

RUSSIA ON THE WAY TO BUILDING A TRANSFORMATIVE EDUCATION (TE)

RÚSSIA A CAMINHO DE CONSTRUIR UMA EDUCAÇÃO TRANSFORMATIVA (ET)

RUSIA EN EL CAMINO DE CONSTRUIR UNA EDUCACIÓN TRANSFORMATIVA (ET)

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ABSTRACT: Transformative education (TE) comprises two primary levels: personal change and action. It is a process of identifying the structures of injustice and recognizing one's capacity to rectify those roots of injustice. The primary objective of the study is to analyze transformative education (TE) in modern Russia's education system. A descriptive-analytical method is used to meet the aim of the study. In this article, the authors draw attention to the problems that, in their opinion, hinder the construction of a rule-of-law state and civil society in the country, in accordance with the Constitution of Russia. These include economic and legal issues, the fight against poverty, proper education, freedom of the press, and the formation of one's own development ideology. Speaking about the ongoing internal processes in Russia, it should be noted that Russia's great weakness is the lack of a Transformative education and forward-looking ideology.

KEYWORDS: Transformative education. Civil society. Ideology. Education system.

RESUMO: *A educação transformativa (ET) compreende dois níveis primários: mudança pessoal e ação. É um processo de identificação das estruturas de injustiça e de reconhecimento da capacidade de retificar as raízes da injustiça. O objetivo principal do estudo é analisar a educação transformativa (ET) no sistema educacional da Rússia moderna. Um método descritivo-analítico é utilizado para atender ao objetivo do estudo. Neste artigo, os autores*

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chamam a atenção para os problemas que, em sua opinião, dificultam a construção de um Estado de Direito e da sociedade civil no país, de acordo com a Constituição da Rússia. Isso inclui questões econômicas e jurídicas, a luta contra a pobreza, educação adequada, liberdade de imprensa e a formação da própria ideologia de desenvolvimento. Falando sobre os processos internos em curso na Rússia, deve-se notar que a grande fraqueza da Rússia é a falta de uma educação transformativa e uma ideologia voltada para o futuro.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Educação transformativa. Sociedade civil. Ideologia. Sistema educacional.*

RESUMEN: *La educación transformadora (ET) comprende dos niveles principales: cambio personal y acción. Es un proceso de identificación de las estructuras de la injusticia y el reconocimiento de la propia capacidad para rectificar las raíces de la injusticia. El objetivo principal del estudio es analizar la educación transformadora (ET) en el sistema educativo moderno de Rusia. Se utiliza un método descriptivo-analítico para cumplir con el objetivo del estudio. En este artículo, los autores llaman la atención sobre los problemas que, en su opinión, dificultan la construcción de un Estado de derecho y sociedad civil en el país, de acuerdo con la Constitución de Rusia. Estos incluyen cuestiones económicas y legales, la lucha contra la pobreza, la educación adecuada, la libertad de prensa y la formación de la propia ideología de desarrollo. Hablando de los procesos internos en curso en Rusia, cabe señalar que la gran debilidad de Rusia es la falta de una educación transformadora y una ideología progresista.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Educación transformadora. Sociedad civil. Ideología. Sistema educativo.*

Introduction

In Russian society, the question is increasingly being asked – how the state ensures the fulfillment of its internal tasks and functions. The very word "ideology" in Russia has become almost forbidden. As soon as in modern Russia they start talking about the state ideology, without which it is impossible to build a state, many representatives of the liberal public say: "Do you want to return to the Soviet past?". In fact, do not be afraid of the very word "ideology". When we talk about building a strong rule of law, we need a strategy in this matter, and this is ideology. So far, we are allowed to accept only Western ideology.

Sergei Shoigu recently mentioned an internal threat – the "gradual disintegration of society". Television undoubtedly plays an important role in this. Why can't the authorities restore order? Because this means that we will have to deal with ideology after all. They are engaged in economics, defense, social policy – but not in "ideas". Political forces are not represented in the new State Duma of Russia in this public sphere. If United Russia had announced in its program a course for the moral improvement of society, the turnout at the polls

in the fall of 2021 would have been at least 75%, and the party would have received even more votes.

How did Genghis Khan or Alexander the Great manage to keep all this mass of people? In fact, ideology is the organization of living space for a person: for everyone individually and for everyone together.

Recent opinion polls show that citizens would prefer to see Russia as "a country with a high standard of living, even if not one of the strongest powers in the world" (66%). And only a third (32%) would like to see the country "a great power that is respected and feared by other countries". The proportion of those who would prefer a good standard of living to a ruinous pursuit of power and a special role has been consistently growing over the past 6-7 years. It is also interesting to note that such a point of view dominates today in all age groups. And it is especially noticeable among young people aged 18-24 years (74%). The era of reckless patriots ("but we make rockets") is a thing of the past.

Sociologists say that it is obviously too early to talk about the awakening of civil society and the growth of political activity of the population. Yes, people's anxiety about tomorrow is growing. But it is economic (more precisely, domestic) in nature. Stability remains the most important socio-political value. This is stated by 65% of the population in the polls.

Method

Methodological basis of this study is the dialectical method of cognition of social and legal phenomena and concepts in their development and interdependence. In the process, general-purpose and scientific methods of scientific knowledge are used as well, historical and legal, systemic, structural-functional, comparative legal, statistical, sociological, specifically the formal-logical, logical-legal and others. The legal framework and information base includes the research of international legal instruments, scientific sources, investigative and judicial practices to ensure the rights and lawful interests of individuals in the pre-trial proceedings.

Thus, it is valid to point out that the knowledge of a past, whether acclaimed or hated, desired or avoided, becomes a relevant factor for the construction of a present and a future that not only seeks to maintain the status quo or even a return to a nostalgic past. To this end, an education capable of transforming people and society is necessary, a teaching that is robust and up-to-date and capable of dealing with issues that directly affect society, such as the construction of itself in times when values that held the social glue in the past are falling. In a study of the past and an understanding of the present and its search for an ideology capable of

uniting a nation, a transformative education becomes a key element so that the desired change is not only viable, but also has the desired effects.

In this work, we go back to the past and compare to the present, seeking to understand a way that, through a transformative education, it is possible to understand how the phenomena of ideology occur and have occurred, what are the social factors that motivate popular mobilization towards an end and how can this be used to prevent, as in the past, these resources to be used to form authoritarian regimes in times of crisis and difficulties and, on the contrary, to be able to build a society guided by law and equality, that is capable of guaranteeing human and social rights.

Results

In the conditions of deterioration of the socio-economic situation, conservative sentiments are growing among people. During 2021, researchers' attention was focused on identifying possible social consequences of the pandemic. Today they are known: the growth of unemployment, poverty, even more noticeable material and social stratification. The authorities talk a lot about stability. And they are proud of this achievement. As confirmation, data on the scale of street protests, the number of strikes, the number of detainees and convicted for participating in unauthorized marches and rallies are given. The numbers are small. The authorities are happy to show on television the scale of the protests in the United States and Western Europe. "Do you want to be like them?" - propagandists repeat. The people amicably answer: no, we don't want to.

In principle, stability in the country is a good thing. Many foreign governments dream of it. The current form of Russian stability does not ensure either economic growth or the well-being of the population. People have more and more questions about the future of the country. While Russia is registered in developing countries.

In September 2021, before the elections, everyone was waiting for the population to clarify how it relates to the government. There is no particular concern about the "critical mood" in the upper layers of the political atmosphere. The increase in anxiety and fears is not dangerous for the authorities. The anxieties of the population about the decline in income are clearly visible according to the results of sociological surveys, but they do not develop into active actions. The protests are rather emotional in nature and splash out on the authorities in the form of letters, petitions, appeals to the president. We haven't heard about strikes. In fact,

party life has also ceased. The ratings of the parties have frozen at a low level but have not changed for several years. Opposition is exclusively declarative.

Restrictions on civil rights and democratic freedoms, which are written about by several critical media, do not worry the general population too much. Only 6% of citizens are interested in the democratic agenda. The population has actually withdrawn from participation in politics. The reasons are clear: people do not believe in the ability to influence government decision-making both in the country as a whole and in the regions. There are 75% of them in Russia. A curious fact recently revealed by sociologists: almost half of the population (apparently still in the Soviet habit) "closely follows" politics but does not want to take part in political life. The authorities seem to be quite satisfied with this situation: the street is not noisy, formal democracy and freedom of information are preserved.

The significant increase in the importance of the security forces in all manifestations of power is a forced transitional stage, attempts to escape from the domination of the liberal elite in the economy, which is no longer able to offer a way out of the growing avalanche of problems and contradictions. It was the systemic liberals who created and built on the reforms of E. Gaidar the economic model of speculative-commercial capitalism. It was the liberal model that led Russia to the current regime, to the impasse of exhausting all resources for development, and destroyed the feedback between the population and the authorities. The Government of M. Mishustina reflected the recognition of the impossibility of holding on to this model for longer, indicated a departure from the liberal model without understanding which new model to move to.

Today, the main clans are initiating the transition, displacing the liberal elites from power, which since the 1990s have been exercising power supervision over the interests in the distribution of property, over the government by the powerful gang. But the power structures themselves are not able to control anything, these are not her functions. Managerial failure is visible wherever its representatives are appointed to lead.

In our conditions, in addition to the liberals, only the army can govern. Due to the sharp deterioration of relations with the West, the dominant role of the army in the management of the country, its internal and external problems will soon manifest itself. But the army is able to manage only by having a budget. It is unable to establish such economic activity that increases competitive commodity production and fills the budget for their needs. As liberals could not establish such economic activity.

In the current circumstances, the army will undermine the budget, logistics and market regulation, including market regulation of prices for social goods. The growth of discontent

with the widespread deterioration of life will eventually raise the question of the need to abandon all remnants of feudalism, feudal ways of building power. An all-encompassing crisis with mass protests may cause a request for a new subject of political economic management, the subject of the implementation of revolutionary transformations, the transition to bourgeois public administration. And only then will the appeals of the new political leaders to the country be based on clear strategic goals and objectives, and not on the distribution of one-time benefits, as is happening now.

The main enemy of Russian society is the low incomes of millions of citizens. This was stated by Russian President Vladimir Putin on 12 October 2021 at a meeting with deputies of the State Duma of the VIII convocation. A poor person cannot be free and a creator. He thinks only about how to live, survive, provide for his family, pay off the loan. Yes, such a person is very convenient for the reactionary part of the government. But you can't build anything with such a person, you can't create anything. Only a free person can move economic progress, work efficiently and efficiently, create and live in a civil society, a state governed by the rule of law.

Experts in social psychology say that a poorer person gradually ceases to feel like a part of civil society and closes himself in the circle of everyday problems. He will not go to the polls, will not join the party, will not go to a protest rally if his rights are infringed. With increasing poverty, there is self-exclusion not only from politics, but also from social life, from culture. Do we achieve such goals in modern Russia? A poor, uneducated, cornered person is more dangerous for the authorities, although she may not understand this yet.

According to the results of 2020, the poverty level in Russia amounted to 12.1% (17.8 million people below the official poverty line), the Rosstat of the Russian Federation reported. In 2020, the impact of the pandemic was mitigated by compensating social support measures, which even helped to reduce the poverty rate from 12.3% by the end of 2019.

High prices for Russian oil on world markets in the early 2000s and then in 2011-2013 allowed for some time to improve the situation with the welfare of people. Salaries, pensions, and benefits were growing. However, in 2014-2016 there was a sharp drop in oil prices, almost overnight the ruble depreciated. And poverty began knocking at the gates of Russia again.

In 2021, the poverty level decreased further to 11.4% based on "the cumulative effect of economic growth and changes in social support measures (assuming full and targeted implementation of the new announced measures)". The share of the Russian population with incomes below the subsistence minimum in 2020 decreased to 12.1% from 12.3% a year earlier. This was reported on 14 April 2021 by the Federal State Statistics Service (ROSSTAT). In fact, about 80 million Russians receive income below the subsistence minimum, businessman Oleg

Deripaska said, commenting on Rosstat data on the fall in the poverty level in Russia to a minimum since 2014. That is, more than half of the population of Russia.

One way or another, but recently the topic of poverty has again appeared (as they would say in Soviet times) in the editorials of newspapers and in the headings of the Internet. And the point is not only that with increasing poverty, the people lose faith in the government, its elected representatives and may vote incorrectly for the government, also the people lose faith in such fundamental values as democracy. Why are they needed, these democracy and human rights, if the refrigerator is empty, there is nothing to buy medicines for when you are ill, and getting a child to school becomes a whole problem?

There are also moral aspects. Poverty changes a person's psychology and morality. Aggression increases. In recent years, we have increasingly heard about the growth of divorces and domestic violence, about the beating of children, about the reprisals of desperate wives over their drinking and feral husbands. In the media, numerous TV shows, so far only propagandize the cult of violence, low moral values. We are shown numerous shows where poor people drink, fight in studios, swear. Is this a sample of the person the government wants to see? Is this our ideology? The authorities today (and this is evidenced by the last appeal of V. Putin) is no longer trying to hide these problems, although he sometimes downplays their depth and does not like to talk about the origins.

It is even difficult for modern residents of Russia, especially young people, to imagine what the life of their fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers was like. Poverty today lives in different clothes, according to different rules and is evaluated in other parameters. When assessing "rich or poor", not only access to food is considered, but also access to education, culture, recreation, and good medicine.

The "self-perception of poverty" is very dangerous. When an impoverished person begins to be ashamed of how he looks in the eyes of friends, society, goes into self-isolation, closes up. And if poverty drags on for years, irreversible degradation of the individual often begins. According to some sociologists, 40% of the country's population is experiencing such a sense today. Be that as it may, one thing is indisputable: with the large-scale expansion of poverty, the quality of the human capital of the whole country decreases, the state degrades, and with it the government.

For the authorities, the increase in poverty is an alarming and unpleasant phenomenon. The fact is that among the many parameters of assessing the work of the country's leadership (housing, roads, medicine, education, prices, foreign policy successes etc.), poverty or its absence is in the eyes of people the most obvious indicator of the effectiveness or inefficiency

of the government. If the people cannot get out of poverty for a long series of years, then all the external attributes of "prosperity" become superfluous for them.

Discussion

According to Dmitry Pevtsov, today the country needs a modern unifying idea that will regulate everything related to education and culture. We need an ideology that will promote traditional Russian values. Without it, it is impossible to raise children and develop culture. If we don't take care now that the children's lives are filled with kindness, faith, hope, and love, we will have no one to hand over the country to. Children live on the Internet, in a negative agenda that surrounds them from all sides. The state is obliged to take care of which films and performances should be given budget funds, and which ones would be better not to be born. We must combine national projects on education and culture into a single whole and finance this work at the federal level.

The first and most important thing we must realize is that we are a victorious people who defeated all the great conquerors. Secondly, we are not just a nation of traditional values – we are for people to remain human. And what is being proposed by the latest ideological trends from the West is the transformation of people who have no gender and historical memory, who have no attachment to their homeland, to their culture. Third: we are the liberating people. And we are also a nation of outstanding cultural openness, to which racism is absolutely alien. These things should be the basis of our offensive ideology. There are a lot of ideas on this topic, they are offered by many Russian thinkers. You can form this ideology from them, and then offer it to society. For a long time, we had a harmful idea that the national idea, the new Russian idea should be developed from below, that it cannot be imposed. But it was an excuse for idleness or intellectual impotence, at best. In monarchical countries, the ideology is always developed by the sovereign and his entourage, in more complex states - by the leadership and the elite. So far, our leadership and our elite have not done this. But judging by the latest national security strategy, the process has started.

Is it possible to artificially create an ideology that the people would accept? In what form should this idea be adopted – in the form of amendments to the Constitution? Many ideas have already been incorporated into the Constitution, and they are also incorporated into the new National Security Strategy. But so far, apart from a few speeches by our President and partly by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, we have not systematically set out a new national ideology. And this needs to be done. And then launch the state and party machines at full

capacity so that the ideas take hold of the population. As it has always been done – there is no other way here and there will not be.

Can Russia in reality have its own ideology of building a rule-of-law state? In the preamble of the Constitution of 1993 [1] it was stated: «The Russian people are part of the world community». Further, the text of the Constitution actually enshrines the external governance of Russia by this world community in the following articles and paragraphs:

Article 13 - 2. “No ideology can be established as state or mandatory” (RUSSIA, 2021).

The Russian Federation can only have an ideology that comes to us from the West through state bodies, established moral values, cinema, food culture etc. At the same time, ideology forms the country's development strategy. Ideology indicates to the elected representatives of the people (officials and deputies) the goals that the state pursues. Ideology determines priorities in the work of the authorities. In accordance with this, the authorities plan work in all sectors, i.e., officials determine what they should do. A strategy is needed to manage the state. And strategy requires ideology. Ideology is also important for personnel policy. Russia needs its own authorities to develop a state ideology. But such institutions will be illegal in accordance with article 14, paragraph 2 of the Constitution.

To date, Western countries determine which industries in Russia will develop and which will not. Cheap loans are provided only by Europe and the United States, and Western bankers decide which sectors of the economy they will finance. Because of this, oil refining and metallurgy are developing in Russia. But the aircraft industry, shipbuilding or instrument engineering is not developing. It is not profitable for foreigners to raise competitors for themselves.

After the destruction of the USSR, the United States carried out reforms in Russia and integrated the Russian economy into the world. Our economy is managed by the IMF and Western banks. Europe and the USA also control Russian assets by regulating property rights.

It's no secret that over the past twenty years Russia has been consistently turned into a raw material appendage of the global economy.

Having finally taken shape and established themselves in the highest echelons of business, government and law enforcement agencies, this new elite ("new Russians", as they were called in the 1990s), in fact, has formed its own life, which flows in parallel, not closing in with the life of the people. The people see this life, but do not participate in it. Today, the raw material dependence of the Russian economy is obvious. And although the volume of exports and revenues from oil and gas exports in Russia decreased from 39% in 2019 to 28% in 2020 (according to the Accounts Chamber of the Russian Federation), this was due to a

decrease in oil prices last year. The main reason for the lag is deeper. In the modern world, freedom is necessary to achieve real technological and economic progress. Initiatives are suppressed and destroyed by corruption, crime, and the authoritarian system. Over the past few years, more and more people have been complaining about the divergence of interests between the government and society. In 2021 – 75% of respondents.

Conclusion

There are reasons to note that the most important trend of the present time is, among other things, the accelerating process of digitalization, which has covered all spheres of society. Such large-scale transformations are impossible without the transformation of legal relations, the formation of new legal norms and legal institutions, new approaches to legal regulation and law enforcement instead of the previous ones that do not correspond to the current stage of development of public relations. Moreover, practically every component of legal relations is subject to rethinking and new theoretical justification in the era of digitalization. This applies to both subjects of law, and objects of law, and the totality of rights and obligations realized within the framework of their interaction.

There are also reasons to pay attention to the difference between the social and political situation in Russia and the countries of Western Europe. In Europe and the United States, social discontent (unemployment, rising prices, lower wages, discrimination based on gender and skin color) quickly merges with political discontent, spills out into the street and is reflected in the results of voting in elections. The coming to power of D. Trump in the United States in 2017 is a vivid example of such a relationship. The movement of "yellow vests" in France also testifies to the close interweaving of politics, economics and social phenomena. In Russia, the situation is still different. In our country, social and economic discontent live their own lives, and political discontent lives its own. So far, neither sociologists nor political scientists have noted the interaction of these factors in public life. Anxiety and discontent do not develop into political activity. How long will this condition last? Where is the danger to the authorities lurking? There is no answer yet.

The pressure on journalists trying to professionally convey the truth about what is happening to citizens will only increase. The authorities will continue to squeeze out of the Russian information field with all their might any agenda that can make people think about real life in the country. The mass media perform exclusively a propaganda function, serve as a tool for manipulating public opinion. And if twenty years ago the state's attack on NTV angered

millions of citizens of the country and brought many to the streets (albeit to no avail), today there is almost complete indifference of people to the destruction of the free press. And this is also one of the results of the propagandists' work: a scorched information field, a lack of understanding of the role of the media in ensuring security, in preserving the health of citizens, in achieving economic efficiency and preventing impoverishment.

The foundation of all authoritarian and totalitarian regimes has always been and remains a lie, while the main condition for the dismantling of these regimes is freedom of speech, exposing this lie. It is the ability of people to openly express their point of view, to publicly say what they think, sooner or later will lead to a regime change. Because the system is in principle incompatible with freedom of speech, independent media, honest professional journalists, and free people.

Only by overcoming all the negative phenomena of our society, developing the economy, defeating poverty, ensuring human rights and freedoms, forming our own ideology, an independent judicial and law enforcement system, we can build a civil society and a rule of law state.

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