VALUE CONDITIONALITY OF IDENTITY*

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The article considers theoretical approaches to the study of values and identity, and reveals the role of values in the formation of the ethnic, regional and Russian identity on the example of Chechnya and the North Caucasus, with the sociological indicators characterizing value orientations and self-identification.

Key words: values, identity, region, tradition, present.

The modern world sees globalization processes becoming more active and promoting modernization of many spheres of social life, changes in socio-cultural values and the formation of specificity of regional and national identity. Transformation changes in Post-Soviet Russia affect the development of various types of identity. Any phenomenon and subject of reality becomes a value for people if it acquires the meaning of satisfying their requirements and meeting their interests [8].

M. Rokich defines value as a steady belief that a certain way of behavior or a final goal of existence is more preferable from the personal or social point of view. He allocates the characteristic features of values: the total number of values is rather insignificant; all the people possess the same values, but to a different degree; values are organized in systems; the sources of human values are traced in culture, society — both its institutes and the personality; the influence of values is traced practically in all social phenomena [5].

The system of values forms the internal core of culture, spiritual quintessence of requirements and interests of individuals and social communities. It, in turn, makes a return impact on social interests and requirements, acting as one of the most important motivators of social action, behavior of individuals [14]. In other words, culture determines socialization, a choice by the person of a type of behavior [13].

In the conception of the nature of identity the understanding of cultural values as manifestations of "unity and objectivity" is very significant [21]. Meanwhile, society, the state endures different periods of history. The analysis of a country's history shows that it is characterized by periodic, sharp, global, i.e. covering society, turns in the system of values [7]. So, reorganization, and then transformation of a social system entail a reassessment and change of values, identity. In these terms, "changes themselves become a self-sufficient value" [17].

Researchers point to the dependence of value orientations of the individual on various social and demographic, territorial and spatial factors. For example, on the parameter "openness — preservation" due to the age of the respondent, and orientation on

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the parameter "Care for people and nature — Self-affirmation" depending on what country the person resides in. The strong orientation of the Russians to "Preservation" that acts to a certain degree as a cultural barrier to innovative development of society is thus emphasized [16]. Undoubtedly, culture and values change slowly, but they answer after all a challenge of the changing environment. At the same time, fast changes give rise to intolerance to changes in culture [12].

Social changes in the life of Russian society and the transformation of values created conditions for the formation of new social-group identifications. It was in 1921 that Z. Freud introduced the term "identification", as we know. Identification promotes socialization, acceptance by the person of social norms as internal installations, as a guide to action [26]. The founder of the theory of identity, E. Ericson, defines group identity as inclusiveness in various communities, supported by subjective feeling of internal unity with the social environment [28]. Correlating themselves with any ideas and values, social groups are also "one of the leading human needs, making the essence of human life" [27]. Self-identification of the person can be realized at various levels — individual and social, and in different forms — national, ethnic, cultural and others [24]. This article attempts to reveal value conditionality of the ethnic, regional and civil identity.

The developed concepts of studying identity are a methodological basis for the analysis of the nature of multilevel identity. In the research the structural and functional approach, methods of comparative and quantitative analysis were applied. The sociological researches carried out in 2003 and 2009 determined the hierarchy and typology of values and value orientations in various social and ethnic groups. They also solved the task of revealing the level of territorial, ethnic and Russian identification. The object of the research was to determine the impact of socio-cultural values on the formation and development of identity.

Values form the kernel of the person and define his/her self-identification. Identification (lat. identificatio — an identification) is a difficult, many-sided process. At various levels and in various spheres it is characterized by contradictions and occurrence of problem fields of pressure. This is caused, on the one hand, by manifestations of the identity crisis under the influence of transformations in a society. On the other hand, by the need to search for a new identity or "update" it taking into account the changed socio-cultural realities.

V.A. Yadov defines social self-identification as a kind of correlation with groups and communities which the individual perceives, closes, is capable of telling and feeling: "it — we". [22]. Ethnic identification conditionally is correlated with the cultural features of ethnicity, while civil identification correlates with the attitude to the state and civil institutes [9]. V.M. Pivoyev from Karelia suggests using seven criteria, such as "soil", "blood", language, mentality, art culture, life, mythology in the research of ethnic identification [19]. E.N. Danilova, speaking of national identification, names the following criteria: a territory with certain borders, sovereignty, a uniform cultural space and the language, the national idea, the spirit of the nation, mentality and religion, traditions in culture, and the state symbols (the flag, the coat of arms, the anthem) [9]. Identity formation occurs in the context of religious and secular contradictions, traditional values

and their modernization. The character of the course of these contradictions depends on the level of education, urbanization, social employment, historical and cultural experience.

Different cultures have different sets of values. In the Russian culture, according to N.A. Berdyaev and I.A. Ilyin, the significant values are those of justice, truth, community, i. e. collectivism. What values are typical of modern Russia and in its regions, in particular, the North Caucasus? To what culture or civilization values do the North Caucasian people move — to Western or Eastern values?

We are not in a position to give full answers to these questions. But it would be desirable to make some tentative conclusions. European researcher Loek Helman does not absolutely agree with the statement: Unity of Europe is in variety. In his opinion, Europe is unified in terms of political and economic matters, while in moral values Europeans are various [4]. Caucasus is also unified in its variety, however it is divided politically. In Southern Caucasus there are independent states, the North Caucasus is a part of Russia. Even in the past Caucasus was not a political concept, but a geo-cultural one, here there are different worlds, languages and religions, but all are united by the general socio-cultural values. In this sense the Caucasian identity is a historical identity. The Caucasian identity is formed, first of all, by an emotionally endured natural and geographical environment, and a single social and cultural system of values.

Thus, some questions arise: to what extent are the inhabitants of the North Caucasus Europeans? To what degree is the European identity inherent in them? Inhabitants of the region with satisfaction remember the statements of Alexander Dumas's, who he traveled across Caucasus in X1X century, in his diaries he drew sketches of nature, described the way of life of mountaineers. Among them A. Dumas named the Chechens, Ingushs, Kabardinians and other Frenchmen of the Caucasus. At that time France personified the educated Europe. The diary records, characteristics of the people allow us to assume that A. Dumas paid attention most of all not to external anthropological similarity, but to affinity, similarity of strict, but refined manners of communication, the sense of humor of Caucasians, and also their love of freedom, respect for others, feelings of honor and dignity, readiness for risk.

Meanwhile, today the European identity is inherent to an insignificant part of the population in the North Caucasus, probably, because of external non-similarity of the way of life, social behavior, but the European social values are attractive and shared by many. The European culture is called individualistic, and Asian — collectivist [2]. The civilization feature of Russia consists in the ratio of collectivism and individualism expressing not only various vital strategies, but also the ways of the most effective solutions of vital tasks [6]. However in transitive societies, a combination of these types of cultures is observed. In some spheres of life and in some values they can be close to the East, and in others — to the West. So, the people of Caucasus who practice Islam in religious values have a spiritual commonness with the Eastern people. At the same time, in other features — such as freedom, equality and justice — they are closer to the Western culture. Adherence to the independence principle, decentralization in political management, encouragement of the individual initiative and responsibility are particularly significant.

Basic values carry out an integral function, predetermining the existence of cultural norms and identity type. The sociological poll results show that the number of respondents who wish to undertake actions on change of environment or a situation to live by traditions and customs is 49,5%, to civil norms and values — 27,6% [25].

Among the senior and, partly, middle-age generation there are more adherents of preservation and strengthening of traditional norms and values, and the young are more guided by social and cultural innovations.

Concrete value preferences give a fuller picture. During the sociological poll people were asked to estimate 14 judgments expressing 14 basic values on an 11-point scale, then this scale was reduced to 5 points. Table 1 summarizes all-Russian and the Chechen Republic indicators [20; 25].

Table 1

Value preferences of the population
(The weighted average scores on a 5-point scale)

Values	Chechnya, 2009		Russia, 2006		Values				
	scores	place	scores	place					
Integrating kernel									
life	4,82	1	4,69	1—2	family				
self-sacrifice	4,81	2	4,69	1—2	order				
family	4,72	3	4,51	3	sociability				
tradition	4,68	4	_	_	_				
order	4,65	5	_	_	_				
Integrating reserve									
freedom	4,47	6	4,37	4	life				
morality	4,41	7	4,34	5	tradition				
well-being	4,36	8	4,25	6	freedom				
work	4,12	9	4,14	7	independence				
independence	4,05	10	4,08	8	work				
_	_	_	4,0	9	initiative				
_	_	_	3,99	10	self-sacrifice				
		Opposing D	Differential						
initiative	3,74	11	3,68	11	well-being				
sociability	3,44	12	3,66	12	morality				
Conflict causing periphery									
imperiousness	2,25	13	2,24	13	imperiousness				
arbitrariness	1,99	14	2,06	14	arbitrariness				

The integrating kernel in the country includes family, order and sociability. In the Chechen Republic — human life, sacrifice, family, tradition and order.

The hierarchy in the set of values can change. The matrix of civilization base values looks as follows [15] (fig. 1).

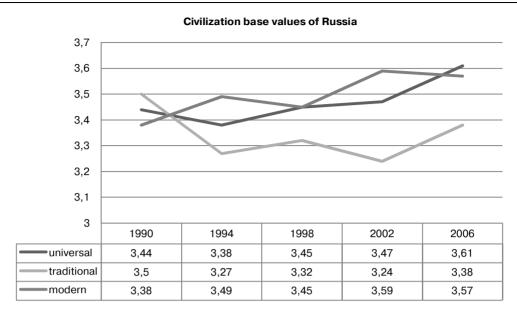


Fig. 1. The Evolution of support by Russians culturally different types of values (Average quantity of support of value types on 5number scale)

These figures for value orientations with approximately identical segments contain a cooperation and confrontation potential. Much depends on the social policy of the authorities, the position of intellectuals and the endured social and economic situation.

As we see, traditional and liberal values are strongly expressed (tabl. 2). However the paradox that many do not understand liberal views, verbally the majority can tell about the people's adherence to traditions, but practice goes forward, inducing the people to operate in the spirit of liberal values. Another peculiarity is the domination of the terminal values reflecting distant purposes, while the instrumental values serve as a means of realizing the ideals, meanings of life. So, the number of those who identify in value orientations with tradition, conservatism and the present is approximately equal, as well as in the whole country this does not eliminate crisis and the identity conflict.

The civilization model of basic values of the population of CHR [25]

Values		Traditional		Universal		Modern	
terminal	4,54	family tradition	4,72 4,68	order well-being work	4,65 4,36 4,12	life freedom	4,82 4,47
instrumental	3,52	self-sacrifice arbitrariness	4,81 1,99	morality sociability imperiousness	4,41 3,44 2,25	independence initiative	4,05 3,74
			4.05		3.87		4.27

Values are constantly developing, changing with the transformation of the social structure of society. Thus society movement to a common goal is possible only when there is a public consent concerning values [18]. There are integrating and differentiating values. According to the results of the expert poll, in a post-conflict situation such values

Table 2

as the language, tradition, the earth of fathers unite the consequences of the struggle for power, weakening the ethical standards, stratification into the rich and the poor, the competition of groups for economic space [25].

The level of social modernization in many respects creates a new type and structure of values. In an industrial society "material" values prevail, the emphasis is on economic and physical safety. In a post-industrial, i.e. information society "post-materialistic" values with a stress on individual self-expression and quality of life dominate [12]. As a result of military operations in the Chechen Republic 80% of the economy was destroyed, many people have no work, mostly preoccupied with the values of material welfare, health, satisfaction of social needs.

Ethnic and civil identification is influenced by emotionally endured historical events. They strengthen the ethnic identity and ethnic consolidation, "we-they" recall the tragic past through the prism of the "people-state" dichotomy. The display of ethnic identity depends on a specific situation, a social context. For example, during the military operations in Grozny, Russians tried at a meeting with the federal military men to underline the ethnic identity, Chechens — social, introducing themselves as teacher, engineer, builder. In other words, a protective function of identity was actualized.

The ethnic and civil identifications are interpenetrating and inter-conditioned processes, though in some regions the ethnic, territorial identity can dominate, in others it is the civil one. According to the results of sociological inquiries by the All-Russian center of studying the public opinion (ARCSPO), civil identity is more pronounced than regional, national (ethnic) and religious identity.

A.G. Zdravomyslov and A.L. Andreev consider the problem of a ratio of the all-Russian national and ethnic identity. They note: over 85% of Russians specified that they are proud of their nationality; by the way, this feeling appeared to be stronger than pride in the profession and personal achievements. Our conclusion is: the all-Russian consciousness really manifests itself not so much as a priority of civil identity over ethno cultural ("all-russianness"), but as a complex of closely connected elements in the consciousness of practically all the ethnic groups living on the territory of Russia [11].

In the North Caucasian region local and national (ethnic) identity prevails. In CHR, according to the results of sociological inquiries, the ethno-territorial identity is considerably stronger than the all-Russian and civil identity [23]. It probably results from the confrontation consequences in the region, localization of social and physical survival, and also from the world-view. Such feelings and moods are rather situational and can be changed in a long-time perspective.

At the same time, the presence of the traditional segment in culture leads to the domination of the local identity (family, relatives, friends and relatives, people of one generation, habitation territory — settlement, republic) in the region.

The high "autonomy" of regional, socio-cultural formations, groups and communities reflects not isolation or their absolute independence, but the level of maturity, integration of all society. The basic value in the formation of ethno-territorial, regional and Russian identity is patriotism (Greek patris — fatherland, the native land).

In a stable situation of peace people are involved in everyday life, focused on participation in work, study, they take pride in their history, express confidence in the possi-

bility of enjoying their rights and duties, and strong patriotism is as though overshadowed. However, with the emergence of an external danger the patriotic function of protecting, mobilizing citizens to perform their duty, preserving integrity and safety of the Fatherland comes out to the fore. The Great Patriotic War is an example of such a historical event which mobilized all the people to defend their Homeland. At the same time, the conflict situation on an intra-ethnic field and on the center-region line leads to a gap, division, in any case, at irrational level of a considerable part of the population, to increase a distance in the ratio of ethnic and civil identity [29].

Patriotism is fed by feelings of the small and big Homeland. Russia personifies Homeland for 14,3% of the interviewed Grozny citizens, the country (territory) of ancestors (62,3%), the birthplace (54,6%) is more emotionally perceived, attachment to a place where the bigger part of life (30,6%) has been spent and the real place of residence (22,9%) is strong [24].

In the hierarchy of identities a special place is occupied by religious identity. Depending on the historical situation, social circumstances, it can play the role of supplementing, competing with and even confronting ethnic and civil identity. At present, the republic sees an active development of Islam. The religion is strongly fixed in the epicenter of public, political and ideological life. In the conditions of "absent-mindedness" (unemployment is about 50% of the population), religion plays the function of social organization, social mobilization within the standard moral and ethical and law rules and values, formation of loyalty of believers to authorities. In turn as loyalty confirmation to religion, Islam of the republican and federal authority serves the development of religious infrastructure, an accomplishment of holy places, construction of mosques, opening of the Russian Islamic university in Grozny.

Now in public life of CHR there are three socio-cultural vectors, reflecting adherence to traditional, religious and modern values. With the world cultural processes penetrating each other, the British identity was added not only on the basis of the English culture, but also on the cultures of the former colonial lands [3]. In Russia such processes of interference of cultures can be found, too. The ethnic and regional identity, ethno-cultural values are the basis for the formation of the Russian civil identity. At the initial stage the Russian identity represents rather an identification by some people with the inhabitants of the country, community of ethnic groups. By the way, making comments on the data of one sociological research, Russian ethno-sociologist L.M. Drobizheva notes that the respondents representing the title ethnos, apparently, identified themselves with Russians, in the core, by territorial-space criterion, but not by civil unity. It shows that the national-civil society is only being formed [10].

In all subjects, regions identical civil values and rights form the basis in the formation and strengthening of the Russian identity. At the same time citizens have different religions and ethno-cultural characteristics, which correlate with the distinctions in cultural experiences.

The level or force of expressing identity is varied during different historical periods, in particular, under the conditions of socio-political stability and instability. The Russian identity, for example, is more expressed in North Ossetia, less in the Chechen Republic.

With stability, economic well-being and strengthening of civil institutes, the level of identification with the civil community of Russia will rise.

At present, the "Russian nation" project" — the formation of the Russian identity is being implemented, it presupposes the formation of common civil values. At the same time, there are debatable questions on the status, typology of regional communities, for example, Republics of Tatarstan, the Chechen Republic, on the possibility of forming regional "civil nations" there.

The state system is steady, if civil identity is developed. How to generate such identity — at the expense of unification, easing to the limit of national, ethno- cultural identities, or by reproducing multi-level identities? It is a question of policy and social practice.

Thus, the formation and development of all the types of identity create social and cultural values, historical memory, inclusiveness in the economic and cultural space of the country and in the globalization processes. Ethnic and civil identity have their sets of criteria, in an unstable region ethnic identification more often dominates over civil identification, the need for strengthening traditional and religious norms, values and institutes, development of local identities become more urgent. With achieving a sustainable development of society integration tendencies intensify, the level of civil identity rises.

In Russia the Russian nation, a civil society is being constructed, the Russian identity is being formed. It requires a combination, harmonization of identical civil values with different regional socio-cultural and ethno-cultural practices. Regularly conducted comparative researches, monitoring observations over various aspects of life will help to reveal the social and cultural essence of 'Caucasianness', 'Russianness', and 'Europeanness' with a multi-level identity.

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ЦЕННОСТНАЯ ОБУСЛОВЛЕННОСТЬ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ

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В статье рассматриваются теоретические подходы к изучению ценностей и идентичности, раскрывается на примере Чечни и Северного Кавказа роль ценностей в становлении этнической, региональной и российской идентичности, приводятся социологические показатели, характеризующие ценностные ориентации и самоидентификацию.

Ключевые слова: ценности, идентичность, регион, традиция, современность.