

# Occupational Evaluations in Russian Society: Findings from Research on Students in Vladivostok and Moscow\*

Matsumoto, Kaori

## Abstract

This paper compares students in Vladivostok and Moscow, Russia, and examines the differences between desirability of occupation and occupational prestige by analysing the answers to questionnaires distributed in 2000 and 2002.

Since the demise of the Soviet Union, it has become difficult for young Russians to acquire even basic skills and gain experience through on-the-job training—the traditional method of skill acquisition for Soviet workers. In addition, even if they do find jobs, they are often unrelated to their majors and specialties obtained in higher education institutions. It should also be noted that premature deaths among Russians have escalated in recent years. Therefore, it is wrong to assume that the social conditions of this group are significantly better than for other groups. It is in this context that this research on occupational evaluations is conducted.

The result of the author's comparative research reveals some differences in occupational evaluations between Vladivostok and Moscow. In terms of desirability of occupation, young people in Vladivostok tend to place importance on job attractiveness, income, school education, knowledge and skills, while those in Moscow are interested in job attractiveness, creativity, and pride. Occupational prestige is characterised in terms of higher income, high education, knowledge, skills and social network in Vladivostok, and by higher income and influence on society in Moscow.

My research concludes by suggesting that Vladivostok is an “education-conscious society” in which students value diligence, while Moscow is an “authority-oriented society” in which ability and intelligence are considered to more important than in Vladivostok.

The research also shows that students in both cities value job attractiveness most—as opposed to easy jobs and long leisure time. However, as stated, there is little opportunity in reality for young Russians to find jobs that satisfy them. It is obvious that there is a structural gap in the Russian labor market resulting from inefficient vocational education in higher education institutions and “educational inflation,” a situation where even higher degrees do not guarantee satisfying jobs. Taking all things into consideration, we have to analyse the

---

**Keywords:** occupational evaluations, desirability of occupation, occupational prestige, education-conscious society, authority-oriented society

\* This work was supported by JSPS Grant-in-Aid for Young Scientists (B) Grant Number 22730424.

Russian labour market further with respect to the changes taking place in the country.

## Introduction

Attempts to gain an understanding of the problems of labour in Russia have shown a tendency to analyse economic statistics to describe objective phenomena, and to centre on the problems of economic conditions concomitant with transition. The problems in the current labour market, however, are not concentrated exclusively in economic conditions, but are greatly affected by the consciousness of the people, who are the hub of the labour market and at the heart of these problems; in other words, consciousness pertaining to their view of work and of employment.

Occupation is “an overt variable concerning social position,” or a “social indicator that can be observed”<sup>1)</sup>, and is thought of as “the most important determinant of class and stratification in society”<sup>2)</sup>, and thus can be called a mirror that reflects the consciousness of people towards social structure.

This paper analyses responses to questionnaires concerning the evaluation of employment by respondents—students in Vladivostok and Moscow, having examined the state of research both within and outside Russia concerning consciousness of social structure and the labour market among young Russians today. The survey results were analysed using two comparisons: a regional comparison between Vladivostok and Moscow, and a comparison of the evaluation criteria for job desirability, (i.e., the desire or criteria when deciding which job to take), and a comparison of the evaluation criteria for occupational prestige (i.e., the desire or criteria when determining the prestige of a job in society).

## 1. The Young Amidst the Changing Russian System

### (1) The Young as the Socially Weak in the Labour Market

In beginning of the 2000s in Russian society, which was undergoing a period of systemic change, while on the one hand there were social problems such as a mortality crisis due to social stress caused by unemployment among the middle-aged and elderly<sup>3)</sup>, the tendency of young people to fall on the optimistic side of the divide actually enabled various real problems to be apprehended. Employment problems among the young tend to be viewed optimistically compared with the problems of the middle-aged and elderly—despite these being a major problem in determining the future of a country. The roots of this can be cited as the strength of adaptability to social changes, the unlikelihood of unstable health, and the expectation of financial support from parents<sup>4)</sup>. It can also be pointed out that the “winners” of this period of transition to a market economy were young men with a high level of education, in the sense of possessing the ability to adapt to change<sup>5)</sup>. Even supposing all these facts, the following problems can be specified.

According to data from the Federal State Statistics Service, whereas the unemployment rate among the young is high compared to the unemployment rate among other generations

(see Fig. 1), and businesses hold onto their current employees without letting them go, conditions have also arisen in which the young are not employed. Furthermore, the young lack experience in participating in the labour market, and even if they find work, they are mainly employed for a limited period or seasonally (see Table 1). In such circumstances, the young cannot improve their employment skills, and there is little prospect of their inheriting the technical skills of the preceding generation. It is difficult to say that the factors are all the same, but superficially, the conditions that have arisen are close to the “temp phenomenon” in Japan. Furthermore, that the young are disadvantaged can also be pointed out in terms of the demographic problem. The rise in premature deaths among young men since 1998<sup>6)</sup> means that young men have been positively forced to retire from society without being able to adapt to the social conditions in Russia. As a direct cause of the rise in premature deaths, there is a possibility of a link to the increase in HIV and AIDS, which are centred among the young, and a case can be made for a rapid change in morals and modes of conduct<sup>7)</sup>.

Even for university students, who can be thought of as advantaged in finding work, the outlook is far from ideal. According to surveys and research conducted by Chita State Technical University in Chita Oblast, 5<sup>th</sup>-year students (i.e., students in their final year) who have found work amount to no more than 53% and, of these, approximately 30% are scheduled to start jobs outside of their fields of expertise<sup>8)</sup>. This includes students who are studying fields other than their areas of specialty at their universities, such as management, marketing, accountancy, law, and state and regional finance, and this has led to a mismatch between the specialist fields at university and the knowledge required by society. Even if new hires are needed, many students are unable to take up work, and in the current circumstances, there is a danger that the number of students with no interest in employment will increase.

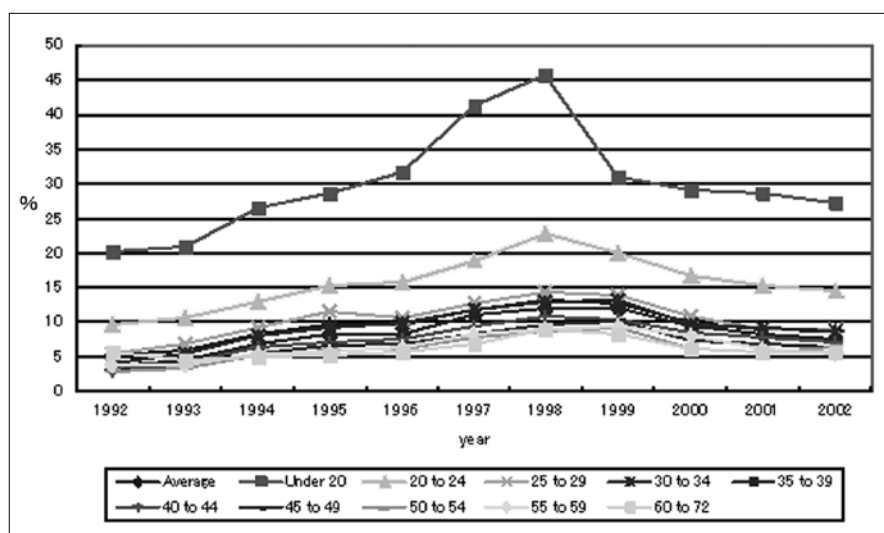


Fig. 1: Unemployment Rates by Age

Source: Госкомстат России (1999, 2001, 2003), Труд и занятость в России, М.

Table 1: Reasons for Unemployment in 2000

	All unemployed	Under 20	20 to 24	25 to 29	30 to 49	50 to 54	55 to 59	60 to 72
Dismissed, personnel reduction or bankruptcy	26.8	3.7	9.2	23.5	36.2	41.4	29.0	6.8
Retired for personal reasons	26.4	9.6	19.9	31.3	31.5	23.3	21.8	6.8
Fixed-contract employment, seasonal employment, expiration of contract	5.7	7.4	5.7	7.5	5.8	4.4	1.3	1.0
Retirement age reached	4.0	-	-	-	0.7	9.5	36.1	68.2
Moved addresses	3.8	-	1.6	4.8	4.9	2.8	2.1	5.2
Health reasons	3.1	0.4	0.8	1.6	3.8	5.6	6.3	8.3
Domestic circumstances	6.0	0.0	4.4	9.2	7.2	5.1	1.7	1.6
Military discharge	0.6	-	2.0	0.9	0.2	0.2	1.7	0.5
Other	5.3	0.4	4.0	7.3	6.4	6.0	-	1.6
Never worked	18.1	78.3	52.4	14.0	3.2	1.2	-	-

Source: Госкомстат России (2001), Труд и занятость в России, М.

## (2) Labour and Employment Research Among the Young of Russian Society

In Russia today, young people mainly evoke such emotions as sympathy, irritation, fear, and anger, and they have little respect or goodwill<sup>9)</sup>. They stand rejected by society without being a part of the new market economy, and are driven by antisocial behaviour. Amongst the unemployed young, there are those who join violent extreme-right groups or who fall into drug abuse and similar behaviour. Even supposing that a person has a job, of the employed approximately 40% are dissatisfied with their current job, and want to change jobs in the near future, as they feel no attraction to the work they do. From this inability to earn a living based on educational achievements and desired employment, the notion of respect for their work has been lost, and values that have been viewed as important to date (skills or abilities, conscience, responsibility, sincerity, education, qualifications, etc.) have come to be viewed as unimportant, and the number of young people who fall into crime is increasing<sup>10)</sup>. Young people value their private lives as more important than work, and ideas of work are often criticised as infantile and optimistic<sup>11)</sup>.

Next, let us look at the labour market for university students, who are the subject of the research in this manuscript. The problems of finding employment for university students can be listed endlessly, such as the mismatch between the specialist skills required by the labour market and the specialist fields available at university, the difference between the level of skills required by employers and the actual skill levels of the university students, the lack of practical experience, the low wages and delays in wage payments for specialists who have graduated university, the lack of provision of a system for introducing university students to employment opportunities, the absence of social assistance for young people and the lack of measures to counter unsuitability for work, and the insufficient skills of educational

staff<sup>12</sup>).

A survey on part-time work among university students showed that although 29.7% of students are working to create human relationships that will be of use in future job seeking, there is a contradiction in that more than half of the students are working in fields that do not match their university majors (in nearly all cases, the work is manual labour, or in the sales and service sectors)<sup>13</sup>. In other words, there is a big gap between the desired work and the work that has to be done. In this way, graduate job seeking is considerably blessed compared with those of low academic achievement, but cannot be called ideal.

In light of this, let us examine research concerning the grading of occupation among young Russians, which is related to a survey I carried out. Amidst all the propaganda pertaining to the grading of occupations, the Russian sociologist V. Shubkin was the first to start research into the field of grading of occupations<sup>14</sup>. Continuing on from that research, it was D. Konstantinovski who examined longitudinally final-year junior high school students<sup>15</sup>. V. Shubkin and D. Konstantinovski entrusted the evaluation standards for the grading of occupations to the students, however, and whilst knowing of a difference between the concepts of desirability of occupation and occupational prestige, they left the ambiguity of these concepts intact, and carried out the research using only the word “desirability” (Привлекательность), without classification. These longitudinal surveys were conducted in 1963, and today there is also the possibility of a dilemma whereby changing the questions to any great extent cannot be done, but as can be presumed from the fact that modern labour problems are not controlled by economic forces alone, the gap between the kind of work desired by people and the kind of work that is highly regarded by society cannot be ignored.

There was also a survey on occupational prestige that was carried out by Finnish and Russian researchers at the end of 1995. The subjects of this survey were children aged 14 to 16 living in Petrozavodsk, which is the capital of the republic of Karelia in the Russian Federation, and the city of Joensuu in southeastern Finland. Joensuu and Petrozavodsk are divided between modern-day Finland and Russia, but historically are in the same cultural block called the Karelia region. According to the results of this survey, young people in Joensuu view academic employment as highly prestigious, although evidently viewing the possibility of entering highly prestigious employment themselves to be low. In the case of Petrozavodsk, on the other hand, business-related employment is considered prestigious, and an overwhelming majority of young people are aiming for such highly-prestigious business-related employment. There are problems, however, such as that only 32 occupations were surveyed, which is insufficient, and the values systems concerning employment prestige and the desirability of occupations were not surveyed<sup>16</sup>.

As described above, the labour problems among young Russians and the grading of occupations have been researched, but an approach based on occupational evaluation standards was not used.

## 2. “Occupational Desirability” and “Occupational Prestige” in this Research

### (1) Issues and Problems in Occupational Evaluation Standards

This paper examines the evaluation standards for “occupational desirability” and “occupational prestige” among the evaluation standards for occupations. These concepts are important for describing accurately the orientation of occupational evaluations for respondents, which has been ambiguous in previous research, and for performing a comparative analysis of both. The definitions of both as used in this paper are described below.

First, I would like to examine the argument of occupational evaluation standards. In social stratification and social mobility (SSM) research (in Japan) for 1995<sup>17)</sup>, 11 standards when evaluating occupations were examined. They were: “necessity of high education (academic achievement),” “skills,” “size of responsibility,” “income,” “respect garnered from society,” “size of contribution to society,” “impact on society,” “originality,” “autonomy,” “coolness,” and “amount of authority.” These items were factor analysed, and five factors were identified. Each factor is considered as a scale related to the following points: Factor 1: “impact on society or links to society,” Factor 2: “desirability for performing the occupation,” Factor 3: “skills level,” Factor 4: “remuneration,” and Factor 5: “ease of occupation”<sup>18)</sup>. Nevertheless, there may also be evaluation criteria other than those described above<sup>19)</sup>, and I cannot be confident that the categories for the evaluation standards used by the Japanese and the Russians are exactly the same. Furthermore, in SSM surveys, the respondents were left to judge freely for themselves the “what” of the employment evaluation, so in the end it was not clear as to the “what” regarding employment that was being judged. The same problems also pertain to research into the Russian grading of occupations described above. People evaluate occupations from various viewpoints; for example, the standards for choosing one’s own occupation and the standards for evaluating occupations socially are most likely not the same. To solve these problems, the author performed the survey by clearly delineating between “desirability of occupation” and “occupational prestige.” The respondents were made aware that the intentions behind the questions were different by using easily comprehensible words as far as possible such as “the occupation you would like” and “the social position (prestige) of an occupation” and, further, by performing both questionnaires simultaneously.

### (2) Evaluation Standards for “Desirability of Occupation”

The “desirability of occupation” in this paper is an evaluation from the viewpoint of wanting to get the employment or wanting to become close to people in that employment<sup>20)</sup>. This is an evaluation standard for the ideal employment spoken of in a personal dimension, and is different from the evaluation of employment from a social dimension. In choosing employment, not all people aim for jobs that are evaluated socially. If I cite as an example employment consciousness as the background to the action of choosing part-time work among the young in Japan in recent years, while the young are fully aware that the social standing of part-timers is low, there are value standards more important than social standing for them, such as freedom, experience, and personal encounters, and these are the reasons for choosing part-

time work<sup>21</sup>). In other words, young people who choose part-time work have different personal criteria for choosing jobs and criteria for evaluating jobs in society. Consequently, in this survey<sup>22</sup>, first of all I asked about the desirability of 60 occupations with the following question, “Supposing you could be reborn, what sort of employment would you seek? Circle the relevant number for all the jobs described below. (Options: ‘Definitely,’ ‘Probably,’ ‘Neutral,’ ‘Probably not,’ ‘Definitely not,’ and ‘Don’t know’).” There is no intention with this question, however, to survey popular employment in Russia today. The objective of this survey is to examine the evaluation criteria for desirability of occupation among modern Russian university students, and not to investigate employment trends that are easily affected by the short-term social environment and current university specialties. Consequently, the question described above is a preparatory question to examine the evaluation criteria for desirability of occupation, and further questions were asked concerning the subject of analysis in this paper: “When you selected the employment you would like to try in Question 9 (the preceding question), how important were the following points to you? Circle the relevant number for all the jobs described below. (Options: ‘Very important,’ ‘Somewhat important,’ ‘Somewhat unimportant,’ and ‘Completely unimportant’).” Twenty-four items of evaluation criteria were determined after the characteristics of employment<sup>23</sup> were carefully examined, and they are described in Table 4.

### (3) Evaluation Criteria for “Occupational Prestige”

A simple explanation of “occupational prestige” in this paper is the prestige or social standing of the job. In other words, it is the evaluation of occupation from a social dimension; that is, the grading of occupations within society. As described already, it is a different concept that has to be distinguished from “desirability of occupation.” Social standing is not formed from only one set of values, but it is unclear as to what sort of concept is social standing<sup>24</sup>. Here, the evaluation criteria for occupational prestige are “multi-dimensional concepts formed from multiple factors that comprise standing”<sup>25</sup>, and I attempted to identify the evaluation criteria for occupational prestige (i.e., the factors that comprise social standing) using the questions described below.

First, the occupational prestige of 60 jobs was scored using the following question: “For all of the jobs described below, evaluate the height of general social prestige using five ranks, and circle the relevant figure. (Options: ‘Highest,’ ‘Somewhat high,’ ‘Average,’ ‘Somewhat low,’ ‘Lowest,’ and ‘Don’t know’).” The following question was then asked regarding the evaluation criteria for occupational prestige: “When evaluating the height of general social prestige for a job in Question 11 (the preceding question), how important did you rank the following points? Circle the relevant figure. (Options: ‘Very important,’ ‘Somewhat important,’ ‘Somewhat unimportant,’ and ‘Completely unimportant’).” The 24 evaluation criteria are described in Table 4.

### 3. Questionnaires on Desirability of Occupation and Occupational Prestige: Vladivostok and Moscow

#### (1) Analysis Framework and Objectives

As shown in Fig. 2, four comparative analyses were performed. First, the difference in desirability of occupation and occupational prestige were compared between Vladivostok and Moscow (Comparison (1) and Comparison (2)). Next, so as to examine the difference between desirability of occupation and occupational prestige, the desirability of occupation and occupational prestige were compared among Vladivostok students (Comparison (3)), and among Moscow students (Comparison (4)). The comparisons described above used a t-test (i.e., examination of the differences between average values), leading to part of the makeup of awareness among students from both Vladivostok and Moscow regarding desirability of occupation and occupational prestige.

Comparisons by region were performed to identify the differences in the makeup of awareness regarding employment among students from Moscow—said to be “only capitalist city in Russia,” and from Vladivostok in the far east of the country—which is called “Russia’s frontier”<sup>26)</sup>. A comparison between “desirability of occupation,” which is the standard for choosing a desirable job, and “occupational prestige,” which is a standard that describes social standing, enables the difference (mismatch) between the criteria for selecting a job among the students themselves and the standards for evaluating social standing to be identified.

#### (2) Outline of Questionnaires

I conducted the questionnaires surveys in September 2000 at Far Eastern National University<sup>27)</sup> in Vladivostok, and in April 2002 at Lomonosov Moscow State University, The State Academic University for the Humanities, and Russian State University for the Humanities in Moscow. The number of people surveyed is shown in Table 2, and their academic year is given in Table 3<sup>28)</sup>.

#### (3) Survey Results

The question used to ascertain the criteria for evaluating “desirability of occupation” was, “When you selected the job you would like to do in Question 9 (the previous question), how

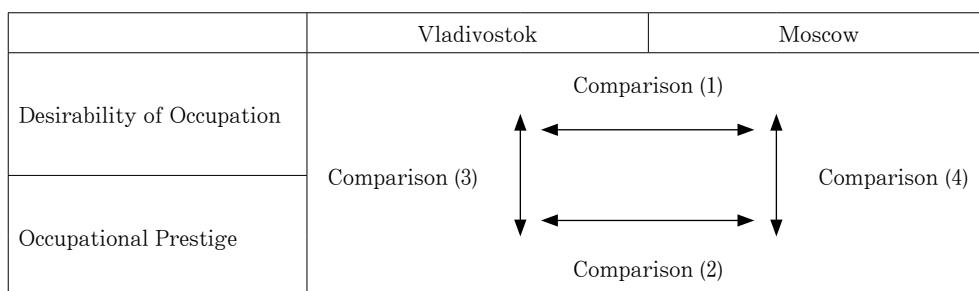


Fig. 2: Analysis Subjects



Table 2: Number of People Surveyed

	Male	Female	Total
Vladivostok	36	79	115
Moscow	33	101	134

Table 3: Year of Study

Year	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year	No Response	Total
Vladivostok	44	29	22	19	1	115
Moscow	21	22	28	62	1	134

important were the following points to you? Circle the relevant figure.” The question to ask the criteria for evaluating “occupational prestige” was, “When you evaluated the amount of general social prestige for a job in Question 11 (the previous question), how important were the following points to you? Circle the relevant figure.”<sup>29)</sup> The 24 items for evaluation are described in Table 4.

#### a. Desirability of Occupation in Vladivostok and Moscow (Comparison (1))

The results of Comparison (1), which are described using the contrast analysis in Fig. 2, were examined.

“Interesting work” was the most important aspect for students from both regions. Russian students considered economic conditions to be unfavourable in the beginning of 2000s, and rather than accept the minimum wage necessary to survive, would rather search for work that they find interesting. From the unemployment rate among young people shown in Fig. 1, work that the younger generation would find interesting can be presumed scarce in the labour market.

The point that Vladivostok students, however, considered “amount of income” to be a secondary priority and also gave more weight to “social stability” than Moscow students reflects worse economic conditions compared to those in Moscow. The result of “useful human relations” is thought to show that a personal network in particular is regarded as important in the Vladivostok labour market, and that “possibility to work abroad” is more important in Vladivostok than on Moscow, because Vladivostok is constricted and unattractive as a place to work. In reality, since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the spread of freedom of movement, the population drain from the far east of the country has been remarkable, and it is well-known that there has been a great influx of Chinese workers as labour to compensate for this population drain.

High education, knowledge, and skills are also highly regarded in Vladivostok. Although not a Russian example, there is a study that focuses on “education consciousness.” Whereas Europe and the United States are “authority-oriented societies” that are highly sensitive to differences in class, Japan is an “education-conscious society” in which class consciousness is blurred<sup>30)</sup>.

Returning now to the discussion of Russia, I will develop this theory a little more. Vladivostok is a new city compared to Moscow, and people from various regions have gathered

Table 4: Evaluation Criteria and Survey Results

	Russian	English	Desirability of Occupation		Occupational Prestige	
			Vladivostok	Moscow	Vladivostok	Moscow
1	хороший заработок	High income	1.41	1.69	1.18	1.43
2	возможность хвастаться своей работой	Pride in one's work	3.00	1.48	2.57	1.68
3	влияние на общество, власть	Authority and influence in society	2.44	2.44	1.80	1.67
4	уважение окружающих	Respect in society	1.87	1.98	1.65	1.56
5	возможность повышения профессионального мастерства	Opportunity to improve skills	1.45	1.77	1.71	2.13
6	возможность творчества	Originality	1.72	1.41	1.86	1.92
7	полезность для общества	Degree of contribution to society	1.97	2.01	2.04	2.28
8	возможность стать известным	Possibility of becoming famous	2.35	2.33	1.97	1.86
9	наличие льгот, возможность получения жилья, и. т. д.	Privileges other than income	3.10	3.23	2.73	2.93
10	легкость труда	Easy work	3.45	3.26	3.34	3.17
11	увлекательность работы	Interesting work	1.20	1.20	1.58	1.89
12	возможность налаживания связей	Useful human relations	1.70	2.25	1.60	1.93
13	большой спрос на данную профессию	Demand (necessity to society)	2.44	2.86	1.90	2.12
14	нравственность	Morality	2.30	2.35	2.47	2.73
15	самостоятельность	Independence	1.55	1.64	1.70	2.14
16	связь с традиционной культурой	How traditional is the occupation	2.88	3.11	3.02	3.14
17	возможность выезда за границу	Possibility to work abroad	1.89	2.48	1.84	2.47
18	большой отпуск	A lot of time off	3.38	3.23	3.11	3.29
19	возможность получить новые знания	Possibility of learning new knowledge	1.51	1.92	1.79	2.38
20	возможность проявления инициативы	Acting on one's own initiative (leadership)	1.61	1.60	1.67	1.94
21	необходимость высшего образования	Necessity of high education	1.45	1.97	1.40	1.98
22	стабильность положения в обществе	Social stability	1.68	2.08	1.52	1.82
23	сложность трудоустройства	Difficulty in obtaining	2.67	3.10	2.64	2.89
24	ответственность перед обществом	Social responsibility	2.39	2.72	2.30	2.62

\*The figures in the tables are smaller the more importantly an item is viewed. In other words, the closer to 1, the more important, the closer to 4 the less important.

there. In other words, it is difficult to conceive that there has always been a strong social and class awareness, and the possibility is therefore great that it is an “education-conscious society” similar to Japan. This is also expressed in the desire to find a job that reflects one’s academic record. Furthermore, in Vladivostok there are few chances such that one cannot trust to luck, and there is a tendency to rely on one’s academic background instead.

In other words, Vladivostok students evaluate highly income, skill, and high education, which are concrete values for actual living, while Moscow students focus on immaterial values that enable self-respect and high originality. On the other hand, neither group of students valued highly the valuations of other people, such as respect and impact on society.

This does not mean that the idea of avoiding work, such as merely having fun and not working much, is spreading, but rather indicates that if the work is interesting, the notion is common that even if the work is arduous that’s OK. In this way, the fact that the unjust equality of socialism, which is a social legacy from the past, is not approved of should be focused on. From this point, it is evident that the questions of how to communicate an interest in work to young people, and how to enable the specialist knowledge required by society to be learned at university, will be major issues for the labour market for young Russians in the future.

#### **b. Occupational Prestige in Vladivostok and Moscow (Comparison (2))**

Next, let us examine Comparison (2).

In the case of occupational prestige, the greater the prestige the greater the income is thought to be in both regions. Further, when the results of the t-test in Vladivostok and Moscow are examined, the amount of income is more important in Vladivostok than in Moscow ( $p < .01$ ). This is thought to reflect the poor economic conditions of Vladivostok.

Generally, items that are thought to be deeply related to prestige, such as “respect in society,” “authority and influence in society,” and “pride in one’s work” are overall deeply regarded in Moscow, whereas in Vladivostok, “necessity of high education,” “opportunity to improve skills,” and “possibility of learning new knowledge” are focused on, and clearly there is a great difference in the evaluation criteria at the heart of occupational prestige. Even here, the tendency in Vladivostok towards “education-conscious society” described in Comparison (1) can be seen, and in Vladivostok, academic history strongly influences the rise in social standing, and the students in Moscow feel that the chance to rise in social standing is not related to academic history. This is because there are many opportunities in Moscow, which is where the core Russian industries and many foreign businesses are congregated there. In Vladivostok, however, assuming that the results of effort and ability such as academic record and skills are reflected in social standing, Vladivostok may be called a society in which effort holds an expectation of increased social standing.

From the fact that in Vladivostok, job interest, initiative and independence are viewed as important enables an image of individual success rather than success within an organisation regarding the height of social standing. On the other hand, this does not mean that human relations are being denied, but is an acknowledgement of the necessity of personal networks

in increasing social standing. Here, individual entrepreneurs can depict their rise in social standing using human relations.

The above results can be said to describe that, whereas in Vladivostok social standing is symbolised by high income, stability, good academic history, and personal networks, in Moscow, social standing is seen as the extent of power in society in addition to high income and stability.

### **c. Desirability of Occupation and Occupational Prestige in Vladivostok (Comparison (3)) and Moscow (Comparison (4))**

I would like to cite common notions concerning the results of Comparison (3) and Comparison (4). Among the items viewed as significantly different between desirability of occupation and occupational prestige, the characteristics of the items regarded as important for desirability of occupation can be classified broadly into the following three categories: (1) The nature of the job is interesting, and enables skills to be improved and new knowledge to be learned; (2) A position of independence within the job; and (3) Morality that expresses one's inner convictions. On the other hand, the items regarded as important for occupational prestige can be classified broadly into the following two categories: (1) Economic capital such as income, stability and privilege; and (2) Social capital such as respect (i.e., human relations that enable some sort of profit to be obtained), influence on society, and the ability to stand proud before others. In other words, social standing is not a moral activity or cultural capital (i.e., knowledge, education, or skills obtained through schooling or the home environment) such as knowledge and skill, but rather is felt to be determined by economic capital (material wealth and income) such as financial remuneration and privilege. The fact that stability is not regarded as important in choosing an occupation may indicate the ability to act without fear of risk in the revolution concomitant with the transition of economic systems. On the other hand, it indicates that there is a possibility of involvement in high-risk, illegal businesses. Furthermore, if it is felt that if social standing in modern Russian society cannot be obtained through knowledge, skills, and moral actions, then there is also the possibility that a feeling of distrust and a sense of inequality will manifest towards society.

Next, let us look at the differences between both cities. "Pride in one's work" is viewed as important in terms of desirability of occupation in Moscow, compared to Vladivostok where it is viewed as important for occupational prestige. In other words, Moscow students want to choose an occupation of which they can boast to others, whereas Vladivostok students feel pride in high social standing. When an overview of the results for all 24 items is examined, Moscow students have many significant differences compared to Vladivostok students in the evaluation criteria for both desirability of occupation and occupational prestige. In other words, a great mismatch in values (social evaluation) has been identified between society in general and the values of students in a personal dimension in Moscow, where economic development is remarkable. The above points describe a great difference between personal values and the values of society, and there is an estrangement between the social evaluation criteria and occupational selection criteria more with Moscow students than among students in

Vladivostok, which is lagging behind economically, and Moscow students are more likely to choose an occupation that demands self-actualisation rather than a job that aims to improve social standing.

**d. Summary of Analyses**

From the above results, I would like to summarise the knowledge obtained by this survey regarding how Russian students view desirability of occupation and occupational prestige (see Table 4).

The characteristic of the evaluation criteria for Vladivostok is “importance of effort.” This fact can be determined from the particular importance placed on acquiring new knowledge and academic background. On the other hand, a “nonmaterialistic value” prevails in Moscow. Furthermore, when the results are put together, it seems there are “ideal” criteria regarding desirability of occupation among Russian students (Comparison (1)).

The characteristic of the criteria for evaluating occupational prestige in Vladivostok can be called “importance of utility” from the fact that “high income” and “high education” are viewed as particularly important. In Moscow, the characteristic can be called “importance of authority” from the emphasis on “authority and influence in society” and “pride in one’s work,” etc. From this characteristic, it can be determined that social standing in Russia is characterised overall by “instrumental criteria” (Comparison (2)).

On the other hand, when compared regionally, the characteristic of occupational evaluation among students in Vladivostok can be called “diligence,” from such characteristics as the “importance of effort” and “importance of utility” described above (Comparison (3)), whereas occupational evaluations in the case of Moscow students can be named “dexterity” from the “importance of desire” and “importance of authority.” Figure 3 shows the results obtained from these analyses.

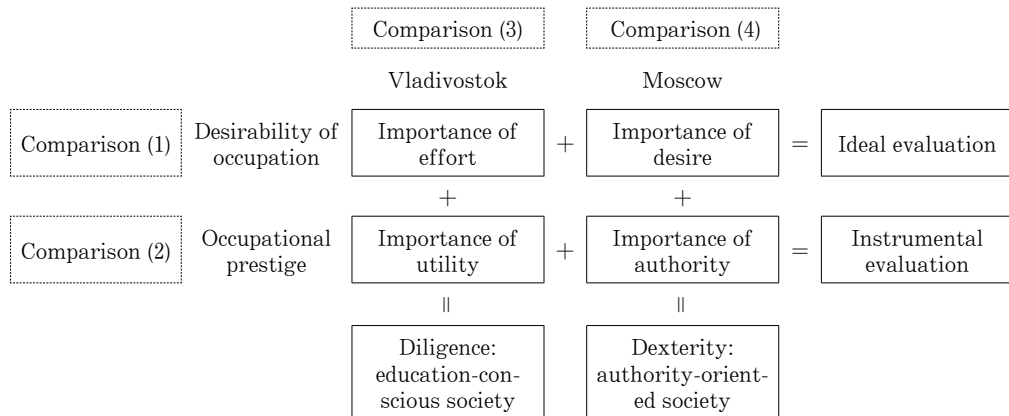


Fig. 3: Characteristics of Occupational Evaluation Criteria in Russia

## Conclusion

This paper has elicited some of the occupational evaluations among Russian students by analysing the evaluation criteria for desirability of occupation, which is a criterion for selecting work, and the evaluation criteria for occupational prestige, which describes social standing. To conclude, I would like to state several facts and problems regarding the labour market for young Russian people.

First, if occupational awareness among the young is not properly understood, the problems of the labour market, starting with unemployment, cannot be solved. The nature of occupational awareness among the young, which is not suited to current Russian social conditions, affects job-seeking activities, and it is possible that they are thus made into the weak of the labour market. It is thought that therein, the cause is either that university education is not suited to the market, or that educational inflation has taken place, so that university graduates are now unable to find satisfactory or adequate work. These points at issue need further consideration in the future.

Second, when considering Russian social problems, one cannot think simplistically that if only the economic situation turned around, all circumstances would improve. According to this survey, in Moscow, which is experiencing eye-opening economic development, it is evidently possible for the young to succeed economically, but there is a great difference between the views that make up desirability of occupation and those that make up occupational prestige, and there also is a huge gap between personal expectations and social reality. For this point, it is essential to supply a labour market that conforms to the awareness of the young, or to supply education, and if these differences are not eliminated, even if the number of new hires needed increases, the unemployment rate among the young will not necessarily fall.

It has also been made clear that the relationship between economic growth and people's awareness needs to be considered longitudinally. Assuming that a cultural change (from materialism to postmaterialism) can be applied through economic growth as described by R. Inglehart<sup>31)</sup>, the formation of awareness among the people of Vladivostok may be considered as changing to conform with that of the people of Moscow. Furthermore, assuming that the "economic culture," which is considered unlikely to be affected by short-term economic change, is shared by the people of both Vladivostok and Moscow in common, what will the differences between the two bring about? In the vast territory of Russia, there are labour markets that are independent by region (political jurisdiction), and the labour markets in Moscow and Vladivostok have different circumstances, which fact gives rise to differences in people's awareness.

The formation of social capital examined in this paper can also be said to hint at future research. With social capital also, the difference between connections, which are so-called personal human relations that are prioritised in Vladivostok, and the nature of authority in society, which is the focus in Moscow, is profoundly interesting. In March 2004, a specialist course called "mutual action between business and government" (in other words, a lobbyist training course) was established at the State University Higher School of Economics, which

is a movement to create a new relationship between the state and entrepreneurs<sup>32</sup>). It is reasonable to suppose that the nature of networks in Russian economic activities and the direction that changes will take between individuals and the state will affect people's awareness of occupations.

This paper has attempted to determine some of the realities of current Russian society by surveying the occupational awareness of Russian students. Russian society, however, was in the throes of major social change at the beginning of the 21st century, and the social structure continues to change today. At the current stage, it is not possible to discuss whether this survey was able to grasp the major tide of history, but I would like to point out in summary that changes in the makeup of awareness will be a major issue in Russian social research in future.

## Notes

- 1) Naoi, A. (1979) "Configuration of Occupational Status Yardstick," in K. Tominaga. (ed). *The Structure of Social Stratification in Japan*, University of Tokyo Press, pp. 434–472, (in Japanese).
- 2) Bell, D. (1973) *The coming of post-industrial society*, Basic Books.
- 3) Cornia, G. (2000) "Short-term, long-term, and hysteresis mortality models: A review," in G. Cornia and R. Panizza (eds). *The mortality crisis in transitional economies*, Oxford University Press, pp. 59–80.
- 4) Полякова, Н. (1999) Незанятая молодежь: Социально-экономический портрет и поведение// Человек и труд, № 4, стр. 42–43.
- 5) Brainerd, E. (1998) "Winners and losers in Russia's economic transition," *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 88, No. 5, pp. 1094–1116.
- 6) Kuboniwa, M. and S. Tabata (2002) "Russia's Demographic and Pension Crises in the 1990s: A Preliminary Observation on Inter-generational Equity Problems in Transition Countries," *The Economic Review (Keizai Kenkyuu)*, Vol. 53, No. 3, pp. 247–267, (in Japanese).
- 7) The number of HIV carriers reported in Russia from 1995 to 2000 increased 251 times. (Зеленый мир (2003) No. 15–16.)
- 8) Лоншакова Н.А. (2003) Региональный вуз и рынок труда: проблемы адаптации (На примере Читинской области)// Социологические Исследования, No. 2, стр. 68–72.
- 9) Зеленый мир (2003) № 15–16. (ibid.)
- 10) Chuprov V. and J. Zubok (2000) "Integration versus exclusion: youth and the labour market in Russia," *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 52, Issue 164, pp. 171–182.
- 11) Юпитов А.В., А.А.Зотов (1997) Исследование ситуации профессионального самоопределения студентов// Социологические Исследования, № 3, стр. 84–92.
- 12) Лоншакова Н.А. (2003) (ibid.)
- 13) Константиновский Д.Л., Г.А. Чередниченко, Е.Д. Вознесенская (2002) Российский студент сегодня: учеба плюс работа, Ин-т социологии РАН.
- 14) Shubkin, V.N. (1966) "Social mobility and choice of occupation," in G.V. Osipov (ed). *Industry and Labour in the U.S.S.R.*, Tavistock Publications, pp. 86–98.
- 15) Константиновский Д.Л. (1999) Динамика неравенства: Российская молодежь в меняющемся обществе: ориентации и пути в сфере образования (от 1960-х годов к 2000-му), УРСС.
- 16) Sinisalo, P. and A.R. Nummenmaa (2000) "Developing occupational goals and plans," in V. Puuronen, P. Sinisalo, I. Miljukova and L. Shvets (eds). *Youth in a changing Karelia: A comparative study of everyday life, future orientations and political culture of youth in North-West Russia and Eastern Finland*, Ashgate, pp. 146–161.
- 17) "Social Stratification and Social Mobility National Survey," performed by SSM Research Groups every ten years.
- 18) Tsuzuki, K. (2000) "What Do People Want to Be?: The Configuration of Desirability of Occupation," in M. Umino (ed). *Stratification System in Japan 2, A Sense of Fairness and Political Consciousness*, University of Tokyo Press, 2000, refer to analysis results pp. 37–60, (in Japanese).

- 19) Genji, K. (1998) "The Effect of Evaluative Criteria on the Occupational Evaluation," in K. Tsuzuki (ed). *The 1995 SSM Research Series/Volume 5, Occupational Evaluations and Prestige Scores*, 1995 SSM Research Group, pp. 107–123, (in Japanese).
- 20) Okamoto, H. and J. Hara (1979) "Analysis of Occupational Desirability Evaluation," in K. Tominaga (ed). *The Structure of Social Stratification in Japan*, University of Tokyo Press, pp. 421-433, (in Japanese).
- 21) Shimomura H. (2002) "Occupational Awareness of Part-Time Workers and its Configuration Process: Fact and Fiction of the Will to "Work as I Want," in R. Kosugi (ed). *The Rewards of Freedom / Part-Timers: Job Seeking Awareness and Action among Modern Youth*, Japan Institute of Labour, pp. 75–99, (in Japanese).
- 22) For details of this questionnaire, refer to K. Matsumoto (2003) "Russian Society in Transition and Occupational Prestige: Based on a Comparative Survey of Russian and Japanese Students," *Comparative Economic Studies*, Vol. 10, pp. 104–121, (in Japanese).
- 23) In addition to the SSM research mentioned above, see Odaka, K. (1995) *Odaka Kunio Collected Works, Volume 1, Sociology of Work*, Musoan Co. Ltd. (in Japanese), Okamoto, H. (1977) "Occupation and Social Stratification," in T. Yamane, K. Morioka, Y. Honma, I. Takeuchi, Y. Takahashi and I. Amano (eds). *Textbook Sociology (4) Occupation*, Yuhikaku Publishing Co., Ltd., pp. 32–43 (in Japanese).
- 24) On this subject, see Taromaru, H. (1998) "The Degree of Consensus on the Occupational Prestige Rating and Intersubjective Structure of Social Stratification," in K. Tsuzuki (ed). *The 1995 SSM Research Series/ Volume 5, Occupational Evaluations and Prestige Scores*, 1995 SSM Research Group, pp. 15–29, (in Japanese).
- 25) Imada, T. and J. Hara (1979) "Consistencies and Inconsistencies in Social Status," in K. Tominaga (ed). *The Structure of Social Stratification in Japan*, University of Tokyo Press, pp. 161–197, (in Japanese).
- 26) Ohtsu, S. (1997) "Transition to the Market System and Labour Problems in the Russian Far East," *Russian Studies*, No. 24, pp. 23–41, (in Japanese).
- 27) This university changed its name to Far Eastern Federal University, combining Far Eastern National University, Far Eastern State Technical University, Pacific State University of Economics and Ussuriisk State Pedagogical Institute in 2009.
- 28) Limits in sample consistency due to survey environments are undeniable. There is a high correlation of 0.9 in all cases concerning the data between men and women and students of the same year, and these inclinations are not thought to affect the overall data greatly.
- 29) For details, refer to Section 2.
- 30) Takeuchi, Y. (1995) *Japan's Meritocracy: Structure and Mentality*, University of Tokyo Press, (in Japanese).
- 31) Inglehart, R. (1990) *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*, Princeton University Press.
- 32) Бизнесмены будут учить студентов работать с чиновниками //Независимая газета, 26 марта 2004.