

CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE

Faculty of Humanities

Department of Historical Sociology

Ekaterina Kruglikova

Different Mentality as a basis of international conflicts. The case of escalation  
relations between Russia and the EU in 2008 - 2018

Master's Thesis

Supervisor: Mgr. Lucie Cviklová, M.A., Ph.D.

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## Statement

I hereby declare that I have written this diploma thesis solely by myself and I agree with its eventual publication in print or electronic form. All sources and literature have been properly cited. The work has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

Prague, June 28th, 2019

Ekaterina Kruglikova

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## **ABSTRACT**

Since 2008 with the Russo-Georgian war we observe the gradual deterioration of relations between Russia and the European Union which achieves its apogee during the Ukrainian crisis and the annexation of Crimea. The cultural approach is to be applied for understanding and exploration of the conflict: its reasons and mechanism. The work is aimed to define conflicting beliefs and values, considering them on a cultural basis. The current escalation of relationships is reviewed as a cultural conflict, the author claims different mentality as one of the influential factors and possible dimensions of conflict analysis. This work also points out internal cultural mechanisms and features provoking aggressive external policy and considers cultural identity as a container of ideas which justify and originate opposition and conflict with other cultures.

This work is an attempt to introduce a concept of an individual's mentality, to link personal and group mentality and find out how cultural meaning content influences on formation of a personal mindset – a system of personal beliefs and values.

Research part consists of preliminary comparative questionnaire-based survey with 30 respondents, secondary analysis of World Value Survey, and 10 depth interviews based on 3 survey questions, analyzed by means of mental approach and coded with applying principles of Grounded theory.

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **Personal motivation**

I am a former robot technician, after getting my Master's degree I worked at one of two airplane construction factories which make Russian civil airplanes Sukhoi SuperJet 100 and soon after with automation of water supply systems. Any mistake in these fields has crucial consequences and costs a lot. When I was walking through industrial areas I thought that Russian airplanes would never fly not because of technology but because of people reasoning, attitudes and communication. Working as a technician I am not able to change these people or even understand deeper how this "human factor" could be managed. Since then I quit the industry and started work and learn about people reasoning and psychology. Now I am interested in understanding and changing personal and group belief systems – mentalities – and its interconnection with social and cultural systems.

### **Main research questions**

- The concept of group and individual Mentality from a sociological, philosophical and psychological perspective.
- Cultural variation as a cause of escalation relationships between Russia and the European Union countries.
- Pedagogical effect of intercultural dialogue and cultural variation in conflict resolution.

### **Time frame**

The concerned time frame covers the following main military actions where the Russian Federation had been involved:

Russo-Georgian war in 2008;

The annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation in 2014;

Russian military intervention in the Syrian Civil War 2015.

While the paper rather considers the consequences of these conflicts for escalation relationships between Russia and European Union countries in its development, it covers the current period which is still can be claimed as strained. At the moment of finalizing a paper, Russia is being involved in the new escalation with Georgia.

Russia has reacted angrily after Georgians protested against a visit by a Russian MP, calling the events "an anti-Russian provocation". Putin signed the decree "to protect the national security of the Russian Federation". [Roth 2019]

## **Methodology**

In order to fulfil the aims of separate parts of the research, compensate restriction in research resources and methods, the combination of methods is used in current work.

- Semi-structured depth interviews are used for the deeper exploration of value-sphere of respondents, their attitudes and motivation toward their decisions in proposed cases. These interviews are interpreted with means of grounded theory because the topic requires analytical induction to make a generalization and develop core categories based on gained qualitative data. Mental approach is used as logic of interviews and their analysis – providing forms, content, sequence and direction of questions during the interviewing process. The technique is described further in a related chapter.

- The results of the World Value Survey are used for the secondary quantitative analysis for investigation of the confidence of Russian citizens in social institutions as social norms providers, and a state law system.

- A comparative questionnaire-based survey is held for understanding differences in the value of law and rules between Russian and Czech citizens.

Each of methods is described in detail separately in related chapters.

### **Key words**

*Mentality; Belief system; Codes; Social identity; Self-identity; Collective Unconscious; Social conflict; Cultural approach; Conflict resolution.*

## **Structure of the paper**

### **Abstract**

### **Introduction**

- Personal motivation
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- I. Group and individual mentality in sociological and psychological contexts
  1. Main terms and definition
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- II. Differences in Russian and European system of values
  1. Comparative questionnaire-based survey analysis.
  2. Secondary analysis of WVS.
  3. Depth interviews analysis.
- III. Intercultural dialogue as a method of reflection of cultural content and identity.

### **Conclusion**

## **Acknowledgements**

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I am also thankful to my supervisor, Lucie Cviklova, for useful recommendations and guidelines during the process of investigation.



## **MAIN PART**

### **I. Group and individual mentality in sociological and psychological contexts**

#### **1. Main terms and definitions**

This work is grounded on the cultural sociological approach. Key definitions, description and critical evaluation of the central conceptual tenets are provided in Cultural Sociology textbook, printed in 2012 [Back et al. 2012]. This approach considers cultural values and meaning-making processes of individual agents as a ground of social processes:

“Culture as a focus for understanding the processes and systems of relations through which societies are arranged. This cultural approach challenges earlier sociological models, which have tended to regard culture as merely a by-product of structural experiences of class, gender, race, and so on, by re-representing culture itself as a driving force for the creation and representation of social life.” [Back et al. 2012: 19]

“In general sociological parlance, the cultural turn refers to a revised emphasis on culture, not as the product of class relations and a concomitant positioning of ideological and economic power with the ruling elite, but rather as a dynamic process centring around the redefinition of individuals and groups as reflexive agents of cultural production. Within this new arena of analysis, culture is considered inseparable from the capabilities of individuals to act upon and influence cultural practices, norms and values as embedded within social categories such as class, gender, ethnicity and social institutions like the family, school and workplace.” [Back et al. 2012: 20]

The authors of the book, following this approach, introduce the notion of “codes” which is closely correlated with the term “Mentality”, used in this paper as one of the basic terms: “The pattern of underlying beliefs and modes of judgement, developed over a long period of time, that structure how individuals perceive events, objects and other people. Codes are relatively obdurate cultural structures, and provide the narrative material necessary for navigating everyday culture.” [Back et al. 2012: xiii] and the term of “Culture” which is also be used in this work: “The systematic sets of code, narratives, discourses and practices which structure the interpretation of social life and social action.” [Back et al. 2012: xiv]

Cultural approach is also used for interpretation of international relationships and particularly conflicts and conflict resolution.

“Return to culture” is a key point of the project “Cultures of insecurity”, which has led to the publication of the same-named book.

“That “return” manifested in concerns about ethnic, nationalist, and other forms of cultural conflict...insecurities are cultural in a sense that they are produced in and out of a context “within which people give meanings to their actions and experiences and make sense of their lives. Culture can thus be thought of as encompassing the multiplicity of discourses or “codes of intelligibility” through which meaning is produced – including discourses about “culture” itself... We thus understand culture to be composed of potentially contested codes and representations, as designating a field on which are fought battles over meaning.” [Weldes et al. 1999: 1-2]

One another key concept and dimension of analysis of this research is a group and individual mentality. The main definition of this term is taken from an article of Russian philosopher and educator, the author of a specific technique for analysis of personality, Alexey Murashov, and then considered in a broad context along with and in connection with other related theories and authors.

“Traditionally, the term “Mentality” signifies a world view or perception of environment related to a person, community, a whole nation, ethnos or an epoch. Generally, it’s correct, but when we talk about an individual’s mentality, we talk about his or her way of thinking, feeling and activity. However “way of thinking” does not mean WHAT people think, feel or do, it means HOW it occurs in their conscience and in their reality... Therefore “the way” is not a content of activity but the mode of action.

What does “the mode of action” mean? ... this is not exactly what I do or feel and not about what instruments and means I use for it. But in this case, mentality is the basis which determines and presets a content and means of my activity, my choice of one or content and means. Let’s call this basis a mental mindset.” [Murashov 2001: 99]

The first point which is important to highlight here is that codes which were defined earlier, following provided definition of mentality, are considered to be the main structural elements of individual’s mentality, which predefine the content of individual thoughts, but not equal to this content itself. They are generalized categories which define the logic of organization of mind content and existence and production of the content itself. And further:

“The majority of mental mindsets is people’s core values, principles and beliefs that dictates the choice of all our activity (theoretical and practical), inferences, estimations of reality, reasoning, existence, our life... Most of them are formed in conscience in childhood and youth by surrounding (natural and cultural), by personal perception, upbringing, education, reasoning and individual psychical processes. On this phase of personal

development, the reasoning follows from reality and mentality becomes the reflection of this reality. But then generated an image of reality, called mentality, becomes a filter which defines the way people see and perceive the reality and themselves in this reality. It means that their reality is now defined by their reasoning and follows from it.

This reversion causes some serious challenges. These mindsets are not only aprioristic but also may be both conscious and unconscious, including repressed and latent in psychic.” [Murashov 2001: 101]

The second point which is important to highlight for the further investigation is that we consider that people behavior, choices, attitudes and emotional reactions are predefined and grounded in a particular thought (code or mental mindset), which can be (and in a major cases is) unconscious for a person, but culturally predetermined.

Thus, the main terms, used in further investigation, are defined as followed:

“Mentality is expressed through a system of personal values, beliefs and life rules, fixed in a particular form of reasoning, unconscious decisions and person’s sensations, as well as in his or her perception and interpretation of reality...Mental mindset is a fundamental basis (frequently unconscious), which stands behind values, life rules and principles, emotions, decisions and actions of a person. It has a form of generalizing judgement with a declared and an intended universal quantifier.” [Murashov 2001: 102]

The third point which should be highlighted is mentioned already. These core mental mindsets are unconscious for their barrier. This point will be considered further in a related chapter.

## **2. Formation of individual beliefs system. Process, influential factors and cultural meaning content**

This part of the first chapter is intended to present the process of formation of an individual's belief system and its correlation with the social and cultural surrounding. The main source for this investigation is an analysis of the work of Soviet pedagogist, educator, Lev Vygotsky who made a comprehensive investigation of formation and development of processes and content of thinking in his work "Thought and language" [Vygotsky 1999]. The detailed topic-related analysis of this work was published in the first issue of the journal *Mental Studies*, further, I provide a selective translation of this analysis [Polovnikov 2018: 17-30].

"According to Vygotsky, notions, or rather structures, which are being operated by a child's thinking and speech, pass through three main stages in the course of their development: syncretes (syncretic images), complexes, notions. The meaning that the child puts in words saying something, meanings of words used by him and the content of his "notions" varies greatly as he grows. Here are the main characteristics of these three stages.

The first one is syncretes (syncretic images) - an unordered set, a bunch of objects, randomly combined without sufficient internal similarity (for example, based on the spatial and temporal contacts of individual elements, on direct contact, etc.). The meaning of the word extends to a number of elements externally related in the impression/perception of the child, but internally alien to each other. At this stage, the child is inclined to take the connection of his impressions and thoughts for the objective connection of things.

The next one is complexes. In this stage generalizations of objects are made not only on the basis of subjective connections established in the child's impression, but also partly on the basis of the objective connections that actually exist between these objects (not abstract and logical connections, but concrete and actual ones, discovered through direct experience). In other words, any connection can lead to the inclusion of this element in the complex.

"While the notion is based on connections of one type that logically identical with each other, the complex is based on a variety of actual [empirical] connections that often have nothing in common. In the notion, the subjects are summarized on the basis of only one attribute, while in the complex they are summarized on the basis of various actual [empirical] grounds. Therefore, the notion reflects a substantial, uniform connection and attitude of objects, while the complex reflects a factual, random, concrete connection". [Vygotsky 1999: 130]

L. Vygotsky also distinguishes the transitional stage from complexes to notions — a pseudo-notion (comprehensive combinations of a number of specific objects) which completely coincides with the notion on the phenotypical basis (in other words, in their appearance), but is not the notion at all according to the origin, development and causal dynamic relationships underlying it.

“... the child cannot learn the adults’ way of thinking at once; he obtains a product of thinking similar to the product of adults’ thinking, but which was formed with the help of completely different intellectual operations and created by a special way of thinking. This is what we call the pseudo-notion. As a result, something, that almost coincides with meanings of words for adults, but internally far different from these meanings, appears”. [Vygotsky 1999: 138] And the final stage of the formation of thinking is the development of notions.

"The notion is formed in the process of a comprehensive operation aimed at solving any specific task (a practically important task that is not solvable at those level of thinking in which a subject is)". [Vygotsky 1999: 141]

In other words, the notion is not just an intellectual structure of connections between images and elements, but it also contains a motive of the subject (in a kind of "conserved" form).

An important point here is the fact that the tasks set to the child (by adults: parents, teachers, surroundings, etc.) are caused by social and historical background:

"In contrast to the maturation of instincts and innate drives, the driving force that determines the beginning of the process and sets in motion some forming mechanism of behavior is not inside but outside the adolescent. Therefore, the tasks set to the adolescent by the social environment and related to entering into the cultural, professional and social life of adults are indeed an extremely essential functional moment". [Vygotsky 1999: 123]

Culture provides the child with certain mental complexes, structures and operations (through new tasks and goals).

It should also be particularly noted that most adults in most cases think not in notions, but in more primitive forms of thought:

“... although the adult’s thinking is able to form notions and then operate them, nevertheless, not all of this thinking is filled with these operations ... Even an adult does not always think in notions. Often his thinking takes place at the level of complexes, sometimes dropping down to even more elementary, more primitive forms”. [Vygotsky 1999: 155]

In other words, a significant part of what has been said about the child's thinking may also be related to the adult's thinking.

*Ways of development of notions*

"The notion at any stage of development is an act of generalization from the psychological point of view". And further: "Notions, that psychologically represented as meanings of words, constantly evolve. The essence of their development lies primarily in the transition from one structure of generalization to another. Every meaning of a word at any age is a generalization. But meanings of words constantly evolve. At that moment when the child learned a new word associated with a certain meaning for the first time, the development of the meaning of the word had just begun. At first, the word is the most elementary generalization, but as the child develops generalization moves from the elementary to higher type, completing the process of the formation of genuine and real notions in thinking of the child". [Vygotsky 1999: 258]

Let's turn to another important topic: awareness and mastering

"The inability of the child to recognize relationships that he can use spontaneously and automatically when it does not require special awareness from him characterizes the everyday notions of the child at school age". [Vygotsky 1999: 192]

"The existence of the notion and awareness of it do not coincide either at the moment of appearance or in the time of functioning. The first one may appear earlier and act independently from the second one. The analysis of reality with the help of notions arises much earlier than the analysis of the notions themselves". [Vygotsky 1999: 164]

In other words, a person can unconsciously use certain notions quite in an accurate way, as the child learns certain intellectual operations and much later becomes aware of what he has obtained and thus learns how to use them arbitrarily.

And further L. Vygotsky formulates main and the most important thesis:

"Awareness is based on the generalization of one's own mental processes, leading to mastering them. The decisive role of learning is reflected in this process. A new structure of generalization arises in one area of thought and then, like any other structure, transfers to all areas of thought and notions. Thus, awareness forms on the basis of scientific notions". [Vygotsky 1999: 204]

Further, L. Vygotsky emphasizes an important feature of development processes:

“Every new stage of generalization is based on the process of generalization of preceding stages. In other words, a new level of generalization arises only on the basis of the previous one”. [Polovnikov 2018: 17-30]

This analysis provides an investigation of the internal processes of formation and development of an individual’s beliefs system; social and cultural influence and also the awareness in operating notions, borrowed from social surroundings. There are further conclusions following this analysis could be stated.

Common structures of generalization are spread on different content of thought; these structures are widely unconscious for its barrier and can be partly inherited from social surroundings, partly influenced by individual thinking processes.

Adult people tend to use more primitive level of thinking then notional thinking (i.e. natural thinking), especially in their everyday life experience.

The result of such generalization process and value-guided thought where the object of interpretation and meaning of this object for a subject are not separated can be presented in the following example, given in a book “Maps of meaning: the architecture of belief” by J. Peterson.

Every object or phenomena means something and the distinction between essence and meaning (significance) is not registered for a human. The significance of something tends to become assimilated to the object itself. For people operating naturally what something signifies is an inextricable part of an object or phenomena. “I saw a scary man” – s/he attributed to the object of perception qualities that subjective and originated by her/himself. Such automatic attribution of “meaning” to “things” is a nature of raw experience and natural thinking. People always find “cause” in a “real world”. We want to know what things are not to know what they are but to keep track of what they mean to our life. For the whole period of modern science, it produces a mind which regards “real” or “objective” as something separable from “relevant” or “meaningful”. But it does not work like that. Human consciousness constitutes a world of value. The world is a reflection of the belief in human consciousness. That is why humanity should not separate the objective world from meaning but make beliefs and meanings conscious base of their life and an object of reflection. [Peterson 1999]

### **3. Correlation between mentality and self-identity**

In various interpretations, the term "identity" refers to numerous phenomena of individual consciousness and characteristics of social communities. However, despite the

specificity of each interpretation, they all have some common points: firstly, they all arise at the intersection of psychology, anthropology and sociology, or appear as a result of individual psychological, anthropological and sociological studies; secondly, as a rule, this term represents the unity of intrapersonal and sociocultural processes.

E. Erickson defines identity as both the subjective feeling and the objectively observed quality of the individual.

A separate place in the formation of identity is occupied by educational practices, as well as the historical and social situation. Identity formation is inextricably connected with the upbringing and education processes of the individual, with the process of comprehension of his rules, values and beliefs by him and in this connection with the formation process of his attitude to various social groups.

At the same time, identity is a dynamic personality structure that can externally manifest itself in very different ways and thus remains largely unconscious.

Social identity consists of those aspects of the image of "Me" which stem from the individual's perception of himself as a member of certain social groups. Social identities constitute a system of coordinates in which the individual's social position is contained.

Such an identity acts as the individual's self-identification with some community, a definition of whom "in fact" he is.

To make such an inference about him or her, a person should have an idea of more or less closed groups that made up the society, of rules these groups live by, or how they should be treated.

"... the self is reflexive in that it can take itself as an object and can categorize, classify, or name itself in particular ways in relation to other social categories or classifications. This process is called self-categorization in social identity theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, and Wetherell 1987); in identity theory, it is called identification (McCall and Simmons 1978). Through the process of self-categorization or identification, an identity is formed... a social identity is a person's knowledge that he or she belongs to a social category or group (Hogg and Abrams 1988). A social group is a set of individuals who hold a common social identification or view themselves as members of the same social category...The consequence of self-categorization is an accentuation of the perceived similarities between the self and other in-group members, and an accentuation of the perceived differences between the self and out-group members. This accentuation occurs for all the attitudes, beliefs and values, affective reactions, behavioral norms, styles of speech,



and other properties that are believed to be correlated with the relevant intergroup categorization.” [Stets, Burke 2000]

How does Identity evolve? How and why do people associate themselves with different social groups and communities?

There are two different ways of evolving self-identity exist. The first way can be called non-reflexive. It occurs when a person defines him or herself as a part of some social group which exists around him because he or she was born here and lives here and all people around belong to these social groups. In such case they just accept their surroundings as well as accept values and attitudes toward the World of this social group, starting from a family as the first closest social group. These groups provide content – answers for main existential questions, common for the group members. The problem is – this content remains non-reflexed for the barriers but strongly connected with their self-identity. This is the reason why “cultural shock” or “clash of civilization” have such crucial consequences. In this case, reasons of association with a group of people are external in relation to the person. A conscious choice of association with some social group or identification with it takes place when independent individual rules and values are defined by the person. It is possible when he or she firstly answers what and why he or she thought to be good, right and valuable and then in order to these inner values choose a social group with similar values and become associated with them. For that to happen, a person should understand why and how some phenomenon becomes valuable for him. In other words, the hierarchy of values should exist and the principle which allows defining valuable and non-valuable things. For example, it means that along with the belief that “people should be tolerant of other culture”, an individual should be able to answer why this is important. In other words, an individual makes an independent reasonable decision about values, but not just aligns himself with some group of people. Tuning to our experience in working with Russian mentality we may conclude that many of declared values are not conscious and in this case, people make a decision from other value. This inner mental conflict induces conflicts in his or her life as well as this person may be subservient and easily fall under the influence because of inanity.

#### **4. Mentality and collective unconsciousness part of the psyche**

This part of a chapter considers Freud’s thoughts toward correlation existing between an individual and society and his concept of super-ego which reflects social norms and values, borrowed by a person from culture and suppressed by his psyche. Freud declares that human being acts by the power of super-ego, which is formed under the influence of social values

and norms, and in this sense, there are some ideal images exist in a human mind which should be followed.

“...the superego is the central psychic agency of social and cultural acquisition. As the depository of guilt feelings, moral prohibitions and sadistic self-punishments, this psychic agency is the “voice of the father”... Freud’s work stresses that the formation of the child’s ego-ideals occurs through processes which are largely unconscious. As a residue of the id’s earliest object choices, the individual’s “higher-ideals” are formed through a primary identification with significant other persons. The psychic energy which has been invested in such other persons in the making out of self-boundaries is diverted into an unconscious moral code.” [Elliott 1992: 39]

Freud began to apply his theory for the explanation of social phenomena, mechanisms and processes in his late works and one of such works is “Civilization and its discontent”, which can also provide useful material for the understanding how individual’s mentality is being formed under the influence of culture.

As we know from Freud’s, *Civilization, Society and Religion* “purpose of life is simply the programme of the pleasure principle dealing with reality”.

He mentions three main sources of displeasure that people attempt to master: painful and mortal existence, hurtful aspects of the outer world, and the fact that people must live with other human beings in a society. Freud considers this last source of displeasure as the most painful.

Freud introduces an analogy between the development of civilization – human society – and libidinal development, which allows him to speak about civilization in his own terms and claims that moral restrictions existing in society become unconscious repressive part of an individual’s psyche. The whole structure of civilization serves to “cultivate” natural processes and feelings of an individual, becomes a reflection of the phase of personal development – in Freud’s interpretation – and leads to discontent among civilians.

“We may characterize this process with reference to the changes which it brings about in the familiar instinctual dispositions of human beings, to satisfy which is, after all, the economic task of our lives... The most remarkable example of such a process is found in the anal erotism of young human beings. ... How this happens we do not know, but there is no doubt about the correctness of the finding. Now we have seen that order and cleanliness are important requirements of civilization, although their vital necessity is not very apparent, any more than their suitability as sources of enjoyment.” [Freud 1929: 17]

Freud also mentions our culture as one of the three main sources of suffering:

“Three sources from which our suffering comes: the superior power of nature, the feebleness of our own bodies and the inadequacy of the regulations which adjust the mutual relationships of human beings in the family, the state and society.” [Freud 1929: 13]

Therefore, Freud basically describes psychological mechanisms which lead people to create culture and civilization and does not consider or analyze society as a “working mechanism”.

Summarizing his work, Freud explains how the repression of the death instinct gives rise to neurosis in the individual: the natural aggressiveness of the human child is suppressed by society and become an internal force, opposed to the ego. These aggressive energies develop into the super-ego with the feeling of guilt.

Freud considers an individual as a ground point in the explanation of societal phenomena. He points out a context of relations between psychological motivations, cultural values and beliefs and the structure of the society. Human reality follows the psychological activity of individuals. According to Freud, the development of a person and civilization, in general, is connected with the growth of control Ego above Id and Superego.

Thus we can make an assumption that people are usually guided by common cultural codes, schemes of reasoning, values and beliefs about the world without reflection on them which, in our terms, form individual mentality of a person. Most of these codes are formed in conscience in childhood and adolescent years and remain unconscious for their barriers. Moreover, these mindsets had been formed long before any present everyday activities of a person and usually, they are not grounded in reason.

*Interconnection between group and individual system of values, the place and role of personal motives and values in society*

Pierre Bourdieu also tries to resolve a prominent antinomy of the human sciences: objectivism and subjectivism and investigates interconnection between individual and society. He performs it through the notion of habitus. Habitus can be defined as a system of dispositions (structures of the way how individuals perceive events, objects and other people). The habitus is both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgements and the system of classification practices. Habitus is unifying generative principle of life practices. Dispositions are the result of absorption of social structure into a personal set of cognitive attitudes and perceptions of reality. In this relation, when we analyzing intellectual life we should concern it as a “derivate” from dispositions from one hand, from the another hand the

process of reflexing of social structures and formation of these obdurate perceptions of reality is also a part of subjective intellectual life. But in common life many of such internal structures become embodied and work in a deeper, practical and often pre-reflexive way, so people cannot identify them and use them “automatically” with no reflection. Science usually tends to exclude subjective factor and present “pure objective” structures, but in social science this concept can be quite useful to describe connection between objective social structures and separate persons also it helps formally describe separate person as an element of the definite society. What can be referred to science – this concept is a try to categorize the intellectual processes and define intellectual sources and principles of human practices. Categories are the very bases of human mind and all known notions. Dispositions of habitus can be concerned as the main “categories” or generic structure of all human thoughts and activities [Bourdieu 1979]

### **5. Religion vs mentality**

This part of the first chapter is aimed to point out the place of religion in a group and individual beliefs system (mentality). Let’s consider views on religion: its origins, influence and place in society with Weber’s essay “The social psychology of the World religions” and S. Freud’s work “Civilization and its Discontent” and try to investigate this interconnection.

Religion is a universal, global phenomenon. The most part of countries remains dominantly religious (according to WVS and EVS 2012 absolute number of states has more than 50% religious residents). Even if we agree with both Weber and Freud and consider religion as an atavism and characteristic of human consciousness on the early stages of its development, it still has great global influence and remains the strong determinative part of personal identity. Based on Freud thoughts – religion is universal because it is a part and a way of social expression of developmental processes of the human psyche.

Freud starts his reflection in the book from a description of the "oceanic feeling" of wholeness, limitlessness, and eternity which he gets from one of his friends as a description of his religious feelings. Freud considers this feeling as a regression into an earlier state of consciousness — before the ego had differentiated itself from the external world.

Freud’s position is quite clear: religion is an infantile feeling of people who cannot separate themselves from the father-figure and the need for religion stays with them for the whole their life.

“The common man cannot imagine this Providence otherwise than in the figure of an enormously exalted father. Only such a being can understand the needs of the children of men

and be softened by their prayers and placated by the signs of their remorse. The whole thing is so patently infantile, so foreign to reality, that to anyone with a friendly attitude to humanity it is painful to think that the great majority of mortals will never be able to rise above this view of life.” [Freud 1929: 7]

According to Freud, the development of a person and civilization in general, connected with the growth of control Ego above Id and Super-ego. He claims that the development of human Civilization follows the same laws as the development of a personality. His views explain why religion is universal for human consciousness and such influential all over the World. It confirms the Huntington point that religion is “the most important” part of self-identity.

Weber also saw religion as one of the core forces in society. His main themes in essays are the effect of religious ideas on economic activities and everyday life practices, psychological roots of raising religious belief systems, the relation between social stratification and religious ideas and the distinguishable characteristics of Occidental civilization. According to Weber, religion covers the most essential needs of people from different strata such as requirements to keep power and social status, evaluate, explain and approve some negative factors or feelings which cannot be changed by people (suffering, obligation to work hard and other duties, weakness and diseases).

“The annunciation and the promise of religion have naturally been addressed to the masses of those who were in need of salvation... negative evaluation of suffering has led to its religious glorification... The rational need for a theodicy of suffering and of dying has had extremely strong effects. The development of a rational religious ethic has had positive and primary roots in the inner conditions of those social strata which were less socially valued. The sense of dignity of socially repressed strata or of strata whose status is negatively (or at least not positively) valued is nourished most easily on the belief that a special 'mission' is entrusted to them; their worth is guaranteed or constituted by an ethical imperative, or by their own functional achievement.” [Gerth, Mills 1946]

Weber claims that the development of the society is connected with release from religion and the growth of rationalism. This conclusion is very close to the Freud thoughts toward the religiosity and process of development of a person and society.

Nevertheless, Weber claims the total influence of religion on the formation of the belief systems, values and practice of everyday life.

“The rational religious pragmatism of salvation, flowing from the nature of the images of God and of the world, has under certain conditions had far-reaching results for the fashioning of a practical way of life. Wherever the direction of the whole way of life has been methodically rationalized, it has been profoundly determined by the ultimate values toward which this rationalization has been directed. These values and positions were thus religiously determined. Certainly they have not always, or exclusively, been decisive; however, they have been decisive in so far as an ethical rationalization held sway, at least so far as its influence reached... As a rule, these religious values have been also, and frequently absolutely, decisive.” [Gerth, Mills 1946]

This observation means that religious views and values, attitudes toward the world determined by them are essential and strong part of personal identity for many people. That is why differences in religious views can be considered as important civilization’s separator, in general. But in this case, there are some other questions appear. But is there anything that can replace religion part of identity? The point is – religion is a way to solve the basic existential human problem – mortality. It serves also as the answer to the question of the general meaning of life, the “right” way to live and as a way of being a part of “spiritual existence”. It means, that questions about the general meaning of life and mortality occupy the higher level in individual’s worldview and constitute a part of mentality – core codes, general structures which generate different content of mind. And religion is just the most widespread and old way to resolve these questions, but not the only one. There are some other fundamental existential questions form values and attitudes toward the World at the same level of importance as a religious one. In this consideration any economic or political values are not existential; they are rather generic from core values, which structure an individual’s mentality. It means that they are less connected with personal identities or not highly important in the hierarchy of personal values.

## **6. Image of War and struggle against the world as a core of Russian identity**

The aim of this chapter is to consider how collective memory relates to a group and individual mentality. I will consider an image of War and opposition toward the outer world as a core motive of Russian identity. Following the cultural approach, I make an assumption that aggressive behavior which leads to escalation relationships on the international arena is a product of cultural context which produces these acts.

*Memory, collective identity and moral universals*

According to the edition “Collective memories in war” memory of war events become a part of the collective identity of current citizens:

“When speaking of the connection between collective identity and memory, we can see that memory, as something experienced collectively in the past, truly lies at the heart of identity, when “identity” is understood as the unification of all the stretches of temporal experience, including, as a foundation, the past... Here, memory is used and perhaps even manipulated as a resource for attaining wholly separate goals of collective unity not even directly tied to memory.” [Rozhdestvenskaya et al. 2018: 126]

The same authors also introduce a concept of collective trauma within identity structure:

“In terms of collective identity, there also exists the notion of collective trauma or wounded collective memory... This is characteristically marked by the presence of certain importunate ideas... that result in a pathological intrusion of the past into the heart of present... Evidently, it follows that we should expect only hidden, implicit narrative forms of expression regarding this displaced traumatic memory, some kind of a trap for the sick or wounded memory that expresses involuntarily the very things the narrator would like to hide or would prefer not to mention”. The authors also explain “the clash of situations involving death, suffering and pain that are inaccessible “to the rest” and that majority of direct participants make no mentions in their speech about traumatic events and the topic itself never becomes fruitfully communicated.” [Rozhdestvenskaya et al. 2018: 127]

The concept of collective trauma has its origins in Sigmund Freud’s psychoanalysis theory, which, from the one side, claims the existence of unconscious part of the human psyche, forcing individual’s actions, from the other side, it claims the existence of superego – as cultural oppressive force which reflects social norms and values. From these points, we may propose that cultural traumatic experience which cannot be expressed directly and take hidden, implicit narrative forms, influence on the formation of not reflected obdurate cultural structures, moral universals of barriers of such cultural experience. Further, I want to present a number of such universals, values and beliefs, common for Saint-Petersburg citizens, influenced by war experience:

1) Fear of loss, the value of preservation and saving. We may observe the common striving for the state of calmness, stability and peace of mind as a way to save personal energy resources and not to waste them. This is “a way to survive in a resource-constrained

environment”. This prejudgment is formed in line with the historical memory of sacrifices necessitated by war, the Siege and deluges. This belief also finds a reflection in the specific attitude of residents to their city as of a fixed value in itself: they tend to think about it as of a big museum or memorial which shouldn’t be disturbed or changed but preserved.

In the whole, it is a typical Russian mindset about lack of availability of resources which is, according to Russian A. D. Shmelev, A. A. Zalyznyak, I. B. Levotina, represents key ideas of Russian linguistic world image: an idea of the uncertainty of the World, its unpredictability; an idea, that any action requires mobilizing of internal resources which is difficult. However, in Saint-Petersburg, these ideas are especially strong and viable because of war history, factual lack of some natural resources (climate conditions) and spread of communal way of living.

2) Nothing depends on a single person. This mindset means that people tend to believe that social, natural and other “objective” circumstances are stronger than personal efforts. One small person does not possess the power to change something in the “Big World”. People are unable to foresee what will happen in future so there is no sense for them to make efforts, to hurry and be proactive: instead, there is always a place for the hope that everything comes right by itself and they won’t get lost in the end.

3) A human being is a nonentity and there are the outer limits, something bigger than a human being exists. The meanings of these beliefs are connected with previous points: weakness in the face of the government, power of nature and some kind of inner emptiness which is being filled in with being self-associated with great city culture and history which are viewed as something superior to a man. [Kruglikova 2018]

“The Russian identity...has resulted from wars and conflicts with surrounding powers that have spurred it on to autarchy, a closed nature with regard to outside influences and a propensity for strong centralized power that can make provision for a regime supporting such a closed nature. In Russian collective memory, psychological fixations have been and continue to be selectively cultivated with an end to opposing the outside world. Russia’s past becomes reconstructed in such a way as to preserve its genetic memory of past greatness and the reasons of its fall, even in a new era when it no longer exists as a superpower encircled by enemies”. [Rozhdestvenskaya et al. 2018: 24]

Michail Chernysh in his chapter “Collective memory and its cultural antecedents in Russia” claims that “The truth about war” came into demand because the former propagandistic version inevitably failed to much up with the veterans’ own experiences and



those of civilian population who new...the real price of the great victory had been” [Rozhdestvenskaya et al. 2018: 19]. Further the author explains how defensive psychological mechanisms presented in collective memory: replacement and projection. Observing current War Parades in Russia we may say that the voices of veterans and “the truth about war” are completely replaced by hysteria about victory. We observe a “complex of a winner” which is strongly supported both by people and state: Russians are both winners and victims. Now the memory of WWII is used to depict Russian people as victims and demand compensation from the “debtors” for their loss. Hysteria about victory (“pobedobesye”) is caused by a rejection of the fault and personal responsibility for real war victims, cost of this victory and internal fails and mistakes during the war. Instead of taking this responsibility, people focus on blaming others with reference to the war events. Three recent examples, happened in a period of celebrating Victory day in Russia, interconnected with such transformation of memory, will be considered further.

1. Cage with a “German soldier” with a dog in Nizhniy Tagil. This performance was organized by a director of a local circus. This is a reflection of the myth of external enemy, responsible for “our death and suffering” who must be defeated. The internal message of the performance: “remember our enemy which must be defeated” (the link to the news is here <https://www.novayagazeta.ru/news/s019/05/09/151536-po-nizhnemu-tagilu-posle-parada-pobedy-provezli-fashista-v-kletke>).

2. An incident in middle school. A teacher humiliated a 1s-year old girl because she didn't learn a song about Russian Victory in a World War: “You do not know music, we have a course book which you should use to prepare answers. But questions there are too difficult for your stupid head, that is why I ask you learn songs only – you dump... What do you want in your life? Just to eat? What have you achieved in your life? Who are you?... It's a great pity that your parents were rescued in a War by our soldiers who participated in a war. It's a great pity that you were born and many others were not survived and burned in concentration camps.” Following our consideration this is an example of manipulation of collective memory with a rejection of the fault and personal responsibility when a teacher focuses on blaming others for their “nullity” with reference for the war events and war heroes (here is a link to the news <https://www.hab.kp.ru/daily/s6976/4034833/>).

3. The third case is closely connected with the Siege of Leningrad and happened in a hospital with old disabled people. A nurse who brought food for patience blaming an old woman that she left a roll (a piece of bread) after a dinner: “Why did you take this roll if you

didn't eat it? Do not you remember Leningrad? You are probably not from "us" that you waste food in such a way". The blamed old woman felt guilty, kept silence and tried to apologize for her "bad behavior".

The whole traumatic experience and responsibility for victims and aggressive military actions were replaced and mythologized by the cult of Victory and the position of victims. According to a survey, accomplished by Levada Center, only 20% of respondents agree with a statement that "USSR occupied territories of Baltic states in 1940 before the beginning of the Great Patriotic War", 53% rejected this statement. [Polegkyi 2016]

Currently, the cult of victory and mythologization of the War which are consequences of modern politics of memory, imposing an image of brave strong heroes opposed to the "World enemy" and image of military operations as some kind of sports activities which is justified and accepted by society. According to director of a department of socio-cultural investigations of "Levada Center", Alexey Levinson, about 40% of respondents do not afraid of perspective of war between Russia and Ukraine, and among young people 40% ensures that in case of the Third World War Russia defeat forces of the USA/NATO [Levinson 2015]. The War and military actions, in general, are reflected as a computer game, sports competition or a tele program.

Mark Juergensmeyer in his "Terror in the mind of God" focuses on cultural context that produces terroristic acts, on the ideas and the communities of support that lie behind the acts. We can partly use his ideas in the interpretation of provoking acts of Russian external policy. He claims that significant feature of such cultures – the perception that their communities are under attack and their acts are a response to violence. Under the "culture" author presumes two things – ideas and social groupings. He follows ideas about social basis described as "cultural systems" of people: the patterns of thought, the world views, and the meanings that are attached to the activities of a particular society, a paradigm of thinking that defines the conditions of all knowledge. [Juergensmeyer 2017: 13]

The author introduces the notion of "cosmic war" because acts of violence and their meaning – in the case of terroristic attacks – are larger than life. They relate to metaphysical conflicts between good and evil. The author claims that this script of cosmic war is central to almost all of the incidents of performance violence. [Juergensmeyer 2017: 150]

This idea correlates with Russian ideological tradition where a human being understood as an instrument in making future of his community or country, a puppet in hands of his destiny while the whole world is a metaphysical conflict between forces of good and

evil. That is why a notion of “eternal struggle” or “cosmic war” introduced by Juergensmeyer can be applied for understanding Russian culture.

Juergensmeyer shows how the notion of cosmic war provides the script being played out in the violent performances and is linked to the notion of conquest and failure, martyrdom and sacrifice. [Juergensmeyer 2017: 151]

Further, the author makes a number of statements when confrontation is likely to be characterized as cosmic war:

- The struggle is perceived as a defence of basic identity and dignity; [Juergensmeyer 2017: 164]

- Losing the struggle would be unthinkable; [Juergensmeyer 2017: 165]

- The struggle is blocked and could not be won in real time or in real terms. [Juergensmeyer 2017: 165]

He also explains a meaning and central place of such notions as a sacrifice and enemy-in-general in the cosmic war concept and makes a particular exploration of the fact that the USA is more often than other nations has been assigned the role of a foe.

These cosmic wars impart a sense of importance and destiny to men who find the modern world to be stifling, chaotic and out of control. [Juergensmeyer 2017: 193]

Thus we claim that some cultural determinants, expressed in a form of thought or belief about a world define to some extent a mode of action of a separate cultural group. Another point of the consideration is that differences in belief systems produce misunderstandings both in personal and international communication. This point will be considered in further chapters.

## **7. Cultural variation and different mentality as a ground for international conflicts**

Generally, a person grows up in a native country or, in other words, within one culture and gain specific cultural background during nurture. We consider this complex concept of “culture” as a system of basic values and beliefs typical for some unity. To be more specific – a system of underlying beliefs and modes of judgement that structures how individuals, nurtured in this culture, perceive events, objects, other people and the world order in general. They are relatively obdurate cultural structures, and provide the narrative material necessary for navigating everyday life – “codes”. As was stated before, it also means that these core values, beliefs and rules generally stay unconscious or non-reflected for its barrier. People are

simply taught (in the best case) how to live in a society and what is valuable for this society. But they do not usually reflect on these core values of implicit rules of society.

When two people from one country talk to each other, they talk out of a “common” belief system and usually have a close cultural background. That is why they consider some thoughts as “taken for granted” or self-obvious, axiomatic – and perfectly understand each other. They have “tacit agreements” on some core worldviews. But these default values and beliefs remain unconscious for them. No self-reflection usually happens during such interactions.

For a better understanding, let’s make a short analysis of two real dialogues in the same situation. Two women meet each other and notice that an elevator in their house is broken. The first case: one woman is an American and the second is a Russian woman. The second case: both women are Russians.

Natasha: Excuse me, but the elevator is out of order

Jane: Really? Whom should we talk to?

Natasha: Talk to?

Jane: To report it.

Natasha: I have no idea.

Jane: Oh, I ‘m sorry, I thought you lived here too.

Natasha: But I do. [Storti 1994: 117]

Natasha does not understand the point of Jane’s question. It sounds meaningless for her. Because she thinks that “there is nothing we can do about broken elevator”. This elevator is “out of her control” and she cannot influence its functioning. This way of action comes from the belief that “nothing depends on a person” (which we consider later) which is regular for Russian people. The elevator is a part of outer World and it belongs to others – so it is ordinary for her not to cope with or change something but find a way to get along with this part of the World order. That is why she has no idea whom should they talk to – she has never had this question before, because had no chance to appear in her thoughts.

As we may observe, Jane has an opposite belief about the “power of a single person”. She believes that “people can and should change and influence on the World around”. That is why the first question raised in her thoughts: “what should we do to make things better?” And the only possible reason why Natasha does not know the responsible person – is that she does not live here.

What else is important to point out of this example? We may observe that people's thoughts are generated by their ground beliefs – their mentality – which have no direct connection with this particular situation and mostly unconscious.

But let's turn to another real dialogue between two Russians happened in the same situation, and see how common beliefs “work together”:

- I'm sorry, but the elevator is out of order...
- Oh no, again? It happens so often during the last month!
- Yeah, it's a pity... but the house is really old and the elevator as well.
- I know, I'm exhausted to get my bags upstairs any time...
- Let me help you this time?
- Oh, I highly appreciate it, thank you.

As we can see, there is no misunderstanding between women here. They both “understand” why the elevator is broken (It is really old), and what they can do about it (go upstairs and help each other). The point here is that they both think out of one ground belief: “nothing depends on a person” and both have common or even the same questions and answers in their mind about this situation. Just as in the previous case – their “common belief” is unconscious for them but it's not a problem this time

But intercultural dialogue can be a trigger for such reflection. It is an opportunity to perform a deep reflection of core culturally-determined personal values. Talking with people from other countries, a reflexive person can notice different “cultural defaults” which cause misunderstandings on a micro level and can lead to international conflicts on a macro level when two sides cannot find the “common ground”.

To understand the reason for a conflict we should find out conflicting beliefs and values in the mentality of these opposing parties. No agreements could be made when these conflicting mental bases remain as they are. Some common value ground should be found for resolving a conflict. In other words, agreements between two parties should be made out of more general “common” value or belief. This common value ground helps conflicting parties create a “one-group” or “we” feeling. [Kruglikova 2019-1: 53-54]

Reflection towards Civilization identity, described by S. Huntington in “Clash of Civilizations”

S. Huntington in his “Clash of Civilizations” claims that cultural differences lay in a core of main international conflicts. In this paper, I neither provide a critique of his ideas nor

use them for investigation but I make a consideration on the concept of civilization identity, introduced by him which enrich previously reflected the topic of a self-identity formation.

The world is becoming a smaller place. The interaction between people from different countries is increasing and sometimes become stronger or at least the same as between people inside one country or one region. This increase of cross-national and cross-cultural interconnections shifts the way of self-identification of a separate person from a local social group to global social groups. In other words, these processes of globalization rise up a question of another level of self-identity – it is formed in another way and in another surrounding. Huntington investigates this question and considers civilization identity as the most fundamental and influential for future world-scale processes. He separates the World into eight-ten main current Civilizations, differentiated by history, culture, language and religion. Religion is mentioned as the most important differential.

“Civilization is differentiated from each other by history, language, culture, tradition and, most important, religion. The people of different civilizations have different views on the relations between God and man, the individual and the group, the citizen and the state, parents and children, husband and wife, as well as differing views of the relative importance of rights and responsibilities, liberty and authority, equality and hierarchy. These differences are the product of centuries.” [Huntington 1997]

Because of the processes of globalization, with its economic, cultural and social dimensions, local and national identities become weaker – at first glance. But, from my point of view, these processes are controversial and evolving in two opposite directions. Nowadays we can observe strong national patriotic movements in some nation states. Many people strongly associate themselves with a place where they were born and grew up and identify this feeling with attachment to their country and, consequently, national identity is considered as the strongest one. Particularly this case is specific for Russia. To be considered as Russian, someone should be born in Russia, there is no other way. Even if you speak a local language perfectly and have property and family in the country but were born in another country, you are a foreigner (out-group member). But the Russian language itself is a strong part of personal identity for Russian people. There are some countries, which have two or more official languages (former USSR countries, or Northern Africa – former French/Britain colonies). The point is – they usually live in two or even more languages as native (French/Arabic, Ukrainian/Russian, etc.) and the language itself is not connected with a personality or personal identity such strong as Russian for Russian people, especially when

country has pretty big cultural heritage in Russian (literature, philosophy, psychology, etc.) People are cut off the whole cultural massive in foreign languages and do not have experience of thinking about the World in other languages. So, the “back” side of this situation (when there is one predominant language in a country) – when we switch off this native language – we switch off the essential part of personal identity.

These thoughts lead me to the conclusion, that “civilization identity” if we accept this notion, does not mean differences in history, language, culture only. It may also mean a different way of self-identification, different important ground points of the whole process or another hierarchy of some basic identifying factors, different “scale grids”.

Huntington claims religion as the most important factor which separates different civilizations. We’ve considered some views on religion: its origins, influence and place in society with Weber’s essay “The social psychology of the World religions” and S. Freud’s work “Civilization and its Discontent” earlier and based on that consideration we may conclude that religion views and values, attitudes toward the world determined by them are essential and strong part of personal identity for many people. That is why differences in religious views can be considered as important civilization’s separator, in general. But in this case, there are some other questions appear. Whether civilization identity without religious consciousness possible and what can replace religion part of identity? Actually, even today we have some examples of people who, apparently, do not have this “civilization identity”. Nevertheless, they consider themselves as “Citizens of the world”. Third Culture Kids — children who were raised in the culture outside of their parents’ culture for a significant part of their development years, which either declare that they have difficulties with self-identification or refer themselves as cosmopolites. They cannot identify a group which they belong to and feel dissatisfaction about it, even when they are religious.

The point is – religion is a way to solve the basic existential human problem – mortality. It serves as the answer to the question of the general meaning of life, the “right” way to live and as a way of being a part of “spiritual existence”. Religion tries to monopolize spirituality. But religion is not the only way to solve these questions. It’s just the most widespread and old. There are some other fundamental existential questions may also form values and attitudes toward the World at the same level of importance as a religious one. So, back to Huntington concept of civilization identity, I would rather say that the more serious conflicts arise in case of conflict of some ground values of two conflicting social groups. Any

economic or political values are not existential in this sense – they are less connected with personal identities or not highly important in the hierarchy of personal values.

As a rule, people do not make an initial choice of the social groups they belong to. They just accept their surroundings as well as accept values and attitudes toward the World of this social group, starting from a family as the first closest social group. These groups provide content – answers for main existential questions, common for the group members. The problem is – this content remains unconscious or non-reflexed for the barriers but strongly connected with their self-identity. This is the reason why “cultural shock” and “clash of civilization” have such crucial consequences.

In conclusion of this reflection, I want to highlight the point that not only the content of different levels of self-identification is crucial but also, and probably with greater importance, – the way of self-identification and hierarchy of different levels and basic values which define this structure and the whole way of self-identification. This question is becoming more important because of globalization processes – evolving interconnections between people from different countries, cultures and geographical regions. In my opinion, Huntington noticed and described an essential ground of possible future conflicts but the notion of “civilization identity” should be put under further consideration. [Kruglikova 2019-2: 14-15]

## **8. Toward other theories of a social conflict and conflict resolution**

Following works on social conflicts and conflict resolution were used for interpretation of escalation relationships between Russia and EU countries:

1. Social conflict theories. The Functions of Social Conflict by Lewis Coser as the main source of analysis and fundamental work “Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society” by Ralf Dahrendorf for a critical understanding of the phenomena of social conflict. Coser widely uses the concept of social structure, social system and social actions in a way presented by Talcott Parsons. He also refers to the K. Marx theory of class conflict in his explanation of the main functions of a conflict and its mechanisms; Sigmund Freud’s psychoanalysis theory to explain internal forces of conflicting groups, their motivation, to introduce different types of conflicts and social “security systems” which prevent direct expression of antagonistic claims; Emile Durkheim’s (and partly M. Weber’s) understanding of society functioning.

Further, I will cover ideas, provided by the author during his analysis, which I consider as the most important.



The author makes a try to describe internal group mechanisms which lead to a conflict with another group or within one group and, in my opinion, makes an important move pointing out “non-realistic” and ideological mechanisms which provoke and cause conflicts along with “realistic” causes such as a clash of interests. To make a deeper investigation of any conflict both rational/realistic and ideological/non-realistic causes should be considered because of both of them involved in participants’ motivation.

The first his move is a distinction between realistic and non-realistic conflict, introducing non-direct motivation and substitution of a real aim.

“Conflicts which arise from frustration of specific demands within the relationship and from estimates of gains of participants, and which are directed at the presumed frustrating object, can be called realistic conflict, insofar as they are means toward a specific result. Non-realistic conflicts, on the other hand, although still involving interaction between two or more persons, are not occasioned by the rival ends of the antagonists, but by the need of tension release of at least one of them”. [Coser 1956: 49]

Then he describes a substitution of a real original goal of conflict by ritualism and conflict itself which becomes an internal law and a reason for group unification. “Even after a conflict situation which brought them into being no longer prevails, struggle groups continue to act according to the law upon which they originally entered the scene”. [Coser 1956: 105]

In chapter VI “Ideology and conflict”, the author makes the further point of objectification of a goal and claims that “the collective aim, transcending personal interests, will make a struggle more intense” and the feeling of unification between participants stronger. He also refers to Simmel’s conclusion that “the consciousness of speaking for a superindividual “right” or system of values reinforces each party’s intransigence, mobilizing energies that would not available for mere personal interests and goals”. [Coser 1956: 112] Although this mechanism is not universal, it has its point for societies where personal interests are considered as selfish and not “approved”. In such case “superindividual aims” legitimate conflict and make people, participants, highly involved. I want to emphasize this point, this mechanism of the motivation of participants works effectively when the “real reasons” of a “ruling top” are no more than “selfish” personal interests. The author also covers this topic further, refers again to Simmel’s work “Intellectuals have been of certain importance in objectifying social movements, in transforming them from interests groups into ideological movements. Marx himself was, of course, a preeminent and characteristic example of the intellectual who,..., perpetually transforms conflicts of interests into conflicts of ideas.”

[Coser 1956: 116] The logic here is – conflict of ideas is more intensive and motivating than conflict of interests.

Following Freud psychological theorizing logic, the author introduces such called safety-valve institutions in society, describing group preserving functions of conflict. He claims that “hostile or aggressive dispositions may be discharged not only against the original object of hostility but against substitute objects.” [Coser 1956: 40] This is one another internal mechanism which helps to prevent open conflict within a society even when “objective reason” or real conflict of interests exists.

In general, in my opinion, applying Freud’s psychological theory for analyzing group relations allowed the author to find out and describe essential internal mechanisms and forces of social conflicts. While conflicting groups consist of individuals it makes sense to consider individuals motivation and psychic mechanisms during investigation group dynamics, intergroup and in-group relationships.

I want to finalize this reflection with a piece of critique. Coser claims social structure and social conflict as dependent variables and conflict itself as one of the social phenomena which take place within some society characterizes this society and has some social functions. “... types of conflict and types of social structure are not independent variables”, “whether internal conflict promises to be a means of equilibration of social relations or readjustment of rival claims, or whether it threatens to “tear apart” depends to a large extent on the social structure within which it occurs”. [Coser 1956] These Coser’s thoughts toward the essence of social conflict were referred and criticized by Ralf Dahrendorf in his work “Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society”. Following Marx’s and Hegelian’s perspective, Dahrendorf claims a social conflict as an essential force an element of social development and historical change: “May we perhaps go so far as to say that conflict is a condition necessary for life to be possible at all? I would suggest, in any case, that all that is creativity innovation, and development in the extent, to the operation of conflicts between group and group, individual and individual, emotion and emotion within one individual. This fundamental fact alone seems to me to justify the value judgement that conflict is essentially “good” and “desirable.” [Dahrendorf 1964: 208]

In my opinion, following propositions, considered by Coser, are directly related to the topic of the paper and useful for understanding the mechanism and motivation of currently existing escalation between Russia and European Union countries.

Conflict with out-groups increases internal cohesion. Conflict with another group leads to mobilization of cohesion forces of the group. Depending on a group structure it may lead to an increase of centralization or not. The author claims that the occurrence of centralization and despotism depends upon the system of common values and group structure prior to the conflict situation itself. [Coser 1956: 95]

The search for enemies. Such rigidly organized groups may search for external enemy even there are no actual enemies exist but with a purpose to maintain unity. Imaginary threats have the same unified influence as a real enemy. [Coser 1956: 110] In other words, those groups which inhibit realistic conflict within may create external nonrealistic conflict to keep the group unity.

Ideology and conflict. In this part, the author emphasizes the role of non-selfish motivation which involves members of a group into a conflict. When they fight for some ideas and not for personal interests, it makes their behavior more violent. In other words, the objectification of conflict leads to its radicalization. [Coser 1956: 117]

2. Culture and conflict resolution by Kevin Avruch and Contemporary conflict resolution by Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse, Hugh Miall.

“Much of the field of conflict resolution...is based...on the fundamental belief that resort to physical violence in the processing of social conflict ... is a prime example of wrongheaded problem-solving. And the fact that most cultures at some point ... sanction this solution is proof to these conflict resolutionists that culture needs to be not only analyzed and understood for purposes of activist conflict resolution but rethought and re-imagined – re-engineered – as well.” [Avruch 1998: 20-1]

According to authors of “Contemporary conflict resolution,” there are three conflict resolution answers to the question “How far down does cultural variation reach?”

1. Cultural variation is not relevant to conflict resolution (supported by Burton, Zartman);
2. Cultural variation should be taken into account in conflict resolution, but only as a variable (supported by Bercovitch, Cohen, Gulliver);
3. Cultural variation is fundamentally significant in conflict resolution (supported by Avruch, Black, Lederach, Galtung);
4. Cultural variation reaches right to the bottom, precluding cross-cultural generalization. [Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, Miall 2011: 337]

The authors also provide six conceptual “inadequate ideas” which prevent reflection of complexity of the world, postulated by Avruch: “to assume that culture is homogeneous; to

reify culture as if it was a thing that could act independently of human agents; to ignore intercultural variation by assuming that it is uniformly distributed among members of a group; to assume that individual possesses only one culture; to identify culture superficially with custom or etiquette; and to assume that culture is timeless” [Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, Miall 2011: 338]

## **II. Differences in Russian and European system of values**

### **1. Preliminary comparative quantitative research**

Following questionnaire is used for preliminary comparative research for defining the value of law and rules and its comparison between Russian and Czech attitudes toward these values. Snowball sampling was used for the choice of respondents. 15 respondents from each side (Russia and Czechia – as a representative of the European Union country) participated. Three questions from the questionnaire were used for the further depth interviews for the deeper investigation of a personal value system and motivation of choices.

*The research objective* is to define and compare the attitudes of respondents from Czechia and Russia towards the value of law and rules.

*Initial hypothesis:* Russians value law and rules less than Czechs (or even negative attitudes toward the law and social rules in Russia)

*Software:* IBM SPSS Statistics

*Research subject:* value of the law and rules which are expressed through the decisions and choices made by respondents in proposed real-life situations.

Questionnaire and analysis of gained results are provided below.

**Questionnaire**

1. What is more important for you among these opportunities of modern society (choose three options):

- a. To be politically active: have a right to vote, opportunity to express political interests, etc.
- b. Free, open education.
- c. Open international market, many ways of earning money.
- d. Safety and privacy of personal life.
- e. Open wide access to the information, technology development.
- f. Opportunity to plan relationships, choose partners, friends, birth rate.
- g. Freedom of speech.
- h. Secular state and freedom of religious views.

Please choose only one answer for other questions.

2. Buying new equipment or household appliance, what do people usually do firstly?

- a. Read user guideline.
- b. Try to examine it by themselves and in case of some troubles read instruction.

3. Do you consider yourself as a European (along with Czech, German, etc.)?

- a. Yes
- b. No

4. Imagine that you know the journalist, who found out that his grandfather took a part in mass execution in concentration camp. His grandmother and mother ask him not to reveal this information. He decides to public this information anyway. Do you agree with his decision?

- a. Yes
- b. No

5. Imagine that you are an employee in company which has an agreement with foreign social organization. One of the clauses of this agreement constantly being violated by your manager and your colleagues. What do you prefer?

- a. To keep relations with your manager and colleagues and violate this clause.
- b. To follow clause of the agreement.
- c. Different option:

6. Escaping from the home country because of political reasons, young men crossed the border of foreign country without entry documents (violated the law of the country) and asked for asylum. His request was approved. Do you agree with this decision?

- a. Strongly agree
- b. Rather agree

- c. Rather disagree
- d. Strongly disagree
- e. Do not know

7. Could you please continue the following phrase:  
Any rules .....

8. Before the wedding day young man, willing to impress his fiancée, jumped into the water from the central bridge in the city under the restrictive sign. Police arrested him, the wedding was postponed. Do you agree with police actions?

- a. Yes
- b. No

9. During the dangerous escalation of international relations what social institute should be supported by the state?

Definitely yes          Rather yes          Rather no          Definitely no

- Medicine
- Education
- Media
- Military
- Science

10. During the dangerous escalation of international relations what social institute should be independent of government control?

Definitely yes          Rather yes          Rather no          Definitely no

- Medicine
- Education
- Media
- Science

11. Your sex:

- a. Male
- b. Female

12. Your level of education:

- a. High school
- b. University degree (Bc., Ing. or Mgr)
- c. Academic degree (Ph.D. and higher)

13. Where are you from?

- a. Czech Republic
- b. Russia

14. What is your age?
  - a. 18-25
  - b. 26-35
  - c. 36-50
  - d. >50

*Data for analysis:*

Questionnaire-based survey among 15 Russian and 15 Czech citizens.

*Operating procedure*

1. Creating questionnaire (two files attached of questionnaires are attached – in Russian and in English);
2. Holding a study surveys: 15 respondents from Russia (in Russian), 15 respondents from Czechia (in English).
3. Creating two separate data sets from answers: Data\_CZ.sav and Data\_RUS. Sav
4. Merge two datasets for more convenient analysis. Each dataset has respondent's country identifier (1 for Czech Republic and 2 for Russia)

*Analysis of the survey results*

5. Analysis of multiply response.

The first question is a question with multiple response:

What is more important for you among these opportunities of modern society (choose three options):

- a. To be politically active: have a right to vote, opportunity to express political interests, etc.
- b. Free, open education.
- c. Open international market, many ways of earning money.
- d. Safety and privacy of personal life.
- e. Open wide access to the information, technology development.
- f. Opportunity to plan relationships, choose partners, friends, birth rate.
- g. Freedom of speech.
- h. Secular state and freedom of religious views.

Let's perform an analysis of answers on this question (pic.1):



**Multiple Response**

**Case Summary**

	Valid		Cases Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
\$Q1_1 <sup>a</sup>	15	100,0%	0	0,0%	15	100,0%

a. Group

**\$Q1\_1 Frequencies**

	Responses	Percent of Cases	
		N	Percent
social_opp <sup>a</sup>	1	4	8,9%
	2	9	20,0%
	3	7	15,6%
	4	6	13,3%
	5	9	20,0%
	6	5	11,1%
	7	2	4,4%
	8	3	6,7%
Total	45	100,0%	300,0%

a. Group

**Multiple Response**

**Case Summary**

	Valid		Cases Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
\$Q1_1 <sup>a</sup>	15	100,0%	0	0,0%	15	100,0%

a. Group

**\$Q1\_1 Frequencies**

	Responses	Percent of Cases	
		N	Percent
social_opp <sup>a</sup>	1	12	26,7%
	2	4	8,9%
	3	6	13,3%
	4	6	13,3%
	5	4	8,9%
	6	1	2,2%
	7	5	11,1%
	8	7	15,6%
Total	45	100,0%	300,0%

a. Group

Pic.1 Multiple response analysis

The most popular Russian answers are:

Table 1 Most important opportunities of modern society, Russian case

Option	Number of replies	Percent	Percent of cases
Free, open education	9	20	60
Open wide access to the information, technology development	9	20	60
Open international market, many ways of earning money	7	15,6	46,7
Total	25/45	55,6	166,7

The most popular Czech answers are:

Table 2. Most important opportunities of modern society, Czech case

Option	Number of replies	Percent	Percent of cases
To be politically active: have a right to vote, opportunity to express political interests, etc.	12	26,7	80
Secular state and freedom of religious views	7	15,6	46,7
Open international market, many ways of earning money	6	13,3	40
Safety and privacy of personal life	6	13,3	40
Total	31/45	68,9	206,7

Following questions were chosen as reflection of the value of law and rules: Q4, Q5, Q6, Q8 – they are asking about a choice between keeping a law/rules/instructions or violating them in favor of another value (relations, family, personal interest, etc.).

*Chosen questions:*

4. Imagine that you know the journalist, who found out that his grandfather took a part in mass execution in concentration camp. His grandmother and mother ask him not to reveal this information. He decides to public this information anyway. Do you agree with his decision?

- a. Yes
- b. No

5. Imagine that you are an employee in company which has an agreement with foreign social organization. One of the clauses of this agreement constantly being violated by your manager and your colleagues. What do you prefer?

- a. To keep relations with your manager and colleagues and violate this clause.
- b. To follow clause of the agreement.

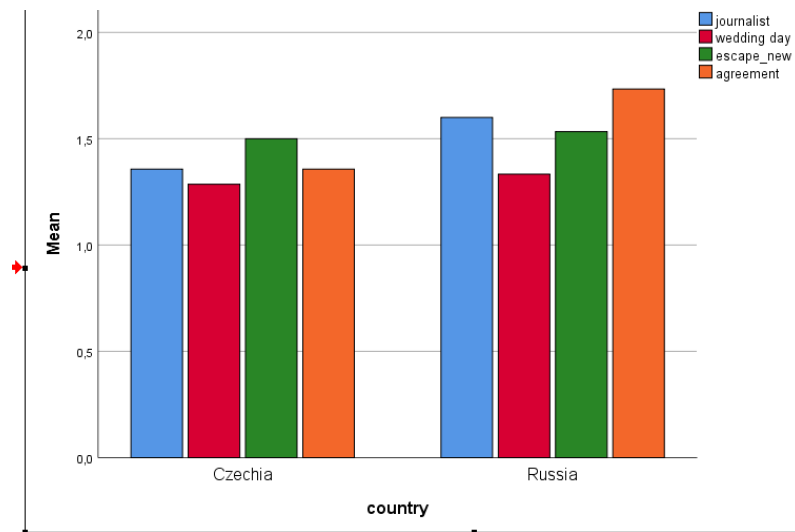
6. Escaping from the home country because of political reasons, young men crossed the border of foreign country without entry documents (violated the law of the country) and asked for asylum. His request was approved. Do you agree with this decision?

- a. Strongly agree
- b. Rather agree
- c. Rather disagree
- d. Strongly disagree
- e. Do not know

8. Before the wedding day young man, willing to impress his fiancée, jumped into the water from the central bridge in the city under the restrictive sign. Police arrested him, the wedding was postponed. Do you agree with police actions?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Let's compare central tendencies for these questions (variables Q4, Q5, Q6, Q8) with BAR CHART (pic.2):



Pic.2 Bar charts

For the better representation of these results we create new variable RUL = “Keeping rules” and count variables q2, q5\_rec, q6\_rec, q8. Then we can compare results of two data sets with Histogram graph.

$$RUL = (q5 + q5\_rec + q6\_rec + q8) / 4;$$

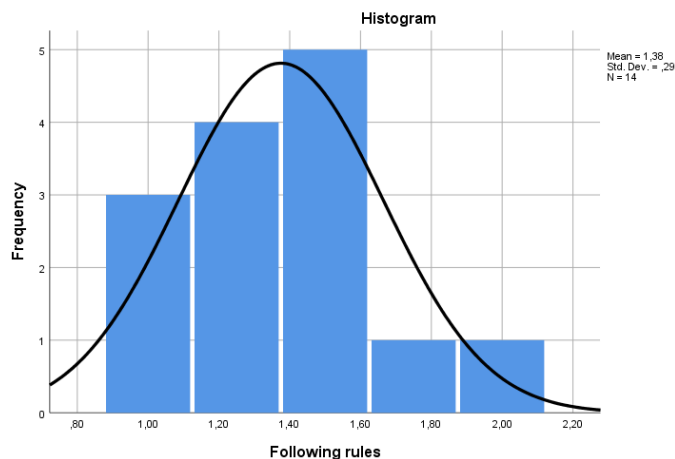
q5\_rec – q5 recorded in an opposite scale to comply with other variables;

q6\_rec – q6 recorded in two variants to comply with other variables: yes – 1 – a and b;

no – 2 – c and d; e – missing.

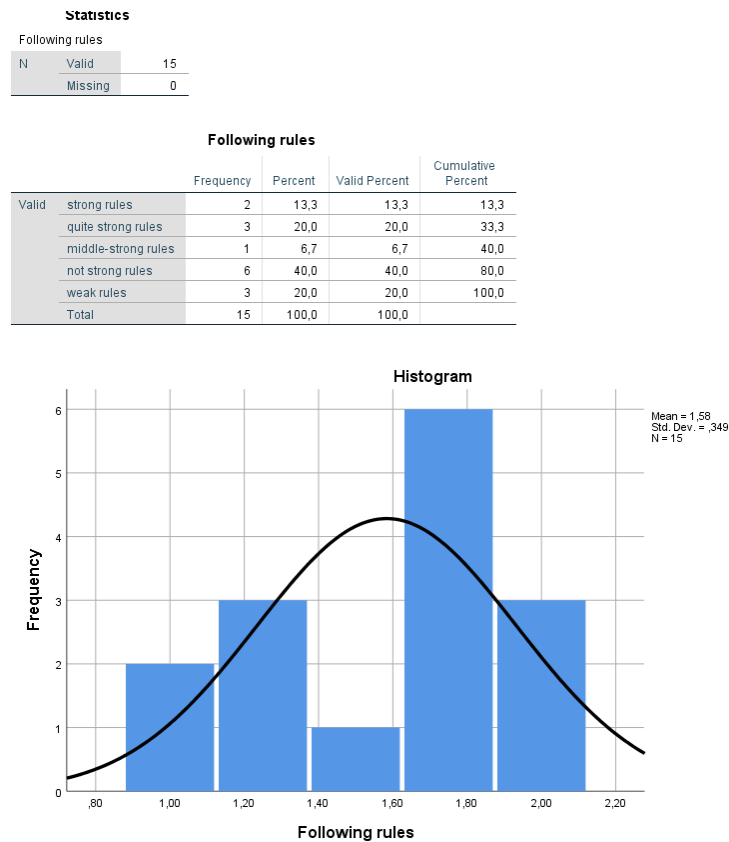
Czech cases:

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	strong rules	3	20,0	21,4	21,4
	quite strong rules	4	26,7	28,6	50,0
	middle-strong rules	5	33,3	35,7	85,7
	not strong rules	1	6,7	7,1	92,9
	weak rules	1	6,7	7,1	100,0
	Total	14	93,3	100,0	
Missing	System	1	6,7		
	Total	15	100,0		



Pic.3 Histogram for Czech cases

Russian cases:



Pic.4 Histogram for Russian cases

Conclusion: according to compared statistical results Russian respondents have a weaker value of keeping social rules and law. It means that in case of choice or questionable real life situations they would rather follow some other values and ignore rules or violate the law.

Investigation of observed results toward the value of law and rules in the Russian case will be continued with secondary analysis of WVS survey and depth interviews in the following chapters.

## 2. Secondary analysis of WVS survey

The World Values Survey Database

Data from the World Values Survey is used in current research to explore the attitudes toward law and rules among Russians and confirm the hypothesis that keeping rules and law in Russian culture have rather a negative connotation and in case of questionable situation or even presence of an opportunity not to keep law and rules it be ignored or violated.

Choice of the data source for analysis

Initially, I made a choice between the European values survey and the World values survey, but the second one appeared to be more resourceful, informative and convenient to

use. Further I would like to make a short observation of this Data base of Social surveys data. The World Values Survey ([www.worldvaluessurvey.org](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org)) is a global network of social scientists studying changing values and their impact on social and political life, led by an international team of scholars, with the WVS Association and WWSA Secretariat headquartered in Austria. This survey started in 1981 and held each 5 years. The WVS consists of nationally representative surveys conducted in almost 100 countries which contain almost 90 percent of the world's population, using a common questionnaire. The main language of the questionnaire is English, but for the current wave it also was translated into Russian, Spanish and Arabic. The WVS is the largest investigation of human beliefs and values, currently including interviews with almost 400,000 respondents. Moreover the WVS is the only academic study of the world's major cultural zones. [Worldvaluessurvey.org 2019] Research topics of the Survey: social values, attitudes, stereotypes, well-being, social capital, trust, organizational membership, economic values, corruption, migration, science, technology, religion, security, ethics, norms, politics, demography.

Data are accessible for online analysis on the project website [www.worldvaluessurvey.org](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org) in English.

There were 6 waves of the research (the 7th Wave is currently holding on), and data from each of Waves is accessible in a separate package in a section Data & Downloads and free to download.

Citation for the dataset: Inglehart, R., C. Haerpfer, A. Moreno, C. Welzel, K. Kizilova, J. Diez-Medrano, M. Lagos, P. Norris, E. Ponarin & B. Puranen et al. (eds.). 2014. World Values Survey: Round Six - Country-Pooled Datafile Version: <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV6.jsp>. Madrid: JD Systems Institute.

Following three variables were chosen for the interpretation of attitudes toward social rules and law:

V112 – Confidence: Labor unions;

V114 – Confidence: Court;

V118 – Confidence: The Civil service.

These variables measure the confidence of Russian respondents in social institutions as social norms providers (Labor unions and The Civil service), and a state law system (Court). Confidence toward these social institutions provides us respondents' attitudes toward main providers of social norms, rules and law within society. Lack of confidence is

considered as an assumption that these social norms are weak and generally not followed, not effective and “do not work” in a proper way.

The same variables were analyzed for two last waves of the survey: wave 5 and wave 6 to follow tendencies and changes in these attitudes.

*Results for WVS5 (2006-2010)*

**labour**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	yes	641	31,5	38,7	38,7
	no	1015	49,9	61,3	100,0
	Total	1656	81,4	100,0	
Missing	System	377	18,6		
Total		2033	100,0		

**justice**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	yes	735	36,2	38,3	38,3
	no	1183	58,2	61,7	100,0
	Total	1919	94,4	100,0	
Missing	System	114	5,6		
Total		2033	100,0		

**civil serv**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	yes	964	47,4	53,0	53,0
	no	855	42,1	47,0	100,0
	Total	1820	89,5	100,0	
Missing	System	213	10,5		
Total		2033	100,0		

Pic.5 WVS5 result

*Representative tables*

Table 3: Confidence: Labor unions

Confidence	Frequency	Valid Percent
YES	641	38,7
NO	1015	61,3
TOTAL	1656	100

Table 4: Confidence: Courts

Confidence	Frequency	Valid Percent
YES	735	38,3
NO	1183	61,7
TOTAL	1918	100

Table 5: Confidence: Civil services

Confidence	Frequency	Valid Percent
YES	964	53
NO	855	47
TOTAL	1820	100

*Results for WVS6 (2011-2015)*

**Frequencies**

		Statistics		
		labour	court	civil serv
N	Valid	1981	2321	2298
	Missing	519	179	202
Mean		1,6723	1,6495	1,4932

**Frequency Table**

		labour			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	yes	649	26,0	32,8	32,8
	no	1332	53,3	67,2	100,0
	Total	1981	79,2	100,0	
Missing	System	519	20,8		
Total		2500	100,0		

		court			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	yes	813	32,5	35,1	35,1
	no	1507	60,3	64,9	100,0
	Total	2321	92,8	100,0	
Missing	System	179	7,2		
Total		2500	100,0		

		civil serv			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	yes	1165	46,6	50,7	50,7
	no	1133	45,3	49,3	100,0
	Total	2298	91,9	100,0	
Missing	System	202	8,1		
Total		2500	100,0		

Pic.6 WVS6 result

Representative tables:

Table 6: Confidence: Labor unions

Confidence	Frequency	Valid Percent
YES	649	32,8
NO	1332	67,2
TOTAL	1981	100

Table 7: Confidence: Courts

Confidence	Frequency	Valid Percent
YES	813	35,1
NO	1507	64,9
TOTAL	2320	100

Table 8: Confidence: Civil services

Confidence	Frequency	Valid Percent
YES	1165	50,7
NO	1133	49,3
TOTAL	2298	100

As we may count, a confidence decreased on 1,4% both for Civil services and Labor Unions and on 3,2% for the system of justice – Courts;

There are two main conclusions made in result:

1. More than a half of population do not feel confident about social institutions which provide social norms and legal system;
2. Confidence is decreasing during a period 2005-2015.



### 3. Analysis of depth interviews

Qualitative research is a type of sociological research which collects and works with non-numerical narrative data and tries to interpret meaning from these data, make generalizations and confirm the hypothesis that helps people understand social life through the research of targeted social groups, actions or places.

Qualitative research is based upon the observations and interpretations of people's estimations of different events and phenomena and observes people's behavior in their natural way of life. Qualitative researchers investigate meanings, interpretations, symbols, processes and relations of social life.

#### *Grounded theory*

'Grounded theory ... is a method, an approach, a strategy. ... grounded theory is best defined as a research strategy whose purpose is to generate theory from data. 'Grounded' means that the theory will be generated on the basis of data; the theory will, therefore, be grounded in data. 'Theory' means that the objective of collecting and analysing the research data is to generate theory. The essential in grounded theory is that theory will be developed inductively from data'. [Punch 1998]

#### *The technique of analysis of interviews' content*

The proposed approach provides an opportunity to perform a reflection of core culturally-determined personal values and beliefs. It helps people identify "cultural defaults" which cause problematic situations in their life and misunderstandings on a personal level and which can lead to international conflicts on a macro level when two sides cannot find the "common ground" because of different attitudes and estimations toward real phenomena which merge opposed interests. Following a proposed approach to understand the reason of conflict we should find out conflicting beliefs and values in mentalities of these opposing parties – in other words, to identify what makes them "others" and separates them into opposed groups.

One of the basic assumptions is that belief system forms the ground which generates the whole content of thought, attitudes and interpretation of reality and then a way of action.

Formation of this ground belief, which is close to the formation of basic notions and general categories of thinking [Vygotsky, considered earlier in p.1], is based on personal living experience and cultural semantic space.

The second assumption is that culturally-determined beliefs are basically unconscious [Considered earlier in p. I. 3 "Mentality as a collective unconsciousness part of the psyche"].

As we deal with basic values and beliefs, we need to find out these bases, retrieve them onto the conscious level of thinking.

Markers of going into the required level of reasoning are judgments about some “general” for the majority of people phenomena or characteristics. These types of judgments are characterized with declared and intended universal quantifiers (all, everyone, any, no one, should be, naturally, in general, etc.).

For this purpose, we raise a number of questions about a content which we get from a respondent, such as: “How the person should think about the World and people to have these thoughts? Which beliefs generate these thoughts, make them possible?”

Then, when talking to a person, we get a particular value-judgment from a respondent.

After that, we find out what general meaning, context or idea of this value-judgment is behind it.

We think about a person’s motivation and a purpose to hold such belief: “What for?” or “What is the purpose?” are appropriate questions at this stage. Drawing on all these thoughts, we can make a hypothesis about the ground belief of a subject, which generates this content of thought. Afterwards, we prove this hypothesis and make this belief conscious for a person through the guided dialogue based on the Socratic Method of questioning.

For the experimental part of this research, 10 depth interviews were hold using this technique, along with following analysis and coding of the general mode of thoughts of respondents to find out some common ground beliefs and values for Russian and Czech respondents as representatives of two different cultures.

Dialogues with Russians were held in Russian, with Czech in English.

These dialogues were structured in the same way and based on three questions from the designed questionnaire, used previously for the preliminary questionnaire-based survey.

Chosen questions (the full interviews are provided in an attachment, see Annexes 1, 2):

1. Buying new equipment or household appliance, what do you usually do firstly?
  - Read user guideline.
  - Try to examine it by yourself and in case of some troubles read instruction.
2. Imagine that you know the journalist, who found out that his grandfather took a part in mass execution in concentration camp. His grandmother and mother ask him not to reveal this information. He decides to public this information anyway. Do you agree with his decision?

- Yes
  - No
3. Before the wedding day young man, willing to impress his fiancée, jumped into the water from the central bridge in the city under the restrictive sign. Police arrested him, the wedding was postponed. Do you agree with police actions?
- Yes
  - No

Each interview took up to 30 minutes.

As we consider that amount of ground beliefs is restricted for a separate culture, common for barriers of cultural content and in general unconscious, respondents were chosen based on the absence of experience of re-integrating in another culture (country) and absence of experience of deep reflection of social fundamentals (experience of philosophical, sociological reflection).

Major part of interviews with Russian respondents were hold in Saint-Petersburg by my former colleagues, who learnt mentioned technique, all interviewers are mentioned in interviews scripts. Analysis of content was accomplished after. Respondents for questionnaire-based survey and depth interviews are different people.

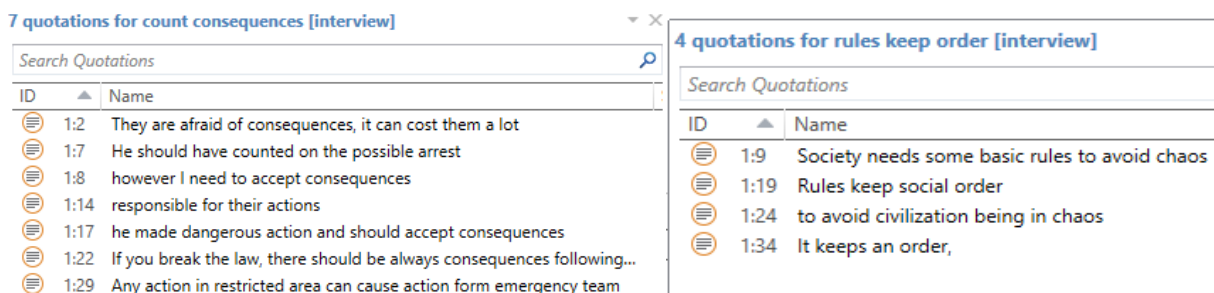
Full scripts are provided in attachments. Analysis is accomplished with Atlas.ti software.

### *Analysis of interviews*

Atlas.ti software provides an opportunity to create and count codes, which in our case contain values, principles and some assumptions toward a world of participated respondents.











All gained codes were divided into two groups – separately for Czech respondents and for Russian respondents.

Each code is related to some respondent’s content, quotation, which is generalized with that code, see pic. 7






















Pic.7 Coding

List of codes for Czech cases:

Show codes in group Cze				
	Name	Grounded	Density	Groups
<input type="radio"/>	◇ count consequences	 7	0	[Cze]
<input type="radio"/>	◇ rules keep order	 4	0	[Cze]
<input type="radio"/>	◇ people want to feel good and calm	 4	0	[Cze]
<input type="radio"/>	◇ truth should be open	 3	0	[Cze]
<input type="radio"/>	◇ not hurt relatives, respect wishes	 3	0	[Cze]
<input type="radio"/>	◇ strong reason needed to violate rules	 3	0	[Cze]
<input type="radio"/>	◇ other people counted	 2	0	[Cze]
<input type="radio"/>	◇ make something new, explore, create	 2	0	[Cze]
<input type="radio"/>	◇ positive value of rules	 2	0	[Cze]
<input type="radio"/>	◇ evil should be revealed, open truth	 1	0	[Cze]

Pic.8 Codes for Czech cases

List of codes for Russian cases:

<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ external locus of control	 6	0	[Rus]
<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ meaningless	 3	0	[Rus]
<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ hope for good luck without efforts	 3	0	[Rus]
<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ count consequences_R	 3	0	[Rus]
<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ opposition of social and personal interests	 3	0	[Rus]
<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ hope to avoid consequences	 2	0	[Rus]
<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ truth should be open_R	 2	0	[Rus]
<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ keep rules in case of direct danger	 2	0	[Rus]
<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ always keep family interests	 2	0	[Rus]
<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ rules are prohibition to act	 1	0	[Rus]
<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ no reason to keep rules when punishment avoided	 1	0	[Rus]
<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ count personal situation	 1	0	[Rus]
<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ rules are punishment	 1	0	[Rus]
<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ truth for me can not be truth for others	 1	0	[Rus]
<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ truth and belief are equal	 1	0	[Rus]
<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ keeping rules depend on who made them	 1	0	[Rus]
<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ count feelings of relatives	 1	0	[Rus]
<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ keep relationships	 1	0	[Rus]
<input type="checkbox"/>	◇ keeping rules require efforts	 1	0	[Rus]

Pic.9 Codes for Russian cases

Following codes for Russian cases could be unified into groups:

*Negative interpretation of rules:*

- Rules are prohibition to act;
- No reason to keep rules when punishment avoided;
- Rules are punishment;
- Keeping rules require efforts;
- Keep rules in case of direct danger.

General conclusion which can be made about differences between answers of Russian and Czech respondents – rules and law among Russian respondents have primarily negative meaning: often connected with prohibition of action and punishment and tend to be avoided or ignored in case of absence of direct strong consequences (death, penalty, punishment, etc.) In Czech cases rules and law are primarily connected with the idea of keeping order, social responsibility and counting consequences of personal actions.

Other observed differences: less value of truth among Russians; value of meaningfulness of actions; opposition between personal and social relationships; less; less control over the life and actions – existence of some external forces and circumstances which influence on individual's life. This motivation differs replies of Russian respondents from replies of Czech respondents.

### **III. Intercultural dialogue as a method of reflection of cultural content and identity**

*Pedagogical effect of intercultural dialogue and self-awareness about cultural content.*

Dialogue is not just a form of communication or a means of realizing one's private interests. It is an environment for development. Following reflection toward the meaning and importance of intercultural dialogue is a result of my discussion with a young philosopher about a system of beliefs as a cultural ground; its place and implementation in the context of intercultural relations. This reflection was presented by the author at the conference at Saint-Petersburg State University in 2018 and then published in the first issue of the journal "Mental Studies" (in Russian). Here is a selective translation of original text provided [Lebedev 2019].

"There has long been a certain reverence for meaningful forms of dialogue in high culture, art and even psychological practice; it is represented in different forms - from ancient civilizations, Greek symposiums, Plato's dialogue held by Socrates and medieval scholastic practices to modern practices of group dynamics in psychology and scientific colloquia. However, such deep dialogues are still not a common feature of the process of organizing communication between countries and peoples.

#### **A. Intercultural dialogue as a process of self-awareness of the subjects of history**

The philosophical analysis of world culture demonstrates that the formation of people's identity comes from the collision of particular folk cultures as subjects of history. This process of self-identification occurs through the stages of determining the boundaries of ownership of subjects of relations (geographic location, natural resources, etc.), civil and world wars as a means of disseminating culture, the formation of international economic relations and the process of trade as a way to consolidate international formal law. At the same time, the existing shortcomings of formal law in case of the mutual dependence of particular cultures are eliminated exclusively in the process of mutual cultural education and the formation of supranational political and economic relations. As a result, when peoples become aware of their identity against the background of universal world history, the idea of the natural and inalienable human rights and the absolute value of the historical heritage of world culture arises. As well as from the end of the 20th century, integration processes in the sphere of education and science arise claiming a new character of dialogue of civilizations...

B. Legal restrictions as grounds for meaningful conflicts of interest in partnering relations of states.

As long as existing relations between countries are built on the basis of formal law, historically and substantively determined by private ownership, the form of dialogue of civilizations is determined by the “economic basis”. Conversations about dialogue between peoples and nations as economic relationships between partners invariably lead to the reference of particularistic relations of owners, and a complex system of mediating historical ties in relations of the participants in such a dialogue is not reflected. The mutual influence of cultures is not taken into account in the formal contractual nature of relationships.

...

C. The value and mental content of dialogue of cultures.

Alternative ways of organizing intercultural interaction based on different values are represented against the background of a relatively successful strategy for the development of international economic relations.

Dialogue between cultures based on religious grounds gives rise to new conflicts both within countries and in their relations with each other. The idea of universal responsibility for historical heritage and mutual security is not able to effectively organize integration processes since the idea of progress is opposed to it. An appeal for natural rights and tolerance contributes to the growth of nationalism and extremism. The idea of common prosperity based on technological progress is confronted with traditional values....

Mental bases of positions of the participants of dialogue that cannot be reflected retain the alienated form of relations since they cannot be directly identified. The unconscious bases of the subject of dialogue represent the mental axiological mindsets and can be identified through the practice of philosophical reflection...

D. Reflection of mental mindsets as a way for the development of the dialogue participants.

In any dialogue (even in dialogue about the simplest things) people exchange their ideas about the “right” way to live and the way things organized (according to their conviction). Even in everyday life, we talk to each other about the meanings that make up the mental content of our communications, but we do not notice this. In addition, it is difficult to imagine a simpler and more effective way for the development of consciousness and thinking and for expansion of the picture of the world than dialogue. Through communication with others, we get to know not only our native language and foreign culture but also the

ideological content and beliefs that our native culture and natural language demonstrate. Therefore, dialogue at the level of meanings is a condition and environment for mutual development and reflection of both someone else's and own positions.

...

It is necessary to understand that one past does not guarantee unity in the future, and in this case, the building up of international relations in social projects, education, science and innovative industry is required." [Lebedev 2019: 46-48].



## **Conclusion**

Summarizing the result of the current work, following bottom line points should be highlighted:

- At the beginning of the paper, the concept of an individual's mentality was introduced which links individual belief system – an individual's mentality with cultural meaning content. Following dimensions of the concept are considered:

- Formation of an individual's mentality. Fundamental work of Russian pedagogist Lev Vygotsky was taken as a basis of consideration. Following his thoughts and experience, we investigated the internal processes of formation and development of an individual's beliefs system; social and cultural influence and also the awareness in operating notions, borrowed from social surroundings. There are further conclusions in the result of this analysis were stated:

- Common structures of generalization are spread on different content of thought; these structures are widely unconscious for its barrier and can be partly inherited from social surroundings, partly influenced by individual thinking processes.

- Adult people tend to use more primitive level of thinking then notional thinking (i.e. natural thinking), especially in their everyday life experience.

- Mentality and self-identity. Here we considered an Identity formation as a process inextricably connected with the upbringing and education of an individual: with the process of comprehension of his rules, values and beliefs by him and in this connection with the formation process of his attitude to various social groups. At the same time, we declared two different ways of evolving self-identity: non-reflexive and conscious choice based on shared values.

- Mentality and collective unconsciousness. Following basic ideas of Freud's psychoanalysis theory and a concept of the collective unconscious, we stated that people are usually guided by common cultural codes, schemes of reasoning, values and beliefs about the world without reflection on them which, in our terms, form individual mentality of a person. Most of these codes are formed in conscience in childhood and adolescent years and remain unconscious for their barriers. Moreover, these mindsets had been formed long before any present everyday activities of a person and usually, they are not grounded in reason.

- Mentality and religion. In this part, we declared that questions about the general meaning of life and mortality occupy the higher level in individual's worldview and constitute a core part of an individual's mentality – general structures which generate different content

of mind. Religion is the most widespread and old way to resolve these questions, but not the only one. There are some other fundamental existential questions form values and attitudes toward the World at the same level of importance as a religious one. In this consideration any economic or political values are not existential; they are rather generic from core values, which structure an individual's mentality. It means that they are less connected with personal identities and not highly important in the hierarchy of personal values.

- This work also pointed out internal cultural mechanisms and features provoking aggressive external policy and considers cultural identity as a container of ideas which justify and originate opposition and conflict with other cultures: among them are such meanings as sacrifice and predestination, image of enemy-in-general and opposition to the outer world meanings, which are closed to the "cosmic war" concept, introduced by Juergensmeyer and reviewed in a related chapter. For the consideration of this topic, the concept of collective memory and collective trauma within the identity structure were used. The concept of collective trauma has its origins in Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis theory. From its points, we may propose that cultural traumatic experience which cannot be expressed directly and take hidden, implicit narrative forms, influence on the formation of not reflected obdurate cultural structures, moral universals of barriers of such cultural experience.

- The cultural approach was applied for understanding and exploration of the conflict: its reasons and mechanism. Under the "culture" we presumed inherent ideas: values, beliefs which form group mentality; and people as barriers of cultural meanings. In the course of the investigation, conflicting beliefs and values of people from these countries were defined:

- A negative value of rules and law along with the high value of meaningfulness and higher purpose of life among Russian respondents which form the tendency for ignorance, violation and low confidence in the legal system and social norms;

- The supremacy of external forces and circumstances over the personal efforts, an idea of destiny which form the tendency to the victimization of a personal image; searching responsible forces in the outer world.

Thus, the current escalation of relationships was reviewed as a cultural conflict.

- Following research results are gained in analysis of the preliminary comparative questionnaire-based survey, secondary analysis of World Value Survey, and depth interviews: Primarily comparative quantitative research showed that Russian respondents have a weaker value of keeping social rules and law. It means that in case of a choice or some questionable

real-life situations people would rather follow some other values and ignore rules or violate the law.

Secondary analysis showed that more than half of the population does not feel confident about social institutions which provide social norms and legal system and confidence is decreasing during a period 2005-2015.

The third part of the research was performed by means of Mental approach – a technique introduced by A. Murashov which allows to find out an unconscious individual's mental mindsets and perform their reflection and problematization. General conclusion which can be made after analysis of the depth interviews is that rules and law among Russian respondents have primarily negative meaning: rules often connected with prohibition of action and punishment and tend to be avoided or ignored in case of absence of direct strong consequences (death, penalty, punishment, etc.) In Czech cases, rules and law are primarily connected with the idea of keeping order, social responsibility and counting consequences of personal actions.

Other observed differences: less value of truth among Russians; the value of meaningfulness of actions; the opposition between personal and social relationships; less control over the life and actions – the existence of some external forces and circumstances which influence an individual's life and stronger than individual efforts. This motivation differentiates replies of Russian respondents from replies of Czech respondents.

- The Functions of Social Conflict by Lewis Coser was used as the main source of analysis of a social conflict mechanism. He applies Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis theory to explain internal forces of conflicting groups, their motivation, to introduce different types of conflicts and social "security systems" which prevent the direct expression of antagonistic claims. Coser makes an important move pointing out "non-realistic" and ideological mechanisms which provoke and cause conflicts along with "realistic" causes such as a clash of interests.

- In the last chapter, we reviewed an intercultural dialogue as a method of reflection of cultural content and identity with its pedagogical effect. This chapter claims that mental bases of the participants of dialogue, that cannot be reflected, retain the alienated form of relations since they cannot be directly identified. The unconscious bases of the subject of dialogue represent the mental axiological mindsets and can be identified through the practice of philosophical reflection for defining the common ground of negotiations and supporting the resolution of existing contradictions.

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# ANNEX 1

## Interviews with Czech citizens

Respondent 1, Woman, 25 y.o.

1. Buying new equipment or household appliance, what do people usually do firstly?

a. Read user guideline.

**b. Try to examine it by yourself and in case of some troubles read instruction.**

- Why do they act in such way?

- People do not want to spend time reading manuals. They value simplicity and react straight forward, meaning that the button or parts of appliances are easy to use.

- How do they differ from people who act in an opposite way?

- Perhaps they are not afraid they might use the item in a wrong way. Maybe they are more confident.

- Why do people afraid to do something in a wrong way?

- They are afraid of consequences, it can cost them a lot

- What consequences exactly?

- In this case to break something and lost their money or be injured.

- Aren't confident people afraid of doing something in a wrong way?

- Well... they are probably know already how to deal with such things.

- What does it mean to be confident?

- To be sure that you act in a right way, and experienced enough to make it.

.....

2. Imagine that you know the journalist, who found out that his grandfather took a part in mass execution in concentration camp. His grandmother and mother ask him not to reveal this information. He decides to public this information anyway. Do you agree with his decision?

a. Yes

**b. No**

- Why?

- I would respect the wishes of the close relatives. Although when asked I'd tell the truth. I wouldn't hide it.

## ANNEX 1

- What does he value in this case?
  - I think as a journalist he values the truth above all, even if the truth is hurtful.
  - Why the truth is so important?
  - It's the real state of things which involve other people... also when you hide it you are not follow your professional code as a journalist, you do not comply with professional standards.
  - Why do people should follow professional standards?
  - Otherwise why did they choose their profession - If they cannot make it in a right way?
  - Why is it important to respect wishes of your relatives?
  - You shouldn't hurt them.
  - What happens if you hurt them?
  - Relationships can be broken, no reason to do that. They care about you, they are close people.
3. Before the wedding day young man, willing to impress his fiancée, jumped into the water from the central bridge in the city under the restrictive sign. Police arrested him, the wedding was postponed. Do you agree with police actions?
- c. Yes
  - d. No
- Why do you agree?
  - The man acted foolishly and put himself and possibly rescue team in a danger. He should have counted on the possible arrest.
  - When or which rules can be violated?
  - That is a question for each person separately. If rules do not make sense for me, then I might violate them in case of need – however I need to accept consequences – for example when rules hurt someone or put someone in a danger.
  - Why do people follow rules? What is a reason or purpose?
  - Society needs some basic rules to avoid chaos. Some follow rules simply because they are told to do so, some may see some logic behind it.



## ANNEX 1

Respondent 2, man, 41 y.o.

1. Buying new equipment or household appliance, what do people usually do firstly?

a. Read user guideline.

**b. Try to examine it by yourself and in case of some troubles read instruction.**

- Why do they act in such way?

- They want to save time, be creative without instructions, make it by themselves.

They want to have an ability to finish something and have good feelings to build.

- How do they differ from people who act in an opposite way?

- Maybe they are more creative, have more time to think.

- Why do people want to create something by themselves?

- It's interesting when you do something new, you feel good about it, it's fun.

- How not-creative people differ from creative ones?

- They do not want to create probably. I do not know. Maybe they just do not want to spend much time on it...

- Why do not they want to spend time on creative actions?

- I have no idea, I didn't ask. They probably have some other stuff to do.

2. Imagine that you know the journalist, who found out that his grandfather took a part in mass execution in concentration camp. His grandmother and mother ask him not to reveal this information. He decides to public this information anyway. Do you agree with his decision?

**a. Yes**

b. No

- Why?

- Any evil should not be hidden

- What is the possible purpose of his action?

- Many families which cost their beloved and they deserve to know the truth

- Why should not any evil be hidden?

- People should be responsible for their actions and ready to deal with consequences, one evil creates another one.

## ANNEX 1

3. Before the wedding day young man, willing to impress his fiancée, jumped into the water from the central bridge in the city under the restrictive sign. Police arrested him, the wedding was postponed. Do you agree with police actions?

**a. Yes**

b. No

- Why are you agree?

- Young man should better plan it, not before wedding day; he made dangerous action and should accept consequences.

- When or which rules can be violated?

- Anytime and any rule if life is saved or violence prevented.

- Why do people follow rules? What is a reason or purpose?

- People feel better when there are some rules. It is some psychological.

- How exactly do they feel?

- safe, probably, they know how to act and what to expect from othes. Rules keep social order.

## ANNEX 1

Respondent 3, man, 26 y.o.

1. Buying new equipment or household appliance, what do people usually do firstly?

a. Read user guideline.

**b. Try to examine it by yourself and in case of some troubles read instruction.**

- This is hard for me to answer, as question is asking about people in general. Personally, I read user guidelines first as it contains important information. But, I think, that most people examine things first.

- Why do they act in that way?

- I think they act in such way because, they are firstly selecting by its looks – if it will look good at home and decide everything else later.

- What do such people value? What is important for them?

- Probably answered by first point – they value looks of an Item, how it would fit into household. That is why act this way.

- How do they differ from people who act in an opposite way?

- They value different things. Those, who act in opposite way, value...lets say parameters of new equipment rather than how it looks.

- Why do they choose a good-looking item but not just functional, for example?

- They want to look at it and feel good...

- so they do not want to use it but just look at it, right?

- Probably...

2. Imagine that you know the journalist, who found out that his grandfather took a part in mass execution in concentration camp. His grandmother and mother ask him not to reveal this information. He decides to public this information anyway. Do you agree with his decision?

**a. Yes**

b. No

- Why do you agree?

## ANNEX 1

- In the end, nothing is more important, than your health. If this thing was bothering him to the extent, that it would drive him crazy, its better to share the problem with public even though family insist on opposite thing.

- What does he value in this case and why it's more important than his relatives' request?

- I believe, that in this case, it must be mental fight inside of him. Some people handle these things easily, others not so much. If this "secret" was really bothering him and he would not have peace on his soul until he will share it to public, yeah, I think that is big motive to do it. Rest is answered by my first point.

- How do people who handle mental fights easily differ from those who not?

- It's something psychological, I think, different character.

3. Before the wedding day young man, willing to impress his fiancée, jumped into the water from the central bridge in the city under the restrictive sign. Police arrested him, the wedding was postponed. Do you agree with police actions?

a. Yes

b. No

- Why do you agree?

- Laws are laws. If you break the law, there should be always consequences following up.

- When or which rules can be violated?

- This is hard question to answer. I could be writing s papers of text regarding this, but in short, rules should be only violated, if there is some really big moral reason – but this will trigger never ending circle, so in the end, who knows what is the best. I think, if you are not in that specific situation, nobody knows, what would human being do...

- Why do people follow rules? What is a reason or purpose?

- People follow rules to avoid civilization being in chaos. It is simple reason to maintain them.

## ANNEX 1

Respondent 4, man, 38 y.o.

1. Buying new equipment or household appliance, what do people usually do firstly?

a. Read user guideline.

**b. Try to examine it by yourself and in case of some troubles read instruction.**

- Why do they act in such way?

- Because it's so lame to not discovered by themselves

- You mean that they feel like they make a discovery when examine this new equipment?

- sure, they do it by themselfe, discover something new for them

- What do such people value? What is important for them?

- Their own discovery

- Why is it important?

- I really do not know, but it much more interesting when you make it by yourself without reading boring instructions.

- What is important for people who act in opposite way?

- I do not know... may be it's easier for them and takes less time. Maybe they are afraid of breaking something, cannot say.

- Ok, and how do people live when they do not make any discoveries?

- It's boring when there is nothing to explore...

s. Imagine that you know the journalist, who found out that his grandfather took a part in mass execution in concentration camp. His grandmother and mother ask him not to reveal this information. He decides to public this information anyway. Do you agree with his decision?

**a. Yes**

b. No

- Why do you agree?

- Why not, he thinks that he got all information for such decision.

- What does he value in this case?

- In this case its possible is his way how to get rid of family history

## ANNEX 1

- What for?
- Well, it's not really nice, better not to keep it for himself.
- Why do people want to get rid of unpleasant things or history?
- Not to be upset about it, they want to feel happy and such histories make them unhappy.

- But his act apparently make his relatives unhappy...
- Maybe... people are egoistic, they think about their personal happiness and pleasure first, it's natural.

- Why do they act in such egoistic way?
- They want to feel good, I've told it already.

3 Before the wedding day young man, willing to impress his fiancée, jumped into the water from the central bridge in the city under the restrictive sign. Police arrested him, the wedding was postponed. Do you agree with police actions?

c. Yes

d. No

- Why do you agree?
- Any action in restricted area can cause action form emergency team, it's reasonable. He made socially dangerous action, should be punished.

- When or which rules can be violated?
- Citizens protest – ignoraiton is regular way how to ignore most of the rules - to show that those rules are wrong; as well rules can be ignored in state of emergency;

- What does "wrong rules" mean? In what way "wrong"?
- Do not follow people expectations from government, not benefit for citizens.
- Why do people follow rules? What is a reason or purpose?
- They want to avoid conflict with other people or law.
- Why do people want to avoid conflicts?
- They want to live peaceful and happy with no proplems.

## ANNEX 1

Respondent 5, man, 52 y.o.

1. Buying new equipment or household appliance, what do people usually do firstly?

**a. Read user guideline.**

b. Try to examine it by yourself and in case of some troubles read instruction.

- Why do they act in such way?

- I think a lot of people read the user guide. People who do not read manuals want to prove that they can handle everything themselves.

- What for? Why do they want to prove that

- They feel confident when they know that they can do it.

- Why do not they feel confident when do not make it by themselves but just read guideline?

- They have no confirmation.

- Do those people who follow guidelines feel more confident?

- I do not now, probably. They do not think about it...

2. Imagine that you know the journalist, who found out that his grandfather took a part in mass execution in concentration camp. His grandmother and mother ask him not to reveal this information. He decides to public this information anyway. Do you agree with his decision?

a. Yes

**b. No**

- Why do you disagree?

- Here is a very difficult answer. It can have different and big impacts and consequences for his family. He should think about it.

- Why do not people want to hurt their families?

- It's the closest people, everyone should care about their relatives. They are beloved people.

- What happens if they do not care?

- such people are very irresponsible and cruel, it shouldn't happen.

## ANNEX 1

3. Before the wedding day young man, willing to impress his fiancée, jumped into the water from the central bridge in the city under the restrictive sign. Police arrested him, the wedding was postponed. Do you agree with police actions?

**a. Yes**

b. No

- Why do you agree?

- I do not know the local rules. If this man endangered river traffic, ... I consider the decision of the police to be strict - the postponement of the wedding. But it probably they had a reason - a violation of the rules.

- When or which rules can be violated?

- Probably in some extremal cases, when life is in danger.

- Why do people follow rules? What is a reason or purpose of keeping rules?

- It keeps an order, to avoid any problems with other people or state.



## ANNEX 2

### Interviews with Russian citizens

Interviewer Irina Zavadskaya

Saint-Petersburg

Respondent 1, woman

1. При покупке нового оборудования или бытовой техники, люди чаще всего:

a. Сначала читают инструкцию пользователя, и пробуют применить ее.

**b. Сначала пробуют самостоятельно разобраться и в случае затруднений читают инструкцию.**

Buying new equipment or household appliance, what do people usually do firstly?

a. Read user guideline.

**b. Try to examine it by themselves and in case of some troubles read instruction.**

Мне кажется второй вариант, попытка сначала сделать, потом разобраться с инструкцией. Не знаю почему, но по себе скажу, что сидеть читать инструкцию бывает муторно, сложно и возникает уйма вопросов, поэтому проще начать делать, а в процессе, когда возникают вопросы, уже смотреть предметно разбираться с проблемой.

- Почему важнее сначала попробовать?

- может быть, это наша историческая вещь, где много было творцов, умельцев, самоучек, которые сами учились, что-то делали, пробовали, не знаю, но инструкция это то, что нужно прилагать уже к конкретным вещам. Если ты смотришь инструкцию к вещи, которую ты еще не смог посмотреть, то тебе часто сложно понять что вообще пишут, поэтому проще начать брать вещь, начинать ее складывать, и в процессе, когда возникают вопросы обращаться к инструкции. Хотя я помню, что в школах нас учили другой системе.

- Ты сказала, что так проще, а в чем простота?

По инструкции ты понимаешь предметно, о какой части идет речь, ты это видишь, понимаешь о чем речь, начинаешь это делать. Там, где ты видишь сам какие то взаимосвязи, там можно без инструкции, там где непонятный набор чего-то, там без инструкции ты конечно не сделаешь.

- Почему с инструкцией путь труднее, чем без инструкции?

Потому что надо сначала прочитать, погрузиться, осознать, сопоставить, - большая аналитическая работа, а практического применения к этой аналитике нету. И в

## ANNEX 2

этот момент возникает некое ощущение бессмысленности происходящего. И у меня начинается тоскливое настроение, я не понимаю, зачем это читать. И я не понимаю, что из этой инструкции мне понадобится, а что нет. Я лучше в процессе логикой домыслию и сделаю сама, то есть это некое такое русское «авось», которое нас так иногда выручает, то есть я все время надеюсь, что может мне не надо в это погружаться, может я сама пойму.

- Как часто люди надеются на авось?

- Не знаю, но мне кажется людей, которые сначала читают инструкцию очень мало.

- А что с ними не так, с этими людьми?

- Да все с ними так. Может им хватает сил проанализировать что-то беспредметно.

- А вот этот момент «надеюсь, что получится» - я часто встречаю людей, которых тоже все время надеются, что получится, а откуда убежденность, вера в то, что получится?

- Мне кажется, что это опыт какой-то предыдущий успешный...

- а если не успешный, то люди пользуются инструкцией?

- нет, тут включается русское «авось». Ну менталитет же складывается веками, это историческое. Где-то читала про славян, что это связано с их устоем. Возможно, это сложилось во время крепостничества.

- А на чем сейчас держится это «авось»? Какое основание?

- вспомни русские народные сказки – «дуракам везет», это с детства закладывается. В сказках же всегда все на авось выходило, никогда не было так, чтобы он был мудрый или трудился. Очень часто эту фразу слышу.

- Как ты к ней относишься?

- никак, люди ее обычно не рефлексируя говорят, либо у них внешний локус контроля, они все списывают на обстоятельства. Я не особо верю в слово везет, я не особо верю, но верю в то, что есть удачливые люди

Вернусь к фразе «надеюсь, что получится» А в чем выгода так думать?

- оправдать лень.

...

## ANNEX 2

- Соблюдение правил требует определенного напряжения – ума, сил, действия. Чтобы соблюдение правил стало привычкой его надо все время тренировать. Может потому что правил очень много, и человек сознательно от себя что-то отстраняет. То есть для него правила это наказание. То есть если есть рядом возможность наказания – то он этого не сделает, но если этого наказания нет – то зачем вообще его соблюдать. Мне тут подруга недавно рассказывает: «у меня страховка на автомобиль закончилась и я боялась на руль сесть, а мне мой муж говорит: «что ты паришься, ну тебя остановят, а штраф-то 500 рублей, а какова вероятность, что тебя остановят? Очень редко останавливают, может один или два раза было, страховка стоит намного дороже.» И я подумала, а что я так туплю, штраф я могу и не заплатить, а за страховку точно придется отдать. У нас же даже многие работодатели мотивацию делают через штрафы, то есть в каждом таком документе прописано за что он лишится премии, то есть ни за что он ее получит, а за что лишится. И это работает лучше с людьми, по своей компании сужу. Если написать, за что он получит премию – то с кем-то работает, с кем-то нет. А если прописать, за что они будут оштрафованы, если вовремя не пришлют документы, то действует это лучше всего.

- Почему мотивация случается только тогда, когда есть наказание?

- Пытаюсь думать, всегда ли у нас так было. Это, наверное, вопрос государственности. С целью порядка были созданы все конституции, правила, потому что в противном случае возникает хаос. Поэтому в любой стране есть эти правила и ограничения. Вопрос почему в других странах люди их соблюдают, а в России нет... хороший вопрос. Какой то рефлекс у нас наверно с детства вырабатывается, что если нельзя, но очень хочется, то можно. А правила – это про нельзя... Возможно в европейских странах люди сами исполняют правила, потому что четко осознают последствия нарушения, то есть не с точки зрения наказания, то есть им наверно информацию преподносят не с точки зрения наказания, а с точки зрения какой будет результат. А у нас это не подается через последствия, у нас это подается только через наказание. Но у нас мало где будут человеку объяснять о последствиях, нам некогда объясняться.

s. Следующая ситуация

## ANNEX 2

Ваш знакомый журналист обнаружил, что его дед принимал участие в массовых репрессиях в концлагере, но его мать и бабушка просят не разглашать эту информацию. После долгого размышления, журналист все же публикует раскрытую информацию. Согласны ли вы с его решением?

a. Да

**b. Нет**

Imagine that you know the journalist, who found out that his grandfather took a part in mass execution in concentration camp. His grandmother and mother ask him not to reveal this information. He decides to public this information anyway. Do you agree with his decision?

a. Yes

**b. No**

Я считаю, что нет, потому что семья прежде всего. Семья – это ячейка, в которой ты живешь, в которой есть определенные договоренности и отношения, а здесь предательство своей семьи. Гордиться там нечем. Это скелет в шкафу, и если родные просят не разглашать, этот скелет объединяет всю семью, вся семья становится одним целым.

- Почему что-то личное становится более важным, чем социальное?

- Но человек же живет не для социума, он живет в социуме, но не для него, он живет для себя, то есть это моя среда обитания, но не я – я могу поменять социум, но я не могу поменять себя и свою семью. Мне кажется это задача каждого – защищать свою семью в первую очередь, семья – это то, что нам даст продолжение, нас связывают многие вещи, и родовые связи прежде всего. Важно, чтобы никто извне не имел возможности влиять на это. Если моя семья просит не разглашать что-то – я должна обеспечить им безопасность.

3. Перед свадьбой молодой человек, чтобы впечатлить невесту, прыгнул в воду с центрального городского моста под запрещающим знаком. Полиция его арестовала и свадьба была отменена. Согласны ли вы с действиями полиции?

a. Да

**b. Нет**

Before the wedding day young man, willing to impress his fiancée, jumped into the water from the central bridge in the city under the restrictive sign. Police arrested him, the wedding was postponed. Do you agree with police actions?

## ANNEX 2

a. Yes

**b. No**

- Нет, жестокие люди, а как же человечность? Он конечно невысокого ума и полиция в принципе правильно поступила – они не обязаны вникать, что у него завтра свадьба, но на эмоциональном уровне – жалко, что свадьба была отсрочена. С точки зрения человечности – что они, не могли войти в положение? То есть в принципе, есть правила, они не должны делать исключений и скидки... но на эмоциональном уровне... блин, свадьбу отменили! Могли бы и пожалеть. Ну, может быть, я бы ему штраф выписала, учитывая облегчающие обстоятельства, что у него свадьба.

## ANNEX 2

Respondent 2, man  
Interviewer Yulia Nikonorova  
Saint-Petersburg

1. При покупке нового оборудования или бытовой техники, люди чаще всего:

a. Сначала читают инструкцию пользователя, и пробуют применить ее.

**b. Сначала пробуют самостоятельно разобраться и в случае затруднений читают инструкцию.**

Buying new equipment or household appliance, what do people usually do firstly?

a. Read user guideline.

**b. Try to examine it by themselves and in case of some troubles read instruction.**

- За пол часа до встречи с тобой девушка на работе говорит - я купила стиральную машину и, как умная, конечно же ее подключила, и что-то пошло не так.

Ну тогда я решила почитать инструкцию.

- То есть вы считаете что люди сначала делают?

- да, к сожалению, всегда, зачастую именно так. К сожалению.

- Почему "к сожалению"?

- зачастую это приводит к печальным последствиям. Ладно, нет, вру - не зачастую, иногда. Но риск того не стоит - лучше прочитать.

- Как вы думаете, зачем они пробуют сперва самостоятельно разобраться.

- низачем, просто.. просто так происходит. Нет какой-то прямо причины.

Зачем - это вопрос про цели.

- цель - запустить, не знаю, включить - вот цель

То есть, побыстрее, правильно я понимаю?

- да даже не всегда про скорость. Просто.. а зачем читать? Когда можно просто делать.

- То есть делать, не читая, проще?

- иногда - да. иногда даже когда прочитаешь - ничего не поймешь. Только когда прочитал два или три, понимаешь, что делать

- Почему люди не хотят читать?

- возможно, где то рядом ещё и удовлетворение, что вот - не читая, всё сделал, молодец.

## ANNEX 2

s. Следующая ситуация

Ваш знакомый журналист обнаружил, что его дед принимал участие в массовых репрессиях в концлагере, но его мать и бабушка просят не разглашать эту информацию. После долгого размышления, журналист все же публикует раскрытую информацию. Согласны ли вы с его решением?

a. Да

b. Нет

Imagine that you know the journalist, who found out that his grandfather took a part in mass execution in concentration camp. His grandmother and mother ask him not to reveal this information. He decides to public this information anyway. Do you agree with his decision?

a. Yes

b. No

Согласен.

Зачем вы выбрали этот вариант ответа?

- это его действие и я его не осуждаю

То есть вы его выбрали чтобы не осуждать?

- я не вижу причин для осуждения

А почему вы выбрали этот вариант ответа?

- он не сделал ничего кардинально плохого

Что такое "кардинально плохое"?

- ну, он никого не убил

Как вы думаете, почему мать и бабушка просили не разглашать информацию?

- возможно, после разглашения деду это не понравилось

Дед уже, наверное мёртв.

- а, тем более, плевать

Почему они просили не разглашать?

- общественное порицание

Порицание чего?

- деда и как следствие жены и матери

Как вы думаете, почему журналист решил разгласить информацию, несмотря на просьбы родственников?

- просто хотел этого

## ANNEX 2

Почему ему было важно это сделать?

- потому что к нему попала информация, и он хотел дать ей ход. Он журналист!...

Какую цель он преследовал?

- придать огласке попавшие к нему сведения

С какой целью?

- чтобы общественность об этом знала, была в курсе

В курсе того что его дед принимал участие в массовых репрессиях?

- в курсе истории, что был человек и он принимал участие в массовых репрессиях

То есть он хотел донести до них правду?

- да

Как вы думаете почему людям важно доносить правду?

- они сами хотят знать правду

А почему важно доносить до других?

- потому что они хотят, чтобы доносили до них

А почему люди хотят знать правду?

- есть заблуждение, что с правдой легче жить. Она очень похожа на истину. иногда люди понимают что это заблуждение. Пока они этого не поняли и для них это истина, для них это хорошо

Правильно ли я понимаю что вы считаете что лучше не знать правду?

- этого я не говорил

Как вы относитесь к людям, которые считают что лучше не знать правду?

- абсолютно нормально

Как вы оцениваете не людей, а их точку зрения - скорее правильно или скорее нет?

- для них это правильно

А для вас, правильно ли хотеть знать правду?

- да

Почему?

- потому что мне нравится знать правду

Почему нравится?



## ANNEX 2

- потому что мне нравится

Но вы повторяете одно и то же

- да, для меня хочу - это уже веская причина для действия. Причина - это хочу, для меня этого достаточно

Хочу - это желание. Желания происходят из каких-то причин

- для меня это синонимы

Может быть стоит подумать о причинах своих желаний?

- ты молодец! (смеется). Нет, не стоит

Почему?

- а о чём думать?

Не существует причин желаний?

- желание откуда то берется. я не знаю откуда оно берется! у каждого желания причина своя

Вот, я вас и спрашиваю не обо всех желаниях, а конкретно о желании знать правду. Если не можете о причине, подумайте про цель, зачем людям знать правду? Что это даёт?

- это даёт уверенность в том, что они знают всю правду, ну или хотя б про конкретный эпизод

Им нравится эта уверенность?

- им нравится знание того, что они знают правду

Чем оно им нравится?

- дает какую-то уверенность в жизни

Чем правда отличается от домысла?

- тем, что домысел не обязательно окажется правдой

Что такое домысел?

- это вариант. просто вариант

Могли бы вы дать более полное определение, как в словаре?

- мне хочется сказать, что домысел это попытка, но попытка - это процесс, а домысел - это не процесс, домысел - это уже результат

Результат чего?

- мыслительный результат

..Результат мыслительной деятельности

## ANNEX 2

- да

А правда результат чего?

- правда это аксиома. то, что не требует доказательств

Но под это определение подходит и что-то, во что человек верит

- да, всё верно

Тогда чем правда отличается от веры?

- ничем... я же могу верить, что Дед Мороз есть

И утверждать, что это правда?

- да, всё верно. для меня это будет правда

3. Перед свадьбой молодой человек, чтобы впечатлить невесту, прыгнул в воду с центрального городского моста под запрещающим знаком. Полиция его арестовала и свадьба была отменена. Согласны ли вы с действиями полиции?

a. Да

b. Нет

Before the wedding day young man, willing to impress his fiancée, jumped into the water from the central bridge in the city under the restrictive sign. Police arrested him, the wedding was postponed. Do you agree with police actions?

a. Yes

b. No

да.

Почему?

- ну, он нарушил

Что он нарушил?

- там нельзя прыгать, а он прыгнул

Что он нарушил?

- ну, это врядли является законом.. видимо, он нарушил какой-нибудь подзаконный акт или правило, запрещающее ему так делать;

А всегда ли нарушать правила плохо?

- нет

Когда это допустимо?

- зависит от того, кто установил эти правила;

Кто установил знак на мосту?

## ANNEX 2

- знаки на мосту установлены на крови. их я считаю правильными, если ты мне сейчас скажешь: ты должен сидеть и не превышать отметку в полтора метра, находясь в данной комнате - я вполне могу нарушить это правило. потому что не считаю его правильным;

То есть правильно соблюдать те правила, которые..

- написаны кровью

Правильно ли я понимаю, что это значит, что происходили случаи, которые доказывали, что это опасно?

- да, да

Но ведь он остался жив..

- ошибка выжившего

Почему правильно, чтобы полиция его наказывала?

- потому что он нарушил, этого достаточно для того, чтобы его наказали.

## ANNEX 2

Respondent 3, man

Interviewer Yulia Nikonorova

Saint-Petersburg

1. При покупке нового оборудования или бытовой техники, люди чаще всего:

a. Сначала читают инструкцию пользователя, и пробуют применить ее.

**b. Сначала пробуют самостоятельно разобраться и в случае затруднений читают инструкцию.**

Buying new equipment or household appliance, what do people usually do firstly?

a. Read user guideline.

**b. Try to examine it by themselves and in case of some troubles read instruction.**

- Сначала сами пытаются разобраться, потом читают инструкцию.

- Почему именно так,

- Потому что так быстрее

- То есть людям важно, чтобы было быстро?

- Да. Их злит долгое нужное чтение, не относящееся к делу

s. Следующая ситуация

Ваш знакомый журналист обнаружил, что его дед принимал участие в массовых репрессиях в концлагере, но его мать и бабушка просят не разглашать эту информацию.

После долгого размышления, журналист все же публикует раскрытую информацию.

Согласны ли вы с его решением?

a. Да

**b. Нет**

Imagine that you know the journalist, who found out that his grandfather took a part in mass execution in concentration camp. His grandmother and mother ask him not to reveal this information. He decides to public this information anyway. Do you agree with his decision?

a. Yes

**b. No**

- нет, потому что он проигнорировал чувства родственников ради публичного жеста, в котором я вижу жест самолюбования, типа, вот смотрите, какой я откровенный

- Почему неправильно игнорировать чувства родственников?

- Потому что есть права у них, на свое мнение и безопасность. Потому что надо уважаться чужие чувства это важно.

## ANNEX 2

- Почему уважать чувства близких людей важнее чем выполнять свою работу как журналиста?

- В данном случае я вижу эгоистический поступок для принесения себе приятного ощущения, внимания, и при этом будут причинены страдания близким людям. Я считаю, что человек должен выбрать безопасность близких людей вопреки своему желанию получить удовольствие от того, что он крутой журналист и такой откровенный.

- Почему безопасность близких важнее чем быть крутым журналистом или чем получать удовольствие от этого?

- Потому что нельзя быть эгоистичным, останешься один, если будешь игнорировать чувства близких, можно остаться в итоге одному, а это грустно, печально и больно.

- Получается, правда не настолько важна, как чувства близких людей?

- Ну, да. Возможно, он может показать эту правду потом, когда этих близких уже не станет, но не когда они против. У них есть право и игнорировать чужие права это аморально.

- А если бы эта информация была не о близких людях, а о далеких людях?

- Тогда я не вижу проблемы, журналист должен сказать правду, в данном случае он должен это сделать.

- Правильно ли я понимаю, что на чаше весов в данном случае лежит то, что он не должен быть один, а на другой, когда он разглашает – правда, когда люди узнают правду?

- Нет, я на этой чаше вижу с одной стороны самолюбование, привлечение внимания.

- А в чем самолюбование?

- В том, что это касается его близких людей и он это показал. Показал, что смотрите, какой я герой, эта информация касается меня лично, но я ее публикую.

- Почему вы думаете, он именно эту цель преследует?

- В данном случае, когда журналист публикует чью-то историю, он в любом случае преследует цель самопрезентации. Если он кому-то из близких наносит ущерб своей хорошей работой, это заслуживает осуждения. Он своим действием провоцирует людей на восхищение собой.

## ANNEX 2

3. Перед свадьбой молодой человек, чтобы впечатлить невесту, прыгнул в воду с центрального городского моста под запрещающим знаком. Полиция его арестовала и свадьба была отменена. Согласны ли вы с действиями полиции?

- a. Да
- b. Нет

Before the wedding day young man, willing to impress his fiancée, jumped into the water from the central bridge in the city under the restrictive sign. Police arrested him, the wedding was postponed. Do you agree with police actions?

- a. Yes
- b. No

- Да, я не одобряю такие жесты. Я не осуждаю позицию. Потому что делать такие жесты, это он хотел впечатлить девушку, а нужно ли ей это было, чтобы он прыгал под запрещающий знак – не было ли это таким актом эгоизма, который повлек последствия. Не потому что Любой преступник должен быть наказан, а потому что он совершил дурацкий поступок, и за это поплатился.

- То есть правильно, когда человек получает возмездие за свои глупые поступки?

- Да, это отучит его от глупых поступков

- А что такое глупый поступок?

- Это поступок без учета последствий

- А если его девушка восхитилась этим поступком, можно ли сказать, что это не такой уж и глупый поступок?

- Да, тогда можно сказать, что он нашел себе женщину, которая соответствует его мировоззрению, тогда можно сказать, что он совершил правильный поступок.

- А всегда плохо рисковать?

- Если откровенно говорить, то да. Если можно не рисковать, то лучше этого не делать.

- А ради чего можно рисковать?

- Ради возможности заработать, но все зависит от обстоятельств, возможность получить удовольствие.

## ANNEX 2

06.05.2019 Saint-Petersburg

Interviewer Tatiana Androsova

Respondent 4, Elena (fem), age 53

1. При покупке нового оборудования или бытовой техники, люди чаще всего:

a. Сначала читают инструкцию пользователя, и пробуют применить ее.

**b. Сначала пробуют самостоятельно разобраться и в случае затруднений читают инструкцию.**

Buying new equipment or household appliance, what do people usually do firstly?

a. Read user guideline.

**b. Try to examine it by themselves and in case of some troubles read instruction.**

Я поняла вопрос, я сразу могу ответить исходя из своего собственного личного опыта. Я сначала начинаю пользоваться, потом читаю инструкцию. У меня даже один раз был случай, когда мне подарили тостер Мулинекс, и там нужно было то ли в сеть сначала включить его, а я начала сразу пытаться нажать какую-то кнопку чуть не сломала, потом уже когда прочла инструкцию поняла. Да, я думаю, что...

Что большинство все-таки так?

Наверно, да, может быть не большинство, по крайней мере, часто .

А почему так люди делают?

Потому что думают, что могут понять без инструкции устройство .

А на деле как?

В смысле на деле?

Они так думают, что могут понять без инструкции, так и получается?

Не, но может быть есть люди, которые сначала читают инструкцию, я к ним не отношусь просто, есть, наверное, такие, но в принципе бытовая техника вся работает как то примерно одинаково. Я вот стиралку, например, устанавливала, ну я не помню, чтобы я сильно читала инструкцию, там все понятно, программы, куда порошок. Ну, когда у тебя уже была до этого стиральная машина ты примерно понимаешь, как она работает.

А зачем пишут тогда вообще инструкции?

Ну, инструкции пишут для того, чтобы люди не повреждали себе органы , пальцы не совали куда не надо, ну чтобы были осторожны с электроприборами.

Так если люди не читают, то как?

## ANNEX 2

Они читают, наверно, но так, не очень сильно вдаваясь в подробности.

Все же почему они так поступают?

Почему они так поступают?

Ну, не думают, на «авось», вот это русское «включу, авось что-то получится».

А что это значит на «авось»?

Это какая-то такая надежда на удачу, на все смогу, инструкция мне не нужна, я сам знаю.

Если попытаться ответить на вопрос в ракурсе «зачем»? Зачем не читать инструкцию?

Тут как гордыня, высокомерие, я все знаю или что?

Какая в этом выгода – не читать?

Не, ну выгоды на самом деле не вижу особой, просто может быть это безалаберность такая некая.

Ну то есть, если люди выбирают не читать, то в этом же есть какая-то определенная выгода. Ну так вот какая?

Мне трудно так отвечать, прямо вот чтобы прям, думать о выгоде, если он не читает инструкцию.

Он вообще ни о чем не думает, мне кажется. Включил, нажал, а потом думает ой, а как же оно тут работает, потом уже берет инструкцию, смотрит.

А если представить человека, который все-таки сначала прочитал инструкцию, чем он отличается от первого человека?

Ну, он более такой систематизированный, более земной, на ногах стоит.

Зачем он тогда читает, если можно и так все понять?

Потому что он не все знает, есть какие-то нюансы, особенности именно в этой технике.

А которые на авось, они тоже же не знают всего?

Я не знаю, но мне кажется, что у нас так вот чаще.

Может как-то больше раньше логике там учили, шахматы были в школах даже в 50е года, то есть люди своим умом там как-то доходили, для нас это не... мне кажется не наше как-то читать, прям подробно инструкцию, соблюдать её. Мы законы-то не соблюдаем.

Почему законы не соблюдаем?



## ANNEX 2

Ну, потому что, такие люди живут незаконопослушные у нас.

Ну, вот если попытаться глубже понять этих людей, чем они руководствуются, когда не соблюдают законы, правила и инструкции?

Ну, потому что как бы.. не знаю чем они руководствуются, они думают, что если можно властимущим не сильно соблюдать, почему я должен соблюдать? Это такой глубокий философский вопрос, в политику уходит.

То есть, как будто бы они равняются на кого-то другого и сравнивают себя и думают, что если кому-то другому можно, то почему мне нельзя?

Ну, возможно так, да.

Но про что это?

Про что это? Про несамостоятельность какую-то, неумение принять решение, безответственность.

Когда люди делают что-то без инструкций они почему-то в себе уверены, что они могут все понять без инструкций, когда нарушают закон они...

Они могут не знать законов просто, не знать, что они его нарушают .

А вот когда знают? Вот знают они, что нельзя на красный свет идти, а все равно идут, почему?

Опять же это авось, авось пронесет, авось машина не собьет, авось...пробегу

А почему они так думают, что им может повезти?

Куда-то торопятся, не думают о последствиях, скорее.

Почему они не думают? За этим же какая-то причина? Может, мы сейчас подумаем и определим эту причину?

Не знаю, почему они не думают. Вот, недавно случай. Я ехала в маршрутке, там запрещают остановки. Люди едут и просят остановить на даче, вне остановки, потому что им так удобно, не далеко идти до их дачи. И буквально при выходе из маршрутки сбивает человека машина, следом идущая. В темноте, вечером, ночью. Ну вот, что он сэкономил время, да? Заставил нарушать водителя, сам нарушил и поплатился за это жизнью. Какая-то такая ментальность не понятная никому.

Хотелось бы понять, что за этим стоит? Пока это надежда на то, что пронесет.

Откуда она берется, если мы знаем, что иногда-то не пронесит ведь?

Ну, вот знаем, а все равно надеемся на какое-то чудо, да, что не произойдет именно с тобой, что тебя какие-то высшие силы спасут, не знаю, хранят.

## ANNEX 2

Ну, то есть когда мы вспоминаем какой-то случай, ну как вот этого человека попавшего под колеса мы почему-то думаем, что...

Что с нами этого не произойдет.

Что мы какие-то другие?

Особенные?

Да я не думаю, что так думает человек, который вот...он просто торопился вечером, он так делал всегда, всегда проносило. А вот в этот раз не пронесло. Хотя он явно нарушал, так нет ни светофора, ни пешеходного перехода, но вот просто ему так удобно, к его даче пройти, остановите, возле какого-то забора выйду.

Те есть это про то, что уж со мной-то ничего не случится?

Да, да, да.

Ну, получается и тот водитель, который ехал и видел, что из маршрутки кто-то вышел, он тоже нарушил, он же мог притормозить, на всякий случай. Извините, но как бы, да там нет остановки, нет светофора, ни пешеходного перехода, ну а вдруг люди, но так и получилось.

Если еще с другой стороны посмотреть, есть же другие страны, другие люди, которые все равно там спешат, им неудобно, но почему-то все равно выполняют правила. Почему?

Мне кажется, мне сейчас пришло в голову, что нету осторожности в человеке, вот ему как говорят «море по колено». Не боится.

Почему он не боится?

Смелый такой, наверно.

Ну, вот откуда эта смелость идет – вопрос.

Ну, это она в крови наверно, русский дух вот этот, богатырское начало какое-то, я все смогу, мне все по плечу, я со всем справлюсь сам, не нужны мне никакие тут указатели, инструкции.

Мания величия что ли?

Нет, я бы так не сказала. Скорее, безалаберность больше.

Ну, вот этим наверно русские и отличаются от европейцев, которые осторожные, 7 раз отмерят потом отрежут. Русский может отрезать, один раз померял, сразу резать.

## ANNEX 2

Это как пять почему, да? Задаешь, задаешь, потом заходишь в тупик в конечном итоге.

Ну, ...наверное, да, может быть, заходишь.

Тогда следующий вопрос.

...сейчас пока раз уже заканчиваем... вот чем отличаются люди, которые читают глянцевого журналы с первой или последней страницы.

Я всегда читаю с последней, почему-то привычка. Я не знаю почему. Беру журнал и мне нужно его открыть именно сзади. Причем я посмотрела сзади и могу потом перевернуть. Я не знаю, откуда это во мне, кто мне это заложил. С головы оно идет или в генах зашито. Я не могу ответить на этот вопрос. Ну это просто факт и все. Привычка какая-то.

Все равно у этого поведения есть какие-то же причины...

Ну, вот раньше журналы эти «работница», «крестьянка» у нас особого и выбора то не было. Там были кроссворды какие-то, гороскопы мне казалось там интересней просто, чем вот это начало.

Ну, вот вполне себе объяснение.

Вот эта привычка осталась до сих пор. Я сейчас точно также могу сделать.

Это начинать с того что более интересно и приятно.

Да.

s. Следующая ситуация

Ваш знакомый журналист обнаружил, что его дед принимал участие в массовых репрессиях в концлагере, но его мать и бабушка просят не разглашать эту информацию. После долгого размышления, журналист все же публикует раскрытую информацию. Согласны ли вы с его решением?

a. Да

b. Нет

Imagine that you know the journalist, who found out that his grandfather took a part in mass execution in concentration camp. His grandmother and mother ask him not to reveal this information. He decides to public this information anyway. Do you agree with his decision?

a. Yes

b. No

## ANNEX 2

Ну, я думаю в рамках истории, если взять период там не 30-50 лет, а больше 100, то скорее это правильное решение вскрывать эти факты. Это же так было на самом деле, просто то, что он являлся их родственником близким, неприятно для семьи, может быть, осознавать, а с точки зрения исторических фактов мне кажется нормально.

Ну а почему важно писать именно так как было? Вопреки тому, что это неприятно родственникам.

Ну а смысл тогда вот вообще этой истории. Если каждый будет писать, как хочет или как ему кажется, может быть тогда это уже не история будет, а вымысел, обман.

- Я и хочу понять, почему правильно выбирать не вымысел, а то, что было на самом деле? Почему правда важнее, ценнее?

Потому что мы же всегда живем все равно в поисках какой-то истины. Ну, хорошо, не опубликует он эту правду, он будет о ней все равно знать, думать до конца жизни он будет мучиться этим вопросом, почему его родственник в тех обстоятельствах в той данности именно так поступил, все равно его это будет мучить, есть.

- А когда он об этом писал, пишет, ну может быть собирал какие-то документы, факты, ну он все равно на какие-то вопросы себе ответил. Просто он это делал для себя больше, мне кажется. Почему он не мог поступить по-другому тот родственник? Он же тоже получается его путь изучил, прошел, не то, что прошел, не факт что он также бы поступил, мы не знаем, как бы мы поступили в тех обстоятельствах, кем бы мы были, что было бы с нами и вообще, мы же этого не можем предугадать.

Вот мать и бабушка его же просили не разглашать эту информацию, почему он пренебрёг вот этой их просьбой?

Он не то чтобы пренебрег, возможно, он принял свое решение, как бы просто вот, ну да, получается он огорчил своих близких. Дело в том, что журналистами становятся люди часто, хотя не факт это тоже такая достаточно профессия...своеобразная.

Они хотят правды, справедливости, они пишут о том, что такое вот животрепещущее, им нужно докопаться до истины.

А                   зачем                   докапываться                   до                   истины?

## ANNEX 2

Это суть их профессии, но может быть, если бы это сейчас часто может быть утка, горячая новость какая-то, на которую пойдут читатели, будут читать, изучать. Рейтинг издания вырастет.

Почему получается суть профессии важнее, чем родные? Почему?

Я бы так не стала ставить на весы.

Судя по выбору такие весы получились – на одной стороне там родные, их чувства, их мысли, а на другой твоя профессиональная суть.

Почему правильно выбрать профессиональную суть?

Ну, тут не так мне кажется, вопрос надо ставить как правильно, как неправильно.

С точки зрения семьи, конечно, он поступил, может быть в их глазах не правильно, нужно было это скрыть и не говорить никому об этом. А с точки зрения его, возможно у него другая точка зрения на это была.

Не смотря на то, что они его просили, но хотя мы же не знаем при каких обстоятельствах, он намеренно там нарушил или может он их предупредил, что он издаст.

А это важно?

Я думаю, что да, конечно.

Ну и как это влияет?

Потому что люди попросили, они надеются на то, что это будет скрыто, никто не узнает, а он получается, нарушил это обещание, да, если например он обещал им что не будет, а сам сделал.

А у них тогда получается какая логика? Ну то есть почему не разглашать?

Потому что это неприятно иметь в родне такого родственника, который занимался уничтожением там других людей, как-то это не очень хорошо наверно для семьи, для рода.

То есть это как-то тень на них что ли бросает?

Они так наверно воспринимают, что у них в крови течет кровь убийцы, как бы то ни было это факт, он был их родственником да, ну то есть он был такой.

Типа как будто они тоже такие же и это надо скрыть?

Частичка вот этого чего-то грязного, плохого, не хорошего в них как будто то бы тоже есть, и да, лучше чтоб об этом никто не знал и другие люди тоже не знали.

## ANNEX 2

А вот он получается журналист, это ведь же его дед был. То есть почему у него нет вот этого чувства, что в нем тоже вот эта вот кровь убийцы течет?

Но может быть вот через поколение уже, во-первых, уже он не так ощущает дух того времени. Потому что люди все равно, мама с бабушкой они в том времени были, жили просто ребенком, например, мама еще была там. Она же все равно как то воспринимала эти энергии, а уже через поколение уже все равно более свободная жизнь была, тем более сов. Союз там нас по-другому воспитывали, мы более такие были открытые.

Мне кажется, здесь именно он руководствовался тем, что все таки остальные люди должны узнать правду не смотря на то, что даже это был его дед.

Тогда получается для остальных людей, для общества, почему важнее правда? Чтобы что?

Мне кажется, на самом деле, кроме этой семьи, другие люди, которые бы читали эту историю они бы вот прочитали и забыли, они бы так сильно не воспринимали эту информацию, что это родственник вот этого журналиста написавшего о этом. Это именно так животрепещуще именно для этой семьи, потому что у них был этот родственник такой. Поэтому они так сказать воспринимают это все.

Я то спрашиваю почему для общества важно знать преступления?

Потому что, а смысл тогда вообще жизни, если не знать? И что жить в иллюзии, что этого не было или что?

Или это были какие-то не такие же люди которые вот ходят рядом, это были какие-то пришельцы с других планет?

Ну то есть эти знания о правде дают нам что? Зачем они нам нужны?

Ну, чтобы изучать это, понимать это.

Почему люди становятся, как то вот проявляется что в них, почему они вот этим занимаются.

Ну то есть это нам зачем? Нашему поколению зачем знать какие были мотивы у предыдущих там?

Не стать такими же, я не знаю, ну не то чтобы не стать, что тоже наверно от человека зависит. Хотя трудно сказать, такая была идеология, если все это копать изучать этого Гитлера как он, он же тогда миллионы людей. У него же тоже идея была, по сути, он же был фанатик. Хотел изменить мир и в его системе измерения он хорошее

## ANNEX 2

дело делал. Он пытался вывести какую-то там расу, все остальные значит там уничтожить, они плохие. В этой системе измерения сколько было тоже у него приверженцев, сторонников и они были оболванены этой идеологией, то есть ну чтобы этого не допускать в дальнейшем возможно, чтобы изучить почему это могло вообще произойти, осознать это, принять это, и не допустить чтобы такое могло случиться вообще в таких масштабах.

То есть это не допустить чего?

Уничтожения одних особей другими вот в человеческом виде как бы, в пределах вида человеческого.

Не допускать уничтожения жизни...

Да, да, да. Если глубоко копать то превосходство получается одних над другими, что вы не такой национальности или цвет глаз не такой или цвет волос, или еще что-то, или вы евреи или еще кто-то. Не голубоглазые, значит, вас надо уничтожить.

А это почему плохо?

Потому что это вообще как бы не обсуждается.

Почему?

Почему люди должны уничтожать друг друга?

Нет, не должны уничтожать, а почему вот эта мысль, что одни лучше других не очень?

Здесь же вопрос не в том лучше я или хуже там какого-нибудь таджика, например, да.

А в чем?

А в том, что мы равные все равно. Мы равны.

В чем?

В возможности жить.

В праве жить?

Да-да, и не может другой человек решить, что я хуже и меня нужно уничтожить из-за этого, я считаю, что это не правильно.

Хорошо.

## ANNEX 2

3. Перед свадьбой молодой человек, чтобы впечатлить невесту, прыгнул в воду с центрального городского моста под запрещающим знаком. Полиция его арестовала и свадьба была отменена. Согласны ли вы с действиями полиции?

a. Да

b. Нет

Before the wedding day young man, willing to impress his fiancée, jumped into the water from the central bridge in the city under the restrictive sign. Police arrested him, the wedding was postponed. Do you agree with police actions?

a. Yes

b. No

Согласна ли ты с действиями полиции?

Слава богу, выжил.

С действиями полиции-то ты согласна?

Я согласна, конечно. Он нарушил. Просто мне кажется, здесь я бы больше переживала за здоровье молодого человека, что он там не переломался, остался живым.

То есть полиция сделала это правильно, потому что это спасло его жизнь бы?

Да, опять же, возвращаясь к вопросу об инструкции, раз это нельзя, получается он нарушил этот запрет и мало того, что он нарушил как бы

Но у него повод был

Понятно, что повод был и, но суть в том, что тот вред здоровью, который он мог бы причинить себе он бы вообще на свадьбу мог не попасть, да?

Я думаю, что, мы живем в обществе, в социуме, для того, чтобы другие может быть этого не делали, как раньше там, да? Отрубили руки или еще что-то. Полиция сделала правильно.

Ну и перенести ничего страшного.

По ситуациям понятно, попробую подытожить.

В первой ситуации мы получили, что

Лучше инструкцию читать, но иногда можно и не читать, использовать бытовые приборы.

В надежде на что?

На «авось».



## ANNEX 2

В надежде на то, что мне повезет, что я такой особенный со мной ничего не случится.

Да.

Можно ли сказать, что все зависит от меня? Или как вот это назвать, вот это чувство?

Наверно, здесь больше из-за какой-то безалаберности, мне кажется. Подумаешь, сейчас включу, если не получится тогда уже прочитаю, и посмотрю как правильно пользоваться.

Во второй ситуации мы пришли к тому ... к чему, как бы ты обобщила?

Что важнее?

Вообще, мне кажется, тут вопрос это чести там каждого человека, зависит еще от личности, другой бы может и скрыл бы и не стал бы печатать, учитывая все нюансы и что родственники просили, но этот человек сделал так, потому что по-другому он бы пошел на сделку со своей совестью. То, что он бы не озвучил и это все осталось бы тайной и никто бы не узнал.

А надо поступать по совести?

Лучше поступать, так как велит тебе голос разума, совести, не забивать это, потому что. Ну, вот настояли бы родственники, он сделал бы как они просили, но возможно он мучился бы всю жизнь, потому что раньше жил и не знал об этом родственнике. А тут он о нем знает, и он не может ничего написать он мог страдать и мучиться.

Как будто бы он сделал это для того, чтобы самому не страдать.

Не то что не страдать, но хотел возможно разобраться с этим глубже вопросом, чтобы передать другим поколениям как оно было. Какая была история на самом деле сложная, кровавая. И не только были все хорошие, были и вот такие тоже.

А третью ситуацию мы бы обобщили как?

Вообще из области...русские... как они проводят свадьбы.

Как?

Ну как? На свадьбе же должны обязательно подраться там, напиться и подраться, без этого как?

Ну, тут вот с моста прыгнул, ну ладно. Свадьбу отменили, все пошло не по плану. Ну какая-то бесшабашность такая, да, что-то делать не думая. Вот это есть в нас,

## ANNEX 2

в нашем народе. Безбашенность, смелость, граничащая с дурковатостью. Что-то делает не думая человек. Чтобы что-то доказать кому-то. Что бы он доказал? Сломал бы обе ноги или утонул там, или еще что-то.

Так то он скорее всего видел и думал, просто он пренебрег.

Мне кажется, он на знак даже не смотрел, он хотел именно понравится своей девушке и показать какой он герой, какой он смелый, что ничего не боится.

То есть это как в первой ситуации, правилами можно пренебречь?

Да, да. Я все могу, у меня все получится, это все не со мной.

Ну а если так теперь в общем подумать, какими правилами люди не пренебрегают. Есть какие-то такие правила, законы, которыми люди не пренебрегают?

Наверно есть, но все равно опять же пренебрегают, и не пристегивают ремни безопасности.

И не сажают детей в кресла пристегивающиеся, в самолете тоже хотя постоянно дают инструкции как маской там пользоваться, многие сидят, не слушают. Ну как будто живут так, что с тобой это не может произойти. Это с кем-то может, а со мной все хорошо будет. Или же наоборот, соблюдают, если, то из какого-то страха, а вдруг вот сейчас авария, лучше я пристегнусь.

Либо должен быть реальный какой-то страх, реальная такая опасность...

Да, да.

Либо человек думает, что он избранник божий и уж с ним то ничего не случится.

Не то, что избранник божий, ну как сказать, говорят же, что вот ремни безопасности не для русских придуманы, потому что все равно никто не пристегивается. Ну то есть это вот в крови, менталитете. Даже страх там, что тебя там оштрафуют на 500 рублей, он как бы не перевешивает того, что да, авось я доеду, и ничего со мной не случится, я уверен в этом, все будет хорошо, не попаду я ни в какую аварию и не нужен мне этот ремень. Какая-то все равно безалаберность некая есть.

У меня какое-то впечатление, что мы не добрались до сути.

Зачем все-таки людям нарушать правила. Люди же так-то ведь не идиоты, они понимают, что правила для их безопасности. Зачем их все-таки нарушать, чтобы что?

Ну в общем да.

Я не думаю, что они это специально делают, специально нарушают.

## ANNEX 2

Ну как? Они же специально не пристегиваются? Специально прыгнул с моста. Зачем?

Ну, он, прыгая с моста, мог и не знать там знаки, не видеть его.

Здесь об этом не говорится.

Не знаю, сейчас мне кажется, меняется немножко ситуация, даже там парковки вот эти вот, не законные. Ну, поставишь не на том месте, у тебя машину заберут, потом кучу денег надо чтобы забрать, эвакуируют.

То есть когда людям есть мнение, что им ничего не грозит

Да

Они нарушают

Да, да

А когда он знает, что он заплатит за это, хотя часто может и не знать, потому что знак где-то там за два квартала висел, он его не заметил, проехал, поставил, а машину приехали, эвакуировали. Тут кроме досады, разочарования и злости наверно не будет ничего.

А так, специально нарушать правила? Не знаю, какая-то вот бравада, какое-то хвастовство, показуха какая-то. Все равно вот это есть у многих. Просто знаю таких людей, ну как бы лично знакома, которые вот именно «а не пристегивайся так доедем». Ну, то есть как бы я всемогущий. Даже если нас остановят, я обо всем договорюсь, и все будет хорошо, ни кто ничего не заплатит никакой штраф, и ничего не случится ни с кем.

## ANNEX 2

Value of law (rules) interview

Skype-interview

Interviewer Ekaterina Kruglikova

Respondent 5, woman

1. При покупке нового оборудования или бытовой техники, люди чаще всего:

a. Сначала читают инструкцию пользователя, и пробуют применить ее.

**b. Сначала пробуют самостоятельно разобраться и в случае затруднений читают инструкцию.**

Buying new equipment or household appliance, what do people usually do firstly?

a. Read user guideline.

**b. Try to examine it by themselves and in case of some troubles read instruction.**

- Сначала самостоятельно пробуют, потом смотрят инструкцию.

- Почему?

- На самом деле все просто – не надо тратить время. Это на интуитивном уровне происходит – сесть и включить, сделал, пошел дальше.

- А те люди, которые наоборот делают?

- Зависит от способа мышления, наверно. Но они не осознают своего мотива.

Лично мне хочется время сохранить

- Для чего?

- Для более важных дел. Я не хочу в этом разбираться, не хочу тратить время на то, чтобы читать как что. У меня есть муж, который это делает, а мне не интересно.

Ваш знакомый журналист обнаружил, что его дед принимал участие в массовых репрессиях в концлагере, но его мать и бабушка просят не разглашать эту информацию.

После долгого размышления, журналист все же публикует раскрытую информацию.

Согласны ли вы с его решением?

a. Да

b. Нет

Imagine that you know the journalist, who found out that his grandfather took a part in mass execution in concentration camp. His grandmother and mother ask him not to reveal this information. He decides to public this information anyway. Do you agree with his decision?

a. Yes

b. No

## ANNEX 2

- Да, каждый человек должен делать, что хочет и считает нужным.

- Что важно этому журналисту, как думаете?

- Честность, открытость, он же не отвечает за действия своего деда.

- А как же просьба родственников?

- По-моему важно не осуждать людей, он должен делать то, что хочет делать. Я за принятие любого человека.

- Почему?

- Это уменьшает конфликты. У меня раньше много времени уходило на конфликты и размышления о них. Были конфликты в компании. Пока я не начала принимать людей и не реагировать. Мне так проще.

- А почему важно делать то, что хочешь?

- Чтобы получать радость от того, что ты делаешь более эффективно, максимально раскрыть свой потенциал. Тогда все получается легко и весело. Состояние внутреннее другое. Важно делать то, что соответствует твоим внутренним ценностям.

3. Перед свадьбой молодой человек, чтобы впечатлить невесту, прыгнул в воду с центрального городского моста под запрещающим знаком. Полиция его арестовала и свадьба была отменена. Согласны ли вы с действиями полиции?

a. Да

b. Нет

Before the wedding day young man, willing to impress his fiancée, jumped into the water from the central bridge in the city under the restrictive sign. Police arrested him, the wedding was postponed. Do you agree with police actions?

a. Yes

b. No

- Конечно! Есть правила, которых нужно придерживаться каждому.

- Почему согласны?

- Он взрослый человек, должен думать о последствиях. Полиция исполняет свое дело, как они потом будут объяснять, если не отпустят его?

- Зачем люди должны думать о последствиях?

- их поступки влияют на них, на общество, безопасность, есть политические последствия.

- Какие правила можно нарушать?

## ANNEX 2

- Если это не связано с жизнью. Если это просто кураж – это не очень хорошо. Хаос появляется. Иногда бывают правила не очень правильные, странные, их можно пересмотреть. Есть правила, которых необязательно придерживаться, например какие-то традиции, но это зависит от конкретных людей, культуры.

Также можно пересматривать правила в зависимости от целей и задач конкретного человека или общества. Если правило позволяет выполнить задачу, реализовать цели – это хорошее правило.