

## STUDENTS' MOVEMENTS OF RUSSIA IN THE ERA OF GLOBALIZATION

### *MOVIMENTOS DE ESTUDANTES DA RÚSSIA NA ERA DA GLOBALIZAÇÃO*

### *LOS MOVIMIENTOS ESTUDIANTILES DE RUSIA EN LA ERA DE LA GLOBALIZACIÓN*

Irina POLOZHENTSEVA<sup>1</sup>

Tatiana KASCHENKO<sup>2</sup>

Irina SINITSYNA<sup>3</sup>

Samaha BASHIR<sup>4</sup>

Tatiana LUSTINA<sup>5</sup>

**ABSTRACT:** In today's world young people become the object of close attention from various socio-political forces, since an unformed worldview and insufficient experience in social and political analysis represent the very field where one can try to nurture the most exotic interpretations of the reality surrounding us. This article attempts to show the specifics of youth activism in the age of globalization using the example of youth movements for human dignity. In our opinion, stimulating and supporting young people's civic engagement, whether spontaneous or organized into youth movements, has the greatest potential to successfully mobilize young people toward purposeful, conscious and active participation in society and the state. We are convinced that virtually all pro-social youth movements are in one way or other movements for human dignity.

**KEYWORDS:** Globalization. Students' movements. Youth activism.

**RESUMO:** No mundo atual, os jovens tornam-se objeto de atenção de diversos setores sócio-políticos, uma vez que uma visão de mundo não formada e uma experiência insuficiente em análise social e política representam o próprio campo onde se pode tentar nutrir as mais exóticas interpretações da realidade que nos cerca. Este artigo tenta mostrar as especificidades do ativismo juvenil na era da globalização usando o exemplo dos movimentos jovens pela dignidade humana. Em nossa opinião, estimular e apoiar o engajamento cívico dos jovens, seja espontâneo ou organizado em movimentos de jovens, tem o maior potencial para mobilizar com sucesso os jovens em direção a objetivos, participação consciente e ativa na sociedade e no Estado. Estamos convencidos de que praticamente todos os movimentos jovens pró-sociais são, de uma forma ou outra, movimentos pela dignidade humana.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Globalização. Movimentos estudantis. Ativismo juvenil.

<sup>1</sup> K.G. Razumovsky Moscow State University of Technology and Management (First Cossack University), Moscow – Russia. Professor. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1944-9567>. E-mail: vipperh@yandex.ru

<sup>2</sup> Financial University under the Government of the Russian Federation, Moscow – Russia. Professor. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1603-0258>. E-mail: tatiana.l.kaschenko@mail.ru

<sup>3</sup> K.G. Razumovsky Moscow State University of Technology and Management (First Cossack University), Moscow – Russia. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6090-9126>. E-mail: i.a.sinitsyna@mail.ru

<sup>4</sup> Arts, Science and Technology University Lebanon (AUL), Beirut – Lebanon. Professor. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4868-1741>. E-mail: samaha.bashir@mail.ru

<sup>5</sup> Russian State University of Tourism and Service, Moscow – Russia. Professor. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8359-5473>. E-mail: Lustinat@mail.ru

**RESUMEN:** *En el mundo actual, los jóvenes se convierten en objeto de una intensa atención desde diversos ámbitos sociopolíticos, ya que una cosmovisión informe y una experiencia insuficiente en el análisis social y político representan el campo mismo donde se puede tratar de nutrir las interpretaciones más exóticas de la realidad que nos rodea. . Este artículo intenta mostrar las especificidades del activismo juvenil en la era de la globalización utilizando el ejemplo de los movimientos juveniles por la dignidad humana. En nuestra opinión, estimular y apoyar el compromiso cívico de los jóvenes, ya sea espontáneo u organizado en movimientos juveniles, tiene el mayor potencial para movilizar con éxito a los jóvenes hacia un propósito, es decir, participación consciente y activa en la sociedad y el estado. Estamos convencidos de que prácticamente todos los movimientos juveniles prosociales son, de una forma u otra, movimientos por la dignidad humana.*

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** *Globalización. Movimientos estudiantiles. Activismo juvenil.*

## Introduction

Russia today faces the question of the era: how to preserve itself as a sovereign, prosperous state in the era of globalization? The answer is obvious: master the benefits and advantages of globalization and prevent its destructive processes and consequences. This imperative at the level of national youth policy involves recognition of the simple fact that youth are the future. But it is young people today who are most "affected" by globalization, with its economic and social crises, military and political conflicts. It is young people who are afraid of the future, who are afraid to have children. It is young people who are most vulnerable to fear, to manipulation, and unfortunately, sometimes find a way out in aggression and suicide.

In several countries, youth policy represents an integral component of the strategy for national socio-economic development. Such a youth policy is aimed at motivating young people to participate in public and state life consciously and actively and, consequently, their social development.

## Methods

*Purpose of the work:* to study youth movements for human dignity in the conditions of globalization, digitalization and individualization.

*Objectives of the work:* to show features of modern generation; to highlight types of youth movements; to describe formal and informal types of youth civic activity and ways of mobilization; to assess the work of Cossack structures and volunteer movements on the

example of K.G. Razumovsky Moscow State University of Technology and Management (First Cossack University).

Main methods: description, thematic generalization, participant observation, biographical interview.

## **Results and discussion**

Young people in the modern world are the object of national-state interests. The velvet and color revolutions, the events in Ukraine, the protest movements in the heart of Europe especially in recent decades have clearly shown that inattention, or insufficient attention, or selfishly understood attention to young people can turn them into a factor of destabilization of society. Almost always the main problem is the ubiquitous low level of social satisfaction among young people. According to A. A. Zelenin, in all countries with a developed civil society, youth policy is institutionalized and actively implemented in the political practice, despite this, the International study "European Youth in a global context" concludes that young people assess their socio-psychological state as dysfunctional.

Economically developed and developing countries are making efforts to enhance the civic participation of the younger generation in the life of the state and society, primarily in the areas of maximum interest of young people: getting an education adequate to the needs of the time, employment, drug addiction and alcoholism, youth crime, as well as the expansion of international cooperation, the development of intercultural dialogue, non-violent means and methods of conflict resolution.

Since 1992, youth policy has become an integral part of the state policy of the Russian Federation. Its current stage dates back to 2014, when the document "Fundamentals of the Russian State Youth Policy of the Federation for the period up to 2025" were put into effect, which systematically sets out how the state youth policy should be implemented (Order of the Government of the Russian Federation N 2403-r, 2014), fixes the basic concepts, goals and objectives of the state in working with young people, and also highlights the main directions of youth policy, including work in civic organizations and the development of youth self-government.

Among the reasons (organizational, financial, legal) hindering the development of youth activity and youth movements, a reason of a philosophical worldview nature should be mentioned. Traditionally, the attitude toward youth in the Soviet period was expressed by the model of state domination, or the paternalistic model. Lenin constantly said that the

spontaneously developing youth movement needed organization and assistance from proletarian revolutionaries (LATYSHEVA, 2010). In a speech at the 12th Congress of the Russian Communist Party in 1923, Stalin quite frankly called youth unions "the third drive belt, connecting the class with the party" and even tentacles (probably an octopus) in the hands of the party. In the late Soviet period, the Komsomol was officially considered an active assistant and reserve of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The paternalistic centralized model was undoubtedly effective during the era of industrialization, the Great Patriotic War, the conquest of virgin lands, and the construction of the Baikal-Amur Mainline.

This once super-efficient model of state domination collapsed in the late 1980s and 1990s. Globalization, digitalization, and individualization are the three main pillars from which the set of sensibilities of today's youth grows, and thus what should define the vision of youth by the older generations, those who politically, financially, and organizationally develop youth policy itself. No matter what we say, some people formulate the agenda and others are called to the stage. Given these three pillars, the three factors of globalization, digitalization, and individualization, we propose a model of equitable interaction, or a model of partnership.

A.A. Zelenin writes that "the only acceptable model for 21st century youth, including Russian youth, is a partnership model built on the following principles: direct involvement of youth in shaping and implementing policies that affect their interests; transition from unified practices to flexible local projects that are as close to the specific needs and problems of youth in a given territory; differential approach to different youth groups with a single social guarantee system for all".

#### *The New Generation.*

Today's young generation of Russians has grown up in the context of globalization. In the context of our theme, we should pay special attention to cultural globalization, the globalization of lifestyle and style of life, which is manifested in the formation of universal values transmitted through the globalized media, Internet, literature, movies, street culture of everyday life. The peculiarity of the modern generation is that its credo is more individualized than ever before. Today a young person wants to live based on his own self and counting on his own strength. He is informed, but uninformed. He has little confidence in the older generation and does not see in modern history something that would cause unconditional pride, accustomed to live in the present, thinking about the future only in terms of personal success in life and personal growth.

State socialization has less leverage and no ready-made "drive belts." State socialization from above does not always easily make its way to the consciousness of young people, losing competition to virtual socialization. Therefore, in the era of globalization, it is not enough to make young people internalize the prescribed norms. No books, textbooks, educational programs, even the best ones, by themselves can foster a sense of patriotism, the ability to cooperate, to work as a team, not to be afraid of conflict, to overcome insecurity, to feel their own dignity as the highest value, so the encouragement of youth initiative and involvement of young people in real activities is required.

*The concept of dignity* in philosophical terms (Pico della Mirandola, Rousseau, Kant, Schelling, Fichte, Plekhanov, etc.) is imperative: a person is prescribed to be worthy. "The person who, by virtue of circumstances, is unable to conform to this imperative and to meet expectations or who does not understand what is expected of him is pathetic, and the person who is unwilling to conform is contemptible". In subjective terms, dignity is understood as a sense of self-esteem built on a sense of one's own worth, arising through the approval of others. Thus John Rawls, author of the theory of justice, one of the most influential philosophical works of the late twentieth century, writes that without self-esteem call desire and all activity becomes empty and unnecessary, and we sink into apathy and cynicism. Dignity as a sense of self-esteem requires approval of our actions, without which it is impossible to maintain a belief in their significance: "...others are inclined to appreciate them (our actions) only if what we do excites their admiration or gives them pleasure". These words, written in the pre-digital era, are absolutely true in the world of online communication, where the number of likes and even more followers determines a young person's self-esteem and his place in the hierarchy of groups he respects. Therefore we must look at the dignity movements, not least through the prism of the individual aspirations of today's youth.

But at the same time the task of educating young people about the primacy of national interests, the importance of national culture, and the value of patriotism, humanism, and mercy remains relevant.

A special responsibility lies before the sphere of education, i.e., teaching and upbringing. How and what to teach? What and how to educate? To teach how to live under conditions of uncertainty and risks, how to understand the interdependence of the world and the primacy of national interests, how to teach self-restraint and full self-realization. To do this, education in the humanities must become an essential component of all educational activities.

Another crucial task is to enable young people to realize their interests through civic participation, activism, and to teach civic and human solidarity. Young people in modern conditions have ceased to be the object of social processes and moved to the status of its subject, so it is necessary to throw an invisible, but very important bridge from the awareness of their own individuality and their interests to civil identity, to the feeling of being a citizen of the country, society (OMELCHENKO, 2005).

If we consider civil identity in terms of its structure, it is necessary to see four components: cognitive (image of the homeland, country, culture, people), value (personal meaning of belonging to the state for the individual), emotional (manifestation of pride or shame for their citizenship) and regulatory component. The regulatory component is just exactly "the activity beginning, which distinguishes civic identity" (MAGRANOV; DETOCHENKO, 2018). In other words, the cognitive, value and emotional elements are lost without a young person's acceptance of the behavioral model of a citizen. Therefore, it is necessary to pay especially close attention to the existing, emerging, and promising movements and organizations of young people advocating for dignity in the context of globalization.

*Youth movements for human dignity: essence and types.* Any youth movement is characterized by the presence of common ideas and values that allow us to recognize "our own" and to separate "our own" from "others". This is perhaps the main condition of a youth movement. Meaningful ideas and values are expressed in the attributes and symbols mandatory for movement members, which allow them to demonstrate their position and defend it in the social environment. A young person's participation in a youth movement is always subconsciously determined by a longing for self-awareness, a sense of dignity, sometimes misunderstood and asocially articulated (RAPOPORT, 1988).

Youth movements as the realization of social subjectivity (selfhood) by the young generation are studied by sociologists both in Russia and abroad. The term "youth movement" has several interpretations: as a set of youth organizations; as some part of youth; as a way of including youth in the life of society, through their assimilation (interiorization) of the global educational context by society; as the transformation of youth into a social subject through participation in political practice; as a form of social activity.

The most general, in our opinion, classification of youth movements according to the degree of formalization. Formal movements or associations (institutionalized, acting within the framework of state youth policy, under the "adult" parties, public organizations) and informal movements (association of young people within subcultures, when the sign of the

movement is the presence of a single subculture and a single self-identification (example, punks, goths, hippies). Other ways to classify: political and non-political youth movements (religious, social, student); by social content and significance in society - radical, extremist, pro-social, socially dangerous; by form of implementation - mobilization up to actualization in real or virtual space.

Formal youth movements are naturally the most common. They are institutionalized, have organizational and financial support. Participation in them provides opportunities for career growth and satisfaction of ambitions for activists (ROBERTS, 2015). Formal movements are built on a community of the most important values (justice, equality, democracy, human dignity, civil society) and operate in a pro-social, non-extremist way. Most often, these movements form a youth faction, a wing of a particular party. Formal movements aim to help improve the quality of life of people, support their social dignity, protect human rights from arbitrary rule, against racism, ethnic discrimination, xenophobia and intolerance, for civil equal rights for women, to protect the environment and nature, to preserve historical memory and memory of the exploits of ancestors, to preserve cultural material and immaterial values. Small-issue tactics aimed at revitalizing and humanizing the agenda within formal movements and at attracting initially apolitical young people to them take on enormous importance. This niche is primarily offered by various kinds of volunteer and charitable movements and organizations.

Here is a far from complete, though, in our opinion, informative list of the various forms of institutionalized youth movements.

**Table 1** – Institutionalized youth movements in the Russian Federation

TYOLOGY	YOUTH MOVEMENTS
<i>A. Political youth associations</i>	Young Guard of the United Russia, Movement YES! (Democratic Alternative), Youth All-Russian Movement for Freedom and Social Justice "Victory", Lenin Communist Union of Youth of the Russian Federation, "League of Justice", "Young Greens", "OURS".
<i>B. All-Russian and regional public non-political youth associations:</i>	"Russian Union of Youth", "Student Self-Government", "Russian Student Detachments", "Youth Diplomacy League"; regional – "Progressive Youth", St. Petersburg Military Historical Youth Public Organization - "Escadron", Perm Center for Volunteering Development.
<i>C. Associations of people with disabilities:</i>	"The First Russian Internet Portal for the Disabled", "Regional Public Organization of the Disabled - Perspective", and "New Opportunities".
<i>D. Ecological associations of young people:</i>	The Movement of Nature Protection Squads is an all – Russian public organization, "Local" is a movement of young political environmentalists of the Moscow region, "Friends of the Baltic" are youth volunteer groups from St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region
<i>E. Student associations:</i>	"Association of Trade Union Organizations of Students of Higher Education

	Institutions in Moscow" (APOS), "Russian Association of Student Trade Union Organizations of Higher Education Institutions", "Student Community".
<i>F. Religious youth associations:</i>	"Resurrection", "Young Russia", "Common Cause", "Interuniversity Association "Pokrov", "Russian National Volunteer Organization - NORD "RUS", "Orthodox Youth Center "Restavros".
<i>G. Cossack youth associations:</i>	"Union of Cossack Youth", Department of Cossack youth organization "Dontsy", Ecological Cossack youth detachment "Free Winds", Volgograd youth association "Cossack Spas". The activities of Cossack youth movements are aimed at preserving the glorious traditions of the Cossacks, to bring up patriotic values, to support the sense of dignity of the Cossacks, which is realized in service for the benefit of the state, in family and religious values (VOROPAEV, 2010).

Source: Devised by the authors

The political market has almost the entire ideological spectrum: pro-government, communist, traditional, conservative, liberal. There is room for students, Cossacks, greens, believers, for those who are ready to defend the interests of the disabled, and for young people with disabilities; for those in love with sports and for those who want to do science. All these movements seek to defend human dignity in politics, economics, sociality, and life. Undoubtedly, the current conditions for youth associations-movements are shaping an agenda that is relevant to a wide variety of youth groups in a way that young people can adequately understand.

All formal movements have a "modern face". For them today, online communication is fundamentally important, including for attracting and mobilizing participants. Websites are designed in a youth way, a lot of illustrations, videos, photos, infographics. The moderators of the sites try to make their texts clear and short, try to cut the information in small portions, consider the clip consciousness of young people, on which, however, they does not always succeed. The agendas of all formal movements are positive, relevant, and socially significant. Together they present a pluralistic picture, reflecting the interests, values, and preferences of a wide variety of youth groups. But another thing is obvious. The bureaucratic framework obligatory for any organization generates formalism, ideologizing, and the pursuit of reports. Thus, to better understand what young people really need, we need to actively communicate with young people involved in organized movements and those outside these movements, including informal youth movements (PLESHAKOV, 2010).

*Informal youth movements-cultures.* Their main characteristics are: self-activity (unauthorized from above), autonomy (from "adult" political parties and other institutions), spontaneity (the reasons and grounds for their emergence cause certain difficulties for sociologists), special ideas about the significant and useful. In informal movements, the borderline of "us and them" is much more clearly marked than in formal ones. Hairstyles,



tattoos, clothing, slang, music, - all of this allows you to recognize "your own" instantly, without wasting time reading various manifestos. The informal are structured, not amorphous. Each group has its own leaders, significant heroes, common rituals and symbols. Their social field is virtual, and the Internet provides an opportunity to attract adherents and mobilize participants (such as the portal <https://sub-cult.ru>). Informal platforms are actively explored by "adults" - marketers, political scientists and politicians, and sociologists.

Informal movements can form an informal youth subculture (punks, goths, hikikomori, hackers, hipsters) or represent a quite traditional area of activity, such as the same politics, but in a specific understanding, separate from the generally accepted. The question of how pro-social or asocial informal are, it is beyond the scope of this study, as we focused on the dignity aspect of human dignity movements. Our hypothesis is to exploit the potential of informal movements as movements that correspond to the contemporary pluralist picture of society. Informal movements are often able to carry socially meaningful potential and can be included in the category of youth movements for human dignity. If by human dignity we mean, among other things, a sense of self-respect, built on a sense of self-importance arising through the approval of other people, belonging to the informal youth movement-culture is already determined by the attitude to the problem of human dignity.

*Cossack youth movement for human dignity.* Our hypothesis is that, in essence, the Cossack movement is already a movement for human dignity, understood in terms of the traditional socio-historical group of Russia, which began its rebirth in the 1990s. The activities of Cossack youth movements are aimed at preserving the glorious traditions of the Cossacks, at educating patriotic values, and at supporting the sense of Cossack dignity realized in service to the State, in family and religious values. Young Cossacks today are a formal youth movement, a conservative, patriotic wing.

The history of the Cossacks, according to various sources, is between 1,000 and 500 years old. But during the Soviet period, the Cossacks, as representatives of a socio-historical community, a group with specific values, interests and traditions, were persecuted by the authorities or relegated to a cultural and folkloric reservation. The first Cossack associations in the 1990s, including their youth branches, had a distinctly amateurish informal character. But even now, when Cossacks have occupied a significant social niche in the Russian society, the problem of human dignity was and is one of the most important. Historically inherent high moral qualities, duty, faith, their loyalty to Russia, the sense of dignity of Cossacks occupy the main place in the hierarchy of Cossack values, are the most attractive traits for young people of the XXI century (KOTOVCHIKHINA *et al.*, 2020).

## Conclusions

Youth policy needs an understanding of the real role of youth movements both for the individual and for society as a whole. It is necessary to come to a common understanding of the elimination of the paternalistic approach to youth as an object of "caring involvement" and targeted influence from the state. It is necessary to support the attitude toward youth as a full-fledged participant (actor) possessing all attributes of subjectivity. We see the main task of youth policy in replacing the outdated model and moving to a model of equal interaction. This model will make it possible to hear and understand the new meanings born in the youth environment and, on this basis, to interact with young people through new categories of meaning.

We believe that an analysis of young people's reactions, including negative ones, to social challenges is necessary, first and foremost, to identify ways of transforming them into positive achievements. This, in fact, is an attempt to really answer the main question posed in the article: how to master the benefits and advantages of globalization and prevent the destructive processes and consequences of globalization through a new attitude towards youth, understanding the categories and meanings it puts forward.

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