

**PERCEPTION OF EDUCATION AS A VALUE: SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF DATA FROM A COMPARATIVE ASSOCIATIVE EXPERIMENT CARRIED OUT IN RUSSIA AND GERMANY**

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Nina Vasilevna ZHUK<sup>1</sup>  
Sergej Nikolaevich KURILOV<sup>2</sup>  
Anna Igorevna KHLOPOVA<sup>3</sup>

**ABSTRACT:** The authors deal with various approaches to the problem of determining and ranking values. The data of two free associative experiments conducted in 2019 with German and Russian native speakers has been analyzed. The received associates are classified, according to the model of associative meaning created by V.A. Pischalnikova. The model of associative meaning includes a “fundamentally functional, dynamic correlation” of the following components: concept, conception, content area, association, operational reactions, which can reflect culturally determined meanings and emotionally evaluative relations between language units. The psycholinguistic model has been chosen by the authors because it represents personal meaning as a functional phenomenon and allows us to trace semantic shifts of the meaning in the relation between stimulus and reaction. The socio-psychological interpretation of the data is given. The authors have concluded that the negative perception of education speaks for the transformation of education as a social institution.

**KEYWORDS:** Education. Basic values. Free associative experiment. Model of associative meaning. Associative field.

**RESUMO:** Os autores lidam com várias abordagens do problema de determinação e classificação de valores. Os dados de dois experimentos associativos gratuitos realizados em 2019 com falantes nativos de alemão e russo foram analisados. Os associados recebidos são classificados, de acordo com o modelo de significado associativo criado por V.A. Pischalnikova. O modelo de significado associativo inclui uma “correlação dinâmica fundamentalmente funcional” dos seguintes componentes: conceito, concepção, área de conteúdo, associação, reações operacionais, que podem refletir significados culturalmente

<sup>1</sup> National Research University “Moscow Power Engineering Institute”, Moscow - Russia. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3534-6226>. E-mail: ZhukNV@mpei.ru

<sup>2</sup> National Research University “Moscow Power Engineering Institute”, Moscow - Russia. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9829-4726>. E-mail: kurilov85@mail.ru

<sup>3</sup> Moscow State Linguistic University, Moscow – Russia. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6576-4111>. E-mail: chlopova\_anna@mail.ru

*determinados e relações emocionalmente avaliativas entre unidades de linguagem. O modelo psicolinguístico foi escolhido pelos autores, pois representa o significado pessoal como um fenômeno funcional e nos permite traçar deslocamentos semânticos do significado na relação entre estímulo e reação. A interpretação sociopsicológica dos dados é dada. Os autores concluíram que a percepção negativa da educação fala pela transformação da educação como instituição social.*

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Educação. Valores básicos. Experiência associativa gratuita. Modelo de significado associativo. Campo associativo.

**RESUMEN:** Los autores abordan varios enfoques del problema de determinar y clasificar los valores. Se han analizado los datos de dos experimentos asociativos libres realizados en 2019 con hablantes nativos de alemán y ruso. Los asociados recibidos se clasifican, según el modelo de significado asociativo creado por V.A. Pischalnikova. El modelo de significado asociativo incluye una “correlación dinámica fundamentalmente funcional” de los siguientes componentes: concepto, concepción, área de contenido, asociación, reacciones operativas, que pueden reflejar significados culturalmente determinados y relaciones emocionalmente evaluativas entre unidades lingüísticas. El modelo psicolingüístico ha sido elegido por los autores, porque representa el significado personal como fenómeno funcional y nos permite rastrear cambios semánticos del significado en la relación entre estímulo y reacción. Se da la interpretación socio-psicológica de los datos. Los autores han llegado a la conclusión de que la percepción negativa de la educación habla de la transformación de la educación como institución social.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Educación. Valores básicos. Experimento asociativo libre. Modelo de significado asociativo. Campo asociativo.

## Introduction

Nowadays researchers of different branches of science are addressing universal human values. However, in the scientific community it is rather unclear which values can be considered basic and which values are secondary. This happens, because the concept “value” itself remains quite controversial in many philosophical, sociological, linguistic, and cultural interpretations.

It is generally accepted that the term “value” as a philosophical concept was first formulated by the German philosopher and thinker I. Kant (1992). In the modern dictionary of intercultural communication terms several definitions of this concept are presented (ZHUKOVA *et al.*, 2017). The first definition was given by American anthropologists C. Kluckhohn and F. Strodbeck. In their opinion, values are “a set of ideas approved and shared by most people about what is desirable for an individual or a group of individuals, which determines the choice of goals (of an individual or a group), taking into account possible ways

of action” (KLUCKHOHN *et al.*, 1951). Due to this definition values can be interpreted as the embodiment of deep-seated individual, social and institutional needs.

According to the following definition given in the dictionary, values are “sociological constructs of culture, a set of hierarchically organized prescriptions that prescribe a choice of actions or a mode of existence that take distinct shape in different cultures and are preserved for a long time” (ZHUKOVA *et al.*, 2017).

Russian culturologist and philosopher M.S. Kagan believes that value is “a cognitive structure, the result of cognitive activity and the assessment of the subject’s relationship with the object, a special axiological concept that is represented verbally and nonverbally” (KAGAN, 1997).

Y.E. Prokhorov and I. A. Sternin suggested that the terms “values” and “principles” should be differentiated. By values scientists mean social, socio-psychological ideas and views shared by people and inherited by each new generation, and by principles – specific stereotypes of thinking and behavior; these are “general opinions”, ideas, beliefs, stable habits in activity, mechanisms of causal attribution (PROKHOROV; STERNIN, 2006, p. 37).

K. Schlecht defines values as ideas which are generally considered desirable by people and provide orientation for them (SCHLECHT, n.d.).

Based on various lists of basic values (SCHWARTZ, 2006; 2008; DEESE, 1965; FILIPPOVA, 2012; RYABOV; KURBANGALEEVA, 2003), we have selected 28 values that had been mentioned in all the lists and that, in our opinion, may be included in the core of basic values: *security / Sicherheit, wealth / Reichtum, faith / Glaube, power / Macht, attention to people / Aufmerksamkeit auf die Menschen, harmony / Harmonie, money / Geld, trust / Zutrauen, prosperity / Wohlstand, friendship / Freundschaft, life / Leben, legality / Gesetzlichkeit, health / Gesundheit, truth / Wahrheit, mercy / Mitleid, peace / Frieden, independence / Unabhängigkeit, education / Bildung / Ausbildung, peacefulness / Ruhe, decency / Anständigkeit, work / Arbeit, homeland / Heimat, family / Familie, justice / Gerechtigkeit, labor / Arbeit / Mühe, respect for parents / Aufmerksamkeit auf die Eltern, respect / Respekt, success / Erfolg.*

This list of values was given to the examinees during the ranking experiment, the task of which was to distribute the values in decreasing order of importance for them. 100 German and Russian native speakers, aged 17 to 23 years, were surveyed. As noted by Y.N. Karaulov, in this period the language identity of a person starts to develop, and responses may reflect the linguistic ability of respondents (KARAULOV, 1981). Russian respondents are students of Moscow universities (MSLU, MPEI, RANEPa), German respondents are students of

University of Vechta, University of Potsdam and Humboldt University of Berlin. The value *family* (averagely – 1.5) belongs to the highest rank for Russian respondents, the value *power* (averagely – 26) is referred to the lowest rank. For German students *family* / *Familie* belongs to the highest rank as well (averagely – 2.48), whereas *power* / *Macht* appears to be of the lowest rank (averagely – 30.8).

### **Comparative analysis of the attitude to education of german and russian respondents**

*Education*, one of the basic values mentioned above, has been chosen for analysis, because it is impossible to deny the role of education in society. A person of any culture wants to gain knowledge. That's why people are likely to include education in a number of basic values. “[...] Education is a form of socialization, the aim of which is the introduction to the part of human culture, the elements of which are actualized in the life of society as positive and socially significant values” (KURILOV; KUZMINOV, 2018, p. 58).

Education plays an important role not only for an exact individual but also in “the definition of national self-identification and the formation of civic consciousness” (FILIPPOVA, 2012). Education is one of the foundations for the development of any society and is recognized as a moral value. According to V.A. Artyomov, education contributes to “the formation of a life-affirming spiritual attitude, of an appropriate understanding of value priorities that can make personal and social being meaningful (ARTYOMOV, 2002).

According to the ranking experiment, the basic value *education* takes 26th place for Russian examinees; the value *Bildung* / *education* occupies 14th place, and the value *Ausbildung* / *education* – 20th place for German examinees.

The difference between the concepts *Bildung* / *education* and *Ausbildung* / *education* is connected with the difference between the lexical items in the German language. According to the definition presented in the Duden, the famous dictionary of the German language, die *Bildung* - 1. das Bilden, Erziehung / education, upbringing; das Gebildetsein / to be educated, erworbenes Allgemeinwissen / acquired knowledge, broadmindedness; gutes Benehmen / good behavior. 2. das Bilden, das Formen / formation; Schaffung / creation. 3. Das Sichbilden / formation; Form, Gestalt / form, image. 4. Gebildetes (besonders von jemandem gebildetes Wort) / sth is formed (especially a word created by someone). Die *Ausbildung* - 1. das Ausbilden, das Ausgebildetwerden / training. 2. das Ausbilden, das Sichausbilden / training, self-education. In German linguoculture “die *Bildung*” is primarily associated with gaining

knowledge at school or gaining basic knowledge, “die Ausbildung”, on the contrary, with obtaining professional knowledge (DUDEN, n.d.).

According to the desk book «Germany. Facts», Germany is one of the most advanced countries in terms of research and academic education. Germany occupies the third place among the countries with the largest number of Nobel laureates. Germany has kept traditions in the field of science and technology and is therefore considered a competitive country in the field of education. There are more than 400 universities in Germany and a large number of well-known research institutions. Because of its success in research, Germany is one of the leaders in innovation among the countries of the European Union. Politicians encourage scientific work in every possible way and open various projects for scientists. In 2014, Germany became the first country in the EU to introduce a strategy for the further development of the European Research Area (ERA). 87% of the adult population of Germany has completed secondary or higher education. It is also worth mentioning that, according to «Germany. Facts», the number of freshmen in 2005 was 37% and more than half of young people in Germany went to college in 2018. Germany's Federal Training Assistance Act, mostly known by its abbreviation BAföG, makes it possible for people to study regardless of their financial situation.

The school system in Germany is run by 16 federal states. Each federal state sets its own laws and regulations for schools. According to the statistics of 2017, in the academic year 2016/17 11 million people attended 42322 comprehensive schools and vocational schools. 798180 teachers taught there. The aim of German politicians is to support preschool education and create a smooth transition to primary school. The German school is divided into three levels: elementary school (1-4 / 6 grade), high school I and high school II. Secondary school is divided into: basic school (5-9 / 10 grade), real school (5-10 grade) and gymnasium (5-12 / 13 grade). The topic regarding secondary school, in our opinion, remains debatable. At the end of elementary school, students write the final work, according to the results of which they are going to study in one of the listed schools. Those who graduate from a real school receive a certificate of secondary education. Those who graduate from a gymnasium and successfully pass an exam for a matriculation certificate receive a matriculation certificate. Moreover, only a matriculation certificate allows someone to enter a university (HINTEREDER, 2018).

From this perspective on education in Germany, it seems worthy. However, to establish a psychologically relevant meaning of the value, we need the results of the free associative experiment.

We believe that, with the help of the associative experiment, we can establish the subjective semantic fields of words created in the human mind, as well as determine the nature

of the semantic connections of words within the associative field – an interpretive construct that essentially combines both internal and external connections of a word as a unit of language (ZALEVSKAYA, 2012). An associative experiment records a variety of verbal and nonverbal associations. Moreover, by examining the semantic structure of words-correlates in a number of languages, one can discover not only their lexical-semantic variants but also the relevance of each variant for native speakers (ZALEVSKAYA, 2012).

Respondents have given 100 reactions to the word-stimulus *Bildung* / *education* which we are going to distribute, according to the model of associative meaning created by V.A. Pishchalnikova (1999):

1. Reactions-concepts (16 reactions):

- The way of getting an education: *lernen* / to study (7), *Studium* / study (2), *akademisch* / academic, *Erziehung* / upbringing – 11 reactions;

- The result of education: *Beruf* / profession, *Kenntnisse* / knowledge, *mündig sein* / to be a grown-up, *Wissen* / knowledge, *wissen* / to know – 5 reactions;

2. Reactions-conceptions (54 reactions):

- The place of getting an education: *Schule* / school (45), *Universität* / university (3), *Deutsch* / German, *Deutschland* / Germany, *Uni* / university - 52 reactions;

- The result of education: *Abschluss* / graduation, *Privileg* / privileges - 2 reactions;

3. Emotionally evaluative reactions (29 reactions):

- Positive reactions: *wichtig* / important (11), *Zukunft* / future (4), *Entwicklung* / development (3), *Erfolg* / success (2), *frei* / free, *generationsfragend* / aimed at the generation, *Grundlage* / foundation, *Grundstein* / basis – 24 reactions;

- Negative reactions: *hart* / difficult, *kommt darauf an* / depends on, *schlau* / cunning, *stress* / stress, *Weltpfer* / victim of public opinion – 5 reactions;

4. Operational reactions: *machen* / to get – 1 reaction;

5. Cultural reactions: *Abitur* / final exam – 1 reaction.

The largest number of given reactions belongs to reactions-conceptions (54%). The nuclear (most common) reaction is *Schule* / *school* (45%). The nuclear reaction clearly indicates that the Germans differentiate between the concepts *Bildung* and *Ausbildung*, as we described earlier. The number of reactions associated with higher education (*Universität* / *university*, *Uni* / *university*) is eleven times smaller.

Reactions-concepts primarily represent where education occurs: at school (*lernen* / *to study*) or at university (*Studium* / *study*, *akademisch* / *academic*). Reactions that indicate getting an education at school also prevail. Five reaction-concepts are associated with the result of

education. First of all, German respondents connect education with the acquisition of knowledge: both theoretical and practical, as well as basic, that allows them to obtain a profession and grow up.

Among reactions-conceptions one can also distinguish the meanings “the place of education” and “the result of education”. Reactions reflecting the meaning “getting an education” are associated with the division of school and university. It’s interesting that education for some German respondents is associated with obtaining privileges and reaping benefits.

29% of reactions are emotionally evaluative. Moreover, the number of positive reactions is 5 times bigger than of negative ones. Positive reactions indicate the importance of education for German respondents. The reaction *wichtig / important* is included in the number of nuclear reactions (11% of all reactions). At the same time, respondents explain why education is important for them and why they consider it to be a value. Education is a definite basis for respondents and is of great importance for their future, as it aids development and helps to achieve success in life. Negative reactions indicate the difficulty of getting an education and a lot of work as well. One of the respondents believes that education is useless and those who strive to acquire knowledge are only “victims of public opinion”. However, negative reactions are inconsiderable (5% of all reactions).

The operational response indicates that the lexical unit is used in everyday life.

The culturological reaction *Abitur / final exam* is interpreted in the Duden, as *Abschlussprüfung an einer höheren Schule; Reifeprüfung; höher Schulabschluss; Berechtigung an einer Hochschule zu studieren / final exam at high school, matriculation exam; high school graduation; permission to attend high school*. First of all, it is a certificate of graduation from gymnasium. It allows one to enter the university without additional exams. Based on the final grade for the final exams, the applicant is enrolled or not enrolled in the selected university. This exam was established in 1788 in Prussia. Until the 18th century, German universities conducted entrance examinations themselves. But since 1834, just *Abitur* (the final exam) is considered to be the only entrance exam to the university. To obtain a certificate, an applicant must score 300 points for five exams.

Nuclear (most frequent) reactions of German respondents include *Schule / school* (45), *lernen / to study* (7), *wichtig / important* (11) and the largest number of reactions representing the meaning “the place of education” (52%).

Thus, for German respondents *Bildung / education* is, indeed, an important value, and lexicographic resources confirm that.

Let us now analyze the concept *Ausbildung / education*. The reactions to the word-stimulus are classified in accordance with the chosen model of associative meaning.

1. Reactions-concepts (46 reactions):

- The way of getting an education: Studium / study (14), lernen / to study (7), studieren / to study – 22 reactions;

- The result of education: Beruf / profession (14), Arbeit / work (3), arbeiten / to work (3), Bachelor / bachelor (2), Job / part-time job (2) – 24 reactions;

2. Reaction-conceptions (27 reactions):

- The place / method of education: Schule / school (5), Uni / university (4), Universität / university (3), Lehre / technical school (3), Bankausbildung / banking training, Bücher / books, Deutschland / Germany, Forschung / research, geregelter Ablauf / routine, Information / information, Lernen eines Berufs / study of a profession, Praktikum / practice – 20 reactions;

- The result of education: Betrieb / company, Bewerbung / applying for a job or university, Gehalt / salary, Koch / cook, Möglichkeit / opportunity, Schulabschluss / graduation, Werk / factory – 7 reactions;

3. Emotionally evaluative reactions (23 reactions):

- Positive reactions: Erfolg / success (2), Grundstein / basis (2), praktisch / practical (2), Weiterentwicklung / further development (2), wichtig / important (2), besser / better, sich entfalten / to reveal one's identity, glücklich / happy, gute Zukunft / good future, lustig / cheerful, selbstverständlich / self-evident, sich weiter bilden / to develop further, solide / decent, Zukunft / future, zukunftssichernd / guaranteeing the future – 20 reactions;

- Negative reactions: anstrengend / intense, Ehrgeiz / vanity, sehr kurz / very short – 3 reactions;

4. Operational reactions: machen / to get - 1 reaction;

5. Cultural reactions: Lehre / technical school (3) – 3 reactions.

The largest number of reactions belongs to reactions-concepts (46%). These reactions correspond to the vocabulary meaning of the word *Ausbildung / education*. We can distinguish the following features in reactions-concepts: meanings “the way of getting an education” and “the result of education” are represented by approximately the same number of reactions (22 and 24 reactions respectively). Reactions that reflect the meaning “a way of getting an education” also indicate lexical differences revealed earlier. The concept *Ausbildung / education* is mainly associated with obtaining higher or vocational education, as the reactions *Studium / study (14)*, *studieren / to study* indicate. This lexical and conceptual difference is also confirmed by the reaction-conceptions *Uni / university (4)*, *Universität / university (3)*, *Lehre /*



technical school (3), *Bankausbildung* / banking training, *Lernen eines Berufs* / study of the profession. 24 reactions-concepts and 6 reaction-conceptions reflect the meaning “the result of education”, which respondents see in the acquisition of a particular profession, getting a job, earning money or other opportunities.

Positive emotionally evaluative reactions prevail over negative reactions in almost 7 times (20 and 3 reactions respectively). Respondents connect education with success; consider higher and professional education to be the basis for a good job and a prosperous life in general. Education can guarantee good future (*gute Zukunft* / good future, *Zukunft* / future, *zukunftssichernd* / guaranteeing the future). Reactions *Weiterentwicklung* / further development (2), *sich entfalten* / to reveal one’s identity, *sich weiter bilden* / to develop further indicate the desire of the respondents to continue their education and self-development.

Negative reactions tell about the difficulty of getting an education and a small amount of time dedicated to it. The reaction *Ehrgeiz* / vanity is syncretic. It could be included in the list of cultural reactions. Good education is highly-valued in German culture. Specialists, masters, candidates and doctors of sciences are proud of what has been achieved.

The term “Lehre” (“technical school”) should be understood as training on the workplace. Moreover, a person studies at school at the same time. Usually, an employer enters into a contract with a student, according to which the employer has the right to train those who wish to master a particular profession.

The nuclear reactions to the word-stimulus *Ausbildung* / education are *Beruf* / profession (14), *Studium* / study (14), *lernen* / to study (7), *Schule* / school (5), *Uni* / university (4). The psychologically relevant content of the concept *Ausbildung* / education should be understood as studying at school or at higher / vocational educational institution in order to get a certain job.

By comparing the mentioned meanings, we can note that the meanings of the two concepts partially coincide. The way of getting a school and higher / vocational education comes down mainly to studying and gaining new knowledge. The result of education expressed in reactions-concepts is, however, partially different, which is connected with the difference in lexemes. When it comes to the concept *Bildung* / education, the result is aimed at gaining new basic knowledge, and when it comes to the concept *Ausbildung* / education, the result is getting a good job. Reactions-conceptions that reflect the meaning “the place / method of getting an education” are mainly associated with obtaining knowledge at school or university. The amount of positive emotionally evaluative reactions is 5-6 times bigger than of negative reactions. The psychologically relevant attitude to the concepts *Bildung* / education and *Ausbildung* /

*education* is positive in German culture. German respondents emphasize the importance of getting a good education and associate it with good and secure future.

Now, we are going to analyze the reactions of Russian respondents of the same age and to distribute the reactions in accordance with the model of associative meaning:

1. Reactions-concepts (13 reactions):

- The method / place of education: labor, study – 2 reactions;
- The result of education: knowledge (8), intellect (2), mind – 11 reactions;

2. Reactions-conceptions (57 reactions):

- The method / place of education: school (11), book (2), RANEPA (2), self-development (2), university (2), teacher (2), classroom, globe, abroad, institute, psychology, way – 27 reactions;

- The result of education: higher (19), diploma (5), money (2), career, levitation, elevator, work – 30 reactions;

3. Emotionally evaluative reactions (28 reactions):

- Positive reactions: future (2), interest (2), good, important, importance, upwards, opportunity, road to success, best, necessary, help, privilege – 14 reactions;

- Negative reactions: nonsense, expensive, sufferings, torment, not important, normal, need, torture, boredom, burden – 10 reactions;

4. Operational reactions: free, complete – 2 reactions.

We have managed to highlight only 4 meanings among reactions of Russian examinees: reactions-concepts, reactions-conceptions, emotionally evaluative reactions, and operational reactions. In this case there were no cultural reactions at all.

The largest number of reactions belongs to reactions-conceptions (57%). We have also highlighted the meanings that reactions reflect. 27% of all reactions indicates the method and place of education. At the same time, we have noted that the reaction *school* is the nuclear reaction. The reaction *higher* is also one of most common reactions, but during the survey it was found out that young people consider higher education not as a process, but as a result that can help them find a decent job. At the same time, respondents believe that education can be obtained not only at school or university, but they can also get it on their own. The reaction *abroad* appeared to be quite interesting. During the conversation with the respondent we have found out that for that very person getting an education abroad is the only possible way of doing it. It is well-known that specialists who have received higher education abroad are appreciated in Russia. As a result of education respondents see getting a job, a career and income.

The number of reactions-concepts is only 13% of all reactions. These reactions reflect the meaning of the concept *education*. For respondents education is acquired mainly through work and study. However, such reactions are occasional. For respondents the result of education is gaining knowledge and increasing their own intelligence.

The number of positive and negative emotionally evaluative reactions almost coincides (14 and 10 reactions respectively). The attitude of respondents to education is ambiguous. Some of them consider it as a necessary stage that will contribute to their career and professional growth, whereas others associate education with torment, torture and burden, and see no reason to get an education.

According to the monitoring of public opinion No. 4 (98) in 2010, there is a tendency in Russia according to which the first higher education is considered as “basic”. People don’t tend to consider their first higher education as a contribution to their future job that they would like to have. For employers discipline and responsibility at the workplace are much more important than the skills of their employees. On the one hand, school is considered as a preparatory stage for getting into high school, on the other hand, parents and students take school education primarily for a way of acquiring specific skills, mainly communicative ones (VERYOVKIN, 2010).

Nuclear reactions (*higher (19), school (11), knowledge (8), diploma (5)*) reveal, however, the desire to get both a school and a higher education. It is either desire to get a diploma or wish to gain knowledge. It should be noted that having a diploma does not always mean possessing deep knowledge.

Let us compare the results of associative experiments carried out with German and Russian examinees:

	<i>Bildung / education</i>	<i>Ausbildung / education</i>	<i>Education</i>
Reactions-concepts: the way of getting an education	lernen / to study (7), Studium / study (2), akademisch / academic, Erziehung / upbringing – 11 reactions;	Studium / study (14), lernen / to study (7), studieren / to study – 22 reactions;	labor, study – 2 reactions;
Reactions-concepts: the result of education	Beruf / profession, Kenntnisse / knowledge, mündig sein / to be an adult, Wissen / knowledge, wissen / to know – 5 reactions;	Beruf / profession (14), Arbeit / work (3), arbeiten / to work (3), Bachelor / bachelor (2), Job / part- time job (2) –24 reactions;	knowledge (8), intellect (2), work, mind – 12 reactions;

<p>Reactions-conceptions: the place / method of getting an education</p>	<p>Schule / school (45), Universität / university (3), Deutsch / German, Deutschland / Germany, Uni / university – 52 reactions;</p>	<p>Schule / school (5), Uni / university (4), Universität / university (3), Lehre / technical school (3), Bankausbildung / banking training, Bücher / books, Deutschland / Germany, Forschung / research, geregelter Ablauf / routine, Information / information, Lernen eines Berufs / study of a profession, Praktikum / practice – 20 reactions;</p>	<p>school (11), book (2), RANEPa (2), self- development (2), university (2), teacher (2), classroom, globe, abroad, institute, psychology, way – 27 reactions;</p>
<p>Reactions-conceptions: the result of education</p>	<p>Abschluss / graduation, Privileg / privileges – 2 reactions;</p>	<p>Betrieb / company, Bewerbung / applying for a job or university, Gehalt / salary, Koch / cook, Möglichkeit / opportunity, Schulabschluss / graduation, Werk / factory – 7 reactions;</p>	<p>higher (19), diploma (5), money (2), career, levitation, elevator – 29 reactions;</p>
<p>Positive reactions</p>	<p>wichtig / important (11), Zukunft / future (4), Entwicklung / development (3), Erfolg / success (2), frei / free, generationsfragend / aimed at the generation, Grundlage / foundation, Grundstein / basis – 24 reactions;</p>	<p>Erfolg / success (2), Grundstein / basis (2), praktisch / practical (2), Weiterentwicklung / further development (2), wichtig / important (2), besser / better, sich entfalten / to reveal one's identity, glücklich / happy, gute Zukunft / good future, lustig / cheerful, selbstverständlich / self- evident, sich weiter bilden / to develop further, solide / decent, Zukunft / future, zukunftsichernd /</p>	<p>future (2), interest (2), good, important, importance, upwards, opportunity, road to success, best, necessary, help, privilege – 14 reactions;</p>

		guaranteeing the future – 20 reactions;	
Negative reactions	hart / difficult, kommt darauf an / depends on, schlau / cunning, stress / stress, Weltopfer / victim of public opinion – 5 reactions;	anstrengend / intense, Ehrgeiz / vanity, sehr kurz / very short – 3 reactions;	nonsense, expensive, sufferings, torment, not important, normal, need, torture, boredom, burden – 10 reactions;
Operational reactions	machen / to get – 1 reaction;	machen / to get – 1 reaction;	free, complete – 2 reactions.
Cultural reactions	Abitur / final exam	Lehre / technical school (3) – 3 reactions.	---

Source: Devised by the authors

The number of reactions-concepts given by Russian respondents that have the meaning “the way of getting an education” differ from the number of those given by German examinees. The content of reactions is also different in both cases. The reactions of German examinees are connected with educational activities, both at school and at higher and vocational educational institutions. For Russian respondents, such reactions are occasional.

The reactions-concepts provided by German and Russian respondents which reflect the meaning “the result of education” partially coincide. The result of education is primarily gaining knowledge. Reactions to the word-stimulus *Bildung / education* and to the word-stimulus *education* reflect this. However, the frequent response *Beruf / profession* to the word-stimulus *Ausbildung / education* is not reflected in the responses of Russian respondents. The reaction *work* is occasional among reactions of Russian examinees.

Reactions-conceptions that reflect the meaning “the place / method of getting an education” mostly coincide. The frequent response to all three words-stimuli is the reaction *school*. Thus, for respondents education is primarily associated with obtaining knowledge at school. The school that is the basis of education is of great importance in both countries.

Reactions-conceptions that reflect the meaning “the result of education” are rather similar. The result of education involves for respondents career development, getting new opportunities, gaining money, and various privileges.

The ratio between positive and negative emotionally evaluative reactions of German and Russian respondents is very different. The number of positive reactions given by Germans is certainly bigger than of negative ones. The number of positive reactions given by Russian respondents is only 4 times bigger. However, the content of reactions is pretty similar. Both

Russian and German people associate education with prosperous future and getting opportunities. Respondents emphasize the importance of education in modern society.

The negative reactions of German respondents primarily reflect the complexity of the educational process. Russian respondents, on the contrary, do not mention difficulties. However, they describe education using negative connotative words.

## Conclusion

Having analyzed all of the associates, we have distinguished the association strategies and meanings that are similar for German and Russian linguocultures. First of all, four types of meanings were recognized: conceptual (reactions-concepts), emotionally evaluative, presentational (conceptions), and operational. Therefore, it is possible to establish universal social, cultural, and linguistic peculiarities of concepts / values. The psychologically relevant content of the basic value education in German and Russian languages reflects the importance of this value for both cultures. For the respondents it is crucial to obtain both school and higher / vocational education, which is of great importance for their future.

Thus, a lot of reactions representing such components of the concept as core of the meaning, positive and negative connotations coincide, which means that the structure of basic values is rather stable, although its peripheral (less frequent) components may change. However, a significantly increasing number of negative connotations presented by Russian students speaks for the beginning of structurally-semantic restructuring of the meaning of the word (KHLOPOVA, 2018). Emotionally evaluative reactions of Russian respondents show that the connotation of the word education in Russian linguoculture is drastically changing. This fact indicates that the attitude to this basic value is changing as well.

This conclusion reveals the attitude that young people have towards education. It is obvious that nowadays education is about to transform. New forms and methods of education come out and develop: for instance, there are virtual, interactive and interdisciplinary forms of it. Social dynamics makes the perception of the information and its acquisition change. Therefore, for young people education is becoming a part of society and civilization. It may lead to some reforms in education. Thus, education must keep up with the times and increase the pace of development. Negative connotations of Russian respondents, aged 17 to 23 years, only confirm the fact that there is a certain gap between the functioning of education as a social institution and the challenges that modern civilization has in stock. Remaining a basic value,

education should be changed as a form of social activity. Moreover, it should focus on younger generation and its way of thinking.

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