

SPIRITUALITY IN RUSSIAN YOUTH SYSTEM OF VALUES IN THE CONTEXT OF CONSUMER IDEOLOGY ESCALATION

Diana Vladimirovna Filyushkina^{1*}, Natalia Anatolyevna Mulikova¹,
Natalia Alekseevna Popova¹, Ekaterina Vladimirovna Saprykina¹ and
Elena Aleksandrovna Sergodeeva¹

The relevance of the study is determined by adverse trends in the young population's values transformation in the Russian society in the era of consumer ideology domination, whose rapid spread among young people contributes to their spiritual lumpenization. The article focuses on identifying the place of spirituality in the value hierarchy of the Russian youth. In order to study the problem, the work uses spirituality sociology potential, systems model of spirituality of the consumer society theory, of the youth subjectivity concept and the identity youth concept together allowing for comprehending both the discursive space of sociological research of place and role of spirituality in the Russian youth system of values and the reasons for the spiritual destruction. This range of methodological approaches draws on the specifics of the Russian reality where the global processes related to escalation of consumer values are transformed into a development logic characterized by replacing creation practices with consumer ones.

The article material is of practical value to educational institutions implementing their socializing and educational functions in educational process; academic researchers involved in the study of various youth issues aspects; public authorities at the federal and regional levels to ensure development and implementation of youth policy.

Keywords: spirituality, spiritual values, youth, consumer ideology, spiritual crisis.

I. INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, spirituality in the socio-political and scientific discourse is seen as the most important component of the Russian culture, the Russian society socio-cultural matrix core. However, the post-Soviet reality is very different from the one it replaced after the USSR had collapsed, and in which this idea of spirituality did not use to be questioned. The growth of indifference, cruelty, violence, and intolerance in Russia does not allow further unconditional following this thesis about Russia's spirituality, having already taken on a mythologized form in many respects. Also, it should be noted that the scientific discourse has become increasingly filled with other terms that characterize the contemporary Russian reality from the standpoint of lack of spirituality, spiritual lumpenization, spiritual crisis, etc.

In modern Russian literature, the problem of spirituality attracts the attention of many scientists working in different branches of the social sciences and the humanities. The most significant contribution to the development of this area in

^{1*} North-Caucasian Federal University, Russia, *E-mail: diana-kmv@mail.ru*

terms of analyzing the contemporary Russian reality has been made by scientists G.S. Goloshumova, V.V. Kuznetsova [17], Yu.N. Sinitsyn, A.G. Khentonen [25], Marshak, A.L., Rozhkova, L.V. [20], Gorshkov, M.K., Tikhonova, N.E. [18], Zubok, Yu.A., Chuprov, V.I. [19].

In foreign scientific thought, the problem of spirituality has been the subject of the study for such scientist as D. Rousseau [14], who revealed and emphasized different aspects of spirituality for different disciplinary approaches, offered a “systems model of spirituality” enabled a more holistic understanding of the nature of spirituality. Some of the issues surrounding the question of definition in the study and presentation of spirituality has been explored in the research of P. Sheldrake [16]. The problem of spirituality in the context of risks and challenges of the contemporary reality has been the subject of the study for such scientists as M. Farias, R. Underwood, G. Claridge, [2]; A. Moreira-Almeida, G. H.G. Koenig, Lucchetti, [4]; I. Pinsky, R. Laranjeira, H. Vallada, [3]; Puchalski [6]; A. S. Mohr, N. Perroud, C. Gillieron, P.Y. Brandt, I. Rieben, L. Borrás et al., [5], Lee, R. L. M. [10], Ostbo, J. [13]. Their studies greatly expand the conceptual boundaries of the problem research, which is also characterized by versatility in terms of its subject field, but much of the work is devoted to revealing the relationship of spirituality and religion. The scientists also draw on the role of searching for own identity and spiritual education in the humanization of society and its spiritual rehabilitation [11]. Youth as a social group associated with various risks has been the subject of the study for such scientists as M. Banjac [1]; T Keipi, A. Oksanen, J. Hawdon, M. Näsi and P. Räsänen.

The Russian society spiritual crisis the Russian scientists write about is often associated with the consumer ideology and the youth, as the latter is considered as people the most actively exploring values and practices of consumption. Do they? In this article, the authors try to give an answer to this question.

II. CONCEPT HEADINGS

This article is focused on the study of spirituality in the modern Russian youth system of values in the context of consumer ideology rapid spread. This problem seems to be a theoretically and practically important scientific direction for a number of reasons, among which, above all, the following should be highlighted.

First, the youth values analysis will allow revealing the specifics of the modern Russian reality perception by the youth, in which they shape their life plans and implement them, thereby affecting the speed and dynamics of social development.

Second, studying young people in terms of the spirituality importance in their hierarchy of values will reveal the nature of the consumer ideology influence on the youth spiritual world and the formation of their subjectivity.

Third, the young people values study will determine a vector and prospects for spiritual transformation of the Russian society represented by its young

generation through the prism of identifying the place and role of spirituality in the hierarchy of values of young Russians.

In this regard the main aim of the work is to determine the place of spirituality in the value system of Russian youth, determined by the consumer ideology and, therefore, it has defined the setting of certain research goals. In particular, in this very article the following aims are set: to analyze the values of youth in the context of their specific perception of modern Russian reality, to designate the level and the character of determinacy of young people's spiritual world and the significance of spirituality in the consumer ideology, to carry out a correlating analysis of spiritual values of the youth and their behavioral practices, to elicit the degree of young people's spirituality in interrelationship with living activity; to determine the vector of spiritual transformation in the modern Russian society taking into account the tendencies in the spiritual development of the youth and their value priorities.

Thus, the statement of the problem and its study may provide a basis for determining the trajectory of social and cultural development for the Russian society, which is currently largely determined by the consumer ideology influence, taking on alternative forms in the Russian reality other than in the Western society, and the young people's role as a subject of public relations and spiritual reproduction of the society.

In this article, the Russian youth is considered as a socio-demographic group, whose system of values is determined by the processes associated with the emergence in Russia of a consumer society with an appropriate ideology focused on consumption as a lifestyle. In this regard, the theory of consumption serves as a basic methodological foundation for researching the problem set up in the work, within which comprehending the process of the Russian youth system of values transformation in terms of the place of spirituality in their hierarchy of values is performed based on the theory of youth subjectivity [19], as well as the identity youth concept [11] and a systems model of spirituality [14] enabling a more holistic understanding of the nature of spirituality, and suggests a new definition that disambiguates spirituality from related concepts, emphasizing the spiritual aspects of their lives, functions and the role of spiritual values which open up access to spirituality education and socialization as opposed to technocratic elements of the social space and social interaction organization gaining strength in the conditions of social informatization in the information age. The methodological approaches in the sphere of youth study and their values theory of subjectivity of the young, identity conception of youth, spirituality model stated above are the most actual and adequate from the point of developing social cultural processes and the problems of acquiring by the young their subjectivity in the circumstances which are characterized by the crisis of humanistic values and by the growth of social uncertainty in social environment in Russia.

A sociological concept of spirituality [24] serves as a significant methodological basis for this paper, as well as the 'consumer society' concept, from whose standpoint consumption appears as a determinant factor in the socio-cultural dynamics and developing value priorities among various social strata and groups, including young people.

The point of reference defining the conceptual framework of the study and its hypothesis is an assumption that the spiritual development of the Russian youth is determined by the specificity of the Russian society where contradictory traditional and modern values and attitudes blend as a result of dramatic changes of the post-reformation era, which has become a source of controversy in the formation of value system of young Russians and their spiritual self-identification. The spiritual traditions of Russia, retaining their importance at the mindset level, do not find an application in the actual everyday practices; through the example of the youth, a discrepancy between the ideal and the real can be observed most clearly, which defines the situation of uncertainty and riskogenics in the spiritual formation of the younger generations, being largely exposed to the consumer ideology influence.

III. RESULTS

The final result of this study lies in the fact that from the theoretical and empirical perspective, the contradictory nature of the Russian youth world of values has been justified, in which adherence to the values of family, friendship, love, tolerance is combined with a high growth dynamics in deviation and criminalization, aggression and violence among young people, their lowered standards of culture and instrumentalization of a number of values forming the basis for spiritual values in the Russian tradition (e.g., work, education). On these grounds, an inference can be drawn that the Russian youth predominantly is not guided by spiritual values on the behavioral practices level, i.e. they are largely declarative in nature. However, the fact that they remain in the minds of young Russians determines prospects for their spiritual rehabilitation at auspicious socio-economic circumstances, which would allow young people to successfully fulfill themselves in life without sacrificing the spiritual values existing at the level of ideal representations.

In other words, the Russian youth spiritual lumpenization is, on the one hand, forced due to the low efficiency of state management in Russia, while on the other hand, it is of an objective nature dictated by the global trends of transition to a new paradigm of social development, the core of which is constituted by consumer ideology and, consequently, consumption as the dominant lifestyle.

This key finding is inconsistent with the two prevailing in the Russian sociological literature positions on assessing the spiritual development of young people and their system of values. According to the first one, the spiritual world is viewed very unfavorably – from the standpoint of spiritual degradation, and the consumer ideology dominance in the modern world, including the Russian society,

is seen by scientists as the overriding reason for this. The second view is based on recognizing the Russian youth as those maintaining a high spiritual potential in accordance with the Russian traditions of spiritual culture and the priority of the spiritual over the material. From the authors' point of view, this tradition has lost its decisive influence on the mass consciousness and the potential impact of socialization on young people, rather being saved at the level of a brand called 'spiritual Russia', 'Russian spirituality'.

Under these conditions, the consumer ideology impact on youth is practically total, not limited by ideological constructs and socialization mechanisms constraining the process. The ideology of consumption in Russia, which has no socio-cultural reasons, i.e. the cultural framework that has contributed to the natural formation of consumer culture in the Western version, has the most detrimental effect on the consciousness and behavior of young people. As a result, the spread of consumer ideology and consumer practices among young people in the Russian reality without an appropriate consumption culture contributes to the displacement of creation culture.

This conclusion is supported by transformation of the youth system of values that is reflected in the change of value priorities and the dominance of instrumental values over terminal ones. The clearest reflection of the youth spiritual transformation is a devaluation of the value of spirituality that allows predicting spiritual transcoding of the Russian society the youth is a part of as its social and cultural product and the major resource for future development.

In turn, this trend threatens with a destruction of Russia's civilizational code and a loss of its social and cultural identity. Will this lead to a long-awaited modernization breakthrough, which has not been carried out over several decades of post-Soviet reforming, largely due to the paradigms and value systems built in at the mental level and not allowing the Russian society to extricate itself from the gripe of authoritarian culture? A contradictory answer is already to be found in the question because it is only a deep socio-cultural foundation ('roots') that allows any society to preserve itself and develop in an evolutionary way; however, often, as in the case of Russia, they become a disincentive on the way to modernization projects implementation.

The only thing that can be affirmed with quite a high degree of scientific credibility is as follows: 'spiritless' Russia, regardless of the chosen path of development (authoritarian or democratic one) will become dangerous for itself, a kind of 'tinderbox' where the accumulated ethnic, economic, and other conflicts and contradictions, not deterred by spiritual tenets and spirituality as the foundation of solidarity and social cohesion, will issue forward as a flame disastrous for the country and its numerous peoples.

Thus, it is concluded that the youth spirituality is a kind of guarantor of preserving Russia as a civilizational community whose cosmopolitan composition

determines the importance and the need for a stable spiritual culture based on the principles of humanism and able to unite the Russian society. This position does not only determine the need to study the spiritual component of Russia's youth system of values, but also the development of competent and effective policies in the field of spiritual development of young people and enshrining spirituality in their system of values as the most important and enduring value. A special role in this process should be given to education as the main channel of individual humanist education, as well as communication and reproduction of spirituality in society.

The results obtained in this paper are innovative as they demonstrate a departure from categorical value judgments and demonstrate the contradictory nature of the formation and changes of the spiritual world of young people, as well as the prospects of Russia turning to its traditional basic spiritual principles.

IV. DISCUSSION

The spiritual condition of the Russian society is largely determined by the spiritual and moral condition of the youth, which is a socio-cultural snapshot of the current society in the projection of its future development pathway. The view of the study, involving the study of spirituality in the system of Russian youth values, is determined by an intense proliferation of consumer ideology in Russia and consumer values under the influence of Western culture, in spite of the fact that consumption as a value has never been typical of the Russian culture in terms of being meaningful to the socio-cultural matrix. Yet, at the present stage, consumer ideology has penetrated deeply into the socio-cultural tissue of Russian society, exerting a significant influence on the values and behavioral practices of the young generation.

Included in the globalization space and injured by socio-political upheavals and the post-Soviet reforms, the Russian society has begun rapidly lose its spiritual potential, which has actually determined the situation of Russia's spiritual lumpenization and increasing threats to its spiritual security. Assuming that society is a system based on the integrity of material and spiritual components, a significant imbalance in the development of these life forms components or dereliction of one of them becomes a factor in the destruction of society as an integral socio-cultural formation. In order to avoid undesirable consequences politics elite tries to securitized spiritual-moral values. An existential threat is constructed in order to justify extraordinary measures and establish a new social contract in which modernization is sacrificed at the altar of security [13]Accordingly, the study of the young people's system of values with a focus on its spiritual side takes the form of existential anxiety, of concerns about the fortunes of the country where the spiritual loss in recent decades is recognized by Russia's citizens themselves as the hugest ones among any other losses. They are also aware of how much they have changed over the last 20 years, becoming less cordial, sincere, honest, and friendly: almost 80% of the respondents in the study of the Institute of Sociology

of Russian Academy of Science pointed out the growth of aggressiveness among Russians, approximately 75% respondents pointed out the decline of respect to the elderly, almost 70% - the growth of undertone of hostility, insincerity in the relationships between people, 67% - the decrease of respect for a woman, and what is fundamental to our understanding of the profundity of our problematics, the disappearance of spirituality as traditionally inherent characteristic of Russian culture [18].

Spirituality as a primacy of the spiritual over the material in the course of their mutual co-ordination, as a search for the meaning of life and comprehension of the concepts of good, beauty, and truth in the pursuit of spiritual self-improvement, which finds expression in a variety of social practices – from religious to secular ones, is such a multifaceted and interdisciplinary concept that giving it a definition, which would fully reflect its essence, seems to be difficult. The most appropriate definition has been given by Rousseau, D. in his systems model of spirituality. This model enables a more holistic understanding of the nature of spirituality, and suggests a new definition that disambiguates spirituality from related concepts such as religion, cultural sophistication, etc. It also exposes important open questions about the nature of spirituality. To support the emerging scientific approach to the study of spirituality, the scientist propose the development of a ‘philosophy of spirituality’ that can clarify the conceptual terrain, identify important research directions, and facilitate a comprehensive and interdisciplinary investigation into the nature, validity, and implications of spirituality’s conceptual and practical entailments [14].

The socio-philosophical nature of this work defines conceptual boundaries of the proposed study; therefore, it should be noted that in the sociological field ‘spirituality’ is quite a popular and, moreover, according to the Western researchers, a fashionable concept [7]. Its emergence and spread in philosophical and social science, according to E.D. Rutkevich, was the result of religionism changes in the context of socio-cultural changes, and at the present stage, the notions of ‘religion’ and ‘spirituality’ are often opposed to each other as objective ‘traditional spirituality’ and subjective ‘postmodern spirituality’ [24].

In fact, from the authors’ point of view, the concept of spirituality borrowed by sociology from theology cannot help intersecting with its religious aspects, or does not have to exclude them from the standpoint of spiritual disciplines associated with the search for the meaning of life, with an answer to the question ‘What is good and evil?’, the penetration into the depths of one’s ‘self’, etc. by comprehending the divine and God as the ultimate truth for a believer. It is at the intersection of the spiritual and the religious in the course of studying various forms of spirituality, as noted by E.D. Rutkevich, where ‘sociology of spirituality’ gradually began to develop as a new scientific direction in sociology, based on the principles of multi-disciplinary approach in the conceptual boundaries of sociology

of religion. The conception of spirituality as the essence of life, presented in her article, which 'is manifested as love, inner peace, the wisdom of 'inner self', creativity, a sense of integrity, of belonging to the whole world' [24], is deemed appropriate by the authors to modern trends of perceiving life as a way of self-cognition, self-revealization, self-actualization in the process of personality development and realization of their own subjectivity.

Such a conception of life, contravening its perception in terms of the established social roles, statuses, institutional commitments and restrictions, is considered by P. Heelas [9] and a number of other Western scholars appropriate to the 'spiritual pivot' made by humanity in the post-secular era, whereas the very concept of the spiritual torn away from its religious incarnation begins to be seen as 'new spirituality'.

In keeping with the presented methodological logic of understanding spirituality it is quite reasonable, as part of the study of youth spirituality and their value priorities, to use the theory of youth subjectivity, which, in turn, fits into the identity concept of youth by Martiðauskienė, E. In accordance with his theoretical views, youth acquires subjectivity in the process of self-identity, self-awareness of their interests, and growth of their self-discipline, being a value of a special kind, the main value of society, which is in charge of what the young people and the future of the society will be depending on whether or not it prioritizes youth. Besides, the role of spiritual dimensions based on transcendence and conscience is highlighted as well as spiritual values, as foundation of relations, and youth attitude towards them, which open up access to spirituality education and socialization. [11]. Young people, being dependent on the society, serve as the most important resource and a subject of social production [19]. Implementation of their own subjectivity by youth takes place in a particular social space with its value, economic, political, cultural, spiritual characteristics, which actually determine the codependency effect of the subjective role of youth and the effectiveness of social development in a particular period of the historical development of society.

All of the above determines it necessary to study the spiritual world of youth and their system of values in a particular historical and sociocultural context; therefore, it is the consumer research perspective which gains crucial importance and is actualized in this work, since consumption in the modern era of globalization has become one of the most common and significant practices for society. Although, as suggested by Z. Bauman, one should not primitivize the concept of consumer society reducing it to a thesis of general consumption, as consumption practices have been known since the earliest times, it is the pursuit of maximum needs satisfaction that becomes a vector of development for such a society [26].

At the same time, there is a certain disagreement among scientists in the perception and evaluation of consumer society: some believe that consumer society promotes social progress, while others show confidence in a destructive effect of

this society where preference is not given to cultural wants at all. Negative characteristics of consumer society have also been linked by scholars with the demographic crisis, explicitly threatening Western Europe, where population growth has been ensured due to migrants for many years. The commitment to consumer ideology as the ideology of modernized societies is directly related to a change in the model of demographic behavior in the Russian society as well, also experiencing a serious demographic problem, although the Russian version of demographic crisis is also rooted in reasons of a purely domestic origin related primarily to the disadvantaged social and economic area.

Consumerism in Russia has deeply penetrated into the sphere of collective consciousness, and consumption itself began to take the form of symbolic importance, demonstrating the individual's social status and their position in the social hierarchy. Consumer ideology and consumption values in a sense blur the traditional Russian values, the microcosm of Russian everyday life, in which the first priority used to be allocated to the spiritual aspects, spirituality as an existential value for all the generations of Russian society. At the moment, the value of spirituality has moved into the realm of the unclaimed by young people who are focused mainly on the values of instrumental nature enabling most successfully engage themselves in a survival mode, in which the Russian society has lived since the Soviet Union collapsed.

This conclusion is confirmed by a number of empirical studies. For example, among all the generations of Russians, it is the younger generation to a greater extent (50%) believing that 'today we live in a different world than ever before, and many moral norms are outdated' who displays a relevant attitude towards moral values (57%) considering that 'the modern world is cruel, and to succeed in life, sometimes you have to step over moral principles and norms' [22]. Success in life, according to the take of young people, as evidenced by the study, is often incompatible with moral principles; a significant proportion of young Russians (46%) are ready to cross them for the sake of an achievement, and as the case may be, another 33% of young people are ready to opt for it as well [20].

According to the Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM), in the mind of young people (76%) and older generations (76%), the modern Russian youth are distinguished with a focus on material values, which is viewed unfavorably both by the youth and the older generation of Russians [23]. The emphasis on material values is sure to be linked to the escalation of consumer culture values in the Russian society, which, in turn, penetrates into the consciousness and behavior of youth through consumer socialization, whose active agents are, as has been elucidated by foreign researchers who were the first to refer to this issue in the light of its actualization in the West, the family and the media [15]. The Russian youth predominantly has no idols, no ideals (see Table 1) [23] they could be guided by in their spiritual development, and this fact should also be considered as an

expression of the crisis state of the spiritual world of young people and the Russian society as a whole who did not ‘make idols’ for the younger generations.

TABLE 1: IDOLS, HEROES, PEOPLE WHO SERVE AS ROLE MODELS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

Who would you call your idols, heroes, people who serve as a role model for you?
(Open-ended question, not more than 3 answers, % of respondents under 35 years old)

	<i>All respondents</i>
No idols, nobody	57
Relatives, close people	9
Pop and rock stars, representatives of the ‘gilded’ youth	9
Historical characters (the military, astronauts, scientists, writers, religious figures)	4
Athletes	3
Modern Russian politicians	2
Vladimir Putin	2
TV series characters	1
Successful businessmen and oligarchs	1
Revolutionaries	1
Someone else	1
Undecided	14

Note: The voluntary Russian national opinion poll was conducted by VCIOM on 21-22 June, 2014. 1600 respondents were interviewed in 130 settlements in 42 regions, territories, and republics of Russia.

It should be noted that not all Russian scientists share the clearly negative view on the spiritual and moral state of today’s youth, choosing to approach the issue from a discursive perspective, challenging the thesis of their lack of spirituality, immorality, total pragmatism, and insisting that the moral and value palette of the young Russians’ outlook represents a synthesis of traditional and contemporary values, while the former do not always motivate real behavioral practices of young people [21].

The authors approve of this viewpoint presented in a study by M.K. Gorshkov, which reflects the contradictory nature of the youth value world, as well as the Russian society as a whole. Indeed, in all studies youth demonstrates a commitment to the values of family, friendship, love, tolerance, and this corresponds to the ‘Russian spirit’, but statistics and sociological measurements have been imminently indicating a high growth dynamics of deviation and criminalization among young people, of aggression and violence, their lowering cultural standards and intellectual potential, as well as the value system instrumentalization.

In other words, a difference is recorded between the values declared by the youth and the actual behavioral practices, in which the values conforming to the concept of spirituality are by no means decisive. This, for example, can be seen in the attitude to work, which is no longer perceived by the Russian youth as a value

in itself and has taken a purely instrumental form: in labor and work, as shown by the results of a nationwide research, what is the most important for youth is the salary (see Table 2) [27], while interest in the work is still equally important for young people. In practice, most of the young people, having to choose between interest in the work and the remuneration, are inclined to opt for the latter, which is fair enough and commonsensical, especially given the fact that one hardly ever manages to combine these two ‘enjoyments’ in the Russian reality.

TABLE 2: EXPECTATIONS AT WORK

<i>Expectation from work</i>	<i>Answers, % of respondents</i>
Implementation of professional qualities (self-actualization)	31.2
Interesting, creative work	32.3
Opportunities for business activities	7.4
Assertiveness in the team	14.2
Decent earnings (income)	73.3
The feeling of being useful	31.7
Ensuring basic livelihoods	21.9

Spirituality, despite its being the supreme absolute and a timeless value, finds its own particular forms of expression in the history and culture of each nation, being most closely related to the mental structures and paradigms of a particular society and serving as a base for its solidarity and unity. The Russian language has always acted as a cultural foundation of spirituality in Russia, as well as the ideology of collectivism, conciliarity, and the priority of the communal over the private, individual; until the collapse of the Soviet Union, this ideology served as a vector and the base of the Russian people development and the younger generation education.

The collapse of the Soviet Union, accompanied by a critical negation of the previous cultural and historical experience, and a sharp turn towards the West as the only right track of the country’s development without a proper economic, political, and cultural modernization program led to a socio-cultural split in society, dividing the citizens of new Russia into two camps: adherents of the traditional (collectivist) system of values and the western (rational-individualistic) one. It is those born in post-Soviet Russia who have absorbed the values of a different ideological system (their own one turned out to be destroyed and still resides in that state) and who have become bearers of the western, projected on the Russian cultural foundation through a variety of channels, individualistic value system that had already been significantly soaked with consumer culture values.

In the Russian context, on the Russian cultural basis, inherently not containing a value of consumption, they could not be adaptively incorporated into the socio-cultural matrix and become its structural element, without colliding with spirituality

as the cultural core of this matrix. The thing that at the level of Russian society as a socio-cultural whole resulted in a socio-cultural conflict and division due to the escalation of consumer ideology, for young people, whose socialization took place in the post-Soviet reality (devoid of any ideology), turned into a values system formation according to a conflict-free schedule. This system of values is aimed at consumer culture in its worst format – with consumerism as a materially oriented all-out practice.

Thus, the escalation of consumer ideology in Russia, having lost in a moment its ideological tenets, the single historical memory, the integrated system of socialization, contributed to the transformation of the Russians' system of values and a gradual displacement of the spiritual values out of the most important category. In the case of young people, free of cultural, socialization, and spiritual experience of the Soviet past with a full collapse of the education and socialization system, it was much easier – the new generation of new Russia has formed a 'spiritual code' of their own, within the spirit of times and 'survival' conditions.

This 'spiritual code', if compiling numerous empirical data on the Russian youth, their values, behavioral practices, life strategies and orientations, represents a reflection of all the paradoxical nature of the Russian reality, where spiritual qualities and personality traits are by no means a guarantee of well-being and success in life. In this context, cultivating spirituality in young people is a very difficult, but, paradoxical though it may sound, a necessary cause, and the priority role is assigned to the spiritual aspect of the education system.

Education should be a space of human self-actualization, spiritual search and self-determination, realization of the creative potential and, as a whole, becoming a personality of a high spiritual culture, creating, but not consuming, aware of their subjectivity and striving to implement it, being engaged in the system of social relations from the standpoint of social responsibility and citizenship. Education is also a channel of the ethno-cultural continuity-one, the most important institutions of reproduction and transformation of spiritual and moral values in the social and cultural space [12]. At the moment, the Russian education system is functionally unsustainable in terms of the designated culture-creating and spiritually guiding mission because it is a product of a consumer society and has turned into a service industry, finely responsive to market needs and requirements, having forgotten about its existential essence and purpose.

In turn, education in Russia is no longer perceived as a spiritual value by the youth, having become instrumental like many other values that used to be terminal, i.e. necessary for the implementation of achievement attitudes and strategies of the younger generation of Russians. However, due to the fact that being educated does not always contribute to the implementation of achievement plans and strategies of youth, the value of education is getting depreciated among young people, which degenerates in the act of receiving a degree which does not

guarantee an employment in one's degree field, a professional development, and a career strategy.

Trends in youth labor precarization and youth deprofessionalization in modern Russia are a consequence of the Russian education system existential nature destruction and a breakdown of the didactic system, which evolved over the centuries and has been destroyed in favor of reformist practices aimed at the transition to the Bologna system of education. The danger of precariat in Russia, for the most part represented by young people, in contrast to the precariat class in the West [8], is in its being formed as a result of forced falling back on shady employment businesses that are not bound with legislative mandates and a liability system.

Thus, the educational channel in modern Russia as a channel of communication and reproduction of the spiritual and spirituality among the youth is in a profound crisis, which is reflected in a spiritual crisis of the whole Russian society and the youth as its most important part, for whom spirituality as a value orientation of life management and their subjectivity implementation has lost its importance, remaining at the level of consciousness as a kind of rarity.

V. CONCLUSION

Young people as a subject of social processes and an independent object of sociological research has often appeared in the area of scientific discourse over recent decades different for change in both the reality and its perception. The majority of Russian scientific studies emphasize the values balance change among young people by a margin of the material values at the disadvantage of the spiritual ones, and, basically, this is associated with the spread of consumer ideology.

The objective nature of the Russian youth system of values formation in the context of the ruined system of socialization and the spiritual crisis at the level of the whole society determines the need, along with a critical approach to assessing the spiritual image of the young generation of post-Soviet Russia, to take into account the contradictory and paradoxical nature of the Russian reality itself, adaptation to which generates in the youth environment a cynical and pragmatic attitude to the things that quite recently, during the Soviet period, used to be considered from the standpoint of culturally determined and existentially indispensable spiritual value and significance. The category of such values included the values of work and education, at the moment being listed among the instrumental values.

Under these conditions, spirituality as a higher-order category, traditionally defining the mentality of the Russian people, is represented in the system of Russia's young people's values as a value 'by itself', not motivating young people to real behavioral practices, not filling them with a specific spiritual content and meaning, and therefore, the dilemma of spirituality/non-spirituality, the search for forms of

spiritual self-identification and improvement is not typical of the majority of Russian youth.

Moreover, the escalation of consumer values and their active adoption by young people under the influence of the media and other socialization agents included in the consumer space of modern society contributes to the formation of mass culture, far cry from the spiritual culture references. This determines the trends of spiritual alienation among young people, directly reflecting the identical processes at the level of the whole society, getting spiritually lumpenized in the course of crisis conservation of the basic socialization institutions and the cultural reproduction of society and, above all, education and training institutions.

Orientation to total material consumption, quite hampered for a significant part of the youth belonging to the poor, does not form a creation attitude as a lifestyle, its semantic predicate, but instead hardens them making them resistant to alternative forms of life fulfillment devoid of consumer and achievement attitudes. This happens because the consumer ideology in Russia has not become a complementary element in the cultural matrix, but rather an element filling the vacuum having formed in it as a result of the destruction of spiritual culture and spirituality as its substantial foundation.

Since the self-preservation of the Russian society and its viability, especially in the context of unfavorable socio-economic conditions, suggest the presence of spirituality as a core value in the socio-cultural matrix of society and the youth system of values, rehabilitation of the youth humanistic fostering and education system appears to be the only right strategy.

It is obvious that the efficiency of this process depends on a number of factors and institutional conditions together focused on creating a situation of 'spiritual pivot' in the Russian society, currently demonstrating spiritual alienation. First of all, a competent youth policy by the state is required, which would allow young people to become the true subject of social processes and relations, and an independent actor in developing and implementing life plans in line with the balanced needs cultivated by fostering and educational institutions.

This balance of needs containing orientation to achieving well-being and success in life, in all necessity is to be maintained and governed by spiritual needs, but it is only then the spiritual regulation of level and nature of requirements is possible when, consistent with Maslow's theory of needs, the prospects for meeting the physiological needs located at the foot of the human needs pyramid are beyond exception.

In modern Russia, where no conditions have been created for satisfying the human needs important for life maintenance at the physiological level, one should not reckon on high spirituality of citizens, including the young. However, the paradox lies in the fact that spirituality in Russia has always existed along with the severe living conditions, contributing to overcoming them in the worst periods of

the Russian reality. The fact that in today's Russia spirituality is rapidly 'washed out' of the young people's system of values should be regarded as nothing but an unprecedented case in the country's history and food for reflection with even more anxiety about the future of 'different', devoid of its spiritual foundations, Russia.

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