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THE MODERN DONETSK INTELLIGENTSIA: SOCIAL PORTRAIT

The author of the article examined the peculiarities of formation of the modern Donetsk intelligentsia social portrait. The investigation resulted in singling out the principal features of a modern Donetsk intellectual: on the one hand, the social and economic capital limitation, estrangement from the state, political passivity, low material position, deprivation, nostalgia for the Soviet past, transition from intellectual activity into the branches of economy, politics, and on the other hand – culture, altruistic ethics, aspiration to enlighten people and to consider his/ her profession as calling, mission.

Key words: *intelligentsia, social portrait, society, culture, marginality, social position.*

Introduction. The transformation of the modern Ukrainian society brought about changes in the economic, political and cultural life conditions as well as in the structure of intelligentsia as a social group and its status in the social system. The Ukrainian reforms of the end of the XXth century and the beginning of the XXIst century contributed to the radical changes in the society structure in the process of which some social groups acquired a new status, others were integrated with more stable associations, the third (those which intelligentsia belongs to) are still in the state of adjustment to the new sociocultural changes, it should be noted that the phenomenon of Ukrainian intelligentsia has not got any accurate interpretation and theoretical explanation. It is determined by the fact that the considerable part of Ukrainian investigators proceeded from the controversial proposition that in the conditions of world globalization the intelligentsia of a western type is being formed in Ukraine, that is the so-called “intellectuals”. As the result, historical and sociocultural characteristics of intelligentsia are being leveled.

Notwithstanding the availability of quite thorough investigations of certain aspects of the intelligentsia phenomenon the question of the peculiarities of formation and development of modern Donetsk intelligentsia has not been sufficiently studied by now. Under the present-day conditions of Ukrainian independence and in connection with actualization of the national idea definition and new cultural identification of Ukrainians the problem of intelligentsia and its sociocultural role is being actively redefined which is reflected in numerous publications. Among the modern Ukrainian investigators the most essential are the works by V. Astakhova, V. Avakov, M. Bohachevska-Khomiak, O. Bohuslavsky, V. Bondarenko, S. Hnytko, T. Honcharyk, O. Grekova, H. Kasianova, I. Komyniarska, K. Kopystianska, A. Kuraieva, O. Kustariova, E. Shanska, O. Shymylova, V. Zharkykh, M. Zgyrovsky.

Formulation of the problem. Intelligentsia is not homogeneous in its structure. The representatives of intelligentsia are people with different education, spiritual world, social needs and ambitions, who find themselves at different levels of the social hierarchy. At the same time history reveals that all the representatives of intelligentsia are united by a number of fundamental characteristics. Hence the aim of this article is the analysis of the peculiarities of the modern Donetsk intelligentsia. Consequently, the object of our investigation is the phenomenon of intelligentsia in the present-day Ukrainian discourse. The subject is the analysis of the social portrait of the representatives of the modern Donetsk intelligentsia.

The results of the study. One of the major features of the intelligentsia social portrait is the status of this social group in the society which is rather controversial. For instance, under the conditions of capitalism intelligentsia is a relatively integral but deeply differentiated social layer. Parts of this whole in pre-revolutionary Russia had class character and not incidentally bourgeois, working and rural intelligentsia were singled out. On the whole intelligentsia of that period was between classes, that is, a layer (this concept caused a negative attitude of its many representatives). In the Soviet period, when intelligentsia became more homogeneous, the term “faded” and was used indiscriminately. Although the situation has change by now, the process of intelligentsia, differentiation is going on more intensively.

For modern Ukrainian intelligentsia the transference from one social group to another has become complicated, that is certain channels of social mobility have been closed. As the result of such transferences intelligentsia is acquiring a new social status. The origin of marginality is viewed as the outcome of incomplete social mobility. That is, firstly, intelligentsia marginalization is the result of the decreasing social mobility. The cause for it origin may be external and internal. The external causes are job loss, unfavorable changes in life, criminal environment, forced migration, was end its after-effects, political repressions. The internal causes are connected with intelligentsia inability to adjust to new conditions, personal, traits of character, unwillingness to waive their principles, to change, to be like all others.

Secondly, the state of marginality appears when intelligentsia finds itself in an intermediate, indefinite position between two social groups (for example, the power and the people) having left one status position and having failed to firmly establish in the other. A person loses his/her former social status acquiring a fringe status which is determined by his/her intermediate position. That is, there exist a transient position between the loss of the former social status and the acquisition of a new one which is identified as marginal. As the result of social mobility intelligentsia may be forced out beyond the limits of the social structure finding itself on the social fringe outside the system of society links.

Social marginality of intelligentsia appears in the process of, its continuous social transference, for instance, as the result of the change of the

place of employment. Such changes violate the mechanism of socialization. Not every representative of intelligentsia is able to quickly and successfully adjust to the conditions of a new environment and realize his/her opportunities. A fringe position is closely connected with the transition from one status to another. In such a case marginality means a combination of the elements of old and new links, and, consequently, intelligentsia acquires a controversial, indefinite social status. That is, this type of marginality does not simply mean transition from one social group to another, but it permits incompleteness of this transition.

The social position of intelligentsia is closely connected with the presence of absence of a certain social capital, which presupposes the mutual assistance potential that forms human relations. The social capital of the modern intelligentsia manifests itself in the elements of public self-organization – in social nets, mutual assistance, social norms and traditions. The social capital is not the achievement of one person, this is the outcome of the activity of all members of the social structure. Insufficiency, limitation of the social capital involves intelligentsia into the process of marginalization. That is, marginality is the outcome of the lack of possibility to use real or potential resources connected with the access to the links in the stable social net and insufficiency of institutional relations.

The representatives of intelligentsia often despise one another. For instance, estrangement is a typical phenomenon in the relations between the representatives of technical and humanitarian intelligentsia. We mean fragmentariness of the intellectual space, absence of a common “information field” and established communication between the representatives of different intellectual professional groups. Hence “the centres of crystallization” of intellectual communities are generally not institutions but personalities and their projects. The Ukrainian intellectual space is a bit rarefied and therefore there are few “grounds” and their quality is not high. The principle thing in our society is that the representatives of intelligentsia often fail to notice, to hear each other, that is, they function as intelligentsia “get-togethers” but not intellectual environment. Hence – the absence of adequate interaction.

One of the ways for intelligentsia to get rid of its fringe position is to acquire a social capital which is only possible on condition of its active involvement in various social processes and connection of its activity with all forms of capital. Therefore intelligentsia strives to become part of certain corporative community that ensures its confidence and feeling of stability and allows to realize itself in the professional sphere. Typical for modern Ukrainian intelligentsia is its orientation not to personal achievements but to the maintenance of a psychologically comfortable atmosphere in the group, that is, creation of communal values of the professional association in relation to its isolation from the outer environment and market, significance of its status position.

The quality of the intelligentsia social capital affects the process and the result of its social adjustment which means the total sum of processes and states promoting this social-professional group’s more effective functioning in an ever-changing society through the transformation of functions, renovation of

social practices and maintenance of moral mission. The investigation of the process of intelligentsia adjustment includes the analysis of a specific adaptive situation connected with the fringe position of the group in the social structure, ineffective use by adaptive resources, increase of its corporative seclusion. The successfulness of intelligentsia adjustment is determined by the increase of the professional, economic and power resources enabling to raise professional autonomy and to overcome social deprivation.

Successful adjustment of professionals to the ever-changing demands of the society allows this category of people to effectively participate in the development of the society scientific-technical potential, social mobility processes, to heighten the people's cultural level. However, in fact the processes of professionals' adjustment to the modern society conditions are proceeding with difficulty and inconsequently, as the formation of the conditions needed for the full realization of the intelligentsia intellectual and creative potential is being translated into reality very slowly. Besides, particular anxiety is caused by the lack of demand for highly skilled professionals and their position in the social-economic hierarchy.

As to the financial position of the modern Ukrainian intelligentsia in the system of economic stratification, it corresponds to the medium or lower than medium level. Ineffective use of cultural and professional resources should be noted here. Only one third of intelligentsia attribute the crucial role in the change of its status to their own efforts, use innovative strategies in the professional and economic spheres. To the "risk group" in this case we may refer the representatives of the humanitarian sphere (especially library and museum employees and school teachers) that belong to the medium and poorly provided for groups of population.

The insufficient economic capital results in the formation of economic marginality. To economic fringes they refer partly employed representatives of intelligentsia, poorly provided for, whose income is lower than a certain social minimum. On the opposite pole of this fringe group there is a group of "new intelligentsia", that has sufficiently improved its financial state during the last decades. Here belong traders, businessmen, some highly-skilled employees, engineers and scientists who won the recognition at the international level or in the new business structures.

Thus, the lack of economic capital in the majority of intelligentsia representatives contributes to the deprivation appeasance, which is understood as the process of reduction or deprivation of opportunities to satisfy principal vital requirements. Deprivation is viewed as a psychic state in which a person is conscious of the lack of satisfaction of his/her needs. The majority of modern Ukrainian intelligentsia (especially humanitarian) finds itself in this very state. On the one hand, deprivation may be understood as absence of opportunities for a person, a group to satisfy their basic needs due to the absence of access to financial and social resources, for example, food products, housing medical care, education. On the other hand, it is a subjective and sometimes painful emotional

experience of the lack of convergence of expectations and opportunities of the intelligentsia representatives.

There are many reasons for the appearance of intelligentsia deprivation: economic, social, ethic, psychic etc. Thus, deprivation caused by economic reasons is connected with an uneven division of incomes in the society and with an insufficient satisfaction of intelligentsia needs. Social deprivations is explained by the tendency in the society to assess the quality and abilities of its members, for example, political groups higher than the intelligentsia representatives, demonstrating this assessment in the division of such social rewards as prestige, power, high social status and opportunities to participate in the socio-cultural processes. Ethic deprivation assumes conflict of values which arises from the lack of convergence of public orientations with the intelligentsia civic ideals. Psychic deprivation results from the appearance of the so-called “value vacuum” of the intelligentsia representatives – the absence of generally established system of values, according to which they could build their life.

The tendency of intelligentsia transformation into “hired intellectuals”. Contemplated in the present-day society is more characteristic of technical professionals while humanitarian intelligentsia is, on the whole, alienated from the major forms of property. Deterioration of intelligentsia economic state and uncertainty of social status result in low civic activity traditionally typical of this social group. On the other hand, intelligentsia strives to adjust to the labour market demands by raising its own professional level. Characteristic of the modern Ukrainian intelligentsia are the concentration on their own profession in importance, first of all, of professional (and not human) ethics, ability to adjust, to work in new conditions, possible professional re-orientation.

As to the political activity of the modern Ukrainian intelligentsia it is constantly decreasing, the number of passive members of trade unions and public organizations is increasing. The implementation of intelligentsia social functions is complicated by the withdrawal into private life, localization of interests on the professional group level, and concentration of personal activity on solving private and every-day problems. First of all, it concerns “old intelligentsia” preferring to localize their ideal and interests inside a small group (family, friends, professional group).

The investigation of the interrelations between the power and intelligentsia makes it possible for us to positively confirm that an opposition stance is not an intrinsic and integral part of the latter. An opposition stance may be typical of some intellectual radical sub-cultures only, but not intelligentsia as the whole. This assertion is caused by the following logical consideration. Altruism as an obligatory quality of intelligentsia representatives presupposes concern for the great quantity of people. As history reveals, the people and the state do not conform in their ideas, interest, values. Of the state power suppresses people, altruistic ethics makes an intellectual be in opposition towards such a power. Of this state is positively democratic and shows concern for its citizens' well-being, the need for opposition does not appear. That is,

intelligentsia is necessarily characterized neither by an opposition stance nor by an anarchic antisocial position. As for the intellectual, the problem of an opposition stance is not urgent for his/her egoistical orientation, because he/she is able to cooperate with any power to satisfy his/her interests and needs.

A similar thought is expressed by the modern scientist V. Kh. Bilenky, who considers that “by its nature intelligentsia is not opposition-minded, but creative, like creative working class and peasants, but more versatile, on the other level, in other forms“ [1, p. 85]. What is meant is that intelligentsia due to its “grounding” reacts to social changes more emotionally energetically, than other social groups. However, to gain an exemplified result we need the unity of intelligentsia and people efforts which is able to strengthen “the forces of progress and maximize their influence on the existing conditions and institutions” [1, p. 86].

On the other hand, intelligentsia being the most developed part of population with profound knowledge and high culture, better understands the sense of social events, more clearly predict the result, more meaningfully sets the tasks of social development. Therefore a great number of intelligentsia representatives are always ready to take an opposition stance. They are able to initiate resistance movements, to work out opposition activities programmes, to carry out political struggle. It should be noted that in the majority of cases it is due to the intelligentsia that different revolutionary ideas, conceptions, trends appear. At the same time intelligentsia is not always consistent, stable, disciplined, that is connected with its socio-economics status: intelligentsia has no property, it is not a class and an independent political force.

Thus, intelligentsia attitude towards the events in the present-day Ukraine is uniform. The power strives to win over as many intelligentsia representatives as possible, to reduce its opposition wing, to influence, its neutral, passive elements with the aim to lead them. Today intelligentsia opposition stance towards the power is characterized by plurality and is manifested in various forms, for example, opposition of “the right-wing” and “the left-wing”, religious and secular, occidental and nationalist, monarchist, fascist etc. Apparently, this situation weakens intelligentsia, hampers its civic and professional development, creates a lot of illusions and does not encourage progress.

It must be stated that the majority of intelligentsia are on the fringes of political life which is determined by the breach in the social links integrating people into volunteer organization, by the absence of personal freedom, broad political rights, ideas able to captivate a great part of intelligentsia. The majority of intellectuals are estranged from their country politics. In the conditions of the present-day processes in Ukraine the division of the society according to different political orientations is going on.

Manifestation of the intelligentsia fringe political behaviour is apparent in different spheres of the society political life. On the one hand, isolation, pessimism, estrangement of the intelligentsia may find their reflection in political apathy, unwillingness to take part in the elections. Such intelligentsia may reveal itself in mass protest actions, street strikes, its characteristic features

being aggressiveness intolerance to the existing order. On the other hand, such traits as self-respect, aspiration to self-expression may encourage intelligentsia activity and may be manifested in the struggle for power.

In our opinion, the revival of intelligentsia must be not with the rebirth of politics or economy, but moral traditions, norms and values. The intelligentsia's mission consists in the revival of the public society dimensions. Therefore the state must endow intelligentsia with the right to be an important link in the society development, to promote the development of politically independent thinking. Unfortunately, we have to state that now we witness a partial transformation of intelligentsia into experts and technologists, unable to critically think and produce new socially useful ideas. Experts and technologists are losing their links with common values and don't even try to change the political order, they simply adjust to it.

Choosing between the people and the power between the traditions and ideas common to all mankind and political laws, the majority of modern intellectuals have chosen power and politics. Involvement of intelligentsia into politics is the very reason determining its marginalization. We mean those intelligentsia representatives who were involved into different political systems and propagated them. It is "betrayal" of their own moral and society mission. Such changes result in the fact that intellectuals rather quickly lose the majority of moral principles, giving up the idea of struggling for their people's interests and values and they become economical capital servants. When this or that system stops its existence, intelligentsia becomes useless and even unnecessary in this system.

Therefore one of the main distinctive features of intelligentsia (in contrast to experts, technocrats, psychotechnologists etc.) is intellectuality, characterized by a certain degree of person's moral maturity irrespective of his/her education, profession, political or religious beliefs. The Russian art critic D. S. Likhachov maintained that a person can pretend to be kind, generous, even wise, but he will never be able to pretend to be intellectual [2, p. 4].

In contrast to intelligentsia is considered to be a social-professional category, intellectuality is a spiritual-moral concept connected with social-personal qualities. Intellectuality is a unity of moral principles, spiritual delicacy and civilized stance. Sometimes intellectuality is not connected with knowledge, education, social state. More exactly, intellectuality is the state of the soul, person's spiritual beauty which manifests itself in a humane attitude to the world, in goodwill and tolerance. Intellectuality is a particular type of disposition and world outlook.

Having become more intellectual, a person does not automatically become better, more spiritual, more cultured. Intellectuality is connected with a person's exactingness to himself and his spiritual world, with joining to the highest moral laws. Intellectuality is not only connected with a person's professional employment. If works beyond the bounds of professional duties, if includes a complex of civil, moral, ideological qualities, forms a person's cultural identity. Affiliation to the people of intellectual work does not make a person intellectual.

Genuine intellectuality is neither a privilege nor a profession. It characterizes a person irrespective of the fact whether he/she works in a chemical laboratory or in an artist's studio. One can meet a person of high culture among people of various professions.

We should not think that the majority of intellectuals are oriented towards the Soviet past, nostalgia for the Soviet Union is inherent in them. The distinctive features of this are striving for professional realization and social prestige on the background of low-salaried work in the state institutions. Any changes and innovations are apprehended with great caution or are not apprehended at all. Dissemination of nostalgic ideals affects the assessment of the present (in the majority of cases, the present is assessed negatively). The comparison of the intelligentsia present state with that of the Soviet times is in favour of the past. It is difficult for most intellectuals to be part of market relations because they are representatives of this social instability. There is no money to start their own business and there are no skills and habits to make them successful professionals and a prestigious element of the socio-economic relations.

The problem of the intelligentsia social portrait transformation is especially urgent for Ukraine where many years of the policy of deideologization resulted in the appearance of the "spiritual vacuum", which is more dangerous than economic or political crisis. As the after-effects of spiritual crisis are longer and harder to overcome they do not allow to effectively fight against economic or political difficulties. The confirmation of this spiritual degradation is one of public facts: at the beginning of the XXI century Ukraine gained the leading place among the countries of the NIS in the export of intellectual resources abroad [3].

All this is happening in the post-industrial epoch, when working intellectuals are needed for carrying out any reforms but in Ukraine the number of scientists, teachers, cultural and art workers is decreasing. In 1992 when the science budget was reduced as many as 8 times, each second scientist in Ukraine, thinking of how to survive, had to change profession. A complicated, large-scale phenomenon connected with the internal immigration of intellectuals, their mass withdrawal from intellectual activity, took shape in the largest centres of science and culture of Ukraine. For instance, before 2000, according to the state committee of regulation policy and business data, 70 percent of masked merchandisers were intellectuals [3].

The highest intellectual elite (professors, associate professors, university lecturers) called upon to create the intellectual potential of the country are losing their professionalism. At the best – working in two or more jobs which prevent self-advancement in their sphere and result in hack-work and "pot-boiling". At the worst – withdrawal from teaching, giving up the job they like in favour of the better-salaried one which gives an opportunity to survive. Hence – candidates of sciences working as office-cleaners, cloak-room attendants, associate professors and professors – as consultants of business structure, store, restaurant directors.

Many intellectuals wishing to remain in their profession, immigrate from the country. The most skilled and promising scientists leave the country. According to

American experts' estimation, since 1990 approximately 70-80 percent of mathematicians, 50 percent of physicists-theorists have left Ukraine and are now working at the world market. The USA, Germany, Israel, Australia and New Zealand substantially replenish their intellectual elite by the migrants from the former Soviet Union, especially from Ukraine [3]. Ukrainian engineers, doctors, university lecturers, especially soft ware and computer specialists, give their intellectual potential to foreign industrial enterprises and companies, universities and colleges. The process of the intellectual elite immigration abroad is going on.

Building up the image of an intellectual of the third millenium, modern Russian investigators V. Ye. Tryodin points out some of his characteristic features: the rebirth of democracy which may only be proprietary, and hence – a respectful attitude of intelligentsia to property; a destructive frame of mind is replaced by a creative one; there emerges an interest not only to the people's fate, but also to their own life; diligence as a basic quality of an intellectual is being formed; intelligentsia will serve the power; intelligentsia messianism is maintained, but one the other lines, in the other trend; the value of human life is preserved. However some intellectuals failing to hold high positions on the scale of incomes and social prestige, do not lose their functional identify, continue to serve their moral ideals, keep their liking for culture, strive to resist the official bureaucracy and to enlighten people [4, p. 52].

The outcome of the social and economic state of the intelligentsia, the intermittence of the intellectual space, peculiarities of their social adjustment, passive political mentality, existence between the soviet past and the present is the formation of marginality. The feeling of social-psychological discomfort, suffering from the state of inferiority, from social humiliation and their rights restriction are typical of the majority of intellectuals. Intelligentsia as a fringe community is dissatisfied with certain forms of life, therefore it is between the power and the people, feeling alien, sometimes even hostile within the bounds of society. Estrangement from the state and hostility towards it are characteristic of the modern Ukrainian intelligentsia.

Intellectuals have found themselves in an intermediate, border position between the social groups (for example, between the power and the people), they have lost their former social links and have failed to adjust to the demands of the new socio-cultural environment. They are characterized by various conflicts resulting in the change of view of the surrounding world, of themselves, their needs, values, ideals. These conflicts lead to the feeling of hopelessness, despair, uselessness, abandonment. Being in the fringe state contributes to the change of the intelligentsia world outlook. Among the representatives of this social group one observes apathy, indifference, frustration, self-estrangement, from the event happening in the society, hope for a better future is lost. This part of intelligentsia gives up to the ruling class the right to reform the society. Failing to pay their moral debt to the people, they abandon their public duty, to be the people's conscience.

Among the modern intellectuals nihilism is almost absent, passivity of thought and action increases. Adaptive behavior dominates. Representatives of

this social group have no social or economic power but they have cultural capital. That is intelligentsia has wealth in the form of knowledge, ideals, values, traditions that support the social, economic, political order. These are intellectual property and professional skills. The major cultural capital of the modern intelligentsia is possession of information, specialized knowledge and skills and also possession of intellectual, educational, moral-ethic and symbolic cultures. Due to the concentration in their hands of these exceptionally important and necessary in the present-day society resources, intellectuals can gain power, influence and control over the new order establishment.

Conclusions. It follows from this, that in spite of the fact that intelligentsia representatives have different education, social needs and hold different positions in the social hierarchy, they are united by common features which make it possible to build up a social portrait of the modern Ukrainian intelligentsia. The basis of this portrait is formed by the social position peculiarities of this group in the structure of the present-day Ukrainian society, the specific character of social adaptation, peculiar attitude to the existing social forms of government remote from the democratic ideals, loyalty to the people, patriotism, orientation to the values common to all mankind etc.

The characteristic feature of the modern Ukrainian intelligentsia is its differentiation resulting in the formation of a great number of intellectual groups often having polar positions. The transition of intellectuals from one group to another becomes complicated (social mobility failure), when that social group can not quickly and effectively give up previous ideals, values and form new landmarks. A long-term existence in such a state of indefiniteness, incompleteness promotes the process of marginalization in the intellectual environment.

Modern Ukrainian intelligentsia prefers to function within the bounds of a narrow association—in the family, company of friends, working collective. Therefore there is no unity of “information field” among the representatives of different intellectual professional groups resulting in the failure of appropriate interrelations. It is possible to get rid of such a state on condition of the intelligentsia participation in various social processes.

Notwithstanding the fact that intelligentsia is the creator, the source of new ideals and theories, a propagandist and interpreter of the experience accumulated by the society, we have to state that modern Ukrainian intellectuals often find themselves in the difficult state of indefiniteness. Their low financial state does not conform to the level of their cultural contribution made to the public development. The absence of money needed for living, stability and social guarantees make intellectuals change profession, place of employment and even place of residence. But, in spite of this, the majority of them are proud of their peculiar stance and social status.

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Могдалева И.В. Современная донецкая интеллигенция: социальный портрет

В статье рассмотрены особенности формирования современной донецкой интеллигенции. В результате исследования выделены основные черты социального портрета современной интеллигенции Донецка: с одной стороны, ограничение социального и экономического капиталов, устранение от государства, политическая пассивность, низкое материальное положение, ностальгия по советскому прошлому, переход от интеллектуальной деятельности в отрасли экономики, политики, а с другой – высокая культура, альтруистическая мораль, потребность просвещать людей и стремление рассматривать собственную профессию как призвание, миссию.

Ключевые слова: интеллигенция, социальный портрет, общество, культура, маргинальность, социальное положение.

Могдальова І.В. Сучасна донецька інтелігенція: соціальний портрет

У статті розглянуто особливості формування сучасної донецької інтелігенції. У результаті дослідження виділено основні особливості соціального портрета сучасної інтелігенції Донецька: з одного боку, обмеження соціального й економічного капіталів, усунення від держави, політична пассивність, низьке матеріальне становище, ностальгія за радянським минулим, перехід від інтелектуальної діяльності в галузі економіки, політики, а з іншого – висока культура, альтруїстична мораль, потреба просвіщати людей і прагнення розглядати власну професію як покликання, місію.

Ключові слова: інтелігенція, соціальний портрет, суспільство, культура, маргінальність, соціальне становище.