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**YOUTH IN A RISK SITUATION: ADAPTATION
METHODS AND RESOURCES**

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Abstract. The paper studies the choice peculiarities of adaptation methods and the updating of the resources included in the adaptive potential concerning the young people in the communities which are in the situation of an imposed a particular risk and the daily «blurred» risks. The empirical basis of the analysis are the results of two sociological studies: the first was carried out at the methodical maintenance of risk and disaster problem sector staff of IS RAS during late 2013 in the social community, to which a risk is imposed; the second study was carried out in 2015 and it is the survey of the control group, which lives in the area of everyday, «fuzzy» risks.

Based on comparative analysis of youth target groups from both data arrays it was substantiated that young people living in the areas of a particular imposed risk and daily «fuzzy» risks vary by the choice of adaptation ways to the risks as well as to the relevance of the resources that make up an adaptive potential, and some possible ways of a certain security status achievement among youth in the process of adaptation to risk.

It was shown that in a situation of a particular risk the main factors of young people successful adaptation to risk (or the achievement of a specific security status) are the reduction of risk to a socially acceptable level and the development of an adaptive capacity by increasing the subjective feeling of environment safety, the protection from unpleasant experiences and the satisfaction by living conditions. In the situation of everyday risks the development of an adaptation potential among young people may be achieved if the preventive measures of health protection are maintained and the satisfaction of its state increases, if an overall level of anxiety is reduced and interpersonal relations are expanded.

Keywords: risk; adaptation; social resources; youth; safety.

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**МОЛОДЁЖЬ В СИТУАЦИИ РИСКА:
РЕСУРСЫ И СПОСОБЫ АДАПТАЦИИ**

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Аннотация. В статье изучаются особенности выбора способов адаптации и актуализации ресурсов, входящих в адаптационный потенциал, молодёжи в общностях, находящихся в ситуации навязываемого конкретного риска и повседневных «размытых» рисков. Эмпирической базой анализа выступают результаты двух социологических исследований: первое осуществлено при методическом обеспечении сотрудников сектора проблем риска и катастроф ИС РАН в конце 2013 года в социальной общности, которой навязывается риск; второе исследование проведено в 2015 году и представляет собой опрос контрольной группы, проживающей в зоне повседневных «размытых» рисков.

На основе сравнительного анализа молодёжных целевых групп из обоих массивов данных обосновано, что молодёжь, проживающая в зонах конкретного навязываемого

риска и повседневных «размытых» рисков, различается по выбору способов адаптации к рискам, а также по актуализации ресурсов, составляющих адаптационный потенциал, и намечены возможные пути достижения определенного статуса безопасности молодежи в процессе адаптации к риску.

Показано, что в ситуации конкретного риска основными факторами успешной адаптации молодежи к риску (или достижения определённого статуса безопасности) являются снижение риска до социально приемлемого уровня и развитие адаптационного потенциала за счёт повышения субъективного ощущения безопасности среды, защищенности от неприятных событий и удовлетворенности жизненными условиями. В ситуации повседневных рисков развитие адаптационного потенциала молодежи может быть достигнуто при условии профилактических мер сохранения здоровья и повышения удовлетворённости его состоянием, снижения общего уровня тревожности, расширения межличностных связей.

Ключевые слова: риск; адаптация; социальные ресурсы; молодежь; безопасность.

In modern society the familiar environments are transformed into risk-taking ones under the influence of risk factors. In this regard, risk becomes an important component of quality of life and requires adaptation. The essence of an adaptation process for some social subject to a risk-taking environment, from the risk sociology point of view, is in the achievement of a certain security status, and the success of this process depends largely on the efficiency of risk interaction methods - the ways of adaptation to possible damage.

The differences in the nature of modern risks and the scale of possible damage cause uneven distribution of risks for different social actors and territorial communities. In some cases, one or another social subject is influenced by a number of potential threats at the same time or the effect of one factor is replaced by the influence of another one, that is, one or another risk is updated. In the broadest sense the thing is about daily «fuzzy» risks, the specifics of which turns the adaptation to these risks into a permanent process. In other cases, social actors experience a prolonged exposure to a particular threat, often imposed by the environment, which is a real source of danger. In such cases, the thing is about a particular risk imposition. According to the analysis of sociological data, we were able to identify that in a specific risk situation imposed by the environment, the differences of adaptation strategies are determined by the potential of resources available to different categories of population; and there is an inequality in the distribution of resources which makes up an adaptive potential [1]. Nowadays, the features of resource actualization in the process of choosing a

particular method of adaptation to daily «fuzzy» risks remain unstudied.

The purpose of the article is to identify the similarities and differences in the choice of ways for resource adaptation and update included into adaptive capacity within the communities which are in the situation of a particular imposed risk and the daily «blurred» risks, on the basis of the obtained results to identify some possible ways to achieve a certain security status of social actors in the process of adaptation to risk. To do this, let's perform a comparative analysis of the target groups from the area of «fuzzy» everyday risks and one of the Russian regions which is in the situation of particular imposed risk. There is a potential for the certain damages related with the presence of an adverse effect source in the mentioned region - ore deposits, the development of which is planned in the near future. The sustained protests in the region suggest the public perception of a real risk situation and specify the security gaps in a social community in respect of this impact. Since the decision concerning the development of fields was taken without considering the population opinion, the risk for a considered social community is an imposed one.

Youth is chosen as the object of study in the article according to a variety of reasons. Firstly, youth from the risk sociology point of view is a specific category. The youth environment manifests the dual objective-subjective nature of risk. Youth is exposed to the environment dangers, that is, risk is an objective condition of their lives. The subjective nature of risk is manifested among young people as a social category, to which «risk is inherent immanently and may be recognized by its peculiar group

forming factor» [2, p. 170]. Secondly, «modern young people are mostly more pragmatic than their parents, so they use the probabilistic method of risk assessment more often» [3, p. 42]. Thirdly, according to recent research performed by Levada Center and dedicated to the study of an adaptive potential of Russians. Young people turned out to be the least adapted to the institutional, psychological and social changes of recent years [4].

The main hypothesis is presented by the assumption that young people living in the areas of particular imposed risk and daily «fuzzy» risks varies by the choice of adaptation ways to risks as well as to the update of resources that make up the adaptive capacity.

An empirical base of the analysis is the results of two sociological studies. The first one was performed at the methodological support of risk and disaster problem sector staff of IS RAS at the end of 2013 in the social community, for which the risk of multi-representative quota sample is imposed (394 profiles). The second study is presented by the survey of the control group, which lives in the area everyday «fuzzy» risks and is carried out according to a representative quota sample in 2015 (100 profiles) at the financial support from RHSF within the scientific project № 14-03-00139. In both studies the quoting was carried out by sex and age.

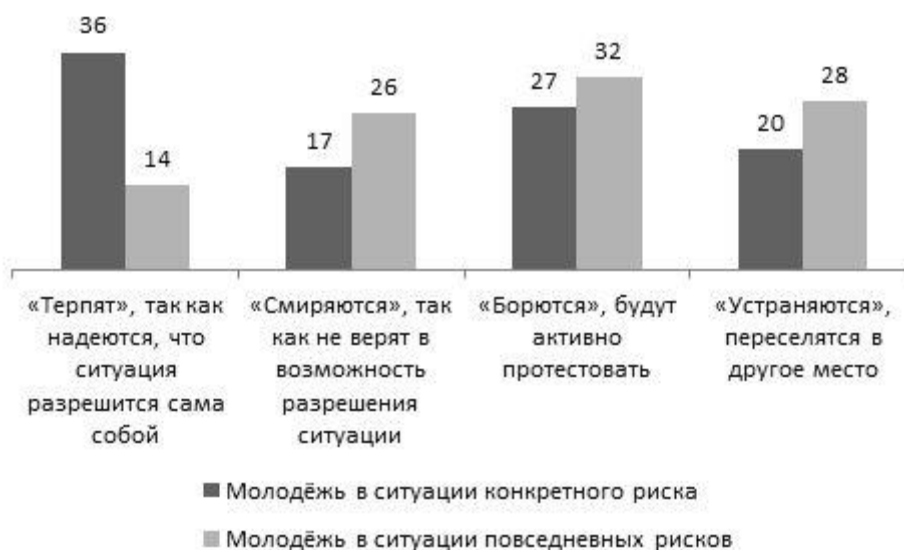
In order to test the hypothesis the youth groups at the age of 18-29 years were taken from each data array. The youth group living in the region with a particular risk is presented by 75 respondents, the group living in the area with daily «blurred» risks is presented by 50 respondents. Let's perform the comparative analysis of selected target groups of young people according to two criteria: (1) according to a risk adaptation way: the specified differences will show the preferred method of adaptation to a risk within the conditions of a specific and everyday risks; and (2) according to the types of social resources: the specified differences will show the particular actualization of various social resources that make up the adaptive potential of youth groups living in the terms of an imposed specific risk and «fuzzy» everyday risks. Before we proceed to the main part of the analysis, let's clarify certain concepts and provisions on the basis of which the interpretation of empirical evidence is performed further.

An adaptive potential is the collection of resources that the subject of adaptation has in a latent form, and which are revealed during adaptation. The analysis of empirical data in the article was performed on the basis of the author's typology, interpretation and the operationalization of social resources¹. The further analysis of the article includes the following resources: «adaptability», «the involvement in a certain social network», «readiness to a risk», «social well-being,» socio-psychological characteristics and philosophical peculiarities, social activity.

An adaptive potential is realized by the means of adaptation - the «specific social actions, behavior, the acts in unusual situations» [5, p. 7], which correspond to a particular adaptation strategy. There are two strategies for adaptation in the most general sense - an active and a passive one [6, p. 19]. An active adaptation strategy involves the desire of a subject to change the environment, a passive adaptation strategy involves the desire to follow the life circumstances. In previous empirical studies, we found out four most common ways to risk adaptation. Two of them are based on a passive adaptation strategy and involve the assumption of a risk with the hope that a situation will be resolved itself, or due to the lack of faith in the possibility of an actual problem solution («tolerate» / «submit»). The rest are based on an active adaptation strategy and suggest a struggle for risk reduction, or an escape from a dangerous environment («struggle» / «go away») [7]. The results of a comparative analysis among target youth groups according to the methods of adaptation to risks and social resources are presented below.

In order to identify the differences in the choice of an adaptation method to the risk of youth in particular and everyday risk situations let's analyze the answers to the question about the preferred ways of behavior in a situation of possible damage (risk) to health, property and environment in each target group (see. Figure 1).

¹ Read [1] to know more about the criteria and the scheme of the author typology of social resources that make up an adaptive capacity.



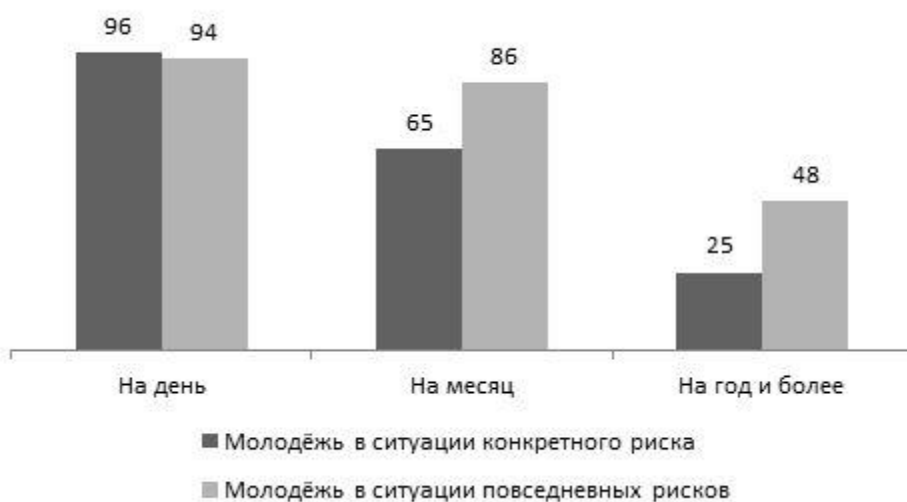
Терпят, так как надеются, что ситуация разрешится сама собой. - Suffering as they hope that a situation will resolve itself. Смиряются, так как не верят в возможность разрешения ситуации. - They submit because they do not believe in the possibility of the situation resolution. Борются, будут активно протестовать - They struggle and will protest actively. Устраняются, переселяются в другое место - They go away and move to another location

Fig. 1. The methods of adaptation to the risk of young people in particular situations of everyday and specific risks (in % to the number of respondents in each target group)

The results of the analysis presented on Figure 1 show that young people in a situation of everyday risks compared with another target group are more inclined to the choice of risk adaptation methods corresponding to an active strategy, namely in a situation of possible damage to health, property and environment they will protest actively or move to another location. More than half of young people from the region with a particular risk prefer a passive adaptation strategy to a risk, at that the proportion of those who hope that the situation will be resolved without their participation is significantly higher (36% vs. 14% in the daily risk group).

Then let's perform the comparative analysis of youth target groups according to the types of social resources outlined above: the revealed differences will show the peculiarities of various social resources actualization that make up an adaptive potential of each target group in the process of adaptation to a particular and everyday risk situation.

«Adaptability» is empirically interpreted through the planning of life for a substantial period and the confidence in the ability to control your own life. Figure 2 shows the results of a comparative analysis of youth from target groups according to the specifics of your own life planning.



На день - During a day. На месяц - During a month

На год и более - During a year and more. Молодёжь в ситуации конкретного риска - Youth in a specific risk situation
Молодёжь в ситуации повседневного риска - Youth in a daily risk situation.

Fig. 2. The features of life planning by young people in particular and everyday risk situations (in % to the number of respondents in each target group)

Figure 2 shows that a group of young people with everyday risks plans their lives more often for a medium and a long term if we compare it to the other target group.

The ability to control your own life is considered through particular approaches to the solution of one's own problems. The results are shown on Figure 3.



Берут ситуацию под контроль, активно пытаются найти решение, организовать процесс, влиять на ситуацию -
Take a situation under control, try to find a solution, to establish a process, to influence a situation
Обращаются к тем, кто мог бы решить проблему - Appeal to those who could solve a problem

Fig. 3. The approaches to a problem solution among young people in particular and everyday risk situations (in % to the number of respondents in each target group)

The data presented on Figure 3 show that the young people from the group with daily risks prefer to solve problems actively and independently, the young people from the region with a particular risk prefer to seek help. The amount of those who prefer to do nothing and «wait» (if a problem appears) in both target groups is insignificant.

In general, young people have a higher adaptability level in the situations of everyday risks than in the situations of particular risks.

«The inclusion in a certain social network» is interpreted via the nature and the volume of bonds, contacts and interaction with the social environment at a certain level of trust in various subjects of this environment. The inclusion in a particular social network is the developed social resource if a subject is in an extensive system of reliable akin-friendly contacts, satisfied and by communication capabilities, confident in family support, if necessary and is characterized by a state of psychological comfort without the sense of loneliness [8].

The vast majority of respondents from both target groups (more than 95%) say that they talk to friends and family in person, by phone or Internet. However, there are differences in the frequency of such communication. 79% of young people from the region with a particular risk communicate with friends constantly, and only 57% from the different target group, 84 and 72%, respectively communicate with relatives constantly. However, the highest satisfaction degree from the socializing with friends is selected by 61% of young people in the situation of a specific risk, and 52% chose it in the situation of daily risks. In both groups, the proportion of those who believe that relatives could help to cope with various problems is rather high, however, this proportion is smaller in the group from everyday risk area (84% vs 92). About 80% of young people in each target group feel themselves protected from loneliness in varying degrees.

100% of respondents from the regions with a particular risk communicate with colleagues and 84% from the area with daily risk communicate with hobby and shared leisure partners - 71 and 54%, respectively, 84% of young people from the first group and only 44% of the latter communicate with neighbors. The respondents from the region with a particular risk are characterized by a significantly higher frequency of communication with colleagues, hobby and leisure partners and neighbors.

The confidence to an inner circle is measured by the assessment of confidence level in problem situations, when you need help, including the protection of rights, freedoms, health and life. Young

people from both target groups are characterized by a high level of trust to their families, relatives (about 95% in each target group) and friends (about 80%).

In general, young people from the region with a specific risk is characterized by more developed interpersonal relations, based on virtually constant communication with the closest and more distant people, a high level of satisfaction by the communication with friends and some confidence that relatives will help in a difficult situation. Thus, young people have a higher level of inclusion in social networks in the situation of a specific risk than in the situation of an everyday risk.

«The readiness to risk» is interpreted as an individual decision on acceptance or rejection of life within a risk (a possibility of various damages). The experience of our long-term studies shows that the adoption / rejection of a risk is influenced by a number of empirical indicators. In this article, we have an opportunity to develop an explanatory model of readiness to risk differences among young people from target groups on the basis of the subjective sense comparison concerning an environment security and the preparedness for different types of damage.

The subjective sense of environment protection is measured through the self-assessment of various real threats presence / absence during the survey. Let's develop an environment safety index¹. The results of the procedure are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Subjective feeling of environment safety (index)

Real threats	Young people in a specific risk situation	Young people in a daily risk situation
Loss of property	0,9	0,72
Deterioration, loss of health	-0,52	0,12
Stress, loss of life situation control	0,76	0,16
Loss of employment, occupation, status	0,44	0,44
Disregard of humanistic ideals, the devaluation of human life	0,6	0,44
Lifestyle change, the breaking of life plans	0,5	0,16
Financial losses, loss or depreciation of savings	0,46	0,04
Discomfort from the environment degradation	-0,28	-0,12

¹ The index takes a maximum value equal to +1 when all respondents in the group do not feel a particular threat. The index takes the minimum value of -1, when all of the respondents in the group feel a particular threat. The index value makes 0 if the number of people feeling a threat in the group is equal to the number of people who do not feel it.

The analysis results presented in Table 1 show that in a daily risk situation young people feel more the threat of stress, loss of control over the life situation and the change of an habitual way of life. Young people from the region with a particular risk feel the threat of health deterioration and the degradation of natural environment much greater. We believe that the revealed differences are related to different nature of risk sources. As we noted, their sources are not always certain in the situation of a daily risk, the specificity of effects and possible consequences is poorly predictable and it increases the overall level of anxiety and stress. The source and the vector of possible consequences are known in the situation of a particular risk, in the considered case it is a negative impact on the environment and population health.

Let's develop the index¹ of risk taking according to different types of damage. The results of the procedure are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2

Risk taking at different types of damage (index)

Damage types	Young people in a specific risk situation	Young people in a daily risk situation
Material damage - Loss of property	-0,78	-0,32
Physical damage - Deterioration, loss of health	-0,94	-0,64
Psychologic damage - Stress, loss of life situation control	-0,98	-0,64
Social damage - Loss of employment, occupation, status	-0,9	-0,28
Spiritual damage - Disregard of humanistic ideals, the devaluation of human life	-0,98	-0,92
Moral damage - Lifestyle change, the breaking of life plans	-0,9	-0,42
Economic damage - Financial losses, loss or depreciation of savings	-0,98	-0,36
Discomfort from the environment degradation	-0,84	-0,68

The results presented in Table 2 show that both target groups are presented mainly by the respondents who do not take the risk for all types of damages. The comparison of index values shows that young people in everyday risk situations are usually ready to take the risk for all types of damages.

«Social health» is interpreted in the broadest sense as a comprehensive indicator of comfort in the environment, operationalized through repeatedly proven satisfaction self-estimation sectors in other studies of the sector of concerning living conditions (18 conditions), the protection from unpleasant events (23 events), the state and dynamics of health.

The differences in the level of satisfaction by material security, family relations, housing, public services and the police work, the opportunity to receive education and realize themselves within the profession were not found between the considered target groups. Figure 4 shows the living conditions, the satisfaction evaluation of which demonstrates the significant differences between the youth of the target groups.

According to Figure 4, the young people in the situation of everyday risks is more satisfied with living conditions in general compared to other target group except of the satisfaction with health. It is important to note that the state of health is an essential component of social well-being overall index [6]. According to the self-assessments of health status the target groups of youth are not differed. However, there are differences in the assessments of health state dynamics: more than a third of respondents from the daily risk group note the deterioration of their health during last 2-3 years, while the majority of young people from the region with a particular risk claim that their health has not changed.

¹ The index takes a maximum value equal to +1 when all respondents in the group take a particular risk. The index takes the minimum value of -1, when all of the respondents in the group do not take a particular risk. The index value makes 0 if the number of people taking a risk in the group is equal to the number of people who do not take this risk.



Ситуация в стране - The situation in the country. То, как складывается жизнь - The state of affairs
 Положение, статус в обществе - Society position, статусу
 Отдых в период отпуска - Recreation during vacation
 Ситуация на работе - The situation at work. Возможность проведения досуга - The possibility for leisure time
 Медицинское обслуживание - Medical service. Состояние здоровья - Health status
 Приобретение одежды - Purchase of clothes. Питание – Nutrition

Fig. 4. High estimates of satisfaction with living conditions among young people in particular and everyday risk situations (% of people who chose the score 4 and 5 according to satisfaction scale in each target group)

An important indicator of social well-being is the level of protection against a variety of unpleasant events¹. Let's develop the index² of protection from unpleasant events. Young people in the situation of everyday risk, compared to the respondents from another target group, estimates above the private security level according to all submitted unpleasant events. According to the assessments of security

¹ The level of security is measured in relation to these unpleasant events: the trouble in professional activity, work; burglary; hooligan attacks; the acts of an organized crime; ecological disaster; discrimination based on sex, age; persecution on ethnic grounds; persecution for the religious beliefs; persecution for the political views; poverty and homelessness; loneliness; feeling that a life has no reason; unemployment; refuse to provide free medical care; accident in public transport, railways, highways; infectious diseases; radiation exposure; poisoning by harmful substances contained in products; exposure to harmful substances contained in building materials; poisoning by harmful substances discharged into water, air; wrong diagnosis and treatment; military or other action, followed by relocation; the acts of terrorists.

² The index has a maximum value equal to +1 when all of the respondents in the group consider themselves protected from any unpleasant event. The index takes the minimum value of -1, when all of the respondents in the group consider themselves vulnerable to any unpleasant events. The index value is 0 if the number of protected ones in the group is equal to the number of unprotected ones.

from trouble in professional activity, the actions of criminals, discrimination and the harassment on various grounds, troubles in life the significant differences between the target groups were not revealed in general. The observed significant differences between the evaluations of security in considered groups of young people are shown in Table 3.

According to the results of the analysis in Table 3, the youth from the region with a particular risk appeared to be not protected from the exposure to adverse environmental factors and threats to health and life compared to other target group.

In general, according to the terms of social well-being among young people in everyday risk situations the level of comfort in the environment is higher than in the situation of a particular risk.

Table 3

Protection from unpleasant events (index)

Unpleasant events	Young people in a specific risk situation	Young people in a daily risk situation
Ecological disaster	-0,78	0,36
Radiation exposure	-0,68	0,48
Poisoning with hazardous substances in products	-0,68	0,4
Exposure to harmful substances contained in building materials	-0,78	0,64
Poisoning with hazardous substances discharged into water, air	-0,9	0,24
Infectious diseases	-0,62	0,72
Wrong diagnosis and treatment	-0,58	0,38
Transport accidents	-0,84	0,28
Military or other acts, followed by involuntary resettlement	-0,2	0,6
Actions of terrorists	-0,58	0,44

According to the socio-psychological characteristics, which are interpreted through a character and a self-preservation behavior, the young people do not differ in the focus groups.

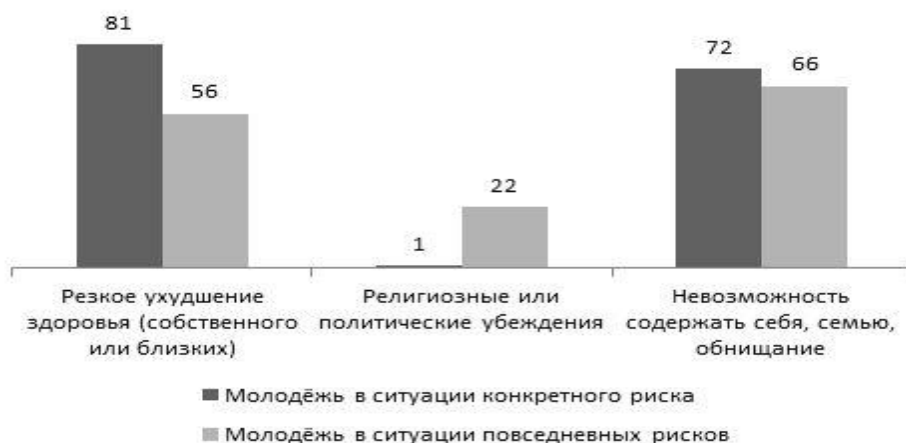
The ideological features are interpreted through tolerant attitudes, the interest in social and political information and the self-assessment of social and political literacy. The differences between the target groups of young people in relation to people are revealed, the philosophy and religious ideas of which differ from their own. The group with daily risks has more people who are sympathetic to people with different religious and worldview ideas (66% vs. 57% - in the other group) and among young

people from the region with a particular risk are presented by those who treat such people indifferently (35% vs. 28%). Young people in everyday risk situations are characterized by a high level of tolerance compared to other target group.

Youth in the situations of everyday risks compared with other target group is more interested in social and political information (about 60% are interested in country and the place of residence events and in the order group only 40% are interested in such events) and is characterized by a higher level of social and political literacy (34% of one target group are well known about the country and the place of residence situation and 18% from another target group are also well known about such situations).

According to social activity index among the youth target groups the following differences are revealed. Among young people in the situations of everyday risks higher the proportion of those who shows the desire to work in a social initiative group, in a volunteer movement, in a fund is higher (34% vs. 20% - in another target group) and some of them are engaged in such activities (16% vs. 4%, respectively).

About 18% of respondents from each target group were involved in active actions (meetings, pickets, strikes, hunger strikes) to protect their rights, freedoms and positions. Some similarities between the considered groups are observed according to a number of motives stimulating to the participation in actions to protect their interests, attitudes, ideals: about 10% of each target group claim that nothing could induce them to engage in active operations, 20% would be active in the case of environmental destruction and the death of animals. The revealed differences are shown on Figure 5.



Резкое ухудшение здоровья (собственного или близких) - Sharp deterioration of own health or the health of close people
Религиозные или политические убеждения - Religious and political beliefs
Невозможность содержать себя, семью, обнищание – The inability to support themselves, a family, misery

Fig. 5. Motives of youth participation in actions to protect their interests, attitudes, ideals (% who answered «yes» in each target group)

The differences in motivation for active actions, reflected on Figure 5, suggest that young people from the region with a particular risk is more ready to act

according to the socio-economic reasons than the respondents from another target group, young people

in the situations of everyday risks is more ready to act according to political and ideological motives.

Thus, young people in the situations of everyday risks are characterized by a higher activity, interest in information about the events and by social and political literacy, they are more tolerant to dissent and, in contrast to the youth of the region with a particular risk, they are ready for actions on political and ideological grounds.

Summary. An implemented comparative analysis of young people groups from the region with a particular risk and in the situation of everyday risks concerning the selection of adaptation and the specific update of social resources allows to outline their comparative social portrait.

In a particular risk situation young people:

- tend to choose an adaptation means corresponding to a passive adaptation strategy;
- are characterized by low adaptive capacity, based on the inability to plan life for the long term and ask for help in order to solve their own problems in a significant number of cases;
- are characterized by a high inclusion in social networks;
- are characterized by lower willingness to take risks if they are compared to other target groups;
- have a high enough level of social well-being, based on a lower the level of satisfaction with living conditions and vulnerability to the impact of environmental hazards and threats to health and life if they are compared to other target groups;
- have less activity, tolerance, interest for information and social and political literacy.

In a daily risk situation young people:

- tend to choose adaptation methods corresponding to an active adaptation strategy;
- have a high capacity for adaptation, based on independent problem solution and the ability to plan their lives in the long term;
- are characterized by a low inclusion in social networks if they are compared to other target groups;
- are characterized by a high level of willingness to take risks;
- have a good social well-being, based on a high level of satisfaction with living conditions and a sufficiently high level of protection from unpleasant events;
- have negative health state trends;
- are characterized by the activity, tolerance, interest for information and the social and political literacy, the willingness to take action on political and ideological grounds.

Thus, the following main hypothesis is confirmed: the hypothesis about young people

differences is in the choice of ways to risk adaptation and the peculiarities of resources actualization that make up an adaptive capacity within the situation of a particular imposed risk and daily «blurred» risks.

In the situation of a particular risk the main factors of the youth successful adaptation to a risk (or the achievement of a certain security status) are the reduction of risk to a socially acceptable level and the development of an adaptive capacity due to subjective feeling increase concerning the environment safety, the protection from unpleasant experiences and the satisfaction with living conditions.

In a daily risk situation the development of an adaptive potential of youth can be achieved if the preventive measures for the protection of health and the satisfaction increase by its condition are maintained, the reduction of overall level of anxiety and the expansion of interpersonal relations are performed.

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