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Multidimensional Modernity: Essential Features of Modern Society in Sociological Discourse[1]

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The paper suggests a comparative analysis of sociological discourse of modern society and modernization and systematically displays essential features of modernity. Five leading segments of the discourse are identified and an integrated approach on existing theories of modernity is elaborated. The novelty of the proposed analysis is a focus on profound similitude of different theories of modernity and possibility of synergic application of the distinct explanatory platforms. Such an application significantly differs from existing traditional vision of sociological discourse of modernity and modernization as a subsequent change of theoretical approaches or dramatic competition of alternative research programs. Suggested analysis allows identifying multiple dimensions of modernity that overall constitute a whole picture of modern society. In addition to the segments of the discourse of modernity and modernization that have been classified, a structure of essential features of modern society is revealed comprising 1) universality (invariance) of social development; 2) civilization variability and uniqueness of cultural programs; 3) emancipation trend and antinomies; 4) permanence of change and innovations; 5) increase of productivity, competitiveness and the quality of life.

Keywords: modernity, modernization, development, theory of modern society.

In recent years, the concept of modernization has become popular in the statements of the leaders of the Russian Federation and Ukraine, as an important component of the declared government policy of development in these countries.[2] Modernization in this context is understood as technological innovation and development of globally competitive innovative industries, the growth of productivity of labor and capital, creation of new products and services (Zevin, 2008).

In contrast to this rhetoric, the contemporary sociology is dominated by a cautious attitude to the concept of modernization and heuristic capabilities of this theory (Allard, 2002). This is the second wave of critical attitude after a brief, since the second half of the 1980s, period of "rebirth of modernization theory" as a paradigm of "neomodernisation analysis", which, in particular, was associated with the revolutionary changes in the socialist countries (Tiryakian, 1991). One of the most consistent critics of the modernization theory I. Wallerstain, like other representatives of the world-system analysis in general, emphasizes that this theory provides an ideologically distorted idea of social reality. According to his famous words, "we do not live in a modernizing world, but rather in the capitalist

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world", which is divided into the core, semi-periphery and periphery, and in which there is an unfair redistribution of resources and asymmetric competition (Wallerstein, 2000).

A deep analysis of theories of modernity and modernization, the stages of their development, advantages and disadvantages, systematization and a detailed criticism of certain approaches are contained in in the works of J. Alexander, H. Haferkamp, N. Smelzer, A. Martinelli, E. Tiryakian, P. Sztompka, W. Zapf K. Kumar, V. Inozemtsev, P. Kutuev, N. Tikhonova, V. Fedotova and many others (Alexander, 1994; Haferkamp, Smelzer, 1992; Martinelli, 2005; Kumar, 1995; Tiryakian, 1991; Zapf, 1998; Sztompka , 1996; Inozemtsev, 2000; Kutuev, 2009; Fedotova, 1997 Tikhonova et al. 2007). But the logic of the analysis is usually subordinated to the chronological order, reflecting the emergence and development of ideas about the society of modernity and modernization. The periodization of this intellectual process as a gradual succession of theoretical approaches is given (Martinelli, 2005; Tiryakian, 1991; Sztompka, 1996; Inozemtsev, 2000b Tikhonova et al, 2007). Even if an alternative analytical approach is used, formation and evolution of concepts of modernity and modernization are still subject to the logic of sociological theory (Kutuev, 2009, p. 152-153). In contrast to this J. Alexander (1994) and W. Zapf (1998) used, though in different ways, such a method of analysis of theories of modernity and modernization in which the logic of a scientific discourse is associated with the trends of development and challenges of the modern society itself.

This paper develops such an approach and proposes a systematization of contemporary theories of modern society and modernization by identifying the common and different in interpretations of modernity. The novelty of the proposed method of analysis is that, in contrast to the traditional view of sociological discourse of modernity and modernization as a consistent stage-by-stage change of different paradigms or uncompromising competitiveness of research programs, I focus on their similitude and the possibility of simultaneous application of different explanatory platforms. This allows selecting the basic dimensions of modern society. Unlike J. Alexander, who believed that sociologists-theorists are intellectuals trying to "understand the crisis of their time", so that different theoretical approaches come and go depending on how well they help to do it (Alexander, 1994, p. 165), I assume that these approaches do not lose their relevance. In modern society there are a variety of challenges that can have a different weight and importance in certain historical periods. However, modernity – is a multidimensional phenomenon and for its holistic understanding a systematic application of a complex of theories of modernity and modernization, reflecting the main features of modern society, is necessary.

The notion of modernization as a normative and predetermined process means introduction of a value component into scientific theory and, accordingly, accusing opponents of indoctrinated vision of the ways of development of modern society. At the same time, modernity is not only a certain current state of the society, the complex of properties of its institutions, forms of production, social structure and culture, but also a philosophical and ideological system, which by definition suggests a value reference.

This duality is a fundamental contradiction of theories of modern society and theories of modernization. Modern society is a reality, yet it is also an ideology. Moreover, it is a utopia that is "just like any utopia has the highest expansionist potential" (Ionin, 2002, p. 230). Modernity, of course, was not planned and designed in accordance with European rationalist philosophy of the early modern

period and the ideals of the Enlightenment. But it turned out to be a self-sufficient "Project" (in terms of J. Habermas), in which social reality is reconstructed and represented as modernity society with all its characteristic features. Reality with its alternative representations, on the one hand, and socio-philosophical and ideological project (or different projects) – on the other, are often not the same.

This implies the differences in understanding of the nature of modern society and the process of modernization. There are **five segments** of sociological discourse, which I will analyze in this article. They intersect at certain points, may be related in their theoretical origins, but differ in key interpretations of modernity.[3] These interpretations correspond to the five major (features) of modern society.

First of all (and this is most natural for sociology as European science of the early modern period), modernity is understood as a stage of evolution of human society, the successor to the agrarian society, based on tradition, and therefore as a step forward on the path of historical progress. This understanding in sociology is characteristic of, in the first place, the evolutionary theories of the XX century, T. Parsons, N. Smelzer, G. Lenski, K. Deutch, M. Levi, D. Lerner and many others (Haferkamp, Smelzer, 1992; Lenski, 1970; Parsons, 1971; Deutsch, 1961; Lerner, 1958; Levy, 1996 (1966)). But evolutionist and progressivist paradigm was typical for the whole of classical sociology from A. Comte to E. Durkheim. Even in the 2000s, the authoritative researcher D. Chirot continues to defend its advantage in explaining social changes in relation to the theories of civilization, the world-systems analysis and theories of postmodernism (Chirot, 2001). R. Inglegart and C. Welzel, based on data of longitudinal comparative studies, prove universalism of the scheme of development through formation of emancipatory values and democratic institutions (Inglehart, 2010; Inglehart, 2009).

Within this paradigm modern society has a certain set of features (well-known from any serious textbook on sociology), which reflect evolutionary changes in social institutions, structure and cultural life. This is a structural differentiation, urbanization, industrialization, market economy, the nation-state and the nation, bureaucratic organizations, rationalization, strengthening the role of science and turning it into a productive force, the spread of education, secularization etc. (Lerner, 1968, p. 387; Eisenstadt, 2010)

Modernization, according to it, is conceptualized as "is the specific sum of the large-scale social, economic, political and cultural changes that have characterized world history in the past 200 years and that originate from the multi-faceted revolution (economic, social, political, cultural) of the second half of the eighteenth century" (Martinelli, 2005, p. 8). Modernization is a "special form of development, the essence of which is the transition from traditional to modern society" (Fedotova, 2008, p. 74).

This approach was most of all criticized by all subsequent theories, and the attitude to the original theory of modernization 1950-1960, based on it, is rather ironic in modern sociology. Nonetheless, evolutionism remains a powerful intellectual tradition and is, to a varying degree, implicitly represented in many existing theories of social changes. The definitions of modern society and modernization, given above, are not half a century old. They, along with other interpretations, are still used today. J. Alexander noted the rise of neomodernism in the 1980-1990s, which was acquiring new forms – as "a more heroic and romantic" perspective in solving "the problems of our time" (Alexander, 1994, p. 165). The noticeable decline in popularity of

postmodern theories in the last 10-15 years is also a proof of this.

The second segment of sociological discourse of modernity and modernization is a kind of detailing of the first one, but in it the universalist-evolutionary view of social development is changed dramatically. Modernism is defined as a specific-historical type of the society, it also has a certain set of specific features, which, at least in the Western European version, is identical to the specified above. Nevertheless, it is not a universal stage of evolutionary change, but rather is localized in space and time, that is, can be considered as a separate civilization. According to E. Giddens, modernity "refers to modes of social life or organisation which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence" (Giddens, 1990, p. 1).

This civilizational approach, in its turn, has two fundamentally different variants. According to the first, in a somewhat simplified wording of the *West* versus the *Rest*, modernity is considered as a purely European phenomenon and corresponds to the above-mentioned definition of E. Giddens. After its rise (or simultaneously with it) the local European (or North Atlantic) civilization carried out global expansion. It can be assumed that such an increase was possible, in particular, due to global expansion. It is important to note that on the surface this civilization is perceived as integral, as the "Western world", "West", as opposed to the rest of the world. Accordingly, from such post-colonial perspective modernity is conceptualized as a "challenge of the West", "challenge of the present to the past", when the concept of progress is interpreted as "legitimizing the challenge of the West under the conditions of transformation of human history into world history" (Fedotova, 1997, p. 27) 1.

The second "narrow" definition of modernization, following from it, is as "the combination of processes through which underdeveloped or developing societies, i.e. the various peripheries of the world, try to reduce or wipe the gap that separates them from developed countries (the central areas of Europe, North America and Japan) in terms of economic growth competitiveness in the global market and the social well-being of its people" (Martinelli, 2005, p. 25). That is, in this sense modernization is a response to "the West» from the rest of the world. P. Sztompka in this regard notes that "modernization is something quite different from spontaneous development in progressive direction. It means a conscious copying of Western societies, acting as "model countries" (Sztompka, 1996, p. 173).

I would like to note that, firstly, in this aspect, modernization is always a task-oriented project of political elites of the society, trying to compete with more developed and successful societies. Therefore, we can agree with distinguishing a mobilization type of modernization (Fedotova, 2008, p. 110-112). However, existence of organic and innovative types of modernization seems doubtful. Secondly, according to modernization theory, copying developed societies should lead to increase in the level of development of societies, imitating the models, however, empirical data of the second half of the XX century did not confirm this prediction, therefore, the ideas of world-systems analysis seem more substantiated, according to which, systemic changes are necessary to improve the position of the society and deprivation of other societies of their privileged position, which is not possible without political struggle (Wallerstein, 2000).

The second version of the civilizational approach (the second segment in the discourse of modernity in our classification) was formulated S. Eisenstadt and is known as the theory of multiple

modernities (Eisenstadt, 2000; Eisenstadt, 2001). Conceptually, it is in tune with the civilizational analysis J. Arnason, and also understanding of modernity as different ways of interpreting the world, "tension" and "imaginary significances" proposed by C. Castoriadis (Arnason, 1989; Arnason, 2010 Castoriadis, 1987). Its essence lies in conceptualization of modernity as a distinct new type of civilization. As in the previous Eurocentric version, S. Eisenstadt believes that modern civilization first "crystallized in Western Europe", and eventually spread (in particular by means of imperialist, colonial and economic expansion) to other parts of Europe and the rest of the world. However, the difference lies in the fact that, according to S. Eisenstadt, expansion of this civilization did not lead to homogenization and formation of a unified civilization of modernity, but rather led to appearance of "multiple modernities" – civilization-determined (i.e. determined by a specific context of local civilizations) alternative interpretations of modernity and different responses to new challenges (Eisenstadt, 2001, p. 322).

Supporting this approach, E. Tiryakian formulates the thesis about the dialectic of a single modern civilization (contemporary) and modernity (contemporaneity) of different civilizations and emphasizes that the triumph of "Western civilization" has become possible, in particular, due to the fact that it spread worldwide and become the civilization of modernity, which involves other civilizations (Tiryakian, 2001, p. 289-290). A similar view is shared by B.Wittrock, who stresses that modernity is a global condition and as a global condition it is characterized by unity. However, the existence of institutions and cultural features causes a great variety of modern society (Wittrock, 2000, p. 31, 55).

Although the approach of "multiple modernities" in its different variants (except the aforementioned researchers, it is also used by P. Wagner, D.P.Gaonkar, I. Kaya, R. Lee and others (Wagner, 2010; Wagner, 2011; Gaonkar, 2001; Kaya, 2004; Lee, 2008) can be considered today the most wide-spread (and even fashionable; it eagerly supported by sociologists from countries outside Europe and North America) in the study of modern society, it has been criticized for reduction of modernity to cultural programs of modernity and weakness of empirical substantiation of results (Schmidt, 2006; Schmidt, 2007; Schmidt, 2010; Martinelli, 2005).

It should be added that the weakness of the theories "multiple modernities" is also in the uncertainty of the term "modernization". Taking into account the conceptual basis of this approach, this term simply does not make sense. The approach of "multiple modernities" was proposed as an alternative to the theory of modernization and aimed at denial of the existence of such a phenomenon as modernization. P. Wagner, considering the end of apartheid in South Africa, says that in this case, transition to individual and collective autonomy can be considered "modernization" and it appears to be "the only defendable use of this term after the critique of sociological modernization theory from the 1960s onwards" (Wagner, 2011, p. 498).

However, as it will be shown later, the problem for the theories of "multiple modernities" is the lack of criteria for comparing alternative interpretations of modernity and determining the criteria of modernity and also the ways of acquiring the status of modernity. After all, for acquisition of this status one needs modernization that is conceptually denied in these theories.

The third segment that I distinguish is clearly Eurocentric in its origin, although, paradoxically, contains a universalist potential. It is an approach to modernity as a "project", as a societal and cultural achievement of mankind. It is intellectually similar to the previous one, and some authors can even be attributed to both

approaches. At the same time, the difference is, in my view, essential, since understanding of modernity as a "project" is not limited to local civilizations. In this respect, the first evolutionist approach can be considered closer to this one, because "modernization theory make Weber's notion of "modernity" abstract, which has serious consequences. It separates modernity from its origins – the early modern period in Europe – and stylized it as a model for the process of social development in general, neutral to the space-time relation" (Habermas, 2003, p. 8).

Understanding modernity in this approach cannot be reduced to a set of familiar features (differentiation, urbanization, industrialization, etc.). Moreover, we cannot speak of "alternative" or "different" modernities, because in this case the ideal type (as defined by M. Weber) of the society is constructed, its social and cultural organization. It is a clearly world-outlook, value and normative approach that was born in the depths of European social and moral philosophy.

But it would be a mistake to attribute to this approach only those theories that consider the phenomenon of modernity mostly positive. "The project of modernity" cannot be understood without its critics and revealing its contradictions and "lines of tension". Therefore, it is quite relevant to attribute to it postmodern schools, questioning the theoretical and ideological foundations of the "project of modernity". Thus (by negation) postmodern philosophy and sociology explain (reinterpret) the nature of modern society, its past and future.

Chronologically, this approach emerged before the first one and all the others that are considered here. The very idea of modernity itself formed within it. The philosophy of the Enlightenment and classical German philosophy of the XVIII-XIX centuries caused its optimistic orientation. Non-classical irrational philosophies of the XIX-XX centuries revealed its reverse dark side. Long before the appearance of postmodern theorists, and even the theory of modernization, W. Benjamin "formulated understanding of modernity (and understanding of capitalism) as a mythological and even religious phenomenon in opposition to Weber" (Ionin, 2007, p. 302). Postmodern philosophy encroached upon fundamental metanarratives of modernity: rationality, objectivity, even scientific knowledge itself as the leading tool of reflection.

At the same time, development of the project of modernity cannot be reduced to purely intellectual search. As it is rightly pointed by J. Habermas, the Reformation, the Enlightenment and the French Revolution were the "key historical events for implementation of the principle of subjectivity ... Declaration of Human Rights and the Napoleonic Code brought to life the principle of free will as the substantial foundation of the state, as opposed to historically given right" (Habermas, 2003, p. 17).

Taking into account the diversity of philosophical tradition in interpretation of modernity and its contradictions, it is extremely difficult to determine its invariant properties, but even in this case, it can be argued that the essence of the project of modernity is that it is an emancipation project. This is the dominant view in different interpretations – from Hegel and Marx to Habermas. Despite the limitations of such an understanding, due to emergence in the process of actualization of this project of new limitations, dependencies, new "non-transparencies" of the world, realization of the shortcomings of rationalism etc., it is in the modern era that a specific idea of freedom and human rights are formulated, resources for their provision are created and made available.

Emancipation, from this point of view, denotes both an aspect of negative freedom from "barriers and constraints" and an aspect of positive freedom, to have the possibility for

"individual self-expression and self-realization" and also "influence on their own society"; it also means "expansion of the field of action for those who are full-fledged members, eligible subjects" (Sztompka, 1996, p. 52).

Emancipation in European dimension is inextricably linked to the "Western rationalism", "disenchantment", belief in the principal possibility to cognize the objective world, belief in the power of science, an irrepressible desire of man to "instrumentally overtake the world". (Habermas, 2003, p. 10). As J. Habermas concludes, "the project of modernity formulated in the XVIII century by philosophers of the Enlightenment, is ... in steady development of objectifying sciences, universalistic basis of morality and law, and an autonomous art ..., and at the same time in releasing thus accumulated cognitive capacities from their higher esoteric forms and using them in practice, that is, for rational organization of conditions of living" (Habermas, 1992, p. 45).

Yet, emancipation led to unexpected contradictory results, and the threats to freedom of man came from development of the public sphere, as well as the private one (Bauman, 2000, p. 50-51). Confidence of the early modern period that "the art and science will not only contribute to conquest of nature, but also to understanding of the world and man, moral perfection, justice, public institutions and even happiness of people" turned out "vain hope" (Habermas, 1992, p. 45). Despite this, J. Habermas calls on us "rather ... to draw a lesson than to admit defeat of modernity and its project" (Habermas, 1992, p. 49). Z. Bauman is also convinced that "the war of emancipations is not over" even though its priorities has changed (Bauman, 2000, p. 50-51). This project is far from completion, because its principles and ideals have not been realized. At the same time, it can be argued that the society of the early modern period, though not the way that was imagined by the European philosophers of the XVIII – first half of the XIX century, changed significantly on the way of human emancipation. It also remains an open question whether the ideals of modernity can, in principal, be brought to life. J. Habermas, for example, believes that it is, in principle, possible, although the chances are minimal (Habermas, 1992, p. 50).

Recognition of emancipation and rationalism as the essence of modernity does not deny the presence of antinomies and "tension lines" in it. There distinguished several of such antinomies. P. Berger as far back as in the 1970s, brilliantly formulated five dilemmas of modern time, fundamentally affecting human life in modern society:

1) abstraction – that is "hostility" of impersonal social institutions (the capitalist market, the bureaucratic state, technology, the city, the media), the forms of thought and emotion to human life, personal relationships and "compact" communities;
2) "futurity" – "change of temporal structure of human perception, in which the future becomes the main orientation of not only the imagination, but also activities";
3) individualization – "a growing separation of an individual from social groups and communities" and "an unprecedented confrontation between an individual and the society";
4) "emancipation – the growing role of human choice – both individual and collective, the increase of the "burden" of choice for the modern man;
5) secularization – a controversial attitude "towards the transcendent dimension of human being" (Berger, 1990, p. 127-133).

Already in the 2000s, S. Eisenstadt also identifies five antinomies which are slightly

different from the previous typology (Eisenstadt, 2010, p. 5)

1) the antinomy of dimensions of human existence, that is, "the tension between the predominance of reason as against the emotional and aesthetic dimensions" (actually coincides with the first dilemma of P. Berger;)
2) the antinomy of human autonomy and the foundations of morality, in particular, the universal principles (can be identified with the third dilemma of P. Berger);
3) the antinomy "of reflection and action" – the tension between cognition of nature and the society, and "mastering" them, the construction of nature and society;
4) the antinomy of totality (universalist) and pluralistic vision of different values and "rationalities" (this tension is central for S. Eisenstadt and is used in the polemic in defense of the fundamental possibility of the existence of "multiple modernities");
5) the antinomy of human autonomy and existing restrictions, freedom and control (partially coincides with the fourth dilemma of P. Berger).

Starting from understanding of the essence of the project of modernity as emancipation project, it is possible to come to the conclusion that all of the aforementioned antinomies and dilemmas in one way or another are related to its essence and the process of emancipation. In other words, the key "tension" of the project of modernity – both in theoretical -philosophical perspective, and in the actual-historical one is the dialectic of emancipation –it is a struggle, liberation, obtaining rights and choices, which is accompanied by imposing external constraints, losses, strengthening of control, realization of the "burden" of choice.

Therefore, the emancipation project of modernity cannot be realistically considered either purely positively, as the path to freedom, or merely negatively as "the twilight of reason". Compared to M. Foucault, who firmly and pessimistically noted the formation, at the time of emancipation processes in Europe of early modern period, of efficient and sophisticated control system, discipline and exclusion (Foucault, 1965; Foucault, 1977), P. Wagner convincingly showed ambivalence of modernity. Describing the type of society, which he calls "organized modernity", P. Wagner emphasizes that extremely powerful institutions and discourses of this society "was enabling constraining, liberating and disciplining at the same time" (Wagner, 1994, p. XI, 193).

The modern "imagined importance" of human autonomy and self-actualization can be marked by coercion, harassment, exclusion and destruction, and the creating more opportunities for individual subjects' self-realization may lead to "the threat of *self-cancellation* of modernity" (italics is in original. – Y. S.) (Wagner, 1994, p. 65).

From other positions Z. Bauman draws attention to the antinomy of the public and private spheres, which, though in different ways, pose threat to individual freedom. He notes that modernity emancipation after confrontation with the public sphere, power, which has always been "under suspicion", so that it was accused of all the "all drawbacks and frustrations suffered by freedom", now confronts the private sphere, which, in its turn, "colonizes" the public one. (Bauman, 2000, p. 50-51). Z. Bauman claims that at the present stage, the public sphere paradoxically promotes individual freedom and, therefore, "any true emancipation requires not less, but more of the public sphere and the public authority" (Bauman, 2000, p. 51).

The dialectic of the project of modernity is also convincingly proved by A. Touraine. Firstly, he assumes that the Western European modernity is unique because nothing like the

way of modernization, which aimed at "making society not as a means, but an end", has occurred anywhere else in the world. (Touraine, 2007, p. 51).

Secondly, he distinguishes between modernity and modernization, and stresses that there are many ways of modernization, in particular, when modernity is not a goal, and only serves as a means of achieving power, especially military one. (Touraine, 2009, p. 106). Touraine believes that there are two fundamental principles of modernity:

1) "belief in reason and rational action";
2) recognition of universality of individuals' rights regardless of their social positions (Touraine, 2007, p. 72-73).

In general, modernity means the possibility that "every individual has the right to conquer his or her rights and choices and to defend them against established powers" (Touraine, 2009, p. 104). This should be interpreted as an admission that the idea of modernity opposes the idea of the society, no matter how it is understood – in terms of functionality and utilitarianism, or from the standpoint of the methods and consequences of dominance. In contrast to this, the idea of modernity "contains an insurmountable tension between, on the one hand, reason and *the rights of individuals* and, on the other, and *the collective interest* (italics is mine. – Y. S.)" (Touraine, 2007, p. 75). In addition, reason and the rights of the subject, according to Touraine, can also contradict each other.

These contradictions are crucial to understanding of the project of modernity and the dialectics of development. Emancipation as the main promise of European modernity (or promissory note, in terms of B. Wittrock) inevitably raises the question of at what cost it will be implemented. But, in my opinion, the key point is not only the contradiction between, on the one hand, individualization, subjectivization, autonomy and the right of individual choice, and the other – external control, liabilities, integration, solidarity and the rights of choice of counterparties. It is also important in what way and by what procedure this contradiction will be resolved in each particular society. Without this, it is impossible to comprehend the project of modernity and the peripeteias of its specific historical realization.

For this reason, we have to admit hopeless the attempts of W. Beck, C. Lau and their followers to build theories of the "second modernity" (Beck, 2010; 2005). Conceptualizing the profound changes in recent decades as the "modernization of modern society", they argue that "the old certainties, distinctions and dichotomies are fading away" and there are "new rules of the game" (Beck, Bonss, Lau, 2003, p. 3).

Of course, one has to agree with the fact that the occurring changes are not radical, but the basic proposition of the theory about the completion of the "first modernity" era of nation-states is controversial. However, they are not these modern changes at all that became a challenge for "Enlightenment-based modernity" (Beck, Lau, 2005, p. 525). It was challenged not today. The challenge is laid (as I have tried to show, based on the theory of J. Habermas, Z. Bauman, P. Berger, A. Touraine, P. Wagner) in the nature of the project of modernity. They are, therefore, absolutely utopian hopes, that "reflexive modernization" is able to identify "cracks in the European foundation", elimination of which is an intellectual challenge of the "theory of second modernity" (Lee, 2008, p. 56).

The fourth segment of sociological discourse of modernity and modernization is formed by the theories, which can be roughly defined as temporal. In these theories modernity is conceptualized as a specific time dimension – the modern state of society, regardless of its stages or civilization features and value-normative

content of ideological systems. The fundamental characteristics of such modern state are considered to be orientation to changes and ability to them, i.e. innovativeness.

Despite the stated universality of these characteristics, temporal conceptualization of modernity has deep cultural roots in Europe. It was the European Christian civilization that laid the premises for the change in the balance between tradition and modernity, as well as forming ideas about modernity. Actually, the concept of "modernity", being European in origin, has a pronounced temporal content. J. Habermas, using the works of H. Jauss, notes that this concept "reflects the consciousness of the epochs, correlating themselves with the past and the antiquity and understanding themselves as a result of transition from "old" to "new" (Habermas, 1992, p. 41).

Moreover, in European culture, there not only formed the opposition of the modern to the past, but there is also a comprehension of contemporary as non-permanent. Modern is contrasted with "eternal" and is, in the words of H.-U. Gumbrecht, "the past of the present's future" (quoted in Ionin, 2007, p. 48). From philosophical perspective, J. Habermas defines its essence as "the relevance of spontaneously renewing spirit of the times" (Habermas, 1992, p. 41). It is, on the one hand, social life under the conditions of a "general feeling of acceleration" (in economics, politics, technology, daily life, fashion, etc.) (Ionin, 2007, p. 48-49), and on the other – idealization of change, reduction of meaning of social life to change, to constant renewal. According to the figurative expression of P. Berger, "one of the most alluring principles of modernly is: things may not be as they were before"; modernity "strives for innovation and the revolution" and "the future is an open horizon" (Berger, 1990, s. 131). However, there is an alternative critical version of this comprehension of modernity, which crystallized in the philosophy of postmodernism (Ionin, 2007, p. 49-50).

In the contemporary sociology the temporal theory of modernity is developed by G. Therborn. He proposed a relative concept of modernity to refer to any kind of "a culture, an epoch, a society, a social sphere having a particular *time orientation*" (italics is in original. – Y. S.) (Therborn, 2006, p. 279).

Relativity of this approach comes from the fact that modernity does not mean "a particular chronological period or any particular institutional forms" but a universal "time conception looking forward to this worldly future, open, novel, reachable or constructable, a conception seeing the present as a possible preparation for a future" (Therborn, 2003, p. 294). G. Therborn proposes to empirically evaluate the degree of modernity through this kind of "temporal orientation of specified institutional spheres, such as the production of knowledge, the arts, the economy, politics." And "the predominant time culture of these spheres may vary well differ in a given society at any given point in time" (Therborn, 2003, p. 294).

Accordingly, in this approach, modernity of individual societies is evaluated in terms of their ability to change. Sociologists and futurists point to different newest features of modernity, which are change-oriented, an unprecedented rate of economic growth, innovation-based economy, spread of technological innovations in different spheres of life, dominance of the financial and service sectors as branches of economy, formation of "the society based on knowledge", increasing role of venture businesses, and communication technologies, the "creative class", the heyday of network structures, flexible management, etc. (Bell, 1996; Shtompka 1996; Stehr, 1994; Castells, 2004; Florida, 2005). Among the conditions for transition to an innovative economy they mention a sufficient level of well-being of population,

freedom of creativity, freedom of enterprise and competition, a high level of education and science, the presence of the industry of innovation, social capital and trust (Yasin, 2007, p. 10).

It is obvious that orientation to changes and constant innovation are the opposite of the society based on tradition. While in classical modernization theory it was customary to strictly oppose modernity to tradition, over time the studies have shown that modern society is more complex and contradictory, and that tradition is its integral component (Bendix, 1977 (1964); Gusfield, 1967). Therefore, absolutely innovative society, in contrast to the traditional one, is a utopia. However, societies can differ in the degree of innovativeness, and inside them there can exist, as noted by G. Therborn, some social institutions and actors focused on innovation.

The opposition of tradition and modernity is also removed in the theories of "reflexive modernization" and "late modernity", according to which the present state of society is related to the previous period of modernity, rather than the traditional society (Beck, 2003). Here, there are two interpretations,

1) modern society can be described as a new stage of transformation and modernization in certain chronological framework of "late", "second", "liquid" modernity or even in its various local-civilization forms (Giddens, 1990; Beck, 2010; Lee, 2006, 2006);
2) modernity is more generally interpreted as a constant focus on never-ending modernization (Bauman, 2000, p. 28).

IF the first interpretation is closer to civilization theories, according to which the type of modern society is not universal (it is either a purely European phenomenon that has reached global scale, or a variety of "multiple modernities"), the second one focuses on the universal ability/capability of the society to innovate and change. In this case, the essence of any modernization in any society is "transformation of the perception of time" (Berger, 1990, p. 129).

It is important to note that when Z. Bauman distinguishes the forms of modernity ("solid" and "liquid" modernity), he at the same time emphasizes their essential similarity, despite the existence of very significant differences. He argues that "the society which enters the twenty-first century is no less 'modern' than the society which entered the twentieth; the most one can say is that it is modern in a different way. What makes it as modern… is what sets modernity apart from all other historical forms of human cohabitation: the compulsive and obsessive, continuous, unstoppable, forever incomplete modernization…" (Bauman, 2000, p. 28). Z. Bauman uses the concept of 'permanent', 'continuous' modernization, emphasizing that "the habit of viewing modernization as 'a road to modernity', and modernity as an end-product of modernization is mistaken to the core: modernity is modernization ... modernizing is modernity's mode of being" (Bauman, 1999, p. 192).

Therefore, permanent change and innovation are an extremely important dimension of modernity. As well as its principal incompleteness, openness to the future. V. Fedotova and her colleagues distinguish four aspects of this incompleteness, among which, in particular, there is the fact that modernity "cannot be completely built because to think so means to believe that societies achieve or can achieve some ideal conditions that do not require further improvements" (Fedotova, 2008, p. 284).

However, one must beware of the dangers of understanding this dimension as an abstract property of social systems. After all, the changes take place in spite of, not because of these systems. The driving force of change and innovation is social actors that require motivation and favorable conditions for creativity. Therefore, a seemingly quite relative innovative dimension of

modern society is inextricably linked to the value dimension of modernity as a project. They are the principles of the latter (the rights of an individual, rationality) that act as premises for "freedom and creativity within social systems, which naturally tend to reinforce themselves rather than to form free actors" (Touraine, 2007, p. 72).

The fifth segment of sociological discourse, which should be outlined, is the least coherent. Different in their conceptual origin theories from different social sciences can be attributed to it. They are united by a common understanding of modern society as currently most effective social order. Accordingly, the main criterion for evaluation the state of the society and its various institutions, above all, economic ones, will be efficiency, or in a more specific economic interpretation, productivity, when compared with other societies. Productivity (efficiency) can be determined diachronically – compared to previous historic periods. However, the simultaneous comparison of modern societies in the framework of this approach allows detecting a competitive advantage and, finally, to evaluate the level of their competitiveness.

These theories, which I propose to designate as "efficiency theories", are often similar to the evolutionary theories of the first segment. After all, for example, the basic Parson's concepts of social evolution (differentiation, increase of the adaptive capacity) primarily mean greater efficiency. Common to these approaches is distinguishing the groups of "more and less developed" societies. The basic difference between them is that, in this case, efficiency is not considered as equally achievable for all societies and existence of universal stages of evolution is not recognized.

The similarity to the previous segment of temporal theories is explained by the fact that innovativeness in both segments is considered a premise for and a means of achieving efficiency, at least, in the economic sphere. Innovation is often identified with the effective, and the "modern" both in academic and in everyday sense means "the best, most advanced" (Fedotova, 2008, p. 284). From this point of view, to remain modern and competitive, one needs constant change, updating. In scientific and everyday discourse to be ahead is good, it gives a competitive advantage. According Z. Bauman, all this never-ending permanent modernization is not for its own sake, it is "all for the sake of a greater capacity for doing more of the same in the future – enhancing productivity or competitiveness" (Bauman, 2000, p. 28).

Several groups can be distinguished among the theories of efficiency. The first group, the most coherent and influential, was formed in the framework of new institutionalism. It dominates in the modern economic theory and political economy. Here, the productivity and competitiveness of the society in the economic and political spheres are due to the efficiency of its economic institutions, which determine not only the overall economic growth, but also "the distribution of resources in the future (i.e., the distribution of wealth, of physical capital or human capital)" (Acemoglu, 2005, p. 389-390). In its turn, economic institutions depend on political institutions and distribution of resources and operate under the influence of the political system of the society (Acemoglu, 2005, p. 392). This basic model, supplemented by specific elements (such as direct or indirect transfer of resources by political elites, blocking institutional development by political elites), gives really interesting results (see, eg.: Acemoglu, 2006).

A variant of the approach of new institutionalism is calculation of the index of competitiveness of countries by the organization "World Economic Forum" held since 2005. X. Sala-i-Martin and his colleagues consider

a set of institutional, political, infrastructural and human factors as determinants of the level of productivity of a country (Sala-i-Martin et al., 2011, p. 4). It should also be pointed out that among the economists of the less developed countries with authoritarian regimes or regimes of unconsolidated democracy in evaluating productivity there is often a shift from institutions to the latest technology, efficiency of labor, renewal of machinery assets, development of high-tech industries, introduction of new products and services, and modernization is generally understood as "transition to the innovative model of development" (Zevin, 2008, p. 291). In other words, in this case the position of technological determinism is used, which contradicts the essence of new institutionalism.

The second group of theories focuses on a different aspect of productivity, resulting from economic performance. It is the quality of living and opportunities for people. However, it should be kept in mind that the relation between the formation of modern society and the quality of living is not linear. W. Zapf, combining the studies of modernization, quality of living and social security, demonstrated different possible constellation of factors (Zapf, 1979, p. 241). E. Tiryakian indicates that modernization has its price and requires certain sacrifices, but in the long run, it means that "a greater number of actors have better life chances" (Tiryakian, 1995, p. 255).

The theories of the third group are, on the one hand, eclectic, as they try to empirically capture completely different features of the society "more suitable for living" that is "a good society" (Fedotova, 2005, p. 458). On the other hand, they are normative, because their authors try to outline the parameters of the optimal social order. In the theories of "a good society" the provisions of new institutionalism (effective institutions are the basis of this society) are combined with different components of quality of living (welfare, health, education, etc.).

In addition, value-regulatory elements (human rights, civil society, equitable distribution of resources, opportunities for personal development, etc.) fit into the conception of "a good society", which likens this conception to the notion of modernity as a project. This normative-eclectic combination is, above all, characteristic of the concept of a "good society" by J. K. Galbraith (Galbraith, 1996, p. 3-4). At the same time A. Etzioni emphasizes the normative aspect, proposing a classical philosophical understanding of "a good society" as the one in which people treat themselves and others as objectives, not means. (Etzioni, 2000, p. 11). R. Bellah and his co-authors perceive the foundation of "a good society" in "creativity and vitality of its institutions" in combination with individual and social responsibility (The Good Society, 1991, p. 17). This new institutional approach is complemented by what they call "pluralistic vision of the good society", but in fact it is an eclectic mix of empirical and normative characteristics, democratic participation, accountability of institutions, interdependence of welfare, freedom, peace and justice (The Good Society, 1991, p. 9). Later R. Bellah made, in my view, a very promising attempt to develop this concept, which, unfortunately, has not been completed (Bellah, 1997).

In general, the discourse of efficiency and competitiveness of modern society is logically complemented by the temporal theories of innovation and focus on changes. Within the framework of this approach, a very important dimension of modernity was determined. However, there are significant differences in interpretations of dimension of efficiency that cannot be overcome within the framework of this discourse.

Conclusion

In an attempt to create a systematic picture of current theories of modern society and modernization, I have outlined five key segments of sociological discourse:

1) the theory of modernity as a universal stage of evolution;
2) the concepts of local civilizations (with two variants, Eurocentric (the West versus the Rest) and multiple modernities);
3) the theories of the "project of modernity" as the values and normative core of the culture;
4) the temporal theories of changes;
5) the theories of efficiency, competitiveness and "the good society".

Within these approaches there are groups of theories in which the authors propose different interpretation of the essence of modern society and the objective laws of its development. It is important to emphasize that these theories are not merely alternative research programs, but complement each other. It is inappropriate to consider them as a succession of explanatory schemes. These theories are closely related. Along with the general conceptual terms, they also have some differences. The interrelations between these theories are graphically shown in Fig. 1.

All of these theories have heuristic restrictions, but they do not lose their relevance and highlight different dimensions of modernity, which together form a complete picture of it. These dimensions are:

1) universal social processes and invariant characteristics of development (differentiation, urbanization, social mobility, etc.);
2) civilization variability and unique features of cultural programs;
3) specific value orientations, emancipative trend and antinomies;
4) permanence of change and innovativeness (time orientation, focus on change and innovation);
5) increasing productivity and competitiveness, improving the quality of living, increase living standards and opportunities for people.

Thus, modernity is multi-dimensional, and systematic application of the full set of the above-mentioned theories of modernity and modernization is necessary for its holistic and adequate comprehension.

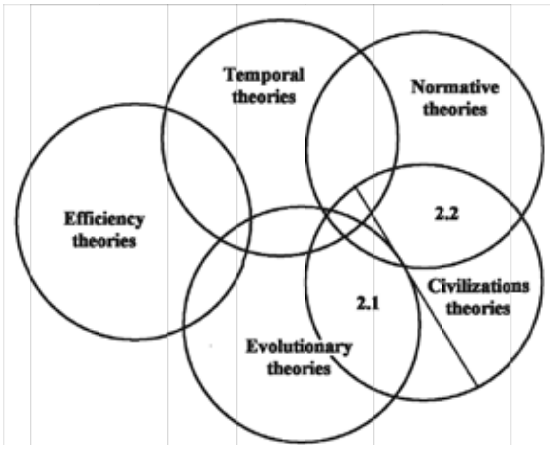

Fig. 1. The interrelation of theories (segments of sociological discourse) of modernity and modernization. 2.1 – Eurocentric approach ('the West versus the Rest'), 2.2 – Theories of multiple modernities

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[2] Address of the President to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation from December 22, 2011 the Kremlin, Moscow. Available at: http://www news.kremlin.ru.news.14088; Modernizatsiya Ukrainy nash strategichny vibir: Schorichne Poslannya Presidenta Ukrainy do Verkhovnou Rady Ukrainy. K., 2011. 416. Available at: http://www.president.gov.ua.docs.Poslannya_sborka.pdf ;

[3] Certainly, there are other classifications. For example, V. Yadov considers the problems of modernization in the frameworks of three macro-paradigms of theoretical sociology, 1) activist, 2) institutional and environmental conditions of development, 3) global world-system (Yadov, 2010). In our case the criteria for distinguishing groups of theories are not general factors' approaches to the development of the society, but a specific understanding of the essence of modernity and modernization.

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Многомерная современность: сущностные характеристики современного общества в социологическом дискурсе

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Настоящая статья предлагает сравнительный анализ социологического дискурса о современном обществе и модернизации и систематизирует сущностные характеристики модерна. Выделены пять ведущих сегментов социологического дискурса модерна и модернизации и разработан комплексный подход к существующим теориям современности. Новизна предложенного анализа заключается в фокусировке на глубоком сходстве различных теорий современности и возможности совместного применения объяснительных платформ. Такой подход значительно отличается от существующего традиционного видения социологического дискурса о современности и модернизации как последовательной смены теоретических подходов или бескомпромиссной конкуренции альтернативных исследовательских программ. Предложенный анализ позволяет корректно идентифицировать различные измерения современности, которые в своем единстве позволяют сформировать цельное видение эпохи модерна. В дополнение к классифицированным сегментам социологического дискурса в статье показана структура сущностных характеристик современного общества, которая включает: 1) универсальность (инвариантность) социального развития, 2) цивилизационную вариативность и уникальность культурных программ, 3) эмансипационный тренд и культурные антиномии, 4) перманентность изменений и инноваций, 5) рост эффективности, конкурентоспособности и качества жизни.

Ключевые слова: современность, модернизация, разработка, теория современного общества.