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A comparative Analysis Data From Three Ethnic Groups in Russia

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**ARE INDIVIDUAL VALUE ORIENTATIONS RELATED TO SOCIO-
PSYCHOLOGICAL CAPITAL?
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS DATA FROM
THREE ETHNIC GROUPS IN RUSSIA**

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Abstract. This study analyzes the phenomenology of socio-psychological capital viewed as a resource for psychological relations which constitutes the basis for the formation of social capital. A cross-cultural analysis of the impact of value orientations on socio-psychological capital has been performed. Based on a sample of 3 ethnic groups (Russians, n = 103; Chechens, n = 100; Ingush, n = 109), it has been demonstrated that although the impact of individual values on socio-psychological capital obeys logic, it may be culture-specific. Values of **Self-Transcendence** (Benevolence and Universalism) have a positive impact on the socio-psychological capital of a multicultural society, whereas values of **Self-Enhancement** influence it negatively. **Openness to Change** values positively influence civic identity but have a negative effect on perceived social capital. **Conservation** values positively affect the civic (Russian) identity of the representatives of the Ingush ethnic group.

Keywords: *social capital, socio-psychological capital, value orientations, trust, civic identity*

JEL classification:

Z13

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The analysis of social processes that take place in a multicultural society, in particular the processes of interaction of culture and economy, demonstrates that these cannot be explained by individual socio-psychological factors. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the comprehensive system of socio-psychological factors affecting the development of a multicultural society. The concept used in social sciences to describe systematically the phenomenon of social integration that promotes the development of societies is referred to as social capital. It has been demonstrated that societies characterized by high social capital are more progressive in terms of economic development; such societies have a more suitable climate for the development of small businesses, higher subjective levels of happiness and life satisfaction

among the population [Helliwell, Putnam, 1995; Helliwell, Putnam, 2004; Svendsen, 2010]. To understand the mechanisms of the formation and functioning of social capital, it is necessary to examine its psychological aspect - the way it forms and functions. It is particularly relevant to study the socio-psychological phenomena that can contribute to the formation of social capital of a multicultural society, such as, for example, Russia.

1.1. The Phenomenology of Socio-Psychological Capital

At the societal level, there are a number of socio-psychological phenomena that contribute to the development of society. It is, thus, necessary to introduce a concept that would unite these phenomena as well as highlight the fundamental ones. As such, the term "socio-psychological capital" is proposed. The meaning of the concept "capital", which is the basis of this phenomenon, can be translated from Latin as "main".

Social capital can be operationalized as a resource that is encompassed in social networks and is accessible to the actors included in them. Thus, this concept has two important components: (1) the *resources* involved in social relations and not the people and (2) the *access* to such resources that actors have (N. Lin in Häuberer, 2011).

The bearer and the subject of social capital is the group, but social capital, as a group resource, is formed from separate "investments" of group members. What do people "invest" into the group? In fact, their contribution is related to the other members of the group and the group as a whole, which can be defined as "socio-psychological capital". Socio-psychological capital of individuals at the group (including the societal) level leads to the emergence of community characteristics based on which it is categorized as having high social capital. In this case, the social community as a whole system begins to possess social capital as a certain set of tools for achieving its goals: compliance without sanctions, self-organization (community cohesion), and political activity. However, at the heart of social capital are people's attitudes: attitudes towards the immediate environment (trust, tolerance); attitudes towards the community as a whole (perceived social capital, social trust); attitudes towards one's belonging to a community (identity). All these types of attitudes constitute the socio-psychological capital of a group. They are invested into a group by individuals, but belong to the group as a whole.

Attitudes are the key aspects of mental life along with mental processes, features and states. From the author's standpoint, groups with particular resources of attitudes are characterized as having high social capital. Thus, *socio-psychological capital is the resource of psychological attitudes encompassed in social groups and accessible to individuals included in them*. This resource is reflected in the behavior (creation of networks, associations, and self-organization) which is viewed as social capital. However, behind such

behavior there are always certain attitudes towards groups as holistic entities, towards individual members of these groups and towards one's own membership in these groups (social identity).

1.2. The Structure of the Socio-Psychological Capital of a Multicultural Society

Since the concept of socio-psychological capital is new, to date there are no theoretical approaches for studying its structure. In this paper, we propose a theoretical approach to the structure of socio-psychological capital of a multicultural society. As socio-psychological capital constitutes the basis for the formation of social capital and is related to it, in offering a theoretical approach to the structure of socio-psychological capital, the author departs from the existing views on the structure of social capital.

Table 1. Indicators of social capital and their relation to indicators of socio-psychological capital

Indicators of social capital	Corresponding indicators of socio-psychological capital of a multicultural society
Involvement in community, social activities (e.g., signing petitions), membership in various organizations (Putnam & Feldstain, 2000; Onyx & Bullen, 2000; Goldfinger & Ferguson, 2009; Veenstra, 2002)	<i>Civic identity (positivity, strength)</i>
Participation in volunteer activities (Lillbacka, 2006; Goldfinger & Ferguson, 2009; Carpenter, Daniere, Takahashi, 2003).	
Compliance with basic norms of social relations in the community (Putnam, 2001; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998).	<i>Acceptance of cultural diversity (ethnic tolerance)</i>
Positive attitudes towards cultural diversity are viewed as a component of social capital (Onyx & Bullen, 1997, 2000; Westlund, Calidoni-Lundberg, 2007; Safr, 2010).	
Trust (generalized, social, institutional) (Lillbacka, 2006; Carpenter & Daniere, Takahashi, 2003; Goldfinger & Ferguson, 2009; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998).	<i>Trust: interpersonal trust; social trust and trust towards the members of other ethnic groups; institutional trust.</i>
Social networks, individual social capital (the number of people to whom one can ask for help) (Lillbacka, 2006)	
Cognitive social capital (Lehis, 2008): - general trust - the level of involvement in a community or communities (identity) - trust towards a community or communities - trust towards central government	

Table 1 highlights the most valid indicators of social capital frequently encountered in the literature. The second column presents the corresponding indicators of socio-psychological capital of a multicultural

society, i.e., the socio-psychological phenomena responsible for the formation of corresponding elements of social capital.

1.3. Perceived social capital

Perceived social capital is the attitude towards society as a whole. Attitude towards society is a very broad construct and, when speaking about social capital, it is necessary to study people's perceptions and evaluations of the very attitudes in society that are regarded as social capital. This construct can be described as "perceived social capital". It is not a sequential element along with other components of socio-psychological capital, rather it influences them; however, it is one of the elements of the psychological structure of society's social capital.

Empirical studies have shown that trust towards other people is mediated by perceptions of trust on the part of others, or, as authors call it, ascribed trust [Van Staveren, Knorringa, 2007; Häuberer, 2011]. These findings can be well explained by the social exchange theory [Schiff, 1992]. Before investing one's own attitudinal resource in a society, an individual estimates how much this resource is already present in the society. Generally, people would find it unreasonable to invest when the others are not investing. While economic capital is in bank accounts, and human capital is concentrated in the minds of people, social capital inheres in the social structure of relations. Social capital is a resource that an actor must constantly correlate with his/her social environment.

The perception of the level of social capital is important for one's own orientation towards success and economic activity. For example, Kilkenny, based on empirical research data from 800 small businesses in 30 towns in Iowa, found that perceived support of local community, combined with equality and support within companies had a positive and highly significant correlation with employee perceptions of success of their companies [Kilkenny et al., 1999].

1.4. Individual Values and Socio-Psychological Capital

According to some authors, the unity of values within a group or society is one of the indicators of social capital [Munene, Schwartz & Kibanja, 2005]. Bankston, arguing with Coleman, pointed out that social capital cannot simply be a reflection of the structure of relationships between individuals, on the contrary, it must include values, beliefs and expectations that are maintained and transferred within the group [Bankston, 2004 p. 177].

When considering the issue of social capital, the use of value categories allows to overcome the problem of the so-called "black" or "grey" social capital - when the unity of certain groups is not used for the benefit of society but against it. In this regard, Gupta pointed out that classical concept of social capital does not distinguish between the trust in society created for social 'good' versus social 'bad'. In fact, for example, the trust among members of mafia and other socially undesirable networks does not constitute

social capital. Ethical values *guide* social trust which subsequently develops into "ethically oriented" social capital [Gupta, 2003 p. 975].

It is noteworthy to mention the attempt of the government of Jamaica to improve the state of social capital in the region through a campaign aimed at values and attitudes of the population [Grey, 2008]. The campaign achieved its objectives and proved successful. The theoretical basis of it was the use of the cognitive element of social capital. Culture and values make a definite contribution to the formation of mutually beneficial collective behavior. Thus, "investment" in social capital is directed at creating or maintaining a common system of values based on mutual respect, partnership, trust, ethical behavior, as well as maintaining an environment conducive to the development of these values [Grey, 2008, p. 150].

Thus, individual value orientations in these studies are generally viewed at group level (i.e., in an aggregated form), and the degree of unity within a group is regarded as one of the sources of its social capital. Although this is a valid position, it is, however, necessary to clarify it. Values affect human behavior in different modes; there are values that induce competition or lead to confrontation between different groups. In particular, there are reports showing that the rapid rise of materialistic value orientations that occurred among American youth in the 1970s and 1980s severely eroded levels of social trust [Rahn, 1998, p. 545]. Therefore, it is important to identify the groups of values that promote unity, i.e., formation of social capital.

In this study, we employed the concept of values proposed by Schwarz as theoretical and methodological grounds for examining the impact of values on socio-psychological capital [Schwarz, 1992]. Schwartz identified a culturally universal value-motivational structure of an individual by highlighting 10 types of universal values (Universalism, Benevolence, Self-Direction, Conformity, Achievement, Security, Power, Hedonism, Tradition, and Stimulation) which he later combined into four value oppositions: **Openness to Change** – **Conservation** and **Self-Enhancement** - **Self-Transcendence**. It is easy to see that not all of the 10 values identified by Schwartz can contribute to positive attitudes and the formation of socio-psychological capital; for instance, values of Power, Tradition and Self-Direction are more likely to split than unite.

The aim of the study – to assess the impact of individual values on socio-psychological capital of the representatives of various ethnic groups.

Object of the study – determinants of socio-psychological capital.

Subject of the study – existence and characteristics of a causal relationship between individual value orientations and socio-psychological capital in different ethnic groups.

The general hypothesis of the study is that **Self-Transcendence** values (Universalism and Benevolence) positively correlate with socio-psychological capital; accordingly, **Self-Enhancement** values (Hedonism and Power) will have the opposite effect. **Conservation** values (Security and Conformity) negatively associate with socio-psychological capital, whereas **Openness to Change** values (Independence and Stimulation) either relate positively with socio-psychological capital or do not relate at all.

The hypothesis is quite general due to the fact that this study is of a rather exploratory nature as the author wants to understand, firstly, the significance of individual value orientations in formation of socio-psychological capital; secondly, to what extent the relations between individual values and socio-psychological capital are culturally universal.

The need to take culture into account stems from the fact that in different cultures universal individual values are distributed unequally [Magun, Rudnev, 2010]. This tendency becomes even stronger when the analysis is at the level of value oppositions, that is, when values that have logically common characteristics combine into groups. We can, therefore, assume that values learned in the process of socialization and cultural transmission affect an individual’s attitude to society, i.e., the socio-psychological capital which lies at the base of social capital. In addition, culture itself affects social capital. There are studies showing that there is a relationship between cultural dimensions (in particular, individualism-collectivism) and social capital [Allik & Reallo, 2004].

2. Methodology

Participants of the study. The sample consisted of representatives of three ethnic groups living in the North Caucasus Federal District of Russia: Russians, Chechens and Ingush (see Table 2).

Table 2 . The characteristics of the study sample

Ethnic group	N	Sex		Age (median)
		male	female	
Russians	103	49	54	31,5
Chechens	105	39	65	24
Ingush	109	54	55	23
Total	317	142	174	

The inclusion of representatives of these three ethnic groups in the sample was for the following reasons:

a) The Chechens and Ingush belong to the same cultural group called Vainakh and are similar in culture and, therefore, have similar values. Comparing the results obtained in these groups will allow to assess the degree of similarity of the impact of values on socio-psychological capital in ethnic groups that share common cultural roots.

b) Russians are markedly different from the Vainakhs in cultural characteristics. Comparing the results obtained in these ethnic groups will allow to identify the universal and culture-specific trends in the influence of values on socio-psychological capital.

c) The survey of these three ethnic groups living in the same region allows to eliminate the effect of inter-regional differences as a competing explanation of the analysis results, leaving as the only explanatory factor the interethnic and intercultural differences.

The variables and their indicators

1. Socio-psychological capital.

1.1. *Generalized trust level of an individual.* This indicator was evaluated through a question from the WVS (World Values Survey): Do you think that most people can be trusted? The respondents were asked to express their consent on a 5-point scale.

1.2. *Measures of civic identity.* The study evaluated three dimensions of civic identity:

a) the "strength" of civic identity (the respondents were asked to answer on a 5-point scale the question *"To what extent do you feel like a representative of the state?"*).

b) the valence (degree of positivity) of civic identity. The respondents were asked a multiple choice question *"Which of the following describes your feelings about your [Russian] citizenship?"* The possible responses (pride, confidence, no feelings, resentment, and humiliation) were coded from 1 to 5.

c) the degree of subjective belonging to Russia was assessed using the following question from ISSP (International social survey program): *"To what extent do you feel yourself belonging to Russia?"*. The respondents were offered to answer on a 4-point scale.

1.3. *Perceived social capital.* The respondents were asked to evaluate on a 5-point scale how typical behaviors that characterize cohesion and reciprocity are of the people around them (how typical is to trust each other, to behave respectfully towards each other and to treat others as equals).

2. Individual value orientations.

Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) contains 57 items in terms of value descriptions. The respondent is asked to rate how characteristic each value is of him/her using a scale from -1 to 7.

In accordance with the key, the average score is calculated for the 10 scales corresponding to the 10 types of motivation (or individual-level values) identified by Schwartz: Power, Conformity, Benevolence, Security, Tradition, Universalism, Self-Direction, Stimulation, Hedonism, Achievement [Schwartz, 1992].

3. Results of the Study

3.1 The tested model and the mean values of indicators

Fig. 1 presents the tested model of the influence of values on socio-psychological capital of a multicultural society. At first, simultaneous confirmatory factor analysis was carried out. The results of the simultaneous confirmatory factor analysis showed that the scales used in the study lacked measurement invariance for the three ethnic groups; therefore, further modeling analyses were conducted separately for each ethnic group.

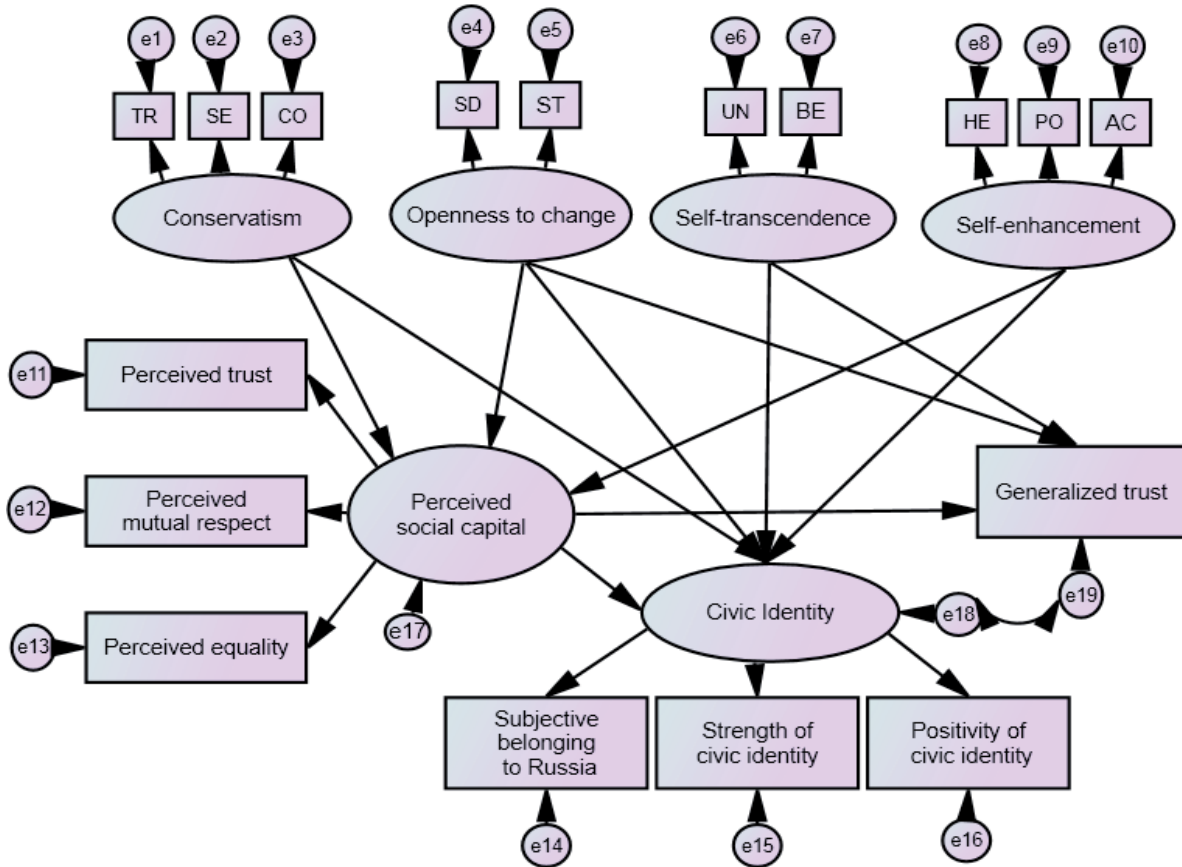


Fig. 1. The tested model of the influence of values on socio-psychological capital

Table 3 presents the mean values of all indicators used in the study for the three ethnic groups. The statistical significance of differences between indicators has not been estimated since there is no condition for equivalence scales for all three samples.

Table 3. Mean values and standard deviations of main indicators

Indicators	Russians		Chechens		Ingush	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Security	4,9	0,8	4,7	0,7	5,0	0,8
Conformity	4,5	0,7	4,7	0,9	4,6	0,9
Tradition	3,1	0,9	3,7	0,9	4,0	0,9
Benevolence	4,5	0,9	4,6	0,8	4,7	0,8
Universalism	4,0	0,8	4,1	0,6	4,1	0,7
Self-Direction	4,1	0,7	3,9	0,8	3,9	0,8
Stimulation	3,4	1,2	3,2	1,1	2,9	1,3
Hedonism	2,9	1,4	2,8	1,4	2,2	1,7

Achievement	3,9	0,9	3,8	0,7	3,9	0,7
Power	2,9	1,1	2,8	1,2	2,7	1,3
Perceived trust	3,6	0,9	3,5	1,1	3,2	0,9
Perceived mutual respect	3,9	0,8	3,8	1,0	3,7	0,9
Perceived equality	3,7	0,8	3,6	1,1	3,5	1,0
Subjective belonging to Russia (a 4-point scale)	2,9	0,9	2,3	0,9	2,3	1,1
Strength of civic identity	4,8	1,8	4,3	2,0	4,3	1,9
Positivity of civic identity	4,7	1,7	4,3	1,7	4,1	1,7
Trust	3,3	1,5	3,6	1,9	3,2	1,7

For all indicators presented in this table there were 5-point scales except for the scale assessing subjective belonging to Russia.

3.2 Models for predicting the influence of individual values on socio-psychological capital

Through the structural equations we tested the hypothesis regarding the influence of individual values on indicators of socio-psychological capital in three ethnic groups living in one region of Russia. The modification indices suggested that the greatest model improvement would be achieved by making some changes, therefore the final models differ in their structure from the originally tested ones. Table 4 presents the goodness-of-fit of models; figures 2,3 and 4 present the graphical representation of all three models.

Table 4. Fit statistics for structural models, the relationship between values and socio-psychological capital in three ethnic groups

Group	χ^2	df	CFI	RMSEA	PCLOSE	n
Russians	45.7	36	.98	.04	.54	103
Chechens	44,2	36	.97	.05	.51	100
Ingush	27,2	37	1.0	.00	.99	109

Fig. 2 shows the relationship between individual values and socio-psychological capital in the Russian group. This model has undergone several modifications since its original formulation. This and subsequent figures present standardized regression coefficients and the proportion of variance in the dependent variables which is explained by the additive combination of effects of the independent variables.

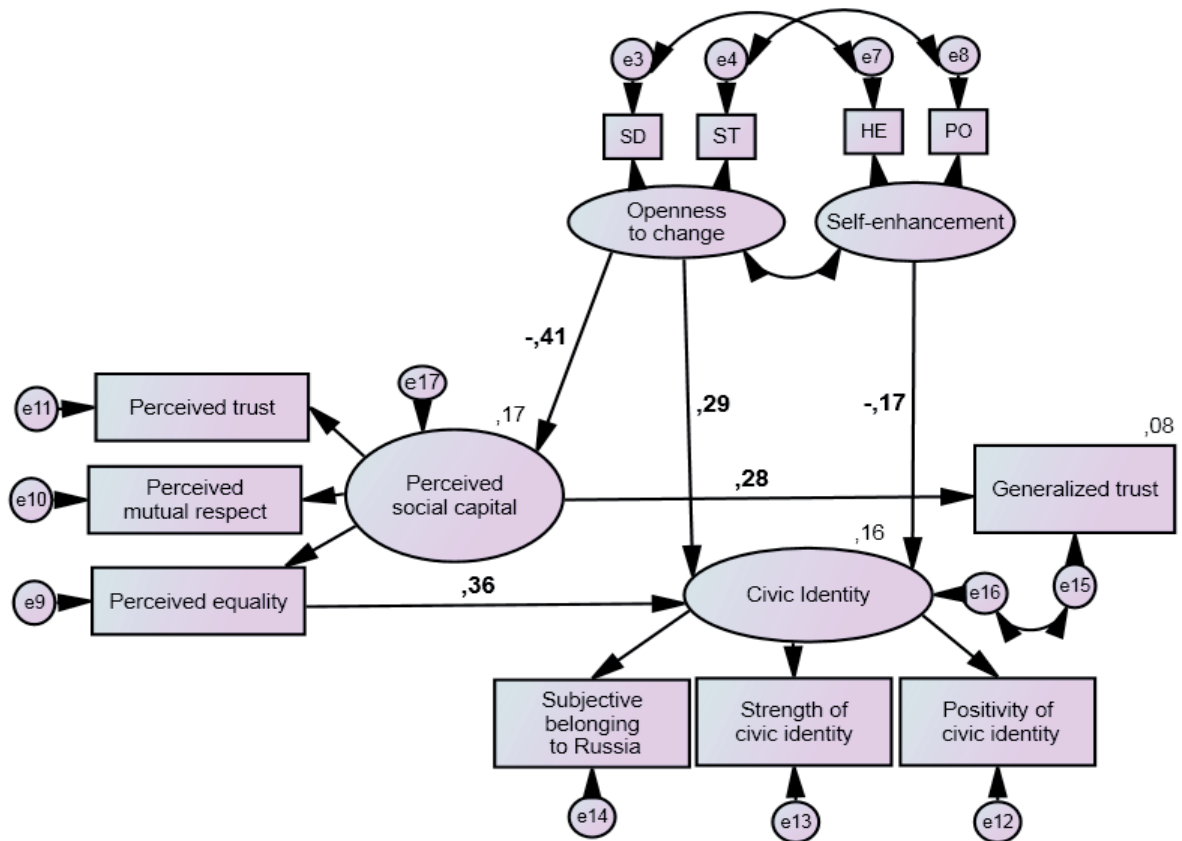


Fig. 2. Model 1, predicting the influence of individual values on socio-psychological capital in the Russian group

The structural model presented in fig. 2 shows that in the Russian group the best predictive power with respect to socio-psychological capital have **Openness to Change** values (Self-Direction and Stimulation) and the values of **Self-Enhancement** (Hedonism and Power). It has to be noted that Achievement values had to be removed from the **Self-Enhancement** unit, as their presence in the unit worsened the fit of the model. Perceived social capital predicts trust and civic identity. However, whereas perceived social capital affects generalized trust as a composite latent variable, civic identity affects only one of its observable components - perceived equality.

Figure 3 shows the structural model of the influence of individual values on socio-psychological capital for the Chechen group. It can be noted that in the Chechens as well as in the Russians only the values of **Openness to Change** and **Self-Enhancement** predict socio-psychological capital.

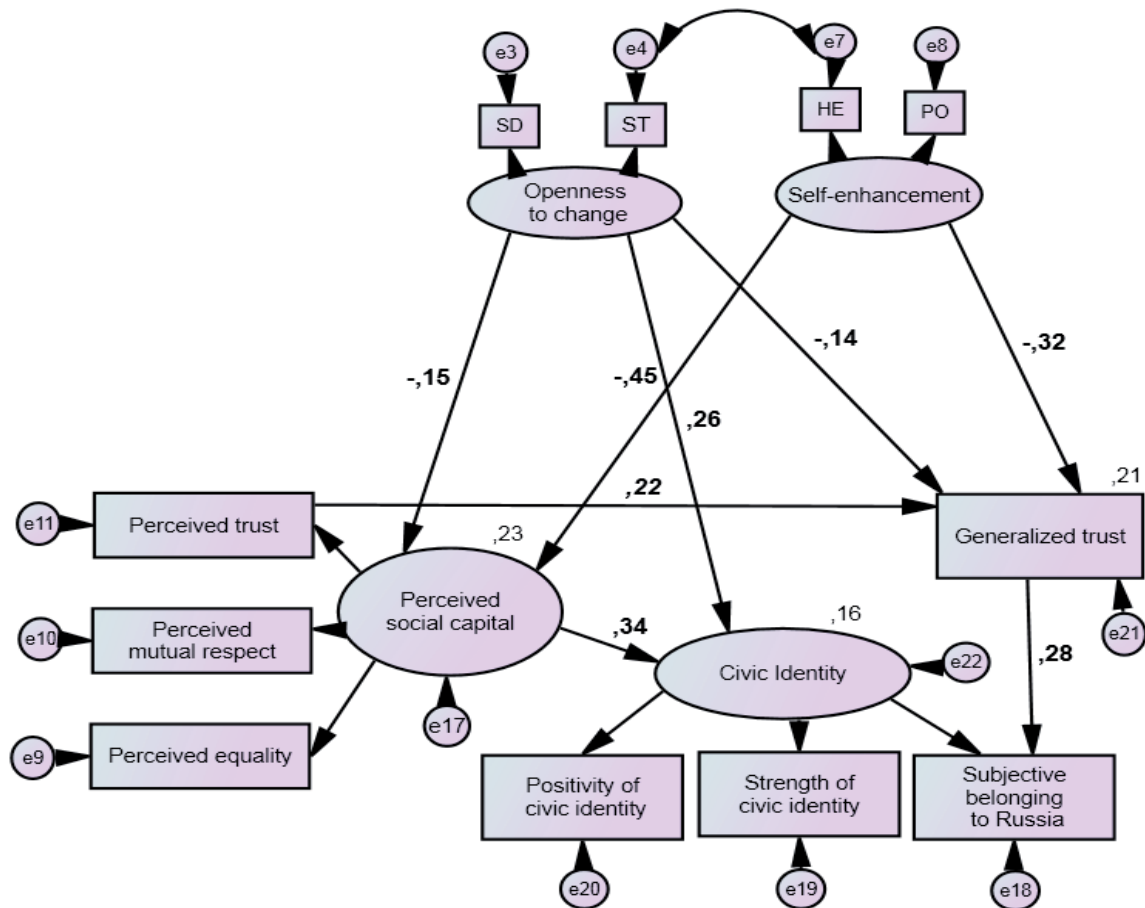


Fig. 3. Model 2, predicting the effect of individual values on socio-psychological capital in the Chechen group

Perceived social capital, as can be noted from Fig. 3, has a positive impact on civic (national) identity. However, if in the case of civic identity, we have the integral effect of a composite construct, generalized trust is affected only by one component - perceived trust.

According to theory, such components of socio-psychological capital of multicultural society as civic identity and generalized trust should correlate weakly with each other; there is no clear theoretical basis for the causal relationship between them. However, in the Chechen sample, generalized trust has a significant impact on the level of the subjective sense of belonging to Russia. Apparently, it is among the representatives of this ethnic group that generalized trust, as individual characteristics, may contribute to greater trust towards Russia as a whole and, consequently, to a greater sense of belonging to Russia.

Fig. 4 shows a model describing the influence of individual value orientations on socio-psychological capital in the Ingush group. In this ethnic group, compared with the previous two cases, there was found a relationship between the opposite poles of value oppositions - **Conservation** values (Security and Conformity) and **Self-Transcendence** values (Universalism and Benevolence). To improve the fit of the model, values of Tradition had to be removed from the unit of **Conservation**.

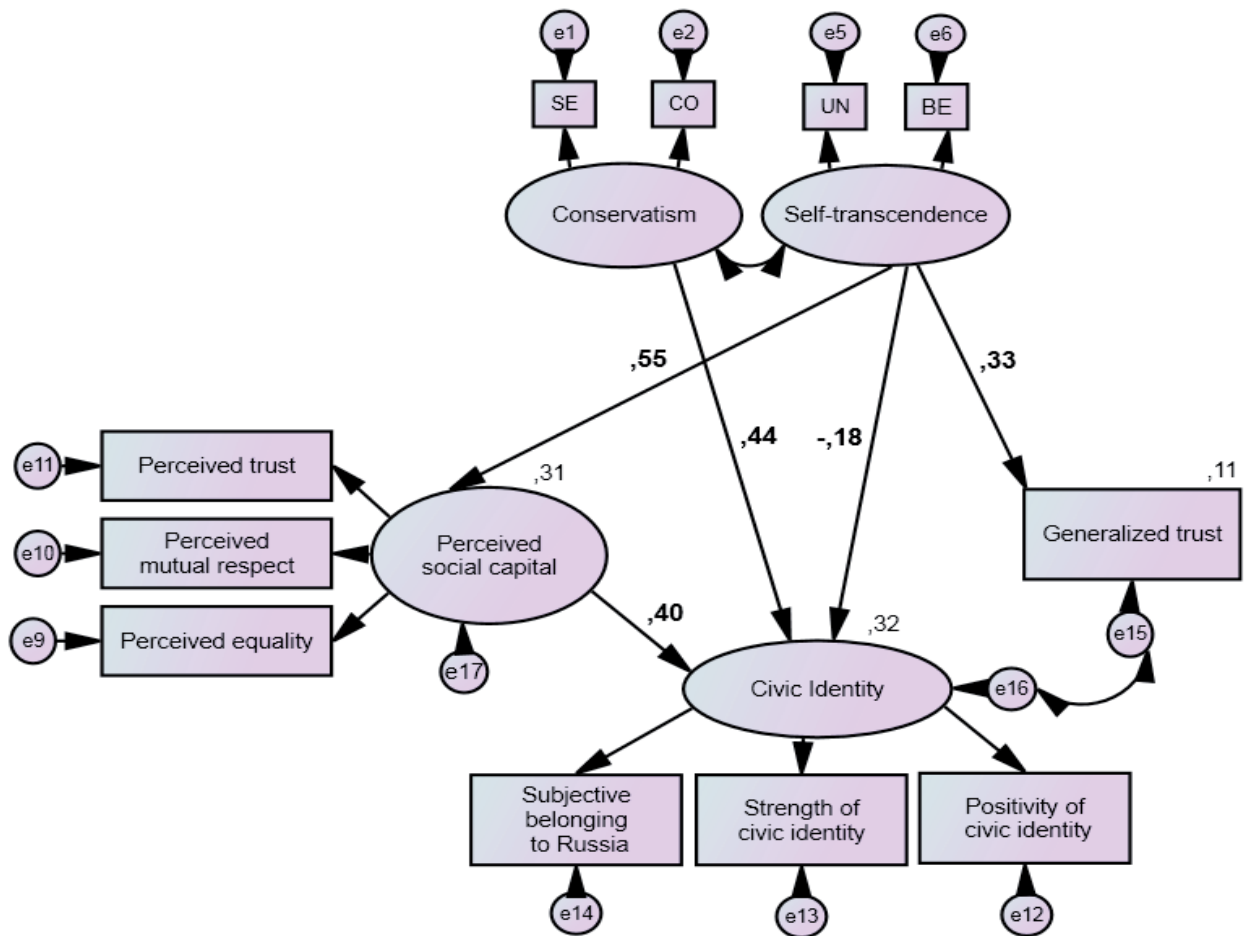


Fig. 4. Model 3, predicting the influence of individual values on socio-psychological capital in the Ingush group

In the Ingush group, perceived social capital has not demonstrated predictive ability in relation to generalized trust; however, the standardized regression coefficient, which characterizes the influence of perceived social capital of society on civic identity, is quite meaningful.

4. Discussion of results

First of all, it has to be noted that the empirical data of this study indicate that values better predict socio-psychological capital on the level of value oppositions than separately. At this stage, three facts can be stated:

- 1) value orientations are related to socio-psychological capital;
- 2) there are clear trends in the influence of values on socio-psychological capital;
- 3) there are cross-cultural differences in the impact of individual values on socio-psychological capital.

4.1 Cross-cultural similarities in the relationship between value orientations and socio-psychological capital

The impact of **Openness to Change** values on perceived social capital and civic identity appeared to be universal for Russians and Chechens. The given group of values has a positive effect on civic identity and negative effect on perceived social capital. Thus, an individual with stronger expressed values of **Self-Direction** and **Stimulation** has a more critical attitude towards society; however, this does not rule out his/her identification with the community.

4.2 Cross-cultural differences in the relationship between value orientations and socio-psychological capital

There are more differences than similarities in the influence of values on socio-psychological capital among ethnic groups. First of all, attention should be drawn to the fact that in the Russian group general trust was not found to be influenced by values. In the Chechen group, values of **Self-Enhancement** and **Openness to Change** showed negative correlation with trust. That is, in this ethnic group, values reflecting the desire for domination over others may prevent the formation of such an important component of socio-psychological capital as trust. In the Ingush group reverse effect can be observed - the values of **Self-Transcendence** have a positive influence on trust towards other people. Thus, based on the data from these ethnic groups there have been obtained three possible correlations between values and trust: a) there is no correlation; b) values of **Self-Enhancement** can have a negative impact on trust; and c) the values of **Self-Transcendence** have a positive impact on general trust.

In the Ingush sample, values of **Conservation** and **Self-Transcendence** demonstrated the greatest predictive ability. In this ethnic group, the values of **Conservation** (Security, Conformity) have a positive influence on the civic (Russian) identity. Values of **Self-Transcendence** (Universalism, Benevolence) predict trust and quite significantly (to 31%) predict perceived social capital.

4.3 The role of individual value orientations in the socio-psychological capital of a multicultural society

What have the results of this study brought to the understanding of the impact of values on socio-psychological capital of a multicultural society? In this respect, several assumptions can be made; however, to confirm these assumptions, it is necessary to conduct research on larger samples with more ethnic groups involved.

For the formation and functioning of socio-psychological capital in a multicultural society, the structure of values must be balanced. Since socio-psychological capital involves various dimensions, the enhancement of any of the units of value orientations will have an adverse effect on its certain components. In particular, the intensification of the role of **Self-Enhancement** values (Power, Achievement, Hedonism) in the life of an individual will adversely affect the trust of the individual and his/her evaluation of society.

The increase of **Openness to Change** values (Self-Direction, Stimulation) may have a negative impact on perceived social capital but may positively affect civic identity.

Values of **Self-Transcendence** and **Conservation** are likely to be more conducive to the formation of positive relations with others and, hence, to the formation of socio-psychological capital, which constitutes the basis of social capital. These values contribute to the stability of relations within a group. Values of **Openness to Change** and **Self-Enhancement** constitute the basis of personality development, but are in confrontation with the unity of a group. However, they are important for the development of a group, since individuals with such "value baggage" stimulate change and innovation and "lead" others to achievements. Therefore, a group is successful when there is a balance of values within it. Otherwise, it will either not develop actively or will be torn by contradictions and conflicts. That is, in groups with high social capital, in theory, all four value oppositions must be expressed to the same level. The change in the ratio of their expression is likely to contribute to the reduction of social capital.

1. Findings

1. Individual value orientations have impact on socio-psychological capital. The share of the variance of socio-psychological capital explained by individual values ranges from 8 to 32% on various indicators in different ethnic groups. Thus, the influence of individual value orientations on socio-psychological capital is not decisive but is essential.
2. Generally speaking, we can conclude that **Self-Transcendence** values have positive impact on socio-psychological capital, and **Self-Enhancement** values have negative impact. **Openness to Change** values positively influence civic identity, but negatively affect perceived social capital. **Conservation** values also demonstrate a positive relationship with civic identity. However, in this study, this effect was manifested only in the Ingush sample.
3. Individual value orientations, dominant in members of society, have an impact on socio-psychological capital. Therefore, the imbalance of the dynamic structure of value orientations (growing importance of certain values) can on the whole have a negative effect on social capital. Of course, social capital will not "suffer" if values of Benevolence and Universalism increase in society, but the increase of the importance of other values may negatively affect social capital.

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