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Концептуальное поле социализации цифрового поколения в России

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Аннотация: Цель статьи – концептуальное обоснование научного поля социологического исследования «поколения Z» на основе анализа зарубежных и отечественных поколенческих теорий, сопоставления эмпирических данных и выявление проблемных сторон. В этом ряду особенности мировоззрения, ценностные установки и включенность в социальные, экономические и политические процессы представителей поколения Z, их предпочтения, потребительские характеристики и мотивы поведения. Описанные многими авторами черты и характеристики поколения Z служат основой для проведения исследований особенностей трудовой деятельности, организации быта, отношения к политическим и экономическим событиям, воспитанию детей, познавательной деятельности, коллективной идентичности, сохранения традиционных устоев общества и др. Необходимость проведения дополнительных социологических измерений вытекает из противоречивости оценок ряда исследователей, спорного характера некоторых выводов и оценок их распространенности. Интерпретационные выводы не полностью учитывают влияние цифровой среды на результаты измерительных инструментов, а распространенность каких-то особенностей в одной стране не всегда гарантирует тот же эффект в другой. Автор отмечает некоторое наличие эффекта «моральной паники». Следствием этого выступает неопределенность обновления институтов социализации и их взаимодействия. Встает вопрос об управляемости процессами социализации в России и становлении новых цифровых институтов в условиях цифровой трансформации государственного управления.

Ключевые слова: поколение, поколение Z, «моральная паника», ценности, мировоззрение, цифровое общество, Интернет

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Conceptual field of socialization for the digital generation in Russia

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Abstract: The article addresses sociological study on “Generation Z” through the study of foreign and domestic generational theories, comparing empirical data and identifying problematic aspects. The work considers the worldview of Generation Z representatives, their values and involvement in social, economic, and political processes, their preferences, as well as their consumer characteristics and motives for behavior. The features of Generation Z described by many authors serve as the basis for research on the characteristics of work, organization of everyday life, attitudes toward political and economic events, parenting, cognitive activities, collective identity, preservation of society’s traditional foundations, etc. The need for additional sociological research is due to the contradictory assessments of several researchers, the controversial nature of certain conclusions, and estimates of their prevalence. Interpretive conclusions do not sufficiently account for the influence of the digital environment on the results of measurement tools, and the popularity of some features in one country does not always apply in another. The author notes the presence of such an effect as “moral panic”. It results in uncertainty for renewing the institutions of socialization and their interaction. There is a need to study the processes of socialization in Russia and the formation of new digital institutions during the digitalization of public administration.

Keywords: generation, Generation Z, “moral panic”, values, worldview, digital society, Internet

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Introduction

The scientific substantiation of the theory of generations began in the first half of the 20th century. At the beginning of the 19th century, the German philosopher W. Dilthey noted that in the life experience of many generations lie the foundations of basic attitudes for thinking and behavioral scenarios. Each historical stage in the development of society consists of impressions of the events that took place in that period. Every event affects the moods and worldviews of the generations that live in a given period. "Worldviews that promote a better understanding of life and advance beneficial goals persist in struggle, supplanting the weaker ones. And in the succession of generations, the viable worldviews evolve, becoming more and more perfect" [Dilthey, 1995. P. 222].

Ortega-I-Gasset's generational method considers historical reality as "the lives of people between the ages of thirty and sixty", since "between the ages of thirty and forty-five there is a phase in which one tends to acquire new thoughts; at this time, one lays the foundations of the original worldview. Later, there is only an evolution of ideas developed between thirty and forty-five years" [Ortega y Gasset, 1997. P. 272-273]. According to the researcher, until the age of 30, takes place the formation of unique traits for a particular generation.

The basic theory of generations was proposed in 1991 by Neil Howe and William Strauss in their monograph "Generations: The History of America's Future, 1584 – 2069" [Howe, Strauss, 1991]. According to the theory, emphasis was placed on deep, subconscious generational values, which are formed at the age of 12–14 years, and character traits, the system of life priorities, preferences, and habits differ from previous generations. In their pyramid, the place of generational values is defined between universal values (the basis of the pyramid) and individual values (the top of the pyramid). Their work has led to the rapid development of generational theories and constructs used in sociology, psychology, political science, marketing, pedagogy, etc. Today, the phenomenon of the generation gap, when the experience of the older generations is not perceived or used, devalued by representatives of the younger generations, is in particular demand.

The topic has become particularly relevant in the discourse of digitalization processes. This generation is called

digital, constantly using virtual space, thus emphasizing the unique adaptability of the younger generation to information technology and computer games. The features of Generation Z described by many authors serve as the basis for research on the characteristics of work, organization of everyday life, attitudes toward political and economic events, parenting, cognitive activities, collective identity, preservation of society's traditional foundations, etc.

This article identifies the problematic aspects of sociological research aimed at studying the characteristics of Generation Z during the digital transformation of public administration and the formation of digital social institutions that specialize in the processes of socialization of the younger generation. The author of the famous study,

American researcher Don Tapscott, interviewed more than 11,000 young people and was inspired by the possible prospects of the world: "If you understand the Network Generation, you will understand the future... They are the driving force behind the upcoming social transformation" [Tapscott, 2008].

Methods of research

The author refers to a secondary analysis of the following empirical data:

"Generation Z": Youth during the time of Putin's rule. 2019. The method of personal interviews in the respondent's home according to the standards of a random selection of interviewees. The standard error of measurement is 3.8 %. A total of 1,500 respondents aged 14–29 were interviewed. Conducted by the Levada Center as part of a series of international FES studies by the F. Ebert Foundation, carried out following a joint program in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, the Caucasus, and Central Asia [Gudkov, 2020].

Myths about "Generation Z". Research by the Higher School of Economics University. 2019. Research method: analysis of 77 theoretical and empirical studies, including 56 foreign studies [Myths about "Generation Z", 2019]. MPZ-2019 Index.

Review of the main research findings and hypotheses on the characteristics, values, and life strategies of young people. 2017. Conducted by the "St. Petersburg Policy" Foundation [Review... 2017]. Based on quantitative and qualitative foreign and domestic sociological and marketing empirical data¹. FPP Index.

Global youth survey – 2017. Economic Prospects & Expectations. Conducted by Ipsos for the "Citi Foundation". Research method: interviewing 7,394 young people aged 18–24 with 150 respondents in 45 cities from 32 countries. The study is representative of gender, age, household income, and ethnicity². GYS-2017 Index.

Cone Gen Z CSR Study: How to Speak Z. 2017. A global survey from more than 50 companies around the world on social justice, employee engagement, and activism in digital technology, as well as in business issues. Conducted by Porter Novelli Company³. CGZ-2017 Index.

- 1 Generation Z: Five Surprising Insights (Robert Half Company), Cassandra Report: Gen Z, (Deep Focus), Gen Y vs. Gen Z Workplace Expectations, (Millennial Branding and Randstad), Gen Z: The rise of a new consumer (EY), IBM Institute for Business Value executive report "Uniquely Generation Z: What brands should know about today's youngest consumers", Indeed Company Survey <http://blog.indeed.com/2016/07/06/is-silicon-valley-still-top-tech-hub/>, Meet Generation Z: Forget Everything You Learned About Millennials (Sparks&Honey 2014).
- 2 https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/2017-03/Global_Youth_Survey_2017.pdf
- 3 Cone Communications. 2017. Cone Gen Z CSR study: how to speak Z. <https://www.conecomm.com/research-blog/2017-genz-csr-study>

Who are Generation Z?⁴ UK National Citizen Service (NCS) research is based on interviews with 1,000 teens of 16–17 years old, 2016. Interviews with teens of 11–15 years old, 2014. Samples are representative of gender and age. WGZ-2016 Index.

Gen Z-2025: The Final Generation. 2015. Sparks & Honey research. Method: interviews with Gen Z around the world⁵. GenZ-2015 Index.

Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System (YRBSS)⁶. Multi-year monitoring. Conducted by CDC USA⁷. The or-

ganization specializes in providing public health care and preparing the country to counter threats of infections, vector-borne diseases, and bioterrorism. The study is a monitoring system of nationwide representative surveys (once every two years) as well as specialized one-time surveys to observe risky behavior among youth that contributes to the main causes of death and disability among youth and adults (traumatogenics, alcoholism, drug use, smoking, sexual contact, HIV infections, violence, asthma, obesity). YRBSS-19 Index.

- 4 Who are Generation Z? The latest data on today's teens. <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/dec/10/generation-z-latest-data-teens>
- 5 Sparks & Honey. 2015. Generation Z 2025: the final generation. <https://www.sparksandhoney.com/reports-list/2018/10/5/generation-z-2025-the-final-generation>
- 6 Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System (YRBSS). CDC.gov, 2019. <https://www.cdc.gov/healthyyouth/data/yrbs/index.htm>
- 7 The CDC is one of the principal operating divisions of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

Results of the study

«Generation Z» is the first generation influenced significantly by modern processes of globalization, characterized by the blurring of boundaries, both geographic and between people of different sexes, backgrounds, social status, national and professional affiliations, etc.

Having analyzed a large number of studies, the author compiled a comparative table of qualitative characteristics (Table 1) and value preferences (Table 2) of Generation Z representatives.

Table 1. Comparative table of Generation Z qualitative characteristics

No. p/p	Presence of a feature	Absence of a feature or presence of a problem
1.	Virtualization of life and communications Higher need for virtual communication, mastery of information technology, a tendency to virtualize leisure forms [Krasnorutsky, 2017]. Inclusion into online social life and willingness to follow the lives of others online. GenZ-2015 Index. Being known online is very important. 76 % believe that online networking experiences will help them achieve their goals. FPP-2017 Index. The Internet is a source of information about political events and processes (84 %) [Gudkov et al., 2020]. They try to spend their leisure time at home, "the availability of online communication with friends reduces the motivation to be outside (walking, going to a cafe, doing sports), the availability of content reduces interest in traveling". FPP-2017 Index. They have the ability to communicate visually [Seemiller, Grace, 2015]	The ability to use information technology and digital competence is developed approximately equally among students, parents, and teachers. MPZ-2019 Index. People think they have 1,000 friends, but they probably don't. Not even their parents because they don't eat together and work longer hours, not their siblings who sit in different rooms and text each other on their cell phones. WGZ-2016 Index. There is no evidence that today's adolescents communicate less. No measurements have been made of the degree of communication in previous generations at the same age. MPZ-2019 Index
2.	Indifference to brands, pragmatic consumption They don't see the value of "luxury brands and prestige owning jewelry, real estate, cars". FPP-2017 Index. They don't consider buying on credit, which will require a long repayment process. It takes a long time to save up, buy something and then maintain it; they would rather buy services (e.g. instead of buying a car – use taxi, carsharing, rentals). GYS-2017 Index. Spending most of their time online, but purchasing goods offline in conventional stores (67 %). FPP-2017 Index	
3.	Insensitivity to advertising and the authority of older generations They receive content in the stream and "from the cloud", verify information from advertising, able to recognize "fake news". GYS-2017 Index. They are immune to the ideal constructs that dominate previous generations. FPP-2017 Index	
4.	The desire for independence, self-realization, the need to be yourself They strive to find themselves and find self-realization in their activities, as well as the willingness to gain work experience in various spheres. They create content and do conscious actions. This is the "meme generation and (perhaps) a community". FPP-2017 Index. They are willing to work with pleasure, express interest in entrepreneurship and start-ups. GYS-2017 Index. 72 % want to start a business, 42 % plan to start a business, and 3 % already own a business. EPP Index. To be successful in their jobs, 77 % of respondents believe they will have to work harder and better than previous generations. FPP Index. They have inner desire to set up a start-up. The generation is resourceful, creative, and humble. WGZ-2016 Index	Fear of being unemployed (51 %) and worry about the growth of poverty in the country [Gudkov et al., 2020]. Entertainment and enjoyment are among the dominant values [Mukha, Chernyavskaya, 2021]. Enjoyment is peculiar to a separate social group (students of secondary schools), and the desire for the value of knowledge is inherent to the respondents of high schools [Ochirova, 2017]

4.	Demanding to be organized and orderly, responsible They prefer order in the workplace, choose predictability and structured functional areas, do not like distractions. GYS-2017 Index. Open to the new and generally are responsible [Seemiller, Grace, 2015]	In many studies, the conclusion about the responsibility or infantilization of Generation Z is quite contradictory. On the one hand, they do not intend to get involved in situations with unpleasant consequences, and on the other hand, remaining passive, obedient, and dependent on their parents, they do not receive a sufficient level of independence, which makes them unprepared for adult life. Both of these claims are based on the same facts. MPZ-2019 Index
6.	Multitasking, accompanied by the ability to retain information for different tasks 84 % of respondents perform several tasks on an electronic device at once, combining this with watching TV programs. FPP-2017 Index. They have "hypertext thinking" and can process information in parallel streams (multitasking). There is a high brain speed and interactive (quick) response to each action [Prensky, 2001]	Multitasking is popular among adolescents, but it is also inherent to adults, who demonstrate a decrease in working memory size. MPZ-2019 Index. Adolescents who actively use multitasking have reduced working memory and reduced speed of switching between simultaneously used tasks [Uncapher, Wagner, 2018]. "Avid digital multitaskers have reduced gray matter volume in the brain area responsible for cognitive and emotional control", however, it has not been determined whether the effect of brain characteristics or the effect of digital multitasking on brain volume is primary [Loh, Kanai, 2014]
7.	Attention-deficit disorder, clip thinking, lack of critical thinking Clip thinking (perception of external information is more comfortable if it has the form of a short message or if it is fragmented). They are unable to hold attention, systematically perceive data and think, express their thoughts, have inability to understand a phrase as a whole, snatching individual phrases and words out of context. WGZ-2016 Index. Reduced capacity for reflection and critical thinking [Prensky, 2001]	Confirmed by some works, disproved by others. Selective attention in this generation is partially confirmed, "but there is no generational specificity here", the loss of critical thinking skills cannot be verified because there are no developed methods to measure it. MPZ-2019 Index. They are characterized by the ability to distribute attention, the possession of developed spatial thinking, increased visual abilities, cognitive map work [Prensky, 2001]
8.	Generation Z representatives have a low degree of stress resistance and a high level of anxiety There is a high level of anxiety and preoccupation with various problems. [Seemiller, Grace, 2015]. 79 % show symptoms of emotional distress if their electronic devices are taken away; 90 % would be very upset if they had to give up the Internet; 66 % say that technology gives them the impression that anything is possible. FPP-2017 Index. They are worried about how the online world watches young people since they are on the Internet 24/7. As a result, this causes growth of mental stress. An increase in calls to ChildLine support line is seen during significant world events and reports of terrorism. WGZ-2016 Index	The increase in the number of people with psychological disorders is characteristic not only for "Generation Z" but for other generations as well. MPZ-2019 Index

Table 2. Comparative table of Generation Z value preferences

No. p/p	Commitment to value	Lack of commitment to value
1.	Individualism, the need to respect personal individuality that leads to self-preservation and the perception of the Internet as a space of limited freedom Their life priorities include their private world and inner circle; there is a desire for online communication in private chats. FPP-2017 Index	
2.	The value and understanding of freedom and the future, human rights, and the willingness to defend them Representatives of "Generation Z" feel the freedom to choose their interests, different images, food, places of residence, etc. [McCrindle, Wolfinger, 2010; Sparks, Honey, 2015]. "Generation Z" promises to learn from the past and create a world unlike anything we have ever seen. Resourceful, creative, humble, and always in touch. GenZ-2015 Index. They are determined to change society. [Seemiller, Grace, 2015]. They demonstrate high level of political activism (struggle for human rights, freedom, justice). Young people view voting as one of many options while demonstrating political activism in many different ways that can directly influence politics through social media rather than through traditional political structures. WGZ-2016 Index. Concerns about human rights, racial equality, immigration, women's rights, and the LGBT community's rights. WGZ-2016 Index. They worry about human rights, racial equality, and immigration. GZV-2017 Index. More than 50 % of respondents note the importance of such values as human rights, security, and employment. 40 % believe that young people should have more opportunities to make their voices heard in politics, 39 % agree that Russia needs a leader "who would rule the country with a strong hand for the universal good", 37 % of respondents view the collapse of the USSR as an extremely negative event, and 47 % are proud that they are citizens of Russia [Gudkov et al., 2020]. As they get older, the percentage of young people participating in the State Duma elections increases. 39 % believe that it is their duty to vote in elections [Gudkov et al., 2020]	Respondents have no interest in politics, but their ideological and political views are similar to those of adults in the country [Gudkov et al., 2020]. Not interested in politics, in "rebellion", and do not like to take risks. [Seemiller, Grace, 2015]

3.	<p>The need to be in harmony with the world, concern for the universal good, social usefulness, ecology, safety</p> <p>They plan to work for pleasure and fulfillment of their destiny; want to be themselves and in harmony with the world. GYS-2017 Index.</p> <p>They demonstrate willingness to participate in projects aimed at social advocacy and concern for the universal good. WGZ-2016 Index.</p> <p>They are concerned about environmental issues. WGZ-2016 Index.</p> <p>They have concerns about environmental degradation [Gudkov, 2020].</p> <p>81 % believe they can influence social or environmental issues through social media, 89 % would prefer to buy from a company that is concerned about social and environmental issues. CGZ-2017 Index.</p> <p>They are responsive to global issues, create "solidarity" (care about human impact on the planet, want to influence the world through their work, 77 % are interested in volunteering, 26 % work for free at the moment). FPP Index.</p> <p>They have concerns about the environment, the ecology of poverty, and hunger. GZV-2017 Index</p>	
4.	<p>The value of knowledge, education, creative development, new areas of engineering and technology</p> <p>Among the dominant values are knowledge and education [Mukha, Chernyavskaya, 2021].</p> <p>They demonstrate a demand for creativity and innovation [Krasnorutsky, 2017].</p> <p>The central reference points are digital economy; development of technology, science, and production of a new type; ecology, and safety. FPP-2017 Index.</p> <p>The number of school dropouts has decreased by 7 % compared to the 1970s. MPZ-2019 Index</p>	<p>There is a notion that today's teenagers do not want to waste time on things that are not useful to them in the future. MPZ-2019 Index.</p> <p>Having a desire for education, they do not want to attend educational institutions. GenZ-2015 Index.</p> <p>Reducing the value of university education. Instead of studying, they try to get work experience and practical experience in various fields. FPP-2017 Index</p>
5.	<p>Care for the environment, the value of health, tendency to bad habits (smoking, alcohol, drugs)</p> <p>They are concerned about environmental degradation (54 %) and the possibility of becoming seriously ill [Gudkov et al., 2020].</p> <p>In England, 38 % of 11-15 years old teenagers have tried alcohol at least once, the lowest percentage since 1982; 15 % of 11-15 years teenagers said they had tried drugs (down 14 % from 2001). WGZ-2016 Index.</p> <p>American teenagers, compared to statistics from the 2000s, are less likely to have sex (by 9 %), 27 % less likely to drink alcohol, and 24 % less likely to smoke. YRBSS-19 Index.</p> <p>They are less prone to addictive habits (smoking, alcohol). FPP-2017 Index.</p> <p>Among adolescents, smoking, alcohol and drugs, as well as teen pregnancy rates have declined significantly over the past 20 years. MPZ-2019 Index</p>	<p>The risks of obesity and unhealthy eating habits among U.S. adolescents are rising. YRBSS-19 Index</p>
6.	<p>Value safety</p> <p>More than 50 % of respondents noted the importance of security. They are worried about the threat of war (60 %); afraid of becoming a victim of a terrorist attack (52 %) [Gudkov et al, 2020]</p>	
7.	<p>Focused on traditional values</p> <p>84 % of respondents in Russia want to start a family. [Gudkov et al, 2020].</p> <p>The dominant values of the representatives of "Generation Z" (Russian residents of Krasnodar Krai) are family [Mukha, Chernyavskaya, 2021].</p> <p>More than half of respondents were completely satisfied with their family relationships (65 %) [Gudkov et al, 2020].</p> <p>58 % of the "Generation Z" respondents called their parents "best friends". Family is a critical social factor for "Generation Z"; compared to previous generations, their relationship with their families is much closer [Artemova, P. 28-29].</p> <p>They are critical of migrants and minorities. FPP-2017 Index</p>	<p>Only 63 % of UK teenagers aged 16 and 17 identify as 100 % straight (compared to 78 % of adults), 22 % of young men do not identify themselves as 100 % male, and 20 % of young women do not identify themselves as 100 % female. WGZ-2016 Index.</p> <p>They are concerned about racial equality, immigration, women's rights, and the LGBT community. GZV-017 Index</p>

Discussion on the findings

Analysis of foreign and domestic research allows us to draw some conclusions about the presence of values and worldview of the "Generation Z" representatives. This is a generation born in the era of digital technology, social resources, and the Internet; most of the information they receive online. They are focused on short-term goals, consult the Internet to make decisions, able to operate with a lot of information but have fragmented thinking and surface judgment. They tend not to leave the virtual world for the real world but prefer to buy goods offline. They demonstrate an eagerness to use digital technology and Internet resources in their daily lives and studies. They tend to innovate and create, to be individual, pragmatic in economic life.

Artemova A. writes: "Generation Z is the most global generation that has ever lived". They value involvement in community and social life and want to share, collaborate, participate, and be part of a larger virtual whole. They

have special attitude towards freedom and are ready to address human rights and environmental issues [Artemova, P. 28–29]. All researchers note the tendency toward virtual communication and high level of tolerance. However, there are some difficulties with communication in the real world, low level of stress resistance in comparison with other generations, etc. (Tables 1, 2).

At the same time, there are conflicting assessments of Generation Z. For example, in Table 1, such a characteristic is multitasking. On the one hand, this characteristic is found among many representatives of Generation Z; on the other hand, there are opinions that this feature applies to members of other generations who actively use digital technologies. For example, researchers of the Higher School of Economics N.V. Bogacheva and E.V. Sivak [Myths about "Generation Z", 2019] cite the results of an American study, which states that women 22–30 years old successfully apply multitasking and "solve tasks offered to them in conditions of high cognitive load faster and more precisely

than teenage girls 11–17 years old, given the equal level of non-verbal intelligence in both groups” [Mills et al., 2015].

Another characteristic of Generation Z with contradictory evaluations is the attention-deficit syndrome, clip thinking, inability to hold attention on a single object, to present and explain data systematically, fragmentation of consciousness (Table 1). This is confirmed by some studies but denied by others [Prensky, 2001]. This phenomenon is attributed to the impact of the digital society on any person (MPZ-2019 Index). This argument also applies to increased levels of anxiety, as well as an increase in the number of people with mental disorders.

The domestic sociological practice uses comparative research and the allocation of different age groups (generations). However, the description of “Generation Z” is often imprecise and denoted by the generic term “youth”, that is, generations are not separated as they should be. Also, it is significant to consider the differences in the generation boundaries. According to different researchers, its beginning differs by 8 years, i.e. varies from 1995 in foreign authors [Twenge, 2017] and 2000 in domestic authors [Ozhiganova, 2015]; 1995–2003 (according to research conducted by Deloitte CIS⁸). It is not always correct to compare such empirical data. The interpretation of many studies is also affected by the insufficient consideration of the virtual environment influence in the measuring tools under the conditions of rapid digital transformation.

8 <https://www2.deloitte.com/ru/ru/pages/research-center/articles/2021/millennial-survey-2021.html>

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