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СВЕТЛОЙ ПАМЯТИ ОЛЬГИ БУРМЫКИНОЙ (1959–2025)



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Родные, друзья и коллеги уже задумывались, как 14 июня они поздравят Ольгу Бурмыкину с днем рождения с двумя шестерками, 66 лет, — но произошло неожиданное: 27 мая ее не стало. Для всех, кто знал ее, это шок. На сообщение о ее смерти я в очень коротком ответе дважды написал: «Как же так».

Жизнь Ольги Николаевны Бурмыкиной (1959–2025) — малособытийная, но не простая. Честная и достойная. Я наблюдал Олю лишь до начала 90-х, и подготовить этот материал мне помогли наши общие коллеги, друзья, работавшие рядом с ней многие годы. Назову Аллу Корниенко, Владимира Костюшева, Наталью Нечаеву и Елену Тыканову.

Вот какие слова о ней — человеке и профессионале — нашла Наталья Нечаева, знавшая Олю без малого полвека и дружившая с ней: «Оля была очень обязательным, чрезвычайно ответственным человеком. Эти свойства во многом определяли ее характер. О каких бы делах ни шла речь — проведение социологического опроса, подготовка к Ученому совету, написание отчета или статьи, — если за дело бралась Оля, можно было быть совершенно спокойным, сделано все будет отлично. Помню, надо было за короткое время подготовить предложения для микропереписи населения. Оля, как оказалось, работала всю ночь, и ей стало плохо. Но работу она сделала вовремя, и только позднее мы узнали, что случилось. Кроме этого, к каждому делу она подходила так, чтобы сделать его как можно лучше, очень часто далеко выходя за требуемые формальные рамки. Иначе не могла, даже если это требовало от нее больших усилий и временных затрат».

И далее шли слова, сыгравшие ключевую роль в организации этого текста: «Об удивительных душевных качествах Оли Вы знаете сами».

Согласно введенной мною лестнице поколений российских социологов, Ольга Бурмыкина принадлежит к старшей части V поколения, объединяющего тех, кто родился в интервале 1959–1970 гг. Оно возросло в непростой обстановке становления и трансформации брежневской эпохи: строительство БАМа и начало войны в Афганистане, Хельсинкский мирный договор и ссылка А. Д. Сахарова в Горький. Великая Отечественная входила в сознание многих представителей этого поколения через чтение «Малой земли» и вручение в 1978 г. ордена «Победа» маршалу Л. И. Брежневу.

В целом, это сильная когорта ученых, продолжающая активно работать в разных направлениях социологии и передающая свои знания и навыки следующим поколениям. И грустно, что неожиданная и скорая смерть не позволила Ольге в полной мере раскрыть свой богатый исследовательский опыт. Она могла еще многое сделать.

Ольга Бурмыкина родилась в Ленинграде в 1959 г., окончила школу и в 1976 г. поступила на экономический факультет ЛГУ. По-видимому, семья жила трудно, Ольга училась на вечернем и совмещала учебу с работой. В 1979 г., т.е. до завершения образования, она начала работать лаборантом в Институте социально-экономических проблем АН СССР (ИСЭП). Это был сектор, изучавший деятельность средств

массовой коммуникации и общественное мнение, и руководил им Борис Максимович Фирсов (1929–2024). Я тоже там работал, так что знал Олю с тех далеких времен. С ней всегда было легко общаться, она все схватывала на лету.

Начало 1980-х — «черное» время для ленинградской социологии, в частности, академической. Исследования сворачивались, сложно было планировать даже ближайшее будущее, возникли новые проблемы с публикацией, почти сворачивались и защиты диссертаций. Институт были вынуждены покинуть лидеры — В. А. Ядов (1929–2015) и Б. М. Фирсов. Случалось, социологией «командовали» случайные люди.

Наступила перестройка, не сразу, но дышать становилось легче, начинались социальные и экономические преобразования. В 1986 г. Ольга стала моей аспиранткой, аспирантура была заочной, ей приходилось осваивать новую тематику, овладевать навыками научных исследований и продолжать лаборантскую деятельность. У нее это получалось.

Диссертационную проблематику подсказали жизнь и базовое, экономическое, образование Ольги, проблематика была новой не только для нас двоих, но для всего советского социологического сообщества. 26 мая 1988 г. был принят Закон о кооперации в СССР, впервые с периода НЭПа была разрешено создание частных предприятий. Как тогда говорили, был сделан первый шаг к капитализму. У небольшой команды молодых социологов, которой я тогда руководил, уже был некоторый опыт изучения отношения населения Ленинграда к перестроечным нововведениям, эти результаты и стали базой для теоретических и эмпирических поисков Ольги Бурмыкиной. Предварительный анализ проблемного поля выявил два аналитических направления, первое отвечало традициям, заложенным Б. М. Фирсовым в начале 70-х гг., речь идет об исследовании отношения различных групп ленинградцев к важнейшим политическим событиям в стране. Второе направление имело историко-социологический характер — новая для нашего сектора область науки. Замысел был прост: поскольку в период НЭПа и в дореволюционной России активно развивались многочисленные формы кооперации, представлялось интересным определить, кем и как они изучались, что было обнаружено. Работа была непростая и кропотливая, и Ольга Бурмыкина легко входила в нее. Иногда мы встречались в Публичной библиотеке, я учил ее пользоваться каталогом, смело обращаться к библиографам, работать в журнальном зале. Диссертационное исследование «Становление кооперации и отношение к ней. Методолого-методические проблемы и опыт социологического исследования» было успешно защищено в 1992 г., тогда мы уже работали в СПб отделении Института социологии РАН.

Так случилось, что, к сожалению, я не присутствовал на защите, но Оля с честью справилась с этим непростым испытанием. Не помню, был ли Игорь Иванович Травин, ученый со своим пониманием социологии и глубокими знаниями истории России, ее оппонентом или ознакомился с результатами диссертации как член Совета по защитам, но мне он сказал много добрых слов об Олином исследовании.

Трудно сказать, к каким результатам Ольга пришла, продолжая историко-социологические поиски, но жизнь распорядилась по-своему. В начале 1994 г. я уехал в Америку, а в 1995 г. Фирсов возглавил созданный им Европейский университет в Санкт-Петербурге. Через некоторое время она перешла в сектор социологии семьи, гендерных и сексуальных отношений, которым тогда руководил Сергей Исаевич Голод (1935–2013), один из ведущих российских специалистов в этой исследовательской нише. Ольге пришлось осваивать большой пласт новых для нее теоретических и методологических положений, углубляться в историю научного направления, в котором работало не одно поколение российских ученых. В 2013 г. Голода не стало, сектор возглавил его ученик и последователь Александр Афанасьевич Клёцин (1952–2014), в 1999 г. защитивший кандидатскую диссертацию по истории социологии семьи с конца XIX в. до последнего десятилетия века XX. Возможно, в какой-то мере по его совету Н. Нечаевой и О. Бурмыкиной было проведено глубокое изучение теоретического наследия Голода, показана справедливость выявленных им трендов в динамике современной семьи (Нечаева, Бурмыкина 2020). Уверен, в достаточно представительной литературе об исследованиях С. И. Голода эта статья занимает достойное место.

Наталья Нечаева сообщила мне, что Ольга Бурмыкина была организатором двух круглых столов, на которых социологи из разных городов обсуждали наследие С. И. Голода. Названная выше статья была написана по итогам первого форума, который был приурочен к 85-летию ученого. 20 февраля этого года состоялся второй круглый стол «Вспоминая Сергея Исаевича Голода», материалы которого представлены российским социологам Бурмыкиной в ее последней публикации в журнале СОЦИС (Бурмыкина 2025). Этот обзор — свидетельство масштабного видения ею проблем социологии семьи и сексуального поведения и значения исследований Голода.

Возможности для научной работы не позволяли ей публиковаться часто, она писала мне об этом в июле 2019 г., но сейчас, изучив ряд ее статей, я понял, что все они были сделаны с «запасом», в каждой из них обнаруживается потенциал продолжения.

Борис Зусманович Докторов

Кончина Ольги Николаевны Бурмыкиной поразила своей внезапностью и преждевременностью. Профессор М. А. Клулт написал в ответ на мое сообщение: «Вот и еще одна жизнь, посвященная науке, прервалась». При некоторой пафосности этой фразы она содержит «правду жизни» Ольги Николаевны. Ее можно назвать «эталоном академического сотрудника»: она тщательно следила за научной литературой (отечественной и зарубежной), всегда помнила график работ СИ РАН, как правило, первой сдавала научно-организационный и научный отчеты. Все ее тексты были содержательны и научно обоснованы. Она была прекрасным рецензентом работ, поступающих в редакцию издания «Петербургская социология сегодня». Ольга Николаевна не только показывала достоинства и недостатки рукописи, но и подсказывала автору, какие источники надо бы привлечь. Умение схватывать суть представленной научной работы и оценить ее научную значимость помогали диссертационному совету при СИ РАН, в котором Ольга Николаевна была ученым секретарем. Неоценимой была ее помощь каждому соискателю в подготовке автореферата и документов к защите, а также для отправки в ВАК. Успешность этой работы определялась научной эрудицией, взвешенностью суждений и ответственностью, отличавших О. Н. Бурмыкину.

В последние годы Ольга Николаевна обрела, можно сказать, «второе творческое дыхание». Ее работы о взаимосвязи межпоколенного альтруизма, амбивалентности и конфликтности, особенностях современных родственных и неродственных контактов (с так называемыми «значимыми» членами семьи) внесли вклад в разработку теории семьи и межпоколенных отношений (Бурмыкина 2024). К этим работам наверняка будут обращаться современные и будущие исследователи.

Ирина Ильинична Елисеева

Источники

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IN MEMORIAM OLGA BURMYKINA (1959–2025)

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КАТАРИНА ВЯЧЕСЛАВОВНА ЛЯМЗИНА

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ПОТРЕБЛЕНИЕ ОДЕЖДЫ С ВТОРИЧНОГО РЫНКА: МОТИВАЦИЯ И ПРАКТИКИ РОССИЙСКОЙ МОЛОДЕЖИ

Аннотация. За последние годы мода на одежду с вторичного рынка стала мировым трендом, обусловленным экологическими соображениями, экономическим давлением и стремлением к индивидуальности. Несмотря на то что мотивации и практики потребителей вторичного рынка одежды активно исследуются в западном академическом поле, в современном российском контексте они остаются слабо изученными. Данное исследование посвящено анализу мотиваций и практик потребления одежды с вторичного рынка среди российской молодежи в возрасте от 18 до 35 лет. На основе 31 полуструктурированных интервью и полевых наблюдений, проведенных в основном в Санкт-Петербурге, с применением элементов рефлексивного тематического анализа (по Braun, Clarke 2006, 2019, 2021), были определены ключевые мотивационные силы: экономические и гедонистические, в соответствии с типологией Ferraro и др. (2016) и Machado и др. (2019). Результаты показывают, что главными факторами выступают экономическая доступность, удовольствие от поиска и стремление к уникальности, тогда как экологическая и этическая мотивация проявляется реже и в качестве второстепенной мотивации. Особое внимание уделяется влиянию социального окружения и культурной памяти на потребительские практики, а также амбивалентному отношению российской молодежи к быстрой моде и трендам. Работа встраивает российский контекст в глобальные дискуссии о моде, идентичности и потребительском сопротивлении, раскрывая, как местные социально-экономические и исторические условия формируют ценности потребления.

Ключевые слова: вторичный рынок одежды, мотивация, практики, российская молодежь, мода

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Introduction

In recent decades, issues related to conscious consumption have increasingly appeared in the media, becoming some of the most pressing topics on a global scale. Statistical data (Statista 2023) shows that between 2020 and 2023, the proportion of second-hand consumption in the global market rose from 4.8% to 6.1%, in the Russian market, it increased from 2.6% to 3.9%. Contemporary social processes occurring globally, such as shifts in consumer culture — encompassing behaviors and habits, the pursuit of uniqueness and individualism, awareness of the environmental impact of mass production, and concerns about ethical issues related to garment factory workers — directly shape people's practices and motivations in the context of clothing consumption. These dynamics are giving rise to new trends, which, thanks to social media, are spreading not only within individual countries but across the globe, for example, the LOVOS (Voluntary Simplicity) and LOHAS (Lifestyles of Health and Sustainability) movements encourage people to voluntarily reduce their consumption or income levels. Some of these movements even promote voluntary poverty, while also investing in better living, improved quality of life (including health aspects like organic food and eco-products), and self-sufficient households (Niinimäki 2017). One such trend is the growing popularity of secondary market clothing consumption, which has gained particular traction among the youth demographic, particularly individuals aged 18 to 35, in various parts of the world (Knežević et al. 2016; Sepe et al. 2024; Machado et al. 2019). When we think of the secondary market, the first thing that comes to mind is often flea markets. However, in reality, the secondary clothing market now covers a much wider range of forms of consumption and sales — from traditional stores to fully developed online platforms, social media accounts and various garage sales.

The reasons behind the popularity of second-hand goods are diverse and linked to various phenomena currently unfolding in society. On the one hand, there are economic motives, such as the accessibility and low cost of clothing, which are becoming increasingly important to young people, especially in times of economic instability.

On the other hand, the secondary clothing market has become an important and convenient avenue for those who enjoy self-expression through fashion and wearing unique items that are “different from everyone else.” Many young people are drawn to authenticity and personal positioning through their clothing, often finding these qualities in vintage and second-hand pieces. And it is also important to note the growing interest in ecological issues and mindful consumption, which is reflected in a changing attitude toward clothing as a resource that can be reused rather than discarded. According to the United Nations (2019), the clothing industry accounts for 10 percent of global carbon emissions and results in £500 billion of lost value annually due to clothes not being recycled or underutilized (Corbett et al. 2020). Against this backdrop, trends such as clothing upcycling, various sewing techniques like patchwork, and the repurposing of old garments into new, modern styles are gaining popularity. Another possible reason for the rise in second-hand clothing is the trend of nostalgia for the past, with vintage pieces being directly associated with bygone eras due to their styles, materials, and appearance (Khair et al. 2022).

But the majority of the above motivations, practices, and research mentioned on this topic have been studied and are relevant to Westerners based on their historical context and agenda, so the purpose of this study is to study the motivation and consumer practices related to the secondary clothing market, specifically for Russian youth. Special attention will be paid to the study of how various social, economic, cultural and environmental factors in Russia influence the choice of young people nowadays, as well as how these practices contribute to the formation of their identity and consumer values. The study will not only consider the factors determining motivation to purchase clothes on the secondary market, but also analyze the specific practices and preferences of Russian youth in the context of global and local trends in clothing consumption — store selection, strategies for choosing clothes and stores, further actions with clothes (mending, custom, do nothing), frequency of shopping, etc. The focus will be on offline ways of consuming clothes in the secondary market, such as second-hand shops, vintage shops and garage sales. The aim of the project is to correspond to trends in Western culture or whether there will be differences.

Thus, the main research questions will be as follows:

1. What motivates Russian youth to purchase clothes from the secondary market?
2. What practices do Russian youth employ when consuming clothes from the secondary market?
3. How are the practices and motivations of Russia in secondary clothing consumption perceived as unique or similar to those of Western countries?

Literature Review

In recent decades, both professional observers and casual onlookers have noted emerging trends in the consumption of clothing and wardrobe items. Consumer behavior, as well as habits, are undergoing significant transformations. One of the most notable developments is the rise in popularity of secondary markets, including vintage stores, second-hand shops, consignment stores, garage sales, and swaps — in online and offline areas. The large international second-hand platform Thredup predicts based on the number of users on the platform and their time on the site, as well as purchases made that by 2027, sales of second-hand clothing will surpass those of new clothing by three times, reaching \$350 billion (Benissan 2023; Thredup 2019).

While many people may be uncomfortable with the label of the secondary market due to its negative associations with impoverished individuals selling their belongings out of financial necessity, this trend encompasses a wide range of social groups, including youth. The youth is increasingly focused on conscious consumption, social responsibility regarding environmental issues, and protecting nature from the emissions of the garment manufacturing industry. Concerns over ethical standards are also prominent, as many garment factories are located in underdeveloped countries, where exploitative labor conditions often prevail. Furthermore, the desire for self-expression and identity through external appearance, including clothing, footwear, and accessories, plays a significant role.

This literature review will provide research on the motivation and practices of secondary clothing consumption, the typology of consumers of the secondary clothing market, the role of mass media and other spheres in shaping attitudes towards secondary clothing will also be considered. But first of all, we need to separate some terms among ourselves in order to clearly understand the motives and practices associated with them. Since there is a practice where second-hand clothes in a broad sense mean any clothes from the secondary market, however, there is a smaller division into vintage, clothes from a second-hand store, a commercial store and clothes from a garage sale. That is, second-hand clothing acts as a broad term for any type of clothing to be worn again, as well as a narrower term for clothing. Thus, in this study, vintage clothing will refer to items of clothing and wardrobe (such as shoes and accessories) from past eras, produced using outdated technologies, styles, colors, materials, patterns, and so on, aged at least 25–30 years, but not older than 60–80 years, and characterized by pronounced fashionable trends of the past decades (Razmakhnina 2023;

Veenstra et al. 2013). Items from vintage stores have a high price, since the items presented are rare, possibly from the archives of famous brands and of good quality (for example, restored), the furnishings of the halls and showcases are tastefully selected and imbued with the atmosphere of “expensive and elite” antiquity (Razmakhnina 2023; Corbett et al. 2020; Veenstra et al. 2013). In this case, in a narrow sense, second-hand clothing will be understood as any clothing that previously belonged to the owner and is sold in second-hand stores, thrift stores or garage sales, since these clothes are no longer needed, but they are still in good and marketable condition. These are often ordinary, non-unique clothes, they are less than 10 years old, that is, they are quite modern, unlike vintage ones. The price of these clothes is low, lower than for those that are presented in regular stores. At garage sales or swaps, clothes may be new, with tags, and bought, for example, impulsively, which is why they were not worn and decided to resell them at the same price at which they were bought, or slightly lower (Niinimäki 2011; Corbett et al. 2020), but these are the same modern clothes, possibly from local brands.

Motivation for Consuming Secondary Market's Clothing

The contemporary fashion market is undergoing significant changes, driven by a growing interest in sustainable consumption and the purchase of secondary clothing. This trend not only reflects a desire for economic savings but also an inclination to embrace new social and environmental ideals, particularly among younger generations (Niinimäki 2017; Allwood et al. 2006; Fletcher 2012). But first, why is clothing important in general?

The Role of Clothing in the Social Construction of Identity

Clothing in general has always served as a powerful means of self-expression, protest, and affirmation of personal values. Both in their specific elements, such as color, fabric texture, silhouette and shape, and as a complete ensemble, clothing functions as a stage, which Goffman wrote about in his works (Goffman 1956), where people communicate their beliefs, status and identity (Aladjalova 2024). This is more than just an external coating, it becomes an extension of the owner's personality, often merging with his personality (Sampson 2018). Consciously or unconsciously, people use clothes as a means of self-expression in public, shaping their image and simultaneously assessing how others perceive it (Entwistle 2019).

This interplay between personal and public identity (Cheshmehzangi 2012) highlights the need to distinguish between the two types of statements made through clothing. On a personal level, clothing can serve as an act of

resistance to traditionally accepted norms, whether it's family expectations or past individual choices. In a broader sense, it can be a reaction to social events and cultural shifts, forming part of a collective statement. While personal protest through clothing can only be understood by a narrow circle of acquaintances, public protest relies on widely recognizable symbols and associations. A striking example is the widespread use of the symbol of peace or Pacific sign in fashion during periods of global conflict. In addition, as noted in the McRobbie study, which is referenced by Bennett's work (1999), women have historically used clothing, style, and fashion as a means of expressing resistance and social positioning more actively than men. These include the white robes of the suffragettes, the infusion of trousers into the women's wardrobe, and much more.

Using a wide range of historical and contemporary materials Crane (2000) also emphasizes that clothing, as the most prominent form of consumption, plays a key role in shaping a person's social identity. She compared the societies of the United States of America at the end of the 20th century, where lifestyle, gender, sexual orientation, age and ethnicity are more important to people when designing their wardrobe, with France in the 19th century, where social class was the most prominent aspect of social identity. In addition, she expanded her comparison by using the voices of college and middle-aged women who participated in focus groups to assess the impact of fashion on women. This is especially evident in youth culture, where the secondary clothing market serves as a tool for self-expression and creating a special personal style unlike anyone else's. Unlike the main fashion trends that help attract mass attention, buying clothes from the second-hand segment, which, as we discussed earlier, includes vintage, garage sales, and second-hand in a narrow sense, allows people to create a unique aesthetic that goes beyond modern fashion norms. In this sense, choosing to wear vintage or used clothing is not just a practical or economic decision; it is a conscious act of cultural and social self determination (Veenstra et al. 2013).

In addition to personal style, the consumption of secondary clothes promotes the development of social connections and a sense of belonging to certain cultural groups and subcultures. Many young people are attracted to vintage and second-hand fashion not only because of its individuality, but also because it means belonging to communities that value authenticity and identity (Vannini et al. 2008). Thus, second-hand fashion goes beyond economic expediency or the pursuit of unique items — it becomes an integral part of the formation of social identity and the definition of cultural affiliation in an ever-changing social landscape (Veenstra et al. 2013).

Economic motivation

The consumption of secondary clothing is a complex process driven by various interwoven motivations. According to research by Ferraro (et al. 2016) and Machado (et al. 2019), these motivations can be categorized into three main types: economic, critical, and hedonistic (recreational). Among these, economic motivation plays a particularly significant role, especially for young people with limited financial resources and in countries with unstable economies. The secondary market not only enables individuals to fulfill their basic clothing needs at a lower cost but also transforms the act of shopping into a source of enjoyment. The so-called “treasure hunting” phenomenon turns the search for high-quality clothing at an affordable price into a game-like experience, where the thrill of securing a good deal can be as gratifying as the purchase itself (Fletcher 2012; Cervellon et al. 2012).

However, economic benefits are not always the sole driving force for secondary market consumption. In the case of selective vintage stores that offer pre-owned yet branded garments or pieces from archival collections, the price of such items can be comparable to, or even exceed, that of new clothing. In these instances, consumers are motivated not only by financial considerations but also by the perceived investment value of rare pieces and their cultural and status significance within the fashion industry.

Critical motivation

Critical motivation is rooted in the conscious rejection of traditional retail chains, concerns about environmental sustainability, and opposition to exploitative labor practices in the garment industry (Ferraro et al. 2016; Machado et al. 2019). As awareness of the detrimental effects of fast fashion grows, ethically and environmentally conscious consumers increasingly turn to second-hand clothing as a means of resisting mass production and overconsumption. This resistance often extends beyond individual purchasing decisions to supporting charity shops that fund ecological and social initiatives, including the upcycling of discarded materials into new designs. A notable example is the repurposing of advertising banners into functional accessories such as tote bags, wallets, and keychains. In this context, second-hand shopping is not merely an economic choice but a deliberate statement on sustainability and labor ethics, contributing to waste reduction and responsible consumption (Cervellon et al. 2012).

Beyond its ethical implications, the secondary clothing market serves as a means of mitigating environmental impact. Research highlights that fashion consumption extends beyond the act of purchasing to include decisions

regarding disposal and recycling, which are now central to sustainable consumer behavior (Salomon et al. 2004). The fashion industry, however, thrives on a cycle of overproduction, fueling excessive consumption despite its environmental consequences, including textile waste and exploitative labor conditions. In response, a growing number of consumers — particularly in Western countries — are seeking sustainable alternatives, with the second-hand market emerging as a viable option: “This increase indicates the imbalance and unsustainability of the fashion system” (Allwood et al. 2006).

Ethical considerations have thus become a significant factor in second-hand clothing consumption. Ethical fashion choices are often framed as “making more environmentally-conscious decisions when purchasing, using, or disposing of garments” (Bennett 1999). However, despite increasing awareness, a gap remains between ethical intentions and actual purchasing behavior, as economic constraints and social influences — particularly those reinforced by social media — continue to shape consumer choices (Bennett 1999).

A crucial yet often overlooked aspect of critical motivation is the role of personal norms in shaping sustainable consumption habits. Moral considerations significantly influence attitudes toward environmentally responsible fashion, particularly among younger generations who are becoming increasingly conscious of the long-term consequences of mass clothing production. A sense of obligation to minimize environmental harm frequently serves as a key motivator for purchasing second-hand clothing. As one study notes, “Moral obligation related to reducing harm to nature is often an important motivator for purchasing second-hand clothing, and awareness of the consequences of fast fashion encourages a shift toward more sustainable forms of consumption” (Knežević et al. 2016). These internalized ethical values play a decisive role in consumer behavior, driving individuals to align their purchasing decisions with sustainability principles and actively contribute to reducing their ecological footprint.

But still, despite the growing awareness, only a small part of young consumers are ready to completely, rather than partially, change their buying habits in favor of ethical consumption, as well as, even purchasing brand — new clothes, to think about their future and reduce the process of singularisation — wearing clothes (Corbett et al. 2020; Kopytoff 1986) in favor of so that she can serve longer and have a clean biography. For example, according to an online survey in 2019, consumers were five times more likely to buy something with the future of clothing in mind than in 2014 (Thredup 2019).

However, to claim that consuming secondary clothing is the ideal solution to combat fast fashion and the depletion of the planet's resources would be a mistake. This is because, in any case, there remains a large number of unsold items, and sooner or later, the employees and owners of vintage stores and second-hand shops will face the question, "What should be done with the leftovers?" Accordingly, even though the resources used in their production were expended long ago, additional resources will still be required for their disposal and/or recycling.

Hedonistic or recreational motivation

Fashion consumption in general extends beyond mere functionality, often serving as a source of emotional gratification, self-expression, and cultural engagement. Among young consumers, hedonistic or recreational motivation plays a particularly prominent role, as it is driven by the sensory and aesthetic pleasure derived from clothing. This motivation is closely linked to the thrill of discovery — the experience of seeking out unique, rare, or historically significant pieces within the secondary market as it was mentioned shortly before (Kirgiz 2014). Unlike mainstream retail, which offers mass-produced trends, the secondary market allows for a highly personalized shopping experience, enabling individuals to curate a wardrobe that reflects their distinct identity and creativity.

Closely related to hedonistic motivation is the role of fashion as a medium for self-expression. Clothing choices often serve as a form of visual communication, signaling personal values, cultural awareness, and aesthetic preferences. This is especially evident in the appeal of branded vintage items, which retain their value even when showing signs of wear. For example, a 1954 Chanel jacket remains a coveted collector's piece due to its association with refined taste and high-quality craftsmanship (Broun 2022). The symbolic power of such items allows wearers to project sophistication and an appreciation for fashion heritage. For young consumers, acquiring secondary clothing is not merely a practical decision but a culturally meaningful act — a way to define their style, showcase their knowledge of fashion history, and participate in a broader aesthetic discourse. Studies show that vintage clothing buyers often have higher levels of education and income (Broun 2022; Veenstra et al. 2013), indicating a more conscious approach to clothing selection. For such consumers, not only economic factors matter, but also the uniqueness of items, as well as their historical or cultural significance, setting their motivation apart from the more utilitarian approaches of conventional fashion consumption.

Another key factor determining the secondary consumption of fashionable clothes is the growing trend towards nostalgia. Vintage clothing provides a tangible connection to the past, allowing people to recreate the aesthetics of past decades. Social media has played a key role in reinforcing this phenomenon, thanks to recurring trends inspired by the 2000s (Y2K), grunge of the 90s, and even earlier fashion trends, such as the 1920s and 1950s, which are seen as symbols of stability and harmony in Western society (Corbett et al. 2020). Nostalgic purchases allow consumers to immerse themselves in the atmosphere of past eras again and at the same time stand out against the background of major fashion trends, as well as due to social instability and the disintegration of traditional structures, young people seek to compensate for the feeling of “alienation” by turning to idealized eras, which is clearly reflected in consumer preferences (Cervellon et al. 2012; Veenstra et al. 2013; Ferraro et al. 2016).

The emotional dimension of second-hand shopping is further reinforced by the concept of “treasure hunting”, where the act of searching for and acquiring distinctive pieces becomes an exhilarating experience in itself (Fletcher 2012; Cervellon et al. 2012). This pursuit often evokes a mix of emotions — excitement, curiosity, and sentimentality — particularly when the clothing carries a sense of history. However, research also highlights that emotions tied to second-hand fashion can be both positive and negative, as some consumers may feel discomfort regarding the previous ownership of garments, which can influence their future purchasing behaviors (Hopkinson et al. 1999).

Ultimately, second-hand fashion consumption is a multidimensional practice shaped by hedonistic motivation, self-expression, and nostalgia. It offers a unique alternative to conventional shopping by blending aesthetic pleasure, cultural engagement, and the pursuit of individuality. Whether motivated by the joy of discovering rare fashion artifacts, the desire to craft a distinctive personal style, or a longing to reconnect with past eras, young consumers continue to embrace the secondary market as a space that transcends mere material acquisition, transforming fashion into a deeply personal and emotionally enriching experience.

Consumers of secondary market's clothing

Fashion consumption has been examined through various theoretical lenses. However, it has not developed into a cohesive field of study, as researchers investigating this subject come from diverse disciplinary backgrounds (Crane et al. 2006).

In the article “Vintage as a Form of Boundary Setting, Resistance, and Protest” (Aladjalova 2024), the wearing of secondary clothing (whether as individual items or complete outfits) and vintage is framed not only as a reaction against fast fashion, viral trends fueled by social media, and the movement toward conscious consumption, but also as a means of personal resistance to various contemporary phenomena. These motivations for choosing second-hand fashion go beyond the desire for sustainability or rejecting mass-produced trends; they reflect deeper, more personal forms of protest. For the wearer, such choices become a way to challenge societal norms, rebel against familial expectations and traditions, and assert one’s stance within the ongoing socio-cultural discourse. The act of consuming second-hand fashion thus transcends mere style, becoming a statement of individuality, identity, and resistance to broader cultural pressures. Based on cases from the blogosphere representing representatives from Western European countries, the autoethnographic nature and experience of the Moscow and Saint-Petersburg secondary scene, as well as cases of unintentional transgression (Aladjalova 2024), which in this case is interpreted as a tool for violating social rules (Guryanova 2023), it was possible to more or less assemble a typology of consumers of clothing and vintage aftermarket goods, who represent a diverse group driven by various motives that can be divided into several groups, including:

- Vintage enthusiasts;
- “Heirs,” who preserve the memory of deceased relatives through a few of their household items and clothing (Woodworth 2022);
- Fans of alternative fashion and bold costumes, advocating for individuality, or simply “Alternative consumers” (Gurova 2011);
- Professional collectors (referred to in the article as a profile of vintage enthusiasts, but not considered as actual users of clothing, and therefore will not be included in the study);
- Collector-users, who are characterized by a deep affection for a specific historical period of lifestyle and costume, collecting garments and items from that particular time or several periods and incorporating them into their daily lives (DeLong et al. 2005; Bishop 2019).

It is precisely the latter group — collector-users — who are the most deeply immersed in the topic of vintage clothing, its historical significance, and the true meaning often hidden from the general public and other categories of second-hand clothing enthusiasts mentioned above. Collector-users are better equipped than others to understand the historical and other meanings that can be uncovered by those around them in the selected garments. In comparison, the so-called “Heir” group may have no understanding of the historical

or symbolic significance of a coat inherited from their late grandmother, seeing it only as a sentimental connection to a loved one, a significant part of childhood memories, or a key element of family history or internal family conversations. Therefore, wearing this garment will carry an entirely different meaning within the same context of protest.

Regarding fans of alternative fashion and bold costumes, who champion individuality, referred to as “alternative consumers” by Gurova in her work (2011), they are characterized by the following traits:

“They derive particular pleasure from purchasing and wearing unique items, whether second-hand or vintage, or even modern pieces, as long as they are one-of-a-kind or nearly so, and ‘not like everyone else’s.’ In this case, their protest is directed against mainstream fashion and viral trends that garner massive views and likes on social media, yet also change rapidly.”

Alternative consumers can also often be associated with various eco-activists, animal rights defenders, and people who actively oppose the harsh working conditions in garment factories. They prefer second-hand clothing to draw public attention to the issues of overproduction, resource depletion, excess waste, and the damage associated with fast fashion.

This can be related to the theory of the “Tiger Leap,” formulated by Walter Benjamin (2006), according to which fashion, by its very nature, seeks out and brings to the surface the most pressing issues from the past to make them visible in the present. In other words, fashion has an instinctive ability to identify what is considered relevant and what will remain pertinent in the present (Benjamin 2006). For instance, in the article (Aladjalova 2024), the peace sign is discussed as it gained renewed interest in items bearing its image during the turbulent events of 2022 in the Russian fashion community. Various publications revisited the history of the symbol’s creation and examined its presence in new collections by designers as a form of call for peace, becoming loud public statements on both local and global stages through clothing. Of course, consumer interest in this symbol, due to the lack of direct contact and clarification of motivation, cannot be interpreted as a straightforward public protest through clothing. In this case, we move on to another important point: namely, the distinction between conscious and unconscious protest. A protest through clothing can be perceived as either conscious or unconscious, yet it remains a form of protest.

When discussing vintage clothing as a symbol of resistance within a personal circle, it is important to emphasize that it can serve as a tool for asserting one’s interests and boundaries, both among family members and for more abstract concepts, such as protest against death. This is manifested

in wearing items that once belonged to deceased individuals, such as close relatives or friends — a mother's dress, a friend's jacket, a grandfather's tie, and so on. This phenomenon can be linked to the experience of the physicality of clothing, where it retains all the creases, wear, and stains that reflect the life and activities of its previous owner, thus carrying not just the meaning of a garment, but an entire life story, a personal journey.

Such individuals can still be classified as alternative consumers — for them, it is not the prominent brand name or the novelty of an item that matters, but its history, as mentioned earlier. This category of people may purchase second-hand clothing and later customize it, re-tailoring it and thus giving new life to old garments. Ethics, sustainability, and individuality will be their priorities. However, there are exceptions, namely those who purchase vintage clothing in line with trending movements on social media and accumulate it, thereby becoming alternative consumers. These individuals, much like fast fashion buyers, search for and find justifications for continuous new purchases.

The Role of Media and Social Environment in Secondary Clothing Consumption

As mentioned earlier, the media and the social environment play a crucial role in shaping the consumer habits of young people. A study by Salomon and Rabolt (2004) shows that more than 60% of respondents recognize the role of the media in shaping their consumer preferences, while social circles also have a significant impact. In particular, “mass media (Internet and television) have the greatest influence on teenagers' purchasing decisions”, while “49% of respondents claim that friends influence their purchasing decisions, and family influences 43% of respondents” (Salomon et al. 2004). This demonstrates the complex interplay between digital media, peer influence, and familial traditions in the formation of youth consumer habits, including secondhand clothing consumption. In his research on attitudes towards environmentally friendly food production and ethical issues, Niinimäki confirmed that adolescents and young adults actively rely on the opinions of family and friends when choosing clothes, as well as drawing inspiration from digital and traditional media sources such as social networks and television (Niinimäki 2017). To do this, he used data collected in Finland in 2010 using the “snowball” method, where 70% were women, the respondents were highly educated (50% had a master's degree), and 50% had incomes above 2,500 euros. These media platforms significantly influence purchasing decisions within this demographic, emphasizing their role in shaping motivations for secondhand clothing consumption. For

Russian youth, the influence of the older generation can form a negative opinion and prejudice about the secondary market, based on the harsh 90s, shortages in many areas, including good clothes.

However, this reliance on mainstream media for fashion trends seems to contradict the growing cultural movement against fast fashion, as well as the desire for uniqueness and authenticity. On the one hand, the rejection of mass production in favor of sustainable, second-hand fashion corresponds to protest culture and ethical consumerism. On the other hand, social networks and digital platforms, while promoting the ideas of sustainable development, also contribute to the spread of trends that can lead to homogenization. This paradox is often resolved by rethinking the main trends within the framework of individual self-expression and self-reflection. Young consumers overcome this contradiction by selectively responding to trends, adding used or vintage items to their wardrobe and at the same time participating in broader fashion movements. Thus, instead of a direct confrontation between mass media-oriented consumption and the rejection of fast fashion, the consumer behavior of modern youth reflects a dynamic dialogue between cultural resistance, personal style and the pervasive influence of digital media.

Practicing with clothes

The conversation about the practices related to buying clothes in this work is not limited only to the frequency of purchases, store selection, strategies for choosing and searching for clothes, as mentioned earlier, but also includes further actions with clothes — changing them, customization, classic and creative mending. The practice of clothing mending in general plays an important role in the principles of sustainable consumption, affecting the treatment of clothing from the secondary market. For young people who have recently been actively involved in the purchase of second-hand and vintage items, mending can be not only a utilitarian necessity, for example, to sew a thing or hem it in length, but also a significant cultural and value practice. First of all, this practice allows you to extend the life cycle of clothes, adapt things to individual needs, but at the same time expresses the broader idea of responsible attitude to things and rejection of the culture of overconsumption and fast fashion (Gill et al. 2016). But, traditional and outdated perceptions associate mended clothing with low socioeconomic status in the same way as secondary clothing consumption (McLaren et al. 2015).

Looking at it in more detail, clothing mending performs a pragmatic function. Young consumers, especially those on a tight budget, see it as a way to save money and avoid the additional costs associated with purchasing new clothes in the mass market. On the other hand, renovation acquires

symbolic and ethical significance which is associated with care, attention to material objects, as well as criticism of mass production and fast fashion, which is gaining momentum every year. Thus, an opinion is being formed about repairs as an element of sustainable and meaningful consumption, but still very costly in additional resources — the most frequently mentioned obstacles to repair are financial costs, as well as a lack of time and skills (McLaren et al. 2015). For example, 254 people in the US participated in one study, of which 55% of US participants never or rarely repaired their clothes (Diddi et al. 2019).

Renovation also helps to rethink the relationship between a person and clothes. The process of repairing or mending clothes makes them unique, gives them a personal story, and turns them into a means of self-expression. This is especially true for representatives of the younger generation, who seek to personalize their appearance and distance themselves from mass fashion trends that are widely broadcast on social networks and media. In this context, repairs become part of a broader aesthetic strategy — a way to set a new visual code through the practices of customization, upsetting, and visible mending, emphasizing that the thing has already lived a life. In Western countries, such practices are widespread and institutionalized. For example, in Europe and North America, there are communities and initiatives aimed at developing a culture of repair through workshops, such as Repair Café, Fashion Revolution (McLaren et al. 2015), as well as numerous online platforms that teach self-repair skills. The practice of visible mending is especially popular, in which patches, decorative seams and other repair marks are not hidden, not zeroed out, but, on the contrary, become part of a fancy design. For Western youth, renovation is increasingly perceived as a form of creative activism, a way to assert their ecological and aesthetic position in choosing clothes.

Considering the motivations for applying to the practice of clothing mending, four main groups can be distinguished:

- Economic — the desire to reduce the cost of new, cheaper quality clothing.
- Ecological — the desire to reduce the negative impact on the environment and reduce the amount of textile waste.
- Emotional — the desire to preserve a thing associated with memories or personal value (it is interesting to observe that it is precisely such things with which there is a strong emotional connection that people most often work in the framework of clothing repair workshops (McLaren et al. 2015).
- Creative — an interest in creating a unique wardrobe and expressing an individual style through clothes that speak for themselves.

There is also a noticeable predominance of women and the older generation in this field, who had labor lessons in the school curriculum, where girls classically study sewing and boys carpentry. This was a survey of 1124 Norwegian people in 2011 and 1001 Norwegian people in 2017 (Laitala et al. 2018).

Thus, the practice of mending clothes is an integral part of the modern culture of repeated consumption. Now it combines elements of rationality, concern for the environment, aesthetic experiment and social criticism. In the context of studying the motivations and everyday practices of young Russian consumers of clothing from the secondary market, clothing mending can be studied as an ongoing practice — is there one in general? Do Russian youth have skills or interest in these practices?

The category of secondary market consumers also remains interesting, which, on the one hand, with increasing awareness of the environmental harm of fast fashion and concern about ethical issues, does not completely change its consumer behavior, but does it only partially. Why are they doing this? What explanation do they choose for themselves? Are they an actual consumer category for the Russian secondary clothing market? These questions have not yet been answered. And this is something that has yet to be explored in this topic.

Methodology

This research adopts a qualitative approach, chosen based on the belief that quantitative methods cannot fully capture the complex thoughts, opinions, and emotional experiences of the respondents, which are of primary importance for an in-depth analysis of the posed questions.

The subsequent sections will provide a detailed description of the research methodology, including sample selection and data collection processes, the data analysis approach, and the results obtained from the analysis. These components will provide a comprehensive understanding of the social dynamics related to secondary market clothing consumption.

Sample and Data

The primary criteria for respondent selection included age and recent engagement with the secondary clothing market — specifically, individuals who had made purchases and/or visited such markets within the last two years or earlier. Biological sex was considered a secondary, yet significant, selection criterion. In order to ensure a balanced representation of perspectives, I aimed to recruit an equal number of male and female

participants. Additional contextual variables, such as primary occupation (e.g., student, employed) and place of birth and current residence, were also taken into account. These factors provided insights into respondents' financial circumstances and potential geographical influences on their perceptions of the second-hand clothing market.

The final sample consisted of young adults aged 18 to 35, including both male and female participants. The majority were university students enrolled in various academic programs and years of study, complemented by several participants who were freelancers or early-career professionals across diverse fields. In total, 31 individuals participated in this study: 3 of them were employees (2 male, 1 female), and 30 were consumers (12 male, 18 female). Notably, 2 male respondents from the employee category also reported purchasing and wearing second-hand clothing. The average interview duration was approximately 44 minutes, with recordings ranging from 19 to 93 minutes. The total volume of audio material collected amounted to 1,351 minutes (approximately 22 hours and 30 minutes). Despite efforts to maintain gender balance, a slight disparity remained in the final sample. This limitation is discussed in detail in the relevant section.

To recruit participants, I employed the snowball sampling method. Initially, I contacted a small number of individuals who met the core selection criteria — specifically age — and demonstrated an interest in second-hand fashion and personal clothing choices. These initial participants were invited to take part in the study and were subsequently asked to share an informational message about the study [Appendix 3. Recruitment Message] with peers who might also be interested in participating. This referral process continued iteratively, allowing the sample to expand organically through participants' social networks.

Throughout the recruitment and data collection process, ethical considerations regarding confidentiality and anonymity were emphasized. Participants were provided with detailed information about the study and learned informed consent forms prior to participation [Appendix 2. Informed Consent]. They were assured that all personal data would remain confidential, and their responses would be anonymized and analyzed in aggregate form. All data were securely stored and permanently deleted upon completion of the analysis.

The use of snowball sampling facilitated access to a diverse range of respondents from various social and professional networks, thereby contributing to a more heterogeneous and representative sample [Table 1. Respondent Profiles].

Table 1

Respondent profiles

№	Age	Gender	Type of activity	Characteristics
1	22	female	4th year student of bachelor	Moved to St. Petersburg to study, combines her studies and part-time work, and dances; as a consumer is an attentive and discerning customer who appreciates quality and uniqueness in clothes. Prefers unusual things that set her apart from the crowd. Her purchases are rare but deliberate; carefully selecting each item to meet my high requirements. She's interested in trends, but adapts them to suit herself, creating an authentic style. Every purchase is special to her
2	23	female	2nd year student of master degree program	Studies and combines ux, design & texts with work, is a researcher at the laboratory, moved to St. Petersburg to study; as consumer is she can't call herself a hoarder, she tries to buy things depending on the need and sell them as well, she follows trends for general development, she subscribes to a bunch of tv channels dedicated to this, but she doesn't consider herself a big consumer of trends, there is filtering
3	22	female	5th year student of bachelor	Doesn't work, came to St. Petersburg from the region for study; as a consumer exhibits impulsive consumption behavior, often making spontaneous purchases driven by emotional states rather than deliberate planning. Shopping serves as a form of emotional relief and a temporary mood enhancer, frequently followed by feelings of guilt. This pattern suggests signs of dependency, as the individual continues to engage in repeated buying despite recognizing the excess and potential financial constraints

Table 1 (continued)

№	Age	Gender	Type of activity	Characteristics
4	28	female	works as a freelancer	Graduated from university, works as a freelancer, is a creative person, is in a relationship, was born in St. Petersburg, but left to live in another country, returned back not so long ago; as a consumer doesn't follow trends, but sometimes you are influenced by them. When choosing clothes, focus on inner response and practicality, preferring high-quality items that will last a long time and are not tied to fashion. Impulsive purchases are rare; before buying, one always weighs the need for things and doubts can stop even at a low price
5	31	male	works in a store	Came to St. Petersburg from the ural region, works in a store, is a creative person, in a relationship; as a consumer demonstrates a largely rational approach to consumption, characterized by deliberate and infrequent purchases. He shows a particular interest in the background of second-hand items, often inquiring about their origin, brand history, or previous ownership. For him, clothing holds not only functional or aesthetic value but also narrative significance, which contributes to his preference for unique, storied pieces over mass-market products
6	23	female	works a full time	Works full time, has completed her studies in university, and is originally from St. Petersburg; as a consumer is a conscious shopper who used to make impulsive purchases influenced by trends on social media and mass-market collections. Now more selective, they assess the necessity and future relevance of each item. She prefer versatile, long-lasting styles and avoid repetitive or short-lived fashion pieces

Table 1 (continued)

№	Age	Gender	Type of activity	Characteristics
7	23	female	works a full time	Moved to St. Petersburg from the Far Eastern region, works as a personal trainer and in a company, is married, graduated from her studies in university; as a consumer is a practical shopper with a capsule wardrobe, where items can be worn for 5 years or more. She values quality over fashion and chooses pieces that pair well with each other. She doesn't have a lot of identical items — everything is practical and functional. Impulsive purchases happen, but i always think about how she will use a new item in the future. She doesn't follow trends and prefer to avoid their influence, which allows me to stay true to my style
8	24	female	works a full time	Graduated, works, was born and lives in St. Petersburg, creative; as a consumer follows trends, but does not always succumb to them. Can buy an item, even if it's an anti-brand, if she likes it. She's mostly interested in both trending and unique items that set him apart from the crowd. Impulsive purchases are rare and more often involve inexpensive accessories or vintage items. She prefers to study the assortment before buying in order to find something special and untested, avoiding the mass market. It is important that things are of high quality and durable, so as not to be disappointed in the purchase after a year
9	21	male	1st year student of bachelor and works in a delivery company	Was born in St. Petersburg, works in delivery, is in a relationship, and lives abroad; as a consumer is a reserved and practical shopper who does not follow trends. Favoring simple yet stylish and vibrant designs. Comfortable and aesthetically pleasing clothing is essential, especially loose-fitting items due to their tall stature. He plans purchases in advance, particularly for shoes, as their size is non-standard. He usually buys clothes during trips to europe, primarily at uniqlo or second-hand stores. Price is not the main criterion; he is willing to pay more for high-quality items

Table 1 (continued)

№	Age	Gender	Type of activity	Characteristics
10	20	male	3rd year student of bachelor and full-time worker	Combines study and work, was born and lives in St. Petersburg; as a consumer he is who superficially follows trends and is focused on the practicality of items. He prefers to buy clothing that he will wear for at least three months a year and for at least two to three seasons. He always evaluates the price-quality ratio, so expensive items are not a priority for him. Purchases happen chaotically, based on mood, without prior planning; shopping often occurs with friends for advice and entertainment
11	30	female	housewife	Doesn't work, she's married, she moved to St. Petersburg from the north, and now most of the time live in Serbia; as a consumer is an informed and trend-sensitive buyer with an average income. She follows fashion trends through pinterest and influencers, and regularly analyzes her wardrobe for relevance. Prefers a combination of fashionable elements and basic items, gives priority to long-lasting purchases. She is not prone to compulsive consumption, but sometimes makes small impulsive purchases during a bad mood. It strives to stay on trend, but without completely imitating fast fashion
12	22	female	works full-time	Works full-time, has completed her studies in university, is originally from St. Petersburg, and is married; as consumer is when choosing things, he relies on the quality of materials, the condition of the thing and the possibilities for combining them with existing things — immediately thinks out in his head what can wear, can afford impulsive purchases if the price of the item does not exceed 350 rubles

Table 1 (continued)

№	Age	Gender	Type of activity	Characteristics
13	19	female	2nd year student of bachelor	Moved to St. Petersburg, doesn't work; as a consumer she takes a long time to choose her clothes to find the perfect option that fully matches her style. Often, such items are more expensive than she planned, and they are usually something unusual and impractical. When she is looking for something specific, she checks online stores and waits until she finds the ideal match. She avoids trends that quickly go out of fashion but is open to interesting details, such as accessories. Overall, she buys rarely and only if the item meets all her criteria: interest, compatibility with her wardrobe, price, and reflection of her style
14	19	female	2nd year student of bachelor	Was born in St. Petersburg, she is a student in the creative field, street photographer; as a consumer is a rational and experienced second-hand consumer. Having engaged in this practice for several years, she has developed a set of personal strategies and "life hacks" for navigating the secondary market efficiently — from identifying high-quality items to recognizing authentic vintage pieces. Her purchases are usually planned, guided by clear wardrobe needs, aesthetic preferences, and considerations of price and condition. This systematic approach reflects not only her familiarity with the market but also a conscious, informed attitude toward consumption

Table 1 (continued)

№	Age	Gender	Type of activity	Characteristics
15	26	female	2nd year student of master degree	Moved to St. Petersburg from Moscow, is studying for a master's degree, and works as an anthropologist in a research laboratory; despite the lack of active trend tracking, intuitively chooses things that correspond to modern fashion trends. The most important thing is the quality of the fabric and the durability of the clothes — prefers things that will not wear out quickly. Sometimes makes impulsive purchases, and in recent years rarely feels regret about purchases, especially in second-hand stores
16	21	male	4th year student of bachelor	In his final year of university, moved to St. Petersburg from the region, doesn't work; as a consumer doesn't follow trends, but notices them. Sometimes he feels the urge to buy something he has seen on social networks before it becomes popular in Russia. When choosing clothes, it focuses on practicality and cost per wear period. Impulsive purchases are rare, mostly in second-hand stores, where it is difficult to predict the result
17	21	male	4th year student of bachelor	Originally from Tyumen; as a consumer, tries to be rational, not to take too much and give in to the logic of the purchase, but if there is something that he really liked, then that's it
18	22	female	4th year student of bachelor	Was born in the Perm region and moved to St. Petersburg as a teenager. She combines her studies with work as a data analyst; as a consumer, she tries to be more practical than trend-oriented. But she's very greedy for all sorts of discounts, so it happens that she impulsively makes a purchase simply because it's cheap

Table 1 (continued)

№	Age	Gender	Type of activity	Characteristics
19	21	female	4th year student of bachelor	Originally from the Leningrad region, combining studies in university and work; as a consumer she buys clothing based on her mood and the season, sometimes impulsively, but has become more selective. Now she thinks about how a new item will fit with her wardrobe and how she will feel in it. She pays attention to the color palette, choosing suitable shades. She doesn't follow trends but is inspired by the style of others. She aims for quality and functional purchases to avoid unnecessary items
20	23	female	5th year student of bachelor	An activist in student organizations, combines work in a research laboratory and studies, moved to St. Petersburg from the region; as a consumer doesn't follow trends, but sometimes it is influenced by Instagram* and Pinterest. She buys clothes out of necessity and rarely makes impulsive purchases. She usually goes shopping with a specific purpose, although sometimes she leaves with several things that are also needed, but are not a priority. In general, she does not often shop for clothes due to lack of time
21	21	female	4th year student of bachelor	Combines part-time work in a research team and final year studies, originally from Moscow, but moved to St. Petersburg in early childhood, sometimes living in Istanbul; a pragmatic consumer, does not chase trends, prefers to purchase things as needed. If something is really needed and causes joy, then she will buy it. In the past, she often impulsively spent money on discounts and unnecessary items, but now she is trying to reduce consumption and get rid of excess, does not follow trends, as believes that many of them have no soul and are not suitable for everyone. However, it is interesting to observe popular trends on social network, can buy something trendy if really like it, but doesn't do it blindly

Table 1 (continued)

№	Age	Gender	Type of activity	Characteristics
22	21	male	4th year student of bachelor	Originally from a small village in the region, he moved to study in St. Petersburg, is finishing his 4th year, does not work, lives on a scholarship; he is quite rational as a consumer, pays every penny
23	23	female	4th year student of bachelor	Originally from St. Petersburg, is studying at the final year of his bachelor's degree, preparing for a master's degree, does not work; as a consumer demonstrates a mixed pattern of consumption. While she often approaches second-hand shopping with a reflective and rational mindset — considering factors such as necessity, price, and wardrobe compatibility — she also acknowledges a tendency toward impulsive purchases, especially when emotionally drawn to a unique item or caught up in the atmosphere of the shopping process. Her behavior reflects a dynamic balance between conscious decision-making and spontaneous desire, making her a versatile and emotionally engaged consumer
24	22	male	4th year student of bachelor	In final acting class, originally from St. Petersburg; as a consumer is impulsive in purchases, but before making a decision, study reviews and information about the product, often finding it on Tiktok or Telegram. Things usually stay in the basket for a few days before he makes a purchase decision. For expensive purchases (over 50,000 ₽), he approaches more consciously, studying reviews and analyzing his preferences. The consumer is guided by the rule that if he likes something, he will not forget about it, even if he finds alternatives. Although he follows trends, he often doesn't give in to them. Sometimes he buys popular things, but he may be disappointed

Table 1 (ending)

№	Age	Gender	Type of activity	Characteristics
25	24	female	4th year student of bachelor	Came to St. Petersburg to study, works for a marketing company; as a consumer is a visually driven and aesthetically engaged shopper who views fashion as a source of inspiration rather than pure consumption. Follows trends not out of purchasing intent, but due to long-standing interest and visual exposure. Makes considered purchases, with occasional spontaneity if an item aligns with their personal aesthetic. Often reinterprets older wardrobe pieces in light of current trends and online styling inspiration. Enjoys browsing brand websites and social media for ideas, but rarely makes immediate purchases — preferring to admire and reflect before deciding whether something is truly needed
26	22	male	4th year student of bachelor	Originally from a small town in Siberia, moved to Tyumen to study, does not work; as a consumer, generally irrational
27	28	male	full-time worker	Moved to St. Petersburg from Moscow, political researcher, hosts podcasts; as a consumer is a pragmatic yet flexible shopper. Doesn't actively follow trends but notices and occasionally adopts them. Aims to buy items that integrate well into his wardrobe, even when purchased spontaneously. Impulse buys often turn out to be long-term staples
28	18	male	10th grade schoolboy, doesn't work	Lives in Tyumen, moved from a small town to study; as a consumer, he is not picky about the quality of things, but rather about how he feels about them, the message of things

* The activities of Meta Platforms Inc. (social networks Facebook and Instagram) are prohibited in the territory of the Russian Federation, recognized as extremist, and included in the list of banned organizations.

In the same way, I contacted the employees and owners of second-hand and vintage stores, the data on which is presented in table [Table 2, employees' and owners' profiles]. In this case, there were no specific criteria, by type of age or gender, for this category of respondents, since their observations and opinions about young people and their purchases on the secondary market were the main value.

Table 2

Employees and owners profiles

№	Age	Gender	Type of activity	Characteristics
29	23	male	employee	Works in a vintage selective store, came from the region, made several attempts to move, and only recently succeeded; as a consumer does not follow trends and buys things according to liking, sometimes without taking into account the combination with the wardrobe. Recently, he have become more aware of purchases, identifying specific needs. Used to visit second-hand shops and shops without a purpose, but now looking for specific things. Nevertheless, if he comes across something interesting, he can buy it, even if it is not necessary. There is a desire to purchase expensive items, but the lack of necessity deters from buying
30	23	female	a 5th year student and employee	Works in an online store that sells vintage or second-hand luxury items as a buyer in the Chinese market; as a consumer is not impulsive in shopping, carefully considers where she will use clothes. Avoids things that can become “junk” and prefers a size range that matches her figure. She does not like unnecessary gifts and prefers money. Consider responsible consumption to resell or transfer things instead of throwing them away. She prefers high-quality products over brands, and has recently been interested in unusual designs to stand out from the crowd
31	31	male	owner of selective vintage shop	Owner of a selective vintage store with the largest number of denim items, 11 years in the consumption of second-hand clothing, collector of rare vintage items

During the field observations conducted in second-hand and vintage clothing stores, I systematically documented the spatial organization of retail environments through photography and took field notes to capture immediate impressions and relevant contextual information. In order to maintain the natural flow of customer behavior and avoid any potential discomfort or disruption, I refrained from initiating direct contact with customers during their shopping experience. Instead, I positioned myself as a passive observer, paying close attention to the processes involved in clothing selection and, where possible, discreetly listening to conversations related to second-hand consumption practices.

Although opportunities for in-the-moment interaction with store staff were limited — primarily due to the demands of their ongoing work and customer service responsibilities — I was able to conduct follow-up interviews with some sellers outside of working hours. These additional insights enriched the observational data and provided a more nuanced understanding of employee perspectives within secondary retail spaces. A selection of these observational records and reflections can be found in the field diary [Appendix 4. Field Diary].

Data Collection

For this study, data were primarily collected through semi-structured interviews and field observations. The interview process was based on pre-prepared question guides, which were created separately for two selected categories of respondents — buyers and sellers — and recorded in audio format. These questions aimed to explore the motivations, practices, and attitudes of respondents toward consuming second-hand clothing, to gather insights into their experiences and perceptions of the secondary market, and to obtain the viewpoint of a general observer — the store employee. Both sets of question guides were written and formulated entirely in Russian, as the respondents were native speakers of the language. The question guides are presented in their original form in Appendix 1, without translation into English, in order to preserve the authenticity of the data and take into account the linguistic nuances of the participants' responses.

During the interviews, particular attention was paid to minimizing the influence of the researcher's personality on the respondents' answers. Participants were encouraged to detach themselves from any preconceived notions about the interviewer and the study and to relax, which allowed for more candid and spontaneous responses. Respondents were also informed that they had the right to refuse to answer questions or discuss topics they considered uncomfortable or too personal, ensuring ethical conduct and

respect during data collection. It was also explained to them that any personal information obtained during the study would remain confidential and would be used only in an anonymized form, with no identifying details included in the final analysis.

In addition to semi-structured interviews, field observations were conducted as a supplementary data collection method. The observations were collected over the course of three months and affected 15 secondary market stores and 2 garage sales. The field observations provided a deeper understanding of the social and spatial dynamics associated with second-hand clothing consumption. Observations were made in second-hand clothing stores, where the researcher documented the store atmosphere, customer behavior, and the overall shopping process. This included photographing store layouts, product displays, and the general ambiance, which were then analyzed to understand how the physical environment influenced consumer perceptions and choices.

In addition to the photographs, brief field notes were made, recording observations of how customers interacted with the merchandise and any significant behaviors or trends. These notes helped provide context and enriched the interview data by adding visual and descriptive supplementary material to the verbal responses.

Together, the semi-structured interviews and field observations allowed for a more comprehensive understanding of second-hand clothing consumption, encompassing both the personal, subjective experiences of the respondents and the broader social and environmental dynamics that influence these practices.

Data Analysis

In this study, elements of reflexive thematic analysis were used as the primary method of analysis, based on the approach developed and described by Braun and Clarke (2006, 2019). This method enabled the identification of consistent thematic patterns in respondents' narratives regarding their motivations and everyday practices related to the consumption of second-hand clothing. The analysis was grounded in a qualitative approach and aimed for a deep interpretation of the data, considering not only the subjective experiences of the respondents but also the position of the researcher.

All data for this study were collected in the form of audio-recorded semi-structured interviews. Prior to analysis, the recordings were transcribed into text format with an effort to preserve the speech characteristics of the participants — unique expressions, emotionally charged phrases, and distinctive vocabulary reflecting their individual communication style. Both

free online transcription services and manual transcription were used, with manual transcription applied in cases where the audio quality was low. The transcribed interviews were compiled into a table, highlighting the main blocks of questions as well as additional columns to record information about spontaneous topics that arose during the conversation (e.g., participants' attitudes toward the second-hand market during adolescence, subjective assessments of the proportion of new versus second-hand clothing in their wardrobe, self-descriptions as consumers, and so on).

During the first stage of analysis, the interview texts were re-read to achieve a deep immersion in the material and develop an intuitive understanding of the content's key accents. Initial coding was then performed on meaningful units — phrases, descriptions, comparisons, and narrative structures that reflected participants' attitudes toward clothing in general and second-hand clothing in particular, as well as their views on fashion, aesthetics, rationality, and social norms. *Priori* codes were applied to some extent, particularly those derived from theoretical expectations about motivations, such as attitudes toward sustainability or social identity, based on existing literature. However, the study also incorporated *posteriori* codes, which emerged naturally from the data itself, reflecting unanticipated themes that became evident during the process of coding and analysis. This combination of pre-existing concepts and emergent data allowed for a more comprehensive understanding of the respondents' narratives. Coding was done manually, with attention paid to the context in which each statement was made.

In the next stage of analysis, the codes were grouped into potential themes. A decision was made to avoid rigid categorization, which allowed for analytical flexibility and the revisiting of themes as the material was further explored. Special attention was paid to how respondents construct their consumer identity — through language, emotions, references to visual culture, and technological practices (e.g., the use of social networks such as Pinterest and Instagram*).

The analysis process was accompanied by ongoing researcher reflexivity, evaluating how the chosen analytical framework, as well as the personal experience and position of the researcher, may have influenced the interpretation of the data. This approach aligns with the logic of reflexive thematic analysis, where a theme is understood not as something “discovered” in the data, but as analytically constructed through the interaction between the empirical material, the research objective, and the theoretical framework.

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In addition to the interview data, the study included an analysis of the research field and field notes, which played a role in providing context and enriching the understanding of the interview data. Field notes were collected during visits to second-hand clothing stores and contained brief observations of the store environment, customer behavior, and interactions. These notes also included photographs documenting the store interiors, product displays, and the overall ambiance.

The analysis of the research field involved reviewing these field notes and photographs to identify spatial and social dynamics within the second-hand shopping experience. The analysis focused on how the store atmosphere, product appearance, and visual presentation as a whole influenced customer perceptions and choices. The photographs served as a tool for visualizing these dynamics, providing a concrete representation of the environment in which participants engage with second-hand clothing. Observations of customer behavior — such as how they interacted with the merchandise, which items they paid more attention to, and how they navigated the store — were analyzed to identify patterns of consumer behavior and engagement with second-hand clothing.

Results

Motivations for consumption clothes from secondary market

Through reflexive engagement with the empirical material, it became evident that economic motivation was the most frequently cited driver among Russian youth — a priori code based on theoretical typologies (Ferraro et al. 2016; Machado et al. 2019). Participants emphasized the affordability of second-hand clothing, particularly when compared to the declining purchasing power and the rising costs of primary market garments — from mass-market chains to local fashion brands — due to the political and economic transformations of recent years in Russia (Forbes 2023). This motivation was especially relevant for students, early-career professionals, and young people with limited financial resources:

Respondent 9:

“First of all, the prices. That is, if it’s not a vintage store with some kind of super concept or its own brand, it’s usually very cheap. I prefer flea markets, that is, so that it’s, well, decent, but it doesn’t have to be some kind of vintage style and so on. There are often good things there, usually they are cheaper, plus more interesting.”

Respondent 26:

*“Well, first of all, obviously, **accessibility in terms of, as it were, not joking, not laughing, but things are much more affordable**, even if they are branded <...> but if you look at the secondhand, which is ordinary, well, like a MegaHand, then, of course, **affordability at prices.**”*

In addition, economic motivation is closely linked to the idea of a **fairer price-quality ratio and the belief that things used to be made much better** and last longer, despite someone's life already lived:

Respondent 2:

“The main reasons why I choose clothes from the secondary market are, firstly, because they are actually of higher quality than they are being sold objectively and at a normal price.”

Respondent 4:

*“And often the motivation is that **I can find high-quality things there**, and not in regular stores, well, or, probably, to clarify, then **in regular stores I need a lot more money to find something so cool and high-quality**. And as if, yes, I probably won't go to such stores right now.”*

Respondent 12:

“If the seams of the previous owner's things didn't come apart, then they won't come apart on me either.”

The second prominent motivation identified through the analysis was hedonistic or recreational in nature. Many participants described their engagement with second-hand clothing shopping as a form of “hobby,” “treasure hunting,” as noted by Fletcher and Cervellon et al. (2012), or “leisure activity,” which they willingly shared with others and often took pride in — particularly when they managed to find valuable items at a low cost. At the core of this experience was the pleasure derived from the serendipitous discovery of unique garments, whose presence in the store was entirely unpredictable. These practices were closely linked to creative exploration, stylistic experimentation, and a form of psychological relief. Moreover, such activities frequently took the shape of a collective shared experience — respondents described trips to second-hand stores with friends or peers as enjoyable social outings, filled with mutual inspiration, emotional exchange, and the co-creation of memories. In this way, recreational second-hand shopping functioned not merely as an individual practice, but as a social activity that fostered connection,

enabled identity expression, and contributed to the construction of shared symbolic meaning:

Respondent 4:

“That is, it’s like such a leisure part, such entertainment, search, there’s actually a lot here. On the one hand, sometimes it’s true. Well, like, like, yeah, mini leisure sometimes, yeah, well, I mean, I’m like, I understand that, well, sometimes, like, I go in, and there’s some kind of diamond in a pile of shit, but sometimes it just feels that way.”

Respondent 26:

“Well, I also usually, I do not know, I call some friend of mine. I have a circle of people there who also go to just such places (secondary market stores) and buy mostly only things there. And so we can just go there, come in, see something. Well, it’s like having a nice time together and discussing, like, clothes and stuff, and there’s this kind of shopping.”

In addition, several *a posteriori* codes pointed to a distinct motivation centered on the pursuit of **uniqueness and self-expression**, as respondents articulated a desire to communicate their aesthetic preferences and assert their individuality through clothing choices. This motivation intersects with the hedonistic category and may be conceptualized as a specific sub-dimension within it, insofar as it reflects the emotional and symbolic value attributed to garments beyond their functional utility. The preference for non-mainstream, distinctive items served not only as a means of personal expression but also as a symbolic counter-narrative to the homogenization inherent in mass-market fashion. In the Russian context, this pursuit of stylistic distinctiveness acquires particular cultural significance, reflecting broader socio-cultural dynamics and resistance to normative consumption patterns:

Respondent 3:

“The main reasons are this uniqueness of things. And now to find something unique for a low price. And this can probably be attributed to a hobby, as if. Uh-huh. So. Well, it’s just like this, it’s like a game, whether you find this diamond or not, whether it suits you or not.”

Respondent 6:

“<...> I just want something cool and interesting, let’s say I know that it’s unlikely that there will be such a thing in the mass market, or it will be

something... Well, it's not that boring. Well, I just want something more interesting <...>”

Respondent 13:

“And, basically, when you go into a mass market and you see this amount of not very natural things and super identical, and that's just the amount that there are a lot of them, I personally feel, well, even physically sick and nauseous, because well, as if it's wrong.”

Nostalgia-driven motivation, which can also be a sub-dimension to hedonistic motivation due to its connection with the emotional component, has also been widely observed and reflected in a posteriori codes such as “biography of a piece of clothing”, “an object with a history” or “an object created at a certain time”. Some respondents talked about imaginary dialogues with previous owners of clothing, fantasized about its past, felt emotionally involved in its development, or reminisced about the time in which this or that item was created and associated with it. This perception reinforced both the personal and symbolic capital of the purchased clothes:

Respondent 8:

“Well, I probably would only single out uniqueness, because, let's say, there are some things that were produced, well, in the 2000s and so on, that, let's say, cannot be repeated. It's old school. And if there are some brands now, let's say, if we're talking about some well-known ones that are also distributed in second-hand stores, then they're either trying to repeat them now, but they're not of that cool quality anymore, they're not stylizing them as coolly, they're not doing it as coolly as the past ones. That's probably why, for the most part, it's uniqueness and, well, nostalgia. I would like to feel exactly the time when, you know, in those years, let's say, I really wanted this thing. It really happens that I really wanted a T-shirt, but for some reason I didn't buy it, financially, not financially. Now you see it, you think, damn, it's that year, I wanted it so much, like, you know, how to close a gestalt of some kind.”

Respondent 21:

“And it also makes some sense that she had some kind of history before you, and she has some kind of component, not just made there in China. And she's like, well, just like that, like an ordinary vase, and then she's some kind of Japanese vase from somewhere, and somehow she ended up in Istanbul or somewhere else. Someone, somewhere, used

it at all. And this will somehow make the thing more or less, as if it makes sense."

Respondent 5:

*"Well, besides the fact that **belonging to some social group** prompted me to start visiting the secondary market, it is also important to understand that this first purchase was made by me quite young. **I just wanted to be cool.**"*

Respondent 31:

*"Therefore, **the value of vintage jeans (and clothes in general) is in the context of the fact that you know that this is an old pair. Made in a certain era, in the way that it was customary to do in that era, so it went through some stages of its own, well, from that moment on, a certain number of washes, or stains, or some other cuts there, whatever. And none of us (the staff of the vintage store) wants to hide this context, we kind of emphasize it. Accordingly, yes, if the value of this whole product is in context, then why hide it, in short? Here, if we can keep it and emphasize it.**"*

In contrast to the aforementioned motivations, **critical motivation** associated with environmental, sustainable, or ethical considerations appeared significantly less frequently. While some participants acknowledged that second-hand consumption contributes to reducing environmental harm, this was typically framed as a secondary factor, often described as a "nice bonus" or "a plus for the karma." A posteriori code such as "survival over sustainability" pointed to the structural limitations of ethical consumption in the Russian context. Respondents frequently referred to the inability to meet basic needs — such as security, stability, and belonging — invoking Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Trivedi et al. 2019) to explain the limited prevalence of ecologically motivated behavior:

Respondent 9:

*"Well, **I know this trend**, sort of, that it's related to the green idea. **But no, I don't give a damn, it doesn't motivate me at all. Well, it's funny that it coincides somehow in general. Well, I guess I'm glad, but I have absolutely no problem buying something new. I mean, I don't feel guilty about it.**"*

Respondent 12:

"I think that I have, like, the first levels, so to speak, pyramids Maslow has not yet closed. When I have an apartment, when I eat whatever I want, when I have a car, I'm like, shouldn't I think about this agenda? That's it, that's it, then it will be."

Respondent 5:

*"I think that, in principle, the issue of ethics, tolerance, and environmental friendliness is much more developed in some countries, but this is normal, just considering, I would really say that everything here rests on the history of the state itself. And the nation itself, <...> Well, in short, **the older we get, the more often we will most likely instill these principles in ourselves. Well, like, the further we get from survival, I guess.**"*

Some respondents remarked that the limited prominence of environmental and ethical concerns in Russia is evident both at the individual and societal levels, extending beyond the sphere of clothing consumption to reflect a broader cultural and structural context. This general absence of a strong sustainability agenda was interpreted by participants as being closely tied to Russia's relatively recent modern development and the historically short timeframe available for the consolidation of such discourses within public consciousness and institutional frameworks:

Respondent 24:

*"The reason **why, again, this is not particularly common in Russia** (concerns about environmental friendliness and ethics in the labor issue) **in Europe, this has been going on for quite a long time, but it is enough with such very serious measures, such as we sort garbage, which means if you do not sort you will be fined. In Russia, if such a thing is introduced, Will it be? Nothing will happen. A fine of 500 P, which you will be given, God forbid, for 15 years after you do not sort the garbage, because in order for people to start sorting garbage, it needs to be monitored, special containers need to be installed, special people hired. And it also needs special sorting centers to process all this. You know, you need money for that. That's all. Like, yes, we have an insanely rich country. Well, it's just that in Europe they started moving towards this quite a long time ago and with such strong measures. It's cool, cool and cool, probably, to promote the agenda in Europe, secondary consumption is very cool. It really will do, and the people will, as they say.**"*

Respondent 19:

*"Well, it's just that **if you take the West there, in particular, they're like countries of the first world, super-developed, they sort of have all the basic values closed down there, so they can think about some other things there, for the benefit of the planet and people. Well, that is, as if it were just some kind of systemic problem, not even a problem, but a systemic outcome. Here (in Russia), these practices are simply less developed, because in general they are less promoted, it seems to me, in the media***

there, and by some other institutions and the state. So, as a plus, people there may have different, I do not know, financial situations, thinking about environmental friendliness, something else, it may be, like, less priority against the background of some other problems in the country, there, I do not know, with the standard of living and so on. It seems to me that there are some such factors here, such as socio-economic, they play a big role.”

Notably, ecological and ethical discourses were also largely absent from the promotional strategies of second hand stores. Instead, both consumer narratives and store marketing messages focused primarily on economic advantage, the uniqueness of items, and the thrill of discovery. Stores emphasized affordability often reinforced through discounts and sales as well as variety and individuality, rather than presenting themselves as a sustainable alternative to fast fashion. Consumers, in turn, rarely recognized or referred to the fact that some second hand stores, such as Spasibo!¹, pursue a social and charitable agenda [Photo 1, Advertising Spasibo! on social media].



Photo 1. Advertising Spasibo! on social media

¹ Second hand store “Спасибо!”/”Thanks!”.

Against the backdrop of discussions surrounding the relatively low prevalence of critical motivation in Russia, many respondents nevertheless emphasized the overall similarity in secondhand clothing consumption motivations among young people across contexts. The divergence in the prioritization of these motivations can be partly explained by differing positions within the hierarchy of needs: in Western societies, where a greater degree of material security is ensured, young people are more likely to prioritize values such as sustainability and conscious consumption. As a result, secondhand clothing becomes a symbol of ecological responsibility, aesthetic individuality, and civic engagement. This shift contributes to the destigmatization of secondhand fashion in Western contexts, where it has become a normalized part of mainstream consumer culture and is institutionalized through curated vintage stores and online resale platforms:

Respondent 11:

“It seems to me that everything is the same. There is a segment of people who go there because they don’t have enough financial resources, and they just dress there. And there are, well, the same hipster youth who go looking for some cheap highlights.”

Respondent 22:

“Well, the motivations here are probably similar in many ways. I don’t think they differ much from Western ones, for example. Ours, and in general, yes, it’s also more about benefits and interest, about style, about taste, and mostly just about some interesting out-of-the-ordinary, cool kind of clothing. Here. So I think the motivations are exactly the same, and they don’t differ in any way.”

At the same time, the financial dimension of secondhand consumption remains relevant both in Russia and abroad, along with hedonistic motivations such as the pursuit of self-expression, the desire for unique experiences, and fatigue with the anonymity of fast fashion. While interviewees highlighted the universality of these motivations, many also noted that in Russia, secondhand shopping is still frequently perceived as a marker of necessity. Particularly among older generations, it may evoke associations with poverty and forced consumption, rendering the practice less socially attractive and less acceptable compared to its normalized and in some cases, prestigious status in many European countries and the United States:

Respondent 10:

*“Well, it seems to me that **there is a difference**, and it seems to me that even here it should not be more about consumption, but about supply in this secondary market, because, it seems to me, **in our country, most people, when they have a thing, they grew out of it there, or somehow it visually outwardly it has deteriorated, they throw it away. Whereas in the West, it's much more popular to go and take Things to the same second-hand store and give them some kind of second life, or recycle them.**”*

Respondent 20:

*“Well, I don't know, but it's like it's there anyway, **in some advanced European countries it's still more destigmatized than in our country.** It's like it's even more developed and it's like it's a stronger trend than ours. We still have a large number, it seems to me, of young people there, the same ones who, well, conditionally disdain it, and seem to use mass markets mostly. And as **for the economic benefits, I think that we have a greater motivation than they do, because, well, again, I can only judge by some of my friends who have left, or by some bloggers there. Well, it's like they have it more for some kind of cool outfit, for some kind of styling, for some kind of image, and so on. Here, to some extent, too, but it seems to me that the economic component plays a big role, because, well, it really saves money.**”*

The phenomenon of St. Petersburg

One of the recurrent themes among respondents who were not originally from Saint Petersburg was the perception of the city as a unique and almost singular hub of second-hand clothing consumption in Russia. Participants described Saint Petersburg as possessing a distinctive cultural and symbolic atmosphere that fosters the acceptance of alternative consumption practices. The city was portrayed as culturally liberal, artistically rich, and historically layered — a context in which deviation from mass-market consumption norms is not only tolerated but actively encouraged. Many respondents noted that their attitudes toward second-hand clothing shifted significantly after relocating to Saint Petersburg, marking their entry into this distinct cultural and consumption practice:

Respondent 2:

*“**In fact, my first acquaintance with the concept of second-hand stores took place in St. Petersburg a long time ago. My friend bought something***

there. In short, we decided that we just want to see what kind of second-hand stores we have nearby and what is for sale there, because we have seen from all sorts of bloggers (from St. Petersburg whom we are watching) that they are buying some cool things in second-hand stores."

Respondent 3:

"Well, actually, I've always treated them like this (ambiguously). I'm actually from the Urals myself, well, anyway, I wasn't really into it, but then it was like I moved to the second-hand capital, and so I slowly kind of tasted this culture."

Respondent 12:

"That is, if it can be found everywhere in St. Petersburg, then in the same northern cities there are much less, and in Moscow, as if it were divided into castes, there are those who are from Patriarshiye Ponds who will never enter the second hand in their lives."

This atmosphere of acceptance and cultivation of alternative consumption practices, including engagement with the secondary clothing market, is frequently emphasized by respondents through contrast with Moscow. While the physical infrastructure for second-hand consumption may also be present in the capital, it is perceived to lack the corresponding cultural predisposition that characterizes Saint Petersburg:

Respondent 24:

"First, it seems to me, the style of the city itself. Again, this plays the role of St. Petersburg, which is more European, an older city. And, well, let's be honest. In the atmosphere of sleek Moscow, I don't really want to go to second-hand shops and vintage stores, <...> Plus, at some point in the tenth year, St. Petersburg began to gain momentum in social networks as a city for creative people, and creative people, they are always on the lookout and always love something exclusive. Therefore, again, where are we going for this? Second-hand shops and vintage shops. Well, like, I think that's why it happened that way."

Respondent 5:

"Well, in a good way, in my opinion, a non-selfish attitude, that is, which allows you to relax like that and, well, wear what you want, look the way you want. I think a couple of factors also played a role here. <...> The most important first factor is that somehow St. Petersburg is such a literary cradle, well, that is, it's still a reading city anyway, and this is important."

Reading a lot of books, especially when it's some kind of novels or even some kind of philosophy, is always an expansion of your horizons, which allows you to reduce your degree of condemnation, as it seems to me. That is, and this, well, the fact that there were a lot of such poor intellectuals in St. Petersburg, it seems to me, this is also, well, how it emphasizes. That is, when you have such poor intelligence, you no longer strive for new things, but just for something. Well, in short, that originally St. Petersburg, that's how it is, some kind of, well, yes, let it be low economic development allows you to normally treat an old thing on a person, which means nothing. And the second one is, of course, well, like, location. That is, it is a Port city. The fact that it's, well, close to the border, that's it. That is, that it's like, well, some values of neighboring Lands penetrate into it, well, they sort of flow through it. Well, the fact that it's a Port city is that it's like any Port city is always very mixed."

The majority of respondents who had moved to Saint Petersburg from other regions of Russia noted that second-hand clothing consumption was still met with skepticism or a mildly negative attitude within their families. At the same time, practices such as exchanging clothes among relatives or wearing garments "from one's grandmother" were generally accepted and did not provoke moral discomfort — unlike items acquired "from strangers." This distinction revealed a clear boundary between "intrafamilial transmission" and the "external second-hand market," with the former being deemed socially acceptable and the latter viewed with suspicion. In contrast, respondents born and raised in Saint Petersburg — particularly those from families with deep local roots — stood out as a group largely free from such prejudices, even when they themselves were not regular participants in the second-hand market:

Respondent 4:

"My mom worked in a second-hand store, and my older brothers helped her work there, and I, well, it's clear that this is not a fact of my own acquisition, but since then I've been such a second-hand, it's cool, because there seems to be something there. Of course, it's unlikely that I could just super consciously evaluate and compare what is in second hand, what is in regular stores, but somehow I got this feeling from my mother that you can find some kind of diamond there that you can't find in regular stores."

Respondent 3:

"Well, my mom keeps telling me: Don't you have any money? Are you wearing a bum jacket? Well, I was walking around in my huge jacket,

*which I just fell madly in love with, and She said: my God, do you want to buy a size-one jacket? I don't understand what the problem is. And so, you prove that I'm so self-fulfilling, and she just rolls her eyes and says: Lord, God be with you, do whatever you want. Here. Well, that is, **parents don't really buy this joke.**"*

Practices with clothes

Among the respondents — consumers and employees of the secondary clothing market, a variety of practices were identified although fragmented that are primarily aimed at extending the life of clothing. Simple mendings — sewing on buttons, mending holes, and minor changes were mentioned not only as a functional way to prolong the life of a garment, but also as a gesture with emotional meaning. These actions were usually carried out either independently or with the help of older female family members or professional seamstresses, and were almost always accompanied by references to a personal attachment to the item or finding value in a lived life as a thing:

Respondent 31:

*"But it's more like, you know, it looks like a renovation that they deliberately tried not to hide. I mean, it's kind of, you know, emphasizing imperfection. We do things like this (in vintage style). And, yes, even **if we fix some holes or spots, we do it on purpose so that it can be seen that it has been fixed. That is, we do not hide the traces of repairs, we do them, as it were, on the contrary. Not to say that we stick them out, but they seem to be made neatly, securely, but you can see that it has been repaired. That's what this thing is, well, it lived for an era, something happened to it.**"*

Respondent 28:

*"Well, mom taught me, of course, I always do, if, for example, a button flew off or I lost it, I can always choose a button to sew it on. Or if I also have a seam somewhere, of course, **I do it all because, well, the thing is valuable to me, I don't want to lose it just because of the button and the seam.**"*

The respondents' attitude towards clothes that have become unnecessary for one reason or another also reflected a tendency towards cyclical consumption: almost all participants noted that they try not to throw things away unless they are in a completely unusable condition. Instead, they preferred to give away their favorite clothes to their loved ones, donate the rest to charity or sell them on secondary markets:

Respondent 28:

“And I mostly give them to my loved ones, because I have younger brothers, younger sisters, if not relatives, then second cousins. Well, I’m the eldest, they’re all the youngest, and therefore, when a thing becomes Small to me, it suits my relatives wonderfully.”

Respondent 3:

“Well, first of all, my friends and I always arrange swap parties. <...> We arrange a dinner; and everyone brings things there. And these girls are swapping today, and we’re just swapping things there, oh, this is for me, and this is for me. This is the first way. I try to give away as much as possible to the people who are nearby, because suddenly they are interested in it. Then I handed over my things in Spasibo (thrift store). And I also have a younger sister, my favorite consumer, to whom everything can be pushed.”

Respondent 4:

“In short, it’s hard for me to throw things away, especially if I like them, I’m sure, well, that is, or I can try to sell something on Avito there. If I don’t have the strength and it’s just going to be too long and steamy, it’s not that bad, I’ll put it in a drawer, whatever kind of drawer it is, Spasibo (thrift store), well, in short, I’ll put different drawers in them, yes. In general, yes, of course, I’m worried. Either attach it to someone, give things to someone, yes, it’s also great.”

Customization and upcycling (such as dyeing, trimming, or visual redesign) appeared as rare but still present practices. Despite their marginal status at the sample level, specific cases demonstrated an interest in clothing as a space for self-expression — particularly within aesthetic frameworks that diverge from mass taste. Some respondents not only had experience with such modifications but also had specific skills. However, clothing from the secondary market was almost never mentioned as the starting point for such transformations. Customization and upcycling were more often practices aimed at prolonging the lifespan of garments within the wardrobe of a single owner. That’s why most of the respondents don’t resort to this practice, fearing to ruin the thing completely:

Respondent 5:

“Well, I usually do things when they’re too old, that is, you know, I have a white T-shirt, cool, but there are some strange spots, I just kind of filled it with paint, sealed it (tai-dai technique).”

Respondent 17:

“Honestly, no, I’m usually just afraid of messing up. And when I choose things, I’d rather choose something like what I’ll wear right away, without any customization later. Perhaps if I’ve had the item for a long time and, for example, I don’t wear it at all, I’ll try to give it some kind of second life. Well, the maximum is only if splattered with white and that’s it. But just to do some kind of deconstruction of clothes, just to sew, to reshape. This has never happened before.”

Respondent 21:

“Damn, I’m not that much, I’m very inspired by people who actually do it, who know that there are ideas, they see the concept in their head, they can do it later. I think I’m just not creative enough for that. I’m straight, I even have this kind of thing in my head, like, the thought rarely comes, like, to change it in length, in size, yes, some, like, basic things (sew a hole, sew a button, etc.) I can do, but this, well, can I trim it, there’s a little bit I just want it to be shorter. Well, this is my maximum really.”

A notable shift can be traced in the transformation of consumer trajectories: from hedonistic, impulsive accumulation — reinforced by the economic accessibility of low-cost items (“I buy everything”) to a more pragmatic and conscious approach (“I have everything I need, I only buy basics”). Respondents linked this transition to fatigue from overconsumption, critiques of fast fashion, and a desire to streamline their wardrobes — not only in relation to primary markets but also secondary ones. In this way, buying a specific item stops being a form of entertainment and becomes a ritualized act, often associated with rational attitudes. Still, the process of shopping retains elements of enjoyment and leisure:

Respondent 3:

“Well, it actually happens very spontaneously. That is, it may be that I, well, for a month, literally bought 3–4 things there every week. Sometimes it happens that I can’t shop there for a month, but it starts to break me down when I don’t buy anything for a month. I just start dodging like that, but usually it all happens very spontaneously.”

Respondent 21:

“Now, it seems to me, in principle, I rarely buy clothes. I had a period when, especially, I think, I discovered second-hand stores, and I bought a lot of things for myself. I mean, you know, the period when some new opportunity opens up to you, and you’re like, oh, secondhands, it’s

*secondhands on Instagram**, and it's some kind of pop-ups, and it's Avito, and you're just, you're just blown away by what's available, you can buy a bunch of everything, you buy it all later, as if you have a huge variety of clothes that you don't quite know what to do with. Then, as your tastes change, something else happens, and you're already like this, like it's kind of wrong and vice versa, I'm kind of trying to sort out my wardrobe right now, so I'm not buying anything at all, just some basic things."

Informal exchange formats such as "swaps" are part of everyday life for some respondents and are perceived as a form of social practice — less utilitarian and more symbolic and emotionally rewarding. In such exchanges, clothing becomes a pretext for spending time together, reinforcing horizontal ties (among friends and family), and serving as material for identity play:

Respondent 3:

"Well, first of all, my friends and I always arrange swap parties. <...> We arrange a dinner, and everyone brings things there. And these girls are swapping today, and we're just swapping things there, oh, this is for me, and this is for me."

Respondent 4:

"I had a friend who was into changing things, because I know that many people can't do it at all, and like, well, for someone, like, my thing is there, and that's it <...> I'm super changeable, if the thing doesn't suit me, I'm a star just wild delight. That is, if I understand that, well, like someone came to me or, in short, lent someone a vest or something else. And I see that she suited this person better, I'm like, damn, super, kind of take it in my direction too."

Respondent 7:

"Well, in our family as a whole, it's a tradition to pass things on to each other. We call it the natural exchange of things. Because I'm a mom and my sister, we're all the same size, height, and build. And I always drop my stuff in the chat first. I'm like, I don't like this, does anyone need this? There's a sister, for example: Well, give it to me, I'll bring it to her."

When analyzing behavioral strategies in second hand stores, a lack of a universal or rationalized approach to clothing selection was identified. Many respondents reported that they did not adhere to clear criteria when

* The activities of Meta Platforms Inc. (social networks Facebook and Instagram) are prohibited in the territory of the Russian Federation, recognized as extremist, and included in the list of banned organizations.

making purchases — an observation that was also confirmed during fieldwork. The search for clothing in second hand settings is often characterized by a spontaneous and chaotic nature, which may be aptly described as a form of “treasure hunting”:

Respondent 14:

*“Well, it’s **more on a hunch**, but it still works for me, which is a little bit different for me, probably my brain works, I’m a street photographer, and I’m just used to it, like, well, **you just notice out of the corner of your eye**, and I walk, well, **chaotically**, just something that catches your eye.”*

Respondent 2:

“I don’t have any strategy at all. Everything works out for me somehow in life, by accident.”

Respondent 3:

*“**There are no strategies, what caught the eye. It’s usually just that when you come with a list, it scares away all the cool stuff.** Well, it’s like it’s a statistic that when you go after something specific, you never find what you need. And when you, well, come in just like that, well, I’m not really looking for anything here at all. I’ve been looking for a skirt since 2015. That’s how it always happens. Well, **the main thing is that clothes don’t feel like you need them.**”*

Respondent 29:

*“Well, in general, very often people come into a store and want something, and they seem to understand what it is, but they still don’t know what it is, and there is no specific request, and they look at everything and try it on. Sometimes, very rarely, yes, there is a specific request for some pants of some color; or just some kind of T-shirt. **But more often, it’s probably just, yes, some kind of chaotic search. Just something fun and interesting. There is no such thing that they start with any particular category. Often people just come into our store and just look at everything, and they get something cool <...>.**”*

Field observations of customers revealed notable differences between individual and group shopping behaviors. When customers shopped alone or in pairs, their behavior tended to be more methodical: they would examine garments on one rack thoroughly before moving on to another. However, the choice of which rack to start with was typically arbitrary, with no discernible strategy guiding the process. In contrast, groups of friends — especially

younger ones — displayed more playful behavior. The emphasis in these cases shifted toward the discovery of absurd, humorous, or ridiculous garments, often accompanied by laughter, photographs, and the creation of a shared emotional atmosphere.

Some respondents also mentioned specific environmental factors such as cleanliness, absence of unpleasant odors, and friendliness of the staff as important conditions for making a purchase, though these appeared to be exceptions rather than norms. Interestingly, several participants expressed a preference for more inconspicuous, somewhat neglected, or “dusty” shops. For them, such an atmosphere did not repel but rather enhanced the experience, making the search for clothing more engaging and “authentic” — a process that felt, in their words, “like searching for treasure”:

Respondent 14:

“The same sellers. Well, because if a person doesn’t give a damn, well, it’s like everywhere else, it’s still the field of working with people, if a person doesn’t give a damn about his job, then you probably won’t want to come, no matter how cool his things are there. So, well, basement seconds are a wonderful thing. You look at it, you think, my God, I’m going to be dismembered there, and then you take something so cool out of there that you come back anyway <...> From such disadvantages, which is the joke in some seconds, well, they process things with different compounds and there is a certain smell. Well, a certain chemical that you will never remove, you will have clothes, and it will always stink. And if you go into a second-hand store and you kind of smell it, you realize that even if you buy an item, you’re going to wash it 10 times while you’re washing it, and you’ve already washed it to the holes. And here, too, are the chemicals used, because here is the only one that does not erase the smell in any way, and this is really the smell of just death and secondhand.”

Respondent 21:

“In a second-hand store, it seems to me that the best thing you can do for yourself in terms of choosing stores is not to have any expectations, because you never know at what point some really unrealistic item will turn up for you, maybe, it seems to me, in absolutely any store, so I globally, as a rule, I go into almost everything. That is, I try not to be biased and it’s better to come in and try.”

An important criterion influencing the choice between online and offline formats of secondhand clothing purchases, as identified by respondents, was the prioritization of physical retail spaces. Participants consistently

emphasized the significance of tactile engagement with garments — the ability to assess the fabric, texture, and overall material quality in person. This preference reflects a broader consumer logic not limited to the secondary market, but also characteristic of primary retail consumption, underscoring the enduring value of sensory experience in fashion-related decision-making:

Respondent 8:

“Listen, for the most part I like to walk and touch with my hands. <...> if I really want to go vintage, then I’d rather go touch and look, especially since, again, we repeat that it’s like an already used thing. You should check its quality.”

Respondent 12:

“I look at Avito from time to time, but I’m a little bit nervous. <...> I’m just scared to drive around the apartments. <...> I love physical stores, because, again, this is a pastime in person, outside the phone, you can touch, look, and immediately try it on, not on cardboard in some grandmother’s hallway, but in a normal fitting room.”

Discussion

Between necessity, aesthetics, and beliefs: how participants construct motivations for secondary clothing consumption

The findings of this study contribute to a deeper understanding of secondary market clothing consumption among Russian youth, demonstrating how broader cultural, economic, and symbolic factors intersect with individual motivations and practices.

Between necessity, aesthetics, and beliefs: how participants construct motivations for secondary clothing consumption

Among all the mentioned motivations, **economic motivation** was the most frequently cited by respondents. Participants emphasized the financial accessibility of secondary clothing, especially in the context of declining purchasing power and rising prices in the primary clothing market — a trend directly linked to recent political and economic shifts in Russia (Forbes 2023). In addition to affordability, there is another belief that complements this type of consumption — namely, the conviction that items produced in earlier periods are of significantly higher quality than those currently available on the primary market. Even when this is not the case, the low

price does not deter buyers; on the contrary, it makes secondhand goods more appealing.

The second most frequently mentioned **motivation was hedonistic or recreational**. Many respondents described the process of shopping in secondhand and vintage stores as a form of entertainment, a game, or a “treasure hunt,” where the unexpected discovery of unique or outdated items brought a sense of joy. This process was often associated with creative self-expression and mental relaxation. It resonated with the ideas outlined in Fletcher and Cervellon et al. (2012), suggesting that the act of searching itself holds intrinsic value for the consumer.

Despite the sample including a sufficient number of both male and female participants, no clear correlation was found supporting the findings of Hopkinson et al. (1999), which suggest that women tend to exhibit more impulsive and irrational behavior when purchasing clothing compared to men. Among participants of both genders, a wide range of consumer strategies was observed, spanning from rational approaches — such as deferred purchases and preliminary searching for inspiration before visiting second hand stores — to spontaneous, impulsive acquisitions. In this context, such behavioral patterns cannot be conclusively attributed to gender.

In contrast to these dominant motivations, critical motivation — linked to conscious consumption, environmental concerns, and ethical considerations — was far less pronounced. Despite its theoretical centrality in global typologies, in the Russian context it emerged as secondary. Environmental benefits of secondary shopping are often recognized, yet these acknowledgments tend to be framed as a “pleasant bonus” or a “karma point” rather than the primary motivation driving this form of consumption.

Interestingly, ecological and ethical narratives appeared to be largely sidelined in the promotional strategies of secondhand stores by themselves. This absence invites reflection on how sustainability is communicated or, perhaps more significantly, omitted in everyday consumer environments. Rather than framing themselves as ethical or environmentally responsible alternatives to fast fashion, stores tended to foreground narratives of affordability, individuality, and the pleasure of discovery. Discount strategies, diverse assortments, and the promise of finding something “unique” took precedence. Likewise, participants rarely engaged with or even acknowledged the social missions of certain stores such as Spasibo! which actively promote charitable initiatives. This disconnect suggests a tension between institutional intentions and the ways in which consumers interpret and navigate secondhand spaces.

This dynamic is further intensified in contexts where daily economic concerns are acute: environmental care begins to be perceived less as an attainable priority and more as an unattainable luxury — a concern reserved for the “developed West.” The tension between the immediate need to meet basic necessities and the aspiration toward a sustainable future emerges not merely as a matter of individual choice, but as a reflection of deeper structural constraints within society. Ecological responsibility, while acknowledged on an abstract or even intuitive level, is frequently overshadowed by the more pressing imperative to secure material stability and a sense of everyday comfort. This perspective echoes Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, in which ethical consumption becomes relevant only after more fundamental needs have been satisfied (Trivedi et al. 2019).

Other significant themes included nostalgia and self-expression. Motivation rooted in nostalgia was reflected in phrases like “the biography of the item,” or “a thing made at a specific time.” Imagined dialogues with previous owners, fantasies about the item’s past, deep emotional investment in its trajectory, and a sense of nostalgia for the era in which the item was created often accompany the experience of secondary clothing consumption. These narratives heightened the symbolic and personal value attributed to secondhand garments.

Finally, a strong uniqueness of motivation emerged around the search for unique pieces and the desire to express one’s individuality through clothing. This theme frequently overlapped with hedonic motivations and underscored the affective dimension of dress, as well as its role in communicating personal style. Respondents described the secondhand market as a means of constructing a distinctive identity, resisting the homogenization characteristic of mass-market fashion, and performing individuality through curated visual choices.

Everyday practices: routines and habits of clothing consumption

Participants’ narratives revealed a diversity of isolated practices aimed at prolonging the life of garments. At first glance, actions such as sewing on buttons, mending small holes, or slight tailoring adjustments might seem purely utilitarian. However, within the framework of this analysis and the broader context of the research such practices take on a more complex and emotionally charged significance. Respondents described these acts not merely as a way to preserve an item, but as gestures of care, remembrance, and even resistance to the ideology of fast consumption. These repairs were

often carried out with the involvement of older women — grandmothers, mothers, local seamstresses — highlighting the embeddedness of such practices in intergenerational relations and traditionally feminized domestic labor. In this light, repair becomes not only an act of sustainability and thrift but also a conduit for transmitting values, skills, and emotions, echoing the findings of Laitala et al. (2018).

This affective dimension was also evident in the treatment of unwanted clothing. Although environmental or critical motivations were rarely cited as primary, many participants described strategies aligned with circular consumption models: passing items to friends and relatives, donating to charity shops, or reselling on secondary markets. Respondents appeared to resist the finality of disposal, expressing a strong reluctance to throw things away rooted in the belief that garments retain value beyond their immediate utility. This sensibility often extended to an interest in the “story” of a garment. Such practices, while unsystematic and loosely structured, reflect a form of intuitive, even ethical pragmatism rarely verbalized in explicit terms but deeply felt. This observation stands in contrast to findings reported by Thredup (2019), which indicate that Western consumers are increasingly inclined to consider a garment’s future use and longevity at the point of purchase.

Customization and upcycling appeared less frequently in participants’ accounts but carried notable analytical weight, offering insight into the aesthetic and emotional dimensions of clothing relations. Practices such as dyeing, full re-stitching, or visual alterations were more commonly framed as expressions of individuality, particularly among those with niche or non-mainstream tastes and subcultural affiliations. However, it is significant that secondhand garments were never explicitly described as “raw material” for radical transformation. Modifications were typically minimal, focused on comfort or extending wearability. The idea of radically altering a used garment simply did not register for most respondents. This suggests a selective engagement with customization and upcycling practices, where emotional and aesthetic alignment took precedence over ideological commitments to sustainability.

Of particular note is the observed shift in individual consumption trajectories within the secondhand clothing market from impulsive accumulation (“I used to buy everything I saw”) to more deliberate strategies (“I already have everything; now I only purchase essentials”). A similar observation was made by Aladjalova (2024). This transformation is frequently associated with fatigue from hyper-consumption, criticism of

fast fashion, and a desire for a more thoughtfully curated wardrobe. Despite the continued emotional engagement in the shopping process, purchasing behavior has become more intentional and purposeful.

At the same time, most respondents self-identified as rational and pragmatic consumers. Durability, quality, and the emotional resonance of a garment often emerged as key selection criteria. Yet, alignment with individual aesthetic preferences remained just as important even when these clashed with familial or social tastes. This partially challenges the findings of previous studies (Salomon & Rabolt 2004; Niinimäki 2017), which emphasized social conformity in fashion choices. Instead, the findings align more closely with Entwistle's conception of dress as embodied practice — a means of bridging the gap between outward appearance and inner self (Entwistle 2019).

The social character of clothing practices was also evident in informal clothing exchanges, particularly within close-knit or friendship-based networks. While the scale of such exchanges was modest, they were not perceived as utilitarian acts. Rather, they constituted symbolic and playful interactions imbued with emotional significance: opportunities to share stories, experiment with identity, and reinforce horizontal ties. These events were not framed as market transactions, but as platforms for self-exploration and social intimacy often entirely devoid of monetary exchange.

Observations of secondary store behavior revealed a duality in clothing selection strategies. Many respondents claimed to have “no specific criteria,” and this was confirmed both through direct observation and conversations with staff. The act of searching was often chaotic and improvised. Shopping was frequently described as a form of entertainment or “treasure hunting,” where spontaneity and the thrill of unexpected discovery played central roles echoing Fletcher's and Cervellon et al. (2012) concept.

An interesting pattern emerged in shopping dynamics: individuals or pairs tended to shop methodically, examining items on racks one by one, whereas groups of friends transformed the process into a form of leisure characterized by jokes, playful try-ons, selfies, and shared laughter. This performative and playful dimension highlights the role of friendship in shaping motivations and destigmatizing secondhand shopping, where the act becomes a collective means of identity construction (Vannini et al. 2008; Veenstra et al. 2013). This also corresponds with the recreational motivation for consuming secondhand clothing.

Sensory characteristics of secondhand stores also played an important role. While some emphasized the importance of cleanliness, neutral odors,

and friendly staff, others valued the very disorder and messiness of the secondhand space. Paradoxically, stores that were overly stylized or curated were sometimes seen as “artificial,” lacking the sense of authenticity and unpredictability that drew people to secondhand shopping in the first place. Many participants reported avoiding secondhand or vintage shops that clearly had significant investment in branding or interior design, as this drove up prices despite the secondhand nature of the goods.

St. Petersburg as a cultural interface

An interesting theme that emerged among respondents who were not native to Saint Petersburg was the perception of the city as a unique almost singular site of second-hand clothing consumption in Russia. Participants described the urban environment as possessing a distinct cultural and symbolic atmosphere conducive to the acceptance of alternative consumption practices (Gurova 2014). Saint Petersburg was imagined as a culturally liberal, artistically vibrant, and historically layered milieu in which deviation from mass-market and fashion industry norms was not only permissible but often positively valorized. In this context, second-hand clothing purchases were understood not merely as an element of conscious consumption but as a form of cultural belonging to a specific urban identity.

Many respondents reported that their attitudes toward the second-hand market shifted significantly following their move to Saint Petersburg. Exposure to the city’s developed infrastructure of vintage and second-hand stores ranging from aesthetically curated spaces to informal, unstructured outlets served as a catalyst for re-evaluating their own consumer beliefs and habits. Purchasing clothing with a past came to be viewed as a mode of urban socialization and cultural integration, where alternative consumption ceased to be marginal or socially stigmatized and instead emerged as an aesthetically and symbolically meaningful form of self-expression (Bartlett 2010).

The roots of this phenomenon lie partly in the socio-cultural makeup of the city. Historically, Saint Petersburg has been home to a financially constrained but symbolically enriched urban intelligentsia — scholars, artists, poets, and members of creative professions — who, despite limited financial resources, maintained strong aspirations toward self-expression, aesthetics, and cultural reflexivity. This class, often referred to as the “poor intelligentsia,” cultivated a persistent orientation toward uniqueness, meaning, and individuality even under economic constraints (Yurchak 2006). In this sense, the second-hand market evolved not only as an economic

alternative but as a site of cultural capital — a place to find garments with a “soul” or a “history,” to express individuality, and to participate in an urban culture rooted in distinctiveness and authenticity.

Moreover, one can speak of a symbolic alignment between the figure of the “poor but cultured” intellectual or creative individual and the aesthetic and ideological characteristics of second-hand retail spaces themselves. The perceived uniqueness and affordability of such items resonate with the values and aspirations of this social group (Zakharova 2011). This congruence enhances the cultural legitimacy of second-hand consumption specifically in Saint Petersburg — a resonance that is notably absent in Moscow or other Russian cities, where different urban narratives prevail and cultural capital is less often linked to economic modesty.

It is precisely this intersection of economic constraint and cultural aspiration that has created fertile ground for the normalization and in certain circles, the prestige of second-hand clothing consumption. What is particularly noteworthy is that these values continue to be transmitted both through broader urban culture and within intergenerational socialization practices.

A clear cultural contrast was observed between respondents from other regions and those who were born and raised in Saint Petersburg. Many participants who had relocated from different parts of Russia noted that second-hand clothing was still met with skepticism or mild disapproval within their families. The use of hand-me-downs from family members such as “auntie’s clothes” — was generally accepted and did not evoke moral discomfort. In contrast, garments from “outsiders,” even if more desirable in terms of quality or style, were often perceived as hygienically questionable. This distinction reveals a symbolic boundary between intra-family exchange and the external second-hand market, where the former was deemed acceptable and the latter suspect. After all, many respondents recalled wearing clothes passed down from older siblings in childhood.

Against this backdrop, respondents born and raised in Saint Petersburg especially those from multi-generational local families stood out. Among this group, there was virtually no evidence of prejudice toward second-hand clothing, even when they or their families were not active consumers of it. Thus, the “Saint Petersburg phenomenon” manifests not only in the city’s cultural atmosphere but also in historically embedded social structures and the intergenerational transmission of norms that validate alternative, symbolically charged modes of consumption.

***Russia and the West: perceived similarities and differences
in secondary consumption motivations and practices***

The majority of study participants observed a notable evolution in how Russian youth perceive the secondary clothing market over the past three to five years. What was once commonly linked to social disadvantage, marginality, or even shame where individuals often hesitated to disclose that their clothing came from thrift or second hand sources has increasingly become normalized and, in some cases, valorized as a marker of cultural capital.

Respondents connected this shift to a constellation of contributing factors, including:

- the rising cost of high-quality and distinctive items in both mass-market retail and local brands;
- the loss of access to familiar mass-market brands (in the context of international sanctions);
- the standardization and homogeneity of garments in new fashion collections;
- a growing desire for individuality.

In this context, secondary fashion has emerged as both a pragmatic response to economic and geopolitical circumstances and as a meaningful avenue for self-expression. It allows individuals to assert their stylistic preferences, distance themselves from the aesthetics of mass production, and cultivate a distinctive visual identity. Interpreted through the framework of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, engagement with secondary clothing can be seen as a form of distinction that relies less on economic expenditure and more on the strategic accumulation of stylistic, symbolic, and cultural resources — those that communicate refined taste, critical awareness, and aesthetic self-determination (Bourdieu 1984).

Based on these, it became evident that the majority of participants shared the view that there are no significant differences between the motivations and practices of Russian and Western youth regarding secondhand clothing consumption. Core values such as the pursuit of self-expression, fatigue with excessive and homogenized consumption, and dissatisfaction with the price-to-quality ratio in mass-market fashion were described as universal orientations characteristic of the younger generation on a global scale. These motivations were seen as part of a broader cultural shift away from fast fashion toward more conscious and individualized forms of consumption. This shift is mediated through social media, disseminated not only by highly

visible influencers and celebrities but also by ordinary users without media capital.

Nonetheless, some interviewees pointed to contextual differences, primarily related to the level of infrastructural support and cultural perceptions. In Western countries such as certain regions of Europe and the United States the second hand clothing market has long been institutionalized and integrated into everyday economic life. Charity shops, vintage boutiques, and resale platforms enjoy a high degree of social legitimacy, and purchasing used clothing is not accompanied by overt social stigma. In the Russian context, by contrast, although the secondhand market has grown rapidly in recent years, cultural associations with poverty and scarcity persist in some age groups and regions, influencing both the public representation and personal perception of these practices.

A further distinction arises from the observation that the concept of vintage in Russia carries a different meaning, largely because it does not exist in the classical sense. Russia lacks historical costume collections, archives of famous brands, and the like, which means there is practically no collector-user among Russian secondhand consumers. Most vintage items available are imported. Meanwhile, a completely different trend is observed in the West, where the historical presence and geographical proximity of iconic Fashion Houses contribute to a vibrant collector and vintage culture.

Despite these differences in institutional support, cultural context, and historical legacy, there is a notable convergence in the symbolic meanings attributed to secondary clothing. In both contexts, it is perceived not only as a way to save money or contribute to environmental sustainability, but also as a tool for genuine self-expression and the curation of a personal image. Respondents frequently described such garments as having a “story,” capable of emphasizing individuality and standing in opposition to the impersonality of mass fashion, which tends to reproduce the same silhouettes in different colors. In this way, secondhand clothing emerges as a space for cultural and aesthetic reflection, through which identity construction, the expression of authenticity, and the formation of a sense of social belonging become possible.

Limitations

One of the main limitations of this study is that, despite including respondents from various regions, the majority of participants reside in Saint Petersburg — a city with a more developed and accessible secondary

clothing market. This affects the comprehensiveness of understanding the practices and motivations of Russian youth more broadly. Recruitment of male respondents also proved to be a significant challenge. Many potential male participants either declined to take part in the study or initially agreed but later ceased communication before the interviews could be conducted, limiting the representativeness of the male sample.

Another important limitation was the ambiguity in respondents' understanding of key terms. Participants often conflated the concepts of "second-hand" and "vintage," using them interchangeably without clear distinction. Additionally, many did not classify clothing received from relatives or friends as secondary clothing, which led to an underestimation of such consumption practices.

Limited access to sellers and store owners also complicated data collection from these groups, as some were reluctant to share business information or declined participation in the study.

Conclusion

The analysis of motivations and practices related to the secondary clothing market among Russian youth reveals an ambivalent picture. The primary driving force behind engagement with the second-hand market is economic motivation, as evidenced by both interview data and field observations. This is complemented by a hedonistic motivation, associated with the pleasure derived from the process of searching for and purchasing unique items, the unpredictability of the assortment, and the emotional engagement in the "hunt" for distinctive goods. These aspects contribute to a meaningful consumption experience often perceived as a form of leisure or a hobby.

At the same time, critical motivation which is rooted in environmental and ethical concerns has not gained widespread public traction within the Russian context. Even second-hand stores with a social agenda seldom emphasize such values, opting instead to highlight economic accessibility, the enjoyment of shopping, and a sense of community. This stands in contrast to findings from international studies, where critical motivation is typically presented alongside economic and hedonistic motivations as a major driver.

Nonetheless, it would be inaccurate to claim that critical motivation is entirely absent among Russian consumers. Rather, its presence is often intuitive and implicit in individual practices. However, the conscious

articulation and implementation of these values appear to be constrained, likely due to the country's current stage of socio-economic development and a limited infrastructure for supporting environmental initiatives. This is further reflected in the near-total absence of practices such as upcycling, customization, or systematic wardrobe management among respondents. Consumption remains largely individualized and fragmented, lacking clear and deliberate strategies — a result of personal approaches rather than market constraints.

Thus, the second-hand market in Russia continues to serve primarily utilitarian and recreational functions. It remains a niche phenomenon, appealing mainly to enthusiasts and certain urban communities and requires further investigation.

Future research

In terms of directions for future research, it is particularly important for qualitative studies to first expand the age range of the sample in order to capture a broader spectrum of motivations and practices related to second-hand clothing consumption within Russian society, extending beyond the youth segment alone. Furthermore, it appears advisable to examine these practices and motivations among residents of various cities and regions across Russia, which would allow for the identification of regional specificities and behavioral variability. Special attention should also be given to the phenomenon of Saint Petersburg, which warrants deeper analysis through a cultural-historical lens to gain a comprehensive understanding of its origins, significance, and scale in the context of second-hand clothing consumption.

In addition, conducting quantitative analysis would be relevant to assess the prevalence of different forms of motivations and practices and to explore their interrelations among the Russian population. Such an approach would complement qualitative findings and contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the subject matter.

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Appendix. Field Diary

1. Vintage store “And Friends” near Chernyshevskaya



Vintage store “And Friends”

A place with white walls, full-length mirrors, expensive hangers. Young people seem to come not for things, but for experience: here you can “try yourself on” as a character in the style of glam rock or disco, a lot of awkward things. Laughter, image discussions, and story shooting can be heard in the fitting rooms. You can find rare and expensive Chanel archives in a single copy.

2. Second-hand “Fatcatshop” near the Kazan Cathedral



Second-hand “Fatcatshop”

A semi-dark room with a heavy smell of mold and dust in the basement with small windows under the ceiling. Things are piled on top of each other, like in an abandoned theater, hanging on rails and hanging shelves. Some corners with sofas and armchairs resemble the apartment of an old director because of the magazines. The clothes are different, from weird dresses to classic sweaters and raincoats. A young woman (about 30 years old), in a long skirt and a beret, goes through different things for a long time, strokes the fabric, does not try on. She leaves without buying anything, but she looks inspired.

3. Garage sale of a primary market store “IRNBY”



Garage sale of a primary market store “IRNBY”

A large semi-empty space, several rails with clothes with a fixed value, among the things are both unsold archives and things with a small defect — a stain on the lining, a crooked seam, protruding threads. A lot of young people, mostly couples. Girls choose, guys wear things. The changing rooms are noisy.

4. Garage sale second-hand and vintage shops in SevkaBel

Port There is a huge space, which is not felt due to the same huge number of rented sectors. A lot of rails with things, tables on which they tried to pack things beautifully. There are no normal fitting rooms. There are mostly young people with unique and idiosyncratic styles among the buyers. Interestingly, classic clothes are presented by men, and girls have different upsets and customizations from old clothes. Customers touch things a lot, but I didn't notice that they were buying a lot. They move in a circle to get a better look at all the points, and things look chaotically inside the points.

I noticed two friends, about 25–30 years old, trying on old boots and hats, giggling, and taking a lot of pictures.



Garage sale second-hand and vintage shops in Sevkabel Port

5. *Vintage store “Мушка” near Chernyshevskaya*

The space resembles an apartment, even the room of a grandmother who loved to dress up in her youth. Things are arranged by category — outerwear, nightgowns, and so on. You can only get here by appointment. The owner, an elderly woman, is not always in place. Besides me, there was a woman in the “room” who was 45–50 years old, coquettishly choosing “new” things for herself, playfully twirling in front of the mirror. I made a big purchase, even haggled. The smell is senile, but not too much. It’s cozy enough, a lot of retro things, but quite classic.



Vintage store “Мушка” near Chernyshevskaya

6. Vintage store “Fleur” near Chernyshevskaya

A basement room with a pronounced theatricality — a lot of fans, sculptures, plants, sofas with a table and dishes in the center, as if we were visiting, and not in a store. They offered drinks, and immediately told us about the arrival of clothes from abroad. While we were getting acquainted with the rails, the saleswoman sat on the sofa with her legs and ate, thinking about her own. There are many things from carnival and colorful to classic, but with its own twist. While I was there, two young girls came in, they greeted each other in a friendly way and immediately went to the stand with vintage jackets and corsets. They were distracted by the phone, comparing reality with references. We moved confidently, first towards the things we had planned, then towards the rest. Two more girls came in after them. They lingered at the jewelry stand. They tried it on and giggled, obviously fooling around.



Vintage store “Fleur” near Chernyshevskaya

7. Vintage store “Желтая Вешалка”²



Vintage store “Желтая Вешалка”

² Vintage store “The yellow hanger”.

I would classify this store more as a second-hand store since the items are mostly no older than 20 years old. The rails are packed, it's hard to see anything without making an effort to pull the hangers apart. The space is modest, without details. There were no customers.

8. *Selective second-hand “Fjordcloth stock & vintage”*

A selective vintage store with a twist on the 90s. There are many students of arts and media. The space is compact, but visually saturated: posters, cassettes, books on the windowsills. People spend time here like in a club — listening to music, discussing purchases with sellers, knowing the history of these things. The main category of clothing is men's, there are many young men who are clearly following trends, well-groomed, the sellers are also guys, responsive, help with the selection, advise what is best suited.



Selective second-hand “Fjordcloth stock & vintage”

9. *“Planeta Second-hand” Thrift store*



“Planeta Second-hand” Thrift store

An ordinary space, without much decoration. Simple rails with lots of clothes from the last decade, baskets of things for 100 rubles. There are a lot of people of different age groups, they look about 50–65 years old. A young couple comes in, disperses. She goes to the women's department, he goes to outerwear. They cross paths at the ticket counter in 15 minutes. He's holding a man's jacket, she's holding a woman's sweater. They both buy and go.

10. Fashion vintage showroom “Second Kent”

A quiet, almost gallery-like space. Things are hung by colors and categories. It felt like I was in someone's dressing room. The clothes are simple, but there are also some branded items, especially among accessories — they are like in a showcase. There is a couple in the fitting room — the guy chooses pants, the girl advises, the seller also fusses around, helping with the choice. They talk informally, joking like old friends. Lots of raincoats and shirts.



Fashion vintage showroom “Second Kent”

11. DOBRO³ Thrift Store

A brightly decorated, socially oriented store. There are many visitors with a pronounced “hipster” style: loose silhouettes, vintage glasses, caps. People often take pictures of things against the background of graffiti in fitting rooms — the space is part of the aesthetic capital.



DOBRO Thrift Store

12. Second-hand Bonobo

A small space, several rails and a large selection of T-shirts and shirts from classic to “Hawaiian”. Two young men in glasses and loose jeans approach the rail with trench coats. One says, “It’s like Baudrillard in Cannes,” the other says, “Yes, but more like a professor.” They take turns trying it on, taking pictures of each other on film. The cultural space merges with the clothing space. Ironic posters “buy a planet, save clothes”, as well as a mannequin with the best position are greeted at the entrance.



Second-hand Bonobo

³ Thrift Store “Добро”/“Good”.

13. *“Ambar” Vintage Clothing Store*

The interior is a kind of museum: antique furniture, big mirror, a large selection of various clothes, mostly men’s. A 35 year-old customer has been communicating with the saleswoman for a long time — she asks about the history of the item, its composition and care. Buying seems to turn into an act of cultural consumption — it’s not the thing that matters, but its narrative.



“Ambar” Vintage Clothing Store

14. *“Chestore Vintage” Vintage Selective Clothing Store*



“Chestore Vintage” Vintage Selective Clothing Store

The aesthetics of the curated thrift. The prices are above average, and there are rare collectibles. The year of manufacture and the country of manufacture of the item are written on the price tags, emphasizing the history of the item. Things are being repaired, apparently, again emphasizing the

history of the thing from the words of the owner. Young clients look like fashion magazine editors: recognizable fashion accessories, confident body language. They buy a little, but they look at it for a long time, touch it, try it on, talk to sellers, and learn the story. There are also older buyers, mostly men, walking around like in a museum, looking at things from their youth.

15. *“Megahand” second-hand clothing and shoes from Europe*

A large room with a lot of different clothes. There are literally two cultures meeting here: elderly saleswomen and young “vintage seekers.” I noticed a “skirmish” — a young girl in a corset, a long skirt with gathers, massive jewelry and a light raincoat asks the saleswoman about a “skirt a la Dior of the 50s”, the saleswoman answers her in the spirit: “A. It’s a simple polka dot skirt, look there.” There are a lot of young fashionistas like that who are clearly in need of super cheap clothes.



“Megahand” second-hand

16. *“Spasibo!” charity clothing store*

Stuffy room, lots of clothes and light, but pleasant enough. There is antique furniture, good fitting rooms. A young man of about 25 tries on a plaid shirt and immediately takes a photo in the mirror. He refuses the seller’s help. He walks erratically around the store, stopping near things that seem to have caught his eye.



“Spasibo!” charity clothing store

17. Eversale vintage concept store



Eversale vintage concept store

It's light, but not too much, and the room is cramped due to the large number of things with the smell of old fabric. Things are hung side by side, the lighting is yellow. Various posters and vinyl on the walls, as well as a large retro sofa and red curtains in the fitting room add to the comfort and theatricality. A 20+ year-old young man in headphones is wordlessly sorting through sweaters, methodically checking the composition on the tag and the presence of severe wear. He doesn't look in the mirror, he's lost in thought. The seller sits at the checkout and does not participate in the process of getting to know the clothes, but he looks friendly.

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SECONDARY MARKET CLOTHING CONSUMPTION: MOTIVATION AND PRACTICES OF RUSSIAN YOUTH

Abstract. In recent years, fashion involving second-hand clothing has emerged as a global trend driven by environmental concerns, economic pressures, and the pursuit of individuality. Although consumer motivations and practices in the second-hand clothing market have been extensively studied within Western academic discourse, they remain underexplored in the contemporary Russian context. This study focuses on analyzing the motivations and consumption practices of second-hand clothing among Russian youth aged 18 to 35. Based on 31 semi-structured interviews and field observations primarily conducted in Saint Petersburg, and employing elements of reflexive thematic analysis (Braun, Clarke 2006, 2019, 2021), key motivational forces were identified: economic and hedonic, aligned with the typologies of Ferraro et al. (2016) and Machado et al. (2019). The findings indicate that the primary factors are economic accessibility, the pleasure of the hunt, and the desire for uniqueness, whereas ecological and ethical motivations appear less frequently and as secondary drivers. Particular attention is given to the influence of social environment and cultural memory on consumer practices, as well as the ambivalent attitudes of Russian youth toward fast fashion and trends. This work situates the Russian context within global discussions of fashion, identity, and consumer resistance, revealing how local socio-economic and historical conditions shape consumption values.

Keywords: secondary clothing market, motivation, practices, Russian youth, fashion

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МЕХАНИЗМЫ ФОРМИРОВАНИЯ ЦЕННОСТНЫХ ОРИЕНТАЦИЙ МОЛОДЕЖИ В ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ КОМИТЕТА КУЛЬТУРЫ И ТУРИЗМА: МУНИЦИПАЛЬНАЯ ПРАКТИКА

Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются механизмы формирования ценностных ориентаций молодежи, применяемые Комитетом культуры и туризма города Курска. В условиях внутренних трансформаций в обществе задача формирования традиционных ценностных ориентаций российской молодежи является значимой. Исследование подчеркивает важность культурной политики как основы для развития духовности и патриотизма среди молодежи, усиленное внимание отводится необходимости активного взаимодействия различных социальных институтов. Материалы исследования включают результаты социологического опроса среди молодежи в возрасте 14–17 лет, проживающих в городе Курске, направленного на определение восприятия программ и инициатив, внедряемых комитетом. Выделены ключевые механизмы, такие как поддержка, кадровое обеспечение, досуговая деятельность, популяризация культурных инициатив и вовлечение в добровольчество. Анализ показал, что, несмотря на высокую значимость этих механизмов, вопросы территориальной доступности культурных учреждений остаются нерешенными и приоритетными для молодежи. Итоги исследования подчеркивают, что успешное формирование ценностных ориентаций молодежи требует дальнейшей адаптации культурных программ и обеспечения их доступности для всех слоев населения.

Ключевые слова: ценностные ориентации, молодежь, подростки, юноши, город Курск, комитет культуры и туризма, традиционные ценности, механизмы формирования ценностных ориентаций

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Введение

Формирование ценностных ориентаций современной российской молодежи — это важнейшая задача для России в период, когда происходят внешнеполитические изменения; когда наблюдается влияние на общество со стороны процессов глобализации; возникают новые экономические и социальные проблемы. Законодательством Российской Федерации признается, что «традиционные ценности — это нравственные ориентиры, формирующие мировоззрение граждан России, передаваемые от поколения к поколению, лежащие в основе общероссийской гражданской идентичности и единого культурного пространства страны, укрепляющие гражданское единство, нашедшие свое уникальное, самобытное проявление в духовном, историческом и культурном развитии многонационального народа России» (Указ Президента РФ от 09.11.2012 г. № 809). Кроме того, «Российская Федерация рассматривает традиционные ценности как основу российского общества, позволяющую защищать и укреплять суверенитет России, обеспечивать единство нашей многонациональной и многоконфессиональной страны, осуществлять сбережение народа России и развитие человеческого потенциала» (Указ Президента РФ от 09.11.2012 г. № 809).

Психологические, социальные и педагогические науки признают, что активное формирование ценностных ориентаций происходит в подростковом и юношеском возрасте. Данные возрастные периоды характеризуются усиленным влиянием различных факторов, поэтому в российской практике реализуется культурная, молодежная, социальная, образовательная политика, направленная на формирование и сохранение традиционных духовно-нравственных ценностей молодого поколения. Важно отметить, что именно культурная политика страны обладает неисчерпаемым потенциалом применения культуры для развития духовности, нравственности, патриотизма у молодежи. Это обусловлено имеющимися накопленными культурными ценностями народов России, ее великой историей и новым опытом создания культурного наследия.

Задачи культурной политики России в области формирования ценностных ориентаций молодежи призваны решать различные субъекты, в том числе Министерство культуры Российской Федерации, министерства на уровне субъектов и комитеты (управления) на муниципальном уровне. Так, в городе Курске Курской области функции культурного просвещения населения возложены на Комитет культуры и туризма города Курска (далее — комитет культуры), подведомственными учреждениями

которого выступают библиотеки, центры досуга, центры народного творчества, культурные и исторические центры, детские школы искусств и художественные школы. Всего в Курске насчитывается 21 культурное учреждение, которые непосредственно работают с молодым поколением различного возраста (источник: Комитет культуры и туризма города Курска).

Комитетом культуры применяется множество механизмов по формированию ценностных ориентаций молодежи, и социологические исследования показывают необходимость в их применении. В 2023 г. Институтом изучения детства, семьи и воспитания проведен мониторинг ценностных ориентаций курской молодежи в возрасте от 14 до 18 лет, обучающихся в школах и колледжах, в результате которого выявлены следующие особенности: общение с родителями у молодежи в большинстве случаев сводится к бытовым и повседневным темам; сформирован в данном возрасте страх перед финансовыми испытаниями, что может повлиять на их выбор по рождению детей и созданию семьи; детская дружба редко связывается с совместной деятельностью; высокий уровень увлеченности компьютерными играми; выбор для просмотра в свободное время современных «деструктивных» телепередач и иного контента; наличие вредных привычек и свободное признание в этом. Кроме того, одним из главных выводов по результатам проведенного опроса явился следующий: «Родители во взаимодействии с детьми недостаточно внимания уделяют эстетическому и экологическому воспитанию детей, совместному культурному досугу, историческому просвещению, этнокультурным традициям, а также теме взаимоотношений с противоположным полом» (Социологическое исследование. Институт изучения детства).

К основным механизмам, призванным препятствовать дальнейшему распространению обозначенных негативных особенностей ценностных ориентаций курской молодежи, применяемым комитетом культуры, относятся: механизм поддержки, кадровый механизм, досуговый механизм, механизм популяризации, добровольчества (рис. 1). Представленные механизмы отражены в программе «Развитие культуры и туризма в городе Курске» (Сайт администрации города Курска).

Благодаря обозначенным механизмам реализуются программы и проекты: арт-проект «Курск глазами молодых художников»; программа «Духовное наследие в книгах и чтении», проект «РОДом из Курска», проведение иных творческих конкурсов. Данный механизм предполагает поиск талантов через проведение конкурсов и вдохновляющих мероприятий.

Механизм поддержки	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • создание условий для реализации потенциала талантливой молодежи
Кадровый механизм	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • дополнительное образование работников культуры • привлечение молодых специалистов
Досуговый механизм	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • создание условий для проведения культурного досуга для молодежи, в том числе совместно с родителями
Механизм популяризации	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • привлечение к посещению, изучению и сохранению объектов культурного наследия города
Механизм добровольчества	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • участие молодежи в качестве волонтера культуры

Рис. 1. Механизмы формирования ценностных ориентаций молодежи, применяемые Комитетом культуры и туризма города Курска

Кадровый механизм фокусируется на дополнительном образовании работников культуры, что позволяет повышать уровень квалификации и привлекать молодых специалистов к работе в культурных учреждениях. Молодые специалисты способны чувствовать потребности молодежи, выявлять их интересы. Поэтому подведомственные учреждения комитета культуры участвуют в программе целевого обучения, пополняя молодыми специалистами свои педагогические и творческие коллективы.

Досуговый механизм создает условия для организации молодежного культурного досуга, включая совместные мероприятия с их родителями. Он способствует улучшению взаимодействия между поколениями и активному участию молодежи в культурной жизни города. Одним из ярких примеров работы досугового механизма выступает создание открытого молодежного пространства «Реальное место 46/23», особенностью которого выступает участие в музыкальных, художественных, танцевальных и театральных представлениях носителей культуры в центре города Курска в атмосфере природы и максимального взаимодействия.

Слушателями могут выступать все желающие, проходящие мимо жители, но главной целевой аудиторией выступают молодые люди различного возраста. В процессе представлений происходит общение, формируются новые знакомства. На каждой новой встрече желающие могут поделиться с окружающими и своим творчеством, представить любимое увлечение, поделиться своими знаниями (рис. 2) (Газета «Курская правда»).



Рис. 2. Творческая встреча открытого молодежного пространства
«Реальное место 46/23»

Механизм популяризации включает в себя мероприятия, направленные на привлечение молодежи к посещению, изучению и сохранению объектов культурного наследия города. Это помогает формировать у молодежи уважение к родному культурному наследию и истории. Механизм реализуется через «призыв к действию» молодого поколения, не проявляющего себя активно в творчестве, но которое может сохранить имеющееся наследие через участие в создании музея, пополнении его реквизитами, участие в субботниках, тематических праздниках и в их техническом оснащении. Поэтому происходит не прямое воздействие, а косвенное, когда молодой человек выступает не слушателем, не творцом, а участником, от которого зависит настоящее и будущее.

Механизм добровольчества предусматривает участие молодежи в качестве волонтеров в культурных мероприятиях. Это предоставляет возможность не только заявить о себе, но и активно участвовать в культурной жизни, развивать социальные навыки и взаимодействие с различными группами людей. Комитетом культуры поддерживается проект «Волонтеры культуры», который охватил не только город

Курск, но и другие регионы России. Волонтеры культуры участвуют в патриотических акциях, слушают лекции, у них есть возможность отправиться в экспедицию, организовать экскурсию.

Обозначенные механизмы представляют собой комплексный подход к формированию активной и культурно осознанной молодежи в городе Курске.

Тем не менее следует обозначить проблему, которая выражается в противоречии между наличием механизмов в деятельности комитета культуры и недостаточной вовлеченностью молодежи в реализуемые мероприятия.

Поэтому мы перед собой поставили следующую цель — определить востребованность среди молодежи подросткового и юношеского возрастов механизмов формирования ценностных ориентаций молодежи, применяемых Комитетом культуры и туризма города Курска, а также выявить факторы успешности их реализации.

Методология исследования

Теоретико-методологической основой исследования выступили социологические теории и концепции. В основу легла теория социального обучения А. Бандуры (Бандура 2000). Теория рассматривает, как молодежь усваивает ценности и нормы через наблюдение и взаимодействие с окружающими. Комитет культуры и туризма города Курска способствует проведению культурных мероприятий, которые выступают платформой для моделирования ценностей и поведения. В теории социальных представлений С. Московичи коллективные представления о мире формируются в процессе общения внутри сообществ. Культурные инициативы способствуют формированию представлений о мире, жизни общества, что влияет на формирование ценностных ориентаций. Следует отметить концепцию культурного капитала П. Бурдьё, которая акцентирует внимание на том, что доступность и восприятие культурных ресурсов способствуют формированию ценностей молодежи (Бурдьё 2004). Важно понять, как комитет культуры использует свои ресурсы для обеспечения равного доступа молодежи к культурной жизни и как это влияет на их ценностные установки.

Разведывательное исследование проведено с применением метода анкетирования в офлайн-формате. Анкета респондентам представлена на бумажном носителе. На каждый вопрос респондентам предлагалось несколько вариантов ответов. Целевая выборка позволила ускорить процесс исследования. В анкетировании приняли участие 200 респондентов в возрасте от 14 до 17 лет, обучающиеся в средних

общеобразовательных школах города Курска (МБОУ СОШ № 60, МБОУ СОШ № 61, МБОУ СОШ № 62), проживающих на постоянной основе в городе Курске не менее 7 лет. Анкетирование проведено с согласия родителей респондентов, так как они не достигли 18-летнего возраста.

Результаты исследования

Проведенное анкетирование показало, что каждый из обозначенных механизмов формирования ценностных ориентаций имеет свою степень значимости для молодежи. Например, механизм поддержки, который включает в себя программы и финансирование культурных инициатив, оказался важным для 50% респондентов. Подростки отметили, что наличие финансовой и организационной поддержки создает предпосылки для реализации их идей и инициатив (рис. 3).

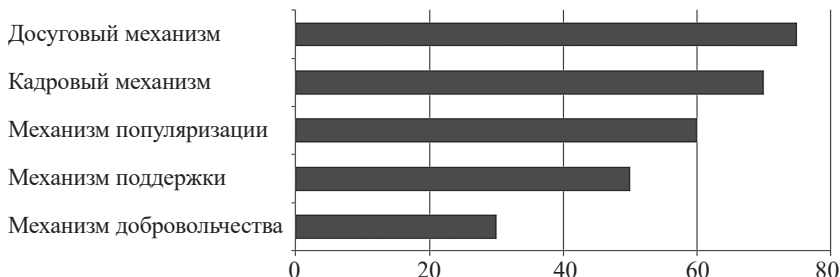


Рис. 3. Значимость для молодежи механизмов формирования ценностных ориентаций в деятельности Комитета культуры и туризма города Курска, %

Кадровый механизм, связанный с подготовкой и повышением квалификации специалистов в области культурной работы, был признан важным для 70% опрошенных. Опрошенные выразили мнение о том, что наличие молодых грамотных работников, способных организовать интересные и вовлекающие мероприятия, влияет на их желание участвовать в культурной жизни. Респонденты отметили, что им интересно слушать, общаться, например, с гидом, у которого широкий кругозор.

Досуговый механизм, который включает в себя организацию различных мероприятий и активностей, поддерживающих культурное развитие, оказался актуальным для 75% подростков. Это говорит о высоком интересе молодежи к разнообразным формам досуга, таким как творческие мастерские, музыкальные конкурсы и спортивные мероприятия.

Механизм популяризации, направленный на продвижение культурных инициатив и мероприятий, вызвал положительное отношение у 60% респондентов. Молодежь признала, что информация о культурных событиях должна быть доступной и интересной, что побуждает их к активному участию.

Наконец, механизм добровольчества, привлекающий молодежь к активному участию в организации культурных мероприятий и социальных акций, был важен для 30% опрошенных. Подростки отметили, что участие в добровольческих проектах позволяет им не только вносить вклад в общество, но и развивать свои навыки и компетенции.

При анализе факторов, влияющих на заинтересованность молодежи, были выделены несколько ключевых аспектов. 80% респондентов отметили, что активная рекламная кампания и информирование о мероприятиях способствуют их вовлеченности. Также 75% опрошенных заявили, что интерес к культурным инициативам значительно повышается, когда они сами могут принимать участие в планировании и проведении мероприятий (рис. 4).

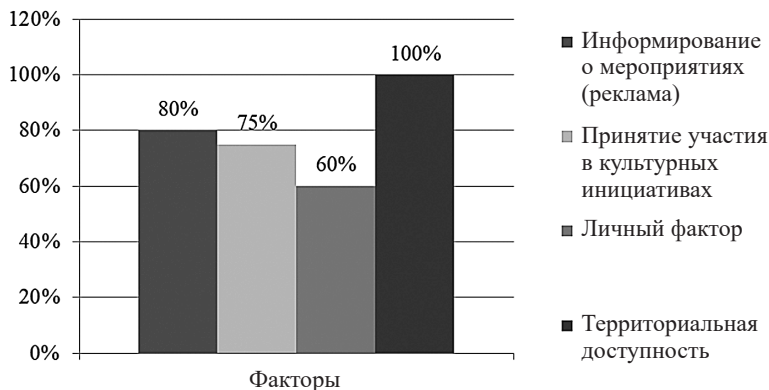


Рис. 4. Факторы, влияющие на успешность механизмов формирования ценностных ориентаций молодежи в деятельности Комитета культуры и туризма города Курска

Наиболее значимыми личными факторами оказались наличие друзей и сверстников, участвующих в культурных мероприятиях, что подтолкнуло 70% респондентов проявлять активность. Все респонденты без исключения отметили важность территориальной доступности для посещения мероприятий или культурных мест.

Как отмечают подростки и юноши, порой они не успевают посетить интересующие их культурные объекты, а занятия искусством проводятся далеко от их дома. Территориальная доступность имеет ограничение. Так, за последние 15 лет в городе Курске построены новые жилые районы, где до сих пор не имеется условий для культурного развития молодежи в возрасте 14–17 лет — отсутствуют школы искусств, центры досуга и т. д. Культурное развитие всецело возложено на образовательные организации и частные детские клубы.

Участники опроса обозначили, что посещать частные детские клубы им нравится больше, чем секции и кружки при государственной поддержке (на базе школ, ДШИ и т. д.). Так, частные организации, оказывающие спортивные, образовательные, услуги по развитию творческих способностей, намного интереснее, как отметили 60% респондентов, а 40% респондентов нравится посещать и государственные организации, где они могут реализовать свой потенциал.

Важно отметить, что в городе Курске имеются частные организации, которые представляют различные услуги, способствующие развитию талантов молодежи, и некоторые из них заинтересованы и в формировании у детей и подростков традиционных российских ценностей. Ярким примером выступает деятельность спортивных центров «Чемпион» и «Русский стиль». Руководители центров совместно с тренерами и при поддержке родителей организуют поездки в монастыри, музеи, парки с целью культурного просвещения молодежи, воспитания у них чувства любви к Родине.

Как отмечалось в исследовании ранее, подведомственными учреждениями Комитета культуры и туризма города Курска выступают различные библиотеки, центры досуга, центры народного творчества, культурные центры, детские школы искусств и художественные школы. Респондентам было предложено ознакомиться с перечнем учреждений и указать, какие из них они посещали, отметить причину посещения (досуг, просвещение, участие в мероприятии, участие в конкурсе, посещение секции или кружка). В результате проведенного опроса выявлено, что подросткам и юношам меньше всего приходилось посещать библиотеки (5%), художественные школы (10%). Библиотеки — из предложенного перечня — они посещали в рамках просвещения. Художественные школы молодежь посещала также в просветительских целях, чтобы принять участие в мероприятиях, также эти респонденты занимаются в художественных школах, подведомственных Комитету культуры и туризма города Курска. Всего 5% принимали участие в конкурсе, организованном художественной школой из предложенного перечня (табл. 1).

Таблица 1

**Частота посещаемости молодежью в возрасте от 14 до 17 лет
подведомственных учреждений Комитета культуры и туризма
города Курска**

Наименование вида учреждения	Посе- щение	Причины посещения				
		досуг	просве- щение	участие в мероприятии	участие в кон- курсе	посещение секции или кружка
Библиотеки	5%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%
Центры досуга	60%	60%	10%	20%	0%	0%
Центры народного творчества	20%	0%	0%	20%	10%	5%
Культурные центры	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Детские школы искусств	30%	0%	0%	5%	30%	30%
Художественные школы	10%	0%	10%	10%	5%	10%
Не посещали данные учреждения	30%	—	—	—	—	—

Гораздо больше (20%) респондентов указали на то, что посещали центры народного творчества по причине участия в мероприятии, конкурсах. Всего 5% занимаются в центре народного творчества и реализуют свой творческий потенциал в одном из таких учреждений. Детские школы искусств посетили 30% представителей молодого поколения в возрасте от 14 до 17 лет, потому как они посещают различные кружки и секции, соответственно, и принимают участие в различных мероприятиях, а руководители привлекают их к конкурсной деятельности. 60% опрошенных посетили центры досуга, основными причинами выступили проведение досуга — это могло быть кино, концерты; в меньшей степени это просвещение и непосредственное участие в мероприятии. Не посетили ни одного из предложенных в перечне учреждений 30% опрошенной молодежи.

Полученные результаты позволяют сделать вывод, что молодежь, принявшая участие в опросе, привлекается к посещению учреждений, подведомственных Комитету культуры и туризма города Курска, через работу кружков и секции, через проведение мероприятий и привлечение

к участию обучающихся. В меньшей степени это просветительские мероприятия с большим охватом молодежи, досуговые мероприятия и конкурсы. Следует указать на то, что все учреждения, подведомственные Комитету культуры и туризма города Курска, территориально находятся в «старой» части города, а опрошенные обучаются и проживают в новом районе города Курска, где отсутствуют подобные учреждения. Мы полагаем, что данный фактор значительно влияет на вовлеченность молодежи в деятельность обозначенных учреждений. Это предположение может подтвердиться или быть опровергнуто в ходе дальнейших исследований с более широким охватом участников опроса.

Завершающий вопрос анкеты позволил в целом узнать интересы участников опроса в рамках культурного развития. Респондентам необходимо было выбрать формы мероприятий, которые они бы предпочли, в рамках проведения свободного времени после уроков совместно со своими одноклассниками и под руководством педагогов: кино, концерты, представления, выставки, командные соревнования, конкурсы, испытания (квесты), праздники, научные проекты (рис. 5).



Рис. 5. Предпочитаемые молодежью формы мероприятий

Большинство респондентов (80%) указали, что им интересны различные испытания (квесты), активный отдых после школы в форме праздника интересен 70% опрошенных, в командных соревнованиях с удовольствием приняли бы участие 55% школьников. Активные формы мероприятий приветствуются молодежью, о чем

свидетельствуют исследования в области социального взаимодействия, развития мышления Л. С. Выготского, Г. А. Цукермана и др. (Выготский 1999; Цукерман 1995). Стремление подростков и юношей к новым впечатлениям и эмоциям, по мнению Е. А. Климова, — явление, способствующее развитию любопытства и благоприятному процессу социализации (Климов 2024).

Хотели бы сходить в кино 40% респондентов, интересны научные проекты 30% опрошенных, такая же доля опрошенных хотела бы посетить выставки, хотели бы поучаствовать в конкурсах 20%, сходить на представление пожелали 15% респондентов.

Заключение

Активное формирование ценностных ориентаций молодежи происходит через социокультурные мероприятия, которые имеют не только развлекательную, но и развивающую направленность. Поддержка, квалификация кадров, создание досуговых мероприятий, популяризация культурных инициатив и вовлечение молодежи в добровольчество — все это важные механизмы, с помощью которых Комитет культуры и туризма города Курска стремится сформировать активную и социально ответственную молодежь. Важно отметить, что большинство молодежи оценили значимость различных механизмов формирования ценностных ориентаций. Особенно высокую оценку получили кадровый и досуговый механизмы, что свидетельствует о потребности молодежи в качественном культурном обслуживании и разнообразии активностей. Тем не менее выявлена и проблема недостаточной территориальной доступности культурных учреждений, что ограничивает участие молодежи в культурной жизни.

Результаты исследования подчеркивают, что молодежь предпочитает активно участвовать в мероприятиях, ориентированных на взаимодействие и эмоциональные впечатления, таких как квесты и праздники. Это указывает на важность адаптации культурных предложений под интересы и потребности молодежи для более эффективного формирования их ценностей.

Успешная реализация механизмов формирования ценностных ориентаций молодежи требует дальнейшего изучения, адаптации программ под современные условия и потребности, а также обеспечения доступности культурных инициатив для молодежи всех возрастов и из разных районов города.

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MECHANISMS OF FORMATION OF YOUTH VALUE ORIENTATIONS IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE OF CULTURE AND TOURISM: MUNICIPAL PRACTICE

Abstract. The article discusses the mechanisms of formation of value orientations of youth, applicable by the Committee of Culture and Tourism of the city of Kursk. In the context of internal transformations in society, the task of forming traditional value orientations of Russian youth is significant. The study highlights the importance of cultural policy as a basis for the development of spirituality and patriotism among young people, with increased attention being paid to the need for active interaction between various social institutions. The research materials include the results of a sociological survey among young people aged 14–17 living in the city of Kursk, aimed at determining the perception of programs and initiatives implemented by the committee. Key mechanisms such as support, staffing, leisure activities, popularization of cultural initiatives and involvement in volunteerism are highlighted. The analysis showed that despite the high importance of these mechanisms, the issues of territorial accessibility of cultural institutions remain unresolved and a priority for young people. The results of the study emphasize that the successful formation of youth value orientations requires further adaptation of cultural programs and ensuring their accessibility to all segments of the population.

Keywords: value orientations, youth, teenagers, young men, Kursk city, Committee of culture and tourism, traditional values, mechanisms of formation of value orientations

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ОПЫТ ЛЮДЕЙ С ОГРАНИЧЕННЫМИ ВОЗМОЖНОСТЯМИ ПО ЗРЕНИЮ В ИНКЛЮЗИВНОЙ КУЛЬТУРНОЙ И КРЕАТИВНОЙ ИНДУСТРИИ: БАРЬЕРЫ И СОЦИОКУЛЬТУРНЫЕ АСПЕКТЫ

Аннотация. Несмотря на растущее внимание во всем мире к инклюзивности в сфере культуры и творчества, люди с ограниченными возможностями зрения в России по-прежнему сталкиваются с системной изоляцией, которая выходит за рамки барьеров физической доступности. В то время как российская литература об инклюзивности в искусстве устанавливает основополагающие принципы инклюзивности, в ней в основном применяется медикализированный, ориентированный на реабилитацию подход, а искусство людей с ограниченными возможностями рассматривается как зависимая область художественного творчества от доминантной культуры. Это исследование направлено на то, чтобы представить жизненный опыт людей с нарушениями зрения, фокусируясь на том, как они интерпретируют инклюзивные творческие практики и вовлекаются в них в более широких социальных и культурных рамках. Оно направлено на выявление ключевых барьеров — поведенческих, социальных и институциональных, — которые сами участники определяют как препятствующие их полному включению в культурный опыт. Изучив опыт участников инклюзивного культурного и креативного производства, исследование стремится внести вклад в разработку более значимых и ориентированных на участников стратегий инклюзивности в культурных и творческих пространствах.

Ключевые слова: инклюзия, культура, люди с ограниченными возможностями по зрению, креативная индустрия

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Introduction

People with visual impairments in Russia experience systemic exclusion that extends beyond physical accessibility restrictions, despite growing international awareness of the importance of inclusivity in the cultural and creative industries (Pronchev et al. 2017). The underlying frameworks for accessibility were developed by Russian literature on inclusion in the arts, but it primarily took a medicalized, rehabilitation-focused approach rather than viewing popular art as a separate field of creative performance. Moreover, even though the topic of inclusion has been the subject of a sizable amount of research not much is done to learn about the first-hand experiences of the people it is being used for. The unique goal of the study is to shed a light on artistic engagement of the visually impaired artists as well as capture the main barriers faced by them and outline recommendations for the creative and cultural spaces. The study seeks to answer the following research questions: How do people with eyesight disabilities experience participation in inclusive creative production? What are the key barriers that hinder full inclusion in creative production?

The purposes of the research are to analyze inclusivity in the cultural and creative sphere in terms of its application on work with the disabled, describe techniques which the disabled use to produce and consume art works, analyze firsthand experiences including barriers and problems which are faced by the blind in cultural and creative spheres. Simon Hayhoe (2017) in his book uses the term “ableism” — a type of discrimination in which able-bodied people are seen as normal and superior to people with disabilities, leading to prejudice against the latter. In the research, ableism will be taken into consideration as well in order to know whether it exists in the cultural sphere and whether it produces any discrimination, as well as the existence of other phenomena will be investigated in the realm of art production and consumption of visually impaired people.

Literature Review

The experience of cultural perception among individuals with eyesight disabilities is a critical area of study that intersects with various disciplines, including sociology, psychology, and cultural studies. This literature review

aims to analyze the barriers faced by people with visual impairments in accessing cultural institutions, as well as the socio-cultural aspects that influence their adaptation to these environments. Despite advancements in technology and increasing awareness of inclusivity, significant obstacles remain in the way cultural content is delivered and experienced. Existing literature highlights a range of challenges, from physical accessibility and inadequate sensory engagement to societal attitudes and institutional practices that often overlook the needs of this group. By examining these barriers and the adaptive strategies employed by individuals with eyesight disabilities, this review seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of their cultural experiences and the implications for cultural institutions striving to foster inclusivity.

1.1. Disability and Stigma

Erving Goffman, a prominent sociologist, defined stigma in his influential work, “Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity” (1963). He described stigma as an attribute that discredits an individual, leading to a devaluation of their social identity. Goffman categorized stigma into three main types. The first one — physical stigma includes visible physical deformities or disabilities that can lead to negative perceptions and discrimination. Character stigma refers to perceived flaws in an individual’s character, such as mental illness, addiction, or criminal behavior, which can result in social rejection. Group stigma pertains to the stigma associated with belonging to a particular social group, such as race, religion, or sexual orientation, which can lead to widespread prejudice and discrimination.

Goffman emphasized that stigma is not just about the individual who bears it but also about the societal reactions to that individual. He introduced the concept of “spoiled identity,” highlighting how stigma can lead to a loss of social status and self-esteem. Individuals may engage in various strategies to manage their stigma, such as concealing their stigmatized attributes or trying to distance themselves from the stigma through social interactions. Stigma is tightly connected with disability, influencing lives of the impaired people significantly.

The experience of disability is often intertwined with societal perceptions and attitudes, which can significantly shape the lives of individuals with disabilities. Stigma, in particular, plays a critical role in this dynamic, influencing how people with disabilities are viewed and treated by others. Rooted in misconceptions and negative stereotypes, stigma can lead to discrimination and social exclusion, creating barriers that hinder access to essential resources and opportunities. One of the main problems

encountered by disabled individuals is that their disability oftenly outshines their identity (Susman 1994). This statement points to the fact that usually in communication with the disabled other people see only a disability itself, not a person's personality, thus limiting both people from making functional communication, which is talking to each other without tailoring a conversation to certain needs of a partner. Moreover, disability groups can experience stigma and sequential pigeonholing not only on individuals but also on a country level. For instance, Gliedman and Roth (1980) in their study of handicapped children in the USA state that the way disabled children get cured is a "national disgrace" since what had been done was not enough for their treatment. However, one important statement is made by Douglas Biklen (1988) about the necessity of prescribing the disabled a status of a minority group, thus helping them to receive more institutional attention in terms of treatment and legislation. However, on one hand, it is actually needed since status of a minority group can increase volumes of aid received by the disabled, on the other hand, it can badly influence self-esteem of the impaired resulting in feeling discriminated against and suppressed by being called a minority group.

Bridgit Rohwerder (2018) in her research in Sub-Saharan Africa has analyzed the effects which stigma can have on individuals. Several of the main resulting effects are the following — people get mistreated because of perceiving them as not humans but as a special kind of people, misconceptions about the cause of the disability, which usually is blamed on supernatural forces and witchcraft, the nature and abilities of people with impairments, discrimination policies and legislations. Moreover, females are more influenced by stigma as it also implies that an impaired woman is unable to produce children, which is her main responsibility.

1.2. Definition of Blindness

To understand the specificity of the state of a person who is lacking vision it is needed to identify what blindness is. Sudhir Bhagotra et al. (2008) define blindness as a "devastating physical condition with deep emotional and economic implications". The authors make an accent on the vivid emotional effect of a person who is faced with the disability, as well as highlighting the role of an economic part of a person's life, which is likely to be steeply changed. Undoubtedly, the people who had vision once in life and suddenly lost it are faced with an enormously hard change in their life, which can affect their physiological state since losing vision enforce people to learn to live in a new way, therefore making it hard for a person to adapt to so many obstacles, starting from getting ready in the morning and cooking

for themselves, ending up with more complicated things such as dealing with previous work or finding new working place. However, blindness is not only defined just by a lack of vision. There are different types of being blind, ranging from total lack of sight to seeing light and different colors. Mark Hollins (2022) names different types of vision abilities — residual vision, perception, and projection. The last two types describe an ability to see something, however, it will have no sense and give no information to a person, thus making this ability unfunctional. Hollins also raises an important question about who to call blind since he argues that even people who can see blurred shapes are called blind, so that it is not clear yet to what extent a person has to see less to be called visually impaired.

1.3. Factors Influencing Creativity

The intersection of socioeconomic status (SES) and artistic expression is a critical area of exploration, revealing how financial and social factors influence creativity and art production. SES encompasses various dimensions, including income, education, and access to cultural resources, all of which can significantly impact an individual's ability to engage in and contribute to the arts. Understanding these dynamics is essential for recognizing the barriers some individuals face and the opportunities available to others in the creative landscape.

D. Dai et al. (2012) in the study of factors influencing creativity have examined that education has the strongest influence on performing creativity. In other words, in their study they have examined children from various socio-economic backgrounds and concluded that socio-economic status (SES) does affect a level of creativity which a child has, however, it can be significantly compensated by school as it can provide a person with all the needed resources such as art classes and creativity development lessons. Therefore, it can be concluded that school compensates for a lack of art education at home in developing art skills and taste of a child. Moreover, engagement with arts at an early age can help to better develop cognitive and emotional skills (Sousa 2006). However, if to talk about whether people who visit cultural places differ from those who do not attend, for example, art exhibitions, and therefore the important question raises — do people who visit museums have some common dominants like having art education at school or at home or do they not stand out from the non visitors? To delve into this question it is needed to look at the paper by Paul DiMaggio (1996). In his work he investigated whether visitors of art-museums are different from non-visitors. It was concluded that they are more prone to be attracted to high-culture. Concerning political views, they are more supportive of non-conformist political ideas and scientific benefits,

i.e. that science is capable of making right decisions for humanity, compared to non-visitors of museums. However, they also comment that faith should be taken into account too in life thus coinciding with non-visitors. These results do not give any evidence that visitors and non-visitors of museums differ in terms of any socio-economic dominant but the results from this paper provide an insight that visitors are not categorical in their thinking, which can be linked with a flexibility of their mind and critical thinking ability. From this insight it can be inferred that these features could be obtained through some kind of education or learning. While DiMaggio was more interested in political views distinctions amongst visitors, Hei Wan Mak and Daisy Fancourt (2021) were curious about social determinants of art adherence. They have researched children from different SES backgrounds and their art participation inside and outside of school. The conclusion from the paper was that children from lower SES levels were less likely to go to museums or to produce art works outside of school. Moreover, this type of art affiliation can be transferred to the next generation of the family. They have also examined that parental social status is one of the most significant dominants in art engagement, while also the findings indicated that parental involvement during childhood is a strong indicator of whether or not kids participate outside of school, particularly when it comes to arts, crafts, and design projects as well as visits to archives, museums, or historical sites. Nonetheless, a significant predictor of children's involvement outside of school is the parents' present level of involvement. This may imply that kids who participate in the arts on a regular basis are more likely to interact with their parents, who are more inclined to support and promote participation. Besides, the role of teachers is equally significant as shown in the study of Beusaert et al. 2013, which highlights the importance of student-centred approach which makes students get deeper knowledge and develop creativity. These results are highly important in the current research of the blind people since it becomes a vital moment in the lives of people. Adherence to art before and after receiving a disability is crucial in understanding the art role for people — for example, whether nothing has changed after becoming a disabled in terms of art consumption, i.e. a person had always been interested in arts and remained interesting at the same level after a trauma or a person had not been interested in art and, for example, took up art in order to express emotions during a traumatic period of life.

1.4. Art Creation and Disability

In the beginning of the 20th century there has been a significant change in the attitude towards the art of the disabled. This was the time of ideological transformations, rethinking the patterns of human consciousness and new

cultural phenomena mostly due to publication of Sigmund Freud's works such as "The interpretation of dreams" (1900), which has become a solid background for many researchers to form new practices to explore the nature and behavior of a human. Norms of an art become to change, implying that the transformation of early set rules is now not the one and only paradigm of making art (Suvorova 2022). Patients of psychiatric hospitals started to be viewed not as ill people who needed cure but as painters, whose works were exhibited in art galleries and exhibitions. The art of patients has revolutionized the art world of the 20th century, thus revealing a new realm of art creation. The works of the "ill" were valued for giving birth to a new way of depicting reality, which was needed at that time due to an oversaturation of society with the previous classical styles of painting. As Suvorova states in her book, strangeness of paintings of outsiders like adding surreal elements to paintings and not preserving academic style was valued and in demand by society at that time. Art of ill people became a positive characteristic of art creation, meaning that disability started to be accepted as a tool of making unconventional works. For example, if one takes a look at the art career of Frida Kahlo, it is noticeable that disability plays the main role in her paintings. According to N. Heinich (1997), the audience might prescribe a certain value to art creation, when the role of suffering and marginality becomes a central theme of an artist's career. The fact of knowing about personal troubles of an artist pushes people to ponder about a certain painting more, thus thinking that the craftsmanship of the artist is at a high level and that is why it should be highly evaluated and recognized more.

Concerning the blind, it must be addressed in the following research whether artists feel that they are not truly evaluated by people and investigated whether they try to settle their disability in the first place for any reason.

1.5. Disability, Art, and Representation: Tensions Between Identity and Inclusion

There has not been that much research made investigating how the disabled produce artworks. It is also unclear to what degree they are motivated to create work that reflects the expressive growth of a self-identity shaped by experiences of impairment and disability. One of the main important questions in investigating the role of art in the life of the disabled is to understand the reasons for taking up arts. Taylor (2005) states that it is highly important for the disabled people to engage into art since visual art can help them to acquire skills which are needed to understand visual language which is used in multicultural context which celebrates

difference and uniqueness of every person. He emphasizes that art becomes a tool for both the disabled and healthy people to learn about diversity and that “we are all a part of a spectrum of difference”. This can be referred to as an emotional need of the disabled as, affected by stigma, the impaired feel down and suppressed, thus needing emotional help and fulfillment.

However, there comes an inconsistency in the initial purpose of making art by the disabled of whether to celebrate a difference or to ignore it, i.e. not pointing out a disability in art and position oneself solely as an artist, not a disabled artist. There is a question of whether a person wants to express a trauma which they have got in their art or to make art in order to forget it, to become a certain kind of a healthy person without disability through an art process. Finkelstein (1987) in her article divides disabled people into two “worlds” — the one which tries to focus on abilities rather than disabilities and the second which focuses on disabilities. Principal issue in making focus on abilities rather than disabilities is an inclination to the dominant culture. Finkelstein argues that during a conference which was aimed at promotion of abilities of the disabled people the organisers of the conference made an accent on dominant culture values, thus ignoring the needs of the disabled, even that the conference was not available for wheelchair users. Author states that when promoting the ability of the disabled artists they often get referred to as having art-ability, thus making people strive to meet the standards of the healthy, able-bodied people simultaneously discouraging them from promoting their own identity. Therefore, even when disabled artists strive for not highlighting their disability in their work and society, they usually get referred as disabled, by reviewing their artworks as excellent for people with disability, thus making an accent on the latter. Moreover, Chandler et al. (2018) tell about a canadian project Re-Vision which is an arts-based research initiative designed to challenge and reshape perceptions of disability through creative expression. It employs multimedia storytelling and theater workshops specifically tailored for deaf and disabled individuals. The methodology of this project was the following: the participants engaged in creating 3–5 minute digital stories that reflect their experiences with disability, utilizing a range of media forms. This method allowed them to receive diverse expressions and it emphasized the constructed nature of representation. The artworks produced serve as tools for public pedagogy, prompting audiences to reconsider their understanding of disability. Presentations of these works have been shown to shift perceptions among viewers. This project could be perceived as an attempt to challenge the norms of dominant culture in art as was discussed by Finkelstein in order to create a new branch of art which would not be claimed as outsider art.

1.6. Inclusivity

The research which is conducted aims at understanding inclusive principles of the modern world and the way they influence the implementation of different inclusive programs in creative and cultural industry. To understand this, the definition of inclusivity needs to be outlined. Foreman (2008) talks about inclusivity in education as a principle which extends beyond accommodating students with disabilities, advocating for inclusive education where all schools should aim to deliver the best possible learning experiences for every student, regardless of their background, identity, or abilities. Therefore, inclusivity means that no factor should have an influence on getting education by an individual. When discussing principles of inclusivity, Bransford, Brown, and Cocking (2000) consider a competency-based approach which means that students are viewed as adaptable learners capable of transferring and applying their knowledge to novel contexts. In this analysis this concept will be seen as a central one when analyzing interviews since this approach seems to most genuinely describe the core of inclusivity. To boost quality indicators of inclusive education, a sophisticated culture promoting open communication, collaboration, and continuous dialogue is necessary (Ferguson 2019). Therefore, it can be concluded that to succeed in implementing any inclusive programs or processes, no restrictions must be put on participants, which could be expressed in discriminatory attitudes from teachers or classmates when communicating with the disabled. Another scholar who investigates organizational inclusion concludes that notwithstanding different perspectives posed on the question of inclusivity, there is always the same trait in understanding it: inclusion can exist only when there is a lack of exclusion (Dobusch 2020). This point of view contributes to the argument of the previous debate on inclusivity, highlighting the importance of not leaving out individuals from any process. Shore, Cleveland, and Sanchez (2018) highlight that organizational inclusion research marks a transition — from focusing solely on preventing discrimination against marginalized groups to actively fostering inclusive workplace environments. These scholars delineate how the implementation of inclusivity has changed over time. Before it was primarily centered on compliance with diversity policies and legal mandates, but contemporary approaches emphasize creating a culture of belonging, where all employees feel valued and empowered to contribute their unique perspectives. The authors argue that this shift reflects a deeper understanding of inclusion as a dynamic, multilevel process involving leadership commitment, structural equity, and everyday interpersonal interactions.

In recent years, the cultural sector has increasingly recognized the importance of making art accessible to all audiences. However, true inclusion requires more than physical accommodations, it calls for a fundamental reexamination of how we approach art experiences for visually impaired individuals. Inclusion always means that some social process or event considers diversity (Bacon et al. 2023). In their research they have come to the point that diversity means intervening of different social, ethnic and economic backgrounds. Undoubtedly, to make people integrate into a certain setting recognition of their differences has to be made, otherwise, the intimidation is expected to be encountered during communication. The term “diversity” which has been borrowed from the biological realm of study of nature has been applied to organizational studies and needs to be examined nowadays because of the growing number of various diverse organizations and the following obstacles which they face with their rapid growth (Kreitz 2008). The research by Bacon also emphasizes that cultivating inclusive environments requires cultural institutions and practitioners to consciously acknowledge their inherent privileges as a necessary step toward fostering equitable participation, thus making equity another vital principle which is thought to be a part of inclusion. Equity represents a moral principle centered on ensuring just and impartial treatment for all members of society (Creary 2021). Equity should not be confused with equality since they are realised differently. Where equality distributes identical resources uniformly, equity recognizes that justice often demands differentiated approaches, providing additional accommodations or modified pathways to ensure meaningful participation for all. Another significant principle of a fully inclusive environment is accessibility, which serves as the practical foundation that transforms theoretical inclusion into lived reality. Accessibility involves creating adaptable systems and environments that can be customized to meet individual requirements and ways of engaging (Valdes 2004). Rather than offering a single rigid approach, it embraces multiple ways for participation that respect different abilities, learning styles, and interaction preferences. Shahoud (2024) in the study of components of inclusivity highlights that accessibility is viewed to be the most important principle of an inclusive environment. Having analysed these papers, here are 3 main principles of inclusivity: diversity, equity, and accessibility.

However, when considering inclusivity, the attitude of the surrounding should be considered and analysed when communicating with a minority group to which inclusive practices are focused. Theory of cultural competence developed in the US as an approach to tackling systemic disparities in healthcare through more responsive service delivery. Cross et al. (1989) originally conceptualized it as an interconnected system of adaptable

practices, professional mindsets, and organizational policies that facilitate effective engagement across cultural differences with a genuine interest in one's differences and a desire to learn the worldview of other people. This framework emphasizes practitioners' self-reflection about their own cultural positioning while cultivating an open, learning-oriented approach to understanding others' values and lived experiences.

Study of urban inclusivity by Zahrah and Gamal (2018) underscores that inclusivity can be evaluated through the dual lenses of affordability and accessibility, thus bringing in the economic aspect of any inclusive space, which can imply that people shall have no economic restrictions in accessing a certain good or experience. Another important theory under which inclusivity might be analysed is a theory explained by Viljoen of human niches (2016). The theory suggests that way of thinking shapes our attitudes and actions. Real change happens when people start thinking differently. The theory shows that with inclusive approaches and strong leadership, groups and societies can transform in lasting ways. Importantly, these "niches" aren't about how smart someone is — they're about habitual ways of thinking that develop over time. As societies evolve, new ways of thinking create new possibilities. This idea helps us understand how changing mindsets can lead to more inclusive communities and organizations.

As the current research is conducted in Russia, the need to analyse the Russian realm of inclusive art has arisen. Within the discussion of inclusive cultural practices, the work of Vishnyakova (2020) in her university textbook deserves special attention. As a practicing typhlopsychologist and typhlopedagogue, the author offers a fundamentally new perspective on inclusive art, defining it as an independent artistic phenomenon. Vishnyakova emphasizes that artworks created by artists with disabilities and developmental differences possess special aesthetic and social value worthy of recognition as a distinct category of contemporary art. Another scholar who investigated inclusivity Mustafina (2024) in her work argues that inclusive art serves two main purposes in today's discussions. First, it acts as a powerful tool for protecting disability rights — especially the rights to arts education and creative expression. Second, experts are developing new terms like "disability art" and "art brut" to better describe artworks made by people with disabilities (Mustafina 2024). She also argues that a special feature of inclusive art is the development of its own evaluation criteria, its own standards, which have nothing in common with classical traditional art. This point can be argued in the further part of the research since as it was stated above inclusivity promotes equality and for this reason making up special rules for participants of inclusive art can be viewed negatively.

In many cases inclusive art is considered as a therapeutic activity, which medicalizes the aesthetic human activity and art itself (Shemanov et al. 2013). The author highlights on the need of further research of disability are and of the questions of its' medicalization which is expressed in forms of numerous art-therapies centered at the disabled. According to Argyle and Bolton (2005), in the framework of any therapy in a medical context, a person feels like a patient, and while doing art, he feels like an artist.

The existing scholarship on inclusive art reveals several fundamental tensions that shape contemporary discourse in the Russian context. The reviewed literature highlights competing visions of inclusive art — as a distinct artistic category with its own aesthetic values, as a tool for social advocacy, and as a therapeutic practice. These differing perspectives raise important questions about cultural recognition, artistic autonomy, and the potential risks of both marginalization and medicalization.

This study is built upon these theoretical foundations while engaging with broader interdisciplinary perspectives on disability, art, and cultural inclusion. By examining both the conceptual frameworks and practical realities of inclusive art in Russia, the research aims to contribute to ongoing discussions about the complex interplay between artistic expression, identity, and accessibility in contemporary culture.

Methodology and Sampling

This study employs a qualitative research design to explore the lived experiences of visually impaired individuals engaged in artistic activities within inclusive cultural settings. The methodology combines two primary data collection approaches: in-depth semi-structured interviews and ethnographic observations. For the interview component, the study has recruited 19 participants selected through purposeful sampling according to three key criteria: they must be adults aged 18 or older, have partial or total visual impairment, and be actively involved in artistic or craft-based activities. Participants are recruited through contacts with specialized studios including the ceramic studio “Vizhu Rukami,” the perfume-making studio “Pure Sense,” and the origami studio operated by the All-Russian Society of the Blind (“VOS”). One interview of an expert on working with the visually disabled was taken in order to cover some sensitive features of communication with the blind, for instance, whether it was acceptable to talk about moments of sight loss during the interview.

The interview protocol was focused on participants' personal experiences in creative spaces, perceived barriers to inclusion, and adaptive strategies they

employ in the creative and cultural industry producing and perceiving arts and crafts. Interviews are conducted flexibly to accommodate participants' needs, using accessible formats such as telephone interviews with audio recordings with an average duration of 60 minutes each. Besides interview conduction, ethnographic observations are made at inclusive art and craft events such as ceramic workshops and festivals for blind artists. These observations document real-time creative processes, interactions within the communities, and the use of adaptive tools and techniques.

During interviews the participants were asked questions covering the topics which are necessary to understand their cultural and creative engagement. The topics were related with their personal information (age, city, work/hobbies, living situation), education and childhood (school type, hobbies, parental support, family finances), experience with vision impairment (onset, impact, emotions, adaptation challenges, social changes), inclusion and accessibility (preferred terms, audio description/tactile models, discrimination, focus on specific age groups), art and creativity (frequency, motivation, feelings, audience, influence of impairment, discrimination in art), cultural space accessibility (programs for disabled people, museum visits, barriers, desired changes), and closing thoughts.

To build contact and trust with the participants, so that they are ready to give the interview, in more than a half cases it was necessary to visit them personally at the arts and crafts classes in order to introduce myself in person and explain the context and objectives of the study. After having done so, the visually impaired artists were eager to share contacts and give an interview soon after.

The observational study was conducted over a four-month period from February to May, with data collected during regular arts and crafts sessions at two specialized studios: the ceramic workshop "Vizhu Rukami" and the origami studio operated by the All-Russian Society of the Blind. Unfortunately, access to the perfume-making studio "Pure Sense" could not be obtained due to the laboratory's strict policy restricting outside visitors, which limited the scope of observations in this particular creative discipline.

A striking pattern emerged during the observation period: participants across both studios demonstrated remarkable self-sufficiency and autonomy in their creative processes. Despite the inherent challenges posed by visual impairments, which might logically necessitate additional guidance or assistance, the majority of artists worked with notable independence. They rarely sought clarification or help from instructors, instead relying on their developed skills and adaptive techniques to complete projects. This consistent behavior pattern suggests both a high level of acquired competency and a strong preference for self-directed creation among participants.

Discussion

This study has explored the complex dynamics of inclusive art practices in Russia, examining how artists with disabilities navigate creative production, cultural recognition, and societal perceptions. The findings reveal critical tensions between inclusive art's asserted autonomy as a distinct artistic category and its relationship to mainstream cultural frameworks, as well as between its therapeutic applications and purely creative dimensions.

The interview findings reveal perspectives on the role of parental support in shaping artistic paths, demonstrating that no singular narrative can fully capture this complex relationship. While some participants credited parental encouragement as instrumental to their creative development, others emphasized self-driven motivation that helped them to continue their education despite limited familial support. This divergence suggests that while parental engagement can be facilitative, it is not universally determinative of artistic trajectories, which contradicts the theory which supports high influence of parental involvement on a child's development in artistic terms (Hei Wan Mak & Daisy Fancourt 2021).

Crucially, these individual experiences cannot be set apart from socio-economic contexts. As evidenced in several cases, financial precarity often constrained parents' capacity to foster artistic growth, regardless of their attitude. This echoes what Zahrar and Gamal (2018) concluded about urban inclusive development. Just as he argues that true urban inclusivity requires removing economic barriers to access, our findings show how financial constraints often determine whether families can support artistic development, regardless of parental attitudes or a child's talent.

Another vital aspect of creative development is the socio-economic background of one's family which should be viewed through the lenses of Dai' theory of educational compensation of lower economic backgrounds (Dai et al. 2012). Their study demonstrated that while socio-economic status (SES) influences creative development, quality education can significantly mitigate these disparities by providing necessary artistic resources and training. This theoretical lens helps contextualize our participants' varied experiences. Several respondents who emphasized self-driven artistic success despite limited parental support often referenced crucial school-based opportunities — art classes, inspiring teachers, or extracurricular programs — that aligned precisely with Dai et al.'s (2012) findings about education's compensatory power. For instance, participants from lower-income backgrounds frequently described schools as their primary exposure to art materials and creative mentoring, echoing authors' conclusion that institutional educational support can overcome family resource limitations.

The analysis of participants' educational experiences reveals a complex landscape of teacher engagement with blind and partially sighted students, characterized by three distinct patterns: neglectful underestimation, balanced high expectations, and overprotective limitations. These findings demonstrate how educators' attitudes, whether dismissive, empowering, or excessively cautious, fundamentally shape students' academic trajectories, self-perception, and long-term artistic identities. This result supports the need of implementing the student-centered approach in any type of education mentioned by Beusaert et al. (2013), which can influence students' lifepaths significantly by prioritizing students' needs and specificities. Student-centered approach can also benefit to learn about diversity and giving equity to all the students, which are the main parts of inclusivity (Valdes 2004; Creary 2021).

The data particularly highlights the tension between two problematic extremes: the lowered expectations that constrained development, and the rigid adherence to conventional standards that may exclude alternative learning methods. Between these poles emerges the effective middle ground described by multiple participants, environments that combined reasonable accommodations with standards, fostering both independence and competence. Throughout their narratives it was evident that independence is thought to be the main driver of self-esteem and confidence, which also promoted equity. Independence in inclusive education sometimes meant lack of accessibility where kids had to adapt to reality. This is a debatable topic since such an approach lacks an important part of inclusivity, which is equity, since the students were not given equal necessities to fulfill the tasks at school. However, such a method bears traits of competency-based approach by Brandford et al (2000) because students were meant to apply their knowledge and skills to a given setting as well as they were considered able-bodied to fulfill the program, which, according to them, resulted in higher confidence and greater skills. This is an extremely vital point in disability discussion for the reason that it gives a meaningful insight on how to build up communication with the disabled group of people.

The participants' experiences of losing vision in adulthood demonstrate how Erving Goffman's theory of stigma (1963) operates in real life. Their stories show the profound social consequences when blindness becomes what Goffman called a "spoiled identity" — a trait that dominates how others see them. Goffman's concept of stigma as a "spoiled identity" manifests clearly in participants' accounts of sudden social exclusion and changed interpersonal dynamics. The irrational fears some encountered — being treated as contagious or dangerous — exemplify what Goffman termed the "abominations of the body" that provoke stigma anxiety. Many described being treated differently after losing their vision, with friends and even

partners pulling away due to discomfort or misconceptions. As Susman (1994) notes, disability often overshadows personal identity, and this pattern clearly emerged in the interviews. Participants frequently felt reduced to their visual impairment, with others focusing solely on their blindness rather than seeing them as whole individuals. This stigma created barriers in daily interactions, making it harder to form genuine connections.

The emotional toll was significant. Beyond practical challenges, participants struggled with the psychological weight of societal rejection and lowered expectations. Some internalized these attitudes, feeling shame about tasks they could no longer perform which also goes along with Goffman's theory of stigma (1963). Yet those who adapted most successfully often did so by finding supportive communities that looked beyond their disability to value their capabilities and personality.

These experiences align with Susman's (1994) and Goffman's (1963) notions that stigma limits authentic interaction and that gaining trauma exposes a person to overwhelming feelings. When society fixates on disability, it creates artificial barriers to communication and connection. The participants' stories show how crucial it is to move beyond stereotypes and engage with visually impaired adults as individuals first combined with their desire for autonomy. Therefore, one significant conclusion out of consideration of the factors which influence creativity, it might be stated that acknowledgement of diversity is thought to be the main driver of development since it can eliminate any borders which children might face during early steps of basic and creative education.

Concerning the issue of the objectives in arts and crafts, analysis of motivations of visually impaired people has shown that the disabled engage in arts for various reasons, not solely as for therapeutic reasons.

1. Economic necessity

Older participants shared that they developed artistic skills as a means of financial survival, while younger artists outlined the need for monetization of their artistic activity, otherwise they are not interested in continuation.

2. Socialization

Many informants supported the idea of socialisation which art permits to get. Sense of belonging and community is a crucial factor which maintains the disabled active in their artistic activity.

3. Professional identity

Several informants said that what they do is a mere desire to create and show their skills in a professional area.

4. Therapy

Another significant reason for engaging in art is a purpose of "saving" during hard times and improving current conditions.

5. Rejection of Patronizing Attitudes

Artists resist having their work reduced to “therapy” or “inspiration.”

The analysis of the reasons for the visually impaired people shows the variety of factors which push people to pursue artistic pathway, battling the common opinion of the disabled pursuing healing purposes and creating art under a medicalized approach. By revealing the reasons of the participants to engage into arts and crafts, it becomes clear that the question of the medicalized approach mentioned by Shemanov et al. (2013), Argyle and Bolton (2005) gets clearer in a way that the participants themselves tell about the accomplishment of many other purposes apart from art-therapy.

Analysis of goals of art production of the visually impaired people can help to better understand the complex relationship between disability, creativity, and cultural participation. Below are the most typical goals which the artists pursue in their art path:

1. Spiritual and personal growth

Disabled artists pursue this goal as a result of self-expression through art and genuine devotion to it.

2. Sharing emotions

By creating artworks people want to share a certain emotion with spectators.

3. Tactile and sensory exploration

Respondents pursue the goal of innovating non-visual aesthetics that challenge sighted norms as well as focusing on texture, rhythm, and touch as artistic language, which is important for blind people.

4. Independence and defiance

Rejecting pity or low expectations and Using art to assert capability and resist marginalization.

5. Professional recognition

6. Validation as artists, reserving techniques and contributing to cultural heritage

Therefore, it can be concluded that visually impaired artists pursue various goals of art, which can be compared to goals of healthy artists. Moreover, there is a lack desire to express emotions connected with their trauma, so that the notion of “disability art”, which is about a desire to make artworks with the intention of delivering sentiments of traumatized period is not relevant, which contradicts the notions of a desire of people with the disabilities to create their own “traumatized” art (Suvorova 2022; Mustafina 2024; Argyle, Bolton 2005).

In the analysis part there have been outlined various barriers faced by the visually disabled when perceiving and performing arts and crafts. Therefore, list of barriers encountered by the visually impaired people in creative and cultural industry can be outlined:

1. Societal bias and devaluation of art

Audiences and buyers often judge artwork differently upon learning the artist is blind, dismissing its artistic merit due to ingrained stereotypes or fear of disability

2. Institutional and educational gatekeeping

Institutions (e.g., music schools) reject necessary adaptations (like braille notation) without proper consideration. Blind artists face overt exclusion from professional organizations, where their membership is questioned based on disability rather than skill. It also covers the lack of desire of specific inclusive organizations to resolve the problems with which visually impaired people come to them.

3. Tokenistic or fake inclusion

This category includes such barriers inequality in assessing artworks where works either are not assessed adequately in or not given any feedback for the reason that the assessors a-priori do not want to consider artworks of the blind as independent art but rather they consider them as results of art-therapy.

4. Physical and financial struggle

Many participants notice that due to their physical condition they cannot dedicate much time for doing arts, as well as for the reason of having severe jobs or other responsibilities, which hinder full participation in art activities.

5. Inadequate implementation of inclusive programs

Last huge barrier refers to institutional inability to implement adequate programs for the disabled. It can be expressed in wrong choices of tools of communication or target audience and a lack of dialogue with the disabled. Organizers of inclusive programs usually fulfill their responsibilities just to show their, at first glance, good intentions, while being totally fake.

These barriers show that the lack of main principles of inclusivity hinders full inclusion of the visually impaired to the genuine art process. Equity, mentioned by Creary (2021), importance of recognition of diversity (Kreitz 2008), and significant role of accessibility (Shahaud 2024) are neglected in the cultural settings, which leads to complicated and unfair distribution of possibilities in the art sphere.

Outsider art proposed by Suvorova (2022) and other scholars who referred to terms such as “art brut” and “disability art” (Mustafina 2024) are not relevant to the informants’ way of artistic expression since nobody wanted to make their art stand out from the dominant culture. The notion of creating a new branch of disability art becomes irrelevant according to the informants’ view.

Tokenistic attitude in assessing the works of disabled individuals goes along with the theory of Heinich (1997) who concluded that audiences might prescribe certain value to the art creations of the blind just because of their trauma.

Without addressing these issues, the art world will continue to marginalize blind artists, denying them the recognition and opportunities they deserve. True inclusion requires dismantling biases, enforcing accessibility, and ensuring blind artists are treated as professionals, not just as subjects of pity or tokenism.

As for the questions of inclusivity, views on it of the participants challenge the notion of importance of accessibility since they state that accessibility goes along with independence. For people who want independence and autonomy, accessibility which is expressed in higher attention in different cultural spaces is inappropriate and is perceived as helplessness. Another vital point is the need for normalization of disability. This can be considered as giving equity to all the participants of art processes in a form of equal treatment. This is the problematic issue in today’s inclusive creative and cultural sphere as the disabled artists are often viewed as “not normal” or their art becomes special to the spectators. This notion aligns with what Finkelstein (1987) wrote about the division of the artists into the two worlds — one of the able-bodied artists, often referred as leading dominant culture, and the other which focuses on disabilities. Both the results of Finkelstein’s and this study support the fact that usually organisers of inclusive events align with the able-bodied norms, which hinder inclusion and sometimes make the participants of such events feel suppressed as if it was not created for them. Therefore, the ableism proposed by Hayhoe (2017) confirms its existence in the creative and cultural industry, which must be eliminated. Competency-based approach (Bransford, Brown, Cocking 2000) should be introduced here in order to change the attitude of all the participants of inclusive creative and cultural industry which can help truly include the disabled into art production and perception.

The question of favouring a certain age group under inclusivity programs plays a significant role in understanding how inclusive art programs function nowadays. According to the informants, there is an inclination to develop more rehabilitation and artistic companies for the children. Undoubtedly,

this tendency is generally positive, however, it makes the elderly people and adults be left out from any artistic process. Doubled unsystematic approach of institution in terms of implementing inclusive programs and general assumption to develop kids, adults experience huge problems in receiving help, possibilities for self-expression, and equality.

As for the specificities with which visually impaired people have to deal with when engaging with art, they could be described as following: a museum becomes a place of social interaction thanks to which the disabled can share experiences and exchange ideas. Another aspect which is important for the visually disabled when going to a cultural place is preparation in advance for materials presented in exhibitions or other places of cultural leisure. This helps the disabled to better understand the materials presented and get a deeper understanding of the topic. Moreover, some participants describe visiting museums as a vital step in understanding the piece of an art for the reason that by touching and seeing what other masterpieces are placed next to the certain object, one can infer the context of the certain period of time, which is a really interesting implication even for the healthy people.

Talking about availability of museums, several problems have been outlined, which prevent museums from giving truly inclusive experiences.

1. Visual-centricity. Although museums are made to be accessed visually, talking about visual-centricity of them could be inappropriate. However, participants notice that in many museums there are not enough tactile art objects presented there. This is also constrained by economic reasons since the tactile copies are extremely expensive that prevents museums from ordering them.
2. Staff's unpreparedness. In spite of many inclusive programs which have been set, informants point to the fact of staff's incompetence in realization of these programs which were put from their authorities. Unpreparedness is expressed in impolite communication, generalized approaches to leading excursions and lack of guidance.

These are the main obstacles encountered in museums which hinder fruitful experience of engagement with museums.

Finally, informants have shared their ideas on how to improve experiences in museums and below the discussion of sensible recommendations can be encountered. The study participants proposed several key improvements to enhance museum accessibility for blind and visually impaired visitors, moving beyond basic accommodations to fundamentally rethink engagement strategies. Their suggestions emphasize multi-sensory interpretation methods, like one artist's innovative approach where performers recreate paintings

through movement that others can touch, translating visual art into tactile and kinetic experiences. Physical access emerged as a critical concern, with participants advocating for more opportunities to touch exhibits while acknowledging conservation needs — suggesting solutions like designated handling sessions or high-quality tactile reproductions.

Several technically-informed design recommendations were offered, such as using yellow tactile guidance systems which remain visible longest for those with degenerative eye conditions. Participants sharply critiqued poorly implemented accessibility features like Braille signs placed at knee level, noting such thoughtless execution renders them useless. The artists emphasized that true inclusion requires maintaining high cultural standards rather than “dumbing down” content, with one ceramist criticizing oversimplified inclusive routes that treat blind visitors as children despite their typically high education levels.

A recurring theme highlighted the importance of staff training and ongoing dialogue, with one participant noting that even perfect physical accessibility fails if staff fear interacting with blind visitors or don't know how to guide them. The suggestions collectively point to a need for museums to develop accessibility through continuous collaboration with blind communities rather than one-time fixes, creating spaces where multi-sensory engagement and equal cultural participation become seamlessly integrated rather than exceptional accommodations.

Conclusion

The findings of this study reveal a fundamental disconnect between the theoretical frameworks of accessibility and their practical implementation in cultural institutions. While many organizations have begun adopting inclusive policies and physical adaptations, these measures frequently remain superficial, prioritizing compliance over genuine engagement. A recurring theme in participants' accounts is the paradox of having technically accessible spaces undermined by human factors: untrained staff, lingering prejudices, and bureaucratic problems that treat inclusion as a formality rather than an ongoing commitment.

The study has answered the research questions regarding the pathways of experience of the visually impaired people in the cultural and creative industry, describing it as a multilateral artistic journey. Participants of the study highlighted the independence which is lacking in modern programs of inclusive art and craft-based activities, which is an important part for accessibility and equity, which are the key components of the inclusivity.

Moreover, normalization of disability is expressed as a key component of inclusivity, thus questioning the notion of creating such branches of art as “disability art” or “art brut” (Mustafina 2024; Suvorova 2022).

As for the second research question regarding the barriers which hinder full inclusion of the visually impaired people into creative production, the main barriers have been outlined. They are connected with societal bias and devaluation of art, institutional and educational gatekeeping, tokenistic or fake inclusion, physical and financial struggle, inadequate implementation of inclusive programs. These barriers create obstacles in creative production of the visually disabled people.

This study makes it clear that there is a need to rethink inclusion as a collaborative process — the one where disabled creators lead the conversation in designing programs, where staff in various cultural spaces receive proper ongoing training, and where the artificial divide between “regular” and “disability” art disappears. True inclusion means challenging outdated attitudes everywhere, starting from physical spaces ending with the way the society thinks about art itself. Having this implemented, cultural spaces can become places where visually impaired artists and visitors aren’t just included as an afterthought, but where they help shape what creativity looks like for everyone.

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THE EXPERIENCE OF PEOPLE WITH EYESIGHT DISABILITIES IN INCLUSIVE CULTURAL AND CREATIVE INDUSTRY: BARRIERS AND SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS

Abstract. Despite the growing global attention to inclusion in the cultural and creative fields, visually impaired people in Russia still face systemic exclusion that goes beyond physical accessibility barriers. While Russian literature on inclusion in the arts establishes foundational principles of inclusion, it largely takes a medicalized, rehabilitation-oriented approach and views disabled art as a subordinate field of artistic creativity to the dominant culture. This study aims to represent the lived experiences of visually impaired people, focusing on how they interpret and engage with inclusive creative practices within a broader social and cultural framework. It aims to identify key barriers — behavioral, social and institutional — that participants themselves identify as preventing their full inclusion in cultural experiences. By exploring the experiences of participants in inclusive cultural and creative production, the study aims to contribute to the development of more meaningful and participant-oriented strategies for inclusion in cultural and creative spaces.

Keywords: inclusion, culture, visually impaired people, creative industries

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О ТРЕТЬЕЙ НАУЧНОЙ КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ ЖУРНАЛА «ПЕТЕРБУРГСКАЯ СОЦИОЛОГИЯ СЕГОДНЯ»

Аннотация. В статье представлен обзор третьей Всероссийской научной конференции «(Не) новые вызовы и возможности социологии», которая состоялась 10 апреля 2025 г. по инициативе редакции научного журнала «Петербургская социология сегодня». В рамках научной конференции были организованы секции, на площадках которых были представлены научные доклады ученых из Санкт-Петербурга и Москвы, Гродно и Хабаровска, Грозного, Воронежа, Тюмени. В ходе работы научной конференции участники обсудили проблемы цифровой коммуникации на глобальном и локальном уровнях, вопросы современного состояния религии и права в современном российском обществе, старения и геймификации, самоорганизации горожан и граждан в условиях (не) новых вызовов.

Ключевые слова: конференция, научный доклад, социология, дискуссия, научный журнал «Петербургская социология сегодня»

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10 апреля 2025 г. в Социологическом институте РАН — филиале ФНИСЦ РАН состоялась третья Всероссийская научная конференция «*(Не) новые вызовы и возможности социологии*». Проведение научной конференции на регулярной основе было инициировано редакцией академического журнала «Петербургская социология сегодня» (главный редактор И. И. Елисеева), который издается в г. Санкт-Петербурге с 2009 г. В ходе работы конференции удалось обсудить проблемы цифровой коммуникации на глобальном и локальном уровнях, вопросы современного состояния российских городов и здоровья, старения и геймификации, самоорганизации горожан и граждан в условиях (не) новых вызовов. Открыла научную конференцию председатель программного комитета И. И. Елисеева (СИ РАН — филиал ФНИСЦ РАН), отметив важность обсуждения вопросов потенциала и возможностей социологии в условиях современных рисков и турбулентности.

Детерминантам и сущностям в здоровье пациентов была посвящена работа отдельной секции (модератор И. Б. Назарова) в рамках состоявшейся конференции. На секции были рассмотрены актуальные проблемы здоровья и состояния здравоохранения в странах СНГ. О. А. Александрова (ИСЭПН ФНИСЦ РАН, Финансовый университет при Правительстве РФ, ГБУ «НИИОЗММ ДЗМ») представила доклад «Обязанности vs возможности: медицинские специалисты как субъекты формирования приверженности ЗОЖ у населения», в котором подробно рассмотрела как ответственность самого индивида в части сохранения своего здоровья, так и ведущую роль системы здравоохранения и основных проводников профессиональных знаний — медицинских работников. Медицинские специалисты недостаточно осознают роль института здравоохранения в формировании у населения приверженности ЗОЖ, возлагая ответственность на самих граждан, а также на государство. Такая установка не только не соответствует документам ВОЗ и российским НПА, но и противоречит другим представлениям медицинских специалистов о том, что ключевую роль в формировании

самосохранительного поведения населения играют доступность медицинских услуг и доверие медицинским специалистам. Московские медицинские специалисты сами недостаточно следуют принципам ЗОЖ, что неблагоприятно влияет на их собственное здоровье, а также снижает эффективность их воздействия на пациентов в части формирования приверженности ЗОЖ. К. С. Маркова (ООО «Ипсос Комкон», Финансовый университет при Правительстве РФ) обратила внимание на важность соблюдения принципа пациентоцентричности и в докладе «Пациентоориентированность как фактор повышения качества медицинских услуг» рассматривает как теоретические основания внедрения пациентоцентричного подхода, так и практическую составляющую на примере различных исследований, проведенных в России. Представлен сравнительный анализ качества оказания медицинской помощи в частных и государственных медицинских организациях. И. Б. Назарова (ИСЭПН ФНИСЦ РАН, ГБУ «НИИОЗММ ДЗМ») в докладе «Медицинская помощь: удовлетворенность пациентов» продолжила тему пациентоориентированности в российском здравоохранении, отметив важность качества оказания медицинской помощи. В ряду причин, влияющих на удовлетворенность оказанной медицинской помощью в государственных медицинских организациях, ключевая роль отводится врачу, который безусловно является основной фигурой для пациента в процессе получения медицинской помощи. Организационные проблемы играют ведущую роль в неудовлетворенности и в целом влияют на отношение пациента к медицинской помощи. Таким образом, устраняя организационные недостатки в работе медицинской организации, возможно нивелировать неудовлетворенность пациентов. На первом месте по значимости среди недостатков отмечаются недостатки инфраструктурного характера, прежде всего проблема длительного ожидания, которая может быть связана с ожиданием в регистратуре поликлиники или записью на исследование. Разочарования пациентов связаны с отсутствием необходимого оборудования и лекарств. Профессионализм врачей по значимости находится только на третьем месте в ряду факторов, влияющих на удовлетворенность пациента медицинской помощью в целом. Указанные предикторы должны быть в фокусе наибольшего внимания руководителей медицинских организаций.

Два доклада были посвящены проблемам старения и здоровью пожилых людей. М. Ю. Сурмач (Гродненский государственный медицинский университет) в докладе «Социодемографические особенности качества жизни в пожилом возрасте» отметила, что мужчины возраста 60+, проживающие в селе, не состоящие в браке, составляют группу риска

низких самооценок качества жизни и наименьшей продолжительности предстоящей жизни, при этом удовлетворенность здоровьем не выявляет гендерных различий. В связи с чем важными становятся меры по формированию активного долголетия и снижению предотвратимой смертности. Их реализация будет способствовать дальнейшему росту средней продолжительности предстоящей жизни, усиливая процессы демографического старения «сверху», вызванного увеличением числа пожилых людей из-за снижения смертности в старших возрастах. Комплексная оценка качества жизни позволит в полной мере реализовать имеющийся потенциал связанного со здоровьем качества жизни изучаемой возрастной категории. К. А. Галкин (Социологический институт РАН — филиал ФНИСЦ РАН) представил доклад «Стратегии обращения за первичной медицинской помощью пожилых людей в городе и сельской местности». Доклад посвящен обращению за первичной медико-санитарной помощью у людей старшего возраста, проживающих в городских и сельских районах. Полученные результаты показали различия в частоте и характере обращений в зависимости от места проживания. Жители городов чаще обращаются за первичной медико-санитарной помощью, тогда как в сельской местности обращения менее регулярны. Эти различия подчеркивают значимость изучения субъективного восприятия первичной медико-санитарной медицинской помощи и опыта людей старшего возраста в различных социальных и территориальных контекстах. А. В. Волкова (Северо-Западный институт управления РАНХиГС) рассмотрела инфраструктурные проблемы, с которыми сталкиваются прежде всего люди с особыми потребностями и ограниченными возможностями, которые составляют сегодня в РФ 7%. Исследователь представила доклад «Гарантированность социального благополучия граждан путем формирования безбарьерной городской среды». Лейтмотивом доклада стала проблематизация социальной мобильности в городе и необходимость формировать инклюзивную городскую среду для людей с ограничениями слуха, зрения, опорно-двигательного аппарата. По мнению жителей Санкт-Петербурга, наиболее доступная инфраструктура сегодня у поликлиник (68%), но и у поликлиник каждый второй не может найти парковочное место. Докладчик резюмировала, что инвалиды испытывают проблемы при перемещении в метро, в связи с чем необходимо специально обучать сотрудников метрополитена в целях оказания профессиональной помощи нуждающимся. Кроме того, было отмечено, что люди с ограниченными возможностями хотят быть полезны обществу, но у них нет возможности реализовать свой потенциал.

В рамках работы секции «*Возможности цифровых коммуникаций в условиях локальных и глобальных вызовов*» (модератор К. С. Дивисенко) было представлено пять докладов. А. Д. Казун (Национальный исследовательский университет «Высшая школа экономики») в докладе «Причины избегания новостей в условиях неопределенности» обратила внимание на то, что люди не всегда стремятся минимизировать неопределенность — для многих она вполне приемлема, если они могут ее контролировать. При активном потреблении новостей создается иллюзия информированности, но избыток часто противоречивой информации может усиливать неопределенность и отрицательно влиять на эмоциональное состояние. Была подчеркнута также важность изучения реакции людей на кризисы в современном информационном пространстве, поскольку традиционные представления о поведении в стрессовых ситуациях уже не полностью соответствуют реалиям цифровой эпохи. В своем выступлении «Постидеология и цифровая реальность: алгоритмы, мемы и генезис новых социальных практик» А. А. Трунов (Белгородский университет кооперации, экономики и права) обратил внимание на то, что традиционные идеологии (либерализм, консерватизм, социализм), структурировавшие общественное сознание в эпоху модерна, уступают место новым фрагментированным и гибридным формам, которые формируются под влиянием цифровых платформ и алгоритмов. Постидеология оказывается качественной трансформацией традиционной идеологии в условиях цифрового капитализма, которая проявляется через алгоритмы, мемы и виральный контент и формирует новое поле общественного сознания. Это явление требует дальнейшего глубокого изучения, особенно с точки зрения сохранения критического мышления, различения реальных изменений от вирального активизма и понимания новых форм власти и контроля в цифровом обществе.

В докладе «От BIG DATA к AI SOCIETY: новая парадигма социального прогнозирования в эпоху нейросетевого моделирования», представленном А. А. Чернавским (Институт истории и политики МПГУ), была поднята проблема освоения и развития новых подходов к социальному прогнозированию. Подчеркнуто, что современное общество становится все более зависимым от технологий, включая нейросетевые модели. Это требует пересмотра прежней методологии социального прогнозирования, основанной на классических моделях поведения человека и социальных институтах. Сами данные сегодня оказываются не просто предметом для анализа, но и относительно автономным объектом, влияющим на реальность. Развитие же автономных систем, в первую очередь искусственного интеллекта, ставит новые этические

и методологические вопросы: в частности, актуальна проблема «черного ящика» — когда результат работы алгоритма понятен, а сам процесс принятия решений остается скрытым. А. Г. Мосеев (НИУ ВШЭ) в докладе «Геймерская маскулинность: восприятие норм мужественности киберспортсменами — студентами НИУ ВШЭ» поделился результатами своего эмпирического исследования на основе проведенных интервью. Автором обозначено, что традиционные нормы маскулинности в среде студентов-геймеров модифицируются под влиянием специфики цифровой и игровой культуры. Информанты демонстрируют более гибкое восприятие мужественности, допускающее выражение эмоций и использование женских образов. Это свидетельствует о постепенном изменении гендерных установок среди молодежи, особенно в среде, где успех зависит больше от навыков, чем от физических или социальных стереотипов. Завершивший работу секции доклад «Нарратив как вызов цифровизации» прочитал Г. В. Каньгин (Социологический институт РАН — филиал ФНИСЦ РАН). Цифровизация в современном обществе, по мнению докладчика, затронула не только технологии хранения и обработки информации, но и способы ее понимания, интерпретации и использования в социальной коммуникации. Хотя человек умеет создавать и понимать нарративы, их смысловая структура зачастую выражена неявно. Это делает сложным формализованное представление смысловых связей, особенно при работе с большими объемами информации. В этой связи оказывается важной разработка технологий, которые способны отслеживать целостность нарративов, выявлять подмену смыслов, создавать явное представление смысловой структуры текста. В рамках работы секции, которая не носила сугубо методологического характера, все же в центре внимания оказались вопросы, связанные с проблемами уточнения традиционных и разработкой новых теоретических и методологических подходов к изучению цифровой реальности и коммуникации, а также с необходимостью развития междисциплинарного подхода, объединяющего социологию, лингвистику, искусственный интеллект и теорию информации.

Вопросам *урбанистики и пространственного развития* территорий была посвящена секция с одноименным названием (модератор А. Н. Муфтахова). В работе секции приняли участие ученые из разных российских городов: от Санкт-Петербурга до Хабаровска, разных субъектов РФ (Санкт-Петербург, Москва, Хабаровск). Так, И. А. Гареева (Тихоокеанский государственный университет) выступила с докладом «Маргинальные городские пространства в контексте цифровых технологий», в котором был рассмотрен процесс маргинализации на примере

Хабаровска. Особое внимание было уделено сущности маргинализации, основным концептам, вопросу взаимодействия среды и социума.

Выступление Е. П. Евдокимовой (СИ РАН РАН — филиал ФНИСЦ РАН) было посвящено проблеме медиадискурсов в повседневной жизни городского населения. На основе анализа городских онлайн-сообществ были представлены результаты эмпирических исследований. Н. Р. Карапетян и Е. А. Петченко (Социологический факультет МГУ им. М. В. Ломоносова) в соавторстве представили результаты своего исследования на тему «Особенности социальной структуры городов (на примере Москвы и Санкт-Петербурга)». В докладе авторы размышляли о том, какова социальная структура обоих городов и как воспроизводится социальное неравенство в городском пространстве. Московский исследователь А. О. Сотниченко (МГТУ им. Н. Э. Баумана) затронул в своей работе вопросы трансформации рынка труда под влиянием ИИ с учетом новых требований к интеллектуальным работникам. Используя данные опроса и экспертных интервью, автор выделил типы профессий по использованию ИИ и очертил перспективы и возможности ИИ на рынке труда. Доклад А. Н. Муфтаховой (СЗИУ РАНХиГС) касался проблемы отчуждения жилищных потребностей в структуре социальных потребностей человека. С результатами своих научных исследований выступили стажеры-исследователи Проектно-учебной группы «Устойчивое развитие городской среды» СЗИУ РАНХиГС: М. В. Бучнева (СЗИУ РАНХиГС) «Сравнительная оценка факторов, побуждающих к приобретению труднодоступного и дорогостоящего имущества», К. С. Воробьева и А. В. Салтыкова (СЗИУ РАНХиГС) «Стереотипизация городских районов мегаполиса Санкт-Петербурга», М. М. Атамась и Ф. А. Шильников (СЗИУ РАНХиГС) «Социальные аспекты функционирования общественного транспорта Санкт-Петербурга», М. А. Сакаринен (ВШМ, СПбГУ) «Воспроизводство мест приложения труда как реализация оптимальной модели пространственного развития мегаполиса». Далее состоялось обсуждение перспектив изучения городов и пространственного развития.

В рамках секции *«Семья и молодежь в контексте новых реалий»* (модератор К. А. Галкин) были представлены разнообразные подходы и взгляды на институт семьи и его трансформации в условиях социальных изменений и нарастающей нестабильности современного мира. Обсуждение охватывало широкий спектр тем, включая развитие семейных отношений, культурные особенности репрезентации семьи в различных странах, а также отражение этих процессов в средствах массовой информации. Первой выступила Р. В. Малихина (ФГБОУ

ВО «Юго-Западный государственный университет») и обратила пристальное внимание в своем докладе на механизмы формирования ценностных ориентаций молодежи в деятельности муниципальных органов власти.

Особое внимание было уделено кросс-культурным различиям в понимании семьи, что позволило проанализировать специфику семейных моделей и их медийное представление. В частности, поднимались вопросы изменения гендерных ролей, участия пожилого поколения в формировании семейного уклада, а также символического значения семьи в общественном дискурсе. Так, в докладе Н. Н. Цветаевой (СИ РАН — филиал ФНИСЦ РАН) была рассмотрена эволюция взглядов на семью и брак (от традиции к индивидуализации). Размышления и выводы исследования были основаны на анализе материалов Биографического фонда.

Тематика секции логично продолжилась в выступлениях, посвященных молодежи и особенностям ее повседневной жизни. В докладах были рассмотрены институт наставничества, роль семьи в формировании жизненных ориентаций молодых людей, а также значения карьерных амбиций и профессионального роста в жизни современной молодежи. А. Н. Шилова, Д. В. Захарова (СЗИУ РАНХиГС) в ходе проведенного исследования выявили и представили в докладе основные факторы, влияющие на молодежную территориальную мобильность. Предметом исследования московского ученого А. А. Гребенюка (Высшая школа современных социальных наук МГУ им. М. В. Ломоносова) стали образы Китая и США в сознании российской студенческой молодежи в социологическом измерении. Одним из ключевых выводов стало осознание многообразия представлений о семье и молодежи, а также признание необходимости трансформации традиционных моделей семейных отношений и молодежной политики. Дисфункции современной системы обеспечения жильем детей-сирот и детей, оставшихся без попечения родителей, посвятила свое выступление С. А. Кукушкина (СЗИУ РАНХиГС). В целом в ходе обсуждения докладчики подчеркивали важность поиска баланса между устоявшимися культурными представлениями о семье и новыми социальными реалиями, в том числе с учетом ценностей, формируемых в молодежной среде. Эта задача требует учета как национально-культурных контекстов, так и глобальных трендов, определяющих перспективы развития молодых поколений. В конце работы секции состоялась оживленная дискуссия проблем современной семьи и молодежи.

Секция «(Не) новые грани религиозного опыта и правовых практик» была организована при поддержке Совета молодых ученых СИ РАН — филиала ФНИСЦ РАН. В рамках заседания секции, работу которой модерировала В. Д. Дмитриева (СИ РАН — филиал ФНИСЦ РАН), обсуждались тематики, актуальные для социологии религии и права. Доклад А. Ю. Шваи (СИ РАН — филиал ФНИСЦ РАН) был посвящен институционализации православных практик политической элиты Санкт-Петербурга. На основании взаимосвязи этих практик и устоявшихся конфигураций акторов, а также дискурс-анализа Р. Водак были выделены три ключевых институциональных поля — храмостроительства, церемониально-коммеморативное и координации политики, — которые способствуют автономизации элиты. Д. В. Дмитриева рассмотрела основные векторы дискуссии относительно оформления дискурсивного изучения религии (*discursive study of religion*) в качестве отдельной области исследований. Указанной проблематике посвящены работы Р. Т. Маккатчена, К. фон Штукрада, Т. Хьельма и др. авторов, которые отказались от универсального определения религии в пользу анализа дискурсов о религии, зависящих от конкретного контекста и оказывающих воздействие на общество. Доклад Д. Е. Закиевой (МГИМО МИД России) носил теоретико-методологический характер и был направлен на обоснование выделения социологии эзотерики. В основу авторского подхода к данной исследовательской области лег широкий спектр концепций: от *BANI* и кризисной социальности И. В. Катерного до символических универсумов П. Бергера и Т. Лукмана, научного незнания У. Бека, снижения глобальной религиозности Р. Инглхарта и пр.

В своем докладе Т. А. Колпакова (ЕУСПб) презентовала результаты исследования повторных административных правонарушений в Казахстане, проведенного на материалах базы данных, собранных прокуратурой. При помощи описательного анализа данных, анализа комбинаций правонарушений, а также регрессионного моделирования были выявлены паттерны домашнего насилия, которые характерны для рассматриваемой страны. Доклад Т. А. Игнатовой (ИСЭПН РАН) был ориентирован на выявление потребностей ВИЧ-инфицированных и — в практическом смысле — на преодоление их социальной стигматизации. Как показало исследование, среди ВИЧ-положительных пациентов 26% маркируют религию важной частью жизни, 54% считают себя верующими, а по мнению 48%, религия помогает справляться с жизненными проблемами. Завершая работу секции, А. Д. Гейм (ФССП) представила анализ трех правовых кейсов: запрета деятельности

Свидетелей Иеговы в России, конфликта вокруг Исаакиевского собора в Санкт-Петербурге и отделения УПЦ от Московского Патриархата. Приведенные судебные споры между религиозными организациями, обладающими особым правовым статусом, и государственными органами выступили важнейшим индикатором проблем правоприменения. Резюмируя, специфика молодежной секции заключалась прежде всего в ее междисциплинарности, которая обусловила разнообразие тематик и исследовательских перспектив, несводимых к изучению взаимодействия и / или переплетения религиозного и правового дискурсов.

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ABOUT THE THIRD SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE OF THE JOURNAL “PETERSBURG SOCIOLOGY TODAY”

Abstract. The article provides an overview of the Third All-Russian Scientific Conference “(Not) new challenges and opportunities of sociology”, which was held on April 10, 2025 at the initiative of the editorial board of the scientific journal “Petersburg Sociology Today”. Within the framework of the scientific conference, sections were organized, at the sites of which scientific reports of

scientists from St. Petersburg and Moscow, Grodno and Khabarovsk, Grozny, Voronezh, Tyumen were presented. During the scientific conference, the participants discussed the problems of digital communication at the global and local levels, issues of the current state of religion and law in modern Russian society, aging and gamification, self-organization of citizens and citizens in the face of (non) new challenges.

Keywords: conference, scientific report, sociology, discussion, scientific journal “Petersburg Sociology Today”

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АЛЕКСАНДР ГЕОРГИЕВИЧ ЩЕЛКИН

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«МЫ ВСЕ — ВОЙНЫ ШАЛЬНЫЕ ДЕТИ, И ГЕНЕРАЛ, И РЯДОВОЙ»

Аннотация. В эссе представлены воспоминания детства автора о Великой Отечественной войне, блокадном и послевоенном Ленинграде. Реконструируются памятные моменты жизни поколения, которое сражалось в тылу и начинало мирную послевоенную жизнь. Описывается социальная атмосфера Ленинграда после майской Победы 1945 г. Отображается «поток жизни» послевоенного детства, воссоздаваемый на основе автобиографического материала.

Ключевые слова: война, фронтовик, поколение, Ленинград, двор, дети, пленный, фашизм

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Напишешь, хоть на бумаге, хоть в памяти, «Май 1945», и встает картина хрестоматийной значимости. Картина эта не уходит и не уйдет. Но воспринимать, понимать, вкладывать смысл в тот «День Победы» мы можем именно из «сегодня», поневоле обремененные «современностью». В мае 1945-го послевоенная Современность только начиналась, и поколение победителей было полно ожиданий, а воспоминания о войне были еще впереди. Теперь, в год 80-летия Великой победы, мы движемся к череде следующих юбилеев с понятной заботой о сохранении того абсолютного смысла, который умещается в два слова «Май 1945».

Конечно, осознаваемое пребывание в истории не лишено своего коварства. Все перечитывается заново, даже классика. Как любил говорить Л. Фейербах: «Каждое поколение по-своему перечитывает Библию». При правильном устройении жизни все-таки приоритет не за восприятием, а за самой реальностью. В нашем случае «оптика» любой «современности» может, но не должна заслонять / искажать подлинность «Мая 1945».

Так уж случилось, что пишущий эти строки выбрал социологическую профессию, а лет так за двадцать с небольшим до этого выбора «случилось» ему родиться в Ленинграде. Была война, и была последняя блокадная зима в осажденном городе.

Социологический язык замысловат, но не настолько, чтобы потерять способность передавать простые до незамысловатости истины. Одна из таких аксиом: «мы — в обществе, а общество — в нас»; «мы не просто на той войне, но и война — в нас».

Когда заговорила война с ровесниками моего поколения? Мы были поколением, родившимися во время войны. Но война заговорила с нами гораздо позже. Сужу по себе. И в чем-то осуждаю себя. Война шла против войны. «Смертию смерть поправ». Нас же, молодых, двадцатилетних, захлестнула уже другая, мирная, жизнь. В этом была своеобразная неизбежность. Большинство из моих одногодков, не видя в лицо фронтовой войны и часто «войны тыловой», тем не менее, как поколение, начинало жизнь среди *живых* фронтовиков и людей, знавших цену войны в ее тылу. До сих пор помню кой-какие словечки из той эпохи. Сегодня мы, то есть остатки того поколения, о котором говорю, продолжаем земное путешествие (и как говорят на мудром Востоке, «Да продлятся дни этого дара судьбы!»), — продолжаем путешествие в окружении других и даже совсем «других» поколений — «миллениума», «генераций икс, игрек, зет». А если угодно, и «альфа», «бета», «гамма». Их дистанция «от» или «до» Мая 1945 кажется астрономической — в пору хоть спрашивать: «Что им Гекуба, что они Гекубе?»

...Куда денешься: помню «республику Шкид» нашего детства, дом 16 по 21-й линии Васильевского острова города, долго именовавшегося Ленинград, но в народном сознании проходившего чуть ли не с петровского основания под (на)званием Питер. Все крыши сараев во дворе принадлежали нам, хулиганистым ребятам, чуть ли не по праву собственности. Сами сараи лепились в пространстве между

несколькими корпусами этого дома № 16 и, собранные на скорую руку, скорее напоминали какие-то китайские лачуги, почему и получали (так было по всей стране) выразительное прозвание «шанхай». По лабиринту проходов между сараями-лачугами мы «утекали» от их разгневанных хозяев, а вслед за нами летели поленья и родной мат, с которым мы познакомились раньше, чем с изысками русской речи.

...После десяти часов вечера дворничихи со свистком гнали нас со двора в коммуналки к родителям. Мы прятались в подъездах, где в плохо освещенном пространстве травили всякие страшилки якобы из хроники блокадного города. Фигурировали огромные мясорубки, железные скрипучие двери и прочая муть городского мифотворчества. Ужас, однако, состоял в том, что, взвинченными страхами, каждому из нас нужно было в полной осенней темноте пробираться в одиночку к своим подъездам, по своим лестницам, на свои этажи, где «страшное» поджидало на каждом шагу.

Играли во всякое, в том числе в «пристеночек» и «чхе, орлы мои». Кто играл, знает, что сей продукт «культурной этнографии» означает. Кому это ни о чем не говорит, тот знает «другое», «свои» игры, и мы с этими поколениями квиты. Просто нас, не задумывавшихся над этим, не отпускала, сопровождала война.

В моем случае об этом можно было говорить буквально. Где-то в Европе, в Германии, действительно майскими короткими ночами 1945 года, отгремев, закончились бои. А у нас во дворе стояли... немцы. А за несколько лет до «Мая 1945» в один из блокадных дней молодая женщина пошла в булочную отovarить свои карточки. Вернулась она к полностью разрушенному дому. После меткого немецкого бомбометания осталась только часть стен по периметру этого дома да жуткая мысль у этой еще молодой женщины, что было бы с ней, не пойдя она в эту булочную. Ей дали «площадь» тут же в одном из рядом стоящих корпусов дома 16 по 21-й линии все на том же Васильевском острове. А в 1943 году у нее родился мальчик — рассказчик этих воспоминаний. В 1946–1948 годах в нашем дворе пленные немцы (про них и речь) восстанавливали, точнее говоря, строили заново тот дом, в котором до его разрушения жила моя мама. Я жив до сих пор. Но все оказывается так зыбко и негарантированно, когда оказываешься на границе «войны и мира»: мама могла и не пойти за хлебом в тот день. В какой «жизненный мир» прикажете поместить все того же субъекта, взявшегося за эти реминисценции? «Поток жизни» неостановим. Но отдельным экземплярам от этого бывает не легче. Отдельным экземплярам (как в данном, моем, случае)

приходилось жить рядом с этими немцами, которые сделали мое, мамино существование случайным, необязательным.

Стройка была обнесена очень высоким деревянным забором с колючей проволокой и вышкой для часового. Однажды, пробегая вдоль этого забора, я резко остановился. Кто-то отодвинул в сторону доску и поманил меня рукой. Впрочем, что значит «кто-то»? Там могли быть только «они», немцы. В образовавшуюся щель, как мне помнится, совсем не страшный пожилой немец стал показывать игрушку. Это был сочно разукрашенный домик-копилка с проделанной прорезью на крыше этого домика. Немец протягивал подарок и простуженным голосом говорил только одно слово. Когда прошла первая растерянность, я расслышал русское слово «Хлеб!».

Я побежал за хлебом. Немец не мог знать, куда и зачем я побежал. Он просто вернул доску забора в исходное положение и ждал с другой стороны. Видимо, он надеялся на то, о чем просил. Я же не тогда, а гораздо позже думал, а почему я не показал ему «комбинацию из трех пальцев» или не кинул первый попавшийся камень в доску, за которой скрывался мой враг. Ответ как-то не приходил мне в голову. Дома же, влетев на общую кухню, я, доставая кирпич черного хлеба, спросил соседку, сколько отрезать немцу. Вопрос не удивил ее. Она ответила, я отрезал больше. Через несколько минут у забора состоялся мой «патлач» с первым в моей жизни живым немцем. К слову сказать, история эта повторилась. В другой раз в обмен на хлеб я стал обладателем деревянной ярко расписанной фигурки паяца с дергающимися ручками и ножками.

Говорят, что пленных можно и пожалеть. Такое было и на той войне. Человеческое сердце (особенно женское) сердобольно. Международное право регулирует и даже защищает права пленных. Но разве не подлинный гнев и обескураживающее смятение не оставлял русским женщинам выбора: когда по Москве в июле 1944 года был проведен «Марш немецких пленных», в сторону немцев летели не только гневные и немигающие взгляды, но и крики и плевки презрения.

Помню и «продолжение» этой темы. В начале 1960-х в прозе молодых писателей о войне зазвучало примиренческое настроение: «жертвы были со всех сторон», «виноват Гитлер» и т. д. Так далеко и своеобразно не заходили в это время даже сами немцы. Будучи в Германии в первой половине 1990-х, я видел, как была смущена, если не испугана, одна молодая немка, когда я рассматривал в ее присутствии фотографию, изображавшую сцену собрания довольно рядовых «партайгеноссе»

в довоенную эпоху Третьего рейха, — рассматривал фотографию, которую не помню, где обнаружил, переезжая с места на место по Германии.

Так вот, когда в упомянутые 1960-е в советских художественных журналах появились рассказы и повести молодых авторов, которые, скажем так, облегченно поднимали вопрос «немецкой вины», зазвучал голос и старшего поколения, писателей и поэтов — фронтовиков. Помню, потому что было чему врезаться в память. Голос прозвучал не из высоких партийных инстанций по поводу якобы отклонения от официальной идеологии и т.д. То был голос фронта. Один эпизод застрял тогда же в моем сознании молодого новобранца, каким проходил срочную службу на заснеженных просторах мурманских сопок. В библиотеке военной части прочел стихотворение Мих. Светлова «Итальянец». Стихотворение, как оказалось, было написано в 1943 году. Но и спустя десятилетия оставалось неизменным: суть *смерти на войне* плохо поддается пониманию, если к этой трагедии подходят с сугубо отвлеченных, абстрактных, беспринципных позиций. Стихотворение как бы вторично заговорило именно в тот период, о котором идет речь. Приведу на свой выбор немного:

Молодой уроженец Неаполя!
Что оставил в России ты на поле?
[...] Я, убивший тебя под Моздоком,
Так мечтал о вулкане далеком!
[...] Но ведь я не пришел с пистолетом
Отнимать итальянское лето
[...] Здесь я выстрелил! Здесь — где родился...
[...] Я стреляю — и нет справедливости
[...] Справедливее пули моей!

О «Мае 1945» сказано самое главное: это была победа над ФАШИЗМОМ. Фашизм бывает и «с человеческим лицом». Мы завалили самое страшное и расчеловеченное чудовище — коллективное безумие Третьего рейха. Тогда было так: «Или мы, или они!» Третьего не дано.

Россиянам есть чем гордиться. И беспримерной стойкостью, и неистраченной трепетностью русской души (без кавычек) на той войне. Пусть молодежь в России, к какой бы генерации она ни относилась (икс, игрек, зет и далее по текущей классификации), проведет время за чтением «Русского характера» Алексея Толстого. Произведение художественное, а правда там подлинная.

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**“WE ARE ALL CRAZY CHILDREN OF WAR,
BOTH GENERAL AND PRIVATE”**

Abstract. The essay presents memories of the Great Patriotic War, besieged and post-war Leningrad. Using sociological language, the author reconstructs the life of a generation that began to live in the first post-war years and fought in the rear. It describes the “life world” of Leningrad after the May 1945 Victory. Special attention is paid to the “stream of life” of the post-war childbearing, which is recreated on the basis of autobiographical material.

Keywords: war, soldier, generation, Leningrad, yard, children, prisoner, fascism

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