

Network Composition, Individual Social Capital and Culture: Comparing Traditional and Post-Modernized Cultures

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Abstract

This article addresses the influence of cultural background on the access to social capital in family and friendship networks. We will analyze four different culture groups: Czechs and Russians (Muscovites) both representing post-modernized cultures and Dagestans and Chechens both representing traditional cultures. The data will be analyzed using univariate comparisons and fixed effects regressions. Our results indicate that cultural background does not play such a crucial role for social network composition and social capital access through the family or friends. In both cases, Dagestans, Chechens and Czechs access significantly less social capital than do the Russians (Muscovites), however only if Russians (Muscovites) are in frequent contact with their families or have large friendship networks. In other words, network embeddedness seems to play a more important role than cultural background for social capital access.

Keywords: *Individual Social Capital, Social Networks, Culture, Modernization, Tradition, Resource Generator*

Introduction

1.1 Every day, thousands of people begin to migrate into a new life. Reasons for migration are manifold. Economic security as well as the escape from war scenarios are motives for migration. In the country of destination, the migrants are often faced with different values than those that are common in their country of origin. Frequently individuals migrate from less developed economies to industrialized countries, so that individuals migrate from traditional to modernized cultures. In traditional societies, individuals hold traditional and survival values. Modernized cultures are characterized by secular-rational and self-expression values ([Inglehart 1997](#); [Inglehart & Baker 2000](#)). Traditional values in contrast to secular-rational values indicate that religion is very important. Respect for authority, God, country and family are closely interrelated in traditional societies. In traditional societies the main goal in life is to make parents proud. Societies in which secular-rational values prevail, contacts outside of the family are more important than family contacts. The key component of survival in contrast to self-expression values is the opposition of materialistic and post-materialistic values. Many studies show that these values reflect an inter-generational shift from emphasis on economic and physical security to emphasis on self-expression, subjective well-being and life quality ([Inglehart 1997](#)). Accordingly, migrants sometimes have to adapt to a completely different value system in their country of destination. Otherwise integration into the destination society is difficult.

1.2 Basis of social integration are social networks. The extensity and composition of social networks differs according to individual values. Traditional values attach a high importance to the family. The family networks of individuals coming from traditional societies will be different than family networks of individuals who come from modernized societies. The same can be said for friendship networks as they are more important in modernized societies than in traditional societies. Furthermore, social networks are a precondition for individual social capital access i.e. social resources. According to Bourdieu ([1986](#)), social capital, in addition to economic and cultural capital, is a crucial tool that distinguishes individuals from

upper classes to those from lower classes. Accessing social capital thus means having the potential to reach and maintain a higher status in a society (Bourdieu 1986; Lin 2001). Therefore, if migrants have social capital in their country of destination, their chance for social integration is good.

1.3 Until now, social capital access was primarily analyzed. Recently studies (cf. Finsveen & van Oorshot 2008; Häuberer 2014; Mollenhorst et al. 2014) have analyzed the role that network embeddedness plays for social capital access. To broaden their knowledge regarding the impact of cultural background, this paper addresses the following questions: how do the networks of representatives of traditional cultures differ from the networks of members of modern cultures? What does this mean for social capital access? We have based our research on the cultural map of Inglehart & Welzel (2010) and have analyzed two unique empirical studies that include respondents from traditional and modernized societies. These studies were conducted separately, but gave answers to similar questions: They asked where individuals access social resources and social capital; which network parts are crucial for social capital access and how individuals profit from the access to specific social resources. For this paper, we have focused on the connection between an individuals' social network embeddedness; meaning the size and quality of networks an individual is part of and social capital access, i.e. access to social resources in order to analyze the differences between two sets of respondents: those from societies holding predominantly secular-rational and self-expression values (later post-modern cultures) and those from societies holding predominantly traditional and survival values (later traditional cultures). Chechens and Dagestans represent cultures from the North Caucasus of the Russian Federation with predominantly traditional/survival values, while Czechs and Russians from Moscow represent cultures with rational-secular and self-expression values. We compare contact within the family, the size of the friendship network and participation in voluntary associations of the respective groups and assess how these factors influence the social resource access that is valuable for instrumental action.

Social Capital

2.1 Social capital has evolved into a key concept in the social sciences because it helps to explain the success of individuals in their professional life (Behtoui 2007; Burt 2000; Granovetter 1973; Lin 1999, 2001) and the functioning of a society (Engström et al. 2008; Kawachi et al. 1997, 1999; Paxton 2002; Putnam 2000). Having social capital means to have better chances for social integration. Although conceptualizations of social capital are manifold (cf. Coleman 1988, 1990; Putnam 2000; Lin 2001; for an overview see Häuberer 2011), most concepts share Bourdieu's (1986: 248) idea that social capital consists of "actual or potential resources linked to a membership in a group". We share this view and refer to social resources as social capital because social resources initially represent what is meant by capital. Resources can be used to attain goals, and individuals can easily invest in their volume by creating networks. Individuals access concrete social resources, such as help with the annual tax declaration or help with shopping when they are sick. This resource access depends on their prior investment in the network. Spending time with network members and assisting them when they need help forms a basis for exchanging social resources. Help represents a donation of resources and thus the beginning or maintenance of resource transfer. This action builds social capital (Plickert et al. 2007: 406).

2.2 Concrete access to social capital depends on the number of social contacts an individual has, the strength of the ties an individual has to these persons and the amounts of social resources these individuals possess (Lin 2001). Thus, strong ties or cohesive networks (Coleman 1988) are expected to promote mutual trust and the willingness to cooperate (Flap & Völker 2001), whereas weak ties are useful for accessing information (Granovetter 1973).

2.3 Empirical results demonstrate these connections. Analyzing Eurobarometer data, Häuberer (2014) indicated that social resource access with regard to resources that are useful for expressive action strongly depends on embeddedness in friendship networks and participation in voluntary associations. The same relation was revealed by Finsveen and van Oorshot (2008) in an analysis of ISSP data. Individuals who live in large households, who have regular contact with friends, colleagues and neighbors and who participate in associations (with the exception of associations pursuing political goals) have better access to social resources (Häuberer 2014). Recently, Mollenhorst et al. (2014) showed that social resource access depends on the opportunity to maintain or create relationships. The persons with whom an individual is in regular contact are those perceived as sources of social resources.

2.4 This literature review shows that network embeddedness is a crucial precondition for social capital access (see also Häuberer 2011: 150). Individuals are embedded in informal networks composed of family members or friends and formal networks created by participation in voluntary associations (Putnam 2000). We expect the composition of the networks to mediate social capital access, and we formulate hypothesis H1: *Embeddedness in networks positively influences the amount of social capital accessed.*

2.5 Further important preconditions for social capital access are an individuals' cultural background and values.

Cultural Background and Social Capital Access

2.6 Social network formation and social capital access are determined by historical, economic, institutional and cultural factors.

2.7 Culture forms the characteristics of the social environment in which an individual lives and influences the way people behave (Berry *et al.* 1997: 66). Berry *et al.* (1997: 66) suggest that the behavior of an individual is a combination of personal traits such as attitudes, personal characteristics and the social environment to which the culture relates. Therefore, we expect culture to affect how individuals create their own social networks and how they invest in networks which in turn –influences individual social capital access. Ideas about the cultural causation of social capital have been expressed repeatedly (cf. Allik & Realo 2004; Fukuyama 1995; Putnam 1994).

2.8 We expect miscellaneous effects due to different cultural values on social capital access. According to Inglehart (1997) we distinguish a) traditional values and secular-rational values and b) self-expression values in contrast to survival values. Different studies (cf. Fischer 1982; Granovetter 1973; Höllinger & Haller 1990; Litwak & Szelenyi 1969) show the effects of values on network composition in Figure 1. The combination of traditional and survival values is common in traditional societies, whereas the combination of secular-rational and self-expression values is common in post-modernized societies (Inglehart & Welzel 2005, 2010). A society that has a low level of sociocultural modernization and dominance of traditional values is called a "traditional society". Traditional values are accompanied by the importance of multigenerational family structures. Survival values include collectivism and strong family orientation, whereas post-modernized values highlight the importance of extra-family networks. Nevertheless, studies by Litwak & Szelenyi (1969), Fischer 1982 and Hofferth & Iceland (1998) indicate that family relations remain important in post-modernized societies if the structure of family relations changes. Accordingly, we assume that social capital access of representatives of traditional and modern societies differs with regard to friends, but not with regard to family. Thus, we formulate Hypothesis H2a: *Individuals of traditional and post-modernized cultures receive individual social capital from their family ties equally*. Because post-modern societies are likely to combine secular-rational values and self-expression values, we find pluralized life forms and individualism in these societies. Relationships are also formed outside the family (see Höllinger & Haller 1990). Accordingly, we formulate Hypothesis H2b: *Individuals in post-modernized cultures receive more individual social capital from their friendship relations than they do in traditional cultures*.

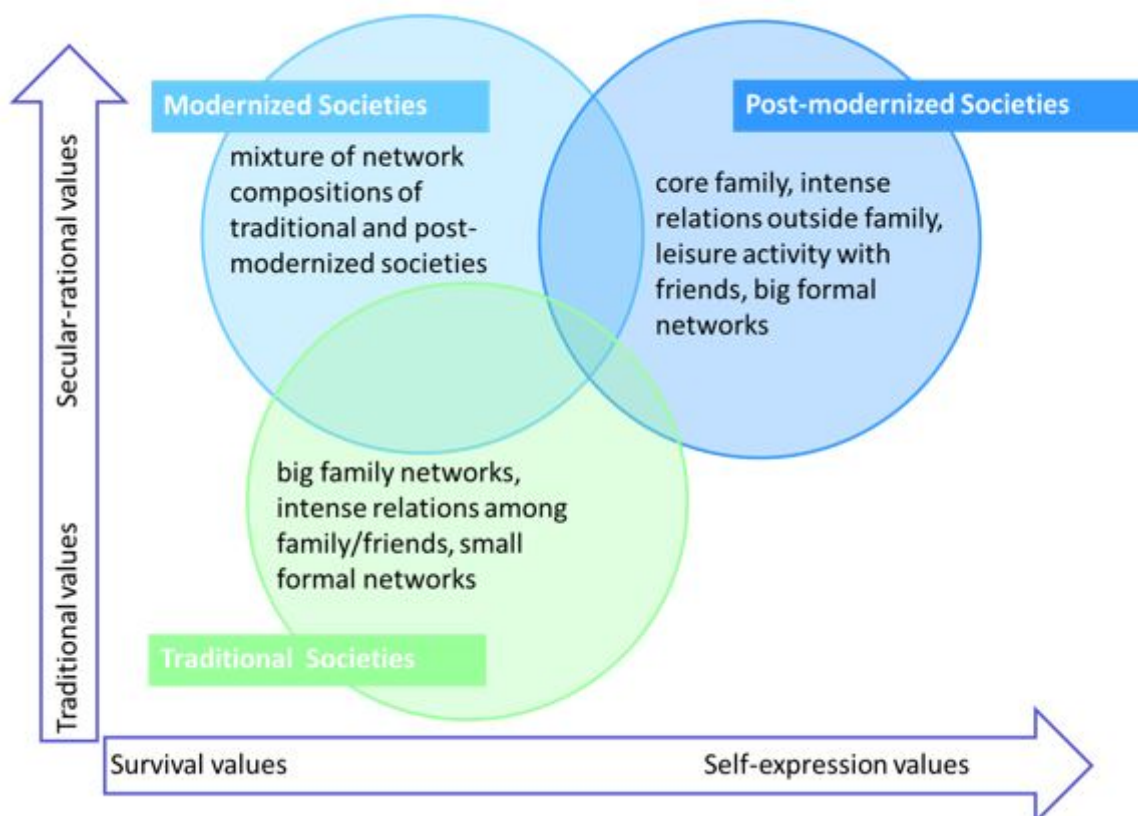


Figure 1. Cultural Values and Social Network Composition

Studied Groups: Cultural Differences of Czechs, Russians (Muscovites), Chechens, and Dagestans

- 3.1 To analyze the relations among social network embeddedness, social capital access and cultural background, we have compared four cultural groups – Czechs, Russians (Muscovites), Chechens, and Dagestans – whose representatives have both similar and different features. Russians are represented by individuals living in Moscow^[2].
- 3.2 First, all four countries are ??post-communist states (cf. Inglehart & Baker 2000). The Russians (Muscovites), Chechens and Dagestans live in the Russian Federation and the Czechs live in the Czech Republic - once part of the former socialist Czechoslovakia. Accordingly, the ideology and social system are similar for the members of these cultures. We know that under communism, informal networks were formed as an alternative to the state and forced participation in formal networks (Raiser et al. 2001). In this sense, the researched cultural groups have a similar historical past. They all transitioned from a socialist system, where informal networks prevailed and provided social capital, to a democratic system in which formal networks have grown in addition to informal networks. It is plausible that in all of the researched groups, family and friends still play a major role in comparison to civic networks. Regarding the institutional framework, Russians (Muscovites), Chechens, and Dagestans live in the same social welfare system because they are all part of the Russian Federation. Only the Czech system differs. Historically, the welfare systems transitioned from a universal socialist welfare system to a hybrid welfare system. Kollmorgen (2009) classifies the Russian system as a rudimentary state paternalist system in which family, market and the state play central roles in providing welfare. The Czech system is a state-managed conservative welfare system in which the family and the state play central roles. Both systems realize only marginal redistribution among different strata. Because both welfare systems are based on family and state, they have similar effects on social capital access. The cultural differences between Dagestans and Chechens, on the one hand, and Russians (Muscovites) and Czechs, on the other hand, are more important in determining social capital access.
- 3.3 In order to classify the researched cultural groups as traditional and post-modernized, we first used different criteria derived from relevant literature on the subject (cf. de Vries 1961; Chance 1965; Dressler 1982, 1994; Inkeles & Smith 1974). Second, we underlined our conclusions with data from a Russian study and the European Social Survey.
- 3.4 *Religion.* Most Russians and Czechs are Christians (in particular Russian Orthodox and Catholic). In contrast, Dagestan and Chechnya are predominantly Islamic cultures. In Chechnya and Dagestan, approximately 43% of the population regularly attend a mosque (Caucasus online 2012), whereas in Moscow, only approximately 14% of the population goes to church on a regular basis (at least once per month) (Izvestiya 2014). Furthermore, the Czech Republic is the most secular country in Europe: in 2011, 79% of the population admitted being atheists (Czech Statistical Office 2013b). Religious involvement based on the cultural map of Inglehart and Welzel (2010) suggests that Czechs hold the most secular-rational and self-expression values, followed by Russia. Chechens and Dagestans hold more traditional and survival values.
- 3.5 *Place of residence (community urbanization level).* Urban residents can be considered representatives of a more modernized group than rural residents (Inkeles & Smith 1974: 292), usually associated with secular-rational values (cf. Inglehart & Welzel 2010). The peoples of the North Caucasus (in our case, Chechens and Dagestans) live in less urbanized environments than Russians (Muscovites) and Czechs. In 2012, 73% of Czechs lived in urbanized areas (cf. World Bank 2013a). Russian respondents in our sample come from the Moscow region and also live in an urbanized area. Only 35% of Chechens and 45% of Dagestans live in urbanized areas (Russian Federal State Statistics Service 2010) which indicates their traditional character. This finding reiterates the traditional values of Chechens and Dagestans and the secular-rational values of Russians (Muscovites) and Czechs.
- 3.6 *The level of well-being.* In General, post-modernization is characterized by increased economic well-being, resulting in higher levels of individual well-being (Inglehart & Welzel 2010). Such cultures are likely to hold self-expression values. In our sample, the Russians (Muscovites) living in the European part of Russia and the Czechs have a higher standard of living than most of the residents of the North Caucasus Republics of Russia. For instance, in 2012, Dagestan revealed a Gross Domestic Product per capita (GDP) of \$7,509 USD. Chechnya's GDP was lower than that of Dagestan at \$4,495 USD. In Moscow, the GDP reached \$58,085 USD (Russian Federal State Statistics Service 2013), and the Czech Republic had a GDP of \$18,608 USD (World Bank

2013b). Accordingly, Dagestans and Chechens are likely to hold survival values, whereas Czechs and Russians hold self-expression values.

3.7 *Education level.* With the (post)modernization of culture, the level of education of a culture's representatives also increases (Inkeles & Smith 1974: 297). In the European part of Russia and the Czech Republic, the education level is higher than that of the residents of the North Caucasus. In 2012, the share of the population with a higher education in Moscow was 41%, but it was only 18% in the Republic of Dagestan and in the Chechen Republic this index was less than 15% (RIA-News 2012). In the Czech Republic, 37% of individuals held at least a qualification equivalent to A-level in 2011 (Czech Statistical Office 2013a).

3.8 *Relational orientation.* Representatives of traditional cultures are oriented mainly toward intra-family relations, whereas the representatives of post-modernized cultures are focused on extra-family social contacts (Inglehart & Welzel 2010: 563), which is true for Czechs and Russians (Muscovites). Furthermore, representatives of the peoples of the Russian North Caucasus place greater importance on the values in Schwartz's methodology (Schwartz 2006: 2012) that describe other people's orientation (e.g. universalism, benevolence). The Muslim peoples of the North Caucasus especially favor values ??such as conformity, tradition, and universalism (Lebedeva & Grigoryan 2013). These values ??indicate a greater focus on other people than on oneself, indicating collectivist and thus survival values (Schwartz 2012).

3.9 These indicators allow us to classify Russians (Muscovites) and Czechs as post-modernized and Chechens and Dagestans as traditional groups. However, is this in line with empirical results regarding the value orientation of these individuals? Because Dagestan and Chechnya did not participate in the World Values Survey, we cannot simply classify them according to the cultural map of Inglehart & Welzel (2010). However, we can assess the level of modernization of the four groups based on the values of "tradition" using the theory of basic human values of Schwartz (Piurko et al.2012). His questionnaire of values is used in the well-known "European Social Survey" (ESS). According to Schwartz's theory, the value of "tradition" is one of the 10 basic values of people in different cultures (Schwartz 2012; Schwartz & Fischer 2012). The defining goals of tradition are respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that one's culture or religion provides. "Tradition entails subordination to more abstract objects – religious and cultural customs and ideas. As a consequence, conformity values exhort responsiveness to current, possibly changing expectations. Tradition values demand responsiveness to immutable expectations from the past" (Schwartz 2012: 6-7).

3.10 Measures of tradition and religiosity can be found in the Russian study "[...]: Testing explanatory models in experiments and field studies" which included Russians from Moscow, Chechens and Dagestans as well as the European Social Survey (ESS 2012), including the Czech Republic. Comparing the data supports our previous classification (see Table 1).

Table 1. Mean Values of Tradition and Religiosity of Russians, Czechs, Dagestans and Chechens

	Russians*	Czechs+	Dagestans*	Chechens*
	μ (σ)	μ (σ)	μ (σ)	μ (σ)
Tradition	3.9 (0.75)	3.9 (1.1)	4.3 (0.72)	4.5 (0.48)
Religiosity	4.9 (2.6)	2.4 (2.8)	6.1 (2.7)	9.3 (1.3)

Notes: standard deviations in parentheses; * data of [...] 2012, + data of European Social Survey 2012, Item wordings: Tradition: "Please tell me how much each person is or is not like you: Tradition is important to him. He tries to follow the customs handed down by his religion or his family." (1 - not like me at all, 6 - very much like me), Religion: "How religious are you?" (0 - not religious at all, 10 - very religious).

3.11 As shown in Table 1, the average values of "tradition" among Russians and Czechs are the same, but the averages are higher for Dagestans, especially for Chechens. These differences are statistically significant. The level of religiosity is also statistically significantly higher among Dagestans and Chechens in comparison to Russians and Czechs. This finding supports our prior classification and allows us to conclude that Dagestans' and Chechens' cultures are more traditional than are the cultures of the Russians and the Czechs.

3.12 Therefore, we divide the four researched groups into two cultures: *a traditional culture from North Caucasus with predominantly traditional and survival values and a post-modernized Slavic culture with predominantly secular-rational and self-expression values.* Regarding our classification of values and social network

composition in Figure 1, we find Chechens and Dagestans in the lower left and Czechs and Russians in the upper right.

Data and Measures

Data

4.1 To test our hypotheses, we analyzed data from two surveys administered in the Czech Republic and in the Russian Federation. In 2008, the Czech survey, "[...]", was conducted as second part of a test-retest study. The study was a telephone survey and included 129 respondents^[3] over 18. Possible respondents were randomly chosen from the telephone register. At the beginning of the interview, they were asked if they fit a quota regarding gender, age and education to represent the Czech society. If they fit the quota, they were included in the sample, if not, they were not interviewed. The quota itself was constructed in accordance to official Czech statistics. The Russian survey, "[...]", was administered between June 2012 and August 2012. A representative sample of Russian adults from two large districts was drawn, and people aged 18 to 60 years of age (inclusive) residing in private households were selected. We employed a multistage (3-stage) area sample. The effective total sample size was 2,058 interviews: 1,024 personal interviews in the Central Federal district including the city of Moscow and 1,034 personal interviews in North-Caucasus Federal district. The survey was conducted in these regions because there is a considerable difference in their levels of socio-cultural modernization.

4.2 For the analyses presented here, we selected a subsample of ethnic Russians (from Moscow), Dagestans and Chechens (N=718, see Table 2). We used empirical data from three regions of Russia: in the Moscow City (Central Federal district), Republic of Chechnya (North-Caucasus Federal district), and Republic of Dagestan (North-Caucasus Federal district). Ethnic Russians were included in the sample selected in Moscow City. Ethnic Chechens were interviewed in the Republic of Chechnya. Dagestan is the most multi-ethnic republic of Russia, where 33 ethnic groups live. As most of the ethnic groups in Dagestan are very homogenous regarding their cultural characteristics, we identified them as "Dagestans" in our sample. Finally, we merged the data with the Czech sample.

Dependent variables

4.3 *Social capital.* We measured social capital by an individual's social resources received from informal networks of family and friends. Such resources range from receiving help with house repair to legal and financial assistance (Häuberer 2011; van der Gaag & Snijders 2005; Verhaeghe & Tampubolon 2012). We modified the wording where necessary to fit the contexts. This method asks how many family members and how many friends/acquaintances the respondent has who "can advise them on legal or bureaucratic issues" and "are able to help the respondent to find a job" etc. (see Figure 5 and 6). Using factor analysis, we constructed two factors measuring social capital: "Social Capital among Family" and "Social Capital among Friends" (for factor construction and correlation matrices see Appendices A.2.1. and A.2.2.).

Independent variables

4.4 *Family contact.* We assessed embeddedness in the family network by asking respondents about their contact frequency with relatives, like parents, brothers and sisters etc. (see Figure 2; Häuberer 2011; van der Gaag & Snijders 2005; Verhaeghe & Tampubolon 2012). We chose this measure because it indicates the network size and the intensity of relations within the family. The contact frequency with family members was measured on a four-point scale where 3 indicates contact three or more times a month and 0 indicates the absence of a living relative of this kind. We used value 1 when no contact prevailed but the relative was alive because we expect that such a contact can be activated if needed. Furthermore, we constructed a factor for "contact family" on the basis of a polychoric correlation matrix to account for the categorical variables (see also A.2.3.).

4.5 *Friendship network.* We measured the network of friends by asking for the respondents' number of friends in the workplace, in the neighborhood and elsewhere (cf. Häuberer 2011). From these items, we also constructed a factor for "friends network" (see A.2.4.).

4.6 *Participation in voluntary associations.* We measured embeddedness in a formal network with organizational involvement by asking the respondents about their participation frequency in four different types of associations (see Figure 4; cf. Häuberer 2011; Yang 2007; Beilmann & Realo, 2012). We dichotomized the variables for two reasons: first, the participation frequency was measured in the Czech survey on a three-point scale, but the Russian survey used a five-point scale. Second, the participation rates were extremely

low in both countries. Differentiating contact frequencies does not add any explanatory value. All items were used to construct the factor "participation in voluntary associations" on the basis of a polychoric correlation matrix to account for the categorical variables (see A.2.5.).

4.7 *Cultural background.* Cultural background was measured by the origin of the respondent, indicated by dummy variables (Czech, Russian, Dagestan and Chechen origin).

Control variables

4.8 To control for the respondents' background, we included sex, age and education, EGP classes, employment status and size of place of residence. Education was measured on a four-point scale indicating unskilled, skilled, equivalent to A-level qualification, and university degree. We included three EGP classes (professionals, routine non-manual workers and workers) as done with Häuberer, šafr (2008) following Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992) accompanied by a category for "no class indicated" to prevent too many missing values. Employment status was measured by being employed, a pensioner, a homemaker, a student or unemployed. The size of the place of residence was indicated by rural or urban quality. Central demographics are presented in Table 2. In all samples, except the Czech one, more women participated than men. On average, the respondents were between 36 and 43 years old. Concerning education, almost 50% of Russians and Czechs had at minimum a qualification equivalent to A-level, whereas only 27% of the Dagestans and 21% of the Chechens had education at this level.

Table 2. Demographics

	Russian (Muscovites)	Czech	Dagestan	Chechen
<i>N</i>	291	129	261	166
<i>Gender (%)</i>				
Male	46	53.5	38.3	42.8
Female	54	46.5	61.7	57.2
<i>Age</i>				
Mean	38.50	42.61	36.43	37.67
Median	38.00	43.00	35.00	37.00
Standard Deviation	11.796	16.307	12.095	11.970
Range	42	63	42	41
<i>Education (%)</i>				
Low (elementary, skilled)	51.9	51.2	73.2	78.9
High (A-level, University)	48.2	48.9	26.8	21.1

Notes: merged data from projects "[...]" (Czech Republic 2007/8) and "[...]" (Russia 2012)

Analysis Strategy

4.9 For all analyses, we merged the data into a single data set. To obtain an idea of differences in social networks and social capital among the researched groups, we compared the mean values of the network and social capital measures by Student's t-tests using SPSS 19. To evaluate significant differences between percent shares, we used Φ criterion – Fischer's angular transformation (Gubler & Genkin 1973). This criterion evaluates the significance of differences between the percentages of two samples in which the effect of interest is registered.

4.10 Because these univariate analyses are not able to control for background variables, we additionally calculated fixed effects models using StataSE 13. We used a fixed effects model, where we expect that the independent variables explain the social capital simultaneously accounting for the network embeddedness of every individual, that is, we account for the interdependence of the independent variables (cf. Snijders & Bosker 2012). Thus, we included network embeddedness of the respondents in family, friends and voluntary

networks as random slope in the models. Furthermore, we included interactions between the network measures and the respondents' cultural background (as suggested with Brambor *et al.* (2006)), because we expect the effects to differ depending on the cultural background.

Results

Descriptive Comparisons

5.1 Social Networks. First, we compared the four groups, Czechs, Russians (Muscovites), Dagestans, and Chechens, according to their network embeddedness. Figure 2 displays the contact frequencies to the family members of the respondents of the four groups, and Table 3 shows the results of the t-tests. Our results demonstrate differences between the cultural groups. The fewest differences can be observed between the responses of Chechens and Dagestans. However, we found many differences between the representatives of traditional cultures (Dagestans and Chechens) and modern cultures (Russian and Czech). Chechens and Dagestans (mostly) have a higher contact frequency with their relatives than Russians and Czechs do. We assumed that Russians (Muscovites) and Czechs would be very similar, but this assumption was not confirmed. However, in general, we can say that Russians (Muscovites) and Czechs have less contact with family members than do Chechens and Dagestans (see Figure 2 and Table 3).

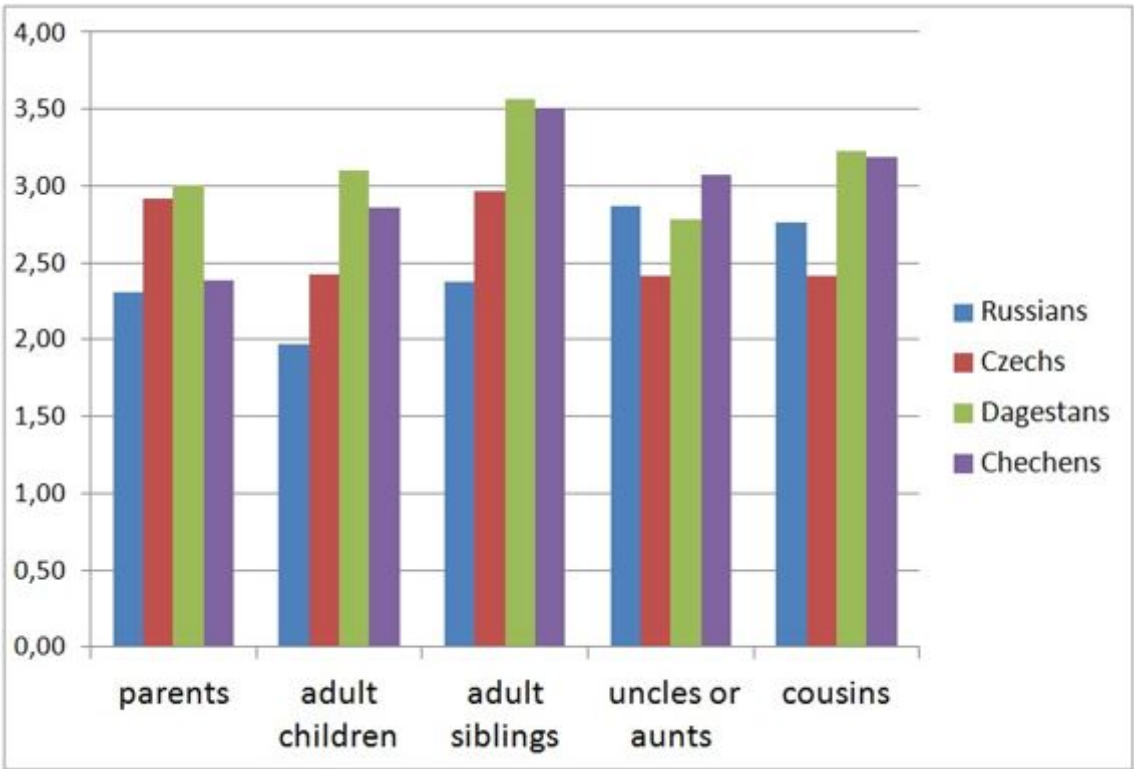


Figure 2. Contact Frequency — Family (mean values)

Notes: merged data from projects "[...]" (Czech Republic 2007/8) and "[...]" (Russia 2012); range of the scale from 1 to 4

Table 3. Significance of Intercultural Differences & Frequency of Contacts (Family)

How often you had contacts...	t Rus/Cz	t Rus/Dag	t Rus/Czech	T Cz /Dag	t Cz /Czech	t Dag/Czech
Parents	-3.54***	-4.18***	-0.41	-0.46	2.71**	3.21***
Adult children	-2.58*	-7.17***	-4.95***	-3.65***	-2.07*	1.35
Adult siblings	-3.98***	-9.13***	-8.98***	-3.38***	-4.09***	0.49
Uncles or aunts	3.87***	0.69	-1.07	-2.67**	-5.11***	-2.12*
Cousins	3.0**	-4.37***	-3.62***	-6.96***	-6.09***	0.28

Notes: merged data from projects "[...]" (Czech Republic 2007/8) and "[...]" (Russia 2012); Student's t-test (t); N = 847; ***p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05.

5.2 Figure 3 and Table 4 present the comparative analysis results of the number of friends of the four cultural group respondents. The greatest differences appear regarding the number of friends other than colleagues, neighbors and family members. Czechs demonstrate the greatest number of friends in all three categories, whereas Chechens have the lowest number of friends among colleagues and other friends. However, we do not find a clear pattern of network composition caused by cultural background. First, Czechs do not have significantly more friends among colleagues and neighbors than do Dagestans. Second, Russians (Muscovites) have fewer friends among their neighbors than Dagestans and Chechens do.

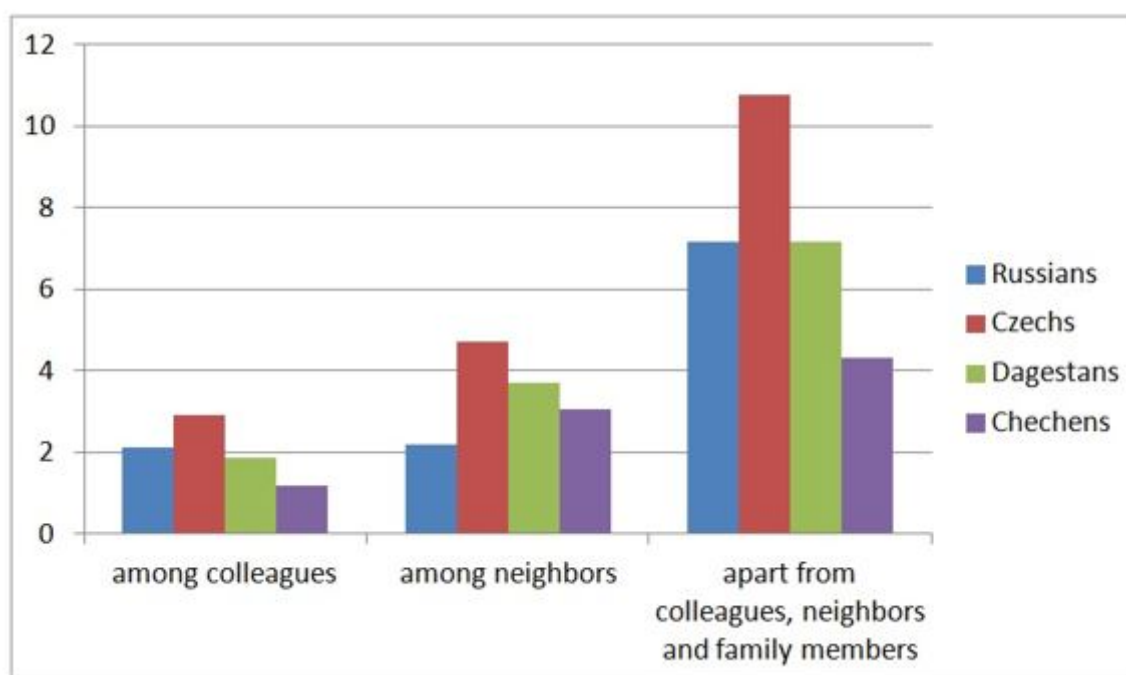


Figure 3. Number of Friends (mean values)

Notes: merged data from projects "[...]" (Czech Republic 2007/8) and "[...]" (Russia 2012)

Table 4. Intercultural Differences - Number of Friends

Number of friends...	t	t	t	t	t	t
	Rus/Cz	Rus/Dag	Rus/Chech	Cz/Dag	Cz/Chech	Dag/Chech
... among colleagues	-1.12	0.48	2.4**	1.29	3.45*	1.27
... among neighbors	-3.01**	-2.94**	-2.02*	1.08	1.86	1.09
... apart from colleagues, neighbors, and family members	-2.61**	-0.003	2.7**	2.54*	4.98***	2.46*

Notes: merged data from projects "[...]" (Czech Republic 2007/8) and "[...]" (Russia 2012); Student's t-test (t); N = 847; ***p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05.

5.3 Finally, Figure 4 and Table 5 display the differences in participation in voluntary associations of the respondents of the four groups. To evaluate the significance in the differences of the respondents' answers to this question, the criterion Φ (Fischer's angular transformation) was used. Our results indicate that more representatives of post-modernized societies are active in sports and interest organizations than representatives of traditional cultures. A greater proportion of Russians (Muscovites) are involved in all other associational types than Czechs, Chechens and Dagestans. The associational participation rates among Czechs are rather similar to the participation rates of Chechens and Dagestans. The more active participation of Russian respondents of the Moscow region in activities of political parties, trade unions and non-profit organizations indicates that their social activity is higher.

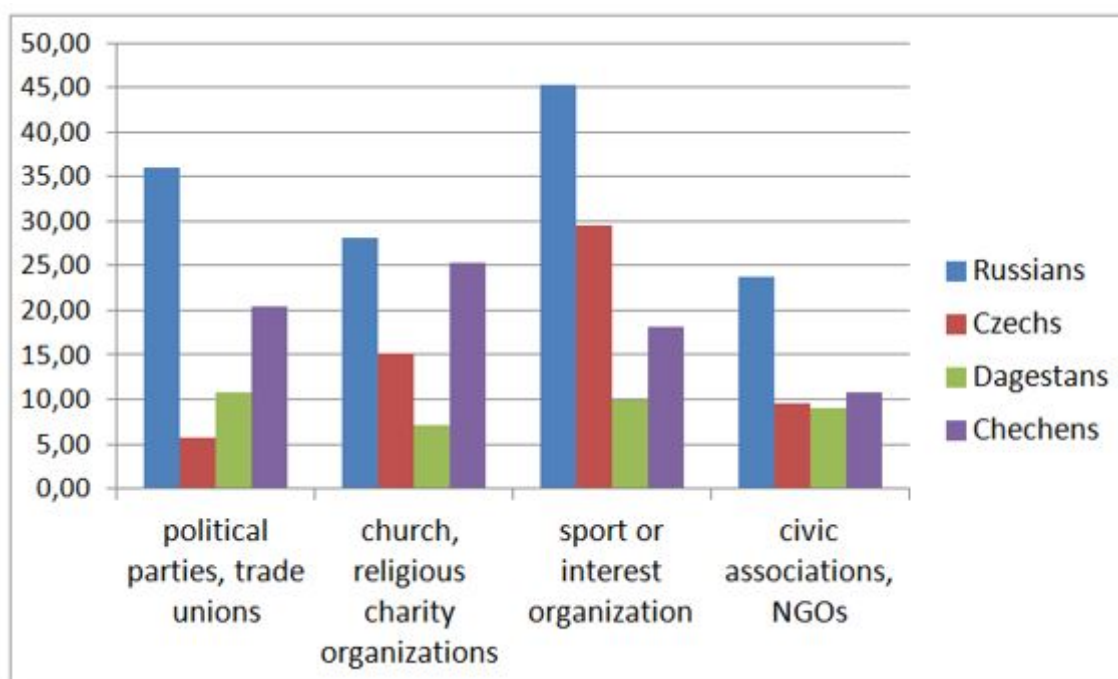


Figure 4. Participation in Associations (%)

Notes: merged data from projects "[...]" (Czech Republic 2007/8) and "[...]" (Russia 2012)

Table 5. Intercultural Differences – Participation in Associations

How often do you participate in the activities of...	φ Rus/Cz	φ Rus/Dag	φ Rus/Che	φ Cz/Dag	φ Cz/Che	φ Dag/Che
...political parties, trade unions or prof. assoc. (%)	6.2***	4.9**	2.5**	1.4	2.8**	1.9*
...church, religious, charity organizations (%)	2.4*	4.5**	0.4	1.9*	1.7*	3.5*
... sport or interest organization (%)	2.6**	6.6***	4.3**	3.7**	1.8*	1.6
... civic associations, NGOs (%)	3.02**	3.2**	2.5**	0.13	0.3	0.4

Notes: merged data from projects "[...]" (Czech Republic 2007/8) and "[...]" (Russia 2012); Φ (Fischer's angular transformation); N = 847; ***p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05.

5.4 Social Capital. In a second step, we compared the social capital access of the four analyzed groups. Figure 5 and Table 6 show the differences in the social capital access of the respondents by kinship. We do not find a clear pattern of differences between North Caucasus traditional peoples and European post-modernized Slavic peoples. This finding supports Hypothesis 2?, which suggests that individuals living in traditional and in post-modernized societies equally access social capital in their families. However, the two cultural groups seem to be most similar in their access to social capital. Some exceptions occur: Czechs have a larger number of individuals in their networks that are able to help them to find a job than the other researched groups. Russians (Muscovites) access a higher amount of social capital with regard to high income in comparison with Czechs, Chechens and Dagestans. Chechens and Dagestans differ in their access to two social capital indicators only (see Table 6).

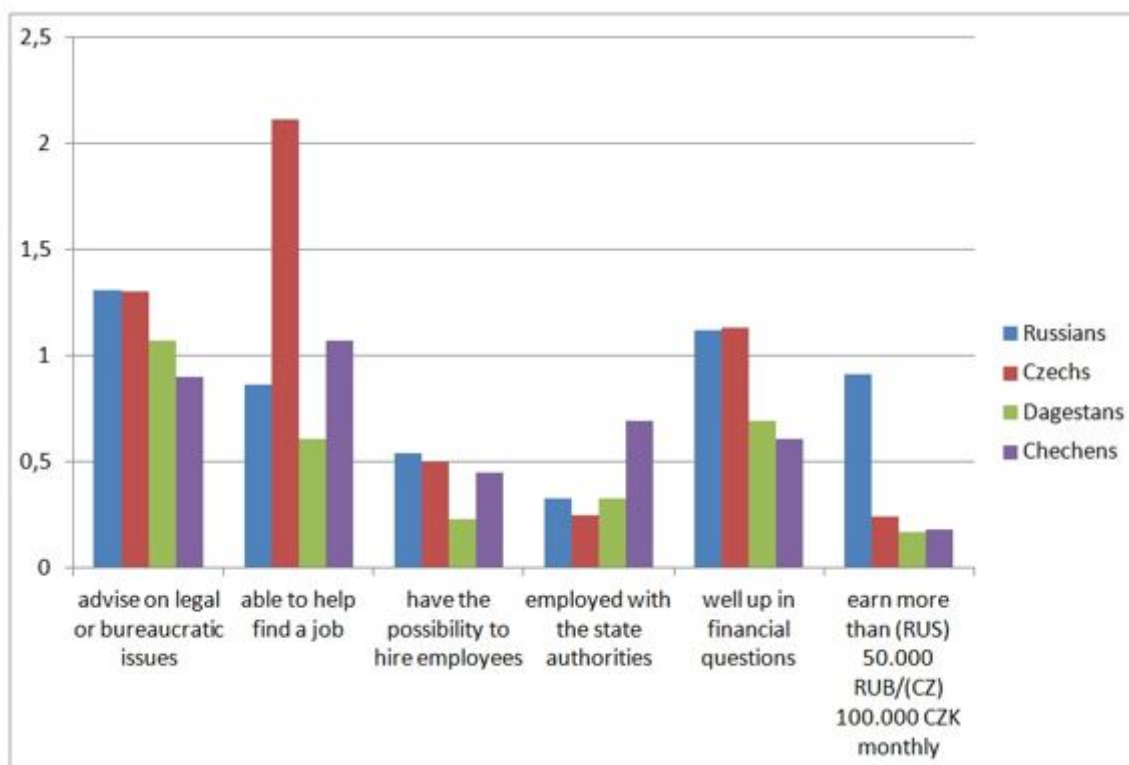


Figure 5. Resources Attained from Family (mean values)

Notes: merged data from projects "[...]" (Czech Republic 2007/8) and "[...]" (Russia 2012)

Table 6. Intercultural Differences - Resources Attained from Family

How many members of your family...	t Rus/Cz	t Rus/Dag	t Rus/Che ch	t Cz/Dag	t Cz /Chech	t Dag/Che ch
...can advise you on legal or bureaucratic issues	0.07	1.18	2.6**	0.98	2.08*	0.93
... will be able to help you find a job?	-3.71***	1.08	-0.80	4.51***	2.61**	1.08
... have the possibility to hire employees?	0.31	3.01**	0.89	2.42*	0.50	-2.0*
... are employed with the state authorities?	1.1	-0.24	-3.91***	-0.93	-5.35***	-3.5***
... are knowledgeable about financial questions?	0.12	2.45*	3.72***	2.64**	4.1***	0.53
... earn more than (RUS) 50.000 RUB/(CZ) 100.000 CZK monthly?	5.53***	6.62***	6.94***	0.71	0.61	-0.13

Notes: merged data from projects "[...]" (Czech Republic 2007/8) and "[...]" (Russia 2012); Student's t-test (t); N = 847; ***p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05.

5.5 Figure 6 and Table 7 show social capital obtained from friends. According to these results, post-modernized Slavic cultures have more social capital than the North Caucasus traditional cultures. Therefore, Hypothesis H2b was supported. In addition, we can see that Russians (Muscovites) and Czechs access similar amounts of social capital. We can find the same tendency in the case of Chechens and Dagestans.

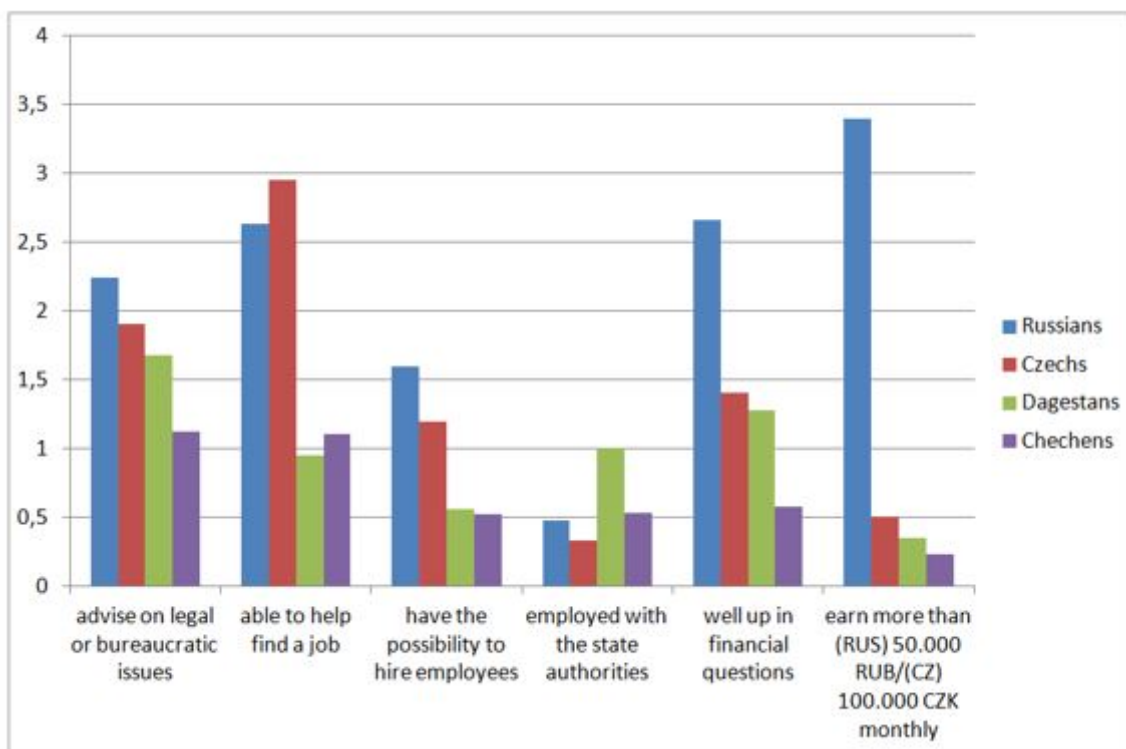


Figure 6. Resources Attained from Friends (mean values)

Notes: merged data from projects "[...]" (Czech Republic 2007/8) and "[...]" (Russia 2012)

Table 7. Intercultural Differences - Resources Attained from Friends

How many of your friends...	t Rus/Cz	t Rus/Dag	t Rus/Chech	t Cz /Dag	t Cz /Chech	t Dag/Chech
... can advise you on legal or bureaucratic issues?	0.84	1.6	3.99***	0.46	1.9*	1.62
... will be able to help you find a job?	-0.52	3.35***	3.16**	4.25***	4.09***	-0.50
... have the possibility to hire employees?	1.56	4.41***	4.92***	2.82**	3.25***	0.23
... are employed with the state authorities?	1.35	-1.01	-0.39	-1.41	-1.66	0.98
... are knowledgeable about financial questions?	1.86	1.81	3.12**	0.28	3.72***	1.69
... earn more than (RUS) 50.000 RUB/(CZ) 100.000 CZK monthly?	9.85***	7.57***	8.2***	0.77	1.08	0.82

Notes: merged data from projects "[...]" (Czech Republic 2007/8) and "[...]" (Russia 2012); Kolmogorov-Smirnov test (Z); N = 847; ***p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05.

5.6 *Summary.* So far, our study indicates differences between post-modern and traditional cultures regarding the contact frequency to family members but no differences regarding the social capital accessed by the family. Regarding the friendship network and participation in voluntary associations, we find no clear pattern regarding cultural background. Czechs have more friends in comparison to Russians (Muscovites) and Chechens. Russians (Muscovites) are more active in voluntary associations than individuals of all other groups, and social capital access by friends is higher in the post-modernized Slavic groups. Thus far, the analyses have not allowed us to account for respondents' characteristics to analyze the effects of cultural group and network embeddedness on social capital access. It will be conducted in the next part.

Multivariate Results

5.7 In a third step, we calculated fixed effects regressions to test our hypotheses while controlling for the interdependence of the social network embeddedness of individuals. Our results are displayed in Table 8. The results show that social capital access is well explained by network embeddedness, although not always as expected. Individuals who are frequently in contact with family members access less social capital among their families than do individuals with less family contact. Although this result speaks for rejecting Hypothesis 1, our analyses reveal that the cultural background seems important. In general Russians (Muscovites) access more social capital in their families than do Dagestans, Chechens and Czechs. However, if the Russians (Muscovites) are not in contact with their families, they access less social capital than Dagestans, Chechens and Czechs. Accordingly, hypothesis H1 is partly supported. The similarity of Czechs in their social capital access to Dagestans and Chechens indicates that we cannot distinguish between traditional and post-modernized groups. This result partly supports Hypothesis H2a and shows that, although family networks look different in traditional and post-modernized groups, they still seem to fulfill similar functions (see also Höllinger & Haller 1990). This also implies that individuals migrating from traditional to modernized societies are capable to access similar amounts of social resources also if they hold different values regarding their family than individuals of their country of destination. Accordingly traditional values shall not be an obstacle to social integration. The great advantage of Russians (Muscovites) in social capital access from family may be caused by the types of resources we asked for. We included only resources useful for instrumental action, which are according to Lin (2001) accessible through weak ties. Families, however, are mostly composed of strong ties and are more likely to provide resources useful for expressive action. This means that Russians (Muscovites) even dispose of social resources useful for instrumental action in their families. Accordingly, one could expect them to be more successful in status attainment than individuals from Chechenya, Dagestan and Czech Republic.

Regarding social capital from friends, Hypothesis 1 is clearly supported by the findings. Individuals with large friendship networks and who participate in voluntary associations access more social capital in their friend networks than individuals with smaller friendship networks and who participate less. Cultural background also seems to play a moderate role. In comparison to Russians (Muscovites), Dagestans, Chechens and Czechs access less social capital among their friends even when controlling for the friend network size. Russians (Muscovites) who participate in voluntary associations only differ from Chechens in their social capital access from friends. Thus, Hypothesis H2b is also partly supported. The post-modernized contexts only leads to higher social capital access in the friends network for Russians (Muscovites) in comparison to Dagestans and Chechens but not for Czechs, who also represent a post-modernized society. The "extra-family" orientation becomes evident only for Russians (Muscovites). Again Russians (Muscovites) seem to be advantaged in social capital access from friends and thus in their possible status attainment. Accordingly, Russians (Muscovites) have a resource potential which allows them to take an advantageous position in the society. Otherwise, traditional values do not seem an obstacle to access social capital in friendship networks. Accordingly, societal integration provided by integration in social networks shall be no problem for individuals migrating from traditional to modernized societies.

Table 8. Fixed Effects Regressions: Determinants of Social Capital Access

	Social Capital among Family		Social Capital among Friends	
	b	Std. error	b	Std. error
Fixed Effects				
Contact family	-.151**	.056	-.166***	.048
Friendship network	.186	.101	.724***	.089
Participation in voluntary associations	.270	.167	.370**	.127
Cultural group (ref. Russian)				
Dagestan	-1.412***	.351	-1.139***	.310
Chechen	-1.397***	.391	-1.250***	.348
Czech	-1.093**	.341	-.945***	.298
<i>Interactions (ref. Russian)</i>				
Dagestan x Contact family	.311***	.089	.212**	.078
Dagestan x Friendship network	.103	.135	-.330**	.123
Dagestan x Participation in voluntary associations	.474	.343	-.238	.249
Chechen x Contact family	.396***	.102	.253**	.090
Chechen x Friendship network	-.128	.158	-.436**	.144
Chechen x Participation in voluntary associations	-.356	.297	-.532*	.219
Czech x Contact family	.338***	.100	.178*	.087
Czech x Friendship network	-.062	.133	-.556***	.121
Czech x Participation in voluntary associations	-.089	.327	-.125	.252
<i>Control variables</i>				
Sex (female)	.001	.063	-.190***	.055
Age	.003	.004	.000	.003
Education (min. A-level)	.107	.065	.106	.057
EGP classes (ref. Professionals)				
Routine non-manual workers	-.269**	.092	-.101	.080
Workers	-.176	.098	-.059	.085
No class specified	-.243	.377	-.246	.344
Employment status (ref. employed)				
Pensioner	.099	.380	-.007	.347
Homemaker	.180	.378	.219	.345
Student	.423	.424	.254	.384
Unemployed	.048	.380	.112	.347
Place of residence (rural)	-.108	.074	-.084	.065
Intercept	.374	.268	.923***	.232
Random effects				
ID: identity				
Variance (Contact family)	.000***	.000	.000***	.000
Variance (Friendship network)	.177***	.038	.185***	.026
Variance (Participation in voluntary association)	.553*	.143	.141***	.072
Variance (Intercept)	.174	.830	.140	5.132
Variance (Residual)	.038	.830	.027	5.132
R ²	.235		.447	

Source: merged data from projects "[...]" (Czech Republic 2007/8) and "[...]" (Russia 2012), N=438, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Limitations of the Study

6.1 One limitation of our study is that we asked for social resources with rather financial and prestigious focus only. Thus, personal support resources were neglected. However, these resources are very relevant in cohesive networks like families. One can suppose that the access to personal support social capital differs also between traditional and post-modernized societies, as the latter have more means to replace, for example, personal care by a welfare state institution. Besides the limitation of social resource measures, our data does not allow us to further investigate the reasons why our respondents vary in their contact frequency to relatives or friends. Here especially qualitative methods would have been useful as they are capable of analyzing mechanisms of resource transfer in detail. Thus, we recommend using a mixed methods approach for future studies.

6.2 Another limitation lies in the design of our research including representatives of three ethnic groups that differ in their level of cultural modernization but living in one and the same country. Respondent's belongings to one country can reduce the level of intercultural differences among the ethnic groups. However, this design allowed us to reduce cross-country differences between ethnic groups. Furthermore, the inclusion of the Czech sample added intercultural differences in our study. Czechs are a Slavic group like Russians and have close cultural values and a close level of modernization to Russians. This allowed us to analyze both, the similarity of ethnic groups that are close by values and that are close by level of cultural modernization. By and large it is important to note that our study is based on unique empirical material, which increases its value.

Conclusions

7.1 We analyzed the impact of cultural background and social values on social network composition and access to social capital (i.e. social resources). We assume that according to Inglehart & Welzel's (2010) cultural map, a significant difference exists between post-modernized cultures that hold secular-rational values paired with self-expression values and traditional cultures that hold traditional and survival values. Whereas the former tend to have small families but large friendship networks and participate in voluntary associations, the latter have extensive families and small extra-family networks. However, the importance of family remains the same in traditional and post-modernized societies. Accordingly, we expected traditional and post-modernized societies to access similar amounts of social capital in their families and post-modernized societies to access more social capital in their extra-family networks than traditional societies. To test these assumptions, we analyzed Czech and Russian survey data including four groups – Czechs, Russians from Moscow, Dagestans and Chechens. According to the cultural map, our theoretical considerations and empirical results, Czechs and Russians (Muscovites) represent post-modernized Slavic cultures, and Dagestans and Chechens represent traditional North Caucasus cultures.

7.2 Our descriptive results regarding contact frequency with family members indicate that North Caucasus traditional peoples (Chechens and Dagestans) are very similar to each other and differ from European post-modernized Slavic peoples (Russians and Czechs). However, we do not find a clear pattern of friendship network composition caused by cultural background. In this case, Czechs have more friends among colleagues, neighbors and others than Russians (Muscovites), Chechens and Dagestans do. With respect to formal network embeddedness (organizations, associations), we find many differences between the studied groups, but we cannot argue that these differences are related to the mentioned dichotomy between post-modernized Slavic peoples and traditional North Caucasus peoples. Russians (Muscovites) participate in associations more often than Czechs, Chechens, and Dagestans do.

7.3 As expected, we did not find clear differences regarding the social capital attained from the family network between the post-modernized and traditional groups. Access to social capital from friends has a clear pattern of differences between post-modernized Slavic peoples and traditional North Caucasus peoples. Czechs and Russians (Muscovites) have more social capital from friends than Chechens and Dagestans do.

7.4 Our multivariate results reveal the interrelations between social network embeddedness and social capital access while controlling for other influencing factors. Regarding the influence of network embeddedness on social capital access, we find a context effect for the friendship network: the size of the network of friends as well as participation in voluntary associations predicts social capital access among friends. This finding is in line with study results of Häuberer (2014) or Finsveen & van Oorschot (2008) who showed that number of friends and associational involvement determine social capital access. It seems that members of associations are seen as friends or as sources of social resources. In contrast, contact to family members seems to decrease social capital access by family. This might be explained by the instrumental resources we asked for in the surveys. Families as representatives of strong ties are known to provide resources rather useful for expressive action (cf. Lin 2001).

7.5 Further, the results indicate that cultural background does not play such a crucial role for social capital access through the family or friends. In both cases Dagestans, Chechens and Czechs access significantly less social capital than Russians (Muscovites) do, but only if Russians (Muscovites) are in frequent contact with their families or have big friendship networks. That Czechs do not differ significantly from Dagestans and Chechens indicates that social resources are transferred in the family in both traditional and post-modernized societies, although this transfer may have different directions (cf. [Hofferth & Iceland 1998](#)). It is thinkable, that stability of family relations in post-modern societies, which are less family-oriented than traditional societies, is secured by means of communication and infrastructure (cf. [Litwak & Szelenyi 1969](#)). Accordingly families in both contexts realize the same amount of social capital transfer. In general, we found that the Russians (Muscovites) are advantaged in social capital access. Accordingly, we can expect that they benefit from social capital access and are able to reach higher status positions in society. This gains relevance when thinking about the topic of exclusion provided by social capital in Bourdieu's reasoning. Accordingly it seems Russians (Muscovites) have the capacity to distinguish themselves from fellow citizens in the Russian Federation by their higher social capital access.

7.6 From our point of view, research on social networks and social capital in the cultures that are at different stages of the modernization process has broad prospects. This study is also significant because more and more people migrate from traditional cultures to the modernized and developed cultures, because of economic reasons or because they are war-affected. Accordingly, the better we know the different characteristics of traditional and modern cultures in comparative perspective (including social capital), the better we will be able to manage the processes of social integration. Our results indicate that migrants shall not face obstacles in social capital access because of their social value orientation. Also if their value orientations cause different network compositions than the network compositions of citizens of the destination country, the networks contain the same potential for granting social capital. And the access to social capital allows migrants to gain societally valued positions.

Appendix

Download Supplementary information [here](#)

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Notes

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2 Because Moscow is one of the most developed regions in Russia, we expect the values of the Russians in our sample to differ from the rest of Russia.

3 Here we analyzed the respondents that participated in the test and the retest. The original sample included 400 respondents.

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