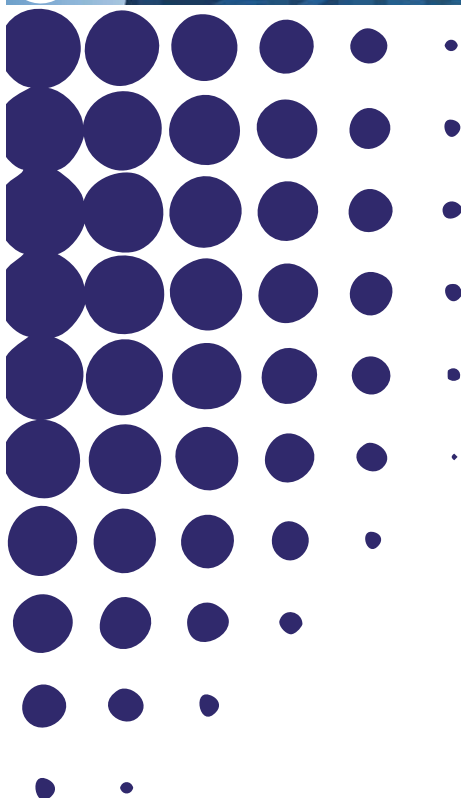


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Social Capital And Attitudes Towards Money

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Social Capital And Attitudes Towards Money

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Abstract

The aim of the present research was to assess the effect of social capital on an individual's economic behavior. Specifically, we examined three individual level components of social capital: trust, tolerance and civic identity. A total of 634 Russian adults (aged 20-59 years) completed measures assessing the three dimensions of social capital (perceived social capital, civic identity, generalized trust) and monetary attitudes (Russian version of the Money Beliefs and Behavior Scale, MBBS). A structural equation model relating trust, tolerance, and civic identity with economic attitudes was specified and tested while controlling for age, gender, and education. We found that higher levels of trust, tolerance, and civic identity were associated with adverse monetary attitudes. Attitudes towards money as a means of influence and of protection and the desire to accumulate it reflect a personal sense of dependency on money and lead to constant concern about money. Greater social capital, by providing social support that serves as an alternative source of security, influence, and protection, may reduce this dependence on money. An important finding of our research is that the component of social capital that was associated most frequently and strongly with monetary attitudes was civic identity. Generalizing from our findings, we postulate that the negative association between monetary attitudes and trust, tolerance, and civic identity suggests that when social capital decreases, people try to compensate by accumulating financial capital.

Keywords: social capital, trust, tolerance, monetary attitudes, civic identity, structural equation modeling.

JEL classification:

Z13

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1. Introduction

During the recent decades there has been a shift in the social sciences from the so-called ‘conflict paradigm’, i.e. from the analysis of intergroup differences and social conflicts towards the analysis of social integration. One aspect of this transition is the active development of the social capital theory. This is quite clear when looking at the number of references to social capital in the Web of science: In 1991, only two references to social capital were made and approximately 15 years later, in 2005 and 2006, this number increased drastically to 403 and 443 references respectively (Ostrom & Ahn, 2010, p. 18). In general, these studies have demonstrated that societies that have a special ‘relations resource’, which is expressed in mutual trust, solidarity, common standards, and equality are more successful in their economic development, and people in these societies have higher levels of subjective well-being and health. In the field of social psychology, there is a relatively small amount of works devoted to social capital, and they all aim to study its relationship with mental health and psychological well-being of the individuals (Almedom, 2005; Cook, 2005; Theurer, & Wister, 2010; Babalola, 2010; Wood, & Giles-Corti, 2008). The whole variety of research still evades the issue related to mechanisms of how social capital influences the economic development of societies. In fact, social capital can be conceptualised as the relations between people that can be converted into financial capital. How does this conversion take place and what changes in economic behaviour of people emerge with the advent of social capital? The scientific relevance of the research is to formulate and study the problem of social capital relationship with individual economic behaviour through which social capital leads to an increase in material well-being of the society as a whole. In both a theoretical and an empirical sense, it still remains unclear how social capital of the civic society affects economic parameters. The mechanisms of this relation and the spill over effects remain under-researched (Westlund & Adam, 2010, p. 900).

In this paper we first discuss the theoretical concept and the measurements available. Next, we formulate explicit propositions and their theoretical rationale. This is followed by a description of the sample and descriptive results. Results are presented in the form of path diagrams and structural equation models and their interpretations are provided. Finally, a summary of major findings and implications for future research are presented in the final discussion section.

The concept of social capital is very general and, partly due to this, has been used for the explanation of a wide variety of socio-economic phenomena (Grootaert & Van Bastelaer, 2002). . In her book on social capital Häuberer (2011) summarized the main findings and proposed a useful, broad definition of social capital as “resources embedded in social relationships that benefit purposive action” (p. 148).

Many researchers have drawn upon the concept of social capital to understand economic development. For example, studies have credited social capital with contributing directly to economic growth (Helliwell & Putnam, 1995; Knack, 2003), with creating conditions for economic growth (Torsvik, 2000; Woolcock, 1998), with increasing the share of investments in GDP (Coates & Heckelman, 2003; Knack & Keefer, 1997), and with reducing income inequality (Zak & Knack, 2001). However, the psychological mechanisms that underlie the effects of social capital on individuals' intentions and behaviour are not well understood. Furthermore, it is very important to differentiate the level of analysis. Often it is not differentiated clearly enough whether one wants to specify and test individual level hypotheses, aggregate level hypotheses on the level of whole societies, or multilevel models.

Social capital can have a direct impact on certain types of economic behaviour. The confidence level affects investment and financial behaviour. In particular, it has been demonstrated that in the Italian regions with a high level of social confidence people use checks more readily than cash, invest in stocks, have access to institutional credits, and are more reluctant to use informal loans. The financial behaviour of people who have moved from one region to another is largely determined by the confidence level in a community where they have moved from, and not where they have moved to (Healy et al., 2001). Confidence is associated with the fact that people are starting to use credits more actively [Knack & Keefer, 1997]. Furthermore, it is associated with saving behaviour, and has been shown to influence saving behaviour in teenagers [Ssewamala et al., 2010].

In a study of the predictive ability of the theory of social capital in relation to purchasing behaviour findings have revealed that this theory is useful to predict consumer behaviour [Miller, 2001]. In this case, it was demonstrated that by the fact that humans belong to one community (i.e. they have a common social identity), this gave rise to reciprocity relations. Thus, the study revealed that reciprocity is a mediator of belonging to community and consumer behaviour [Miller, 2001, p. 487].

Given the theoretical discussions and the existing empirical evidence, the assumption that social capital can be linked to real economic behaviour and economic and financial attitudes of an individual seems to be justified.

The next question which we will now address is the issue of adequate measurements of the components of social capital for our research on individual level propositions.

a) A central dimension in the conception and operationalisation of social capital by most researchers is the degree of trust that members of a society have in one another and in the social system (e.g., Fukuyama, 1999; Putnam, 2001). This dimension serves as a basic indicator of social capital in the majority of empirical studies (Svendsen, 2010). However, one has to differentiate

between (1) particularized trust, which we invest into family, friends, neighbors and colleagues and (2) diffuse or social trust, which means the extent to which individuals within a society tend to make positive evaluations of the trustworthiness of their fellow citizens (Allum et al., p. 41). In the present research we estimate *generalized trust* (Putnam, 2001).

b) The next dimension of social capital is group identity. Group identity was considered earlier by other authors as one of several components of social capital (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). In our case, it will be social identity or, more exactly, *civic identity*. From our point of view, civic identity can be defined as a part of the personal self-concept, more exactly - the individual's knowledge that he/she belongs to certain society together with some emotional and value significance to him/her of the society membership.

c) The basis of social capital is the quality of attitude towards social relations to those objects with which an individual interacts. However, the attitude towards social objects is impossible without their perception and understanding of them. Social images are also associated with human behaviour and their social attitudes. Consequently, the study of social capital effects on economic behaviour and economic setting must necessarily involve the consideration of *perceived* social capital (Van Staveren & Knorringa, 2007). Particularly it may be a factor mediating the effect of social capital on economic behaviour.

The added value of the present research is:

- a) to consider one possible psychological mechanism through which the level of social capital of individuals affects their economic attitudes. The mechanism we examine is the mediating role of economic attitudes. This focus is in line with general theories of attitudes (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993) and the Reasoned Action Approach (Fishbein & Aizen, 2010) in social psychology;
- b) to specify and test a structural equation model that relates the components of individual social capital (perceived social cohesion, level of general trust, positivity and strength of civic identity) together with the demographic variables of education, gender, and age to attitudes towards money;
- c) to test whether social capital (perceived social cohesion, level of general trust, positivity and strength of civic identity) partially or fully mediates the effects of age, gender, and education on economic attitudes (see Zhao et al., 2010);
- d) by using a Russian sample we can study the effects of a society in transition from a centrally planned economy to a market economy.

Let us now refer to the specification of the model and the hypotheses. The logic of causality from levels of trust, civic identity, and of perceived solidarity to monetary attitudes is straightforward. If individuals do not trust those around them and do not feel solidarity with them and expect mutual social support, they will strive to compensate for this lack of experienced social capital by insuring their security and welfare through other means. One alternative is to maximize financial capital. Financial capital can refer to money used by entrepreneurs and businesses to buy what they need to make their products or provide their services or to that sector of the economy based on its operation, i.e., retail, corporate, investment banking, etc.

If the social environment comprises a number of people *contributing with their social capital* (confident, tolerant to outgroup members, having high civic identity), it leads to a decrease in number of economic behaviour types that impede the development (tax evasion, bribery). An individual begins to behave in such a way that enhances social capital, because he or she a) follows the general rules, and b) produces ‘investment’ in the social environment in order to maintain social capital, which creates a favourable environment for his/her economic behaviour.

As regards *perceived social capital*, evaluation of the social environment as having a high level of social capital leads to a) increase in time perspective of the individual’s economic behaviour (which should lead to the connection of social capital with the investment and saving behaviour), and b) increased confidence in the stability of the society (which should be associated with readiness to start a business, use credits, etc.).

Therefore, when people behave in a way that increases social capital of the society, they (whether consciously or not) act to create themselves favourable conditions for realisation of economic behaviour and improve their own living standards. Accordingly, an individual’s attitudes based on which social capital (e.g., readiness to confide) is evaluated should be related to economic behaviour or economic attitudes.

We suppose that social capital affects economic behaviour when two conditions are met. *Firstly*, when the individuals contribute to social capital themselves (although this does not allow them to behave improperly within the environment and benefit at the expense of others). *Secondly*, when an individual evaluates social capital of the environment as high (this allows him to (a) enhance his/her economic activity, and (b) prefer a higher degree of economic risk).

Hence, we expect that level of trust, level of civic identity, and perceived social solidarity (perceived social capital) promote attitudes favouring the maximising of financial capital.

We also reason that higher levels of civic identity increase attitudes favouring the maximising of financial capital. The reverse causal direction seems less plausible. The degree of civic identity affects various parts of individual life, for example, the attitude to the representatives of foreign

culture, representatives of own culture, including monetary attitudes. In particular, negative and weak civic identity, as a result of uncertainty of an individual in its own country, may be connected with money accumulation. The objective of such accumulation is the acquisition of confidence and usage of money as means of influence on the surrounding social context, which has insufficiently operating laws, corruption, etc. Thus, the consequence of monetary attitudes is not a condition of civic identity, but monetary attitudes may change depending on the degree of civic identity.

Therefore, Hypothesis 1 can be stated as follows:

H 1 The higher the social capital (perceived social capital, level of general trust, positivity and strength of civic identity), the more positive are the monetary attitudes (Retention, Inadequacy, Security, and Power).

The literature on the determinants of social capital and the empirical evidence shows that higher education also has a positive effect on social capital (perceived social capital, level of general trust, positivity and strength of civic identity) (Svendsen, 2010). Hypothesis 2 can be formulated as follows:

H 2 The higher the education of an individual, the higher the social capital (perceived social capital, level of general trust, positivity and strength of civic identity) of the individual.

Because men, on average, still hold higher occupational positions in society and are better integrated into professionally relevant networks (Lin, 2001), we also hypothesise that gender affects individuals' levels of perceived social capital, level of general trust, and civic identity. Specifically, we can formulate the third proposition as follows:

H 3: Men have a higher social capital than women.

The case of age is more complicated. With increasing age people attain higher occupational positions and become more integrated in social networks. However, following retirement and sometimes even earlier, integration diminishes slowly or more rapidly depending on final occupational status. This last aspect is less relevant for our empirical analysis, as all respondents are under 60. In any case, we can postulate the following relationship (Lin, 2001).

H4: The higher the age, the higher the social capital.

Although we argue that the effects of the socio-demographic characteristics on attitudes towards money are mediated through subjective social capital, we have no theoretical grounds for positing whether the mediation is complete or only partial. Therefore, we set up competing models to decide between full and partial mediation in the models described below. In Figure 1, a path diagram is presented to reflect the underlying propositions for the partially mediated model.

Figure 1 approximately here

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

2.1. Participants in the study

Between May 2010 and March 2011, a convenience sample of Russian adults responded to the questionnaire. The sample included 634 respondents (304 men and 330 women), aged 20 to 59 years, with a mean age of 38,4 years and a median age of 41. We have used a simple random sample.

Respondents were recruited in seven different regions of Russia: Moscow Region- 16.5% of the sample, Irkutsk Region (16.4%), Kemerovo Region (38%), Transbaikali Province (14.6%), Republic of Bashkortostan (10.8%), Stavropol Province (3.3%), Chechen Republic (0.4%) of the total sample. The sample was relatively highly educated, with 2.4% having completed general secondary education, 21.1% specialized secondary education, 21.5% incomplete higher education (not finished), 55% higher education and exhibited substantial heterogeneity of occupations.

2.2. Instruments and indicators

2.2.1 Social capital (see Appendix A for the full instrument).

Completed measures assessing the three dimensions of social capital(perceived social capital, civic identity,generalized trust) and monetary attitudes were assessed with the Russian version of the Money Beliefs and Behavior Scale(MBBS). The three sub-dimensions of social capital were measured via three first order factors (latent variables), which themselves were measured by multiple indicators in the case of perceived social capital and civic identity and by one item in the case of generalized trust.

1. *Perceived social capital*: Respondents rated how typical five different behaviours that express cohesion and reciprocity are among the people in their environment (e.g., behaving respectfully to one another). Items were rated on 5-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (*very usual*) to 5 (*very untypical*) (see block of questions in Appendix A).

2. *Civic identity* (self-developed instrument). We assessed two aspects of civic identity, strength and valence, each on a 5-point Likert-type scale.

a) Respondents indicated the *strength* of their civic identity in response to the question: «Do you feel that you identify closely with your country (Russia)»? (question 2 in Appendix A). Response options ranged from 1 (*No, I have no such feeling at all*) to 5 (*I always fully feel that way*).

b) They indicated the valence of their civic identity in response to the question: Which [one] of the following describes your feelings about your [Russian] nationality (pride, confidence, none, offence, shame)? (question 3 in Appendix A). According to the instruction, respondent were requested to choose one of them.

3. *Generalized trust*. We assessed individuals' general level of trust with the following question from the World Values Survey: Generally speaking, do you feel that most people can be trusted, or

that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? (Responses ranged from 1 (*you can't be too careful*) to 5 (*most people can be trusted*) (question 4 in Appendix A).

2.2.2 Monetary attitudes.

We administered the Russian version of the Money Beliefs and Behavior Scale. This scale consists of four sub- scales that are labeled Inadequacy, Power, Retention, and Security. The content of each of the subscales and the characteristics of their formal validity in terms of standardised factor loadings can be seen in Table 1..

Appendix B contains also the matrix of correlations among all of the variables used in this study.

For the testing of our propositions we have used **structural equation modelling** (SEM). It is a powerful multivariate method allowing the evaluation of a series of simultaneous hypotheses about the impacts of latent and manifest variables on other latent and observed variables, taking measurement errors into account (see Bollen & Pearl, 2012). For the testing of full versus partial mediation, this procedure is especially useful. In the present analyses we used the SEM software AMOS version 19 (Arbuckle, 2010-, Byrne, 2010).

3. Results and Discussion

a. Test of measurement models and descriptive results

Insert Figure 1 here

We applied a two-step strategy for testing our models. First we tested the measurement models and then we estimated the full structural equation models (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988). Initially, we used confirmatory factor analysis to evaluate the reliability and validity of the monetary attitude factor structure suggested by Furnham in our sample with the Russian version.

Table 1 shows the factor structure of each of the four monetary attitudes considered separately. We eliminated items until we obtained performance measures of quality that met the commonly recommended cut-off values for model fit (see Brown, 2005). These were: $p > .05$, CFI $> .95$, RMSEA $< .05$, and $p\text{-level} > .50$. The original scale consisted of 55 items. Based on selecting only those items that exhibited good validity in terms of factor loadings and that formed reliable scales, only 17 of these items were used. Each of the four monetary attitudes was measured by at least four items. Table 1 reports the fit measures and standardized factor loadings from the separate confirmatory factor analyses. In the present analysis, the factor loadings are satisfactory according to the usual criteria (see Brown, 2005).

Insert Table 1 here

Table 2 presents descriptive statistics for all of the variables used in further modelling with SEM.

Insert Table 2 here

b. Structural equation models

Figures 2 to 5 present the results of the structural equation models for the influence of gender, education, age, and social capital on each of the four monetary attitudes. We performed all the analyses with AMOS 19 using Maximum Likelihood Estimation (Arbuckle, 2010). We present the standardized coefficients in the figures. The variables that were not significant in each structural model have been excluded. Thus, the models discussed in this section contain a reduced quantity of variables in comparison to what we specified in the theoretical part. As a result, we have started with a tentative model but modified it according to the fit measures. In the sense of Jöreskog (1993), this is a model generating strategy and not model testing in the strict sense.

Insert Figures 2, 3, 4 & 5 here

Figure 2 depicts the standardized coefficients for the model to explain one of the monetary attitudes that is Retention. Firstly, one can see that the indicators of retention and the indicators of social capital all have sufficient factor loadings over .40 with one exception. This exception is trust which has a very low loading of .18, which suggests that this indicator for social capital has a low formal validity and seems to measure a different facet of social capital compared with civic identity and perceived social capital. However, we chose to leave the model like this, as this measurement (trust) has been generally proposed for measuring social capital (see Fukuyama, 1999; Putnam, 2001; Knack, 2003; Cook, 2005; Häuberer, 2011). The strongest predictor of Retention is social capital (-.31), which has the expected negative sign. In other words, the more social capital people have, the lower is their Retention. Of all the demographic variables, age has the strongest direct effect on Retention with .24, which means that the older people become, the higher the retention becomes. As expected, education reduces Retention (-.13) albeit slightly and men have a higher Retention than women. Finally, one can see that the positive, indirect effect of age via social capital adds up to the direct effect, as both have positive signs.

Figure 3 reveals that the measurement model for Inadequacy has nearly the same standardised factor loadings as the model for Retention in Figure 2. An exception, however, is the much higher loading of trust on social capital in the model for Inadequacy. In addition, trust has a significant negative direct effect on the fifth indicator of Inadequacy and a significant but small positive direct effect on the second indicator of Inadequacy, which are not mediated by social capital. Let us now refer to the structural relationships. Age has a smaller positive effect on the dependent construct, as

there is also a direct positive effect of age on the first and second indicator of Inadequacy. This partial mediation via the construct Inadequacy means that the two first items seem to contain specific components not contained in the general construct (Howard & Wainer, 1993; Muthen et al., 1991).

Figure 4 contains the results for the explanation of the Security attitude. The coefficients of the measurement model are again very similar to the two former models and demonstrate the sufficient validity of the items. The effect of social capital on the security attitude is again negative and the coefficients are very similar to those depicted in Figures 2 and 3. The quantitative effects and the signs of the three demographic variables on social capital and Security are nearly identical to those in Figure 2 for the model to explain Retention. That is, the older the respondents are the less social capital they have. Moreover, persons with a higher level of education are less security oriented, whereas women and older people are more security oriented. As in Figure 3, trust also has a direct negative effect on one of the indicators of the attitude. In the last model presented in Figure 5, the standardised coefficients for the factor loadings are again satisfactory, ranging from .49 to .84. However, the effects of the demographic variables change a lot. In this model, gender is the only demographic variable that has a significant effect on power and, additionally, on two of its indicators. The effect of social capital on power is negative and nearly as weak as the effect of gender.

Confirming our basic hypothesis, we found that higher levels of social capital were negatively associated with negative monetary attitudes (Inadequacy, Retention, Power, and Security). It was an unexpected result that the majority of relations with monetary attitudes were through civil identity. Nonetheless, it has a good predictive value in half of its models together with the interpersonal trust.

We should pay attention to a specific connection of civic identity with Security, which is separate from other characteristics of social capital. This data shows that individuals who have a weaker civil identity and who usually do not wait for support from the government may focus themselves on finding such security in money (see Figure 4). Nevertheless, social capital (trust and civil identity) has the most significant effect on the set of monetary attitudes, represented by the scale Inadequacy.

The negative relation of social capital with the monetary attitude Retention stands for the fact that social capital may decrease the desire to save money as a source of personal security. Such an effect at the macro-level will be manifested by the lack of desire to invest and instead striving to save money as a source of Security. This thought is supported by earlier findings that detected the positive connection of trust with the rate of investments in the GDP (Knack & Keefer, 1997). The result confirms this thought by the presence of the negative relationship between social capital and striving to accumulate money.

We expected the relationship between social capital and perception of money as a resource for having influence on other people (the scale power/spending) to be negative. It is not surprising that this block of monetary attitudes is connected only with the acceptable social capital. That is, less expectation of support from one's surroundings may be related with more readiness to use money to manage social reality.

The empirical evidence of negative relations social capital and collectivism is exists (Allik & Reallo, 2004). Collectivism is one of the characteristic features for any hierarchic society. Social capital, which is based on trust and equality, probably promotes the formation of such types of relationships, where intentions to use money as a means of making hierarchy and manipulation of people and their usage, will decrease.

Confirming our main hypothesis, we found that higher levels of individual social capital were associated with adverse monetary attitudes. Attitudes towards money as a means of influence and of protection and the desire to accumulate it reflect a personal sense of dependency on money and lead to constant concern about money. Greater social capital, by providing social support that serves as an alternative source of security, influence, and protection, may reduce this dependence on money.

Finally, we found that the effects of age, education, and gender were quite different depending on the different facets of economic attitudes used. For Retention, partial mediation only worked for age, whereas education and gender had only direct effects on Retention. In the case of Inadequacy, only age had a direct effect. Moreover, age also had direct effects on two of the items to measure Inadequacy, revealing item bias for these two items, which we took into account by our re-specification of the model. Concerning security, one could see that the effect of age via social capital on security was partially mediated. Gender and age determined Security only directly and not via social capital. For the explanation of Power, only gender had a direct negative influence. However, this was nearly cancelled out by the positive effect of gender on one item of Power.

4. Conclusions

1. Confirming our basic hypothesis, we found that higher levels of social capital were associated with were negatively associated with negative monetary attitudes (Inadequacy, Power, Retention, Security).

2. Monetary attitudes as a means of influence and of protection and the desire to accumulate money make a person dependent on money and lead to constant concern about money.

3. The findings of the present research suggest that high social capital, which provides social support as an alternative source of security, influence, and protection, may reduce this dependence on money.

4. An important finding of the research is that the component of social capital that correlated most frequently and strongly with monetary attitudes was civic identity (sometimes

together with trust). A crisis of civic identity or people's loss of civic identity may lead them to strive to accumulate money and to attribute more subjective value to it. Money may serve as an alternative source of certainty and security when one loses faith in and commitment to the surrounding society as a source of meaning and security.

5. Generalising from our findings, we postulate that the negative association between monetary attitudes and individual level social capital suggests that when social capital (whether societal or individual) decreases, people try to compensate by accumulating financial capital. This, in turn, leads to a shift in attitudes towards money with a greater emphasis being placed on money as a source of security. On the other hand, an increase in social capital leads to a shift in attitudes towards money that de-emphasises their importance for personal security. This interpretation of our findings may help to explain why societies with low social capital have more corruption and greater inequality. Corruption and inequality are social manifestations of the individual monetary attitudes studied here.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Measures of Social Capital

1. How typical is it for people in your environment to relate to one another in each of the following ways?

Behavior	Very Unusual	Somewhat Unusual	Hard to say	Somewhat Typical	Very Typical
Being trustful to one another	1	2	3	4	5
Behaving respectfully to one another	1	2	3	4	5
Treating one another as equals.	1	2	3	4	5
Willingly sharing material goods (money, clothing, household possessions, etc.) with those in need.	1	2	3	4	5
Willingly sharing thoughts, ideas, and feelings with people who need them.	1	2	3	4	5

2. Do you feel that you identify closely with your country (Russia)?

No, I have no such feeling at all	Yes, but only a very weak feeling	Sometimes I do, sometimes I don't	I almost always feel that way	I always fully feel that way
1	2	3	4	5

3. Which [one] of the following describes your feelings about your [Russian] nationality? Please, choose only one of them.

1) Pride 2) Confidence 3) No feelings 4) Offence 5) Shame

4. Generally speaking, do you feel that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

You can't be too careful					Most people can be trusted
1	2	3	4	5	

Appendix B. Correlation Matrix (here that the items are described in Table 1)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
1. sc1		0.63	0.50	0.13	0.20	0.21	-0.06	0.03	-0.13	-0.07	-0.14	-0.13	-0.03	-0.02	-0.06	-0.02	-0.09	-0.02	-0.12	-0.10	-0.09	-0.05	-0.04
2. sc2	0.63		0.49	0.05	0.17	0.10	-0.04	0.02	-0.08	-0.12	-0.13	-0.08	-0.08	-0.01	-0.04	0.01	-0.02	0.06	-0.07	-0.04	-0.04	0.01	-0.05
3. sc3	0.50	0.49		0.12	0.16	0.23	-0.01	0.00	-0.07	-0.04	-0.04	-0.09	-0.01	-0.03	-0.02	0.00	-0.11	-0.02	-0.13	-0.02	-0.04	0.06	-0.03
4. StEI	0.13	0.05	0.12		0.42	0.15	-0.08	-0.14	-0.15	-0.03	0.00	-0.04	-0.02	-0.07	-0.08	-0.08	-0.09	-0.08	-0.06	-0.06	-0.11	-0.05	-0.09
5. ValEI	0.20	0.17	0.16	0.42		0.10	-0.07	-0.12	-0.21	-0.04	0.02	-0.01	-0.09	-0.13	-0.16	-0.07	-0.05	-0.09	-0.07	-0.07	-0.06	-0.09	-0.07
y66. trust	0.21	0.10	0.23	0.15	0.10		-0.03	-0.01	-0.01	0.10	0.02	0.01	0.05	0.01	0.03	-0.03	-0.08	-0.15	-0.16	-0.06	-0.06	0.05	-0.02
7. m4	-0.06	-0.04	-0.01	-0.08	-0.07	-0.03		0.34	0.31	0.02	0.03	-0.02	0.06	0.16	0.24	0.22	0.18	0.18	0.07	0.09	0.14	0.19	0.18
8. m6	0.03	0.02	0.00	-0.14	-0.12	-0.01	0.34		0.39	0.07	0.04	0.00	0.03	0.16	0.18	0.23	0.21	0.19	0.08	0.13	0.10	0.24	0.24
9.m7	-0.13	-0.08	-0.07	-0.15	-0.21	-0.01	0.31	0.39		0.15	0.12	0.07	0.03	0.23	0.27	0.25	0.25	0.27	0.17	0.21	0.27	0.29	0.27
10. m13	-0.07	-0.12	-0.04	-0.03	-0.04	0.10	0.02	0.07	0.15		0.32	0.39	0.28	-0.02	0.16	-0.02	0.06	0.00	0.20	0.17	0.10	0.17	0.21
11. m14	-0.14	-0.13	-0.04	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.04	0.12	0.32		0.50	0.31	-0.10	0.08	-0.07	-0.01	-0.02	0.16	0.12	0.05	0.07	0.25
12. m16	-0.13	-0.08	-0.09	-0.04	-0.01	0.01	-0.02	0.00	0.07	0.39	0.50		0.49	-0.08	0.14	-0.06	0.04	0.03	0.22	0.16	0.02	0.07	0.27
13. m19	-0.03	-0.08	-0.01	-0.02	-0.09	0.05	0.06	0.03	0.03	0.28	0.31	0.49		0.00	0.18	0.01	0.07	-0.04	0.15	0.13	0.01	0.00	0.23
14. m20	-0.02	-0.01	-0.03	-0.07	-0.13	0.01	0.16	0.16	0.23	-0.02	-0.10	-0.08	0.00		0.28	0.25	0.25	0.30	0.06	0.14	0.20	0.18	0.08
15. m21	-0.06	-0.04	-0.02	-0.08	-0.16	0.03	0.24	0.18	0.27	0.16	0.08	0.14	0.18	0.28		0.23	0.29	0.29	0.19	0.22	0.16	0.21	0.27
16. m23	-0.02	0.01	0.00	-0.08	-0.07	-0.03	0.22	0.23	0.25	-0.02	-0.07	-0.06	0.01	0.25	0.23		0.26	0.28	0.10	0.23	0.20	0.25	0.18
17. m28	-0.09	-0.02	-0.11	-0.09	-0.05	-0.08	0.18	0.21	0.25	0.06	-0.01	0.04	0.07	0.25	0.29	0.26		0.26	0.17	0.17	0.20	0.18	0.19
18. m38	-0.02	0.06	-0.02	-0.08	-0.09	-0.15	0.18	0.19	0.27	0.00	-0.02	0.03	-0.04	0.30	0.29	0.28	0.26		0.23	0.22	0.20	0.19	0.33
19. m39	-0.12	-0.07	-0.13	-0.06	-0.07	-0.16	0.07	0.08	0.17	0.20	0.16	0.22	0.15	0.06	0.19	0.10	0.17	0.23		0.24	0.19	0.18	0.29
20. m47	-0.10	-0.04	-0.02	-0.06	-0.07	-0.06	0.09	0.13	0.21	0.17	0.12	0.16	0.13	0.14	0.22	0.23	0.17	0.22	0.24		0.22	0.30	0.26
21. m50	-0.09	-0.04	-0.04	-0.11	-0.06	-0.06	0.14	0.10	0.27	0.10	0.05	0.02	0.01	0.20	0.16	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.19	0.22		0.20	0.24
22. m51	-0.05	0.01	0.06	-0.05	-0.09	0.05	0.19	0.24	0.29	0.17	0.07	0.07	0.00	0.18	0.21	0.25	0.18	0.19	0.18	0.30	0.20		0.26
23. m52	-0.04	-0.05	-0.03	-0.09	-0.07	-0.02	0.18	0.24	0.27	0.21	0.25	0.27	0.23	0.08	0.27	0.18	0.19	0.33	0.29	0.26	0.24	0.26	

Figure 1. Path diagrams of the four models tested

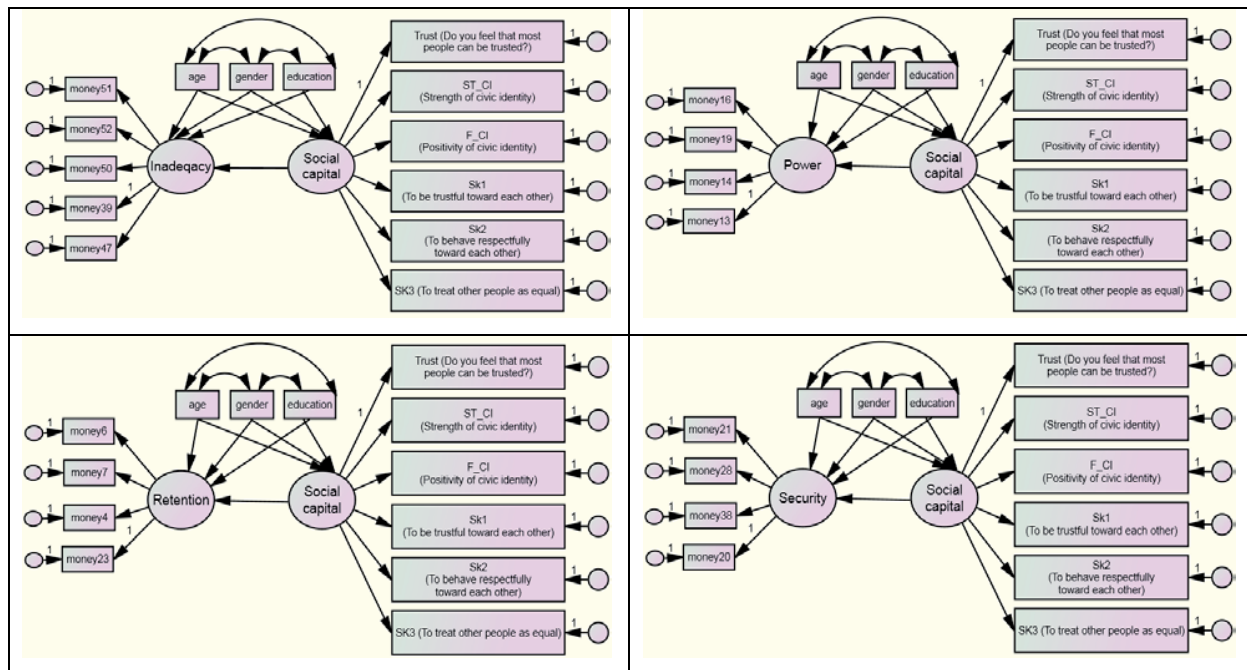


Table 1. Estimates and goodness of fit of the five Furnham scales

Goodness of fit of the models	Questions	Standardized regression weights
«Inadequacy» Chi-square = 7.59; df = 5; p = 0.18; CFI = 0.99; RMSEA = 0.03	m51 ¹ I believe that I have very little control over my financial situation in terms of my power to change it.	0.49
	m52 Compared to most other people that I know, I believe that I think about money much more than they do.	0.55
	m50 Most of my friends have more money than I do.	0.42
	m39 I believe that time not spent in making money is time wasted.	0.47
	m47 I often argue with my partner (spouse, lover, etc.) about money.	0.53

¹ "m" means "monetary attitude" in our codebook and "number of 'm'" is the question number in our questionnaire.

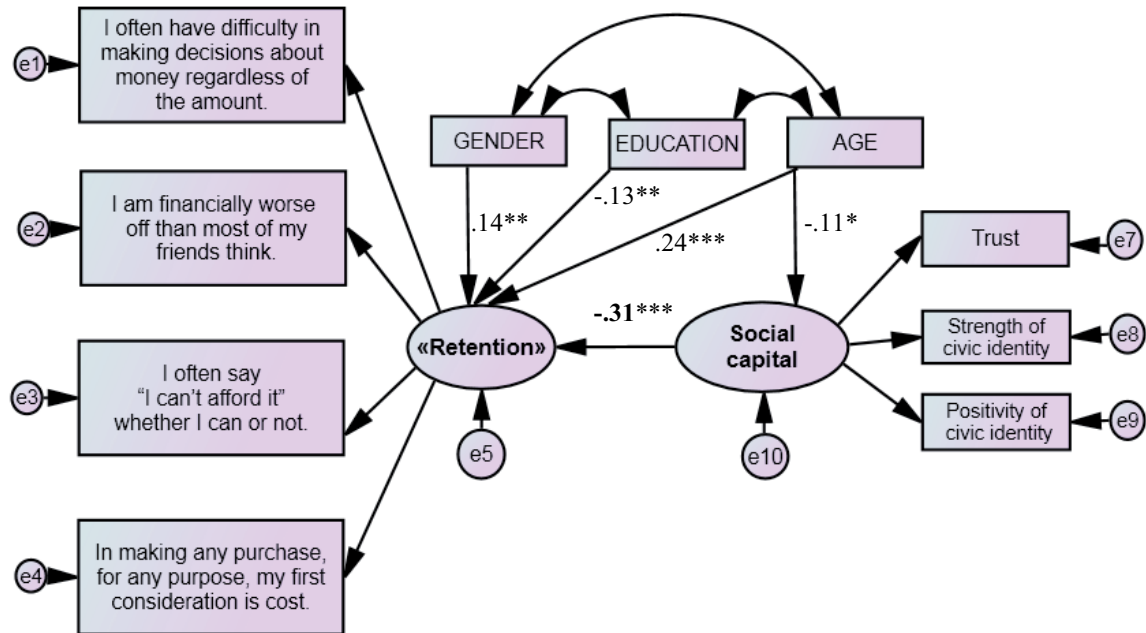
«Power» Chi-square = 3.94; df = 2; p = 0.14; CFI=0.99; RMSEA=0.04	m16 I often use money as a weapon to control or intimidate those who frustrate me.	0.84
	m19 I sometimes feel superior to those who have less money than myself regardless of their ability and achievements.	0.57
	m14 I sometimes “buy” friendship by being very generous with those I want to like me.	0.59
	m13 If I have money left over at the end of the month (week) I often feel uncomfortable until it is all spent.	0.48
«Retention» Chi-square = 1.0; df = 2; p = 0.61; CFI = 1.0; RMSEA = 0.000	m6 I often have difficulty in making decisions about money regardless of the amount.	0.64
	m7 I am financially worse off than most of my friends think.	0.61
	m4 I often say “I can’t afford it” whether I can or not.	0.53
	m23 In making any purchase, for any purpose, my first consideration is cost.	0.40
«Security» Chi-square = 0.68; df = 2; p = 0.71; CFI = 1.0; RMSEA = 0.000	m21 I firmly believe that money can solve all of my problems.	0.55
	m28 The amount of money that I have saved is never quite enough.	0.50
	m38 I worry about my finances much of the time.	0.54
	m20 I believe that my present income is far less than I deserve, given the job I do.	0.52

Table 2. Mean values and standard deviations for social capital indicators (5-point scales)

Items	M	SD
Generalized trust	2.66	1.05
Strength of civic identity	3.19	1.11
Valence of civic identity	3.21	1.15
Being trustful towards one another	3.43	0.66
Behaving respectfully towards one another	3.71	0.83
Treating other people as equals	3.47	0.86

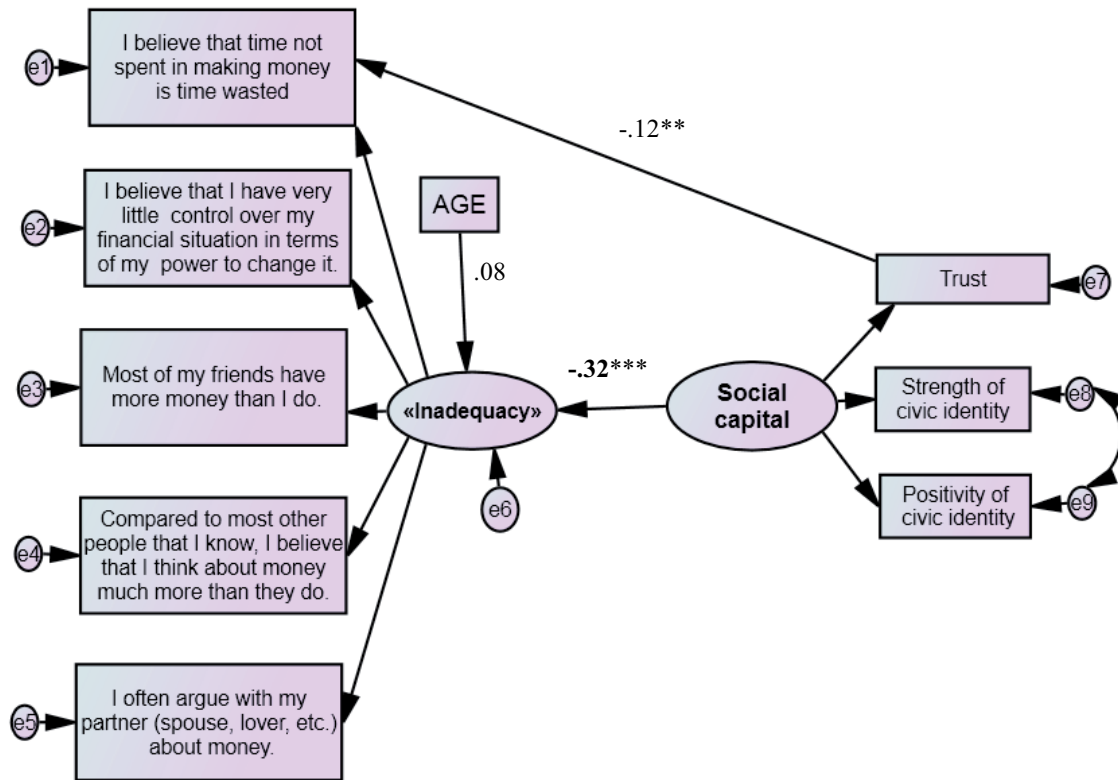
**Table 3. Mean values and standard deviations for Furnham monetary attitudes scales
(composite scores, 5-point scales)**

Scales	M	SD
«Inadequacy»	2.14	0.77
«Power»	1.52	0.72
«Retention»	2.74	0.91
«Security»	3.01	0.92

Figure 2. Model determinants of «Retention»

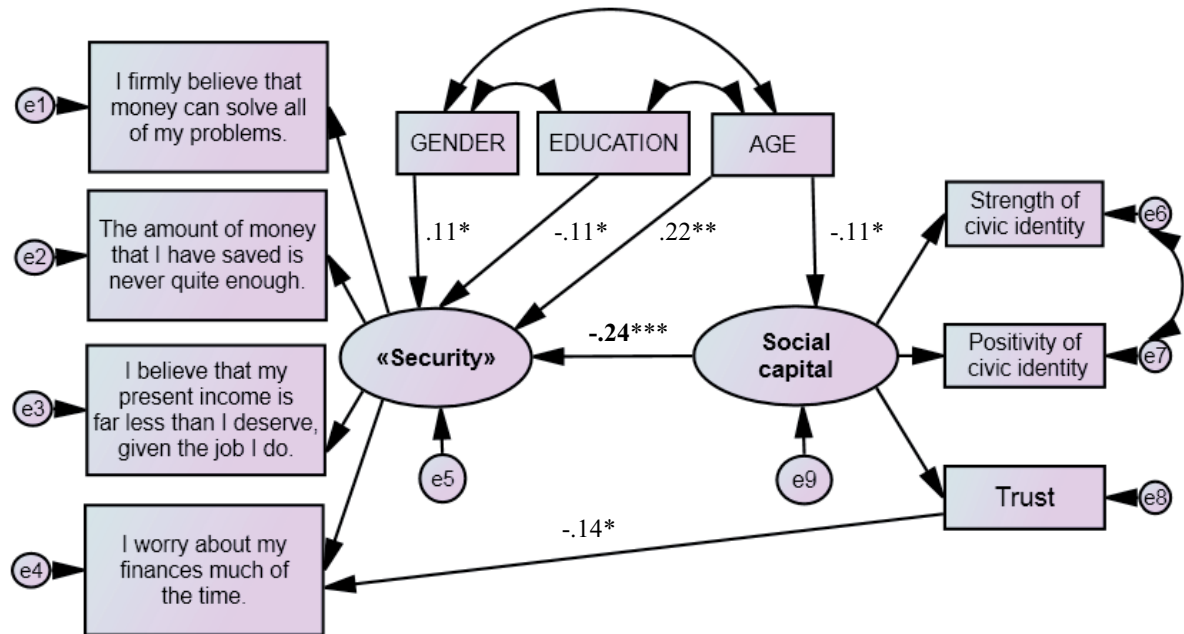
Chi-square = 43.7; df = 30; p = 0.051; CFI = 0.98; RMSEA = 0.027

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001;

Figure 3 Model of determinants of «Inadequacy»

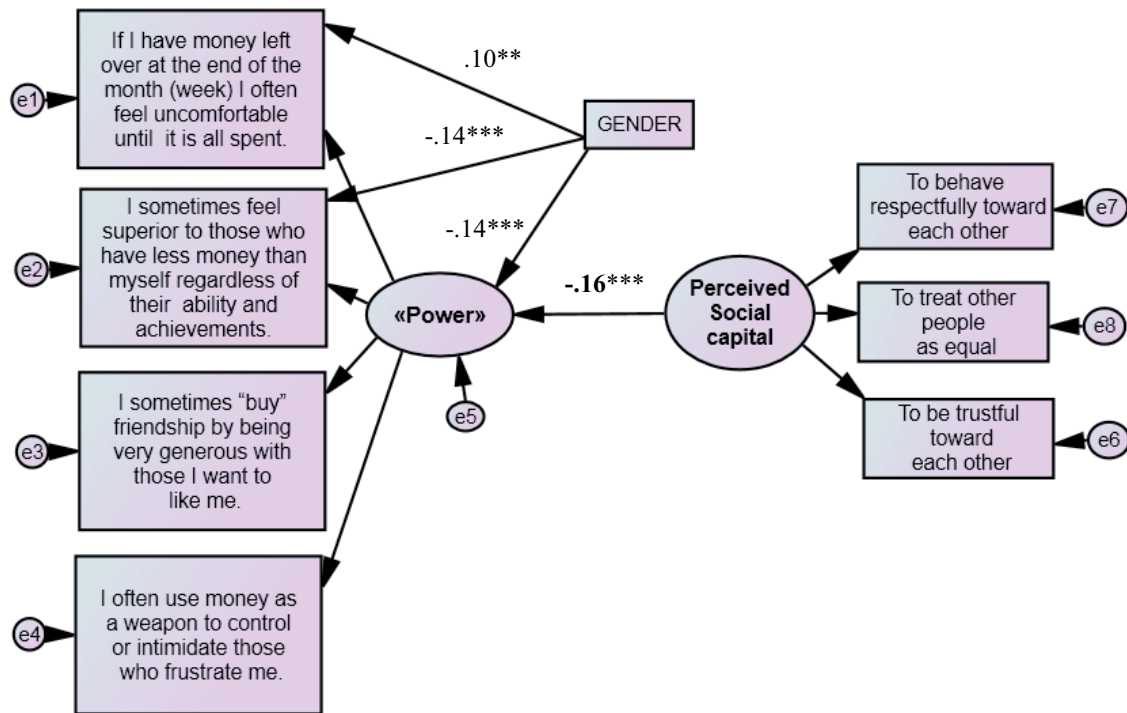
Chi-square = 29.7; df = 20; p = 0.075; CFI = 0.98; RMSEA = 0.028

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001;

Figure 4. Model determinants of «Security»

Chi-square = 35.1; df = 29; p = 0.21; CFI = 0.98; RMSEA = 0.018

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001;

Figure 5. Model determinants of «Power»

Chi-square = 22.7; df = 16; p = 0.12; CFI = 0.99; RMSEA = 0.026

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001;

