

LINGUISTIC AND ETHNO-CULTURAL EDUCATION IN POLY-ETHNIC REGIONS OF SOUTHERN RUSSIA IN THE CONTEXT OF CIVIL IDENTITY DESIGN: THE EXPERIENCE OF EMPIRICAL STUDY

Galina Sergeevna Denisova¹, Anastasia Valerievna Denisova,²
Elena Iurievna Litvinenko³, Elena Vladimirovna Susimenko⁴

Linguistic and ethno-cultural education in the regions of southern Russia is analyzed. The **aim** of the study is to identify the level of need for ethno-cultural education and determine its impact on the civil identity design. The empirical sociological research was conducted based on questionnaires and standardized expert interviewing of various actors of the educational process. A steady demand for ethno-cultural education is expressed in the complexity of the language repertoire of youth, the growth of their interest in foreign languages, their attitudes to a foreign language as a resource of social growth, and to the native language as a means of local household communication. The consistency of ethnic and national (civil) identity and the need for ethno-cultural education for their harmonious unity are proved. Research findings can be used by the administrative bodies of educational organizations to involve parents in the youth's ethnic identity education. Reduced ethno-cultural and native-language education results in growing social tension in poly-ethnic regions. The **originality** of the article lies in the introduction of the empirical evidence, which allows using different models of ethno-cultural education. Quite valuable are the arguments justifying the need for the state support for ethno-cultural education and instruction in native languages.

Keywords: native language, multiculturalism, ethnic identity, ethno-cultural education, civil identity, interethnic relations.

INTRODUCTION

Since the last third of the twentieth century, there has been a dynamic development of two global trends: globalization and localization. Globalization is aimed at reducing the functions and significance of national states, levelling ethno-cultural differences, increasing the multiculturalism of the society that is caused by international migrations (Huntington 2004; Goldschmidt 2010). Localization, by contrast, is targeted at the reproduction and strengthening of ethno-cultural and national identity (Robertson and Knondker 1999). These trends intersect in the development of the concept of cultural policy in modern states with a complex

¹ Southern Federal University: Institute of History and International Relations

² Southern Federal University: Institute of Philology, Journalism and Intercultural Communication, Department of English Language for Humanities

³ Platov South-Russian State Polytechnic University (NPI): Institute of Basic Engineering Education, Department of Foreign Languages

⁴ Platov South-Russian State Polytechnic University (NPI): Institute of Basic Engineering Education, Department of Foreign Languages, Corresponding author *E-mail: lesusima@yandex.ru*

ethno-cultural structure of the population. In European states of this type with a liberal-democratic political structure, in the United States and Canada, these efforts were realized in a policy of multiculturalism. Its development resulted from the presence of ethnic minorities, and inflows of immigrants from other regions of the world. According to experts, the policy of multiculturalism, addressing the socio-economic problems of ethnic minorities and immigrants (Alibhai-Brown 1999: 2-22) and providing support for the plurality of cultural identities (Diez 2002), is aimed at consolidating the society. Part of this policy is linguistic education. However, since the late twentieth century under the influence of the growing number of immigrants and the refusal of a significant part of immigrants to integrate into the cultural space of the host countries, the policy of multiculturalism has been considered by some politicians as a factor of weakening the dominant European values and national identity. In various European countries this trend evoked a discourse targeted at protecting ethno-cultural exclusivity (Trimikliniotis 2002) and national (civil) identity (Weidenfeld and Korte 2002: 179; 85). Cultural diversity has been seen as a factor hindering national integration and nation-building.

Both of these tendencies – the strengthening of the diverse culture of ethnic minorities and the upholding of majority culture dominance – are also characteristic of modern Russia. The Academician of the Russian Academy of Science, V.A. Tishkov (2016: 295) stated that the modern world is concerned with the search for a balance: “how to combine linguistic centralization and ensure a common civil identity on its basis with the necessity and the need of some citizens to preserve the languages of their ethnic communities (ethno-nations). The balance between the majority language and the minority language has not been found so far.” Thus, linguistic education is at the center of the nation-building policy and is implemented by the education system which is responsible for the socialization of youth. In the first decade of the new Russian statehood, the Constitution of the Russian Federation (1993) enshrined the concept of a “poly-ethnic nation” and the principle of supporting cultures (including native languages) of all the peoples of Russia. For 30 ethno-cultural groups with more than 50,000 people, the Constitution of the Russian Federation enshrined the status of ethno-territorial autonomies and republics whose languages received official (state) status, along with Russian. In this connection, in 1993 the State Educational Standard, including the federal, national-regional and school components, was legislatively introduced into the system of general and secondary education. The main subject of the last two components was teaching the language of nationality (“native” language) and subjects of ethnocultural content, which were maintained through a certain amount of academic hours (Kuzmin *et al.* 2010; Shnirel'man 2010: 191-192). The implementation of ethno-cultural education was controlled by regional authorities. However, in 2007, Amendment No. 309 was adopted in the RF Law “On Education”, which abolished the division of the educational program into three components and introduced the

Federal State Educational Standards (FGOS) for a set of compulsory educational subjects. The educational institutions were granted the right to determine the choice and volumes of additional subjects (into which subjects of ethno-cultural content were included) on their own (Federal Law No. 309-FZ of 01/12/2007). This approach focused the school on identifying and ensuring the needs of parents and students in the field of ethno-cultural education and weakened administrative control (Vorontsov 2010: 180-182). It should be noted that the transfer of responsibility for providing schooling to the local government bodies and municipal administration is a common practice in European countries, for example in Poland, Sweden (Laestadius 2011). In Russia, training courses from the group of “optional disciplines” were transferred to this level.

Currently, Russian is the main language of instruction in Russian schools; 95.8% of the pupils enrolled are trained in it, 3.3% of schoolchildren study at schools with mixed teaching, and only 1% are taught at schools with non-Russian language of instruction. Languages of nationalities (native languages) are taught mostly at the primary or general school levels. In some schools, with instruction in the Russian language, the native languages are taught as separate subjects to 1.6 million schoolchildren (Tishkov and Stepanov 2016: 8). Along with the Russian language, one foreign language is also taught as a compulsory subject. In the nineties of the 20th century integration of Russia into the European educational space stimulated the spread of the English language functioning. Russia moved into the category of the “expanding” circle of states with the English language, where it is represented in communications at the mass level (Millrud 2014). In 2002, at the Barcelona summit of the European Union, it was decided to introduce the principle of “one mother tongue plus two foreign languages” in the education system of the EU member states. The same principle was fixed by the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation (Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science... 2000). But in connection with the need to study the native language as well, the language repertoire of the person becomes more complicated.

Introduction of the mandatory Unified State Exam (USE) in the Russian language in 2009, being bound to admission to all Russian higher education establishments, led to a decreased interest of most students and their parents in “optional” ethnic-culture-oriented subjects, to the displacement of native languages from the educational space (Vorontsov 2010; Vlasova 2014). However, in a number of republics of Russia (Bashkortostan, Buryatia, Komi, Tatarstan), the opposite trend also arose: a reduction in the amount of teaching the Russian official language at a basic level, coercion of students, regardless of their desire, to study the language of the republic (native language) (Tishkov and Stepanov 2016). Violation of the balance between Russian-national bilingualism and language rights of students forms social and political tensions in a number of regions of Russia.

Review of scientific literature

The study of the problem of ethno-cultural (including linguistic) education realization in the conditions of constructing a single political (civil) nation has a certain research tradition, which is defined by the concept of “multiculturalism” in European countries (Blom *et al.* 2006). It was introduced in 1957 in Switzerland to describe the internal situation: the functioning of four languages and various religions in the state. The search for educational strategies for representatives of national minorities in the post-colonial period in the UK also stimulated the creation of a multicultural education system (Aydin and Aydin 2013). Since the seventies of the 20th century in European countries, the United States, Canada and Australia, a policy of multiculturalism and multicultural education, aimed at forming tolerance, has been implemented (Mitchell and Salsbury 1996). At present, a large number of studies is dedicated to the analysis of cross-cultural integration and the status of languages in the ethno-territorial formations, existing in different countries and continents (Belgium, Spain, Canada, China, Africa) (Martynova *et al.* 2015; Van Dongera *et al.* 2017; Dersso 2012).

However, according to many experts, the policy of multiculturalism has led to the strengthening of ethnic boundaries and cultural differences. In this context, language policies and policies in the field of multicultural education appear to be linked to the technologies of ethnic mobilization that are used in political processes. Many researchers have proved relationship between ethno-linguistic fragmentation of the society and proneness to interethnic conflicts, quality of government institutions, and the level of economic development (Alesina and La Ferrara 2000; Alesina, *et al.* 2002: 17-18; Collins 1990). As A. Eisenberg (2007: 5) points out, education among other components of multicultural policy provides resources for strengthening ethnic communities and thereby contributes to the destruction of the social unity of society. A dilemma of the two principles arose in democratic societies: a claim of traditional cultures to the preservation of their unique identities and pursuit of the principle of civil rights, asserting the right of the individual to the cultural and linguistic self-determination (Benhabib 2002). J. Holmes points out that the scholars focus too much on macro-linguistic problems, whereas preferences of an individual and the family remain underestimated. There are frequent cases when an ethnic language is “imposed” as the main language of instruction, while the parents and their children aim at getting education in the official language, and ethnic language is considered by them only as a means of interpersonal (family) communication (Holmes 2013).

In Russia, the problem of linguistic and ethno-cultural education is also discussed in the context of the multiculturalism concept and policy (Malakhov and Tishkov 2002; Malakhov *et al.* 2011), which is focused on the construction of the civil (Russian) nation and Russian (civil) identity. The emphasis of modern state policy on the need to strengthen the languages and cultures of the peoples of

Russia determines the great interest of researchers in the study of revitalization of languages - acquisition of the national status by a number of languages, their penetration into different life spheres of modern society (Guboglo 1998, 2013; Tishkov 2016). However, the increased attention to the national construction in Russia also contributed to a discussion about the need for deconstruction of ethnic boundaries, which is impeded by ethno-cultural and linguistic education. An integral part of this discussion is the choice of the model of linguistic education: either assimilatory (transitional) or pluralistic (supportive). The objective of the pluralistic model is to maintain linguistic diversity, where the language of minority is considered to be a value, and its low prestige as compared to that of the official language is in need of more intensive support (Vakhtin and Golovko 2004). Modern scholars emphasize not only the different types and the scope of bilingual education, but also the phenomenon known as “translanguaging” (Garsia 2009), which is a complex and hybrid use of language by linguistic minorities. The transfer of the choice of the linguistic education model to the level of education actors (parents, students, schools) can solve the issue in favor of the individual’s right to cultural assimilation in Russia. This situation actualizes the need to study the motivation of linguistic and ethno-cultural education of the main participants in the educational process.

METHOD

The problem of choosing the linguistic education model by the key actors of the educational process determined the choice of the method for empirical research: opinion poll. In 2015, it was carried out in two regions of the South of Russia – the Republic of Kalmykia (Kalmykia) and the Astrakhan region, which differ in their territorial and administrative status and ethnic composition of the population. Kalmykia is a form of administrative and political self-determination of the Kalmyk people, historically settled in this territory. The Constitution of Kalmykia asserts the equality of the Russian and the Kalmyk languages and the priority concern of the state for the development of the Kalmyk language. The resident population of Kalmykia is 278,268 people, 44.7% of which is the urban population, most of whom live in Elista (the capital city of the Republic). The ethnic composition of Kalmykia is formed by two main groups: 57.4% are the Kalmyks, 30.3% are the Russians. Along with these, the other significantly large ethnic groups are the Dargins (2.7%), the Kazakhs (1.7%), the Meskhetian Turks (1.3%), and the Chechens (1.2%). The population of the Astrakhan region is 1,018,600 people. With the dominance of the Russian population (67.6%), it is very varied and includes the Kazakhs (16.3%), the Tatars (6.6%), and the peoples of Dagestan, which together make up 2.3% of the region’s population. The Astrakhan region of Russia borders on the Republic of Kazakhstan. The bordering rural areas of the Astrakhan region are highly multiethnic, which was historically established on the Turkic basis. For

example, in the Krasnoyarsk region, the Kazakhs, the Tatars and the Nogais total 53.8%, and in the Volga district Turkic-speaking peoples make up 55.7% of the population.

The poll was of a pilot character with a quota sample: in each region, an equal number of pupils of graduating classes of secondary schools (16-17 years) and university students (18-19 years) (150 people each); parents (150); experts (180 people: 100 teachers, 50 university professors, 30 representatives of management structures in education, leaders of national ethnic cultural societies) were surveyed. The necessary condition for the selection of experts was their employment in the field of education, and for representatives of public organizations – the experience of representing the interests of ethnic minorities in the public sphere.

The group of pupils included schoolchildren of general secondary schools; foreign language specialized schools; schools with some other specialization. Students of different universities and majors were represented in the student group of respondents, including the faculties of foreign languages and the faculty of Kalmyk philology. In Kalmykia, the survey was conducted by the interviewers of Kalmyk ethnicity.

The opinion poll was carried out with mating tools by two methods: questionnaires for pupils, parents and students, and standardized interviewing of experts. The processing of the collected data was carried out by using the SPSS software package, version 10.5.

The study objective was to identify the level of demand for the linguistic and ethno-cultural education (including learning native languages) and the impact of this education on the design of the all-Russian (civil) identity. The toolkit structure included two groups of questions: 1) the attitude to language instruction, and against this background the attitude to the learning of native languages, as well as the interest in the subjects of ethno-cultural content; 2) the identification of ethnic identity and its correlation with the Russian (civil) identity.

Attitudes of students and parents towards language education were measured through the identification of the desired model of learning and teaching native and foreign languages: as a language in which instruction is carried out, as a school subject, or as an optional subject. Alongside with this, the respondent's language environment was revealed, in particular, language practices in the family, within the close circle of communication. Students' and parents' attitudes to the ethno-cultural education were determined through their interest in certain subjects and directions of educational activity. The respondents' identity was measured through their self-referral to the ethnic group and the choice of how they should be perceived by others in everyday communication (as a representative of an ethnic group, a citizen of the country, a resident of the region).

The questionnaire and the form of the expert interview had a glossary, which explained the main concepts:

Teaching native language (mother tongue) - the availability of courses, subjects, disciplines (major, additional) where students receive knowledge and skills in the language, which is used for communication within the family since their birth. In Russia, the languages of ethnic minorities are the native languages.

The language of instruction is the language in which one or more courses, subjects, disciplines are taught, apart from the actual learning of this language. A state language, a native language, a foreign language can be a language of instruction.

Subjects of ethno-cultural orientation are special training courses, subjects, disciplines, including teaching native languages, local studies, etc., aimed at involving students in the ethno-cultural heritage, teaching the elements and skills of traditional/folk culture.

Ethno-cultural content of education is the availability of training courses, subjects, disciplines of separate sections in the curriculum, topics and stories that form the students' concepts about the ethno-cultural heritage."

The hypothesis included an assumption of the existing demand for ethno-cultural education in the multicultural regions of Southern Russia as well as assumptions about low interest of most students in learning native languages and subjects of ethno-cultural content; reduction of the volume of ethno-cultural education (including teaching of native languages) in connection with its transfer to the control of educational institutions. It was also assumed, that the strengthening of ethnic identity through ethno-cultural education does not contradict the state policy of designing Russian (civil) identity.

RESULTS

The analysis covered three target groups: experts, parents and students (pupils and students) separately in two regions – the Astrakhan region and the Republic of Kalmykia. This approach allows for a comparative analysis of the selected groups within the region and at the inter-regional level, and helps identify the influence of the generational and ethnic factor on the level of the need for linguistic and ethno-cultural education.

The experts' position

Expert groups in both regions coincide in terms of employment in the education system, excluding representatives of national cultural societies (Table 1).

TABLE 1: THE SPHERE OF EXPERTS' PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT IN THE SURVEYED REGIONS

<i>Occupation in</i>	<i>The Republic of Kalmykia</i>		<i>The Astrakhan region</i>	
	<i>Persons</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Persons</i>	<i>%</i>
Education management	18	10	19	10.6
Education	146	81.1	130	72.2
Scientific research	12	6.7	11	6.1
Social activities	4	2.2	16	8.9

Ethno-cultural education in Kalmykia is based on teaching the native language (Kalmyk) and a number of other subjects focused on ethno-cultural content (history, literature, arts and crafts, etc.). The native (Kalmyk) language is taught in three possible ways: as a language of instruction, as a subject within the main program, and as an elective course. The experts noted the presence of all three options in the educational institutions of the republic. Two thirds of respondents indicated the following situations: the native (Kalmyk) language is taught at the elementary (74.4%) and basic (76.7%) school levels; another 58.9% noted the teaching of Kalmyk at the secondary school level, 13.3% – at the level of primary and secondary vocational education, and 25% emphasized the teaching of the Kalmyk language at the university. However, the scope of these options varies, depending on the level of education and type of school (a secondary school, a gymnasium, or a lyceum): in the primary school, Kalmyk is the language of instruction, in the general school it is an independent subject, in the upper grades and in universities it is an optional subject. Several schools specializing in the Kalmyk language and culture are an exception.

Along with teaching the Kalmyk language, the system of ethno-cultural education also includes the teaching of special subjects. Their presence at the elementary stage was noted by 45.6% of experts, at the basic stage – by 46.1%, at the secondary level – by 31.1%, in higher education – by 10%. An effective tool for transferring knowledge of ethno-cultural content is the extra-curricular work of school teachers with pupils. Various contests and festivals – “Tsagan Botkhn” (White Camel), “Tantseval’naya Vesna” (Dancing Spring), “Vesyolaya Karusel” (Joyful Merry-Go-Round), “Yunost’ Kalmykii” (The Youth of Kalmykia), folklore and ethnographic festivals are aimed at transferring respect for language and culture, knowledge of traditions, life experience of the ethnos to the younger generation. Chess, Kalmyk games, the Kalmyk national etiquette, and national dances are also part of extracurricular activities. However, these forms of familiarizing with the knowledge of ethno-cultural content are not widespread; they were singled out by only 23.8% of experts.

The overwhelming majority of experts (85.5 %) think that there are no obstacles to teaching the native language and subjects with ethno-cultural content in their educational institutions. The opposite position was expressed by only 6.5%. Most of them work in the capital city, Elista. The majority of experts (75%) believe that quite a large number of parents in the region are focused on teaching children the Kalmyk language. But they do not support the instruction in the Kalmyk language, and expansion of the religious education. As an important factor reducing the interest in the study of the native language and subjects with ethno-cultural content, half of the experts (51.1%) consider the need to pay more attention to the subjects chosen by the students for taking the Unified State Exam. As a result, school administrations do not pay enough attention to ethno-cultural education. Experts do not see any

threats to the construction of an all-Russian civil identity from ethno-cultural and linguistic education. On the contrary, they believe that this direction of education contributes to the harmonious development of both all-Russian civil identity and ethno-cultural identity. Moreover, in the opinion of half of the expert community (52.2%), a decline in the teaching of ethnic and cultural content, including the native language, may have social consequences and cause a tendency of assimilation of ethnic groups losing their native language and public discontent in the republic (as indicated by 58.3% of experts).

The experts of the Astrakhan region expressed similar opinion in estimating the situation in the field of ethno-cultural education. The Russian language is perceived there by a greater majority of the population and the expert community in the two functions – state and national (native). There are few schools that suggest teaching of native languages (not Russian) as a subject within the main curriculum, and they are localized in the territories of compact settlement of ethnic groups (the Tatars and the Kazakhs). Only 5.5% of the teachers surveyed confirmed the availability of such a subject at the primary and secondary school levels. Another 3.4% noted the teaching of this subject at the level of secondary vocational education (college). The same as in Kalmykia, two-thirds of the experts believe that parents and children are willing to study the national (“native”) languages. However, 62% of the experts rejected the prospect of instruction in one of the native languages, in particular, Tatar or Kazakh. The question concerning the interest of parents in teaching religious education to their children caused dispersed opinions, but almost half of the respondents (46%) found it difficult to answer it. Just like in Kalmykia, half of the experts (53%) believe that the necessary school preparation for the State Final Examination and Unified State Exam is reducing the pupils and parents’ needs for learning the subjects of ethno-cultural content and native languages and decreasing the motivation of the school administration to develop ethno-cultural education. Two-thirds of Astrakhan experts, as well as in Kalmykia, believe that the study of native languages never provokes tension on the basis of inter-ethnic relations. Some experts made remarks that “civil is not a hindrance to ethnic, and vice versa”. Moreover, the study of the native language and national culture forms balanced civil and ethnic identities, as it was pointed out by the vast majority of experts (75%). However, the reverse trend of a reduction in teaching native languages and subjects focused on ethno-cultural content will have negative consequences, according to experts: 46% of them think that this will result in assimilation, dissolution of ethnic cultures. The experts noted the importance of studying the native language at school, at the same time many of them drew attention to the need for a common approach: “Learning a language ought to be obligatory for everyone at school, it must not be like that: some students attend classes, others play football in the yard under their window”. There were some other comments concerning the “dominance” of the English language to the detriment of the native

one, the need for the unified examination in the native language for its promotion (“give the Tatar children their USE in the Tatar language”).

The positions of experts in both regions of the survey are also identical in forecasting the situation, which will result in a reduction in the teaching of the native language and subjects with ethno-cultural content. They suggest that this trend will appeal to the legal means of regulation: the citizens’ appeal to the administration of educational institutions and education authorities; critical publications in the press and the Internet; drawing public attention to this issue by political activists.

The parents’ position

The sample of parents in Kalmykia was 150 people: 20% of men and 80% of women; 78.7% – the Kalmyks; 10% – the Russians, 8% – other nationalities, 3.3% – did not specify their nationality. The majority of the parents-respondents (78.7%) have higher education; 89.3% of the parents under survey are employed.

In the Astrakhan Region, in the group of parents (150 people) there were 43.3% of men, 56.7% of women. The ethnic structure of the parental group was as follows: 58% of the Russians, 10% of the Nogais, 7.3% of the Avars, 6% – the Kazakhs, 4% – the Tatars, the Ukrainians – 3.3%, the Uzbeks – 2.7%, representatives of other nationalities made 8.7%. A little more than 60% of parents have higher education. Of the entire number of respondents 76% are employed, 17.3% are engaged in households.

In Kalmykia, all the children of the parents under survey learn some other languages, along with Russian. This raises the problem of multi-linguistic education: developing proficiency in the state language (Russian), national (native) language and a foreign language.

In the Astrakhan region, the study of native languages is a fairly rare practice. However, in the system of supplementary education, the South Russian dialect and folklore are studied as elective courses. In areas with a compact residence of ethnic groups of the Tatars, Kazakhs, at the request of parents the Tatar and Kazakh languages are taught to children. Supporting ethno-cultural education in school and teaching the children native languages, parents still prefer teaching a foreign language. The data in Figure 1-2 show that more than half of the interviewed parents are focused on advanced foreign language learning, regardless of the region of residence.

Along with teaching the native language, parents consider it important to include ethno-cultural content in education. In the list of the subjects of ethno-cultural content “the history of the native land” ranks first for the parents; the second place in their opinion belongs to the “national traditions and national holidays”. As to other subjects, however, parents’ assessments differ: in Kalmykia parents are more focused on subjects with figurative contents (folklore, arts, singing and dancing),

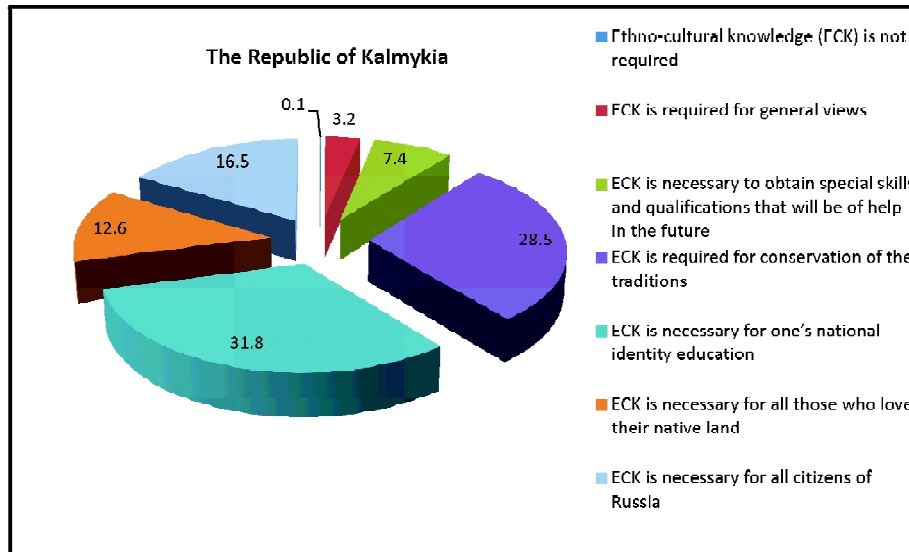


Figure 1: Kalmykia. Motivation of parents in teaching children the subject with ethno-cultural content

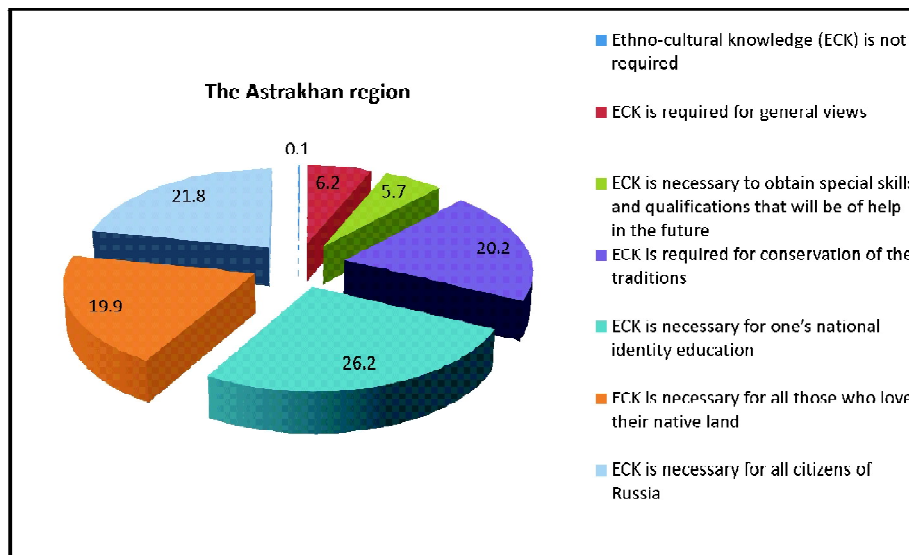


Figure 2: The Astrakhan Region. Motivation of parents in teaching children the subject with ethno-cultural content

in the Astrakhan region parents emphasize traditional subjects – the history of the people, the geography of the region.

Among the most important motives that determine the attitudes of parents to the choice of subjects of ethno-cultural education, there are four, which are associated with the formation of ethnic and civil identity in various aspects. The motivation for sustaining ethnic identity is expressed in the following positions: “preservation of traditions”, “forming a sense of belonging to one’s nation”; the motivation for the education of civil identity - in the positions: “this knowledge is needed by all those who love their native land”, “for all citizens of Russia” (Table 2).

TABLE 2: MOTIVATION OF PARENTS IN TEACHING CHILDREN
THE SUBJECT WITH ETHNO-CULTURAL CONTENT

<i>Answers to the question: “Why does the child need the knowledge of his/her national culture?”</i>	<i>The Republic of Kalmykia</i>		<i>The Astrakhan region</i>	
	<i>The number of answers</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>The number of answers</i>	<i>%</i>
This knowledge is not required	-	-	-	-
This knowledge is required for general views	11	3.2	23	6.3
This knowledge is necessary to obtain special skills and qualifications that will be of help in the future	25	7.4	21	5.7
This knowledge is required for preservation of the traditions	97	28.5	74	20.2
This knowledge is necessary for one’s national identity education	108	31.8	96	26.2
This knowledge is needed by all those who love their native land	43	12.6	73	19.9
This knowledge is of need for all citizens of Russia	56	16.5	80	21.8
Answers in total	340	100.0	367	100.0

Note: The question involves the choice of several answers; therefore the number of answers exceeds the number of respondents (150).

It should be noted that a significant proportion of respondents in both regions believe that knowledge of the cultural diversity of peoples is needed by all citizens of Russia. This was indicated by 37.3% of parents in Kalmykia (the share of this position in the total sum of their responses is 16.5%) and 57.3% of parents in the Astrakhan region (the share of this position in the sum of the responses is 21.8%). However, the formation of ethnic identity is the priority for parents when choosing subjects of this direction. The disciplines of the mandatory federal standard are not orientated towards its development. Concerns about the loss of cultural identity are expressed by experts and parents in Kalmykia and in the areas of compact residence of ethnic groups in the Astrakhan region. This is indicated by the language situation among the adult population of Kalmykia. In daily communication at home and with friends, 53.3% of the interviewed parents use two languages, one of them is Russian. But 46.7% of respondents use only Russian language, because they do not speak Kalmyk (however, there are only 10% of ethnic Russians in the parent

group of respondents in Kalmykia). Among the parents of the Astrakhan region living in areas of compact residence of ethnic (non-Russian) groups, bilingualism is also common in everyday communication. This was indicated by 44% of the respondents.

The revealed favorable atmosphere of intercultural communication in the regions under survey explains the identification orientations of the adult population (parents). In both regions, regardless of the ethnic composition of the population and the administrative and political status of the numerically dominant ethnic group, civil identity is a priority. Thus, 88.7% of the polled parents in Kalmykia and 92.0% of respondents in the Astrakhan region would like to be perceived by those around them as citizens of Russia.

The youth's position (pupils and students)

The ethnic structure of the surveyed group of pupils and students in Kalmykia includes: 78% – the Kalmyks, 17% – the Russians, 5% – representatives of other nationalities. Such a structure of the sample is not fully in line with the universe general population figures, but in the sphere of education the ratio in favor of the Kalmyks is higher. This is due to the higher demographic indicators of the Kalmyks, more numerous youth cohorts, which is manifested in the shift of the ethnic structure of students in the education system. The majority of the respondents (93.5%) are the long-term residents living in the country for more than 10 years. In the Astrakhan region, the ethnic structure of the youth group of respondents includes: 46.5% – the Russians, 11% – the Nogais, 10.3% – the Kazakhs, 7.3% – the Turkmen, 4.7% – the Tatars, and 20% – other ethnic groups. The vast majority of young people (81.3%) live in the Astrakhan region for over 10 years, 16% – from 1 to 5 years; they came to study from other regions. A characteristic feature should also be pointed out: 24.6% of the youth surveyed in the Astrakhan region and 17.5% in Kalmykia indicated their dual ethnicity.

Almost all young people learn the Russian and foreign (mainly, English) languages in the educational institutions. Kalmyk is also studied in Kalmykia at the primary and general levels of school. However, in both regions, the young people choose primarily a foreign language for advanced learning (Table 3). This fact testifies to the maturity of sustainable bilingual strategies of the students (Susimenko and Litvinenko 2015).

The preference for advanced foreign language learning is explained by the awareness of the “everyday” use of native languages, i.e. too narrow scope of their functioning. In particular, 51.3% of young respondents in the Astrakhan region and 43% in Kalmykia use their native language when communicating with their families or friends. However, a significant number of respondents note the difficulties that arise in communication in the native language. Thus, the aggregate of positions “I do not know my native language” and “Others do not know my

TABLE 3: PREFERENCES OF YOUTH IN THE FIELD OF LANGUAGE LEARNING

<i>Suggested responses</i>	<i>The Republic of Kalmykia</i>		<i>The Astrakhan region</i>	
	<i>Foreign language</i>	<i>Native language</i>	<i>Foreign language</i>	<i>Native language</i>
I do not need this language	2.5	4.0	2.3	13.0
Just general acquaintance with the language	7.5	18.0	6.0	16.7
Learning the language within the framework of the State Educational Standard	33.5	52.5	35.0	29.0
Advanced language learning	50.5	20.0	46.0	29.3
Language instruction in a number of disciplines	5.0	5.0	8.7	11.3

native language” is 32.7% in the Astrakhan region, 72.4% in Kalmykia. Among the Kalmyk young respondents, 59% indicated they did not know, or little knew their native language. Closely adjacent are responses on this issue among the Kalmyk parents (44.7%).

Many researchers have mentioned a poor demand for communication in the native language among the Kalmyks (Omakayeva 2009; Namrueva 2010). L.V. Namrueva (2010) cites the system of educational measures undertaken in the republic to stimulate the interest in learning the Kalmyk language, including not only the introduction of educational programs in disciplines of regional competence, but also an obligatory examination in the Kalmyk language and Kalmyk literature in the final attestation of schoolchildren.

One more emphasis: young people are less focused on the profound mastering of the native language in comparison with the generation of parents. It can be concluded that the orientation toward a special study of the native language is more inherent in the adult population than in the youth.

It should be noted, that interest in educational subjects of ethno-cultural orientation among young people is less expressed than that of parents. Pupils and students are much less focused on mastering subjects on the history of the region, the history of the people, and folk art (folklore, fine arts, crafts, music), as compared to their parents. Young people take more interest in practice-oriented subjects in the field of national culture: religious tradition, national cuisine and costume (Table 4).

In comparison with the traditional forms of education, of much greater interest for the youth is the prospect of inclusion in the national culture and traditions through practical activities. They prefer practical ways of exploring the national culture to classroom activities: visits to museums and exhibitions, folk theater and concert shows, hiking on the native land, but trips and travels to other regions of Russia cause much more interest (Table 5). These settings are common for the generation of young people, regardless of the region of residence and ethnic identity.

Explaining their interest in ethnic culture, young people are shifting their motives to the sphere of their response to society’s demands. Thus, 32.2% of the

TABLE 4: COMPARISON OF PREFERENCES OF YOUNG PEOPLE (PUPILS AND STUDENTS) AND PARENTS IN THE FIELD OF ETHNO-CULTURAL EDUCATION

<i>School subjects of ethno-cultural contents</i>	<i>Kalmykia</i>		<i>The Astrakhan region</i>	
	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Young people</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Young people</i>
The history of the nation / The history of folks in your region	49.3	29.0	61.3	24.6
National literature, folk epos, folktales	56.7	28.3	38.7	30.6
National traditions, national holidays	60.7	40.3	62.7	38.9
National culture and arts, national artwork, folk crafts	44.7	35.3	29.3	33.6
Traditional religious culture	26.0	23.0	26.7	17.9
Folk music, folk songs	36.0	29.3	16.7	20.3
National dance	44.0	35.7	10.0	26.6
National sports	23.3	25.0	18.0	26.6
Traditional costume	8.7	16.3	19.3	15.6
National cuisine	14.7	44.0	30.7	51.5
Traditional kinds of labor and economic activities	6.0	8.3	18.0	17.9

Note: The question assumes the choice of any number of answers, therefore the number of answers exceeds the number of respondents by groups of parents and youth (including: 727 parents and 1175 young people in Kalmykia and 692 parents and 1132 young people in the Astrakhan region).

young people surveyed in Kalmykia and 25% in the Astrakhan region indicated that this knowledge is needed to preserve traditions, and only about 20% in each region indicated a subjective motive – “to feel their ethnicity”. A stable group – a little more than 10% in each region believe that acquaintance with the cultural diversity of peoples is necessary for all Russian citizens (i.e. for the formation of the Russian identity).

TABLE 5: DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: “WOULD YOU LIKE TO VISIT MUSEUMS, THEATERS, GO ON TRIPS IN ORDER TO STUDY THE CULTURE OF THE PEOPLES OF RUSSIA?”

<i>Extra-curricular educational activities</i>	<i>Youth from Kalmykia</i>	<i>Youth from the Astrakhan region</i>
Visits to museums and exhibitions	30.3	27.2
Visiting folk theater and concert shows	43.0	34.5
Hiking on the native land	46.7	48.2
Trips and travels to other cities and regions	76.3	65.8
I am not interested in these activities	4.4	3.3

Note: The question assumes the choice of any number of answers; therefore the number of answers exceeds the number of respondents (making 609 in Kalmykia and 550 in the Astrakhan region).

The key issue for our research, which is the correlation between the civil and ethnic identity, is decided by young people almost in the same way as by the older

generation. The vast majority (81.5%) of the respondents would like to be perceived by others as Russian citizens (Figure 3-4). From this point of view, one can see the intergenerational sustainability of the identity repertoire in both regions.

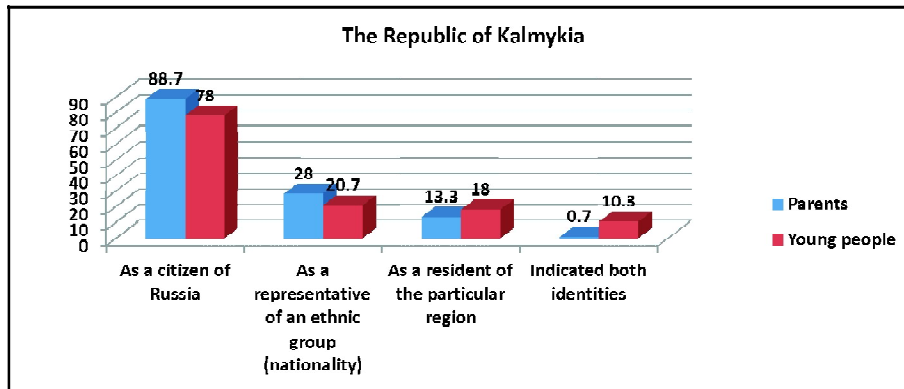


Figure 3: The identity repertoire of parents and youth in Kalmykia (Distribution of responses to the question: “How should others perceive you in everyday life?”)

Note: The question assumes the choice of any number of answers, therefore the number of answers exceeds the number of respondents by groups of parents and youth (including 196 parents and 381 young people in Kalmykia, and 173 parents and 304 young people in the Astrakhan region).

The lower level of Russian identity in the generation of young people is due to lack of social experience and an abstract-cognitive way of mastering the identification characteristics.

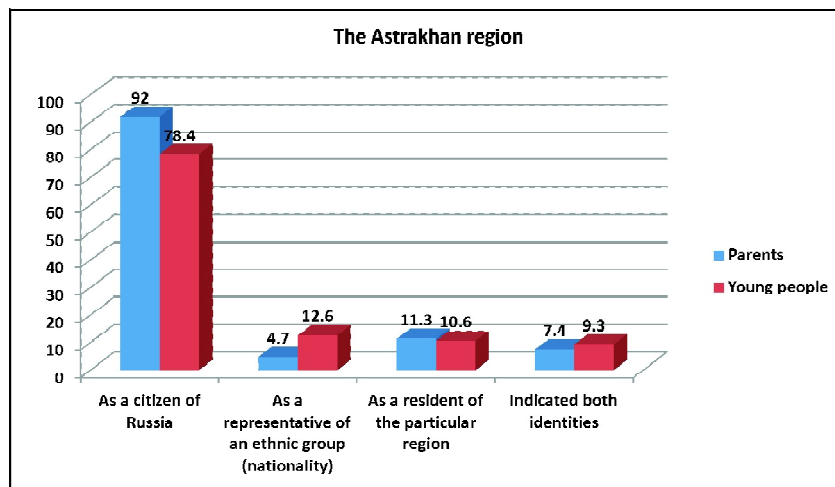


Figure 4: The identity repertoire of parents and youth in the Astrakhan region (Distribution of responses to the question: “How should others perceive you in everyday life?”)

CONCLUSIONS

1. In both entities of the South of Russia considered there is a steady demand for the realization of ethno-cultural education and the teaching of the native language. It is especially marked by the older generation – parents and teachers (educators). Administration of Kalmykia's educational institutions is distinctly guided by the needs of parents in the field of ethno-cultural and linguistic education. However, expert opinion of parents' and children's needs for the instruction in the Kalmyk language and teaching the subjects of religious education is much overestimated. Young people are focused on the advanced learning of the native language two times less than the adult generation.
2. The older generation represented by the administrators of educational institutions, teachers, educators, public figures and parents consider the study of native languages as a factor of ethnic identity formation and reproduction of the cultural traditions of the peoples of Russia. The youth shift the bias to a pragmatic plane. The high capitalization of foreign languages in the labor market and social advancement determines the choice of linguistic education by young people in favor of foreign languages. The mastering of native languages is analyzed more in the context of everyday communication.
3. One can mark the difference between the older and younger generations in Kalmykia and the Astrakhan region in their understanding the semantic content of ethno-cultural subjects (disciplines). Parents and experts (teachers) perceive the main goal of teaching the subjects of this trend as the formation of ethnic and cultural identity. The youth are mainly guided by meeting the needs of society, following national traditions. Only a fifth of all young people surveyed demonstrate a subjective interest in mastering the native language and culture to strengthen ethnic identity.
4. The comparative analysis of the empirical data shows that in both regions the system of identities is arranged quite in harmony: the dominant Russian civil identity is combined with the ethnic identity. According to the expert opinion, teaching the native language and ethno-cultural subjects does not have the effect of lowering the civil identity formation (which is confirmed by the data from surveys of parents and students). However, narrowing the scope of teaching these subjects may cause the formation of social tension, which may be used in the electoral campaigns. The narrowing of the sphere of ethno-cultural education is due to the low capitalization of these competencies in the labor market. Therefore, the strengthening of ethno-cultural education requires the state support.

Acknowledgements

The research was carried out within the framework of the project "Monitoring of the ethno-confessional situation in poly-ethnic regions of the Russian Federation, the analysis of the

humanities subject-disciplinary cycle at schools and universities as part of the Russian identity formation.” Government assignment No. 28.4498.2017/PHI.

References

- Alesina, A., La Ferrara, E. (2000). Participation in Heterogeneous Communities. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 115, 3: 847–904.
- Alesina, À., Devleeschauwer, A., Easterly, W., Kurlat, S., and Wacziarg, R. (2002). *Fractionalization*. Harvard Institute of Economic Research Discussion. Paper No. 1959.
- Alibhai-Brown, Y. (1999). *True Colours: Attitudes to Multiculturalism and the Role of the Government*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research.
- Aydin, M.K., Aydin, H. (Ed.) (2013) *Multicultural Education: Diversity, Pluralism, and Democracy. An International Perspective*. Saarbrücken: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, pp. 55-91.
- Benhabib, S. (2002). *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP.
- Blom, I., Maussart, L., Ernste, H. (2006). Multiculturalism and Will Kymlicka. *Geographical approaches*. <http://socgeo.ruhosting.nl/html/files/geoapp/Werkstukken/Kymlicka.pdf>
- Collins D.R.F. (Ed.) (1990). *Arctic Languages. An Awakening*. UNESCO. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0008/000861/086162E.pdf>
- Dersso, S. (2012). *Taking Ethno-Cultural Diversity Seriously in Constitutional Design: A Theory of Minority Rights for Addressing Africa’s Multiethnic Challenge*. Leiden, Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Diez, T. (2002). Why the EU Can Nonetheless Be Good for Cyprus. *Journal of Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe (JEMIE)*. Issue 2. http://www.ecmi.de/jemie/download/Focus2-2002_Diez.pdf
- Eisenberg, A. (2007). ‘Equality, Trust and Multiculturalism’ In Johnston, R., Kay, F. (Eds.) *Social Capital, Diversity, and the Welfare State*, Equality, Security, Community. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Federal Law No. 309-FZ of 01.12.2007 ‘O vnesenii izmenenii v otdel’nye zakonodatel’nye akty Rossiiskoi Federatsii v chasti izmenenii poniatii i struktury gosudarstvennogo obrazovatel’nogo standarta’ [On Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of the Russian Federation in Terms of Changes in the Concept and Structure of the State Educational Standard]. - [Electronic resource]. http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_72965.
- García, O. (2009). *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective*. Chichester/ West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Goldschmidt, P. (2010). Europe’s Identity Crisis. *The New York Times*, February 5.
- Guboglo, M.N. (1998). *Iazyki etnicheskoi mobilizatsii* [Languages of Ethnic Mobilization]. Moscow: Iazyki Russkoi Kultury.
- Guboglo, M.N. (2013). *Iazyki men’shinstv: iuridicheskii status i povsednevnye praktiki. Rossiisko-frantsuzskii dialog* [Minority Languages: Legal Status and Everyday Practices. Russian-French Dialogue]. Moscow: FGNU “Rosinformagrotekh”.
- Holmes, J. (2013) *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Fourth Edition. New York: Routledge.

- Huntington, S. (2004). *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Kuz'min, M., Artemenko, O., Petrova, T. (2010). Ob'edinenie obrazovatel'nogo prostranstva [Combining educational space]. In Stepanov V.V. (Ed.) *Etnokul'turnoe obrazovanie. Metody sotsial'noi orientatsii rossiiskoi shkoly*. [Ethnocultural education. Methods of social orientation of the Russian school] Moscow: Institut etnologii i antropologii im. Miklukho-Maklaia RAS, pp. 176-179.
- Laestadius, A.-H. (2010). Nationella minoriteter. Rättigheter och möjligheter. Stockholm. <http://www.lansstyrelsen.se/stockholm/sitecollectiondocuments/sv/publikationer/2010/nationella-minoriteter-broschyr.pdf>
- Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation "Ob izuchenii inostrannykh yazykov v shkole" [Learning Foreign Languages at School] of 28.11.2000 No. 3131/11-13. <http://lawru.info/dok/2000/11/28/n389232.htm>
- Malakhov, V.S., Tishkov, V.A. (Eds.) (2002). *Mul'tikul'turalizm i transformatsiia postsovietskikh obshchestv* [Multiculturalism and the Transformation of Post-Soviet Societies]. Moscow: Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences.
- Malakhov, V.S., Tishkov, V.A., Yakovleva A.F. (Eds.) (2011). *Gosudarstvo, migratsiia i kul'turnii pluralizm v sovremennom mire* [The State, Migration and Cultural Pluralism in Contemporary World]. Proceedings of the International Conference "Nation State, Migration". Moscow: IKAR.
- Martynova, M., Peterson, D., Ignatiev, R., Madariaga, N. (Eds.) (2015). *Peoples, Identities and Regions. Spain, Russia and the Challenges of the Multi-Ethnic State*. Moscow: IEA RAS.
- Millrud, R. (2014) Yazykovaya politika i prepodavanie inostrannogo yazyka [Language Policy and Teaching English]. Prosveshchenie. Inostrannye yazyki. <http://iyazyki.ru/2014/08/linguistic-policy/#nazad2>
- Mitchell, B.M., Salsbury, R.E. (1996). Multicultural education. An international guide to research, policies and programs. Greenwood Press Westport, Connecticut. London. https://books.google.ru/books?id=QwLlHt53e-cC&pg=PA119&lpg=PA119&dq=multicultural+education+in+france&source=bl&ots=m_w6ZC0eqb&sig=Hsi65HjcfwljKiMQdHpZF8Ghoy4&hl=ru&sa=X&sqi=2#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Namrueva, L.V. (2010). Kak kalmyki znayut svoi yazyk [How Do the Kalmyks Know Their Language?] *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya*, 4: 138-141.
- Omaeva, E. (2009). 'Igra na granyakh yazyka i kultury' v bilingval'nom obrazovanii v Kalmykii: dvuyazychie i problemy lingvo-kulturnogo dialoga ['Play on the Edge of the Language and Culture' in bilingual education in Kalmykia: bilingualism and problems of the linguacultural dialogue]. In *Narody Prikaspiiskogo regiona: dialog kultur* [Peoples of the Caspian region: a dialogue of cultures.]. Elista: Kalmykia State University Press, pp. 27-39.
- Robertson, R., Knondker, H. (1998). Discourses of globalization: Preliminary considerations. *International Sociology* 13 (1): 25-40.
- Shnirel'man, V.A. (2010). Obrazovatel'nyi standart i natsional'naya shkola [The Educational Standard and the National School]. In Stepanov V.V. (Ed.) *Etnokul'turnoe obrazovanie. Metody sotsial'noi orientatsii rossiiskoi shkoly*. [Ethnocultural education. Methods of social orientation of the Russian school] Moscow: Institut etnologii i antropologii im. Miklukho-Maklaia RAS, pp. 189-192.

- Susimenko, E., Litvinenko, E. (2015). 'Socio-Cultural Factors Contributing to the Formation of the Russian Technical University Students' Bilingual Strategies'. *Anali za istrske in mediteranske študije. Series Historia et Sociologia* 25 (3): 469-476.
- Tishkov, V.A. (2016) Yazyki natsii [Languages of the Nation]. *Vestnik Akademii nauk*, 86(4): 291-303.
- Tishkov, V.A. Stepanov, V.V. (Eds.). (2016). *Mezhethnicheskie otnosheniya i etnokulturnoe obrazovanie v regionakh Rossii [Interethnic Relations and Ethno-Cultural Education in the Regions of Russia]* Moscow: IEA RAN.
- Trimikliniotis, N. (2002). The Location of Cyprus in the Southern European Context: Europeanization as Modernization? *The Cyprus Review*. 13(2): 47-73.
- Vakhtin N.B., Golovko E.V. (2004). *Sotsiolingvistika i sotsiologiya iazyka [Sociolinguistics and Sociology of Language]*. Saint Petersburg: IT "Gumanitarnaia akademiia".
- Van Dongera, R., Van Der Meer, C., Sterk, R. (2017). *Research for Cult Committee –Minority Languages and Education: Best Practices and Pitfalls*. Directorate-General for Internal Policies. Policy Department B: Structural and Cohesion Policies. Culture and Education. [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2017/585915/IPOL_STU\(2017\)585915_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2017/585915/IPOL_STU(2017)585915_EN.pdf)
- Vlasova, T.A. (2014). Pochemu roditeli khotiat, chtoby ikh deti uchilis' v natsional'noi shkole? [Why do Parents Want Their Children to Study in the National School?] *Sotsiologiya i sotsial'naia antropologiya*, 1(72): 155-169. http://www.jourssa.ru/sites/all/files/volumes/2014_1/Vlasova_2014_1.pdf
- Vorontsov, V.S. (2010). Pomozhet li novyi federal'nyi zakon rodnomu iazyku? [Will the New Federal Law Help the Native Language?] In Stepanov V.V. (Ed.) *Etnokul'turnoe obrazovanie. Metody sotsial'noi orientatsii rossiiskoi shkoly*. [Ethnocultural education. Methods of social orientation of the Russian school] Moscow: Institut etnologii i antropologii im. Miklukho-Maklaia RAS, pp.180-188.
- Weidenfeld, W., Korte, K.-R. (1991). *Die Deutschen. Profil einer Nation*. Stuttgart.