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**TÍTULO:** Factores de formación de intolerancia en la sociedad rusa moderna.

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**RESUMEN:** Los factores de formación de la intolerancia interétnica en la sociedad rusa moderna se consideran en este documento, y se establece que el crecimiento de la pobreza, la estratificación de la sociedad en pobres y ricos, la inseguridad social, el problema del empleo, el desempleo, la corrupción y la ineficiencia de la política perseguida por el gobierno en su erradicación, las actividades de los líderes nacionales informales, la oposición entre los pueblos rusos, la baja cultura de la comunicación interétnica, la pérdida de los principios de la educación internacional, la confrontación interétnica y la falta de confianza en las autoridades son barreras en el proceso de formación de la armonía interétnica sobre la base de resultados del estudio sociológico.

**PALABRAS CLAVES:** tolerancia, intolerancia, relaciones interétnicas, sociedad rusa, armonía interétnica.

**TITLE:** Factors of intolerance formation in Modern Russian Society.

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**ABSTRACT:** The factors of formation of interethnic intolerance in modern Russian society are considered in this paper. We established that the growth of poverty, stratification of society into the poor and rich, social insecurity, the problem of employment, unemployment, the presence of corruption and inefficiency of the policy pursued by the government in its eradication, the activities of informal national leaders opposing the Russian peoples to each other, low culture of interethnic communication, the loss of the principles of international education, interethnic confrontation, as well as lack of trust in the authorities are the barriers in the process of formation of interethnic harmony on the basis of the results of sociological study.

**KEY WORDS:** tolerance, intolerance, interethnic relations, Russian society, interethnic harmony.

**INTRODUCTION.**

Characteristics of interethnic harmony, the definition of indicators of its reproduction, the role of social contact in the formation of positive and negative attitudes in interethnic interaction naturally involves the study of the causes contributing to the emergence and existence of interethnic and interreligious intolerance, negative heterostereotypes, destructive forms of ethnic identity, together contributing to the deterioration of the interethnic climate.

We singled out the negative factors affecting the state of interethnic and national relations in the Strategy of the state national policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025 (p. 15). There are a high level of social and property inequality, regional economic differentiation; erosion of traditional moral values of the Russian people; legal nihilism and high crime rate, corruption of individual authorities; preservation of manifestations of discrimination against citizens of different nationalities in law enforcement practice; lack of educational and cultural and educational measures to form the Russian civil identity, education of culture of interethnic communication, study of history and traditions of the peoples of Russia, their experience of solidarity in strengthening the state and protection of the common Fatherland; prevalence of negative stereotypes; insufficient level of interdepartmental and inter-level coordination in the implementation of the state national policy of the Russian Federation, including prevention of extremism and early prevention of ethnic conflicts in the constituent entities of the Russian Federation; insufficient regulation of migration processes (Gryshai, et al., 2018), issues of social and cultural integration and adaptation of migrants, which does not allow to adequately meet the current and future needs of economic, social and demographic development of the country, the interests of employers and the Russian society as a whole; the influence of factors of a global or transboundary nature, such as the unifying effect of globalization on the local culture, the unresolved issues of refugees and internally displaced

persons, illegal migration, the expansion of international terrorism and religious extremism, international organized crime.

## **DEVELOPMENT.**

### **Methods.**

A sociological study on the resource of interethnic harmony in modern Dagestan society was conducted in Makhachkala, Derbent, Khasavyurt, Kazbekov, Kaitag, Kizilyurt, Kizlyar and Khasavyurt regions by random selection in 2018. N-789.

### **Research result.**

As you know, interethnic harmony and tolerance are closely linked and influence each other. They have a key role in the formation of a positive interethnic climate. Therefore, the content of "interethnic harmony" and meaning invested in it is important for study of factors of formation of intolerance in modern Russian society.

We answered the question "**What do you mean by "interethnic harmony?"**" The results of our study showed that the position for interethnic harmony as "respect for the national culture (language, traditions, customs) of all peoples" (60,3 per cent) is the dominance in the mind people. A subgroup of Azerbaijanis (38,5 per cent) is allocated. Their share is less than other sub-groups. There is an opinion for interethnic harmony as consent "living in harmony and peace with representatives of other peoples and religions" on second place. It is closer to 47,1 per cent of the respondents. There is higher proportion in the subgroup of Avars (53,9 per cent) and Lezgins (50,7 per cent). There is the opinion for interethnic harmony as "the solution of inter-religious and intra-religious conflicts exclusively by peaceful means, in order to prevent confrontation between peoples" (36,3 per cent) on the third rank place. That opinion was chosen by the Lak (49,4 per cent) and the darginians (41,7 per cent). One third of the respondents noted to resolve ethnic conflicts

peacefully. There is the answer for interethnic harmony as "respect for the religion of others (Orthodoxy, Judaism, Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism, etc.)" (22,9 per cent) on the fifth place.

We are interested to understand "interethnic harmony" through the prism of socio-demographic characteristics in our study. Thus, by education the proportion of respondents for interethnic harmony as "respect for national culture (language, traditions, customs) of all peoples" decreases from 63,5 per cent with secondary education to 59,1 per cent with higher education. It can be noted that the proportion of respondents who understand interethnic harmony as "living in harmony and peace with representatives of other peoples and religions" is growing 41,3 per cent with secondary, 44,5 per cent with secondary special and 52,4 per cent with higher education. By age the first opinion was noted by 70,5% per cent of respondents in the cohort "from 50 to 60 years". There is their share was significantly less in other subgroups from 54,5 per cent "from 20 to 30 years" to 56,0 per cent "from 60 years and above". The results of the study allow us to make an unambiguous conclusion that there are not significant differences for "interethnic harmony" in the mind of Dagestan people.

The positions were evenly distributed by national, age and educational characteristics. The respondents understand "interethnic harmony" as respect for the culture of any ethnic and religious community. They believe that resolving interethnic and interreligious disputes peacefully. This understanding of this phenomenon is quite consistent with the existing in the national ethnology of its understanding as the ability of the state to ensure the realization of vital interests of the individual, the whole society in its ethnic diversity, the mobilization of resources for decision-making, satisfying the main participants of interactions (*Drobizheva, 2015: 125*).

At the same time, it is necessary to take into account the role of state-civil (Russian) identity in solving various problems. Thus, it plays a significant role in uniting representatives of different ethnic communities.

Although it is not able to find a solution to all the acute problems in the process of ethnic communication where the problems themselves can be narrow and be exclusively internal; for example, there is the definition of the ethnopolitical status of ethnic groups. This issue is very acute for small Dagestan peoples. Especially, it is clearly indicated by the andians, akhvaks and cesis. There is ensuring equal opportunities in employment, getting quality education and medical care, preservation of ethnic and cultural identity, etc. We should not ignore such an important factor as internal and external migration, which can significantly worsen the inter-ethnic climate and destabilize the inter-ethnic situation in Dagestan as a whole. Moreover, there is intolerance in the mind of representatives of the host society. There is a reluctance of migrants to adapt to a foreign cultural environment. The opposition of national traditions and customs and the way of life of migrant's local ethno-culture negatively affects the state of the ethnic sphere, the nature of interpersonal interaction.

Dagestan is multiethnic region with a complex formation of interethnic harmony. There are national problems in it. They can't be solved simultaneously. There is a long historical component, requires the identification of factors that play a destructive role in the formation of interethnic harmony. Their identification is important. It will allow solving complex issues peacefully, without the use of violence, to identify painful areas, as well as to prevent the emergence of hotbeds of interethnic confrontation and tension in modern Dagestan society. There is a ground for this. It is a difficult socio-economic situation in the republic. There is the problem of employment especially among young people, unemployment, unresolved ethnic problems of small and repressed peoples, territorial disputes characteristic of the plains of Dagestan, etc.

We asked the question "**What hinders the formation of inter-ethnic harmony in modern Dagestan society?**" in our sociological study. We got the following results. Thus, more than half of the respondents believe that "the growth of poverty, the stratification of Dagestan society into rich and poor" (50,5 per cent) is one of the significant factors destabilizing the modern Dagestan society and preventing the formation of interethnic harmony. By nationality, the respondents see an economic barrier to inter-ethnic harmony is noticeably higher in the sub-region of the Kumyk (62,1 per cent), Russian (52,9 per cent), Avar (50,9 per cent) and Chechen (50,0 per cent) population. There is also the socio and economic factor in the second place. It is "social insecurity, the problem of employment, unemployment" (46,6 per cent). This position was marked by most of the Avars, Darginians, Kumykov. Other ethnic subgroups also focus on it. They indicated its role in the deterioration of the ethnic situation in Dagestan. Every third respondent considers corruption and the unwillingness of the local authorities to fight it to be no less significant obstacle to the formation of inter-ethnic harmony. There is greater among Russians (41,2 per cent), Laks (38,0 per cent) and Dargins (36,7 per cent). Thus, we include factors in the first group that we conventionally call socio-economic. They are preventing for the preservation ethnic tolerance and harmony in modern Dagestan society. We can include the national factor in the second group. Every fourth respondents noted "the activities of the informal national leaders oppose the Dagestan peoples to each other". Every fifth respondent noted "low culture of interethnic communication, the loss of the principles of international education". Every sixth respondents noted "confrontation between nations, ignoring national interests of the peoples of Dagestan (the unresolved question of territorial rehabilitation of the Chechen-Akinci, lack of protection of the national interests of the Laks and Avars, forcibly resettled into the territory of residence of the Chechen-Akinci)".

There is an intra-religious conflict and religious extremism in modern Dagestan society. In this regard, every fifth respondent point to the negative role of the religious factor in the formation of interethnic harmony. It was noted the political science subgroup of factors by one fifth of the respondents. There is "lack of confidence in the Republican authorities" in it. The share is significantly less among respondents who see certain obstacles in the formation of interethnic harmony (every eleventh respondent). The intra-Islamic confrontation plays a key role in the deterioration of the interethnic situation in the country due to the desire of clerics to influence all social spheres.

By educational the majority of respondents with higher education (53,9 per cent) consider social insecurity, the problem of employment and unemployment in Dagestan for inter – ethnic harmony negatively. The share is significantly less in other educational subgroups. There is 38,9 per cent with secondary and 42,7 per cent with secondary special education. There are the respondents with opinions of corruption in modern Dagestan society and the reluctance of the Republican authorities to fight it (32,8 per cent) with higher education, and intra-religious conflicts and religious extremism (22,1 per cent), the lack of confidence in the Republican authorities (26,2 per cent), immorality (19,6 per cent), compared with respondents with a lower educational status. We can note significant differences in these opinions by the age. The respondents under 40 years emphasize the negative role of many parameters in the formation of inter-ethnic harmony in modern Dagestan society, in contrast to the older generation.

The importance of interethnic harmony in the preservation of interethnic stability in modern Dagestan society involves the identification of subjects destabilizing the interethnic sphere. The indicator of tolerance in society is the status of interethnic harmony and interethnic climate. So, we included the question "**How do you think who prevents the formation of interethnic harmony in modern Dagestan society?**" in our study. It allowing establishing actors of deterioration of

relations between the Dagestan people. Empirical data show that the Dagestan surveyed identified for the subject's obstacles in the formation of interethnic harmony, firstly, politicians who do not take into account the multiethnic nature of Dagestan and do not protect equally the national interests of all Dagestan peoples (47,7 per cent). Secondly, it is "national leaders who pursue their own goals and oppose the Dagestan peoples to each other under the slogans of protecting the national interests of their people"(40,6 per cent). The authors adhere to the hypothesis that the relationship of national and religious components may affect on the interethnic sphere and the formation of the foundations of interethnic harmony negatively. But the proposed assumption was not confirmed. The smaller proportion of respondents (8,3 per cent) noted the negative role of religious leaders in this process compared with those who see a negative role of politicians and national leaders. A rather critical approach to politicians is demonstrated by the majority of the Laks and Lezgins. There are fewer of them in other ethnic subgroups. One second part in the subarray of the Avars, Dargins, Kumyks, Russians and Chechens, as well as every third in the subgroup of Azerbaijanis, Laks and Lezgins, pointed to the contradictory behavior and goals of national leaders. In addition, attention is drawn to the position of Azerbaijanis (15,4 per cent) and Chechens (12,0 per cent) who place responsibility for the formation of interethnic harmony on religious leaders. By their opinion they do not see a positive mission in this process. If the answers were distributed almost evenly across all subgroups by education then we can note the differences by age. Young and older generation is two opposite age categories. They adhere to the opinion that religious leaders create negative preconditions in the formation of interethnic harmony. There is 12,0 per cent "up to 20 years" and 16,0 per cent "from 60 years and above". We can explain this position by the fact the strengthening of the role of the religious component in modern Dagestan society, the intensive intervention of clerics in many social spheres against the background of religious revival. There is a negative attitude to the clergy (family and marriage sphere, politics, education, etc.) in mind of the interviewed Dagestan people.

In relation to religion, self – identifying as believers and non-believers are more critical of politicians who do not take into account the polyethnicity of Dagestan. There is 47,2 per cent and 53,1 per cent, respectively. At the same time, 41,1 per cent of believers and a markedly smaller proportion of non-believers (28,1 per cent) are negatively opposed to national leaders. They pursue their own goals and opposing the Dagestan peoples to each other. At the same time, a small part of the respondents (8,6 per cent of believers and 9,4 per cent of non-believers) have a negative attitude towards religious leaders in both subgroups.

To establish a subject that plays a negative role in the formation of interethnic harmony in modern Dagestan society we had to reveal conflicts of different nature: urgent interethnic, political, religious, etc.

We asked the question "What do you think, what conflicts are most relevant for modern Dagestan society?" in our study. It would allow identifying the severity of certain factors (socio-economic, political, religious, national, etc.) in the emergence of various kinds of confrontation between the Dagestan peoples. It should be noted that the study of migration processes in modern Dagestan society revealed that socio and economic reasons were key to migration and forcing people to leave their former place of residence. When we include this question in the research questionnaire, the author proceeded from the assumption that the material poverty of Dagestan people is a factor of destabilization of the interethnic sphere. The results of the study confirm the activation of this factor. So, one third of respondents consider the most painful socio and economic reasons (36,5 per cent). There are territorial conflicts (21,5 per cent) related to the land issue on the second position. R. G. Abdulatipov's land reform contributed their strengthening. That reform practically ignored the ethnic interests of the peoples living in the plains of Dagestan. After the and conflicts respondents indicate the relevance of ethnic conflicts (20,9 per cent) with an insignificant difference. They can be ethnic in nature for all sorts of reasons. There is domestic conflict, and

territorial, and economic, and personnel, etc. There are Chechens among the respondents by nationality (28,0 per cent). There is a larger proportion among them compared to other subgroups denoting interethnic confrontation that can develop into an ethnic conflict. Such a position in the attitudes of Chechen respondents is quite understandable. They are a repressed people. Despite their rehabilitation they do not fully agree with their position within the Republic. Their main requirement is to carry out territorial rehabilitation and restoration of the Aukhov district. If we turn to historical facts existed for quite a short time (5.10.1943 – 7.06.1944). At the same time, it should be borne in mind that if we will be ignoring the national interests of the Avars and Laks people who were forcibly resettled into the territory of the Chechen-akkins in the future can significantly worsen the interethnic situation in the Kazbekov and Novolak regions. We can see this from last year's events. So, there was a mass fight in the village of Leninaul of Kazbekov district on June 25, 2017. Here the Avars and Chechens live compactly. As a result, 12 people were injured, including representatives of law enforcement agencies (*Bulatov, 2017: 1*). And such skirmishes when the usual household conflict is painted in ethnic in this settlement, unfortunately, are very frequent.

The inconsistent position of the Republican government further complicating the ethnic situation. It has supported the restoration of Auhovskogo district. The question arises "If reinstated Aukhovsky district, what national policy will be carried out in this area? No less important is the ethnic structure. Will it be multinational or mono-national?" The Republican government should be very careful approach to this issue for a number of reasons. These are very important to determine the boundaries of the Aukhov district among them. If it will try to include two settlements of the Kazbekov district (Leninaul and Kalininaul), the confrontation between the Avars and the Chechens may acquire a larger character, because the conflict will be involved, on the one hand, the entire Avar people, on the other, to "protect" the ethnic interests of the Chechens-akkintsev can get the head of Chechnya R. Kadyrov. He carries a great weight in the Russian political space. And there is

no national leader who could defend the national interests of the Avar people in the confrontation with the Chechens in Dagestan. S. Umakhanov's attempts to identify and defend the ethnic interests of the Avars, who live compactly with the Chechens-akkins, do not have strong support. But, in a situation of deterioration or aggravation of the conflict in the region, the consequences can be tragic and to avoid them. The leadership of the Republic must take a decision that takes into account the national interests of all parties involved in the confrontation and the only way to mitigate inter-ethnic tension and confrontation.

Despite the difficult religious situation in Dagestan, the respondents ranked the intra-Islamic conflict on the fourth place (14,8 per cent). It has already been noted that the intra-Islamic conflict significantly destabilizes not only the religious but also the ethno-political situation in Dagestan. At first sight a small proportion of respondents noted the opinion "interreligious conflicts (confrontation between Islam, Orthodoxy, Catholicism and other religious teachings)" (6,0 per cent). However recent events in Kizlyar, also in other Russian cities indicate the formation in the mind of the young generation intolerance to the carriers of a different creed. It is important that this opinion was noted by a subgroup of respondents who are followers of a different religion and trend. It is Russian (Orthodox) and Azerbaijanis (Shiites).

If we turn to real events, there is an interreligious conflict by the events of February 18, 2018 when the Orthodox celebrated forgiveness Sunday. It is the last day before the onset of lent. At that day shooting was opened at the parishioners of the Church in Kizlyar. The incident killed 5 people, injured 4 people. We can say that the use of aggressive and violent actions against carriers of other creeds on the territory of modern Dagestan meets for the first time. If there was a mass departure of the Russian population from the Republic for various reasons in the 90<sup>th</sup>, although there was an open extrusion of them, but there was no religious motivation in a pronounced form. This act is similar to the actions of terrorists in Western countries (France, England, Germany, etc.). There are

attempts to move it to the territory of Dagestan. 6,1 per cent of respondents as believers identified the importance of interreligious conflict in relation to religion. 15,6 per cent of believers and 12,5 per cent of non-believers noted intra-Islamic conflict. There is the confrontation between traditional Islam and Salafism. By education 27,5 per cent of respondents with secondary, 38,2 per cent with secondary special and 42,1 per cent with higher education indicate the actualization of socio-economic conflicts. Such position in mind of people caused the difficult economic situation in the Republic, unemployment among the population with a high educational status, lack of space for self-realization, low wages and a number of other factors.

Thus, the results of our study allow us to conclude that the barrier to the formation of positive interethnic harmony in Dagestan is the growth of poverty in the social stratification of Dagestan society into the poor and the rich. It is accompanied by social insecurity and unemployment, the complexity of employment.

The younger generation of Dagestan forced to leave the Republic and move to large Russian cities or occupy a low-skilled niche (seller in the market, shop, or even work at the construction site, retrain yourself to provide services in the social sphere – cosmetologist, hairdresser, makeup artist, etc.). There is corruption in Dagestan. When people collide with it in any social sphere the weakness of the struggle of the Republican government, the imperfection of the legislation also introduces a negative charge in maintaining inter-ethnic harmony. There is the role of informal national leaders opposing the Dagestan peoples to each other is no less negative. The subjects carry negative role along with the objective factors hindering the formation of interethnic harmony. They contribute to the deterioration of the interethnic situation. The respondents marked politicians who do not take into account equally the ethnic interests of all the peoples of the Republic, as well as national leaders who under the slogans of protecting the national interests of their people oppose the Dagestan peoples to each other.

One of the factors of destabilization of the situation in society and the formation of tolerant attitudes in the mind especially in the multi-ethnic space, is the representation of ethnic communities living in a certain territory in the structures of power.

Other researchers emphasize that the problem of equal access to power regardless of nationality remains relevant in the multi-ethnic regions of Russia (*Drobizheva, 2013: 216*) and the practice of equality in management is one of the important indicators of positive inter-ethnic harmony. We asked "How should the personnel issue be resolved in Dagestan?" to find out the positions of Dagestan people on personnel policy in the Republic. We got the following results.

Our study shows that there is the dominance of the position in the mind of Dagestan people. The leading position should be occupied only by a professional (competent and taking into account the national interests of all peoples living in a given locality, district, region), regardless of nationality. This position was marked by the majority of respondents in almost all ethnic subgroups except for the surveyed Kumyks (31,0 per cent). There are significantly fewer Chechens in the subarray who adhere to this opinion (56,0 per cent) compared with the other subarrays. There is the answer "the leading position should be occupied only by a representative of my people" (9,2 per cent) with a very large margin in second place. By nationality, it is shared by every sixth respondent in the subgroup of Chechens, one-eighth of Dargins and Russians, every tenth respondent among the Laks.

There is a quota system in the personnel sphere during the Soviet period. Despite the political transformation of the Soviet Union, the change in the socio-economic base and a number of other transformations under the slogans of liberal democratic values this system remained in the post-Soviet period by inertia. Unfortunately, this approach is still taking place in the Republic. There is no doubt that it needs to be changed. At the same time, when trying under various pretexts to abandon the quota system in the personnel policy, it is necessary to take into account the deep

contradiction inherent in this system. On the one hand, it allows you to attract representatives of all the Dagestan peoples to the power structures. On the other, the desire to observe parity has a negative trend. Firstly, unskilled professionals may be in leadership positions who cannot be dismissed, because the quota is violated. Secondly, there will be representatives of only one people under fictitious pretexts in the power structures. It is the ground for discontent and intolerance here. They can aggravate relations between peoples and destabilize the interethnic sphere together. According to the results of our study, every fifth respondents among the Chechens, every sixth respondents among the Lezgin subgroup and every seventh among the Kumyk subgroup advocate for compliance the quota. There is the uniform representation of all Dagestan peoples in the authorities and institutions of the Republic.

## **CONCLUSIONS.**

It is considered consolidation in the ethnosocial study as an integrating process in a multi-ethnic society aimed at strengthening the unity of civil society on the basis of common values and goals. Political institutions based on the principles of the rule of law and democratic order is recognized as such.

Different ethnic groups recognize their significant, especially in a situation of a threat to the national interests of a people both within the state and from outside. To minimize manifestations of tolerant attitudes is possible only with the implementation of internal policy. It will be marked by the improvement of material well-being of people, respect for the rule of law, opportunities for the implementation of life plans, especially for the younger generation.

Due to the balance of favorable and negative interethnic attitudes that are sensitive to socio-economic changes, it is possible to monitor the interethnic situation in the territories in which there

is a deterioration in relations between representatives of different ethnic groups, which will allow to predict and prevent their transition to open confrontation and ethnic conflict.

The results suggest a significant impact of the ethnic factor on the social life of people in different social spheres. In addition, we can be concluded that more than half of the respondents experience the reflection of the national factor in their daily lives. Also, a certain obstacle to unequal access to prestigious activities may be the nationality of the candidate.

The most of respondents have a position on the need to take into account, first and foremost, the professionalism of the applicant. It's clear, people are "tired" of corruption, low level of socio-economic background and of many unresolved problems of social character. It is also necessary to take into account the presence of competition both for access to power and for prestigious places in the existence of a fierce struggle for property.

The results of empirical study show that the Dagestan peoples are focused on maintaining positive interethnic communication in almost all social spheres, even in such a conservative as family and marriage. At the same time, there is no pronounced social distance even in relation to the peoples with who they are in a latent confrontation in the attitudes of respondents.

Despite the unsolved of many national problems, the respondents demonstrate a positive perception and orientation to the designation of ethno-cultural and behavioral similarities in the process of interpersonal interaction (Madina, et al., 2016). It is a criterion of interethnic harmony and stability in modern Dagestan society.

High educational status has a positive effect on inter – ethnic attitudes. Familiarity with foreign culture can mitigate prejudices. So, with the increase in the status of increasing the proportion of respondents who noted the answer that there are no people with whom they would not want to maintain inter-ethnic communication. There is 36,5 per cent with secondary, 37,3 per cent with secondary special and 46,9 per cent with higher education. In addition, there are the attitudes

towards neighbourly and intra-family communication among the more educated. There are more positive than those with secondary and specialized secondary education the willingness to work under the leadership of a representative of a different nationality.

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