

SUMMARY

«The Special Way» and Social Order in Modern Russia (by Boris Dubin). The paper scrutinizes the construction and functions of the ideological stereotype («ideologeme») «the special way of Russia» that had started taking root in mass media and public opinion by mid 1990-s and became the main means of self-description and self-presentation of the Russians in the 2000-s. According to the surveys findings, the Russians distinguish the following most important and repeated meanings of the Russian «specialty»: differences in Western and Russian values and traditions; special role of the Russian State in its relationships with population; mass character of the Russian society as a whole; a special character of a person as an outcome of historical trials. The author shows duality of such beliefs (specialty manifests itself either as a collective reality or as a value measure of «ours») and suggests regarding them as a modal operator coordinating various aspects of the Russians' beliefs about collective «we» in relations with «others». In this sense the ideological stereotype of «a special way» is a systemic *restrictive mechanism* of the modernization processes that allows transforming and adjusting its «token» elements (values, institutions) in accordance with the requirements of the power, the objectives of its self-preservation on the one hand, and with masses habits, unwillingness for and rejecting any even slightly serious changes on the other hand. During recent 15 years the symbols and meanings of «the past», that is the Soviet past, have become the most important for the majority of Russians having become prevailing ones in the semantics of «the special way».

Ideologies and Strategies of Domination in the Discourse of Russian and Byelorussian Presidents (by Anna Morgunova). Employing the technique of discourse analysis and John B. Thompson typology of ideological domination strategies A. Morgunova examines by what ideological attitudes and rhetoric strategies the Presidents of the two nations, heads of super-presidential regimes, support in their public speeches in 2000–2010 the patterns of relationships

between the state and society that have been shaped during their Presidential terms. The analysis is made of the Presidents' beliefs about social and political systems of their countries, about wealth and poverty, the future and the present, the role of the West, the policy of the State, as well as about what and who hampers pursuing this policy («the legacy of the 1990-s», «oligarchs», «officials»). Similarities and differences in addressing and argumentation of the Presidents' discourses, changes in their rhetoric strategies with time are traced.

Political Identity in Sociological Dimension (by Elena Kolocharova). The concept of «political identity» is outlined in the article, two levels, individual and collective, being distinguished. The author analyses and generalizes the findings of Levada Center surveys dealing with population orientations to various types of governmental order, desirable relations in respondents' view between power and population, the need in «strong hand», comprehending freedom and responsibility by various groups of the Russians. The conclusion is made that nowadays the Russians' political identity is constructed not on the basis of commitment to some specific political principles, values or beliefs, goals or programs, but on the basis of a feeling of undifferentiated, non-rationalized belonging to the State and political whole, and much more seldom on personified liking for a single figure of the first person in the State representing this imaginable «whole».

Russia at the Turning-Point: Issues and Prospects (by Sergei Mitzek). The author analyses the situation in Russian economy in 2008–2010, the prospects for the way out of the present crisis and the phenomena preventing from achieving this goal fast (insufficiency of investments, low labour productivity, etc). It is pointed out that Russia, in comparison with other countries, experiences the general crisis most painfully for a number of reasons: chiefly raw materials export, substantial outward indebtedness. In addition, the process of the necessary trans-

formation of the present economic model is made difficult due to counteraction of a number of systemic factors such as bureaucracy, poor personnel policy, inadequate attention to the higher education system, science discrediting.

An attempt of Sociological Research of Suicide (by RimValiahmetov, R. Muhamadieva, G. Hilarzheva). The reasons and factors of committing suicides in Russia on the whole and in Bashkortostan in particular are viewed in historical perspective and at present time in Russia and in comparison with other countries on a vast amount of data from official Federal and regional statistics, findings of sociological research including specialized representative survey in Bashkortostan carried out by the Center of Social and Political Research, the Republic of Bashkortostan Academy of Sciences, in 2008 (1200 of urban and rural dwellers). The latter research showed that the issue of suicide is extremely acute for the Republic of Bashkortostan. The main risk groups are young and elderly citizens, rural dwellers (mostly men of working age), and the unemployed. The authors point out the most widespread social and individual reasons for committing suicides among the respondents' relatives.

«Good Old Movie» and Post-Soviet Television Experience (by Lubov Borusyak). Using the data of TV monitoring carried out by TNK Gallup Media and her own micro-surveys the author analyses the interest of mass TV audience to the Soviet cinema during recent 20 years, traces the changes in TV policy of this period (reorganization of NTV channel, etc). In this respect the paper by L. Borusyak develops and specifies the data and conclusions of Maria Pravdina's paper «The Soviet Cinematography as an Object of Modern Cultural Reception and Audience Attachment» published in «The Russian Public Opinion Herald», N 100(2), 2009. The author singles out a group of the Soviet movies pro-

duced at the Russian cinema studios, most often shown on TV and popular with DVD consumers. These are cinema versions of classical literature but more often comedies, especially by Leonid Gaidai and Eldar Ryazanov and thrillers about the Great Patriotic War, particularly serials («Seventeen Moments in Spring»). The demand for «good old» Soviet movies is viewed by the author as a wish of mass audience to keep at a distance from the problems and difficulties of the 1990-s, the process characteristic of the Russian society on the whole. The loss of wide audience interest to intelligentsia «problem» cinema and to perestroika «black» movies (the late Soviet and post-Soviet periods) is examined against this background.

Conversation of an Apprentice with a Teacher (by Larissa Fedotova). The complex of ideas about the phenomenon of public opinion, its structure and research methods in sociological legacy of Boris Grushin is reconstructed and specified in the article. The author dwells on relationship between public opinion and mass media, the influence of other sources of information about the events in our country and in the world, as well as other channels of discussing this information; the importance of studying and public presentation of opinions of both majority and minority of population in the society.

A Letter to the Editorial Board «On One Article» (by Igor Dolutskyi). The author disputes and clarifies some theses of the paper by **Yekaterina Levintova and Jim Butterfield** «Shaping History and Attitude to it» published in «The Herald», № 101, 2009. The reply of the authors is also published here.

In conclusion «The Russian Public Opinion Herald» and Levada Center congratulate outstanding Russian demographer Anatolyi Vishnevsky on his 75-year jubilee.