An Image of the Future and the Algorithms of Social Mobility of Young People in Modern Russia

Gavrilyuk VV[1]*, Gavrilyuk TV[1], Bespalova IM[2], Skok NI[1] and Panova AV[1]

1   Industrial University of Tyumen, Russia
2   Tyumen State University, Russia

*Corresponding author:
Gavrilyuk VV

 gavriliuk@list.ru

Industrial University of Tyumen, Sociology, Russian Federation.

Tel: +79088748430

Abstract

This article examines the process of social mobility of Russian youth in relation to the changed social context of modern Russian society that is in the condition of transition to the information stage of development. Theoretical and methodological foundations of the study of social mobility, using the chronological, local and paradigmatic criteria are summarized and analyzed. The choice of life strategies of young people is investigated through the implementation of cluster analysis of the mass survey results. The youth's perceptions about the main scenarios of socio-cultural development of the Russian society have been studied empirically; the interrelation of value orientations of the respondents and their views, concerning basic social values, the perception and planning for the future forms in the context of the comparison of the obtained clusters have been determined. The algorithms' typology of the new generation social mobility, taking into account the specifics of the Russian social reality is being developed. The study shows that the image of the personal future and the choice of the algorithm of its achievement by the youth in modern Russian reality is determined not only by the social status of the young person, but also imply the freedom of individual choice. This study contributes to the further development of the issue of correlation of social mobility and the temporality of human life, its conclusions can be used in administrative, public and teaching activities.

Keywords: Values; Youth; The youth's value orientations; The image of the future; Social mobility; Cluster analysis

Introduction

The successful development of any society is determined by its social dynamics, the speed of social movements, the availability and efficacy of social mobility, movement and growth of human capital and social capital. The theme of social mobility is relevant not only for Russia but for the other countries, being in the full sense of the global issue. The modern world is at the stage of "redefinition of the situation" the structure of the economy and policy priorities are fundamentally changing, the image of the future of the national states is transforming. The realization of a new social future is linked to the transformation of economic systems in the developing countries, coupled with the transition to new technological basis.

In Russia in recent years there is a popular issue to discuss that is connected with a new, fourth wave of industrialization of the economy. The principal changes are also related to the economy structure management, social and other spheres which influence on the forms and processes of social mobility. In the industrial period of social development some definite programs (algorithms) of social mobility were fixed on the societal level and at the level of the life trajectories of individual social actors, the new post-industrial stage supposes completely different programs. Projecting the problem of the algorithms of social mobility in Russia, the complex nature of this process should be noted, taking into consideration the effects of the transition period. The main purpose of this article is to explore the possibilities and prospects of social mobility of modern Russian youth, the rate, the channels, the contents of social mobility. It is intended to develop a model and typology of strategies of social mobility taking into account the specifics of Russian social reality.

The empirical part of the project is implemented in the Tyumen region and represents a conglomerate of different types of cultures (alien and indigenous); new and traditional type of management; transformations of the social structure and the rapid growth of human capital. The novelty of the approach consists in the attempt to identify the connection between the selection of the social mobility algorithm and the content of the image of the future of the representatives within the lifespan of one Russian generation. The influence of the image of the future on the choice of the life strategies is connected with the essence of the Russian mentality, for many generations the image of a fair social order, prosperity and greatness of the country remained the most effective motive of the choice of a personal life way. So, we have pointed out the following goals in our study:

- Identification of socio-cultural and institutional characteristics of the strategies development and algorithms of social mobility at the macro level of the Russian society;

- The social mobility of the new generation algorithms' typology development, taking into account the specifics of Russian social reality;

- Personal and social perspectives priorities identification in the image of the future of today's youth.

Based on these indicators, we have identified and described different types of strategies of social mobility, in the course of the empirical research their bearers have been examined.

Literature Review

A classic basis of mobility processes study is a conflictological approach of K. Marx [1], where the basis of every social movement is the relationship to the means of production, i.e. property. In the conception of M. Weber [2] the criteria quantity of social mobility is greatly expanded, primarily due to the introduction of the basic criterion - the relation to the power. The common for both theories is the emphasis on social stratification and mobility in the wider socio-political context. The classics of sociology, M. Weber, K. Marx didn't develop a theory of social mobility specially, but their concepts can still act as a basis for understanding of these processes in society. They founded the sociological traditions of the social mobility problem studying and these traditions took shape later as neoweber tradition, developed mainly in the works of R. Dahrendorf [3], and Marxist tradition, the prominent representatives of which were D. Lukács and A. Gramsci [4].

A follower of M. Weber teaching, who have had a great influence on the development of the theory of social mobility, the German sociologist R. Dahrendorf, considers such factor as a power as a source of mobility. In his view, social conflict is a struggle over power interests, and any movements of the person on the power vertical invariably lead to the transformation of his political and other viewpoints. After M. Weber, R. Dahrendorf uses the notion of "life chances" in his conception, which he has interpreted as a specific combination of rights and ways of their provision. The class in the market of goods and services is formed around life chances. The prospects of social mobility, according to R. Dahrendorf, depend primarily on the position of the groups. The factors of mobility, defining the status positions of the individual,

are education, profession, life style, socio-cultural attitudes and norms of behavior, their relationship with the market positions.

The classical theory of social mobility of P. Sorokin [5] includes not only a scientific definition of this process, but also a classification of the mobility types and ways of its measuring. The notion of vertical, horizontal, intergeneration social mobility are classical. On the premise that the main channels of social mobility are social institutions, Sorokin identifies the following major (army, Church, marriage, political and economic organization), noting that with the changing of society the effectiveness of the particular institutions may vary. This fact explains the necessity to study this process in the current environment.

A different view on social mobility is reflected in the works of theorists of structural functionalism T. Parsons, further developed by L. Warner and B. Barber. They considered the dynamics of the social structure not as the consequence of the struggle, but as a mandatory condition for the society functioning of, ensuring the equitable distribution of statuses and privileges. This approach observes social inequality as functionally necessary for the preservation of society, the parts of which were regarded as the united and interrelated in the equilibrium system. T. Parsons saw the conditions of mobility in the aims that the society tends to.

Continuing the functional tradition of social stratification, K. Davis and W. Moore explain the uneven distribution of wealth and social prestige of the individual in accordance with the functional significance of his position [6]. There have been discovered the essential functions of inequality in society: the problem of individuals' social positions distribution, as well as the stimulation of desire to reach higher positions and to act in accordance with them. On this basis, the main mobility criteria according to C. Davis and U. Moore are prestige, respect, rights and benefits determined by high positions in society. The channels of social mobility are education, talents and abilities of individuals. This concept contains a number of significant shortcomings, which were highlighted by the American sociologist-Marxist M. Tumin [7].

Dominant inequality in society does not encourage the talents development, but on the contrary creates the conditions under which the talents of the people, belonging to lower strata of society, have a low chance to be adequately implemented. The family was considered to contribute a lot to the unequal distribution of the life chances in different segments of the population. In one case, parents invest in the next generation a lot of money, cultivate the values of social achievements; in the other case, they focus children on the manual work and subordinate position in the social hierarchy [8].

In the second half of the twentieth century the development of the theory of social mobility is related to the concepts of R. Boudon, S. Lipset, R. Bendix. S. Lipset and R. Bendix [9] investigated mainly intergeneration mobility in the regional and territorial aspects. According to their concept, the development of industrial societies is associated with the intensity increasing of vertical mobility. Wide opportunities of social growth provide, on the one hand, the role of the "safety valve", the means of social turbulence prevention; on the other hand, allow the using of the passionate potential of new generations, of youth.

In the twentieth century, the problems of social mobility were considered by R. Bendix, P. Blau, C. Bolt, D. Glass, J. Goldthorpe, O. Duncan, B. Durieux, H. Zetterberg, S. Lipset, D, Lockwood, K. Svalastoga, D. Treiman, D. Federman, R. Hauser, R. Erickson, and others. Thus, American sociologists P. Blau and O. Duncan [9] have concluded that the prescribed characteristics (race, religion, age, gender, nationality), can serve as an effective mechanism for the distribution of labor roles, and, consequently, impact on professional career and socio-professional mobility. Other foreign researchers- M. Yaish, R. Andersen [10] conducted a study of social mobility in modern society from the point of view of the impact of the political and economic context. Scientists have come to the conclusion that political ideology, economic production conditions have a significant impact on the nature and intensity of social mobility.

The last decade of the twentieth century is notable for the studies of B. Durieux, who proved a special importance of comparative analysis for the understanding of the social mobility prospects. In addition, it is necessary to notice the works of J. Goldthorpe and R. Erikson, who studied class mobility, social movements in European countries. They compared the levels of mobility in different industrial societies and came to the conclusion on the closeness of the indices of social mobility of all industrialized countries, regardless of the social system [11]. This extremely important conclusion determines the relevance of studying of the channels and algorithms of social mobility in modern societies.

A sociological understanding of the social mobility processes was considered in the framework of the theory of social stratification. In the framework of this approach, the researchers of the mobility theme [8], R. Merton, E. Jackson and G. Crockett [12] have focused on understanding of the principles of the capitalist society mobility. The American sociologist S. Lipset considered the mobility in the framework of functionalist theory, as a complex movement in the coordinates of social structure where the determinative role is played by the economic dimension. S. Lipset believed that the upward mobility has had a direct impact on the sustainability of a certain system of values where the individuality, dynamism and development had primacy [12]. The upward mobility opens the road for the people to higher positions in society and contributes to the deconsolidation of social groups, but this is not about class struggle, but rather of individual competition.

The main emphasis in these works is made on the analysis of the processes of social mobility in the industrialized social systems. However, the formation of the social mobility structure in connection with the transitional conditions of the societies, new economic systems are investigated poorly. An independent direction in the study of social mobility is the approach, developed in the framework of phenomenological theories (A. Schutz, etc.). In the framework of this direction the social mobility is interpreted by means of the ideal measurements through the estimation of a set of ideas, beliefs, attitudes, opinions, judgments, i.e, the characteristics of public consciousness and mood. In contrast to the norms and values, these changes are only the guidelines and are devoid of ontological status. Postmodern views on social mobility nowadays are widely represented in Western sociology,

so, A. Appadurai studied social movements in the conditions of a "fluid" society and has identified several ideal types of mobility.

A fundamentally new look at the problems of mobility was introduced by the British sociologist John Urry in his book "Sociology beyond Societies. Mobilities for the XXI century" [13]. His position is connected with the study of modern global information society, where traditional boundaries and social institutions have an increasingly smaller impact on social dynamics. Rigid social structures, including a basic understanding of the upward mobility in the modern world loses its meaning. The most significant are various types of physical and virtual movement and displacement. J. Urry examines the travel of people, images, objects, messages, waste and money across international borders in his "sociology of mobilities". Such movements today, from the researcher's point of view, influence on the social perception of time, space, citizenship and modern life in general [14].

In the Russian sociology of the Soviet period, the problems of social mobility because of the well-known reasons, were not practically investigated. Meanwhile, the Western sociologists noted that egalitarian social institutions of the Soviet social system demonstrated high efficiency in equalizing of the life chances in comparison with the institutions, servicing the mobility in the developed countries of the West. Even P. Sorokin noted the existence of the powerful streams of mobility in the USSR, while noting that these streams were gradually nullifying the Bolshevik program of full equality [15]. Mobility in Soviet society was evolving according to its internal rules that were not always clear and logical from the point of view of the capitalist principles.

More recent studies, examining the information stage of the society development, on the contrary, notes significant changes in the channels of social mobility. Recognizing that Russian society has serious problems with social mobility, associated primarily with the closeness of the elite, the scholars have identified several channels as more or less effective channels such as political parties, science, military, and sports. The analysis of the functioning of these social institutions, the information about many violations and scandals in the media, as well as the opinions of experts have led to the conclusion about the decreasing of the effectiveness degree of these mobility channels nowadays.

Modern Russian scientists are still developing the traditional concept with regard to the development specific of the post-socialist countries [15-18]. Although some new trends of social mobility that are specific for the information type of society, have not remained without attention of the researchers. So, [19,20] highlight the fundamental trends in this area: first, the emergence of a new space - a virtual one, secondly, the transformation of this space into a meaningful factor of the actual social stratification, opening the new paths of social mobility.

Several fundamental studies of social mobility have been carried out in Russia under the leadership of V. A. Yadov. There are well-known works of M. F. Chernysh, V. V. Semenova, E. Y. Rozhdestvenskaya. In Russia, the issue of social mobility has not been sufficiently developed, especially in the context of

formation of the strategy and algorithms of the modern youth's social mobility. In this regard, there should be noted two main research directions that need some synthesis in the context of the study problem.

The first direction is the analysis of social mobility in the context of social structure and social stratification studying, presented in the works of Z. T. Golenkova, M. K. Gorshkov, T. I. Zaslavskaya, V. V. Radaev, V. R. Ryvkina, N. E. Tikhonova, O. I. Shkaratan and others. The authors (for example, T. Golenkova [21] note that the modern Russian society is characterized by a flexible and dynamic socio-professional structure. Over the past decade the close relationship between political, economic and cultural factors of mobility has destroyed. Relatively new market relations have led to a misalignment of the social status of many professional groups, but at the same time they have opened the opportunities for the implementation of group social mobility, redefinition of their own status in the public sector and design of new positions on the labor market.

The representatives of the scientific intelligentsia have occurred to be in the most disadvantageous position, they are still required to have high qualification, level of education, but the level of their financial position has declined sharply, according to this indicator, they can hardly be attributed to the middle-class. Analyzing the social mobility of the Russian society on the threshold of transition to the information stage, the authors come to the conclusion that there are many social problems and contradictions. The mobility of the modern Russian society is characterized by such traits as a high level of downward mobility, a misalignment of the statuses, the closeness of the elite, the presence of many informal barriers. The analysis of social institutions, considered as the channels of social mobility, shows their limited capabilities.

The second direction consists of the works that are devoted to the perspective orientations of the youth, that are represented by such concepts as "life strategy", "the personality life path", "human labour orientations", "career strategies", "success strategies", etc. Yu. A. Zubok, S. N. Ikonnikova, I. S. Kon, D. L. Konstantinovsky, V. T. Lisovskiy, V. S., Magoon, Yu. M., Resnick, J. T. Toshchenko, M. H. Titma, G. A. Cherednichenko, V. I. Chuprov, F. E. Sheregi, V. N. Shubkin, etc. appealed to the analysis of these problems. The project "Paths of a generation" under the direction of M. H. Titma should be specially noted. It began in the second half of the twentieth century and was finished at the end of the century (The life ways..., 1992). A significant contribution to the development of the related problems was made by the Russian elitologists such as O. V. Gaman-Golutvina, A. V. Duka, O. V. Kryshtanovskaya.

The study of social mobility was conducted by R. G. Gromova [16] for a new Russia at the beginning of the 1990-ies. The quantitative study was aimed at the social mobility factors studying to construct a model of social structure, corresponding to the stage of the society development. The factors' analysis during the study indicated that their structure before and after 1985 changed slightly (almost all of the traditional factors of social mobility such as education and status of parents, education of the respondent, the beginning of his employment and current position were significant). Therefore, according to R. G. Gromova, real changes

happen not so much in the structure of the factors, influencing the social mobility and position in the social structure, but in the important assessment criteria of this movement [22].

In the 1990-th years in Russia there were published the works, associated with a new algorithm of social mobility; these works tried to connect the new social movements with the transformation of the economy and social structure of the country. It was the very period in Russia when new channels of vertical social mobility, related to the group support in the promotion were opened for the young people: communities, ethnic and religious groups. A special role in improving of the social status was given not only to the families, but also to the right personal relations and life experience. All these facts have seriously spoiled the credibility of such traditional channels of social mobility as education, profession in the public opinion.

The problem, concerning the algorithm of social mobility for Russian youth and channels, used by this social group is still an unsolved research task.

Methods

In the course of the work with the RGNF grant №. 150300284 "The image of the future in the social mobility algorithm selection by the modern Russian youth" we have carried out the research of a quantitative nature – a mass survey of young people. The survey was implemented in the Internet using the service "Survey Monkey" in 2015. The online survey technology allowed us to poll a large number of respondents over a wide area. The object of the study was young people aged from 15 to 30 years (senior pupils, university students, young specialists) living on the territory of Tyumen region, Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area-Yugra and Yamalo- Nenets Autonomous Area. There was used a target sample type in the study, the total volume of which amounted to 1252 people.

Processing of study results was carried out using the statistical package IBM SPSS Statistics, version 19. The main kind of analysis that allowed creating of a youth typology on the base of the key indicators, characterizing the best ways to achieve life success in the future, was hierarchical cluster analysis with the using of Ward method and Squared Euclidean distance measurement. To identify the specificity of the clusters there were also used the methods of frequency analysis and tables' conjugation analysis.

Analysis, Findings and Conclusions

Algorithms of youth social mobility: the clustering method

The task of identifying the basic algorithms of social mobility of young people has been solved through the content analysis of perceptions about individual well-being and selected ways of its achievements, which seem to be the most effective for the young people. There have been carried out a cluster analysis of answers to the question: "What is the best way for you to achieve life success in the future?" where the respondents were asked to select up to three options. As a result of clustering there have been defined eight modal types, with different views on the content of the life success and achievement strategies. The groups were

assigned by the codenames; the type-forming characteristics and volume of each cluster in percentage of the total number of the interviewed young people were determined:

1. "Gilded Youth" (16,8%): the diploma of the prestigious university (79,1%) - living abroad (40.3%). At the same time the representatives of this cluster are interested in the presence of the diploma and not the content of education. This group of young people are from the families with the highest incomes (nearly 40% of the respondents have noted that family income is high or above average).

2. The "Creative class" (14.9%): availability of the talent and exceptional abilities (62%)-constant self-education (63,6%)-desire, persistence in the goals achieving (53,5%) - good luck (52.4%). The representatives of this group do not trust the official channels of social mobility, such as University education, entrepreneurship or a good marriage but they focus on their own unique skills and talent. Faith in a happy chance for them does not imply inaction; on the contrary, good luck in the life and career breakthrough, in their view is possible only on a solid foundation of a personal self-improvement. Noteworthy is that this group is the only one for which a sufficient significant factor was the factor of "the ability to use the Internet resources and social networks" (10,2%)

3. "Businessmen" (13,6%): the business creating (99,4%) – constant self-education (68.8%) - the desire of persistent goals achieving (55,3%). Young entrepreneurship-oriented people rely on continuous work, but not on social institutions, luck or on their own creative potential. Despite the fact that the variant of the answer "creating of something radically new (for example, business idea, scientific discovery)" is rather spread in this cluster, however, we cannot include the indicator in the algorithm of social mobility, because its importance is emphasized by only about 15% of respondents.

4. "Family men" (13%): a good marriage (67,5%), own business (54%), kinship and friendship relations (40.5%). This cluster includes young people who have an orientation to the family values and interpersonal relationships. Perceiving friendship and family relations as a precondition of social success, they also care about the material welfare; the optimal way to achieve it is considered in their own business. It is an interesting fact that concerns a minor gap in the gender composition of the group: 55.9% of women and 44,1% of men.

5. "Excellent Pupils" (9,4%): quality education (95.8%), the desire and persistence in goals achieving (40.7 percent). The young people of this type rely on traditional educational institutions and consider that the right choice of educational institutions, quality of education, and private efforts, directed to knowledge perception are the most important conditions for success in the future. Self-education for this group is not as important as for the other types (a total of 31.4%).

6. "The Intellectuals" (13,3%): constant self-education (88%), desire, persistence in goals achieving (87,3%), quality education (37,3%), the correct teachers and mentors (30.7%). Considering the educational factor is the most important, as well as the representatives of the fifth group, the young people in this cluster are not ready to shift the responsibility for their own future on the official institutions. Personal, not institutional orientation of the members of this cluster is obviously observed: they rely on their own strength, but at the same time they are aware of the necessity to have competent teachers, able to guide them on the path to the goals achieving. In this group, as in the previous cluster of "Excellent Pupils", the girls are dominant (over 60%).

7. "PR-managers" (6,7%): the ability to establish relationships with the "right" people (98.8%), the desire, persistence in the goals achieving (60.7%), own business (42,9%). The young people of this type consider communication skills and persistence as sufficient grounds of the life success. Relying on social relations, the ability to present their best sides, to "sell" a certain image or idea, they do not value education. A significant part of the representatives of this group (42,9%) relies on entrepreneurial activity in the future.

8. "Innate leaders" (12,3%): charisma, special personal qualities, ability to influence on people (95,5%), constant self-education (71,4%), desire, persistence in the goals achieving (40.9%). This type includes the young people who are confident in the crucial role of personal charisma in the achievement of the life success. They focus on their self-improvement and are ready to do their best to try to achieve what they want.

We will try to consider the difference of priorities of personal and social perspectives in the image of the future of today's youth with regard to the selected clusters. The instruments of the study contained a number of blocks, directed to the detection of the presence/absence of the image of the future among young people and the attitude to it. Attitude to the image of the future included evaluation of such parameters as the image of the personal future and plans for it, the presence/absence of the image of the future among their peers, the ideas about the future of the country, the necessity of the future planning, fear or confidence, concerning the future, an attitude to the various components of the personal future image (family, financial situation, work, power, prestige and glory, the place of residence).

The image of the personal future of the different social types' representatives of young people

The vast majority of youth (60 to 75%) in all the typological groups announce that they look to the future "with confidence and optimism." However, a significant number of young people fear the future: about 40% of the "creative class" and "family men" are not confident in their own future prosperity. The most confident are "PR-managers" and "businessmen". From 73 to 78% of young people in all the clusters believe that the future should be thought over and planned. The exception is "gilded youth" and "family men", where the number of the respondents who prefer to live for today is somewhat higher. It is obvious that young people, who put the influence of the external factors higher in comparison to their own efforts, realize their unpredictability and risks associated with the implementation of such strategies to achieve social status.

The respondents have distributed equally in all the clusters according to the criterion of the assessment of the dominant images of the future of their generation: a half of the youth believes that "today's youth have the targets and vision of their country future ", the other half believes that "Most of my peers are living "today" without thinking about their future". This polarization of the responses may be the evidence of a lack of the mature opinions about this issue and about a real difference in assessments of their own generation.

The future of the country in the projections of the youth

In assessments of the future of the country the majority of young people demonstrate patriotic orientation on their own path of development and the aspiration to the world leadership. So, in answer to the question *"Our country is going through difficult times. What is the way of its development more preferable from your point of view? " from 30 to 40% representatives of each typological group said that "We must defend our own national idea and go by our own way".* The same number of the respondents is not satisfied by the uniqueness and specificity of the country development course, they are focused on a more ambitious way of development, believing that the country should regain the status of the world leader ("We need to restore and strengthen the authority of the country, in an effort to become the dominant world power"). Orientation to the closer relations with the fast-developing Asian countries as the best scenario is considered by 9 to 23% of the respondents in each group, the highest estimates are in the groups of "PR-managers" and "innate leaders" (over 20%). Western European and American model of development as a model for Russia development is not practically attractive for the young people (3-5% in each group), with the exception of "businessmen" where 8.8% of them have indicated this option as the optimal for our country. The greatest number of young people, who have not shaped their own positions according to this issue, is observed in the group of "family men" (15.3%) and "PR-managers" (10.7%).

The ratio of the collective and individual in the image of the future of the Russian youth

As **Figure 1** shows, about 30% of young people in every typological group are ready to endure temporary difficulties, associated with national geopolitics, for the sake of the achieving of the greater objective of strengthening the country's prestige in the international arena.

However, from 16 to 21% of the interviewed young people, accepting the necessity of the struggle for the global status, do not want to sacrifice their well-being even for a short period, claiming about readiness to change their place of residence and go abroad. A significant part of youth are not interested in the fate of the country and political issues at all, their priorities are focused on the life quality of their own families: about a quarter of the "businessmen" and "family men" declare their readiness to fight for individual well-being by any means. Despondency in assessment of the impact of the events in the country on

their own well-being, paradoxically, is dominant among "innate leaders" and "creative class" (about a quarter of respondents in each group).

This fact indicates a significant discrepancy between the confidence of these groups in the importance of their personal qualities and talent as the primary conditions of social mobility and doubt in the presence of real structural opportunities for the realization of these qualities. The lowest percentage of the pessimists is among the "PR-managers": they believe that relying on their own communication skills, they are always able to affect their own future. There are not a lot of "careless optimists" among youth who believe that the events in the country will not affect their future, the greatest portion (about one tenth) is among the groups, linking their future with the support of the family: the "gilded youth" and "family men".

The youth of Russia remains depoliticized and from 55 to 65% of them in each cluster do not have definite political positions and are not the supporters of certain political directions. More than half of the youth in all the groups declare their orientation to the patriotic values, which supposes the existence of a certain consensus in the Russian society on the significance of the state ideology and effectiveness of the mechanisms of its development, used in the last decade. However, **Figure 2** confirms the presence of migration intentions of a significant number of young people (from 12.2% "excellent pupils" to 20.9% of the representatives of "gilded youth" cluster). The lowest percentage who wants to leave the country is among the education-oriented youth, they are "excellent pupils" and "the intellectuals". Most of them (of 70.4% and 69.9%, respectively) also claim about their patriotic pride and the desire to work to develop their country (**Figure 2**).
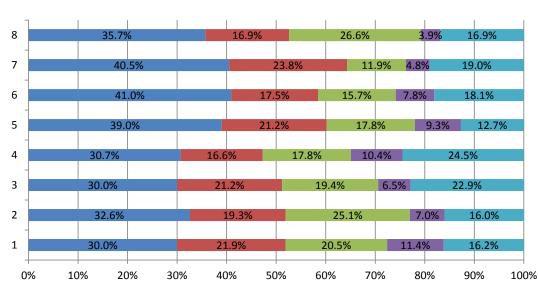
Despite the announced patriotism, about a half of the young people recognizes that there are more opportunities for self-realization and career development in the Western economically developed countries than in Russia. About 20% do not consider themselves competent enough to implement such comparisons, others believe that they have less opportunities or the opportunities are the same. 23% of the "gilded youth", 22.7% of "family men" appreciate the possibility of self-realization in Russia as a low or very low. The most optimistic are "businessmen": only 9.4 % believe that it is difficult to self-realize in Russia.

Conclusions

So, in contrast to the Soviet and post-Soviet periods of Russia development, today's youth do not focus on a single algorithm of social mobility and do not rely on the uniform generation image of the future. The image of our personal future and the choice of the algorithm of its achieving today do not only determined by the social status of a young man, but it supposes the freedom of individual choice. The eight highlighted clusters involve the formation of at least as many models, algorithms of social mobility of modern Russian youth.
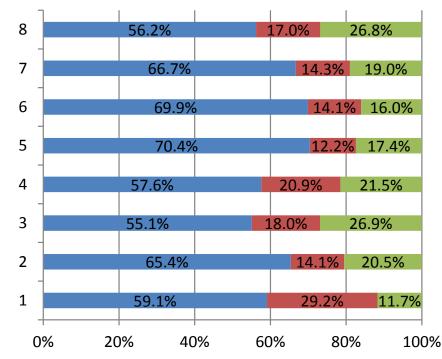
Acknowledgements

Figure 1 The image of the future of the country and its impact on the assessment of the personal future by different groups of young people in Russia (in percentage by the number of respondents in each cluster).

Figure 2 The distribution of the answers to the question "Define your attitude to the fact that you live in Russia" (in percentage by a number of respondents in each cluster).

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