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VALUES OF RUSSIANS: THE DYNAMICS AND RELATIONS TOWARDS ECONOMIC ATTITUDES

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This study has reviewed theoretical and empirical studies of values and behavior. The results of the research of the dynamics of basic personal values of Russians from the Central Federal district from 1999 until 2010 and the relations of basic personal values to economic attitudes are presented. Dynamics of values are presented on the basis of the 5 waves of measures (1999, 2005, 2008, 2009, 2010), each wave includes around 300 respondents. The sample from 2010 includes Russians and the respondents from the North Caucasus (N= 278). We have found that from 1999 until 2011, the value priorities and value structures of the Russians of Central Russia have remained stable. The data for 2008 demonstrates a small number of statistically significant differences with the data of the neighboring measures, which, probably, reflects the impact of the economic crisis of 2008. Statistically significant differences were found when comparing the value priorities of different groups of the Russian population: ethnic and religious groups. The relations between values and attitudes to different types of economic behavior were examined. The patterns of these relationships are similar as well as different among the representatives of Christianity (the Central Federal District and the North Caucasus Federal District) and Islam (the North Caucasus Federal District) in Russia. Thus, our study showed that values remain fairly stable within a single culture; however, they are different for people of different cultures and may have a different impact on attitudes to different types of economic behavior.

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Introduction

Values are widely used in applied research in social psychology (for the most comprehensive review, see Knafo, Roccas, Sagiv, 2010). Values are traditionally defined as motivational, trans-situational goals that serve as guiding principles in people's lives (Schwartz, 1992). They affect the evaluation of events and people (eg, Kluckhohn, 1951; Rohan, 2000; Rokeach, 1973) as well as attitudes, choices, and decisions (Feather, 1995; Maio, Pakizeh, Cheung, Rees, 2009; Sagiv, Sverdlik et al., in press; Verplanken, Holland, 2002; Schwartz, 2006).

In this study, values are viewed as personal constructs that can shed light on the motives of economic behavior. As shown in several studies, values have a significant impact on people's behavior, acting as behavioral motives (Rokeach, 1973). Along with the view of a causal relationship between values and behavior, there are other views stating that behavior is not always driven by values (Kristiansen, Hotte, 1996; McClelland, 1985). For example, McClelland argues that values are likely to influence behavior only when it stems from conscious decisions (McClelland, 1985).

In order to increase the predictability of value measurements for behavior, it is important to examine the processes and mechanisms that link values and behavior. First of all, a value must be actualized in a situation. This can happen unintentionally, when a situational context provokes it (for example, a report about a major accident or terrorist attack is likely to activate the value of Security). A study by Verplanken and Holland showed that the priming of a certain value intensifies the behavior aimed at finding information relevant to the given value and affects coordination of behavioral choices with this value (Verplanken, Holland, 2002). Activation of a value can also occur intentionally, and the activated value affects the tendency to perceive any potential impact positively or negatively. For example, high significance of Benevolence values contributes to the fact that help and support are considered more positively, whereas its low significance has the opposite effect.

The relation between values and behavior is based on the fact that elements of the situation (which activate it) relevant to certain values become the focus of human attention. In this case, the situation is understood and interpreted, based on the value priorities of an individual. More importantly, behavior that aims at the realization of the activated value becomes substantial. Action planning is also facilitated in situations where they rely on an important human value. In addition, planning increases resistance in the face of any obstacle that may arise during the implementation of actions aimed at the realization of the value.

Currently, one of the most popular value theories is the theory of individual values proposed by Schwartz. In his approach, Schwartz argues that the crucial content aspect that distinguishes among values is the type of motivation in which they are reflected. Therefore, he grouped the individual values into sets of values (types of motivation) sharing a common goal. He argues/believes

that basic human values, which are recognized in all cultures, are those that represent universal human needs (biological needs, requisites of coordinated social interaction and demands of group functioning) in the form of conscious goals. Based on the values selected by previous investigators, found in religious and philosophical works in different cultures, he defined 10 distinct motivational types of values, which he saw as the main types or blocks of values (a total of 10 different types). According to the author, they determine the specific actions of an individual and all his activity. Each motivational type has its central motivational goal:

1. Self-Direction. Defining goal: independent thought and action (choosing, creating, exploring), deriving from an individual's interactional requirements of autonomy and independence.

2. Stimulation - a varied and exciting life. Defining goal: novelty and challenge in life, deriving from the organismic need to maintain an optimal level of activation.

3. Hedonism. Defining goal: pleasure, self-indulgence, and enjoying life, deriving from the necessity to satisfy biological needs and the pleasure associated with satisfying them.

4. Achievement. Defining goal: achieving personal success according to social standards, thereby obtaining social approval.

5. Power. Defining goal: social status and prestige, control or dominance over people, deriving from the need to dominate and control.

6. Security. Defining goal: stability, safety, and harmony of society, of family, and of self. Security values derive from the need for adaptability and predictability in the world and reduction of the uncertainty.

7. Conformity. Defining goal: restraint of actions and impulses likely to harm others or violate social harmony. Conformity values derive from group need for self-preservation and survival and individual need for smooth interaction with others while inhibiting destructive inclinations.

8. Tradition. Defining goal: respect and commitment to the ideas of a certain culture or religion. Traditional behaviour symbolizes the group's solidarity and expresses its unique world view.

9. Benevolence. Defining goal: preserving and enhancing the welfare of those with whom one is in frequent personal contact. Benevolence values derive from the need for positive interaction for smooth group functioning and from the individual need for affiliation.

10. Universalism. Defining goal: understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection of the welfare of all people and for nature. This motivational type was not derived a priori from the three universal human needs and was found empirically in value studies. This goal, apparently, derives from the universal need for beauty, harmony and justice (Schwartz, 1990, 1992).

Schwartz and Bilsky developed a theory of dynamic relations among the major types of human motivation (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990). The logic of relations between values was derived by the authors from the relationships between the motives of behavior and their corresponding actions.

Each motivation type has a goal that leads the desires of an individual; these desires, in turn, lead to compatible or contradictory actions. Thus, conflict or compatibility among the values determine, in the final analysis, the strategy of the individual's behavior. The authors proposed the following typology of contradictions between the values:

1) Conservation values: Security, Conformity, and Tradition as opposed to Openness to Change values: Stimulation, Self-Direction, and Hedonism, Here, there is an obvious conflict between the value emphasizing independence of thought and action and the value of preserving traditions and maintaining social stability.

2) Self-Transcendence values: Universalism and Benevolence in contrast with Self-Enhancement values: Power, Achievement, and Hedonism. Here, also, there is an apparent conflict between concern for the welfare of others and pursuit of one's dominance over others.

As it has been mentioned above, values relate to behavior through defining the motive of actions, determining the direction of efforts and their end goal. Barnea and Caprara et al. showed that the values of Security and Power predicted preference for right-wing conservative parties, whereas the value of Universalism predicted preference for left-wing and liberal parties (Caprara et al. 2006, 2008). The logic behind these relations, according to the researchers, is that people who value Security and Power expect that voting for the Right will help to protect or realize their goals and serve to reaffirm their values. In the same way, voting for the Left, with their policies promoting the objectives of Universalism, is considered by people to whom these are important as a way to achieve their goals.

Later, Caprara, Vecchione, and Schwartz hypothesized that, in addition to the above-mentioned relations, there are some more complex mechanisms of influence of individual values on voting (Caprara, Vecchione, Schwartz, in press). The authors analyzed values as a means of predicting whether people will vote in the elections. To explain the phenomenon of ignoring voting using individual values, an analysis was carried out, which was based on the following assumption. Since people who voted for the Left or the Right in the previous election, gave preference to values of either Universalism or Security and Power, the authors suggested that people who don't vote do not attach great importance to these values (therefore, voting for them is not a means of increasing likelihood of achieving motivational goals important to them). As a result, it was found (in the Italian sample) that while those who voted for left-wing parties attribute more importance to Universalism, and right wing supporters cherish Security and Power, people who don't vote attach significantly less importance to these three values.

As a result, the authors detected a clear pattern of the relationship between values and voting or ignoring elections that demonstrated that all of the above-mentioned values were significantly less important to people who did not take part in elections. This indicates that they probably do not see

voting as a way to approach the implementation of their motivational goals. This category of respondents attributed more importance to Stimulation and Hedonism (which, in turn, are not important to voters for the left or right-wing parties) which are values focusing on personal interests, the achievement of which is not associated with any of the parties. The results showed that personal values affect the voter more than the socio-demographic factors, and as a mediating factor served the perception of correspondence between one's own values and the values conveyed by the political coalitions close to them.

Thus, there are studies showing that values can explain or predict human behavior in various fields, such as voting. Accordingly, we can assume that there may be a relationship between individual values and predispositions to economic behavior and test our hypothesis on the results of our studies carried out in Russia in 2011.

The second question closely related to the previous one is that of the degree of stability and homogeneity of the value structure of the Russians. If a relationship between values and predispositions to economic behavior is found, knowledge about the features of temporal dynamics of values of Russians and the differences in values of different groups of Russia's population will allow for a more accurate analysis of relevant differences of changes in economic behavior.

The purpose of this research is to examine the dynamics of the values of Russians in the past decade and their relationship with predispositions to economic behavior.

Values of people are of great importance for predicting behavior. The following questions are important for our study: Do values of Russians change over time? Does the cultural heterogeneity of Russia influence the differences in value priorities? How is this cultural heterogeneity reflected on the relationship between values and predispositions to economic behavior?

Research objectives:

1. To reveal the dynamics of value priorities of Russians from 1999 to 2010.
2. To identify cross-cultural and inter-faith differences in value priorities of Russians.
3. To identify the relationship between values and predispositions to economic behavior in various religious groups.

Methodology

This study employed a questionnaire which involved two methods:

- Schwartz's value survey for analyzing cultural value orientations translated into Russian by Lebedeva and adapted in a number of studies [Lebedeva, 2000; Lebedeva, Tatarko, 2007];

- Models of economic behavior developed by the HSE International Laboratory of Sociocultural Research [Lebedeva, Tatarko, 2011].

1. Schwartz's survey included 57 value items, representing each type of value described in them. The instructions to the respondents were as follows: "Please, indicate the importance of each item by answering the question: "What values are important to me as a guiding principle in my life, and what values are less important to me?" Each item is followed by a clarifying definition in parentheses that will help you to better understand the items. You have to indicate the extent to which each value is a guiding principle for you in your life. Use the numeric scale below. The higher the number, the more important this value is to you, as a guiding principle in your life. Also, number [-1] can be used to refer to values "opposed to guiding principles of your life"; number [7] is used to refer to a value that is of "supreme importance" to you and serves as a guiding principle in your life; usually there are no more than two such values. In the empty cell to the left in front of each value indicate the number (-1,0,1,2,3,4,5,6,7), reflecting the importance of this value for you personally. Try to use all the numbers as accurately as possible and with as much diversity as possible to reflect your attitude to these values (of course, each number can be used repeatedly)."

In accordance with the key, an average rating is calculated for the 10 items, corresponding to the 10 types of motivation (or individual-level values) marked out by Schwartz: "Power", "Conformity," "Benevolence", "Security", "Tradition," "Universalism" "Self-Direction", "Stimulation", "Hedonism", "Achieving» [Schwartz, 1992].

Additionally, the arithmetic means of four value oppositions were calculated, which include 10 blocks of values (types of motivation), and which, according to the theory of Schwartz, are located along two axes: "Conservation - Openness to change" and "Self-Transcendence - Self-Enhancement".

2. When creating a methodology for evaluating models of economic behavior 10 bipolar dimensions of economic behavior were developed (see below) according to which we constructed specific situational scenarios. Each situation represents a model in which two opposite types of behavior (depending on the respondent's predispositions), that are inherent to two different characters of the situation, can be exercised. Each situation is described in detail; all the characters are given names. The respondent is required to choose the behavior of which characters is closer to their own. In choosing the behavior of one of the characters of the situation, the respondent shows predisposition to a certain kind of economic behavior - willingness to behave in certain ways in certain situations, based on previous social experiences.

The following types (dimensions) of economic behavior were evaluated in this study:
1. "Economic paternalism - economic independence"
2. "Time saving - Money saving"
3. "Short-term - Long-term prospects in economic behavior"
4. "Wastefulness - Economy"

5. "Economic interest - Economic indifference"

6. "Priority of profit over the law - Priority of the law over profit"

7. "Economic activity - economic inactivity"

8. "Acceptability - Unacceptability of using loans in their daily lives."

9. "Equal distribution of financial rewards - fair distribution of financial rewards"

10. "Priority of the size of financial reward - Priority of the creative aspect at work"

Below, a situation is presented for the evaluation of the first dimension of economic behavior.

1. Alexander and Vasiliy graduated from a technical college a few years ago and got jobs at a research institute. Despite all the enthusiasm for the work, they began to notice that their career growth is slow, therefore, there is almost no salary increase. Considering such conditions as not suitable to him, Alexander chose to leave to start his own business in this area. Vasiliy decided to stay, valuing stability and looking forward to promotion in the research institute.

How would you rate the behavior of each of the heroes of the situation? From each of the three alternatives (A, B, C) select only one answer.

№	Alexander	Mostly agree	Agree	Absolutely agree		Vasiliy	Mostly agree	Agree	Absolutely agree
A	I like the behavior of Alexander more				OR	I like the behavior of Vasiliy more			
Б	I would do the same as Alexander				OR	I would do the same as Vasiliy			
В	Alexander's behavior is typical for most of the representatives of my nation				OR	Vasiliy's behavior is typical for most of the representatives of my nation			

Each situation was accompanied by three scales based on the three components of social attitude: affective (emotional preference), behavioral (willingness to act as one of the characters of the situational scenario) and cognitive (typicality of the described behavior of people surrounding the respondent). The scenarios were designed so that the behavior of one of the characters reflected one pole of a dimension of economic behavior, and the behavior of the other character reflected the opposite pole of this dimension of economic behavior.

Respondents had to evaluate the behavior of the heroes of the situation on a 3-point scale ("mostly agree" / "agree" / "strongly agree"):

(A) the conduct of which hero he/she likes more and to what extent;

(B) whether the respondent is ready to act as one of the characters;

(C) conduct of which character and to what extent is typical of the representatives of the nation to which the respondent thinks he/she belongs.

According to the instructions, the respondent can choose and, consequently, evaluate the degree of agreement with the behavior of only one of the characters for each scale (the scales are independent of each other).

The methods of the data processing were: t-test for independent samples and multiple regression analysis. For the controlling of sample size effect we have used Cohen's d coefficient [Cohen, 1988].

Sample-based effect sizes are distinguished from test statistics used in hypothesis testing, it estimates the strength of an apparent relationship, rather than assigning a significance level reflecting whether the relationship could be due to chance. The effect size does not determine the significance level, or vice-versa. Given a sufficiently large sample size, a statistical comparison will always show a significant difference unless the population effect size is exactly zero

The term effect size can refer to a standardized measures of effect (such as Cohen's d), or to an unstandardized measure. Cohen's d is defined as the difference between two means divided by a standard deviation for the data.

$$d = \frac{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2}{s},$$

Cohen's d is frequently used in estimating sample sizes. A lower Cohen's d indicates a necessity of larger sample sizes, and vice versa, as can subsequently be determined together with the additional parameters of desired significance level and statistical power [Kenny, 1987] . What precisely the standard deviation is, was not originally made explicit by Jacob Cohen because he defined it (using the symbol "σ") as the standard deviation of either population (since they are assumed equal) [Cohen, 1988].

$$s = \sqrt{\frac{(n_1 - 1)s_1^2 + (n_2 - 1)s_2^2}{n_1 + n_2}}, \qquad s_1^2 = \frac{1}{n_1 - 1}\sum_{i=1}^{n1}(x_{1,i} - \bar{x}_1)^2$$

Other authors make the calculation of the standard deviation more explicit with the following definition for a pooled standard deviation [Hartung et. al., 2008] with two independent samples.

Using Cohen's d coefficient allows solving a problem of power of the sample. This coefficient means whether significant differences are obtained due to the large size of the samples or not. And on the contrary if significant differences are not revealed, but Cohen's d coefficient is more 0,7 we can

conclude that the effect size is present. So, if we will increase the size of the samples, we will definitely receive significant differences between them.

Research results and discussion

1.Dynamics of the values of Russians from 1999 to 2010

First, let us answer the following question: Have the individual values of Russians and their structure changed in 10 years?

Based on the monitoring of values of the Russians carried out with Schwartz's methodology at the Laboratory since 1999, an attempt was made to evaluate the changes in value priorities of Russians from 1999 to 2010. The sample only included Russians living in the Central Federal District. For the analysis, we used equivalent samples of Russians in the Central Federal District. The number of respondents was as follows: 1999 - 300 people; 2005 - 357 people; 2008 - 547 people; 2009 - 343 people; and 2010 - 221 people.

First, a multidimensional scaling (MDS) was performed and for further analysis there were selected only the values the position of which had remained stable in space from section to section.

Multidimensional scaling was used for the purpose of reconstruction of two-dimensional spaces in which 57 values settled down. The data of 57 separate values unites in S.Schwarz's theory and measurement's technique divides into 10 composites of values. The purpose of multidimensional scaling (MDS) was the checking of stability of the position of each 57 values in two-dimensional spaces during the five waves of research. The purpose was to define - whether they all are close to other values with which they are theoretically included in the same value composite. We have used the "PROXSCALE" procedure as the basic procedure of multidimensional scaling. For the scaling procedure, the Euclid's method was used and the data was processed using a standardization procedure with Z-scores calculation, and the initial configuration was defined by the Torgenson's method. For the reconstruction of visual space we have chosen only two dimensions. Then, all the spaces were compared. Those values, which position was unstable in spaces from wave to wave, were not used in further data processing. Five two-dimensional spaces for the five waves of measurements were reconstructed (1999, 2005, 2008, 2009, 2010 years).

Then, we assessed the dynamics of values and statistical significance of the differences.
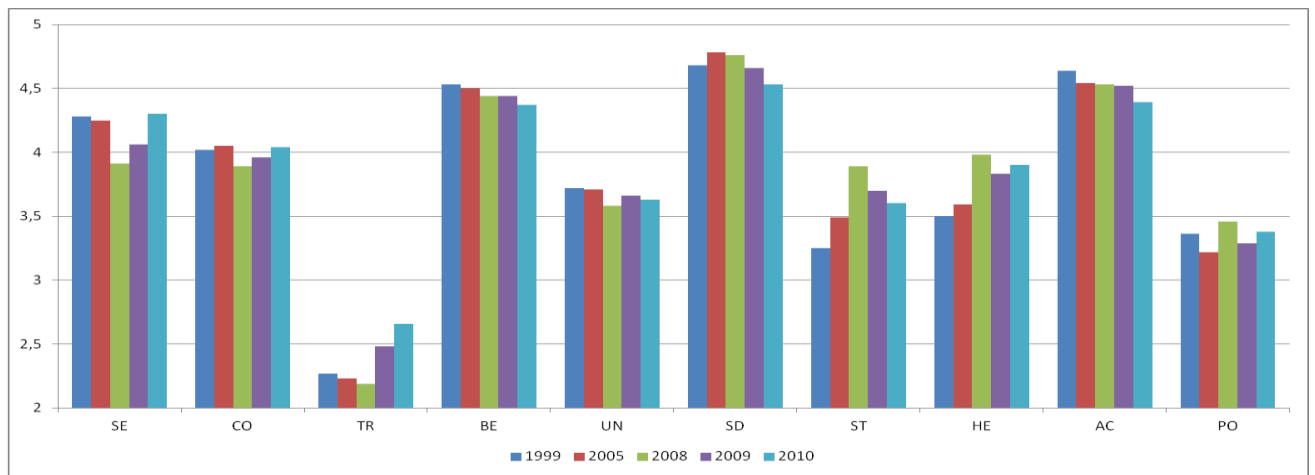
Fig. 1. Differences in value priorities of the Russians of the Central Federal District (1999-2010 years)*

* Note: SE – "Security", CO – "Conformity", TR- "Tradition", BE – "Benevolence", UN – "Universalism", SD "Self-Direction", ST – Stimulation, HE – "Hedonism", AC – "Achievement", PO – "Power".

Fig. 1 presents, in the form of a histogram, the dynamics of 10 blocks of values of the Russians living in the Central Federal District (1999-2010). The histogram shows that over the last decade among the Russian population of the region values of Security (estimates above the average on the scale) and values of Conformity practically remained stable; orientations towards the values of Tradition increased (although the average score is not high). The estimates for values of Universalism remained almost unchanged; whereas the ratings of the values of Benevolence slightly decreased. During the years 2005-2008, focus on the values of Self-Direction increased; however, by 2010 the indicators for this value fell. By 2008, estimates for values of Stimulation and Hedonism increased, but by 2010 their intensity once again began to decline. Focus on values of Achievement and Power remained stable and did not change over the past 10 years. It should be noted that the dominant units in the structure of the values of the Russians are the values of Self-Direction and Achievement.

Table 1. The level of significance of differences in value priorities (1999-2010)

	SE	CO	TR	BE	UN	SD	ST	HE	AC	PO
1999/2005	d=0.04	d=-0.04	d=0.03	d=0.04	d=0.01	d=-0.12	p<0.05 d=-0.18	d=-0.06	d=0.11	d=0.13
1999/2008	p<0.001 d=0.64	p<0.05 d=0.19	d=0.05	d=0.13	p<0.005 d=0.20	d=-0.11	p<0.001 d=-0.62	p<0.001 d=-0.46	d=0.13	d=-0.,09
1999/2009	p<0.001 d=0.30	d=0.09	d=-0.15	d=0.14	d=0.09	d=0.02	p<0.001 d=-0.39	p<0,005 d=-0.28	p<0.05 d=0.17	d=0.07

1999/2010	d=-0.03	d=-0.02	p<0.05 d=-0.30	p<0.05 d=0.25	d=0.12	p<0.05 d=0.19	p<0.005 d=-0.30	p<0.005 d=-0.30	p<0.001 d=0.32	d=-0.02
2005/2008	p<0.001 d=0.55	p<0.005 d=0.21	d=0.02	d=0.11	p<0.05 d=0.20	d=0.04	p<0.001 d=-0.36	p<0001 d=-0.37	d=0.02	p<0.005 d=-0.25
2005/2009	p<0.005 d=0.26	d=0.14	p<0.05 d=-0.19	d=0.09	d=0.07	d=0.15	p<0.05 d=-0.17	p<0.05 d=-0.20	d=0.04	d=-0.07
2005/2010	d=-0.07	d=0.02	p<0.001 d=-0.34	p<0.05 d=0.21	d=0.11	p<0.001 d=0.33	d=-0.09	p<0.005 d=-0.25	p<0.05 d=0.20	d=-0.16
2008/2009	p<0.005 d=-0.23	d=-0.09	p<0.005 d=-0.20	d=-0.01	d=-0.12	d=0.12	p<0.05 d=0.17	p<0.05 d=0.14	d=0.01	p<0.05 d=0.17
2008/2010	p<0.001 d=-0.56	p<0.05 d=-0.18	p<0.001 d=-0.43	d=0.10	d=-0.07	p<0.001 d=0.27	p<0.005 d=0.23	d=0.07	p<0.05 d=0.22	d=0.08
2009/2010	p<0.001 d=-0.34	d=-0.11	d=-0.13	d=0.13	d=0.04	p<0.05 d=0.18	d=0.09	d=-0.06	p<0.05 d=0.18	d=-0.09

Table 1 shows significant differences in the mean estimates of the values represented in Fig. 1. The significance of the differences between sections of each block of values was also evaluated. In Table 1, we can see that although at first glance, according to Student's t-test, all differences are significant, in fact they are within normal statistical fluctuations. The use of a measure of effect size (Cohen's d) makes it possible to note that significant fluctuations are observed only for the values of Security, Stimulation, and Hedonism. Security values significantly decreased by 2008, whereas Stimulation and Hedonism values significantly increased. However, after the crisis of 2008, figures for these values returned to their previous estimates.

Fig. 2. Differences in value oppositions of the Russians of Central Federal District (1999-2010)
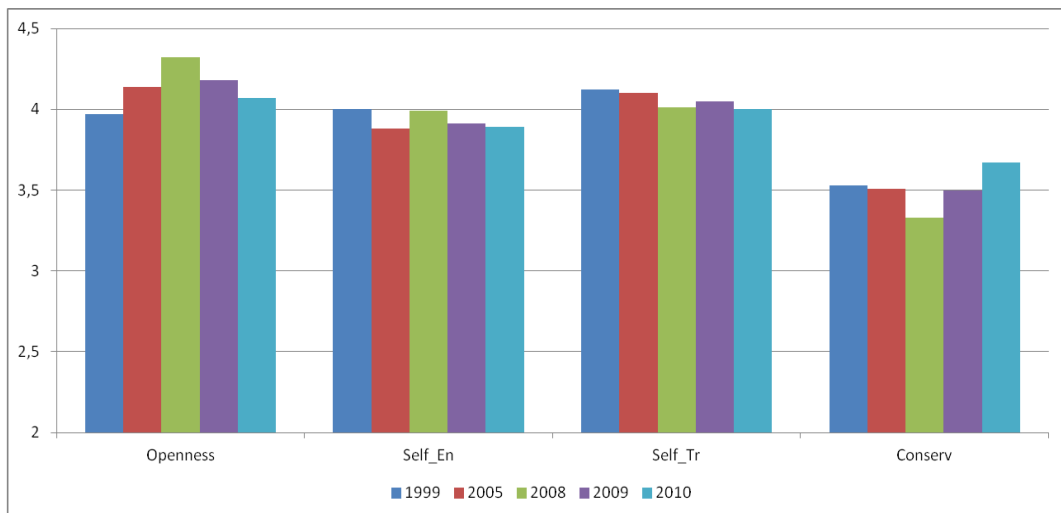
In Fig. 2, we can see that by the year 2008 there is an increase in orientation towards "Openness to Change" values and decrease in the importance attributed to values of "Conservatism". However, after 2008, figures for the given sets of values went back to their original positions.

The use of a measure of effect size (Cohen's d) makes it possible to note that all the variations of the value oppositions are within random fluctuations and are not statistically significant.

Table 2. The level of significance of differences in value priorities (1999-2010)

	Openness	Self_En	Self_Tr	Conserv
1999/2005	$p<0.05$ $d=-0.19$	$d=0.15$	$d=0.034$	$d=0.023$
1999/2008	$p<0.001$ $d=-0.51$	$d=0.01$	$p<0.005$ $d=0.27$	$p<0.001$ $d=0.33$
1999/2009	$p<0.005)$ $d=-0.27$	$d=0.14$	$d=0.16$	$d=0.03$
1999/2010	$d=-0.12$	$d=0.16$	$p<0.05)$ $d=0.25$	$p<0.05$ $d=-0.22$
2005/2008	$p<0.005$ $d=-0.25$	$p<0.05$ $d=-0.16$	$p<0.05$ $d=0.22$	$p<0.001$ $d=0.27$
2005/2009	$d=-0.05$	$d=-0.03$	$d=0.12$	$d=0.01$
2005/2010	$d=0.09$	$d=-0.01$	$p<0.05$ $d=0.20$	$p<0.005$ $d=-0.26$
2008/2009	$p<0.05$ $d=0.19$	$d=0.14$	$d=-0.09$	$p<0.001$ $d=-0.26$
2008/2010	$p<0.001$ $d=0.31$	$p<0.05$ $d=0.14$	$d=0.02$	$p<0.001$ $d=-0.48$
2009/2010	$d=0.15$	$d=0.03$	$d=0.12$	$p<0.005)$ $d=-0.26$

Thus, the results showed that although there is a variation in the mean values both for individual values and for value oppositions, there were no statistically significant differences. If we compare the data of 1999 and 2010 with that of 2005 and 2010, we can observe stability of the value structure. Some small number of statistically significant differences with the data of other sections shows the year 2008. This can be explained by the fact that the survey was conducted in early 2008 (before the economic crisis); this is perhaps the reason for reduced values of Security, increasing values of Stimulation and Hedonism. In 2009, there is a statistically significant increase in values of Security and decrease in the intensity of values of Stimulation and Hedonism. Thus, in general, we can conclude that the intensity of the various blocks of values, at least among the Russian population of the Central Federal District is stable enough, and its fluctuations over the last 10 years are not significant. Most likely, in homogeneous groups of the population a variation in values may occur due to the strong influence of major economic or political events or sudden changes in living

conditions. However, with the system stabilizing, values tend to reach the previous state of equilibrium.

Thus, the 10-year period, although accompanied by serious social-political and economic transformations, had no significant effect on the values of the Russians. Maybe we will find some statistically significant differences when comparing the value priorities of different groups of the Russian population: ethnocultural and religious.

2. Cross-cultural differences in Schwartz's individual values

Cross-cultural differences in values were examined on the example of empirical evidence from Russian respondents and representatives of the peoples of the North Caucasus. Table 3 shows the characteristics of the study sample. The socio-psychological survey was conducted in three regions of Russia. By ethnic composition the sample included Russians (Moscow, North Caucasus Federal District, Chukotka Autonomous District) and representatives of the North Caucasus and Transcaucasus (Chechens, Ossetians, Balkars, Dagestanis, Armenians, Georgians).

The Russians, Armenians and Ossetians identified themselves as Christians; whereas the Chechens and Balkars as Muslims. The comparison took place between the Russians and the representatives of the Caucasian people as well as between Christians and Muslims.

This part of the study was conducted in 2010.

Table 3. The characteristics of the study sample

Region	Ethnic Group	Number of respondents	Gender M/F	Age
Moscow and Moscow region	Russians	221	92 M 129 F	Median: 22
	Peoples of the Transcaucasus	13	5 M 8 F	Median: 20
Stavropol region	Russians	56	20 M 36 F	Median: 20
	Peoples of the Caucasus and Transcaucasus	40	13 M 27 F	Median: 20
North Ossetia - Alania	Ossetians	45	17 M 28 F	Median: 31
Chechnya	Chechens	37	16 M 21 F	Median: 30
Kabardino-Balkaria	Balkars	100	48 M 52 F	Median: 29

Table 4 shows the average estimates of value sets for the Russians and the peoples of North Caucasus (Table 4)

Table 4. Cross-cultural comparison of mean estimates for values (the Russians and the peoples of North Caucasus and Transcaucasus)

Individual values	Mean Russians (N=235)	Mean peoples of North Caucasus and Transcaucasus (N=278)	P-level	Cohen's d
Security	5.07	5.44	p<0.001	d=0.65
Conformity	4.84	5.34	p<0.001	d=0.71
Tradition	3.72	4.68	p<0.001	d=0.75
Benevolence	5.07	5.29	p<0,05	d=0.34
Universalism	4.36	4.80	p<0.001	d=0.63
Self-Direction	5.02	4.96	p=0.525	-
Stimulation	4.17	4.17	p=0.999	-
Hedonism	4.52	4.71	p=0.094	-
Achievement	4.70	4.80	p=0.270	-
Power	4.01	4.35	p<0.05	d=0.43

We see significant differences: the values of Conservation (Security, Conformity, Tradition), Self-Transcendence (Benevolence, Universalism) as well as the values of Power are more important for representatives of the peoples of the Caucasus than for the Russians, which is understandable, since the culture of the Caucasian peoples is more traditional than the more modernized Russian culture.

Cohen's d makes it possible to note that all the differences are in fact statistically significant for values of Security, Conformity, Tradition, and Universalism.

Next, we compared the values based on religion. Table 5 shows the mean estimates and their differences among representatives of the Christian and Muslim faiths (see Table 5).

Table 5. Interfaith comparison of mean estimates of values (Christians and Muslims)

Individual values	Mean Christians (N=393)	Mean Muslims (N=165)	P-level	Cohen's d
Security	4.39	4.55	p<0.01	d=0.31
Conformity	4.17	4.45	p<0.001	d=0.58

Tradition	3.15	3.86	p<0.001	d=0.62
Benevolence	4.35	4.42	P=0.162	-
Universalism	3.74	3.88	p<0.001	d=0.33
Self-Direction	4.29	4.05	p<0.001	d=0.51
Stimulation	3.49	2.96	. p<0.001	d=0.61
Hedonism	3.82	3.57	p<0.05	d=0.28
Achievement	3.99	3.85	p<0.05	d=0.23
Power	3.33	3.26	P=0.478	-

Interfaith comparisons showed the presence of significant differences in the values of Christians and Muslims: Christians attribute more importance to the values of Openness to Change (Self-direction, Stimulation) and the values of Hedonism and Achievement that contribute to realization of individual goals; Muslims give higher priority to the values of Conservation (Security, Conformity, Tradition), Self-Transcendence (Universalism), which contribute to group survival and preservation of group harmony. The measure of effect size (Cohen's d) showed that differences in the values of Conformity, Tradition, Stimulation, and Self-Direction are not accidental; these values reflect the differences in conflicting values of Conservation (higher for Muslims) - Openness to Change (higher for Christians) .

Next we will proceed to examining the question of the relationship between values and predisposition to models of economic behavior.

3. The relationship between values and models of economic behavior for Christians and Muslims

The preceding analysis provides a basis for the assumption that the values of the Russians experience little change over time. According to our data, ethnic culture and religion have the most significant impact on differences in values of the Russians.

Further, we examine the question of the relationship between values and predisposition to models of economic behavior. For the demonstration of intercultural distinctions of values impact on economic behaviour, the two groups of respondents divided by religion or faith (instead of an ethnic belonging) have been taken. It has been made because the group of respondents from the North Caucasian region included representatives of 6 ethnic groups, and sample crushing on small ethnic groups would withdraw us from an overall objective - cross-cultural comparison of a role of values as predictors of

economic behaviour. Besides, according to our previous research, the religious accessory plays a significant differentiating role in choices of models of economic behavior [Lebedeva, Tatarko, 2011].

The analysis of the relationship was carried out on the samples of Christians and Muslims separately to see whether values are linked to models of economic behavior in similar ways or there are differences in the direction of the relationships (Table 7).

Multiple regression analysis was used for statistical analysis of the data.

Table 6. Regression Analysis between the ratings of situations and Schwartz's individual-level values, method 'enter' (Group - Christian nations)

Explanatory Variables		Predictors										R^2	Aj. R^2	N
		SE β (SE)	CO β (SE)	TR β (SE)	BE β (SE)	UN β (SE)	SD β (SE)	ST β (SE)	HE β (SE)	AC β (SE)	PO β (SE)			
Time saving	Typicality			.15* (.15)								.07	.04	393
Short-term prospects in economic behavior	Willingness									-.13* (.15)		.05	.03	393
Wastefulness in economic behavior	Emotional preference								.17* (.14)			.04	.02	393
	Willingness Typicality								.19* (.13)			.05	.02	393
Economic indifference	Emotional preference				-.15* (.23)	-.21* (.25)	-.15* (.22)	-.14* (.13)				.05	.03	393
	Typicality	-.17* (.17)				-.24** (.20)		-.16* (.09)				.06	.04	393
Economic inactivity	Emotional preference			.15* (.13)								.06	.03	393
	Willingness			.22** (.13)					.17* (.11)			.07	.04	393
Not accepting loans	Emotional preference						.20* (.27)					.04	.02	393
	Willingness						.23** (.22)					.04	.02	393
Equal distribution of financial rewards	Emotional preference				.15* (.23)				-.17* (.14)			.07	.04	393
	Willingness	.14* (.22)										.07	.05	393
Priority of the size of financial rewards over the creative aspect at work	Typicality			-.19* (.12)								.04	.01	393

*p<0.05 **p<0.01

Regression analysis showed the existence of certain relationships between Schwartz's individual-level values and individual choices in situations of economic behavior for Christians. The value of Power also negatively correlates with emotional preference for saving time, while typicality

of this situation positively correlates with the values of Tradition. That is, in the Christian culture, people with strong value of Power will not save money at the expense of their time, while people who value Tradition state that saving money at the expense of time is typical of their environment.

Willingness for behavior that is characterized by short-term economic prospects negatively relates to the value of Achievement. That is to say, the value of Achievement in Christians calls forth planning and long-term orientation of economic behavior.

Emotional preference for wastefulness in economic behavior and willingness to behave in this way positively relate to the value of Hedonism; whereas the evaluation of the typicality of such behavior negatively correlates with the value of Security. The desire to enjoy one's life is the factor that contributes to the "recklessness" with which money is spent; the desire for security allows to rate such behavior as less typical among Christians.

Emotional preference for economic indifference negatively associates with the values of Benevolence, Universalism, and Stimulation. The ratings of the typicality of economic indifference negatively correlate with the values of Security, Universalism, and Stimulation. The same values of Stimulation and Universalism also call forth the great typicality of interest in economic processes and phenomena; here, the influence of valuing Security also plays its role. Apparently, the more the Russians appreciate Stimulation, Universalism, Benevolence, and Security, the more interested they are in economic developments.

Emotional preference for economic inactivity is associated with the intensity of value of Conformity, whereas at the behavioral level correlations with values of Tradition and Hedonism are observed. Economic activity is associated with risks, stress, and changes, which do not relate to the values of Conservation (Tradition and Conformity) as well as to the desire to enjoy life to the maximum (Hedonism).

Emotional unacceptability of loans in the sample of Christians correlates with the value of Self-Direction, and this is the value associated with reluctance to borrow; the more pronounced the value of Self-Direction, the more negative the person's attitude to loans is and the less he is willing to borrow.

The value of Hedonism negatively associates with the emotional preference for fair distribution of financial rewards (instead of the principle of equal distribution); whereas the value of Security positively correlates with willingness for such behavior. That is to say, the emotional component associates with the desire to enjoy life; such desire better correlates with preference for equal distribution than with preference for fair distribution. Hedonism implies openness to change; however, this value does not necessarily imply an active position; it can be related with laziness and desire to receive some benefits without working too hard. Such an interpretation may explain the preference of people, longing pleasure, for equal distribution of rewards. The positive relationship

between the value of Security and preference for fair distribution may be due, on the one hand, to the attitude that work should be rewarded based on contribution that has already become a norm for post-Soviet society. That is, if on the level of emotional evaluation old standards still apply, then everyone tries to do less since, in the end, everyone will be rewarded on an equal basis (the phenomenon of "social laziness"), whereas at the behavioral level reality already presupposes a desire to do more and get for it, respectively, higher salaries.

Willingness to prefer money to creative activity relates to the value of Power. This is quite natural as the "power - money" link is one of the oldest and most durable ones. Typicality of such behavior negatively correlates with the value of Tradition. That is, the Christian culture puts art above money, and this rule applies to people with intense value of Tradition.

Next, we will consider the relationship between values and predisposition to models of economic behavior in the respondents who consider themselves Muslims (see Table 7).

Table 7. Regression Analysis between the ratings of situations and Schwartz's individual-level values, method 'enter' (Group - Muslim nations)

Explanatory Variables		SE β (SE)	CO β (SE)	TR β (SE)	BE β (SE)	UN β (SE)	SD β (SE)	ST β (SE)	HE β (SE)	R^2	Aj. R^2	N
Economic paternalism	Willingness		-23* (.33)							.11	.06	165
	Typicality						.21* (.33)			.07	.04	165
Time saving	Emotional preference		-.34** (.38)			-.47** (.41)		-.35** (.17)		.16	.12	165
	Willingness		-.26* (.37)			-.31** (.40)		-.29* (.16)		.12	.07	165
Short-term prospects in economic behavior	Willingness				-.39** (.31)					.10	.06	165
	Typicality		-.19* (.31)		-.18* (.28)			-.35** (.14)		.11	.06	165
Economic indifference	Willingness				-.26* (.34)					.05	.01	165
	Typicality				-.40*** (29)					.12	.07	165
Economic inactivity	Typicality		-.27* (.31)							.07	.02	165
Equal distribution of financial rewards	Emotional preference						-.24* (.19)			.10	.06	165
	Willingness		-.22* (.38)				-.30* (.17)			.08	.03	165
	Typicality		-.22* (.31)							.05	.001	165
Disinclination to spontaneous purchases	Willingness						-.21* (.18)			.10	.05	165

In Muslims, willingness for economic paternalism correlates negatively with the values of Conformity; ratings for typicality of economic paternalism correlates positively with the value of Self-Direction.

Emotional preference and willingness to spend money to save time negatively correlate with the values of Conformity, Universalism, and Hedonism. It can be concluded that for the Muslim culture it is more preferable to save money rather than time, since the value of Conformity determines this choice. The relationship with Universalism and Hedonism are of particular interest here. Apparently, prioritizing money saving, in general, is typical of Muslim culture and is rated positively; therefore, such diverse values associate with this choice.

The values of Benevolence and Hedonism negatively relate to willingness to take economic decisions based on short-term prospects. We can assume that Muslims are quite reasonable in planning, and, therefore, the desire to enjoy and care for loved ones does not correlate with quick and short-term income but with greater planning in economic behavior. The ratings of typicality of short-term prospects correlate negatively only with the value of Hedonism.

The value of Tradition positively relates with the ratings of typicality of wastefulness in economic behavior. That is, we can assume that the traditional view of their culture by the Muslim peoples of the Caucasus involves spending money recklessly, wastefulness.

The value of Benevolence associates negatively with the ratings of willingness and typicality of behavior describing economic indifference. It is important to understand that taking care of loved ones is a crucial component of the Muslim culture, and, therefore, the value of Benevolence promotes interest in the economic side of life, reflecting the desire to create a favorable environment for loved ones. This same feature is also reflected by a negative correlation between values of Benevolence the ratings of typicality of economic inactivity among Muslims. Emotional preference for fair distribution of finances negatively relates to the value of Stimulation; willingness for such behavior negatively correlates with the value of Stimulation; ratings of its typicality negatively correlate with the value of Conformity. It can be assumed that Muslims find fair distribution to be more secure; those appreciating Stimulation (risk, novelty) are not ready for such distribution; whereas those valuing Conformity do not consider this typical of their surroundings.

The value of Stimulation negatively correlates with disinclination to emotional (spontaneous) purchases which can be easily explained by the very essence of the value of Stimulation as a desire for a brighter and eventful life, full of spontaneity and unexpected actions which bring joy.

Conclusion

1. From 1999 to 2011, the value priorities and value structures of the Russians of Central Russia remained stable. The data for 2008 demonstrates a small number of statistically significant differences with the data of other sections. The fact that the survey was conducted before the crisis, probably, explains the decrease in the values of Security and the increase in the values of Stimulation and Hedonism by the beginning of the year 2008. In 2009, there is a statistically significant increase in the value of Security and decrease in the intensity of values of Stimulation and Hedonism. Thus, in general, we can conclude that the intensity of different groups of values, at least among the Russian population of the Central Federal District, is stable enough, and the fluctuations that occurred in the past 10 years are negligible. Most likely, in homogeneous populations, variations in values may occur as a result of strong influence of some economic or political events and sudden changes in living conditions. However, with the system stabilizing, values tend to reach the previous state of equilibrium. This data coincides with the results of other Russian scientists, who studied dynamics of values of Russians [Magun, Rudnev, 2010; Lapin, 2010].

2. Statistically significant differences were found when comparing the value priorities of different groups of the Russian population: ethnic and religious. Significant cross-cultural differences in value priorities were revealed. Conservation (Security, Conformity, Tradition) and Self-Transcendence (Benevolence, Universalism) values as well as the value of Power were attributed more importance by the representatives of the peoples of the Caucasus than by the Russians. This is probably due to North Caucasian cultures being more traditional in comparison with the more modernized Russian culture (a lower urban saturation, traditional way of life and food, lower standard of well-being, expanded families with many children, lower educational level, the interfamily contacts, primary use of a native language for communication, more salient gender roles etc). Interfaith comparison demonstrated significant differences in the values of Christians and Muslims. Christians prioritized Openness to Change (Self-Direction, Stimulation) and Self-Enhancement (Hedonism, Achievement) values, contributing to individual goals. Muslims attributed more importance to Conservation (Security, Conformity, and Tradition) and Self-Transcendence (Universalism) values that contribute to group harmony.

3. A relationship between values and predispositions to different types of economic behavior was discovered. The patterns of these relationships are both similar and dissimilar in the samples of representatives of Christianity (the Central Federal District and the North Caucasus Federal District) and Islam (the North Caucasus Federal District) in Russia. The most notable trends in the relationship patterns are as follows:

3.1. Willingness for economic independence correlates with the value of Power in Christians and with the values of benevolence and stimulation in Muslims. This difference may reflect the different values that underlie economic success in the two cultures: for Christians it is power, for Muslims it is the welfare of others, and, perhaps, risk and novelty.

3.2. Preference for long-term economic prospects in the Christian culture relates to the value of Achievement, whereas in the Muslim culture it associates with the values of Benevolence and Hedonism. This suggests that for Christians the value of individual achievement may form the basis for planning while for Muslims the welfare of others and pursuit of pleasure serve as such basis.

3.3. Economic interest relates to values of Benevolence, Universalism, and Stimulation for the Christian group; in Muslims willingness to show such interest associates only with Benevolence.

3.4. The value of Security, in both groups, relates with preference for fair distribution of financial rewards (for Christians, with willingness for such behavior; for Muslims, with an emotional preference).

Thus, our study showed that values remain fairly stable within a single culture; however, they are different for people of different cultures and may have both similar and dissimilar impact on predispositions to economic behavior.

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