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EDUCATION AS A TOOL OF THE FORMATION AND TRANSMISSION OF POLITICAL VALUES

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Abstract. The political culture of any society is supported and determined by the spiritual and moral values adopted by this particular society over the course of its historical development. We can say that general cultural values of the metaphysical order eventually transformed into socio-political values that formed the modern heterogeneous political space. The transmission of values, including political ones, takes place by means of exploiting different mechanisms by society and using different tools. Nevertheless, one of the most effective mechanisms at this time is education, which is more and more often considered by developed countries as a means of achieving their economic and political dominance in the international arena. In this aspect, education serves as a tool of “soft power” policy. It is through the expansion and spread of their education model that many countries promote their political values in economically and geopolitically important regions.

Key words: values, political values, political culture, education, technocracy, democracy, globalization.

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ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ КАК ИНСТРУМЕНТ ФОРМИРОВАНИЯ И ТРАНСЛЯЦИИ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕННОСТЕЙ

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Аннотация. Политическая культура того или иного общества фундируется и определяется духовно-нравственными ценностями, принятыми данным конкретным социумом в ходе его исторического развития. Мы можем говорить о том, что общекультурные ценности метафизического порядка со временем трансформировались в социально-политические ценности, сформировавшие современное гетерогенное политическое пространство. Передача ценностей, в том числе и политических, происходит путем задействования обществом различных механизмов и использования разнообразного инструментария. Тем не менее одним из наиболее эффективных в условиях современности становится образование, которое все чаще рассматривается развитыми государствами в качестве средства достижения своего экономического и политического доминирования на международной арене. В этом аспекте образование выступает в качестве инструмента политики «мягкой силы». Именно путем расширения и распространения своей модели образования многие страны продвигают свои политические ценности в экономически и геополитически важные для них регионы.

Ключевые слова: ценности, политические ценности, политическая культура, образование, технократия, демократия, глобализация.

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Introduction. Values, a priori, are a philosophical category which is actively used in other social sciences as well. The definition of “value” in the philosophical aspect is accompanied by the views of this or that author and by their onto-gnoseological purposes. As a result, as O.V. Stepanishchenko truly notes, “in spite of the fact that the value problems have been studied practically by all social sciences for a long time, there is no unified view on “value” concept, the system of values, its components, the nature of its formation, moreover, the notions of values are ones of the most dynamic and “mobile” in the social science” [23].

At the same time, values are clearly bound to a certain historical stage of the development of any society. Throughout human history, values have been changing, whilst their understanding has been transformed under the pressure of social, economic, political and cultural conditions.

A.I. Demidov notes that “the human face of policy to a great extent depends on values” [8, p. 18]. Thus, transferring the category of values to the political plane, we can speak about their role in the policy of some states, and more broadly in the international policy at large.

In this regard it seems an extremely important and relevant to define how political values are formed and spread in the modern world, and what channels of their transmission are the most effective and sought after.

Methodology. In our opinion, considering the value problem in the political context it is important in the theoretical and methodological sense to concentrate not so much on philosophical ideas of values as on sociological ones, which in many respects preceded the politicization of this category. So, A.V. Sery and M.S. Yanitsky note that it is necessary to treat the value problem taking into account its “dual nature”: public (social) and individual [21, p.10].

The category of values was subjected to the sociological analysis by G. Spencer, who understood values as the person’s individual freedom. As K. Talanova marks, “he considered that in modern society the role of the state should be limited as a strong state inevitably leads to the restriction of the individual’s freedom. From his point of view, the supreme value of mankind is to turn into such a society in which there is a certain harmony of satisfaction of requirements and also

there is no violation of one individual’s rights by another” [25, p. 596].

T. Parsons considers values as a socio-political category. From his point of view, “values are the highest principles, on the basis of which consent both within small public groups and in the society in general is provided” [16, p. 18]. Parsons emphasizes: “The minimum requirements of the specified general value commitment define one pole of structures of the societal system organized on the basis of the mechanical solidarity. In this context there is room for the organic solidarity as well if such commitments are so strong that do not become “a subject of negotiations” and are so general that allow some flexibility in the adaptation to particular “requirements”, which have just been mentioned” [17, p. 50]. E. Durkheim also wrote about values as the mechanism of solidarity in society [33].

In the context of socio-historical development another famous sociologist, M. Weber, gave some historicity to values. It was Weber who first understood value as a cultural and social purpose of a certain historical era. Thus, he transferred the world of values from philosophical metaphysics to human society, given them a tool – if not rational – character.

The methodological foundation to the study of political values was laid by G. Almond and S. Verba in their fundamental work devoted to civil culture. Values are defined as an important component of political culture, and education level is the key factor allowing to gain knowledge of the political system structure, and conduct the evaluation relying on the acquired value criteria [31].

In this research we recognize that values to some extent influence social phenomena, including political ones. The values at the core of the socio-political phenomenon or institution indicate their true nature and allow determining trends of their further development. At some point, each culture begins to reproduce its own values which are transmitted through certain rules and standards of behavior which form the institutional environment.

In turn, institutions represent “the rules of the game” in the society or, to put it more formally, the restrictive framework created by the person that will organize the relationship between people. Institutions set the structure of incentive motives of human interaction in the political, social or

economic spheres. Institutional changes determine the directions of the development of society through time; they are a key to understanding historical changes [15, p. 19]. At the same time it is not always possible to clearly track the influence of basic values on the change of political institutions, though it seems possible in respect, for example, to elections [35, p. 403].

One of the main channels of the transmission of values, including political ones, is education. The values dominating a society provide the basis for educational standards, educational tools and techniques: from the general principles of humanity, equality to transmitting the official position through educational literature, forming the notions of “right” and “wrong”, evaluating historical events, etc.

Before speaking about education as a tool of forming value-based personal orientations and large communities, both on the national and international scale, it is obviously necessary to decide on the definition of “political values” in the modern political discourse.

In A.A. Barlybayev’s opinion, “the role of political values in the creation and development of society is inestimable” [3, p. 25]. What are political values, and what are their contents?

The analysis of research literature shows how broadly “political values” concept is understood. For example, A.V. Seleznyova defines political values as some kind of political purpose and aspiration for a person or the whole society “reflecting in their consciousness the steady positive importance of these or those meanings, principles and phenomena, and serving as reference points in the world of policy” [20, p. 6]. I.V. Bogdan holds the opinion that political values do not exist separately but are, as a rule, formed into concepts and ideologies: “Political values do not exist in themselves; usually when people are offered values, they are offered a value cluster, for example, in the form of ideology” [4, p. 28].

According to V.A. Zimin, “political values are a set of ideas, representations and corresponding social and psychological structures (purposes, stereotypes, experiences, etc.) defining goal-setting, the choice of the means and methods of activity, and the degree of the sequence of their realization and application in the current political practice” [10, p. 206]. In this case political values act rather as a tool for achieving political goals.

This tool approach, in our opinion, is extremely interesting as it determines political values from the point of view of public motivation – one of the mechanisms of public administration. On the other hand, it also has meaningful constraints, as it leaves beside the axiological problem as such, without giving due consideration to substantive aspects, the issue of the intrinsic content of values in policy.

V.N. Shilov, on the contrary, tries to consider the problem of determining political values from the point of view of their contents: “Political values are understood as the most general reference points of political practice, as elements of political ideologies, aren’t equivalent. There are values which are prime targets. Their contents are defined by the basic needs of people, the satisfaction of whom is an integral condition of the proper functioning and development of society. There is humanism at the top of the value pyramid of political values” [30, p. 151]. V.N. Shilov understands humanism as the principle “considering a person the primary objective, a goal in itself, approving the right of any individual to happiness” [30, p. 151]. In our opinion, this approach is, unlike the tool one, strictly idealistic. Besides, it obviously refers us to ancient philosophy in some schools where happiness was defined as the highest value. Similar beliefs were the characteristics of eudemonism.

T.E. Havenson and E.V. Migol referring to such Western authors as M. Hout, K. Brooks, J. Manza, R. Dalton, P. Beck, S. Finkel, K.-D. Opp and others consider the issue of political values from the point of view of their ideological contents, dividing values according to their “class” contents. From this point of view, political values have a strongly marked social and economic character and it is unnecessary to speak about their common ground on the national level. A.O. Zhampetova notes about it: “Political values function as abstract ideas in the uniform culture of the whole society. Nevertheless, each social class or layer and each political movement representing the interests of groups is specific” [9]. Thus, it is possible to determine values as the result of group evaluations of the phenomena and processes, which people can share, recognize, and take into account - but not necessarily follow them.

Therefore, political values are an integral part of modern political culture - they are inherent in any individual and society. At the same time,

within one society there can coexist (and do coexist) various political values that, in many respects, are connected with social stratification. Political values, as it would seem, in many respects have a secondary character in relation to basic (common cultural) values of this or that society. R. Inghart and K. Veltsel notice that today the world enters a new stage of postmodern transformation of “basic values” as a result of which so-called “values of survival” are gradually forced out by “self-expression values” connected with the expansion of various freedoms: creative, individual, political, information and so on. These “self-expression values” are defined as post-material ones and, according to the authors mentioned, “promote the growth of interpersonal trust in society, make it open for social changes, form a cultural basis for creating new democratic institutions and practices, assist the growth of tolerance in society” [14, p. 16].

Analysis. Political values are closely connected with the political culture of a society which can be defined as a part of “the national culture of the country reflecting the level of political consciousness, political values created in the course of historical development, traditional attachments in the political sphere of the life of society” [22, p. 108].

There is a question: by means of what tools and mechanisms is this or that political culture in each certain society formed?

In modern politological science several main ways/mechanisms of this process are assigned, among which there is distinguished education, through the course of which an individual absorbs knowledge of policy, political systems, ideology, and principles and norms of political life.

Education is one of the major tools of individuals and society for forming political values. People are involved in the process of education from the earliest age. In fact, education becomes the environment (besides family) where an individual begins to acquire various values, including political ones.

Thus, for example, Western researchers note that higher education is strongly associated with leadership. It is directed to the formation of not only professional knowledge, but competences and certain qualities of personalities among which administrative and leadership skills play an important role. The values and accomplishments

practised at universities greatly influence future leaders [34, p. 13].

At the same time, under modern conditions it is possible to say with confidence that education is the most important policy-forming factor of the global international space. If earlier education was understood only as a process directed at forming a personality – training and socialization, today it is used as one of the most effective tools of achieving both home and foreign policy purposes. Today, education should be understood and, therefore, analyzed already not only in social and pedagogical or philosophical measurements, but also in political measurements, which more and more come to prominence.

The educational environment is the political and ideological field which wields widespread influence both on personal moral qualities of an individual and on his/her political views and values. For this reason, the factor of exporting educational services assumes the greater importance today, which is connected not only with the desire to receive profit from the state or private companies but also with the aspiration to render the political influence on younger generations, beneficial for this or that state. As it is noted in the Concept for Exporting Educational Services of the Russian Federation for the period 2011–2020, “the policy directed at the internationalization and development of the export of Russian education is an important tool of implementing the key purposes of the national policy” [12].

A significant role for future development is also played by the life principles being formed and behavior models of the person which either promote distribution of innovations in the economy and public life or interfere with them [11]. Education is one of the main channels of transmitting political values and orientations, but at the same time is a value itself. Respectively, it is necessary to answer an important question: what values does modern education come laden with (if any)? In this case we can speak about two main approaches.

The first approach proceeds from the fact that education at this time has a strictly politicized character that refers, first of all, to developing countries which have been actively reconstructing their national education systems in recent years, seeking to be integrated into the world educational space, which is obviously structured according to the western educational standards.

The second position is based on the fact that the main tendency in education today is connected not so much with its politization but with its commercialization. According to this, education has finally been transformed into services and educational institutions (first of all, of higher education) – into commercial enterprises, the main goal of which is to receive the maximum profit. The theory that education in a post-industrial society is sooner or later to become one of the types of service goes back to the works of D. Bell, who considered that universities were becoming the main social institution of modern society as in this post-industrial society education developed as a new type of service [1].

Today, when information post-industrial society is already becoming not a theoretical design but a reality, people more often speak about the so-called economy of knowledge within which D. Bell's concept receives a new ring. But now the given service is understood not only as an educational service but also as a "knowledge" service ("knowledge intensive services", "knowledge intensive business services"). In some cases it refers to "intellectual services" [6]. Regardless, the terminological meaning has a secondary meaning in this case, whereas the contents force to speak about the outlined tendency to revise the axiological bases of education as such.

In the context of globalization process, integration processes – including in the sphere of education – take place. One of the most striking examples of it is the Bologna Process.

The European states signed the Declaration assuming, following a number of rules on reforming national education systems, this would bring them to a certain (compatible) standard. The Bologna Process participants undertake parallel reforms of higher education, being guided by the declared general (all-European) values, among which there is freedom of expression, autonomy for educational institutions, independent student unions, academic freedom, free migration of students and employees [7]. Actually, this can be considered an expansion of political values of the liberal democracy through education.

Thus, it can be noted that numerous international educational programs, student exchange projects, on-the-job training programs, and work placement have a dual nature. On the

one hand, as numerous international documents postulate, such programs aim at internationalizing of education, providing students with new opportunities that are extremely important and necessary under the conditions of globalization: "such programs correspond to the main objectives of the Bologna Process as they presuppose international quality control, mutual recognition of higher education documents, convergence and transparency of national systems of higher education, increase in opportunities of employment for graduates not only within their own country but also within the united Europe" [19].

However, education is a tool of forming political values, and so-called "soft power" that affords ground for skepticism and criticism. In the opinion of A. V. Torkunov, Rector of MGIMO, one of the leading higher education institutions of Russia, which is actively implementing programs of academic mobility – "providing foreign students with educational services is one of the most important tools of the "soft power" of the state. During their university days, young people's global outlook values and views are formed. In the course of training, creative and inquisitive students from other countries actively learn the language of the host country and are genuinely interested in the achievements of science and culture" [26]. The Bologna Process initially was intended to harmonize the European education systems in order to create a uniform European educational space in the context of creating a united Europe, but subsequently expanded its competences, overstepped the European boundaries, and spread over the adjacent regions, including Russia.

The Bologna Process has an important positive component: potential in the sphere of the expansion of the dialogue between Russia and the European Union. The space of education, science and culture is the sphere where Russia and the EU have the least amount of principal strategic differences impeding cooperation. Student and academic exchanges are potentially an effective instrument of strengthening the dialogue "from below", a way of the expansion of the cultural influence of the country and advancing its scientific achievements and concepts in the world. Joint educational programs, double degrees, and academic exchanges are the steps allowing Russia not to follow the succession of events but to form the rules of the game together

with European partners. Considering that higher education possesses a real political potential, deepening such cooperation is to cause the expansion of cooperation in other spheres within a given period [29].

The Bologna Process countries actively use the resource of “soft power” for strengthening influence and competitiveness on the global stage. The case of Germany illustrates the government’s interest in carrying out its state policy in the field of higher education and science, directed to achieving specified purposes. In the modern global fight for leadership Germany stakes on “soft and smart power”.

The Bologna Process promoted a significant activation of the German policy in the field of higher education and scientific research for the purpose of strengthening the position of Germany as “the center of gravity” and the training of highly qualified specialists, scientists and students. The federal government has increased education and research expenses to 10 % of GDP.

Science has come to be considered the main instrument of the country’s innovative development and the source of the welfare of its community. The dependence of public wellbeing and state competitiveness on the level of the development of science and education is in many respects caused by the transition to post-industrial society and strengthening of globalization processes. One task of politicians is to provide necessary conditions for adapting the system of education and science to the requirements of the society of knowledge; this is formed with a focus on innovative business models and on the chains of creating added value, implementing of which will require an innovative staff.

For example, in recent years, Germany has begun pursuing the active policy of encouraging immigration “for the purpose of training” from the third-world countries; it actively promotes programs of student exchange, and scholarship programs supporting training and conducting scientific research in Germany.

The German government develops programs for advancing progressive studies in Germany and improving competitiveness and attractiveness of its national universities at the international market through strengthening their scientific and academic potential. One of these is “Skill Initiative”. Within this program “skill clusters”

project is implemented; this is directed to creating (on the basis of the universities) centers of forming scientific networks and collaborations in various areas of research, together with specialized higher education institutions, non-university research institutes, and industrial enterprises. “Skill clusters” are to contribute to strategic planning of scientific research and determining priority directions of university researches [5].

There is another aspect connected with the internationalization of education in the political context that should be noted. In R. Inglehart’s opinion, today a new post-material paradigm is being actively formed in the West. It consists of the following: “in order to be able to create political rules, it is necessary to be rather prepared, in the intellectual sense, to have a high education level and skills of political behavior, to be armed with information, to be interested in political affairs” [24, p. 152]. Thus, under the conditions for the formation of the economy of knowledge and the latest democracy, a high education level should be provided on the greatest area of the western civilization possible. It should be noted that this construct is of a strictly academic character, but we cannot but take it into account.

The issue of modern education forms is one of the most important and basic. An alternative to the humanistic paradigm, the representative of which is partially R. Inglehart himself, is the strongly marked technocratic educational model, whose key parameter is “practicality” or “usefulness”. In the technocratic model the axiological component of education in its spiritual and moral aspect is completely emasculated, giving way to utilitarian rationalism. Certainly, we cannot ignore the political aspect here. If we say that modern society continues to globally adhere to the course towards further democratic development, it is impossible to ignore the personality factor, both on national and international levels. Building a truly civil society, also meaning the factor of “global civic consciousness”, is impossible without taking into account the importance of forming corresponding value-based purposes. As Yu. Habermas believes, the technocratization of society and the rejection of the humanitarian component in social development (including for the reason that emphasis in education is placed on technical and administrative competences) will lead only to a

new form of totalitarianism. And this new totalitarianism will already have a global character [27, p. 397].

We will note that, according to ideologists of technocratism as a format of the political future of mankind, democracy with its freedoms and values can be partially restrained; it will be demanded by the process of creating a more perfect (from their point of view) society. For example, one of the most famous authors of the concept of western civilization and mankind's technocratic future J. Bernkhy held a similar opinion: "In the sphere of the relations between the person and the state during the "transition to a new society" period Bernkhem considered the restriction of the democratic freedoms and rights of citizens quite admissible. In the ideology, the system of values, legislation and policy the main emphasis is to be placed not on the rights but on "duties", "discipline", "organization", "order" because these universals make it possible to achieve the unity of society, and they are very close to the "management ideology", new elite of the society" [13, p. 20].

As it appears, such a succession of events cannot be considered a positive scenario. The rejection of the humanitarian, spiritual, and moral value-based component in favor of effective management aimed at capitalist optimization will lead to the degradation of mankind and the transformation of a person into a so-called "human machine", in Zh. Lametri's words. Besides, as N.A. Baranov truly points out, "the technocratization of knowledge and data concerning political processes can lead to the alienation of society from information, as the result of which we will have the expansion of political apathy and refusal to participate in policy in general" [2, p. 185–186].

Conclusion. Summing up the results, we can draw the following main conclusions. Firstly, at the heart of the development of humanity over many thousands of years, a key role has been played by the values formed as a result of the cultural, spiritual and moral evolution of society. Eventually these values have penetrated all spheres of societal life, becoming the base for public institutions. The political sphere, which is obviously funded by numerous values on which this or that type of political culture depends, is also not an exception.

Secondly, education is both a derivative and one of the main instruments of the formation and transmission of values which exists in society. It is in the course of getting an education that an individual acquires a certain set of value attitudes which later define their political views and conceptualization. In this regard, education more and more assumes political significance in the modern world. It is reflected both on its contents and forms.

On the other hand, in view of globalization and internationalization of education, another important tendency is becoming more and more obvious: by means of distributing their education the most developed states try to form certain value-based orientations of the population of the most important regions. These orientations would make it possible in the time following to create favorable conditions for economic and political penetration on these territories. In this aspect, education should be understood as the most important tool of "soft power" policy, the ongoing integration processes in many respects promote the expansion of political values through education: for example, liberal values, values of market economy, humanity, etc.

The performed analysis also underlines the need of the preservation and distribution of values of both moral and spiritual character which, actually, make a man a man. The victory of the technocratic paradigm and its rejection can and should be considered as the most undesirable option of the further development of human civilization. And an important role in the course of the spiritual and moral development of society should be played by education, which is one of the key tools to preserve and retransmit values from generation to generation: "The major keeper and creator of cultural values is education. Under the conditions when a wide variety of social groups, sectors of society join this system, there are prerequisites for forming the public recognition of the real positive standards of education as sets of values, ideals, ideas" [18, p. 23]. The opinions of a number of western authors also correspond to the opinion of domestic researcher E.S. Polyakova given above. So, for example, M.Gandhi believes that "values are closely connected with education purposes. Values are an integral part of philosophy. Therefore, the purposes of education are naturally connected with

values. Values include all important religious attitudes, beliefs, moral attitudes, life philosophy, political ideologies, etc., which not only help to support societies and their cultures but are also connected to any considerable changes of these aspects leading to corresponding changes in society and culture” [32].

This conclusion is extremely important, both for the stable democratic development of the global political system in general, and for our country which often copies western samples, sometimes not the best, taking them nearly for axioms.

In this case it is necessary to agree with A.P. Tsygankov’s position that “further formation of Russia’s independent foreign policy is accompanied by the need of the development of value bases, material and power resources, and theoretical foundations of international behavior in the complicated world” [28].

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