statuses were unknown for four years after the childbirth, and in the construction of career trajectories these cases were regarded as missing ones. Therefore, the career trajectory after the childbirth was determined for 1966 respondents.

An additional check was made because of the potential bias conditioned by a large number of missing data. The cases of women for whom there were missing data for four years after the birth of their child were considered cases with missing data. This test involved constructing a regression with the dependent variable "missing value" and the independent variables "employment/class status in the year of birth". The analysis showed that there was no significant relationship between the variable fixing "missing value" and the independent variables. Thus, evaluated coefficients should be asymptotically unbiased.

To assess the number of years it took to return to the labor market, the sample was restricted by the respondents who had been employed before giving birth. This analysis was done for 798 respondents. Also, the dynamics of labor activity was investigated: for this we addressed the total sample (2205 observations) and carved out from it those respondents who had data information about employment activity before and after the childbirth. 1104 women had such information. Table 1 shows all the samples under study.

Table 1

The Number of Respondents Depending on the Task Under Study

Total sample	Career trajectories	Number of years it took to return to the labor market	Dynamics of employment activity
2205	1966	798	1104

Note. Source: Author.

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[9]   In different years the number of respondents changed, in 2014 the representative sample size was significantly reduced, which also resulted in the depletion of the panel sample.

Class

The class or occupational variable was constructed using the European Socioeconomic Groups Classification (ESeG) algorithm (Final Report, 2014). According to ESeG, class membership is determined by position in working life and the type of employment relationship. ESeG is an evolutionary development of the earlier European Socio-economic Classification (ESeC). ESeG is based on ISCO-08 data and variables for employment status (in RLMS these are j1 and j11 to define the self-employed). ESeG categories make up a 7-group scheme: (a) managers; (b) professionals; (c) technicians and associated professionals employees; (d) small entrepreneurs; (e) clerks and skilled service employees; (f) skilled industrial employees; (g) lower status employees. These categories can be divided into three classes: higher class (1 + 2), middle class (3 + 4) and working class (5 + 6 + 7). This aggregated grouping was used in our analysis. In the case of the year when woman had no occupational data or was unemployed, her class position was assigned an occupational code of the previous or the year before, which allowed us to significantly increase the number of data under study.

Career Trajectories

Career trajectories were considered as a change or stability of employment statuses over a period of time. Career trajectories were constructed on six years of data: the year before the childbirth; the year of the childbirth; and the following four years. The year before the childbirth and the year of the childbirth could take three values: a woman is (a) employed; (b) unemployed; and (c) on parental leave. The fourth option "gives birth to another child" was also added to the four subsequent years. For each year a class position was also determined if it was available. The final table for the 6-year data (may be delivered online on request) with employment status for each year and cases with missing data in some years includes 504 all possible trajectories.

Table 2 shows the three most frequent trajectories. The most frequent trajectory (128 observations) assumes the employment of a woman with a breakaway for the childbirth and parental leave for a maximum of two years, then the woman returns to the labor market. A similar trajectory (111 observations) is featured by a longer parental leave of three years, which corresponds to the official tenure of possible parental leave. Another common trajectory, but rather lagging behind the leading ones in terms of the number of women (88 observations), is the prevailing status of the unemployed, when a woman is unemployed before the childbirth, and after it she remains unemployed.

Table 2

Three Most Frequent Trajectories

Previous1	Status0	Status1	Status2	Status3	Status4	*n*
Employed	Leave	Leave	Employed	Employed	Employed	128
Employed	Leave	Leave	Leave	Employed	Employed	111
Unemployed	Unemployed	Unemployed	Unemployed	Unemployed	Unemployed	88

Note. Source: Author.

Since the identified trajectories constitute multiple heterogeneous sequences of different statuses similar career trajectories were merged into four patterns. Inside each pattern employment statuses primarily in the early years after the childbirth are similar. For example, if employment statuses predominated during the years under study, then this respondent's case belonged to a career-oriented trajectory. As a result, four career trajectories were obtained (in the cases of missing data, imputation of the most likely value allowed to make a trajectory classification, for example, if it is known that a respondent worked before the childbirth and one year after it, she also worked—we belonged this case to "career-oriented" one). The trajectories are:

- "career-oriented"[10]—this trajectory is characterized by staying in the labor market, women with this trajectory interrupt their employment for the childbirth for a maximum of two years, some of them return to the labor market in the same year that they gave birth (758 observations);
- "propensity to child care"—the trajectory characterized by a woman's long stay in parental leave (three years or more) or the birth of another child (331 observations);
- "unemployed"—this trajectory is characterized by a woman's being unemployed for several years (393 observations);
- "other"—the remaining cases not included in the first trajectories (484 observations).

The highlighted trajectories do not intersect with each other; they are mutually exclusive.

Who Come Back Earlier?

As can be seen from the trajectories obtained, most women come back to the labor market, but they can have different inclinations to develop careers and different desires to realize themselves as mothers. To evaluate the impact of childbearing on the careers it was decided to assess the quickness of coming back to the labor market after the childbirth. For this analysis, the sample was limited by those who had been employed in the year before the childbirth. There were 798 of them in our sample. Of these women:

- 189 women returned in the first year;
- 219 in the second year;
- 224 in the third or fourth year after the childbirth;
- 98 did not enter the labor market during the four years analyzed.

The latter category referred to women with prevalent statuses of parental leave or unemployment, or women whose statuses of leave/unemployment alternated with missing data. We proceed from the assumption that a later entry into the labor market suggests that women are less career-oriented, and vice versa. To assess the factors that affect the decision to return to the labor market earlier or later, two models—an ordinal logistic regression and a multinomial regression—were constructed with the same set of independent variables: class (higher class—reference group) for the year of the childbirth, marriage status for the first year after the childbirth.

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[10]   The assigned titles of trajectories do not impose any subjective motivation of women but simply fix the most typical pattern of trajectory.

The marriage status in the first year after the childbirth was employed as the childbirth could be the reason for divorce or conversely for the decision to legalize the relationship, so that the first year could correct possible adjustments in marital status. Thus, 72 women were single in the year of birth, and 80 of 798 were single in the first year.

Ordered Logistic Regression is used to model a categorical variable with more than two categories and is based on a fairly strong assumption about proportional odds. It is assumed that the *Y*-category is proportionally ordered and the odds ratio on independent variables is constant across *Y*-categories. If $P(Y \leq y_j)$ is the cumulative probability of *Y* to be less than or equal to y_j-category, then the odds of being less than or equal to a particular category y_j or log odds (also known as the logit) is parameterized as the following:

$$\log \frac{P(Y \leq y_j)}{P(Y > y_j)} = \beta_j - \sum \eta_i x_i,$$

where $x_1, \ldots x_n$—independent variables, $\beta_j, \eta_1, \ldots \eta_n$—evaluated parameters, where n is the number of independent variables. Since the model assumes that the odds are equal for each y_j-categories, this increases the statistical power of the model and simplifies the interpretation of the results.

Multinomial logistic regression is used in the analysis of nominal outcome variables, in which the log odds of the outcomes are modelled as a linear combination of the predictor variables. Multinomial logistic regression can be written as follows:

$$\log \frac{P(Y = y_a)}{P(Y = y_j)} = \beta_a - \sum \eta_{ia} x_i,$$

where $x_1, \ldots x_i$—independent variables, $\beta_a, \eta_{1a}, \ldots \eta_{na}$—evaluated parameters, y_j—reference category, y_a—the category for which the probability of event occurrence is estimated, $P(Y = y_a)$—the probability that the dependent variable takes a value y_a, in the relation to probability $P(Y = y_j)$.

Therefore, $c-1$ coefficients correspond to each independent variable, where c is the number of categories. In our analysis the categories are different numbers of years of coming back to the labor market, and for each number of years the different odds ratios at independent parameters are estimated.

The results of Ordered Logistic Regression are shown in Table 3. The odds ratios for the middle and working classes are greater than 1, which means that for women from both classes the odds of delayed return to the labor market are higher compared to the higher class. Women from the higher class come back to the labor market earlier. At the same time the odds of entry into the labor market for 2nd and 3rd class women are indistinguishable, i.e., the probabilities of late coming back for the middle and the working class women are about the same. The odds ratio at husband variable (> 1) suggests that married women are more likely to stay at home with their children and enter the labor market later.

In Ordered Logistic Regression each independent variable has an identical effect at each cumulative split of dependent variable. In other words, the interpretation

for Ordered Logistic Regression results is that for a one unit change in independent parameters, the odds of moving from *"come back in 1 year"* to *"come back in 2 years"* and from "*come back in 2 years*" to "*come back in 3 years*" are the same. But in reality, this assumption can be implausible. For example, the choice between one year and two years is more common for women who are focused on career trajectory, but the choice between two years and three/four years is not the same, it is more common for women with strong maternal orientations. Women start working in two years because the state support period is coming to an end, but entering the labor market in three/four years is the implementation of child care strategy. Therefore, we decided to conduct the analysis with the same variables, but using multinomial regression as well.

Multinomial regression estimates separate odds ratio for each category: early come back (up to one year), come back (in the second year), late comeback (in the third and fourth years), and cases of non-entry into the labor market (early come back—is the reference category). Table 4 shows that there is no difference in the odds of the return within one year or two years for women from the higher and middle and working classes. That is, women entering the labor market after one year are similar in terms of class and marital status to women entering the labor market in the second year. We assume that much of the lack of difference is due to the period of 1.5 years when women stop receiving child benefits and start to prepare for employment. Some women come back immediately and some ones enter the labor market with a slight delay, but before the end of parental leave of three years.

Table 3
Results of Ordered Logistic Regression

	OR	2.5%	97.5%
Middle class*	1.64	1.13	2.38
Working class*	1.59	1.13	2.23
Husband (+)	2.53	1.57	4.10

* higher class is a reference group
Note. Source: Author.

Table 4
Results of Multinomial Regression

	Come back in 2 years[1]	Come back in 3–4 years[1]	Do not come back[1]
Middle class[2]	0.23	0.68**	0.74*
Working class[2]	0.22	0.27	1.03**
Husband (+)	0.34	1.09**	1.67**

[1] "come back in 1 year" is a reference group, [2] higher class is a reference group , * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$.
Note. Source: Author.

The multinomial model also reveals that belonging to the higher class disinclines late entry into the labor market. Compared to the middle class, the upper class is less likely to delay entry into the workforce; compared to the working class, the upper class is less likely to refuse from the employment path. In other words, the odds to prolong parental leave are higher for women from the middle class and odds not to return to the working path are higher for women from the middle and working class. But if a woman has a husband, she can stay at home longer or even does not come back to the labor market at all as odds of later return and non-return are significant and positive.

The dynamics of employment activity was also examined for cases when the data on hours worked per week before and after the childbirth were known (if a woman gave birth more than once, data from the first birth were considered). For this purpose, two-time cutoffs were considered: "before" ($t-1$) and "after" ($t+3$ or $t+4$) years (where t is the first available year of the first childbirth). The employment activity was divided into three groups: (a) full-time employment (30 to 40 hours per week); (b) part-time employment (less than 30 hours per week); and (c) over-employment (more than 40 hours per week).

Table 5 shows that most women (36%) worked a full-time job before the childbirth and continued to work in the same format after the childbirth. There was also a high proportion of women who were overemployed (18%) and part-time employed (18%), and continued to maintain the same format of labor participation. The trajectories involving a compromise to work part-time after the childbirth were scarce and covered 2% women. Based on these numbers, the share of women who switched from full-time employment to a more labor-intensive employment already seemed relatively high—13% women started to work more. 11% of women had reduced their work schedule and decreased the working activity till the working standard hours.

Table 5

Dynamics of Employment Activity After Childbirth

Over→over	197 (18%)
Over→full	121 (11%)
Over→part	4 (0%)
Full→over	145 (13%)
Full→full	392 (36%)
Full→part	19 (2%)
Part→over	11 (1%)
Part→full	18 (2%)
Part→part	197 (18%)
Total	1104

Note. Source: Author.

To visually demonstrate the employment interchanges, we plotted the dynamics of labor activity before and after the childbirth. Figure 1 clearly shows that most women had maintained their employment full-time format after the childbirth and the overflows were mostly the transitions from full-time employment to over-employment, and vice versa. According to the data, we can state that women a few years after the childbirth maintained their labor activity at the same level, moreover a large proportion of women moved from full employment to over-employment. Thus the visual analysis proves that for most women the childbirth is not an obstacle for further career development.

Figure 1

Employment Activity 1 Year Before and 3–4 Years After the Childbirth
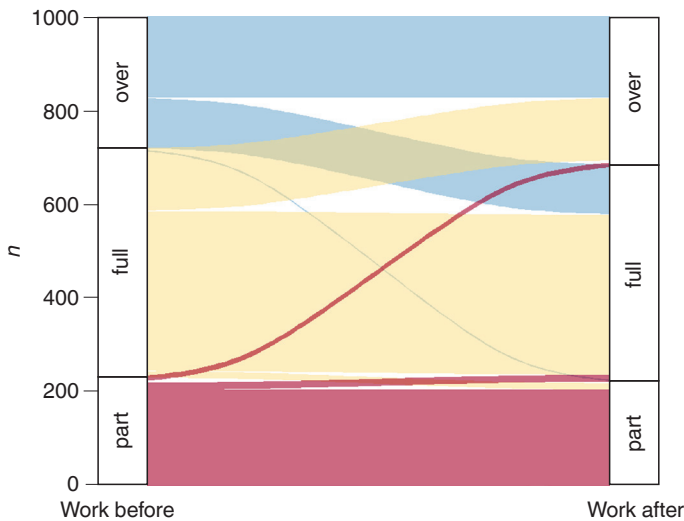
Note. Source: Author.

Discussion and Conclusion

This paper focuses on the career trajectories of women after the childbirth and the related choices between career and motherhood. The main purpose of the paper is to understand what career and life trajectories women choose after the childbirth, and to what extent this choice is determined by their previous professional position in the labor market. The initial assumption of the analysis was that class (occupational group) contributes to the formation of certain values, which afterwards appears as a significant factor in the choice between motherhood and career. Indeed, the empirical analysis showed that career-oriented women are more likely to be from the upper class. That is, although they are young mothers, these women strive to realize themselves in the career field. Nevertheless, it is important to note that in general, most women in the analyzed sample entered the labor market after giving birth, and

a large share of them worked hard, more than 40 hours a week, after giving birth. To a large extent this trend towards overwork may be due to the forced need to work overtime. The data show that predominantly women from the working class tend to overwork, while higher- and middle-class women are more likely to have standard working hours. But the results should also be interpreted with caution, as the analysis has a number of limitations and assumptions.

Firstly, class was measured exploiting the aggregated grouping ESeG, which resulted in a dominance of women from the working class in the sample. The used occupational classes included rather heterogeneous categories of workers with different labor practices, by reason of data limitations we had to resort to such a coarsening. Secondly, four obtained career trajectories to some extent subjectively imposed by the author, a different logic and a different order of building trajectories would have led to a different palette of trajectories. In the highlighted trajectories only, the strongest patterns were taken into account. As a result, some potential interruption in the employment and its depth were not reflected in the trajectories. Therefore, it was decided to turn to the analysis of the number of years it took for a woman to come back to the labor market. This strategy of analysis has greater objectivity and resolves the problem of blurring the boundaries between statuses of parental leave and unemployment.

In addition, it is crucial to take into account factors not considered in our analysis, such as the level of household income and the share of a woman's earnings in the total budget. For example, our analysis showed that married women were less orientated to quickly return to the labor market, which can largely be explained by the financial support of the husband. But this relationship requires further empirical verification, which allows us to consider it in a more detailed way. Neither we did control the employment format (except for employment activity) but as the literature demonstrates many young mothers address occasional and informal work (Burkhanova et al., 2018) or work with a flexible schedule.

We also looked at the employment status of women in the year before the childbirth and focused on those women who were working at that time. Presumably, a prior employment trajectory spanning at least several years ago could also explains a woman's subsequent strategies, both for the childbirth and for post-birth career trajectories. These questions are blank spots in the literature and may serve as an impetus for future articles on the subject.

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ARTICLE

Non-Formal Education as a Resource of Social Inclusion: Intergenerational Approach

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ABSTRACT

This article contributes to a better understanding of theoretical models and empirical evidence revealing the impact of social inclusion of non-formal education on professional and personal development in the context of five generations. Based on the typology of peculiar generations in the non-formal education market, including their interest and motivation, we have identified the differences between the benefits and the barriers to social inclusion in order to overcome social inequalities and digital inequities. Due to the fact that all generations use non-formal education, but its contribution to social inclusion differs from generation to generation, our research questions are as following: What is the impact of non-formal education on social inclusion? How do non-formal education practices differ across generations? The article critically engages with non-formal education as a resource of social inclusion highlighting the low level of inclusion of five generations. To show the specificity of five generations' social inclusion we develop a data collection method including a questionnaire survey of the population based on the typology of generations. As such, the research shows that today inclusion through non-formal education, mobility in the labor market due to retraining, as well as inclusion in new social ties, study groups, adaptation to new challenges do have generational characteristics.

KEYWORDS

intergenerational approach, lifelong learning, non-formal education, social inclusion, typology of generations

1. Introduction

UNESCO defines non-formal education as institutionalized, intentional, and planned by an education provider. The defining characteristic of non-formal education is that it is an addition, alternative, and/or a complement to formal education within the process of the lifelong learning of individuals. It is often provided to guarantee the right of access to education for all. According to UNESCO's *4th Global Report on Adult Learning and Education* (UNESCO, 2019), in almost one-third of countries, fewer than 5% of adults aged 15 and above participate in education and learning programs. However, despite extensive research into non-formal education since the beginning of the 19th century (Dewey, 1897; Knowles, 1950), followed by research papers directly on informal education (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974), by the end of the 1990s, the infrastructure of non-formal education was created in the USA, which includes organizations that make successful business in these types of education. In Europe, this system is approached through the introduction of the paradigm of education throughout life. In 2000, after the Lisbon EU Summit, a *Memorandum on Lifelong Learning* was adopted during the Lisbon Summit of European Council, which postulated, "the continuum of lifelong learning makes non-formal and informal education equal participants in the learning process." In the same place, a vector was proclaimed for the development of a high-quality system of "accreditation of previous and non-formal education" (Commission of the European Communities, 2000). In comparison with the plethora of publications that are available on analyzing social inclusion of different generations in non-formal education, the study presents factors that determine its degree and the peculiarities of non-formal education, identifying its features throughout different generations.

This article contributes to a better identification of factors that determine social inclusion, studying the barriers that cause difficulties in accessing non-formal education. The problem under consideration is undoubtedly international, but we nuance that for Russia it is of particular relevance. Different social groups have unequal access to education, which affects the overall level of social inclusion and integration into society. The research problem is to find the optimal resources for the social inclusion of different generations and to identify the role of non-formal education in the process of inclusion of different generations. The key research question is how non-formal education promotes social inclusion of different generations, what barriers and restrictions in this process exist, what skills are acquired as a result of non-formal education and how this helps the social inclusion of representatives of different generations in different spheres of life. In the study for the first time, theoretical models and empirical evidence reveal the social inclusion of non-formal education on professional and personal development in the context of five generations. A typological picture of peculiar generations in the non-formal education market is presented, including their interest and motivation. Our research questions are as following: What is the impact of non-formal education on social inclusion? How do non-formal education practices differ across generations?

The rest of the article is structured as follows: in section 2 we critically engage with non-formal education as a resource of social inclusion. We highlight the low

level of inclusion of five generations. In section 3 we develop a data collection method including a questionnaire survey of the population based on the typology of five generations. In section 4 we reflect on case studies from Russia throughout the intergenerational approach while making a contribution to the understanding and enhancement of social inclusion worldwide.

2. Towards a More Socially Inclusive Society

The concept of lifelong education has been developing in the world for a long time, non-formal education is a significant part of it. Therefore, a large number of works have been accumulated, which reveal both analytical reviews and cases from different countries, where projects of groups with special needs (emigrants, refugees) are implemented through non-formal education. Although there is a large body of research that has examined social inclusion in non-formal learning and digital inequities, those countries, communities, and individuals digitally left behind or disadvantaged. Whereas we agree with the authors that we know quite a lot about what is lacking and for whom, there is less focus on what works to alleviate these inequalities and divides in a variety of cultural contexts. Foreign authors, linking this concept with informal communication of people through communication, define it as communicative learning (Habermas, 1987). These can be clubs and libraries, cultural and leisure institutions, museums and entertainment centers, joint civic, religious, or sports activities (Mezirow, 1995, 2000). This theme was explored regarding being brought together scholarship on digital inclusion initiatives and research from over 20 countries and in the context of numerous aspects, including different types of initiatives as well as different types of target audiences for these initiatives (Reisdorf & Rhinesmith, 2020). One important finding can be taken from the issue that the breadth and depth of articles presented will be useful not just for academic audiences seeking to broaden their understanding of digital inclusion and "what can be done" rather than focusing on "what is amiss," but also for policymakers and digital inclusion initiatives who are eager to expand and advance their digital inclusion work within their communities. Accordingly, social inclusion based on non-formal education can be viewed as inclusion in various subsystems of society, namely socio-political (the ability to express one's citizenship, participate in elections, local initiatives), socio-economic (position on the labor market, paid work, the possibility of professional development), socio-cultural (self-development, leisure, broadening one's horizons), symbolic subsystem (identity, social status, self-esteem and self-respect, interests and motivation, opportunities and prospects).

Best Practices of Leading Countries
The persistence of inequality in education is a key issue for both research and policy in Russia. Why do unwanted patterns of social grading and disadvantage in education prove so enduring despite decades of research, debate and reform? This thematic issue of social inclusion aims to deepen our understanding of the factors and mechanisms that underlie this persistence by focusing on the multiple interweaving of politics, inequality and social research. One point of view explores various aspects of this interaction,

from the history and politics of statistical quantification of educational disparities to the political implementation of everyday pedagogical practice. Two strategic anchor points emerge from the collection of articles for studying and analyzing existing mechanisms of educational inequality: (a) political and pedagogical epistemological orders, and (b) educational mechanisms that structure educational processes and situations. The ongoing social and political transformations, including the digitization and transfer of data in education and changing forms of governance, highlight the urgent need for further research in this direction (Horvath & Leemann, 2021).

However, not less important is to determine how the level of social inclusion can be estimated. While Reisdorf & Rhinesmith investigation (2020) provides unique insights into what does and does not work in various communities, making recommendations on what could be done to improve the examined initiatives, Benkova & Mareva (2019) compared the average values of three generations. The level of Social Inclusion Index through age divisions was analyzed in the studies of Bulgaria, which is seen as a set of activities, based on the implementation of inclusive practices, the introduction of inclusive policies and the formation of inclusive values. Validation of non-formal and informal education has the potential to contribute to achieving the goals set by the Europe 2020 strategy, as it can contribute to matching skills supply and demand, supporting mobility across sectors and countries and fighting social exclusion (European Centre, 2019). Validation is a common practice when it contributes to the performance metrics of formal education institutions. The pervasiveness of validation practices in formal education suggests that validation in formal education is not so much characterised by rejection or disregard as it is by selectivity and instrumentality (Souto-Otero, 2021). The others observe that countries are increasingly providing opportunities for the validation of non-formal and informal learning in Europe, addressing it as a tool to combat social exclusion and help those unemployed or at risk of unemployment (Villalba-García, 2021). Focusing on the Spanish case, the researchers (e.g., Caparros-Ruiz, 2019) are exerting a positive influence on workers' careers since doctorate holders have a privileged situation in the labor market. Moreover, contribution to adults' participation in different political activities when formal educational background and other socioeconomic factors are controlled is also discussed by Busse et al. (2019). The results underline the importance of differentiated analyses of political participation and non-formal and informal adult education. The benefits of adult learning on labor market effects are examined by Ruhose et al. (2019). Thus, a review of studies of non-formal education shows that it is the basis for active citizenship, it alleviates unemployment problems, and allows to update skills and competencies, promotes employment, which is actually a necessary condition and basis for full-fledged social activity and social inclusion.

A Critical Overview of Modern Classifications of Generations

The specificity of age typology is revealed in terms of different generations demonstrating involvement in non-formal education. They are based on three life stages such as 18–30 years old, 31–50 years old, 51–70 years old (Asmar et al., 2020). The studies of Zhang & Acs (2019) focus on four U.S. generations: Traditionalists,

Boomers, Gen-Xers, and Millennials. There are views (Au, 2020) that articulate how digital media and social networking sites (SNS) shape social life through cultural transformations in the generation. Therefore, we contend how non-formal education is implemented in Russia where this system is still being established. At the stage of formation, it is underfunded and not valid. In foreign analytical reports, age cohorts are considered from different points—some authors analyze them through social, cultural, and economic factors. Obviously, the theory of generations has a number of critical assessments (Dimock, 2019; Parry & Urwin, 2011), where it is noted that within the same generation people demonstrate different personal strategies. Theories relating generations to history and change are few in number (Lambert, 1972). Despite the in-depth American and European researches of the past century (Eisenstadt, 1956; Feuer, 1969; Jencks & Reisman, 1968; Mannheim, 1952; Ortega y Gasset, 1960), a few works of modern authors (Karashchuk et al., 2020; Strauss & Howe, 1997;) follow the tradition. The Malaysian scientists Ting et al. (2018) identify five generations for their country in the 20th century, including Battling-Lifers, Idealistic-Strugglers, Social-Strivers, Prospective-Pursuers, and Neoteric-Inheritors. Thus, there is experience in studying non-formal education for representatives of different social groups and generations, but the trends of learning, the inclusion of five generations in non-formal education and the potential for social inclusion due to non-formal education are not sufficiently disclosed. Considering non-formal education as a part of social inclusion our study focuses on generational inclusion, the peculiarities of non-formal learning of different generations and their differences. The methodological framework of our study reveals through the intergenerational approach. This approach identifies the factors of inclusion in non-formal education, barriers and limitations that are associated with the characteristics of different generations. This time frame allows us to see the possibilities of inclusion of five generations as levels of social inclusion (see Table 1).

Generational change occurs approximately once every 25 years. Generations differ in their values, features of socialization, attitude to work and education. In accordance with the objectives of the study, we relied on the typology of American researchers W. Strauss & N. Howe, while analyzing the data, we used the age limits and generation names proposed by them.

Table 1

The Key Theories of the Generations' Typology

W. Strauss & N. Howe	M. Prensky	V. V. Radaev
Generation Z/Centennials (2005 and until now)	Digital Natives	Generation Z/Centennials (2001 and until now)
Generation Y or Millennial Generation (1982–2004)	Digital Immigrants	Millennials (1982–2000)
Generation X (1961–1981)		Reform Generation (1968–1981)
Baby Boomers (1943–1960)		Generation of Stagnation (1947–1967)
Silent Generation (1925–1942)	Digital Outsiders	Mobilization Generation (1938 and earlier)

Note. Source: Developed by the authors based on source analysis (Prensky, 2001; Radaev, 2018; Strauss & Howe, 1997).

3. Methodology

The research allows us to generate new insights regarding a typological picture of peculiar generations in the non-formal education market, including their interest and motivation. Throughout the research, we apply data collection method— questionnaire survey of the population of the Tyumen region of Russia aged 18 to 82 years. The data analysis methodology was based on identifying the specifics, key features of the educational practices of the population of the indicated age cohorts/generations. A quota sample was used, with representation by gender and age. The sample reflects the structure of the population. Theories of generations, in particular, presented in the works by Prensky (2001), Strauss & Howe (1997), and Radaev (2018), were used as a methodological framework for the study. Based on the analysis of generational typologies, we propose the author's gradation of generations, which was used in the empirical study when constructing the sample. When conducting an empirical study, we relied on the theory of generations, so a quota sample was 150–200 people from each generation, a total of 944 people took part in the survey. When constructing the sample, we relied on the age structure of the population, interviewing 150–200 people for each generation in order to identify the characteristics of non-formal education practices in each age cohort. Interviews were conducted in Russia in May 2020. The case of the Tyumen region was selected as a region of Russia, which is characterized by a high quality of life, the population structure reflects Russian specifics (the south of the Tyumen region is represented by rural areas dominated by elderly citizens). Key characteristics captured by the data include gender, family structure, race/ethnicity, parental education, parental occupation and previous educational attainment (see Table 2).

Table 2

Characteristics of the Empirical Study Sample

Age Group	Sample Number (people)	Sample Characteristics
Generation Z (Centennials)	220	men—45%; women—55% secondary vocational and below—80%
Generation Y (Millennials)	200	men—45%; women—55% secondary professional and below—32%; higher education, academic degree—68%
Generation X	192	men—43%; women—57% secondary professional and below—35%; higher education, academic degree—65%
Baby Boomers	180	men—42%; women—58% secondary professional and below—45%
Silent generation	152	men—40%; women—60% secondary professional and below—62%; higher education, academic degree—38%

Note. Source: Developed by the authors.

The indicators of social inclusion can be the subsystems of society, in which individuals can be included. Various vital parameters that characterize each of the subsystems can be identified as specific ones. The indicators of the political subsystem are political literacy, knowledge of laws, rights and obligations, social and political activity (Astoiants et al., 2009). Therefore, the codebook was developed in order to reveal the reasons for turning to non-formal education, the intensity of educational practices, thematic needs and interests in the field of non-formal education, the willingness to pay for one's own education (financial investment in non-formal education). It was also aimed at the characteristics of the skills acquired in non-formal education, the choice of providers of non-formal education, features of training in the workplace, advantages and barriers to obtaining non-formal education. The socio-demographic block of questions included the characteristics of gender, age, level of education, field of activity, professional status, financial situation. To survey older respondents, especially the Silent Generation, a combined data collection method was used—with the help of interviewers who, according to respondents, entered data into a Google form, which was caused by physical difficulties associated with age-related changes, vision, as well as an insufficient level of digital data obtained made it possible to analyze the involvement of the Silent Generation, focusing on the features of this generation. For the concept of digital skills, we distinguish between the areas people plan to expand their skills and knowledge in the next year. It is important to understand whether non-formal education was taken into account in employment, how the results of non-formal education are demonstrated, how the employer reacted to the presence of non-formal education, how non-formal practices have changed during the period of self-isolation caused by the pandemic.

Non-formal education provides social inclusion for those who are faced with social risks—age transition associated with job loss, status change, retirement. In this case, education at the place of residence, training in peer-to-peer groups becomes for them the dominant resource of social inclusion. For younger generations, non-formal education facilitates entry into the labor market, integration into the social and professional sphere, for older generations, non-formal education contributes to maximum involvement and full adaptation in modern society. The peculiarity of social inclusion is noted in the fact that modern forms of education blur the lines between study and leisure pastime. The orientation of education to market demands leads to the casting of new forms of study and knowledge, including experimental and implicit everyday mundane knowledge in the private sphere of leisure. At the same time, goods and services of different quality may appear on the market, which their consumer should be aware of (Gorshkov & Kliucharev, 2017). That is the reason that majority of students are adults who have faced risks. As a rule, this is education at the place of residence, organized for that part of the marginalized and socially vulnerable low-resource population, which shares the generally accepted goals and objectives and is ready to take an active part in their joint solution. The change in educational practices due to the increased use of non-formal education can be traced across all generations.

4. Case Studies from Russia Throughout Intergenerational Approach

When interpreting the results of the study, we relied on the characteristics of generations in Russia, which reflect the characteristics of growing up, values, including the attitude towards learning. Generation Z or Centennials were born since 2001. They actively use gadgets for leisure, work and education, purchase goods online and through mobile applications. Modern technologies allow them to supplement the educational process with electronic materials or completely transfer them to the digital plane. Generation Y or Millennials, were born at the end of the 20th century from 1982 to 2000, grew up during the formation of a new Russia, the formation of new social institutions. The generation is distinguished by mobility, the desire for hedonism, pleasure, follow trends and brands, communicate on social networks, are confident that they are able to achieve what they want, take care of their health. They are interested in technology, know several foreign languages, value freedom and the absence of restrictions in work and daily life. Generation X is from 1961 to 1981. The formation took place during the reform period preceding the collapse of the USSR with subsequent adaptation to social changes in the conditions of anomie. During their growing up and professional development, information technologies were just beginning to take shape in the country. They had to master digital competencies on their own, within the framework of state programs to improve computer literacy. The Baby Boomers generation were born after the Second World War, are distinguished by a team spirit, a desire to consolidate efforts to achieve goals. They try to stay active, prefer natural products, take care of their health, focus on quality and status. Silent generation were born shortly before or during the Second World War. People of this age are leaving the category of the economically active population, while their social activity remains quite high. A change in social status leads to a transformation in lifestyle. They possess a low level of digital skills.

The greatest inclusion in the practice of non-formal education was demonstrated by young people belonging to Generation Z (86%) and Millennials (86%). Among older generations, there are about three-quarters of Generation X (79%), Baby Boomers (70%) and the Silent Generation (71 %). The highest intensity of non-formal education turned out to be characteristic of generation Z (39%), in comparison with other generations, they use non-formal education to the maximum to find a job and demonstrate acquired skills to the employer. At the same time, the youngest Generation Z and the elderly Silent Generation are characterized by a high intensity of non-formal education usage with a frequency of weekly or more often. It is noteworthy that this trend was observed both before the period of forced self-isolation (49% and 62%, respectively), provoked by the coronavirus pandemic, and during it (81% and 80%), when the involvement of the population in the digital space increased throughout the world. The indicated generations are united by low involvement in labor practices. Generation Z is mainly on the way to entering the professional activity, and the Silent Generation has already completed its labor activity, being retired.

Acquired Skills and the Scope of Their Application

The specificity of our research shows that NFE allows adults to acquire a wide range of useful skills and valuable experience, thematic coverage of which is extensive: from the development of basic skills to the deepening of professional competencies. It is important to emphasize that Generation X and Baby Boomers, who are actively developing their careers, predominantly choose the skills necessary for the workplace. Non-formal education resources provide these generations with the maximum renewal of predominantly professional skills. For younger generations, on the contrary, personal skills are most important for self-development. Table 3 shows the distribution of respondents' answers to the question, "In your opinion, what skills have you developed to the greatest extent as a result of the non-formal training you have completed" depending on the generation in percentage of the number of respondents.

In the last few years, online educational practices have become very popular. As expected, young people are the most active in this area (Generation Z—48% and Millennials—42%), also due to the formed modern digital skills and the desire to permanently update them. Among the older generations, online educational practices are much less common (Millennials—42%, Generation X—23%, Baby Boomers—14%). Among the respondents belonging to the Silent Generation, there was an absolute lack of inclusion in online education, caused, in our opinion, by digital incompetence.

Table 3

Skills That Generations Have Developed to the Greatest Extent as a Result of the Non-Formal Training

Skills, competencies, and practical experience	Generation Z	Millennials	Generation X	Baby Boomers	Silent Generation	Full sample
Personal skills (ability to set and achieve goals, negotiate, etc.)	50	33	24	17	82	38
Physical skills (driving a car, knitting, embroidery, etc.)	8	3	5	6	3	6
Social skills (video blogging)	6	6	3	2	2	5
Professional skills that are in demand at your workplace	16	32	46	57	0	28
Professional, which can be applied in another area	20	24	22	17	6	22
Other	0	2	1	1	0	1
Total	100	100	101	100	93	100

Barriers to Non-Formal Education

Obstacles to non-formal education are felt by every fifth respondent (22%). Let us consider the barriers to non-formal education most acutely felt by respondents from different generational cohorts. Generation Z: lack of time due to work activities (26%); high cost (23%); lack of training certificates, acquired skills are difficult to confirm to the employer (23%); there is no confidence in the quality and reliability of the provided information (19%); lack of a control procedure, assessment of acquired competencies (16%). Millennials: lack of time due to work activity (36%); high cost (24%); lack of training certificates, acquired skills are difficult to confirm (23%); such training is not recognized by the employer (17%), the price does not match the quality (16%). Generation X: lack of time due to work (48%); lack of time due to family obligations (27%), high cost (20%); such training is not recognized by the employer (15%), lack of training certificates, acquired skills are difficult to confirm (15%). Baby Boomers: lack of time due to work (44%); lack of time due to family obligations (16%), such training is not recognized by the employer (11%); high cost (10%); there is no confidence in the quality and reliability of the information provided (10%). Silent Generation: high cost (35%); lack of verification of learning outcomes which reduces the value of education (31%); inconvenient time/place for classes (28%); price does not match the quality, sometimes or often (15%); lack of time due to work (14%).

Analyzing in the context of employment, according to our study, young people have more opportunities to attend online courses; for them the main obstacles are lack of time, unlike the older generation, for whom the main limitation is the high cost of educational resources. From the point of view of social inclusion, it is important to note that the financial availability of educational resources still remains a significant obstacle, which allows us to conclude that educational resources are accessible. The high cost of courses as an obstacle was noted by almost a quarter of respondents from generation Z and X, and about a third from the Silent Generation with 35%. It is important at the policy and community level to recognize these barriers in which online learning can flourish: the government and learning communities support. It is possible that investments from the state, the introduction of tools for targeted financing of non-formal education. An educational account, a voucher, which are used in some countries could provide a solution to this problem.

Benefits of Non-Formal Education for Different Generations

The value that respondents see in non-formal education and the benefits it provides differ across generations. This is largely due to age, the level of formal education, personal characteristics, but generational characteristics also appear (see Table 4).

The analysis made it possible to identify the advantages of non-formal education from the point of view of different generations. Self-development is a priority for almost all generations, especially for the youngest of the considered in 75% of Generation Z and the oldest in 83% of the Silent Generation. Two-thirds of each generation highlighted the opportunity to gain up-to-date knowledge and

necessary competencies, learning at a convenient time and format of classes as advantages. Generation Z values the opportunity to study in a comfortable environment more (45%). For older generations, non-formal education allows them to master modern technologies. A significant advantage is the interest in professional activities, the possibility of deepening professional skills, for each generation this turned out to be a priority: 43% in the Silent Generation and up to 65% of Generation Z. The ability to quickly gain practical skills is observed by 35% of Generation X, other generations of 20–26%. Non-formal education allows to navigate in related areas of activity was noted by 7% of the Silent Generation and 30% of the Baby Boomers Generation. Considering the practice of using non-formal education by representatives of different generations, let us pay attention to the specifics inherent in each of them, comparing their answers with the average value for the sample. Young people representing Generation Z, as well as the Silent Generation, are not interested in using non-formal education in order to master new professional competencies: 45% against 56% on average in the sample. To this end, this age group prefers formal educational practices. However, for them, non-formal education becomes a priority as an opportunity to receive education remotely/via the Internet: 34%, with an average value of 27%. Also, it is the youngest generation that, when choosing non-formal education, is guided by the example and recommendation of friends and acquaintances, 14% with an average value of 6%, appreciates an individual approach 33% with an average value of 22%, independence from someone else's schedule and the opportunity to study in a comfortable environment is 47% and with an average value of 34%. At the same time, for Generation Z, it is significant in non-formal education to have the opportunity to work remotely and increase the amount of earnings (15% with an average value of 8%).

For Generation Z and Millennials, it is more important than for other generations to learn at a convenient time (67% and 64% with an average value of 57%) and the desire to master new technologies (21% and 29% with an average value of 35%). While for the older generations (Generation X and Baby Boomers) the development of technology is a higher priority (42% each, with an average value of 35%). Also, for the two named generations, an exciting learning format, an interesting and accessible presentation of material (24% each with an average value of 34%) has a low significance. Millennials' estimates do not differ significantly from the sample averages. For them, in the first place among the priorities of non-formal education are self-development (72%), the opportunity to receive education remotely (28%), the prospect of obtaining an additional source of income after graduation (20%). For Generation X, the key priority of non-formal education, in comparison with other age groups, is the interest in professional activities and the deepening of competencies (65% with 56% on average in the sample) and the opportunity to quickly gain practical skills (35% and 26% on average in the sample). Self-development becomes less significant (66% versus 73% on average for the sample). Such a distribution of priorities is quite logical, given that this generation is at the peak of its career.

Table 4

Benefits of Non-Formal Education for Different Generations
(in Percentage of the Number of Respondents)

Intensive courses (up to 16 hours)	Generation Z	Millennials	Generation X	Baby Boomers	Silent Generation
Self-development	75	72	66	72	83
Training at a convenient time	67	64	51	48	55
The opportunity to acquire relevant knowledge and necessary competencies	51	51	54	64	62
Interest in professional activities, deepening competencies	45	58	65	69	43
To learn new technologies	22	29	42	42	38
There is an independence from your schedule and the opportunity to study in a comfortable environment	47	40	32	33	20
It is fun, interesting and accessible	38	31	24	24	52
Meaningful courses are really, there is nothing superfluous in them	24	26	26	21	43
Receiving education without leaving home (remotely/via the Internet)	34	28	33	17	23
I can quickly get practical skills	20	24	35	25	26
It will later provide an additional source of income	28	20	22	13	30
It allows you to navigate in related areas of activity	19	22	26	30	7
There is an opportunity to learn a new profession without leaving home	28	28	15	10	20
There is a lack of tight control	20	21	22	9	14
I plan to learn a related activity	15	16	13	18	3

Baby Boomers also indicated a high priority for improving competencies in their professional activities (69%, with an average value of 56%). Less significant for them (compared to other generations) were the opportunity to receive education remotely (17% against 27% on average in the sample) and receiving an additional source of income after completing the course of non-formal education (13% against 23% on average in the sample), learning in free time (48% with 57% on average for the sample) and the lack of strict control of the learning process and the knowledge gained (9% with 17% on average). For them, the possibility of non-formal education is important, allowing them to navigate in related fields of activity (30% with 21% on average for the sample). The interest of the representatives of the Silent Generation

in non-formal education is mainly due to the lack of formal courses/training programs in the chosen field of activity (25% compared to 10% on average in the sample), the opportunity for self-development provided by non-formal education (83% compared to 74% in sample average), as well as the lack of opportunities to get formal education due to lack of money or time (17% vs. 7% sample average). Respondents belonging to the Silent Generation appreciate the convenient format of classes in non-formal education more than other generations.

Since the paper is devoted to the case of Russia, we refer to sociological studies of Russian scale in the practice of continuing education as a background data for the regional study. The data shows that adults are willing to learn new skills. At the same time, people of mature age do not want to feel like students, they are more comfortable learning at the workplace, under the guidance of experienced mentors. It is desirable that non-formal learning takes place under the patronage of academic institutions, which greatly increases the value of the program for adult learners. Such training contributes to social inclusion as much as possible—inclusion in the educational group, team, labor activity and social activity. Subject to these conditions, up to 84% of mature employees are ready to participate in educational programs of continuous education with the continuation of labor activity (Korshunov et al., 2019).

5. Conclusions

As mentioned in section 4, in which we have generations' inclusion in non-formal education described, we have constantly reflected on and confronted our findings with existing academics. Finally, in this section we explore the broader theoretical implications of our work and point to the specifics of different generations, which manifests itself in the features of social inclusion based on non-formal education: what are the advantages and limitations of non-formal education for representatives of different generations, where and how they apply the acquired skills. However, we contend that regular features associated with biological age and life cycle stages contradict with generational specificity. Considering professional development through the prism of different ages, our research shows that today inclusion through non-formal education, mobility in the labor market due to retraining, inclusion in new social ties, study groups, adaptation to new challenges have generational characteristics. The limitation of the study is the consideration of the practices of non-formal education on the example of one area as a regional case. The use of only quantitative methods, however, the material obtained made it possible to answer the key research question, to identify the specifics of non-formal education of each generation which are as following.

Generation Z. Its representatives actively use modern technologies for learning, which ensures the speed in mastering new skills including mobile learning, the main advantages for them are in the free choice of training programs, mentors, practical tasks, and real skills. For them, non-formal education fills the gaps in formal education when studying at colleges and universities, compensates for the lack of practical skills, helps to gain first work experience, and facilitates entry into the labor market.

Thanks to non-formal education, social inclusion in the professional sphere, economic relations is ensured, and entry into the labor market is facilitated.

Millennials. For them, non-formal education is a source of professional development, learning skills for a future profession and/or current job, career advancement, professional mobility. Social inclusion is ensured through involvement in labor relations. Among the reasons given is the opportunity to have additional income through non-formal education. The risk zone for them is that it is not always possible to confirm the acquired skills to the employer for certification or skills validation.

Generation X. The priority for them is the development of modern digital technologies, they have a wide range of interests in the field of non-formal learning from hobbies, raising their children, healthy eating to professional interests, among the barriers they name primarily are the lack of time and cost, and the ability to confirm skills, received in non-formal education.

Baby Boomers. Social inclusion meets their need to update professional competencies. Due to the possibility of advanced training and retraining is important, to navigate in related areas of professional activity, and psychology, their full social inclusion is guaranteed avoiding professional risks.

Silent Generation. Leaders in the priority for self-development, entertainment courses which should be interesting and exciting, the form of presentation and organization of classes is important: the desire to study in groups, involvement in new social connections, do not seek formal confirmation of skills. The key obstacle to obtaining non-formal education is considered to be the high cost and inconsistency between the price and quality of the courses. At the same time, informal training in digital skills with the help of children and grandchildren ensures social inclusion in the market of goods and services, and the purchase of goods on the Internet. The low level of digital literacy limits access to their social inclusion. It is non-formal education that will help them to be included in social processes, to feel important and significant. Thus, the training and education of older citizens contributes to their social inclusion and improves their well-being. A new model of educational trajectory is coming based on the principle of lifelong learning, when secondary, higher and additional vocational education together create opportunities for long-term competitiveness in the labor market (Korshunov et al., 2019).

It is clear by now that for all generations, an important barrier is the cost of courses, its affordability, recognition of the results of non-formal education, certification of skills, and qualifications. Representatives of Generation X and Baby Boomers who are at the stage of career advancement in their active professional growth are ready to invest in their education. Older generations prefer free courses and programs organized with the support of the state and organizations. Thus, in modern generations, there are differences in motivation to receive non-formal education, a difference in benefits and barriers. Concerning the specificity of age typology in terms of different generations demonstrating inclusion in non-formal education we agree with the previous researchers (Asmar et al., 2020; Maliszewski, 2003; Rogers, 2019; Zhang & Acs, 2019) hat non-formal education has seen a remarkable revival of interest across both developing countries and the more highly developed countries. Among the factors

causing this revival is the search for alternative educations to meet the needs of different groups in society. Moreover, our findings agree that the adult learning targets contained in every one of the Sustainable Development Goals cannot be met by formal learning programmes alone and require a much-expanded non-formal education program. Thus, current redefinitions are observed of non-formal education and at where such a system might fit into the governmental architecture of educational planning.

Intergenerational approach towards social inclusion is evident in two ways:

- A similar trend noted in studies based on data from other countries (Maliszewski, 2003; Rogers, 2019) shows the role of education as a factor of inclusion, improvement of communication skills, involvement in social networks. It requires a significant expansion of non-formal education programs, which will contribute to the achievement of Sustainable Development Goals.
- UNESCO-supported research illustrates that those countries where non-formal education resources are used to develop human capital demonstrate a higher rate of adaptation to technological changes, active citizenship, a rapid pace of socio-economic transformation and innovation (Maliszewski, 2003).

Further prospects for research in the field of non-formal education can be the study of its possibilities for competency management policy, the evaluation of the effectiveness of best practices and technologies, the development of national models for the integration of formal and non-formal education, the recognition of its results (skills certification), and the expansion of social partnership. As such, it is important at the government policy and community level to recognize the low level of social inclusion in non-formal learning; it can flourish wider as a whole.

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ARTICLE

Assessment of the Psychological Well-Being of Russian Youth With the PERMA-Profiler

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ABSTRACT

This article presents the results of a survey of the psychological well-being of Russian youth based on the Russian version of the PERMA-Profiler. The survey was conducted at the beginning of 2021 and covered 11,811 respondents (males = 29.2%, females = 70.8%) aged 18–35 (49.2%, aged 18–22; 22.3%, aged 23–30; and 28.5%, aged 31–35) living in the central part of Russia. The survey's results indicate that the country perform properly in terms of youth well-being. The scores of Russian respondents are significantly higher than the results reported by Butler and Kern for the UK, Greece, Korea, Italy, and the USA in their study of 2016 (this sample is referred to as a total sample). The Russian respondents scored higher compared to the total sample in the scales of Positive emotions and Relationships. The research data show different indicators of well-being in groups differing by gender, age, education, social, marital and parental status, living conditions, and income level. We also found some peculiar age- and gender-related differences regarding well-being in the Russian sample, which also distinguishes it from the total sample. The research results can be used in programs intended to improve the psychological well-being of Russian youth.

Introduction

Well-being, happiness, and prosperity are closely interrelated phenomena associated with the most positive experiences of young people. These phenomena have recently attracted increased scholarly attention in such fields as psychology, pedagogy, and social studies. The Russian government has considered young people's well-being as an important factor contributing to the country's innovation performance and invested funds in the creation of comfortable living and working conditions, as well as in opportunities for socialization and self-realization. These tasks were identified as the key priorities in most federal programs and projects for young people.

There is evidence that a high level of human well-being and its main components ensure the positive functioning of an individual and promote personal self-realization (Bradburn, 1977/2019; Seligman, 2011; Sheldon et al., 2017). Well-being is defined both as an objective indicator, e.g., assessment of the quality of the external living conditions in a city, district, country, etc. and as a subjective indicator, "an assessment made by the subjects themselves of how close their life as a whole is to the most desirable state" (Osin & Leontiev, 2020).

Attempts were made to systematize the main methodological approaches to the study of the well-being of adolescents and youth (see, for example, Antonova et al., 2018; Byzova & Perikova, 2018; Galazhinsky et al., 2019; Karapetyan & Glotova, 2018).

There are several approaches to defining well-being. For instance, adherents of the subjective (hedonistic) approach believe that the main goal of human existence is the pursuit of positive emotions and pleasures (Diener et al., 2010). In hedonistic terms, well-being is understood as achievement of pleasure and avoidance of dissatisfaction. Subjective well-being is also influenced by interpersonal comparisons.

Positive emotions have a direct impact on the degree of individual psychological stability, which, in turn, leads to an increase in the level of life satisfaction. The generalized characteristic of well-being in the logic of this approach is life satisfaction as achievement of pleasure and the feeling of happiness. Within this approach, the above-cited studies examine various aspects of young people's well-being: for example, the impact of the modernization of Russian society on the social well-being of young people,

the relationship between the subjective quality of life and the perception of happiness in young people, young people's vision of their future in terms of subjective well-being, as well as the characteristics of emotional well-being, happiness, and life satisfaction, including gender-specific aspects of well-being, etc. (Antonova et al., 2018; Byzova & Perikova, 2018; Galazhinsky et al., 2019; Karapetyan & Glotova, 2018).

Another approach that can be described as psychological (or eudemonistic) considers well-being as the development of individuality and sense of agency, acquisition of a personal identity, and self-realization. Proponents of this approach assess well-being by looking at personal predictors of happiness and associate well-being with living a rich, full, and meaningful life (Ryan et al., 2019; Seligman, 2011). This approach highlights the ideas prevailing among modern young people about personal psychological well-being and strategies for achieving it. In this vein, particular consideration is given to the relationship between moral aspects and psychological well-being as well as the dependence of psychological well-being on social status. Some aspects of emotional and personal well-being of students are also analyzed (Ryan et al., 2019; Ryff, 2019; Seligman, 2011).

One of the most common models used in this approach is the PERMA model of well-being developed and presented by M. Seligman in his book *Flourishing: A New Understanding of Happiness and Well-Being—And How to Achieve Them* (2011). Well-being Theory, or PERMA model, proposes five pillars of well-being: Positive emotion, Engagement, Relationships, Meaning, and Accomplishment. To qualify as an element of well-being, each component must meet the following three criteria: first, it should contribute to well-being; second, it should be pursued for its own sake; and, third, it should be defined and measured independently from other components (Seligman, 2011). Let us consider each of these components in more detail.

- *Positive emotion* refers to the affective component or feeling well, in combination with positive appraisal.
- *Engagement* refers to a deep psychological connection to a particular activity, organization or cause. It is the psychological state where individuals are absorbed in a task implying interest, intense involvement, effort, and immersion.
- *Relationships* refers to the perception of the quantity and quality of social connections. It implies the belief that one is cared for, loved, and valued. Social relationships have been considered the core element of well-being, and their impact on optimized functioning has been extensively studied.
- *Meaning*, which is closely linked to the sense of purpose, has been defined as the "ontological significance of life from the point of view of the individual", or the feeling of belonging and serving something larger than the self (Seligman, 2011). Meaning provides a sense that one's life matters. It has been associated with better physical health, reduced mortality risk, and higher life satisfaction.
- *Accomplishment* is the last component of PERMA model and refers to success and mastery. Accomplishment encompasses both external indicators and internal goals. Although accomplishment can be defined in objective terms, this model places the main emphasis on the way people perceive their accomplishments.

In 2016, Australian researchers J. Butler and M. L. Kern (2016) developed a diagnostic tool (PERMA-Profiler) based on M. Seligman's PERMA model and demonstrated its high reliability and validity. These authors, following in Seligman's footsteps, discussed the concept of "flourishing" as a state of stable balance manifested in a high level of emotional, psychological, and social well-being. This questionnaire was adapted for various countries, including England, Greece, Korea, Italy, and the USA (Ascenso et al., 2018; Choi et al., 2019; Giangrasso, 2021; Pezirkianidis et al., 2021; Ryan et al., 2019; Umucu et al., 2020). In 2021, a Russian version of this questionnaire was developed by O. M. Isaeva, A. Yu. Akimova, and E. N. Volkova (Isaeva et al., 2022). All of the above-cited studies have demonstrated the advantages of the questionnaire's structure, its reliability and validity (Butler & Kern, 2016).

This article presents the results of a survey of the psychological well-being of Russian young people conducted at the beginning of 2021 and based on the application of the PERMA-Profiler questionnaire.

Method

The PERMA-Profiler questionnaire includes 23 statements, 15 of which are related to the five elements of psychological well-being: Positive emotions, Engagement, Relationships, Meaning, and Accomplishment. The rest of the statements are additional indicators (Negative emotions, Health, Loneliness, and Happiness) needed to gain a fuller picture of well-being (Butler & Kern, 2016). Each statement was rated by the respondents on an 11-point Likert scale from 0 ("never", or "minimum") to 10 ("always", or "maximum"). The data obtained were processed in accordance with the questionnaire key.

To make data collection more convenient and to build a larger sample, a Google form was developed and subsequently disseminated through the Internet (social media VK[1], e-mail, etc.) among young people in Central Russia. The study was anonymous and it was carried out on a voluntary gratuitous basis. The potential respondents were informed about the purpose of the study and they agreed to participate in the survey in exchange for receiving feedback about the survey results. In addition to the questions of the PERMA-Profiler questionnaire, the Google form included questions about the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents: age, gender, social status, education, marital status, and income level. It took the respondents 10–15 minutes to fill in the Google form. The results were processed by using descriptive statistics, frequency analysis and difference analysis. The statistical analysis was carried out with the help of Microsoft Office Excel 2010 and IBM SPSS STATISTICS 26.

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[1]   VK (short for its original name VKontakte) is a Russian online social media and social networking service. https://vk.com VK™ is a trademark of VK.com Ltd.

Sample

The sample comprised young people aged 18–35. This age group was chosen to gather more information about the psychological well-being of young people of active age, i.e., able to make independent career choices, to take decisions concerning additional education, starting a family, etc. The Google forms that were left incomplete or contained obviously inaccurate answers were excluded from further analysis.

As a result, 11,811 Google forms were filled by young people aged 18–35 from Central Russia. The representativeness of the study sample was ensured by the random selection method. Information on the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents is presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Indicator name	Indicator value	
	Abs.	%
Total sample size	11,811	100.0
Gender		
Males	3,444	29.2
Females	8,367	70.8
Age groups		
18–22	5,811	49.2
23–30	2,631	22.3
31–35	3,369	28.5
Social status		
Student	5,637	47.7
Employed	6,174	52.3
Education		
Student	3,468	29.4
Secondary	2,721	23.0
Secondary vocational	1,506	12.8
Higher	4,116	34.8
Marital status		
Married (legally or civilly)	4,958	42.0
Unmarried	6,853	58.0
Having children		
None	7,294	61.8
One child	2,006	17.0
Two or more children	2,511	21.2

Table 1 Continued

Indicator name	Indicator value	
	Abs.	%
Living conditions		
Alone	1,767	15.0
With a family (spouse, children)	4,842	41.0
With relatives	4,538	38.4
Other options	664	5.6
Income level		
Non, unemployed	4,036	34.2
Up to 20 thousand rubles	3,829	32.4
20–40 thousand rubles	3,123	26.4
More than 40 thousand rubles	823	7.0

Results

The data from the PERMA-Profiler questionnaire were processed according to the key. Then we determined the descriptive statistical indicators of general psychological well-being, values of the main scales (Positive emotion, Engagement, Relationships, Meaning, and Accomplishment), and additional scales (Negative emotion, Health, Loneliness, and Happiness). Mean values, standard deviations, confidence intervals for each of the listed indicators are shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics of the PERMA-Profiler (N = 11,811)

Scale name	M	SD	95% confidence interval	
			min	max
General well-being	7.16	1.52	7.13	7.19
Positive emotion	7.31	1.79	7.27	7.34
Relationships	7.14	1.98	7.10	7.18
Engagement	7.05	1.61	7.02	7.08
Meaning	7.08	1.85	7.04	7.11
Accomplishment	7.15	1.56	7.12	7.18
Negative emotion	5.77	1.86	5.73	5.80
Health	6.71	1.95	6.67	6.74
Loneliness	4.47	2.77	4.42	4.52
Health	7.40	2.11	7.36	7.44

Note: M = mean value; SD = standard deviation

The mean values of the main scales of the questionnaire are within the range of 7.05–7.31. The highest mean value (7.40) and the lowest mean value (4.47) were determined on the Happiness and Loneliness scales, respectively. The respondents presented their assessments on all the scales by assigning them values from 0 to 10.

Figure 1 shows the survey's results in comparison with the results of the total sample (for more on the total sample, see Butler & Kern, 2016). J. Butler and M. L. Kern (2016) provide descriptive characteristics of the scales of Positive emotions, Engagement, Relationships, Meaning, Accomplishment, Negative emotions, Health, and General well-being. The total sample included people aged 18–65, from different countries of the world (the UK, Greece, Korea, Italy, and the USA), with different levels of education and social status (N = 31,966).

The level of general well-being shown by our research sample was significantly higher than in the total sample (t-test = 10.10; confidence level p = .00). In addition, the values of the scales Positive Emotions, Relationships and Negative emotions in the research sample were also significantly higher than in the total sample (for all the scales, the differences are significant at p = .00 according to the t-test criterion). The values of the scales Engagement, Accomplishment, and Health in the research sample were lower than in the total sample (on these scales, the differences are significant at p = .00 according to the t-test criterion). On the scale Meaning, no differences were found between the research sample and the total sample (t-test = 1.02, p = .31).

Statistically significant differences were determined in the values of the PERMA-Profiler scales among the respondents with different socio-demographic characteristics. The results of the comparison of the mean values and statistical significance of differences are shown in Table 3.

Figure 1

Mean Values With Standard Deviation of the PERMA-Profiler Scales in the Research Sample and the Total Sample
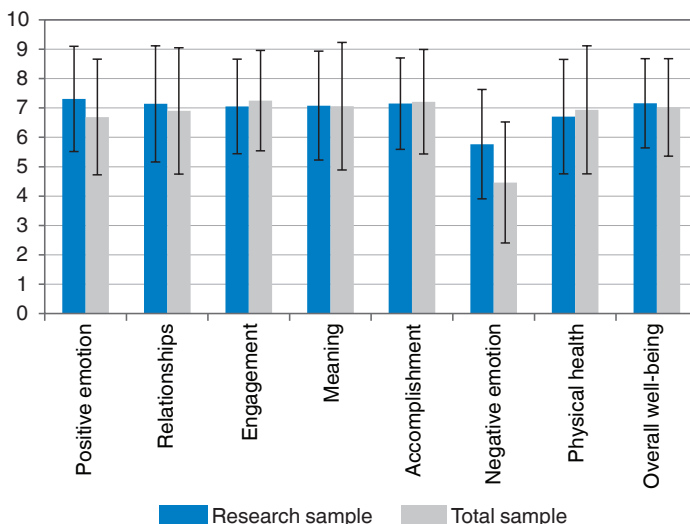
Table 3

Comparison of the Mean Values of the PERMA-Profiler Scales Among the Groups of the Respondents With Different Socio-Demographic Characteristics (N = 11,811)

Characteristics	General well-being	Positive emotion	Relationships	Engagement	Meaning	Accomplishment	Negative emotion	Health	Loneliness	Happiness
Gender										
Male	7.01	7.07	6.90	7.12	6.92	7.04	5.32	6.93	4.65	7.02
Female	7.22	7.40	7.24	7.03	7.14	7.19	5.95	6.61	4.40	7.56
t	6.94	9.04	8.64	2.80	5.92	4.88	16.92	8.23	4.51	12.60
p	.00***	.00***	.00***	.01**	.00***	.00***	.00***	.00***	.00***	.00***
Age groups										
18–22	7.08	7.26	7.04	7.07	6.93	7.05	5.75	6.75	4.72	7.23
23–30	7.22	7.37	7.25	7.00	7.17	7.21	5.82	6.69	4.33	7.53
31–35	7.25	7.33	7.23	7.05	7.25	7.27	5.75	6.63	4.14	7.61
F	15.98	3.78	14.84	1.64	36.11	23.97	1.14	4.11	51.88	40.18
p	.00***	.02*	.00***	.19	.00***	.00***	.32	.02*	.00***	.00***
Social status										
Student	7.06	7.25	7.02	7.06	6.91	7.03	5.75	6.75	4.74	7.21
Employed	7.25	7.36	7.25	7.04	7.23	7.26	5.78	6.66	4.22	7.58
t	6.72	3.52	6.33	0.57	9.16	8.17	.76	2.38	10.32	9.70
p	.00***	.00***	.00***	.57	.00***	.00***	.45	.02**	.00***	.00***
Education										
Student	7.03	7.24	6.97	7.06	6.88	6.95	5.74	6.75	4.73	7.20
Secondary	7.11	7.26	7.10	7.03	6.99	7.15	5.76	6.73	4.69	7.25
Secondary vocational	7.16	7.37	7.22	6.88	7.12	7.06	5.70	6.68	4.34	7.63
Higher	7.30	7.37	7.28	7.12	7.29	7.35	5.83	6.67	4.15	7.59
F	21.17	4.79	16.60	8.09	33.55	44.84	2.51	1.28	35.33	33.06
p	.00***	.00***	.00***	.00***	.00***	.00***	.06	.28	.00***	.00***

Table 3 Continued

Characteristics	General well-being	Positive emotion	Relationships	Engagement	Meaning	Accomplishment	Negative emotion	Health	Loneliness	Happiness
Marital status										
Married	7.36	7.47	7.53	7.05	7.31	7.28	5.81	6.64	3.96	7.79
Unmarried	7.02	7.19	6.85	7.05	6.91	7.05	5.74	6.75	4.84	7.13
t	12.06	8.52	18.70	0.01	11.64	7.80	2.13	2.90	17.31	16.9
p	.00***	.00***	.00***	.99	.00***	.00***	.03*	.00***	.00***	.00***
Children										
None	7.07	7.22	7.01	7.06	6.94	7.07	5.74	6.72	4.72	7.19
One child	7.28	7.40	7.30	7.06	7.26	7.26	5.75	6.67	4.17	7.66
Two or more children	7.34	7.49	7.39	7.02	7.33	7.30	5.86	6.69	3.98	7.83
F	37.88	23.91	42.75	0.57	53.91	28.34	4.08	.62	82.22	104.98
p	.00***	.00***	.00***	.57	.00***	.00***	.02*	.54	.00***	.00***
Living conditions										
Alone	6.93	7.02	6.71	6.96	6.90	7.03	5.73	6.64	5.08	6.98
With a family	7.39	7.51	7.50	7.08	7.35	7.34	5.79	6.65	3.90	7.82
With relatives	7.04	7.22	6.94	7.07	6.89	7.02	5.74	6.80	4.79	7.17
F	63.09	41.32	101.29	3.55	61.34	40.24	2.41	5.72	122.55	116.71
p	.00***	.00***	.00***	.01**	.00***	.00***	.06	.00***	.00***	.00***
Income level										
None/Unemployed	7.00	7.20	6.97	7.01	6.82	6.95	5.76	6.69	4.69	7.17
Up to 20 thous. rubles	7.06	7.21	7.08	6.90	6.99	7.02	5.91	6.53	4.48	7.40
20–40 thous. rubles	7.35	7.44	7.32	7.16	7.34	7.39	5.68	6.77	4.19	7.60
More than 40 thous. rubles	7.71	7.77	7.59	7.56	7.75	7.83	5.48	7.36	4.36	7.82
F	72.86	32.64	34.02	45.67	87.38	112.52	16.22	42.71	19.12	36.39
p	.00***	.00***	.00***	.00***	.00***	.00***	.00***	.00***	.00***	.00***

*Note: t = t-test for independent samples; F = Fisher's test (ANOVA); p = difference confidence level; * p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001.*

Comparison of the PERMA-Profiler scores in the groups of respondents (see Table 3) showed the following results:

- female respondents had higher scores of general well-being in comparison with male respondents;
- respondents aged 23–30 and 31–35 had higher scores than those aged 18–22;
- the employed versus students;
- respondents with higher education versus all the others;
- the respondents who are officially or civilly married versus those who are not married;
- the respondents with one, two or more children versus childless respondents;
- the respondents living with their families (spouse, children) versus all the others;
- the respondents with an income above 40 thousand rubles versus all the others.

Some interesting results were also found for the rest of the scales of the PERMA-Profiler questionnaire:

(a) In the group of male respondents, higher scores were observed on the scales Engagement, Health, and Loneliness. On the other scales, female respondents showed significantly higher values.

(b) Among the respondents of different age groups, there were no significant differences in the scales Engagement and Negative emotions. Among the other age groups, the respondents aged 18–22 had the highest scores on the scales Health and Loneliness and the lowest scores on all the other scales not listed above.

(c) Respondents with higher and secondary vocational education scored the highest on the scales of Positive emotion, Relationships, and Happiness. On the scales Negative Emotions and Health, the scores in the groups with different levels of education did not vary statistically.

(d) Married respondents had higher scores on all the scales, except for Health and Loneliness. On the Engagement scale, there was no difference between married and unmarried respondents.

(e) Respondents with two or more children had the highest scores on all the scales, except for Loneliness. On the scales Engagement and Health, no differences were found between the groups of childless respondents and respondents with children.

(f) Respondents living with a spouse and children scored the highest on all the scales, excluding Loneliness and Negative emotions. On the scale Loneliness, this group of respondents scored the lowest among all the survey participants.

(g) Respondents with an income above 40 thousand rubles had the highest values on all the scales, excluding Loneliness and Negative emotions. On the scale Negative emotions, this group showed the minimum value in comparison with all the others. On the scale Loneliness, the maximum value was observed in the group of respondents without their own income, and the minimum value, in the

group of respondents with an income of 20–40 thousand rubles. Interestingly, participants with an income above 40 thousand rubles accounted for only 7% of the total sample.

To determine the influence of sociodemographic characteristics on the psychological well-being of young people, a multiple regression analysis was carried out (Table 4).

Table 4
Values of Standardized Regression Coefficients in the Model of the Relationship of Psychological Well-Being of Youth With Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Characteristics	β	p	R^2_{Adj}	F	pF
Age	−0.099	0.000			
Gender	0.056	0.000			
Social status	−0.090	0.000			
Education	0.046	0.011	0.029	45.120	0.000
Marital status	0.101	0.000			
Children	0.037	0.014			
Living conditions	0.019	0.061			
Income level	0.156	0.000			

Note: β – standardized coefficient; *p* = difference confidence level for β; R^2_{Adj} – corrected multiple determination coefficient; *F* = Fisher's test (ANOVA); *pF* is the level of statistical significance of the model.

Although the value of the multiple determination coefficient is small (R^2_{Adj} = 0.029), the constructed variable relationship model is valid (*F* = 45.120; *pF* = 0.000). The resulting regression model showed the role played by such characteristics as gender, age, social status, education, marital status, children, and income level (*r* ≤ 0.05 for the standardized β coefficients corresponding to these characteristics) as elements of the empirical model of the psychological well-being of Russian youth.

Discussion

In the study, all the scores fell within the average range, which signifies the achievements of Russia in terms of youth well-being. If we compare these results with those of Butler & Kern's survey (2016), we will see that Russian respondents have scored higher in the scales of Positive emotions and Relationships. We found that, in comparison with the total sample, young Russian people to a greater extent have a positive attitude towards their life, are optimistic about the future, and strive to create and maintain trusting relationships with others. Relationships and positive emotions are prioritized by Russian respondents in their sense of well-being. It should be noted that these components of psychological well-being are conducive to active

and positive functioning of a person. The dominance of certain indicators (experience of joy and pleasure on a daily basis, feeling of self-worth, and support of close people) in the structure of psychological well-being correlates with higher self-esteem and self-efficacy. Higher levels in these indicators are associated with better professional performance, a more developed sense of autonomy and ability to take responsibility for one's choices and actions (Leontiev, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2017). Positive emotions, acceptance, and recognition on the part of other people are crucial for the development of independence, one's ability to cope with difficult situations and consider emerging problems as challenges and opportunities for growth (Fredrickson, 2001; Meyer & Maltin, 2010; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Our research sample showed higher values in Negative emotions in comparison with the total sample, which can be explained by the importance of the emotional component in the well-being of Russian youth in general, i.e., in the entire range of negative and positive values. This is consistent with the opinion of J. Butler and M. L. Kern (2016) who pointed out that it is necessary to take into account both positive and negative elements of the spectrum of mental health.

In the light of the above, we can explain the lower, in comparison with the total sample, values in the scales Engagement and Accomplishment by the lesser importance of goal-setting and goal achievement as well as the satisfaction from goal achievement in the respondents' sense of well-being. In addition, our respondents showed lower values in the scale Health, which means that they attach less importance to health. The latter may be explained by their young age or by specific characteristics of the Russian sample. This assumption requires further consideration in future studies.

The sense of meaning in life, the feeling of life's importance and fullness are equally significant for Russian youth and respondents from Butler & Kern's sample (2016). The scores in the Russian sample in Engagement and Accomplishment were lower than in the total sample. This set of characteristics—engagement in activities, striving for achievements, finding meaningful pursuits—reflects the introjected nature of psychological well-being determined by the processes that are similar to those that determine the intrinsic motivation for this or that activity. It can be supposed that having interest in a particular activity, a desire to achieve certain goals and the satisfaction derived from their achievement have a weaker impact on the psychological well-being of Russian youth than positive emotions and relationship satisfaction.

Our respondents' lower scores in Health might signify that they attach less significance to health as a source of psychological well-being. This tendency is confirmed by other studies performed on Russian samples (Antonova et al., 2018; Tsvetkova & Antonova, 2010).

Our study has demonstrated that respondents with different socio-demographic characteristics (age, gender, social status, education, marital and parental status, living conditions, income) tend to have different indicators of well-being. All of these characteristics are important factors shaping the well-being of Russian youth. The respondents aged 23–30 and 31–35, with a higher education, employed, married, with

children and a monthly income above 40 thousand rubles tend to enjoy higher levels of well-being than the others. The lowest levels of well-being were observed for the groups of respondents aged 18–22, with secondary education or lower, unmarried, childless, and with a low income (20 thousand rubles or less).

It should be noted that the age- and gender-related differences in well-being among Russian respondents agree with the data provided by J. Butler and M.L. Kern (2016): in their study, in the group of male respondents in the total sample, the general indicator of well-being (7.11) was higher than among the female respondents (6.91). In the age group 18–24, the indicator of well-being (7.12) was higher than in the age group 25–34 (6.94).

In our research sample, female respondents showed higher levels of well-being than male respondents. Similarly, respondents in the age groups 23–30 and 31–35 had higher levels of well-being compared with the age group 18–22. Such correlations may be associated with the peculiarities of the mentality of Russian youth, their life-meaning orientations, their satisfaction with activities in various spheres, attitudes to the present and future.

Regression analysis has brought to light different effects of sociodemographic characteristics on the psychological well-being of Russian youth. We found that the most important factors are income ($\beta = 0.156$; $p = 0.000$), marital status ($\beta = 0.101$; $p = 0.000$), age ($\beta = -0.099$; $p = 0.000$), and social status ($\beta = -0.090$; $p = 0.000$). These characteristics can be considered as predictors of the psychological well-being of Russian youth. In an ideal model, a fulfilled person in Russia is young (aged 23–30), married, and has a well-paying job.

The fact that Russian respondents attach higher significance to positive emotions and support of close people and give less significance to engagement and achievement signifies the prevalence of the social and adaptive personality type over the active and independent type. These characteristics should be seen as a response to the progressive trend of social development rather than as a response to the demands of today's increasingly accelerated and globalized world.

On the other hand, although to a lesser extent, the psychological well-being of Russian youth is determined by gender ($\beta = 0.056$; $p = 0.000$), education ($\beta = 0.046$; $p = 0.011$), having children and their number ($\beta = 0.037$; $p = 0.014$). It should be noted that having children and a certain level of education are the characteristics that result from one's life choices and the ability to take responsibility for them. The theory of self-determination considers freedom of choice and responsibility as signs of internal motivation of activity (Ryan & Deci, 2000). From this perspective, the strength of the characteristics corresponding to one's readiness to make choices and take responsibility for them will not only serve as predictors of psychological well-being but also as indicators of intrinsic motivation.

The psychological well-being of a young person can be achieved in different ways. For some, what matters the most is to establish positive, fulfilling relationships with other people, to have the ability to receive feedback from close people and use it for self-improvement. For others, access to education, their professional activity, and the satisfaction from goal achievement are more important.

It can be assumed that constructive and positive communication, on the one hand, and internal motivation to engage in a certain activity, on the other, are the essential conditions for the psychological well-being of young people. In each case, these mechanisms will coexist in the general field of meaningful and dynamic parameters. However, each person has their own formula of well-being with a unique ratio of elements and their hierarchy. This finding confirms the self-determination theory's postulate about the diversity of positive opportunities for personal growth and fulfillment.

In the psychological sense, well-being can be seen as an integral indicator that corresponds to each individual's positive psychological functioning and ability to experience happiness and life satisfaction. Well-being manifests itself through the satisfaction with one's life and the availability/awareness of the resources necessary to achieve happiness and life satisfaction. We found that modern Russian youth tend to achieve well-being primarily through communication rather than through engagement in activities (professional development, education).

Conclusion

This study assesses the well-being of Russian youth aged 18–35 by using the adapted PERMA-Profiler, based on Seligman's PERMA model. The results are generally consistent with the data on psychological well-being for different countries. However, some interesting peculiarities were detected: for example, young Russian adults have shown a higher level of general well-being and its components (Positive emotion and Relationships) in comparison with the total sample.

The research data show different indicators of well-being for different groups of respondents (age, gender, education, social, marital and parental status, living conditions, and income). We also found some peculiar age- and gender-related differences regarding well-being in the Russian sample, which distinguishes it from the total sample.

By applying regression analysis methods, we built a model of psychological well-being of Russian youth and identified the following predictors: a high level of income, having one's own family with one or more children, age of 18–22, employment, and educational attainment. In their pursuit of well-being, young Russian adults tend to prioritize communication over activity.

Our findings can be used in programs intended to improve the psychological well-being of Russian youth. The limitation of this study is that the data were collected only in Central Russia. In order to generalize the results, it would be desirable to collect the data from other Russian regions as well.

Comparative analysis of indicators of psychological well-being in other age groups may be one of the avenues for further research. Other promising areas might include the study of well-being in persons belonging to different professional and social groups, with different psychological characteristics, etc. More research on these characteristics is necessary to gain a more detailed understanding of the factors and determinants of psychological well-being of Russian youth.

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ARTICLE

Metabolic Transformations in the Area of Municipal Solid Waste Management in Russian Megalopolises: The City of Moscow Case

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ABSTRACT

Based on secondary data analysis and semi-structured expert interviews (n = 90), the study analyses metabolic transformations in the area of municipal solid waste (MSW) management in Russian megalopolises using the city of Moscow as a case study. The findings suggest that the key node that triggered numerous interdependent processes involved the changes introduced in the legislation on MSW management and the decision to shut down several large MSW landfills without the simultaneous implementation of other landfills. These actions affected the health of the population and contributed to environmental inequality. The authors provide recommendations for the mitigation of risks associated with MSW generation, recycling, and storage in large Russian cities.

Introduction

According to United Nations (UN) estimates, the volume of municipal solid waste (MSW) is increasing annually, and by 2025 will be five times higher than in 1990 (United Nations Environment Programme, 2015). This issue is exacerbated in megalopolises. Russian megalopolises are no exception here. In the Russian Federation, over 60 million tons of MSW are produced annually, which is approximately 400 kg per person (Zadera, 2022). According to the poll conducted by the leading Russian sociological service, Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM), Russians considered the following to be the most pressing environmental issues: air pollution (22%), landfill sites (16%), and untimely waste collection and disposal (11%) (Samyi bol'shoi vred, 2021). All of this leads to the deterioration of citizens' health and living standards while also limiting opportunities for the further development of Russian cities. It should be noted that the problems of MSW storage and management are also considered to be one of the most important societal issues provoking the growth of protest activity in Russia in the past few years.

There are many worldwide studies of solid waste management in megalopolises from interdisciplinary perspectives considering the interconnections among economic, social, environmental, and political dimensions. Notable examples are the study of solid waste management and environmental equity in Barcelona (Fragkou et al., 2014); the examination of the conceptual and comprehensive sustainability framework of European cities to support decision-making in waste management (Taelman et al., 2018); and, the study of waste planning and resource management in "metabolic thinking" (Longato et al., 2019), among many. However, in modern Russian science, there is a notable imbalance in favor of the socio-economic and environmental research of waste in cities, such as studies devoted to the analysis of territorial waste management schemes, MSW processing technologies, designing of econometric models, etc. (Bobylev & Zakharov, 2009). Such studies do not facilitate the exploration of the complex interdependent qualitative processes that occur in different systems of waste generation and disposal in Russian megalopolises.

Consequently, to fill this knowledge gap, our research is aimed at analysing the causal relationships in the area of MSW disposal in Russian megalopolises with a focus on the reciprocity and interplay of social, informational, technological, economic, and environmental processes, as well as their metabolic transformations.

We will review these reciprocal relations and interdependent transformations within the scope of socio-ecological metabolism (SEM) (Efremenko et al., 2019; Ermolaeva, 2015). Complex metabolic processes continuously occur in cities and tend to bifurcate sooner or later, creating qualitatively new forms of the reciprocal relations between social life and the environment. The SEM approach is suitable for the research of MSW management as it features the examination of complex metabolic processes between the urban systems, the transition of some processes and substances into others and their interinfluence, as well as the analysis and registration of the invisible consequences of such transitions and transformations for the different groups of stakeholders. In addition, we should consider the constantly increasing value of the information factor that can have a significant impact on the dynamics and modality of the processes of the SEM.

Thus, the goal of this research is to analyse the metabolic transformations in the area of MSW management in Russian megalopolises with a focus on the reciprocal changes in the environmental, social, informational, and technological processes. To analyse the changes, we will use the following parameters: (a) determination of the main SEM "nodes" in the area of MSW management; (b) determination of the causal relationships and metabolic transformations (both positive and negative); (c) determination of the points of metabolic transformations that impose the greatest risks on the citizens' health and wellbeing; (d) provision of recommendations for risk mitigation.

The hypothesis of our research is based on the fact that in Russian cities, dynamic processes in the area of MSW management occur in association with the rapid growth of the volume of both material and informational waste, a shutdown of landfill sites, an increase in the number of unauthorized dumping grounds, construction of waste incineration plants, aggravation and politicization of the environmental protests related to the problems of waste management, and the criminalization of waste management business. These processes served as accelerators for the metabolic transformations occurring in the material, discursive, informational, and technogenic urban environment. Today, we witness how old biochemical and social exchange chains are disintegrating and new ones are shaping under the influence of these processes. At the same time, we can observe and determine the changes in the attitudes and behaviors of the social groups that are sometimes overlooked by the researchers who analyse the socio-political dynamics in modern-day Russia.

Theoretical and Methodological Research Coordinates

"Socio-ecological metabolism" as a term applied to the area of MSW has different connotations in the English language literature depending on the methodological positions and disciplinary boundaries of the researchers.

New conceptual ideas of the urban hybridity by Bruno Latour (1990), Erik Swyngedouw (1996), and others address the physical entities (water, air, etc.) that act as active agents (alongside humans) in the production of spaces. This perspective is very different from the linear models of urban space associated with such concepts

as the "industrial metabolism" (Ayres & Simonis, 1994), "ecological footprints" (Wackernagel et al., 2019), and other functionalist urban space concepts (Ermolaeva, 2015). The notion of urban metabolism is often symmetrical to the notion of metabolism in living organisms since cities are viewed as ecosystems. Cities, like natural organisms, consume resources and produce waste. "Cities transform raw materials, fuel, and water into the urban built environment, human biomass, and waste" (Decker et al., 2000, p. 25).

The SEM concept encapsulates several approaches that transformed into the concept of analysing the life cycle and socio-biotechnological systems (Efremenko et al., 2019), zero-waste approaches (Murray, 2002), the theory of mobility networks and flows (Urry, 2003), and others. The evaluation of a life cycle within the scope of SEM is revised with due regard to the encompassing notion of resource efficiency: the more effective the social community is in using various types of raw natural materials and transforming of energy, distributing the final product, the higher its cultural, technological, and economical capacity. Thus, the greater part waste takes in the transformation chains of production and consumption, the greater is the welfare of the society and the more sustainable is the use of environmental resources. Urry (2003) pays considerable attention to the reverse links featuring non-linear reciprocation. He noted the shift towards the creation of the institutes of reflexive modernization in society, distinguished static communities, and substantiated the changes in the understanding of societies towards networks and flows of dynamic groups that are deprived of precise spatial-temporal parameters. According to the zero-waste approach (Hannon & Zaman, 2018), secondary flows (waste) should be returned into the cycle, while the unrecyclable residue should be burnt and reclaimed in areas distant from residential use. The logistics of secondary materials are covered by non-material flows, such as communication lines and regulating institutions that ensure a certain connection between the different stages of a life cycle and demonstrate the level of development of the waste management culture.

To explain different processes, metabolic relations, and transformations, we will employ the capabilities of interdisciplinary approaches and private sociological theories.

Out of the numerous approaches to defining SEM (Odum, 1983; Wolman, 1965), we will rely on the approach of Matthew Gandy (2004). He defines SEM as flows that depend directly on external factors, such as energy, materials, and information. Talking about cities in terms of metabolic processes inevitably leads to considering the matter of balance between the social and biophysical in the urban space. Discarding the functionalist perception of this concept, authors regard it dialectically as the interaction of nature and culture in an urban environment. In this sense, this approach conveniently diverts us from the popular SEM tendency to calculate the material flows in the form of the reinterpretation of social relations in cities, such as the division of labor, the configuration of relations of power, and the particular qualities of the alignment of political forces (Martinez-Alier & Walter, 2016). In this work, we will focus on reviewing qualitatively interconnected and interdependent causal relationships and metabolic processes in a city as in an open system in the field of MSW management. We would understand these processes as metabolic transformations—the life cycle of waste

implies further transitions into many substances that produce invisible consequences for the different groups of stakeholders.

Waste disposal requires production capacities and, consequently, additional energy, natural, informational, and social resources. In this regard, we employ the concept of metabolic "nodes" as a network process that overlap and impede; each node of the kind spawns numerous visible and invisible interdependent metabolic transformations that can be viewed as socially and environmentally friendly or harmful, with visible or yet unknown nodes. Later in the study, we would apply this approach to visualize interdependent relationships between and among various nodes that produce either positive or negative effects in the society and environment.

In our opinion, the SEM approach is advantageous for the understanding of causal relationships between subsystems; nevertheless, we will also employ middle-range theories to explain the processes occurring inside them. In particular, we will use the environmental inequality approach (Gonzalez, 2018; Pellow, 2002). We concluded that there is a confrontation between the environmentally unprotected groups of the population, enterprises, and pollution-monitoring structures in the most polluted urban districts. They also determined the positions of such a confrontation.

The notion of a world-system by Wallerstein (2001) is applied to megalopolises, where the inequality in the supply of resources between the center and the periphery becomes a global issue, and is projected on the model of the confrontation between the center and the surrounding territories of cities and megalopolises regarding the provision of equal access to clean residential territories. The infrastructure of built-up cities is hard and slow to change, and such cities are often closely connected with the surrounding territories, which is why the waste streams are taken away from the center and to the surrounding territories if there is no recycling infrastructure, such as sorting stations and well-equipped landfills. Degrading waste, self-ignition of dumping sites, and new incineration plants built within the city boundaries are risk points for the citizens. It raises questions related to the principles of environmental justice, where all citizens, regardless of their race, skin color, national background, and income take equal part in the development of, implementation, and compliance with environmental protection legislation, rules, and policies. The asymmetry in the legislative and politico-economic status of megalopolises, and the territories where MSW emitted by such megalopolises is stored and reclaimed, is an acute problem in the national context of individual countries (in the Russian context, in particular) (Ermolaeva et al., 2019).

Methodology

This research, in the form of an exploratory case study, used a mixed methods approach. The selection of the city of Moscow and its agglomeration as a test bed for the SEM approach is rationalized, first of all, by the bulk of activities undertaken in its territory under the Federal project *Chistaia srana* [Clean Country], a mass recycling campaign, including the building of an incineration plant, etc. Secondly, following the environmental inequality approach, we will reflect on Moscow and its border territories

in the context of a system of flows of substances which are distributed with different degrees of concentration in its territory and in the surrounding environments.

In the first stage, we employed secondary data analysis (public opinion polls, media discourse analysis, federal and regional programs, etc.) to study the existing discourse in the field of education and management of MSW, regional characteristics, as well as determining a pool of experts for interviews. In the second stage, semi-structured expert interviews (*n* = 90) were conducted with researchers from academia (30) and environmental organizations (30), leaders of environmental and civic initiatives (20), and "garbage" operators (10). Informants were selected based on the snowball sample with the following criteria: wide knowledge of the subject; availability of fundamental knowledge in the field of expertise; the presence of their original ideas and concepts; and, ability to take a clear research position. In the first stage, narrative analysis is performed, to convert the discontinuous, illogical raw material to coherent and ordered text. In the second stage, the meanings were consolidated— the informants' judgments were reduced to short formulations, a set of conclusions. The study was conducted in the spring of 2018.

We would like to state certain limitations associated with the case study approach that could be acknowledged and overcome in future research on the topic. While the desk research highlighted the general state of MSW that is true to all megalopolises in Russia, in the empirical data we analysed SEM based on the city of Moscow and its agglomeration to capture the causal relationship and make SEM conceptualization more precise and region-specific.

Results

Trigger Node. The New Legislation Regulating Socio-Economic Tools in the Field of MSW Management in Russian Megalopolises and the Political Decisions Related to the Shutdown of Individual Landfill Sites

The issue of managing waste in Russia became especially urgent at the time of the radical reforms of the 1990s and further restructuring of the industrial sector when the elements of the cyclical production and processing of materials, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, and plastics that were available in the Soviet system ceased to exist; only individual initiatives for oil product refining remained, and glass and paper recycling plants became disengaged from direct logistics (Zaytsev, 2012). Discussion and ratification of the procedures and remit of the new institution regulating the collection and reclamation of waste were delayed for two decades. While the infrastructure of the recycling industry was "paused", the citizens' consumption speed, resource extraction, production of goods, citizens' purchasing power, and the variety of goods started to rapidly increase at the beginning of the 2000s, after a sharp decrease in the 1990s. Nevertheless, even during the crisis of the 1990s, megalopolises were growing (Moscow and its urban agglomeration were growing at the fastest pace) at the expense of a migrant influx coming from other regions of Russia and post-Soviet countries. Against this backdrop, the production of municipal waste was rapidly multiplying.

Figure 1

Model of Metabolic Transformations in the Area of Municipal Solid Waste Management: The City of Moscow Case

The new legislation regulating socio-economic tools in the field of MSW

Trigger nodes

The political decisions related to the shut down landfill sites

Node 1. The transformations of the infrastructure in the area of MSW disposal

Fostering tech-innovations (smart containers, etc.)

Node 2. The socio-ecological consequences of the MSW changes

Introduction of new workplaces

Lack of recycling capacities

Lack of regional operators

Introduction of the legitimised initiatives on waste sorting

Introduction of recycling practices

No changes in the economic flows (lack of raw materials for recycling, etc.)

Contamination of all environments with MSW decomposition substances

Accelerated new infrastructure in the area of waste reclamation

Expansion of landfills

Environmental inequity increase

Lack of coherent awareness campaign in recycling

Negative impact on health

Recycling is not implemented in citizens' routine

Environmental conflicts and tensions

Misuse of garbage containers or their "standstills"

Territorial schemes were changed by the local authorities

No increase in the volume of useful waste sorting into different fractions (with the dynamics of approximately 1–2%)

Increase of paternalism and fatigue of citizens as the result of the continuation of MSW construction

Fostering the zero-waste movements

Strengthening of citizens' ecoactivism

"Harmful" metabolic transformations

"Positive metabolic" transformations

Metabolic transformations that impose the greatest risks

Note. Source: Authors.

At the legislative level, the regulation of different sectors of waste production and management lost its internal connection, and the metabolic chains of waste management became disjointed, which was an aggravating factor. In other words, the main responsibility for waste collection and disposal was assumed by municipal governments and private waste management companies whose responsibility was to export MSW to landfill sites and waste incineration plants (WIPs). Only a small portion of the enterprises (4%) were responsible for the reclamation and were forced to independently provide themselves with raw materials. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the sector of MSW disposal and storage has become highly criminalized; a considerable proportion of this business was occupied by "unscrupulous" actors, which led to the exponential growth of unauthorized disposal sites around Moscow. A statement made by Russian President Vladimir Putin in November 2016 attests to the dominance of the shadowed waste management business:

> I must admit. As for the Moscow region, I had to address certain issues personally. It was impossible to get things moving, there is criminal activity, and certain businesses flourishing. Citizens were simply unable to solve these issues. Even local authorities were unable to do anything until I personally commanded internal military forces to intervene. (Putin rasskazal, 2016; trans. by P. E., Yu. E., & D. E.)

As a result, 31.1 billion tons of waste were accumulated in Russia, 20% of which came from Moscow and the Moscow region, while the annual increase of MSW amounts to 2.5% (Ermolaeva et al., 2019). The deficit of economic, legislative, and technological tools, as well as a high degree of corruption and the presence of criminal structures, brought Russia to be entrapped in the niche of a "linear" economy.

Stage 1. The new approach to waste management was introduced in 2014 when the new version of the Federal Law No. 89-FZ *Ob otkhodakh proizvodstva i potrebleniia* [On industrial and household waste] (1998) was passed. The amendments included new terminology, and such terms as waste "reclamation", "recycling", "regeneration", or "recuperation" were introduced, which did not affect the development of the infrastructure in this sector but were required for the international standardization of terms (O vnesenii izmenenii, 2014). New principles of waste management were also defined to determine the line of development of this sector (the priority was given to reclamation over waste incineration and landfilling); new regulatory mechanisms were introduced (a ban on the disposal of wastes containing useful components, extended producer responsibility, an institute of regional operators); the powers of the authorities were adjusted (the mission to solve the waste issue was transferred from the municipal level to the regional one); the parameters for calculating and paying environmental charges were defined, as well as the expenditure terms for the environmental charges received in the federal budget. Then, enterprises had to report in and maintain a public record of the extent of waste, which allowed the creation of a base of registered and recorded waste for further processing. However, departments and ministries were still responsible for individual production and consumption sectors, while not being united into a single functional system with a single waste tracking and liability scheme.

Stage 2. This stage is associated with the appearance of regional operators and a whole single tracking system that synchronized different chains of the MSW recycling and reclamation cycle. The regional operators chosen by each region of the Russian Federation to coordinate the process of MSW management were supposed to create a single metabolic cycle. The regional operators have to agree with the political region on domestic waste collection, disposal, and reclamation. Regional operators accumulate all financial flows coming from the population, business, governmental companies, and other domestic waste generators and make agreements on actual waste handling with other market actors or do it on their own, given the opportunity, for the minimum term of 10–15 years (Ermolaeva et al., 2019). The new institute regulates the relationships between all stakeholders in the waste management system in each region by the creation of an infrastructure for waste disposal collection, as well as the development of the necessary sorting capacities. As of the end of 2017–2018, territorial waste management schemes were developed in 85 subjects of the Russian Federation, and regional waste management schemes were developed in 52 subjects (Ermolaeva, 2021).

On January 1, 2018, a new federal law was passed (O vnesenii izmenenii, 2017), according to which Russia began to transition to the new MSW management system. The payment for MSW management is moved from communal expenses to the list of payments for utility services, which increases the cost of MSW disposal and creates an economic resource for the recycling sector. This reorganization of the legislation generates new nodes of metabolic transformations that did not exist before. We suggest reviewing them individually below.

Node 1. The Transformations of the Infrastructure in the Area of MSW Disposal in Russian Megalopolises (see Fig. 1)

Municipal waste constitutes 82%, and its dynamics have not changed (Tulokhonova & Ulanova, 2013). Regarding the observations of the morphological composition of the citizens' waste over 16 years from 1991 to 2013, Tulokhonova and Ulanova's (2013) came to the following conclusions: polymeric materials show the highest increase from 3% to 13.8%, whose amount doubled over a decade; the segment of glass nearly tripled in size (from 4.2% to 11.4%); the share of metal waste dropped significantly (from 8.1% to 2.8%); the segment of organic waste remained at 30% of the total waste generation rate. Although consumption and the amount of waste continue to grow[1], the level of the beneficial use of waste also increased from 40% in 2006 to 60% in 2016 (Ermolaeva et al., 2019). The new infrastructure represented by governmental and private enterprises[2] specializing in waste management began to appear along with new workplaces, forming the seeds of the circular economy. In comparison with

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[1]   According to the Federal Service for Supervision of Natural Resource, by 2018, 38 billion 73 million tons of industrial and domestic waste have been accumulated in Russia. At the same time, 6 billion 220.6 million tons were generated in 2017 (which is 12.5% more than in 2016). Two billion 53.9 million tons of waste were recycled in 2018. (Riumin, 2019)

[2]   Within the scope of the transition to the best technologies available.

the municipal sector where recycling contains only 7–10% of total waste, in industrial waste sectors, the rate of waste reusability is over 60% (Ermolaeva & Rybakova, 2019).

New infrastructural transformations were also associated with the appearance of an initiative on the separate sorting of MSW, as required by legislation. This initiative implies the technological process of waste sorting into small components by hand or using automated conveyors with the collection of the most valuable elements for further recycling. In this regard, the number of material recovery facilities (MRF) in Russia has grown to 60 units since 2010 (Nepomiashchaia, 2018). At the same time, the number of small material recovery businesses employing only manual labor to sort different types of waste increased many times and is not subject to official registration.

Since January 1, 2018, waste sorting was implemented in several Russian regions (the Moscow region, the Republic of Tatarstan, Nizhny Novgorod region, Belgorod region, and others)[3]. Changes were also introduced to the technological amenities of the waste management sector in large Russian cities: online software and applications devoted to waste disposal were developed, as well as systems of waste collection synchronization with municipal authorities and private companies; "smart" containers equipped with the function of alerting the people responsible when the container is full were introduced; navigation control over garbage trucks was implemented (Ermolaeva, 2021). Regional operators and non-profit organizations have organized waste sorting in small and middle-sized towns, such as Vladimir, Izhevsk, Kyshtym, the village of Lisii Nos, Mytishchi, Novokuznetsk, Ozersk, Perm, Saransk, Cheliabinsk, and in most districts of Moscow and Saint Petersburg (approximately 70–80%) (Rukov, 2018).

As one expert commented on this situation:

> Operators are prescribed the task of developing waste sorting in their territories. They try to do this to the best of their personal interests. There are citizens who keep close tabs on the installation of containers in their districts, on the people responsible for that; they check whether everything works the way it should. It gives rise to the public control that makes annual checks of all the issues related to separate waste collection, which allows companies to be more conscientious when it comes to this part of their contract and to develop public collection structures. (The representative of a non-profit organization, personal communication, March 15, 2018; trans. by P. E., Yu. E., & D. E.)

These initiatives triggered the appearance of new waste sorting practices among the population in megacities, yet the major changes will be observed only "after 10–15 years, because people in megacities need time and became more eco-friendly" (The representative of a non-profit organization, personal communication, March 15, 2018; trans. by P. E., Yu. E., & D. E.).

Public polls conducted in Russia showed that by 2019, the dynamics of waste disposal had not changed, and only 7% of the Russian population sorted their waste, the same as in 2012 (Ermolaeva et al., 2019). The respondents stated that they refused to separate their waste due to external factors: 69% pointed at the "absence of the

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[3]   Most often, recyclable elements (glass, plastic, metal) and non-recyclable waste.

infrastructure for the separate waste collection at the place of residence", 20% of the surveyed people did not know how to separate waste, and 11% alluded to the lack of time (Ermolaeva et al., 2019). A study published by the researchers (Volkova, 2018) showed that the group of people intending to get involved in waste sorting (potential participants) amounted to 19%, along with citizens intending to continue separate waste collection and sorting amounting to 29%. The majority of Russians (68%) have never started sorting waste in recent years (indifferent citizens). Compared to 2014, the number of people participating in waste sorting increased, in a scientists' opinion:

Operators had to cover 20% of the population in two years, 40% of the population in the following two years, and so on. The population was supposed to become involved in waste sorting. As we can see, only about 10% of the population is currently involved, but the situation is changing, and we hope that in 15–20 years, people will be more involved in these processes, and everything will be great. (The representative of the public administration, personal communication, April 1, 2018; trans. by P. E., Yu. E., & D. E.)

A representative of a non-profit organization observed:

In 2013, the implementation of government contracts on waste management began, and waste sorting became one of the terms of such contracts. Target values specified in these government contracts are very unimposing. The requirements stipulated in these government contracts for such a megalopolis as Moscow only imply the presence of one waste collection station for every 11,000 citizens. For such an infrastructure, it's a vestige […] Government contracts do not make any provisions for awareness-rising. If we were to put waste sorting containers all across the city, but didn't work with the population and didn't explain how and why they should handle their waste, the situation would not improve. (The representative of a non-profit organization, personal communication, April 5, 2018; trans. by P. E., Yu. E., & D. E.)

Statistically, even after the waste is sorted, 80–90% of it goes to landfills. The State Register of Waste Disposal Sites documented 849 landfills, disposal sites, dumps, and different types of storage facilities, 170 of which are designated MSW landfills (Pasport natsionalnogo proekta, n.d.). All of this, in turn, puts a strain on the environment through spontaneous combustion of landfills, air and groundwater pollution, etc. Among all Russian regions, the Moscow region remains the most loaded with municipal waste, and became the point with high-level protest activity among the citizens (Skipor, 2020). The environmental inequality between the center and the periphery in terms of waste disposal offers new criteria for social stratification and redefines the established social distance and roles of Russian megalopolises and neighboring territories (for example, Iadrovo and Malinki landfills), which we will discuss in detail below (see Node 2). The reciprocal relations and mutual influence of natural, social, and technological components of waste management that impact

the safety of the population require study. This is vividly illustrated by the case of the emergency landing of *Ural'skie avialinii* [Ural Airlines] plane in Moscow region caused by a bird strike originating from an unauthorized landfill nearby that attracted the birds (Passazhirskii A-321, 2019).

The national project *Ekologiia* [Ecology] includes nine federal projects (e.g., *Chistaia strana* [Clean Country], *Chistyi vozdukh* [Clean Air], etc.). The work is undertaken in five areas: waste, water, air, biodiversity, technology. The federal projects are aimed at the reclamation of the most dangerous objects of accumulated environmental damage: the elimination of unauthorized dumps within the boundaries of cities. It is assumed that following the results of the projects, the demographic situation in the country and the quality of life of the population will significantly improve. The deadline for the implementation of the national project is December 31, 2024 (Pasport natsionalnogo proekta, n.d.). According to these projects, by 2025, five WIPs should be built (four of them in Moscow region, and one in the Republic of Tatarstan). It is intended that 1–2% of the MSW generated in large Russian urban zones will be delivered there.

For example, in the city of Moscow, in contrast to other regions, several regional operators perform within the city, removing waste from each administrative district. Collection is mixed and separate. In general, Moscow is overloaded with waste, and its citizens do not recycle carefully enough.

According to *Rossiiskii ekologicheskii operator* [Russian Environmental Operator], by the end of 2022, ten waste treatment complexes will operate in the Moscow region, two of which will be a part of the EcoLine group. The company, in turn, exports 42% of the waste from Moscow and 17% from the Moscow region for processing. The waste sorting complex *Vostok* (currently the largest in Europe) is recycling 1.2 million tons per year for 8% of the mixed waste and more than 35% of the separately collected waste. At the beginning of 2022, the most technologically advanced *Neva* complex in Russia, with a capacity of 500,000 tons per year, started operating. Moscow already has an impressive processing infrastructure for waste at the processing stage, but it is not properly loaded with raw materials. Currently, in Moscow there are five waste transfer facilities, four waste sorting complexes, two PET recycling complexes, a complex for the processing of electrical waste, and 134 stationary recycling points. There are more than 2,000 machines for receiving cans, and 2,300 containers for separate waste collection. At the last stage of the life cycle of waste generation, four WIPs operate dealing with 770,000 tons per year; fractions that cannot be processed at the moment are burned here. An increase in the depth of processing is possible if a larger percentage of the population is involved in separate collection. A reduction in the production of non-recyclable fractions can be achieved through direct work with the population and the introduction of economically positive incentives (Chernyshev, 2022).

WIPs do not require preliminary waste sorting, which is why, according to the program, they were considered to be an alternative to landfills and an opportunity to prevent further accumulation of waste in the vicinity of residential areas. However, the construction of WIPs did not discontinue the increase in the number of landfills. This is how one of the experts commented on the given situation:

Currently, it is suggested that four waste incineration plants will be built in Moscow region to handle the waste generated in Moscow. Even though it does not fit into the public policy. It is a high risk for the environment [...] Will we believe that recycling is something impossible for us, that our citizens will be unable to sort their waste? Then, with time, we will have more environmental disaster areas in Moscow region. If we manage to turn this situation to support the processing facilities and establish the infrastructure for the collection of recyclable materials, we will be able to transition to good recycling rates and lesser environmental pollution. (The representative of a non-profit organization, personal communication, April 23, 2018; trans. by P. E., Yu. E., & D. E.)

New generation technologies allow the minimization of the negative influence of WIPs on the environment but leave behind up to 0.99% of hazardous emissions in the form of ash, which leads to economic losses and social clashes (Zaytsev, 2012). A separate issue concerns the implementation of the thermal methods of waste decomposition resulting in the production of fuel or chemical raw materials (for example, pyrolysis) that allow plants to function autonomously and give away a small part of the residue for public heating, but cannot compete with the sector of recycling in terms of supplying secondary raw materials.

Thus, despite the priorities stipulated in the legislation, the main waste disposal schemes remain to be landfills and WIPs, while waste sorting is developing slowly (from 5% to 7%) and the recycling sector is progressing even slower—does not exceed 10% by 2018, according to different sources (Ermolaeva, 2021). All of this continues to aggravate the imbalance in support of the linear economy because the main sector of waste sorting and recycling is not progressing. The compilation of territorial schemes under the project "Clean Country" is a significant advance in the issue of standardization of the process, where the main positive force is the coordination of stakeholders, as it allowed the collection of a list of pain points of regions that were previously unknown. However, the principles of the project themselves are not resource efficient in comparison with the zero-waste policy, as confirmed by an expert survey and content analysis of the project. Nevertheless, there was a need to reconsider the power of local solutions on the ground, which can be implemented in Russian conditions. If priorities in the field of creation and infrastructure are redistributed recycling, there is a necessity to pay more attention to the principles of scrupulous waste collection, as well as the creation of complex metabolic systems of ecological and industrial parks. The reform was not fully implemented due to a number of internal shortcomings: some regional operators were not environmentally responsible; the separate collection infrastructure was not convenient for citizens in some regions; tariffs for the population and extended producer responsibility schemes were not developed, including a project to tax companies for packaging; the waste recycling targets laid down in the Industrial Development Strategy turned out to be inconsistent with the content and implementation of the waste management hierarchy; and there was excessive bureaucratization, as a result of which the already implemented recycling schemes with the help of small waste collection companies in small towns could not compete with the newly arrived regional operator.

As one academic interviewee stated:

We need a waste incineration plant. Waste sorting lines are only suitable for the "fresh stuff," the waste that has just been collected and is being taken to a sorting station at once. The thing is, if waste spends half a year lying in a landfill while the seasons change, it is no longer suitable for sorting. This is why we need a waste incineration plant to simply get rid of the solid domestic waste landfill. Though this is not a solution for the newly generated waste. (The representative of academia, personal communication, May 13, 2018; trans. by P. E., Yu. E., & D. E.)

Although currently there are 14,000 companies with a license for waste disposal, only about 200 enterprises specialize in waste reclamation and the acquisition of secondary raw materials. The necessity of implementing waste sorting to 100% for the replenishment of the raw materials base is a major challenge. The amendments to the legislation did not trigger any internal changes in the economic flows in 2014–2019, including the stagnant demand for the final product (derivative products), lack of raw materials for recycling (inability to ensure a stable supply is a result of not having an effective system of waste collection and the lack of sorting capacities), and others.

Compared to 2010, the cost of environmental protection almost doubled in 2015 and continues to grow, while the beneficial use of waste remains at an unjustifiably low level. While the financial flows are directed at the remediation of the landfills and construction of WIPs, the imbalance in the distribution of waste flows will also persist. Investments into the main capital intended for the protection of the environment from the harmful effects of the waste comprised 8.423 billion rubles in 2016 according to the Russian Federal State Statistics Service, which is 33% less compared to 2015 (Krasnoshchekov & Olgarenko, 2019). The major portion of these investments is still used for the construction and remediation of MSW landfills.

In the course of establishing a single system and registry of the regional waste management schemes, internal communication mismatches surfaced in the constituent elements of the consumption and recycling node, such as the lack of recycling capacities, and lack of regional operators in several regions and the expansion of landfills, etc. This leads to a further environmental imbalance that begets new socio-ecological conflicts (Node 3). Stagnant demand for the final product (derivative products) continues.

Despite the escalating environmental issues, the last link in the metabolic chain (recycling) has slowly become bigger, and over the past ten years, the overall percentage of recycling of different elements of waste increased by 3–5%. The recycled paper market is the leader of the Russian reclamation sector with 2.9 million tons of secondary raw materials employed with a recovery efficiency of 27%. In 2017, 11% of the recycled pulp collected in Russia was shipped for export. The recovery efficiency of plastic and rubber-containing waste is significantly lower (10–15%), which is associated with the fact that the biggest part of such waste is generated by the population (Volkova, 2018).

By 2024, the Ministry of Industry and Trade of the Russian Federation in cooperation with the Ministry of Natural Resources and the Environment is supposed to launch a new MSW management system employing some kind of a public-private partnership where the government can cover up to 30% of the expenses on the establishment of the sector, which is meant to connect the metabolic chains of the technological infrastructure and businesses (Volkova, 2018).

Node 2. Socio-Environmental Consequences of the Changes in the Area of MSW Disposal in Russian Megalopolises (see Fig. 1)

Russian dumping sites release 1.5 million tons of methane and 21.5 million tons of CO_2 into the atmosphere every year (Ferapontov, 2018). The environmental load is indicated in Table 1.

Table 1

Environmental Waste Impact

Impact on soil and water	Residues resulting from the incineration of household waste classified as hazardous. Infiltrates and ash from incinerated wastes of the following elements, which in excess can be harmful to the environment and humans: mercury, lead, arsenic, cadmium, chromium, some heavy metals, asbestos, radioactive elements including medicines (Ob utverzhdenii sanitarnykh pravil, 2021)
Impact on atmosphere	Waste incineration is one source of dioxins and furans, the most toxic of all persistent organic pollutants (POPs), and include polychlorinated dibenzo-p-dioxins and dibenzofurans (dioxins and furans or PCDD/DF), but are not limited to them. In emissions MSW also contains other dioxin-like compounds, for example, polychlorinated naphthalene. Dioxins and furans are defined in the Stockholm Convention on persistent organic pollutants as unintentional POPs. Also, depending on the quality and degree of purification in waste, solid particles can form from sulfur dioxide. Landfills without special equipment and uncontrolled landfills may generate excess landfill gases—methane, carbon dioxide, nitrogen oxides, polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) (Stockholm Convention, n.d.)
Costs of operating landfills and incinerators that are close to residential areas	Smell, visual impact, parasites (insects, rats), heavy transport traffic, noise (Eldesbaev et al., 2015)
Social aspects	Related conflicts with unfair distribution. Environment and competition for land (between different social classes and households)
Land use	Land use sites designated for landfills and other waste treatment, as well as waste disposal sites, are unsuitable for agriculture, construction and recreation
Possible long-term effects	Loss of biodiversity and ecosystem services (regulating services, cultural, supply services, and in cases of dishonest operation of landfills emergency situations are possible—fires due to possible spontaneous combustion of landfills) (Bobylev & Zakharov, 2009)

Municipal waste can contain significant amounts of toxic chemicals. According to the literature, the average concentrations of heavy metals (zinc, manganese, copper, chromium, lead, mercury, etc.) in MSW have increased by 1.6–3 times over the past four decades (Cherniaeva, 2013). In the 80–90s of the last century, it was found that compost made from household waste significantly exceeds the content in soils in terms of the presence of a number of toxic elements (the content of lead, zinc, copper, molybdenum, silver and ten times greater—mercury) (Shcherbo, 2002). Currently, more than 100 substances defined as hazardous are used in everyday life. First of all, heavy metals are emitted (cadmium and nickel contained in batteries, consumer electronics, plastics, paints; lead—in paint, electrical wiring, batteries; mercury—in fluorescent lamps, etc.), various types of pesticides, as well as substances contained in cleaning products, varnishes, etc. The combustion of polymers, the content of which in MSW reaches 40%, leads to the formation of highly hazardous toxicants, specifically polychlorinated biphenyls, dioxins, benzofurans, cadmium and zinc (Onishchenko, 2003). The consequences of the impact of waste on the human body are set out in Table 2.

Table 2

The Burden of Waste on the Body, Inherent in Working Landfills and Living Close to Unequipped Landfills and Incinerators

1. Central nervous system	The main target organ is the brain, especially the harmful effects rendered by lead, beryllium, arsenic, antimony, polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs)
2. Digestive and urinary systems	The main target organs are the liver and kidneys. The impact is caused by lead, cadmium, antimony, dioxins and furans, bromine-containing fire retardants, vinyl chloride (from PVC), PCB
3. Reproductive and endocrine systems	Main target organs are the reproductive glands, but none of the effects are most harmful. Impacts are rendered by lead, brominated flame retardants, dioxins and furans, and types of microplastics containing xenoestrogens
4. Circulatory system	Especially harmful effects, impacted by lead and mercury
5. Skeleton	Especially harmful effect, impacted by cadmium
6. Respiratory system	Target organ: lungs. Increased releases of methane, oxygen, carbon dioxide, in excess, can cause human suffocation
7. Total toxin load	It can be expressed as a moderate or strong systemic load on the body. A toxic load can provoke cancer, provoke both reduced immunity and autoimmune diseases, skin diseases, general weakness, oxide stress, premature aging, weakness and depression

The problem of environmental security is especially pressing for the territories neighboring megalopolises that have become the destination of waste export for large cities (statistically, 15,000 tons of waste are being exported daily from Moscow to the neighbouring regions) (Ferapontov, 2018). In the end, the disposal

of Moscow's waste outside the city limits resulted in conflicts as it did not solve the original problem (to establish a waste recycling and disposal system within the framework of the Ecology and Clean Country projects). One supporter of the current arrangements for waste disposal asserted:

> They [WIPs] are absolutely safe. What is the safety criterion for waste incineration plants? Only one thing, the temperature inside waste combustion chambers must be maintained at 1200 degrees. In this case, everything burns to carbon dioxide, water, and hydrogen chloride in the worst case (if it's organochloride). (The representative of academia, personal communication, April 16, 2018; trans. by P. E., Yu. E., & D. E.)

The media played a great part in the dynamics of waste-related conflicts and strengthened the support of civil interests. Citizens living in the vicinity of the intended waste disposal facilities decisively promoted and combined different forms of activism (picketing approved by the authorities, demonstrations, hunger strikes), digital activism (petitions and pollution-tracking mobile platforms). Wide media coverage supplemented with photo and video reports made it possible to attract numerous participants, namely, 4,000 citizens and activists. The tone of the publications related to waste in the Russian media changed drastically after the traditional annual *Priamaia liniia s Vladimirom Putinym* [Direct Line with Vladimir Putin] in 2017, which featured the question of a resident of Balashikha, Moscow region, where the Kuchino landfill is located holding over 50 years of accumulated waste. In the context of the Russian political and media reality, it meant that the federal authorities did not find it advantageous to ignore this problem and were ready to discuss it with the public. It was most likely that regional middle-ranking officials would be held responsible for the aggravation of the environmental situation there. However, the Russian president's immediate decision to shut down the Kuchino landfill in response to the question led to a chain of systematic consequences because the load on other landfills surrounding Moscow increased sharply, which resulted in a series of protests across the Moscow region. The decision to shut down the Kuchino landfill and the introduction of changes into the legislative base forced the SEM associated with the generation, reclamation, and storage of MSW around Moscow to transition from the regular mode to the emergency mode that can potentially lead to a crisis.

> Currently, waste-related issues are stemming from the fact that the population is motivated; they collected signatures and conducted surveys proving that the people are ready, while the authorities aren't. It's not enough to install separate waste collection containers to solve the issue, it's necessary to establish an infrastructure. The first line of battery recycling was founded by a private business, not the government. A 10–15% increase in the utility rates is justified here. (The representative of industry, personal communication, April 17, 2018; trans. by P. E., Yu. E., & D. E.)

According to the Presidential Council for Human Rights of the Russian Federation, at the beginning of 2019, protests associated with waste-related issues took place in 30 regions of Russia. The most hotspots appeared in different communities of Moscow region, Volokolamsk's Iadrovo, Voskresensk, Odintsovo, Kolomna, Krasnoarmeisk, Serpukhov, Klin, Balashikha, and Dmitrov, where protests were registered. The authorities of Tver region refused to accept the waste coming from Moscow since it was considered to be an issue of the "environmental safety of the region"; the same happened in Kolomna in December 2018. A waste-related conflict directly linked to Moscow even took place a thousand kilometers away from the Russian capital, in Arkhangelsk region, near Shies railway station, where the construction of a landfill was launched to store Moscow's MSW. Importantly, these protests were characterized by the absence of an outspoken leader, unification of participants on a non-ideological basis with a focus on a specific environmental issue, and their network structure. Representatives of the environmental non-governmental organizations had been founded long before the aggravation of the "waste crisis" and did not focus exclusively on this issue, but undoubtedly, contributed to the protest activity and, on several occasions, helped to define the specific demands of the protesters. One of the main demands frequently articulated by the participants of the protests is that waste should have an owner and must be processed in the territory where it was generated (Putin rasskazal, 2016).

The situation associated with the expansion of landfills received widespread publicity, motivated the population to establish new movements, "StopVybros" and "Dushegubka.rf", and rendered active the non-government groups that have been participating in the organization of waste sorting for a long time (Ermolaeva & Rybakova, 2019). In November 2017, Alexander Kogan, Minister of Ecology of the Moscow region, announced that the authorities were changing the "territorial scheme" because of the local protests.

These conflicts gave rise to numerous direct and indirect processes that had an impact on the environmental, social, and political landscape of Russian cities. In 2018–2019, the protest activity associated with the issues of landfills and waste processing plants was comparable in scale to the political protests and even exceeded them in relative terms. Thus, 7,000 people took part in the largest "waste" protest in Volokolamsk, while the total population of the town amounts to 19,000 people; on August 10, 2019, the largest protest associated with the non-admission of independent candidates to the elections in Moscow took place, attracting from 20,000 to 60,000 people according to different estimates, while the total population of the Russian capital amounts to 12.69 million people (Ermolaeva et al., 2021).

On the one hand, waste-related conflicts united various social groups (environmentalists, the academic community, residents, young people, etc.) into a single powerful movement resisting the decisions of the federal and regional elites. Regional movements supporting waste sorting have been the most active new projects ("Eco taxi", "Sobirator", etc) and appear to ensure the local support of eco-friendly companies specializing in MSW sorting and recycling.

Professional growth inevitably led to the strengthening of the personal civic stance. The more you realize the damage done by waste incineration, the more certain you are about being right, and the easier it is to persuade others on the necessity of waste sorting and the development of the waste recycling sector. (The representative of a non-profit organization, personal communication, March 25, 2018; trans. by P. E., Yu. E., & D. E.)

The central headquarters of the strongest NPOs promoting a zero-waste policy were established, for example, *Tsentr resursosberezheniia* [Resource Saving Center], *Otpor* [Rebuff], *Razdel'nyi sbor* [Separate Collection], *Musora.Bol'she.Net* [Garbage.No.More], *Dvizhenie EKA* [EKA Movement] and others (Ermolaeva, 2019). Network structuring allows public organizations and action groups to enhance each other's potential while facilitating the organization of joint events. Considering the spread of the data transparency policy (online platforms tracking dumping sites where anyone can enter data associated with improper disposal of waste and mark the spots of unauthorized dumping sites), it becomes easier for municipal establishments, companies, and citizens to solidarize locally: local solutions are becoming more transparent and legitimate.

Most large enterprises are introducing technologies that can reduce the negative impact on the environment. This includes *Tatneft* and *Taneko* as examples. When through the introduction of new technologies, we get the effect of more rational use of water, we get the effect in the form of a decrease in emissions into the air. Also, work has been established in the republic to monitor the state of the environment. (The representative of a non-profit organization, personal communication, May 01, 2018; trans. by P. E., Yu. E., & D. E.)

On the other hand, the preponderance of political, economic, and social capitals in the hands of the resource groups provoked a certain apathy among the originators of civic initiatives, which could cause their erosion and the strengthening of the paternalistic position. Despite the protests, the construction of WIPs continued. The informational policy of governmental and numerous non-governmental media promoted the initiation of a regular and systematic discussion between the representatives of the government and civic activists.

The problem of combating landfills in Russia is similar to those in the United States, Latin America, and India, and touches on issues of environmental justice. In a number of urban areas where there is not a sufficient level of waste processing, both landfills and incinerators are the main means of disposal, moreover, they are located on the outskirts of city districts (on the periphery). In such areas, a greater number of diseases that are related to the environmental situation are recorded, living standards are falling, social tension is growing, and, ultimately, people have less access to ecosystem services, which provokes an exacerbation of environmental inequality. In combination with the environmental burden, inequality is exacerbated (Pellow, 2002).

Conclusions and Discussion

The health and living standards of Russians are being directly influenced by a variety of interdependent processes. Heightened processes of globalization and urbanization and the expansion of consumerist values have led to a rapid increase in the amount of waste with a consequent growth of unauthorized dumping sites, the construction of waste incineration plants, and the aggravation and politicization of the environmental protests associated with waste disposal.

Most of the current studies on MSW in Russia are conducted via specific disciplines—Sociology, Environmental Studies, Economics, and Political Science which limit the exploration and discussion of MSW as a holistic phenomenon with interconnected processes that occur in different systems and dimensions. Our key objective that allows our research to stand out from other respective works is to show this interconnectedness in MSW beyond the disciplinary boundaries. Thus, we made the first attempt to research the processes of waste disposal in Russian megalopolises through the case study of the city of Moscow from the perspective of the concept of SEM, according to which the life of waste discarded into the environment by humans leads to further metabolic transformations. Following the tradition established by M. Gandy (2004), we focused on the comprehension of qualitative interconnected and interdependent processes and causal relationships in the area of MSW management in Russian megalopolises. When reflecting on the nature of environmental conflicts triggered by the export of waste from the capital of Russia to its neighbouring territories, we extensively employed the approach of environmental inequality.

We concluded that the SEM node that triggered numerous interdependent processes involved the changes introduced in the legislation on MSW management and the decision to shut down several large MSW landfills without the simultaneous implementation of other landfills or WIPs. As a consequence, the new infrastructure represented by governmental and private waste processing enterprises began to appear, forming the makings of the circular economy and new workplaces. New infrastructural transformations were also associated with the appearance of a legally secured initiative on waste sorting that accelerated the development of the infrastructure in the area of waste reclamation. It gave rise to the formation of new practices among the citizens of Russia and augmented their environmental awareness. Nevertheless, infrastructural shortcomings and the lack of a large-scale systematic information campaign in the area of waste sorting prevent these practices from becoming routine and, on the contrary, cause a lot of trouble by triggering a series of negative metabolic processes (for example, the misuse of garbage containers or their "standstills", etc.) while there was no significant increase in the volume of useful waste sorting into different fractions (with the dynamics of approximately 1–2%).

The socio-ecological consequences of the changes in the area of waste management in Russian megalopolises were represented by such processes as the systematic contamination of all environments with MSW decomposition substances,

resulting in them directly affecting the health of the population and contributing to environmental inequality among different groups of citizens (those who live near MSW storage sites and those who reside in relatively safe districts), which aggravates social conflicts and tension. This is exemplified by the protests that took place in the towns of Moscow Oblast where the waste from Moscow is exported. The aforementioned environmental conflicts and protests and the public concern with the construction of WIPs led to radical changes in the SEM of the Russian capital, its urban agglomeration, and some large Russian cities, and became the major risk-genic issues for the urban space. Even though in 2017–2019, the synergy of waste-related conflicts and protests associated with purely political reasons was avoided, this dangerous prospect persists in the future as the systematic problems of MSW generation, recycling, and storage have not been resolved.

We believe that the proposed analysis confirms the original hypothesis. Paradoxically, the metabolic transformations in the area of MSW management, that were largely disseminated by the political elite in the media as environmentally significant in the area of MSW, brought little temporary change into the SEM of the city (for example, the appearance of a new waste sorting infrastructure did not have any significant impact on the number of people sorting MSW) while the environmental conflicts and tension had much more substantial and irreversible effects on the SEM of cities.

Undoubtedly, the general problem of modern-day Russia that cannot be solved when applied exclusively to the environmental challenges is the sustainable interaction of different levels of the political and administrative hierarchy and the public. At the same time, based on the expert interviews, it is possible to articulate recommendations for the mitigation of risks associated with MSW generation, recycling, and storage in large Russian cities:

A. Establishment of federal standards concerning the industrial specifics of individual cities that ensure the priority of the development of a recycling infrastructure to create self-contained metabolic chains in the area of MSW management.

B. Development of economic tools for the support of "green" enterprises and increase of the penalties for the major contaminators; introduction of economic incentives for the population, such as lower communal charges for sorted waste or differentiation of tariffs according to the types of waste, etc.

C. Establishment of a convenient waste sorting infrastructure with responsible regional operators.

The opportunities to address the shortage of raw materials in the metabolic chain of waste reclamation are found in the development of sorting capacities and the stimulation of MSW sorting (both commercial and domestic). Businesses, citizens, and the government should have mutual obligations, whose development and acceptance should be realized based on the extensive and inclusive participation of the stakeholders. The metabolism and waste management scheme should be established starting at the regional level while taking into consideration the common federal principles, including the focus on a resource-efficient metabolism.

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[4]   Доступ к информационному ресурсу ограничен на основании ФЗ от 27.07.2006 г. №149-ФЗ "Об информации, информационных технологиях и о защите информации"

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ARTICLE

The Importance of Green Practices to Reduce Consumption

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ABSTRACT

In modern societies, growing consumption rates lead to the depletion of the planet's resources and the waste generation. This paper studies green practices aimed at reducing consumption, which were published in social media communities covering separate waste collection. First, we selected nine green practices regarding separate waste collection and classified them as adaptive and transformative. Adaptive practices enhance the adaptability of a society to the deteriorating environment without implying consumption reduction. Transformative practices involve reducing substance and energy consumption due to changes in collective and individual actions. Next, we collected 1987 textual posts of six communities of Tyumen region, Russia, published in social media platform VK, and found all mentions of the nine practices using content and hermeneutic analyses. Finally, we identified transformative practices, such as the practices of exchanging, refusing from purchases, sharing, repairing, and promoting sustainable consumption. The obtained results might help some decision-makers create conditions to disseminate the described practices and to introduce new social practices targeting reducing consumption. We show the possibilities of grassroots initiatives in the greening of society.

Introduction

The impact of the environmental crisis makes politicians, business people, public figures, and ordinary citizens revise the prevalent practices in a society (Lamphere & Shefner, 2017; Lazaric et al., 2020). To date, some policies on managing the environment have already been adopted both at the level of the world community and at the level of individual regions (17 Goals to Transform Our World, n.d.; A European Green Deal). However, many researchers are increasingly criticizing these policies by expressing doubts about the effectiveness of the ongoing changes (Measuring Progress, 2021), the society's readiness to support political decisions (Evans et al., 2017), the adequacy of the government support for grassroots initiatives (Lazaric et al., 2020), the inconsistency of the national policy (Lenzen et al., 2018), etc. Criticism becomes especially harsh when it concerns the incessant growth of production and consumption. Some researchers note that people cannot indefinitely increase the production and consumption of goods, services, and resources because of the existing growth limits (Meadows et al., 2005) and the Earth's system threshold (Steffen et al., 2018). Therefore, the consumption growth can be considered the principal cause for modern environmental problems and climate change (Kallis et al., 2018).

Since consumption is a driving force for modern capitalism, some researchers argue that a solution to environmental problems will be impossible without radical change in social practices (D'Alisa et al., 2015; Martin, 2016; Raworth, 2017). In this context, practices positioned as environmental, or green, can differ regarding consumption. Some green practices stimulate consumption by encouraging people to buy highly energy-efficient appliances. Others suggest reducing consumption, for example, by exchanging things. For instance, green nudging aims to make small changes in daily practices that do not imply a refusal to buy things (Exploring the Use of Green Nudges, 2021). On the contrary, the sharing economy assumes the joint use of things that makes it possible to abandon purchases and further results in reduced production (Martin, 2016).

The same dualism regarding consumption exists in the systems of practices such as the concept of sustainable development and the concept of degrowth. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) include the practices of saving resources and protecting the environment. However, they do not imply rejecting the idea of

economic growth. Moreover, the SDGs contribute to the economic growth in poor, middle-income, and upper-middle-income countries with the total population of six billion people (World Bank Country and Lending Groups, n.d.). According to the UN document *17 Goals to Transform Our World*, "ending poverty must go hand-in-hand with strategies that build economic growth" (17 Goals, n.d.), which will undoubtedly increase the resources and energy consumption several tens or hundreds of times (Kallis, 2015; Trantas, 2021). Conversely, the degrowth theorists, who justify the possibility of well-being without increasing the matter and energy flow between society and nature, challenge the idea of economic growth as the main indicator of social development and argue that ecological collapse is inevitable even with zero growth. The criticism of economic growth provokes the criticism of capitalism, GDP, and commodification, which is the transformation of any social products, socioecological services, and relations into any object of economic value. Therefore, the changes in social practices can affect not only resources saving or shifting to environmentally friendly technologies but also the social structure, as well as the speed and meaning of social processes. In other words, "the objective is not to make an elephant leaner, but to turn an elephant into a snail" (D'Alisa et al., 2015, p. 4). A significant variety of ideas about green practices and visions of the future puts a person in a difficult situation to choose an acceptable lifestyle and environment and makes researchers provide justification for distinguishing shades of green practices.

The consumption growth causes not only the depletion of the planet's resources but also the waste growth. Deciding what to do with different things after their use can be a difficult choice in daily practices. The responsible disposal of used things is becoming an integral element of resource-saving practices. Thus, moving from the individual actions to the collective ones, society is placing increasingly high demands not only on the infrastructure for separate waste collection (Shabanova, 2019) but also on the waste disposal and processing (Ezhov, 2019), which the Russian waste management system does not meet. For instance, due to the crisis in the implementation of the waste management reform and absence of consistent measures to prevent waste generation as necessary conditions for ensuring the citizens' environmental rights, the special meeting of the Presidential Council for the Development of Civil Society and Human Rights was held on March 20, 2019 (Obzor SMI, 2019). Overall, the meeting agenda included two items: what to do with waste and how to prevent waste generation. Given the continuous consumption growth, the problem of poor waste management is turning into a major social concern.

Some Russian researchers have become engaged in discussing possible solutions to the waste management issues, including waste recycling (Lopashenko, 2017; Zolotarev, 2015), institutional developments for waste management (Ermolaeva, 2019), rethinking waste as new sources for non-industrial economic growth (Zemskova, 2017), and implementing the international experience (Latypova, 2018). Some researchers have studied the citizens' involvement in functional public practices at the institutional level and the private sector (Ermolaeva & Rybakova, 2019), the factors and the conditions for Russians' engagement in separate waste collection practices (Shabanova, 2019). However, the citizens' practices attempting to solve these issues

have not been investigated in terms of the consumption growth and have not been seen as adaptive and transformative yet (Balsiger et al., 2019). Adaptive practices enhance the adaptability of society to the deteriorating environment and climate change without implying consumption reduction. Transformative practices aim to reduce production and consumption of goods, services, and resources and the waste generation.

The purpose of the article is to identify the green practices aimed at reducing consumption, which were published in social media platform VK[1] communities covering separate waste collection. First, we selected nine green practices regarding the topic of separate waste collection and classified them as adaptive and transformative. Next, we collected the textual posts of six regional VK communities that organise various waste management practices and found all mentions of the nine practices using content and hermeneutic analyses. Finally, we identified transformative practices aimed at reducing consumption in the obtained data. Thus, we focused on three research questions:

(a) Which practices regarding the separate waste collection are adaptive and transformative?
(b) What practices are mentioned in the Tyumen online communities covering separate waste collection?
(c) How common are the citizens' practices aimed at reducing consumption in the selected online communities?

This study will contribute to the understanding of what social practices are promoted in the communities covering separate waste collection, and whether these practices can affect the incessant consumption growth, which is the principal cause for environmental problems. This study will explain how the society of one region, such as Tyumen region, Russia, has been transformed under the influence of the environmental agenda, including the concept of low carbon development (Rasporiazhenie Pravitel'stva, 2021). Knowledge about the transformations of social practices and values of local societies, which put pressure on Earth systems, competing with the geological forces in the Anthropocene era, is a necessary condition for climate stabilization (Steffen et al., 2018) and achieving climate neutrality. Top-down reform projects are not radical enough to drive transformation processes, and they often limit public participation (Trantas, 2021). This study will show the possibilities of grassroots initiatives in the greening of society.

Theoretical Background

This study was framed by the scientific discussion around the Anthropocene as a term that asserts the importance of human activities for the future of our planet (Blok & Jensen, 2019; Clark & Carlisle, 2020). These activities are related not only to such significant actors as corporations, states, and institutions but also to ordinary people who make daily purchases, use transport and household appliances, and develop certain values and traditions in children.

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[1]   VK (short for its original name VKontakte) is a Russian online social media and social networking service. https://vk.com VK™ is a trademark of VK.com Ltd.

To explain social phenomena occurring in the Anthropocene Epoch, this paper focuses on practice theory (Bourdieu, 1990; de Certeau, 1984; Giddens, 1979; Schatzki, 2002; Volkov & Kharkhordin, 2008). Practices are organised sets of actions linked into broader complexes that form the "main field of study of the social sciences" (Giddens, 1984, p. 2). Many existing social practices, for example, waste management practices, have been reshaped in a new context due to the environmental agenda. The waste generation and the practice of dealing with waste disposal can be considered as a universal and historically permanent sphere of social activity (Brednikova & Tkach, 2008). Some studies have covered the historical aspects of waste generation (Barles, 2014; Oldenziel & Trischler, 2015). For example, for a long time, the consumption of secondary raw materials was perceived as a means of reducing the production cost and imports and improving the position of countries in the international market. Additionally, this consumption acted as an incentive for the emergence of a new industry in cities, obtaining economic benefits for different countries (A History of Waste Management, 2013). However, the waste management problem was shifted from national to international by the end of the 1980s, affecting global aspects of soil, water, and air protection (Zamiatina & Fesenko, 2011). Since then, social practices of waste management have been transformed, and the search for adequate solutions to the global problem of waste growth has begun.

According to de Certeau's (1984) everyday life theory, the transformation process of social practices can be carried out both at the level of strategic practices and at the level of tactical practices. The examples of strategic practices are practices of the state and institutions attempting to solve some environmental problems. Tactical practices are capable of escaping from regulatory prescriptions in different ways, making "innumerable and infinitesimal transformations of and within the dominant cultural economy in order to adapt it to their own interests and their own rules" (de Certeau, 1984). Therefore, at the tactical level of daily practices, emerging problems lead to non-trivial solutions, which are necessarily inconsistent with the prevailing socio-economic structure (Buck, 2020; Siragusa & Arzyutov, 2020). Today, the potential of tactical practices is used to overcome the contradictions between society and nature, which citizens and NGO are trying to eliminate through suggested practices. In this paper, the practices harmonizing the relations between nature and society are called green.

Daily green practices regarding waste management or prevention have received considerable researchers' attention who see these practices as an important resource for the greening of society (Lamphere & Shefner, 2017; Lazaric et al., 2020). One of these practices is separate waste collection to foster sustainable behavior (Lazaric et al., 2020), which is legally fixed in many countries. Separate waste collection influences a person's decision to choose products in recyclable packaging or minimal packaging by studying the labeling and information on the packaging (Hobson & Lynch, 2016). The selection of products that can be recycled in the future is part of the zero-waste strategy, which also involves composting waste, reusing, and other recycling methods (Hobson, 2020).

Another practice is collecting signatures for petitions intending to improve regulatory documents or existing social practices, which expresses people's willingness

to change social practices in waste management. The practice of petitioning involves collective actions to affect actors, such as state or private companies (Balsiger et al., 2019). Citizens' petitions and requests to the authorities often aim to reform existing legislation and regulatory frameworks. Apart from reforming, it is essential to create new collective models of society including the promotion of a sustainable lifestyle. Some researchers highlight the current insufficiency of existing collective actions to promote a sustainable lifestyle because they have not led to sustainable behavior (Hobson & Lynch, 2016; Kallis et al., 2018). Balsiger et al. (2019) emphasize the importance of shaping an idea about "the collective as an actor of change". Therefore, it is important to create new images or models to show how social changes can cause social transformations, and how a community can participate in actions to promote sustainable or responsible consumption (Lamphere & Shefner, 2017).

One of these new models can be a circular economic model where waste is revalued as a resource through exchanging, sharing, repairing, reusing, and designing durability and maintainability of products from the moment of their manufacture (A European Green Deal, n.d.). A significant element of the circular economy is the involvement of people in exchange practices (Belk, 2014), which allow things to be used repeatedly and create conditions for developing alternative social practices of exchanging goods, ideas, and experiences (for example, bookcrossing or food sharing). Another important element of the circular economy is the practice of sharing when different people use the same things at different times. This practice stems from the observation that many things such as tools, washing machines, or cars are not constantly used. Therefore, people can reduce the production of some things by using them more intensively and rationally, e.g., by borrowing some necessary tools. However, the sharing economy can also stimulate consumption in the long term (Martin, 2016), thus these sharing practices should be evaluated in terms of environmental limits.

The uncommon practice for the modern world is the practice of repair. People find it difficult to imagine that they can not only recycle a thing but also restore its functions to increase product longevity (Hobson & Lynch, 2016) because of a wide use of disposable products and availability of new things at any time of the day. Therefore, implementing the practice of repair requires subtle social changes. For example, people might need repair training tutorials or repair manuals. People can open voluntary repair cafes where guests can have a good time and get advice and tools for repairing faulty things (Hobson, 2020). Another possible social change for developing the practice of repair can be slowing down social processes to find some free time for repairing by yourself, which is a time-consuming process (D'Alisa et al., 2015).

The next challenging practice to be implemented is the practice of reducing consumption that can be presented in two configurations of practices. The first configuration assumes the usage of this practice along with other practices. For example, the zero-waste strategy combines five practices: refuse, reduce, reuse, recycle, and recover (5R). Refusing and reducing consumption seem to be the most difficult of these practices since they involve changing people's worldview, responsibility, and self-control. Besides, their complexity also lies in their integrated

approach; each of these practices itself includes a set of practices that are not defined and legally prescribed, which makes people take a responsible choice of their behavior. In the second configuration, the practice of reducing consumption unites different practices. The example is degrowth, which means a process of political and social transformation aiming to reduce the energy and resources flow between nature and society while improving the quality of life (Kallis et al., 2018). Degrowth theorists believe that the capitalist growth paradigm cannot be changed in an instant. It is essential to update "basic monetary, fiscal, labor, and welfare institutions (working hours are reduced, new investment in clean sectors is offset by disinvestment in dirty sectors, debt interest is spent or socialized, redistribution of wealth is secured, and growth in relative goods compensates for the decline in material goods)" (Kallis et al., 2018, p. 308). Degrowthers emphasize that history contains many examples of societies flourishing without growth. In the modern society, some practices without growth can be individual downshifting, eco-initiatives, voluntary work, cooperative forms of production, and local currency. Obviously, the promotion of practices without growth is a difficult path of systemic changes in social practices, united by the idea of reducing substances and energy consumption, meeting the needs associated with self-realization, responsibility, and communication.

The idea of reducing consumption does not apply to all practices. Some practices involve the adaptation of the existing social system to the ongoing changes and do not imply a reduction in consumption. Others imply a reduction in the goods and services production and the matter and energy consumption. Using the distinction between practices regarding consumption, Balsiger et al. (2019) identified adaptive and transformative repertoires of environmental changes. The adaptive repertoire is reformist and corresponds to individualism and the paradigm of economic growth; the market continues to expand, offering people more eco-friendly products. One of these repertoires is the promotion of highly energy-efficient appliances. The transformative repertoire is a systemic change directed at reducing production and consumption. The implementation of these repertoires can be individual and collective. An adaptive individual repertoire can be demonstrated by turning off lights or buying energy-saving light bulbs, whereas the example of an adaptive collective repertoire is the recognition of the role of politics and legal regulation in achieving environmental goals and social change. Personal efforts to reduce consumption are made within the framework of an individual transformative repertoire, and a collective transformative repertoire comprises collective actions to change production and consumption systems, the transition to new practices and non-capitalist values.

Embracing the idea of the distinction of the repertoires regarding consumption (Balsiger et al., 2019), we applied this idea to the nine selected green practices classified into adaptive and transformative. Adaptive practices aim at solving environmental problems without reducing consumption, such as the practices of separate waste collection, studying product labeling, waste recycling, and petitioning. Transformative practices involve reducing the matter and energy consumption by changing collective and individual actions, such as the practices of exchanging, refusing from purchases, sharing, repairing, and promoting sustainable consumption.

Methods

To identify the green practices aimed at reducing consumption in the social media (VK.com) communities covering separate waste collection, the study was conducted in three stages.

At the first stage, having reviewed previous studies, we selected the nine green practices most often mentioned in connection with collecting, processing, and preventing waste and classified them as adaptive and transformative following Balsiger et al. (2019). Adaptive practices do not imply a reduction in consumption; therefore, waste sorting, studying the product labeling, waste recycling, and signing petitions can be considered adaptive. Transformative practices involve a reduction in the matter and energy consumption due to the changes in collective and individual actions. Transformative practices include consciously reducing consumption, such as rejecting purchases, exchanging, sharing, participating in actions to promote responsible consumption, and repairing.

The second stage included collecting data from VK, a social media platform popular in Eastern Europe, especially in the post-Soviet countries (Bannykh & Kostina, 2020). To select VK communities covering the topic of separate waste collection, we used the social graph constructed to cluster practices of VK green communities of Tyumen region, Russia, around some important topics for users such as animals, eco-food, eco-markets, and separate waste collection (Zakharova et al., 2021). Another essential selection factor was the availability of posts created from January 2021 to June 2021 when we were collecting data. Thus, six VK communities with the following IDs were selected: *mirotvorets_tmn, vtor_service, ecoteo72, krugovorot_eco, sortstation, ecoworld72* (currently inaccessible). All these VK ID correspond to the names of the organisations in Russian: "Miro Tvorets" (*mirotvorets_tmn*) meaning "peacekeeper", "GK Vtorservis" (*vtor_service*) meaning "recyclable material", "Ecoteo" (*ecoteo72*) representing Tyumen Ecological Organisation, "Nol' otkhodov v Tiumeni. Krugovorot" (*krugovorot_eco*) meaning "Zero waste in Tyumen. Circulation", "Razdel'nyi sbor otkhodov v Tiumeni. Sortirovochnaia" (*sortstation*) meaning "Separate waste collection in Tyumen. Sorting", "Ecoworld72" (*ecoworld72*), where 72 represents the regional code for Tyumen.

Although a common issue of waste collection unites these six VK communities, their activities differ from each other. "Miro Tvorets" and "GK Vtorservis" are both commercial organisations that buy recyclables and sell them to processing enterprises. However, while marketing recyclables is the main activity for "GK Vtorservis", it is the secondary activity for "Miro Tvorets" that is mainly engaged in charity, helping people in difficult life situations and promoting eco-lifestyle. "Ecoteo" is the regional operator for solid municipal waste management providing waste collecting, processing, and disposal. Besides, it organises the delivery of municipal waste to three regional waste sorting plants and waste disposal to three landfills. Two voluntary organisations "Sortirovochnaia" and "Krugovorot", headed by the same person, are interconnected with each other. "Sortirovochnaia" aims to explain and show the process of separate waste collection through different training programs,

whereas "Krugovorot" specifically informs people how to refuse to buy new things, reduce consumption, reuse things, recycle waste, and compost organic matter. The Ecoworld72 community does not have clearly defined goals of its activities. It shows reposted content, pictures, videos thematically related to nature, environmental protection, and separate waste collection. The number of the communities' subscribers varies from one to two and a half thousand people apart from "Krugovorot" that consists of more than seven thousand subscribers.

After having selected the six VK communities, we collected their textual posts by using the application programming interface (VK API) and the Python programming language and then moved to the next stage of the research.

The third stage included analyzing the texts contained mentions of the selected nine practices. To exclude texts that did not have content relevant to the purpose of this study, content analysis was used. Then to identify references to nine practices, we read the collected texts independently using a hermeneutic analysis and discussed to reach agreement on the identified practices.

Results

The dataset comprises of 1,987 textual posts (Table 1) identified by the hermeneutic and the content analyses. More than two thirds of the posts in the studied communities contain at least one mention of one of the nine practices.

Table 1 shows the proportion of the posts containing any of the nine selected practices, which is calculated as the ratio of the number of the posts containing practice mentions to the total number of the posts in the community.

Table 1

Distribution of Posts in VK Communities

Characteristic		Community						
		mirotvorets_tmn	*ecoteo72*	*ecoworld72*	*vtor_service*	*krugovorot_eco*	*sortstation*	Total
Number of subscribers (June 2021)		2,463	998	2,496	1,072	7,252	2,748	17,029
Number of posts		187	445	17	105	1067	166	1,987
Posts containing mentions of the selected practices	Count	167	101	11	86	828	123	1,316
	% within the total number of posts	89.3	22.7	64.7	81.9	77.6	74.1	66.2

Note. Source: Authors.

Table 2 demonstrates the results of the quantitative and the qualitative analyses of the selected posts. Relative frequency is the ratio of the quantity of mentions of a practice in a studied community to the quantity of all the posts containing mention of practices in a studied community. The number of the posts mentioning practices is the value taken from Table 1. In all the communities, the mention of the practices of sorting and processing waste are prevalent while the practice of repair is the least frequently mentioned.

Table 2

Distribution of Practice Mentions

Community	Practice mentions								
	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9
mirotvorets_tmn									
Count	99	0	137	0	2	0	0	13	0
Relative frequency	0.593	0	0.82	0	0.012	0	0	0.078	0
ecoteo72									
Count	16	4	32	0	17	3	0	29	2
Relative frequency	0.158	0.04	0.317	0	0.168	0.03	0	0.287	0.02
ecoworld72									
Count	9	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
Relative frequency	0.818	0	0.091	0	0.091	0	0	0.091	0
vtor_service									
Count	68	1	14	0	12	8	0	10	0
Relative frequency	0.791	0.012	0.163	0	0.14	0.093	0	0.116	0
krugovorot_eco									
Count	412	25	181	25	72	108	3	236	7
Relative frequency	0.498	0.03	0.219	0.03	0.087	0.13	0.004	0.285	0.008
sortstation									
Count	36	20	111	0	3	8	0	11	2
Relative frequency	0.293	0.163	0.902	0	0.024	0.065	0	0.089	0.016

Note 1. Waste sorting (P1), studying the product labeling (P2), waste recycling (P3), signing petitions (P4), refusing purchases (P5), exchanging (P6), sharing (P7), participating in actions to promote responsible consumption (P8), and repairing (P9).
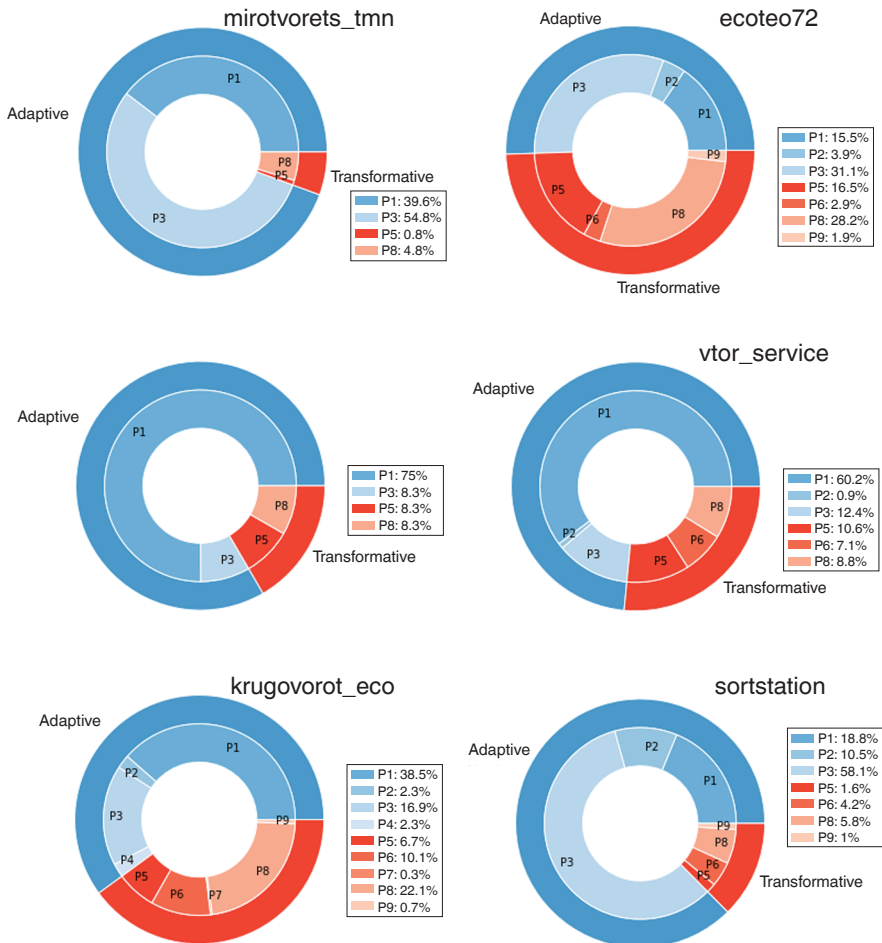
Note 2. Source: Authors.

Figure 1 presents the distribution of the posts in the VK communities in the inner circle and the classification of the nine practices into adaptive and transformative in the outer circle.

Figure 1 shows that the content of the posts of *krugovorot_eco* is the most diversified in terms of the mentioned practices. Only this community contains the practices of signing petitions and sharing. Comparing to other communities, considerable attention is given to the topics of reducing consumption, exchanging, and participating in actions to promote responsible consumption. The least diverse content of the posts is contained in *mirotvorets_tmn* and *ecoworld72* that mention four practices. The most prevalent topics of the posts are separate waste collection and recycling. These topics are also of special interest in *sortstation, vtor_service* but the number of mentioned practices are seven and six, respectively. Like *sortstation*, the VK community *ecoteo72* has also seven mentioned practices but apart from the

topic of recycling, the prevalent topic is participating in actions to promote responsible consumption.

Most of the practices mentioned in the communities are adaptive; the percentage of the posts containing mention of adaptive practices varies between 94.4% and 51.5%. The most common transformative practices can be seen in *krugovorot_eco* and *ecoteo72*. In *krugovorot_eco*, the mentions of the five transformative practices represent 39,9% of all practice mentions, and *ecoteo72* contains four transformative practices representing 49,5%. Transformative practices are not often mentioned, for example *mirotvorets_tmn* contains 5,6% of the total number of the posts, *sortstation*—12,6%, *ecoworld72*—16,6%, *vtor_service*—26,5%.

Figure 1

Distribution of Adaptive and Transformative Practices

Note. Source: Authors.

Discussion

To identify the green practices aimed at reducing consumption in social media (VK.com) communities covering separate waste collection, we studied the posts of the six communities of Tyumen region, Russia, mentioning the nine green practices. Given the approach of these practices to consumption, they were classified into adaptive, such as waste sorting, studying the product labeling, waste recycling, signing petitions, and transformative, such as refusing purchases, exchanging, sharing, participating in actions to promote responsible consumption, and repairing. The targeted six VK communities represent two commercial companies "GK Vtorservis", "Miro Tvorets", the regional operator for solid municipal waste management "Ecoteo", two voluntary organisations "Sortirovochnaia", "Krugovorot", and "Ecoworld72" with unclearly defined goals of its activities. The VK posts of all these organisations reflect the aims of their activities.

The content of the VK community of "GK Vtorservis" covers collecting and processing recyclables. The company buys waste paper, cardboard, plastic from organisations, offering transportation services of recyclables, and then sells recyclables to enterprises of Tyumen region and other regions. Thus, waste sorting as the adaptive practice is the key topic of the 68 posts out of 86. The transformative practices can be observed when the company emphasizes the advantages of its activities and declares their inclusion in a global context: "Recycle the things you do not need. You may not only get monetary profit but also help the environment. By recycling waste paper, you save three trees in a year" (GK Vtorservis, n.d.; trans. by O. Z. et al.). However, in general, the company's activities are commercial and unrelated to environment protection that is why the company's attempts to create a positive environmental image look like greenwashing (Raworth, 2017). K. Hobson (2020) notes that modern entrepreneurs often use the concept of the circular economy as a "buzzword" to promote their services or products especially if eco slogans are not supported by changes in business models and activities. The transformative practices can be seen in the VK community reposts about environmental events and initiatives arranged by other companies and in other countries and recommendations for the transition to a sustainable lifestyle without referring to the original source of information. For example, "Read a few facts, and you will immediately start sorting waste" (GK Vtorservis, n.d.; trans. byO. Z. et al.). Interestingly, all posts end with a pitch to use the company services.

Alongside "GK Vtorservis", the commercial company "Miro Tvorets" also provides services for the purchase and transportation of recyclables, sold to processing companies. However, unlike "GK Vtorservis", the company does a lot of charity work. Recently, the company has extended its social orientation targeting the field of waste sorting; the company actively works with the population, accepting waste paper, plastic, and glass. It helps neighborhood associations to organise separate waste collection in their yards, providing them with separate collection infrastructure and organising the recyclables transportation. Despite the dominance of the adaptive practices in the company activities, their role is significant for the greening of the region. Creating

a convenient infrastructure and using innovations in the building design are necessary to involve more participants in waste sorting, because the potential for an increase in the number of participants thanks to enthusiasts has been almost exhausted (Shabanova, 2019). Thus, the experience of such companies as "Miro Tvorets" is worth disseminating, and this company can be an experimental platform for piloting various environmental solutions. "Miro Tvorets" delivers recyclables to the place of their processing, which considerably increases the motivation to sort waste. Besides, the company organises outreach events and activities aiming at environmental protection within the framework of the transformative practices, although the VK page does not demonstrate company's real participation in the greening of social life. The company informs about its activities, upcoming events regarding waste sorting and recycling in the genre of announcements in the VK community.

"Ecoteo" contains VK posts describing the technological processes of waste collection, transportation, and operation of waste sorting plants built as part of the waste management reform (Ermolaeva, 2019). "Ecoteo" introduces a new set of citizens' daily practices within the framework of legislation and governmental strategic documents (de Certeau, 1984). The posts were created in the genre of news about the company's activities, and they also give instructions on what kind of waste can be thrown into the company containers and on how to do it correctly. The activities of "Ecoteo" are illustrated in the context of some events to foster a sustainable lifestyle. For example, the announcement of the opening of a new waste sorting plant in Ishim, a town in Tyumen region, is accompanied by the comment: "Citizens of Ishim and Ishim district will work at the plant. This is an important event for cultivating waste management culture in the district" (Tiumenskoe ekologicheskoe ob'edinenie, n.d.; trans. by O. Z. et al.). This VK community contains the largest number of mentions of transformative practices (refusing purchases and participating in actions to promote responsible consumption), but this community only reposted some information as well as "GK Vtorservis" did. To add an ecological touch to the activities of "Ecoteo", its VK page often informs about various environmental initiatives in different countries, though not in Russia mostly. The company sometimes invites Tyumen residents to participate in some environmental contests under a prerequisite of joining its VK community.

The two voluntary organisations "Sortirovochnaia" and "Krugovorot" have a lot of common content in their VK posts. It can be explained that both organisations have the same leader, and "Sortirovochnaia" separated from "Krugovorot" in 2019. "Sortirovochnaya" specializes in collecting recyclables from citizens, promoting the ideas of separate waste collecting and recycling, and training people to separate waste as a special set of practices (Zemskova, 2017). The organisation holds diverse events, highlighted in its posts. For example, the event "Eco-yard" includes several activities.

The event "Eco-yard" is going to the city center! We organise ecological activities in different areas of the city, so that many people will learn about separate waste collection and eco-friendly lifestyle… What are the New Year's "Eco-yard" events?

(a) A workshop on creating a wish card. Our volunteer will be waiting for you in the cafe "Saw fish". She will explain the design of a wish card. To select pictures, we will bring magazines from "Sortirovochnaia".

(b) New Year decorations exchange. Do not buy Christmas tree decorations. Borrow them from other people. Bring the things you do not use anymore, and choose the things suitable for you. If you bring any decorations, they should be in good condition.

(c) The photo zone with costumes. The charity shop "Laffka" will lend you costumes for the ecological carnival. Dress up, pose with our banner and recyclables, upload new photos on your social media and promote an eco-friendly lifestyle.

(d) Recyclables accepted. Find the attached file with a huge list of accepted recyclables.

Help your neighbors to learn about the "Eco-yard": share the posts in social media. (Razdel'nyi sbor, n.d.; trans. by O. Z. et al.)

These announcements demonstrate different adaptive practices, such as waste sorting (Lazaric, 2020), recycling (Hobson & Lynch, 2016), and transformative practices, such as exchanging (Belk, 2014), sharing (Martin, 2016), and promoting responsible consumption (Lamphere & Shefner, 2017). "Sortirovochnaia" is not driven by motives of monetary profit, unlike "Vtorservice", and there is no pitch to join its online community, comparing to "Ecoteo".

The "Sortirovochnaia" online community also posts some reports and instructions for preparing recyclables. For example, "You decided to send your husband to give recyclables to the 'Sortirovochnaia'. If he does not sort waste at home, you should prepare recyclables in advance and instruct your husband" (Razdel'nyi sbor, n.d.; trans. by O. Z. et al.). Detailed instructions are given to help avoid conflicts and misunderstandings because "the word 'volunteer' does not mean service personnel" (Razdel'nyi sbor, n.d.; trans. by O. Z. et al.).

Unlike the commercial companies that accept recyclables for a fee, "Sortirovochnaia" accepts recyclables free of charge, including rare types of recyclables, which the commercial organisations do not usually accept, such as toothbrushes, shaving machines, foil, bank plastic cards, CDs and DVDs, etc. Using the money received from the sale of recyclables, the organisation rents premises for collecting recyclables and organises delivery of rare types of recyclables to processors. Its main motto is "To help the city and the planet become a little cleaner". Thus, the adaptive practices of this organisation are similar to "Miro Tvorets" aiming to develop the infrastructure for separate waste collection and involve citizens in environmental practices.

The activities promoted in "Sortirovochnaya" VK community have not only a diverse content but also multi-stage goals to develop new models of social life and business (Balsiger et al., 2019, Lamphere & Shefner, 2017). For example, the event "Let's unpack Tyumen goods" sparked public interest, which was associated with the well-known slogan in Tyumen region "Let's buy Tyumen goods" promoting local producers:

Dear friends, we are holding the first anti-award in the field of packaging "Let's unpack Tyumen goods" in 2021. Let us see what producers, sellers, and cafes pack their goods into. We invite you to participate in the packaging audit. From February 17 to March 31, "Sortirovochnaia" accepts packages of Tyumen goods that meet ALL the following conditions: (a) clean; (b) the producer's name and address are easy to read; (c) non-recyclable. From April 1, we will start analyzing the collected non-recyclable packaging and identify the main polluter among Tyumen producers. Using the results, we will inform these producers about the problem with their packaging and recommendations for its solution (Razdel'nyi sbor, n.d.; trans. by O. Z. et al.).

Thus, the event "Let's unpack Tyumen goods" aimed at involving people in the adaptive practices, such as waste sorting (Lamphere & Shefner, 2017), careful studying the product labeling (Hobson & Lynch, 2016), and in the transformative practices, such as refusing from some goods (Kallis et al., 2018). It also raised producers' awareness of significance of more eco-friendly products (Hobson, 2020).

Comparing to "Sortirovochnaia", the activities of "Krugovorot" are even more consistent to foster a sustainable lifestyle. Interestingly, 426 posts out of 828 refer to transformative practices, as follows:

- reducing consumption—"Sorting recyclables allows identifying the problems; after the multiple recycling of a bag with plastic bags or a heap of plastic bottles, we become aware of using an eco-bag and a reusable bottle" (Nol' otkhodov v Tiumeni, n.d.; trans. by O. Z. et al.);
- exchanging—"The meaning of this event is not to get rid of unused things but to exchange and refuse to buy new toys" (Nol' otkhodov v Tiumeni, n.d.; trans. by O. Z. et al.);
- sharing—"Friends, we have created a community that will help you refuse to buy things for one-time use. The community 'Things to Borrow' will help you find a carnival costume for a child or a drill for the evening. Apart from borrowing, your things can work. For example, you can lend a ball gown sewn for one performance, a set of tools or board games" (Nol' otkhodov v Tiumeni, n.d.; trans. by O. Z. et al.);
- participating in events to promote responsible consumption—"Delivering waste for recycling, helping nature and stopping increasing landfills are now easy because collecting recyclables is now held every week" (Nol' otkhodov v Tiumeni, n.d.; trans. by O. Z. et al.);
- repairing—"Workshops: training how to make cosmetics by yourself, repairing clothes, small appliances, or shoes" (Nol' otkhodov v Tiumeni, n.d.; trans. by O. Z. et al.).

"Krugovorot" has made great efforts to boost adaptive practices. For example, its VK page contains many posts about the simplicity of separate waste collection: "Do not complicate the process of separate waste collection", "We invite you to participate in the 'Separate waste collection is simple' contest". The awareness-raising posts usually offer specific recommendations on what each person can do to solve environmental

problems (Balsider et al., 2019; Hobson & Lynch, 2016). For instance, the post about the ecological footprint suggests an answer to the question *How can we help the planet?* and includes some recommendations concerning the diet, studying product labeling to choose more eco-friendly products, energy conservation, and separate waste collection. The post about organic waste includes criticism of the disposer and recommendations on composting waste in an urban environment. These posts tend to encourage people to adopt a sustainable lifestyle, emphasizing the high importance of green values and the influence of the immediate social environment on the use of green practices (Lazaric et al., 2020). People, whose friends, peers, neighbors, colleagues support sustainable consumption regarding food, energy conservation, and waste recycling, are more likely to adopt such behavior and to join the group of the green consumers. Lazaric et al. (2020) assume that new consumer practices and preferences are expected to spread through informal communication and instructions in small local networks, such as "Sortirovochnaia" and "Krugovorot".

"Krugovorot" online community also contains critical posts about the government policy or greenwashing: "If you are an organiser of an environmental event, focus on projects that will strengthen your organisation's position as the eco-company not as a greenwashing company" (Nol' otkhodov v Tiumeni, n.d.; trans. by O. Z. et al.). Such posts often include constructive proposals encouraging people to do some actions. For example, "We put forward proposals at meetings organised by the government of Tyumen region, prepare petitions, and communicate with the Tyumen Ecological Organisation" (Nol' otkhodov v Tiumeni, n.d.; trans. by O. Z. et al.) The proposed activities are both individual and collective (Balsiger et al., 2019), invariably emphasizing the role of ordinary citizens and their communities, commercial and non-commercial organisations (Lamphere & Shefner, 2017). The suggested recommendations often center on the zero-waste strategy, becoming a guide for introducing new social practices as "sets of actions" (Giddens, 1984) that resist environmental challenges.

In general, the content of the VK eco-communities reflects the regional situation with waste collection and processing, which has developed since the waste management reform started in Russia in 2019 and can be described in terms of de Certeau's theory (1984). Initially, strategic practices were focused on cancelling the existing system of separate waste collection in Tyumen, organised by small enterprises for recycling and manufacturing products from recyclables. Instead, a regional waste management scheme was introduced, which displaced grassroots initiatives and prevented citizens from participating in solving environmental problems. However, some tactical practices have been renewed and revitalized in the region, having all the features described by de Certeau (1984): mobility, flexible organisation, identity manipulation, opportunism. The voluntary organisations for separate recyclables collection are constantly changing the form of their existence, remaining mobile and flexibly responding to changing conditions. For example, they establish mobile recycling collection points, rent a warehouse for the recyclables collection and storage, and organise eco-yards and eco-taxi. The same features are demonstrated by commercial organisations involved in separate waste collection. For example,

the COVID-19 pandemic made "Miro Tvorets" expand its activities by collecting recyclables from citizens, first using mobile collection points, and later installing eco-boxes in yards. Due to these initiatives, citizens have regained the right to be active in determining their life positions and practices of dealing with waste (Brednikova & Tkach, 2008). The events promoted in voluntary communities often aim at creating new models of a sustainable lifestyle that have not been supported by official policies yet. For example, the topic of the circular economy model has been absent from the Russian environmental agenda for a long time. However, this model has been efficiently promoted by some voluntary communities, which can be illustrated by the example "Let's unpack Tyumen goods".

Thus, the six VK communities demonstrate adaptive and transformative practices. Adaptive practices are important for developing infrastructure for separate waste collection and promoting sustainable behavior by involving people in green everyday practices. Transformative practices often inform about existing green initiatives around the world, but these communities seldom organise exchanging, sharing, repair and recycling practices. Although the transformative practices are widespread in the voluntary communities, they are not regarded as a set of practices united by the idea of reducing production and consumption.

Conclusion

In this paper, we studied separate waste collection as a set of the nine green practices classified as adaptive and transformative regarding consumption. Adaptive practices do not imply a reduction in consumption; therefore, waste sorting, studying the product labeling, waste recycling, and signing petitions can be considered adaptive. Transformative practices involve a reduction in substance and energy consumption due to the changes in collective and individual actions. Transformative practices include consciously reducing consumption, such as refusing purchases, exchanging, sharing, participating in actions to promote responsible consumption, and repairing.

We analyzed green practices on separate waste collection described in the six communities on VK social media platform. In total, 1,987 posts of the VK communities contained the mentions of the nine selected practices. Most of the practices are adaptive; the percentage of the posts containing mentions of adaptive practices varies between 94.4% and 51.5%. Transformative practices are less common although these practices aim to reduce consumption, which is necessary for harmonizing the relations between nature and society.

It is important to note that the practice of reducing consumption is used along with other practices, but it is not the aim of these practices. In other words, the content of the studied communities does not demonstrate that the practice of reducing consumption has a unifying nature regarding other practices, and it can give meaning to other practices, as Degrowthers perceive it. Besides, the potential of reducing consumption as a requirement to change the entire social and economic system has not been unlocked yet. The transformative practices identified in the studied communities do not challenge the main value of the capitalist economy, the

incessant production and consumption growth, and the communities do not suggest alternative ways to organise social life.

This study will contribute to the understanding of what green practices are promoted in the online communities covering separate waste collection, and whether these practices can affect the incessant consumption growth, which is the principal cause of environmental problems. We showed how the grassroots initiatives can change social practices to reduce the pressure on the environment. The obtained results might help some decision-makers create conditions to disseminate the described practices and to introduce new social practices targeting reducing consumption.

Regarding the limitations of this study, we analyzed only the regional online communities covering waste issues. Thus, further study will focus on investigating a wide range of Russian ecological communities.

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ARTICLE

Hotel Employees' Attitude and Acceptance Toward Human-Robot Co-Working Based on the Industry 5.0 Concept

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ABSTRACT

The emergence of AI-powered machines and robotics technology has strongly influenced the service industry, especially the hotel business. The effects of their introduction to the work environment on the human workforce have been a subject of much debate. However, practical studies in this regard are relatively limited. Therefore, this study investigates the employees' attitude and acceptance toward working alongside robots in a sample of employees working in luxury hotels in Yekaterinburg, Russia. This study employed a self-administered questionnaire as the data collection instrument. Two hundred questionnaire forms were distributed. Among them, 167 forms were completed and valid for analysis. Data were analyzed descriptively using IBM SPSS (Version 28). The findings revealed that, although the employees agreed to interact with robots and indicated that robots are helpful, enjoyable, and productive, they also pointed out that robots would control jobs. Besides, the extensive introduction of robots will lead to social issues such as losing contact with humans. The study conclusion has practical implications for hotel managers and can guide further research for academics.

KEYWORDS

Industry 5.0, Hotel 5.0, employee-robot co-working, artificial intelligence agents, employees' attitude and acceptance

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Introduction

Keeping a position at the top is becoming more challenging and complex due to the rapid development of information technology and artificial intelligence-based solutions. Mass customization and sophisticated production are experiencing a significant transformation in the technological world. Industrial revolutions are often regarded as the driving force behind many of the world's most essential innovations, developments, and modernity (Longo et al., 2020; Nahavandi, 2019). There are several perspectives around Industry 5.0. Some studies declare that Industry 4.0 is about smart manufacturing and connecting devices together, while Industry 5.0 is about collaboration between humans and robots in the workplace. As a result, the cooperation of humans and robots will lead to many benefits and boost the unique human touch on functions instead of the similar automation production (Demir & Cicibas, 2017; Skobelev & Borovik, 2017). In addition, Industry 5.0 reshapes human jobs to benefit employees. It maximizes efficiency by using human intelligence, artificial intelligence (AI), and creativity. Industry 5.0 may enrich the workforce by transitioning workers from physical to cognitive jobs, achieving value-added duties in the workplace alongside collaborating robots that are sensitive and aware of human desires (Longo et al., 2020; Özdemir & Hekim 2018). Moreover, Industry 5.0 places a high value on personalized consumer services (Pillai et al., 2021). There is a switch from mass customization to mass personalization, which is particularly important for meeting the needs of individual customers. Thus, Industry 5.0 may decrease work-related injuries and address value-added activities through human brainpower. Humans will concentrate on critical thinking, decision-making, innovation, and creativity, leading to increased personalized services, while robots will perform repetitive, tedious, and labor-intensive work (Alcácer & Cruz-Machado, 2019; Sarfraz et al., 2021; Verevka, 2019).

Implementing new technology such as robotics, artificial intelligence, and service automation (RAISA) results in remarkable changes to how hotels serve their customers. The function of RAISA is vital since technology, service automation, and personalized services are all fundamental components of the hotel industry. RAISA presents a significant opportunity for hotel corporations to increase productivity, enhance operations, and maintain a constant level of quality (Kim et al., 2022; Lukanova & Ilieva, 2019). Service robots designed to operate in the service sectors have emerged in hotels, catering, and entertainment enterprises to assist customers and provide information on different services. Hence, high competition, a labor shortage, the need for greater efficiency and productivity, and increasing customer expectations have contributed to the rising usage of service robots (Ivanov & Webster, 2019a; Manthiou et al., 2021).

Service robots work as robot guides at museums and bag-drop robots at airports (Ivanov et al., 2017). Such service robots that are now being used in hotels perform several functions such as greeting customers, preparing meals, room service, taking orders, check-in and check-out operations, providing information about the destination, cleaning rooms, pools and public areas, as well as cutting grass, carrying baggage, and delivering food and other goods. Robots can work 24/7, much longer than human workers' standard 40-hour workweek. Moreover, robots can serve many clients simultaneously and conduct this activity countless times without tiring or complaining (Zhong et al., 2021).

The pace at which automation enters our lives is primarily determined by the degree of technology and people's acceptance of robots. Since robots have a significant influence on society, it is vital to investigate the interactions between people and robots and their consequences for society as a whole (Demir et al., 2019; Lu et al., 2019). If the majority of the workforce in an organization have a negative attitude to robots, transferring to human–robot co-working arrangements will be difficult, if not impossible. Moreover, there are many positive cases regarding robots supporting human partners, even though not everyone has a positive attitude toward robots. It is vital to identify the workers' attitudes to robots and working with them in the hotel business since the success of robot employment depends on the employees' acceptance. Most of the studies concentrated on guests' perceptions and examined human–robot collaboration from customers' perspectives (Rosete et al., 2020; Tussyadiah, 2020). The studies around employee–robot interaction are relatively limited (Chi et al., 2020; Demir et al., 2019; Xu et al., 2020). Therefore, this study explores the employees' attitude and acceptance toward robot co-working in the hotel business.

Literature Review

From Industry 5.0 to Hospitality 5.0

Industry 5.0 consists of several components, including the human-cyber-physical system (HCPS), Internet of Service (IoS), and Internet of Things (IoT). The first component, HCPS, combines human, artificial intelligence, and the enterprise system under a high-speed Internet framework. In order to access work objects and activities, various sensory devices are widely used, such as light sensors, touch screens, and smart devices (Zhou et al., 2019). In addition, HCPS contributes to a high level of customer service by integrating human intelligence with artificial intelligence. The hotel industry is one of the economic sectors that HCPS has a high impact on—it affects many of its aspects. The second element, IoS, focuses on cross-organizational services provided and used by supply chain members and enabled by cloud computing and big data (Alvarez-Aros & Bernal-Torres, 2021). The IoS's core concept systematically utilizes the Internet to create new value in the service industry. IoS is known as guest service-oriented architecture in the hotel business and links IT with customer service (Pillai et al., 2021). Customer bills, room availability, and restaurant services have always been controlled at the

organizational level. IoS offers companies the flexibility and efficiency to serve consumers better and transfer data via its channels. The systems collect information about customer needs from databases in order to use them to provide services that meet these needs and give a better customer experience. The third element, IoT, is a system of several electronic and digital components linked together to exchange information and data within a single network. IoT is utilized in the hospitality industry to keep track of clients' comfort preferences and room settings, such as lighting, TV channels, temperature, and music, and automatically prepare the room for their next visit (Ghazy & Fedorova, 2021; Rosete et al., 2020).

For the hospitality industry, the concept of Industry 5.0 is incredibly significant. Personalized service, adaptability, creative work conditions, lower costs via completely customized facilities, and accurate information on customer preferences through big data technologies and digital advancements could affect guest satisfaction, experience, loyalty, and quality of service (Shamim et al., 2017). The primary concept of Industry 5.0, including interoperability, virtualization, modularity, decentralization, and real-time functions, can be transferred to the hospitality business, leading to hospitality 5.0 (Pillai et al., 2021).

Artificial Intelligence Agents in the Hotel Business
Presence and embodiment are considered the two dimensions of artificial intelligence agents that can be categorized into three kinds (Li, 2015).

Smart devices
Smartness relates to the interconnection of intelligent components within a single network to receive and process data and add value to the user's system. In addition, smart devices can change their functions automatically according to external conditions (Buhalis & Leung, 2018). There are a variety of smart devices, such as thermostats, lighting, security cameras, and speakers. Customers could easily adjust the settings inside the room, such as selecting a desired temperature and lighting level, using an intelligent hub, tablet device, or other central control points. The heating, lighting, air conditioning, and other facilities can automatically adapt and maintain those settings, offering a delightful guest experience (Tung & Law, 2017).

Chatbots
Another kind of AI is the chatbot, which can simulate human interaction and actively communicate with customers (Chi et al., 2020). In addition, chatbots are virtual, disembodied, technological, and autonomous conversational agents that can understand and communicate via human language through Natural Language Processing (NLP) in voice or text connections (Tussyadiah, 2020). Thus, chatbots have been employed in various service sectors, including tourist recommendations, medical consultations, and hotel reservations (Parmar et al., 2019; Ukpabi et al., 2019). Virtual assistants Siri (Apple), Alexa (Amazon), and Edward (Edwardian Hotels) are forms of AI-driven chatbots. Edward can lead travelers over their whole trip adventure in a standard, ordinary conversation, and it develops and learns from each contact

(Buhalis, & Leung, 2018; Castillo et al., 2020). Edward handled 69% of all visitor inquiries in 2019, succeeding in greater efficiency and reallocating employees from routine activities to more significant inquiries.

Consequently, because of the developed machine learning, clients may be unaware that they are communicating with an AI service device in a virtual condition (Tussyadiah, 2020). On the one hand, chatbots have some benefits versus human service representatives, including the capacity to conduct virtually enormous numbers of orders simultaneously, save massive amounts of data, and are less vulnerable to mistakes, stress, or emotional fluctuation (Chi et al., 2020). Chatbots, on the other hand, have two main weaknesses. Firstly, an ethical concern arises when individuals think they are communicating with a real person when they are actually speaking with software. Secondly, when companies use chatbot-based customer service instead of real staff, clients may feel that they are being devalued by the firm which they are doing business with (Blut et al., 2021).

Cobots (Collaborative Robots)

As a result of the rapid development of AI and innovation, it is now apparent that all devices equipped with computing capability have become more competent and have launched a new technology known as cobots. Cobots, or collaborative robots, are designed for direct human–robot interaction in a shared environment or when robots and people are in close contact (Maddikunta et al., 2022). Cobot applications encourage human engagement with robots, unlike traditional industrial robotic uses that keep robots isolated. Cobots' safety may depend on soft edges, lightweight materials, speed and force limitations, or software and sensors that maintain safe behavior. Cobots are very sensitive to unexpected impacts, allowing them to stop on their own when human employees identify any misplaced items on their route. In most cases, this makes them much more reliable than traditional industrial robots (Bender et al., 2016; Simões et al., 2020). Generally, two major categories of robots are recognized by the International Federation of Robotics (IFR), which are industrial robots performing a wide range of industrial processes and service robots for personal and professional purposes. Service robots are cobots because they are designed to operate alongside humans (Haegele, 2016). In addition, service robots are intended to assist humans with functional tasks by interacting with them physically and socially. Service robots are classified into two categories: personal used by individuals for non-commercial activities, such as domestic servant robots, automated wheelchairs, pet exercise robots, and personal mobility aid robots and professional used by businesses for commercial purposes, such as delivery robots in offices, cleaning robots for public areas, fire-fighting robots, rehabilitation robots, and surgery robots (Ivanov et al., 2017).

Robotic technology and service automation activities have impacted several aspects of hotel operations. Self-service terminals have been launched in hotels to minimize the need for front-desk staff and allow guests to perform check-in and check-out processes without help (Ivanov et al., 2017). Check-in/out procedures have been accessible through smartphones for increasing speed and convenience.

Robots are increasingly being used in the hotels and travel sectors to perform various functions, including delivering food and other items, cleaning purposes, carrying luggage, and providing support and information (Yadav, 2020).

Several hotel companies have recently utilized service robots to offer dependable, convenient, entertaining, and efficient service, creating unique guest experiences. For instance, at the Japanese Henn na Hotel, founded in 2015, robots were hired as staff members and hotel porters carrying the human staff functions (Alexis, 2017). Bilingual robots can greet tourists, assist them, and collect guest complaints, demands, and requests. As the first hotel to employ robots, it was awarded a Guinness World Record for having employed a total of 186 robots (Mende et al., 2019). Similarly, Connie, a robot, worked at the Hilton McLean Tysons Corner. It served guests with helpful information at reception. Aloft Hotel Cupertino hired a servant robot to deliver soap, towels, shampoo, and linens to rooms and bring the dirty bed sheets to the laundry. In addition, The Housekeeping Robot, created by Peanut Robotics in collaboration with RLH Corporation, assists a human housekeeper with additional housekeeping tasks such as collecting linens and cleaning bathrooms (Choi et al., 2020). The housekeeper may use the cleaning robot's mobile application to start the room cleaning procedure from anywhere, allowing it to vacuum one room while they clean another (Wirtz, 2018). The startup Dishcraft company focuses on designing dishwasher robotics for restaurant kitchens. Other robots do not communicate with guests but are used to perform repetitive duties. For example, the Caliburger robot, which prepares hamburgers and sets food on dishes, and the robot arm that works as a bartender at Royal Caribbean (Tussyadiah, 2020).

The rapid evolution and use of digital technology, particularly robots, is a priority for the Russian government. In 2017, the Russian government launched the "Digital Economy of the Russian Federation" program, which includes various robotics-related projects. For instance, the Russian Ministry of Trade and Industries is assisting the Russian Association of Robotics (RAR) in developing a plan for the growth of the Russian robotics industry. Besides, the government aims to introduce the legal aspects of robotics to stimulate this industry's progress by reducing legal issues. Meanwhile, Russia has about 100 service robot organizations. In 2018, the top ten companies had 30% workforce growth and doubled annual revenue (Khalimon et al., 2018; Konuikhovskaia, 2019).

During the pandemic, the robotics firm Promobot, located in the Ural town of Perm, invented various important robots, such as a remote temperature measurement robot, which can test temperature and other essential indications in less than 5 seconds. The company also created the Scorpion remote-controlled sanitizing robot, which can navigate obstacles, including stairs and corners, by integrating GPS/GLONASS and ultrasonic sensors. The robot has a spray device, and a container holds a disinfecting liquid (Five handy robots, 2020). Russia is also starting to use drones and robotic technologies in the hospitality industry. At the Cosmos Group hotel chain in the Emerald Forest, located near Moscow, Yandex began testing drones and rovers. The hotel occupies an enclosed area of 220 hectares and is a good platform for testing modern technologies. Drones take guests

around the territory, and rovers deliver food to the room (Maslenko, 2021). Kravt Invest, an IT and high-tech company, launched the first robotic hotel on the territory of the scientific town of Innopolis near Kazan. Hotel devices can use AI to identify the guest's feelings through images, sounds, or videos, assess his tiredness, and make assumptions about his mood. Based on this, the system adjusts the temperature and light in the room and offers tea or coffee and snacks. In addition, it is planned to transfer cleaning, delivery of luggage, and cooking to robotic solutions (Malakhova, 2020). In 2019, the Promobot Russian robot, Mikhalych, became an employee of the Park Hotel in Dobrograd. Its responsibilities include greeting guests, assisting with check-in and check-out procedures, and issuing room key cards. In addition to providing guests with information, the robot can arrange transportation for them. Mikhalych serves as an extra marketing tool, and it reminds guests of any events hosted in the restaurants and invites them to reserve a table. Mikhalych makes the registration process easier and faster while significantly decreasing the hotel staff's workload. Promobot operates not just in Russia but also across 36 countries worldwide. It works as a promoter, administrator, guide, and concierge (Kak rabotaet pervyi v Rossii, 2020).

Although automation and robotics are becoming increasingly widespread in the hospitality industry, the employment of service robots to perform human tasks may be resisted by society. Studies indicate that the reasons for this are the loss of human contact, in addition to fears of an increase in the unemployment rate in society and the dominance of machines in the labor market (Hou et al., 2021; Meidute-Kavaliauskiene et al., 2021).

Service robots that replace human employees might add a psychological issue to the standard concept of service. For example, human interaction with a robot may be avoided if it causes anxiety. In the context of the hotel business that depends primarily on personal contact, replacing human employees with robots would change the style of the experience by adding human–robot interactions and affecting the user's attitudes and behaviors. Besides, technological anxiety is regarded as a significant psychological factor influencing the adoption of new technologies (Huang et al., 2021; Li et al., 2019).

Even though there are many positive cases regarding robots supporting human partners, not everyone has a positive attitude toward robots. Robots are less likely to be used if people have negative views about them. Attitude is recognized as an individual's acquired judgment of a positive or negative emotion regarding service robots, which influences the individual's intentions and behavior. Attitudes develop due to complex psychological processes and act as motives to behavioral responses. They are crucial considerations in determining if robots are adopted (Cha, 2020; Pozharliev et al., 2021; Tussyadiah et al., 2020).

As a result of his study, Yu (2020) found that potential consumers' attitudes regarding human-like robots are likely to be unfavorable. Conversely, Tung and Au (2018) explored consumer evaluations provided on the websites TripAdvisor, Yelp, Agoda, and Booking.com in order to evaluate user experiences of robotic hotels. The findings highlighted the impact of automated service on customer experience, and

customers were proactively seeking chances to communicate and interact with robots to create a relationship with them. Similarly, Ivanov and Webster (2019b) performed another study to investigate users' perceived effectiveness and feelings about using robots in tourism. The findings indicated that housekeeping, handling inquires, reservations, and payment services are the best-suited duties and operations for robot employment. Using a mixed-methodology approach, Ivanov et al. (2020) examined the opinions of Bulgarian hotel managers on the strengths and weaknesses of service robots, as well as the effects of service robots on the different departments of the hotel. The study indicated that repetitive, tedious, and risky duties would be better suited for robots. In contrast, managers prefer to use humans for jobs requiring emotional intelligence and social skills (Ivanov et al., 2020).

As previously mentioned, most of the studies concentrated on guests' perceptions and examined human–robot collaboration from customers' perspectives. The studies around employee–robot interaction are relatively limited (Chi et al., 2020; Ivkov et al., 2020; Li et al., 2019). Thus, employing AI robots as service agents requires essential consideration of not only cost, technology, or quality of service but also of the attitudes and acceptance by human employees.

Attitudes and Demographics

Previous research has demonstrated that socio-demographic and individual variables such as gender, age, and level of education have a significant role in service robot acceptability. In a study examining gender differences, Nomura et al. (2006) revealed that men and women had different levels of negative opinions about robots. The results showed that female participants reported fewer negative opinions regarding robots than male participants. However, de Graaf and Ben Alouch (2013) discovered the opposite behavior, concluding that females experience more nervousness than males while engaging in conversation with robots. Furthermore, de Graaf and Ben Alouch (2013) found that females' negative opinions increased after interacting with a robot, while males' opinions remained the same. According to Loffredo and Tavakkoli (2016), men and youth respondents were more interested in the concept of robots than women and older participants. Besides, Hudson et al. (2017) analyzed Eurobarometer statistics on around 1000 individuals in each European country to examine public views toward robots utilized in elderly care. According to the results, age, gender, and educational level are significant independent factors connected with people's views on using robots to care for the elderly. The study reveals that males, younger, and higher-educated people are more supportive of including robots to assist the elderly. Therefore, the following hypotheses have been developed:

Hypothesis 1 (H1): There is a significant difference between employees' men and women regarding their attitudes toward robots.

Hypothesis 2 (H2): There is a significant difference between employees' age groups regarding their attitudes toward robots.

Hypothesis 3 (H3): There is a significant difference between employees' educational levels regarding their attitudes toward robots.

Methodology

Sample and Data Collection

A self-administered questionnaire was distributed between employees of the luxury hotels in Yekaterinburg, Russia, to investigate their perspectives regarding the topic of the study. The study sample consists of 20 hotels determined by the convenience sampling approach. A convenience sample is a collection of people chosen based on their accessibility. The minimal sample size required should be 7 to 10 times the number of scale items analyzed (Floyd & Widaman, 1995; Tantawy et al., 2016). Accordingly, there were 200 questionnaire forms distributed between employees of these hotels. Among them, 167 forms were valid for analysis, representing 83.5%. The questionnaire distribution took two months (August and September 2021). Besides, the study concentrated on Five- and Four-star hotels because innovation and modern technologies are implemented first in luxury hotels. The researchers explained the concept of robots to the employees, and then they were able to answer the questionnaire. The questionnaire was translated into Russian because some staff members do not speak English.

Measures and Pretest

The instrument used in the current study was divided into three groups of questions; the first group contained items regarding the changes that occurred in the workplace. In the second group, there were questions to examine the study variables—Psychological Attitude (PA), Social Attitude (SA). The third group addressed demographic categories, including gender, age, and educational level. The questionnaire was adopted from previous research (Bröhl et al., 2016; Nomura et al., 2004; Weiss et al., 2008), which has been validated. The participants were questioned to indicate their level of agreement with the statements according to the Likert scale with five points ranging from "1 = strongly disagree" to "5 = strongly agree". The questionnaire was pretested using data obtained from ten employees through the convenience sampling technique. Participants were specifically asked to identify any misunderstandings in the questionnaire's phrasing. The feedback received from these participants was used to further improve the tool. The adjusted instrument contained 22 elements.

Data Analysis

The data analysis was processed as follows. First, Cronbach's alpha coefficients were applied to test the internal reliability of these varied Likert-type scales and questions. Second, a descriptive data analysis was conducted to explore the attitude and acceptance of hotel employees toward human-robot co-working. In addition, the Mann–Whitney U test was used to check the differences in employees' gender regarding their attitude toward robots. The Kruskal–Wallis χ2-test was used to check the differences in employees' age groups and educational levels regarding their attitude toward robots. The results obtained from the valid questionnaire forms were statistically analyzed whenever needed using IBM SPSS (Version 28).

Results

Table 1 represents the demographic variables of the respondents. Table 2 shows the employees' responses to the changes in their workplaces due to robotics. As displayed in Table 2, a notable percentage of the answers indicated reducing the number of employees (69.4%), followed by transferring part of jobs to distance work (28.1%) and using temporary workers provided by other companies (23.3%). In contrast, the lowest percentage indicated the complete dismissal of workers (10.8%), and no changes (8.3%). Employees added that among the changes in the workplace are the continuous adjustments of work tasks and responsibilities.

Table 1
Participants' Demographic Characteristics

Demographic data		Freq.	%
Gender	Male	65	38.9
	Female	102	61.1
Age	25 years or younger	81	48.5
	From 26 up to 35	53	31.7
	From 36 up to 50	24	14.4
	Over 50	9	5.4
Education	Secondary School Education	28	16.8
	University or Higher Institute Degree	135	80.8
	Postgraduate Degrees (Masters or PhD)	4	2.4
	Other	–	–

Note. Source: Developed by Authors.

Table 2
*Responses to the Question: What Changes Have Occurred
in Your Organization Due to the Introduction of Collaborative Robots?*

Answer alternatives	Freq.	%
The introduction of collaborative robots involved the dismissal of employees	18	10.8
Partial reduction of the number of employees	116	69.4
Transferring some of the employees to distance work	47	28.1
The use of temporary or seasonal workers provided by other companies	39	23.3
Hiring new employees only on a short-term basis (from 1 to 6 months)	24	14.4
There were no changes	14	8.3
Other	28	16.7

Note. Source: Developed by Authors.

Table 3 illustrates the results of the descriptive analysis of the psychological and social variables. First, Cronbach's alpha coefficients were applied to test the internal reliability of the varied Likert-type scales and questions. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient results all passed the acceptable recommended value of 0.7. The findings show that the scores of psychological variables ranged from 2.00 to 3.92 on a five-point scale. The items with the highest average were "I think that in the future, society will be dominated by robots" and "If robots had feelings, I would be able to make friends with them"; while the lowest average item was "I feel nervous operating a robot in front of other people." In addition, scores of social variables ranged from 2.87 to 3.98 on a five-point scale. The items with the highest average were "I fear that I may lose my work due to the robot" and "I fear that I lose contact with my colleagues because of the robot." While the lowest-mean item was "I have no objection if the robot stores my personal information."

Table 3

Analysis Results

Scale Item	Mean	Standard Deviation	Cronbach's Alpha
Psychological attitude			0.752
I feel uneasy if robots really have emotions	2.23	0.588	
Something terrible might happen if robots developed into living beings	3.33	0.575	
I feel relaxed dealing with robots.	3.77	0.744	
If robots had feelings, I would be able to make friends with them	3.88	0.631	
I would feel comforted being with robots that have emotions	3.66	0.578	
I feel nervous operating a robot in front of other people	2.00	0.329	
I feel nervous just standing in front of a robot	2.08	0.538	
I think that if I depend on robots too much, something terrible might happen	3.75	0.644	
I feel paranoid talking with a robot	2.09	0.605	
I think that in the future, society will be dominated by robots	3.92	0.634	
Social attitude			0.781
In general, my organization supports the use of robots	3.83	0.736	
People in my hotel who use robots have more prestige than those who do not	3.86	0.491	
The use of the robot is appropriate to my various job-related tasks	3.92	0.396	
The robot's output is of excellent quality	3.90	0.428	
I find using a robot enjoyable	3.81	0.431	
I fear that I will lose contact with my colleagues because of the robot	3.93	0.655	
I have no objection to sharing a workstation with a robot	3.80	0.428	
I have no objection if the robot stores my personal information	2.87	0.447	
I fear that I may lose my work due to the robot	3.98	0.394	
I feel safe while using the robot	3.03	0.354	
I can operate the robot if someone teaches me how to use it first	3.76	0.379	
Operating the robot enhances my job performance	3.89	0.431	

Note. Source: Developed by Authors.

To evaluate the difference between employees' men and women regarding their attitude toward robots, the Mann–Whitney U test was utilized. Table 4 shows no statistically significant difference between men and women regarding psychological attitude (p-value = 0.547) and social attitude (p-value = 0.942). Hence, H1 is not supported. In addition, the Kruskal–Wallis test was used to evaluate the differences among the employees' age groups. Table 5 reveals a statistically significant difference between employees' age groups regarding psychological attitude (p-value = 0.045) and social attitude (p-value = 0.027). Hence, H2 is supported. The results showed that employees aged 25 or under had the least negative attitude toward robots (M = 54.20) regarding their psychological attitude considering that the psychological scale is negative. Besides, the results showed that employees over 50 had the least positive attitude toward robots (M = 40.11) regarding their social attitude (Table 5). Furthermore, the Kruskal–Wallis test was used to evaluate the differences among the employees' educational levels regarding their attitudes toward robots. Table 6 shows no statistically significant difference between employees' educational levels regarding psychological attitude (p-value = 0.666) and social attitude (p-value = 0.529). Hence, H3 is not supported.

Table 4

The Difference Analysis Between Men and Women

No.	Construct	Gender	N	Mean Rank	Mann–Whitney U	Z	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
1.	Psychological	Male	65	81.22	3134.000	−.602	.547
		Female	102	85.77			
2.	Social	Male	65	83.68	3294.000	−.072	.942
		Female	102	84.21			

* Significant ($p \le .05$)

Note. Source: Developed by Authors.

Table 5

The Difference Analysis Between Employees' Age Groups

No.	Construct	Employees Age	N	Mean Rank	Chi–Square	DF	Asymp. Sig.
1.	Psychological	25 years or under	81	54.20	4.092	3	.045*
		From 26 up to 35 years	53	80.16			
		From 36 up to 50 years	24	94.19			
		Over 50 years	9	98.67			
2.	Social	25 years or under	81	90.21	9.219	3	.027*
		From 26 up to 35 years	53	85.05			
		From 36 up to 50 years	24	83.21			
		Over 50 years	9	40.11			

* Significant ($p \le .05$)

Note. Source: Developed by Authors.

Table 6

The Difference Analysis Between Employees' Educational Levels

No.	Construct	Level of Education	N	Mean Rank	Chi–Square	DF	Asymp. Sig.
1.	Psychological	Secondary School	28	78.73	8.763	2	.666
		University Degree	135	84.32			
		Postgraduate Degrees (Masters or PhD)	4	70.13			
2.	Social	Secondary School	28	81.00	5.207	2	.529
		University Degree	135	89.12			
		Postgraduate Degrees (Masters or PhD)	4	79.25			

* Significant ($p \le .05$)

Note. Source: Developed by Authors.

Discussion and Conclusions

This study aimed to explore hotel employees' psychological and social attitudes toward working side by side with robots. Service robots have joined our lives as a result of technological advancement and industrial revolutions. Among their applications are augmented reality and intelligent devices working with AI, which significantly affect economic and social life. Consequently, companies are working to keep pace with the external environment's development to obtain a competitive advantage and provide a unique service that receives customer satisfaction. In addition, the hotel business is one of the industries affected by technological developments. The success and effectiveness of implementing new technology in companies depend on employee acceptance and involvement. The adoption of service robots in business, especially in service sectors, is still in its preliminary stages and is considered a significant innovation in literature. Therefore, studies into this topic need to be conducted from different perspectives.

The study results showed a partial reduction in the number of hotel workers due to the introduction of collaborative robots. This finding agreed with Manyika et al., (2017), who indicated that one of the most significant points in the literature is the prediction that robots will replace people or decrease the number of jobs and employees. According to the study results, employees feel threatened and worry about the future of their work and about losing jobs due to automation and digitalization process. Many studies estimated that by 2030, between 400 and 800 million of today's occupations would be automated (Bowen & Morosan, 2018). Robotic technology and service automation have impacted several aspects of hotel operations. Self-service terminals have been launched in hotels to minimize the need for front-desk staff and allow guests to perform check-in and check-out processes without help (Ivanov et al., 2017). Check-in/out procedures have been accessible through smartphones for increasing speed and convenience. Robots are increasingly being used in hotel and travel sectors

to perform various functions, including delivering food and other items, cleaning purposes, carrying luggage, and providing support and information (Yadav, 2020).

The demographic analysis revealed no statistically significant difference between employees' men and women regarding their attitude toward robots. This result differs from previous studies that indicated gender differences toward robots. According to de Graaf and Ben Alouch (2013), female respondents are more anxious regarding robots than male respondents. A possible explanation for this finding is that the COVID-19 pandemic has changed people's attitudes toward technology and innovation (Barrutia & Echebarria, 2021; Zhong et al., 2022). In addition, the finding represented a statistically significant difference between the employees' age groups. The results showed that employees aged 25 or under had a less negative attitude toward robots, whereas employees over 50 had a less positive attitude toward robots than other age groups. This finding agreed with Loffredo and Tavakkoli (2016), who indicated that young people are more interested in the concept of robots than older people. Moreover, the study showed no statistically significant difference between employees' educational levels. This result is consistent with the previous research (Ivanov et al., 2018), which showed that respondents' level of education had no impact on their attitudes toward robots.

This research contributed to the current literature by providing supportive results from the Russian staff perspectives. On the one hand, employees agreed to interact with robots and indicated that they are helpful, enjoyable, and productive; robot employment would save time by taking over routine tasks and workload. On the other hand, employees fear that robots will control jobs, and the extensive introduction of robots will lead to social issues such as losing contact with humans.

We recommend that hotel managers create new roles for employees, which require new skills and competencies in order to make human labor more valuable than that of robots and keep pace with the continuous development in the work environment. On the other hand, courses on technology advancements and artificial intelligence must be included in the curriculum across all education levels, where future leaders and workers are trained and developed. These courses will prepare students to join the new work environment and effectively deal with future challenges. Moreover, since service robots are helpful for the hotel business, hotel managers must provide incentives to older employees to motivate them to engage with robots.

This study has some limitations that might serve as a guide for further research. Firstly, since the field data were collected from a particular geographic region of one country, future research should incorporate data from other countries with various economic and social backgrounds to increase the generalizability of the results. Secondly, this study collected empirical data using a questionnaire method. Future research might consider other methodological methods such as interviews or observation of daily human–robot interaction in order to go in-depth and identify different themes around the topic. Finally, artificial intelligence research is still in the primary stage, especially in the service sector. Hence, future research is urgently required to expand the understanding of the influence of AI on various social groups and how other users perceive AI technology.

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The Role of Managers' Cultural Intelligence and Demographic Variables in Building Trust in Business Relations

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the role of such factors as gender, age, nationality, and cultural intelligence in building trust between business partners coming from different countries. The research involved 560 employees, of which 115 were Croatians (20.5%), 114—Russians (20.4%), and 331—Slovenians (59.1%). In addition to socio-demographic questions (gender, age, nationality), we employed the Organizational Trust Inventory and the Cultural Intelligence Scale. The research was made available to the participants online and in three language versions— Croatian, Russian, and Slovenian. We discovered that gender played the greatest role in building trust between business partners, since women rated all trust components higher than men. Cultural intelligence, nationality, and age are not predictors of trust among business partners. Our data contributes to a clearer understanding of the ambiguity of predictors of trust. While previous studies have focused on cultural intelligence as a factor in successful international interaction, our results show that cultural identity retains its importance even in the context of globalization and international cooperation.

KEYWORDS

trust, cultural intelligence, nation culture, managers, Croatia, Russia, Slovenia

Introduction

Business partnerships have their own specifics, distinguishing them from other types of relationships (hierarchical, romantic, etc.). The peculiarity of business partnerships is expressed in the fact that each of the partners has their own goals, which are achieved only as a result of their joint work. However, these goals can have different significance for each partner, and even contradict each other. Such business cooperation is successful and long-term only if each party is ready to avoid taking excessive advantage of the others. Studying the differences between national cultures, organizational cultures, forms of leadership, and their consequences can help not only in understanding business partners with another cultural identity, but also in establishing and developing productive cooperation (Javidan et al., 2006) and a global mindset (Javidan & Walker, 2013) that can help businesses to grow around the world. Our society is changing, migrations are an everyday occurrence, and more and more people are now working for international companies, with society moving away from the traditional and approaching the modern pattern (López-Narbona, 2018). Thus, there has been a rise in creative collaboration across countries and continents, for which certain levels of cultural intelligence are needed to build trust to reach the desired levels of creativity (Chua et al., 2012).

Although trust is a trait of an individual, used to describe how they cope with uncertainty, it is also about the interactions that occur between the individual and another person, group or environment (Liu et al., 2018; Olk & Elvira, 2001). The personality and behavioral factors of trust, which researchers pay attention to in business relationships, can be put into two groups: (a) indicators of trust are signs which indicate that business partners can trust each other; (b) the preconditions for trust are the actions of participants in business relations that lead to the emergence of confidence between partners. The first group contains a number of universal indicators of trust (e.g., they are in compliance with the personal arrangements with the partner, along with formal and informal rules of interaction, and help in maintaining open communication between partners, providing honest feedback, and taking into account the needs and interests of all partners, and making a demonstration of unity of opinion on ways to achieve mutually favorable results; Balakshin, 2011). The second group involves several factors that affect the building of trust, including social norms, values, and underlying behavioral assumptions (Doney et al., 1998), the length of the prior alliance relationship (Liu et al., 2018), the level of strategic alliance risk, and the strength of interpersonal attachment (Cropanzano et al., 2017; Liu et al., 2018), perceived organizational support, procedural justice and transformational leadership (Connell et al., 2003).

Trust in the international collaborations of organizations, and their evolving in support of processes that enhance trust, is also impacted by culture, through the socialization of an individual that differs from one country to another (Bstieler & Hemmert, 2008; Dyer & Chu, 2003; Huff & Kelley, 2003). An individual's gender is believed to have no particular impact on trust, since as much as a third of studies found no correlation between gender and the level of trust (e.g., Croson & Buchan, 1999;

Kaasa & Parts, 2008; Stolle & Hooghe, 2004). In cases where differences were found, they tended to favor men, who were reported to be more trusting than women (e.g., Buchan et al., 2008; van Oorschot & Arts, 2005).

Cultural intelligence (CQ), as the capability to function effectively in intercultural contexts (Afsar et al., 2021; Earley & Ang, 2003), plays an important role in business relationships, i.e., in the formation of trust, which is the subject of this research analysis. The role of cultural intelligence as a valid predictor of behavior in international situations has, thus far, been confirmed in numerous research studies— for example, it predicts global leadership effectiveness (Rockstuhl et al., 2011) as well as the leaders' performance in culturally diverse teams (Groves & Feyerherm, 2011). However, it has predictive validity only in culturally diverse contexts, and not in homogeneous ones (e.g., Adair et al. 2013; Afsar et al., 2021; Chua et al. 2012; Groves & Feyerherm 2011; Rockstuhl et al., 2011). As the role of cultural intelligence in establishing trust in business relationships has not been researched thus far, our research aimed to analyze the demographic and personality factors that can build trust in international business relations. To this end, our research included leaders and managers of three nationalities (Croatians, Slovenians, and Russians) that do business with each other. Our aim was to highlight the role of cultural intelligence in particular as a personality trait and capability that can be measured during the staff selection procedure, that can be developed at the time of employment, and that might help us predict how an individual will cope with and behave in an international business environment, and how they will create an adequate level of trust in order to ensure successful business collaboration.

On Trust in Business Relationships

Blomqvist and Ståhle (2000) emphasize that when it comes to analyzing trust in business relationships, two levels should be included: interpersonal and interorganizational. Despite significant differences, trust on those levels is interrelated, as the relation between companies ultimately comes down to relations between individuals or groups of people. It is a company, however, that works on a reputation, appearance, and organizational culture which leads to the unification of employees' behavior and their approach to business relationships. The two dimensions of trust thus ultimately interact with each other (Blomqvist & Ståhle, 2000).

In business relationships, the level of trust between business partners also depends on the level of control and conflict. The presence of trust has the greatest positive impact in high stakes conflicts (Balliet & Van Lange, 2013), while Edelenbos and Eshuis (2012) argued that trust and control can coevolve symbiotically, reinforcing one another. These findings indicate how complex the understanding of building trust is.

The complexity intensifies further if we add cultural context, which is based on organizational culture and the culture of the nation of the individual in question. Cultural norms and values greatly affect how trust between business partners can be established (Bstieler & Hemmert, 2008; Doney et al., 1998). The cultural

dimension that differentiates between Eastern and Western countries was already pointed out by Hofstede (2001) two decades ago, and it is precisely this dimension that is said to have a major influence on trust between organizations. The level of trust is based on the prevalence of social ties between different parties or individuals within a particular culture. We can thus distinguish "low-trust" societies, where trust is hard to come by because it is believed within that culture that trust can only be found within channels that are already well-known, such as family. Low-trust societies need more time to establish the same level of trust with outsiders. In "high-trust" societies, however, the situation is quite the reverse. In view of the above, Slovenia and Croatia can be classified as high-trust societies, like Germany, for example, while Russia can be classified as a low-trust society, like Italy (Bstieler & Hemmert, 2008). It should be noted, however, that both high- and low-trust societies are changing through globalization (López-Narbona, 2018). In this process, the expansion of the system of media communications and the mobility of symbols is key, and this affects the way individuals think through the "globalisation of the world socio-cultural space" (Kirillova, 2020).

Trust and distrust are (contrary to what one might expect) not completely mutually exclusive, opposing categories. Although traditionally understood as a continuum, the latest research suggests that they are separate but connected constructs—a lack of trust does not necessarily mean distrust (Hardin, 2004; Lewicki et al., 1998; Lumineau, 2017). The elements that contribute to trust differ from those that contribute to distrust (Lumineau, 2017). More specifically, trust is connected with confidence, decreased uncertainty, greater psychological security, and problem-solving through knowledge sharing (Cook & Schilke, 2010; Lumineau, 2017), while distrust mainly relates to monitoring potential vulnerabilities and increases constructive skepticism (Lumineau, 2017; Priem & Nystrom, 2014).

The Role of Cultural Intelligence in Building Trust in Business Relationships

At a time of rapidly progressing globalization and the emergence of multicultural environments, cultural intelligence is one of the vital predictors of workplace performance and, as such, is the subject of research interest. According to Earley and Ang (2003), cultural intelligence represents an individual's capability for successfully adjusting and performing effectively in culturally diverse situations. Other authors define cultural intelligence as the capability to adapt, and a set of skills that enables one to lead in various inter-cultural situations (Afsar et al., 2021).

Cultural intelligence (CQ) contains several components, i.e., the cognitive, motivational, behavioral, and metacognitive ones. The cognitive component of CQ relates to the knowledge about different cultures which we gain either through personal experience or formal education (Ang et al., 2007). The motivational component relates to the degree of interest a person has in learning about new cultures, people, and situations. The behavioral component relates to an individual's capability to behave in line with the rules of a certain culture when a situation requires them to do so (Ott & Michailova, 2018). The metacognitive component is the most

important when it comes to building trust in business relationships, and it relates to an individual's conscious cultural awareness and knowledge about different cultures (Afsar et al., 2021). The metacognitive component of CQ is essential in adjusting to unfamiliar cultural norms, values, and beliefs. Individuals with a higher metacognitive component of CQ find it easier to learn about new cultures without being hindered by their prior knowledge about these cultures (Afsar et al., 2021; Malek & Budhwar, 2013). Chua et al. (2012) reported that individuals with high metacognitive CQ share more ideas and have greater affect-based trust toward their intercultural ties, and this leads to more successful creative collaborations.

In a workplace context, a high level of cultural intelligence enables the forging of positive and productive business and personal partnerships based on attributing importance to cultural differences (White, 2016). Effective communication in different cultural environments and the creation of a common background are not possible without a certain degree of cultural intelligence, which could play an important role in the process of establishing trust between business partners coming from different countries. Thus far, research pertaining to this area and conducted in various cultural environments shows that cultural intelligence is connected to the efficient functioning of inter-cultural teams, namely through their tendency to share information and level of cooperativeness. Groves et al. (2015) demonstrates that those with high CQ display more interestbased negotiation behaviors, which, in turn, result in better negotiation performance. Higher CQ is also connected with more innovative ideas, in terms of idea generation, promotion, and realization (Afsar et al., 2021).

What is more, cultural intelligence facilitates the functioning of multi-cultural teams through the encouraging of information sharing, which is also directly connected with trust (Bogilović et al., 2017). The functioning of multi-cultural teams and business collaboration between different cultures is frequently difficult because the process of aligning interests is often hindered by different objectives, religious, national, and cultural backgrounds, as well as values and social norms. We can therefore expect individuals with higher CQ to adapt to situations more quickly, to be more inclined to understand individuals coming from another culture, and, consequently, to exhibit higher levels of cooperation and trust (Elianto & Wulansari, 2016; Rockstuhl & Ng, 2008; Tuan, 2016).

In the research, we compared the role of cultural intelligence among three Slavic nations (Croatia, Russia, Slovenia) in the process of building trust in business relationships. Even though the cultural backgrounds of these nations are relatively similar, and despite the research being conducted over the same time period, we expected certain differences to emerge. To this end, we posed the following research questions:

    (a) Does the participants' gender affect the level of trust in business relationships?

    (b) Do statistically significant differences emerge in the level of trust in business relationships among the participants coming from three different countries, i.e., Croatia, Russia, and Slovenia?

    (c) Is it possible to predict the level of trust in business relationships based on the participants' gender, age, country, and level of cultural intelligence?

Method

Participants

The research involved a total of 560 employees. A total of 115 Croatians (20.5%) and 114 Russians (20.4%) completed a questionnaire to assess Slovenians. Of the 331 participating Slovenians (59.1%), 228 of them do business with Croatian partners, and 103 of them with Russian ones.

The sample included 55.2% men and 44.8% women; the average age of participants was 42 years (SD = 10.2 years). The youngest participant was 20, and the oldest 70 years old. Most participants (57.1%) completed post-secondary, higher or university education, 28.9% had a master's or a doctorate of science, while 13.9% of the participants had only completed primary school, a secondary technical school, or the general upper secondary school (*gimnaziia*). Respondents were able to choose multiple answers to describe their position at an organization. While 46.6% of them hold a management position at their place of work, 42.5% stated that their company has only non-management employees. 28.0% of the participants own the company they work in.

Measures

In the research, we employed the *Organizational Trust Inventory* (OTI) and the *Cultural Intelligence Scale* (CQS) and added socio-demographic questions (gender, age, nationality).

The *Organizational Trust Inventory* (Cummings & Bromiley, 1996) is based on a multi-dimensional theory of organizational trust. In the research, we used a shorter version of the questionnaire (OTI/R), translated into Slovene, Croatian, and Russian, where the participants used a seven-point Likert Scale (ranging from 1—"strongly disagree" to 7—"strongly agree") to rate 12 items that measure the three dimensions of organizational trust: keep commitments (e.g., "We think that our business partner meets its negotiated obligations to our department"), negotiate honestly (e.g., "We feel that our business partner negotiates with us honestly"), and avoid taking excessive advantage (e.g., "We feel that our business partner takes advantage of people who are vulnerable."). The questionnaire is structured in such a way that enables entering the name of the person/group the participant is rating for each item. In our case, Slovenian participants rated their trust in business partners from Croatia and Russia, while Croatian and Russian participants rated their trust in business partners from Slovenia. The questionnaire's authors confirmed the instrument's reliability in several studies (Cummings and Bromiley, 1996); the "negotiate honestly" dimension has the highest reliability (α = .94; in our study α = .72), followed by the "keep commitments" dimension (α = .94; in our study α = .71) and the "avoid taking excessive advantage" dimension (α = .90; in our study α = .74). The reliability analysis revealed that the internal consistencies of all dimensions were acceptable, and the OTI is appropriate for further scientific use.

The *Cultural Intelligence Scale* (Van Dyne et al., 2008) comprises 20 items that measure four dimensions: the metacognitive (e.g., "I am conscious of the cultural knowledge I use when interacting with people with different cultural backgrounds"), the cognitive (e.g., "I know the cultural values and religious beliefs of other cultures"), the

motivational (e.g., "I am sure I can deal with the stresses of adjusting to a culture that is new to me"), and the behavioral (e.g., "I change my non-verbal behavior when a cross-cultural situation requires it") dimensions. The participants rate each of the 20 items on a seven-point Likert Scale (1—"strongly disagree", 7—"strongly agree"). Several studies show the very good psychometric properties of the Cultural Intelligence Scale, i.e., CQS (Van Dyne et al., 2008). The results of the 2008 study support the stable four-factor structure, while the internal consistency of individual dimensions exceeds .70 in all dimensions (Boštjančič et al., 2018b). The highest reliability is attributed to the cognitive dimension (α = .95), followed by the motivational (α = .92), behavioral (α = .85), and metacognitive dimensions of cultural intelligence (α = .79). For research purposes we translated the scale into Croatian, while for the Slovene version we used the translation produced by the researcher U. Belak (Boštjančič et al., 2018a), and an earlier Russian translation was used with the Russian participants (Belovol et al., 2012).

Procedure

The research was thus conducted by means of an online survey in three language versions—Slovene, Croatian, and Russian. We invited people to take part through a publicly available database of Slovenian exporters to Croatia and Russia, and a database of Croatian and Russian importers to Slovenia. The condition to participate in the research was the minimum of a six-month business collaboration with a business partner from one of the focal countries. An e-invite with information about the purpose of the research, how the gathered data would be used, and information about guaranteeing anonymity was sent to approximately 4,700 companies that do business between Slovenia and Croatia (4% response rate), and to some 500 companies doing business between Slovenia and Russia (20% response rate). Data collection took two months, and in the second part of the project we attempted to achieve greater responsiveness by requesting help from international business associations that cover business in the three countries examined in this research.

The survey battery was administered in line with Slovenian law (Zakon o varstvu osebnih podatkov, 1999) and the ethical standards for research approved by the Ethics Committee at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana (Slovenia). The consent of the participants was obtained by virtue of survey completion. The participants were also told that they could withdraw from the study at any time, and that they would not be paid for participating.

Results

Our first analysis was focused on gender differences with regard to trust inside our sample as a whole (Table 1). We found statistically significant results in all three dimensions of trust, namely keeping commitments commitments (F = 4.461; p = .035), negotiating honestly (F = 4.012; p = .046), and avoiding taking excessive advantage (F = 4.315; p = .038). In all three dimensions, women were the ones with statistically significant higher values of trust. On the other hand, age was not a statistically significant component of the degree of trust in establishing and maintaining business relationships.

Table 2 shows that nationality had a statistically significant impact on the difference in trust in our sample as a whole ($F = 6.369$; $p < .01$)—with the Croatians getting statistically higher results than the Slovenians and Russians. There are also statistically significant differences in two other dimensions of trust, namely commitments ($F = 10.02$; $p < .001$) and negotiating honestly ($F = 10.02$; $p < .001$). The differences between the nationalities for the dimension avoiding taking excessive advantage were not statistically significant ($F = 1.164$; $p = .313$).

Table 1

Building Trust in Business Relationships—Mean and Standard Deviation of Variables for the Whole Sample and for Men and Women Separately, Including Differences Between Groups and Their Significance

	Whole	Men	Women	Differences between groups
	Mean and standard deviation	Mean and standard deviation	Mean and standard deviation	
OTI—general	59.30 (12.25)	58.18 (12.22)	60.75 (12.17)	$F = 5.616$; $p = .010$
Keep commitments	20.48 (4.50)	20.11 (4.52)	20.96 (4.44)	$F = 4.461$; $p = .035$
Negotiate honestly	20.26 (4.42)	19.91 (4.45)	20.70 (4.35)	$F = 4.012$; $p = .046$
Avoid taking excessive advantage	18.56 (5.12)	18.15 (5.26)	19.09 (4.89)	$F = 4.315$; $p = .038$

Table 2

Cultural intelligence and Building Trust in Business Relationships—Mean and standard Deviation for the Whole Sample and Separated by Country of Origin, With Differences Between Groups and Their Statistical Significance.

	Whole	Slovenia	Croatia	Russia	Differences between group
	Mean and standard deviation	Mean and standard deviation	Mean and standard deviation	Mean and standard deviation	
OTI—General	59.30 (12.25)	58.66 (12.39)	64.09 (11.31)	58.21 (11.81)	$F = 6.369$; $p = .01$
OTI—Keep commitments	20.48 (4.50)	20.19 (4.47)	22.67 (4.17)	19.98 (4.45)	$F = 10.02$; $p < .001$
OTI—Negotiate honestly	20.26 (4.42)	19.87 (4.45)	22.20 (3.78)	20.18 (4.41)	$F = 10.02$; $p < .001$
OTI—Avoid taking excessive advantage	18.56 (5.12)	18.60 (5.19)	19.21 (5.53)	18.04 (4.62)	$F = 1.164$; $p = .313$
CQS—Metacognitive	5.64 (0.89)	5.68 (0.89)	5.56 (0.88)	5.90 (0.88)	$F = 13.07$; $p < .001$
CQS—Cognitive	4.62 (1.04)	4.66 (0.99)	4.53 (1.19)	4.58 (1.09)	$F = 9.88$; $p < .001$
CQS—Motivational	5.56 (0.93)	5.93 (0.94)	5.88 (0.78)	5.56 (0.94)	$F = 2.88$; $p = .090$
CQS—Behavioral	5.12 (1.10)	5.04 (1.07)	4.86 (1.21)	5.51 (1.03)	$F = 0.004$; $p = .949$
CQS—General	20.94 (3.04)	20.86 (3.10)	20.83 (3.06)	21.24 (2.86)	$F = 2.78$; $p = .096$

Table 3

Means and standard deviations of variables with Pearson correlation coefficients

	Mean	SD	Country	Gender	Age	OTI—General	OTI—Keep commitments	OTI—Negotiate honestly	OTI—Avoid taking excessive advantage	CQS—Metacognitive	CQS—Cognitive	CQS—Motivational	CQS—Behavioral
Country	–	–											
Gender	–	–	.17**										
Age	41.99	10.21	–.16**	–.18**									
OTI—General	59.30	12.25	.02	.11*	.00								
OTI—Keep commitments	20.48	4.50	.02	.10*	–.01	.91**							
OTI—Negotiate honestly	20.26	4.42	.06	.09*	.01	.89**	.83**						
OTI—Avoid taking excessive advantage	18.56	5.12	–.03	.09*	.00	.82**	.58**	.53**					
CQS—Metacognitive	14.33	5.25	–.07	.05	.12**	.07	.12*	.16**	–.07				
CQS—Cognitive	19.02	8.10	–.05	.01	.08	.03	.07	.11*	–0.08	.57**			
CQS—Motivational	15.44	6.23	.04	.03	–.04	.09*	.12*	.16**	–.02	.57**	0.47**		
CQS—Behavioral	18.89	7.62	.14**	.12**	–.02	–.01	.03	.06	–.10*	.48**	0.38**	0.50**	
CQS—General	157.58	99.56	.00	.04	.00	.03	.04	.07	–.03	.67**	0.68**	0.70**	0.67**

*Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.*

Table 3 presents the correlations and their reliability for major variables in this study. The participants assessed dimensions of trust as follows: the highest was keeping a commitment, followed by negotiating honestly and avoiding taking excessive advantage. With regard to the research questions examined in this study, statistically significant correlations emerged between gender and all trust dimensions. The general score of OTI and the general score of CQS do not correlate ($p = 0.03$). There are, however, significant correlations between the sub-scales of the cultural intelligence questionnaire and the questionnaire about trust, which is in line with expectations regarding the measurement properties of the scales used (Boštjančič et al., 2018b; Cummings & Bromiley, 1996). The participants with more distinct metacognitive, cognitive, and motivational dimensions of cultural intelligence reported more frequently on the presence of trust (the "negotiating honestly" dimension). The latter correlations are positive, yet low.

Predicting trust based on gender, age, nationality, and cultural intelligence is not statistically significant in any of the four cases (Table 4)—for all three dimensions of trust and for the overall measure of trust. The share of explained variance in all cases is less than 2% (in predicting overall score $r^2 = 1.2\%$, in keeping commitments $r^2 = 1\%$, in honest negotiation $r^2 = 1.6\%$ and in avoiding exploitation $r^2 = 1.2\%$). The best predictor of trust was gender, which predicted the dimension of keeping commitments, and the overall result on the dimension of trust was statistically significant. The remaining three predictors (age, nationality, and cultural intelligence) did not prove to be statistically significant predictors for any of the trust dimensions or for the overall score.

Discussion

Our international research focused on the problem of identifying the prerequisites of trust among entrepreneurs and employees from three different Slavic countries. The purpose of our study was to answer the research questions about the relationships between trust in international business relations and those factors that can potentially enhance or weaken different forms of trust. In the study we included entrepreneurs and employees from similar cultural backgrounds, from Central and Eastern European Slavic countries, namely Slovenia, Croatia, and Russia. The main results of our study are presented as follows.

The proportion of explained variance in all cases was less than 2%. The best predictor of trust was gender, which statistically significantly predicted the dimension of keeping commitments and the overall result on the dimension of trust. This result may have been due to the fact that trust can be influenced by quite a few other factors that we did not include in our research—e.g., self-confidence, decreased uncertainty, greater psychological security, and problem-solving through knowledge sharing (Cook & Schilke, 2010; Lumineau, 2017).

Table 4

Results of Multiple Regression for Subscale Prediction and Overall Score Prediction for the OTI Trust Questionnaire

Prediction	Keep commitments				Negotiate honestly				Avoid taking excessive advantage				Trust – overall score			
Variable	coeff.	*SE*	*T*	*P*	coeff.	*SE*	*T*	*P*	coeff.	*SE*	*T*	*P*	coeff.	*SE*	*T*	*P*
Gender	.876	.411	2.133	.033	.789	.402	1.962	.050	1.072	.468	2.291	.022	2.737	1.117	2.450	.014
Age	.006	.020	.279	.766	.016	.020	.822	.412	.006	.023	.242	.809	.028	.055	.507	.613
Nationality	.034	.244	.140	.889	.279	.240	1.163	.245	−.300	.279	−1.076	.283	.013	.666	.019	.984
Cultural intelligence	.002	.002	.820	.413	.003	.002	1.541	.124	−.002	.002	−.723	.470	.003	.006	.553	.581

Trust is also viewed differently by different nationalities. Croatians achieve higher values of trust than Slovenians and Russians. The reason for this can be found in the differences in the relative economic development of the three countries. Croatia is the least economically developed, and therefore Croatian entrepreneurs risk less than entrepreneurs from Russia or Slovenia (Komes, 2017). Additionally, of all the nations of the former Yugoslavia, Slovenians have the least trust in Croatians, which we could explain by the presence of many negative stereotypes about Croatians in Slovenia, such as they are jealous and lazy (Komes, 2017). The lower level of trust among Russians may also be due to the fact that, according to Hofstede, it can be classified as a low-trust society (Bstieler & Hemmert, 2008), as in Russia trust is very important within already known channels, while in Slovenia and Croatia this is not the case. Given the results of our research, the differences in cultural intelligence do not predict trust and do not correlate with it in a statistically significant way.

This result underscores that cultural differences are more important than cultural intelligence in terms of trust. It can be assumed that the cultural affiliation of the subject remains dominant with regard to the issue of trust in a business partner. It should also be noted that trust and mistrust are not exclusive and opposite categories, but only related constructs—the fact that there is no trust does not mean there is mistrust. The elements we have included in our study cannot be considered elements that can contribute to mistrust (Hardin, 2004; Lewicki et al., 1998; Lumineau, 2017).

Theoretical Significance and Practical Implications

The results of this study show that the gender of the participants affects trust, as all components of trust are higher for the female participants than the male ones. This was not the case in the previous literature, as many authors (Croson & Buchanan, 1999; Kaasa & Parts, 2008; Stolle & Hooghe, 2004) found no significant effects of gender on trust, while others (Buchan et al., 2008; van Oorschot & Arts, 2005) found that men are more trusting than women.

At the same time, our data provides new insights into the relationship between trust and cultural intelligence, as it motivates researchers to respect the cultural factors associated with business partners and not be so confident that cultural differences are easily erased by high levels of cultural intelligence. These results should be taken into account when considering how personal and cultural predictors of trust relate to the level of trust in international business relations.

The data also contributes to a clearer understanding of the ambiguity of predictors of trust, even in such objective conditions as business partnerships and cooperation. While previous studies have focused on cultural intelligence as a factor in successful international interaction, our results show that cultural identity retains its strong importance even in the context of globalization and the intensification of international cooperation.

The results obtained in this study are of interest to those who help develop business cooperation between countries, such as state and public organizations supporting entrepreneurship. In addition, the results will be useful to business school educators and organizational consultants.

Our data enriches knowledge by offering a new approach to building trust between businesspeople from different cultures. As such, one of the recommendations may be to maintain a balance between the number of men and women in any team focused on the development of international business relations. Another recommendation calls for more respect and the careful study of a business partner's culture. Our findings also further underscore the need to take a fresh look at cultural stereotypes as potential barriers to developing trusting business relationships.

Avenues for Future Research

In our research, we addressed the issue of predicting trust between business partners from different countries and cultures. Further research is needed in this area, in the direction of examining trust in business relations with regard to adjacent and more distant regions—in other words, it should be examined whether the physical distance between countries or regions can have an impact on trust in business relationships. Given the size of the countries involved, it would be appropriate to explore the level of trust by region in the future—trust could be higher in bordering regions, for example, both due to more frequent contacts and more similar cultural environments (Komes, 2017).

It would also be important to check whether membership of the countries of one or both business partners in the European Union has a significant impact on the trust and work of business partners in different countries.

There is a considerable literature on the relationship between Slovenia and Croatia, but that between Slovenia and Russia has not yet been sufficiently researched. Further research could explore this relationship in the case of business partners as well as the general populations in both countries. Similarly, it would be worth examining whether the Yugoslav-era stereotypes of Slovenes about Croatians, and *vice versa*, still exist, what they are and whether they have changed over time, as this could also have a significant impact on trust in business relations.

Future research should aim to be based on larger and more representative samples of entrepreneurs and employees developing international business partnerships. Researchers can focus on the difference in motivation as a driving force for building trust with a partner from a different culture. It may also be worthwhile to find out exactly what gender characteristics (e.g., femininity, masculinity, kindness, responsiveness) are the prerequisites for trust in business partnerships, regardless of the cultures of the partners.

Limitations

While our research has proven to be productive, it still has some limitations. First, the groups of subjects were selected *ad hoc*, depending on the voluntary participation of entrepreneurs and employees, and were not based on a systematic sample. Consequently, our subjects can only partially be regarded as representative of the large social group of employees from Central and Eastern Europe. This limitation is also evident in many other cross-cultural studies.

Second, the study of the data allowed us to firmly control possible occupational, social, and demographic factors. Therefore, these factors make it difficult to formulate

more general hypotheses among a wider range of employees. However, this is beyond the scope of our research.

Third, the use of cross-sectional and self-reporting methodology for data collection could have affected the quality of measurement of the parameters underlying trust. In our research, we used a self-assessment questionnaire that allowed us to collect data from a relatively large sample in three different countries on the topic of trust in interpersonal business relationships and cultural intelligence. In the case of any self-assessment questionnaire we naturally encounter subjective assessment, but only in this way were we able to measure the subjective assessment of the dimensions considered in this study. In our case this is a more important factor than the objective assessment of these dimensions. The problem with self-assessment questionnaires is that participants may assess their characteristics too little or too rigorously—thus producing unrealistic results (Demerouti et al., 2015). Our results, however, are valid for answering our research questions, since the study design was carefully organized, the investigated variables were operationalized, and robust psychological data collection and processing techniques were used.

Conclusion

Building trust is a topic that has remained in the spotlight for many years, despite a changing society. In this context we are talking about the trust that arises in the relationship between two people or, in our case, between two businesspeople with different cultural backgrounds (Croatia, Russia, or Slovenia). Human personality also plays an important role in this process, as noted by previous researchers— in our study all components of trust were higher for the female participants than the male ones. Cultural intelligence advances cross-cultural knowledge sharing, communication and development of shared values whilst managers's trust enhances cultural intelligence. In our study we paid attention to those factors that are believed to influence the formation of productive trusting business relationships between people from different countries and cultures. Our results not only once again emphasized the importance of studying the influence of culture on intercultural business relations (we confirmed the differences in building trust among observed nations), but also revealed the need to further pay close attention to the prerequisites of trust (based on gender), which can occur in both personal and business contacts.

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ARTICLE

Dreams in the Bible and in Modern English Discourse: A Shift in Perspective

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the linguistic aspect of the phenomenon of secularisation, using as example the English word "dream." Comparative analysis of the linguistic structure of the dream narratives in the Bible and in modern English texts allowed us to discern two major secularisation trends—*humanizing the divine* and *mystifying the human*. In the Bible, entering into contact with the divine while asleep is always evaluated ambivalently: one is fascinated by the great favour and fears for one's life. In modern religious discourse, the growing number of dream narratives manifest the positive evaluation of the contact with the divine as comforting. The second tendency consists in the transfer of transcendental experiences from the religious sphere into the sphere of narratives describing human mind and emotions. Here, the ambivalent experience springs up from the mysterious depths of the subconscious. At the lexical level, both tendencies result in new senses of the word "dream" as well as in important changes in the narrative structure of texts relating dream experiences. In the end, we provide a dictionary entry for the English noun "dream".

KEYWORDS

dream narratives, the Bible, religious discourse, secularisation, lexicography

Introduction

The mysterious phenomenon of dreaming has always fascinated human beings giving rise to numerous popular beliefs. Many ancient cultures regarded dreams as a means of contact with supernatural powers (Beskova, 2005; Bulkeley, 2008; Szpakowska, 2001). Dream narratives play an important role in holy texts belonging to different religious traditions. According to Bulkeley, this fact suggests that dreaming might be "a primal wellspring of religious experience" (Bulkeley, 2008, p. 6). Therefore, by studying contexts in which the noun "dream" occurs regularly in a variety of text genres, we may get an important insight into human nature with its aspirations for spiritual growth and access to transcendental experiences, as well as into cultural phenomena reflected in the process of dream interpretation.

This article presents a comparative study of dream narratives in the Bible and in modern English texts. We focus our attention on the meaning of the noun "dream" as it can be reconstructed from its context. Our approach to word meaning is grounded in the semiotic tradition laid down by L. Wittgenstein (1953/1986). It is based on the understanding of word meaning as its potential to be used in the language in a specific way. This general prinicple has been substantiated by modern corpus linguistics, which we will discuss below.

By comparing the linguistic structure of the narratives describing experiences referred to as dreams, we can trace important contextual shifts for the English word "dream" that have taken place in contemporary English speaking world. We shall argue that these shifts are indicative of the growing processes of secularisation in modern religious discourse. They also reveal gradual transfer of transcendental experiences into the secular sphere of narratives concerning human psyche.

At the end of this paper, we provide a dictionary entry for the word "dream" that represents the description of the typical contextual patterns for this word in different speech genres.

Secularisation: Decline vs. Transformation

The term *secularisation* was introduced by the German sociologist Max Weber (1905/2001) to describe the process of religious decline in the era of industrialisation and science. According to Weber's predictions, religion was doomed to disappear in the modern world giving way to rational scientific thinking. The idea of secularisation as decline in religious beliefs has been further developed by many prominent sociologists (Baar, 2021; Bruce, 2002; Ertit, 2018; Haynes, 1997; Riesebrodt, 2014; Wilson, 1966). Jeff Haynes (1997), for example, defines secularisation as "a trend whereby societies gradually move away from being focused around the sacred and a concern with the divine, leading to a diminution of religious power and authority" (p. 713). For Steve Bruce (2002), this term means "a decline in the extent to which people engage in religious practices […] and conduct other aspects of their lives in a manner informed by beliefs" (p. 3).

Our post-modern era, however, has seen the resurgence of different religious movements (Riesebrodt, 2014), as well as a new tendency to embrace atheistic spirituality as a deep wonderment at the awesome universe which "will always remain at least partly opaque to understanding" (Shapiro, 2018, p. 199; see also Coleman et al., 2013). Industrialisation and modernisation, therefore, have not brought with them the predicted decline, but rather engendered new forms of experiencing transcendence. In our opinion, this fact suggests that the secularisation thesis as it was forwarded by Weber and his followers should be reconsidered in favour of a more flexible approach.

This understanding of secularisation as decline was contested long ago by David Martin who insisted that secularisation was not "necessarily antireligious", but rather presented "Christian attempts to come to terms with the advent of the supremacy of science and reason" (as cited in Künkler, 2019, p. 906). This approach is radically different as it presupposes that secularisation has been taking place within the system of religious beliefs and practices themselves as a means of adaptation to new social conditions. As such, it leads to the gradual transformation of traditional religious beliefs, rather than their decline and disappearance. For example, Martin (2014) considers Pentecostalism—an influential current in modern Christianity, whose members speak in tongues and believe in miracles—an example of these "alternative modes of secularisation and alternative modes of modernisation" (p. 2).

Today, Martin's views are supported by many scholars (Arthur, 2006; Casanova, 2007; Islam, 2020; Maciak, 2019; Taylor, 2007; Uggla, 2017). For Didarul Islam (2020), for example, secularisation is "a process of *religious change* [emphasis added] instead of hard separation between religion and politics" (p. 140) and "should be understood as establishment of 'active freedom' of religion" (p. 135). Bengt Uggla (2017), on the other hand, speaks about "*internal* Christian *secularisation*" [emphasis added] that began in the reform movements of the late Middle Ages and "had consciously 'made spiritual' the worldly, as well as having brought religious life out of the monasteries into the secular world" (p. 59). Writing about secularisation, Jose Casanova (2007) also refers to "diverse patterns of differentiation and fusion of the religious and the secular" (p. 104).

In the post-modern era, when different forms of spirituality still flourish in social and private lives, it seems to be more appropriate to consider *secularisation a multidirectional process of the transformation of religious beliefs and practices under the influence of modern humanistic values*. This process opens up new possibilities to experience transcendence by erasing the limits between the sacred and the secular and creating new patterns of their interaction in different types of discourse.

The process of secularisation has a significant impact at the level of linguistic structures. On the one hand, it creates new patterns of evaluation in the religious discourse, producing contextual shifts and, therefore, shifts in word meanings. On the other hand, older patterns of the verbal representation of transcendental experiences are transformed and transferred into non-religious genres. All this results in changes in the sense structure of certain words, as well as in the redistribution of the senses across different speech genres.

In this article, we are going to explore certain aspects of this process. As an example, we are using the case study of the English word "dream". By comparing dream narratives in the English Bible with modern dream accounts in the religious and secular discourse, we will be able to establish shifts that have taken place in the sense structure of this word over time. This, in turn, will help us to pin down the main directions of the secularisation process as it is reflected in the English language.

Theoretical Framework and Method

With the advent of corpus linguistics, the idea that the meaning of a word is constructed through context rather than exists in isolation has been gaining in popularity (Rundell, 2018; see also Harris & Hutton, 2007). Vaclav Brezina (2018), for example, suggests that "word meanings can best be investigated through the analysis of repeated linguistic patterns in corpora". It means that word senses can be distinguished by establishing typical collocational patterns of the word in context.

Unfortunately, this important theoretical premise has not contributed much to the improvement of the quality of dictionary entries in practice. They still lack in systematicity and often provide controversial examples (for a more detailed discussion see Smirnova, 2016a, 2021). This might be due to the lack of coherent methodology that allows to classify contextual patterns in a systematic way. A possible solution to this problem might be taking into account evaluation as the core constituent of verbal meaning (Tolochin, 2014).

The idea that the meaning of a sign results from the interaction of a living organism with its environment was initially introduced by Thure von Uexküll (1986). According to the author, meaning is determined by the needs of the organism that are projected onto the outer world, indicating possibility/impossibility of their satisfaction. Jordan Zlatev (2003) develops this idea further. For him, meaning as a relation between the organism and its environment is determined by the *value* of the environment for the organism. Therefore, language as a sign system that conveys meaning represents a means of need satisfaction for human beings and is intrinsically evaluative in nature (Tolochin, 2012, 2014). Each word has its evaluative potential that is represented by the basic features of human experience associated with this particular linguistic form. It is evaluation that determines the way words function in texts, creating stable collocational patterns that refer to similar categories of experience (Lukianova, 2004).

By analysing the evaluative characteristics of lexical markers, i.e., lexical items that frequently co-occur with the given word in a particular type of context, we can distinguish stable evaluative patterns of the word usage that provide a reliable basis for sense distinction.

Also, the novelty of our method consists in the broad understanding of the term *context*. We believe that the function of the word is fully revealed only in the narrative as a structurally and functionally coherent unit and cannot be studied at the level of a single sentence. Therefore, the elaboration of the word's sense structure implies the classification of narratives that contain the word in question based on the type of problem these texts deal with. The word "dream" presents a very convenient object

of study in this respect because dream narratives are usually short and can be easily analyzed in their integrity. This approach has been successfully applied to a number of lexical items (Smirnova, 2016a, 2016b, 2021; Smirnova & Tolochin, 2018; Tkalich & Tolochin, 2018; Vlasova & Tolochin, 2019).

One of the main advantages of our method, as we shall try to demonstrate further in this paper, is that not only does it allow to create a systematic representation of the word's sense structure, but it also reveals certain cultural phenomena as they are encoded in language. The linguistic sign as a vehicle of cultural information is sensitive to major shifts in value judgements. New evaluative patterns create new word senses, whereas the deconstruction of older evaluative patterns brings forth changes in the status of already existing ones.

In the present study, we have analyzed all the contexts for the word "dream" in the King James Version of the Bible[1] (112 tokens—89 nouns, 23 verbs), as well as 615 uses of the word "dream" in contemporary texts (540 nouns, 40 verbs, 35 adjectives)[2]. A 100 random sample containing 148 tokens was extracted from the Corpus of Contemporary American English[3] (Davies, 2008–); 141 additional texts containing 467 tokens were extracted in a more targeted way, using key words from different websites and forums, mainly Trusting-in-Jesus[4] (a Christian website that "does not promote the opinions or beliefs of any particular Christian denomination"), Dream Forum[5] and Google Books, a digital database of books and magazines.

Dreams in the Bible

Dream narratives in the Bible have been thoroughly studied by historians of religion, mainly in the context of source criticism as a means of dating the texts and establishing their authorship (Gnuse, 2000; Grossman, 2016; Richter, 1963). It is generally agreed that such narratives function as a literary technique in the Bible rather than factual accounts of real psychological experiences (Ehrlich, 1953; Husser, 1999; Flannery-Dailey, 2004). Be that as it may, biblical dream reports offer an important insight into the significance of dreaming in the Christian religious tradition. Therefore, by studying the word "dream" in the Bible we can discern major interpretative models which were embedded in the Christian culture long ago and were traditionally used as scripts for text production in the English religious discourse.

Attempts have been made to create a classification of dream narratives in ancient religious texts. A widely accepted typology was proposed by Leo Oppenheim (1956). He divided such narratives into two groups: message dreams and symbolic

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[1]   https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org

[2]   For reasons of space, we provide a dictionary entry only for the noun "dream". However, most of the senses have a corresponding homonymous verb and adjective.

[3]   https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/

[4]   https://www.trusting-in-jesus.com

[5]   https://dreamforum.net

dreams. According to the author, message dreams are vocal communications from God containing direct instructions, whereas symbolic dreams represent sophisticated visual imagery that requires competent interpretation.

This distinction was applied to the analysis of biblical dream accounts by Robert Gnuse (2000) and Frances Flannery-Dailey (2004). Flannery-Dailey points out that there is only one dream that does not fit neatly into Oppenheim's categories—Jacob's dream of the ladder (King James Bible, 1769/2017, Gen. 28:10–18), for it is both vocal and visual. She attributes it to both categories. Laura Quick (2018), on the contrary, argues that it is a typical message dream.

This is not the only problem with this classification, however. Symbolic dreams also convey messages. Pharaoh's dreams (King James Bible, 1769/2017, Gen. 41), for example, that are considered symbolic "are a *message* [emphasis added] from God, informing him of events about to unfold" (Grossman, 2016, p. 726). From the functional point of view, therefore, this classification seems tautological and does not work.

The analysis of key lexical markers that accompany the word "dream" in the King James Bible suggests that there exist three patterns of this word's usage in the Holy Scripture. These patterns differ by their evaluative characteristics and, therefore, represent three different senses of the word "dream".

Archetypal Dreams

The first contextual pattern (6 tokens—5 Nouns, 1 Verb—in 4 extracts) manifests itself in the following verses of the King James Bible (1769/2017): Abimelech's dream (Gen. 20:1–8), Jacob's dream about the ladder (Gen. 28:10–18), Laban's dream (Gen. 31:24, 29) and Solomon's dream (1 Kings 3:5–15). All these narratives have two important features in common. First of all, the dreamer enters into direct contact with God: *God came to* Abimelech in a dream by night (Gen. 20:3); *he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven* […] *the LORD stood above it* (Gen. 28:12–13); *God came to* Laban *the Syrian in a dream by night* (Gen. 31:24); *the LORD appeared to* Solomon *in a* dream by night (1 Kings 3:5).

Second, entering into contact with God while asleep is perceived as an ambivalent experience. On the one hand, it raises fear for one's life which is expressed in the text either through the words referencing extreme fear: *the men were **sore afraid*** (Gen. 20:8); *he was **afraid**, and said, How **dreadful** is this place*! (Gen. 28:17) or through the description of a ritual as an act of propitiation: *Jacob* […] *took the stone that he had put for his pillows, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it* (Gen. 28:18); *Solomon* […] *stood before the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and offered up burnt offerings, and offered peace offerings, and made a feast to all his servants* (1 Kings 3:15). On the other hand, God's appearance in a dream is a sign of great favour to the dreamer: *I know that thou didst this in **the integrity of thy heart**; for **I also withheld thee from sinning** against me* (Gen. 20:6); *in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be **blessed*** (Gen. 28:14); *God said, **Ask what I shall give thee*** (1 Kings 3:5).

Only Laban's dream does not contain any explicit lexical markers indicating ambivalence. However, it can be deduced from the way the events unfold that the dream must have been a powerful experience for Laban.

(a) *It is **in the power of my hand to do you hurt**: but **the God of your father** spake unto me yesternight, saying, Take thou heed that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad.* (King James Bible, 1769/2017, Gen. 31:29)

The God that communicates to Laban is not *his* God, but belongs to another religious tradition—that of Jacob's father (a). Nevertheless, Laban refrains from vengeance and lets Jacob go with his daughters and the cattle definitely fearing for his life if he does not respect the warning.

The evaluative pattern present in these extracts corresponds to the category of word senses that we defined in our previous articles as the ***archetype***[6]: "A separate word sense common to words with an ambivalent integral category that manifests itself in texts describing irresolvable psychological conflicts related to the experience of interaction with inconceivable supernatural forces" (Smirnova & Tolochin, 2018, p. 160; see also Smirnova, 2021). This type of word sense represents the legacy of the primordial human mind with its low levels of analyticity and non-differentiation of certain contexts.

The world of dream was perceived by the ancients as another mode of reality. Dreaming in this respect was regarded as a borderline experience that allowed entering into contact with the supernatural forces (Bulkeley, 2008). As we can see, this ancient narrative pattern found its way to the Bible where the word "dream" in a number of cases is used to describe *a means of direct contact with God while asleep, which is simultaneously desirable and terrifying for the dreamer*. It must be no coincidence that the archetypal "dream" appears only in the oldest books of the Bible.

Prophetic Dreams

The second contextual pattern (96 tokens—77 Nouns, 19 Verbs—in 24 extracts) manifests itself in Jacob's dream (King James Bible, 1769/2017, Gen. 31:10–11), Joseph's dreams (Gen. 37:5–11; 42:8–9), the butler and baker's dream (Gen. 40:5–11), Pharaoh's dreams (Gen. 41), the dream of Gideon's victory (Judg. 7:13–15), Nebuchadnezzar's dreams (Dan. 2:1–9, 26–47; 4:4–9, 19), Daniel's dream (Dan. 7:1–28), Joseph's dreams (Matt. 1:19–20; 2:12–14; 2:19–22), the dream of Pilate's wife (Matt. 27:19–24), as well as general mentions of dreams (Num. 12:5–8; Deut. 13:1–1; 1 Sam. 1:28–6; Job 7:13–14; 33:14-20; Dan. 1:17; 5:12; Joel 3:28–31; Jer. 23:25–32; Zech. 10:2; Acts 2:16–17).

In these contexts the word "dream" stands for a mediated message from God received while asleep and containing specific instructions. The message might

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[6]   For a detailed discussion of this term and its relation to analytical psychology developed by C. G. Jung and his followers see Smirnova & Tolochin, 2018.

be visual (Gen. 40:5–11), vocal (Matt. 2:12), or both (Matt. 1:20). What is important is the absence of direct contact with God, which results in a less intense experience than the archetypal "dream".

> (b) *And the king said unto them, I have* **dreamed a dream**, *and* **my spirit was troubled** *to know the dream* (Dan. 2:3). *Then the king Nebuchadnezzar* **fell upon his face, and worshipped Daniel**, *and commanded that they should* **offer an oblation and sweet odours unto** *him.* (King James Bible, 1769/2017, Dan. 2:46)

Such dream narratives are often introduced by the verbal sequence *I dreamed a dream* (b), in contrast to *God came/appeared to* […] *in a dream* in the archetypal contexts. The divine source of this experience is not explicitly mentioned in the beginning and is revealed in the process of interpretation by the elligible person. Fear for one's life gives way to confusion at the impossibility of making sense of the experience: compare *my spirit was* **troubled** (b) vs. **sore afraid** (Gen. 20:8) or **dreadful** (Gen. 28:17). The ritualized behaviour—*worshipped, offer an oblation and sweet odours* (b)—is directed at the interpreter of the dream who solves the king's problem. Therefore, it is not indicative of the ambivalent transcendental feeling of contact with the divine, but rather parallels the mundane sense of the word "awe" as high esteem and fear of the supreme authority (Smirnova, 2021).

All the supernatural dreams in the Bible fall into two major categories (archetypal vs. prophetic) based on the type of contact with God (direct vs. mediated), which creates a specific evaluative pattern (intense transcendental ambivalence vs. moderate mundane ambivalence).

Secular Dreams

The last type of context for the word "dream" (10 tokens—7 Nouns, 3 Verbs—in 7 extracts) is represented in the following verses: Ps. 73:16–20, Ps. 126:1–3, Job 20:4–8, Eccles. 5:2–3, Eccles.5:5–7, Isa. 29:7–8, Jer. 29:8–9 (King James Bible, 1769/2017). We call these dreams secular because the source of the experience defined by the word "dream" in these contexts is not supernatural. In the Bible, these are mostly general mentions of dreams in a simile.

> (c) *That the triumphing of the wicked is* **short**, *and the joy of the hypocrite but* **for a moment** […] *He shall* **fly away as a dream**, *and shall not be found: yea, he shall be* **chased away as a vision of the night**. (King James Bible, 1769/2017, Job 20:5, 8)

Here, the word "dream" stands for a fleeting illusory moment, a deceptive image produced by one's imagination. In the Bible, this type of dream is considered negative as a symbol of self-deception and is opposed to both types of supernatural dreams that are regarded as a source of truthful knowledge.

Dreams in Modern English Culture and Language

According to Russian psychologists D. G. Trunov and M. A. Vodenikova (2012), the process of dream interpretation in modern culture is conducted within one of the three major contextual frameworks: metaphysical, scientific, and psychological. In the scientific model, the word "dream" is used as a term to define specific type of brain activity while asleep. It is not normally used by lay people in this sense with respect to their own personal experiences, therefore, we are not going to discuss this model here.

The metaphysical model of dream interpretation goes back to ancient religious practices. Within this framework, dreams are considered a means of communication with transcendental powers. The psychological model of dream interpretation, on the other hand, is rooted in various psychoanalytic practices that regard dreams as purely psychic entities revealing information about the unconscious mind of the dreamer.

In this article we are going to adopt the same distinction, however, using slightly different terms. *Metaphysics* is usually defined as "the study of what is outside objective experience" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). This term is too general, in our opinion, and may englobe certain types of experience that are transcendental and, therefore, incomprehensible and mysterious without, at the same time, being attributed to an otherworldly source (see, for example, the discussion of atheistic spirituality in Shapiro, 2018). The word "psychological", on the other hand, is too narrow and might misleadingly create an impression that this model of dream interpretation is relevant only to the psychological and psychoanalytical discourse, whereas it can be found in the religious texts as well.

Taking into account these considerations, we suggest distinguishing between the *supernatural* and the *symbolic* interpretative models. The word "supernatural" reflects more precisely the origin of the experience, which in this model results from the interaction with the otherworldly supernatural powers. As for the word "symbolic", it underlines the fact that whinin this model elements of the dream are considered to be symbols created by the psyche.

It should be kept in mind that these models do not correspond exactly to a particular type of discourse. Nowadays, the supernatural model of interpretation is still widely present in religious texts, whereas symbolic interpretative model is more common in secular speech genres. Both of them can be found in fiction.

This distinction in the overall attitude to dream interpretation leads to significantly different evaluative patterns established by the word "dream" in these two types of interpretive models. Therefore, we suggest considering this functional difference a basis for differentiation between two main senses of the word "dream".

The Word ''Dream'' in the Supernatural Interpretative Model.
Sense 1 and its Derivatives

As already mentioned, dreams are often interpreted in modern religious texts as transcendental experiences of entering into contact with the supernatural. Four typical evaluative patterns can be distinguished within this major interpretative

framework. They are determined by two factors: the nature of contact (direct vs. mediated) and the general disposition of the force in question towards human beings (benevolent vs. malevolent).

Archetypal Dreams (Sense 1)

> (d) *I've had **dreams** where I **encounter God**. The **dreams** never are the same. All **encounters serve different functions**. In one **dream God appears as a bright light, like entering the surface of the sun**. He is **unapproachable, only witnessed from a distance**. In the **dream** I have a **strong desire to draw closer**, but there is also **fear**, and **awe**. In the end I simply **collapse** and **declare that I am not worthy**.* (What Happens, n.d.)

We have already discussed archetypal dreams in the Bible. In example (d), we find the same contextual pattern: direct encounter with the supernatural agent[7] triggers intense ambivalent emotional reaction. "A strong desire to draw closer" is counterbalanced by "unapproachability" and "fear". The divine power is perceived as both beneficial (at a certain distance) and destructive (if the safe distance is violated). This transcendental experience is so intense that it is almost unbearable for the dreamer ("I simply collapse").

As we can see, the ancient archetypal model has survived throughout the centuries. The evaluative potential of the word "dream" manifests itself to the full extent here. Therefore, we suggest considering this type of use the first main sense of the word in question (31 tokens—26 Nouns, 5 Verbs, 0 Adjectives—in 16 texts[8]).

Comforting Supernatural Dreams (Sense 1a)

> (e) *I had the following **dream** about God* […] ***I was praying for guidance*** [...] *The next morning I had this **dream** that **God and I were sitting on a spot under a familiar tree** [...] He was sitting closest to the tree, in a kneeling position wearing a white robe. I was sitting right next to Him* […] *I could feel **the warmth of the sunlight softly kissing my skin**. **I've never felt so peaceful, calm, and Joyful and happy!** God was busy telling me what I should write down, while **making jokes and giggling** in between* […] *I have never had any **dream** like this **where God was present and talking to me**, let alone **the calm and happiness within me in my dream**. I'm not sure what this means for me or **what message I need to understand**, but **I know that God heard my prayers**, and **this was His way of getting close to me**.* (Dreams About God, n.d.)

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[7]   The supernatural agent in the Christian tradition is mostly represented by God, Jesus or an angel. The words "God", "Jesus", and "angel" are ambivalent in the Bible. Therefore, they are still used in modern religious discourse as key elements of narratives that describe ambivalent archetypal experiences (for the detailed discussion of the word "angel" and its use in the Bible and in modern English discourse, see Smirnova & Tolochin, 2018).

[8]   Certain texts feature several different senses of the word "dream". Therefore, the total number of texts (241) is slightly inferiour to the sum of the texts mentioned for each particular sense (251).

(f) *I have been having **dreams** of the end times in the same sequence every night* [...] *In the **dreams**, I feel as if I must be hush hush, but **an angel did come to me back** when I was 19 **when I was not doing so well**. I was told, «be ready we are coming back for you and your family» and to «be ready when the times come»; **this angel took the form of my friend's voice so I would not be alarmed** [...].* (Prophetic Dreams and Visions, n.d.)

Here again, the dream is perceived as a means of entering into direct contact with the supernatural agent. In (e), the dreamer "prays for guidance" and God answers by coming to him/ her in the dream—"this was His way of getting close to me". In (f), the dreamer receives angelic visitations—"an angel did come to me back". The emotional reaction to the encounter with the supernatural force is radically different, however. God is represented as a fatherly figure (sitting next to the dreamer "under a familiar tree", "wearing a white robe", "making jokes and giggling") that emanates peace and joy; whereas the angel takes the form of a friend's voice. The experience is very intense—"I've never felt so peaceful, calm, and Joyful and happy!"—but, instead of disturbing the dreamer, it provides a sense of comfort and security.

This usage pattern has not been found in the Bible. In contrast, it is much more frequent in modern religious texts than the ambivalent archetypal Dream A. This tendency of representing the divine as humane, approachable, and easily comprehensible (God as loving and caring father, angel as a protective friend) might be one of the directions that secularisation processes take in modern English speaking world.

We consider this type of use a metonymical extension of Sense 1 for the reason that only positive aspects of the evaluative potential of the word "dream" reveal themselves in this type of context (44 tokens—40 Nouns, 4 Verbs, 0 Adjectives—in 22 texts).

Dreams as Demon Attacks (Sense 1b)

(g) **False dreams are sent to create fear and distrust. Dreams** *of losing a job or of your spouse kissing your boss could be **sent from the enemy. Dreams** are **an effective way for unclean spirits to get into your head*** […] *Here are some ways to **identify the interaction of demons in your environment**, and indicators of **false dreams created by demons. This is not about false dreams of the mind**. We are talking about **supernatural dreams sent by demons** [...]* (Avila, 2013, p. 1)

The direct contact with the supernatural (dream as an "effective way for unclean spirits to get into your head") is described here in purely negative terms. It creates "fear", "distrust" and is "sent from the enemy". Dreaming is perceived as a vulnerable state of mind that subjects one to demon attacks. Interestingly, the author attributes seemingly ordinary dreams (dreams of losing a job, for example) to this category and not only those that are typically regarded as nightmares. The distinction is

not based solely on the dream contents (these are not dreams about demons), but rather on their function—evil interference in human psyche. We consider this type of usage another metonymical extension (Sense 1b) where the word "dream" reveals only negative aspects of human experience (80 tokens—70 Nouns, 1 Verb, 9 Adjectives—in 28 texts).

Prophetic Dreams (Sense 1c)

> (h) *I had **a vision dream**. **Jesus showed me** a barren land. **Jesus showed me** a land that was sprouting with green plants. **The message communicated**, and **I had an understanding of the dream**: Disease, Famine, war, and death is on its way, but those who have a higher purpose in their life* […] *will be saved.* (Prophetic Dreams and Visions, n.d.)

In example (h), there is no direct contact with the divine. The dream is perceived as a mediated message from God (here, from Jesus—"Jesus showed me") that requires interpretation. As we remember, in the Bible the interpretation of such dreams is always made by the elligible person (a prophet). Here, the meaning of the dream is communicated directly to the dreamer ("I had an understanding of the dream"). This important difference in the narrative structure might also be rooted in the secularisation tendency. The divine is perceived to be more accessible to ordinary people.

Prophetic dreams as messages from God may retain a certain ambivalence. It is less intense, however, which allows us to conclude that this type of usage represents another evaluative pattern. We consider it Sense 1c (207 tokens—186 Nouns, 13 Verbs, 8 Adjectives—in 51 texts).

The Word "Dream" in the Symbolic Interpretative Model.
Sense 2 and its Derivatives
In the secular symbolic framework, dreams are regarded as products of human psyche. Therefore, they are either dismissed as insignificant or interpreted as revealing the hidden potential of the human subconscious.

Sense 2

> (i) *Oh! It was a **dream**. Darn it. I, uh, had a great time.* (COCA, 2000, MOV 102 Dalmatians)

> (j) *Thank God! Thank, God! It was just a **dream**! It's just a dream! What's going on? **A nightmare, but it was so real**... so, so vivid.* (COCA, 2014, MOV A Bit of Bad Luck)

> (k) *In the **dream** I am **standing on the rim of a volcano crater** and I can see… some kind of writing but I can't read it however I sense that the **firey light***

*cast by the volcano when it erupts is **going to illuminate the letters/words**. In the **dream** the **volcano is about to erupt**... Now all day I have been **feeling quite weird**. Is this* […] *a message from my unconscious/higher self* […]*?* (Dream Forum, n.d.)

In examples (i)–(k), the word "dream" is used to refer to an uncontrollable imaginary experience one has while asleep. It produces a strong emotinal impact on the dreamer, which is either positive ("I had a great time" [i]) or negative ("Thank, God! It was just a **dream**!" [j]). In most cases, dream narratives of this type can be easily attributed to one of the two evaluative categories (positive or negative). We suggest calling this phenomenon *the split ambivalence*: the ambivalent evaluative potential of the word reveals its different aspects in different texts alternating between positive and negative evaluative patterns within the scope of one word sense (93 tokens—87 Nouns, 3 Verbs, 3 Adjectivess—in 53 texts).

We have found, however, a few examples of ambivalent secular dream narratives. In (k), the dreamer faces a mighty natural phenomenon—a volcano eruption. In the Bible, such natural phenomena are always associated with God's power; they terrify and fascinate. In this text, however, there are no religious attributes. The writing on the rim of the volcano might evoke the writing on the wall (King James Bible, 1769/2017, Dan. 5:25); but the dreamer makes no explicit connection to the Bible text. The dream itself is interpreted within the symbolic framework as a "message from my unconscious/higher self".

Cases of secular ambivalent dreams are rare (30 tokens—30 Nouns, 0 Verbs, 0 Adjectives—in 6 texts). Therefore, we do not consider this type of usage a separate sense of the word "dream". Nevertheless, these are interesting examples because they might mark another secularisation tendency: a shift of ambivalent transcendental experience from the religious to the secular discourse. Here, the transcendental experience is not rooted in the contact with the divine, but springs up from the depths of the human subconscious mind.

Intuitive Dreams (Sense 2a)

(l) *This **dream** can also be **prophetic**.—It may be that in your **dream** state **you are putting together clues of the infidelity that may have slipped by your conscious mind**. Your partner may indeed be cheating.* (COCA iWeb, n.d., Marriage Dream Meaning and Interpretations)

Another secularisation tendency manifests itself in what we call intuitive dreams. Such dreams reveal important information about the present or the future and are often called "prophetic" (l). In contrast to the supernatural framework, this revelatory experience is attributed to the mysterious functioning of the subconscious mind ("you are putting together clues […] that may have slipped by your conscious mind") and not to the supernatural interference. This type of dream narrative might have originated

under the influence of scientific theories of dream interpretation as an attempt to reconcile the spiritual and the material approaches (70 tokens—59 Nouns, 10 Verbs, 1 Adjective—in 27 texts).

Social Dreams (sense 2b)

(m) *Lorena came to the U.S. at the age of 18 **to fulfill a dream**.* (COCA, 1993, SPOK ABC_20/20)

Example (m) provides a metonymical extension of the word "dream" in the social sphere. Here, it is not related to the experience one has while asleep, but rather designates a highly desired goal to be attained. The meaning shifts, therefore, from the pleasant uncontrollable state (sense 2 positive) to the consciously defined desirable goal (60 tokens—42 Nouns, 4 Verbs, 14 Ajectives—in 48 texts).

Discussion

The comparative analysis of dream narratives in the Bible and in English allows us to discern two major secularisation trends in how members of the English speaking world use this word in discourse—*humanizing the divine* and *mystifying the human*. They are produced by changes in the value of one of the following variables in the context—*source* (supernatural vs. subconscious) and *evaluation* (ambivalent vs. positive/negative).

As we have seen, dreams in the Bible, when not divinely inspired, are perceived to be worthless and illusory; such contexts are less frequent than the contexts in which dreams convey an archetypal or a prophetic experience. Modern contexts demonstrate significant changes in the structure of the senses and their relative frequency.

Humanizing the divine (supernatural positive). In such contexts, the source of the experience is supernatural—dreaming is regarded as a means of entering into contact with the divine. The nature of this contact, however, is evaluated positively as peaceful and comforting. This shift in evaluation might have been caused by the necessity for the religious discourse to adapt to the humanistic values of modern society. As a result, the divine is perceived to be more humane and approachable by ordinary people (God as a loving father, angel as a protective friend). At the lexical level, this tendency can be traced through the metonymical shift (ambivalent → positive) which results in a new sense of the word "dream" in the supernatural interpretative model (2a). It also manifests itself in the new narrative structure for prophetic dreams—the interpretation is given directly to the dreamer without recourse to the elligible interpreter.

Mystifying the human (subconscious ambivalent). This tendency is marked by the transfer of transcendental experiences from the religious discourse into texts that deal with human mind and emotions. In such contexts, transcendental experiences are no longer perceived as resulting from the contact with the divine, but rather as revealing

the unfathomable potential of the human subconscious mind. The dreamer is terrified and fascinated by the emotional power that their subconscious mind wields. However, secular ambivalent dreams are scarce in our sample. Therefore, we do not consider such cases as representing a separate sense of the word "dream". This pattern of word usage needs further investigation. The overall tendency to mystify the human mind also manifests itself in the shift from prophetic to intuitive dreams. The fact that certain dreams reveal important information about the present or the future is no longer regarded as the result of the divine communication. Such dreams are attributed to the mysterious capacity of the human mind to process information subconsciously. This shift might have occurred under the influence of the scientific reasoning which tries to explain different mysterious phenomena without recourse to the supernatural. We have also observed that in modern contexts dreams are not treated as worthless experiences that are self-deceptive because they are not divinely inspired, the usage which we have idnetified in the Bible.

This study opens up new possibilities for further research. First of all, modern religious discourse should be further studied in order to discern new linguistic patterns that underlie the secularisation process affecting how different languages construct contexts addressing the relation to the divine. The scope of the lexical items in the English language that are undergoing shifts in their meanings is to be established.

Second, the phenomenon of the secularisation of the archetypal experience, consisiting in its transfer from the supernatural realm to the natural sphere of narratives about the human mind and emotions, is to be studied further. It should be clarified what speech genres are typical for such narratives and what linguistic mechanisms underlie this transfer.

Conclusion

The study of typical collocational patterns for the word "dream" has revealed a number of important contextual shifts that have been taking place in modern English speaking world under the influence of humanistic values and scientific thinking. These shifts are indicative of two major secularisation trends—the humanisation of the religious discourse and the transfer of the typically religious transcendental experience into the secular sphere of narratives concerning human psyche.

It is important to underline that religious discourse is still alive and flourishing in modern English culture. Therefore, speaking of secularisation, it is more productive to consider this process as a transformation, rather than extinction, which manifests itself in the mutual penetration of the religious and the secular. "Humanising the divine" and "mystifying the human" are two distinct vectors of influence that religious and non-religious types of discourse exert on one another.

These findings demonstrate that the study of linguistic phenomena may shed new light on different social processes as they are encoded in language. Secularisation manifests itself not only at the macro level of the narrative structure, but goes deeper into the semantic level of word senses. Therefore, a further study of this process, using linguistic tools of analysis seems promising.

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Appendix
Sense Structure of the Noun ''Dream'' in Modern English

Dream 1 (archetypal): entering into direct contact with the divine while asleep which fills one simultaneously with the sense of overwhelming joy and terror;

1a (positive): a comforting encounter with the divine while aslee producing a sense of peace and total tranquillity;
1b (negative): a vulnerable state of mind occurring while asleep that subjects one to the evil supernatural presence;
1c (prophetic): a divine message with specific instructions received while being asleep;

Dream 2 (secular): an imaginary experience one has while asleep and over which one has no control; it captivates the senses and produces a strong emotional impact;

2a (intuitive): an imaginary experience one has while asleep revealing something important about real life;
2b (social): a highly desired goal requiring a lot of effort to achieve it.

At the Crossroads of Marriage: Experiences of Young Urban Middle-Class Women Negotiating Family and Sexuality Within Heterosexual Intimate Relationships in North India

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ABSTRACT

This paper critically examines the experiences of women in heterosexual intimate relationships. It aims to understand how women negotiate social structures of family, marriage choice, and community through intimate relationships. Young women are challenging gendered power relations, traditional family structures, and marriage norms in their everyday lives. By this, women challenge the old structures of patriarchy, caste system, and control of their sexuality. A qualitative research design using in-depth interviews with 12 working women in the age group of 25–30 years who were in intimate relationships was conducted. The study was based in Delhi and done over two months in 2019. Women were selected through snowball sampling. Narrative analysis has been used to evaluate women's experiences in intimate relationships. The narratives show the struggles and negotiations that women do for love and how these struggles are becoming a way of challenging various structures like patriarchy, caste, class, and religion. Women choose their life partners or arrange for their love marriage. Still, the choice of the partner and the idea of marriage are influenced by the broader patriarchal, caste, and class structures. The women in this study have been able to move beyond the traditional norm of arranged marriage but have still not taken the leap of choice free of the broader institutions of

caste, class, and family. The paper concludes by emphasising that although women choose their heterosexual partners for marriage, their choices are still influenced by their caste, class, and patriarchal structures.

KEYWORDS
intimate relationship, family, marriage, negotiation, power, love, choice, freedom, intimacy

Introduction

I am a young unmarried woman brought up in Delhi in an urban middle-class family. While growing up, I saw the long-term companionship of heterosexual partners only within marriage families have arranged. The middle class in India is governed by class, religion, social status, and caste endogamy, which necessitates finding suitable partners within one's community and socio-economic background. I was socialised to believe there is an appropriate age at which women must get married as the reproductive clock is ticking like a bomb.

Much later, I understood how this biological reasoning has a lot to do with controlling women's sexuality. The image constructed of the husband is of an authority figure who is meant to replace the patriarchal father for a young woman. Since childhood, we (urban middle-class women) have subtly had various restrictions to control our mobility and sexuality. For example, I was not allowed to do things like go out late at night or wear certain kinds of clothes that were considered revealing and attracted male attention. I was told I could do it if my future husband allowed me to because I would have other symbols of marriage, like a ring or a chain, giving the message to other men of being committed. Therefore, growing up, I always felt I needed a partner who thought like me and would let me do as I wanted. Alas, that was not easy when the partner was going to be chosen by my parents and would have a similar mindset and social constructs to them, subtly controlling me and following the same patriarchal institutions.

When I was twenty-four years old, I met a man in college who I liked, with similar goals in life, and who respected me for who I was and supported my ambitions. The first battle was won; I found a companion who would let me live as I wanted, but the catch was that we were from different castes, ethnicity, and religion, which did not seem to matter at the onset of the relationship. Still, they become factors that need to be considered when we are forced to think of marriage. Marriage was an eventuality that could not be ignored, and an intimate relationship without a legitimate name could not be socially acceptable for very long in our country. Now, we wanted to have a future together, and marriage seemed the only socially acceptable way of doing that; hence, we had to consider it an eventuality.

These discussions and considerations made me take on this study to understand marriage from the perspective of young middle-class women choosing their partners

within the broader patriarchal structures. The questions I have addressed in the paper are: How do young middle-class professional women negotiate marriage within urban contexts relationships? What are the various ways women negotiating with their partners, family, and society at large? How does the transition from personal relationships to marriage take place? Why do women have to struggle for this transition?

Urban middle-class young women's intimate lives concerning marriage become pertinent to understanding the changing traditional sexuality norms. This paper brings forth the dialogue of women with patriarchal institutions like that of family, heterosexual intimate relations, and gendered power relationships. It looks at the individual struggles of women's assertion of their choice of partner and marriage within the broader structures of family, sexuality, caste, and patriarchy.

The study is socially constructed to examine how women's experiences of intimacy, family relations, and marriage are gendered. It aims to understand how educated, working, and young middle-class women negotiate marriage in everyday life within their intimate relationships.

Arranged Marriage and the Importance of Social Status

Historically, it has been seen that in the structure in which women have been subordinated, they have held the reproductive power. One way to control their "power" was to treat it as dangerous, an "innate" quality of women who needed to be tamed. The façade created was a threat from the "uncontrolled sexuality" of women. Hence, the ideology of fidelity and chastity has been promoted throughout history, making women aspire to these ideals (Chakravarti, 1993).

Women should prioritise marriage and motherhood over their professional development ambitions (Saraswathi, 1999). This institution transcends all other achievements of her life; marriage is mainly seen as the ultimate achievement of a woman's life. Therefore, intimate relationships are still negotiated according to social norms. In this paper, we analyse how they negotiate, resist, and reproduce these structures during the transition of their intimate relationships toward marriage.

The pattern of marriage and romantic relationships is changing over time but it is important to see if there is any consequent change in the resulting social structures. These structures are the root of gender relations. Hence, we need to recognise the shifts in the forms of gender, caste, ethnicity, class, and so on. They, in turn, influence the development and well-being of women (Sassler & Lichter, 2020).

Role of Family in Finding Marriage Partners for Young Adults

In India, choosing a partner is predominantly made by family and the broader kin group. The practice of arranged marriage is still the most prevalent form of marriage. However, urban India is seeing a new trend of arranged marriages, where the woman's choice is given some consideration (Progress of the World's Women 2019–2020, n.d.).

Within the urban middle-class society of North India, love marriage is not a norm but rather an exception. These urban middle-class women are disrupting the

traditional social order and kinship relations. Often, they lead to a rift between young adults and their parents and may even lead to violence (Mody, 2008). Previous research shows (Kakar, 2006) that family and broader social approval play an important role in women's relationship choices. An individual's identity is formed by their role in their families (Kakar, 2006).

Breaches in caste linkages are supposed to bring down the status of the family and that of the clan and extended caste group. This is one of the primary reasons for enforcing strict sexual and caste codes. Central to the regulations is the control of female sexuality, and conferring her sexuality in marriage is imperative for the patriarchal forces to maintain power, hierarchy, and caste purity. It has been seen that any infringement of kinships and caste faces violence. The control of the sexuality of the woman is linked to the control of her reproductive and productive labour, its power is crucial for patriarchal power and authority (Chowdhry, 1997).

Education and Financial Independence as Factors Leading to Love Marriage
Love marriage or marriage of choice needs to be seen within the changing socio-economic processes. The changing structures are influenced by the global and local systems, which are reflected in the culture and beliefs of that society. Women are pushing the traditional boundaries, with an increasing push towards love marriage. Love marriage is seen as the next step of an intimate relationship. Hence, we are looking at the transition to marriage from an intimate relationship and the interface of caste and family rules and norms within this space (Allendorf, 2013).

The traditional form of marriage in India—arranged marriage—restricts personal choice where individual ambitions are suppressed. There is pressure to conform to the gendered division of labour, which regulates individual freedom. However, this picture is changing to an extent and can be noted in marital dynamics among educated, urban, and English-speaking classes of people. Palit's (2014) study on intimacy among Indian couples in educated, urban areas said that their social content and women's education and employment influence a couple's relationship.

Most women are reclaiming marriage. It does not represent just the traditional aspect of gendered marriage. The women are forming their understanding of this institution. Women are not just negotiating their intimate relationships but negotiating marriage structures. For these young women, it becomes important to choose their partner and future, which is also acceptable to their parents. The family has been central as a source of security and comfort and a place of nurturance. Hence, there is a certain desperation to maintain this relationship, despite the oppressive structures of the family.

Over time, the power dynamics are changing due to increased economic opportunities, leading to complex relationships between caste members and the members within caste groups. The younger members are questioning caste and kinship ideologies by breaching traditional sexual norms. Individual violations are taking place, and the restrictions seem more relaxed. However, the consideration of class and status is still prominent, allowing caste flexibility (Chowdhry, 1997).

Middle-Class Women's Sexuality and Gender

The middle-class urban communities are the largest consumer base in the newly emerging markets. With the onset of the internet era, the traditional ways of finding partners have shifted to online platforms such as jeevansathi.com and bharatmatrimoni.com. These have become the newer mediums of finding potential marriage partners based on caste, class, ethnicity, religion, etc. Though the ways of finding a potential heterosexual partner are adapting to the new times, the sexuality, caste, class, and embodiment norms remain intact in the mainstream marriage discourse.

Within this interplay of modernity, capitalism, and traditional patriarchy, young middle-class women must choose partners and marriage. There is the image of a sexually liberated, independent, professional working young woman who is seen as a consumer. This image is paradoxical with the embodiment of cultural traditions, sexuality, and desirability.

The middle-class women's narratives have previously been seen within the discourse of modernity versus tradition, saying that the norms of sexuality and gender are becoming obscured. At the same time, more than 95% of marriages within the Indian context conform to the traditional arranged marriage. Within this discourse, love marriages have been seen as a way of modernity, where love and mutual respect are essential to the relationship. In the arranged marriage setup, aspects like social class, caste, and occupation of the potential partners are significant considerations for families (Puri, 1999).

The women and men grow up living with the practice of segregation, the underlying ideology being that women are perceived as both dangerous and in danger. Their sexuality is uncontrollable, hence seen as dangerous, and if their sexuality is not controlled, it can threaten the social order. They are also in danger because if their sexuality is violated, it can bring shame and dishonour to the woman and her family. The former is seen to govern the adult woman's sexuality (Abraham, 2002). The practice of social segregation plays out in women's daily lives growing up, which in turn affects the development of intimate relations.

Chakravarti (1993) looked at the relationship between caste and gender, focusing on the subordination of the upper caste women. She said that the need for sexual control of these women is to maintain patrilineal descent and caste purity, an institution particular to Hindu society. To maintain the three, it becomes essential to organise female sexuality strictly.

Method

The paper is based on an empirical study that used a qualitative research design for conducting the research and analysis. In-depth interviews have been conducted for data collection based on identified themes from a literature review: intimacy, love, power, power in intimate relationships, everyday experiences in intimacy, family,

marriage, choice, freedom, agency, individuality, and so on. Narrative analysis has been used to analyse women's interactions.

The population for the research was unmarried urban middle-class women in Delhi who identified themselves as in a heterosexual intimate relationship. The women interviewed all worked in the development sector and completed their post-graduation in social sciences. The women at the time of the research were all working in Delhi. The women were in the age group of 25–30 years. These women belonged to various states: Assam, Maharashtra, Punjab, Bihar, and Delhi. The partners of most of the women were also from similar socio-economic and religious backgrounds. All the women identified themselves as upper caste or middle class; caste and class have been used interchangeably by the women throughout the research. Though the women belonged to different cultural backgrounds, they were all middle-class educated urban women and economically independent.

The data collection was conducted in Delhi from January 2019 to March 2019.

Sample Population

The women participants were advantaged educationally. They have all completed up to their master's degree and earned above 6 lakh rupees per annum.

The women who identified themselves as being in a heterosexual intimate relationship were approached to participate in the research. The women in the study have been in intimate relationships for more than two years, with few having been in them for more than five years and two being in them for more than ten years.

Data Collection

Convenient sampling and snowball sampling methods were used to find participants. A participant information sheet was made and shared with friends and colleagues to share with their known contacts. Consent was taken verbally by telephone conversation or text message, and the women participants decided on a convenient date, time, and place for the interview.

The location of the interviews differed based on the day, time, and comfort of the women. However, most were conducted in coffee houses and the homes of the women. The total number of women interviewed for the research was 12, with multiple in-depth interviews conducted.

Method for Data Collection

In-depth interviews were conducted with the women based on the themes identified through secondary research, personal experiences, and a pilot study. These identified themes only acted as a guide for the interview, as newer themes emerged during the interview process.

The in-depth interviews were conducted using a conversational method. The process also involved sharing personal experiences by the researcher.

Coding, Transcribing, and Analysis of Women's Narratives

The interviews with the women were audio recorded by the researcher after taking verbal consent from the participants. The interviews were conducted in a combination of English and Hindi.

The first level of coding involved identifying common ideas and concepts throughout the women's narratives and shared pictures. These themes and concepts were identified within the backdrop of women's everyday intimate experiences. A few concepts that were identified at this stage of coding included the marriage negotiation, marriage decision conflict, obligation to get married, marriage as a way of social approval, power, sexual relationships, assertion, choice, freedom, love, and individual trope within the relationships, caste, tradition vs. modernity, family approval, social structures, and traditional gender roles. The second level of coding led to the development of broader themes of the paper. The concepts were under more general themes of marriage, power, family, sexuality, patriarchy, and caste. These themes and their interrelations formed the basis of the paper's discussion and argument of how they affect women's intimate relationships.

Ethical Concerns

The audio recording was done for all the interviews after obtaining permission from the participants. They were deleted after transcribing the tapes. The names or any other identifying information of the women were not used. Codes were assigned to maintain the privacy and confidentiality of the women. The transcribed interview was shared with the women for their feedback and to allow dialogue and make the women active participants in the research.

The study was conducted using the ethical guidelines provided by the internal ethics committee of Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai. The Internal Ethics Committee approved the study as part of the research course of the college.

Limitations of the Study

The number of participants was limited and particular to only these unique experiences of women. The women interviewed were all middle-class women residing in Delhi and working in the development sector. The findings cannot be generalised to a larger group of women and can only be understood by women in this context. Furthermore, only women were interviewed for the research; the perspective of the men partners was not part of it. It is one more reason that the findings cannot be generalised.

Discussion and Results

The women who were part of the study were middle-class unmarried young women educated and working in metropolitan Delhi. The urban space provides women with a certain kind of anonymity and freedom. Financial independence has given these women a space for making their own choices in their lives, particularly about their intimate and marriage partners. Invariably these women seek partners from a similar social class and lifestyle, thus aspiring for common life goals.

The narrative of the young middle-class women builds into the discourse of marriage as a way of companionship. The women's narratives show that they view marriage as a space for mutual respect and egalitarianism. All the women indicated that they wanted to marry their partners in the future, showing the pervasiveness of marriage as a social expectation (Puri, 1999). The analysis of middle-class women's narratives addresses the dominant marriage discourse of control of women's bodies and sexuality. At the same time, it engages with ways in which women negotiate these norms and structures within their intimate everyday lives.

The narratives emphasise that it is important for them to know their partners before marriage and have an emotional connection with them. They see themselves in a position where they can easily express themselves and their needs to their partners. For them, the intimate relationship as a space for speaking their minds becomes important, and they want the same in their marriage.

Underlying these expressions of respect and equality is the assumption that the partner is from a similar social class. Hence, the desired gender equality is due to having similar socio-economic backgrounds.

I have traced how the idea of marriage is introduced within the intimate relationship and why women question these notions, what are women's challenging perceptions of women about marriage, and why the idea of marriage is used to introduce the relationship to parents. There is also a discussion about patriarchy, caste and class and how they add to the complexity of intimate relations. It is mostly within these boundaries that women negotiate their intimate everyday lives. The patriarchal and caste structures govern their decisions as the women internalise them, yet they are questioned differently. The researcher discusses the back and forth between social structures that women do in their lives and decision-making regarding intimate relationships.

As Thapan (2009) observed, women are "prepared" in various ways for marriage, which the narratives of the women in this current paper reflect. The narratives show women's conflict in relation to family commitment and the decisions they make for themselves.

Family Pressure to Marry

The factors influencing the marriage decision are family, individual, dating experience, and so on. The narrative below talks of how the traditional idea of marriage and intimate relationships interact. The structures of control, like family and community, that adhere to the institution of marriage play out. The parents feel that their daughter has reached the age of marriage and their conversations start revolving around it.

According to the women, the parents ask about the presence of a potential partner or if they were to look for a partner for them. The age of marriage is a socially defined idea determined through the control of women's sexuality. This narrative shows the parents are open to the idea of a woman finding her partner. It indicates a dialogue between the traditional arranged marriage by parents and the woman regarding her freedom to make her own choices and yet have the support of the family.

> They [parents] had said that I had reached marriageable age and that if I had someone, then I should tell them, or they would start looking. And if there is someone, they will not have a problem; it will be better as it will save them time. (Ankita, personal communication, January 2019)

Like the above narrative, the parents' concern is to find a life partner for the woman. The young couple had not thought about marriage and were concentrating on their careers.

In the narrative below, the marriage decision is not only in the hands of the partners but also influenced by the family, creating the pressure to find a partner and get married even though the woman and her partner have not decided on marriage yet. The parents are informed about the relationship when it reaches a stage where it can take the form of marriage. The woman has been in the relationship for more than eight years and only informs them when she is pressured to marry.

> Actually, at that time, my partner and I had not decided; we wanted more time to settle down and for more time in our relationship. After this they [parents] were after me. They started pestering me, and I also told them that there was someone in my life, after that, they became a little quiet; they wouldn't have to look for anyone. (Ankita, personal communication, January 2019)

The distinction between love and arranged marriage for these middle-class young women is a little blurred. In most cases, the intimate relationship that starts from mutual attraction must seek parental approval for marriage. The parental love, care, and concern then become forms of controlling young women within their own homes.

Marriage or Independence?

"Love marriage" is seen as a deviance from the mainstream "arranged marriage". Love marriage is discouraged among the young to maintain the hegemony of arranged marriage, caste, and religious and family practices. At times, love marriage faces various negative responses from family and community. Hence, women choosing their partner push the traditional boundaries of sexuality and control.

The narrative below shows the woman reflecting on the idea of marriage with her intimate partner. Conflict arises on the issue of getting married and when to get married. Through the narrative, the woman uses her agentic expression by saying that she does not want to get married, problematising the concept of marriage in her own experience of intimacy. "I was not sure about marriage. I do not want to get married, and he was like he wants to get married" (Sneha, personal communication, January 2019).

Within the dominant gender discourse, marriage is seen as a life achievement, a mark of celebration and status (Sassler & Lichter, 2020). In the above narrative, Sneha asserts her agency by saying that she has her own priority (career) and feels marriage will hinder her goals. During the interview, she reflects on her choice vis-à-vis her partner and wants to think about marriage later. She feels marriage will jeopardise her independence and career goals.

From the narrative below, marriage is an area of conflict for Sneha and her partner, including whether to marry and at what stage of their relationship. Conflict arises because her partner wants to marry due to social expectations and pressure from his family. Sneha must negotiate within these predefined social structures of marriage. In this case, Sneha uses the job as a reason to delay marriage, but the internalisation of the norm is strong; therefore, she does not outright reject the idea of marriage.

For these reasons, I see the conflict as positive, caused by the woman asserting her choice over the social pressures and norms. It is essential to acknowledge the space Sneha has provided for her career growth, though it has an expiry date in this case. There is an understanding of marriage at a later stage, but the man decides the timing of the marriage, and the woman negotiates to delay the marriage as she prioritises her career over marriage.

Notably, the question of marriage arises only once the male partner is settled or has a stable income. This highlights the man's traditional breadwinner role and sees him as the prime earning member of the new household. Marriage seems to be a compulsory eventuality of the relationship; hence, this is how the broader social structures play out in women's lives.

> Yes, we do fight, especially right now due to marriage issues […] I said that I had to complete one year in my job, it could only be after that. So, we decided for next year beginning and this way I was able to achieve my goal. (Sneha, personal communication, January 2019)

The women selecting a life partner represents a certain level of assertion of their sexuality, giving them reproductive and productive labour based on their choice. It signifies an authority loss on the part of the senior male member. This loss becomes a consideration by the senior male member to oppose or be discontented with such a move. An assertion by the woman in this form affects the family hierarchy and disrupts the power equation in the family (Chowdhry, 1997). Women mostly do not share the existence of their intimate relationships until they must, which is in the context of marriage. From Payal's narrative, it can be seen that the family makes decisions regarding marriage, and the extended family members also consider it their prerogative to influence and direct the marriage of younger family members.

Women have been socialised in a way where they see their parents in an authoritative position. Hence, in this narrative, the woman does not directly tell her parents that she has chosen her partner; instead, she matter-of-factly breaks the news. Her mother's initial silence and her father's complete silence signify a gap in the traditional family hierarchy and create an imbalance in the power structure.

> One day we were having a discussion at the table where my mother said that she was telling my aunt that I would have told them if there was someone and then I was like, yes there is [...] and she was like "what?" and I was like, yes there is. First, she kept quiet, and my father pretended that he did not hear anything. So, my mom kept asking who he was. (Payal, personal communication, February 2019)

Natasha is referring to age as a criterion for marriage, highlighting that marrying at a young age is a social construct and restricts the sexuality of individuals. Her narrative talks about the family pressure to get married at a particular age. At the initial stage of the relationship, Natasha could negotiate the social control of marital age. At the same time, she knew that she could only stall marriage till a certain age. The broader structures of patriarchy determine the course of the relationship through family pressure, stereotypes related to marriage and so on. Natasha is constantly negotiating with and within these structures. For her, the ability to delay the marriage as much as possible can be equated with her ability to push the set boundaries of the patriarchal structures.

> So, he is four years older than me, and he has crossed the 30 mark, and there was pressure from his side of the family. When we started seeing each other, he was in his late twenties, and I was in my early twenties, and I told him then there was no chance of getting married that early. (Natasha, personal communication, February 2019)

The women can be seen to struggle with the traditional marriage system based on family, community, and culture. On the other hand, the women have freedom, choice, and autonomy. When the relationship reaches the marriage stage, the women are seen negotiating to arrange their love marriage. The traditional idea of marriage is still dominant for women, influencing their decisions in intimate relationships.

In Natasha's narrative, she wants approval of the relationship from her parents before she takes the relationship to the next stage. Natasha says that if her parents disagreed, there would be no point. Her statement implies that she would discontinue the relationship if her parents did not consent. The traditional patriarchal norms are embedded in her thoughts, actions, and language.

> So, I did not confirm to my partner; I did not want him to feel that I was trying to stall it, but I told him that I wanted my parents to agree and then I would say yes to him. I wanted clarity and not be like [...] that my family refused. It could be that the family refuses, then there would be no point. (Natasha, personal communication, February 2019)

The woman must negotiate not only with her own family but also with a new family she must call her own. We get a glimpse of this negotiation within the context of women's wedding plans with both sets of families.

Misha's narrative shows an inherent conflict between the traditional and individualistic ideas of a wedding. The narrative describes the desire of the man's family for a big affair with many family members and friends present. This scenario is juxtaposed with the couple's desire for a small ceremony with people they care about. Here, a big affair signifies the wedding as a way of displaying the family's social prestige and wealth to the larger community. The small affair

is about discreetly celebrating the occasion with loved ones—not a public affair. This narrative is representative of the diversion between the traditional belief system and the more individualist modern interpretation of the wedding ceremony. "They wanted a big affair, and we wanted like a small affair, something like a court marriage and a reception after that" (Misha, personal communication, February 2019).

Control Over the Sexuality of Young Middle-Class Women

The below narrative represents sexuality as a taboo and how various structures of the social system control it. Even though the woman desires physical intimacy, she does not engage in it because of the mental structures that society has created. She is an embodiment of them. The systems are so deeply embedded that they are "naturally" followed by the individuals as members of that society. The maintenance of control over the sexuality of the woman is achieved through various social agents in the below narrative: the neighbours and parents.

This narrative talks about the physical intimacy in the relationship and the influence of social factors. The couple monitors its sexuality to avoid being judged by people, such as neighbours, and thus the idea of not talking and keeping sexuality under wraps. Engaging in sexual intercourse is acceptable when the partners have been married (i.e., "licence"). She feels that marriage provides privacy and social acceptance for what she desires. She feels that doing it without marriage is not okay because it goes against social norms.

Sneha, therefore, sees marriage as an institution and appropriate space for engaging in sexual intercourse. The institution of marriage controls the sexuality of women to maintain caste purity by restricting their sexual engagement to one partner or the concept of monogamy so that the man's lineage is "pure." The social significance of chastity and the threat of digressing from sexuality norms ensure heterosexual sexuality within marriage (Puri, 1999). "It is better to do it [sexual intimacy] after marriage. We will have a licence. We will not have to be worried about where we want to do it" (Sneha, personal communication, January 2019).

The "management" of female sexuality is usually not done by her only but also by various other cultural institutions (Chakravarti, 1993). The gender differences and the double standards in young women's narratives towards sex and premarital sex resonate with the cultural and social constructions that subordinate and control a woman's sexuality. It is both the heterosexual partners who together work towards the construction and maintenance of patriarchal ideology represented by the concept of virginity, which is central to the idea of marriage (Abraham, 2002).

Payal's narrative below exemplifies the above point about women's dilemma around premarital sex. The women are socialised such that it becomes an integral part of them not to engage in sex before marriage due to the social and cultural norms and taboos. In their intimate relationship, they face a situation where they want to engage in sexual intercourse. It is then that the idea of tradition conflicts with the demand for an intimate relationship. Hence, the woman engages in sexual intercourse knowing that she will marry the same person, giving a sense of taking

action within the prescribed norms of the society. "I had thought in my head that I did not want to have intercourse till we were absolutely certain and decided about the timeline as to when we want to get married but I got over the mental block" (Payal, personal communication, February 2019).

Natasha's narrative shows that the norms and sanctions are so deeply embedded that the women follow the unwritten rules. In this case, the control of the structures is deep-rooted to the extent that she does not talk about needs or desires. Instead, she feels sexually obligated to her partner because they are in an intimate relationship. "My orientation is not very clear [...] Like sex is taboo and I was never very open about it [...] So he tries to help me learn and explore, he will forward me articles to read and all" (Natasha, personal communication, February 2019).

In the Brahmanical patriarchy, the upper caste women are considered gateways to keeping the caste "pure." There is a constant control of the woman's sexuality and reproduction. In this narrative, the woman unconsciously abides by the self-regulatory code, a consequence of the norm of endogamous marriage (Chakravarti, 1993).

In the narrative below, the intersection of gender and caste manifests in how the woman perceives her relationship and her constant reference to caste. It shows how caste endogamy is maintained where the woman has internalised the social norm and control. The woman seeks a partner from the same caste and expects her parents to approve of him with minimal conflict. Hence, the woman exercises her choice in a partner, but at the same time, traditional structures bind her because acceptance by parents and society is imperative to continue the relationship. The woman exercises the power of choosing her life partner, but the social systems determine the person she chooses. She may like multiple people, but her criterion is caste endogamy. Hence, the overarching social divisions continue to play a dominant role in a woman's life.

> Their concern was if he belonged to the same caste. It just happened; I did not think much. So, I belong to the Brahmin community and he also belongs to the Brahmin community. But there are categories within that also, that was not same. So, my father was like you did not get a Brahmin which is same as us and I told him that, he was expecting too much. (Natasha, personal communication, February 2019)

Any rupture in the caste links can bring down the status of the immediate family and the clan group. This is one of the reasons for the strict enforcement of sexual and caste codes. These codes centre around the control of women's sexuality, and the transfer of this sexuality in marriage is integral to patriarchy, caste purity, power, and hierarchy. The principles of gender and caste are still a guiding force for marriage and choice (Chowdhry, 1997).

The narrative exemplifies how caste and gender govern a woman's life. She is conscious that caste is present but feels it has to be done to avoid conflict with her parents, thereby continuing with the traps of caste, class, and gender. The parents, in a

way, show their dissatisfaction with the daughter's partner by saying that she could have found someone "better" or more appropriate. The woman has subordinated herself to the family structure so much that she interprets her father's authority as that of love. "It did not matter much, but at the back of my mind I knew that if the caste were not same then there would be a lot of tension" (Natasha, personal communication, February 2019).

Conclusion

From the research, it can be concluded that the broader social structures of gender, caste, and class have a significant influence on the decision-making of women regarding their intimate relationships, relationships, partners, and marriage. Women negotiate within these broader social structures by asserting themselves in relation to the intimate relationship. The idea of marriage still holds great importance in most women's lives, but they do not blindly follow the social norms of marriage. Instead, they assert, resist, and reproduce the structures in various ways.

The broader structures of society, including marriage, caste, and class, play out differently in women's intimate relationships. Women have internalised many structures and manage their relationships according to those structures. Through the struggles and negotiations, women are trying to challenge the broader patriarchal power structures in their everyday lives. The fact that women are questioning these almost invisible structures and are conscious of them is a step closer to a gender-equal society. We are not there yet, but we are moving in the right direction.

The everyday conditions of women's lives signify not just their habits but a space for articulating change and resistance. Gender, class, and caste become a part of life through which women negotiate and strategise to ensure their place and position in society. The articulation of their lived experiences of womanhood, intimacy, identity, and how women resist and comply with structures. The decisions, choices, and identities are constructed through these struggles in their everyday lives.

These struggles may not lead to transformation, they may only maintain their position in the structures, but at the same time, it is important to recognise these attempts at resistance. It symbolises young women's awareness of their situations and ways of dealing with them differently. Women are constantly negotiating, manipulating, and strategising situations and interactions in everyday life.

In the paper, I looked at women's experiences negotiating gender relations and norms to achieve an intimate egalitarian relationship. There is a long way ahead of us to disentangle ourselves from the patriarchy, caste, and class deeply embedded in our lives and relations. For women to be in more equal relationships in their everyday lives, their struggles must be recognised and supported at the level of individual agency within the private sphere of young women's lives.

Intimacy, mutual respect, and companionship are ideals that women use as a standard for achieving a gender-egalitarian relationship and marriage. While women are not ceasing to be affected by the inequality, they are also not letting themselves be subordinated by them completely. The ideals of gender equity within the relationship help them negotiate a relationship entrenched in patriarchal inequalities.

Young middle-class women are choosing their partners, delaying marriage, putting their career goals ahead of marital goals, engaging in sexual intimacy before marriage and imagining a more egalitarian married future. They are pushing the boundaries of the traditional patriarchal context through everyday interactions with family and intimate partners. Yet, though these pushes may be in the right direction, they are not making the leap to question or completely resist the sexuality, caste and class norms.

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Heidegger in Russian Philosophical Thought: History of Reception and Current Interpretations

Yury M. Romanenko, (Ed.). (2021). *M. Khaidegger i russkaia filosofskaia mysl'* [M. Heidegger and Russian philosophical thought]. **Izdatel'stvo Russkoi Khristianskoi gumanitarnoi akademii.**

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Martin Heidegger remains one of the most popular philosophers among Russian intellectuals. The collection under review seeks to suggest some answers to the question as to why it is so. This volume showcases the range of Russian specialists in Heidegger's philosophy who reflect on Heidegger's reception in Russia and his influence on contemporary Russian thought. The volume is divided into three major parts: historical reception, current interpretations, prospective venues.

The first chapters discuss the interrelations between Heidegger and his contemporaries among Russian philosophers. In *Proekt germenevticheskoi fenomenologii: G. Shpet i M. Khaidegger* [Project of hermeneutical phenomenology: G. Shpet and M. Heidegger], N. Artemenko engages in comparative analysis of two projects of hermeneutical phenomenology. On the one hand, Artemenko discusses Gustav Shpet's hermeneutics, which was expounded in his *Iavlenie i smysl* [Appearance and Sense] (1914) and *Germenevtika i ee problemy* [Hermeneutics and its Problems] (1918). Shpet's hermeneutical phenomenology is juxtaposed with Heidegger's early works such as *Ontologie (Hermeneutik der Faktizität)* [Ontology. Hermeneutics of Facticity] (1923). In his narrative, Artemenko demonstrates Heidegger's philosophical trajectory. In Artemenko's account, Heidegger began his phenomenological studies with an unconventional reading of Aristotle in his works of 1916–1923. These studies culminated in his hermeneutics of facticity. Artemenko then shows how hermeneutics was replaced with phenomenology and Heidegger developed his own phenomenological project. Finally, as Artemenko demonstrates, Heidegger put forward his original approach to the question of being. Shpet's philosophical project was akin to Heidegger's.

Their philosophical approaches both originated in Edmund Husserl's phenomenology: "To be conscious is to make sense" (p. 7). Yet, while Husserl was mostly concerned with transcendental subjectivity, Shpet focused on language consciousness, which, in his view, was embedded in concepts, and on *logos*, which was socially determined. Later Heidegger, on the other hand, advanced the notion of being-in-the-world (*Dasein*) and posited language as a basis for making sense of the world. In his later works, Heidegger glorified poets as makers of the language.

S. Konacheva highlights the transformative nature of Heidegger's philosophical project and compares it with V. Lossky's mystical search for the divine in her chapter *Filosofskaia mistika kak transformativnaia filosofiia: Martin Khaidegger i Vladimir Losskii* [Philosophical mysticism as transformative philosophy: Martin Heidegger and Vladimir Lossky]. Beginning with philosophical mysticism as an alternative to traditional philosophical methods of cognition (c. 35), Konacheva shows the importance of medieval philosophy for Lossky. Lossky believed that medieval philosophy and mysticism shared the principle of "absolute loyalty", and both these approaches valued "affective immersion into knowledge" (p. 38) rather than abstract and formal cognition. As Konacheva explains, medieval mysticism, in Lossky's view, is a path to "complete experience" and the supreme orientation toward the transcendence (*polnotoi opyta i orientatsiei na transtsendentnost*, p. 39). But Lossky is mostly concerned with the interpretation of religious experience itself rather than with the analysis of the religious mind or religious subjectivity (p. 42). Thus, Konacheva concludes, despite certain similarities with philosophical mysticism, Heidegger's approach can be better described as a mysticism of the experience of time.

In the chapter *Khaidegger, Lukach, Lenin i Sovetskii Marksizm* [Heidegger, Lukacs, Lenin, and Soviet Marxism], A. Savin focuses on the interpretations and criticism of Heidegger's philosophy in the Soviet period. Savin divides the Soviet reception of Heidegger's ideas into three markedly different periods. In the first period, Boris Bychowsky highlighted existentialist motives of Heidegger's philosophy such as "being-toward-death", and anxiety and thrownness (*die Geworfenheit*) of the human existence (*Dasein*). The second period was marked by the interpretation of György Lukács who claimed that Heidegger's philosophy reinforced anxiety and homelessness, and thus contributed to the development of Nazism in German society. During the "thaw" period, however, and in later Soviet philosophy—the final third period—for the Soviet philosophers, Heidegger represented the philosophical concern with creativity. The latter was regarded as central to human personality and to genuine culture of human societies (p. 78). Savin concludes that while at first the Soviet philosophy was highly critical of Heidegger's philosophical provenance and approach, in the course of its gradual reception by the Soviet philosophers trained in Marxism, Heidegger's philosophy was selectively adapted and some of its essential elements, which were relevant for the Marxian perspective, were adopted.

In *Diskussii o filosofii M. Khaideggera v ontologicheskom obshchestve Sankt-Peterburga* [Discussions on M. Heidegger's philosophy in Ontological Society of Saint Petersburg], A. Patkul offers a rich account of intense philosophical discussions of Heidegger's ontology among intellectual circles of Saint Petersburg. Patkul

demonstrates how these discussions were reflected in various publications such as articles, collected volumes, and—no less importantly—in dissertations of the academic community of Saint Petersburg.

The second part of the collection entitled *Aktual'nye Interpretatsii* [Current interpretations] includes several chapters that explicate Heidegger's relations with philosophical legacy and philosophical traditions. In *Greki i istina iskusstva u Khaideggera* [The Greeks and the truth of art in Heidegger], A. Krioukov discusses Heidegger's reception of Greek philosophy and his interpretation of the notion of truth—*alêtheia* (unconcealment, Unverborgenheit). This notion is instrumental in Heidegger's ontological approach to the art and the artwork (p. 157).

In the chapter *Apofaticheskie momenty v filosofii Khaideggera: temporal'nost' i negativnost'* [Apophatic elements in Heidegger's philosophy: Temporality and negativity], D. Lebedev begins with a brief survey of apophatic thought and then analyses apophatic elements in Heidegger's philosophy. Lebedev's argument highlights the ontological distinction between being and existence and demonstrates that it is apophatic methodology that is deployed by Heidegger in his analysis of being.

In the chapter *Filosofskaia pozitsiia M. Khaideggera i uroki politicheskikh transformatsii XX veka* [Philosophical attitude of M. Heidegger and lessons of political transformations of the 20th century], D. Goncharko focuses on a more poignant question—that of Heidegger's political views. The author argues that Heidegger did not intend to spell out a full-fledged political ontology or political philosophy, but his "politics of silence" and abstention from public expression of his opinions were grounded in his philosophy. Goncharko places Heidegger's political views in juxtaposition with a wide range of political theories such as I. Kant's critical philosophy, H. Arendt's political ideals, P. Bourdieu's philosophical sublimation, and A. Badiou's ontology of event. The author concludes that poetry becomes a secularized political discourse in later Heidegger (p. 205).

The last chapter *Khaidegger v prostranstve analiticheskoi filosofii: pro et contra* [Heidegger in the territory of analytical philosophy: Pro et contra], S. Nikonenko analyses various interpretations of Heidegger's philosophy in the analytical tradition beginning with Bertrand Russell's and Rudolf Carnap's reactions to Heidegger's project. While Heidegger's method and the way of doing philosophy were largely rejected by the analytical philosophers, there were two strands of interest in Heidegger's philosophy. The first is related to the comparative analysis of Heidegger's and Wittgenstein's philosophical approaches. The second refers to the selective reception of Heidegger's ideas by American philosopher Richard Rorty (p. 251).

The third part of the collection *Perspektivnye voproshaniia* [Prospective venues] begins with A. Durnev's *Sobytiinoe vremia v filosofii Martina Khaideggera: kontekst i osnovnye idei* [Time of the event in Martin Heidegger's philosophy: Context and key ideas], which offers an extensive analysis of the notion of event in Heidegger's philosophy. Drawing on phenomenology of Claude Romano and hermeneutics of Vladimir Bibikhin, the author traces the development and reception of this notion and "ontology of event" in post-Heideggerian philosophical thought. Durnev describes how Heidegger in his later works showcases the notion of the

event (p. 264), which he already used in his earlier *Sein und Zeit*, but endowed it with a different meaning and function.

In the next chapter *Ontologicheskaia tematizatsiia voobrazheniia v uchenii M. Khaideggera i ee filosofskie implikatsii* [Ontological thematization of imagination in M. Heidegger's doctrine and its philosophical implications], Yu. Romanenko discusses the complex and tense relations between ontology and epistemology, beginning with Kant and culminating in Heidegger. Romanenko claims that the notions of imagination and the imaginary fell victim to the revolutionary discourses, in which revolution was regarded as a certain imaginary. This approach to revolution as an imaginary leads the author to an extensive exploration of the various interpretations of the notion of revolution and its imaginaries.

A. Vavilov analyses Dylan Trigg's phenomenology of horror from the perspective of Heidegger's fundamental ontology in the chapter *Aktual'nost' khaideggerovskoi germenevtiki zhutkogo v sovremennoi filosofii* [Heideggerian hermeneutics of the uncanny and its reception in contemporary philosophy]. While Trigg addresses Heidegger's philosophy tangentially and mostly in a critical manner, Vavilov demonstrates the allusions and the borrowings in Trigg's arguments.

The final chapter *Martin Khaidegger i budushchee: pochemu u tekhniki netekhnicheskaia sushchnost' i zachem nuzhna poeziia v XXI veke?* [Martin Heidegger and the future: Why does the technic have non-technical essence and why do we need poetry in the 21st century?] relates the conversation of A. Mikhailovsky and N. Piliavskii on Heidegger's attitude to the technic and technical revolution along with the technic's origins, limits, and its conditions of possibility (p. 365). On the one hand, Heidegger sees grave danger in the development of the technic and technical progress, but on the other hand, the technic is indispensable element of the art and is integral to human creativity (p. 372).

This volume presents a wide variety of views on Heidegger's philosophy in Russia and shows the gradual reception of his ideas as new translations appeared over the decades and as the interpretations by "banned" Russian philosophers became available (G. Shpet, V. Lossky, etc.) to a wide Russian public. It offers new insights into the relations between Heidegger's methodology and philosophical project, on the one hand, and contemporary strains of philosophy such as hermeneutics, phenomenology, and analytical philosophy. It also provides an excellent foundation for further reflection on Heidegger's thought and its adaptation to Russian philosophical tradition.

BOOK REVIEW

Duncan McDuie-Ra (2015). Debating Race in Contemporary India. Palgrave Macmillan.

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The work *Debating race in contemporary India* by Duncan McDuie-Ra, is predominantly concerned with the discrimination faced by people from northeast India, in both the mainland and within the northeastern region. Published a few years ago, it has not lost its relevance today. Over the course of the book, the author uses multiple case studies such as portrayals of northeast Indian people in media—movies, news, and books, and incidents of violence—that have taken place against them in multiple metropolitan cities in mainland India to highlight the stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination that is a common experience for this racial group. The narrative is constructed to explain how the Indian Government's stance on racism moved from its complete denial to acceptance, due to the repeated incidents of violence. This change in stance was accompanied by the development of policy formulation to protect the racial minority. The author examines and explains the suggestions of the policy committee. He, however, maintains that India has multiple racial groups and focusing policy on the experiences of only the northeasterners privileges their experience at the exclusion of other racial groups. In conclusion, the author states that the present view on discrimination remains incomplete as racism is looked at as an experience that occurs within the mainland and not the northeast, even when ample evidence suggests the opposite.

Four incidents of discrimination between 2012 and 2014 are used to explain the change in the Indian Government's stance on racism. The author then, contrasts the differences in the narratives around racism in metropolitan India and its ignorance in the militarised Northeastern region. The book does not attempt to theorise causality or the effects of racism but does a remarkable job of providing a context to debates around racism against northeast Indians.

The author acknowledges that the categorisation of northeast Indians into one homogeneous group is problematic. However, he justifies the usage of the term by claiming that northeasterners ascribe to these racial identities, stating, "race debates concerning Northeast communities have been driven by their treatment in metropolitan India, far from the intricate dynamics of localised linguistic, ethnic and tribal identities" (p. 6). Thereby, contesting that the understanding of racism in the Indian context is conflicted between the emic and etic conceptualizations. The emic idea conceptualizes that physical and cultural differences change over time and are more fluid for the society in question. The author contends that the etic concepts of universality of race and racism are being used to understand the emic ideas when it comes to the northeasterners experiences. This conflicted conceptualization makes it easy to deny the existence of discrimination as the northeasterners traditionally conceptualize race difference in emic ways.

The book consists of 5 chapters. Chapter 1 introduces discrimination in India against northeasterners in metropolitan India and the northeastern region. The author uses Elizabeth Kolsky's conceptualisation, referring to the northeast as the mongoloid fringe—based on their physical characteristics and location. Numerous examples from movies, media portrayals, and news debates are used to elucidate the conversations surrounding racism in India—"the casting of Northeast actors in roles that depict their communities and homelands is limited to supporting roles" (p. 16) The author argues that the northeast is seen as the "other" even though there have been attempts to make the northeastern region feel like a part of India.

In Chapter 2, the author assesses two incidents of racial discrimination in 2012 in Bangalore. The choice of Bangalore as a case study is important as the author wants to assert that discrimination against the northeast Indians is not limited to Delhi, as is often assumed. While discussing the two incidents, the author points out the ignorance of the police and the politicians toward the issues faced by the northeast Indians. Following this, he assesses the mass exodus that occurred within the same year. The exodus was a result of multiple incidents of violence that occurred against northeast Indians. The author's evaluation of the phenomenon is that the exodus was a major reason that marked a shift in the Indian Government's behaviour towards northeast Indians, as these cases of racism hurt the "global city" image of the metropolitan areas and led to a reduction in the labour force. However, in debates conducted by news agencies, there was still a general denial of racism, "Politicians and high-ranking police were also quick to dismiss race from the scenario" (p. 42).

Chapter 3 analyses two incidents that occurred in Delhi in 2013 and 2014. The author contends that the murder of a female, Reingamphi Awungshi represented similar failings of the police and political brass. They explain how the stereotype of northeast women being sexually promiscuous negatively affected a thorough investigation pointing out that "gender complicates race debates for a society fixated with morality" (p. 56).

According to the author, the most significant shift in race debates started after the death of Nido Tania, who was beaten up twice in broad daylight, leading to his death. The reaction of the police was unfortunate once again and fit their general

tendency to ignore the pleas of the northeast Indians. However, this incident provoked protests on the streets, on social media, electronic and print media at a scale not seen earlier.

The author claims that the case of Nido Tania received more attention due to many factors. First, the victim was the son of a Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) from Arunachal Pradesh, meaning that there was a higher level of political power associated with this incident. Second, a national election campaign was ongoing, and posturing from the politicians was necessary, which meant that they used this incident. Third, Nido Tania belonged to Arunachal Pradesh, which demanded intervention from the political heavyweights as the state is considered the best-integrated state compared to any other northeastern state. The claim that it is best integrated is based on the fact that the primary language spoken in the state is Hindi, and the most followed religion is Hinduism. Therefore, the incident against Nido Tania from Arunachal Pradesh represented the failure in state-building because it showed that discriminatory tendencies held by Indians living in the mainland are race-based even when the individual belonged to a higher political class and was from a highly integrated state. The debate around racism shifted after the incident, from denial to acceptance—"Politicians and police publically admitted to racism and prepared to 'fix' it, competing to be the harbingers of tolerance and national unity" (p. 42). At this point, a reason cited for discrimination in news media was the infrastructural underdevelopment of the northeastern region.

Chapter 4 examined the new policy proposed to fix racism by the Bezbaruah committee. The committee suggested multiple reformations such as hotline numbers, fast track courts, a northeast special police unit, promoting northeast history in education, and using racist terms as criminal offences under the Indian penal code. The author is largely supportive of the suggestions, stating that, "the report is nuanced in its understanding of how race is experienced and in showing awareness of counter arguments likely to be raised. It goes beyond simplistic integration and mutual recognition narratives and makes several surprisingly pointed criticisms of Indian society, governance, and law enforcement" (p. 85).

However, the author also argues that this attempt to fix racism is to protect the image of Indian cities as "global spaces". The author claims that this law privileges the discrimination faced by the northeasterners but does not explain which other groups may require similar interventions or what they mean by privilege in this context. While accepting that the promotion of the northeast and building awareness of its present and history is essential, the author raises pertinent questions concerning "what" parts of history will be promoted and who will make these decisions as the northeastern region has had its fair share of anti-India insurgencies.

Chapter 5 is an overview of the changes in the discussion around racial discrimination in India. The author points out two essential themes that have emerged from the measures taken by the Government of India. One, racism is considered a phenomenon that needs to be fixed in metropolitan India and marginalises the borderland. Two, these attempts to fix racism have been made as the Government of India wants the "idea of India to remain inviolable" (p. 108).

However, with the present measures that have been undertaken, fixing racism is possible only in the metropolitan areas and not the borderland. To elucidate this idea, the author highlights the example of an insurgent-ridden area called Ukhrul, Nagaland. Individuals from the district leave due to its unruly condition and migrate to the metropolitan cities for their livelihood. The author contends that the present attempt to fix racism will only impact their lives in the cities and ignore the issues faced in their homes, stating:

> Ukhrul illustrates the dramatic contrast between life in the borderland and life for many Northeast migrants living in metropolitan India. A significant proportion of the population leaves the town for years at a time to live in India [...] Many of them likely face racist taunts, discrimination in housing and at work, and few prospects of any traction with the police. The measures designed to fix racism will address some of these things, but only in the parts of their lives lived in metropolitan cities, and only if the laws are actually enforced […] the state-making project in the borderland is not complete and that the idea of India is contested—even in the context of a large outflow of migrants to Indian cities, and their return. (p. 109)

The book is an essential text in bringing out the transformations that have taken place in the debates surrounding racism in India. It brings forth the positive changes in view of the policymakers concerning the northeasterners negative experiences while also criticising the lack of focus on discrimination occurring within the northeastern region.

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Manuscript preparation

1. General Guidelines

Description of the Journal's Article Style

All authors must submit articles written in good English using correct grammar, punctuation and vocabulary. If authors are non-native English speakers or writers, may, if possible, to have their submissions proofread by a native English speaker before submitting their article for consideration.

A typical manuscript is from 6000 to 8000 words including tables, references, captions, footnotes and endnotes. Review articles should not exceed 4000 words, and book reviews should not exceed 1500 words. Manuscripts that greatly exceed this will be critically reviewed with respect to length.

Manuscripts should be compiled in the following order: title page (including Acknowledgements as well as Funding and grant-awarding bodies); abstract; keywords; main text; acknowledgments; references; appendices (as appropriate); table(s) with caption(s) (on individual pages); figure caption(s) (as a list).

Abstracts of 150–200 words are required for all manuscripts submitted.

Each manuscript should have 5 to 10 keywords.

Section headings should be concise.

All authors of a manuscript should include their full names, affiliations, postal addresses, telephone numbers and email addresses on the cover page of the manuscript. One author should be identified as the corresponding author. Please give the affiliation where the research was conducted. If any of the named co-authors moves affiliation during the peer review process, the new affiliation can be given as a footnote. Please note that no changes to affiliation can be made after the manuscript is accepted. Please note that the email address of the corresponding author will normally be displayed in the published article and the online version.

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Please supply a short biographical note for each author.

Please supply all details required by any funding and grant-awarding bodies as an Acknowledgement on the title page of the manuscript, in a separate paragraph, as follows:

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Foreign words and all titles of books or plays appearing within the text should be italicized. Non-Anglophone or transliterated words should also appear with translations provided in square brackets the first time they appear (e.g., weltanschauung [world-view]).

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APA (American Psychological Association) references are widely used in the social sciences, education, engineering and business. For detailed information, please see the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, 7th edition, https://apastyle.apa.org/style-grammar-guidelines and https://apastyle. apa.org/blog

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Placement	References are cited in the text by the author's surname, the publication date of the work cited, and a page number if necessary. Full details are given in the reference list. Place them at the appropriate point in the text. If they appear within parenthetical material, put the year within commas: (see Table 3 of National Institute of Mental Health, 2012, for more details)
Within the same parentheses	Order alphabetically and then by year for repeated authors, with in-press citations last. Separate references by different authors with a semi-colon.
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With a quotation	This is the text, and Smith (2012) says "quoted text" (p. 1), which supports my argument. This is the text, and this is supported by "quoted text" (Smith, 2012, p. 1). This is a displayed quotation. (Smith, 2012, p. 1)
Page number	(Smith, 2012, p. 6)
One author	Smith (2012) or (Smith, 2012)
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Three or more authors	Three or more authors is shortened right from the first citation: Smith et al. (2012) or (Smith et al., 2012).
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Two dates	(Author, 1959–1963) Author (1890/1983)
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Organization as author	American Psychological Association. (2003). *Book title: And subtitle.* Abingdon: Routledge (place of publication is optional).
No author	*Merriam Webster's collegiate dictionary* (10th ed.). (1993). Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster (place of publication is optional).
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Edited	Editor, J. J. (Ed.). (2012). *Book title: And subtitle*. Abingdon: Routledge (place of publication is optional). Editor, J. J., Editor, A. A., & Editor, P. P. (Eds.). (2012). *Book title: And subtitle.* Abingdon: Routledge (place of publication is optional). Editor, J. J., & Editor, P. P. (Eds.). (2012). *Edited online book: And subtitle.* (*The website name*). https://www.w3.org
Edition	Author, A. A. (2012). *Book title: And subtitle* (4th ed.). Abingdon: Routledge (place of publication is optional).
Translated	Author, J. J. (2012). *Book title: And subtitle.* (L. Khan, Trans.). Abingdon: Routledge (place of publication is optional).
Not in English	Doutre, É. (2014). *Mixité de genre et de métiers: Conséquences identitaires et relations de travail* [Mixture of gender and trades: Consequences for identity and working relationships]. Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement, 46, 327–336. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0036218 For transliteration of Cyrillic letters please use the links: ALA-LC Romanization Tables at the web-site of The Library of Congress http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/roman.html
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Multiple volumes from a multivolume work	Levison, D., & Ember, M. (Eds.). (1996). *Encyclopedia of cultural anthropo-logy* (Vols. 1–4). New York, NY: Henry Holt (place of publication is optional). Use Vol. for a single volume and Vols. for multiple volumes. In text, use (Levison & Ember, 1996).
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Journal	
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Two authors	Benjamin, L. T., Jr., & VandenBos, G. R. (2006). The window on psychology's literature: A history of psychological abstracts. *American Psychologist*, *61*(9), 941–954. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.61.9.941
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More authors	Include all names up to twenty. If there are more than twenty authors, list the first nineteen authors, followed by an ellipsis and the last author's name.
Organization as author	American Psychological Association. (2003). Title of the article: Subtitle of the article. *Title of the Journal*, *22*(1), 12–23. https://doi.org/xx.xxxxxxxxxx
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Peer-reviewed article published online ahead of the issue	Author, A. A., & Author, B. B. (2012). Title of the article. *Title of the Journal*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/xx.xxxxxxxxxx If you can update the reference before publication, do so.
Supplemental material	If you are citing supplemental material, which is only available online, include a description of the contents in brackets following the title. [Audio podcast] [Letter to the editor]

Other article types	Editorial: Title of editorial. [Editorial]. (2012). *Title of the Journal*, 14, 1–2. Author, A. A. (2010). Title of review. [Review of the book Title of the book, by B. Book Author]. *Title of the Journal*, *22*(1), 123–231. https://doi.org/xx.xxxxxxxxxx
Article in journal supplement	Author, A. A. (2004). Title of the article. *Title of the Journal*, 42(Suppl. 2), p–pp. https://doi.org/xx.xxxxxxxxxx
Conference	
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Paper	Presenter, A. A. (2012, February). Title of the paper. *Paper presented at the meeting of Organization Name*, Location.
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Thesis	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of thesis* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation or master's thesis). Name of the Institution, Location.
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Manuscript	Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (2008). *Title of the manuscript*. Unpublished manuscript. Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (2012). *Title of the manuscript*. Manuscript submitted for publication.
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Newspaper or magazine	Author, A. (2012, January 12). Title of the article. *The Sunday Times*, p. 1. Author, A. (2012, January 12). Title of the article. *The Sunday Times*. http://www.sundaytimes.com/xxxx.html Title of the article. (2012, January 12). *The Sunday Times.* http://www.sundaytimes.com/xxxx.html
Reports	
May or may not be peer-reviewed; may or may not be published. Format as a book reference	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work* (Report No. 123). Location: Publisher. Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work* (Report No. 123). (The website name) https://www.w3.org

Working paper	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work* (Working Paper No. 123). Location: Publisher. Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work* (Working Paper No. 123). (The website name) https://www.w3.org
Discussion paper	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work* (Discussion Paper No. 123). Location: Publisher. Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work* (Discussion Paper No. 123). (The website name) https://www.w3.org
Personal communication	Personal communication includes letters, emails, memos, messages from discussion groups and electronic bulletin boards, personal interviews. Cite these only in the text. Include references for archived material only.
Other reference types	
Patent	Cho, S. T. (2005). U.S. Patent No. 6,980,855. Washington, DC: U.S. Patent and Trademark Office.
Map	London Mapping Co. (Cartographer). (1960). Street map. [Map]. (*The website name*) https://www.londonmapping.co.uk/maps/xxxxx
Act	*Mental Health Systems Act*, 41 U.S.C. § 9403 (1988).
Audio and visual media	Taupin, B. (1975). Someone saved my life tonight [Recorded by Elton John]. On Captain fantastic and the brown dirt cowboy [CD]. London: Big Pig Music Limited (place of publication is optional). Author, A. (Producer). (2009, December 2). *Title of podcast* [Audio podcast]. (The website name) https://www.w3.org Producer, P. P. (Producer), & Director, D. D. (Director). (Date of publication). *Title of motion picture* [Motion picture]. Country of origin: Studio or distributor. Smith, A. (Writer), & Miller, R. (Director). (1989). Title of episode [Television series episode]. In A. Green (Executive Producer), Series. New York, NY: WNET. Miller, R. (Producer). (1989). The mind [Television series]. New York, NY: WNET.
Database	Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, A. A. (2002). A study of enjoyment of peas. *Title of the Journal*, *8*(3). Retrieved February 20, 2003, from the PsycARTICLES database.
Dataset	Author. (2011). *National Statistics Office monthly means and other derived variables* [Data set]. Retrieved March 6, 2011, (*The website name*) https://www.w3.org If the dataset is updated regularly, use the year of retrieval in the reference, and using the retrieval date is also recommended.
Computer program	Rightsholder, A. A. (2010). *Title of program* (Version number) [Description of form]. Location: Name of producer. Name of software (Version Number) [Computer software]. Location: Publisher. If the program can be downloaded or ordered from a website, give this information in place of the publication information.

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Facebook citation (page)	Community of Multiculturalism. (n.d.). *Home* [Facebook page]. Facebook. Retrieved October 14, 2020, from https://www.facebook.com/communityofmulticulturalism/ Parenthetical citation: (Community of Multiculturalism, n.d.) Narrative citation: Community of Multiculturalism (n.d.)

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