

ПРАВОВАЯ ЖИЗНЬ: НАУЧНО-ПРАКТИЧЕСКИЕ ЗАКЛЮЧЕНИЯ, КОММЕНТАРИИ И ОБЗОРЫ

UDC 340.13

The legal culture of Russian society before the challenge of digitalization

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For citation: Pashentsev, Dmitriy A. 2021. “The legal culture of Russian society before the challenge of digitalization”. *Vestnik of Saint Petersburg University. Law* 3: 771–782.
<https://doi.org/10.21638/spbu14.2021.317>

In the article, the issue of the influence of modern digital technologies on legal culture is analyzed from the perspective of current post-classical methodology, primarily constructivism and anthropocentrism as areas of sociological jurisprudence. The legal culture of Russian society is analyzed based on the historical and anthropological theory of law in conjunction with legal tradition. The vital role of legal culture in the mechanism for constructing social reality is emphasized. The concept of legal culture integrates legal and non-legal elements; it is synthesizing for the individual with its legal status, a society with its legal system, the state with the legislation it adopts and the law enforcement system it forms. It has been shown that the dynamics of legal culture amid digitalization is determined by the relationship of traditional and new legal values, as well as the contradiction between traditionalism and universalism in their axiological aspect. Digitalization affects the individual and collective legal consciousness of legal subjects as carriers of legal culture, thereby determining the dynamics of its fundamental characteristics. The influence of digital technologies on the value content of Russian legal culture is also examined. The dynamics of legal values in a digital society is presented. It is highlighted that the transfer of legal culture between generations is carried out through social relay. Digitalization entails a “digital divide” between generations, disrupts existing mechanisms for the transfer of legal experience and legal values, since the younger generation is much more immersed in a virtual space where they carry out essential social communication than the older generation. In this context, a systematic and focused effort by the state and civil society institutions is needed to take advantage of the opportunities offered by digital technologies for the legal education of young people.

Keywords: legal culture, digitalization, digital technologies, subject of law, legal consciousness, legal reality, anthropocentrism in law.

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1. Introduction

Digitalization is one of the most critical factors that significantly impact law as a system of generally binding rules of conduct in current conditions. The introduction of new digital technologies leads to changes in all spheres of life, including society's legal sphere (Khabrieva 2018, 6). Law as a regulator of public relations naturally transforms after them; with the acceleration of social development, the legal mechanism responds accordingly. New technologies and the change in the technological structure associated with their introduction affect the change in the value guidelines and attitudes of the individual, society, and nation. The dynamics in legal behavior are also determined. Under these conditions, the Russian legal culture is faced with new, previously unknown challenges from modern digital technologies. The questions arise as to how long it will be able to preserve its essential characteristics and to what extent the basic parameters of domestic legal culture are transformed.

The methodological basis of the study is constructivism and anthropocentrism as the pathways of modern post-classical legal science.

Constructivism comes from the constructed nature of legal reality. At the same time, during the design process, primary arbitrariness and subsequent social amnesia occur. It is carried out by creating a sign form (legal norms) that, after reflection in legal consciousness, is transformed into everyday mass behavior. The decisive importance in these processes is assigned to a person as a subject of law since it is his daily actions that form the legal reality.

Recognition of the importance of the subject of law determines a logical appeal to anthropocentrism as a direction of a modern sociological theory of law. The legal culture of society consists of the legal culture of individuals — subjects of law. It is in the actions of these subjects where legal norms are implemented, upon which the rule of law in society depends (Pashentsev 2021, 28). As a result, the process of constructing a legal reality based on the legal culture of society and realizing its potential within society depends on the actions of the subject of law determined by his legal consciousness.

Therefore, the study of issues of legal culture and its dynamics in modern technological development is logical to carry out through the prism of the subject of law with its inherent mentality and value guidelines that determine legal behavior.

The historical and anthropological theory of law based on the synthesis of the aforementioned anthropocentrism with provisions of the German historical school of law that remain relevant is also methodologically important. Its representatives justified the need for legal scholars to turn to the history of legal norms and institutions. They linked the development of law with the national legal tradition designated by the founders of this school as the “people's spirit”. It is “the people's spirit”, wrote G. F. Pukhta, “that is the source of human or natural law, legal beliefs...” (Pukhta 2010, 442). The legal culture is inextricably linked to the legal tradition that, in turn, is formed and transmitted by the subjects of law. Therefore, the dynamics of legal culture of digitalization should be considered taking into account the mentality of the subjects of law conditioned by both modern and previous social reality.

2. Basic research

2.1. *Doctrinal grounds for understanding legal culture*

The study of the dynamics of legal culture in the context of digitalization should be based on modern approaches to understanding legal culture, its structure and social conditionality.

In domestic legal science, issues of legal culture are usually considered in works on the theory and philosophy of law. It seems logical given that legal culture, on the one hand, is an important qualitative characteristic of the development of the legal sphere of society; on the other hand, it goes beyond jurisprudence since it is connected with the general culture of society.

The development of legal culture and its peculiarities are determined by the specifics of a particular society, its legal system, and its members' mentality. Society and its legal system actively interact with the environment and exchange energy, information, norms and institutions with it. Culture serves as a suprabiological way of translating human society, an adaptive social mechanism (Gilinskii 2019a, 25).

The essential prerequisites for the study of the formation of legal culture can be expressed as follows: legal culture is part of the culture of society; the foundations of legal culture are rooted in legal consciousness; legal culture is linked to and embodied in the day-to-day activities of the subjects of law (Krupenia, Smolina 2012, 18–19).

Legal culture is a complex and at least two-part concept that gives rise to the need for a comprehensive approach to its theoretical and legal interpretation. There is no doubt that legal culture is part of the culture of society and part of sociality. According to modern scientists, "sociality is a complex concept that reflects the specifics of the modern world, as well as national traditions and customs, and contains the inherited genetic origin" (Aznagulova, Popova 2018, 16).

Sociality is formed under the influence of a combination of heterogeneous factors, including the legal policy of the state. Concerning legal culture as a developing dynamic phenomenon, "the activities of power structures in support of civil society institutions, cultural and moral education, comprehensive physical and spiritual development of a person using economic, political, legal and institutional mechanisms are vital" (Aznagulova, Popova 2018, 16).

Legal culture as an essential legal concept has the following features:

- it is developed historically as a spiritual and material culture;
- it represents a set of legal values;
- it reflects the quality status of the legal system and legal consciousness;
- it characterizes the level of legal development of the individual;
- it ensures orderly and manageable public relations;
- it has a positive impact on society and all its elements (Kartashov 2019, 25).

According to O. Iu. Rybakov, the concept of legal culture is inextricably connected with legal values, the quality of the legal system and the legal development of the individual (Rybakov 2021, 203).

Thus, the legal culture is a synthesizing concept for the individual with its legal status, the society with its legal system, the state with the legislation it adopts and the law enforce-

ment system it forms. It integrates legal and non-legal elements, “builds a bridge” between law and legal consciousness.

Representatives of the post-classical theory of law attach particular importance to legal culture and consider it from the point of view of the mechanism for constructing legal reality and through the prism of the subject of law as a bearer of legal statuses. With this approach, legal culture can be understood as a set of regulatory value-based systems, including individual ones (Chestnov, Tonkov 2018, 50).

Regulatory value-based systems, like the legal culture itself, are dynamic and volatile. Accordingly, legal culture is not a condition but rather an activity of legal subjects to reproduce their regulatory value-based systems. The combined influence of various factors determines this activity, and digitalization occupies an important place among them.

2.2. Peculiarities of the legal culture of Russian society

Just as each society has its own culture, unique and distinctive, so it develops its own legal culture. The peculiarities of each legal culture are determined by the mentality of the population of a particular country, its historical fate and the values prevailing in society and the mechanisms for their relay.

Several factors define the features of the Russian legal culture; among them, one can distinguish the country’s geographical position, the multinational and multi-religious composition of the population, and the problematic historical fate associated with the need to constantly defend against external enemies. These factors specify the need for a solid and centralized authority that acquired a paternalistic character and initiated the manifestation of an appropriate attitude on the part of the population.

V.S. Stepin, academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences, wrote about the existence of two main types of civilization: traditionalist and technogenic ones. “The dynamism of technogenic civilization contrasts strikingly with the conservatism of traditional societies where the activities, their means and goals change very slowly, sometimes reproducing over the centuries” (Stepin 2005, 24).

The type of society determines the legal tradition, and the latter affects the legal culture, determines the legal status of the individual and the dominant models of legal behavior.

Russia has always belonged to traditionalist civilizations, in which customs, moral regulators, and collective values play an essential role. This fact impacts the legal culture and determines a unique attitude to law and its role in society. Low dynamics characterize the legal culture of the traditionalist type; it is difficult to adapt to social changes, it does not immediately embrace technological and social innovations. That is why digitalization for such a culture is such a substantial challenge.

Modern Russian society is in a crisis state determined by the transition period from the industrial to the post-industrial stage of development, and the occurred social and political changes that have split the society.

The collapse of the USSR in 1991 was accompanied by significant democratic changes of state power, the formation of market relations and an attempt to integrate the country into the world community. Reforms required an appropriate legal framework and as a result, the entire system of domestic legislation underwent radical modernization. Such drastic changes negatively affected the legal culture and led to an increase in legal nihilism

as well as an explosive growth in crime. Despite the past thirty years, the consequences of the collapse of the USSR have not yet been entirely eliminated; part of society has not yet adapted to the new social, economic, political and legal reality.

Thus, the challenge of digitalization as a critical element of the new technological reality comes on top of the consequences of the social upheavals of the 1990s, which weighs on the negative aspects of its influence on domestic legal culture.

2.3. Digitalization as a challenge to legal culture

One of the main factors causing the emergence of a new type of economy and a new type of culture is digitalization associated with the active introduction of modern digital technologies in all spheres of society, state and personality. Under the influence of these technologies, there is a significant transformation of public relations, which inevitably entails a transformation of the mechanism of their legal regulation.

The COVID-19 pandemic and the related restrictions have accelerated digitalization processes, as telecommuting and lockdown have significantly increased the demand for these technologies for the acquisition and transfer of information, distance learning, e-commerce and services, etc.

Changes that occur in law under the influence of digital technologies can generally be described as digitalization of the legal sphere of society.

Digitalization affects the whole range of social interactions, which unavoidably leads to transforming the state and law. The digital state must match digital society. Legal regulation in such a state is carried out within a new legal reality designated as a digital legal environment.

The digital legal environment is nothing more than people's daily activities to implement legal norms in a modern digital society in which part of the relationships exists in the virtual world and occurs using modern electronic technologies.

A significant part of social interactions moves from real to virtual space in a digital environment, which undoubtedly changes their character. Traditional ways of transferring cultural examples and patterns, including those of legal behavior, are losing their effectiveness, especially among the youth. Communication among young people moves from the real world to the virtual one, its usual forms change, and interaction between generations is getting more complicated. The lack of regular contact between generations breaks the entire mechanism of the social relay, which negatively affects the continuity of legal culture.

Thus, the current long-standing legal culture in a modern society formed under the influence of transferring legal experience from one generation to another has faced a new technological challenge of digitalization that significantly transforms the existing model of social relations and changes the collective and individual legal consciousness.

2.4. The impact of digitalization on the legal culture of Russian society

The influence of digitalization on the legal culture of Russian society is determined by the dialectical contradiction between legal traditions and technological innovations. It manifests itself in the following main aspects:

- digital reality changes the mentality of the subject of law as a bearer of legal culture;
- digitalization and associated globalization transform the values of legal culture;
- digitalization expands the legal cultural space through a virtual one;
- digitalization allows using new technologies to form the legal culture of society.

As a bearer of legal culture, a person has a certain level of legal thinking closely interconnected with their intellectual and psychological traits and attributed to the social environment. Living in society, people are experiencing a substantial influence of digital technologies or, to be more precise, their environment. The digital environment becomes the space in which the lives of the digital society's subjects occur. In that regard, we can talk about a qualitatively new effect of such an environment on a person, its mentality and legal consciousness.

The increasing volume of information in a digital society has a significant impact on a person's personality — a subject of law. The scale of the impact of digitalization on one's psyche and intelligence has yet to be fully assessed, but it is already apparent that this scale is enormous. Informatization forms a new type of thinking — a clip one that is not associated with the skills of analyzing complex and lengthy texts.

Scientists exploring the influence of digital technologies on the human psyche write about the observed significant change in mental and even psychological parameters in the process of “digitalization of the personality”. In particular, V. V. Mironov claims that “electronic culture gives rise to several communicative and psychological problems” (Mironov 2017, 36). This type of culture, completely unknown in the previous stages of civilization advancement, alters human thinking. As a result, certain thought functions are practically unnecessary for life in modern society. The nature of decision-making is undergoing significant changes since, in digital space, the subject first commits a specific action and only then begins to think about its feasibility and moral significance. Subsequently, under the daily influence of modern digital technologies, the so-called clip consciousness is formed. This type of consciousness, which modern psychologists are increasingly writing about, is based on “the superficial perception of reality fragments” (Mironov 2017, 34). The formation of clip consciousness results in people gradually losing (or not acquiring) the essential skills of critical scientific thinking for systemic analysis of lengthy texts and complex perception of problems arising in society. Thus, there is a loss of basic analytical skills and thinking abilities required for successful legal activities as well as in most other areas of public life.

Thus, the impact of digital technologies leads to a change in the mentality and psyche of subjects of law; they modify the very nature of thinking and, consequently, alter the results of analysis of the value-based provisions of regulatory material in law-making and law enforcement.

The introduction and daily use of modern digital technologies initiated the emergence of new highly efficient ways of influencing human consciousness. With the help of digital technologies, it is not difficult to get individuals to perform specific actions that benefit those who can use such technologies. Hence, the legal consciousness of a subject of public relations who lives in a digital environment becomes the object of constant manipulation. In addition, the folding and broad penetration of the digital environment go hand in hand with a relatively active and rapid spread of the new value system. The legal

consciousness of the subject of law under the influence of the constant pressure of the digital environment and the digital order of social communications is undergoing intense changes associated with the substitution of the established legal values by a new value system that in some cases may even turn out to be anti-legal. Consequently, a new model of legal regulation of public relations is being formed based on a new system of legal and non-legal values.

The introduction of digital technologies into the daily life of people shapes their attitude to the traditional, established values, as they receive every hour or even every second a vast amount of new information, including about the real and invented lives of public figures, show business stars, athletes, state and social leaders. Thus, the subject perceiving this information receives many new samples and constantly compares them with its existing value guidelines. In addition, digitalization stimulates the emergence of new, previously unknown values. There are examples when people sell their organs to buy a new iPhone. For those involved in social networks, the number of “likes” (positive assessments) on their profiles or individual publications is quite an important thing. In this case, we are not talking about legal values, but there is no doubt that legal and non-legal values are inextricably interconnected.

In the digital age, some dominant values in society are replaced by others. In the Western society of consumers of the Art Nouveau period, material wealth has become a central value. Digitalization, combined with other factors of post-modern society, has led to the emergence of post-material values, such as the possibility of self-expression and active leisure activities (Chestnov 2016, 9–12).

The formation of a new type of thinking that occurs under the influence of digital technologies and the invasion of virtual reality into human life inevitably changes some important legal consciousness parameters, which is reflected in legal values.

It is worth noting that many legal values under the influence of digitalization change their content but formally preserve their axiological significance. One example is the absolute value of human rights. Human rights are no less significant in a digital society than before, but their scope is expanding. The scientific literature actively discusses the issue of a new generation of human rights — digital rights. There are two points of view in this regard. The first position is that digital technologies give rise to digital rights as a new generation of human rights, and these rights are seen as having new content previously unknown to society. The second position is based on the fact that digital rights are all previously known human rights that receive a new space for realization — virtual space. In general, this issue has not yet been fully resolved in Russian legal science.

Thus, the fact that digital technologies affect the basic system of values lying at the core of modern civilization development is not questioned. Digitalization entails dramatic changes in public relations, affects the economic, political and cultural spheres of society, which ultimately gives rise to a new type of social development, often referred to as a post-modern society. In such a society, the value system is unavoidably different from what it was before. Accordingly, the dynamics of legal values can be noted as well (Lang 2021, 20–21). At present, the basic foundations of legal values still retain their identity, but the system of these values, in general, has already begun to change.

The difference between various legal cultures lies primarily in their inherent values. It is the axiological content that determines the essence of a particular legal culture, its main characteristics.

The content of the law is legal representations that, in turn, are based on legal values. Legal values exist because they are present in the legal consciousness of people involved in creating and implementing legal norms. Nevertheless, under the influence of digitalization, the value system inherent in members of society is changing.

The presence of values implies that a law enforcement entity regularly assesses both the applicable norms and the specific circumstances of their application, the ways they correlate with the models available in the legal space. The system of criteria for such an assessment appears to be relatively stable because it has either legal grounds or mental and psychological ones. However, while changing the model of development of society, new digital factors affect the collective legal consciousness, which, for its part, leads to the transformation of these criteria for each individual.

Thus, digital technologies change the mentality and psyche of law enforcement subjects, transform the nature of thinking and, subsequently, alter the analysis results related to the value-based provisions of regulatory material.

The legal culture of Russian society is marked by such features as tradition and low dynamics. It is based on a specific relationship of legal and moral regulators, in which the “truth” is placed higher than the law. This fact determines the importance of the principle of equity that, for its part, is situational and contextual. This circumstance signifies some “blurriness” and unpredictability of the law enforcement process and a relatively high negative attitude in society to legislation norms.

Digitalization implies expanding the space of legal culture due to communication that occur in the virtual space. There is an increasing number of ways to form a legal culture through the Internet that has embraced a part of social relations, to one extent or another mediated by law. There is a need to use digital technologies to create a legal culture for young people in this regard. Digital technologies are expanding legal outreach as an essential mechanism for legal culture. However, the previous forms and means to create a legal culture in a digital society are ineffective. Relevant lectures, periodicals of awareness-raising nature have become a thing of the past. At the same time, it has become possible to use the resources of social networks in which a significant part of young and older generations spends much time today. Legal websites with interactive engaging content should be developed. Even in computer games, there may be a legal component.

Legal education plays a vital role in the formation of legal culture. The surge in interest in higher legal education in our country after the collapse of the USSR, for all its challenging moments, is also a significant positive impact — the number of young people receiving legal knowledge has increased significantly. Without going into the discussion about the quality of higher legal education, we note that its modern quantitative characteristics objectively contribute to improving the legal culture of society by relaying relevant knowledge. A society rich in people who graduated from law school has a higher level of legal culture than a society with few lawyers per capita.

Education today is also changing under the influence of digital technologies. Moreover, these changes have been significantly accelerated by the coronavirus pandemic and the corresponding restrictions. Electronic-based distance learning is increasingly being used. This fact does not seemingly affect the legal culture in the best way partly because future lawyers are deprived of practice, live communication with clients and visits to state bodies, including judicial ones. Therefore, it is necessary to find and introduce such train-

ing technologies that can minimize the damage from distance learning and promote legal culture in society.

Scientists note that in the face of modern challenges, there is an urgent need to increase citizens' legal consciousness and legal culture, their legal education. However, the legal literacy program, up to this point, has been implemented in a slow and fragmented way (Tsomartova, Nanba 2018, 162).

Another important aspect is that in the context of digitalization, a person is immersed in a new digital world, and often such immersion is carried out forcibly. Digital technologies allow establishing control over human behavior, as shown by the pandemic. Such control that can be both explicit and hidden has both positive and negative aspects. On the one hand, according to Ia. I. Gilinskii, the renowned criminologist, the positive role of digitalization is apparent in reducing crime in society. The corresponding trend in recent years has been observed in most countries of the world. However, one wonders whether such a decrease speaks of the growth of the society's legal culture or occurs under the influence of other factors. Gilinskii believes that young people, who are one of the most criminogenic groups in society, today moved from the streets to the Internet, where they spend most of their free time and show aggressive inclinations in computer games (Gilinskii 2019b, 65). Besides, digital control of the population, including through cameras, a facial recognition system, geo-tracking and Internet traffic, can reduce crime.

On the other hand, digital control deprives citizens of the possibility of fully realizing several critical constitutional rights, narrowing the sphere of private life, which ultimately affects the value perception of legal reality and can become one of the factors of legal nihilism.

In general, in a digital society, the forms and methods of fostering a legal culture are changing, while new broad opportunities for its development are emerging. In this regard, it is necessary to improve the legal policy of the state, including those areas that are directly focused on the legal culture of society.

2.5. Impact of digitalization on elements of legal culture

Legal culture as a complex concept can be considered the unity of certain constituent elements; therefore, an analysis of the complex impact of digitalization on legal culture can be supplemented by studying its impact on these elements.

Among the elements of legal culture that scientists write about (Slavova, Chviakin 2019, 12), some seem to be the most important in the processes taking place in modern society. These include the quality of law-making and law enforcement, stability of the rule of law and the level of legal education.

The digital era appears to be changing the relationship between law-making and law enforcement. The accelerating development of social relations in the age of digital technologies leads to an increasing backlog of law-making activities that are irreversibly acquiring more and more of a catch-up nature. Laws adopted under the established procedure can often become obsolete even before they are entered into force. Therefore, the emphasis on legal activities inevitably shifts to law enforcement carried out in "real time". It is the application of law that has a decisive impact on the development of social relations, forming a framework for such relations that sometimes differs from the one estab-

lished by law. Judicial discretion takes on a new dimension, more important than the will of the legislator.

Under the influence of digitalization, the very system of values inherent in members of society, including those with law enforcement powers, is also changing (Alimova, Zailo, Pashentsev 2019, 113). At the same time, in the sociological theory of law, it has long been proven that a judge who adjudicates on a particular case is influenced by a whole set of factors, both external and internal, related to his beliefs, value guidelines and mentality.

The content of the law is legal representations that, for its part, are based on legal values. Legal values exist because they are present in the legal consciousness of people involved in the creation and implementation of legal norms.

The legal order is formed as follows: first, legal norms aimed at strengthening and maintaining the rule of law are adopted, then law enforcement officers and other subjects develop a certain mental idea of the rule of law reflected through their own experience and legal consciousness, and then work is carried out to transform legal regulations into everyday mass behavior of the country's population. Furthermore, it is mass behavior that forms this or that model of law and order, including in a digital society.

The implementation of legal regulations does not occur in itself, and it happens only in specific actions by a particular subject. All forms of realization of the right (observance, execution, use, application) are the actions by subjects of law; in the latter case, they have special powers. Therefore, it is the subject of law that should occupy a prominent place in any model of law and order. As an inherent quality of the subjects of law, legal consciousness determines the peculiarities of their implementation of legal norms, ultimately manifesting itself both in the mental image of law and in mass behavior as to the execution of legal regulations. Changing legal consciousness under the influence of digitalization becomes an essential factor in transforming models of law-making and law enforcement.

Legal behavior is inextricably linked with ideas about good and evil, ethics and morality (Il'ina, Dorskaja, Dorskii 2018, 470). In this regard, along with legal prohibitions, moral and religious norms play an essential role in establishing and implementing models of lawful behavior. Here one can see the hidden potential of legal culture. Public condemnation and the censure of a religious community can sometimes be more significant factors for a person than legal prohibitions. In the secular State of the Russian Federation, the use of religious motives and incentives was problematic.

Therefore, forming a new legal culture in society related to the introduction of strict behavioral standards into the public consciousness involves the close interaction of law and morality. In this context, a close alliance between the state and civil society seems fruitful. The state's efforts to establish incentives and restrictions in the legal sphere of anti-corruption should be complemented by broad public scrutiny by civil society institutions using moral regulators. In the context of digitalization, a new (virtual) space appears; in this space, it is difficult to perform such control due to its peculiarities.

The formation of a legal culture is a complex and long process that implies the need for legal education. Such education involves a comprehensive educational influence on the individual on the part of the state and civil society. Its result should be the formation of citizens' legal foundations of legal culture and high moral qualities as its value basis. Digital technologies provide new opportunities and resources for legal education, including through the Internet. At the same time, traditional forms and technologies of legal education in the new conditions demonstrate insufficient effectiveness.

3. Conclusions

Legal culture is a phenomenon of social reality directly related to the development of the legal sphere of society; it is also transforming due to a change in social relations. Legal culture draws upon a set of legal values that are recognized by most members of society and exert influence on law-making and law-enforcement activities. Modern society faces the previously unknown challenge of digitalization associated with the introduction of new digital technologies that significantly change the social and economic spheres and affect the spiritual and moral foundations of public life. Digitalization can be seen as a new challenge to legal culture, as it violates the existing process of transferring legal values between generations due to the digital gap between them. In this regard, the state and civil society have to take advantage of technological development opportunities to implement legal education for young people that should extend to a virtual environment. In the past, the legal culture has already successfully adapted to the change of technological cycles, and this inspires hope that the legal sphere of society will find an adequate and effective answer to the challenge of digitalization.

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Received: March 5, 2020

Accepted: June 9, 2021

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