

The opinions of the respondents in the evaluation of submitted statements are ambiguous and show that 48.4% noted that "majority of young people whom I know would prefer to live and work in Kazakhstan", slightly larger percentage of those (52.6%) who chose the statement "majority of my acquaintances would prefer to live abroad".

CONCLUSION

In general, it should be noted that the political positions of Kazakhstani youth have not yet been formed. The system of political values and a perfunctory ideological choice of young people do not depend on important socio-demographic characteristics, and economic status. Frustration of ideological views occurs in the age range from 14 to 25 years.

Monitoring of political orientations in the projection of regional identity showed some marked differences: young people of "Northern", "Western" and "Eastern" regions with a tendency to "turbulent" perception of the political situation, while respondents of "Southern" and "Central" regions with "neutral" perception and with a high degree of political tolerance and displaying the ability to a political discourse.

The political profile of young Kazakhstanis is characterized to a greater extent by uncertainty. Also the boundaries of political preferences are blurred: the main factors shaping the ideological and political positions are rather cultural (preferences and stereotypes) than social ones.

Summarize the results of the research/paper and write the conclusion with a few sentences here.

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POLITICAL PORTRAIT OF KAZAKHSTAN YOUTH: SYMBIOSIS OF EDUCATION AND CONTEMPORARY REALITIES

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ABSTRACT

Youth of Kazakhstan is the same age as the independence, children of socio-economic and political reforms. Their socialization occurred under the influence of divergent ideas and patterns of behavior. The famous Polish sociologist W. Adamski, defining 90s as a period of "selective acceptance of capitalism" notes that the accelerated modernization of social systems is largely determined by the age factor. Young age is a project of a long-term social action. Institutional changes in the spheres of politics, economy, education and culture in the last decade proved decisive prerequisites for changes in the political profile of today's youth in Kazakhstan. The study of the social and political position of youth allows us to interpret their social actions, to predict future behavior and reaction to political decisions. A significant determinant of the features political participation of young people is the belief in its effectiveness, confidence in the real possibility to influence the decisions made by the authorities, the notion of the democratic character of social order. Evaluation of new social phenomena by young people, the expression of themselves as an active subject and their critical evaluation of social and political institutions determine the direction and vector of further development of the country. This article presents an analysis of the following issues: young people's attitudes to politics, sources of information received on the policy, the impact of education level on political activity.

This article was prepared on the basis of the results of a sociological survey conducted in 2015. The research methodology, methods of interviewing and application tools are comparable qualitatively and quantitatively: sample population in the study was 1,500 respondents from 14 regions from 14 to 29 years: regional centers, as well as big cities as Astana and Almaty. The sample population is two-staged quota sampling. On the interpretation stage, correlations in relation to gender, age, ethnicity, education level, socio-professional affiliation, type of settlement, region, income level of the respondents were conducted.

Keywords: political values, youth, education, political activism, citizenship

INTRODUCTION

Education has been a powerful prognostic tool for understanding young people's political portrait for a long time. But significant changes in the ways and possibilities of acquiring it actualize the importance of studying the interrelations of education, professional activity and the degree of political activity of youth. Surveys conducted among students (1), working youth with higher education (2) and working youth without higher education (3) extend the boundaries of understanding of present political resources, opportunities and participation degree of the named three categories of youth as the political life of the country. Civil correlates of higher education include:

- political resources - such as political culture, knowledge of the politics, a broad understanding of political life [1;2;3;4;5];
- psychological resources include the motivation and the desire to evaluate democratic regime and the development of democratic values [6, 7];
- social resources represent the ability to communicate with other students [8,9,10] and to join the various organizations that expands the boundaries of participation in public life [11, 12].

Indeed, people with higher level of education are more likely to show attention and interest in politics, watch the news, eager to gain political knowledge and information, express their attitudes, feelings and civic engagement compared to their less-educated peers [3]. This interrelation has deep roots in the political behavior and originates from the earliest studies on political behaviour [13], according to which knowledge, a motivation and skills of understanding political issues are formed in the educational process [6]; as well as valuable personal relationships and social connections [10]. It also should be noted that the practice of information retrieval and understanding of political processes is conceptual and abstract [9, 14]. Education takes a central place in the study of political participation and civic identity [4,5]. In spite of the undeniable presence of the interrelations between level of education and political participation of young people, analysis of electoral activity of young people complicate the understanding of this relationship. For example, despite the fact that the level of education among young people is increasing, there has been a steady decrease in the electoral activity of young people. In this article we will try to introduce political profile of Kazakhstan youth in today's realities in a new format.

The results of the research. What is the role of education in shaping young people's political activity? Interest and participation in social and political life of the country increase with the maturity and growth of social ties of the young man (Table 1).

Table 1 - The distribution of answers to the question "Are you interested in politics?", N=1500.

Response options	No education, primary.	Incomplete secondary	Secondary general education	Secondary specific education	Incomplete higher education	Higher education (including master degree)
Attentively follow for information on political developments	34,6%	18,9%	28,3%	25,9%	28,0%	33,9%
Discuss political events with friends / relatives / acquaintances	26,90%	33,9%	36,6%	43,4%	30,4%	34,5%
Participate in the organizing and conducting the electoral campaign	-	0,8%	2,1%	2,2%	1,9%	1,3%
Rarely / sometimes interested if it is a significant political event	-	1,6%	2,1%	0,4%	3,1%	0,6%

When young people enter educational institutions, they begin to form questions about employment, family, safety, thus expanding the space of life priorities, at this time there is an active redistribution of interests towards public and political participation. Higher political activity is characteristic to the young respondents with a relatively high level of education.

What are the main sources of information on politics? As can be seen from the Fig.1 the research results show that majority of young people prefer to receive social and political information through television (49.3% daily) and Internet materials (38.3% daily). Print media and radio are not in demand by young participants of research - only 8.1% and 12.1% respectively daily use them.

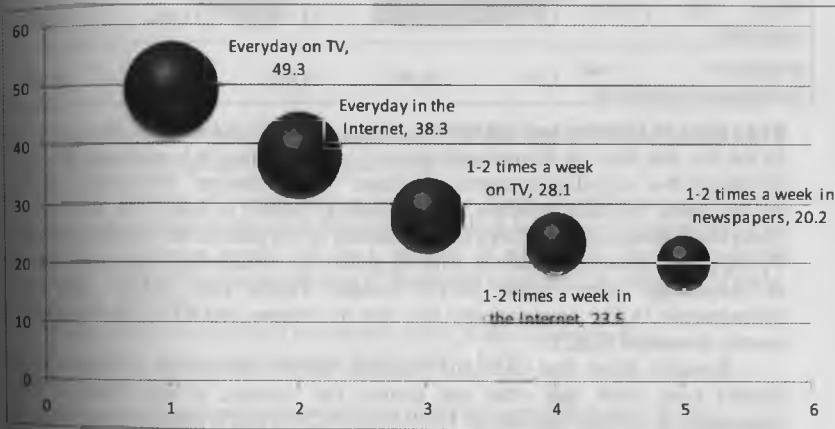


Fig 1 - Sources of information and frequency of usage on the social and political events, N=1500.

The conducted analysis also allowed detecting differences in choosing the main sources of information by young people living in different regions. Residents of the Central (48.9%) and the Northern regions (54.6%), city of Astana (43.80) are significantly more likely to use the Internet. While, in Almaty residents prefer a radio (20.2%) as the main source of information. The youth of the Western (12.0%) and the Northern regions (18.5%), Astana (12.5%) get the information from the newspapers. It should be noted that TV is equally popular in all regions (over 45%). The nature of the information preferences of the respondents revealed that one of the least popular sources among young people is newspapers of socio-political character. 9.2% of respondents read socio-political newspaper every day, while the informative and entertainment newspapers are read by only 5.6%.

there is a gradual decline of interest in entertaining and informative periodic As age grows, and preference is given to the socio-political dimension - in age groups from 10 to 24 and from 25 to 29 read 11.1% and 10.4%, respectively, in the age group from 15 to 19 only 4.7% (Table 2).

Table 2 - The distribution of answers to the question "How often do you read newspapers / magazines?", N=1500.

Types of media	everyday/al most everyday	1-2 times a week	1-3 times a month	Few times in a year	Don't read
Social and political newspapers	9,2%	21,1%	16,9%	14,0%	38,8%
Informative and entertainment newspapers	5,6%	20,2%	24,6%	16,3%	33,3%
Social and political magazines	5,4%	13,9%	17,1%	13,8%	49,8%
Informative and entertainment magazines	7,1%	16,4%	25,9%	22,2%	28,4%

The values of civicism and patriotism among youth. *To what extent they are proud by the fact that they are Kazakhstani people?* In this context, it is necessary to clearly distinguish two very close concepts - "civicism" and "patriotism". Patriotism is defined as the moral political principle, social feeling, which is based on the ratio of "Individual-Homeland" and "civicism" is defined as the ratio of the "Individual-State". Young people identify themselves with the following communities (data are presented in descending order): family 68.5%; country 54.3%; city 32.1%; work 21%; nation/people 16.6%; comparatively low rate for religion (9.8%) in the hierarchy of identity formation (Fig.2).

Research shows that youth and teenagers identify themselves as citizens of the country more often than other age groups. For example, a high share of these respondents is between the ages of 15-19 years (62.0%) and it gradually reduces at the age of 20-24 (53.7%) and at the age of 25-29 (49.6%). However, professional identity increases with age (14.9% - 15-19 years; 20.9% - 20-24 years; 25.3% - 25-29 years old). From the research data it is clear that more than half of the young citizens of Kazakhstan (54.6%) feel very proud realizing their civic engagement. The percentage of positive responses is 84.7% (Fig. 3).

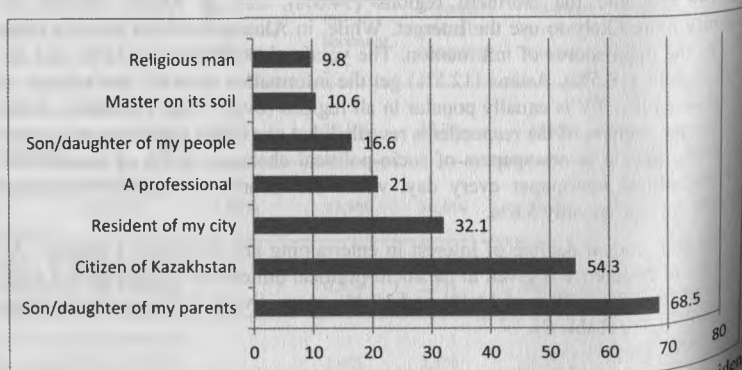


Fig. 2 – The most important directions of formation of the Kazakh youth's identity, N=1500.

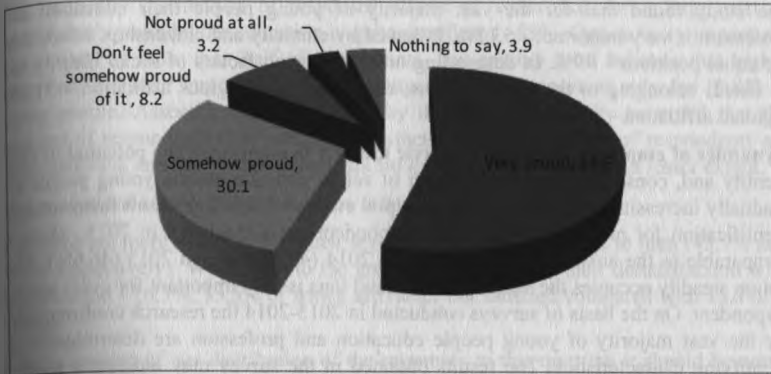


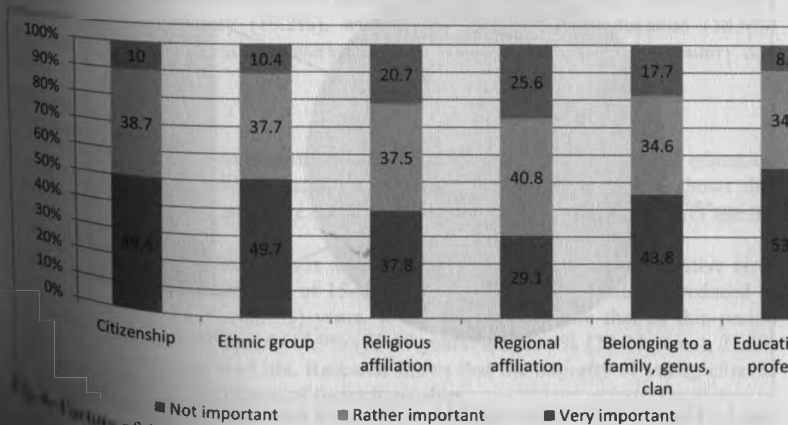
Fig. 3 – Distribution of answers to the question “To what extent do you feel proud of the fact that you are a citizen of Kazakhstan?”, N=1500.

On the civil activity of youth: During survey the young Kazakhstanis were asked about their involvement in the work of any public and/ or civil sector organizations. The vast majority of young people are not a member of any public social or political association - 78.2%. The total percentage of those who stated their membership in social organizations is 19.1%.

Various social and political movements in the youth social activity:

- Sports and recreational organizations (travel club) - 5.2%
- Trade Unions - 4.5%
- Art, music and education organization (choir, dance group, folk band) - 3.6%
- Youth Associations - 3.0%
- Political Parties - 2.6%.

The survey results indicate that a real social activity of Kazakh youth is relatively low - 12.3%.



Factors of formation of youth's identity, N=1500.

The study found that for the vast majority of young people their education and profession is very important - 53.7%, followed by ethnicity and citizenship, which took the equal positions - 49%. In descending order following factors of social identity can be listed: belonging to the family, genus, clan - 43.8%; religious affiliation - 37.8%, regional affiliation - 29.1% (Fig.4).

Dynamics of empirical indicators in civic identity evaluations: The potential of civic identity and, consequently, the formation of active civicism among young people are gradually increasing. Kazakhstan citizenship is evaluated as a significant factor of self-identification for more than half of the respondents of Kazakhstan in 2015, which is comparable to the answers of respondents in 2014 (49.4%) and in 2013 (46.6%). This option steadily occupies the second position and thus is very important for every second respondent. On the basis of surveys conducted in 2013-2014 the research confirmed that for the vast majority of young people education and profession are determinative as identifying characteristics. The results obtained in the survey may indicate a positive trend in Kazakhstan on this issue. In the consciousness of the major part of the youth of our country to be a citizen of the Republic of Kazakhstan means to be a law-abiding, to love, to respect, and to be proud of the country, and hold the nationality of that country.

Internal factors influencing the political activity of young people. The group of internal factors includes socialization, motivation, and educational level. In this regard, we would like to analyse educational settings of youth, the importance of higher education for young people and evaluate their satisfaction by the education. As already mentioned before, the research included groups of young people with different levels of education from primary (2.6%) and incomplete secondary (12.7%) to the higher (including young students - 47.4%). Vocational education covers 37.3% of the youth of Kazakhstan.

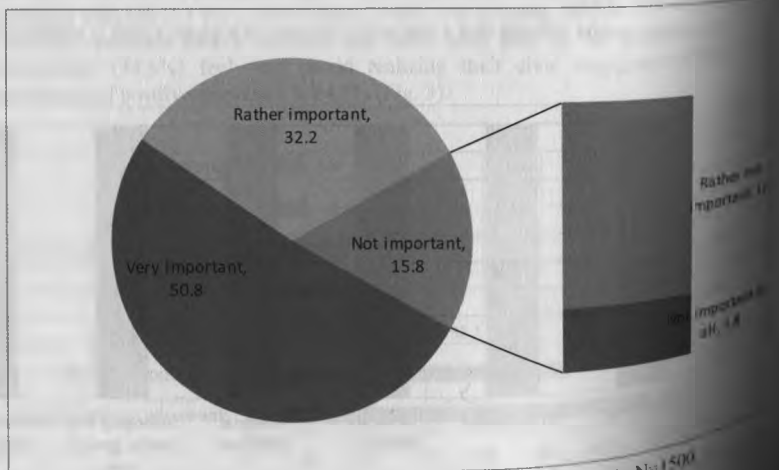


Fig. 5 – The level of importance of higher education for Kazakhstani youth, N= 1500

The frequency distribution of responses allows to assert that for a large part of Kazakhstan's youth higher education is quite significant - 83%. Option "very important" was chosen by more than half of respondents, and another third believes that higher education is "rather important". Higher education is not important only for 15.8% of young people. Assessing the satisfaction by the education it may be noted that the majority of respondents expressed full satisfaction (42.5%), 40.2% of respondents are rather satisfied, and 15.8% of respondents are dissatisfied to greater or a lesser extent.

The analysis of correlations shows the following:

- Women are more satisfied with their level of education compared to men (43.7% and 41.2% respectively). While men to the greater extent express their dissatisfaction with the education - 16.3%, 13.3% of which are rather not satisfied compared with 15.3% of women.
- In the context of age distribution of the responses to this question it should be noted that among respondents aged from 15 to 19 years (45.9%) and aged from 25 to 29 years (42%) are completely satisfied with their education. This trend is likely to be a consequence of, the fact that 31% of respondents aged 20 to 24 years old are students, and are in direct process of education that does not allow seeing and evaluating the results of the received education.
- In terms of ethnic groups the majority of respondents to lesser or a greater extent are satisfied with education: among the Kazakhs - 85.2%, Russians - 80%, and 76.4% of other ethnic groups are completely satisfied with their level of education. The percentage of actively interested in politics by ethnic group criteria is the same.
- Education. The majority of respondents are completely satisfied with their education; excluding respondents who have secondary special education (47.8%) and incomplete higher education (44.7%), most of which selected the answer "rather satisfied". The highest percentage of to lesser or a greater extent satisfied with their education is among respondents with higher education (91.1%) and among respondents who have incomplete higher education (85.7%). It is important to note that the respondents "rather satisfied" with their education have specialized secondary education- (19.3%), don't have education or primary (19.2%), with a secondary general education (18.6%) substantially do not express any interest in political developments in the country and abroad.

CONCLUSION

There is a positive correlation among the youth with a high level of education actively demonstrating political activity. Analysis of reading preferences shows that newspapers of socio-political nature are the most popular among youth and with age the interest is increasing.

Formation of youth identities is associated with age-period, the most active civic identity prevails between the ages of 15-19 years - 62.0% and is gradually reduced to 20-24 (53.7%) and 25-29 (49.6%) years. It is important to note that in this period professional identity is enhanced (14.9% (15-19 years) and 20.9% (20-24 years), 25.3% (25-29 years) in this period of life. Research shows that the majority of young citizens (84.7%) feel proud of their citizenship.

Political activity of Kazakhstan's youth is relatively low - 12.3%, but as noted indicator is linked to the low level of social activity of young people aged 15

to 19 years. In this age young people do not have enough social experience, and the world of their interests is limited by interpersonal and intra-family contacts.

The potential of civic identity and active civic position among young people gradually grows. Every second respondent assessed Kazakhstan's citizenship as an important factor of identity. Also, education and profession remain in a high position in the hierarchy of self-identification factors. Analyzing the satisfaction by the education it may be noted that the highest percentage of satisfied by their education is among the respondents with higher education (91.1%), among those who are dissatisfied with their education prevail those who have a secondary specific education - (19.3%), primary (19.2 %), and a secondary general education (18.6%).

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**POPULISM AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE.
WILL POPULISM REVITALISE EU PROJECT?**

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ABSTRACT

In this paper I will consider phenomenon of populism in relation to the idea of public sphere and its re-emergence in the habermasian sense in a new set up of so called electronic democracy. This is in order to argue that this situation create not only obstacles but as well new opportunities for further integration. In my understanding populism is a moral reaction to dismantled social mechanism of political checks and balances, currently mainly due to political convergence of political class. That unfortunately seems to be more and more class for them self. Consequence of this is that so called representative democracy converged to differentiative democracy, and only positive outcome in this situation would be further involvement of the citizens in policy making process. Eventually I will argue that emancipatory populism would regain a lost balance in between the representatives and the people.

Keywords: Populism, representative democracy, differentiative democracy, public sphere, public opinion, convergence of the political class, electronic democracy, direct democracy.

1. Introduction: Defining Populism.

When Jean Monnet wrote famously in his memoirs: *Nous ne coalisons pas des Etats, nous unissons des hommes* (*We are building not Union of Countries but Union of Citizens*) - that in the sense was populous. In that particular case *populous* -in emancipatory term of the meaning. Populism as the civic idea has a range of connotations and more often than not has allocated pejorative meanings. In this paper however I will argue that this is not obligatory so and populism could be used as a moral tool which would help revitalise EU project.

As we can see idea of 'ever closer union' seems to be more and more out of fashion due to national interests of the EU member states which are more, and more diverse or even contradictory. Recent wave of migration from Middle East and Africa complicated even further situation on our continent. Additionally in this situational context it should be added that "Once it for all" would be reactionary or emancipatory of which we can observe surge to power of so called right or left wing populism movements and parties all over the Europe in recent years. This seems to complicate ontological status of current wave of populism in EU.

Taking into account all of this mention before I will consider phenomena of populism in relation to the idea of public sphere and its re-emergence in the habermasian sense in new set up of so called electronic democracy. This is in order to argue that this situation create not only obstacles but as well new opportunities for further integration. In my understanding populism is a moral reaction to dismantled social mechanism of political checks and balances, currently mainly due to political convergence of political class in Europe. That unfortunately seems to be more and more class for them self. Consequence of this is that so called representative democracy converged to differentiative democracy, and only positive outcome in this situation

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BOOK 2
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