Young People at the Crossroads

Proceedings of the 5th International Youth Research Conference in Karelia, Petrozavodsk, September 2006
Martti Muukkonen and Tiina Sotkasiira (eds)

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Introduction

The fifth International Youth Research conference Young People at the Crossroads took place in Petrozavodsk in September 1st–5th, 2006. Interestingly, all scientific conferences are in the same time alike and unique. There are established academic traditions that predict the format of the conference. At the same time, there is always the different composition of participants with different interests. There is also a different historical moment that colours the atmosphere of the time. In the case of this conference, the special event was the ethnic and socio-political upheaval in the town of Kondopoga, near Petrozavodsk. During the conference, the inhabitants of Kondopoga took to the streets and staged a protest against immigration after the killing of two local residents during a brawl with ethnic Caucasians in a restaurant. There were several participants in the conference, whose studies focused on ethnic relations in Russia, and their work appeared to have significant actuality.

Youth researchers and youth workers find comfort in thinking that there have been generations that have struggled with similar problems as we do today and they have been able to solve them. As the conference was part of the 75-year anniversary celebrations of the Karelian State Pedagogical University, it was evident that there was a special atmosphere and sense of looking back on the achievements that have been done in the past. In line with the celebration, the first part of this anthology focuses on the historical issues of the youth work and education.

Martti Muukkonen’s welcoming speech gave a 5000-thousand year perspective on how the art of education has evolved from ancient Sumer and how it has been elementary part in creating the Nordic welfare state.

Larissa Shvets outlines the history of youth research in Petrozavodsk. She stresses the importance of the work carried out in the Laboratory of Socio-Educational Research, and its successor Centre of Social Studies and the role of international co-operation in developing the multi-disciplinary and multi-method youth research in Karelia. Shvets also discusses the history and developments of the Karelian Youth Conferences.
Tommi Hoikkala explains how youth research is organised in Finland and argues for the politically sensitive youth research which calls for cooperation between different actors dealing with the youth and youth-related policies. The basis idea is that different actors in the field, including the administration, decision-makers, youth researchers and young people themselves, would understand and recognise each other as relevant partners when seeking to understand and improve the quality of life for young people. Towards the end of the article Hoikkala asks how this model can be used and utilised elsewhere and sets out some criteria for the successful application of the politically sensitive youth work.

Continuing from the history, the second part of this book focuses on the future. It presents the hopes, fears, dreams and views of the contemporary youth in Northern Europe. The title of the part, Juvenalis sumus (We are the youth), refers to the song in the graduation ceremony of Finnish high school-students. At the moment of realising their first academic achievement, they express their hopes on future with this traditional song.

The second part of the book starts with Irina Miljukova’s article on civic culture and youth participation in Karelia. Miljukova argues that although in principle, it is possible for young people to take part in the development of civic society in Russia, young people are not prepared or willing to utilise the full potential of the participatory processes. Miljukova explains the results of a survey which was carried out among university and high school students in different parts of Karelia and discusses different factors influencing young people’s willingness to participate in different social, cultural and political activities. She concludes by arguing that the unwillingness of young people to participate in various activities in large numbers is not due to their personal qualities but demonstrates the disappointment of young people towards the ability of voluntary organisations to solve the real problems that face the youth of today in Russia.

The article by Veronika Kalmus and Triin Vihalem gives an interesting insight into the transition period that the Baltic states have undergone in previous years. They analyse the cultural and social resources and consequences of transition on the basis of a large panel questionnaire survey Me. The World. The Media which was conducted in Estonia in 2002–2005. The article focuses on the self-identification and values and claims that despite the changes, the thought patterns of Estonian people are relatively consistent. Kalmus and Vihalem argue that the persistence of several cultural patterns from one generation to another means that generation replacement per se in not the strongest factor influencing the identification and values of Estonian people. Rather, it seems that the changes in mental structures probably reflect the multiplicity of personal experiences and socialisation among any given generation. The experiences are not common to all young people in Estonian society but are more likely among the groups who share similar economic or cultural resources.

Gry Paulgaard continues to discuss the formation of identities among young people. Her focus, however, is on the young people who live in North-
ern Norway and on the changing meanings of centre and periphery in their thinking. Theoretically, Paulgaard draws from the recent debate on identification to explain the ambiguities in the meanings that young people attach to their home place and the constructions and opinions about the North. It appears that the experiences of young people are deeply rooted in the localization and the social setting of the place they live in and therefore the experience of difference with people and the ways of life become embedded in their consciousness. This is why the meanings that relate to the centre/periphery distinction form a basis for other constructions that are not easily deconstructed.

Jaana Lähteenmaa has studied the identification of young people who live in the rural areas of Finland. Her main conclusion is that young rural people’s local identities vary in different types of Finnish countryside and the major differences concern the young people’s views on the future and on the image of their home place. Lähteenmaa argues that young people’s understanding is based on the real situation in the Finnish countryside which is facing polarisation into strong local centres and marginal peripheries. Therefore, it does not make sense to talk about one coherent rural identity among young Finns living in the country-side as the differences between them seem to be greater than the similarities. Special attention needs to be paid to those young people who live in places that are withering and therefore provide young people with less potential for positive self-identification.

Andra Siibak introduces in her article the twenty-first century Casanovas who no longer serenade under the balconies but use the Internet as a forum for making friends, acquaintances and life partners. In the case study of three dating websites, Siibak uses the method of “reading images” to find out how young men who have been selected by other website users to “TOP 100 of the most remarkable men” produce and communicate their sexuality and desirability to other youngsters. She analyses the photos posted on the sites with regard to the categories of social distance, location, people appearing in the pictures and activities, and concludes that the trend-setters of the dating sites are able to construct their virtual identities so that they appear as a safe and sound way to earn approval and recognition from their peers.

Jarna Soilevuo-Grønnerød’s article also deals with young men’s longing for recognition and emotional satisfaction, but instead of virtual relations, Soilevuo-Grønnerød focuses on young men who play music in non-professional rock bands. She uses the psychological concepts of idealization, validation and mutuality, and resonance to understand how rock bands function as an arena where men fulfil their needs of psychological well-being and personal growth, and where they can and do practice emotional care. She claims that it is essential for people, regardless of their gender, to feel that they belong to a group and being in a rock band is a social practise which gives an opportunity to feel and enjoy the power of groups and emotional intimacy.

Martti Muukkonen is specialised in different kinds of youth movement and in this article he studies how Karl Polanyi’s thesis of the concept of double movement can explain youth movements and youth activity at large.
Muukkonen argues that although Polanyi’s theory of double movement was developed in the early 20th century to explain people’s reactions to the emergence of the market economy, his understanding of social mobility as a counter movement is still relevant. Muukkonen divides youth movements into three types of counter-activity: radicalism, philanthropic youth movements and escapist youth activity and concludes that even if Polanyi’s theory does not explain all the youth mobility, it does give an interesting and relevant perspective to youth movements of today.

Vesa Puuronen’s article focuses on the phenomenon of everyday racism in Russia. To begin with, Puuronen briefly discusses the definitions of racism and then moves on to present the results from a survey, which was conducted in four Russian regions during 2004–2005. The article outlines the frequency of different forms of everyday racism, such as ethnic jokes, violation of rights, hooliganism, etc. It appears that everyday racism is a part of everyday life of the majority of university students and school pupils in the subject regions. The regional variation of self-reported observations of everyday racism shows that the frequency of these phenomena depends on cultural and historical conditions in which young people live.

The contribution by Tiina Sotkasiira also deals with ethnic relations in Russia. While Puuronen’s article focused on the conceptions of youth in general, Sotkasiira is interested in the experiences of the young people who have migrated to north-west Russia from the Caucasus region. Sotkasiira describes the stereotypical images of Caucasian peoples and connects them with young people’s everyday encounters and the experiences of everyday racism. Sotkasiira concludes that even if young people experience and interpret ethnic discrimination in many, sometimes contradictory ways, the commonality of racist experiences of young people of North Caucasian nationality can not be overlooked. Russia is experiencing a revolt of patriotic attitudes and actions and these political undercurrents have a bearing on the lives of minority youth in Russia.

Julia Ivkova has a keen interest in the ethnic relations and the formation of ethnic stereotypes. In the framework of her scientific work, she has developed a program to promote ethnic tolerance among upper-secondary school children. Ivkova’s research shows that it is possible to influence young people’s attitudes with group training methodology. Even if the training may have limitations, for example, it may be challenging to work with participants who have very strong negative prejudices towards other ethnic groups, well-conducted group training generally inspires young people into questioning their stereotypes and gives them an opportunity to search for positive ways to relate to the representatives of other ethnic groups.

Due to the Anniversary of the Karelian State Pedagogical University, this Petrozavodsk conference had significant amount of presentations that focused on the education of the youth. These articles in the third part of this book remind that the youth research is not only research of youth, but research of how the society, in general, socializes its young members to its values and customs. The title of the chapter three, Spei suae patria dedit (Given by the Fatherland to
its youth), is written above the main entrance of the Student Union building in Helsinki. The statement explains the fundamental idea of education and youth work: the special relationship of hopes, dreams and expectations that bonds the society with its younger members and vice versa.

Nina Predtechenskaya and Nadezhda Terentieva make an interesting overview of the health and life-style choices of university graduates of Karelian State Pedagogical University. The centre for Sociological research at KSPU has been monitoring the health and everyday life of young people for several years. The article at hand presents the results of the most recent study, which demonstrate the diverse life-style trends among Russian student population. On one hand, there is an increased interest in physical training and exercise among Russian youth. On the other hand, the psychosomatic conditions of students seem to worsen as, for example, 67 per cent of respondents say that they feel tired and lack energy. The researchers argue that the quality of everyday life should be a top-priority for the local and national authorities.

Irina Miljukova’s and Julia Bulygina’s article focuses on the changes in the Russian labour market and their effect on the educational requirements and young people’s employment opportunities. On the basis of a survey and interviews conducted among university students of Petrozavodsk, the authors claim that the Russian education system does not provide adequate training to ensure that graduates are able to fulfil their potential at the labour market. The labour market is rapidly changing and the university administration must come to terms with the changes. The first steps are to start close co-operation with local businesses and entrepreneurs in order to improve the practical training opportunities of both university students and teachers and introduce courses in the university curriculum to enhance young people’s skills in obtaining desirable employment.

Agnete Wiborg has interviewed students from rural areas in Norway about their experiences of and attitudes towards migration. She writes about the meanings young people attach to mobility and migration and how this relates to young people’s identification. The focal point of Wiborg’s article is the multifaceted nature of migration for young Norwegians and the connections that young people make between mobility and individuality as well as personal development. She further argues that the possibility to migrate and change locations can be understood as markers of difference in the formation of identity for young people living in the rural regions of Norway.

Pekka Launonen’s paper outlines the preliminary results of the project Students’ Development to Church Professions carried out by Diaconia University of Applied Sciences, Finnish Church Council and the Church Research Institute. The article gives information on the background, motivation and professional qualifications of students who study to become youth work leaders and deaconesses in the Finnish Lutheran church. Launonen concludes by analysing the strengths and challenges of Finnish education system which teaches the future church youth work professionals.
Elena Borzova discusses the use of statistical data in teaching foreign languages to high school students. She claims that a problem in foreign language teaching is that, instead of stimulating the students’ “inner-speech”, the emphasis is often placed on reproducing phrases or texts from textbooks which have little relevance to students’ own experiences and thoughts. According to Borzova, this is a mistake that could be avoided by using statistics and other critical learning material in an interactive and thought-provoking way. In the article advice is given on how statistics can be used to best accommodate the learning processes of high school students.

Using different psychological methods and tests, Inna Kalabina describes the consequences of living in an orphanage on the moral upbringing of children. She argues that children who grow up in orphanages lag their peers in psychological development, and therefore, special attention needs to be paid to their moral education. By means of communication, games and encouraging them in different social relationship and interaction, the orphans’ socialization process can be enhanced.

In the last article of the collection Veli-Matti Ulvinen lays an argument for pedagogically oriented youth work. He understands youth work as a kind of policy oriented pedagogical activity and stresses the fact that a youth worker is always in an adult’s position in relation to a young person, which is why there usually are pedagogical relations at hand. Ulvinen’s argument lays that if the didactic dimension of youth work is taken seriously, the work with the adolescents can be understood as means to produce qualitative changes in young people’s everyday action.

As editors of the collection we would like to thank research secretary Lea Kervinen for her efforts in editing this book. We also thank the authors for their insightful contributions. Financial support from the Finnish Ministry of Education has made the publication of this collection possible.
SOME HISTORICAL NOTES
ON YOUTH RESEARCH
Martti Muukkonen

Five Thousand Years of Pedagogy

May I begin with a short schoolboy’s letter to his mother from the time of Hammurabi, circa 4000 years ago:

Thus speaks Iddin-Sin to Zinu
May Shamash, Marduk and Ilabrat keep you well for my sake.
Although gentlemen’s clothes improve year by year, you are making my clothes cheaper year by year. By cheapening and scrimping my clothes, you have become rich. While wool was being consumed in our house like bread, you are making my clothes cheaper.
The son of Adad-iddinam, whose father is only an underling of my father, has received two new garments but you keep getting upset over just one garment for me. Whereas you gave birth to me, his mother acquired him by adoption, but whereas his mother loves him, you do not love me.

Am I wrong but somehow this sounds too familiar...

We often think that our time is different than any other and modernity is some sort of peak of a long evolution. This short schoolboy’s letter reminds us that even if the times change, the human remains essentially the same. Generational gap has existed then and now. Youth’s emphasis on new clothes is essentially the same irrespective of the time-gap. Peer pressure has not changed. Only the context has changed.

Youth research is a relatively new discipline – compared to other social and behavioural sciences. However, it is a combination of several disciplines which each have a long and respected history. As the letter from that schoolboy tells, education as a science has existed almost as long as the written history of humankind. It has always been part of the socialisation of a new generation to the values and knowledge of the community into which they have born. This view of education has been the leading idea in the Jewish schooling more than 2000 years. It was society’s public task to train its youngsters those skills that

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1 This was given as an opening Speech to the 5th International Youth Research Conference in Karelia, September 2006.
they would need when they once took the community in their hands. This is quite distinct from the Greco-Roman idea where education was a private investment of wealthy citizens.

Oriental thinking – contrary to Greco-Roman – had also another important aspect that has influenced our thinking. It is the idea of community. Max Weber explained it so that in the ancient river valley cultures, the irrigation agriculture required elaborated co-operation. This idea lies behind the communal emphases of such prominent European thinkers as Martin Luther and Karl Marx. Both traced their thinking from Judaism, Luther through his Biblical studies and Marx through his grandfather, a Jewish rabbi.

Luther was not only a religious reformer. He was a social reformer as well. Along with his famous phrase “The righteous will live by faith (Rom 1:17)” he quoted also another Biblical passage. The Old Testament phrase, “there should be no poor among you (Deut 15:4).” On this basis the German Pietists in Halle founded their school. For them, education was a tool in eliminating poverty. That Halle institution became the model for a modern European school.

As youth researchers and educators, let us not forget why we are doing our job. We aim to give our youth the tools they need when they once take our societies in their hands. Like Moses, Luther, Marx, Martin Luther King and numerous others, we have dreams of just society. I truly hope that we build it every time when we face our youth in classrooms or in voluntary activities.
Larissa Shvets

Youth Research in Karelian State Pedagogical University: Preserving Traditions and Opening up New Horizons

In November 2006 Karelian State Pedagogical University (KSPU) celebrated its 75th Anniversary. The celebration of an Anniversary is a good starting point for remembering the history of youth research in KSPU and making plans for the future.

The History of the Laboratory

Youth problems have been one of the central topics of the scientific research in KSPU during the course of its history. Originally the youth research was carried out by different departments of the University. New prospects for the study of the younger generation appeared in the 1960’s when the Laboratory of Socio-Educational Research was established in 1962. It has now worked for more than 40 years and united scientists of different fields. This has made it possible to do large-scale complex interdisciplinary research.

From the moment of creation of the laboratory until 1988 it was lead by the Honoured Cultural Worker of Karelia, Honoured Scientist of Russia, the philosophy department docent A. Y. Stepanov. As a participant of the World War II he was awarded several military orders and medals. He had a very broad range of scientific interests and was an enthusiast of applied social researches in the Republic of Karelia (Karelskij gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet: 1931–2006: biograficheskij spravochnik, 62–63). In the 1960s, a Council was attached to the laboratory and for many years it was headed by the previous rector of KSPU, Professor A. N. Britvikhin (Karelskij gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet: 1931–2006: biograficheskij spravochnik, 25–26).

Over the years many well-known scientists of KSPU and the Republic of Karelia have participated in the work of the laboratory, which is now called the Centre of Social Studies. Among them are Honoured doctor of the Joensuu Univer-
The laboratory used to have permanent contacts and links with scientific centers in the Republic of Karelia as well as in Russian Federation.

**Development of the Laboratory in the 1990’s**

The year 1992 brought the work of the laboratory to a new stage and opened the prospect of international cooperation and joint research projects (Karelskij gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet v tsifrah i faktah: 70 let, 265–266). Broad international contacts and the realization of joint projects were possible due to the cooperation between the Karelian State Pedagogical University and the University of Joensuu in Finland. We highly appreciate the contribution made to this cooperation by people who laid the foundation for it. Scientists from Finland, such as Professors Marja-Liisa and Kyösti Julkunen, Professor Kaija Perho, Professor Simo Seppo, Professor Anna-Raija Nummenmaa, Professor Pentti Sinisalo, and our long-term partner, Dr. Vesa Puuronen all contributed to the success of the joint research. As for the Russian representatives a great input in the development of international cooperation was given by the previous rector of KSPU A. N. Britvikhin, previous vice-rector V. G. Prozórov, N. P. Terentyeva, N. V. Predtechenskaya, E. V. Borzova, A. M. Fedorov and many others.

The 1990’s was a very difficult period for Russia as well as for the Russian science. The budgetary financing of the research projects was suspended and the new system of financing, which was based on various funds and grants, was only developing. In such a situation, the international cooperation with Joensuu University helped us, not only to continue youth studies in KSPU but also to raise the standards to the higher level.
The First International Youth Studies Project

In 1995–1997 the first international research project *Youth in a Changing Karelia* was successfully carried out by Joensuu University and the Laboratory of Social Studies and the Department of Psychology of KSPU. Professor Pentti Sinisalo headed the project and Professor N. V. Predtechenskaya was a coordinator of the Russian group. The main topics of the international interdisciplinary project were: the comparative analysis of the every-day life, of health, political culture and the orientation to the future of young people living in border areas, i.e., in the Republic of Karelia (Russia) and the province of North Karelia (Finland).

The study data was collected by a questionnaire survey, which was conducted in the Republic of Karelia and Northern Karelia. The total number of respondents was 1,731, consisting of 942 Russians and 789 Finnish young people. In addition to the questionnaire, qualitative methods, such as interviews and essays on the future plans of young people were applied.

The co-operation also resulted in publications. The monograph *Youth in a Changing Karelia* (2000) was printed in English by the Ashgate publishing house. It contained the most complete results of this project. Russian readers could become acquainted with the results due to the monograph *Molodezh dvuch Karelij na rubezhe vekov* (2001).

The Centre of Social Studies Today: Activity and Projects

Due to the development of international cooperation, the laboratory was transformed into the Centre of Social Studies in 1999. The Center gave priority to such projects as the international interdisciplinary comparative studies of youth and monitoring of young people’s every-day life, the changes in their life plans, young people’s health, interests and values.

At the end of the 1990’s, the scientific contacts and the cooperation of the Centre of Social Studies increased. First of all, KSPU launched new joint projects with many Russian universities. Besides, there appeared new directions and projects of international cooperation. For more than 10 years KSPU has been cooperating with the Joensuu University. Participation in *Barents Youth Research Network* headed by Tommi Hoikkala was an important step forward in the development of the Centre. In 2000–2001, the project *Migration of Youth in Barents Region* was carried out in the context of the Network partnership. The results of the project were published in the special issue of the Nordic youth research journal *Young* (10, 2002(3/4)).

In October 2003, the international seminar for graduate students *Methodological Choice in Applied Studies of Youth Problems* financed by NorFa took place in Petrozavodsk. Graduate students from Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, Estonia and Russia took part in the seminar which was lead by Professor Helena Helve (University of Helsinki, Finland). Professor Helena Helve and Doctor Vesa Puuronen lectured on quantitative and qualitative research methods
and the graduate students presented and discussed the results of their scientific research.

The first international project *Youth in a Changing Karelia* provided enough material to create a data base, which characterized the different spheres of life of Karelian young people. This data base made it possible to conduct monitoring and to track down the changes of living conditions, values, plans for the future, and the interests of the youth.

In 2001–2003, the scientific project *Everyday Life and Plans for the Future of Young People of the Republic of Karelia* was carried out under the supervision of Professor N. V. Predtechenskaya (Grant of RHSF “Russian North” № 01-03-00125a). The main topics of the project were:

- Monitoring of the change of attitudes of young people in the Republic of Karelia towards their health, choice of future profession, and leisure-time.
- Comparative analysis of future plans and political culture of urban and rural pupils and students of different institutions of higher education in the Republic of Karelia.

The sample contained more than 1000 young people. The survey was conducted in 15 towns and villages of the Republic of Karelia which made it possible to compare life-styles and plans for the future of young people living in areas with different geographical and socio-economic conditions. The object of the research was “the generation of perestroika” which was born in a new Russia and had not experienced the “Soviet times”.

The methodological basis of the research was the concept of the “revolution of aspirations” as a distinguishing feature of “the generation of perestroika”. The concept was created by the Russian sociologist V. S. Magun. According to the research of V. S. Magun (Revolyuzsiya prityazanij i izmenenie zhiznennyh strategij molodezhi: 1985–1995, 1998), “the generation of perestroika” can be characterized by the sudden increase of material, career, educational and other life aspirations in comparison with the previous generation of the Soviet times.

The main result of the research was the diversification and fragmentation of the contexts of every-day life of young people belonging to different groups. It appeared that there was a huge gap between the living conditions, plans for the future and opportunities for self-realization of young people who lived in the capital of the Republic of Karelia, Petrozavodsk, in border cities Sortavala and Kostamuksha and in rural areas.

Family income and financial security together with the opportunity of finding a well-paid job became key factors determining the life style, plans for the future and strategies for self-realization of young people. The key factors of the stratification among the young people were the place of living and the financial status of their parents. These factors determined the level of aspiration, the content and forms of spending leisure-time, quality of nutrition, prospects of
career promotion, and social feeling of youth. The main results of this project were published in the monograph *Molodezh Karelii v nachale 21 veka* (2004).

In 2004–2006, a project *Living with Difference in Russia – Hybrid Identities and Everyday Racism among Young Rossiyane* was supported by the Academy of Finland and headed by Dr. Vesa Puuronen. Russia was represented by scientists from Petrozavodsk, Kazan, and St. Petersburg. The project focused on the ethnic identification of different groups of youth, types and forms of ethnic discrimination, social and cultural gap.

Also in 2004–2006, a research project *Types of Ethnic Identity and Tolerance of Youth of the Republic of Karelia* (Grant of RHSF, project № 04-03-00431а) was organized and headed by Docent L. P. Shvets. The main topics of the project were the analysis of the factors of ethnic identity formation of different youth groups in the Republic of Karelia and the description of the main types of ethnic identity. The aim was also to find out the degree and factors of tolerance that exist among young people.

### Other Centres of Youth Studies and their Projects

Although the Centre of Social Studies of KSPU is the largest in the republic, it is not the only one in KSPU and Karelia whose researches are devoted to studying youth problems. A considerable amount of research connected with youth problems is conducted by different departments of KSPU. One can mention, for example, S. V. Goranskaya’s studies on juvenile drug-abuse and sexuality. She leads the university laboratory of prevention of psychotropic substance usage. S. M. Loyter has focused on the phenomenon of children subcultures. The department of psychology of KSPU (V. N. Kolesnikov, N. Y. Skorokhodova, I. Sh. Safarov and others) takes part in the international project which focuses on family problems. I. A. Milyukova from Petrozavodsk State University (PSU) has studied the problems of motivation for studying in institutions of higher education. O. I. Stepanenkova, N. V. Predtechenskaya and N. Y. Skorokhodova have focused on the physical and psychological heath of youth. Very interesting research is also conducted in many of the schools of Petrozavodsk.

One of the positive tendencies is the growth of interest in youth research among students and senior pupils. It is a tradition that in spring (usually in April) the schools and universities of Petrozavodsk hold scientific conferences, which give a possibility for young researchers to present the results of their projects.

### The Prospects of Youth Studies in Russia

The prospects of youth studies and youth sociology in Russia are topical questions for the discussions in the academic community. In 1990’s, the amount of
research on youth problems diminished because of the objective difficulties of the period of reforms. The decrease in youth research can also be explained by the fact that the government abolished the committees of youth affairs. Russian politicians did not consider youth issues to be a top priority.

Now the situation is changing. The committee of youth affairs was re-established in the Republic of Karelia, and there are plenty of programs which aim to support the children and youth of Russia. It is worth mentioning that in the period of perestroika a lot of new tendencies of youth researches appeared in Russia. These are, for example:

- Youth job market, problems of finding a job, career development, and unemployment among young people;
- Social security of youth and young families in the new situation;
- The problem of neglected and homeless children;
- Analysis of consumer behaviour of youth;
- The problem of drug-abuse and the new forms of deviant behaviour.

The period of reforms brought the change of scientific paradigm in the Russian sociology of youth. Social studies abandoned ideological preconceptions and positivism. Now the Russian sociology has observed a real burst of interest to constructivist and qualitative research techniques. There are objective reasons for the change of priorities. The distinguishing feature of the modern Russian society is the diversity of social relationships and the variety of the ways which young people can choose to enter adult life. Nowadays there are, for example, several ways to receive a professional degree both in the state and non-state educational institutions and there are alternative models of employment and career building. Also, family relationships have changed and new family models have appeared. In such situation, the life trajectories of young generation loose the features of socio-typical models and become biographic trajectories. When considering this fact, it becomes obvious that qualitative techniques are more effective in studying these unique and individual phenomena.

The contemporary Russian sociology of youth is a multi-paradigm discipline which is oriented to complex research combining qualitative and quantitative techniques. Another important tendency is that more and more youth research in Russia is carried out as interdisciplinary projects. Several Russian researches are focused, not only on youth problems, but also on the problem of relationships between generations. The question considering youth sociology as being part of age sociology or sociology of generations is widely discussed in the Russian academic community.

At the same time, to understand the prospects of the development of Russia in the XXI century, it is very important to study “the generation of perestroika”, It is essential to understand, whether they have acquired the values and orientations of the democratic market society and to what extent they are
ready to be the masters of their fortune and be responsible for the future of their country.

**International Conferences on Youth Studies**

Successful research work is not possible without scientific debates, the exchange of project results and constructive criticism. The tradition to organize joint international conferences initiated by Joensuu University and KSPU has become an important encouragement for the development of youth studies in Karelia.

The first international scientific conference *Youth in a Changing Society* took place in Petrozavodsk in June 1995. Scientists from Finland, Russia, Norway, Denmark and England took part in the work of six working groups and presented more than 60 reports. It is quite symbolic that one of the keynote speakers was Professor V. T. Lisovskiy, one of the founders of youth sociology in Russia and the author of the first youth sociology textbook. At the end of the conference the most interesting reports were published in the collection of articles *Youth in a Changing Society* (1996), edited by Vesa Puuronen. The decision to hold such conferences every two or three years in Karelia and Finland (in turns) was one of the most important results of the first conference.

The second international conference was held in Joensuu in December 1997. More than 80 reports were made by the participants of this conference. Scientists from France, Italy, Germany, Israel and the Baltic countries took part in the conference for the first time. The results of the joint Finish-Russian research project *Youth in a Changing Karelia*, in which scientists from Joensuu and Petrozavodsk took part, were presented by one of the keynote speakers, chair of the psychology department of the Joensuu University, Professor Pentti Sinisalo. It became a good tradition to publish collections of articles at the end of the conferences (*Youth in Everyday Life Contexts*, 1999).

In June 2000 the third international scientific conference *Youth on the Threshold of the Third Millennium* was held in Petrozavodsk. The conference received more than 100 participants. Scientists from Russia and seven European countries: England, France, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Slovakia took part in the work of eight working groups. More than 90 scientific reports were made reflecting the whole range of problems which young people in Europe and Russia face. The working groups discussed issues such as the attitudes of young people to politics and education, the distinguishing features of youth subculture, personal growth of modern youth, motivation for foreign language-learning, deviant behaviour, heath of youth and others.

In the context of the conference, a session of Barents Net was organized by the researchers specialized in youth studies in Scandinavian countries and North-West of Russia. During the session, Russia was represented by the scientists from Moscow, St Petersburg, Petrozavodsk, Krasnoyarsk and Belgorod. By the beginning of the conference, the abstracts of the reports were published,
and at the end of it there appeared a collection of the articles (Youth on the Threshold of 3rd Millennium, 2001).

The fourth international scientific conference Youth: Similarities, Differences, Inequalities took place in Niittylahti, Finland in June 2003. More than 70 scientists from 12 countries, namely from Great Britain, the USA, France, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Russia, Denmark, Iran, Pakistan and Ghana, participated in this conference. For the first time, the conference was visited by scientists from Near-Eastern region and Africa. At this conference a vice-rector of KSPU A. M. Fedorov made a keynote address on youth policy in Russia and the Republic of Karelia. The conference resulted into the collection of scientific articles (Youth – Similarities, Differences, Inequalities, 2005).

The conference, within which this paper was presented, is called Youth at the Crossroads. It was the fifth conference of this kind and more than 100 scientists have registered to take part in the work of eight working groups of the conference. The metaphor of the crossroad, reflected in the name of the conference, seems to me to be a symbolic one. “The crossroad” is the symbol of open-mindedness and unity, integration of efforts and opportunities of foreign and Russian scientists, and of older and younger generations. It also signifies the harmony of traditions and innovations and is the symbol of new hopes and prospects.

Bibliography


The Finnish Model of Politically Sensitive Youth Research

The aim of this document is, firstly, to define the field of youth research, and secondly to describe the Finnish model of youth research as a good practice. Thirdly, the applicability of this model is shortly discussed. The mood of the text is not critical, but a version of positive self-representation. For critical approaches in the issue, please see Hoikkala-Suurpää (2005) and especially Puuronen (2006).

What is youth research?

Youth research refers to the multidisciplinary ensemble of research branches dealing with the young people. The problematic of youth research is primarily humanistic and sociological. Youth research is generally carried out in the contexts of traditional university disciplines such as sociology, political science, pedagogy, medicine, history, psychology, anthropology, linguistics, economics, social pedagogy and criminology, or such recently evolved fields as cultural studies, gender studies, consumer research, studies on multiculturalism and ethnic relations, media studies, critical pedagogy, health education, citizenship studies and evaluation studies. Youth research thus forms a dynamic and multidisciplinary entity of various fields of research with its different subjects, practices and methods (quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis). The emphases of youth research vary from country to country. For example, research is carried out in the following areas: the living conditions and social statuses of young people during transitional periods, the various events typical of this phase of life, the institutions (school and education, family, political system and the institutions of civic activities) and youth cultures, youth-related discourses, young people’s attitudes, their orientations, health habits, the psychological development of young people (and their regressions), the intergenerational relations and the rituals of interaction in peer groups. The terms youth and young people refer to a broad age spectrum, approximately the generations of 12–30-
year-olds, which is reflective of the durations of the paths of growing up among the European youth.

The kind of youth research, which is relevant for (or sensitive to) youth policies, is distinguished from the conventional academic youth research by its focus on various themes in living conditions of youth. Such themes, their research results and the ways to report these results resonate with the informational and knowledge needs of the actors in the spheres of political decision-making, administration or civic activity. As mentioned, in the context of horizontal youth policy, the focus is first and foremost on the living conditions of the youth. In Finland, research such as this is organised through the Finnish Youth Research Network operating in association with the Finnish Youth Research Society. The research projects of the Youth Research Network, founded in 1999, have dealt with such problems of growing up that are connected to the institutional dimension of the Finnish welfare state, while keeping the everyday life of young people as a solid point of view. The two central trends of European youth research are combined: the qualitative research concerned with youth cultures, young people’s attitudes, ways of thinking and taking action (including participation and active citizenship), and the quantitative research operating with large statistical data to examine the shifts in the labour, education and relationship markets of young people, from the perspective of transition studies. The latter secures the production of such generalizable information which cannot be drawn from studies on the everyday life of young people.

Youth Research Network as a Good Practice

In Finland there is no specific research institute for the study of youth issues. Instead, there is the Finnish Youth Research Society which has been in operation since 1987. It is an independent scientific association whose aim is to promote multidisciplinary youth research in Finland. The Finnish Youth Research Society is in charge of organising national and international seminars, maintaining the register of youth researchers, publishing the journal Nuorisotutkimus (Youth Research) within the framework of a referee system, and producing a series of youth research publications. Currently the society has 243 members. Its research activities are carried out through the Finnish Youth Research Network. The network is a community of researchers which operates in cooperation with various universities and research institutes both nationally and internationally. The researchers of the network are largely placed in the departments of their discipline all across Finland. The staff working at the office of the Youth Research Society and the Youth Research Network are: research director, research coordinator, organizational secretary & sub-editor of the journal Nuorisotutkimus, administrative secretary, and statistical planner. In addition,
there are facilities for five researchers at the office. The entire organisation has 18 members of staff at the moment (www.nuorisotutkimus.fi). The goal of each research project of the network is to produce scientifically valid information relevant to youth policy. The projects are fixed-term (from short reports of six months to three-year projects), while the administrative appointments are permanent. The activities of the Youth Research Network are governed by the Finnish Youth Research Society Board of Directors.

The foundation of the financial wherewithal of such a research organisation is the system of annual negotiations created in conjunction with the Youth Policy Division of the Ministry of Education. This system provides up to 60–90 per cent of the annual funding of the Youth Research Society and the Youth Research Network. Such a model of youth research is unique in its organisation: A division of public administration channels its need for sectoral research to be carried out by an independent scientific association. The Youth Research Society manages the task through the Youth Research Network according to the academic practices (scientific discussion and the peer reviews of research proposals acquired with an open call for papers and research plans). At its best the model is characterized by flexibility and swiftness, as well as youth-political relevance and topicality. The system highlights the researchers’ part in the field of four actors: the decision-makers and administration, youth work, the voice of the youth (including youth organisations) and research. The cooperation between the administration (the Youth Policy Division of the Ministry of Education), the youth organisations and the youth researchers has become an established practice which can be described to be in accordance with the aim of structured dialogue. However, the good Finnish practice is challenged. Namely, in the Young Active Citizenships EU Meeting (Hyvinkää 1–4 July, 2006) the final statement of the working group 1a reads: “Young people should be involved in the design, implementation and dissemination of relevant research. Youth research should respond to the priorities of the administration and the expressed needs of youth organisations (Summary of the Conclusions of the Working groups 2006).”

The kind of research which is both inclined and able to interact with the actors in the spheres of decision-making, administration and civic activity often encounters the demand to produce generalizable, survey-type information. This demand is responded to by the cooperative practice of the Youth Research Network and the Advisory Council for Youth Affairs. The issue at hand here is that of the indicators of young people’s living conditions. The statistical planner of the Youth Research Network is in charge of maintaining and developing the system of indicators which was established in 2000. The system, based on Excel spreadsheets, consists of statistical information provided by Statistics Finland and

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1 The new Youth Act of Finland defines the research which serves the interests of youth work and youth activities as research relevant to youth policy. Currently the central project of the Youth Research Network is the Identities of Finnish youth work and civic activities (2005-2008). There are nine researchers working with this project.

2 About the concept of structured dialogue, see Dialogues and networks (2006).
The Finnish Model of Politically Sensitive Youth Research

Stakes (National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health) reporting on young people’s living conditions, and forms a fund of usable information accessible via the Internet. The indicators describe the following areas of young people’s lives: employment, unemployment, education, housing, migration, family formation, funds and debts, income and taxation, expenditure, purchasing power, health, causes of death, crime, and marginalization. The latest figures in the system are from the year 2003. Area-specific information has been available since 1998 (www.minedu.fi/nuora/). Since 1994, the Advisory Council for Youth Affairs has regularly charted the development of the attitudes and expectations of young people of 15 to 29 years of age (the annual Youth Barometer). In the Youth Barometer certain questions are repeated regularly (e.g. those on politics/participation), and therefore it is possible to observe changes in attitudes which take place over a longer time span. Some of the questions are concerned with the current situations of the period in question. The Youth Barometer is a joint project of Advisory Council of Youth Affairs and the Youth Research Network.

The Yearbook of Young People’s Living Conditions, which is produced as a cooperative project of the Youth Research Network, Advisory Council of Youth Affairs and Stakes, can be mentioned as a good practice. The idea of the book is that the researchers analyse and comment on the statistics presented in the first part of the book; this is a way to create a dialogue between the quantitative and qualitative information. In 2001 the theme of the Yearbook of Young People’s Living Conditions was entries into adulthood, in 2002: the porous borderline between childhood and youth, in 2003: technologizing youth, in 2004: youth, regionalism and welfare, and in 2005: youth and consumption.

This kind of a model is tailor-made to add to the credibility of youth research. Consider the following example: In conjunction with the municipal elections of 2004, a process of structured dialogue was carried out in Finland. In this process the actors of the youth field gathered to discuss the results of a study which had been carefully conducted making use of questionnaires. In the background there was the alarming example of the municipal elections of 2000, which had been a failure as far as the youth participation is concerned since only 42–43 per cent of the young people used their vote. Such a low voting rate, to some degree, meant a crisis of legitimacy in the municipal democracy as far as the youth was concerned, perhaps even a geriatric hierarchy and an imbalance of generations from the point of view of the youth. The Advisory Council for Youth Affairs, the Finnish Youth Research Network and the Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities presented a publication (Nuorten ääni ja Kannantalon heikko kaiku 2004) for which two sets of data were collected in April–May 2004. A questionnaire enquiring about the attitudes toward municipal democracy was posted to a representative sample group of 1,250 young people. At the same time another questionnaire was given to the members of
active youth groups in which they were asked to evaluate the activities of their group. Ten researchers received the data to be used as the basis for their articles. Thus the publication, which was published well before the elections, consisted of articles which discussed in an up-to-date manner, for example, how the young people perceived the image of the Scandinavian local administrations as it is presented in schoolbooks, or what local participation and municipal democracy meant to them. Young people’s attitudes and expectations under the elections were also studied. Usually this would be done only after the elections, too late to encourage people to use their vote. One newly gained insight of the publication was that the young people’s civic activities and the active youth groups speak for the emergence of a new citizen but this view does not coincide with the traditional municipal democracy run by mostly middle-aged men. The book also names certain obstacles that the realisation of generational dialogue and municipal citizenship meet.

This, however, is not the end of the story. This publication did not get stuck in the normal rites and jargon of the world of research in which the researchers cite one another in a vacuum while the society is somewhere out there. Instead, with this research, new space for discussions was created and the goal was to activate young people to use their vote in the coming elections. Therefore, just before the elections, the publishers of the book organised 14 debates altogether across the whole country. In these regional occasions the results of the research were discussed with special regard to the region in question, and lively discussions stemmed from the addresses of the young people and the decision makers. Each seminar was opened by a member of the Finnish government. In addition to this, in each seminar the youth organisations of the region and/or other active young citizens had a chance to participate. Partly, with the help of the research, the actors of the youth field were thus brought together to discuss the questions of the municipal citizenship. Interestingly, the series of regional events foregrounded the generational relationships in many ways. But it also became apparent that the political conceptions of young people differ from the practices of the middle-aged municipal establishment.

The Applicability of the Model

If the above model of organising youth work meets the criteria of a good practice, it would appear to result from three factors. Firstly, before the foundation of the Youth Research Network there was a distinguishable tradition of youth research in Finland, namely the Finnish Youth Research Society, founded in 1987. The critical generation of researchers had evolved in university departments enabling the creation of the aforementioned network. Secondly, the administration of youth policy has been liberal and sensitive enough in terms of academic practices, as well as being willing to finance youth research in this framework (according to the customs and rules of the academic world). This kind of a model may be transferable to other countries provided that the differ-
ent actors of the youth field reach a consensus on the importance of the issue. This would obviously require the mutual recognition of the different actors in the field. The administration and the decision-makers should recognise the researchers as relevant partners in cooperation, and young people and the youth organisations should understand that the researchers with their systematic methods can contribute to the discussion by providing generalizable information and thick descriptions and interpretations on the experiences of youth in growing up as a individual and as a citizen with full memberships in various communities (Hoikkala 2006). The researchers, for their part, should step down from their ivory towers and make their presentations, written or spoken, in such a way that is interesting and comprehensible to a wider audience than the usual 11 colleagues (of one’s own special field).

All in all, the model of politically sensitive youth research is utilizable, provided that there is the financial resourcing for it, and that the balance, dialogical connection and the division of duties between the actors of the tripartite are secured.

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JUVENALIS SUMUS – YOUTH TODAY
Irina Miljukova

Civic Culture and Social Activity of Youth in Karelia

Introduction

The article is based on the results of the sociological studies of ethnic relations among Russian young people, which were conducted jointly by a group of researchers from Karelian State Pedagogical University and Petrozavodsk State University in 2004–2007. The main objective of the studies was to describe, explain and interpret ethnic relations among young Russians, and to reveal critical factors, which influence tolerance/intolerance rate of modern youth. At the same time, the question of the degree and forms of young students’ social involvement was included in the questionnaire. The analysis of the answers to the question: “How often do you take part in activities of NGOs (non-governmental organizations), clubs and informal communities” enables us to critically assess the degree of young people’s involvement in different cultural, social and other types of organizations and activities.

The orientation of young citizens towards the practical involvement in real-life politics and activities of civil organizations is an integral part of civic political culture, without which no successful transition to democracy is possible. The article analyzes the impact of respondents’ gender and age difference on their social activity rate and traces the connections between the level of trust, socio-political attitudes and the forms of civil activity of young people. Also, the possible causes of the low social activity are discussed.

1 The project Living with Differences in Russia – Hybrid Identities and Everyday Racism among Young Rossiyane (2004-2008) has been financed by the Finnish Academy of Sciences (research program Russia in Flux) with 3998 university and high school students completing the questionnaire in the Republic of Karelia, the Republic of Tatarstan, Saint-Petersburg, Krasnoyarsk. The project Types of ethnic identity and tolerance of youth of the Republic of Karelia (2005-2007) has been supported by the Russian Humanitarian Scientific Fund (RHSF) with 844 students of various educational institutions completing the questionnaire in the Republic of Karelia.
Youth Participation in Post-Soviet Russia

The post-Soviet territory gave rise to a radically new political system, which is based on the principles and characteristics of western democracies, i.e., the elected president and legislature, a variety of political parties and free press. The real power, however, is still concentrated in the executive branch, which refers to the president and his administration as well as to the heads of local authorities, mayors of municipalities, who are either appointed by the president or elected by the citizens. In this sense, the system has little resemblance to the system of democratic government characteristic of advanced western countries.

At the same time, new socio-economic and political situation that emerged in Russia in the early 1990's created favorable conditions for the active involvement of citizens in public practices as independent agents. The present problem lies in the low rate of taking advantage of these opportunities. In other words, the demand for participation is low among different social groups of the Russian society. Moreover, many Russian researchers think that the opposite process is currently taking place – decreased civil activity and participation, and the inability of citizens to consolidate to reach socially important goals in the changing society (Petukhov 2004, 26).

To be fair, we should note that “the participation crisis” is a burning issue in countries with developed democracy, as well. Some researchers characterize this crisis as the expiration of old forms and ways of this participation, which will be replaced by a more complicated system of social and political activity (Inghart 1997, 22). Others are less optimistic and believe that the modern western society can be characterized by the overall decrease of interest in social activity and reduced everyday participation in social sphere (Bauman 2002, 24).

However, the problems of low social activity and “participation culture” acquire special significance in the countries, which are experiencing a transition to democracy. Successful democratization cannot be assured only by institutional transformations (e.g. change of legislation, political institutions, etc) but it also requires the development of an absolutely new system of cultural values, which is defined by S. Lipset (1994, 50–51) as “political culture in favor of democracy”. The prospects of formation of civil society and local government system in the Russian society are closely connected with development of civil culture, which is oriented towards the active involvement of ordinary citizens in the process of democratic government, the interaction of people and government on equal terms and the search for consensus between different groups of society. “Participation culture” based on the feeling of civic responsibility and personal certainty of use and efficiency of their participation is considered as one of the most important prerequisites for a transition to democracy.

“Participation crisis” also affected Russian youth. At the same time, young people are of particular scientific interest as bearers of new views and beliefs,
and the change of political culture types coincides in Russia with generation change (Yadov, 2005, 176). That is why the youth (high school and university students) were chosen as the research object of this study. This group is also attractive for its availability for a survey. Besides, the educational institutions in question have a system of deliberate and comprehensive civil education of young people.

**Key Concepts and Research Methods**

Methodologically, the research is based on a well-known political culture typology proposed by G. Almond and S. Verba (1965). We find their theoretical model of “civil political culture” specifically interesting. The typology is based on peoples’ psychological orientation to political objects, for example parties, courts, constitution, etc. (ibid., 13). The objects are: 1) the political system as a whole (those social interactions and institutions through which a society makes decisions considered binding by most members of society), 2) the “entrance channels” of the system (‘input objects’ mean the demands flowing from society into government), 3) the “exit channels” of the system (‘output objects’ mean the conversion of these objects into authoritative policies), 4) an individual’s self-orientation as an actor inside the system (one’s attitude to oneself as an active participant of the system). They conceive civil culture as a mixed type where elements of participant culture (pluralism, agreement about basic values, reciprocal trust, orientation to active participation in politics, etc) are naturally balanced by the elements of parochial and subject cultures (Almond and Verba 1965,30).

This model was amended in the 1990’s and adjusted to the contemporary situation by European researchers (Rukavishnikov 1998, 163 – 197). The descriptions are based on three empirically measurable indicators, which characterize people’s political orientation. These include a subjective political interest (as an indicator of orientation to political system as a whole), a trust in political institutions and officials (as an indicator of orientation to the “exit” of the system) and the assessment of the possibility of personal participation in political life and one’s possible impact on politics (as an indicator of active self-orientation). The latter indicator, also interpreted as a “self assessment of the degree of political competence” is the strongest differentiating factor in the scheme. Therefore, the entirety of culture types is divided into two larger groups, i.e., active and passive cultures. The division is made on the basis of the level of an individual’s orientation to oneself as actor. The four political culture types defined by Almond and Verba (parochial culture, subject culture, participant culture, civic culture) have been added with several others: spectator cul-
ture, civic participant culture, client culture, protest culture and autonomous culture.

Thus the theoretical model of civic participant culture includes the certain basic characteristics. For example, people should understand what democracy is and how it works, they ought to have trust in the state and public institutions as well as interpersonal trust. The system should also promote people’s interest in politics and public activity. It should also assure the efficiency of civil participation, the real involvement of people into the work of different organizations protecting and expressing social interests as well as the level of self-organization and the readiness to cooperate. These are all characteristics of the civil liability level.

For the empirical study of civic participant culture of the Karelian youth we selected only the basic characteristics of this model, such as the involvement of young people in the work of organizations expressing public interests, young people’s trust in governmental and non-governmental institutions, and their interpersonal trust.

Both research projects were multi-method studies and they combined different types of research data: the quantitative data collected by a large-scale survey (questionnaire) and qualitative data collected by theme “face to face” interviews and focus groups. Questionnaire reveals the scope of the phenomena and was used as a basis for the descriptive and explanatory analysis. Interviews deepen the understanding and provide material for further theoretical interpretations. The question about the forms of youth participation was included only in the questionnaire.

The respondents were university and high school students (aged 15–24 years). The entire sample for the Republic of Karelia was 434 high school students and 410 university students. The percentage of young females in the sample was 59 per cent and young men 41 per cent. Among the respondents, 11 per cent were university students and 17 per cent high school students who represented local Finno-Ugric ethnic groups (Karelians, Finns, Veps). Because the sample was designed as purposive, the representation of Finno-Ugric ethnic groups is higher than the average representation of these ethnic groups in Karelia. The inclusion of ethnic areas (Olonetskiy, Kalevalskiy regions, Vepskaya volost), an ethnic Finno-Ugric school in Petrozavodsk and the Department of Finno-Ugric and Baltic Philology and Culture of PSU increased the local ethnic group representation. Along with the capital of Karelia – Petrozavodsk – the sample included two border cities of the Republic: Kostomuksha and Sortavala, whose population has more opportunities to communicate with foreigners.
Results

On the whole, analyzing obtained results confirm our hypothesis of the relatively low level of social and civil involvement of contemporary youth. When the respondents were asked whether they participate in any voluntary organizations, the difference between various forms of youth participation was quite big and significant. On the other hand, the level of active participation was never over 10 per cent in the most of social associations and activities (Table 1).

Table 1. Participation in different types of youth activity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF YOUTH ACTIVITY</th>
<th>Active participation%</th>
<th>Never participate%</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sport clubs and associations</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>student’s organization</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amateur art activities</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>national organizations</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>70.3</td>
<td>833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>street groups</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>76.7</td>
<td>828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human rights organizations</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>81.0</td>
<td>838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooperation with mass media</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ecological organizations</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political organizations</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>87.7</td>
<td>839</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*active participation in sports, creative activities and street gangs means participation at least once a week; for other types of youth activity – at least once a month

However, the same young people are quite active in satisfying their own personal and cultural needs (Table 1). For instance, about 37 per cent of students (40% of high school students and 34% of university students) attend sport clubs and associations at least once a week, about 20 per cent of students (25% of high school students and 15% of university students) are involved in the work of creative societies (dancing groups, music and art schools, photo studios, etc.) Every fifth pupil (21%) is involved in the activity of some informal street group in their town or village at least once a month.

An absolutely different picture is taking form, when we speak about youth involvement into organizations oriented on public interests. For instance, 88 per cent of respondents never take part in the work of a political party, 76 per cent of high school students and 86 per cent of university students do not ever participate in human rights organizations, 67 per cent of high school students and 79 per cent of university students are not involved in ecological organizations, and 64 per cent of high school students and 77 per cent of university students do not attend ethnic-cultural societies.
The only exception on the background of low social activity is the involvement into the work of school and university students’ boards: more than a half of young people (57% of high school students and 53% of university students) reported to have participated in students’ self-government in some way.

A brief digression has to be made to interpret the figures correctly and avoid exaggerations. Just like most western universities, all Russian universities offer semi-automatic formal membership in student’s unions. High school students’ boards are supervised by school principal’s assistants who also deal with disciplinary issues. Therefore, a young person’s participation in the activities organized by university councils and especially, high school boards, is almost compulsory. Also, the analysis of frequency of this involvement reveals that only 11 per cent of high school students and 8 per cent of university students are real “activists” as they participate in the work of these unions at least once a week. However, that is much higher than their participation in other organizations. This fact might be easily explained: students’ self-government is the sphere in which personal and community interests are so closely interrelated and interlaced that the connection becomes obvious for the majority of young people. Therefore, the participation in the board’s work is considered to be a real chance to solve students’ everyday problems and satisfy their personal needs. Participation in high school and university students’ unions can be considered as the first real step of a young person towards development of civil culture.

All other forms of social activity are far less popular among young people. Especially “unlucky” are political parties and movements; only 3.7 per cent of high school students and 2.6 per cent of university students participate in their work at least once a week. At the first sight this looks very odd because contemporary Russian political parties work hard to involve young people in their activities. During the period before the election to the Legislative Assembly of Karelia in the fall of 2006, one could see a lot of young men and women on the streets of Petrozavodsk collecting signatures in support of this or that party, handing out leaflets to passers-by, conducting campaign work and organizing pickets. However, the majority of young people who actively participate in such work do it, not out of their conviction, but for money. Students reported that some of them even managed to work for two rival parties and they are not a bit confused about that: business is business. It is obvious that they do not consider this kind of activity to equal the real involvement in the work of political parties and movements.

Gender differences in the rates of participation in the different kinds of youth activities require special attention and analysis. Concerning sport clubs and creative organizations, the differences are quite typical. It appears that young females prefer creative activity, whereas young males are more interested in sports. The difference of involvement in these forms of leisure activities
between young girls and boys reaches two times. Among students this difference decreases but is quite significant still (Figure 1).

![Figure 1. Students’ active participation in sports and arts by gender](image)

The analysis of rates of participation in social activity provides a more controversial picture. There is a preconceived notion that girls are more active and socially oriented than young men, suggesting that young women more frequently take part in the work of different voluntary organizations and movements. According to the survey, it is, for instance, true that young men do not participate in the work of students’ unions as frequently as young women. Every second young man (51%) reported that they never participate in students’ unions, only 43 per cent of female university students and 38 per cent of female high school students said the same (Figure 2).

![Figure 2. High school students’ participation in youth activities by gender](image)

Young men cooperate with mass media and take part in the work of ecological organizations a bit more rarely than girls. But young men, especially, male students, show much more interest than women in the organizations of political nature. According to their own assessment, they are more actively involved in the work of political parties and human rights organizations. However, gender differences in the level of social activity of young people should not be overestimated: they are relatively significant and obvious among high school students and become unimportant in the majority of positions among students (Figure 3).

As it turned out, the ethnic factor produces much more important and stable impact on youth civil activity. The respondents who identified themselves as Russian were less likely than the representatives of Finno-Ugric nations to participate in the work of various voluntary organizations. For example, 68 per cent of Russian high school students never take part in ethnic-cultural societies and ecological organizations in comparison to 53 per cent of Karelians. Russian high school students are also less likely to get involved in school unions (46 % compared to 30 per cent of Karelians who never take part in the work of school unions). On the other hand, the ethnic factor does not have a considerable impact on the rate of youth participation in political and human rights organizations in Karelia.

There is another stable tendency, which requires further analysis. Generally, the level of interest in participating decreased with age across all activities. For instance, 34 per cent of high school students and only 21 per cent of the
university students reported that they participated in the work of environmental organizations. One third of high school students (35 %) (compared to 23 % of university students) stated that they participate in the work of ethnic-cultural societies. Similarly, if we compare the involvement of pupils and students into human rights organizations, we notice that there are twice as many high school students than university students (24 % of high school students in comparison with 14 % of university students) involved in the activities.

Table 2. Youth participation by the type of educational institution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DO YOU PARTICIPATE IN ANY VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS?</th>
<th>School %</th>
<th>Univ. %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>school or student’s organizations</td>
<td>57.2</td>
<td>53.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ethnic-cultural communities or groups</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ecological organisations</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human rights organizations</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooperation with media</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political parties or movements</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are interesting results as it would be logical to expect that the social experience, which students acquire at university and the increased educational and cultural level would lead to a positive influence on the level of civil activity of young people. Why then does not participation increase with age? Should we blame the fact that students are too busy and overloaded with work or are they too focused on their personal concerns, such as finding employment, obtaining good income and looking for a future spouse? To some extent, these assumptions are supported by the fact that after entering the university young people become less involved, not only in the work of voluntary organizations, but also into different clubs, societies and units. We should not neglect the fact that while young people are at school their social activities are partially controlled by school administration and they are often carried out in the semi-compulsory framework and under the supervision of a class-teacher. At universities, the extra-curricular activities of young people are less regulated. Therefore, their choices are more rational and personalized.
Table 3. Trust of youth towards public institutions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS</th>
<th>Trust %</th>
<th>Do not trust %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>school</td>
<td>university</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political parties</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>43.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>church, religious org.</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>78.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youth organizations</td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>77.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mass media</td>
<td>70.2</td>
<td>66.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another significant factor, which influences the civil activity of students, is the development of critical attitude and higher level of distrust towards many public institutions of the modern Russian society. University students are more likely to express mistrust towards public institutions than high school students. For example, 18 per cent of high school students consider mass media to be untrustworthy, in comparison to 27 per cent of university students. 32 per cent of high school students, in comparison to 44 per cent of university students do not trust political parties. Second, 7 per cent of high school students and 11 per cent of university students do not trust voluntary organizations (Table 3). The survey results analysis indicated that the less the youth trust any of the social organizations, the less involved they are in their work. For example, among those students who do not trust youth organizations, 62 per cent of people never participate in students’ unions. On the other hand, among those who think that youth organizations are quite trustworthy only 30 per cent stated that they never participated in the activities of students’ unions. The average percentage of high school students, who are not involved in the work of any political party is 88 per cent, but among those who completely trust political parties the percentage is considerably lower, ie, 75 per cent.

Speaking of the factors that correlate with the civil activity of young students, we should also note that the political preferences of young people influence their choice of voluntary organizations. For example, there are a lot of students participating in human rights organizations who consider that The Union of Right Forces is the party which corresponds to the interests of the majority of people. Among them, 32 per cent participate in the activities of human rights organizations, when the general average is 14 per cent. At the same time, students who support communists (CPRF) are more frequent participants of the students’ unions. This can be explained by the basic ideological principles of the parties; the Right-wing parties value the freedom of the individual and human rights, whereas the Left advocate the protection of socio-economic rights, which corresponds, in fact, with the the purpose of student unions.

It also appears that the likelihood to participate in the civic activities is connected with the intensity of one’s identification towards Russian state. The
data proposes that the more students recognize themselves as Russian citizens, the more intensive their socio-oriented activity is (Table 4).

**Table 4. University students’ activity by civic identity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms of Activity</th>
<th>totally disagree %</th>
<th>totally agree %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>student organization</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ecological organization</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human rights organization</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ethnic organization</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooperation with media</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The civil participation culture requires that an individual has a particular motivation system which is formed on the basis of value attitudes, political and social orientations. One of the major constituents of this system is the civil self-identification (Petukhov 2004, 31). The image of the “big society as our own self” is typical for an individual in a civil society.

In our research, a well-known scale of Yadov V.A. was used. This scale is based to analyse the answers to the question: “Do you feel close to the (name of the social group), and can you use the word *we* when you speak about (name of the social group)”\(^1\). The impact of this variable on students’ participation in political organizations is specifically apparent. Among the students who agree (partially or completely) with the statement that they feel closeness and unity with ‘Rossiyane’ – the citizens of Russia, there are four times more people who are involved in the work of political parties and twice as many student who participate in ecological organizations than among those who disagreed with this statement.

The survey results also demonstrate that the level of civil identity among university students is higher than that among high school students: half of the university students recognize themselves as the citizens of Russia (49 %) in comparison to only one third of high school students (32 %). Based on that, we can assume that the higher level of education and more developed civil identity of young people lead to the critical reassessment of their personal experience of social activity at school. This is why they deliberately give up participation in voluntary organizations, whose work has turned out to be ineffective. At the same time, when young people see the real chances of the organization to change the situation for the better, significant part of them are ready to support this organization through their personal involvement as, for example, in the case of students’ unions.
Discussion

So young people in Karelia are quite active in satisfying their own personal cultural needs, most of them regularly or time to time participate in sports or performing amateur arts. But when we turn our eyes towards youth involvement in the work of voluntary social orientated organizations, the number of participants is radically reducing. We don’t think that it is the evidence of young people’s unwillingness to participate in public life of the society and focus only on their personal problems. Perhaps, it rather demonstrates that young people distrust and are disappointed with the ability of the majority of official voluntary organizations to solve the real-life problems and change the world for the better. This claim is supported by the data we obtained through the still unpublished new survey of the Research Center. According to this survey, almost half of the students reported that they are ready for the spontaneous forms of protest and defense of their rights.

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Veronika Kalmus and Triin Vihalemm

Changes in Young People’s Self-Identification and Value Structures in Transitional Estonia¹

Introduction

The transition of East European societies from socialism to capitalism, unique and nonrecurring in its dramatic scenario, has inspired numerous analyses of the institutional development and political restructuring of the countries involved in the process. This analysis is among the few ones, which deal with the cultural and social resources and consequences of transition. The aim of this article is to discuss the patterns of cultural continuity and disruption in post-Soviet Estonia. Based on the concept of transition culture, elaborated under different terms by Kennedy (2002), Sztompka (2004), Vogt (2005) and others, we will analyse how the transition process has influenced peoples’ thought patterns, whether and how these patterns have changed during the period of transition, and what, if any, are inter-generational differences in this respect. We will focus on the latent structures of self-identification and value consciousness, with a particular emphasis on the mental patterns of the young generation.

Several theories point out the importance of cultural inertia in transitional societies, regardless of quick changes at the level of social structure and ideology. According to Piotr Sztompka (2004), the cultural context of transitional societies is characterised by the parallel existence of old and new cultures, which echo each other in various cultural resources such as ideas, symbols, values and identities. Sztompka uses the term “cultural templates”, by which he means accumulated, collectively shared symbolic mental resources used for filtering and interpreting the facts of change. He sketches the process, but does not provide any empirical data. Our methodological ambition, apropos, is to

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elaborate a framework and tools for meso-level analysis between the general theories of transition culture and empirical measurement.

**Method and Data**

Our analysis is based on data from the panel questionnaire survey *Me, The World, The Media*, which covered the Estonian population aged 15–74. The first stage took place from December 2002 to January 2003, according to a proportional model of the population with a sample size of 1,470 respondents. The second stage was carried out in November 2005, according to the same sampling model. The achieved sample was 1,475.

The questionnaires included two sets of mental orientation: self-identification and values. We have operationalised the concept of identity in relying on the definition proposed by the social psychologist Henry Tajfel (1981): identity is a part of an individual’s self-conception which derives from knowledge about one’s belonging in social groups, together with the values and emotional meanings ascribed to the groups. This definition has, in addition to our research, fed several empirical studies of political and cultural identities of minority groups.

In our surveys, identity was measured by the question: “Which groups do you feel a certain belonging to, so that you could say ’we’ about them and yourself?” The multi-variable question included different categories (see Table 1), from which a respondent could choose as many as he or she wanted to.

In measuring value orientations, we used twenty-five value indicators from Rokeach’s system (see Table 2 for the list of indicators). The values were measured on a five-point scale (from “not important at all” to “very important”). In general, we proceed from Schwartz’s theory of value types and its central assumption that values with similar meanings are highly inter-correlated (Schwartz & Sagiv 1995, 101).

In order to reduce twenty-five single value concepts and twenty-two categories of self-identification to generalised mental structures, consisting of items with similar meanings, we used factor analysis (the principal components method, with Varimax rotation). To be able to analyse and compare different factor solutions according to their natural internal structure, we used the criterion of eigenvalues over one, not any fixed number of factors, in extraction.

**Identity Structures**

Table 1 gives an overview of the factor structures formed among the total samples in 2002 and 2005, and among the sub-samples of young people.
The first factor in 2002 and the second factor in 2005 among the whole population could be labelled as **Network Identity**, which includes the categories family, friends, schoolmates and relatives. It is worth mentioning that the category of one’s own ethnic group – Estonians or Russians, respectively – is also a part of this structure. Thus, ethnic identity is constructed in everyday interactions within personal communication networks.

Among the youngest age group, the identical identity structure formed as the first factor in 2002. Three years later, in 2005, an important shift took place. The category of ethnic belonging moved away from the factor of Network Identity (Factor 3) and formed a separate structure (Factor 7). Thus, the meaning of ethnic belonging lost its tribal connotation, a close link with personal communication networks. As the factor loading of the ethnic category in the factor of Network Identity also became weaker in the whole sample, we may say that the construction of ethnic identity probably faces a challenge of change.

Qualitative studies (Vihalemm 2004) also show that Estonian youngsters cannot easily describe their feelings connected with ethnic belonging. “I was born an Estonian, nothing else” was a typical answer in focus groups. The same studies indicate that, in the perception of ethnic belonging, contacts with the outside world (working or studying abroad, and Estonia’s achievements on the international arena) and other factors have become more important than everyday communication partners.

The second factor in 2002 and the first factor in 2005, among the whole population, could be called **Sub-Cultural Identity**. This factor is based on the acknowledgement of “we-ness” with people with similar tastes, world-views, interests/lifestyle and memories, and with people of the same generation (in 2005). Thus, the sub-cultural differences and similarities are marked by a sense of belonging to a certain generation.

A factor with a similar structure also formed among youngsters as the second factor in 2002 and 2005. In general, a sub-cultural thought pattern seems to be characteristic of transitional Estonia. In Sweden, for example, self-identification on the basis of perceived similarities in lifestyle and opinions is connected with the same social position and area of habitation (see Kalmus & Vihalemm 2006). This indicates that Estonian transition culture is strongly shaped by a liberal-individualistic, even opportunistic, way of thinking. In the existing social structures and hierarchies, people do not perceive any barriers or facilitators when choosing a desired lifestyle.
Table 1. The structures of self-identification among the whole population and among young people (age 15–29) in 2002 and 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity of the Whole Population</th>
<th>Identity of the Young People (15–29)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2002</strong></td>
<td><strong>2005</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=1470</td>
<td>N=1475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F1 Network I.</strong></td>
<td><strong>F1 Sub-Cultural I.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own ethnic group</td>
<td>Relatives, kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives, kin</td>
<td>Schoolmates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schoolmates</td>
<td>Own ethnic group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own ethnic group</td>
<td>Schoolmates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>Relatives, kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own ethnic group</td>
<td>Schoolmates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schoolmates</td>
<td>Own ethnic group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same generation</td>
<td>The same generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F2 Sub-Cultural I.</strong></td>
<td><strong>F2 Network I.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People with similar</td>
<td>Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…lifestyle</td>
<td>Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…world-views</td>
<td>Relatives, kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…tastes</td>
<td>Schoolmates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…interests</td>
<td>Own ethnic group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…memories</td>
<td>The same generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F3 Shared Space and Position I.</strong></td>
<td><strong>F3 Supra-National and Civic I.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All people in Estonia</td>
<td>Europeans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same town / county</td>
<td>People from Nordic countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbours</td>
<td>Humankind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same generation</td>
<td>All people in Estonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same citizenship</td>
<td>The same citizenship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F4 Supra-National I.</strong></td>
<td><strong>F4 Local Community I.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td>Neighbours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People from Nordic countries</td>
<td>Same town / county</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humankind</td>
<td>All people in Estonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F5 I. with High Social Position</strong></td>
<td><strong>F5 Global and Civic I.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealthy people</td>
<td>Humankind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successful people</td>
<td>People having the same citizenship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working people</td>
<td>Working people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F6 I. with Low Social Position</strong></td>
<td><strong>F6 Supra-National I.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealthy people</td>
<td>Europeans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People from Nordic countries</td>
<td>Neighbours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F7 I. with Low Social Position</strong></td>
<td><strong>F7 Own ethnic group</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luckless people</td>
<td>Neighbours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor people</td>
<td>Working people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working people</td>
<td>Working people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F8 with High Social Position</strong></td>
<td><strong>F8 Local Community I.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealthy people</td>
<td>Neighbours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successful people</td>
<td>Neighbours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor people</td>
<td>Working people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working people</td>
<td>Working people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The third factor in 2002 was comprised of the categories *all people living in Estonia, inhabitants of the same town/county, neighbours, the same generation, people having the same citizenship and working people*. In 2005, this structure transformed significantly. The third factor in 2005 included civic categories such as *all people living in Estonia, people having the same citizenship* and supra-national categories such as *Europeans, humankind and people from Nordic countries*. This structure can be labelled as **Supra-National and Civic Identity**. The latter three categories formed a separate structure – Factor 4 – in 2002. Thus, the new civic solidarity in 2005 became strongly connected with a universalist orientation and with a sense of mental belonging to the Western socio-cultural space. “Return to Europe”, indeed, is a metaphor used widely in Estonian public discourses; joining the EU has obviously strengthened it. Thus, Estonia’s geo-political opening has created a new positive field of meaning for constructing civic identity. The universalist orientation has probably been reinforced by the mass media. Our focus-group respondents also pointed out that discussions of global environmental problems, disasters and wars on TV made them feel that humankind has common problems which also concern Estonia.

The categories *inhabitants of the same town/county* and *neighbours* formed a separate factor – Factor 4 – among the Estonian population in 2005. The factor can be labelled **Local Community Identity**. This structure indicates the feeling of “we-ness” with the people living in the neighbourhood and in the same part of the country.

Thus, significant changes occurred in regional and civic identity categories between 2002 and 2005. Compared with 2002, the factors of regional and civic identity in 2005 had a clearer basis: instead of one large heterogeneous group, the structure combining civic and trans-national categories (Factor 3) and the structure describing local cohesion (Factor 4) formed. Thus, local and global dimensions became more clearly distinct in the structure of identities.

A similar change also occurred among the youngest age group. Instead of Factors 4, 5 and 6, which comprised a heterogeneous mix of trans-national, civic and generational identities in 2002, two clear factors of Supra-National and Civic Identity (Factor 1) and Local Community Identity (Factor 6) formed in 2005.

The fifth factor in 2002 and the sixth factor in 2005 include the categories which mark material and social advancement, such as *wealthy people* and *successful people*. We labelled this factor **Identification with High Social Position**. The sixth factor in 2002 and the fifth factor in 2005 were comprised of the opposite categories: *poor people* and *people who have no luck in life*. Therefore, we labelled the factor **Identification with Low Social Position**. It is significant that the category *working people* moved to this factor in 2005, having clearly a connotation of lack of success. This type of identification may be related to the metaphor of winners and losers, which is widely used in the Estonian public sphere. Being a
“winner” in this context means attaining material prosperity resulting from opportunistic coping with a changed situation.

The same factors – Identification with High/Low Social Position – also emerged among youngsters. There was, however, one interesting variation in 2005: among young people, the category people of the same citizenship was also a part of the structure of Identification with High Social Position. Thus, political, economic and social capitals are interconnected in the thought patterns of young people.

**Value Structures**

In 2005, the basic structure of Estonian peoples’ value consciousness was relatively similar to the structure displayed three years earlier (see Table 2). Some important changes, however, took place in the course of three years.

In 2002, the first factor was comprised of very different types of values, according to the Schwartzian typology (Schwartz 1992): individualist as well as collectivist and universal values. In 2005, the factor dissolved into four different components. The first factor then embraced values related to personality development, hedonism and close relationships (e.g., mature love, happiness, pleasant life and self-realisation). Accordingly, we labelled the first factor **Personal Harmony**.

Values related to social sensitivity and orientation (justice, wisdom and social recognition) formed a separate factor, which can be called **Social Maturity and Recognition** (Factor 5).

Security-type values (family security and national security) as well as honesty merged in Factor 3, in which clean environment and health are core variables; hence, the label of the factor – **Environment and Security**.

The most abstract and cognitive elements of the first factor in 2002 (inner harmony and freedom) merged in Factor 2 in 2005. The core composition of this factor (salvation, equality and world of beauty) was the same in 2002. We call the value orientation **Spiritual Harmony**. It is important to note that an overall connectedness with universal and collectivist values (such as equality, world of beauty and world at peace) is more characteristic of Orthodox religious doctrines, e.g. Russian Orthodoxy.
Table 2. Value structures among the whole population and among young people (aged 15–29) in 2002 and 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>THE WHOLE POPULATION</th>
<th>YOUNG PEOPLE (15–29)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=1470</td>
<td>N=1475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F1 Personal Harmony and Security</td>
<td>F1 Personal Harmony</td>
<td>F1 Personal Harmony and Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-respect</td>
<td>Mature love</td>
<td>Honesty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happiness</td>
<td>Happiness</td>
<td>Mature love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honesty</td>
<td>Pleasant life</td>
<td>Self-respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mature love</td>
<td>Self-realization</td>
<td>Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisdom</td>
<td>Self-respect</td>
<td>Happiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family security</td>
<td>True friendship</td>
<td>Family security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-realization</td>
<td>National security</td>
<td>Wisdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True friendship</td>
<td>Self-realization</td>
<td>Self-realization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>True friendship</td>
<td>True friendship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleasant life</td>
<td>National security</td>
<td>Freedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National security</td>
<td>Freedom</td>
<td>Inner harmony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2 Environment and Physical Well-Being</td>
<td>F2 Spiritual Harmony</td>
<td>F2 Spiritual Harmony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean environment</td>
<td>Equality</td>
<td>Salvation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>World at peace</td>
<td>Inner harmony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical development</td>
<td>Salvation</td>
<td>Social recognition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World at peace</td>
<td>World of beauty</td>
<td>Equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>F3 Material Well-Being and Hedonism</td>
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<td>Comfortable life</td>
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Significant changes took place in the composition of Factor 4. In 2002, the factor consisted of two values: wealth and comfortable life. In 2005, the former factor of Self-Establishment (with power and exciting life as the key variables) merged in Factor 4; hence, the label **Material Well-Being and Self-Establishment**. On the one hand, this means that Estonians’ value consciousness has become more Scandinavian-like: a strong correlation between wealth and power, found also in the value structure of Swedes in 2002 (see Kalmus & Vihalemm 2006), probably reflects more clearly formed knowledge about the connectedness of different types of capital. On the other hand, the firm location of comfortable life in this value orientation (differently from Swedes) refers to Estonians’ steady belief in the inseparability of material well-being and hedonism. Quite probably, this structural relation has the strong connotation of newly found opportunities and pleasures of consumerism, which makes this value orientation distinctive of a transition culture.

To sum up: the basic structure of the value consciousness of the Estonian population was relatively similar in 2002 and 2005. Some aspects of the structure, however, reveal signs of Westernisation and crystallisation.

### Young People’s Value Structures

Changes in young people’s value structures (Table 2) are less profound than one might expect. Firstly, individualistic values still have a strong modernist-hedonistic focal point (that is, values such as wealth, comfortable life and pleasant life are united in Factor 3; in 2005, technical development was added to this value orientation). Secondly, power is still separated from wealth, which indicates that the structural relations between different types of capital have not yet formed in Estonian youngsters’ value consciousness. Thirdly, in both years, salvation is strongly connected with universal and collectivist values (such as world of beauty, inner harmony, equality or justice) that are more the characteristic of Orthodox religious doctrines. Also, salvation is connected with social recognition, which represents a Protestant orientation. Quite probably, this value composition demonstrates the multi-layered cultural origins of the young generation’s core of ethics.

### Value Orientations by Age Groups

Figures 1 and 2 display the mean factor scores of value factors in three age groups. Only statistically significant differences are shown.

In 2002, the three age groups differed from each other in regard to four value orientations. The youngest respondents were most individualistic, showing the highest scores on Material Well-Being and Hedonism, and Self-
Establishment. The value profile of the oldest generation in our sample was a mirror image of the profile of the youngest generation: the oldest respondents showed the highest scores on collectivist and universal values such as Spiritual Harmony, and Environment and Physical Well-Being.

The picture was very similar in 2005, whereas this time the three age groups differed from each other in regard to all five value factors. Again, the youngest respondents were most individualistic, showing the highest scores on Personal Harmony, and Material Well-Being and Self-Establishment. Thus, individualisation of values characterises, first and foremost, the younger generation. In 2005, inter-generational differences became even clearer in regard to value orientations.

Figure 1. Value orientations (mean factor scores) by age groups in 2002

Figure 2. Value orientations (mean factor scores) by age groups in 2005
Conclusions

The analysis of the structure of values and identities indicates that the thought patterns of Estonian people are relatively consistent. Over the last three years these patterns have crystallised and become differentiated by social groups.

The young generation, having been mainly socialised in the cultural context of transition, is characterised by specific identity patterns compared to the whole population. Firstly, the meaning of ethnic identity has lost its close link with personal communication networks. Among the middle and the oldest generation, the sense of ethnic belonging has a somewhat tribal connotation, derived, among other sources, from the era of the Singing Revolution (when people stood hand-in-hand in the Baltic Chain). Among the youngest generation, the patterns of the construction of ethnic identity are different: contacts with the outside world (working or studying abroad, and Estonia’s achievements on the international arena) and other factors have become more important than everyday communication partners.

Another interesting feature is that political, economic and social capitals are interconnected in the thought patterns of young people: the categories wealthy people and successful people are connected with the category people having the same citizenship. The connection between political preferences and social position in the thought patterns of young people may have partly resulted from the means of political marketing exercised extensively by Estonian political parties, and several corruption scandals.

It is characteristic of all generations in transitional Estonia that identification on the basis of low social position and identification on the basis of high social position are, structurally, clearly separated. In the thought patterns of Swedish people, however, those categories are a part of one and the same factor. This can be explained by the more developed post-material value culture in Sweden.

Another characteristic feature of Estonian transition culture is the fact that civic solidarity (with all people living in Estonia and people having the same citizenship) is structurally connected with supra-national solidarity. It seems that the meanings of civic and ethnic identity diverge in the thought patterns of Estonian people: the emerging civic identity forms a link with the EU as a political and economic force; ethnic identity, however, retains its cultural, and somewhat tribal, nature.

The structure of the value consciousness of the young respondents is, with variations in details, relatively similar to that of the whole Estonian population. Also, the changes in young people’s value structures over three years are not profound. Moreover, the persistence of several basic cultural patterns in the structure of the value consciousness of the younger generation suggests that generation replacement per se is not the strongest factor in the Westernisation
of mental patterns. Any changes in mental structures probably reflect adjustments in shared knowledge about the interrelations between social phenomena and moral categories (for instance, economic and political capital, and respective values). These adjustments can take place through specific processes of socialisation and personal experiences that are not necessarily common to all young people in a given society, but are more likely among the groups who possess greater economic and cultural resources.

The levels of internalisation of different value orientations suggest that individualisation characterises, first and foremost, the younger generation. In the course of three years, inter-generational differences have become even clearer in regard to individualistic, versus collectivist, value orientations. Thus, the formation of cultural cohesion and inter-generational solidarity in transitional Estonia is not very likely in the near future.

**Bibliography**


Constructing Uniqueness in a Global World: Young People in a Northern Setting

The vision of a new world order, replacing the solid, fixed and stable past with fluidity and mobility, a free unbounded space within a global universe, is frequently used as a diagnosis of contemporary society. It has created grand statements as “we live in global village” (Powers and McLuhan 1989), “a world where there are no longer others” (Giddens 1990, 149, 175) where “space counts little, or does not count at all” (Bauman 2000). Such diagnosis leads to a basic misunderstanding of the relation between place and identity. Place and locality are seen as linked to the past ‘pre-modern societies’. The present situation characterized unfettered mobility claims to have annihilated the meaning of place, so that the old identity between people and places have disappeared (Massey 2005). We shall see that this understanding is deeply rooted in an evolutionary assumption which functions as the doxa for much of the discourse of the relation between local and global processes: “… the notion that we move from the local to the global as if to a higher stage of world history” (Friedman 1996). This notion has not only been used to distinguish between different historical periods, but also between different geographical areas; between centre and periphery. When this particular hegemonic understanding is used to divide the world both in time and space, space turns into time, geography into history (Massey 2005).

The following article will show how this hierarchical vision also works as a core understanding in the construction of uniqueness among people living in the northern periphery. The main focus here will be on people living in the northern part of Norway. I will use empirical examples from my field studies among young people in costal communities in Finnmark. I will also refer to public debates in newspapers and other media about northern Norwegian uniqueness and identity. This will show how place still counts in people’s construction of identity. The construction of, and striving for, uniqueness is strongly related to place, even though the present mobility in many respects conquers distances and might seem to reduce the difference between people and places at a local, regional or even national level. But this does not mean
that the experience of difference connected to place disappears. When the main focus is put on the lived experience, it is possible to examine the relation between place and identity by analysing how people handle the flow of cultural products in the identification of themselves and their localities.

The Social Construction of Identity

From the classical theorists to the present, considerable energy has been expended in describing individualization as the decline of the traditional forms of community and collective identity, offering the individual greater freedom to construct his or her identity almost on his or her own, disconnected from all kinds of social or cultural baggage. "We are not what we are but what we can make of ourselves", has Anthony Giddens (1991, 175) said focusing on the reflexive self-construction and individualization. Nevertheless, this can not mean that anything goes, that any construction may be equally valid and verified by others. This is a crucial point: the importance of confirmation through the response of others, with regard to both the possibilities and the constraints concerning individual and collective identities. We do not start from a scratch when we create meaningful constructions, we do so within the universe of meaning that is already structured. Perhaps it is more correct to refer to reconstructions, rather than constructions (Kjørup 2003). The individual freedom is not disembedded from social situations and social relations. The fact that people are embedded in social relations in different social situations within universes of meaning, defines what is possible and not possible. The importance of others, of responses from others, has a fundamental meaning for the individual potential to create oneself, one's uniqueness or identity, as we have learned from Mead (1934) and others. We need others in order to carry out a reflexive self-formation. This seems to have been omitted by some of the theorists who focus on the endless freedom people have for their creative self-formation. The importance of others, both 'real others' and 'virtual others', is crucial to the construction, performance and enactment of identity in our time.

Identities are created by the means of experiencing similarity and differences. The development of identity is all about classification, of inclusion within and exclusion from, making distinctions and differences between distinct categories (Cohen 1982; Friedman 1996). Experiencing differences and otherness is important to a perception of the self as distinctive in personal, social and cultural terms. When collective identities are presented as uniform, intra-group differences will be played down, because distinctions perceived as even more different are being played up. For instance, in certain situations collective identities based on locality might play down the other differences, such as those based on social class and ethnicity. This does not mean that such differences
have lost their importance. I shall return to this later: the point here is to stress the relational and contextual importance for the understanding of how people create identities and boundaries, similarities and differences in an ongoing complexity of impulses, information and possibilities. This is one way of understanding the interplay between local and global processes, between consumption of cultural strategies as a part of an attempt to discover the logics in the present apparent chaos (Friedman 1996).

Even though the individual freedom for doing and being is still limited, people and especially young people are confronted with a lot of new possibilities, alternatives, choices and an ideology presenting a virtually unlimited freedom to choose. This may produce increased uncertainty, ambiguity and ambivalence (Bauman 1999,10). Collective identities may offer a kind of psychological support that may provide people with the sense of security and community. But it is not only a question of freedom to choose, because collective identities also represent a limitation and a lack of freedom – in some situations, even a burden.

The aim for this article is to show some of the constraints that still structure and define the possibilities for the construction of identity. Instead of talking about unlimited possibilities among almost free-floating individuals, I shall show how it is possible to identify the layers of construction (Aspers 2001) which are related to one another. From such a perspective, it is possible to analyze how some constructions as the hegemonic understanding of difference between centre and periphery have a strong durability and stability. They are not easy to get rid of, which is why they constitute a basis for the possibilities of ‘placing identity in a Northern setting’.

Placing Identity in Time and Space

If we take the vision of the new world order for granted, the great concern about roots and cultural identities in our time may seem ironic (Sahlins 1994; Savage 2005). However, ethnic and cultural fragmentations and modernistic homogenization are not two opposing views of what is happening in the world today. On the contrary, these are the two constitutive trends of the global reality (Friedman 1996). Both these trends have to do with the existence of others and encounters with difference (Massey 2005). The intensive practice of identities is characterized as the hallmark of our present period (Friedman 1996, Sahlins 1994), so also in the northern part of Norway. There has been an increasing awareness and discussions about the meaning and the content of collective cultural identity in this region over the past few years. This has inspired books, reports, articles and debates, not only among researchers but also in other contexts. Some years ago (31 January 1998) an article in the largest daily
newspaper in northern Norway, *Nordlys*, claimed over two pages, with huge headlines, that young people “have to move to be modern”. The report was based on the myth of northern Norwegians as naive and nature-based, living among the fjords and the fish. The young people interviewed claimed that such one-sided media accounts might lead them to stop identifying with the place where they live:

Northerners, as presented in the media, are old fishermen in sou’westers, who swear a lot and talk about cod and their mothers’ fishcakes. Modern young people in northern Norway don’t identify with this image.

Young people do not identify with old fishermen – so what? That is not at all peculiar. I find the intensity and temperature of the debate far more interesting. I find it also interesting that over the years since this newspaper article was published, there have been a lot of intense debates in newspapers, and on radio and TV, where myths about people and places in the North have either been rejected and criticized or defended and praised. Important cultural symbols established through generations are defined as outdated. In 2003, there was practically a people’s mandate for ‘Modern Tales of the North’, and there were a lot of seminars with almost exactly the same title saying, *Modern Tales of the North – do they exist?*

The intense interest and emotional temperature of the debates show that myths concerning place have great importance in the present situation. This might seem peculiar, myths are distortions and simplifications of reality; they are not “real” (as opposed to logos as truth). When young people, regardless of obvious exaggerations, bother to discuss the content of myths in a public debate and use this as a threat to move from the North, we see that such myths are embodied with power. Even though the myths about people and places in the North are defined as outdated, they are not without influence since the young people bother to comment on them.

Lévi-Strauss (1955) has said that myths create a shared community of meaning, and therefore act as a basis for thought and action. This means that if myths are repeated often enough they may function as realities in a cultural sense. Myths may be attractive or dreadful, convenient to identify with or to reject, and therefore constitute powerful symbolic material in the formation of collective identities, sometimes independently of individual preference and choice.

In a study of young people’s construction of collective identities, it has been interesting to see how some characteristics are chosen and others are rejected. If it were clear and understandable to everyone what it means to be modern, or to be from the North, it would not be necessary to discuss the meaning. It is when the unique and precise become more ambiguous that it is
necessary to discuss what this means. What does it mean to be modern, and why is it so important for people in the North?

**Core Contrasts in the Geography of Difference**

The claim that young northerners have to move from the North to be modern is based on an understanding of an opposition between “modern” and the North. The contrast between being modern and outdated is combined with the contrast between the South and the North. This is not only a Norwegian or northern Norwegian phenomenon, and has to do with the hegemonic understanding of the world divided between the civilized centre and the more backward and primitive periphery. Jonathan Friedman (1996, 5) terms this temporalization of space a mistranslation of space into time and including both primitivism and evolutionism: “The difference between them lies in the respectively negative vs positive evaluation of this temporal relation, an imaginary continuum”. People on the northern periphery are often described as less civilized, more backward, wilder, even more magical, more authentic and more natural than people who live in the centre. When the possibilities of arranging a Winter Olympics in Tromsø were discussed in a popular Norwegian ‘talkshow’ (in Autumn 2004), a representative for the International Olympic Committee, Gerhard Heiberg, declared that people in the North, or northerners, are more natural or actual primitive people¹, and therefore the Winter Olympics in Tromsø can be something very special. The statement verifies the hegemonic understanding of the centre – periphery relation including both primitivism and evolutionism, even though this surely was meant as a positive evaluation. The hegemonic representation of the northern periphery is based on a negation of the civilised life in the more central areas. The northern periphery becomes fundamentally different, a negation of the civilised life in the more central areas in the south.

During the 1970s there was a culturalist movement in the northern part of Norway that challenged the descriptions of the region as primitive and “out of date”. Northern Norwegian culture was valued and idealized as a contrast to modern urban life, and to the social and cultural life in the South. As part of a cultural struggle to revalue and upgrade northern Norwegian tradition and culture, this image was presented in academic texts, as well as in films and theatre, and by visual artists, singers and songwriters. Many of those who were important actors in this identity project – what I shall term intellectual, well-educated elite – lived their lives in regional centres far from the places and the life forms they praised. However, this political identity project played an important role in

¹ He used the word naturfolk in Norwegian.
the cultural struggle to revalue traditional ways of life on the northern Norwegian periphery, at the same time devaluing ways of life in urban centres.

But somewhere along the line something has obviously happened, since both young people and others today show an intense resistance to images that only one generation ago evoked some of the most powerful symbols of northern Norwegian culture and uniqueness. The new voices in the debate about collective identity among northerners seem to have a political agenda, just like those of the 1970s, trying to change the frame of reference for the construction of collective identity. The identity politics of the seventies highlighted significant differences between north and south, giving the North a more positive evaluation than many of the centre/periphery myths and centre-defined political opinions that devalue life in the periphery. Today, the political identity project seems to emphasize the similarity between north and south, claiming that both places and people in the North are as modern as the modern centres in the South. This does not fit the established contrasts between the South and the North that match the hegemonic understanding of the centre/periphery relation based on the dichotomization of ‘modern’ and ‘backward’. From such a perspective, the intense claim of being modern and the demand for modern stories about the North are understandable.

In the 1970’s, identity politics was linked with the positive evaluation of traditional ways of living in the North. Some critics called it a glorification of primitivism and claimed that even though the evaluation of people from the North has changed, northerners are not stigmatised as much as they were previously, the eroticizing myths have been reinforced and most people do not feel comfortable being associated with them. One crucial point in this article is the fact that such myths are not easily deconstructed even if they do not correspond with people’s experiences in their daily life.

**Centre and Periphery within a Local Context**

Regardless of whether or not one grows up in the North – i.e. on the periphery, according to the core constructions, young people live their lives not ‘out there’ or ‘up there’, but ‘here’, as they see it. The relationship between the centre and the periphery is also linked to mentality and experience; using this as a basis can cause the picture to be viewed somewhat differently (Cohen 1982). This relates to the radius within which one finds oneself, mentally, and those with whom one is being contrasted.

The young boys and girls I have studied are growing up in places where major changes have taken place within only one generation. Earlier, it was more common for young people in the Northern coastal areas to work in the fisheries and have other, unskilled jobs where there was no demand for an extended
education. Over the past ten to twenty years education has become more important.

Young people in the place Honningsvåg, in Finnmark, go to school and they work for hotels and other companies called Rica, Rimi and Bravo. These are the names of hotels and shops that are to be found nearly everywhere in Norway, owned by national and international companies. In their spare time they visit cafés where they drink Coke and lots of different kinds of coffee, just like in other places. They listen to the same kind of music and they watch the same films and TV programmes as young people in other latitudes, and they go online, where they have access to lots of information from the World Wide Web, via the Internet. What is peculiar about the changes in Honningsvåg is the fact that they are not peculiar at all; the same changes are taking place in many locations today.

While studying young people in northern places of varying sizes, it has been interesting to note the importance of appearing as up to date with the urban centre as possible when it comes to clothes, music, leisure activities, technological equipment and experiences of holidays abroad. Of course, they know that they live on a periphery if compared with Oslo, London or Paris, but in their local and mental world they use every possibility to create their own images and collective identities.

Young people living in one of the places on the coast of Finnmark, Båtsfjord, make a distinction between themselves and young people living in Berlevåg, a place in the vicinity. Seen from the point of view of Båtsfjord, Båtsfjord itself is a larger and more modern place than Berlevåg. The concept of ‘modern’ is used in the everyday language of these young people, in contrast to that of ‘old-fashioned’. In drawing a distinction between themselves and people from Berlevåg, the young people of Båtsfjord may perceive themselves as more modern.

Such contrasts are also relevant to young people from Honningsvåg, the place which has around 3000 inhabitants. From the local point of view the place is experienced as distinctly different and far bigger than the smaller places nearby. By drawing such contrasts, Honningsvåg becomes a “city” and a centre, an important element of the collective local self-perception on the part of the young boys and girls growing up in this ‘city’. Young people from smaller places in the vicinity affirm this kind of attitude. Many of them have to go to high school in Honningsvåg because this kind of education is not available where they live. Just as both young and older people from Honningsvåg buy clothes in bigger cities when they get the chance, young people from smaller places buy new clothes in Honningsvåg. They say it is fun to bring home new clothes that no one else has. Thus, the young people of Honningsvåg receive confirmation that they live in a place that has a rather more modern selection of clothes than the young people in smaller places.
Those from the smaller places also say that the young people in Honningsvåg are extremely engaged in being up to date and in fashion; even the boys are really dandy they say. The boys and girls from Honningsvåg do not deny this, absolutely not, they confirm this.

Such characterizations serve as a confirmation of being in fashion and up to date with modern trends in urban centres, an important aspect in the construction of local identity. Perhaps this seems peculiar, trends and fashion is not what we first associate with the Northern periphery I guess. Fashion seems to be rather deteriorized. The point here is that the use of signs and symbols from the more globalized world of fashion might be transformed into expressions of local uniqueness by the way people handle the flow of cultural products in the identification of themselves and their localities.

Those who come from smaller places in the coastal areas in Finnmark say that people from Honningsvåg make jokes about the smaller places and people living there. The humorous characterizations are often not flattering, for instance people living in a place only 7 kilometre from Honningsvåg are called the wild (people) behind the mountain (‘de ville bak fjellet’ in Norwegian). The characterization as wild might be understood as if people living there are less civilized than people living in the centre, in Honningsvåg. According to the hierarchical understanding of the difference between centre and periphery, the primitive periphery is understood as belonging to another age than the up to date centre. The young people in Honningsvåg live in the periphery in relation to the national and international centres. Within the local contexts the situation is experienced differently. Here the difference and contrasts to other young people coming from even smaller places plays an important part in the construction of local identity. In this construction of local uniqueness and identity other distinctions are made relevant, than the distinction between north and the south. Still we see that meanings produced in particular local contexts use distinctions between the centre and the periphery that are almost equivalent to the distinction between modern and outdated, – traditional – but taking on another significance.

In contrast to the “new” cultural movement of the 1970s, which praised traditional life on the northern periphery, the young people I have studied seem to praise modern urban life in the centre. But they do not necessarily have to move physically in order to perceive themselves as modern, because slight shifts in established meanings (moving the boundary between the centre and the periphery from a national to a local level) offer the possibility of making important distinctions in the construction of collective identities.
Coping with Ambiguity and Ambivalence

Even though the young boys and girls insist on being modern, by drawing contrasts with other young people on the local periphery, they themselves are also young people on the periphery when viewed in a national or international context. As an illustration of modern subcultures in Manhattan, or a European metropolis, the young Honningsvågers’ struggle to be more modern may be understood as a result of extreme provincialism. They seem to be more Catholic than the Pope, a well-known phenomenon referring to the struggle to be accepted within an established group or category.

At home, it is quite possible to be accepted and receive confirmation of the construction of the local identity as modern, but this construction does not have an enduring resilience far from home. One of the girls said to me: “If I had gone to Oslo, I wouldn’t have thought my clothes are so modern. I feel that I come from here. You’re a Finnmarker.”

People are aware of, and have to deal with, different and contrasting frameworks of construction which indicate that the construction of a local identity is based on ambiguity and contradictions, rather than unambiguity. It is not a question of ‘either/or’ but ‘both’. A construction which is rooted in ambiguity creates a kind of disorder. This is something that people experience, and they have also developed strategies to handle. This is often done through the use of humor, where it both is tolerable and possible to comment on stereotypes and prejudices. Humor is one strategy to handle the ambiguity in which the construction of local uniqueness is rooted. A young boy said: “We live in an old-fashioned hole of a place, but I like it. (Vi bor i et gammeldags avholl, men æ trives).” Others say: “We have snow and wind in the winter, and fog and wind in the summer.”

There are very few trees on Magerøya, or Skinny Island as it is called in English. Those that exist are planted and need special care and protection, and packing in the winter. This shows the resistance and strong-willed survival capacity of the people who live here, they say. “We’ve hung on in every stone by our teeth”, (“Vi bit oss fast i hver en sten”), as the local saying goes, even if they also know that the local population statistics tell quite another story.

The ambiguity and ambivalence, which are rooted in the contradictory universe of meaning, are linked with place, with different constructions and opinions about the North. It is therefore possible to say that one important basis for experiencing local uniqueness is founded in geography, i.e. the location of place in the North – the far North, as perceived from every other place in the world. People are continually confronted with differences and otherness when they face both ‘concrete others’ and ‘virtual others’. This creates contrasts that illustrate the difference between the local world and the world outside. It is not impossible, in fact it is quite possible to create positive experiences and
really believe in them, even if young people are growing up at the end of the world, at the outermost marginal edge of civilization.

Hegemonic Understandings in the Placing of Identity

What is new, then, about the overall nature of this collective identity based on the construction of uniqueness? The news has to do with the intensive practice and shaping of a collective basis for construction of collective identity in different contexts. The material used in this struggle is taken from both “the world outside” and “the local world”. By doing this in the construction of identity, other important differences such as, for example, social class and ethnicity are played down. The social and cultural worlds become ordered and less complex.

Local, regional and national identities may be understood as myths. They form a construction of community on a territorial basis. But when territorial identity – national, regional or local – is made relevant, in real encounters, by people’s attempt to experience and mark their difference from people in other places, such collective identity forms do exist. The young people’s rejection of the myth about people in the northern part of Norway and their “desire to be modern” may be perceived as a reaction and a response to ‘old’ myths and images. At the same time, these ‘answers’ may serve as an example of how meanings and an understanding of regional and local character define us within the collective sense of belonging, whether we choose this or not.

Even though we speak about constructions, we deal with reconstructions because we do not start from a scratch when we create meaningful constructions. We do so within an already structured universe of meaning that define what goes and what goes not. Different constructions or place myths can be used for different purposes, but as we have seen they fit in a well established, grounded framework of understanding the differences between centre and periphery. The understanding of this difference is related to layers of other constructions, as the difference between the modern and the outdated, or the civilised and the natural or primitive. This shows how fundamental constructions are composed within an established universe of meaning and therefore have a greater durability and stability than others. The distinction between centre and periphery represents a basic construction that is reconstructed in different contexts even if the radius that defines the difference between what is seen as centre and what is seen as periphery is not stable.

The young people’s rejection of the exotic myths about northerners is not consistent in every situation, as we have seen with regard to tourism. In my research on young people in the northern part of Norway I have studied the ways in which young people create borders and construct contrasts with others, both ‘real others’ and ‘virtual others’, as an intensive practice of collective iden-
tity. I see the formation of a collective basis for identity as part of young people’s attempts to create a fundamental basis for understanding and belonging in “the present apparently chaotic situation”.

Even though people seem to become more identical to people from other places when what they do and what they look like is viewed externally, it is impossible for their experiences in their everyday life to be the same as those of people in other places. The experiences people have are deeply rooted in the localization of the place in which they live, in relation to the world outside. The experience of difference with people and ways of life in other places become embedded in people’s consciousness. Perhaps that is why the local identity seems to be so strong and unique among young people.

Growing up in the North also involves growing into the fundamental constructions, contrasts and distinctions that are related to both symbolical and natural conditions, nature itself and the layers of meaning that inherited over generations, despite all the global influences. Fundamental constructions of uniqueness are pursued, even though the relationship between the center and the periphery may be adjustable and not absolutely stable. This shows that the meanings that relate to the centre/periphery distinction form a kind of basic foundation for other constructions that is not easily deconstructed, even though the material that constitutes this construction may vary.

Bibliography


Jaana Lähteenmaa

Home Place in the Countryside: Exploring the Views of Young People Living in Three Different Locations in Finland

Rural areas in Finland have undergone dramatic changes in the past few decades, particularly in terms of their local economy. Agriculture has lost much importance as a source of livelihood (Rannikko 2000), which has implied a restructuration of spatial labour markets (Rannikko 1989; Oksa 1998). Finland's EU membership has also had a major influence on rural areas through its effects on regional and agricultural policies. Furthermore, industry and the wood industry in particular has seen profound and rapid structural changes in the wake of a growing wave of concentration and mergers (Lappalainen 2000). Government efforts to support regional development have also slowed down with the withering away of regional and provincial policy (Rannikko 2000; Lähteenmaa 2005).

In this situation of often overwhelming change, young people aged under 18 and contemplating their future may find it difficult to weigh the options and development trends that lie ahead. It is important for us to explore the problems that these young people face in terms of their identity, their future prospects and their local experiences in the changing rural environment. How are young people’s local identities constructed in today’s rural areas?

In a drive to stem the outflow and to attract new residents, many local councils in rural areas around the country are working to create and project a positive image or profile of themselves (e.g. Tuhkunen 2007). One of the key arguments used is the safety of the environment. The main focus of these campaigns is usually on young families with children, but also industrial and other business companies. Indeed, judging by the websites of many Finnish municipalities today, one would certainly be hard put to describe them as being in decline; quite the contrary! Young people, however, will certainly pick up on any contradictions between campaign images and everyday realities.

This research is grounded in earlier studies dealing with young people who live either in rural or peripheral areas. The evidence from these studies suggests
that the overwhelming majority of young people want to move out of the countryside and into places that they believe offer better future prospects in terms of self-development, work and education (e.g. Waara 1996; Soininen 1998; Tuhkunen 2007; on the same phenomenon in Italy, see Leccardi & Creco 2000).

At the same time, though, the research has shown that most young people are proud of their home regions, the places where they live (Tuhkunen 2002). They may “hate” these places, but they are still important to their identity formation (Jovero & Horelli 2002). The latest studies on young people in marginal areas (on Barents project, see Young 10, 2002(3/4)) and on rural young people in four European countries – Finland, Estonia, Italy and Germany (Comparative Study of Living Conditions and Participation of Rural Young People in Estonia, Finland, Germany, Italy and Sweden, 2000) shed interesting light on what kind of realities and dreams are tied up with their desire to leave or to stay. However, these studies say nothing about what it is like to build up a regional identity in a locality that is withering away and that seems to be “driving one out”, compared to the situation where one does not have to worry about the future of the place where one lives.

**Preliminary Understanding and Some Hypotheses**

Young people living in rural areas have attracted research attention all over the world, and increasingly that research effort has included the differences between the conditions of rural children and young people in different countries (see Global perspectives on rural childhood and youth 2007). At the same time, though, there has been no comparative research on young people living in different kinds of rural areas in one and the same country, at least in the Nordic countries. This kind of comparison is obviously most relevant in countries where the regional differences are most pronounced and where regional inequality is a serious problem. Finland is one such country where there is heavy migration within the country and where there are marked differences particularly between the countryside in northern and southern parts of the country, but also between eastern and western parts, both culturally and economically (see Paasi 1984). For purposes of studying rural young people in Finland, I started out developing a research design that included a comparison of different kinds of rural areas in Finland.

My baseline hypothesis was that there are two axes around which young people in Finland identify rural places as their homes. The first axis I call the “relationship to the past”. This “past” ties in with local traditions (or at least images of local traditions) – as well as local history that lives on in the minds of local people. I work on the assumption that “the relationship to the local past”
in this sense can either be very strong, or almost or totally non-existent – or something in-between these two extremes. My preliminary understanding is that this axis can have relevance to the local identities of rural young people.

The second axis is what I call the “presumed future”. By this I mean the future prospects of the place: how do local people see these prospects, what are these prospects in “objective” terms. Future aspirations often tend to become more or less self-fulfilling, and therefore it is difficult to separate the objective future from the images of the objective future – this I will not even try to do. At one end of the axis are highly pessimistic and desperate visions of the future of one’s home place, at the other more optimistic visions of well-being and growth.

Using these two axes, I proceeded to outline a spatial field in which I placed, in a very preliminary way, different Finnish rural locations. In searching for those places I used both statistical sources as well as all the cultural and hermeneutic knowledge I had accumulated about the subjects. One of these places, which I shall call ‘Jalokko’, was familiar to me from my earlier research. I had spent two years there studying youth work and youth participation by means of participant observation. I had also analysed a survey material gathered among the young people who lived there, and spent much time with these young people talking among other things about how they felt about their home place (see Lähteenmaa 2005).

I knew at the time that I made my choice that the future prospects of this place, both in the minds of the local young people and in the light of statistics, were far from bright. This is a typical example of rural municipalities in eastern and northern Finland that have seen heavy emigration since the 1960’s and that are continuing to see people move out. Initially the decline of these areas was associated with the mechanisation of forestry and agriculture, the core livelihoods in those areas that used to offer plenty of job opportunities especially for small farmers in eastern Finland. Since the late 1960’s, this traditional combination of livelihoods has almost completely disappeared from Finland (Rannikko 1989). Population numbers in many former forestry-dominated localities have sharply declined; in the current case from about 10,000 to about 2,000 over the past 30 years. Most people who remain in these places are old and retired. This is also true of ‘Jalokko’, which has no more than some 300 teenagers. Nonetheless it still has a secondary school, even though its future hangs in the balance. I knew little about the local “collective sense of history”, but as far as I was aware it was not particularly strong. But I was keen to learn more.

The other place I chose for my comparative study was from the other, western side of Finland in Ostrobothnia, which has strong peasant traditions. Agriculture continues to remain an important livelihood in the area, which is also known for its folk music and other living folklore. There are also some small industries and fur farming in this area. Although the industrial structure in
Ostrobothnia has also been changing, none of this has been nearly as dramatic as in certain areas of eastern Finland where a whole branch of livelihood has disappeared since the 1970's. Furthermore, migration from Ostrobothnia has been at a far lower level than in eastern Finland. According to my preliminary hypotheses, the location that I chose for my study had relatively strong and living traditions, possibly also some collective sense of local history, and its future prospects were not particularly gloomy, although by no means glorious either. I call the place ‘Viilukas’.

The third location I chose for my study is situated in what in Finland is a “new” kind of countryside. These are areas of urban sprawl outside the country’s biggest cities in the south. This kind of countryside is increasingly popular today among (middle-class) families, who are moving out in large numbers although the family’s breadwinners continue to commute to and work in the city (or work from home with their computers). In Finnish, we have even coined a new term to describe this residential countryside: “asuinmaaseutu“ (Mäkelä 2007).

This phenomenon is gathering momentum most particularly around the metropolitan Helsinki area, and therefore I chose my third location, ‘Kuurainen’, from that area to represent this type of countryside. I assumed that the future visions and prospects in this place would be optimistic and positive; as for its relationship to the past I had no firm hypotheses. However I had a sense that there could not be very strong relationships to the past as many families had only just moved in, have no local roots, etc.

Looking at our spatial field around the two axes identified above (“future prospects” and “a living past”), it is clear that one type of rural location is still missing: one with strong, living traditions and a collective sense of history, but a gloomy future outlook. That kind of place probably does exist – for example in Lapland – but as it was difficult to find such a place in Finland, I chose to focus in my study on the three above mentioned places. I hope to be able to return to the omitted fourth type in my later studies.

Another important source of inspiration for the formulation of my research questions was provided by an earlier analysis of media images of the Finnish countryside. Malmsten (2004) identified four ideal typical ways of dealing with the countryside in the Finnish media. On the “negative side” are two images: the countryside in negative change, in the process of withering away and aging; and the countryside in stagnation: narrow-minded, undeveloped, backward. On the “positive side”, too, the different images are connected with stability or with a process of change. The positive image underlines the processes of good change in the countryside: people moving back to the country, renewal in general, the “unyielding” spirit of the countryside. In the positive image that describes the stability of the countryside, a major focus is on the natural environment, its pristineness and silence. In my analysis of young peo-
Empirical Material and Analysis

The empirical material for my research consists of essays written by young people aged 14–16 from the three different locations mentioned above. (I also conducted some group interviews on the same topic, but that material is used mainly as background information to support the analysis of the essays). The titles of the essays were designed to inspire the young writers to write about their home places as freely as possible, about their feelings of pride and shame, sorrow and happiness.

The titles were:

- What luck to be born in X (one’s home place) and not in London or Hollywood, which would be a disaster (Jalokko 4, Viilukas 5, Kuuranen 2 essays)
- What luck to be born in London or Hollywood and not in X (one’s home place), which would be a disaster (Jalokko 2, Viilukas 1; Kuuranen 0 essays)
- “In twenty years’ time nothing will be left of X (one’s home place)” – this is what some people say. What do you think? (Jalokko 1 – title not offered in other places)
- I’m from X (one’s home place) and proud of it! (Jalokko 3, Viilukas 10, Kuuranen 8 essays)
- There’s no reason to be proud of being from X (one’s home place) (Jalokko 1, Viilukas 0, Kuuranen 2 essays)
- “X (one’s home place) in the year 2050” – write a fictional description! (Jalokko 14, Viilukas 5, Kuuranen 9 essays)
- “I will move out of X (one’s home place) as soon as possible” – if you agree, explain your reasons as well! (Jalokko 14, Viilukas 4, Kuuranen 1)
- “I don’t want to move out of X (one’s home place)” – if you agree, explain your reasons! (Jalokko 3, Viilukas 9, Kuuranen 3 essays)

At ‘Jalokko’ where the first dataset was collected there were three titles that did not work very well and that were therefore not used at the other locations. The first of them was “We should have a McDonalds opened at X “ (one’s home place) – give your opinion. This title was based on the survey material where several young people had written in the blank space provided that they would very much like to have a McDonalds where they live. The second title that
failed was “We need an airport at X (one’s home place)”! This didn’t work, for as it turned out there actually was an airstrip at this location for gliders! The third title in ‘Jalokko’ that was not used elsewhere was “It’s not fair that half of Finland is empty, that people are leaving their home and everything is being concentrated in the bigger cities” – write for or against! As no one wrote about this topic at ‘Jalokko’, I thought it might be too theoretical or abstract for teenagers.

Before I set out to analyse this qualitative dataset I needed to solve two problems, which were theoretical rather than methodological in nature. First of all, I had to decide on whether to adopt a “factual” or discourse-analytical standpoint on the empirical material. Should I work from the assumption that these young people were writing about their “real” feelings and thoughts, or should I rather try to analyse the kind of “discourses” they were using in creating a picture of their local identities to the researcher, for whom they were writing their texts? In the end I decided to apply both approaches – or neither of them, in the spirit of social constructivism (Berger & Luckmann 1975).

As I was interested in studying the processes of building up local identities, one important source of inspiration for me was the theory of Margaret J. Somers. Somers (1994, 605–649) refers to four different layers of the “narrative identity”: public, conceptual, ontological and meta-narrative. However, since my concern was not directly with the processes of building local identity, but rather with the elements of local identity, I could not apply Somers’ classification directly. Nonetheless I decided to try and see whether such layers could be detected in the writings of my young people and what they were like.

What is it like to Live in the Countryside: Young People’s Discourses on Rural Life

The descriptions by the young people of ‘Kuurainen’ of their home place draw heavily on the positive discourse of the stable, unchanging countryside. These descriptions refer to the pristine countryside, its pure and fresh water and air, and its tranquility. The positive discourse of the changing countryside is used less clearly, although Kuurainen could be seen as a typical example of growth in countryside – growth in the sense of sprawl around major urban centres. This discourse may not perhaps be “useful” for the young people living in those areas, which after all have so much and so obvious growth potential.

However the essays by the young people from ‘Kuurainen’ also make use of another positive type of discourse on rural life, apart from the “pristine nature” discourse. This discourse underlines the good sides of country life and the rural environment from the point of view of raising a family: for example, “Kuurainen is a great place for a growing child”. These expressions are clearly
something that these young people have picked up from their parents, the media, or from the campaigns of these rural towns that are growing up around the metropolitan Helsinki area. Anyhow, the teenagers of ‘Kuurainen’ do use these “slogans” when talking about their home place. Safety is another issue that is underlined in many essays.

This is a quality place! This is just right: not too big, not too small, not too “luxury”, not too poor. This is a perfect place! (girl, 9th grade/ Kuurainen)

(…) Kids here have an easy and safe life. The level of education is also high. This is a perfect place! (another girl, 9th grade/Kuurainen)

How can these attitudes be so positive: is it normal to praise one’s home place in this way? It is important to point out that the essays quoted above have been written under the titles of “I am from Kuurainen and proud of it” or “I don’t want to move out of Kuurainen”. The writers therefore have positioned themselves from the outset to write in a positive frame of mind, to defend their home place (see Jokinen 2006). Similar elements and discourses can also be found in the essays of the young people from ‘Viilukas’, even though they are less strong and pronounced. Nevertheless even in ‘Viilukas’ in Ostrobothnia, the young people are writing about the “pristine nature”, “silence” and “safety” of their home place — elements of the “positive stable countryside” discourse described by Malmsten (2004).

The positive elements described by the young people in ‘Jalokko’ refer, as well, to the pristine nature, tranquility, etc., i.e. to the “positive stable countryside” discourse. For some boys, fishing and hunting in the vast expanses of forest are a great source of satisfaction.

“I’m happy I was born here, in the bosom of nature, close by to all the leisure activities. I have everything I need here, at least almost. The forests, the lakes and the rivers are the best thing here, I think, because I like to hunt and fish. I wouldn’t like to move away from here.” (boy, 9th grade, ‘Jalokko’)

“(…) Often I feel I would like to move out, but (…) on the other hand, it is wonderful to go out in the forests and fields with my horse, with my best friend. I can’t give up all of this!” (girl, 8th grade, ‘Jalokko’)

However in Jalokko, in sharp contrast to the other places, there are also some very negative evaluations of one’s home place. In the terms of Malmsten’s typology, these accounts come close to the “negative discourse of the changing countryside”. In ‘Jalokko’, these negative descriptions do not exist only in the discourse, but they actually tie in with hard facts. ‘Jalokko’s nature is really exceptionally beautiful, but at the same time this is a place in decline: people are continuing to move out in huge numbers, shops are closing, more and more
houses are derelict, and most of the people who remain are retired. Many young people refer to this side of their home place as well.

“(…) it was a disaster to be born here, because there’s nothing here (…) at least there are no rush hours, the only people you can see out on the main road are the old men from “Lapikas” (a nursing home for retired men with social problems/JL) (boy, 8th grade, ‘Jalokko’)

Future Visions

In ‘Jalokko’, 14 young people had chosen to write about the subject “[Jalokko in the year 2050’]; in the other two places the corresponding subject was chosen by just a few. This clearly suggests that the future of their home place is not insignificant to the youth of ‘Jalokko’, on the contrary. The future visions described in the essays are for the most part extremely gloomy.

There will be nothing here in 2050, nothing in ‘Jalokko’. (…) Nobody will even remember the place, nobody will visit it – everyone will take the long route around ‘Jalokko’. (Boy, 8th grade, ‘Jalokko’)

(…) The square of ‘Jalokko’ will be in ruins in 2050, (…) the road will no longer be there. In what used to be the centre, you will find nothing but a black cat wandering around, and a couple old vagabonds. ‘Jalokko’ will be a ghost village for ever. (Boy, 8th grade, ‘Jalokko’)

Almost all of these descriptions are very laconic and lack emotional intensity. Some expressions of sorrow or aggression can, however, be found in these future visions by the young people of ‘Jalokko’.

I think this place will just die away in the near future. In a way it makes me feel sad because I would want my home place to survive. (Boy, 8th grade, ‘Jalokko’)

The question can really be asked: will Jalokko exist any longer in 2050? (…) But whatever the answer, this I can say: in my dreams it will live forever. (Girl, 9th grade, ‘Jalokko’)

(…) this place is withering away more and more, soon nobody will be living here. Bloody hell, I’ll never come back to this shithole!! (Boy, 8th grade, ‘Jalokko’)

Only very few of the future visions in Jalokko are positive – and these are then positive in an ultra-optimistic, futuristic way, almost like science fiction. All of them have been written by boys. For example:
(...) Jalokko will become a huge city. There will be ten times more inhabitants than there are today. There will be more rich people, but also poor people. More and more houses will be built, including skyscrapers. (Boy, 9th grade, 'Jalokko'.)

In the two other places, the young people’s future visions are more calm and collected, seeming quite realistic. In ‘Kuurainen’, the location near Helsinki, young people say they expect to see their home place continue to grow in the future; and indeed in the light of statistics and recent trends in development, these visions are quite plausible. Somewhat surprisingly even the young people of ‘Vilukas’ describe a future scenario of growth – even though population numbers have been slightly declining in recent years. One possible interpretation is that the general atmosphere in ‘Vilukas’ is quite optimistic – thanks to the sense of pride about the region’s strong folk music tradition and the annual folk music festival. This also impacts local visions of the future, at least in the minds of the local youth.

Images of Home Place

The young people in all the three locations wrote a lot about the way they saw the images of their home places, of which they were either proud (especially in ‘Vilukas’) or concerned (especially in ‘Jalokko’).

It is possible that the titles of the essays had provoked these thoughts, or that these images simply are very important for young people; probably both. Based on their empirical studies, Tuhkunen and Jukarainen (2004) have noted that the image of one’s home place is very important for a young person (see also Tuhkunen 2007).

The empirical material for this sub-study includes three writings about these young people’s views on the images of ‘Kuurainen’. All three talk about their home place in positive terms. One very famous Finnish artist has lived here more than a hundred years ago, and this is a proud point raised in two of the three essays. My background interviews indicated that the subject is given frequent attention in the local school curriculum, visits are made to the artist’s former home, etc. This investment in local history clearly seems to pay off.

In ‘Vilukas’, in Ostrobothnia, positives images of one’s home place are even more common. Most young people here refer to the folk music tradition and the annual folk music festival. They believe that their home place has a positive image all around Finland, particularly so by virtue of the festival. The situation could hardly be more different in ‘Jalokko’, where no one has any positive comments to make about the image of the place. On the contrary, the few young people who write on this subject believe that ‘Jalokko’s’ image is negative through and through.
However, none of the young people in any of the three locations writes about the negative image of the countryside in general. This material, therefore, lends no support to the assumption that Finland today is so anti-agrarian in its attitude and outlook that people who come from the countryside have to be ashamed of their roots (see Rosenqvist 2003).

Conclusions and Discussion

The comparative design in this research has allowed seeing how the building blocks for young rural people’s local identities differ from each other in different types of Finnish countryside, and what elements they share in common. The biggest differences between the three locations concerned the young people’s views of the future of their home place, and on the other hand their views on the image of the place. The differences in their future outlooks were huge, but probably quite realistic. The polarisation of Finland into strong local centres on the one hand and marginal peripheries, on the other, has continued to deepen since the 1960s.

Local atmospheres in different kinds of rural areas differ strongly from each other. The local atmosphere is certainly affected by material facts, but also vice versa; the deep sense of pessimism in such places as ‘Jalokko’ and the lack of almost any pride in one’s home place are surely adding to the already vicious circle of local development and further driving up migration among young people (see also Tuhkunen 2007). So the hypotheses that I had at the outset of this research is both supported and not: both the “foreseeable future” axis and a “living contact with local history” seem to be relevant to young people as they build up their local identities. However the relationship between these two axes is far more complicated than I had thought at the beginning. When the future prospects of one’s home place seem to hold little promise, the collective sense of local history and local traditions also seem to suffer. This at least seems to be the case if we compare 'Jalokko' and 'Viilukas' – yet I am sure that examples of different kinds of processes could also be found. It is also important to remember here that the collective provincial spirit in Ostrobothnia has been stronger than in eastern parts of Finland for centuries, for various historical reasons (see e.g. Paasi 1984).

In the light of this empirical material it seems that, when we look at these young people’s writings from the point of view of Somers’ four discursive levels of building one’s identity, they do not have very many conceptual tools with which to analyse the fate and situation of their home places. In the light of Somers’ division we can also ask whether young people make use of “grand narratives” in building their local identities. If rural depopulation is a “grand narrative”, then the youth of ‘Jalokko’ is certainly leaning on that narrative, yet
in a way that does little to help them build their local identity. But we may well ask whether it might provide building blocks for their identity in the long run.

The institutional level of the identity building discourse seems to be quite strong in both ‘Viilukas’ (as folk music seems to occupy such a central place in these young people’s writings) and surprisingly strong in ‘Kuurainen’ (where the famous local artist seems to assume an institutional position in the minds of young people, even though that is not at all as prominent as that of folk music in ‘Viilukas’). It is particularly interesting that the young people in ‘Jalokko’ hardly mention any local institutions at all. This is perhaps again indicative of the vicious circle of the local atmosphere in ‘Jalokko’.

As the building blocks for local identity seem to differ so sharply in different rural localities in Finland, it really makes little sense to talk about one coherent rural identity among young rural people in Finland (cf. Rosenqvist 2003). The differences seem to be greater than the elements they have in common, which do of course exist – such as the sense of pride and happiness about the pristine nature and safe environment in rural home places. How are young people and their later life affected if they do not have the building blocks for a positive, but only for a very negative, or at least ambivalent local identity in their home places – places like ‘Jalokko’? This is a very difficult question. Anne Tuhkunen and Pirjo Jukarainen (2004) point out that a strong local identity in youth can be seen as a potential element of young people’s social capital and important for the whole process of identity building. Anyhow, at least it is clear that childhood and youth are more care-free in places that are flourishing and that can be expected to survive in the future than they are in places that are dying, where young people have to face the fact that they may perhaps never be able to return to their home place because it is simply impossible to earn a living there.

Bibliography


Andra Siibak

Casanova’s of the Virtual World: How Boys Present Themselves on Dating Websites

The aim of this article is to introduce the reader to the everyday worlds of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian twenty-first century Casanovas. These young men do not need to waste their energy dancing in ballrooms or serenading under the balconies; however they know exactly how to win the hearts of women – that is, through the Internet1.

The article will discuss what kind of patterns are chosen for creating virtual gender identities among the most remarkable men in the dating websites of Rate (www.rate.ee), Face (www.face.lv) and Point (www.point.lt). These websites have become daily meeting places for thousands of youngsters in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania who are in search of new friends, acquaintances, kindred spirits or even life partners.

Creating Virtual Impressions

Computer mediated communication has enlivened the social interaction of thousands of people. Thousands of Internet users can be found communicating in chat rooms, chatting in MSN, commenting in forums, or surfing on dating websites in order to make new friends, enliven their love life or just pass their time. All those people who are socializing via Internet are just as anxious to create favorable impressions of themselves as the ones that are meeting face-to-face. According to Goffman (1959), impressions are formed through interpreting two kinds of “sign activity”: the expression given and the expression given off. The former of which is expressed during verbal communication, the latter is expressed through clothing, posture, bodily gestures, size, age, appearance, i.e. ones looks in general. In order to find out what kind of qualities and fea-

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tures are thought to be essential by the potential partner a person may have to “perform” several acts before receiving the approval they were in search of.

According to Sherry Turkle (1995, 180), the Internet has become “a significant social laboratory for experimenting with the constructions and reconstructions of self that characterizes postmodern life”. Furthermore, in the new media environments people “may easily switch from the ‘real’ to the chosen ‘ought’ identity (Petkova 2005, 6).” Nevertheless, even if one is allowed to adopt whatever identity one chooses in virtual environments, studies have shown that men and women still tend to offer attributes thought to be sought by the opposite sex (Albright 2001; Schmidt & Buss 1996). In order to know what kind of qualities and features are desirable and accepted by the society, Danah Boyd (2001, 110) suggests that “an individual must be constantly aware of the environmental feedback that they are receiving and adjust accordingly”.

According to Festinger’s (1954) social comparison theory, people who are uncertain about their abilities and opinions tend to compare and evaluate themselves by making comparisons to similar others. Young people, who often feel the need to meet societal expectations, therefore unconsciously engage in social comparisons. Furthermore, studies have shown (cf. Brown & Gilligan, 1992) that for youth, the opinions of friends are immensely important as “the collective consciousness of peer codes is often the determinant of self-esteem.” (Merskin 2006, 54)

Nowadays it is quite easy to find out what kinds of qualities are needed in order to become popular and remarkable in the eyes of the peers. For example, one just has to take one look around the different popularity charts in the websites of Rate, Face and Point to see what kinds of boys are the most remarkable in the eyes of the peers.

**Communication and Dating Websites**

Identically formed communication and dating websites of Rate, Face and Point were all built by the same person, Estonian IT- student Andrei Korobeinik. He wanted to create a website where people could post photos of themselves in order to receive comments and points from other users. All of his three projects have been immensely successful – Rate (www.rate.ee) with its 340,017 users is the most popular website in Estonia, Face (www.face.lv) is one of the biggest sites in Latvian Internet with more than 111,970 users and there are also more than 43,000 users of Point (www.point.lt) in Lithuania.

All of these numbers are extremely large for small countries like the Baltic States and give us a reason to believe that these websites have become a phenomenon of a kind. However, the incredible popularity of these websites, especially among the young, is in fact based on a simple and well-known truth about
human nature – most of the users of the sites are driven by “a need to communicate, a need to be exposed (social feedback), also to make new acquaintances and to actualize themselves and to have the clear picture of the surrounding” (www.rate.ee). Furthermore, one of the main reasons why Rate, Face and Point have become so popular among the young lies in the fact that these portals create an opportunity to receive social feedback. Am I sexy and hot enough? Am I trendy and fashionable compared to the others? Does this hairdo look good on me? Do the chicks like my new nice-guy image? Comments by other website users give a perfect opportunity to find answers for all of the questions that are constantly on the minds of the youth. Furthermore, belonging to the different popularity TOP’s that are formed on these pages provides the young with an opportunity to collect social capital that is useful not just in the virtual world but also “convertible” in the “real” life.

**Method and Data**

The study at hand is focused on the “TOP 100 of the most remarkable men” in Rate, Face and Point. This TOP is formed of young men who other website users believe to be the most fascinating and cool, not to mention handsome, men on the site. In order to become part of the TOP 100 one has to be included in the so called “attention list” by other website users. Every user can form ones own “attention list”, i.e. one can mark the names one wants to keep track on constantly in order to look at new photos or receive all the other information about the personalities of their favorites.

The study is based on the photos of men who appeared in the “TOP 100 of the most remarkable men” of Rate, Face and Point, over a period of six months. From August 2005–February 2006 all in all 144 male users of Rate, 140 from Face and 152 from Point had a chance to belong in the “TOP 100 of the most remarkable men”. Nevertheless, not all of the young men who appeared in the TOP 100 could be analysed, as some of them had taken down all of their photos and others had removed their profile completely from the database. Therefore, altogether 117 men from Rate, 100 from Face and 113 from Point where analysed to find out how the boys market themselves on dating websites.

Content analysis involving elements of visual analysis methods developed by Goffman (1979), Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), Umiker-Sebeok (1996), and Bell (2001), was carried out to analyse the most recently added photo of the boys in the TOP 100. The method of “reading images” that was used for the analysis was developed from social semiotic theory and makes explicit the ways people produce and communicate meaning through the spatial configurations of visual elements in the western societies. According to Kress and van Leeu-
wen (1996), meaning is encoded in the structures of images: the form of representation; the presentation of people, objects and landscape; the composition; and its modality and medium.

The aim of the analysis was to find out how is gender identity constructed on the photos and what ways do the youngsters use in order to market themselves on dating websites.

The main coding categories that will be further discussed in the paper were conceptually defined as follows:

**Social Distance.** A distance from were the photo is taken. (intimate, close personal, close social, far personal, far social, public)

**Location.** The setting from were the photo is taken – domestic environment (apartment, bedroom, kitchen, bathroom etc.); public space (nightclub, office, school, department store, etc); nature (woods, near a lake/sea/river; in the park/garden, etc.); or in the city (on the street; near a (famous) building, etc.), de-contextualised (not visible where the photo is taken).

**Participants.** The category includes the accompanying persons on the photo (alone, same sex friend(s); a friend(s) of the opposite sex; group of mixgender friends, child(ren); group of people at the background) as well as the animate and inanimate objects visible on the photo.

**Activities.** An activity the person is engaged in doing while being photographed (“posing”, “entertaining”, “romance”, “doing sports”, “everyday activities”)

In the following paragraphs I will introduce some of the main findings of my study.

### Category of Participants

The majority of men who belonged to the TOP 100 posed alone in the photographs. There were 66 (56 %) men posing alone in Rate, 58 (58 %) in Face and 79 (70 %) in Point (Table 1).

**Table 1. Category of participants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RATE</th>
<th>FACE</th>
<th>POINT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alone</td>
<td>56 %</td>
<td>68 %</td>
<td>70 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female friend</td>
<td>14 %</td>
<td>18 %</td>
<td>13 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male friend</td>
<td>5 %</td>
<td>10 %</td>
<td>4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>group of women</td>
<td>3 %</td>
<td>3 %</td>
<td>3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>group of men</td>
<td>4 %</td>
<td>3 %</td>
<td>2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>group of mix gender friends</td>
<td>6 %</td>
<td>4 %</td>
<td>2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child(ren)</td>
<td>3 %</td>
<td>2 %</td>
<td>1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>group of smb. at the background</td>
<td>9 %</td>
<td>2 %</td>
<td>5 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appearing alone on the photos can be seen as an adequate choice for posing on a dating website. Researchers (Schmitt and Buss 1996) have found that sending signals of sexual availability is especially effective in case of women in search of short term relationships. By creating an image of oneself as someone who is still available, still out there looking for the special someone, the teenagers have, so to say, found an (un)conscious way of widening their horizon of possibilities.

Posing together with one’s partner is the second most popular way of appearing in the photos. On the one hand, this way of posing may work both as a stop-sign for some users, but on the other hand it may also act as a sign of “sexual exclusivity or fidelity” that may become effective in the long run (Schmitt & Buss 1996, 16). Studies (cf. Mazzarella 1996, 2006) have shown that partly thanks to the media image received from the girl fan magazines and other popular press, young girls tend to be drawn to “safe” romantic heroes – the kind of boys one could bring home to meet mom and dad” (Mazzarealla 2005, 154). The findings of Urbanik and Kilman (2003) also support this view while concluding that women are beginning to turn their backs on “bad boys” and are more and more focused on finding “Mr. nice guy” – someone who is kind, considerate and sensitive all at the same time. Some of the most remarkable men in Rate, Face and Point have already turned to the “nice guy” image in order to find their way to the hearts of women users. There were 16 (14 %) guys in Rate, 18 (18 %) in Face and 15 (13 %) in Point who were found hugging their female friends, holding their girlfriends tenderly in their arms or kissing them softly on the lips.

A smaller number of young men have found even a smoother way to demonstrate their reliability and sensitivity. All in all there were 6 (2 %) men from Rate, Face and Point posing with small babies in their hands.

**Category of Location**

On all three websites, a large proportion of young men who appeared in the TOP 100 used more public settings for posing (Table 2).

All in all, 67 per cent of the photos of Rate, 70 per cent for Point and 65 per cent for Face depict boys posing either in the wilderness, somewhere in the city or in some other public environment like in an office, in a classroom, or a café. The finding corresponds to the results of a number of studies (e.g. Vigorito & Curry 1998) that focus on the portrayals of men in the mass media. They conclude that “typically, men are depicted as autonomous; pictured outdoors or in business settings; and are less likely to be at home” (Vigorito & Curry 1998, 4).
Table 2. Category of location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>RATE</th>
<th>FACE</th>
<th>POINT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic environment</td>
<td>18 %</td>
<td>16 %</td>
<td>22 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public space</td>
<td>10 %</td>
<td>8 %</td>
<td>15 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature</td>
<td>44 %</td>
<td>34 %</td>
<td>38 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>13 %</td>
<td>19 %</td>
<td>8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decontextualised</td>
<td>15 %</td>
<td>23 %</td>
<td>17 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most popular location for posing in all of the cases was somewhere in the wilderness – in the woods, near a lake/sea/river, on the beach, in the mountains. In case of Rate 44 per cent of the photos were taken in the nature, in case of Face and Point the percentages were a bit smaller 34 per cent and 38 per cent respectively. On the one hand, these photos taken in the wilderness illustrate a typical man – someone who is in charge of his own destiny and has power enough to change it. On the other hand there were a number of photos of boys posing while gazing dreamily into the horizon or smiling to the camera with a breathtakingly beautiful sunset on the background. Therefore, it could be said that viewing these photos of men who have chosen to pose in natural surroundings give a reason to believe that “we are seeing an emerging wave of men who scoff at traditional male boundaries, and do what they want regardless of whether these things could be considered unmanly” (Sangeeta 2003). The photos of this new type of a guy, a metrosexual man, are therefore taken so as to show him as “sensitive and romantic” the qualities of which make him irresistible to the opposite sex (Hackbarth 2003).

Photos taken in the domestic environment were not that popular among the teenaged boys. Only 25 (22 %) young men from Point, 21 (18 %) from Rate and 16 (16 %) from Face decided to pose in a private sphere. Still, the cosiness of their homes can really be felt in the photos as these boys seem to not mind if you take a look inside of their living room, bedroom, kitchen, or even bathroom, while they are taking a shower.

However, not all of the young men who appeared in the “TOP 100 of the most remarkable men” in Rate, Face and Point can live without the age-old need to show off whenever some women are around. In case of the virtual world, this is always a possibility, and therefore a small number of guys from the websites had decided to pose somewhere in the city, beside a trendy limousine, to be more exact. The percentages where 13 % for Rate, 19 % for Face and 7 % for Point.
Category of Activities

For my content analysis different activities were grouped under the headings “posing”, “entertaining”, “sports”, “romance”, and “everyday activities” (Table 3). Most of the boys in the TOP had thought that they need not to do anything special other than look good; therefore they simply posed for the photos.

The coding showed that the most popular activities, other than “posing” belonged either in the “everyday doings” or “romance” section. In the “everyday activities” photos one could see boys eating lunch, or drinking alcohol, talking on the phone, taking pictures or watching TV. The “romance” activities, which were most popular among the Latvian men, included, for example, hugging and kissing with a female friend. However, there was a remarkable lack of photos were boys were engaged in a sporting activity. In fact there were only 9 (3 %) photos out of 330 that were taken while doing sports. It seems that boys are more willing to exhibit their romantic side to the whole (virtual) world than to be seen doing sports.

Table 3. Category of activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RATE</th>
<th>FACE</th>
<th>POINT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entertaining</td>
<td>7 %</td>
<td>3 %</td>
<td>1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>3 %</td>
<td>3 %</td>
<td>5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romance</td>
<td>7 %</td>
<td>18 %</td>
<td>10 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyday doings</td>
<td>13 %</td>
<td>11 %</td>
<td>17 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posing</td>
<td>70 %</td>
<td>65 %</td>
<td>69 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Category of Social Distance

According to Edward Hall (1966) people carry a set of invisible boundaries beyond which we allow only certain kinds of people to come (referred to in Kress & van Leeuwen 1996, 130).

In case Rate, Face and Point the most popular distances for taking a photo were the far personal distance and the close personal distance (Table 4).

All in all 34 per cent of the photos of Face, 31 per cent of Rate and 26 per cent of Point depicted a young man posing from the waist up. Based on the theory of Hall (1966, 110–120) “far personal distance” is the distance that ’extends from a point that is just outside easy touching distance by one person to a point where two people can touch fingers if they both extend their arms’, the distance at which ’subjects of personal interests and involvements are discussed’” (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996, 131).
Table 4. Category of social distance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>RATE</th>
<th>FACE</th>
<th>POINT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intimate</td>
<td>5 %</td>
<td>9 %</td>
<td>4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close personal</td>
<td>22 %</td>
<td>24 %</td>
<td>21 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close social</td>
<td>15 %</td>
<td>12 %</td>
<td>17 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far personal</td>
<td>31 %</td>
<td>28 %</td>
<td>34 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far social</td>
<td>18 %</td>
<td>25 %</td>
<td>19 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>9 %</td>
<td>4 %</td>
<td>5 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In their study Costa & Bitti (2000) observed that photos in which the whole figure of the person is shown are evaluated more negatively than the ones taken from close proximity. A number of studies (e.g. Levesque & Lowe 1999; Price-Rankin 2001) associate higher facial prominence with men. This finding was also confirmed in case of the three websites. There were 25 (22 %) of photos from Rate, 24 (24 %) of Face and 24 (21 %) from Point taken at a close personal distance so as that both the head and the shoulders of the person could be seen. Furthermore, there were also 6 photos (5 %) in Rate, 9 (9 %) in Face and 5 (4 %) in Point in which only a face or a head of the person was visible. Previous studies have associated greater face-ism with “a higher evaluation of certain traits such as intelligence, ambition, and dominance (Archer et al. 1983 according to by Costa & Bitti 2000, 300).”

Just as the “mainstream popular culture depicts male bodies in idealised and eroticised fashions, coded in ways that give permission of them to be looked at and desired (Gill, Henwood & McLean 2005, 5)” the results of the pilot-coding also show a growing trend of objectification of men’s bodies. In all three websites, but especially in case of Rate, a number of “images of sexualized men”, where “an attractive muscular man is put on display” could be found (Rohlinger 2002, 1). The images of these muscular men also confirm the idea of Gill et al. (2005) that for the 21st century men “body has become a source of symbolic capital, less because of what the body is able to do than how it looks.” (Gill et al. 2005, 5).

**Conclusion**

According to Goffman (1959/1990), individuals tend to accentuate and suppress certain aspects of the self depending on the context of the situation. Whenever others are present, people tend to accentuate these aspects of the self that typically correspond to norms and ideals of the group the person belongs to, or wishes to belong to.
In case of Rate, Face and Point it is important to note that these young men in the TOP 100 are selected to be part of this elite circle by other website users. The users of these sites have unanimously chosen them to represent the “ideal” who may serve as role models for others. They could be considered trend-setters on the site because the patterns they have used for constructing their virtual identities could be regarded as a safe and sound way for earning approval and recognition from their peers.

Vigorito and Curry (1998) found in their study of popular magazines that the sex of the target audience influences the gender portrayals and creates contrary expectations among the readers. They found that while male readers are hoping the portrayals of men to confirm the traditional identities of hegemonic masculinity, women, on the contrary, have “more nurturing visions of men in their minds (Vigorito & Curry 1998, 26).” It seems that in case of Rate, Face and Point both of the genders should feel satisfied – there are Macho Men and Hippies, Mr. Nice Guys and Playboys among the Casanovas in the virtual worlds. Nevertheless, it seems that they still manage to get all the women in real life.

Bibliography


Casanova’s of the Virtual World


www.face.lv [16.8.2006]
www.point.lt [16.8.2006]
Jarna Soilevuo Grønnerød

The Power of Relationships: Mutuality, Validation, and Idealization between Young Men

Ten years ago, a North-American researcher Niobe Way (1997) published an article on how teenage boys experience and talk about close relationships between boys. She interviewed boys from different ethnic and social backgrounds and asked what kinds of friendships they had had with other boys and what kinds of friendships they longed for. Way was influenced by relationally oriented feminist research on adolescent girls (e.g. Gilligan 1982, Meeting at the Crossroads 1992, Way 1995) and practiced feminist methods of interviewing. She argues that the use of these feminist theories and methods produced new insights into young boys. Earlier research on adolescent boys had overlooked themes which Niobe Way found to be important in her study. She showed how boys long for close relationships with other boys, and how difficult it is to create lasting, close relationships with mutual trust.

Feminist psychology has produced numerous studies on the relational capacities of women. Niobe Way’s study is one of the first examples of research on boys and men, which uses feminist psychology and methods. When applied to the relationality of boys and men, feminist psychology asks how they talk about relationships, how they experience them, and how they practice them, while placing these relationships in a historical, cultural and social context (see Sherrod 1987). This research tradition also questions clear-cut empirical differences between boys and girls and men and women. Other major works include the studies by Balbus (2002), Frosh, Phoenix & Pattman (2002), McLeod (2002), Redman et al. (2002), and Singleton (2003).

Rock Bands and Relationality between Men

This article is based on a study of young men, aged between 18 and 33 years, who play rock music in non-professional bands (Soilevuo Grønnerød 2004, 2005). By non-professional, I refer to bands, who are not famous and musicians, who do not earn their living by playing. I interviewed 30 men individually
and made observations on rehearsals and public performances, gigs. The themes of the interviews included the personal musical histories of the interviewees, as well as the practices of drinking and other substance use in the context of music making (Soilevuo Gronnerød 2002).

One important characteristic of the interviews lies in the nature of these two themes, musical history and drinking practices. The both themes are embedded in the relationality between the band members. In other words, stories about the bands and drinking are also stories about the persons involved. Therefore, I did not specifically need to ask about the relationships between band mates. The interviewees spontaneously took them up while talking about playing and drinking. Thus, the material of my study stems from the interviews, where the focus was not on relationships. These interviews provide material on how young men talk about relationships between men, when they are not asked about relationships. For example, when I asked one musician about his best and worst drinking experiences, he spontaneously mentioned in his long answer how much he appreciated his current band because of the relationships between the band members:

[--] And then I like this band so much because we take care of social affairs so well. [--]
 [--] Ja sit semmossi niinku et hirveesti tykkääni tästä orkesterista siinä mielessä että tässä hoidetaan niitä sosiaalisia juttuja niille oikein erinomaisesti. [--]¹

This caretaking refers to constructive actions to work out problematic situations and to maintain a satisfying emotional atmosphere. If something unpleasant had happened at rehearsals:

[--] someone has said something to someone out of ill will, something about what the other has done, or about his... his skills, social or musical skills, something offensive, things like these leave you with a bad taste in your mouth. Then you have to take care of the relationships once in a while. [--]
 [--] joku on sanonut toiselle toiselle jostain jonkun tekemästä jutusta tai jonkun taidosta, sosiaalisista tai tai musiikillisista taidoista on tullut vähän jotain sanomista, ni niistä on jääny vähän semmonen huono maka suuhun. Et niitä pitää sitte vähän välillä hoitaa niitä suhteita. [--]

Taking care was an important issue in the feminist psychology of the 1980's, which argued that women’s caretaking capacities stem from their special practices within family, working life and society. It was argued that women in Western and many other cultures were supposed to take emotional and practical care

¹ Out of respect for the original interviews, I present extracts in Finnish as well as in English.
of the people around them and how this caretaking was culturally and socially taken for granted, even devalued. (See Gilligan 1982; for a review and afterthoughts see *Feminism & Psychology* Special Issue 1994; for Scandinavian examples see, Ve 1982 and Wærness 1984). The various cultural and social forms of men's caretaking became into focus as well, in feminism-oriented studies on fatherhood (e.g. Hearn et al. 1998), men's friendships (e.g. Nardi 1992), and more recently, in the studies which underline caretaking beyond heterosexual families (Rosencil & Budgeon 2004). Rock bands are also a context, where men can and do practice emotional care.

Indeed, a rock band is an interesting context to study close relationships between men. Bands are often considered similar to families. This metaphor occurs in the magazines containing the interviews of popular artists, in the research on bands and in my interviews. In the media, rock bands are often represented as families. A band as a family is an ideal and even a demand, which sets apart “true” rock bands from commercial groups, which are not based on genuine friendships. Yet it also reflects hopes, longings and experiences of aspiring musicians:

Jarna: Can you tell me more about the band as a family? Like you just mentioned.

Interviewee: I often compare it to a relationship, ‘cause it’s so tight, and the band gets the better the closer the members are.
Haastateltava: Se on tota...... monta kertaa rinnastanu sitä niinku ihmissuhteeseen et se on niin niin tiivis, ja sitä paremma se bändi tulee mitä lähemmaks ne pääsee toisiaan.

Jarna: Mmm

Int.: [--] It’s like deeper the whole thing, it also shines through the music. That’s why it’s like a relationship and a family.
Haast.: [--] Mut et se on niinku tavallaan syvämmä se toulu, mikä myös näkyy siin musiikissa. Et tota, tai siks se on niin suoraan verrattavissa ihmissuhteeseen ja perheeseen.

**Mutuality and Resonance as a Pleasure**

“Social” usually refers to sociology and social psychology, which study how societies or groups are more than the sum of the individuals. In this paper I will use a psychological perspective, which focuses on the individual: What does it mean for an individual to have relationships with the others? What kinds of psychological processes do relationships create within individuals?
I found relational psychoanalysis inspiring for this purpose. Relational psychoanalysis refers to those traditions within psychoanalytical thinking, which see human relationships as crucial in the formation of individual psyche (Mitchell & Aaron 1999). I will use the conceptualizations of three different aspects of relationships, mutuality and resonance, validation, and idealization (Josselson 1996), when analysing the stories of relational experiences by the musicians.

Ruthellen Josselson (1996) uses the concept of mutuality and resonance to name experiences of emotionally joining in and resonating with one another. Resonance refers to the emotional experience, and mutuality refers to the process. Mutuality and resonance occur between people in a process of doing something – for example sitting relaxed and talking or walking side by side. Josselson argues that mutuality and resonance are the most usual and enjoyable modes of experience in human relations, and paradoxically also the most difficult to speak about. Mutuality can be experienced in all types of human encounters, from relations between family members and lovers to casual chats between strangers. (Josselson 1996, 148–158.) “To be on the same wavelength” is a common formulation for mutuality and resonance.

It was most often in the context of the stories of best drinking episodes where I found descriptions of experiences which I named as mutuality and resonance. The best drinking episodes involved enjoyable drinking in a good company, either with the bandmates or other friends. Drinking could take place either in all-male gatherings or in mixed groups. The interviewees found it hard to explain why these events were so enjoyable. They kept saying they simply had a good time.

Interviewee: Well, nothing specially funny happened, it just was cosy to be with mates...
Haastateltava.: No ei siinä nyt mitään erikoisen hauskaa tapahtunu, se nyt oli muukaan olla kaveritten kanssa...

The next extract is a good example of this outspoken difficulty of finding words to describe the experience, while it, paradoxically, turns out to be an especially rich description. The interviewee also offers an explanation for where and how mutuality and resonance come from.

Interviewee: [--] You sense it in the atmosphere, whether the evening will turn out well, whether you’d better go straight home, or be with the others and go downtown to a bar.
Haastateltava: [--] Kyllä sen siitä jo huomaa siitä ilmapiiristä, että tulleeks se ilta onnistumaan, että kannattaako lähteää vaan just kotia tai kannattaako jatkaa sitte kaupunkiin johonki baariin istumaan.

Jarna: Can you tell me how you notice it?
Jarna: Voisitä kertoa tarkemmin, että mistä sen huomaa?

Interviewee: ...(sighs)... how do I...Well in general... I don’t know, it’s a matter of atmosphere. Good stories and a good feeling.... well, well.....I don’t know. I don’t know how you define a funny atmosphere. Everybody is having a good time and (laughs shortly). You laugh a lot and you hear good stories... maybe tell good stories as well.....I cannot explain how I know it.

Haastateltava: ...(huokaa).... mistähän sen.... Siis niinku yleensäkin... en mie tijä se on vaan semmonen ilmapiirikysymys. Hyviä juttuja ja sille on muutenki hauskaa... tuota tuota...... Nii en mie tijä. En mie tijä miten määritellään hauska ilmapiiri. Kaikilla on hauskaa ja niin (naurahdus). Naurattaa paljon ja hyviä juttuja kuulee... ehkä kertoo hyviä juttuja ja.... En mie ossaa sen tarkemmin sitä selittää, mistä sen tunnistaa silleen.

Jarna: Mmm.

Interviewee: Somehow you just sense it.... Do you really need to know it, you just notice that there’s a light shining somewhere or something great. I don’t know if you always can....

Haastateltava: Jotenki sen vaan aistii.... Tarviiks sitä ees tunnistaa silleen, että huomaavaan, että jostain valo paistaa tai muuta hienoo. En mie tijä pystyksen silleen aina...

Jarna: Mmm.

Interviewee: Maybe it just is that the hormone level is higher or something.

Haastateltava: Kai se on vaan, joku hormoni erittyy tavallista tehokkaammin tai jo-tain.

The musician describes a good interpersonal atmosphere as “a light shining somewhere”, and finally explains the experience with hormonal functions.

**Missing Mutuality**

The experiences of mutuality and resonance were important in keeping the band members emotionally satisfied. Enjoying each other’s company made it possible to keep on making music. The most enjoyable moments of mutuality and resonance occurred in music clubs after performing to audiences, who had given positive response. Then the musicians felt they had been playing well, they were intoxicated in a pleasant way, and spent time chatting with old and new friends among the audience, but, most importantly, they felt satisfied with their band and band mates.
The lack of mutuality and resonance was a serious threat to the unity of the bands. In the next example, the key words for my interpretation are “no fun”:

[-] I’m almost ready to leave this band, because it just doesn’t work, since we cannot talk, and everything is so stiff and controlled, just watching what the others are doing. It’s no fun any more. The only fun is the moment of actually [unclear - ‘playing’?] my own instrument. I mean, it’s outrageous.

[-] Mä oisin melkeen valmis jättään pöydän seuraavalle aterioitsijalle, että ei siitä tuu hevon helvettiäkään tommosesta, ku ei pysty keskustelemaan ja kaikki on niin saatanan kaavamaista ja semmosta toisen kyttäämistä. Et siinä ei oo enää yhtään hauskapitoa. Ainoa hauskus mikä siinä on ni on se sää hettellä [epäselvää – soittaa?] sitä omaa soittintas. Et niinku, tosi törkeetä. [-]  

The musician described that the others treated him badly. I see his words describing the lack of mutuality and resonance between the band members. The only satisfaction for him is the music itself, but playing the same songs together is not enough, when mutuality is missing:

[-] I feel I’m completely isolated at times. [-]  
[-] Mä oon ihan täysin erillään niistä muista joskus. [-]  

There was also another type of relational process which was missing. The musician described how the others see only negative characteristics in him:

[-] They don’t see me as a human being. I mean, hey, name some good points in me, too, everybody has bad points. They just see me as a black spot when I walk in the rehearsal site. Like “there comes the weak point again”. [-]  
[-] Eikä ajatella, et he siki on ihminen. Että mieti, sanokaa hyviä puolia, tollakin, kaikilla on huonoja puolia. Et mitä sitä nyt ajatellaan vaan mustana läikkänä meikäläistä ku kävelee sinne treenikämpään. Että taas se tulee se huono puoli. [-]  

He says the others do not respect him at all. Rather, they just command him and criticize him, and focus on his negative points. In terms of relational psychoanalysis, the young man lacks the experience of validation. Heinz Kohut (1984) writes on validation as an individual’s feeling of being accepted and respected by the others. Furthermore, Kohut claims that validation presupposes that an individual’s mere existence brings joy to the others. (See Josselson 1996, 98–110, Määttänen 1993, 158). The lack of validation resembles the experience of being abandoned, or devastated (Josselson 1996, 113–114).
Idealization Leads to New Areas

The third aspect of relationships I analyze is idealization. It refers to the experiences of admiring other people, who one thinks are greater than oneself, and whose characteristics one would like to possess. Following the idealized person often leads people to new areas, for example to learn new skills. (Josselson 1996, 127; Määttänen 1993, 158.) The musicians told how idealizing rock stars gave them the spark to start playing themselves in their early youth.

There is no agreement on the definition of idealization in psychology. Some, like Josselson (1996, 128), maintain that learning to know the object of one's idealization makes this process disappear: you can only idealize people you do not know personally. However, Heinz Kohut’s (1984) way of using the concept is open to the possibility of idealization between people who have personal contact. (Määttänen 1993, 158.) A rock band provides opportunities of idealizing the band mates' musical and social abilities.

[N.N.] is so important to me. I like him above all, he’s such a good guy. He’s respectable, and still he has as much sense of humour as you need, then he also knows how to be serious when you have to be serious, he just is perfect in my opinion.

[N.N.], se on mulle hirmu tärkee tyyppi. Mä tykkään siitä miehestä yli kaiken, oikein hyvä tyyppi. Hirveen korrekti, sil on huumorintaju ihan täysin riittämiin, se osaa olla vakava sillon ku pitää olla vakava, se vaan on täydellinen mun mielestä ainaki.

In sum, a rock band is a context where individuals have an opportunity to experience those aspects of human relationships, which are crucially important and which promote psychological well-being. I have given the examples of situations where the processes of idealization, mutuality and resonance, and validation in the form of its opposite, i.e. the lack of validation, occur.

All these aspects of relationships refer to different needs and processes. Idealization refers to the ways in which individuals seek for those people, whose characteristics or skills they would like to possess and thus become like the person they idealize (Josselson 1996, 127). The concept of validation, on the other hand, is used to point out how individuals look for a positive response from the others. It is essential for the individuals to experience that the others see them the way they feel they are, and accept and like them (Josselson 1996, 102). While idealization and validation are one-sided – the individual seeks for something in and from the others – the special features of the experiences of mutuality and resonance are equality and reciprocity. The only goal here is the mutuality itself, and the pleasure it gives. (Josselson 1996, 149).
These aspects of relationships do not exclude each other. It is possible to experience, for example, idealization and mutuality and resonance in the same relationship:

[--] To play good music with the finest people in the world, whom you have known for years, it really is an extremely cozy feeling [--]

On Gender Differences and Masculinity

I locate my study into the tradition, which has been inspired by feminist psychology's focus on women's relationality. This tradition has applied the same theories and methodologies to young men, and achieved empirical results, which point out the similarities between women’s and men’s ways of relating to other people.

North-American feminist psychologists Rachel Hare-Mustin and Jeanne Marecek (1988) have named two ideologies, which relate to gender differences. These are minimizing and maximizing. The tendency to minimize refers to studies, which empirically and theoretically question differences between women and men and underline similarities between them. In this paper, my aim has been to underline men’s relational capacities, desires and practices. In this way I want to question the ideas on men as either less willing or less capable of close relations than women, especially in relationships between heterosexual men.

The tendency to maximize refers to studies, which focus on the differences between women and men. I see this tendency in many studies, which use the popular concepts of masculinity or masculinities. Masculinity and femininity are dichotomizing concepts. First, they are defined by their difference from each other, and second, the use of the concepts reproduces this difference. For example, Julie McLeod (2002) found intimate relations to exist between young schoolboys. The conclusion was that masculinity is changing, since boys are becoming intimate.

In my study I found it unnecessary to automatically label things men do with “masculinity”. I was interested in tracing the aspects, which help to undermine the differences between the categories of women and men. In this, I do not find the concept of masculinity helpful at all.

Instead, I have used the “old” psychological concepts of idealization, validation and mutuality and resonance. These concepts as such do not contain ideas of gender differences. However, the ways how these processes manifest themselves in different times and places, can be gendered. For example, my
male musicians named only men as persons they idealized. In my earlier study on young women, who played rock music, the women named both male and female musicians as idols (Knuuttila 1997).

Most importantly, this article reminds of the power of groups and the feelings of belonging to a group. Relational psychoanalysis maintains that humans need and seek for different kinds of relational processes, for emotional satisfaction, self-actualization, psychological well-being and personal growth. Being in a rock band is one social practice, which gives an opportunity to satisfy these needs.

Bibliography


Martti Muukkonen

Karl Polanyi and Youth Movements

Introduction

“The kingdom of heaven is like treasure hidden in a field (Matthew 13:44).” This and other parables of Jesus of Nazarene are familiar to most Europeans. In using parables, Jesus followed the long tradition of Jewish scholarship. Parables are an effective way to explain abstract concepts and phenomena.

Scientific theories are also sort of parables. By induction, they arise to explain some empirical data. To apply Clifford Geertz’ (1973, 93) statement on religion to science: A theory is a model of the special phenomenon that a researcher is interpreting. However, after that, the theory becomes a model for a reality when others try to interpret similar phenomena with the same theory. In a way, the reality is reduced to fit into the theory.

Although theoretical models are necessary, they are not without dysfunctions. The major problem with a theoretical model is that it is a model of one type of reality. Thus, there is a danger that all other types are ignored. For example, there has been a tendency to see Modernity as qualitatively totally distinct from the past. Consequently, social movements have been framed either as creators of the modernity or disruptors of it.

A bit different view emerges if we frame the social mobility as a reaction of the disruption of the earlier forms of society. In this paper, I am looking how Karl Polanyi’s thesis of the double movement1 fits in explaining youth movements and youth activity at large. In order to do this, I first shortly review what the root metaphors behind different social movement theories are. Secondly, I review Polanyi’s social theory and, thirdly, I use youth movements as a case in comparing social movement research and Polanyi’s thesis.

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1 Polanyi 1944, 130-134. With double movement Polanyi means a trend that the society protects itself by creating counter movements against the expanding liberalism.
Root Metaphors of the Social Movement Theories

Although the roots of social movement research can be traced to the midst of the 19th century, the field got wider attraction only after the rise of the new social movements of the 1960’s, namely student movement, peace movement, women’s movement and environmental movement, sometimes bound together under the label new left. These movements seem to remain also the main subjects of the sub-discipline since the 1970’s, the main inclusions being the ethnic and minority movements, the new activity in previous socialistic countries and movements related to the globalisation.

Social movement paradigm has several traditions that are partly parallel and partly follow each other in sequence. After the early crowd psychology, the first major tradition was the American ‘collective behaviour tradition’ (see Muukkonen 1999). In 1960’s there emerged a paradigm shift to the ‘resource mobilization approach’ and to the Marxist approaches (Eyerman and Jamison 1991, 19–23; Mayer 1991, 62). A European rival for the ‘resource mobilization approach’ was the ‘new social movement paradigm’ which arose along the rise of the Polish Solidarity-movement. After the heyday of these traditions, ideas presented in the collective behaviour tradition were ‘reinvented’ in the ‘cultural approach’. All these traditions frame the world and movements differently.

Crowd psychology (or collective psychology or group psychology) of the 19th century took its root metaphor from the crowd heading to Bastille. The basic idea of this approach is crystallised in Everett Dean Martin’s saying that a crowd consists of “people going crazy together”. Thus, social movement was something that disrupted the harmony of the elites. (Turner & Killian 1987, 4f., 19)

The major development of the field took place in the US ‘collective behavior tradition’. In this tradition, there have been two major streams: interactionist and structural functionalist. Along with these, collective behaviour has been studied in mass-society and relative deprivation traditions.

In the interactionist string, Herbert Blumer saw that elementary collective behaviour occurs in a situation where “usual routines have broken down”. In such situations people start to interact in order to find a shared definition of the situation and needs of action. Blumer calls this interaction ‘milling’. Social movements are, thus, according to Blumer (1953, 170–7, 199), “collective enterprises to establish a new order of life.”

In the structuralist string, Neil Smelser’s (1962) key concept was structural strain that caused collective behaviour. Structural strain is not an individual sense of frustration or injustice but failure of the social system to work in harmony (Turner & Killian 1987, 238f.). Thus, for him, society was a perfect machine and social movements are some sort of alarm systems indicating that something is wrong in the system.
Along with student activism, the root metaphor shifted to American political campaigns or commercial direct sales campaigns. In the resource mobilization approach social movements were seen simply as politics with other means like lobbies and interest groups. Within this common frame the approach has several competing perspectives. The organisational string (e.g. McCarthy and Zald 1977) sees the organisations as catalysts to action while the political string (e.g. Tilly 1978) has argued for the importance of the structural readiness of the potential activists and the structure of political support or hindrance, i.e. political opportunity structures.

The new social movement tradition emerged in Europe with the pioneer work of Alain Touraine on the Polish Solidarity movement. For Touraine (1981) the social movement and class struggle were synonymous expressions: “There exist no class relations separable from class action.” The speciality of Touraine was that he developed his general theory of sociology from social movements. In other cases it was vice versa (Eder 1982, 16). Touraine’s pupil Alberto Melucci (1980, 2, 18) claims that new social movements arise in defence of identity. For Melucci (1992, 48) social movement is not an entity but a process.

Cultural approach is an outcome of both collective behaviour tradition and the new social movement approach and it has several streams. In common they have the idea that culture defines the thinking and action of people. For example, Ann Swindler states that people use rituals, symbols, stories, and world views to construct strategies of action. (Johnston and Klandermans 1995, 7f.)

As we have seen, different social movement approaches understand movements differently. This frame of interpretation has also significant impacts on the understanding of the role and impact of social as well as youth movements in society. Moreover, scholars also contribute these frames to politicians who take actions according to these frames. Thus, it is not indifferent whether we understand movements as wild crowds that are destroying the order of the society, or as sources of new solutions or defenders of identities of people.

Karl Polanyi’s Double Movement

Karl Polanyi as a Social Theorist

Karl Polanyi was born in Vienna in 1886 to the family of wealthy Hungarian Jews. Later the family, except the father, converted to Calvinism. His life can
be roughly divided into three periods. Up to the age of 47 he lived and influ-
enced in Hungary and Austria. During this period he got his education, de-
veloped many of his main ideas and worked as a journalist in Vienna. In 1934 he
flew to England where he worked as a teacher. The contrast between the poor
conditions of the workers in the rich England and the relatively good life-
quality of those in poor Vienna gave a spark to his interest in the mechanisms
of market society. In 1944 he published his only monograph *The Great Transfor-
mation* in the US where he moved permanently a couple of years later. In the US
he served as a professor of economic history up to his retirement and after that
he led some research projects. He died in 1964.

In spite of relatively few publications, Polanyi’s influence especially on his-
torical anthropology has been enormous. The importance of Polanyi to the
American social science of the time has been crystallised by Anthony J.H.
Latham: “One might say that beneath the surface of an American social scient-
ist of that generation, you will find a Polanyist, just as beneath the surface of a
British social scientist of that period you will find a Marxist (Latham 1998).”

During the 1990’s and 2000’s Polanyi’s theories have become into the fo-
cus especially because of the similarities of the *haute finance* of the 19th century,
the US-led world system of the 1950’s and 1960’s (Silver & Arrighi 2002) and
the present globalisation process (Saari 2004).

Polanyi is not a movement scholar but he gives an interesting explanation
why both social movements and welfare state emerged as a counter movement
to market capitalism. In doing so, he provides an alternative view to frame also
youth activity. Polanyi’s *The Great Transformation* aimed to explain the rise of the
market economy in the 19th century, its dynamics and its fall in the 1930’s. As
such, it is an analysis of a certain epoch of history and the role of Britain in it.

Theoretically, Polanyi has roughly three themes with which he frames the
world. The first is the way he defined the *economy* (Polanyi 1977, 19ff.). The
second is his thesis of three possible integration forms of societies: *redistribution,
reciprocity* and *market* (Polanyi 1944, 46–54; 1968, 9–18). The third is the con-
cept of *double movement* that he uses to interpret the collapse of the 19th century
liberalistic market economy during the 1930’s (Polanyi 1944, 33, 40). I focus
here on this third concept.

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(Duczynska Polanyi 1977; 2000) and a short biography in the homepage of Karl Po-
lanyi Institute (*Karl Polanyi, 1886-1964*, 2002). On Polanyi’s years in England, Fred
Block (2001) held an address in a Polanyi-conference in Mexico Cityssä and Kari Po-
lanyi Levitt (2003) two years later in Manchester.
The Satanic Mill

According to Polanyi, the actual emergence of market society can be dated to the end of the first third of 19th century when the English Parliament accepted two laws: Reform Bill (1832) and Poor Law Amendment (1834). These laws made also labour a commodity that could be bought and sold. Consequently, a modern market society was born. (Polanyi 1944, 80–83)

When Polanyi compared the life of the labourers in rich England to those of poor Austria, he noticed that the latter lived better life. He remarks that it was, however, generally agreed among eighteenth century thinkers that pauperism and progress were inseparable. The greatest number of poor is not to be found in barren countries or amidst barbarous nations, but in those which are the most fertile and the most civilized, wrote John M’Farlane, in 1782. (Polanyi 1944, 103)

Thus, it was not so much a question of Industrialism as such but of the attitudes of the ruling classes. According to Polanyi (1944, 102) “the traditional unity of a Christian society was giving place to a denial of responsibility on the part of the well-to-do for the conditions of their fellows.”

Polanyi (1944, 112f.) describes how the liberal thinkers constructed the liberal market economy ideology. Especially William Townsend, in his Dissertation on the Poor Laws, developed the idea that the laws of economy were the laws of nature. For Townsend, humans were beasts and “could be regarded as consisted of two races: property owners and laborers,” as Polanyi (1944, 114) explains Townsend’s thinking. Townsend’s theorising had two important consequences. First, Polanyi (1944, 115) argued that the biological nature of man appeared as the given foundation of a society that was not of a political order… Economic society had emerged as distinct from the political state.

The laws of economy were not the laws of the society but the laws of the jungle (Polanyi 1944, 125). This thinking was in total opposition with Aristotle’s classical view that a human was zoion politikon, a political (or town-living) animal and that only gods and beasts live outside the society. Polanyi (1944, 114) remarks that “to Christian thought also the chasm between man and beast was constructive.” Thus, there emerged a clear paradigm shift in anthropology that allowed the well-to-do to usurp the labour class – instead of taking care of their subjects as before.

Second, Townsend gave a model how this exploitation could be made: through the hunger. While, according to Polanyi (1944, 46), in tribal society, “the community keeps all its members from starving unless it is itself borne
down by catastrophe, in which case interests are again threatened collectively, not individually.” Still in Tudor and Stuart times the society took good care of the poor. With the rise of market economy all this changed: “The spreading of market economy was destroying the traditional fabric of rural society, the village community, the family, the old form of land tenure, the customs and standards that supported life within a cultural framework (Polanyi 1944, 293f.).” In this process, attitude towards the poor changed: “While a pauper, for the sake of humanity, should be relieved, the unemployed, for the sake of industry, should not be relieved (Polanyi 1944, 224).” According to Polanyi, “many of the most needy poor, it was true, were left to their fate as outdoor relief was withdrawn, and among those who suffered most bitterly were the ‘deserving poor’ who were too proud to enter the workhouse which had become an abode of shame.”

Social Mobility as a Counter Movement

The emergence of the market society also evoked a counter movement which was society’s defence against the negative impacts of markets. According to Polanyi the 19th century market society broke the balance of the old society. He did not emphasise labourers alienation from work (like Marx) but from their culture and social relations.

Because this alienation did not only happen with labourers but also with the land-owning class, Polanyi explained that market economy caused several counter-movements of which the most important were the socialist planning economy in the 1920’s, fascism and various new deal solutions (into which he counted all welfare state models). Along with these also market needed its own counter-movement to prevent market economy’s dysfunctions. These were all society’s defence against the “satanic mill” of the markets.

The main point of Polanyi, let me repeat, was the break of the old society, its culture and social relations. If that break would not have happened, no counter-mobility would ever have been needed. The world would have gone forward with the pattern it had gone from the dawn of history some 5000 years earlier. From that perspective, what we call progress, is actually an anomaly that should be corrected. In this sense Polanyi is close to Durkheim who emphasised the corrective collective action. He is also close to Melucci, who pointed that social movements rise for the defence of identity.

Youth Movements as Counter Movements

Seeing youth activity from Polanyian perspective presents it in the frame of counter-activity. This, in turn, means that both youth movements and sub-
cultures of youth are some sort of protection of identity. This thesis is often valid in the case of criminal activities as well. Street gangs of large metropolises provide communities that give the sense of belonging and protection from outside world. Combined with Blumerian classification, it means that there are three kinds of counter-activity. Radical, which aims to the political change of situation; philanthropic, which aims to improve the situation of some group without the change of structures; and expressive, which aims to surviving in a given situation.

Youth and Radicalism

When speaking of youth and radicalism, one must remember that the majority of the political radicalism is actually youth activism. What is seen as general protest against some oppressive phenomenon, is actually youth activity. This is because “[m]any of these changes affect the young much more than the old (Lang & Lang 1961, 400)” as collective behaviour theorists Kurt and Gladys Lang note. Along to this, youth has often better opportunities to participate since they do not yet have similar obligations (work, family) than older generations. Moreover, along these social determinants, there are physical and psychological factors as well. Young men’s testosterone-levels are much higher than those of their fathers, who are more ‘tamed’ than their sons. Youth is also an age when idealism still exists and belief of possibilities to change the world is not so much doubted than what their parents do. Only seldom we see movements which consist mainly of old men and/or women. Russian and Argentinian Mothers’ Movements are well known exceptions.

This is typical, for example, in revolutionary or independent movements: Finnish jaegers before the WW I as well as members of Jewish Irgun after the WW II or today’s Arab Hizbollah fighters were and are all young men in their strength. The same can be said about today’s anti-globalist, environmentalist and animal protection movements – the majority of the activists seem to be young men and women.

Radical youth movements can be analytically classified in two ways. First, movements are either born out of youth itself or they are the affiliates of some larger movement. An example of youth-born youth movement is quite obviously the student movement of the 1960’s although it allied itself eagerly with the left parties. Examples of the second type could be various environmentalist youth groups which are part of the larger environmentalist movement.

Second, they target either inside or outside enemy – or sometimes both. The resistance in Iraq is a typical example of the activity against the outside enemy. With inside enemy, I mean that they are not trying to get rid of some foreign occupier but oppose people of their own community. A typical example was the ad hoc movement which arose recently in Copenhagen to defend the
youth house that was to be pulled down. Different environmentalist and anti-
globalisation movements represent the activity against both inside and outside
enemies.

In the case of foreign occupation, it is rather clear that resistance or inde-
pendent movements are defending the identity and autonomy of their own
people. If the identity and/or autonomy are not threatened, there would be no
need for radicalism. Thus, from Polanyian perspective, these people that lead-
ers of the superpowers call terrorists, are just counter activists opposing the
breakdown of their own societies.

In the case of internal protests, Langs point that “in a social milieu in
which intrafamily conflict is aggrivated and where, moreover, young people
are excluded from positions of leadership, intrafamily conflict may well be
channelled into politics and contribute to a new political climate (Lang & Lang
1961, 400).” This is true both in the case of the radicalism of the 1960’s, when
the youth arose against the values of their parents, and in the case of 1990’s and
2000’s when the youth has no place in the political system of the generation of
the 1960’s – or security in the labour market. In both cases, it was the question
of youth’s need to be recognised although one cannot overlook the issues they
have emphasised. A typical example of this kind of movement is the Finnish
precariat movement (http://www.prekariaatti.org/faq.html), which defend the
identity of those – mainly young people – who are either unemployed or get
only short-term jobs. However, the issues young people point out are also
problems of the older generations. Young people only have not yet been loaded
with family-responsibilities and thus they have a capacity to revolt. It might also
be that young people have not yet ‘been hit’ by the realities of life that they are
not so lamented than their parents.

The same all-generation-problem can be seen in the anti-globalisation and
environmentalist movements. The problems are not only those of youth but of
all generations. However, like Langs underline, the consequences affect mostly
the youth. Moreover, when the baby-boom generation holds the political power
the youth seeks for the alternate ways of influence.

In all these examples, the movement has arisen to defend the current situa-
tion or oppose a new phenomenon. In this sense, they are not innovative
movements in the sense that the evolutionary thinking would see modernity as
a peak of human social progress. They are, rather, reactions to changing situa-
tions. This, however, does not mean that there would not be innovative think-

\[^3\] However, this does not work other way: even when there is not resistance/independ-
ence movements, there might be need for it. It might only be that there is not
enough resources or opportunities for such to be build up. On resources and social
mobility, see, e.g., Zald (1991, 350).
ing inside them. It only means that the idea of these movements is to challenge some new trends – without which they would not have emerged.

**Philanthropic Youth Movements and Organisations**

Along with radical youth movements, there have always existed also philanthropic youth movements. The two largest of them in international scale are the Scouts and the Young Men's Christian Association. While the latter is genuinely youth-born movement, the first is more adult organised but youth oriented movement. However, they both aim to improve the life conditions of their members as well as their societies without changing the political structures. Especially the early British YMCA in the 1840’s fits well into the Polanyian theory of counter-movement. It was born in London during the peak of the 19th century market society as a mutual improvement society of young clerks⁴. However, Polanyi’s theory does not fit so much on the German stream of the same movement (nor the Scout movement), which was born out of the missionary movement. For German youth pastors, the *Jünglingsverein*, like it was called in Germany before Nazis, was a tool for their youth work. In general, Polanyi’s theory does not explain the emergence and dynamics of religious missionary oriented movements since his theory focuses mostly on social and economic aspects of life, not so much on world views.

Both the YMCA and the Scouts focus on the improvement of the individual instead of social structures. However, with this, they aim also to change the society but only indirectly. In fulfilling their mission, they aim to empower young people by giving them such training that they can improve their life-conditions by themselves. They also try to create communities of young people, which would give them the sense of belonging in the world of alienation. In this sense, these movements also fit to Polanyi’s theory of counter mobility, which aims to restore what has been broken.

**Escapist Youth Activity**

Along with radical and philanthropic mobility, there is also inward-bound mobility that aims at just surviving in the inhumane situation. The extreme forms of this are the drug-cults like the *Hippie-movement* of the 1960s or suicide-cults like Jim Jones’ *Peoples Temple*⁵. Escapism can, however, be found in other cults and youth activity as well. One form of this escapism is formed by religious cults.

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⁴ On the YMCA, see Muukkonen 2002.
⁵ While not actually a youth-cult, one third of the victims were under 17 (Barker 1986, 330).
Religious cults, like the ‘Moonies’ (The Unification Church, n.d.) and Hare Krishna Movement (International Society of Krishna Consciousness, n.d.), while often led by older people, focus on the youth. They often require total surrender to the movement. In the same time, they give a new community or 'family' to their followers. This classifies them as counter-movements in Polanyian sense.

Along with religious escapism, great part of today’s culture is the experience-industry. It is a form of activity that directs the frustration to expressive or experience forms instead of political or philanthropic activity. It aims to give more and more ‘kicks’ that let people to forget their reality. ‘Tittytainment’ is the modern version of the old Roman *panem et circenses*: people are kept calm by giving them food and entertainments. It is no wonder why the leisure activities are becoming the fastest growing industry today.

Today, largest youth events are different kinds of sports events and rock concerts. Departed from their roots, they have become more and more part of the tittytainment industry and have got escapistic forms. They direct audience’s focus away from everyday realities giving new and new experiences. In some cases, these activities include almost religious commitment. Compared, however, to other escapist activities, they are, at least, giving some sort of ‘we’-feeling among total strangers. Some other forms, instead, just switch out their thinking and make people to spend hours and hours in watching soap operas, reality series – or spend countless hours in their own worlds in front of their PCs.

Although Polanyi’s theory focused mostly on political movements, also these escapist forms of collective behaviour can be interpreted as counter movements. They are products of the alienation in the modern world and are means for people to cope with this alienation. Like political and reform movements they create new communities which give people the sense of togetherness. Although they might create local communities, the ‘unification’ is mainly vertical. People are foremost linked to the guru, star or team and only secondary to each other. They are united because they have connection to their hero.

All in all, Polanyian view to youth movements and social movements in general, see them not as carriers of the flag of progressive future but as defenders of small human beings against the mighty powers of capitalism and globalisation. In this sense, they are similar to the labour movement which, according to Polanyi, emerged as a reaction to commodification of human labour. While not able to explain all youth mobility, Polanyi’s theory gives an interesting alternative perspective to youth movements.

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6 For example, Ninian Smart (1998, 25ff.) sees games and music as dimensions of a religiosity that he calls scientific humanism.

7 There was a similar tendency within Catholic Church under John Paul II, as well. He acted like a star and especially Catholic youth movements regarded him as their guru.
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Vesa Puuronen

Everyday Racism among Young People in Russia

This article is based on the preliminary results of a research project Living with Difference in Russia – Hybrid Identities and Everyday Racism among Young “Rossiyane”. The study has been carried out in the Republic of Karelia, Republic of Tatarstan, St. Petersburg and Krasnoyarsk. That is based on a questionnaire survey (n=3996) and interviews of young people. The article includes a short description of the main goals of the project, a short discussion about different forms of racism and some preliminary results of the analysis and conclusions.

Introduction

The project Difference in Russia has empirical, theoretical and practical goals. Main empirical goals are to describe and compare the ethnic and linguistic identities of and ethnic relations amongst young people in Republic of Karelia, Republic of Tatarstan, Krasnoyarsk and St Petersburg and to describe the experiences of everyday racism and of ethnic discrimination of minority young people. In addition, the project aims at analysing the discourses of nationality and ethnicity in youth media and, for example, school textbooks.

In terms of the theoretical discussion, the project aims at description and explanation of ethnic and linguistic identity formation of young Rossiyane. Also, the applicability of the theory of hybridization of youth cultures and identities in Russian reality is studied. Furthermore, the concepts racism, everyday racism and ethnic discrimination and their applicability in Russia are considered. The main methodological goal of the project is to combine quantitative

\[1\] The project belongs to the Academy of Finland’s research programme on Russia in flux (http://www.joensuu.fi/ktl/difference/index.htm). The project is carried out between 2004-2007. Researchers from the following institutes participate in the project: University of Joensuu (Finland), Karelian State Pedagogical University and Petrozavodsk State University (Republic of Karelia, Russia), Herzen State Pedagogical University (Saint Petersburg, Russia), Kazan State Technical University (Republic of Tatarstan, Russia) and Krasnoyarsk State University (Krasnoyarsk Region, Russia).
and qualitative approaches and to reflect their limits and consequences for the construction of the knowledge. The study has also practical aims. The main goal is to contribute to the better understanding of ethnic identity formation and ethnic relations amongst young Rossiyane.

**Different Forms of Racism**

In the study of racism the question: what is racism, should be answered. In international research on racism, there exist several definitions of the concept. Quite an unanimous opinion of the researchers (see Barker 1981; *Dictionary of Race, Ethnicity & Culture* 2003; Miles 1993) is that racism is a manifold phenomenon. Racism has at least following four main forms.

The first is the old racism, which means pseudoscientific ideology and political practices. According to Todorov this form of racism is based on the following assumptions:

a) human races exist.
b) physiological and psychological features of people belonging to different races depend on each other and are hereditary
c) membership in a racial group determines the qualities of an individual
d) hierarchy of races exists, white race is the most valuable race
e) the policies must be based on scientific knowledge. Consequently the liquidation or isolation of inferior races is possible (Todorov 1989, 115–117; Sokolovskii 2000, 32).

The second form, i.e., new racism is based on:

a) cultural features (instead of physiological) as a basis of differentiation and hierarchization of human races and peoples
b) the racialization of cultures
c) the assumption that different cultures are products of a natural process which is based on the adaption of people to the natural conditions of their original homeareas.

The third form of racism is called institutional or structural racism and its basic assumptions are:

a) racism is based on legislation
b) racism based on institutional practices (e.g. discrimination in educational institutions, housing and labour market)
c) institutional racism has a discriminatory effect, irrespective of the motivations or intentions of those people involved

Forthly, researchers have outlined the form everyday racism, which refers to humiliating, discriminatory and exclusive practices in the everyday life interaction of people representing different ethnic groups.

In our study the main analytical concept is everyday racism. Everyday racism draws attention to the phenomena, which occur in everyday encounters of people belonging to different ethnic groups and which have been experienced as humiliating by some participants of the encounters. These phenomena include humiliating gestures, gazes and facial expressions, jokes and customs. Also isolation and discrimination during everyday interaction in workplaces, educational institutes and services (e.g. restaurants, bars and shops) can be considered as dimensions of everyday racism.

Everyday racism is most often manifested in the actions of individual people, but it is based on social structures and the power of majority. The concept everyday racism combines structural and institutional practices with people's everyday actions. The concept was introduced by sociologist Philomena Essed in her book *Understanding Everyday Racism, An Interdisciplinary Theory* (1991). The concept was developed in an empirical study on the manifestation of racism in USA and Netherlands. Essed’s approach draws on everyday life sociology and phenomenological sociology. It emphasises the necessity to study racism through the everyday practices of people and to take into account the experiences of the victims. Essed has underlined that it is important to complete macro-sociological, structurally or ideologically oriented research on racism with micro-sociological study of everyday practices. Racist processes at macro level of society are based on micro level phenomena and cannot exist without them. In the table 1 the forms of everyday racism are represented. The table 1 also illustrates the mechanisms by which everyday racism is accomplished.

In addition to the different forms of racism, a distinction can be made between purposeful and non-purposeful racism. Open racist attacks, like those against immigrants in St. Petersburg and Moscow by skinheads are without doubt purposeful. Also ethnic cleansings carried out by Soviet authorities during 1930’s and 1940’s e.g. in Karelia and Caucasus as well as the mass-murders of Jews, Roma and Slavic peoples by Nazi-troops during the Second World War or murders of Bosnians during the war in Balkans during 1990’s can be regarded as purposeful racist actions. Also ridiculing members of minorities with bad names like black (чёрные) and telling humiliating jokes are forms of purposeful racism, even though these actions are often regarded as innocent by perpetrators. Ethnic jokes and ethnic mockery indicate almost always racist attitudes.
Table 1. Forms and mechanisms of everyday racism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mechanisms</th>
<th>Humiliating gestures, facial expressions and habits</th>
<th>Ethnic jokes and use of derogatory names</th>
<th>Discrimination in schools, workplaces, services etc.</th>
<th>Avoidance and isolation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- marginalisation:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- perpetuation of the dominant values and norms</td>
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<tr>
<td>- creation of artificial social ceilings to the progress of members of minorities</td>
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<tr>
<td>- problematization</td>
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<tr>
<td>- perception of social reality</td>
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<tr>
<td>- cultural experiences</td>
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<tr>
<td>- social and intellectual qualifications of members of minorities</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- frustration of opposition by</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>- intimidation</td>
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<td>- patronizing</td>
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<td>- assimilation pressure</td>
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<tr>
<td>- cultural isolation</td>
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<tr>
<td>- denial of racism</td>
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</table>

Research on Racism in Russia

The scientific language and concepts have a strong influence on ordinary citizens’, media’s and politicians’ perceptions and conceptualisations of society. Consequently scientists have a crucial role in constructing the discourses in which ethnic groups, ethnic attitudes, racism and tolerance are defined.

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In Russia, research on racism has been very rare. In 2002, Voronkov, Karpenko and Osipov published an important collection of articles *Razism v jazyke socialnyh nayk* [Racism in the language of social research] in St. Petersburg dealing with racism in Russian scientific language. The starting point of that publication was that racist thinking (ideology) and racist action were widely spread in the country during 1990’s. According to Voronkov, Karpenko and Osipov, Russian racism most often refers to old pseudoscientific biological racism and is politically and historically connected to Nazi Germany or apartheid system in South Africa. The new cultural racism has not been recognised nor studied even though it is widely represented in scientific texts, schoolbooks and media. It should be also noted that some notions of old racism, for instance the belief that human races exist, is widely spread in Russian schoolbooks (e.g. Gladkii & Lavrov 2002; Nikitin 2006, 50; Kolesov, Masha & Beljajev 2006, 21–24; Shsikina 2006, 9–61) and in scientific literature (Sokolovski 2002, 31–33).

The publication (*Razism v jazyke socialnyh nayk* 2002) includes interesting studies for instance about scientists’ role in the production of etnophobia (Karpenko 2002, 23–30), racism in anthropological studies (Sokolovski 2002, 31–44), the construction of ethnic conflicts and racist discourse (Osipov 2002, 45–69). The book also discusses the civilization approach represented in Russian schoolbooks of history and its impact on new racism (Shsnirelman 2002, 131–152). The articles clearly indicate that racism is quite widely spread in Russian scientific discourse and that racism has quite strong influence on Russian school textbooks. According to Voronkov, Karpenko and Osipov (2002), most scientist are not reflective vis-á-vis concepts. Therefore, also researchers use widely common racist notions or assumptions. Many Russian researchers, who belong to Soviet generations, oppose old racism. Racism was one of the main ideological and political enemies of Soviet Union. Some researchers can, however, promote cultural and institutional racism in their studies and act in a racist manner in their everyday interaction with minorities. They are not intentionally racist.

**The Main Features of the Sample**

This paper is based on the preliminary analysis the data collected by a survey research (n=3996) in four Russian areas during years 2004–2005. The areas and number of respondents in each area are shown in the figure 1.
The sample used in the study is not a random sample, but a purposive one. The main principles of selecting the respondents were the attainability, representativeness and variety. The respondents were young people (mainly 13–25-years of age). They were students of Universities and pupils of different types of schools. Educational level and sex of respondents can be seen in the figures 2 and 3.
Respondents represent different educational institutions and they study varied major subjects. Also the ethnic and linguistic background of the respondents varied, which was achieved by including pupils of so called national schools (Tatar and Karelian) in the sample.

Preliminary Results

When trying to discover the spread of everyday racism among Russian youth, the one could begin by asking the respondents to tell how often they have noticed certain racist phenomena in their lives, phenomena that can be regarded as indications of everyday racism. The figures 4 and 5 indicate that respondents have noticed different forms of everyday racism.
These figures show that the majority of young people have observed violations of rights of other people and incidents of ethnic hooliganism. According to the study, name calling and especially ethnic jokes are very common forms of everyday racism in Russia (see figures 6 and 7).

It is interesting to see how the spread of everyday racism in Russia is varies in ethnically different areas. According to our study, the violation of rights of other people was noticeably more frequent in areas where one ethnic group (Russians) was dominant. This may be explained by ethnic background and hostile attitudes towards immigrants. In Tatarstan with a larger share of non-Russian population, for example, these phenomena were less frequent than in ethnically more Russian areas (see figures 8 and 9).
Figure 9. Holtile attitudes by region

It might be too simple to explain the frequency of self-reported everyday racism by one or few factors. One explanatory factor, however, is the existence of nationalist and extreme right wing ideologies and movements. It appears that they may partly explain the regional variation.

Figure 10. Nationalist propaganda by region

The figure ten indicates that the frequency of nationalist propaganda is considered the highest in St Petersburg. In St Petersburg, the different forms of self-reported everyday racism also occur most frequently. In Tatarstan nationalist
propaganda is less frequent, and so is self-reported everyday racism. Thus, there seems to be a connection between the frequency of nationalist propaganda, violation of rights on ethnic basis and hostile attitudes against immigrants.

Conclusions

Everyday racism is a part of everyday life of majority of university students and school pupils in Russia. Members of majorities obviously carry out acts which restrict the rights, humiliate and exclude members of minorities. The respondents of ethnically/nationally more homogeneous regions (Russians as a dominant group, St. Petersburg, Krasnoyarsk) report more everyday racism and discrimination than respondents of ethnically/nationally heterogeneous regions (Karelia, Tatarstan),. The regional variation of self-reported everyday racism shows that the frequency of these phenomena depends on cultural and historical conditions in which young people live. The influence of nationalist propaganda and nationalist movements must also be taken into consideration when explaining the variation.

Bibliography


Introduction

Ethnic relations are on the move in today’s Russia. While the occurring political, economic and social changes have undermined the traditional ties of kinship and ethnic unity, new ethnic communities have emerged, and nationalist consciousness is high among some fragments of the population. As Parland (2005, 75) writes, a variety of nationalist movements and parties have emerged during the past decades. Nationalist ideology and skinhead movement have gained ground especially among young Russians, which has resulted, for example, in ethnic discrimination, more negative attitudes towards certain ethnic groups and the acts of racially motivated violence. The migrant communities and their descendants are a usual foundation for the identification and expression of ethnic difference. Young people of North Caucasian origin are at the forefront of these disputes because in many everyday encounters they are categorised as ‘different’ and they are therefore likely to become victims of racism. The matters of inclusion and exclusion are crucial to young migrants as the search for the sense of belonging is an integral part of adolescence.

The article draws from my doctoral study1, which explores the construction of identity among young people, who have moved to Petrozavodsk and St Petersburg from North Caucasus. The two cities were selected due to their ethnic heterogeneity. St Petersburg is a city of five million people and well over a hundred ethnic and national minorities. Petrozavodsk, the capital of the Republic of Karelia, is considerably smaller by size. However, over the decades it

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1 The doctoral thesis is written in the framework of the project Living with Difference in Russia – Hybrid Identities and Everyday Racism among Young Rossiyane, which is funded by the Academy of Finland.
has received a great number of people from different parts of former Soviet Union, including the Caucasus.

The article is based on the information gained through interviews, participatory observation and discussions with informants about the photographs portraying their everyday lives. I have interviewed seventeen young people in St Petersburg and Petrozavodsk – six women and eleven men aged between 18 and 25 (one 29-year-old) – seven of whom I have interviewed twice. Most of the respondents were students, although some of them worked full or part-time. Among the research participants, there were representatives of seven nationalities. Their self-stated nationalities are Avar, Chechen, Dargin, Kumyuk, Nogai, Osset and Tabasaran. The interviews were conducted in Russian, all of them being taped and transcribed.

This article outlines the ways in which racism figures in the everyday lives of young people of North Caucasian nationality, who currently live outside the Caucasus region. I use the concept of everyday racism to highlight the processes through which racism is created and reinforced in various everyday practices. As Essed (1999) writes, everyday racism is a complicated concept, closely linked with terms, such as discrimination and prejudice. In her (ibid., 43) understanding, the concept of racism refers to unequal categorisation and treatment of people, based on their cultural and physical differences. She further states that racism must be understood as an ideology, structure and process. In the process, the inequalities, inherent in the wider social structures, are deterministically related to biological and cultural factors and then attributed to those, who are seen as different in terms of ethnicity or race.

Essed (ibid., 43–44) argues that as an ideology racism operates on two levels. First, at the level of daily actions and their interpretations, and at another level as a refusal to acknowledge racism and take responsibility for it. Racism includes a variety of concepts, ideas, images and intuitions that provide a framework for interpretation and meaning for racial thought in the society. It also serves to cement, unify and preserve the ideological unity of the hegemonic group. Second, racism must be understood as a structure, because ethnic and racial inequalities exist in and are reproduced in the society through the formulation and application of rules, laws, norms and regulations, and through the accession to the allocation of resources. Third, it is essential to perceive racism as a process because ideologies and structures exist in the everyday practices through which they are created and confirmed. This article summarises certain ethnic stereotypes of Caucasian peoples and then moves on to study, how these stereotypical conceptions are manifested and reflected in the everyday lives of young Rossiyane. To place the focus on everyday experiences of young migrants, is not to deny the interconnectedness of different types of racism, such

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2 Rossiyane is the term used of all citizens of Russia, regardless of their ethnicity
as structural and everyday racism, but to point towards the necessity to depict the everyday life and thus dissemble the subtle practises of inclusion and exclusion that prevail in today’s Russian society.

**National Composition of St Petersburg and the Republic of Karelia**

As Lonkila and Salmi (2005) point out, the masses of people have moved or been moved from one region to another throughout the history of Soviet State: to Siberia, the Far East, Central Asia and to the areas annexed to Soviet Union after the World War II. The writers also notify that the migration flows escalated in the early 1990’s when the formerly tight migration regimes loosened.

The majority of the migration turnover in Russia has been with the former Soviet republics. Many Russian-speakers migrated to the Russian Federation and simultaneously, a great number of ethnic and national minorities, such as Ukrainians and Baltic peoples, moved from Russia to the newly established sovereign states. Although, the total emigration from Russia to the “far aboard” has been smaller than many researchers expected, the social impact of such movements is profound. For example, Jews, Russian Germans and Ingra-Finns migrated from Russia in great numbers. Also, the migration within the borders of Russian Federation increased as different regions of the federation developed unevenly and the more prosperous and stable regions attracted refugees, migrant workers and small traders.

As part of the Russian Federation, the Northern Caucasus region is administratively included in the Southern Federal District. The district consists of Krasnodar Krai, Stavropol Krai and the autonomous republics of Karachay-Cherkessia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Adygea, North Ossetia, Ingushetia, Chechnya and Dagestan. North Caucasus, is a home to dozens of nationalities, languages and several religious confessions. Over the past decade it has experienced a rapid demographic change. The tense political situation combined with hardened economic conditions has increased especially young peoples’ willingness to migrate from, and within, the region. The migration has grown because the economies of Caucasian republics that emerged from the Soviet Union have remained weak.

The unemployment rates are high and the future prospects for the younger generation are frail. This is partly due to the armed conflict in the Republic of Chechnya, which causes insecurity and slows down the building of new industries, such as tourism. However, a major role is also played by the economic changes caused by the collapse of Soviet Union and the general economic tendencies that relate to the process of globalization. Agriculture no longer provides young people with means to support themselves and their families, which
is why more and more youngsters move to urban localities. According to Bezrukova (2004), in Russia, young people usually change the place of residence in order to obtain education and employment, or they move away from environmentally damaged or conflict-torn areas in order to live in a safe location. On the other hand, it is not always young people themselves, who make a decision to move. Some are obliged to follow their parents or older relatives, who have decided to migrate.

| Table 1. Population by nationality: St Petersburg and the Republic of Karelia, 2002 |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| ST PETERSBURG                   | REPUBLIC OF KARELIA             |
| N                               | %                               | N                               | %                               |
| 4 661 219                       | 100                             | 716 281                         | 100                             |
| Russians                        | 3 949 623                       | 84.7                            | Russians                        | 548 941                         | 76.7                            |
| Ukrainians                      | 87 119                          | 1.9                             | Karelians                       | 65 651                          | 9.2                             |
| Belorussians                    | 54 484                          | 1.2                             | Belorussians                    | 37 681                          | 5.3                             |
| Jews                            | 36 570                          | 0.8                             | Ukrainians                      | 19 248                          | 2.7                             |
| Tatars                          | 35 553                          | 0.8                             | Finns                           | 14 156                          | 2.0                             |
| Armenians                       | 19 164                          | 0.4                             | Veps                            | 4 870                           | 0.7                             |
| Azers                           | 16 613                          | 0.4                             | Polish                          | 3 022                           | 0.4                             |
| Georgian                        | 10 104                          | 0.2                             | Tatars                          | 2 628                           | 0.4                             |
| Chuvash                         | 6 007                           | 0.1                             | Azeris                          | 1 753                           | 0.2                             |
| Polish                          | 4 451                           | 0.1                             | Armenians                      | 1 599                           | 0.2                             |

North-Western federal district is one of the Russian regions that has faced a positive net migration even in recent years when the domestic migration has already started to slow down. According to the 2002 All-Russian census, out of the 4 661 219 people in St Petersburg, 84.7 per cent classify themselves as Russian. 1.9 per cent say they are Ukrainians, 1.2 per cent Belorussians, and 0.8 per cent classify themselves as Jews and Tatars. 0.4 per cent of the population state that they are either Armenian or Azeri. Altogether there are well over a hundred nationalities residing in the city.

3 The figure does not include Mountain Jews, Georgian Jews or Central Asian Jews, which are listed as separate nationalities.
4 The figure does not include Tatars of Astrakhan, Siberian Tatars and Crimean Tatars, which are listed as separate nationalities.
5 According to Dmitriev and Sleptsov (2004, 31), in 2001 the migration saldo of North-Western federal district was 8 migrants per 10 000 permanent residents.
Russians form the largest nationality in the Republic of Karelia. 9.2 per cent of the population classify themselves as belonging to the titular nationality of Karelians. 5.3 per cent consider themselves as Belorussian and 2.7 per cent are Ukrainian. Other minorities include, for example, Finns, Veps and Polish. 99.3 per cent of the population state to be able to speak Russian. As a reference, the number of Chechens in Karelia is 393 and in St Petersburg live approximately 1700 Chechens. For Azerbaidjanis, which is another minority group much debated in the media, the numbers are 1753 and 16 613 respectively. The number of the representatives of each of the interviewed nationalities is presented in the table 2.

Table 2. Informants’ nationality: St Petersburg and the Republic of Karelia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST PETERSBURG</th>
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</tr>
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<td>Nogay</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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Stigmatization of Caucasian Peoples in Russia

As Pilkington (1998) explains, the rise in international and regional migration was greeted with mixed feelings in Russia. On one hand, the concern about the prospects for future natural population decrease – due to rising mortality and falling birth rates – means that the moderate and controlled rise in migration
has received a relatively favourable response by the politicians and general public. On the other hand, xenophobia and racism are spreading in the country, and the migrant communities form a target for expressing prejudice and discomfort of the recent developments. Since the mid-1990’s, the prejudices have taken on a distinctively anti-Caucasian dimension. The xenophobic attitudes have been directed against people originating from the Caucasus region. A neologism “Caucasian person” (litso kavkazskoi national’nosti in Russian) was developed and used to describe practically any person with “darker” appearance and origins in the South of Russia.

The North Caucasian youth form a relevant group for the study because in many surveys, the “Caucasians” have been singled out as “the most different” in comparison to ethnic Russians (See Malašenko 1999 and Sikevich 1999, 121–131 on kavkazofobia). “Caucasians” are seen as deviant because of their presupposed different manners, mentality and religion. Many of the differences are studied and challenged by Brednikova and Patchenkov (1999) in their article on the Azerbaijanian diaspora in St Petersburg. However, the stereotypical attitudes towards Caucasian population are commonplace in Russia. A young man, who originates from Dagestan, summarises these conceptions: “According to Russians, they [people of Caucasian origin] are savages, people who have come down the mountain and can not accomplish anything but shashlik.”6

The discourse on different Caucasian manners of usually focuses on the fact that many migrants come from the countryside. They are therefore considered uncivilized and not fit for the urban conditions. A stereotypical image of a Caucasian migrant portrays a person with little education, no knowledge of Russian language, peddling vegetables at the local market. More commonly, especially the economic activities of migrant population are described in relation to criminality, drug trafficking, prostitution and dissemination of contagious diseases. Other popular themes in the media are the increased competition in the labour market and the inability of local and state authorities to cope with the needs of the growing number of residents. As Titov (2003) notes, there are few attempts by the media to portray migration processes and the migrant population in a neutral, multifaceted manner.

With regard to mentality, the Caucasians have, for centuries, been perceived as proud, masculine and militant peoples (Hunagov and Shadzhe 2001, 78). These somewhat romantic perceptions have gained momentum in the 1990’s as the result of the political unrest in the Caucasus region. Many of the national or ethnic communities in the region have troubled relations either with their neighbours or the federal government in Moscow. These disputes result in negative stereotyping, which involves Chechens, in particular, but also other Caucasian nationalities. As explained by Romanov, Štěblanova and Jarskaja-

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6 All interview material quoted in this article is in the possession of the author.
Smirnova (2005), the image of a Caucasian woman as a terrorist or a suicide bomber is widely used among Russian media (Granina 2004). Also, the men of Caucasian origin need to deal with the stereotypes that portray them as bandits or terrorists.

The confrontation between the Russian and Caucasian nationalities is escalated as a majority of people in North Caucasus are Muslims. Russia is currently aiming to achieve the great power status in world politics. It has also joined forces with the U.S. lead coalition to combat the threat posed by radical Islamists in the Near East. Since the early 1990’s, there has been a growing concern about an expansion of Islamic extremism in the Near and Middle East, Central and Southern Asia, and most significantly for Russia, in the Caucasus region. As Kääriäinen (1997, 47) explains, Russia has contradictory relations with its Muslim population. In some circles, Islam is considered a specific feature of Russia, which makes the nation unique and different from the Western societies. On the other hand, some sections of the population are worried about the political dynamics of Islam and the fact that the Muslim population is growing somewhat faster than the number of people belonging to the Orthodox Church (see also Lallukka 2004, 8–9). In Russia, as well as in many other parts of the world, Islam is commonly associated with the activities of terrorist groups and militants. At the federal level in Russia, the aggressive Islam regularly appears discursively as Wahhabism, even though Wahhabism as a religious movement and as a construct of the official state discourse clearly are two different phenomena (Omel’chenko, Pilkington and Sabirova 2003, 231).

These are the kinds of stereotypes and categorisations that are often applied to the representatives of Caucasian nationalities in Russia. As Juhila (2004, 23) argues, such stereotypes and categories are meaningful because they usually are culturally shared. A mere reference to a category that an individual is believed to belong, presumably gives us knowledge about how s/he conducts her/himself and how we should interact with her/him. The categories may be hierarchically structured. They may consist of negative stereotypes and therefore produce inequality and exclusion among the members of the society.

As Harinen et al. (2005, 3) write, social memberships gain their most concrete forms in everyday social situations and human interaction. When young people are being considered, schools, youth clubs, youth cultures and friendships are the topical and also typical fields of interaction. Harinen et. al. (ibid.) believe that the everyday reality of immigrant youth is formulated by a tension of, on one hand, racism and prejudice, and on the other hand, of acceptance and solidarity. The next chapter takes a look at the spheres wherein the ‘difference’ of young people of North Caucasian origin is made perceptible and the incidents of everyday racism occur.
Experiences of Everyday Racism

In his article on everyday racism in Finland, Puuronen (2003) gives several examples of everyday practices, which may contain racist features. These include words, gestures, expressions, humour, manners and the problematisation and marginalisation of the representatives of ethnic minorities. According to Essed (1999, 50), everyday racism means the infiltration of racism into everyday life through cognitive and behavioral practices that activate the underlying power relations. It is a process in which practices with racist implications become themselves familiar and repetitive, and thus reinforce and actualise underlying racial and ethnic relations in everyday situations. Everyday racism may be so subtle as to be difficult to notice or detain.

In the course of the research, I found out that the informants struggle to describe the feelings of discomfort, which they, in a more or less conscious manner, associate with their ethnic or national background. A young man verbalises this experience:

If I tell you honestly, I do not hate or dislike concretely Russians or any other nationality, which live here in St Petersburg. (...) And well, even if there is no visible hatred towards us, there are certain moments, certain places where you can feel that we clearly are not loved here. (...) These problems do not exist only there, where people study, or do something, like arts, but on everyday level, with those people that you do not know personally (...).

T: Could you give an example of such moment?

Well, how should I put it… It does not come to my mind. It can happen in different ways. For example, I do not like it when the police officers see something negative, and they point me out from the crowd because I am a person of Caucasian nationality. Because I am a Caucasian, I do not like that.

Instead of admitting to the existence of outward hatred towards the people of Caucasian nationality, the informant acknowledges that a certain dislike exists in the relations between the Russian and Caucasian people. He believes that the situations in which previously unfamiliar people come to contact with one another are particularly susceptible to confrontations. A quotation from an interview of a young woman of Dagestani origin is also illuminating:

With the other [students] it sometimes happens, well, because they do not always understand that I am from there. Well, it is not directed straight at me, but rather towards Caucasus in general. It is very unpleasant, when it happens, especially when they say something incorrect. You always end up explaining.
The informant makes it known that even if her fellow-students do not intent to hurt her feelings by criticising Caucasus region and its people, she, however, takes the comments personally and feels distressed by the situation. She is uneasy, even though it is clear to her that the fellow-students do not necessarily even know that she arrived to St Petersburg from North Caucasus some years ago. She understands that the others do not intentionally wish to harm her, but rather express opinions and views that are commonly held on Caucasus. According to Harinen et al. (2005, 3), there are many public places, such as streets, market places and other areas of city, that are meaningful in young people’s social reality. They further argue that in the micro-cosmos of confrontations, school is the central area for young people and therefore also an arena of major challenges when multicultural everyday is being considered. The interviews conducted in St Petersburg and Petrozavodsk confirm this notion. In Russia, one of the main aims in young person’s identity work is to be accepted by his/her peers and it is at educational institutions where the terms of inclusion and exclusion are negotiated and tested.

As Harinen and Suurpää (2003, 7) explain, to become a member in a society is not only a question of legal status, economic position or political power. It also involves the politics of everyday life – the daily negotiations of group belonging, friendships, and social and cultural recognition. My interviews also revealed, that the young people of North Caucasian origin do not only struggle to build relationships with their Russian peers. They also have come to contact with teachers, who sometimes fail to treat them with respect. A young man outlines an encounter, which took place when he took part in the university entrance examination in the beginning of his stay in St Petersburg:

There was this one person, a teacher, he looked at my passport and after that he was no longer interested in what I had written, or how I had answered. First he looked at my passport and asked, from Dagestan? I said yes. I was not experienced, I did not know anything, which is why it was difficult for me to argue with him. He took my papers, tore them, and said that I did not pass. It was difficult for me. I thought that it was my fault, that I did not make it. Then I understood, you know that Dagestanian people have this feeling, revenge. I decided to prove to this person that I am better. I got into that university a year after. I know this person now and he looks at me, is afraid. I showed him that I can complete my studies. The first and second year I finished with excellent marks. I proved him that not all Dagestanis are bad, or stupid, as they think here. We can be just normal people.

He then continues and describes a similar, yet more discreet way to demonstrate a person’s inferior position:

If I go, for example, to visit the executive director at work, they tell me... The secretary announces that someone dark is waiting for you. She does not use the last
name. This is kind of annoying, I can not understand it. They are civilized people, who know culture but still they think such idiotic things about different nationalities. This is what people do, from the top to the bottom.

This goes to show that for minority youth, educational institutes and workplaces are not neutral territories but rather they are directed and controlled by ethnic, generation and perhaps gender considerations. The racist content of the outlined events becomes evident when we understand that these are not separate incidents, but repetitive by nature and connected to the power structures of the surrounding society. The examples also illustrate that for the representatives of the hegemonic group, many practices with racist implications have been so tightly integrated into their everyday lives and cultural practices that they have become self-evident, expected and thus difficult to notice. This is not, however, always the case as the data contains accounts of numerous social situations, wherein the discrimination on national or ethnic basis is clearly intentional and carried out with clear purpose.

National and ethnic categories can easily be turned into concrete questions of rights and belonging. Who is, for example, allowed to enter university? Who can travel on public transport without being disturbed? What kinds of clothing are acceptable to wear, and so on. The informants in St Petersburg and in Petrozavodsk claim that they are treated in a discriminatory manner in many everyday situations. Teachers, employers and the average man in the street may reveal their prejudices by certain looks, jokes or disparaging comments.

Conclusions

According to Rastas (2004, 55), to oppose racist practices and discourses, we need to understand how racism figures in everyday situations and how it influences individuals and groups of people. In this article, the outlined orientation was studied from the point of view of young people, who originate from North Caucasus. It was stated that in legal terms, these young people are equal to their Russian peers, but on the level of everyday politics, their position is inferior. The differences are due to the ethnic and racial categorizations, which proclaim the young people of Caucasian origin as deviant and subordinate to other – predominantly Slavic – nationalities. I gave examples about the stigmatization of young people of North Caucasian origin, many of whom believe to be treated in a discriminatory manner. In the Russian media and public debate, Caucasian peoples are often perceived as criminals and terrorists, not suited for the Russian society or labour market.

Whilst the categorization of young people of North Caucasian nationality takes place, little consideration is given to the differences that exist in their religious beliefs and practises, language, manners, schooling, age, gender, eco-
nomic position, and so on. In this sense, ethnic stereotypes can be understood as a social force, which intimidates young people into questioning their individuality. It is possible that if a young person is regularly overridden by people who refuse to treat her/him as an individual, the self-esteem may be weakened and the understanding of who s/he is, is determined by the surrounding people, politicians, the media, etc. As Rastas (2004, 38–40) notifies, young people are especially sensitive to racism because they are often alone and powerless in these situations.

The detection of how the experiences of everyday racism affect the identity construction of minority youth is a challenging task, as there is no single cause-effect mechanism that could be explained here. Generally speaking, there are two basic strategies for dealing with stigmatisation and negative stereotyping. People may either give in the definitions of the surrounding society or establish a polemic relationship with them. There are, however, certain limitations in the approach, which focuses on whether or not an individual establishes a confrontational relationship with social categorizations. All too easily those categorisations divide young people into two groups: survivors and those, who can not “take the heat” from the surrounding society. However, there is much more to each individual than her/his experiences of racism.

Portraying young people of North Caucasian origin as mere victims of racism would do them a disservice and overly simplify the complexity of experiences of the minority youth in Russia. As Alitolppa-Niitamo (2003, 19–20) points out, young people, and young migrants in particular, are on the move and the processes of identity construction are on-going and incomplete. Individual differences exist and they should be accounted for in this type of research.

This said, the role of Russian society and the commonality of the racist experiences should not be overlooked. It appears that Russia is currently experiencing a revolt of patriotic attitudes. The demand for a strong and unified state is intensified in different spheres of the society. These political undercurrents seem to have a bearing on the lives of North Caucasian adolescents. The need to re-state the great-power status of Russian Federation seems to override many other social and political concerns, such as finding a peaceful solution to conflicts in the Caucasus region. Patriotic policies are in line with the occurrence of nationalist extremism and racist everyday practices. The experiences of racism can seriously damage an individual's self-confidence and capacity to lead an ordinary life.
Bibliography


Living with Difference in Russia


Rastas, Anna (2004): Miksi rasismin kokemuksista on niin vaikea puhua [Why is it so difficult to talk about the experiences of racism]? In Arja Jokinen, Laura Huttunen & Anna Kulmala (eds.): *Puhua vastaan ja vaieta. Neuvottelu kulttuurirististä marginaalisista* [To speak against and be silent. Negotiating cultural margins], pp. 20–32. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.


Introducing the topic of ethnic tolerance is a crucial and pressing subject. The rise in the number of immigrants, refugees, and other displaced individuals in recent decades has contributed to the increased heterogeneity of Russian society. The tension in ethnic relations is evident in conflicts, aggression, and negative attitudes towards representatives of other ethnic groups. The Republic of Karelia, previously perceived as a relatively peaceful area, has experienced a notable increase in the number of such attitudes, with almost 40% of young Karelians expressing dislike towards representatives of other ethnic groups (Shvets & Miljukova 2005, 2006). This indicates the importance of promoting ethnic tolerance among young people. 

On the one hand, the balance between tolerance and intolerance is seen as a dynamic characteristic of society, influenced by socio-cultural changes. On the other hand, efforts by educators and psychologists could be beneficial in fostering more tolerant youth. The study herein examines the potential of psychological group training methods in affecting young people's ethnic attitudes. The focus is on young people aged 15–18, specifically upper-secondary schoolchildren and students who identify as Russians, aiming to assess the effectiveness of group training in promoting ethnic tolerance among young people. 

Footnote: The paper discusses the possibilities of group training in promoting ethnic tolerance among young people, connected with my Ph.D. research. This research was conducted in the framework of the project “Living with Difference in Russia – Hybrid Identities and Everyday Racism among Young Rossiyane,” funded by the Academy of Finland.
Theory and Methodology

Ethnic tolerance/intolerance is understood here as a social-psychological characteristic, which manifests itself in the degree of willingness to accept the representatives of other ethnic groups. When talking about ethnic tolerance promoting, I refer to the supporting or ‘forming’ positive ethnic attitudes, positive (or at least ‘neutral’) ethnic stereotypes and the reduction of ethnic prejudices.

Why do people dislike ‘Others’? Unfortunately, there are no single approach is adequate to explain the complex nature of intergroup hostility. There are different theories trying to explain why people are intolerant to ‘aliens’.

T. Adorno (1993, 75) and colleagues take ethnic intolerance and ethnocentrism as attributes of authoritarian person. In their view, tolerance and intolerance are formed in the specific style of socialization. M. Sherif’s (1988) experimental work showed that the base of aggression or cooperation (tolerance/intolerance) is the character of inter-group interaction. Concerning the realistic theory of inter-group conflict by D. Campbell (1972), the increase in intolerance is determined by the conflict in real group interests. According to H. Tajfel’s (1986) theory of social identity, a person constructing one’s social identity is likely to search for the positive features of one’s own group and the negative of Others’. Russian psychologists (Lebedeva 1999, 48) have considered the role of the social-psychological safe mechanisms. They argue that the level of tolerance depends on the cultural distance between groups and group’s “well-being”. Unfortunately, the reality and science give us few possibilities to modify ethnic attitudes in a positive way. The main methods probably are those of increasing contacts and information.

According to inter-group contact hypothesis, negative inter-group attitudes can be reduced by bringing the members of different groups in contact with one another. Newcomb (1947) uses the concept of “autistic hostility” to describe the nature of inter-group conflict. He proposes that mutually antagonistic groups avoid contact with one another and the isolation between them tends to generate negative attributions. This is due to the fact that isolation does not allow the attributions to be checked by the reality. Allport (1954), in his *Nature of Prejudice*, said that contact does not always lead to desirable attitude changes. He named four necessary conditions for changing attitudes. These are the equal status, common goal, inter-group cooperation and institutional support. Liebkind (1999) discussed the extended contact hypothesis based on the idea that simply knowing that an ingroup member has a close relationship with an outgroup member leads to more positive inter-group attitudes.

One of the common ways to reduce prejudices is to provide knowledge about the culture of the other group. This assumption is based on the idea that prejudice is based on ignorance. When one becomes more competent in other group culture, his/her attitudes towards the representatives of that group
should become more positive. New knowledge, new ‘positive’ information can change the cognitive component of attitudes. Informing usually means receiving knowledge of another culture and its traditions, i.e., becoming more competent in “Others”. On the other hand, some studies show no consistent effect of information on changing ethnic attitudes. Therefore, it is very important that the promotion of tolerance does not only consist of studying/knowing other cultures, but also realising and understanding the social and psychological mechanisms that determine our attitudes towards “Ours” and “Others”.

If (when) a young person understands the role of social categorisation, s/he becomes able to (consciously) realise his/her identifications. S/he is able to reflect on his/her own stereotypes and prejudices, and this awareness could make him/her more tolerant. Under the circumstances, it could be a good idea to introduce young people with role-playing sessions, during which participants examine their attitudes on discrimination or privilege in a simulation game. As Lebedeva (1999, 217) said: “For understanding and accepting Others one should respect his own culture and more often have contacts with other, different cultures – these are most well-known components of ethnic tolerance formula…”

**Psychological Training as the Method of Promoting Ethnic Tolerance among Upper-secondary School Children**

In the course of my research, I used the ideas outlined above (personal development/growing up, cultural competence, communicational competence and the experience of positive contacts should promote tolerance) to develop a program to promote ethnic tolerance. I conducted several sessions (at least three meetings each lasting for 2 hours) with upper-secondary school children (aged 15–17) and technical school students (aged 16–18). It is important to notice that group training is quite good form to work with youngsters because of their high need of self-analysis and reflection. In this particular age, communication and social feedback are essential.

The terms “group training” or “psychological training” are quite wide, and there is a variety of different forms to conduct psychological work with groups. The programme presented here is based on Makshanov’s (1997, 38) concept. He argues that training is a multifunctional method of group and personal psychological phenomenon, which deliberately aims to the harmonisation of life.

Training accelerates the process of gaining new knowledge and effective social and behavioural skills. It creates opportunities for deeper self-analysis and self-determination. Psychological training combines the experience with analysis in organised group context. Group training gives an opportunity to combine acting, thinking and feeling and it is characterised by participants’ activity, spe-
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Social rules and norms (equality), atmosphere of confidence, rather small group (12–16 participants), reflection and feedback. Basic training methods are discussions and games.

These particular training sessions were not announced among students as sessions aiming to promote ethnic tolerance, but they were invited to participate in the training of communicational sensitivity and competence. In the context of this work I used different techniques that should provoke mechanisms that influence participants' ethnic attitudes (such as the identification with representatives of different ethnic groups, internalisation of positive group norms and compliance). Here I will focus on three of the used techniques: Reformulating Stereotypes, Behavioral journalism and the role game Ours and Others.

Reformulating Stereotypes

I developed this technique in the seminars held with the students of psychological faculty (Karelian State Pedagogical University) on the topic Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices. Reformulating stereotypes is a technique, which combines the exploration of students' ethnic stereotypes with discussion and learning. The target is quite ambitious: trying to change ethnic stereotypes. When conducting these exercises, one needs to keep in mind that stereotypes are rather stable and even rigid group opinions, and there are a lot of social and psychological mechanisms working to protect the opinions.

If stereotypes are understood as attitudes, we can talk about their cognitive and emotional components when the cognitive refers to the questions, such as what do I think about that group, what kind of people are they? Emotional, on the other hand, to what do I feel about them, do I like them or not? When we try to explore, to reflect and take into consideration our own stereotypes, it is necessary to use some words to characterize the group. The choice of particular words does not only demonstrate our ideas (cognitive component), but our feelings, too (emotional component). For example, when characterizing Russians, a person could describe them as non-economical/wasteful (and it's not good), whereas another person could say that Russians are generous (and it's good). In this case the contents of their thinking are almost identical but they express their thoughts in a different manner. They use different words, which reflect their emotions and attitudes. Thus, the main idea of the technique Reformulating stereotypes is as follows: if the trainers in discussion with the students change terms that they use to characterize the ethnic group (to more positive) we can also change their attitudes a little bit (even without changing the content of the stereotype). Moreover, the technique gives us the opportunity to inform students on the mechanisms of ethnic stereotyping.
The procedure is the following. First, students are asked to write independently five typical characteristics of representatives of different ethnic groups (in my work these groups were Russians, Finns, Roma, Jews and Georgians). Second, these images were discussed. During the debate, the following questions arise: How constant are our stereotypes? Why? Why do we think about people in this way? Do our stereotypes reflect the reality? During discussion students could learn some new knowledge. The next step is that students estimate whether each of named characteristics is positive (e.g., kind), negative (e.g., aggressive) and neutral (e.g., blond). How positive are the images of their own and of an “alien” group? The image of one’s own ethnic group is usually more positive than the images of other groups.

At this point it is useful to talk about the psychological needs of positive identification and explain the mechanisms that determine the attitude “Ours are better than Others”. After the discussion, the students are asked to change negative terms (that they used) to positive or neutral ones without changing the meaning. For example, short-tempered could be changed to emotional/sensitive, aggressive to active, greedy to thrifty and so on. Finally, the “new” images of ethnic groups are discussed. It is important to understand what happens when we change the terms. The main conclusion reached by the students is that this task gives an opportunity to take an alternative look at the stereotyped groups and that, in general, the images are the same, but the attitudes change.

Behavioral Journalism Technique

By Behavioral journalism technique I refer to the experimental work described by Karmela Liebkind and Alfred L. McAlister (1999). This technique is based on the ‘extended contacts’ hypothesis, according to which people may change their negative attitudes towards the Others, if they have information about friendship (close or good relations) between the representative of their own group and the representative of an alien group. I tried to repeat the procedure proposed in the referred article with some necessary changes (because of the training context).

The stories were collected from school students in Petrozavodsk. We (my assistants and I) gave the following instructions: “We are interested in people’s experiences with representatives of other ethnic groups, and especially in positive experiences”. Volunteered students were interviewed privately; their stories were printed and later on discussed with participants of the training. During the sessions we used the stories that outline a positive change in the outgroup attitudes after close relations with the member of an outgroup.

I used 9 stories. Here are some examples:
My name is Alina. I’m 17. I’m a communicative and nice girl. I like dancing and making friends. One of my friends is Caucasian. He’s 18. Now he doesn’t work or study. When we are together in company, he likes boasting, showing off. But actually he is very kind and helpful, authentic. It’s possible to talk about everything with him. He has a good attitude to people, no matter what nationality/ethnicity they are. I didn’t like Caucasians before I got to know him. Now I think they are not bad.

My name is Darja. I’m 16. I’m an ordinary girl: kind, nice. I like dancing with my friends in nightclubs at weekends. I met my friend – Azerbaijani – in a disco. I liked him. He phones me every day and we often meet. I like his friends too. They are good, kind people. I disliked Caucasians before I’ve met my friend. Now my attitudes have changed, I don’t have prejudices. I like communicating with them.

I’m Julia, 17. I like sport, my friends think, that I’m a very good friend. During this summer we visited summer camp in Finland. Before this trip I though Finns are slow, non-communicative, reserved. But in the camp they surprised me. They are polite, interested in other people. I’d like to see my Finnish friends again.

My name is Konstantin, I’m 17. I have a lot of friends. I think that nationality/ethnicity doesn’t relate to personality. I have one good friend in school, Bahman, Azerbaijani. We studied in the same class. He is kind, non-aggressive. When he is insulted by somebody he never answers aggressively. He invited me to his home, I got to know his father and brothers. I have good attitudes towards these people and I will think good of them in future too.

I have chosen these stories because they show how young people have changed their opinions about an ethnic group after close relations with the representatives of them. 5 (from 9) collected stories talked about making friends with “Caucasians” (term that is usually used in reference to Georgians, Azerbaijani, Armenians and Chechens). The choice of stories reflects the so-called “caucasofobia”, which is spread in Russian society. The most active and emotional discussion was based on those stories.

In one of the group sessions on the topic Friendship could remove prejudices, printed stories were distributed to the students, after which they read and discussed them. Afterwards, the following questions were proposed: What do you think about these stories? Could somebody share the similar experience? How could friendship or close relations with someone, who is the representative of another culture or ethnic group, influence our attitudes towards the whole group? Positive comments and stories about the similar experience were supported by the trainers, whereas some negative comments and disagreements were politely ignored.

At the end of this session, the students came into conclusion that prejudice often result from the lack of knowledge and communication experience. Furthermore, they argued that it is interesting to socialize with somebody who
presents another ethnic group or culture. This gives an opportunity to know more about a person. Each person is an individual. It does not actually matter what ethnic or cultural background your friend has.

Role Game ‘Ours and Others’

*Ours and Others* is one of the role games that simulate interaction between social groups with different status (privileged and discriminated ones). The main idea of the simulation is to give the people playing this game a possibility to experience how it feels to belong either to a privileged or a discriminated social group. The assignment allows them to understand such situations and it gives a good example of different inter-group communication mechanisms. The change in attitudes of participants is expected as a result. The scenario of this particular game was proposed by Christopher and Smith in their book *Training of leadership* (1993, Russian translation 2001).

It is better to organize the game in a cafeteria or another room for coffee break, where two tables should be reserved for tea or coffee. The “rich table” is placed in the center of the room, and on it the participants find beautiful cups, napkins, sugar, sweets, cookies, tea bags, coffee, milk and a large inscription “Ours”. The “poor” table is in the corner of the room. On the table there are plastic cups, boiled water and a large inscription “Others”. Then participants are randomly divided into two groups. Each participant is given the badge (“Ours” or “Others”) and the following instructions.

**Instruction for OURS:** “Now you will be among ‘Ours’ and ‘Others’. You’re lucky to be in the privileged group – ‘Ours’. Please, take your seat. If someone from the group ‘Others’ comes to your table and asks for something, first, you should be sure, that this person is polite enough and treats you with respect. If it’s so, you can give something.”

**Instruction for OTHERS:** “Now you will be among ‘Ours’ and ‘Others’. Unfortunately, you are one of ‘Others’. Your table is in the corner of the room. If you’d like to take something from the other table, you can go and ask for it. But remember about the privilege of ‘Ours’. If somebody from ‘Ours’ approaches your table, you should express gratitude and politeness.”

After reading the instructions all participants are invited for tea or coffee and they have at least 15–20 minutes to adapt to the situation. If they ask something from the facilitator – for example “What, if we do this way?” – it is better to give them the freedom of choice and simply ask them to follow the instructions. Nevertheless the facilitator should be very attentive and realize when and why it is better to stop. The dynamics of these kinds of games can sometimes
be unpredictable. However, the game usually goes in one of three ways. The first option is that the players decide very soon to cooperate together in spite of instructions. They usually move the tables together and drink coffee demonstrating obvious relief, joy and pride of their decision. This is the least emotional scenario, as there is less risk involved, and it does not give so many opportunities for discussion after the game. Nevertheless even if the game goes on this way, it is necessarily to discuss why participants chose this type of behaviour, how do they feel, think, etc.

The second scenario is more interesting because it outlines better the aims of the exercise. Here players try to maintain game rules and behave according to the instructions. This, surely, provokes some confrontation, and sometimes the situation is far from easy. On the other hand, both sides “Ours” and “Others” are looking for a good solution and come up with different ideas and initiatives. The participants try to find a variant of cooperation, which is ‘satisfactory’ for the both groups.

The third scenario is also possible. This option is emotionally the hardest, because in this option people take on their roles (even too) seriously, and the confrontation between “Ours” and “Others” becomes too hard, it is no longer constructive. This could happen for different reasons. The students can be frustrated by something, it is possible that they are not ‘ready’ for this kind of work, they may lack group work experience or reflective skills or perhaps the psychological atmosphere in this particular group is not good. However, if the facilitator is experienced in using emotions and intentions of players, this way of playing the game could be very successful, too.

Next I would like to present a short description of the game as it was played by students, aged 16–18 years. This game followed the second scenario, but it was very emotional and active.

“After receiving the roles and instructions, there was first a short pause, and then the participants went to their tables and started to drink tea. “Ours” were very calm, they looked confused. “Others” demonstrated joy and were very noisy. During the whole game, “Others” talked more and laughed more, they were also more active than “Ours”. The players from “Others” demonstrated different positions:

Others (1): No! I will never ask them! It’s humiliation!
Others (2): Could you please, give us something sweet.
Others (3): I demand justice!
Others (4): Could you give us a supervisor from your group. We’d like to be the same as you. Could you teach us, how to live so well as you?

Players from “Ours” sat calmly and talked quietly with representatives of their group. They also commented on the behaviour and phrases of “Others”.

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Ours (1): Why are you so aggressive?
Ours (2): Your offers are strange…
Ours (3): We don’t understand what you want from us!

Then “Others” decided to organize the revolution. They started to shout: “Down with Ours!” But there was no reaction. After this ‘small revolution’ “Others” decided to earn something sweet from “Our” table and started to dance.

Ours: It’s mockery!

In this description it is possible to see important features, which characterize the usual behaviour of the game players. It is common that “Others” take the initiative and demonstrate more active behaviour that “Ours”. Usually there are three strategies for their behavior:

“No asking! We’re too proud for it!” In this case “Others” do not communicate (or at least try to demonstrate ignorance) with “Ours” and refuse all proposals from the second table (if they have any…)

“Please, give us something!” In this case “Others” do not usually ask sincerely, but try to manipulate “Ours”. This is usually the easiest way to get something from another table (and it falls under the instructions), but as we will see later it is not the easiest way emotionally. “You’re so clever and good, could you teach us!” demonstrates a different kind of manipulating behavior that “works” very often.

The crucial part of this game is the discussion that follows the actual exercise. It is important to go through at least the following questions:

What did you feel when got your role and read instructions/rules?
What did you think and feel during the game? In the beginning and at the end?
If you were in another group, what would you do?
What do you think this game demonstrates? Where can we see the similar relationships?

The character and effectiveness of the discussion depends on the strategy and dynamics of the game and on the behavior of the facilitator. The discussion is usually very heated. It is important that the facilitator organizes and controls the process to prevent rude or too personal replies. The trainer should also give proper comments. The confrontation between “Others” and “Ours” often lasts for some time and players (of both groups) usually report unpleasant emotions during the game. “Ours” may say they felt guilt and injustice. “Others” usually felt disappointment, insult, and sometimes even anger. The main conclusions that could be made by the participants, with the help of facilitator, are:
It is very simple and easy to create “Us – Non-us/Them” (questions of identity).

The lack of information (in this case: people don’t know instructions of the second group) make us interpret motives and behavior of the other group representatives usually not in a “good” way (questions of understanding and attributing).

We’re sensitive to groups’ statuses (question of intergroup relationship).

Of course, these kinds of conclusions do not relate only to interethnic relations, but they reflect universal mechanisms that arise in the inter-group communication. I believe that this game-playing experience may be very useful for understanding these mechanisms. It also gives an opportunity to think thoroughly and formulate more positive attitudes towards the representatives of other social (ethnic) groups.

Conclusions

The main question that is often asked in relation to this kind of work is how effective is it? Do attitudes change and if ‘yes’, how stable are these changes?

The participants attitudes were measured (a questionnaire consisting of different scales. N=65) before and after the training and the results demonstrated a rather positive effect and changing ethnic attitudes. I also collected feedback from the students, who participated in training sessions. Oral feedback (‘sharing’) was given in every session and written feedback at the end of the work. The participants reported that they gained a lot of useful information and got to know more about themselves. They also started to think deeply about relations among people, notably among the representatives of different groups, and understood better their own stereotypes. According to the students, the most interesting and impressive part of the training was the role game Others and Ours. Although some of them said that this game is too hard, even cruel, it also seemed to be the most useful. So, it’s possible to say that participating in such kind of group training could influence ethnic attitudes of youngsters in desirable direction.

One of the main conclusions is that this work is the most effective when working with the young people who do not have strong negative attitudes or prejudices towards ethnic out-groups. The discussion about interethnic relations and ethnic attitudes with highly prejudiced people can give them a scene to express and to force their opinions on others. As a result there could be the so called boomerang effect. Training work is appropriate for the prevention of ethnic intolerance and prejudices among young people.
Bibliography


SPEI SUAE PATRIA DEDIT
– EDUCATING YOUTH
Introduction

University students are the largest and the most socially active part of the Russian youth and the universities are the source of the majority of future professionals in various areas. The life of students is, however, highly determined by the difficult socio-economic conditions of the Russian society and the social risks. These influence the health and everyday life of the students. The Center of Sociological Research of Karelian State Pedagogical University (KSPU) has been monitoring the health conditions and everyday life of modern youth for many years. The main objects of these studies have been high school students and sophomore and junior students at various institutions of higher education in Karelia. The research included an international project The Youth in the Changing Karelia (1995–1997) implemented in cooperation with Joensuu University and the project Everyday life and plans for the future of the Karelian youth carried out at the support of a grant given by Russian Humanitarian Research Fund (RHRF) “Russian North” (2001–2003). The current research focuses on the series of health indicators and specific aspects of the everyday lives of students who are about to graduate and soon will become school teachers.

Research Methodology

The results outlined in this article were based on the sociological survey conducted in 2006. The sample included 212 graduates, 185 female students and 27 male students of different departments within Karelian State Pedagogical University. The sample included all the graduates of the Department of Elementary Education and the Department of Preschool and Social Pedagogy and Psychology, as well as the groups of students from the Departments of Foreign Languages, Geography, Physics and Mathematics. The mean age of participating female students was 22.8 years, standard deviation is 0.53 (mean age = 22.8,
standard deviation = 0.53), and the mean age of male students was 22.3 (mean age = 22.3, standard deviation = 0.48). The large number of female participants is explained by the choice of the university. The teaching profession in Russia is highly feminized, and for example, there is only one male student among the graduates of the Departments of Elementary Education and Preschool Education. The situation within the Department of Physics and Mathematics is a little more diverse as it has 35 female and 17 male graduates. Low wages lead to the substantial decrease of respect of the teaching profession: high school and college students give it one of the lowest ranks in statistical surveys. Male students rank the driver’s profession higher than that of teachers (Shvets and Zlokazova, 2004).

The questionnaire contained 30 questions about the various aspects of everyday life and behavior of the graduates. The participants were asked to evaluate their general health conditions, smoking habits, alcohol and drug use, exercise, food intake and disease rate. Some of the questions required open-ended answers. All the results were counted statistically, but the results presented here focus on the most important indicators or changes. One part of the research project studied the feelings of the graduates concerning the choice of their future occupation, their university studies and the future career plans. 98 students took part in this project. Their responses were assessed according to the 5-point scale (1 = yes, 2 = more yes than no, 3 = have difficulty answering the questions, 4 = more no than yes, 5 = no).

Socio-Economic Conditions of Students in Karelia

Some thirty per cent of female students are married by the graduation, and the common law marriage is the most common type of marriage (table 1). Common law marriages were rare during the Soviet period but they are becoming more and more prevalent now. Only one of the surveyed male students was married.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Status</th>
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<th>Male</th>
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<td>Married</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>41.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Common Law Marriage</td>
<td>58.1</td>
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</table>
Even when married, the majority of graduates (45.4% of female and 74.0% of male students) continue to live with their parents. A large number of students live in dormitories (25.9% of female and 14.8% of male students) and some of them rent rooms in town (17.8% of female and 7.4% of male students). Only 8.6 per cent of female students have their own apartments. Almost all graduates would like to live on their own, but only a few of them can afford this. The difficult socio-economic situation in Russia makes it hard for young people to fulfill this dream. In comparison, the majority of the young people of the same age in Finland (88%) live separately from their parents, as they are able to afford to rent an apartment or buy their own place (Puuronen and Kasurinen, 2000).

Most of the graduates (84.2% of female and 81.5% of male students) described their relationship with the parents and other relatives as good. Furthermore, the participants stressed that they can rely on the parents and relatives for support. Only 10.8 per cent of female students and 11.1 per cent of male students often feel lonely and are afraid to face their problems alone.

Most of the KSPU graduates consider themselves as belonging to the middle class. It is interesting to compare our students’ assessment of their material conditions with those of their peers – the students who lived in the beginning of the last century, as well as with their peers from various regions of Russia who study at RUDN (Peoples’ Friendship University of Russia). This comparison based on the evidence presented in the article by Puzanova and Borisenkova (2001).

Table 2. Students’ assessment of their material conditions (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very poor or poor</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>64.1</td>
<td>64.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very good</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analysis of this data reveals that at all times students are rarely considered themselves wealthy. The study also shows that material conditions have always
been an important factor in determining young people’s every day life. However, at the beginning of the 20th century (1904), 26.1 per cent of the students lived with their parents or close relatives, 4.7 per cent lived in the dormitories (the dorms were public and private) and 69.2 per cent of students rented rooms. This indicates that at that time (1904) students had more opportunities to have comfortable living conditions. It was easier for them to rent a room or an apartment than for today’s students because of the high housing prices in all parts of Russia, including the Republic of Karelia.

Government financial aid for the students is limited and only the academically successful students get a stipend. Sophomores and junior students usually get 690 rubles per month, and for final year students, the amount is 990 rubles per month (less than 30 euro). This amount is below the minimum wage in Russia. All the respondents ranked their stipends quite low and below the minimum wage.

**Promoting Health among Students**

The low material conditions of Russian families affect negatively on the health of young people. Several studies conducted in Moscow to assess the health conditions of university students over the recent years. The studies conclude that over the last fifteen years, the number of healthy sophomore and junior students has decreased 2.5 times and more than 4 times among the graduates. During the years, the number of people with chronic diseases has increased 1.5 – 2 times (Paljtsev, 2002). According to KSPU statistics, only 45–47 per cent of the applicants are healthy and the number of sick students keeps increasing. The observations of the health conditions of the sophomore students, conducted for many years, show that the number of chronically ill students increases annually. The data for study collected in 2002 indicated that 11.8 per cent of students assigned to a special medical group and the health conditions of 6 per cent of the students did not let them attend Physical training classes. Moreover, 60 per cent of the students within the special medical group have one illness or a developmental problem. There are 22 per cent of them who has two illnesses or developmental problems and 18 per cent have three to five illnesses (Prokopieva and Tsareva, 2003). The number of students in special medical groups increases significantly every year (Stepanenkova, Stepanenkova and Tsareva, 2005). Unfortunately, the mandatory physical examination of the graduates does not take place any more and we do not have the complete picture of the health conditions of the future teachers. Therefore, the self-assessment – widely applied in sociological research – done by using a 5-mark scale. In addition to the objective medical research work, the self-assessment of the health conditions is an important indicator and measurement of the condi-
tions and health rate among the population. As it is seen from the analysis, 3.4 per cent of female graduates assessed their health condition as “bad”, 44.8 per cent as “average”, 50.0 per cent as “good”, and only 1.7 per cent as “very good”. 41.1 per cent of the female respondents were chronically ill and 96.4 per cent were sick at least once during the previous year. Male graduates had higher self-assessment than female ones: 26.9 per cent of male graduates assessed their health as “average”, 65 per cent as “good”, and 7.7 per cent “very good”. It is necessary to mention that 34 per cent of male graduates have chronic diseases and 86 per cent of them were sick more than 3 times during the previous year. We believe that the higher self-assessment scores of male graduates do not reflect the reality. Only 48 per cent of male graduates and 72.2 per cent of female graduates know their normal blood pressure – but almost half of the male respondents had arterial hypertension. As a rule, young men have inclination to neglect their health more often than young women.

The respondents stated that common cold (80.5 % of females and 85.2 % of males) and flu (27.5 % of females and 74 % of males) are the main reasons for acute diseases. We think that it has its roots in the adversary climate of Karelia. The common chronic diseases among students are respiratory, gastro-enteric and cardiovascular problems. Only 3.6 per cent of females and 14.0 per cent of males stated that they practically never get sick.

According to the results 89.8 per cent of females and 77.7 per cent of males answered “Yes” to the question “Do you consider health the most valuable thing in life?” but only a few of them take care of their health. Only 49.1 per cent of female and 44.4 per cent of male students visit doctors only in emergent situations. Many students treat themselves without going to the doctors and do not take time off when they are sick. Only 30.6 per cent of female and 25.9 per cent of male students take prescribed medications (table 3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3. Cases in which students take medications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RESPONDENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor’s prescription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trying not to use medications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use traditional medicines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Approximately 10 per cent of Karelian students medicate themselves without consulting a doctor. It is interesting to know what kinds of medicines students use and have at home. Female students listed us up to 60 names of different pharmaceuticals they had at home while male students named about 30. Anal-
Nina Predtechenskaya and Nadezhda Terentieva

gesics, aspirin and activated coal are among the most popular medications (table 4).

The number and specificity of the named medicines corresponded mainly with the state of health of an individual and the frequency of illnesses and chronic diseases. Students also use herbs, such as valerian, chamomile, calendula, eucalyptus, sage, cranberry and ginseng. Only two respondents noted that they have no first-aid kit at home.

Table 4. The most popular medications (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEDICINE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Analgesics</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirin</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citramon</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No-spa</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activated coal</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesim</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Our previous research projects revealed that high school and college students from Joensuu (Finland) ranked their health first on the scale of priority values. In the Republic of Karelia that position was third, which can be seen in the fact that Russian students not take care of their health properly. The health indicators of Finnish students were in many ways better than health indicators of Russian students (Predtechenskaya and Sinisalo 2000).

The Life-styles and Life-choices of Future Teachers

It is a well-known fact that the habits and behaviour of an individual determine 50 per cent of the health of a person. Therefore, we tried to assess some of the aspects in students’ life-styles (table 5).

Our findings show that only one in four graduates organize their daily life properly, and 40.8 per cent of females and 44.4 per cent of male students do not. Male students spend more time outside than female ones. The majority of the graduates usually sleep 8 hours or more. Most of them eat food whenever they are hungry – 46.0 per cent of females and 44.4 per cent of males but 37.2 per cent of females and 44.4 per cent of males try to eat three times a day. More than three times a day eat 21.2 and 29.6 per cent of female and male students. The problem here is that students do not eat well-balanced food. They do not control their protein, fats and carbohydrate intake and their diet lacks vitamins. This fact mentioned in our earlier publications (Predtechenskaya and
Last, there is not much interest in dieting among graduates. Only 13.1 per cent of females and 7.4 per cent of males are on diet in order to keep themselves slim.

Table 5. Some indicators of the students’ life-styles (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDICATORS</th>
<th>FEMALES</th>
<th>MALES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DAILY LIFE ORGANIZATION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>29.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEING OUTDOORS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An hour and less</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 hours</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than 2 hours</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>55.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no response</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLEEP TIME</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 hours and more</td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>70.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6–7 hours</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EATING</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Whenever”</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 times a day</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 3 times a day</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>29.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEING ON A DIET</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTITUDE TOWARDS REGULAR SPORTS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“from time to time”</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>only during PT lessons</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not exercise</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>29.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, there is an increased interest in physical training and exercise among Russian youth. According to the statistics from Novgorod State University, 70.0 per cent of students take physical training (PT) classes but half of those students do not have any other exercise outside these classes (Medik and Osipov, 2003). Unfortunately, there are not so many students among research participants, who exercises regularly and goes in for sports. These factors contribute to the physical and intellectual development of an individual, strengthen health, self-confidence and ease socialization. According to our findings, 18.2 per cent of females and 29.6 per cent of males do not exercise at all, and
only 21.0 per cent of females and 29.6 per cent of males exercise regularly. Female students named aerobics, gymnastics, shaping and fitness as their favorite kinds of sport (35.0 %). Other popular sports are dance, athletics, skiing and yoga. Very few students go to the gym, hike or do mountain climbing. Male students prefer games, such as volleyball and basketball, as well as tourism and skiing.

Unhealthy habits are quite common among the future teachers. In this sense, they are not different from any other high school, college and junior students. Unfortunately, the majority of the future teachers smoke (27.5 % of females and 37.0 % of males), and drink alcohol. Only 16.2 per cent of females and 7.4 per cent of males responded that they do not drink alcohol at all, and 14.1 per cent of females and 1/3 of males stated that they drink at least “once a week”. 8.1 per cent of females and 29.6 per cent of males reported to have tried drugs, although most of them said that it was “once only”. We hope that their negative experiences with drugs will help them to work with their future students in order to prevent drug use and addiction among them.

Harmful behavior, bad habits and the lack of organization in personal life affect negatively the psychosomatic conditions of university graduates. 52.0 per cent of the students point out that they have regular back pain and they are not feeling well. 62.0 per cent of them feel nervousness and hypertension, 75 per cent has constant longing for sleep, 67.0 per cent feel tired and think that they have lack of energy. In general, the health of students worsens towards the last year of their studies. The students name three reasons for this: the lack of organization of their daily life, inadequate eating habits and the inability to take care of their health (Medik and Osipov, 2003).

Another topic is the professional choice of students and their plans for the future. Although 88.7 per cent of the students studied with great interest and enthusiasm, only 57.9 per cent of the students were absolutely sure that they made a right decision about their future occupation. 31.8 per cent of respondents are going to work as teachers, 43.1 per cent will try to find another job, and the rest had difficulties in answering this question. Such a low percentage of people who want to work as a teacher is connected with the lack of employment possibilities and low wages. This stated by 97.7 per cent of the respondents. On the other hand, many of the respondents (31.8 %) said that they like teaching because “it gives emotional and moral satisfaction”.

Most of the students (79.5 %) were concerned about getting the job after graduation. The demographic situation in Russia, especially dropping birth rates, contributes to the employment problems of modern graduates in pedagogic profession. Many of the recent graduates, especially future teachers, will face a real risk of being unemployed after graduation. Therefore, it is quite important that young people have strong adaptation skills — many students (39.7 % in our study) are ready to change their profession and obtain the sec-
ond degree in a more competitive field. Current graduates have a high sense of responsibly towards their own successes and failures. 82.9 per cent of them think that “success and solving the difficulties depends on your own actions”, 92.05 per cent think that “it is possible to overcome the difficulties”, and 67.0 per cent hope that “the future has lots of interesting things for them”.

Some of the drawbacks were indicated in the lifestyle, culture, behavior and health of our university students, as well as problems in regards to the right professional choice, may negatively influence physical, intellectual and moral potential of the future intelligentsia in this country. Therefore, the health and the quality of every day life of the students should be at the center of the priorities for our local and national government authorities.

Bibliography


Irina Miljukova and Julia Bulygina

Future Job in Perspective of University Students: Expectations and Reality

The article focuses on the analysis of Russian students' representations of their future jobs. It is based on the data of students’ questionnaires, collected in 2005–2006 at Petrozavodsk State University. The research shows that the students’ satisfaction of the received education depends directly on how much their profession is demanded in the modern labour market. The dynamics of students' life plans and their images of future work are mostly correlated with gender, faculty and specialization. The collected data demonstrate the evident gap between students' expected images of their future work and the real situation that young people would face after graduating the university. The results of the research distinctly show the sharp necessity to create the complete system of vocational counseling for young people.

Educational Requirements and Changing Labour Market in Russia

Russian education can become a real boost factor for the competitiveness of Russian economy only through reforms, modernization and transformations (Zborovskiy and Shuklina 2005; Osipov 2005). This is why the main goal of the reformation of professional education system in Russia is to ensure that the quality of graduates meets the labor market requirements (Sillaste 2005; Vybornova and Dunaeva 2005). It is not a secret that many university graduates have to start in a job, which is not connected with their specialized profession or continue their studies at other educational institutions and obtain the second degree. The results of the survey conducted by the Institute of Socio-Political Research of the Russian Academy of Science in 2002 found out that only 59 per cent of the graduates got a job, which was, in one way or another, connected with their profession (Zubok 2003, 259).

The transition of the Russian society to the market economy led to a significant shift in the youth labour market. The reforms of the 1990's labor mar-
ket and employment abolished the system of assigning young people with jobs, which meant that the young people, who entered the labour market for the first time, lost their employment guarantee and became socially insecure. The abolishment of the system of the centralized graduate’s allocation in 1990 contributed to the increased tension in the youth labour market. On one hand, it was a progressive and liberal step which gave young people the freedom of choice. On the other hand, under the circumstances of the shortage of vacancies, caused both by market factors and by the absence of a target national program devoted to the youth employment, it increased the unemployment among young people entering labour market for the first time, as they were not competitive enough in comparison with the more experienced employees. In 2003 the unemployment rate in Karelia amounted to 33.8 thousand people, including 33.7 per cent of those whose age was from 20 to 29 (Revyakin 2005, 28). Due to the rejection of the Soviet times mechanisms of the employment of young people (national system of allocation, social guarantees given to young specialists) and the inefficiency of new mechanisms, contemporary graduates face tense uncertainty on the labour market.

Thus, the problematic situation has roots in the discrepancy between the demand and supply in the contemporary youth labour market. The employment problems that the graduate students face, can be explained both by the shortage of working places and by the discrepancy between the professional qualities of graduates and the requirements of the contemporary labour market. Educational institutions hardly take into consideration the market requirements, and employers are not ready to invest in human resources. As a result, Russian society suffers from the two opposite problems: the lack of employees specialized in the professions required by the industry, and unemployment.

There is also another problem which is hardly covered in Russian scientific literature, i.e., the disproportion between the professional choices of youth and the real needs of labour market. In other words, the optimistic notions of young people about the chosen career and their expectations about their future job do not meet the real situation which they face upon the completion of the educational institution (Konstantinovsky and Cherednichenko 2001). This gap leads to the total disappointment of young people in their professional choice, their frustration and psychological inability to adjust to the rapidly changing market requirements. These are among the reasons why university graduates contribute to the increase in unemployment rate or get fixed up in jobs that are not connected with their education. This means that students waste their professional potential gained at university and lose their self-confidence.

In this sense, one of the key issues for contemporary researchers is the development of a new career-guidance and employment system for graduates, which is included in their university curriculum and consistent with the requirements of the modern Russian society. Among the main goals of the re-
search, is also to identify the indispensable and possible changes that can be made on different levels of higher education management and to develop new cooperation mechanisms between the educational system and the labour market.

It is obvious that with the appearance of the market mechanism of demand and supply on the labour market there is a need for the new mechanism of interaction between the educational system and the developing labour market. The current stage of the Russian society development demands that the system of higher professional education renovates the content of its functions and brings educational programs in accord with the requirements of the current level of industry and society. The market system suggests that the successful and fast employment of graduates ought to be considered as one of the main criteria in the assessment of the university activity. In the near future, the amount of financing assigned by the government to the university will highly depend on this criterion.

What interests us is whether it is possible for universities to change this situation for the better. What can the university administration do to provide their graduates with a wish and ability to work in their professional field? To answer this question we should first of all analyze the nearest future plans of the graduate students and their notions of the future job.

Methods

The empirical basis of our study consists of the results of the sociological research which was encouraged by the university administration and conducted among Petrozavodsk State University’s students in 2005–2006. The purpose of the study was to evaluate the quality of the education received at the university. We used the method of random sample to select the students, and all in all, 1334 students were questioned. These included 606 female and 728 male students. The sample consisted of students belonging to different fields of study: socio-humanitarian field was represented by the Department of Political and Social Sciences (DPSS), engineering and technological field – by the Department of Forest Engineering (DFE), field of natural sciences – by the Department of Agriculture (DA) and Department of Medicine.¹

¹ As the number of respondents from the Department of Medicine was quite small and such results can not be considered as representational, it was decided to exclude them from the comparative analysis of the results from different departments.
Students’ Life Plans after University Graduation

One of the aims of the research was to study the graduates’ values with regard to their future employment. To do this, students were asked to answer the question of what a person needs to feel happy. Two thirds of the respondents mentioned “interesting job” as one of the top priorities in their life along with love and friendship (Table 1).

Table 1. Students’ conceptions of happiness by the department (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WHAT DOES A PERSON NEED FIRST OF ALL TO FEEL HAPPY?</th>
<th>DPSS</th>
<th>DFE</th>
<th>DA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faithful, beloved person</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>75.2</td>
<td>74.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good friends</td>
<td>70.1</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>68.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interesting job</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td>64.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High income</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>47.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect of others</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piece of mind</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional achievements</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property, capital</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High social position</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This goes against the common understanding of many Russian researchers that for the majority of contemporary youth, work has only instrumental meaning. It has been argued that work is seen mainly as a means to earn money and achieve material well-being, rather than as a way for self-realization and personal development (Zubok 2003, 37; Titarenko 1994, 47–48). Our results question this interpretation, as it seems that the quality of the work is important for the graduates. For example, the majority of students would like to get a job connected with their specialization upon graduation (Table 2).

If we compare the answers of students from different departments it is easy to notice that the Department of Agriculture stands out, as at this department there are twice or even three times more people who do not try to get a job connected with their specialty than at any other department. It is interesting to note that at the first year of study only one out of ten students is not planning to work in their specialty, but by the fifth year the number of such students reaches 25 per cent. To some extent this is connected with the problem of finding an agricultural job in the city, as the perspective of moving to the rural areas is not appealing to most students. There is, however, one even more surprising factor: among the students of agriculture who do not plan to work on their professional field, there are many of those who entered the university on a non-commercial basis or who were target students. Being a target students...
means that your studies are financed from the budget of the municipality administration. From the point of view of the market system, it is impossible to understand the logic of teaching for free the people who are not going to work in the chosen field.

Table 2. After graduation plans of PSU students by the department (%)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WHAT ARE YOU PLANNING TO DO UPON THE GRADUATION?</th>
<th>DPSS</th>
<th>DFE</th>
<th>DA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I shall try to find a job on my profession</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>72.9</td>
<td>51.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would not work on my profession</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I plan to continue my education as a full-time student</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would like to take a post-graduate course</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I shall try to set up my own business</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am dreaming of moving abroad</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I shall settle my private life</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am not sure, I have not decided yet</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*As respondents could choose several variants while answering the question the total sum in the column is more than 100 %.

The number of those who do not plan to work in the professional field increases from year to year and from course to course at all departments. Among the first year students, only four per cent selected this variant response but one in six graduates (15 %) cited this response. There are several explanations for this. First of all, we believe that as the studies advance, young people understand how difficult it is to find a job of one’s profession. Sometimes this means that one needs to choose between working in one’s profession and having adequate income.

Besides, as the time goes by, new future plans may appear to students and the future job may lose its priority. For example, from year to year, the number of those who plan to settle down to the private life, i.e., to get married, or continue their education is growing. The students of the socio-humanitarian field are especially eager to get a second profession or an advanced degree. (Table 2). On one hand, this can be explained by the fact that for the students specialized in humanities it is more difficult to find a job than, for example, for engineers. This is why they wish to raise their chances in the labour market by obtaining an additional profession (as a rule in law or economy). On the other hand, the survey results show that the students of the Political and Social Sciences Department are oriented towards professional development and career building more than the
students of other departments. Perhaps, that is the reason why they consider the continuation of their education as a way to achieve their ambitious plans.

The students of technical professions plan more actively to set up their own business upon graduation, although the students of social departments try not to trail behind. Around a quarter of the students of the Forest Engineering Department (24 %) and the Department of Agriculture (28 %), every fifth student of the Political and Social Sciences Department (20 %) chose the variant of response “I am going to set up my own business” (Table 2). It is obvious that only a few of them will be able to fulfill these plans. To set up a business one needs, not only good education, but also the initial capital and a wide social network. Nowadays, in Russia only 2.7 per cent of young people under the age of 30 are employers and own their own business, 2.5 per cent lead individual labour activity, (it means that he doesn’t hire anybody and work only himself), others are hired workers (Zubok, 2003, 40). However, it is worth mentioning that the number of students planning to establish their own business is reducing from the first to the last year of study from 28 per cent to 22 per cent. This indicates that as the students gain professional knowledge and social experience many of them start to assess their chances on the labour market more realistically.

The survey results show that the majority of PSU students are going to live and work in their country. With regard to this question, there is almost no difference in results between the departments as the number of students dreaming of moving to another country was never over 10–15 per cent (Table 2). The only exception are the future specialists of International Relations. One out of four students of this chair (27 %) said that they would be glad to leave Russia. This choice seems rather natural for the students of this profession, as during their studies, they learn at least two foreign languages and comprehensively become familiar with the history and culture of foreign countries.

Table 3. Rating of PSU students’ life plans by the department

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WHAT ARE YOU PLANNING TO DO UPON THE GRADUATION?</th>
<th>DPSS</th>
<th>DFE</th>
<th>DA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I shall try to find a job on my profession</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I shall try to set up my own business</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I plan to continue my education as a full-time student</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would like to take a post-graduate course</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I shall settle my private life</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am dreaming of moving abroad</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we make a comparison of students’ life plans, it is easy to notice that the first two positions are the same for the students of different departments. Even
though there is a difference in concrete figures, the two most popular choices are employment and establishing their own business (Table 3). Other positions differ significantly: plans to continue their education take among the students of social departments third and fourth place, and for the students of technical and natural science departments they take up last positions.

At the same time, the plans to settle down to the private life do not take such priority positions among the female students at Political and Social Sciences Department as among the male students of the Departments of Forest Engineering and Agriculture, which is inconsistent with the widespread gender stereotype that men are more oriented towards the job and career building and women – towards family. On the whole, the analysis shows that gender differences of future plans are very insignificant with the exception of two positions: girls are more often oriented towards the continuation of their education and twice as seldom as young men they plan to establish their own business (Table 4). For both young men and women, the plans to settle down to their private life are of the same importance. Most likely this does not depend on gender, but on the personal goals of students.

Table 4. After graduation plans of PSU students by gender (%)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WHAT ARE YOU PLANNING TO DO UPON THE GRADUATION?</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I shall try to find a job on my profession</td>
<td>66.9</td>
<td>66.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I shall try to set up my own business</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I shall settle my private life</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am dreaming of moving abroad</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I plan to continue my education as a full-time student</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would like to take a post-graduate course</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Students’ Images of Their Future Job

How do Petrozavodsk State University students imagine their future job on the profession acquired at the university? According to the analysis of the survey results, the students imagine their jobs as interesting and well-paid. They also believe that their careers provide them with the possibility of professional development and career advancement (Table 5).

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2 The proportion of male and female on the Department of Political and Social Sciences is at the ratio of 22 % to 78 %, on the Department of Forest Engineering - 70 % to 30 %, on the Department Agriculture - 61 % to 39 %.
The factors of interesting job and job giving chances for professional growth are the most important for students of the socio-humanitarian field. It is quite understandable because the most of the students (64 %) entered this department due to the interest in their future job. Only 52 per cent of the students of the Forestry Engineering Department and 42 per cent of the Agro-technical Department students were motivated to enter these departments by the professional interest.

Table 5. PSU students’ images of their future job by the department( %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOW DO YOU IMAGINE YOUR FUTURE JOB ON THE PROFESSION ACQUIRED IN THE UNIVERSITY?</th>
<th>DPSS</th>
<th>DFE</th>
<th>DA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I think that my job will be interesting</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My job will be well-paid</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is a possibility to build a career if there is a wish</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I expect to become a professional in my business</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It will be difficult to find a job of my profession</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t have any clear idea</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand, survey results show that the majority of socio-humanitarian students realize it will be difficult for them to find a job, especially a well-paid one. At the Department of Political and Social Sciences there are twice as many students as at other departments who consider that it will be difficult to find a job and fewer students who are certain that their job will be well-paid (Table 5).

Table 6. The dynamics of PSU students’ notions of their future job by year of study ( %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOW DO YOU IMAGINE YOUR FUTURE JOB ON THE PROFESSION ACQUIRED IN THE UNIVERSITY?</th>
<th>DPSS 1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; year</th>
<th>DPSS 5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; year</th>
<th>DFE 1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; year</th>
<th>DFE 5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; year</th>
<th>DA 1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; year</th>
<th>DA 5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I think that my job will be interesting</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My job will be well-paid</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It will be difficult to find a job of my profession</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If we analyze students’ notions of their future job according to the year of the study, it becomes clear that year by year the optimistic hopes fade away, sometimes very significantly (Table 6). For example, every second first-year student (47%) of the Department of Agriculture hopes that the future job will be interesting, but among graduate students there are only 18 per cent of such people. A considerable part of the first-year students (22%) of the Forest Engineering Department expect that their job will be financially beneficial, but only 10 per cent of graduate students share this opinion. At the same time, from year to year the number of those who realize it will be difficult to find a job of their speciality increases (from 22% to 39%). This data conceal quite an alarming fact: young people who enter the university after school-leaving often have an unclear idea of what the chosen profession can offer them in the future.

It is also worth mentioning that the differences among the students of different specialities (chairs) within the same department are sometimes more significant than those among students of different departments. The students of International Relations (DPSS), Building of Highways and Airdromes (DFE) and Zootechny (DA) seem to be the most optimistic ones. At these departments, we find the highest percentage of students who are sure that their future jobs will be interesting, allow them to become professionals in their field and to make good careers, and of those who hope it will ensure a good income.

The gender differences of students’ notions of their future job are also interesting. Young men feel much more confident about success in the labour market and about the prospect of having good income than women, even if they have the same profession. At the same time, young women’s belief in the career advancement and professional development equals the beliefs of young men. Perhaps this is how young women hope to compensate their unequal initial positions (Table 7).

Table 7. PSU students’ notions of their future job by gender (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOW DO YOU IMAGINE YOUR FUTURE JOB ON THE PROFESSION ACQUIRED IN THE UNIVERSITY?</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I think that my job will be interesting</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My job will be well-paid</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is a possibility to build a career if there is a wish</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I expect to become a professional in my business</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It will be difficult to find a job of my profession</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unfortunately, the reality coincides with students’ fears: in Karelia, the female unemployment among people with higher education degree is twice as high as
male unemployment. On the other hand, when answering an open question of the questionnaire, both young men and women were relatively enthusiastic about the suggestion to re-establish the national system of graduates’ allocation and the assignment of working places to young professionals. A rather significant part of the respondents consider the employment of graduates on their profession to be the duty of the government and the university administration. The jobs should also be well-paid and prestigious.

Discussion

When the future plans of PSU students are under consideration, we can conclude that the majority of them are eager to work in their professional field and fulfill their potential in the Russian labour market. Second, it is clear that many of the students are realistic in their assessment of the labor market situation in Karelia and their chances on this market. At the same time, the number of people who plan to obtain a post-graduate degree or establish their own business upon graduation does not coincide with the real potentials of young people. Besides, some students do not even have any definite notion of their future job. For example, 17 per cent of students of Political Science and 24 per cent at Agronomy have not yet decided what their plans are after the graduation, while the average number of such students reaches 11 per cent.

On the whole, the survey results show that there is a real necessity to organize the integrated system of career-guidance in the university. One of the goals of such system is to familiarize the young people with the needs of the regional labour market and help them to choose their profession in accordance with their real abilities. On the other hand, a workable career-guidance system could foster the forming of stable motivation to study in the chosen field and positive attitude to the independent and active search of different variants of professional self-realization.

The most important element of this system could be to organize an effective practical training system for the university and integrate it organically and systematically into the educational process of students. Currently, there are not enough places, enterprises and organizations, for the practical training, we especially lack actors which use modern and innovative technologies. It often happens that students have to look for an organization, which agrees to accept trainees. We should point out that during the survey students frequently mentioned the necessity to raise the role of practical training in the educational process and to pay more attention to its organization. About 14 per cent of all the suggestions addressed to PSU administration concerned these issues.

The most widespread suggestions include proposals, such as increasing the time devoted to acquaintance with real industry, the organization of regular
excursions to progressive enterprises and supporting the chairs and departments in search of the practical training jobs. “Cooperation with enterprises should be on regular, not seasonal basis” (male 4th year student, DFE). “As many as possible visits and excursions to organizations where you can get an insight in your future profession should be organized” (female 2nd year student, DPSS). “I would like not only to see the modern equipment but also work with it during the practical training” (male 5th year student, DA). In the frameworks of integrating the Russian educational system into the European one, students’ suggestions of giving an opportunity to conduct practical training abroad seem rather rational.

One the other hand, many students mentioned the necessity to involve specialists, who are familiar with the modern industry, into educational process working. The students also spoke for the rationality of increasing the number of practical courses which could be accomplished through the so called regional or university component of educational curriculum. “To make as many practical classes, in better industry enterprises, as possible” (male 3rd year student, DFE). “To master practical skills in the chosen profession. There are too many academic and not enough practical courses” (female 2nd year student, DPSS). During practical classes students acquire the skills they miss in order to gain successful employment and work. Immunity to stress, responsibility, decisiveness, communicative skills, ability to work in a team are among them.

It could be suggested that university administration did not only involve working specialists into educational process but also gave university teachers an opportunity to have retraining in progressive enterprises on regular basis. This activity could be included into their teaching load. Also, the organization of the elective course on “the technology of job-searching” for 2nd and 3rd year students could be an important part of career-guidance system. At this course, students would be taught how to find and analyze information about vacancies, write their CV, lead the job interview correctly and so on. Such courses are already included into the curriculum of the institutions of secondary professional education (colleges). Perhaps, it is time to introduce such courses into the system of higher education, too. Finally, it is rational to start the practice of employee’s participation in the development of criteria for graduates’ qualification, involve representatives of business and social institutions in the development and correction of the educational programs of career education. Taking into consideration the requirements of labour market will improve the labour market competitiveness of our graduates.

As President Putin (2006, 8) claims: “Russia needs competitive educational system. Otherwise we will face a real threat of a gap between the quality of education and contemporary requirements.” We have to be realistic and realize that a competitive and labour market oriented educational system is not easy to create and there are certain limitations to do this. Because of globalization, the
labor market is changing so rapidly that it is almost impossible to estimate what kinds of specialists and how many of them will be required in the future. The private business in Russia is not used to investing in human resources and they reluctantly pay for the training their personnel. It is obvious that without a purposeful national policy in the sphere of employment and education this problem can not be solved. For sure, it is impossible for the university administration to provide all the graduates with jobs, especially if the jobs should be well-paid and reflect the students’ professional qualification. But at the same time, the recommendations that are suggested in the article can help to ease tension in the youth labour market. In any case, the suggestions help to bring the teaching process nearer to the economic practices outside the university. The better the university officials and teachers are familiar with contemporary labour market requirements, the more they can take them into consideration. On the other hand, the better the students understand the contemporary labour market requirements, the more ready they are to adapt to them. A well-arranged and flexible system of career-guidance at university can also significantly improve the competitiveness and mobility of professionals who can quickly adjust to the changing market conditions. It is very important to note that the creation of this system depends mostly on the good will of university administration.

Bibliography


Agnete Wiborg

Mobility and Migration – Markers of Distinction? Rural Students’ Attitudes to Migration and Home Place in Norway

Introduction

Mobility and change, both as ideology and practice, are central topics in discourses about the modern society and construction of identity. People relate to mobility, migration and place in different ways and this is used in descriptions of groups and social inequality. Migration and mobility concern not only movement between places, but are complex issues involving both structural and symbolic aspects which are intertwined in different ways. What kinds of places the migration involves must also be taken into consideration. In rural areas questions about youth out-migration are central, and for young people the future often involves questions of mobility and migration. Choice of and attitudes to migration and mobility are not only responses to structural conditions, but are connected to meaning and value. Also, migration and the educational system contribute to the continuation of social differences. On the basis of interviews with students from rural areas in Norway I will discuss how they attach meaning to mobility and migration and how this is related to the formation and management of identity and therefore also to the construction of social distinctions.

Mobility, Migration and Social Inequality

Mobility and attachment to place have been used to categorise groups of people in different ways. Bauman (1998) claims that mobility is among the most coveted values and that the freedom to move will become the main stratifying factor in the modern global society. According to Bauman the elites travel, and being local is a sign of social deprivation and degradation. The vagabond, being displaced and forced to move, is also among the socially deprived. While
Bauman focuses on the power aspect related to the freedom of mobility, the cultural aspect related to willingness to engage with “the other” is central in the distinction between cosmopolitans and locals (Friedman 1997; Hannerz 1990). A cosmopolitan attitude involves, according to Hannerz (1990), openness to other cultural experiences in contrast to a locally oriented attitude. The cosmopolitan and cosmopolitanism are further associated with urban areas while the locals are associated with rural areas (Creed and Ching 1997).

Another closely related debate concerns the discussions about local attachment and belonging. Some argue that attachment to place is undermined by the processes of globalisation and mobility (Bauman, 1992; Giddens, 1991). According to Bauman (1992) the central position of mobility in modern society prevents the development of strong affection for any particular place because the places we occupy are no more than temporary stations, and the mobile elite is detached from particular places. Others, like Friedman (1997) and Olwig (1994), claim that the consequences of globalisation and mobility do not preclude emphasis on the local and particular and attachment to places.

In rural studies migration from rural areas has been a central topic. Earlier the focus was to a large extent put on tracing patterns of migration and the economic consequences of migration. In more recent studies of young people’s migration from rural areas there has been a shift to a biographical understanding of youth migration (Halfacree and Boyle 1993; Jamieson 2000; Jones 1999; NiLaoire 1999; Stockdale 2002). In these studies migration and orientation to mobility and immobility are understood in the context of the young people’s lives where class, gender and the meaning of locality are relevant factors. In this context Bourdieu’s concepts of capital, particularly cultural capital, are relevant for understanding the students’ choices and their evaluation of others’ choices and in understanding mobility in different forms (Bourdieu 1984). Cultural capital can exist in an embodied state as dispositions for actions as attitudes and what people find desirable or not, and in an institutional state as formal education.

These perspectives are relevant when analysing the students’ narratives because they show that place, migration and mobility can in different ways be used for describing social differences and in formation and management of identity.

The Meaning of Place

Migration involves places, and how we ascribe meaning to places has implications for how we place people in the social landscape and perceive mobility and migration between places. The meaning ascribed to places has implications for the identity we ascribe to people from these places and visa versa; places can be
ascribed identity and meaning through naming and association with the people living there; a farming or fishing community, an industrial community or a commercial town, city or countryside (Creed and Ching 1997; Shields 1991; Thuen 2003). Shields (1991, 5) claims that “Sites are never simple locations. Rather they are sites for someone and for something”. Places give grounds for collective ascriptions of identity to its inhabitants, and places associated with certain activities and values are important for the construction of individual and collective identity. However, the same place represents different things for different groups of people according to age, gender, social background etc. both regarding the structural and economic aspects, and also regarding the symbolic aspects concerning how places and people living at those places are ascribed meaning. Therefore, it is not only a question of how a place “is”, but also how it is perceived, experienced and represented by different people.

In the Norwegian context the dichotomy between the urban and the rural has probably been the most important one for the formation of identity on the basis of spatial social attachment. In public discourses the local community in the countryside is represented with two contrasting images, both with the city as their contrast. One image represents the local community as a nice, safe place, the location for the ideal childhood, where closeness to nature, peace and tranquillity, social networks and little crime are central aspects. This image, often labelled as the rural idyll, is presented in many parts of the Western world (Creed and Ching 1997; Little and Austin 1996). The dark sides of cities including crime, pollution and social isolation represent the counterpart. The other image, however, represents the village as backward, traditional, and characterised by stagnation, social control and with little tolerance for social and cultural diversity. The contrast is the image of the modern city characterised by creativity, development and change, with much individual freedom. While the rural has been associated with the past, tradition and stability, urban areas are associated with the future, modernity and change. These images influence the mutual ascription of identity to places and people in discourses about identity and place.

**Empirical Context and Methodological Background**

The paper is based on research which has investigated different aspects of the impact of the process of moving away and taking higher education for young people from rural areas\(^1\). Interviews were conducted with 50 students between 20 and 30 years studying different subjects at a university college in Northern

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\(^1\) The paper is based on my doctoral thesis (Wiborg 2003) financed by the Norwegian Research Council.
These students come from small places in rural areas, predominantly in Northern Norway. The interviews were open, allowing the students to tell about their social and geographical background, their relation to their home place and their motives and experiences related to choice of education. The students were also invited to reflect on migration and thoughts about the future regarding job, family situation and place of residence.

What the students tell cannot be regarded as neutral representations of actual facts, but as verbalised expressions of how they interpret their experiences in the context of a dialogue with a researcher (Gubrium and Holstein 1995). The way they talk about themselves and “the others”, about their home place, their choices and wishes can be considered as impression management and presentation of self (Goffman 1974) and in their stories they use and reflect cultural values and ways of expression. Their hopes for their future influence how they present both the past and the present. The stories presented here show central aspects of what the students tell about migration, mobility and home place.

**Freedom versus Conformity and Social Control**

Conformity and social control are related to the management of recognised and approved identities and associated actions and symbols. This is particularly relevant for young people who are in a process of forming an individual identity as independent grown ups and where important choices which influence their life courses are made. Students who in some way or another feel that they are at odds with what they experience as being within the accepted and approved mainstream locally, are even more aware of conformity and social control, like Tom (23). He comes from a small place where the manufacturing industry offers jobs to many men locally, including his father who is a manual worker. Tom has chosen to become a social worker, an untraditional career for a man. Now he has become interested in arts and jazz, and he has friends with different cultural backgrounds and has other interests that he does not associate with his home place.

When you’re home, everybody knows who you are. If you do anything special, then people know it. I like the feeling of walking around, being anonymous, not having to greet all those you don’t want to greet.

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2 I visited lectures where I presented the study and asked for volunteers. They study social sciences, social work and economics at different levels. The majority are women, reflecting gender composition among the students.
Tom does not feel free when he is at home. He says: “I am still in a period where I try to find out what I am and who I am, you see?” In that situation his home place is not ideal because he does not feel free to try out and get recognition for different aspects of his identity. The urban setting with more options and more people like himself represents a better setting for him. As he says: I’ve become a bit urban, I like the freedom among lots of other people who also seek the same freedom. Therefore he wants to move. While Tom talks about why he wants to move, Eva (26) who studies history of arts, explains why she does not want to move back:

I think it’s very narrow there… It’s the narrow golden road that is good, and as long as you stick to that, it’s all right. But if you choose to make a career and choose to be visible at your home place … I think it’s very demanding at a small place, because you’ll be very lonely. There isn’t the personal development and personal freedom you have at bigger places without necessarily being so very visible.

In her view, there is little room for social diversity at her home place, particularly not for women: “The most important reason for not moving back is that there is a role for women to play there that I will never fit into”. She is referring to what she conceives as the acceptable role and position for women; primarily as mothers and housewives, with their occupation being recognised as secondary in importance. She does not think that there is very much acceptance for variations in how to be a woman locally. Eva wants a different life compared to the life she believes that many women at her home place live. For Eva, the city is the best place to live and she says “I think I’m born urban”. There she hopes to find an interesting job, go to the movies, exhibitions, and cafés, and meet different kinds of people and avoid the pressure of conformity she feels at home.

Tom and Eva talk about their home place as being too narrow socially for allowing them to live the life they want and the social cost of being different in this life phase is too high. They say they have become “urban”, expressing preferences for urban life which they associate with more personal freedom and a different way of life. They feel that the home place is not for people like them and therefore they want to move.

**Personal Development versus Routine**

Lack of room for social differences is one aspect of what the students want to avoid by moving away, while another is related to limited opportunities for education and work:
I want a job that is challenging and with much variation. I look with fear at all those at home who work in the same place all their life. They get locked in one track and move on that track all the time.

This citation sums up important reasons the students give for moving away and taking higher education. The geographical mobility is linked to preference for another kind of mobility described as a wish for “personal development” related to the expectations that higher education and migration will lead them to attractive jobs. To stay will exclude them from these possibilities, like Heidi (26) describes. She grew up in a small fishing village with few jobs and a declining population. Her brother works in the fisheries and her sister has odd unskilled jobs in the fishing industry and the public sector. Comparing her view of their lives with the way she wants to live Heidi says:

Their life…it is so small, don’t misunderstand, but they’ve no other development than everybody else have with kids, husband, house, home and all that. But that’s the way things are out there, and I want more. I want more personal development than everybody can have in that way and a little bit more. I want challenges in my everyday life so that I get a little excitement and something to reach for. I want a proper job I will enjoy and feel competent to perform, a job that you need to qualify for and with variation and challenges.

Heidi describes “the way things are out there” as being very traditional and with few opportunities, especially for women without higher education. She wants to avoid this situation and instead improve her position in the labour market by taking higher education in order to be less exchangeable and more unique. The importance of mobility and development is also expressed explicitly by Rune (22). His father is a fisherman, a job Rune considers as hard, insecure and not very profitable, and he wants another life and has ambitions concerning education and job.

The way I go now at the University College gives me a lot of opportunities. If I’d chosen a vocational education, my opportunities would have been closed. Now I’ve started on a road, and I hope the road is long and that there will be lots of possibilities for making different choices. I want to acquire a lot of knowledge, because it is nice to broaden your vision and learn something new. For me, knowledge is power, and living here without education you haven’t got much choice, you have to take the jobs that are available, but with more education, I’ve got more choice.

For Rune, taking higher education means not only improving the opportunities in the labour market, but also personal development. Rune emphasises the meaning of choice and options as a result of taking higher education, implying
the power to influence the formation of life career and identity, instead of being the victim of constraints in the local labour market.

None of the students considered staying at their home place. Describing a possible scenario if she hadn’t moved away and taken higher education, Grete (22) says:

Imagine, getting pregnant when I went to college and then be stuck there, and then I would have had to work at 7–11 the rest of my life and have no challenges! I had to get away from there. It is safe, but anyway….

Getting a job at 7–11 represents the ultimate boredom and dead end job for Grete and having a baby early implies limitations in a gendered position contrary to Grete’s dreams and ambitions. The safety she talks about is related to the familiar context and aspects of the rural idyll, but this kind of safety is not attractive in this life phase and staying is more associated with the risk of being marginalised in the labour market.

These narratives reflect the students’ preoccupation with the content and meaning of education and work. Mobility, in terms of development and change, is an important aspect of the kinds of jobs they prefer and this is put in contrast to routine jobs and the life associated with them. In the eyes of the students, staying implies a double immobility; geographical and social, related to routine, dead end jobs and corresponding life style, including perspectives of the future and relation to place which will be discussed in the following. In this way, staying is also connected to a kind of powerlessness and lack of control of life situation. With the emphasis in modern society which is put on the value of individual freedom, this situation is not attractive and can be seen as a version of the socially deprived locals Bauman (1998) describes.

The Future – Open or Predictable?

The questions concerning staying or moving and personal development are closely related to perspectives and wishes for the future. The discourses about the formation of identity and individual choice also imply an idea about the future as something that can be formed by our actions and choices. Some of the students are relatively explicit when they describe the home place as a place for certain kinds of people according to their preference for mobility, or rather immobility and their perspectives for the future. Anne emphasises the difference between her view of the future and the view of those who have stayed as a marker of differences:

The home place for me has become such a typical place where people don’t develop and don’t look ahead. Maybe it’s because I’ve sort of looked a bit down on
those who have never moved away. For many it is quite all right getting married, having children and live in their house and know that what you do now is what you’re going to do the rest of your life, and here’s where you are going to live. But I get that feeling: Oh, no! It is frightening! One has to be on the move, at least a little.

According to Anne, those who stay geographically also stay in the present, without looking ahead in time because their future is already settled locally in a conventional and boring life style. For Anne, however, it is very important to have an open attitude towards the future which she wants to be more exiting and eventful than the locally oriented future. Therefore, it was necessary for her to move and take higher education. Anne distances herself from those who have stayed also by looking down upon them because she considers it as a kind of moral duty to look ahead and be on the move. Categorising people at their home place according to their perspectives for the future can also be found in Johan’s story:

I have the impression that many of those who live there have the attitude that how things are today, that’s the way they ought to be tomorrow. Some of the ones I went to school with have taken vocational training in mechanics and they are now working in the industry nearby and then it’s kind of all right. For them it’s important to have a job and earn pretty well according to the education. And then they have a nice car, set up a nice house, and then they have reached their goals.

Johan depicts those who stay as being satisfied without much personal challenges related to education and work and with a traditional and settled family life. This represents a contrast to how he describes himself and the life he prefers now. Taking higher education is important for him because it gives him access to the part of the labour market where he can have a career implying new challenges, a certain autonomy and the possibility to travel. For him the goal is to be in a process where the future is open.

The predictable future can from one perspective be conceived as something secure, safe and convenient. Following this pattern could be considered as an escape from the demands and pressures related to the construction of the free individual identity in discourses about modern society. When Grete says “It is safe, but anyway” she refers to this security, but in the long run it could turn into a risk of being stuck there in a position which is not at all attractive.

Students like Grete, Anne and Johan do not appreciate what they consider as more or less ready scripts for their lives. When they talk about their future, they talk about a process of becoming. The traditional goals related to getting a job, a family and settling down, are questioned by their way of talking about what they think is valuable in their current life. This does not imply that they do not want a job and a family, but they do not conceive of them as final goals.
The young women emphasise this more than the young men, probably because the concept of family is associated with more restrictions for them. The students want to make their own choices and be open for options that might turn up. Not only do they describe their future as relatively open, they also ascribe value to this kind of approach to the future in contrast to what they describe as a planned and predictable future, an approach to the future they consider as both boring and frightening because it somehow represents the opposite of freedom, a kind of straitjacket of expectations and traditions. Through the way they tell their stories they contrast themselves to those who are comfortable with this attitude towards the future.

The World Outside – Frightening or Exiting?

The unpredictability related to the future also involves uncertainty regarding where their future will take place, literally. These students do not have plans for settling down in a certain place, even if they have ideas about where they might want to seek work, and some might consider moving back to their home region at some point in the future.

From one perspective the familiar place and the predictable life can be considered safe, but, as we have seen on the other hand, some perceive it as constraining. In addition, staying is associated with certain attitudes towards the locality, other places and migration. For some students, like Grete, moving away is valuable in more than one respect. Before she started her education she worked abroad as an au pair abroad for a period. This gave her another perspective of her home place, and she is now more interested in travelling:

I think it’s only good that people move and see a little bit more and try to live in other places, because they’ll not be so narrow minded then. I think it is very good to get away. If you don’t get away in the first place, then you don’t get away at all.

She refers to those who stay because they postpone their decision about leaving until it is too difficult because they are bound up with partner, job, maybe a child and fear of leaving. For Grete it is important to live in other places to get new experiences:

I want to experience something while I’m young and have the chance. When you’ve got your education, your job and have settled with your family, then it’s only loans and all that stuff...only obligations and now when I’ve no obligations, I have to do something with my life instead of sitting on my ass in a Rimi store, selling food.
Grete expresses a kind of obligation or moral duty to use the opportunity she has as young and single to travel instead of sitting still, both literally and figuratively. The contrast is those who stay at home in routine jobs and do not bother to use the opportunities they, in her opinion, have. In this way she makes a contrast which involves more than an interest for travelling.

Rune is also concerned with the consequences of “standing still” locally and is eager to move away. Some of the young men who stay find seasonal work in the local fishing industry, and not all of them are keen to move away, something Rune considers a bit worrying.

We call it the “Sande-syndrom”. If you stay too long at Sande you become afraid for the unfamiliar and become reserved… We use to talk about those who stay at home. They have to understand that they have to get away a little bit and see something else. It’s not because we’re so arrogant and place ourselves above them, but we’ve been away and experienced more and it is good to see other things than the usual.

Rune is anxious about the negative consequences for those who stay because, in his opinion, to stay implies the risk of stagnation and marginalisation due both to structural aspects in the labour market and the social and cultural aspects of staying in a small place. Therefore, it is important for Rune to move.

The good thing about getting away, is to get a little bit more breadth of vision, a little bit understanding, I hope, and maybe not be so narrow-minded. Just moving to a new place is an experience in itself, even if you don’t study. I will recommend it, because it has to do with developing yourself as a human being.

Rune and Grete talk about migration and experiencing other places as being a kind of learning process where achieving social competence for meeting different kinds of people and developing tolerance are important aims. It involves personal development beyond what a job and education can offer and can be regarded as a general attitude to the outside world.

**Mobility and Migration – Markers of Distinction?**

Migration concerns more than geographical mobility and is linked to other aspects of mobility such as social, personal and cultural development and change. The meaning of migration and mobility, both literally and figuratively, are intertwined and the stories reflect this meeting point between structural and symbolic aspects. The students come from small places in rural areas with restrictions on educational and job opportunities, and they are in a transitional phase geographically, socially and culturally. This influences the meaning they
attach to their home place and mobility. The central element in the students’
stories is the emphasis on being free to make their own choices and have the
opportunities to develop through education, experiences and challenges. The
students talk about migration and mobility both as action, value and attitude
and make different contrasts of values which they associate with certain activi-
ties, groups of people and kinds of places.

**Individuality and not Conformity**

The students’ emphasis on individual choice and freedom can be related to
central discourses in modern society. At the ideological level identity is increas-
ingly being considered as malleable and detached from social and cultural ties,
even if different factors constrain this freedom (Giddens 1991; Ziehe 1989).
Tradition as practice and ideology anchored in the past has lost its legitimacy
and authority as bases for formation of identity and life style. Gullestad (1996)
claims that there has been a shift in the popular way of thinking in Norway,
from an emphasis on duty and discipline, to an emphasis on “finding yourself “
and “being yourself”. Therefore, choices can be seen as expressions of the indi-
vidual’s characteristics and identity and not as reference to established conven-
tions, obligations and social background. Making free individual choices is also
a value people are measured against. In the students’ stories making free
choices is more valued than following the crowd or avoiding making their own
decisions by being lead by the circumstances. In this way it is possible to claim
that there is a moral duty attached to making individual choices and to use and
develop personal potentials (Ziehe 1989; Øian 1998).

Individuals are, however, not free to construct an identity on their own. In
order to “find yourself” and “be yourself”, like Tom explicitly talks about, it is
necessary that somebody recognises what you experience as important aspects
of your identity (Gullestad, 1992; Jenkins, 1996). The students emphasise the
importance of social diversity in order to get confirmation of the different as-
pects of their identity, and in this context their rural home places, which they
associate with social conformity and control, represent constraints. Therefore, it
is possible to say with Massey (1994), who talks about the limiting aspects of
home, that they have to leave their home place in order to forge their own ver-
sions of identity. And, as Massey discusses, this seems particularly important for
the young women because of the cultural, social and structural restrictions re-
lated to women also described in other studies in rural areas (Little 2002; Little
and Austin 1996; Ni Laoire 1999; Solheim 1995).

Leaving the home locality is a way of leaving a social context which they
feel restricts the development of the identity and life project they want in this
life phase. Migration is also necessary in order to avoid the local structural con-
strains related to opportunities for education and employment. The meaning of mobility is in this way connected to specific aspects of particular residential places. Urban and rural areas represent different residential spaces which Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2004) claim is a crucial identifier of who you are, because place is important in allowing people access to important areas in society like education and employment. The students have to leave their home place in order to take higher education which for them is necessary to create the career or life project they want, and which might bring some of them back to their home region or to another rural place later.

**Personal Development in Space and Time**

The importance the students attach to avoiding boring routine work and their wish for challenges in working life, can be understood in relation to the changed importance and meaning of work in modern society. In our society, where the welfare state guarantees a certain economic basis for existence, paid work does not constitute the economic necessity it did in former times (Almås et al. 1995; Øian 1998). The students move away and take higher education in order to avoid boring routine jobs and hopefully to get jobs where they do not “stand still” and where their unique qualifications are demanded. Not to stagnate, but to be mobile personally, geographically and/or in relation to knowledge, is important for them. In this way they reflect criteria for success in discourses of modern working life where values such as flexibility, mobility creativity, autonomy and individual achievement are emphasised (Thomson and Taylor 2005; Vike 2001).

The emphasis on personal development and making choices is also linked to perceptions of the future which the students’ use in the descriptions of differences. Perceiving the future as relatively open to alternative opportunities for development and interesting challenges is contrasted with perceptions of the future where predictability, safety and stability are central elements. The students do not want to be trapped in traditional lives, like they imagine those who stay at home are, and they do not feel apprehension towards the open future, but rather excitement because it opens up for new possibilities. By making choices involving higher education, they feel that they acquire resources that enable them to influence their future.

**Mobility as Attitude and Value**

One aspect of the value they attach to migration and mobility is to get new experiences and be more tolerant and open to the unfamiliar. The contrast is
having a negative attitude towards the unfamiliar, both with regard to people and places. Rune and Grete talk about migration and experiencing other places as a learning process where they achieve social competence and tolerance towards different kinds of people and places. The contrast is being narrow-minded and sceptical to the unfamiliar categorised as risky and dangerous. Having a positive and open attitude towards meeting “the other” and the unfamiliar is connected to a cosmopolitan attitude, in contrast to the locals (Hannerz 1990). For students like Rune and Grete, it does not concern engaging with “the other” at a global level, but it is more a question of being open-minded and tolerant in their everyday lives and positive to the outside world. In this way there is a moral aspect as a kind of duty connected to taking higher education and moving away. According to the students, having this attitude is also important in order to venture to move away and seize the opportunities and not get stuck at home. The mobility they talk about concerns neither the privileged, globetrotting tourists or wanderers, nor the underprivileged, displaced or vagabonds that Bauman (1998) talks about. The students’ appreciation of mobility and change does not imply that they are footloose cosmopolitans nor totally detached from their home place. It is more a question of orientation outwards; an attitude, a willingness to engage in the unknown and to make choices where the outcome is uncertain.

In contemporary society it may seem that to be bound to a place and with a lack of cosmopolitan experience and attitude are among the most important criteria for being marginalised in relation to influence and participation on central arenas (Bauman 1998; Friedman 1997; Vike 2001). Vike draws the attention to how cosmopolitanism, mobility and autonomy are important factors for class differentiation in modern society (Vike 2001). In parts of the “new” working life that is emerging, qualities like flexibility, mobility and creativity and individual achievement are emphasized. Consequently, social inequality in terms of access to benefits in society is increasingly constructed on the basis of these criteria, and the qualifications connected to individuals could be considered as a kind of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984). The emphasis in modern society on the individual making free choices in construction of identity can be considered as a moral duty and a criterion for success. Not using the opportunities in society for constructing a career related to education and job, could cause a feeling of shame, concludes Øian (1998) in a study of young unemployed. This connection between the emphasis on making free choices, use the available opportunities and the moral duty to develop personally can be traced in the students’ stories. In a study from rural Scotland, Jamieson (2000) describes an attitude among young people; that you have “to get out” of the locality in order “to get on” and achieve attractive positions in society. This could be applied in the description of the students’ attitudes in this study. I would also add that the constraint for not “getting out” is explained by the students as qualities of the
Mobility and Migration – Markers of Distinction?

individual and is combined with a valuation of making individual, independent choices. The students’ stories can in this way be seen as narratives of improvement (Skeggs 1997). They move away and take higher education to improve their possibilities and to develop personally. The appreciation of mobility and migration, both as symbols and choice, and the willingness to be challenged with the unfamiliar and unpredictable can therefore be considered “a difference that makes a difference” (Bateson 1972) and as markers of distinction in formation of identity for this group of young people from rural areas.

Bibliography


Students’ Development to Church Professions: A Follow-up Research of the Students in Diaconia and Youth Work

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to present the main features of the project called Students’ Development to Church Professions and some preliminary results of its follow-up research about church youth work leader and diaconia students. First of all, it is useful to present some main features of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. About 84 per cent of the total population (5.2 million inhabitants) are members of the Lutheran Church, which means that Finland is religiously one of the most homogeneous nations in Europe. The second established church in Finland is the Orthodox Church. It has 60,000 members. (Jääskeläinen 2005.)

The principal activities of the church are worships and ceremonies, such as baptisms, marriage services and funeral services. But Finns consider also other forms of action to be important. According to research results, nine Finns out of ten consider diaconia work and youth work to be very or fairly important activities of the church. (Salonen 2005; Church in Change 2005, 27)

The church youth work means the work of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland among the children and youth mainly between ages 7–18. Among the youth work activities confirmation training has become a part of the Finnish youth culture. Approximately 90 per cent of the fifteen years old young people attend confirmation schools, which are mainly organized in camp form. A lot of the youth work after confirmation is built up around the activities of peer tutors who act as assistants in the confirmation camps and also in the children’s camps. The church youth work is organized and guided by more than 1100 full time youth work leaders in 548 local parishes (Parviainen 2005; Church in Change 2005, 51–53, 88).

Diaconia means church/Christian work among the people who need physical, social, mental or spiritual help. The contents of diaconal work are often
dealing with financial matters, questions of health and sickness, human relations, spiritual issues or work and unemployment. Diaconia workers are deacons and deaconesses. Deacons work with social work orientation and deaconesses with health care or nursing orientation. There are over 1,300 full time diaconia workers in the church of Finland (Church in Change 2005, 54–55, 88). Thus, the total number of the youth work leaders and the diaconia workers is some 2,500.

The occupational youth work leader education started in Finland in 1949 and since 1996 it has been organized in the universities of applied sciences. The occupational deaconess education started in Finland as early as in the 1860’s and modern deacon education in 1953. They both moved into the universities of applied sciences in 1996. All of the diaconia workers’ education and 80 per cent of the youth work leader education take place in the Diaconia University of Applied Sciences (DIAK). 20 per cent of the youth leader education is in the Central Ostrobothnia University of Applied Sciences (COU).

Beginning of the Project

The project Students’ Development to Church Professions has its background in the big changes of the public education system in the 1990’s. The development of the universities of applied sciences caused a lot of changes overall in the occupational education, as well in the church field as all the others. The student application system, the aims and contents of the study programmes and the employment of the graduates were reformed in many ways. Nowadays, youth work leaders and deacons graduate from the degree programme of social services and take Bachelor’s degree. Therefore, the church as an employer finds itself in a new kind of competition situation with other employers. The church is looking for new, committed and qualified employees at the same time as the age groups of new students are decreasing.

Diaconia University of Applied Sciences made an initiative to the Finnish Church Council for funding a research and development project, which should deal with the question of students’ growth to church professions during their studies. Church Council accepted the project idea and also The Church Research Institute joined in with financial support. So the project could start. There are four lecturers or principal lectures, who are working as part-time researchers in the project. The part-timing means a couple of months per year in addition to the lecturers’ other jobs. Both of the universities of applied sciences, Church Council and Church Research Institute formed together the steering group.
Purpose and the Contents of the Project

The project has two aims: 1) to research the development of the professional identity of the students during the youth work and diaconia studies, 2) to develop new methods to support the progress of this growth during the education. The research work is divided in four parts. First of all, there is a longitudinal study with quantitative data. It is a comprehensive study about the students at Diaconia University of Applied Sciences and Central Ostrobothnia University of Applied Sciences from the beginning of the studies to the graduation (2004/2005–2007/2008).

In this article I am going to present some of the first results of this study. In addition, there are three other on-going studies with more qualitative method concerning smaller student groups. These research projects have produced cooperation with other researches, mainly in the faculties of theology, where there is also an interest in the questions of professional identity and skills in education. The aim of developing new methods for education is linked to the research results, so the development suggestions will be formulated at the end of the project.

Research Methods

The theoretical framework of the project includes the concepts of professional qualifications and motivation. I have used the definition of professional qualifications according to Ellström (1994) in my research of the curricula of the church youth work leaders (Launonen 2004). It consists of three dimensions:

1) task-related qualifications (practical, cognitive and social skills)
2) ideological-normative qualifications (values, attitudes etc.)
3) development-directed qualifications

The concept of motivation was used according to Kati Niemelä’s research of the students of theology (Niemelä 1999; 2000). She found that there were, for example, motives to help other people, fulfil oneself, study in the academic level or religious motives. In my questionnaires the questions about qualification and motivation were formulated mainly according to these definitions.

The data has been and will be collected in four surveys: 1) at the admission exams, 2) after the first study year, 3) after the second study year, 4) at the end of the studies, after 3½ years. The total number of the applicants was 598 and the students 212 – at least in the beginning.

At the moment (September 2006) over the half of the data collection have already been done, as most of the questionnaires of the third phase have been
completed. The statistical analysis will be made after the whole data has been collected (questionnaires 1–4) and the final research report will be released in 2008. The first research report based on the analysis of questionnaire 1 was released in November 2005 (Launonen 2005). It includes background information about the applicants and new students by frequencies, percentages and crosstables.

Applicants: Gender and Age

The admission exams were organized in June and in November 2004 in different parts of Finland in the units of DIAK and COU. 460 out of 598 applicants answered (76.9 %). 16 per cent of the respondents were male and 84 per cent female. The distribution of genders correlates to that of all applicants in the social services, health and sport (which is one of the educational fields in the Finnish system) and also to the actual work life situation of diaconia work. In youth work, although the percentage of men was there about twenty, the proportion of women seems to be increasing. Today 40 per cent of the church youth workers are men and 60 per cent women.

The applicants were relatively young. 76 per cent of them were at the age of 18–21. The corresponding proportion of the social services, health and sport applicants at this age group was 61 per cent.

Ecclesiastical Background

The applicants were asked about their participation in ecclesiastical activities in the local level. Over 50 per cent had been participating a lot as a volunteer in the post confirmation school activities (or in the work of Young Confirmed Voluntary Workers as Jouko Porkka (2004) has defined the concept). The proportion in the age group in general is some 30 per cent. Youth work and confirmation school work are a significant way of recruitment to occupational studies.

On the other hand, over 60 per cent of applicants of the diaconia studies had no experience of diaconia work. So, youth work and diaconia seem to be very apart from each other in the local parishes. There is a great challenge to develop the cooperation of these fields of work because of the diminishing resources. The local parishes can not afford for very long to separate working sectors and employed workers.

The applicants’ attitudes to the Christian faith and church were very positive. 80 per cent told, that they believe in God in the same way as the Evangelical Lutheran Church is teaching. This is much more than in Finland in general.
According to the other research results the corresponding proportion is some 30 per cent.

**Motivation and Professional Qualifications**

The applicants of the deacon, deaconess and youth work leader studies were compared to each other by some statistical factors. The number of all the applicants, the priorities of the study alternatives and the renewing of the application show that the most popular study alternative is the youth work leader studies, then come rather close the deacon studies, but the deaconess studies stay far behind. This result of popularity also includes a hypothesis, that the youth work leader students are the most motivated.

The applicants were asked about their motivation to apply for admission to these studies. The three strongest motivating factors were a desire to help people and work with them, a possibility to fulfill yourself and positive experiences of the ecclesiastical work. Religious motives, such as the interest in learning more about Christian faith, the will to pass on God’s love or preach the gospel were not in the top of motivation factors, but somewhere in the middle. Home, friends and studying in itself were not very significant motivators.

Another aspect to the motivation is the question of the church as a working place. There seemed to be strong confidence in the possibilities of getting employed in the church work, and the image of the church as an employer was positive. But there were also some doubts about staying longer in the church work, about the salaries and the management and leadership.

86 per cent of the applicants and 89 per cent of those elected were *very much or fairly much* interested in the church as a future workplace. The number is high and is explained partly by the timing of the survey – during the admission exams. Without any deeper analysis we can see, that this interest seems to be decreasing after the studies have begun. In the 3rd survey after two study years this proportion had fallen close to 70 per cent.

Although during the admission exams the occupational studies are yet to take place, the applicants were asked about their opinions of their professional qualifications at the moment. Ability to listen and help was estimated as the strongest professional skill. Understanding the Christian faith was also strong but knowledge of the contents of it was weaker. Knowledge of the practical Church work and readiness to work there were scarce, too. Encountering and interacting with people were strong among the other core skills, then came teaching and guiding. On the other hand, knowledge of the society and democratic activities was rather weak.
Conclusion

In general, the starting points for the development of the identity of the church professionals seem to be very good. Strengths are the great number of the applicants, their active background and good experiences in the church youth work, good motivation and the confessing of the church faith. There are also some challenges for the education. Firstly, the good motivation at the start is a pedagogical asset that must not be underestimated. Secondly, the studies of theology, practical church work and society need a clear place in the curriculum. And finally, the number of the male applicants is decreasing – this is a challenge for the recruiting. The scarce interest in and knowledge of the society makes me ask, if the church youth work has forgotten these aspect in its own activities.

I have presented at this article only a few features of our research project. There are also, for example, many national and regional aspects which I have now left aside. The present results are preliminary and the future analysis of the data will give more answers to the proper research questions. By the end of the year 2008 we shall know much more about the students development to church professions.

Bibliography


Elena Borzova

Statistics as a Teaching and Learning Means in the Foreign Language Classroom

There has been a remarkable growth of statistical data all around us. Practically every issue of a newspaper or magazine contains statistics. Some people believe that “most audiences find statistics dull, uninteresting, difficult to follow and easy to forget (Freeley 1996, 135).” However, there is an opinion that “people like numbers because numbers are precise, take the place of many words and, properly presented, do not lie (Wolford 1992, 418).” Anyway, nobody will argue that “an understanding of simple statistics is almost as necessary for modern man as is the ability to read and write (Krech 1969, 616).”

The ability to understand, interpret and assess statistics is part of the informational competence which is required on any job. It is also essential for learning and effective problem solving. This ability is impossible without critical thinking skills. Statistics, if properly analyzed, assessed and interpreted, can be an important source of evidence which helps us see a certain problem, trend or characteristic, determine links and correlations, shape our attitudes and generate ideas. This ability should be developed in every academic course where statistics are used with regard to their specific content.

What Role Can Statistics Play in Teaching Foreign Languages?

As foreign language teachers, we are more concerned with how statistics can be incorporated into the foreign language classroom. Statistical texts have been used in foreign language textbooks for some time already. In most cases, they are applied as one of the forms through which the target language is presented to learners. Nevertheless, there are a few considerations which provide evidence that the teaching and learning potentials of statistics in the foreign language classroom are much richer than that.

In many modern methods the emphasis is mostly placed on the communicative function of the foreign language. Meanwhile, any language performs a
variety of functions and the learners have profound experience in using their mother tongue for performing these functions. To achieve a high proficiency level in a foreign language, students should also learn to use the target language in its diverse functions.

Communication is not a mechanical exchange of memorized phrases as is often the case in the foreign language classroom. Some teachers feel happy when their students, even those who have been studying the language for a long time, fluently reproduce phrases or texts from their textbooks which have little relevance to their own experiences or thoughts. Frequently, the questions the students answer require factual information and no reflection. Even while presenting their projects, some students repeat somebody else’s opinions and numerous facts that they have borrowed from different sources without their analysis.

Of course, in many everyday situations communication is mostly based on reproductive thinking when we express some simple thoughts and facts (“I come from Russia. I would rather stay at home tonight. I don’t like cats.”). But “language… is not simply useful for sending messages. It involves tabulating, classifying, naming, conceptualizing, as well as establishing and presenting the “self” (Judy 1981, 37). Language allows us “to pin down our thoughts and ideas for analysis”, and “to get them out in public where they can be studied” (Judy 1981, 39). Everybody knows that communication is an exchange of meanings, ideas, attitudes, emotions and incentives with the help of language. At the same time language is an important tool of thinking. We partly shape our thoughts in our inner speech by means of language and we mostly use language to express them for others (Zimnyaya 1989, 141). If the students are not able to use the foreign language in their inner speech where thoughts are born and understood, they will fail to express complex ideas and get their meaning in the foreign language. Then, instead, they will resort to their mother tongue while thinking (in their inner speech), translate their thoughts into the foreign language and only after that they will start speaking. It will take a lot of time, result in a very slow self-expression and inevitably cause mistakes. In addition, the necessity of the inner translation will distract the students’ attention from the content of their utterances.

The ability to understand and communicate complex ideas clearly with words, to participate in discussions, to solve problems in the foreign language involves creative and critical thinking aimed at generating, evaluating, and understanding ideas. The development of this ability occurs only in the course of regular, purposefully organized practice including specific tasks on the basis of appropriate content. As Y. I. Passov (2000, 22) claims, “our aim is not to teach students ready thoughts, but to teach them independent thinking”.

The more diverse and complex functions are fulfilled by the students across varied content areas with the help of the foreign language, the more
advanced level the students reach. Simultaneously, it promotes the development of their critical thinking skills and of the informational competence. On their way to a higher proficiency level foreign language learners move on from:

- the focus on linguistic form to the focus on the meaning of communication;
- the reliance on memory and reproductive thinking to the reliance on creative and critical thinking;
- the exchange of simple facts and trivial opinions to the discussion of complex problems;
- the use of the foreign language only as the goal of learning to using it as an effective medium of self-development and building relationships with the people around;
- the use of cognitive strategies (such as transfer, translation, repetition, memory-based avoidance, etc.) to the use of metacognitive strategies (planning, monitoring, comprehension of implicit meaning, problem identification and solving them) (Nyikos 1996, 111).

Therefore, foreign language textbook writers and teachers need to look for such materials and tasks that will engage students in active creative and critical thinking so that “turn language learning into a process of wondering and exploring” (Judy 1981, 42) oneself and the world around. Statistics are one of them.

Statistics provide evidence to support our claims and assumptions. They can establish adequate backing for our position in a discussion, in decision-making and problem solving, in our sound judgments and conclusions. “Ideas should be derived from data and information, for only in that way may the ideas be defended as valuable (Wolford 1992, 33).”

To understand statistics and interpret them, one needs to create a broad context which implies activating one’s prior knowledge and deciding what background information is required. The lack of sufficient data encourages students to search for additional background information which can help get an insight into the meaning of the statistics. Sometimes students need to conduct cross-cultural research comparing the data concerning their country and the country of the foreign language (or different social groups). The collected data are integrated and thoroughly analyzed. The students determine a cause and an effect, some trends and correlations. For these purposes they apply a wide range of thinking operations (analyzing, comparing, defining, classifying, predicting, generalizing, drawing conclusions, etc.). It allows the students to provide sufficient evidence to support their reasoning, arguments, opinions and conclusions.

Evaluating diverse options as well as their own approach to decision-making and problem solving is also an essential part of statistics analysis. While
performing these activities, the students are supposed to abide by some important guidelines of information analysis and processing (for example: logic rules, consistency, avoiding stereotypes and hasty judgments, weighing the pros and cons of different interpretations, etc). There are no ready ideas in the given statistics, which is why while working with them students are engaged in active thinking encouraged by the tasks and the content of the data.

Statistical texts are very short. Students cannot borrow many language units from them. They need to activate their long-term memory or use a dictionary for seeking the appropriate grammar models and words which will best express their own thoughts. The necessity to articulate complex ideas switches on the inner speech processes before these ideas are expressed in front of the class. Therefore, students have to phrase their thoughts independently first to themselves and then to others. To cope with this task, they can use different graphic organizers (tables, charts, clusters, webs, “family trees”, etc) which help to see the links and correlations; take notes while reading, listening, or reflecting. It also works first to try to express oneself in writing because people usually are very selective in choosing the words and structures for their written papers. Then we can look through what we have written, correct and reword our ideas searching for the better ways of phrasing them. It is evident that the application of statistical texts allows teachers to master their students’ linguistic competence in regard to all four skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing).

In the foreign language classroom, statistics and their analysis can involve students in meaningful interaction, exchange of data and ideas provided that each learner has a statistics unknown to the others. After individual reflection, students come up with their own opinions, suggestions, judgments and conclusions. They share the results of their thinking with one another and thus test their acceptability to the fellow-students. They learn to understand, to compare, to evaluate and react to their partners’ ideas. Statistics can facilitate a debate or discussion, be used in problem solving tasks, in case-studies as well as in project work. Moreover, students can poll their fellow-students on the same or similar issue, find out the facts related to their immediate environment and then compare the results with those offered in the statistical text. Through this interaction, students master their communicative competence and develop the ability to participate in complex forms of communication.

Statistical texts are used as a source of diverse knowledge covering a wide range of content. Actually, we can find statistics related to every topic discussed in the foreign language classroom. Sometimes it is worthwhile to offer statistics in the mother tongue. National and local mass media are full of such materials and teachers can easily update their resources. Then the translation of the statistical text into the foreign language will turn into a preliminary exercise which helps to get a better understanding of the facts. Besides, it is possible to use the statistics gathered not only in recent years, but also some time ago. It can en-
Statistics affect students in varied ways. They can draw the students’ attention to some problem; confirm ideas that the students have or, on the contrary, prove that this knowledge is erroneous or based on stereotypes; expand the picture of the world; initiate comparison (of oneself or of one’s own culture with the given data); evoke emotions (for example, wonder, disbelief, anxiety, fear, compassion, humor, etc.); affect the students’ values and attitudes (urge to review their own values and attitudes, and to look at them from a different perspective). Summing it up, we conclude that in the foreign language classroom statistics can perform varied functions. They can, for example, activate the students’ thinking and promote the development of their critical thinking skills, develop the students’ inner speech in the foreign language and enhance certain competences, such as students’ linguistic, communicative and informational competence. Furthermore, statistics may also develop the students’ meta-cognitive strategies, expand their knowledge and affect their attitudes, ideas, and emotions.

On What Conditions do Statistics become Effective Teaching and Learning Tools in the Foreign Language Classroom?

The effect that statistics produce depends to a great extent on their subject-matter and on the activities they are accompanied with. The more actively the students are involved, the more motivated they are, the more meaningful tasks are offered, the higher the teaching and learning potentials of the statistics will be. That is why it is advisable to choose those data which can stimulate learners to think about their content and to discuss them. A good motivating effect is produced by contradictory or unexpected facts, by the facts related to the topics that the students discuss in their mother tongue outside the classroom and which are related to their prior experiences and interests. The data which arouse disbelief or reflect the differences in the native country and the foreign country where the language is spoken evoke emotions and cannot leave students indifferent. From this perspective, for example, the fact that “about 1 100 trams carry passengers in St.Petersburg every day” will not suit in the high school classroom, but the data that “in the U.S., 70 per cent of high school and university students take part in voluntary work and in Russia – 2–3 per cent”
(Kostikov 2007) can lead to a discussion concerning the problem why many Russian teens are socially passive.

It makes sense to give different students different statistical texts which are united by the same topic. Then they are encouraged to share the information and to collect it from one another.

The set of tasks includes: individual activities which promote critical thinking (reading, listening and understanding; analyzing the data and phrasing ideas in the inner speech; writing down ideas required for the future oral presentation or generated after a group discussion); interactive activities (information exchange, pooling facts, polling classmates and then presenting the results of individual tasks); group discussions (exchange of opinions, debating, problem solving, project or case-studies presentations); perspective or retrospective activities (long-term tasks which either require a certain activity within some future period, for example: writing a journal or collecting statistics in a certain field of knowledge and classifying them, or urge students to return to the materials studied in the past: look through the data or graphic organizers covered in the past and then compare them with the latest facts).

The tasks given to the students should be diverse and aimed at the objectives mentioned above. We offer here a short list of the possible tasks which can be performed either individually or in pairs (groups):

- expand the given data with what you already know;
- share the facts with those students who do not know them; listen to each other and fill out a chart;
- use graphic organizers to classify the facts gathered from your classmates or to see the links and correlations (fill out tables, draw webs or spiders or clusters, etc.);
- look for additional information (for example, facts related to your own country or region);
- pose the problem (or trend or characteristic) that the statistics reveal;
- compare the facts from the past and the present. Try to predict what will happen in the future;
- determine cause and effect (a chain story);
- brainstorm some possible solutions to the problem;
- consider the advantages and disadvantages of each suggestion;
- choose the best (or the worst) solution from your point of view and argue in its favor;
- poll your classmates (or adults, acquaintances) to find out some relative facts about them (or their opinions and attitude towards the problem); then share your findings and draw conclusions;
- collect classified statistical data in your personal journals (reference copybooks) and regularly use them in your presentations;
• use statistics as arguments in your projects, debates, discussions, or written essays.

When we first use statistics as basis for reflection and discussion, it is worthwhile to give our students an outline which will lead them through successive steps in analyzing statistics and creating a broad context for them. Tasks for the students:

*While working with statistics, think about the following:*

1. Why did the researchers set out to survey the topic? What goals did they set?
2. What do their findings reveal? Decide whether there is a problem or not. If there is, then what is the problem?
3. Pose a few questions which need to be answered to explore the problem (trend or characteristic). Then classify them (cause and effect). Decide whether you need some additional information for your research and why.
4. Brainstorm some possible reasons. Rank them in the order of their importance. Explain why.
5. Make a list of some possible effects (on events, people, their behavior, relationships, state of mind, health, and attitudes, etc.) and side effects.
6. What conditions/circumstances can make the impact worse?
7. What solutions/actions do you suggest and why? What are the advantages and the disadvantages of each of them? Why?
8. Survey your immediate environment: prepare a few questions and poll your classmates, parents, acquaintances) concerning the subject-matter. Sum up their answers and observations. Draw your conclusions.

First each step is taken by every student individually and is supposed to involve everybody into active thinking and into the inner dialogue with oneself. After this, the students exchange their ideas (in pairs, groups, or in front of the whole class). Anyway, the outline suggests one of the possible approaches to exploring and analyzing statistical data. When the students follow these steps, they gradually develop and master their metacognitive strategy of interpreting statistical texts in the foreign language classroom.

Whatever the advantages, we try not to exaggerate the role that statistical texts can play in teaching foreign languages. They are one of the many materials used and like any other materials, have their weaknesses. They can be inaccurate and misleading. Therefore, they can consequently bring about misconceptions or biased opinions. Students can be confronted with certain difficulties in interpreting statistics (language problems, shortage of background information, inability to create a broad context which helps to get an insight into their mean-
ing, a low level of logical operations, etc.). Teachers are expected to select statistical texts in the foreign language with care keeping in mind the factors mentioned above, to determine the difficulty level the statistical texts may have for the particular learners and to gradually lead students through different stages of exploration and analysis by offering help and encouragement.

The English language textbooks which are now widely used in Russian schools contain statistical texts. For example, in the unit “Is It Easy to Be Young?” we find three of them. Though the data provided in the charts are outdated (1989–1997), potentially their content could encourage critical thinking and discussion because they seem to be biased and doubtful (“135,000 American children bring a gun to school every day”; “1,512 teenagers drop out of school”; “2,795 teenagers get pregnant”, etc). But in the textbook, there is no variety in the tasks that the authors offer: they are questions which mostly require reproduction (“How many teenagers have drinking problems? How many children die in America every day? etc.). (Kuzovlev, Lapa et al. 2005, 115–116).

The question “What do you think about the information given in the charts?” is too general. One task that accompanies statistics (Activity Book, 48) “Which of these issues are important to you? (very important/not so important/not necessary)” can engage students into thinking and evaluation, but there are no follow-up instructions, that is why the depth of the discussion of the given data fully depends on whether the teacher will offer more activities encouraging critical thinking or not. If teachers strictly follow the authors’ instructions, the given tasks may lead only to superficial comments of the students and promote their stereotypes about American teens. Having analyzed the statistical texts and tasks, we conclude that they are actually used either for language learning or skill practicing purposes. In fact, the tasks do not stimulate inquiry or teach students to think using the language. Therefore, the potential that statistics possess as one of the possible means of foreign language teaching and learning is hardly realized.

Conclusion

In conclusion, there are a few examples of the statistical texts that we effectively used with high school students in Petrozavodsk. They were borrowed from North-American media.

“According to one study, 27 percent of school-age kids resist going to bed, and 11 percent can’t fall asleep. In the morning, 17 percent can’t get up (U.S. News and World Report. September 9, 2002).” The students explored the data following the previously presented outline. Then they passed on to the analysis and discussion of their own daily schedules and the impact that the daily sched-
ule has on teens. They also came up with a list of tips on how teens could stick to a healthy daily schedule giving their detailed reasons why they thought so.

“A recent survey by Michigan State University found that eighth-grade boys play video games on average 23 hr. a week and girls 12 hr. (Time, January 10, 2005, p.5).” The students used the outline in their analysis. It is interesting to note that not all of them believed the fact about the boys because it follows that they play video games more than three hours a day. Then they passed on to the discussion of the issues why girls play less time than boys and what girls do instead. The students questioned their classmates and acquaintances about these issues in regard to Russian teens. The survey also touched upon the types of video games that are popular with modern Russian teens and their impact on those who become addicted to them. The final stage included the students’ survey of the teens’ leisure time activities.

“62 per cent of sixth-through twelfth-graders said getting paid for better grades would motivate them a lot, according to a survey by Public Agenda, a nonprofit scientific public-policy research firm (Parents, September, 2004).” The students discussed the data on the basis of the outline and did some other tasks from the list above. Then they studied the issue “What can motivate teens to study better?” Each group presented their suggestions and tried to convince the others in favor of their plan.

“About 9,700 American prisoners are serving life sentences for crimes they committed before they could vote, serve on a jury or gamble in a casino – in short, before they turned 18. More than a fifth have no chance for parole (The New York Times, Monday, November 14, 2005)” The analysis of this fact required a more profound study of the U.S. law to find out for what crimes convicts are sentenced to life. In addition, the students learned the Russian law concerning similar issues. The analysis led us to a detailed discussion of the problem of juvenile delinquency, what can cause it and how to prevent juvenile crime. This issue also required searching for the latest examples from national and local media.

Our observations indicate that while working with statistics, students learn to be active and wise consumers of information who do not jump to conclusions or perceive the world without thinking. They learn to use the foreign language as a medium of thinking, interacting and learning across various content areas and through this they create their own experiences.

Bibliography

Inna Kalabina

Upbringing and Moral Behaviour of Orphan Children

Introduction

Social orphanhood is one of the complex problems that face Russian society. It has been said that one in 10,000 children is an orphan and that Russia occupies the first place in the world with regard to the number of orphans. There are several reasons for this. Social and economic crisis, the destruction of moral values, alcoholism, increased number of unwed mothers and unemployment are among them. In Russia, orphanage has two specific aspects: the forms of care and the social-psychological difficulties of orphans’ personality development.

In spite of the state’s efforts to develop different and new forms to minis- ter orphans (under trusteeship, guardianship, adoption, living in foster families), the most prevalent form continues be an orphanage. Numerous studies have shown that the deprivation of maternal care and the psychic deprivation in orphan institutions may have disastrous effects on the social, psychic and physical health of children. Different authors, including A.M. Prihozhan (2005, 400), E.O. Smirnova and V.M. Holmogorova (2003, 160), N.N. Tolstyh (2005) and A.S. Shahmanova (2005, 192), pay attention to the complexity of developmental difficulties of children, who grow up without parental care. These are disharmonies of intellectual and emotional sphere; situationalism in thinking and behaviour; the limited ability to understand others, to make positive emotional relationships with peers; underdeveloped independence; weak manifestation stereotypes of behaviour corresponding to sex and weak future orientations.

A particularly alarming conclusion was made by G.N. Galiguova (1992, 35–47) and S.Y. Mescheryakova (1992), who found out that already during the first months of staying in an orphanage, a child starts to lag his peers in development. This delay increases at each age stage, it gains a distinctive quality and is not compensated in the course of growing up in orphanage institutions. What is lacking is the research on the moral behaviour of children without parental care. The fundamental qualities of personalities are pawned in the childhood.
They provide psychological stability and positive moral orientations. Furthermore, these qualities cannot be developed spontaneously, as they are formed under the conditions of love and adult support. Children, brought up in orphanages, are not adapted to social conditions. Children, who lack love, attention and contacts with adults, formulate a negative position towards the others. In such conditions, difficulties in the formation of moral behaviour appear.

The study of the processes of moral education among preschool children deals with teachers and psychologists. The analysis of psychological and pedagogical literature has allowed us to conclude that the studies on the given problem follow three distinct directions. The researchers of the first direction, such as L.I. Bozhovich (1968, 464), N.A. Vetlugina (1986) and S.V. Peterina (1986, 96), study moral knowledge and presentations. In their opinion, moral knowledge and presentations form the basis for the development of moral consciousness. They compose one of the sections in the polyhedral processes of the formation of moral behaviour. N.A. Vetlugina (1986, 196) specifically emphasizes the vast role of the moral presentations. She claims that “…only having worked out the child’s notion of ‘beautiful’ and ‘ugly’, ‘true’ and ‘false’, it will be possible to teach the child to distinguish the truth and good”. The next direction is the study of moral behaviour, conducted by E.V. Subbotsky (1979), S.G. Yakobson (1984) and the others (Moral Education in a Day Care Center 1984). They understand moral behaviour as a voluntary decision to keep up the moral norms. One of the particularities of this line of study is the normative regulation of a child’s behaviour. According to them, the formation of moral behaviour is the process which consists of assimilating standards and rules (knowledge and presentations) of public behaviour and following them. The researchers of the third direction include R.S. Bure (1985, 143), A.D. Kosheleva (1985, 176), T.A. Repina (1988, 230) and others. As scholars of moral feelings, they stress emotions, sensitivity and ascendency of feelings in childhood. Accordingly, the first place is not occupied by the assimilation of rules of behaviour or shaping presentations, but the development of emotions and feelings. Here, the moral education focuses on moral feelings, such as sympathy and empathy.

The methodological aspects of moral education are some of the priorities in the programs of preschool education. The analysis that was conducted on the methods of moral education in modern preschool educational institutions, conclude that in most cases, the methods are aimed at shaping moral judgments, presentations, standards and the rules of behaviour. However, the efficiency of these methods has not been proved. From our point of view, such approach seems incomplete and it does not include all the particularities of pedagogical processes in orphanages. These methods of moral education were castigated by L.S. Vygotsky (1991, 258): “moral education can not be based on law and rules in behaviour.” Pedagogy, based on moral law and repudiation can
not bring success because it “intimidates weakness and causes resistance in a strong child.” One of the most common problems of these programs is that they ignore the specific life conditions of orphanages, the specific developmental features of children without parental care and the problems of their socialization.

Survey and the Moral Behaviour of Children

Several experiments and observations were made to illustrate the actuality of this topic. These experiments let conclude that the moral behaviour of children who live in orphanages has specific features. The research was organized in the day care centre no. 120 in Petrozavodsk. Ninety four children of preschool age took part in the experiment (52 children brought up in orphanages and 42 children brought up in families). Underneath we will describe some of the results of these experiments.

We have used various tasks, based on the ideas of authors, such as E.O. Smirnova and V.M. Holmogorova (2003), E.V. Subbotsky (1979) and S.G. Yakobson (1984, 128), to diagnose the moral knowledge and presentations, and the moral behaviour and moral feelings of orphan children. For example, we used the method “Unfinished tale” to study the knowledge of moral behaviour and norms of children and to forecast their behaviour. During the task, a child is asked to finish the story having the following plot: “The hero of the tale wants to buy an ice-cream. Accidentally he finds some money on the road. He then meets another child, whose eyes are filled with tears. He is sad because he has lost his money, but he wants to buy an ice-cream …” The tale is then finished and an expert asks a child to say, what the hero of the plot would do (an abstract child), what the child himself would do (if he was the hero of the story), what his (her) friend would do and what the child, with whom he (she) is not friends with would do.

We also used a series of different tasks to study moral behaviour of orphan children. Before the experiment, a child gets two boxes, which both contain a specific number of toys. In the first box, the toys are divided equally (3/3), and in the second unequally (3/5). A child has to distribute these toys between himself and another child. The expert explains the child that it is possible to take only one box, the one that he wants. The child is to give an equal number of toys to the other child if he takes the first box. If he takes the second box, it is up to him to reserve the greater or smaller number of toys for himself. This method is the one of limited distribution. Another method is free distribution: a child gets a set of ten toys as an experimental material. He is then assigned with a task to distribute the toys between himself and another child.
For a more profound investigation of moral behaviour, we used a problem-solving situation. Two children participate in the competition, in which they both have to make a sun using mosaic (everybody has his own elements). Once children start to work, one of them notices that he is short of yellow mosaic elements. Therefore, a child is to ask another child for help, to listen to him and to react to other’s requests. At the final stage of the study on the moral behaviour of pre-school age children, we carried out the series of observations on manifestations of sympathy and empathy, for example in the real situations of physical pain, discomfort, fear, and so on.

Different Strategies of Children Orphans

The results of the method “Unfinished tale” point out that children of both groups have a good knowledge of moral norms, but there is a big difference between their verbal behaviour. The children brought up in families think that their own behaviour (88 %) and the behaviour of their friends (83 %) and an abstract child (88 %) will correspond to the public standards. In the opinion of children living in families, amoral behaviour will be more often found among children with whom they are not friends (52.4 %). The children who are brought up in orphanages think that other children will act amorally. 57.7 per cent of them believe that their friends would do so. 73 per cent say that a child, with whom he is not friends with would act amorally, and 61.5 per cent say the same about an abstract child.

Children-orphans consider their own behaviour to correspond to the standard (82.7 %). This phenomenon is probably connected with the desire of children orphans to obtain the attention and kindness of adults. The limited distribution test shows that almost all children, regardless of their educational conditions, choose the socially acceptable type of behaviour (90 % children from families and 86.5 % children from orphanages). Children, brought up in families act accordingly even in the changed situation, i.e., when free distribution is applied. It is natural for them to yield and share with other children. Children orphans, on the other hand, are more likely to follow the pragmatic motive of acquisition, 79 per cent of them do so in the situation of free distribution. It is harder for children orphans to follow the social acceptable type of behaviour without “a hint” (for example when the box disappears).

An important particularity of the next task, i.e., the problem-solving situation, is that the motive of normative behaviour is conditioned by the external control of an expert, but at the same time, there appears a significant motive, the wish to win the competition. In spite of this, the majority of children brought up families (62 %) helped their peers without a doubt. As for the children brought up in the orphanage, 38.4 per cent did not want to part with their
own mosaic elements. Some of them pretended not to hear the requests of their peers. The majority of children orphans (52%) behaved pragmatically, i.e., they gave 1–2 elements or helped the peers after they finished making their own “sun”.

The results of observation demonstrate that children brought up in families are not indifferent to other children’s sufferings. They notice and understand the conditions of other children and use various ways to express sympathy and empathy. Sometimes there is a verbal way or help in solving the problem. Furthermore, they use such practical actions as “embracing”, “touching”, and words and phrases, such as “everything will be good at the end”, “don’t weep”, “don’t be afraid” and others. The observation carried out in the children’s home allowed us to make some conclusions about the moral upbringing of orphan children. These children seldom notice and understand the state of others. As a rule, they are passive in experimented situations. Their signs of sympathy and empathy are situational and conditional by nature. Even if they notice pain or sufferings of other children, they do not use active ways to express sympathy and empathy. Usually they show up in different situations, because they are curious. Children brought up in a family sympathize with the peers in difficult situations (in the situation of physical pain, discomfort, fear etc.). At the same time, children from the children’s home do it only when the other children experience physical pain. We believe that this is connected with the external changes (a bruise, blood, etc) and with the strong emotional reaction of the victim.

As result, these studies prove that educational conditions of children orphans have an influence on their moral development. In spite of the fact that they have well-formed beliefs of moral norms, their socialization is worse developed in the field of moral behaviour. The formation of their behaviour follows a more pragmatic style and children orphans are less oriented towards surrounding children. This is confirmed by all experimental situations: for them the motives of acquisition or victory play a greater role than being fair. Basically, children-orphans build their own relations on external and elective moments. This is expressed in their fixation on themselves.

The children-orphans are mostly oriented towards adults when their moral standards are being observed. They choose the socially acceptable behaviour if they see the possibility of an adult control or praising. This corresponds with the pragmatic style of their behaviour. From our point of view, the differences in orphan children’s’ behaviour can be explained by the absence of constant care of a child by a significant person and the lack of the acceptance, felt by the child. These deficiencies cause a great need to adapt and to deserve positive attitude of adults towards the child.
Conclusions

The result of this study has shown that there are contradictions between the real situation in educational process, and the necessity to consider the moral education in conditions of an orphanage as the bases of forming their personalities and training them for independent life. The actual challenge for the pedagogical research is to make a program of moral education for children without parental care. It is necessary to pay attention to different factors that influence the formation of the moral behaviour of children orphans. When solving this problem, there are certain factors and conditions that need to be kept in mind:

- substitution of the main institute of socialization: an orphanage instead of a family;
- as a rule children, brought up in orphanages have the negative moral experience of previous life at home, when the main thing in the formation of morality was the negative example of their parents;
- their life conditions are very limited, they do not have such variation and opportunities to get knowledge about different social phenomena; they are limited in contacts with the surrounding world;
- regulation of the child’s behaviour in conditions of an orphanage, i.e., the disciplinary rules, which restrict biological activity of the child;
- the lack of privacy of a child, as a result they don’t understand the need to respect personal things, time, space etc.

From our point of view, the main idea of moral education for children without parental care is to create conditions of successful socialization. This can be realized by including children in different social relationships and interaction, such as communication, games and practical activities. There are two factors which lead to success in moral education. It is important to include children orphans into meaningful and real social relationships as well as enhance their self-realization in these relationships.

Bibliography

This article discusses how the theoretically outlined pedagogical triangle, in practice, may allow for the interpretation that the youth worker is an educator or an instructor for a young person. In that role, the youth worker may facilitate a young person’s learning processes towards the understanding of communal and societal forms of culture and skills of action. The pedagogical triangle consists of the basic theoretical ideas of adult-child relations within education. If the youth worker can be placed into this frame through the elaborations of the didactic triangle, then youth work may also be considered a pedagogical pursuit. In order to make this kind of interpretation, we have to outline the consequences of it.

This article also discusses briefly the educational setting and learning environment of youth work, the relevant and most significant forms of culture and action youth workers encounter, the relevant teacher-learner-subject matter relationships in youth work, the other social and cultural forces and relationships that may influence youth work, and finally, the outcomes of pedagogically oriented youth work.

**Theory of the Pedagogical and Didactic Relation**

The long tradition of German educational theorising of Bildung (e.g. von Humboldt 1793/1794; Klafki 2000; Lüth 2000) has, among other things, produced the idea of the pedagogical relation. The problem with the concept of Bildung is that it has no counterpart in the English language. However, as Lüth (2000, 65) notes, “The noun Bildung is derived from bilden, to form or, in some instances, to cultivate.” For the purposes of the following discussion in this article, the process of Bildung (Bildungsprozess) is associated with the term formation process which refers to an individual and personal process of formation, mostly in the form of evolving self-realisation and self-determination of a human being (c.f. Klafki 2000; Lüth 2000; Wimmer 2001). It is also important to notice that Bildung and an individual formation process is an impossible pedagogical
task because it cannot be produced: “If Bildung is what you want, you may not want it. … One cannot “do” Bildung but one can try to make it happen. If Bildung does occur, then pedagogical efforts may have helped it on its way (Wimmer 2001, 161–162).”

In short, the pedagogical relation can be theorised in the form of the pedagogical triangle which consists of the basic ideas of adult-child-formation process-culture relations in everyday life situations (Figure 1). According to these ideas, in a pedagogical relation, the question is always about an adult’s focused educative influence or even effort to in some way educationally influence a child’s actions and understanding of the issue at hand. Despite the probable relation with an adult, a child perceives and eventually grows to understand the world and human culture only through one’s own actions. However, the specific characteristic of the pedagogical relation is that there are always two actors, an adult and a child, and human culture is produced and reproduced through the functions of interaction within that relation.

What is crucial in the pedagogical relation is the adult’s orientation of influence and interaction with a child. The adult’s orientation is always based on one’s own life history and individual formation process. Through that process, an adult has grown to understand and has learned to use the relevant societal and cultural knowledge, morally and ethically applicable ideas, and practical skills and ways of action. These understanding guides an adult to try to open and support a child’s own un-predetermined developmental potential and formation process. (E.g. von Humboldt 1793/1794; Kansanen 2004; Klaflki 2000; Lüth 2000; Siljander 2002.)

Figure 1. The pedagogical triangle and relation (c.f. Kansanen 2004; Siljander 2002)
In order to understand the theoretical elaborations within the proposed field of educational theory in this article, it is important to notice that the concepts of education and teaching differ from one another in theory as well as in practice. On the one hand education belongs to the field of theory and practice of pedagogy, and on the other hand teaching belongs to the field of theory and practice of didactics. It is also relevant to notice that in everyday life practices both education and teaching can be present at the same time but their purpose and institutional justification may separate them. (C.f. van Manen 1993; Uljens 1997.)

The peculiar asymmetrical characteristics of teaching in reference to education are structurally quite similar to the pedagogical triangle (Figure 1). But in the core of didactics there is a planned, conscious and acknowledged, institutionalised and professional purpose: to make an educatee learn by the direction of preset content knowledge of the subject matter. In the forming of the relationship of actions in the didactic triangle, there is no similar openness like in the pedagogical triangle. In the didactic triangle (Figure 2), it is significant that the pedagogical purpose of pre-planned teaching activities and prepared instruction is to enhance and facilitate the learner’s understanding-learning process. The process is exactly focused on taking in from the society relevant subject matter of curriculum the content knowledge that the educator has defined before the occasion. (E.g. Siljander 2002; Teaching as a Reflective Practice 2000; c.f. Kansanen 2004; Kansanen & Meri 1999.)

The basic features of the didactic triangle that are used in planning the subject teaching at school should also encompass and allow for both the national and local curriculum defined in the contents of learning. These contents are supposed to mainly focus on the teacher’s teaching activities as well as the educatee’s studying activities that lead to learning. In this way, by setting the objectives for each occasion of instruction, the basic features of the didactic triangle are not left out. The teacher, as an adult, may in principle act like an educator at school (Figure 1). But the more aware, planned and professional one’s pedagogical intent is, and the more one’s action is based on the goals of educational establishment and on achievement of the learning contents, the stronger one is acting as a teacher within the realm of school-like instruction and learning.

**Implications in Youth Work**

From the point of view of person to person interaction, and the fact that a youth worker is in an adult’s position in relation to a young person, there are sometimes, but not always particular pedagogical relations at hand. Youth work can be seen as a kind of youth policy oriented pedagogical activity. From the youth policy point of view, the chief of the Youth Division in Finnish Ministry of Education, Olli Saarela, pointed out in his speech at the opening seminar of
Allianssi-cruise (16–17 March, 2006) that a youth worker is a teacher in societal literacy. From an education-theoretical point of view, that statement points to a specific pedagogical relation between a youth worker and a young person.

The relation is not only focused on opening and supporting the unpredetermined formation process of a young person towards understanding society and culture at large (c.f. Klafki 2000; Lüth 2000). It is also focused on defining the positions of actors in the pedagogical relation, that is, a youth worker as a teacher or instructor and a young person as a learner. It is also focused on defining the cultural (societal) literacy as an objective and the subject matter in teaching. This particular pedagogical relation between the youth worker and the young person frames youth work to be more like a didactic activity. Within this activity the definition of the didactic triangle and relation in youth work may make its pedagogical pursuit more possible and fruitful. In the deduction of education-theoretical ideas within the field of youth work, the following definition of the didactic triangle and relation is presented in Figure 2.

![Figure 2. The didactic triangle and relation in youth work](image)

The didactic triangle and relation in youth work is composed of four parts. First, the subject matter is society and culture, that is, communal and societal forms of culture and skills of action. Second, the learning focus is on cultural literacy, that is, understanding-learning process of the subject matter. Especially in this case the focus is on “reading and writing of culture”. Third, the learner is seen as an adolescent. However, in this case the learner’s position is perceived without any preset institutional position of an educatee. Fourth, the teacher in cultural literacy is seen as a youth worker. However, in this case the teacher's
position is perceived without any preset institutional position of an educator or instructor.

In order to make this kind of interpretation on the didactic triangle and relation in youth work, the consequences of it have to be outlined as well. However, presently and especially being apart of school-like environment, curricula, and objectives, the didactic dimensions of youth work may not be easy to define.

**Consequences in Youth Work**

Considering the probable but certainly not the only didactic dimensions in youth work, in the following sections we discuss the educational setting and learning environment, and the relevant and most significant forms of culture and action to work with. Also we discuss the relevant teacher-learner-subject matter relationships we should focus on, and the other social and cultural forces and relationships that influence the setting in youth work. Finally, from the point of view of the outcomes of pedagogy and didactic activity within the field of youth work, we can ask how we know when an “educatee” in youth work has learned something about the subject matter, literacy or about her/himself.

**The Educational Setting and Learning Environment**

Considering the didactic dimensions in youth work, we must ask what or where the educational setting and learning environment of youth work is. One should remember that youth work is, in practice, quite far from a school-like environment, curricula and objectives.

The answer has to, then, be sought where youth work actually operates: in everyday life, common culture and experiences of young people and youth workers (Figure 3). In each encounter of probable pedagogical relation, they may share the intersubjective ways of understanding everyday life practices and actions. From the point of view of a youth worker, the basis of understanding the subject matter is the youth worker’s own understanding of common culture within everyday life (e.g. Willis 1990). It is especially this understanding that the youth worker can use to deduce what kind of lacks and needs in cultural literacy a young person has. Also this understanding helps the youth worker work out the relevant educational content of the subject matter.

From the point of view of an adolescent, experiences in everyday life construe the meaning making processes. Through these processes, an adolescent realises one’s personal needs in cultural literacy. These needs towards communal and societal forms of culture and skills of action are then expressed in prac-
The pedagogical relation between youth worker and adolescent is created through these young person's expressions and the youth worker's interpretation of them. Hence, for both of them, the personal understanding of the situation gives grounds for the definition of the needs in cultural literacy. (E.g. Biesta 1994.)

Figure 3. The educational setting and learning environment, and the relevant teacher-learner-subject matter relationships in youth work

So, the educational setting and learning environment of youth work is in everyday life, where on the one hand, the youth worker’s understanding of common culture shapes the educational content of the subject matter, and on the other hand where an adolescent’s faced needs on that content are expressed. From the more education-theoretical point of view the educational setting and learning environment of youth work forms through the perceived culture as presented in everyday life activities and cultural artefacts. In this environment the learning focuses on the representation of the experienced, understood and yet – from subjective point of view – meaningful contents in everyday life activities and the use of cultural artefacts. (C.f. Benner & English 2004; Chambliss 1987; Tochon 2000.)
The Forms of Culture and Action

Then, if learning in youth work is focused on everyday life activities and cultural artefacts, what are the relevant and most significant forms of culture and action to work with youth? In youth work there may not be the formal development of school-like curricula and objectives. However, it can be assumed that the general curriculum of youth work can be derived from the contents of the subject matter, being in essence all possible communal and societal forms of culture and skills of action (c.f. Education and Cultural Studies 1997). The curriculum can be formed through two layers.

The first layer is the making of civil society, where the teaching-learning focus is on a “reading and writing of civil society” (e.g. Harju 2006). For instance, in western democracies, the youth work could concentrate on four things. First, the youth work could concentrate on facilitating and enhancing the societal spontaneity, activeness and participation of young people, in short, on “doing society”. Second, on “doing society”, the structure and functions of civil society form the content where the youth work could concentrate on, for example, using public utilities as a way for the young people to realise the autonomy and voluntariness of societal action. In short, they would be realising the optionality in everyday life activities in society.

Third, youth work could concentrate on laymanship as a starting point for everyone in everyday life. The dimensions of professionalism and flexibility in utilising each person’s cultural and social capital mean subjective rights of independence, also for the young people. Fourth, despite independence, the youth work could concentrate on the communality of everyday life of young people. This stresses the locality and ethics between the people, in short, solidarity in life together. But in youth work, the planning of teaching and didactics in making of civil society starts from the youth worker’s perceived forms of civil society, and the outcomes of desired objectives of teaching and learning are derived from those forms.

The second layer is the making of culture, where the teaching-learning focus is on “reading and writing of culture”. Within every social relation, there is a need to perceive the other person as an applicable counterpart of social action. The other person is seen as a social object to which one can relate to and from whom one can anticipate attention of being noticed. That perception is the basis of the following cultural dimensions that also the youth work could concentrate on. The perception of the other as a social object generates social control by which a young person’s identity formation and moral action develop (e.g. Mead 1925). In practice, this means growing up into the ideas of decent living and working together with other people. From a subjective point of view, social control evolves through the “bestice” of perceived ideas, the best fit ideas, of social action within role taking and role making in personality devel-
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opment. The perception of the other may also give the tools for disseminating cultural meanings and moral considerations, for example the values and norms of the young and adult people, through meaningful action in everyday life practices (e.g. Wardekker & Miedema 1997).

Finally, the perception of the other may give the tools for representational cultural production and “prosumerism (Toffler 1982)”, where a young person can solely produce the cultural functions or artefacts, or organise the production of cultural functions or artefacts together with the other young people. However, at the same time, a young person may as well act like a well informed professional or proactive consumer of cultural functions or artefacts. Despite the intersubjective social world perspective presented, in practice in youth work, the planning of teaching and didactics in the making of culture starts from the youth worker’s own perceptions of each social object, especially of young people. The objectives of teaching and the outcomes of learning in youth work are derived from those perceptions.

The Teacher-learner-subject Matter Relationships

Considering the relevant teacher-learner-subject matter relationships in youth work (Figure 3), we can say that the two layers of civil society and culture, discussed earlier, are present in everyday life. It is the youth worker’s understanding of common culture of the civil society in everyday life that shapes the educational content of the subject matter. Also, an adolescent’s faced needs in reference to the probable educational contents are expressed in everyday life.

However, it is crucial to notice that in real life the relationship between an adolescent and the youth worker is often very blurry. They both have personal investments and involvements on their other social relations; and these relations bring various attitudes and even power-related biases into the relationship between an adolescent and the youth worker. Also, they both have different positional perceptions of the assumed subject matter. Therefore, the relevance of productive relationships between an adolescent and the youth worker is manifested out by the laborious negotiations. These negotiations concern the definition of the subject matter as a working target and its starting point. For instance, an adolescent might stress the importance of working with common culture. The youth worker might stress the importance of working with experiences and learning to appreciate the meaning in everyday life. Also, from the subject matter point of view, working with individual formation processes in everyday life in construction of the content knowledge is important.

But for youth work as a practice, just the daily interaction with young people is at the centre of those negotiations. This makes youth work quite a unique profession. For instance, in the case of young people, the profession that is very often brought together with youth work is social pedagogy. However, in the
The construction of the working target of social pedagogy there is no need to go along through the laborious negotiations. For social pedagogy the working target is quite clear because it concentrates on the ways “how to promote educationally the participation, social subjectivity, ability to act, life control and social integration of young people (Hämäläinen 2007; Kurki 2007).” This is especially not the case with youth work as a pedagogical pursuit because its working target is not the youth as a problem. For youth work, the working target is cultural literacy, the overarching phenomena of communal and societal forms of culture and skills of action.

The Other Social and Cultural Forces

To put the thus far discussed perspectives into a bit broader scope, it is reasonable also to outline the other social and cultural forces and relationships that may influence the educational setting where youth work operates.

For instance, in the private sphere of daily life we may see the areas like media, markets, competition and profits that may interfere and tilt the objectives of youth work from their original form. These areas of life may push the youth work into the direction of social objects that are generated from outside young people’s everyday life. The youth work cannot fully operate in these areas. Also, we may see the public sphere of power relations, authority, legitimacy and democracy that may be out of reach for the youth work. (C.f. Harju 2006.) As it is familiar to social pedagogy, the mixing of private and public spheres of daily life may produce problems among the youth. These problems point to the way of life that from an adult point of view nobody really wants to understand. Therefore the basic solution to these problems is to tackle them pedagogically. Youth work is not, by its orientation, the elementary part of that solution. (C.f. Warzecha 2002.)

The present age of globalisation may also have some kind of mythical and problematic impact on the everyday life of young people. From an everyday perspective which focuses on the meaning of things, each possible subjective perception of things are in any case interpreted, understood, produced and reproduced in symbolic form no matter from where around the globe these things are coming. We may call this phenomenon the “orbitation” of meanings without any necessary connection to everyday life contexts. This is problematic for youth work especially because its working target may not be societal or even cultural literacy based. It will go far beyond that into global literacy that has no form at all.

But one powerful force and set of relations that in fact limits the influence of the mentioned forces and relationships is domestic and institutional education, home and school. For the vast majority of people, these forms of education still operate through the deep-rooted but still modern cultural understand-
ing and its presentation. These forms of education may be familiar to youth work because their working targets and pedagogy may parallel to a certain degree.

**Learning Outcomes**

Finally, from the point of view of the outcomes of pedagogy and didactic activity within the field of youth work, we can ask: How do we know when an “educatee” in youth work has learned something about the subject matter, literacy or about her/himself? The outcomes of pedagogically oriented youth work may be seen in a young person’s conduct; how one perceives each social situation and how one behaves as an individual person in an intersubjective world together with other people. The anticipated outcome would produce the qualitative change in a young person’s everyday action. The qualitative change means an increased ability to reflect on symbolic reason and meaning of culture within every form of social action. It also means an increased ability to solve the practical problems in action and moral dilemmas together with other people. In short, going back to the pedagogical triangle and relation (Figure 1), learning means an increased ability to learn more. Hence, learning the cultural literacy, communal and societal forms of culture and skills of action in everyday life situations, facilitates a young person’s individual formation process towards socially competent adulthood.

**Conclusion**

In this article, the outlined consequences of didactic triangle and relation in youth work point to certain didactic preconditions and limitations for youth work as a pedagogical pursuit, as follows. First, in defining the educational setting and learning environment of youth work the everyday life experiences of young people and youth workers are equally important. However, the educational setting and learning environment of youth work can only be revealed through the actual forms of everyday life activities and perceived cultural artefacts. Second, the relevant and most significant forms of culture and action in youth work point to the general curriculum of youth work with two layers; the *making of civil society* and the *making of culture*. However, despite the intersubjective social world perspective here the planning of teaching and didactics in youth work starts from the youth worker’s perceptions on the relevant subject matter.

Third, in youth work the teacher-learner-subject matter relationships are negotiated through the daily interactions between the youth worker and the young people. In practice the outcomes of these negotiations finally shape the probable educational contents in youth work. Fourth, the other social and cul-
tural forces and relationships around youth work frame the educational setting in youth work to the form and content of quite familiar pedagogies of modern home and school. Fifth, the learning outcomes of pedagogically oriented youth work help the young people to understand and learn more about the various forms of culture and skills of action in everyday life situations.

To sum up, as Max van Manen (1994) says: “Calling certain relations pedagogical does not mean that teachers should think of themselves as leaders of a band who march up front while dictating the route, pace and program. From the beginning, the task of teaching (professional pedagogy) was a temporary responsibility of certain adults who stood in loco parentis to children. Even at present, the pedagogue is just a supporter along the way: someone who can be relied upon, who believes in this child, who accompanies the child some distance through life, sharing what he or she knows, showing what one can be, and creating the conditions and secure spaces for young people to play an active part in their own becoming.” And this may be the case in youth work, too.

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