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EDITORIAL**

INTERGENERATIONAL COMMUNICATION AS A FACTOR INFLUENCING THE FORMATION OF EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES AMONG TODAY'S RUSSIAN YOUTH

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Abstract

The study is part of current research analyzing criteria of using the labor potential of youths as one of the major resources in any country. The research subject is the new generation born at the turn of the century and communicating in the context of the digitalization of society to which the scientific discourse attributes a set of generalized distinctive feature yet to be validated scientifically. One of such attributive features is individualism and communicative distancing from parents. The aim of the present study is to detect and characterize what role the communicative impact of parents plays in the formation of educational strategies among present-day young people in Russia after their graduation from high school and during their studies for a Bachelor's or Master's degree, a period that can be described as a time of uncertainty. Intergenerational communication is defined as a social activity focusing on two main aspects, the symbolical and resource ones, as a part of the so-called reflexive project of today's youths aimed at building their identity and as a factor in the maintenance of the intrapersonal communication during periods of uncertainty throughout their lives.

Keywords

Generation – Social communication – Youths – Educational strategies – Parents

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Introduction

In the present-day world, the importance of education as a contribution to the human and social capital is perceived at different levels: state, social, group and personal ones. Despite constant phylogenetic features of man, each new generation socializing in particular socio-economic, geopolitical and cultural conditions has a specific attitude towards education and the choice of educational strategies. While the education-related behavior of generations X and Y has already been theoretically interpreted, scientific understanding of the educational behavior of the generation born during the era of digitalized information has not yet been formed for obvious and objective reasons.

The new communication and educational environment, new anthropogenic and technology-related risks as well as transforming social institutes within the society being mediatized cannot but leave their mark on the new generation's educational activities. In forecasting and shaping human evolution, the State and society need science-backed sociological and psychological knowledge about socio-educational practices and preferences of youth today.

It might be argued that present-day Russian youth's zone of uncertainty is complicated because their generation and that of their parents have grown up in different conditions in socio-economic terms. These include the shift to a market economy, fundamental changes in attitudes toward private property, the polarization of society in terms of revenue), dominating information and communication technologies, the globalization of the media market and the formation of a common educational space, which has inevitably had an impact on the transformation of specific social, cultural and ethical priorities and values. Social communication aims to remove uncertainty and to promote good orientation in the social and physical space, as will be true for the educational segment of human life. It is methodologically important to regard social communication as a type of social activity rather than simply the exchange of information. In socio-psychological terms, intergenerational communication is usually complicated by misunderstandings or even conflicts. Of special interest for the State is intergenerational communication during periods of significant changes taking place in the life of the new generation. At the same time, contemporary society, characterized by its use of latest technologies, focus on science, knowledge and information in economics, suggests a completely different assessment of the role of education and its requirements for young people, students and prospective professionals.

The aim of the present study is to detect and characterize what role the communicative impact of parents plays in the formation of educational strategies among present-day young people in Russia after their graduation from high school and during their studies for a Bachelor's or Master's degree.

What is meant by *generation* in this study is an "objectively formed socio-demographic, cultural and historical group of people, sharing the same age limits, formation and functioning in a specific historical period"[1].

Today, in social studies and the humanities there is neither common definition of *youth* nor any generally accepted age limit for it.

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[1] M. B. Glotov, "Generation as a sociological category", Sotsiologicheskiye issledovaniya, num 10 (2004): 42-48.

Youth forms a special socio-demographic group having a number of specific socio-psychological properties resulting from both age characteristics and specificities of the social status[2]; presence or absence of specific rights and related main types of activity and their socio-economic and socio-political situation[3]. In this respect, the age limit of youth as a stage of the life cycle and its social status in a specific society depend on the socio-historical context, culture, social system and specificities of socialization in that society. Young people often reassess the system of values existing in their society and possess particular socio-psychological and creative qualities[4].

Different approaches to the definition of youth are also reflected in the establishment of an age range for this group. Social heterogeneity of youth makes it difficult for researchers to distinguish one youth group from other group. In general, the lower boundary is set at 14-15 years of age and the upper one at 30-35 years of age[5]. For instance, according to F. Filippov, the "upper" age boundary depends on the duration of the formation of socio-economic and professional qualities and, based on this, it can be said that a young worker is a person of 25 years old whereas a young researcher is that of 35 years old[6]. This age range can also be divided into several subgroups: teenagers (up to 18 years of age), the youths (18-24 years of age) and young adults (25-29 years of age) [7]. The 17/18-24/25 age range include young people graduating from senior high school or vocational institutions. Some of them are not yet full citizens due to their age (this mostly concerns those who have not yet reached the age of majority) and are considered as dependents. Others are separated from their parents, have an income of their own and form families with children.

This group comprises a social entity known as *prospective students ("abiturienty"* in Russian) and defined as "those who enter a higher education institution or a specialized secondary school"[8]. The word comes from the Latin word *abituriens (abiturientis),* i.e. one who is about to go away or one who must go away; it refers, "in most countries, to those who graduate from senior high school and enter a higher education institution"[9]. After Russia joined the Bologna system in 2003 and shifted to the two-level (Bachelor's and Master's programs) system, holders of a Bachelor's or a Master's degree intending to pursue a Master's or a Doctoral degree respectively can be grouped among prospective students too.

[2] I. S. Kon, "Youths". Filosofskiy entsiklopedichesky slovar / L. F. Ilyichev; P. N. Fedoseyev; S. M. Kovalyov and V. G. Panov (eds.) (Moscow: Sov. Entsiklopediya, 1983).

[3] F. R. Filippov, "Youth". Rossiyskaya sotsiologicheskaya entsiklopediy. G. V. Osipov (ed.). (Moscow: NORMA-INFRA-M Publishing Group, 1998) y V. I. Chuprov, "Youth". Sotsiologicheskaya entsiklopediya: Vol: 2. V. N. Ivanov (ed.) (Moscow: Mysl, 2003).

[4] E. N. Vezhnovets, "Youth". Sociology: Encyclopedia. A. A. Gritsanov, V. L. Abushenko, G. M. Yevelkin, G. N. Sokolova and O. V. Tereshchenko (eds.) (Minsk: Knizhny Dom, 2003)

[5] V. N. Boryaz, Youths: Methodological issues about research (Leningrad: Nauka, 1973) y I. A. Gromov; S. N. Ikonnikova and V. T. Lisovsky, "Youth in society". Chelovek i obshchestvo: Sotsialnye probley molodyozhi: num VI. B. G. Ananyev and D. A. Kerimov (eds.) (Leningrad: Izd-vo Lening. un-ta, 1969).

[6] F. R. Filippov, "Youth". Rossiyskaya sotsiologicheskaya entsiklopediy. G. V. Osipov (ed.) (Moscow: NORMA-INFRA-M Publishing Group, 1998).

[7] B. A. Ruchkin, "Youth and the establishment of new Russia". Molodyozh i obshchestvo: uroki istorii: sb. nauch. trudov (Moscow: Tsentr GRINT, 2016).

[8] S. I. Ozhegov, Russian dictionary: Some 100 000 words, terms and idiomatic expressions. S. I. Ozhegov and L. I. Skvortsov (eds) (Moscow: OOO Izdatelstvo Mir i Obrazovaniye: OOO Izdatelstvo Onyx, 2012).

[9] Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary. A. M. Prokhorov (ed) (Moscow: Sov. Entsiklopediya, 1984).

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In the mid-20th century, the founders of Toronto School of Communication Theory (Innis 1950; McLuhan 1964)directed the attention of the global academic community to a profound impact of dominant information and communication technologies on social and cognitive transformations taking place in society. In the 21st century, the new information and technological environment allowed researchers to substantiate the characteristics of the new young generation. Given the framework of the present study, it would be inappropriate to give a detailed analysis of criteria for defining the notion *generation*[10] and strict age indicators for the Millenials[11] and Generation Z, iGen[12] and Digital Natives[13]. In our view, it is improper, in sociological terms, to equalize all youths born since the late 1990s just only on the basis of the information and communication technological determinism and leave out economic, social, political, psychological, cultural and geographical factors. In marketing, using knowledge about the consumer behavior of teenager could be locally effective whereas, in sociological discourse, the attribution of specific common features to an entire generation should be based on a set of coherent and differently vectored research studies conducted in many countries. In this regard, today it seems more pertinent to speak about myths[14] rather than science-based aspects of the generation Z.

Among the most frequent attributions are the following[15]: 1) multitasking, 2) difficulty in retaining attention, 3) reduced critical thinking, 4) infantilism, 5) opportunism, 6) individualism, 7) hedonism, 8) value of success, 9) depressiveness, 10) anxiety, 11) mastery of latest information technologies, 12) reduced communication with parents and peers or, according to other sources, outgoingness and inability to remain alone. Drawing upon empirical research studies carried out in various countries, mostly the USA, the EU countries and Russia, the authors refute or, to some extent, confirm the myths announced. Other research sources distribute attributions by sphere (cognitive, personal, emotional and social interactive ones), and such distribution is equally adopted in the present empirical study.

Specifically, scientific discourse may contain contradictory information; conclusions are often of a speculative nature and have not been confirmed empirically; the interpretation and analysis of outcomes are subjective and judgmental. Many specific features attributed to Generation Z in research literature are actually peculiar to either any developing adolescent personality or, under certain conditions, to adults[16].

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[10] W. Strauss and N. Howe Generations: the history of America`s future, 1584 to 2069 (New York: William Morrow and Company Inc, 1991); M. B. Glotov, "Generation as a sociological category", Sotsiologicheskiye issledovaniya, num 10 (2004): 42-48; Rugenerations — Russian School of the Generation Theory. Retrieved 6.07.2019 from: https://rugenerations.su/ y V. V. Radayev, "Millenials as compared to preceding generations: An empirical analysis", Sotsiologicheskiye issledovaniya, num 3 (2018): 15-33.

[11] V. V. Radayev, "Millenials as compared to preceding generations: An empirical analysis", Sotsiologicheskiye issledovaniya, num 3 (2018): 15-33.

[12] J.M. Twenge, iGen: Why Today's Super-Connected Kids Are Growing Up Less Rebellious, More Tolerant, Less Happy – and Completely Unprepared for Adulthood – and What That Means for the Rest of Us (New York: Atria Books, 2017)

[13] M. Prensky, "Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants", On the Horizon, Vol: 9 num 5 (2001): 1–6.

[14] P. Kirschner and P. De Bruyckere, "The myths of the digital native and the multitasker", Teaching and Teacher Education, Vol: 67 (2017): 135–142.

[15] N. V. Bogachyova and Y. V. Sivak, Myths about Generation Z (Moscow: NIU VShE, 2019).

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The construction of a *life strategy* is one of the most important and complicated components of human life as it reflects one's focus on the future, detection of prospects, goal setting and choice of resources necessary for its implementation. The strategy "is the individual's persistent and reflexive behavior aimed at achieving a goal and based on his or her subjective assessment of a situation in the specific time perspective"[17]. Although the notion of strategy usually refers to activities such as management, warfare, international relations and planning, among others, it is also increasingly used today to organize the social life of individuals.

Being often coherent, goal-oriented and long-term, the strategy makes it possible to provide guidance in a forward-looking manner and to update behavioral readiness and proactivity in achieving something one wants. Choosing an occupation, an educational institution, a training program (Master's degree) and a first job are all part of young people's life strategy and involve taking certain steps, correlating them with the time perspective and selecting appropriate means for attaining a goal.

The strategy sets the focus on an individual's activity, based on his or herpriority values and meanings. In a sense, it is an ideal model or a system of goals and challenges that can be constructed in any human activity[18]. The formation of the life strategy and of its components coincides with primary socialization, which does not exclude refinements and adjustments as the personality evolves and discovers himself as well as the emergence of new relevant situations.

In accordance with the above-mentioned definition of life strategy, the *educational strategy* is defined as a sustainable system of goals, typical behavioral means and forms of an individual, aimed at achieving (according to outcomes in form and content) the desired level of education necessary for realizing a life plan[19]. The educational strategy is incorporated into the overall life strategy of an individual.

Modern society is marked by a *growing uncertainty* that reflects the complexity and pace of ongoing changes and the appearance of new global challenges and threats. Such changes contribute to the formation of a new sociocultural environment comprising uncertainty and risks[20]. Importantly, although uncertainty and risk have always been a part of social life and its activities, today their impact on human activities have increased due to various reasons.

The notion of uncertainty has been present in human cognitive and practical activities throughout the development of society. This said, there is no universal definition of uncertainty. Its multifaceted nature is discussed in a research study[21] which uses, as its

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[17] K. S. Fursov, "Educational strategies of Russian university students during their job market entry: An empirical study", Ekonomika obrazovaniya, num 1 (2007): 41-52.
[18] G. A. Yelnikova and Sh. I. Aliyev, Life strategies of youth: Theoretical and methodological analysis: Monography (Belgorod: Kooperativnoye obrazovaniye, 2008)
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[20] S. A. Kravchenko, Risks in the linear global and local society (Moscow: Ankil, 2009)
[21] M. Smithson, "The Many Faces and Masks of Uncertainty". Uncertainty and risk: multidisciplinary perspectives. Gabriele Bammer and Michael Smithson (eds) (London: Earthscan, Sterling, VA, 2008)

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synonyms the following categories: unawareness (Böschen and Wehling), ignorance (Moore and Tumin, Smithson and Murton) or negative knowledge (Karin Knorr-Tsetina). By negative knowledge, Knorr-Tsetina (1999) understands knowledge about limitations of knowledge and errors made in attempts to find out what stands in the way of knowledge and what people refuse to know.

In defining uncertainty, Vishnyakov[22] focuses on the lack of knowledge due to insufficient or imprecise information about conditions for the implementation of a decision, about the significance of these of those benchmarks in the future and a lack of coherence. In addition, the state of uncertainty exerts a serious impact on the person's mental health, thus disturbing his ability to predict the future development and outcome of an unstructured situation that is of importance to him[23].

The development of educational strategies correlates with specificities of individuals' socialization. *Socialization* is the process of personality development and acquisition of values, standards, attitudes and behavioral patterns peculiar to a specific society and social group[24]. Analysis of socialization adopts two approaches: the subject-objective (negation of the acting person) and subject-subjective (focus on the individual's activity during socialization) ones. Modern research concepts on socialization focus largely on the productive and individual activity of a person, based on his or her preferences and creative activity[25]. Today it has become possible to choose tradition instead of inheriting them.

Giddens highlights the continuity and replication of this process through the individual's self-fulfillment in the society. He rejects the assertion that modern man lacks individuality under the influence of imposed standards and cultural attitudes. Indeed, a person's relations with people around him or her determine his or her actions and thoughts, yet "in socializing, each person acquires the ability to identification, independent thinking and action"[26].

Taking account of latest trends, Giddens concludes that socialization is contextual and dynamic. Patterns imposed by society is one of the sides of the dual subject-subject interactive process. It is nothing more than the transmission of means for reproducing social interactions whereas it is up to the person to make the choice. At the same time, individual with their own set of convictions adopts, in one way or another, the part of the social world to which he belongs and with which he identifies himself. Agents of socialization play a key role in this process.

The key agents of primary socialization are parents, relatives, friends, school, mass media and the Internet. The authors discussed the role of the mass media and the Internet as sources of information in the creation of stereotypes in the worldview and choice of subsequent activities by young people.

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[22] G. N. Makarova, Managerial uncertainty in Russian economics (Irkutsk: Izd-vo BGUEP, 2010).

[23] N. M. Rakityansky, "Uncertainty". Sotsiologicheskaya entsiklopediya: Vol: 2. V. N. Ivanov (ed) (Moscow: Mysl, 2003) y Russian Sociological Encyclopedia, Institution of Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Socio-Political Research. G. V. Osipova (ed) (Moscow: NORMA-INFRA-M, 1998).

[24] Russian Sociological Encyclopedia, Institution of Russian Academy…

[25] J. Habermas, Philosophical Discours on Modernism: Twelve lectures (Moscow: Ves mir, 2008).

[26] A. Giddens, Modernity and Self – identity (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

In 2018 Mediascope's WEB Index research study provided evidence that ninety million people in Russia use the Internet at least once a month. This amounts to 73% of the population, the annual rate of growth being 4%[27]. As far as youth is concerned, a research study on Internet penetration in Russia[28] revealed that, by early 2019, 99% of youths (16-29 years of age) use the Internet. It is noteworthy that this generation has a higher average rate of the amount of time spent on the Internet than other generations. Even in small towns, young people are ready to actively protect their rights for communicating in Runet[29].

It is necessary to check whether the prevalence of this communication channel points to the reduced role of traditional agents of socialization, in particular, parents.

The role of social communication as a source for reducing uncertainty increases during periods of risk. The choice of life strategies after graduation from high school has a special place among numerous types of risk situations. This choice largely depends on the graduating student's competences. In[30], which advocates elaboration of benchmarks for measuring learning outcomes with a view to improving learning effectiveness, it is proposed to consider three types of skills: cognitive, socio-emotional and technical ones. These skills are multidimensional, dynamic and interacting with one another.

In this study, the authors focus mostly on *socio-emotional skills*[31] related to self-consciousness, self-management, social awareness and relationships[32]. Combined data from various sources show that employment-focused socio-emotional skills include the following: problem solution, emotional stability, result orientation, control, teamwork, proactivity, trust and ethics[33]. As stated "socio-emotional skills are behavior, relations and values that a person needs to 'effectively manage interpersonal and social situations' and to 'solve everyday challenges and problems in an effective and ethical way'".

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[27] Mediascope: WEB-Index for 2018. Retrieved 4.02.2019 from: https://mediascope.net/services/media/media-audience/internet/information/-Mediascope.net
[28] GFK: Expansion of the Internet in Russia in 2018. Retrieved 4.02.2019 from: https://www.gfk.com/ru/insaity/press-release/issledovanie-gfk-proniknovenie-interneta-v-rossii-1/-GFK.com
[29] A. Sibiriakova; L. Chudnovskaia and O. Obryvalina, "Attitude of young people in small towns and metropolises towards value-statutory regulation in the Runet at the modern mediatization stage". Indian Journal of Science and Technology, Vol: 8 num 10 (2015): 396-402.
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[31] A.L. Duckworth and D.S. Yeager, "Measurement Matters: Assessing Personal Qualities Other Than Cognitive Ability for Educational Purposes". Educational Researcher, num 44 (4) (2015): 237-251; J. A. Durlak; R. P. Weissber; A. B. Dymnicki; R. D. Taylor and K. B. Schellinger "The Impact of Enhancing Students' Social and Emotional Learning: A Meta-Analysis of School-Based Universal Interventions", Child Development, num 82 (1) (2011): 405-432 y R. D. Taylor; E. Oberle; J. A. Durlak and R. P. Weissberg, "Promoting Positive Youth Development through School-Based Social and Emotional Learning Interventions: A Meta-Analysis of Follow-Up Effects", Child Development, num 88 (4) (2017): 1156-1171.
[32] World Bank. 2018. Report on global development in 2018: "Learning for implementing educational perspectives". Washington, Columbia County: World Bank. Retrieved 2.04.2019 from: https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/28340/211096mmRU.pdf
[33] M. L. Ustinova, "The educational environment of kindergartens and school in terms of human capital". Oral report at the international research seminar entitled. Human capital development in the Russian Federation: Issues and Approaches at the national and regional levels (Moscow: Analytical Center for the Government of the Russian Federation, 11 June 2019)

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Cognitive and socio-emotional skills acquired at early stages later influence life trajectories. A comparison between these data and the above-mentioned information on stages and agents of socialization reveal a significant role of interpersonal communication with parents.

In Russia, pre-school education is part of the common education system, as included in the federal law on Education[34]. Consequently, the notion of educational environment refers both to this and other levels of education. At the same time, at the pre-school education level, the role of parents is specified explicitly whereas other education stakeholders make this role less straightforward at higher levels of education. As a rule, educational developers take into consideration students, teachers and management of educational institutions. Work with parents is far from being explicit. This being said, for public purposes it is empirically important to detect the extent to which parents influence the choice of educational strategies by the present-day Russian young generation (the so-called generation Z or the silent generation).

Furthermore, this topic is of special research interest due to the transforming occupation rating in the context of the digitalization of society when, for objective reasons, parents are not always familiar with exponentially developing digital achievements and innovations that inevitably bring about changes into the job market. The digitalization of communication makes other social employment practices possible. One of such practices is, for instance, digital nomadism[35],which has become technologically possible only due to the communicative connection to the Internet and new attitudes towards mobility[36]. Young Russian also practice digital nomadism. Today, the young generation manifests less interest in being attached to one workplace as compared to previous generations when one's employment record showed one workplace for half a century, and this was encouraged by society. Labor dynasties have always been highly appreciated in Russia. Mass communication via the mass media supported this attitude and promoted it in society using all available means.

Method

Our study of the formation of educational strategies in present-day Russia and of the impact of socio-communicative means for their construction is based on the All-Russian sociological survey entitled *Life strategies and values of students in the Russian society today*. The aim of the research study was to analyze the formation of young people's life strategies and the main channels of influence on the choice of goals and ways to achieve them. In line with this objective, the following issues were discussed in the survey: detection of young people's key short- and medium-term attitudes towards values and goals; identification of preferred sources of support for the implementation of the goals set; evaluation of possible obstacles in the implementation of the strategy and ways to overcome them; factors influencing decision-making and the extent to which young people were willing to attain their goals. The research study was divided into two stages:

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[34] On education in the Russian Federation: Federal Law No. 273-FZ of 29 December 2012. Retrieved 7.04.2019 from: http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_140174/
[35] T. Makimoto y D. Manners, Digital Nomad (Wiley, New York, 1997)
[36] W. J. Mitchell, Me++: The Cyborg Self and the Networked City (Cambridge, Mass. London: MIT, 2004).

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1) 2014-2016. Studydirector: M. Lipatova. The survey was conducted among young people who had chosen their future occupation and educational institution (N = 764). Age group: 18-26 years of age (18-22 years of age: 82.2%; 23-26 years of age: 12.1%). Women: 60.7%. Men: 39.3%. The sample group was selected using the snowball method.

2) 2018. Study directors: M. Lipatova, E. Skutina. The survey was conducted online in April and May 2018 among young Russian citizens aged 18 to 25, resided in Russia. The survey sample involved 1,200 respondents (men: 50.4%; women: 49.6%). Multiple answers were possible to a number of survey questions. Questions were both close- and open-ended. Sample question: "To implement your life plans, you count on…" Answers were expected for each of the 17 suggestions, followed by the evaluation of their significance. The survey used the advertising river-sampling network developed by OOO Neravnodushny grazhdanin (Concerned citizen).

The development of modern technologies, in particular, the Internet, allows to implement in the new social environment various types of activities, including communicative, educational, professional and entertaining ones. On one hand, they correspond to real offline relationships and contribute to the formation of a specific worldview of and attitudes towards the exterior world. On the other hand, the Internet allows respondents to take the following additional opportunities provided by new technologies: no dependence on time or place; possibility to add, modify or delete information, to leave messages incognito or to modify the personality according to the goal and intentions of the agent of interaction, which could distort the overall image and impose certain restrictions on the conclusions.

The 18-25 age group involves young people having just graduated from high school and taking important decisions related to their future as well as those who have obtained their Bachelor's degree and intends to continue their studies in a Master's program or to search for work. The ones and the others belong to the same category (prospective students), i.e. current high school students or Bachelor students in their final year who are choosing their next educational program.

Results

In choosing their educational strategy, present-day Russian youth largely relies on their own preferences, talents and efforts, yet their decisions are also evidently dependent on the desires and well-being of their parents, which is reflected in intergenerational communication.

Research conducted in 2014-2016 and 2018 on life strategies and values of young people reveals that main goals still include security and stability, material well-being, peace of mind, faithful friends and family creation. In 2018, 30.7% of respondents mentioned the importance of benefiting people in everyday life and, in particular, at work. Research showed a quantitative growth of the following priorities during the two stages of research: independence and freedom, possibility to move freely, desire to be a leader and to have subordinates.

What do you want to achieve in life? (*multiple answers are possible*)	2014-2016 N = 764	2018 N = 1200
Confidence in the future, security and stability	62.7	61,9
Independence, freedom	25.7	44

Material well-being	63.6	64
Benefit people	–	30.7
Possibility to see the world	40.6	50.8
Public acceptance	–	11.1
Be a leader, have subordinates	6	15.5
Have good and faithful friends	51.6	49.2
Achieve peace of mind	29.7	30.3
Become famous	5.5	12.2
Start a family and raise children	52.5	59.2
Not sure	0.8	0.1

Table 1
Ambitions of young people, %

The vast majority (those who answered "Completely agree" and "Somewhat agree") of young people (91.5% in 2014-2016 and 90.1% in 2018) think that these goals and aspirations are achievable in life. According to the data obtained in the first stage of the research (2014-2016), in order to implement their life plans, young people are ready to rely not only on their own resources/knowledge (91.6%) and luck (31.1%) but also on support from parents (24.8%), friends (27%), relatives (21.4%), networking and influential acquaintances (20.4%), on the power of money (4.3%) and possible changes for the better in Russia. Young people expect support from their parents and relatives without losing their freedom to take decisions and to make mistakes. In answering the question "To what extent do you expect to get help from your parents or relatives to implement your plans?", the respondents provided the following answers: some help (61.4%), a lot of help (13.5%), no support (18.7%) and not sure (3.4%).

The survey conducted in 2018 revealed that, despite their confidence in their own resources, knowledge, aptitudes and natural talent for goal achievement (96.5% and 92.7% of respondents, respectively, are ready to rely on these "resources"), young people indicated parents (82.1%) and relatives (80.7%) among other important factors for implementing their life plans. Other channels of support include networking and influential acquaintances (63.2%), State support (65.4%), power of money (67.7%), changes for the better in Russia (68.8%), friends (84.3%), luck/fortuitous turn of events (85.8%), flexibility, maneuvering and ability to adapt to changing circumstances (89.1%), use of all available means (89.2%), personal industriousness (89.3), continuing education (89.4%), proactive attitude (92.1%), mastery/professionalism (92.5%) and diligence/sense of duty (95.6%). As can be observed, family and kinship ties score highly as key "sources of force" in goal achievement and plan implementation.

One of the most important stages in the life of young people is their choice of a life trajectory and first decisions about their after-school education and work towards a desired occupation, which let them achieve their other goals in life. However, research has shown that, due to age-related, psychological and social aspects of this period in the life of youths, they are subject to a wide range of impacts influencing their decision-taking process. As an example, young people surveyed in 2014-2016 answered that their plans for the future had been greatly influenced by their parents (36.9%), the mass media (television, the Internet and so on) (12.1%), relatives and acquaintances (11.1%), teachers/professors (9.1%) and friends (8%). Some respondents (16.6%) consider that nobody influenced their choice of their future life trajectory and they made their choice entirely by themselves.

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The survey conducted in 2018 revealed that parents exert a significant impact on young people's choice of occupation and educational institution (55.5% and 47.5% respectively). Parents also support and encourage their children to go abroad for study or work purposes (30.8%) and, overall, to continue their education (43.4%). Given that Russia attaches a great importance to maintenance of traditional values, it is quite natural that parents also influence their children's marriage (46.3%) and family (51.5%) plans.

	Response options	Parents	Teachers/ Professors	Friends	Acquaintances	Relatives	Mass media (television, the Internet, etc.)
1.	Choosing an occupation	55,5	8,8	9,3	5,3	6,0	15,1
2.	Choosing an educational institution	47,5	14,2	12,7	7,3	5,8	12,6
3.	Choosing a workplace	30,2	7,8	21,8	14,4	8,8	17,0
4.	Continuing education	43,4	14,3	11,0	10,6	7,7	13,0
5.	Going abroad (for study or work)	30,8	6,2	19,3	9,1	10,4	24,2
6.	Marriage	46,3	2,8	16,1	8,3	15,5	11,2
7.	Starting a family	51,5	2,6	12,5	6,6	16,6	10,3

Table 2
Factors influencing young people's decisions, according to the 2018 survey, %

Discussion

Different types of personality and social actors have different perceptions of and attitudes towards the situation of *uncertainty.* The impossibility to assess a situation disturbs the optimal functioning of a person's system of attitudes. Among obstacles are the impossibility to use with discrimination past experiences, to fully participate in the system of standards and values of a society, to maintain mental integrity in difficult situations and the difficulty to put in order personal meanings, knowledge, standards and values[37]. A considerably increased level of uncertainty disturbs people's goal-oriented behavior.

The need to choose from several options when taking a decision, speed and novelty shape a highly mobile, ambiguous and uncertain social environment in which it is impossible to predict the outcomes of the decision taken. In such an unstable environment, people are forced to achieve their goals in unusual and unpredictable conditions at a new and uncomfortable level. However, there are also positive aspects to an emerging uncertain, ambiguous, unstable and incomplete situation. They manifest themselves in a person's enhanced search activity, fantasy, creativity, effort and development and in the promotion of social relations in which intergenerational communication holds a significant place. At the individual level, it is a key to intrapersonal communication and, in societal terms, it has an integrative function and the function of cultural continuity and can be interpreted as a socio-emotional marker for a specific society.

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[37] N. M. Rakityansky, "Uncertainty". Sotsiologicheskaya entsiklopediya: Vol: 2. V. N. Ivanov (ed) (Moscow: Mysl, 2003)

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Researchers identified three main parts in the construction of *life strategies*: self-identification part (a young person's self-identification and self-image), value/motivation part and sense-making part[38]. The second part comprises value-based orientations, needs, motivations and life norms. Value-based orientations are one of the key components in the structure of young people's life strategies and all transformations of conditions and life situations take place in the accordance with personal values[39] . It is here that goals are set and tools and means for achieving these goals are identified.

Goals act as a foundation for choosing specific ways to implement life principles and norms and have specific roles in other activity subsystems: they acts as an actor's intentions in the life orientation system; as desired or implied outcomes in the motivation system; and as a goal-related decision/targeted project in the behavioral readiness system. At a specific point in life (for instance, education), the identified priority value can act as a key value in the development of a life strategy. The need to succeed determines a person's level of activity and readiness to fulfil his wish (whether he will be active or he will act by inertia) and has a motivational impact on this person's activity. At the same time, motivation is the starting point of one's development of educational strategies, followed by the identification of professional objectives; based on them, the final choice is made.

The third part – the sense-making one – comprises a life choice, goals, objectives and ways of reaching them. Priority setting takes place here, ideal constructions and trajectories based on what matters most are selected. Young people are expected to be active, responsible and to make use of their freedom of choice. As demonstrated by the study entitled *Life strategies and values of students in the Russian society today,* the new generation of young people manifests these qualities at a declarative level.

Russian researchers often define *social communication* as "movement of meanings in social time and space"[40]. According to this definition, in which "meanings" rather than simply "information" are placed among key notions, it is evident that there is a need to study in more detail, first, cognitive processes and, second, the personality of communicators.

Modern processes, in particular globalization, change not only the external reality but also the inner world of man, related to identity, and a "reflexive project" aimed at the development of one's ego is carried out[41]. In terms of symbolic interactionism, young people mirror themselves in the other. Self[42] can only be built in the social context. Building Self as a self-identification process is connected to intrapersonal communication that intensifies in vital situations. The main stock of a person's forms of communication with himself are his or her forms of communication with other people[43].

Our research reveals that young people mirror themselves in their parents during important periods of life, emphasizing the value of intergenerational communication. Despite individualism commonly attributed to Generation Z, parents continue to play a significant

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[38] G. A. Yelnikova and Sh. I. Aliyev, Life strategies of youth: Theoretical and methodological analysis: Monography (Belgorod: Kooperativnoye obrazovaniye, 2008).

[39] K. A. Abulkhanova - Slavskaya, Strategyoflife (Moscow: Mysl, 19991).

[40] Sokolov, A. V. General theory on social communication (St. Petersburg: Izd-vo Mikhaylova V. A, 2002).

[41] A. Giddens, Modernity and Self – identity (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

[42] G.H. Mead, Mind, Self & Society (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962).

[43] A. M. Pivovarov, "Intrapersonal communication as the subject matter of a sociological analysis". Vol: 9 num 4 (2006): 50-65.

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role in young people's lives. This role is of double nature: intergenerational communication starts with two goals: *symbolical (value-based) and material (resource) ones*. Scientifically, this situation makes relevant the following definition of communication by J. Thompson: a social activity comprising the production, transmission, and reception of symbolic forms through various resources[44].

Family is a complex social institution representing the micromodel of main relationships, including professional ones, encountered by an individual outside it. This is why a person's choice of his further education path, his level of education and occupation can be largely affected by this person's family members or close relatives.

Intergenerational communication within the family can be triggered in relation to the following types of professional choices: focus on free choice, available choice, dynastic choice and advanced choice[45]. The first two types are rather democratic, being associated with the detection of a young person's talents, interests and needs. Free choice implies that the final decision related to the further educational path rests with the prospective student himself who may be either satisfied with such a decision or, on the contrary, feel uncertain about whether this decision is appropriate or be ready to give it up. Available choice is related to the family's ability to support the chosen path and to assist the young person in his or her studies and employment. Such an approach is more sensible and stable if a young person's interests match his or her family's capabilities or it may cause inner resentment if this choice is associated with pressures from family that does not deem itself ready for support.

Advanced choice implies that a person examines several options, obtains information on each of them and chooses the best one. Parents' opinion is essential here and a person's choices are closely related to his or her parents' recommendations. A deviation from this or that choice is regarded as "the projection of a major failure in the future occupation"[46]. In case of dynastic choice, a young person not only obtains information about occupations from his parents and discusses his or her options with them – the young person chooses the occupation of his or her parents. The family discusses the advantages of the specific occupation(s), that of one or both parents, and their willingness to share their experience. Discussions, debates and comparison of options lead the young person to make a meaningful choice, with a certain level of autonomy. Such an approach does not always fully satisfy the young person as far as the decision to follow in the professional dynasty is concerned, as this person may be aware of missed opportunities.

Based on the research study entitled *Life strategies and values of students in the Russian society today*, it is not obvious that one of the above-mentioned types of professional choice is clearly prevailing. However, it can be concluded that high school students whose parents (one or both) have a university degree maintain interest in enrolling in a university program while following their parents' recommendations relating to their career choice. Furthermore, parents without a university diploma or with specialized secondary education continue the trend towards providing their children with upward mobility by means of education. In this case, there is a correlation between the conclusions reached

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[44] V. P. Kolomiyets, Media sociology: Theory and Practice (Moscow: NIPKTs Voskhod – A, 2014).
[45] K. R. Kapiyeva, "Family as a significant factor in children's choice of occupation", Vestnik Universiteta Rossiyskoq akademii obrazovanii, num 1 (2017): 57-66.
[46] K. R. Kapiyeva, "Family as a significant factor…

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by[47] about the importance of higher education for children from families with different social background. The researchers observe that a university degree is essential for success in life for all surveyed high school students (children of senior managers: 66.7%; children of entrepreneurs: 63.9%; children of specialists: 72.4%; children of employees: 59%; and children of workers: 64.7%).

The educational level of parents and their cultural capital greatly affect their children's choice of their further educational trajectory, as evidenced by their enhanced interest in school performance and communication with teachers[48] and in their more active and direct participation in the choice of a career and an educational institution. It should be borne in mind, however, that the sociocultural capital accumulated in the family and relatives with a university degree make it possible for young people to participate in it, to get access to facilities for better preparation to university enrollment and to make a more deliberate choice of an educational institution.

Given that young people declare their independence in deciding on their future and goals while seeking real support and listening to their parents' and other family members' advice, it can be concluded that their professional choice is of mixed nature. Depending on the family's well-being, free choice often combines with available and dynastic choices because high school children largely depend on their parents' payment for their private lessons with tutors who prepare them for final examinations and enrollment in higher education institutions. Young people also depend on their knowledge of the professional environment that meets their general expectations in terms of revenue, security, stability, status and means to achieve all goals. Advanced choice can be considerably modified by factors such as the accessibility and heredity of occupations. Negative consequences of the latter type can be avoided if young people are highly motivated to take up a specific occupation and if they obtain good high school final grades and expect guaranteed employment after completion of their university studies.

Consequently, parents still play a major role in the educational system and this role is becoming even more important in modern society due to changes having taken place and still taking place in education in Russia and internationally. Today, in terms of education, young people are still dependent on their parents' wishes and well-being, yet young peoples' preferences, talents and efforts are also crucial.

A person's behavior in a situation of uncertainty reveals how developed his or her socio-emotional skills are. Among employment-focused socio-emotional skills are problem-solving and decision-making skills. Where there is a choice, decision-making is always associated with responsibility and the question as to who will take more responsibility for the steps taken. As demonstrated by the study carried out (see Table), the young Russian generation shows more aspiration for freedom and independence, yet young people are ready to combine their responsibility for their choice with their parents' advice and decisions. All of the above means that communicative distancing from parents is not a distinctive feature of the young generation in Russia today, at least, in the educational sphere. In our

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[47] D. V. Konstantinovsky and E. S. Popova, "Youths in education: expectancies and motivation", Rossiya reformiruyushchayasya, num 15 (2017): 154-174.
[48] O. O. Panteleyeva, "Factors affecting the self-identification of prospective students". Vestnik Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. A. S. Pushkina, num 2 (2017): 201-213 y I. A. Prakhov, "Obstacles to access to quality higher education in the context of the Unified National Examination: Family and school as headwinds", Voprosy obrazovaniya, num 1 (2015): 88-117.

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view, this situation can be explained by the following factors: a) traditional importance attached to education in Russian public opinion, b) conditions of uncertainty; c) strategic significance of responsibility; d) value of education in the modern Russian socio-economic context in which the notion of success is being transformed.

Conclusion

Modern society strives to become a knowledge-based society, as evidenced by the rapid development of high technologies and their active implementation in all spheres of human activity as well as in the enhanced role of education and the implementation of the life-long education principle. Now more than ever, many countries, including Russia, face a broad range of challenges related to an effective development of people's personal and social development by supporting and involving talented youths – one of the main economic resources in the context of demographic issues in a number of developed countries.

The empirical longitudinal study revealed the role of parents and of intergenerational communication in the formation of the socio-emotional skills and in the choice of educational strategies of modern Russian young people after their completion of another educational stage. Selected attributive aspects of Russia' so-called Generation Z at a period of particular uncertainty in life were analyzed. The choice of an educational strategy of the present-day young generation of Russians largely depends on their own preferences, talents and efforts, yet young people's decisions are still closely related to their parents' wishes and well-being, which is manifested in intergenerational communication. Parents' educational level and their cultural capital exert a significant impact on their children's choice of their further educational trajectory. Given that young people declare their independence in choosing their future and goals while seeking support and guidance from their parents and other family members, it can be concluded that their professional choice is of mixed nature.

The study provides arguments to refute the widespread opinion concerning the new generation's communicative distancing from their parents, which indirectly points to the maintenance of family ties in present-day Russia (despite the intersection of traditional Russian values and values of individualism and consumerism that are being promoted in the modern world), and to young people's awareness of their financial dependence on their parents. In terms of initiating intergenerational communication in choosing an educational strategy, socio-communicative practices of the digital generation are not its distinctive characteristic, because they are equally peculiar to other generations in atime of uncertainty and risk. The analysis of intergenerational communication revealed the applied efficiency of the scientific definition of social communication as a type of social activity including the production, transmission and reception of symbolic forms through various resources. Intergenerational communication is regarded as a part of the "reflexive project" of the modern youth directed at building their self-identity and as a factor supporting intrapersonal communication at periods of uncertainty in life. The data obtained deepen and elaborate on the socio-communicative portrait of present-day Russian youth within the context of the globalizing society and the growth of uncertainty and risks, and they provide additional information on different branches of sociology: the sociology of education, the sociology of communication and the sociology of youth. The data obtained have a scientific and applied significance for the State and society when developing socio-economic programs with regard to the parental factor in the prediction and formation of human evolution. The present research study would be of practical value for public services for youth and family affairs, the job market and the educational sector.

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