

**PROFESSIONAL DYNASTIES AS A RESOURCE
OF SOCIAL MOBILITY**

Elena M. Kolesnikova

Institute of Sociology of the Federal Center of Theoretical
and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences,
Moscow, Russia, e-mail: kolesnikova@mail.ru
ORCID ID: 0000-0003-2174-2524

Abstract. Despite the fact that in today's society, the family ceases to be the leading institute of the formation, preservation and transfer of professional roles, it is still important resource for professional groups. The formation of professional groups costs a lot for the state, the educational system and the professional community. Professional dynasties can act as the informal institution of a professional reproduction and has a beneficial effect on the labor market in the long term. Anyway, are dynasties a serious personnel reserve of professions and a resource for maintaining high standards of corporate culture? The payback for professional dynasties is also important. Does the accumulated social capital give some freedom to the employee in the labor market?

In our research professional dynasty is treated as family project that allows to talk about intergenerational professional loyalty, the situation when children choose the same profession as their parents and/ or relatives of previous generations. The research project included analysis of professional dynasties as a resource for its members' and for the entire professional group. The object of study was the representatives of professional engineering dynasties (N=7) and "non-dynastic" engineers (N=5). The study was organized in December 2018 in 3 regions (Moscow, Samara, Yekaterinburg). The study was supported by the Russian Foundation for Humanities, project "Professional dynasties as a social mechanism of reproduction of professional groups", grant No. 18-011-01129.

Professional dynasties are holders of collective memory, ideas about the past of the professional group and based on family members' narratives. Each member of the dynasty adds his own narratives, which belong to different periods of history. Such stories are an important component of the identity of the profession, a factor of its cohesion, and a significant contribution of the dynasty, they are used to justify the social status of the profession, for the correction of the formal version of profession's history that can be situationally controlled and adjusted by the state or other external agents by highlighting some events and shade others. Professional continuity in the family requires some certain informal family relations. For

many-generational professional dynasties is typical the presence at home (in family) of a specialized library used by generations, of places for informal communication and discussion of issues related to professional activities (parlor, desk(s), garage). The interest to the profession can also be supported by the parents' choice of specialization in secondary or additional education, by the possibility of visual observation of elements of the professional practices (for example at parents' work places).

The status of a professional group of engineers in Russia changed depending on how high a position in society could provide a profession. In Soviet times, the status of the engineer profession depended on very contradictory trends. The "struggle against wrecking\sabotage" has become a way of controlling the profession for a long time. The engineer profession in today's Russia is under pressure of the economic situation and this situation is the result of the difficulties of modernization in industry, the big proportion of inefficient enterprises, low-productivity and technologically backward jobs. In today's Russia we can name some professional organizations of engineers and among their main tasks is the certification of engineering personnel with inclusion of Russian engineers in global professional labor market. Participation in international research projects, mobility of professionals, cooperation with global engineering firms help Russian engineers to be more independent. In this context, it is significant that engineers who belong to engineering dynasties highly appreciate autonomy in the profession, in particular such aspect as "the ability to make decisions on their own in the workplace".

Keywords: Sociology of professions, social mobility, engineer, professional dynasty

Introduction

The high socio-economic status of the engineering profession, which is especially important in conditions of uncertainty and contradictions of the modern world, requires the involvement of the most interested young people, proper training at the university, the correlation of technological innovations with basic social values. The formation of professional groups costs a lot for the state, the educational system and the professional community. Professional dynasties can act as the informal institution of a professional reproduction and has a beneficial effect on the labor market in the long term.

The social status of professional groups is analyzed in terms of the resources they have and the opportunities in the system of power, the distribution of wealth and prestige, and the specifics of social adaptation. The theme of dynasties is presented in the literature in socio-economic and ideological

contexts. Socio-economic interpretation includes issues of intergenerational reproduction of social positions. Russian and foreign sociologists agree on the continuing inheritance of social benefits and the use of professional positions as one of the tools of closing, artificial restriction of access to outsiders, non-members of the profession, to certain social benefits (Yastrebov, 2015; Eberharter, 2012). The ideological context of the analysis of dynasties appeals to the class and corporate identity, the status of factory hereditary workers in industrial enterprises and their specific situation (for a detailed review see: Tkach, 2007).

Objectives / Purpose of the study

Despite the fact that in today's society, the family ceases to be the leading institute of the formation, preservation and transfer of professional roles, it is still important resource for professional groups. The personnel resource of such a statistically large and significant for the economy professional group as engineers are young men and women who choose education in technical universities, and among them there are many representatives of the engineering dynasties. Anyway, are dynasties a resource for maintaining high standards of corporate culture? The payback for professional dynasties is also important. Does the accumulated social capital give some freedom to the employee in the labor market?

Methodology

In our research professional dynasty is treated as family project that allows to talk about intergenerational professional loyalty, the situation when children choose the same profession as their parents and/ or relatives of previous generations. The research project included analysis of professional dynasties as a resource for its members' and for the entire professional group. The object of study was the representatives of professional engineering dynasties (N=7) and "non-dynastic" engineers (N=5). The study was organized in December 2018 in 3 regions (Moscow, Samara, Yekaterinburg).

Results / Findings

Dynasties as a resource of continuity in professional groups

Continuity is necessary for existence of the professional groups and arises from common identity, from the separation of the professional community from the general flow of social life and events. Professional dynasties are holders of collective memory, ideas about the past of the professional group and based on family members' narratives. Collective professional memory involves narratives and opinions about the state, political regimes and personalities, their proper and real activities toward the profession and professionals. For construction of historical memory can be used not only real facts, but also fictional or quasi-historical narratives, sometimes

embodied in documents (memoirs, books, photo albums, publications in the media of different levels, etc.), sometimes existing as stories. Each member of the dynasty adds his own narratives, which belong to different periods of history. The content of such memories can be both "stories about injuries" (negative stories from the past that influenced the current state of affairs) and "glorious pages" (positive stories from the past or about the future). Such stories are an important component of the identity of the profession, a factor of its cohesion, and a significant contribution of the dynasty, they are used to justify the social status of the profession, for the correction of the formal version of profession's history that can be situationally controlled and adjusted by the state or other external agents by highlighting some events and shade others.

Professional continuity in the family requires some certain informal family relations. In modern society children are not included in the professional activities of parents by the division of labor and may not consider the profession of parents as a given for them without any discussion or doubt. In order to maintain continuity through personal choice, it is necessary to practice of joint professional activities. For many-generational professional dynasties is typical the presence at home (in family) of a specialized library used by generations, of places for informal communication and discussion of issues related to professional activities (parlor, desk(s), garage). Joint leisure of generations, direct communication with parents, relatives, friends of the family as representatives of a certain profession creates conditions for self-determination of the young generation, allows to immerse yourself in the atmosphere of the professional community, involuntarily transmit professional identity, experience, elements of qualification components. The interest to the profession can also be supported by the parents' choice of specialization in secondary or additional education, by the possibility of visual observation of elements of the professional practices (for example at parents' work places).

Dynasties as a resource of social mobility

Accumulated social capital creates the opportunity to use the resources of the family. State employment policy in Russia during the Soviet period was characterized by extensive obligations, which provided the stable social status of professional groups. In today's Russia the stability of employment, level of income turned from state obligations to points of discussion between professionals and employers. In this context, it is significant that dynasty can facilitate access to successful career in the profession, especially with additional access to administrative resources (among the respondents-representatives of dynasties more proportion of those whose fathers held/hold the position of "director\chief\head"). For example, all

respondents distinguish "stability of employment" as the main advantage of the public sector of employment, in the private sector - "high wages", "good working conditions", "career prospects", but engineers who do not have such a resource as belonging to an engineering dynasty prefer the stability of state-owned enterprises to non-state high incomes and career growth, that is typical of economies with low mobility and strong government regulation. High income in the private sector is connected with characteristics that the employee may not always affect; not only with the efficiency of his own work, but also with the success of the enterprise as a whole, the culture of management.

Discussion

In sociology profession is defined as knowledge-based occupations. Because the complexities and risks of the work it is necessary to trust professionals' intentions, opinions and decisions. This situation leads to internal self-regulation of professionals at work and of professional groups. In return professionals are rewarded with authority, high status, salary and power. Professional associations as independent public organizations are considered as key actors of professionalization. Their role is related to the social control of employment and the labor market situation of professional groups, the functioning of such institutions as licensing, vocational training, autonomy, ethical code, etc. At the same time, we can see the tendency of professionalism transformation in today's world. The state, through the development of labor legislation and standardization of labor, and private investors, through financing, increasingly control the professional community. As some sociologists argue, professionalism now is more related to the possibilities for discretionary decision-making, then to full autonomy and jurisdiction in a field of expertise (Evetts, 2002).

Tring to understand engineers in Russian context is important to understand that status of this professional group is not so high and in everyday practice they stay often limited by organizational and state objectives. In Soviet times, the status of the engineer profession depended on very contradictory trends. The "struggle against wrecking\sabotage" has become a way of controlling the profession for a long time after the 1917 revolution. The disunion of technical and political power at the enterprises; accountability of engineers (the bourgeois specialists) to the proletarians; the policy of "speciedstvo" (hostile attitude towards non-communist intelligentsia); the wide practice of the "sharashka" (technical bureaus in prisons where engineers-prisoners worked); campaigns against the "pseudoscience" were parts of Russian 20th century history. Under the patronage of the Soviet state were large-scale projects for the industrialization of the country, the development of military equipment, nuclear energy, space program. This

allowed some scientists and engineers to enjoy relative autonomy, to be in a "preferred position". Active involvement in higher education of workers and peasants (the formation of "demotic technical intelligence" as opposition to bourgeois specialists) has changed the social profile of the professional group, but it often accompanied by the decline of the qualification level of engineers. Since the 50-60th of the 20th century, more and more engineers were prepared by the education system and by the end of the 90th the profession became mass. Engineers more and more often worked as administrative staff and workers. In the post-Soviet period, the transition to a market economy, a radical increase in inequality, that happened in a very short period, has led to the need to adapt to a completely new social reality. The engineer profession in today's Russia is still under pressure of the economic situation. Industry has ceased to be the largest sector in terms of employment. Leading countries in investing in research and development give preference for non-state funding and development of technology-intensive production in small and medium enterprises, but in Russian we see preference of state funding, a lot of risks and complexities of modern entrepreneurship in high-tech production. The status of engineer is under discussion and in part, this situation is a result of the difficulties of modernization in industry, the big proportion of inefficient enterprises, low-productivity and technologically backward jobs. During the periods of economic growth, the relatively high level of income of engineering specialists was supported by the rent-oriented structure of the Russian economy, but not today, when according to Rosstat, 2018 was the fifth year of a continuous decline in incomes of people and economic decline. In Soviet period engineers (as all employees) had no right to be organized in any professional associations except official and under control to the state. Well-known organized by the Soviet authorities a major trial of engineers on fabricated materials - the Case of the industrial Party (1930). Engineers were accused of creating an anti-Soviet underground organization known as the "Union of engineering organizations". In today's Russia we can name some professional organizations of engineers (Russian Union of Engineers, Association «National chamber of engineers», Public all-Russian organization «Russian engineering Academy» and others) and among their main tasks are the promotion of the interests of the professional community, the raising of social status of the engineer profession, the development of non-state system of accreditation of engineering educational programs and certification of engineering personnel. The certification of engineering personnel with inclusion of Russian engineers in global professional labor market is treated by these organizations as a strong resource in relations with the state, with owners of enterprises, with any external to engineer

management. Participation in international research projects, mobility of professionals, cooperation with global engineering firms help Russian engineers to be more independent. In this context, it is significant that engineers who belong to engineering dynasties highly appreciate autonomy in the profession, in particular such aspect as "the ability to make decisions on their own in the workplace".

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