

Value structure of the russian population and factors of its formation

Estructura de valor de la población rusa y factores de su formación

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Abstract

Based on a theoretical analysis, the article proposes a conceptual model for assessing the value structure of the Russian population and the results of an empirical study conducted on its basis in April-May 2019. The obtained data allowed to analyze the structure of the values of the adult population of Russia and the nature of the influence of socio-economic factors on their formation. The research was funded by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research².

Using factor analysis, a typological structure of the values of the adult population of Russia is revealed. It is shown that it remains predominantly "materialistic" (according to R. Inglehart). The most significant is the value of patriotism, and it has a twofold nature - active patriotism and military patriotism, each of which expresses a different understanding of love for the motherland. The high importance of family and material wealth remains. The role of "post-materialist" values is insignificant. The nature of the relationship between the state of the socio-economic situation of the adult population, the international position of Russia and the structure of population values is determined. Based on this, the social mechanism of its formation is revealed.

Keywords: value structure, economic situation

Resumen

Basado en un análisis teórico, el artículo propone un modelo conceptual para evaluar la estructura de valores de la población rusa y los resultados de un estudio empírico realizado sobre la base de abril a mayo de 2019. Los datos obtenidos permitieron analizar la estructura de los valores de La población adulta de Rusia y la naturaleza de la influencia de los factores socioeconómicos en su formación. La investigación fue financiada por la Fundación Rusa para la Investigación Básica.

Mediante el análisis factorial, se revela una estructura tipológica de los valores de la población adulta de Rusia. Se muestra que sigue siendo predominantemente "materialista" (según R. Inglehart). El más significativo es el valor del patriotismo, y tiene una doble naturaleza: el patriotismo activo y el patriotismo militar, cada uno de los cuales expresa una comprensión diferente del amor por la patria. Se mantiene la gran importancia de la riqueza familiar y material. El papel de los valores "posmaterialistas" es insignificante. Se determina la naturaleza de la relación entre el estado de la situación socioeconómica de la población adulta, la posición internacional de Rusia y la estructura de los valores de la población. En base a esto, se revela el mecanismo social de su formación.

Palabras clave: estructura de valor, situación económica.

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1. Introduction

An analysis of the influence of the Russian population value structure is currently relevant in connection with significant changes in its socio-economic situation in the last 5 years, starting in 2014. At the end of 2014, Russia entered a new economic crisis. The growth of wages and pensions almost stopped. The differentiation of the population by income level in the 21st century is very high. In the first quarter of 2019, the amount of cash income of 10% of the most and least wealthy population varied approximately by 13.9 times (The differentiation of the population of the Russian Federation in terms of income in the 1st quarter almost did not change, 29.02.2019, 17:44). A feeling of crisis is beginning to prevail among the population. According to a survey by Romir Holding, "more than half of the respondents (51%) believe that our country is currently in a state of crisis ... the total number of our compatriots who recognize the existence of economic problems has grown slightly - from 86% at the end of 2017 up to 89% in 2019. However, the degree of anxiety about the state of the economy in the country has increased significantly" (The crisis returns to the life of Russians, 2019).

Since 2014, the international position of Russia has changed significantly. After Crimea became a part of Russia, the country was subjected to economic and political pressure from the United States and Western Europe. Support of Syria in the fight against terrorist groups increased this pressure.

In this regard, a number of questions arise: firstly, how the deterioration of the socio-economic situation of the population and the international situation of Russia influenced the formation of the value structure of the Russian population. The results of a sociological study allow us to answer these questions and reveal the social mechanism of the influence of quality of life on the state of the value structure of the Russian population.

2. Methodology

In order to reveal the state of the structure of values of the Russian population and the factors of its formation, it is necessary to determine a theoretical conception of values that allows us to analyze this structure at an empirical level.

To develop a methodology for sociological research, the author chose Milton Rokeach's approach, which considers values at the instrumental level. He defines value as "a strong belief that a specific type of behavior or the ultimate goal of existence is personally or socially preferable than the opposite or reverse type of behavior or the ultimate goal of existence. A value system is a stable arrangement of beliefs regarding the preferred patterns of behavior or resulting states in a continuum of relative importance" (Rokeach, V., 1973). M. Rokeach considers value as an element of social consciousness and self-awareness. They express a collective identity and are specific to a particular social group. With regard to society, their structure can serve as a hallmark of the state of society from the point of view of the preferred ultimate goals of existence.

To build a conceptual model of this study, it is important that M. Rokeach identifies two classes of values - terminal and instrumental. This allows conducting their specific analysis. Terminal values express the preferred ultimate goals of existence. Among them there are intrapersonal, which are focused on the personality and interpersonal, which are focused on the group and interpersonal relationships. Instrumental values characterize ideal behaviors and competencies. To analyze the structure of values of the Russian population, it is important to assess the state of both types of values - terminal and instrumental, i.e. preferred ultimate goals of existence and means of their achievement in their intrapersonal expression.

However, the approach of M. Rokeach lacks a number of instrumental values that are important for the analysis of the value structure of the Russian population in modern conditions. First of all, this concerns

instrumental values. Shalom Schwartz expanded his conception of values and proposed his own classification [Schwartz S., 2008]. In his opinion, on the one hand, values can be viewed at the social level as certain normative ideals, and on the other hand, at the individual level, as priorities of specific individuals. Sh. Schwartz identifies ten values that correspond to the main goals of the individual. Substantially, they largely overlap with the values proposed by M. Rokeach. At the same time, Sh. Schwartz, on the one hand, narrows the classification of values, on the other hand, he adds his values to it based on their motivational nature. To analyze the value structure of the Russian population, first of all, it is also important to evaluate such value as security, since the modern political and economic situation makes this value one of the most significant for people.

The use of the system of values proposed by M. Rokeach and Sh. Schwartz for empirical research is associated with several problems. First, in their works they do not reveal the operational content of the values under study, limiting themselves to their use in the form of general conceptual notions. As such, it makes it difficult to measure the state of the value structure, so individuals can interpret these concepts subjectively and ambiguously, which reduces the reliability of the study. Secondly, it is impossible to declare the classification proposed by M. Rokeach and Sh. Schwartz complete. It explicitly lacks such instrumental values as patriotism and stability.

In addition, the approach of M. Rokeach and Sh. Schwartz does not cover an understanding of their typological structure of values, which would allow solving the more general task of this study - to describe the type of society that is characterized by this or that structure of values. To solve this task, the concept of political culture proposed by R. Inglehart was used. He linked its content to the modernization process. "Modernization is not the final stage of the history. The formation of an advanced society leads to another special shift in basic values - when the value of instrumental rationality characteristic of industrial society decreases. The values of postmodernity become predominant, bringing a number of diverse societal changes, from the equality of women to democratic institutions and the decline of state socialist regimes"[14]. R. Inglehart distinguishes between "materialists" and "post-materialists" depending on their orientation towards certain values. For materialists, this is mainly economic well-being, family, and security. They value the standard of living, order, rule of law more. For post-materialists, this is primarily personal independence, human rights, and freedoms, ecology. Also, they appreciate the quality of life and political participation more. At the same time, there are intermediate social groups for which both values are inherent to different extents. According to R. Inglehart's opinion, the transition from materialistic to postmaterialistic values will occur in the course of succession of generations. To a large extent, this has happened in Western Europe and North America (Inglehart, R., 1990) and is arising in Eastern Europe (Inglehart, R., 1997).

Thus, in his approach, R. Inglehart linked the process of forming values with the process of modernization, which leads to a shift in basic values, to a change in their structure. However, it is legitimate to say that the modernization process does not affect the formation of basic values directly, but through its results. One of these results is a change in the quality of life of people in a modernized society, including at an individual level. Then, a new quality of life leads to a shift in basic values. So, the advent of the Internet has led to a change in the quality of life of people and this has changed the importance of information freedom. This is evidenced by the mass protests in Russian society against the isolation of the Russian Internet (Rally against isolation of the Runet, 2019).

Thus, when studying the value structure of the Russian population, it is necessary to distinguish such a system of values from those proposed by M. Rokeach and Sh. Schwartz, which would describe the typological state of society in accordance with the theoretical approach of R. Inglehart.

At the same time, one cannot agree with R. Inglehart's understanding of the shift in basic values in the process of modernization. This understanding has a political connotation. So, he contrasts post-materialistic values - personal independence, human rights and freedoms, which come to the fore in the process of modernization of society, family values and security. In our opinion, such a contraposition of post-materialistic values, which are essentially instrumental, to terminal values is hardly legitimate. The reason is that goals-means exist in order to achieve the fundamental goals of the existence of society and the individual. Under certain social conditions, goals-means can acquire great significance in relation to fundamental goals because of the need to ensure the possibility of achieving them. But they cannot replace them. In the process of modernization, post-materialistic values will emerge as new means allowing the embodiment of terminal values in the new conditions of society. The results of many of our studies show that the family and security in Russian society in the process of its modernization are not replaced by the values of personal independence, human rights and freedoms, but continue to exist with them, occupying a higher place in the hierarchy of individual values (Averin, 2010, 2012).

Based on the approaches of M. Rokeach, Sh. Schwartz R. Inglehart, a conceptual model of research was developed. The following concepts compose its content: safety, hedonism, material prosperity, patriotism, cognition, self-preservation, freedom, family and children, stability, creativity. These concepts make it possible to assess the state of terminal and instrumental values of the Russian population and their typological structure. They were operationalized and expressed in the form of indicators, on the basis of which a questionnaire was developed to survey the Russian population.

To study the structure of values of the adult population of Russia in April-May 2019, a questionnaire apartment survey was conducted. Sampling: territorial, cluster, quota (by sex, age). The sample population was 1803 people in 22 constituent entities of the Russian Federation (49% in central cities, 28% in regional cities, 23% in rural settlements), which ensured the representativeness of the results of the study to the population of Russia aged 18 and over by gender, age, education, territorial settlement with a $\pm 4\%$ inaccuracy. The questionnaire used three blocks of questions in their instrumental expression. The first block consisted of issues related to the valuation of values; the second block - issues related to the parameter of the socio-economic situation; the third block - issues related to the socio-demographic, socio-educational and socio-territorial situation of the population of Russia. The research was funded by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research.

The results of an empirical study made it possible to determine the value structures of the Russian population, the state of the socio-economic situation of the population, and the nature of their influence on this methodology.

3. Results

3.1. Value structure of the population of Russia

In order to answer the question of what is the value structure of the Russian population, a factor analysis is carried out. It allowed identifying latent variables that describe the typological structure of the values of the Russian population and the weight of each of its types. The factor model describing this structure consists of seven components.

The principal component analysis was used as a method for the selection of factors. The *scree test*, which is a graphical method and was first proposed by Cattell (Cattell, 1966), was chosen as a criterion for the components selection.

Active patriotism has the *greatest weight* in this structure. It includes several states of consciousness of individuals that are opposite in their semantic content. These are the following positive states: to be in Russia independently on the way of life in it (variable load = +0.829) ; willingness not to leave Russia and to ensure that Russians have decent earnings and a high standard of living (SCp = +0.756); willingness to defend Russia with weapons in hand if it is attacked (variable load = +0.657); to love and strengthen the Motherland (variable load = +0.361); willingness to defend the homeland from external enemies (variable load = +0.314); willingness to defend the homeland from those who destroy it from the inside (variable load = +0.314). They are opposed by the following negative conditions: willingness to leave Russia and live in any country to have decent earnings and a high standard of living (variable load = -0.834); willingness to leave Russia if it is attacked (variable load = -0.799); follow the principle of “taking everything from life, getting as much pleasure from it as possible” (variable load = -0.259). The importance of active patriotism largely depends on age (variable load = 0.301). The older the individuals, the higher for them the value of active patriotism their connection with Russia. On the contrary, for young people this relationship is less significant. Globalization provides them with the opportunity to realize themselves in different countries and Russia is only one of such countries.

Militant patriotism is *in the second place* in terms of weight. It includes several states of consciousness of individuals that are positive in their semantic content: willingness to defend the homeland from those who destroy it from the inside (variable load = +0.843); willingness to defend the homeland from external enemies (variable load = +0.823); to love and strengthen the Motherland (variable load = +0.691); feel free in your own country (variable load = +0.371); live in a stable state (variable load = +0.364); willingness to defend Russia with weapons in hand if it is attacked (variable load = +0.272); willingness to comprehend the spiritual heritage of previous generations (variable load = +0.228). The significance of militant patriotism is characteristic of individuals regardless of their income and age.

The difference between active and militant patriotism lies in the fact that disinterested love for Russia is most important in active patriotism. However, it is not passive, but active, aimed both at protecting Russia from attacks of external enemies, and at work to achieve decent earnings and high standard of living. At the same time, the desire for freedom, comprehension of the spiritual heritage of previous generations and stability is not particularly significant in the semantic content of this type of values. In the semantic content of militant patriotism, struggle against enemies (external and internal) has the decisive importance. It is connected with the understanding of love for the Motherland, ensuring freedom in one's country and life in a stable state. At the same time, the active component - the willingness to defend the Homeland from external enemies and to ensure that Russians have decent earnings and a high standard of living - is much less expressed in comparison with active patriotism. The decisive role of the militant component in the love of the Motherland is conditioned by the external and internal situation of Russia at present. Financial and political sanctions from Western Europe and the United States, the militant rhetoric of politicians in these countries, supported by non-systemic opposition, the encirclement of Russia's borders with NATO military bases is perceived by the Russian population as a threat to its existence. It all forms in the population an increased importance of the type of behavior that expresses the desire to protect Russia from external and internal enemies.

Hedonism is *in the third place* in terms of weight. It includes the following goals of the individual that are positive in their semantic content: live comfortably without denying anything to yourself (variable load = +0.842); achievement of material wealth (variable load = 0.809); follow the principle: “take everything from life, receive as much pleasure as possible from it” (variable load = +0.616); the realization of their creative abilities (variable load = +0.212). The significance of hedonism largely depends on age (variable load = +0,278). The younger the individuals, the higher the value of hedonism for them. These young people seek to experience as many pleasures as possible at the expense of other values.

The value of the **family** is *in the fourth place* in terms of weight. It includes the following goals that are positive in terms of semantic content: creation of a strong and friendly family (variable load = 0.843); confidence in the future well-being of their children (variable load = 0.803); have a good health, live as long as possible (variable load = 0.212); willingness to defend Russia with weapons in hand if it is attacked (variable load = 0.181); live in a stable state (variable load = 0.156). Family value is characteristic of people regardless of their income and age. For this type of value, the importance of the family is predominant in relation to health, a stable state, and readiness to defend Russia with weapons in hand if it is attacked, which are means of providing opportunities for creating a strong and friendly family, confidence in the future well-being of their children.

The value of **creativity** is *in the fifth place* in terms of weight. It includes the following semantically positive goals of the individual: the realization of their creative abilities (variable load = +0.832); comprehension of the spiritual heritage of previous generations (variable load = +0.823); following the principle: “take everything from life, get as much pleasure as possible from it” (variable load = +0.208); feel free in your own country (variable load = +0.201). The value of creativity is characteristic of individuals, regardless of their income and age. For this type of value, the importance of realizing one’s creative abilities, comprehending the spiritual heritage of previous generations is predominant in relation to freedom in one’s country, which does not greatly determine the achievement of these goals for individuals.

The value of the **self-preservation** is *in the sixth place* in terms of weight. It includes the following goals that are positive in terms of semantic content: good health, live as long as possible (variable load = +0.855); live in a stable state (variable load = +0.611). The importance of self-preservation for people depends on their age (variable load = 0.207). The older the age, the higher the importance of self-preservation. Moreover, such a relationship is characteristic of people regardless of their income. Everyone wants to live for a long time, but young people, due to their age, attach less importance to a long life, since they have many more years ahead.

The value of **freedom** is *in the seventh place* in terms of weight. It includes several states that are opposite in their semantic content. These are the following positive states: Feel free in your own country (variable load = +0.769); live in a stable state (variable load = +0.311); achievement of material wealth (variable load = +0.297). They are opposed by the following negative conditions: follow the principle: “take everything from life, get as much pleasure from it as possible” (variable load = -0,376). The value of freedom is characteristic of individuals, regardless of their income and age. For this type of value, the importance of freedom is predominant in relation to the stability of the state, material wealth and opposes material pleasure. This is, in many ways, the significance of freedom in itself, as a spiritual entity.

3.2. The nature of the influence of the socio-economic situation of the Russian population on the formation of its value structure

The study examined two components of the socio-economic quality of life of the Russian population: **average monthly income per person in a family and housing conditions**. Both of these components of the socio-economic quality of life of the Russian population influence the formation of some elements of its value structure. The evaluation of influence was conducted using Spearman's correlation coefficient (hereinafter - SCC), a non-parametric method, which allows identifying the strength of the relationship between two series of comparable indicators (Kendall and Stuart, 1973).

The formation of patriotism. Of the two types of patriotism - active and militant - the **average monthly income per person in a family** only affects the formation of active patriotism. The higher it is, the lower the importance of active patriotism for people (SCC=0.184). A high level of income creates opportunities for them to ensure a comfortable life in any country. These people are characterized by the absence of an unconditional connection with their homeland in consciousness. The strongest increase in income forms the preference of people to

leave Russia in the event of an attack on it (SCC = 0.153). Thus, income has a negative impact on the formation of the value of active patriotism among the most wealthy part of the Russian population. Moreover, they love their homeland, although not unconditionally, and are ready to strengthen it, to protect it from those who destroy it from the inside. However, most of all, they love their money and do not want to risk it.

The average monthly income per person in a family does not affect the formation of military patriotism. This means that its significance is characteristic of all people, regardless of their financial situation.

The second component of the socio-economic quality of life of the Russian population, which influences with approximately the same strength as the average monthly income per person in a family, the formation of active patriotism, is the state of its **living conditions**. However, the nature of this influence is the opposite. The better the living conditions of people, the higher the importance of active patriotism for them (SCC = +0.179). Most strongly, the state of people's living conditions forms their desire to protect their homeland from external enemies (SCC = 0.16) and from those who destroy Russia from the inside (SCC = 0.142). They are not ready to leave Russia and live in any country to have decent earnings and a high standard of living there (SCC = 0.142). They love their Homeland and are ready to strengthen it (SCC = 0.134). They will not leave Russia and will strive to ensure that Russians have decent earnings and a high standard of living (SCC = 0.132). Thus, the state of living conditions has a positive impact on the formation of the value of active patriotism - it is more significant for those people who live in better living conditions, they are more willing to defend them. For them, connection with Russia is unconditional.

The formation of self-preservation value. Only the state **of** people's living conditions affects the formation of the importance of self-preservation for the Russian population. The better they are, the higher the importance of self-preservation for people (SCC = 0.138). People in better living conditions value their health more and are more concerned about the future of their children. On the contrary, in poor housing conditions one of the fundamental values - self-preservation - is destroyed.

4. Conclusions

The results of a study of the nature of the value structure of the Russian population allow us to draw the following conclusions.

In whole, the value structure of the population of Russia is predominantly "materialistic," since in the space of their values, the most important are active and militant patriotism; secondly, hedonism; thirdly, the family; fourthly, long life. This means that the population of Russia is characterized by the predominant role of instrumental rationality inherent in industrial society. At the same time, under the conditions of informational, economic and political pressure of Russia from the United States and Western European countries, such instrumental values, as active and militant patriotism, acquire increased significance for the Russian population.

"Post-materialist" values are also present in the space of values of the Russian population. This is creativity and freedom, but their significance is much lower in comparison with materialistic values. Moreover, freedom is in last place.

Young people, like the older generation, in their value structure are predominantly "materialists", since they have the same values. At the same time, the significance of a materially secured comfortable life, of getting pleasure is higher in comparison with the older generation. Young people are greater materialists than the older generation. The significance of the spiritual components characteristic of the "post-materialists" for youth is as low as for the older generation. For them, the instrumental rationality inherent in industrial society is even more characteristic. This indicates a greater, in comparison with the older generation, rationality of youth. They consider freedom to be

less significant than achieving their creative goals. Young people, compared with older generations, want to have more, rather than to know more. The spiritual side of life worries them less than the material. The saturation of Russian society with consumer values, the desire to possess them, live comfortably replaces the spiritual values of life, diminishes their significance for Russian youth and speaks of its prevailing materialistic consciousness. This means that the transition of the Russian population from materialistic to post-materialistic values with the change of generations takes place to an insignificant degree (if happens at all).

The above-considered components of the socio-economic situation of the Russian population affect the formation of the value structure of the Russian population in different ways. The average income per person in the family and the living conditions of people form a value of the active patriotism, while their influence has the opposite direction - increasing income reduces the importance of active patriotism for people, improving housing conditions increases its importance. The value of long life is formed under the influence of the living conditions of people only - the better they are, the higher the importance of self-preservation for people. This all determines the important role of improving housing conditions in the formation of the above elements of the value structure of the Russian population.

The socio-economic situation of the Russian population affects the formation of its instrumental values, goals, means, but does not affect the formation of its terminal values, expressing the fundamental foundations of people's lives - the importance of family, homeland, security, self-preservation. Their significance is maintained regardless of the socio-economic status of people. In the existing political and economic conditions of the life of Russian society, strong external pressure that jeopardizes its security, instrumental values that determine ideal ways of behavior - active and warlike patriotism - come first. This behavior serves as a tool to protect fundamental values. Moreover, the formation of the significance of militant patriotism is not affected by changes in the socio-economic situation of people. Whatever position of the Russian population is, from at this point of view, militant patriotism is of great importance to it in modern conditions. Therefore, the stronger the external pressure on the Russian society, the stronger the importance of militant patriotism for people. Thus, militant patriotism unites people under the influence of an external threat. In the minds of people, "protective" values come to the fore. Shared by all, they are the most important component of the social mechanism of social cohesion.

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