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THE ROLE OF TRUST IN THE FORMATION OF ETHNIC TOLERANCE AND SOCIAL HEALTH IN THE MODERN RUSSIAN SOCIETY

EL PAPEL DE LA CONFIANZA EN LA FORMACIÓN DE LA TOLERANCIA ÉTNICA Y LA SALUD SOCIAL EN LA SOCIEDAD RUSA MODERNA

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Abstract

The Polyethnicity of the Russian community, the intensive internal and external migration flows characteristic of the last decades, the complex religious processes of the post-Soviet period and a number of no less significant factors contributed to the deterioration of the interethnic climate in the multinational territories. There is the emergence of interethnic and interreligious intolerance against the background of the difficult socio-economic situation in Russia. This is actually for the problem of the formation, preservation and maintenance of interethnic peace and social health of various population groups. The complex social situation and social tension and sometimes open interethnic confrontations in large Russian megacities is actually for the issue of interethnic harmony and social health in modern Russian society.

Keywords

Trust – Social health – Generalized trust – Institutional trust – P ersonal trust – Russian society

Para Citar este Artículo:

Shakhbanova, Madina M.; Kasyanov, Valery V.; Gafiatulina, Natalya Kh.; Gluzman, Iuliia V.; Polivina, Marina A.; Gnatyuk, Maksim A. y Ramazanov, Rashid O. The role of trust in the formation of ethnic tolerance and social health in the modern Russian society. Revista Inclusiones Vol: 6 num 2 (2019): 296-305.

Problem statement and empirical part of the study

Trust is a phenomenon. It is difficult to conceptualize. Various components of the conscious and unconscious related to the attitude to people and social objects, their assessment in the context of "reliability" hide in the trust.[1]

Modern society is characterized by various manifestations of the phenomenon of trust. According to A. Alekseeva, grate attention is paid to impersonal forms of trust (institutional, systemic, generalized) now. According to experts, one of the main causes of the socio-economic crisis is a sharp decline in the level of trust in almost all levels of socio-economic relations. At the same time, she notes that, firstly, the situation of trust is characterized by *uncertainty*, which is associated with the variability of choice and the fundamental impossibility for the individual to predict the behavior of the counterparty. Secondly, the situation of trust is always connected with the fundamental vulnerability of the individual in relation to the partner. It arises because of the freedom of the counterparty, allowing the probability of fraud on its part, i.e. *uncertainty*. Thirdly, the provisions of trust transform the uncertainty in *risk for social health*[2]*.* Fourth, the situation of trust is characterized by the fundamental impossibility of controlling the actions of the counterparty in the monitoring mode (constant control in the process of interaction). Fifthly, the potential situation of trust in the counterparty implies the possibility of manipulating the reliability of *the counterparty* by the representatives[3].

Having developed theoretically the concept of "interethnic harmony", and analyzing it according to the results of studies in the regions and the all-Russian samples, L. M. Drobizheva includes not only favorable interethnic attitudes in the structure of interethnic harmony and the willingness to deal with people of other nationalities in the professional and informal spheres of communication, but also the value of dialogue settlement of conflicting situations, interpersonal and inter-group trust, agreed value orientations, a common vision of the image of the world. All this is manifested in the ability of people to live in a complex, diverse world, to interact with each other on the principles of trust, equality and justice[4]. At the same time, Note that the principles of trust, equality and justice are indicators of the social health of the population. But also there is no favorable relationship without trust Interethnic harmony as a resource for the consolidation of Russian society. Common, shared by the majority of ideas about the values of life, the goals of society create the basis for both trust and favorable relations, and for a high level of social health[5].

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[1] Resource Interethnic Harmony in Moscow (Moscow: Institute of sociology of RAS, 2014) y A. D. Nikolaeva & V. M. Savvinov, “Multi-ethnic school in the Russian Federation: the Preconditions of Formation and Development (a case study of a national region)”, International Electronic Journal of Mathematics Education, Vol: 11 num 10 (2016): 3405-3414.

[2] N. Kh Gafiatulina; L. V. Tarasenko; S. I. Samygin and S. Yu Eliseeva, “Social health and perception of risks by students living in southern Russian regions (based on sociological questioning data obtained in Rostov-on-Don)”, Health risk analysisnum 4 (2017): 66-75.

[3] A. Yu Alekseeva, “Basic elements and structure of interpersonal trust”. Sociological journal num 3 (2009): 25-26.

[4] L. M. Drobizheva, “The potential of interethnic harmony: understanding the concept and social practice in Moscow”. Sociological research num 11 (2015): 81- 89.

[5] Natalya Kh. Gafiatulina; Andrey V. Rachipa; Gennadiy A. Vorobyev; Valery V. Kasyanov; Tatyana M. Chapurko; Irina I. Pavlenko e Sergei I. Samygin, “Socio-Political Changes As A Socio-Cultural Trauma For The Social Health Of Russian Youth”, Modern Journal of Language Teaching Methods Vol: 8, Issue 5 (2018): 602-609 y Natalya Kh. Gafiatulina; Gennadiy A. Vorobyev; Svetlana I.

According to P. Shtompka, the culture of trust is formed in society in stages. First of all, it is formed at the individual level as a result of trusting interpersonal relations. Then, trust is "fixed" at the mass level as a social setting as subject to the preservation of social stability. Only then the culture of trust is formed as a "pressure of the environment", forcing members of society to honest and responsible behavior[6].

It is important to assess how much interpersonal trust as a willingness to trust people can participate in the formation of interethnic tolerance and thus serve as a resource for the formation of interethnic harmony and social health of people in the country[7]. The role of trust as the basis of social and inter-ethnic consolidation clearly manifests itself when analyzing the plants, reflecting the human attitude and value orientations of Russian people to ethnocultural diversity (ethnic society)[8].

Trust and interethnic tolerance as phenomena of social interaction are closely linked. We understood tolerance as respect for ethnic, cultural pluralism, positive or neutral perception of existing religious and ethno-cultural differences in society. The tolerance relies on the mechanisms of interpersonal and institutional trust in its formation largely, and trusts arising in a culturally heterogeneous social environment, assumes, in turn, the presence of a certain level of interethnic tolerance[9].

According to the authors, the phenomenon of "trust" acts as one of the most important factors of inter-ethnic tolerance playing a significant role in the formation of social health and inter-ethnic harmony.

Thus, the key factors of expression of inter-ethnic tolerance are the recognition of equality of all peoples living in the territory of the Russian state, adhering to the principles of trust in people, focus on the non-use of aggressive actions in the resolution of ethnic conflict, the lack of sustainable attitudes in the mass consciousness and behavior in the mass consciousness of Dagestan people. However, it is wrong to assume that the inhabitants of the multinational community are carriers of exclusively negative attitudes towards representatives of other ethnic, cultural, religious and racial affiliation. We can state the existence of a positive attitude towards the non-Dagestan population on the example of Dagestan. There is intolerance in relation to migrants in the mass consciousness due to socio-economic reasons.

The study of the place of the phenomenon of "trust" in the processes of formation of interethnic harmony is very difficult. The concept has different forms: 1. generalized, 2. interpersonal and 3. institutional. They are expressed in different ways in the interactions

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Imgrunt; Sergey I. Samygin; Anna T. Latysheva; Larisa I. Ermakova and Larisa I. Kobysheva, “Social Health of Student Youth in South Russia: Analysis Of The Perception Of Socio-Cultural Risks”, Modern Journal of Language Teaching Methods. Vol: 8 Issue 6 (2018): 32-41.

[6] P. Shtompka, Trust is the Foundation of society (Moscow: Logos, 2014).

[7] M. M. Shakbanova; N. Kh. Gafiatulina; S. I. Samygin; T. M. Chapurko; N. A. Levaya y N. K. Bineeva, “Youth of the South of Russia: Specifics of manifestation of ethnic identity (on the example of the Dagestan republic)”, Purusharta Vol: 10 num 2 (2018): 111-119.

[8] Maksim Vaskov; Alexander Rezvanov; Valery Kasyanov; Sergey Samygin; Natalya Gafiatulina; Dmitriy Zagutin and Lidiya Scherbakova, “Value orientations of russian youth in the system of managing the moral security of society”, Herald National Academy of Managerial staff of culture and arts num 2 (2018): 134-140.

[9] Resource Interethnic Harmony in Moscow…

of people. The significance of this phenomenon in the formation of interethnic harmony implies a detailed consideration of its forms.

In accordance with the classification proposed by R. Putnam, social capital identified with the social health of people. The first type called bonding. It characterizes the relationship between members of fairly homogeneous groups (family members, close friends), most similar to the concept of strong ties. The peculiarity of this type of social capital is that strong social ties, trust and mutual obligations within the groups provide a high level of support to its members and at the same time require them to large reciprocal obligations. The second type of social capital called as bridging (inclusive). It characterizes the relationship with friends, partners, and colleagues. These weaker and more heterogeneous relationships are especially important for getting ahead. They are constructed, supported and developed both on the basis of rational calculation, and on the basis of common interests, joint activities, supported by trust, mutual expectations[10].

Sample characteristic. A sociological study held in 2018 on the resource of interethnic consent in the modern Dagestan society. The survey was conducted in Makhachkala, Derbent, Khasavyurt, Kazbek, Kaytag, Kizilyurt, Kizlyar and Khasavyurt districts by random selection.

Study results

The formation of interethnic harmony, the maintenance of a positive interethnic climate, religious and national tolerance depends and of a social health on the expression of different forms of trust (generalized, institutional, and interpersonal) to different social spheres. A set of questions that allows identifying the level and social groups to which the Dagestan people have confidence were included in the study questionnaire taking into account the importance of this factor in the formation of social harmony and the social health in society.

According to the results of our study, the most interpersonal trust of the surveyed Dagestan peoples is demonstrated in relation to their family (84,3%), parents (69,9 %) and friends (30,1 %). Other spheres of their interaction and existence are far behind and the level of trust experienced by respondents to them is less than 10%. This shows that the modern Dagestan society a deep crisis of trust, which can destabilize the situation in the Republic as a whole. The level of respondents' confidence ranges from 53,8% to 97,1% in their family. There is the least confidence to the relative circle among Azerbaijanis and more Russians. The existence of a fairly high level of trust, in comparison with other subjects, friends, along with family and parents, diagnoses the nature of friendly relations in Dagestan society and the success of interaction at various levels of communication based on friendly relations, this is mean level social health. In other words, family, parents and friends can be described as a stabilizing factor in modern society as opposed to socio-political institutions[11]. Thus, it can be argued that trust in people of the "*nearest radius*" (family members, friends) does not depend on a person's ethnicity. We can state similar attitudes in the designation of the level of trust in their nearest social circle in all subgroups.

[10] Social Factors of Consolidation of Russian Society: sociological dimension (Moscow: New chronograph, 2010).

[11] N. Kh Gafiatulina; L. V. Tarasenko; S. I. Samygin and S. Yu Eliseeva, “Social health and…

We have hypnotize in our study, that the first group can be formed by family, parents, friends and colleagues as subjects of trust. However, the results of the study show that statistically small proportions of respondents trust their "colleagues". P. M. Kozyreva argues that, despite the enormous difficulties of the transformation period, the deepening of social differentiation, the strengthening of intolerance and disunity in society, labor collectives have maintained a sufficiently high level of intra-group cohesion and trust, which objectively strengthens the prerequisites for the development of integration processes as the basis for stable, balanced development of society. Trust is the most important foundation and component of social health. It is increases the adaptive resources of the workforce, expanding social ties, contributing to increased confidence of employees in their abilities, in their ability to withstand adverse processes of the crisis period[12]. At the same time, the level of trust in colleagues is directly dependent on the presence/absence of competition for jobs, and Dagestan is a labor-surplus region, where there is a fierce competition in the field of employment. The empirical data of our study confirm this statement. A low level of trust in colleagues may be associated with the problem of employment, the existence in the country of a high level of unemployment, the lack of demand for specialists in various fields, despite the fact that the trust of neighbors and colleagues, relatives and friends, friends is the basis for further social integration and the foundation on which "is built" under the influence of favorable socio-economic and political factors, generalized trust.

Also it was hypothesized in the study, that respondents may experience a high level of confidence in the representatives of their religion. This fact also not confirmed. Less than 10% of respondents included co-religionists in their circle. The share of such more in the sub-group of Avars and Chechens compared with other subgroups. Also, our other assumption has not been confirmed about a high level in ethnic trust to the representatives of our ethnic community. It could play a significant role in maintaining inter-ethnic harmony. Moreover, it is its resource. A close intra-ethnic communication, high frequency of contacts and the importance of the national factor are as the basis for this statement. Our empirical data indicate a low level of trust in people of their ethnic group. It does not allow us to designate this type of trust as a form of interpersonal trust.

Thus, the results of the study allow us to state a fairly high level of interpersonal trust within the family circle, although the potential of interpersonal intrafamily trust is not able to fully create the social capital and social health necessary to maintain broad horizontal ties, on the basis of which an effective social self-organization is formed. So F. Fukuyama showed that close family ties and limiting values of trust in family relations push the society to the formation of "family" associations associated with the risks of family closeness and suppression of the attitudes of trust[13]. The results of the study indicate that the possibilities of horizontal relations in modern Dagestan society are quite large. The basis for this statement is the level of trust to the family, parents and friends among the Dagestan people. It is"serves alternative "famialistic" tendency can be considered as spontaneously forming base for formation of large-scale civil associations"[14]. It should also be noted that empirical data indicate an extreme unevenness in the level of trust in public institutions of power in the mass consciousness of the Dagestan people. While

[12] P. M. Kozyreva, “To the question of trust in labor collectives”, Sociological research num 11 (2008): 24-33.
[13] F. Fukuyama, Trust: social virtue and the path to prosperity (Moscow: The Keeper, 2006).
[14] Interethnic Harmony in the Regional Context (Moscow: Institute of sociology of RAS, 2015)

mainly institutional trust is concentrated around the President of the Russian Federation. At the same time, such institutions as the law enforcement system, the Republican and local authorities, the Republican government, the head of Dagestan, unfortunately, do not enjoy a sufficient degree of trust of the surveyed Dagestan peoples.

We compared the questions "Who do you trust most?" and "Whom do you most distrust?" with the questions "How would you assess the financial situation of your family over the past year?" to establish the impact of the material well-being of respondents on the level of trust between different authorities. Thus, respondents with assess their level of well-being as good trust the Federal government (29,4 %) and the President of Russia (31,5 %). With the position of "satisfactory" respondents trust the President of Russia (31,5 %), friends (38,3 %), their family (39,8 %), parents (40,2 %), colleagues (48,7 %), religion (49,0 %) and representatives of their people (59,1 %). Respondents who characterize the financial situation of their family as bad, show distrust to law enforcement agencies (court, police, Prosecutor's office) (28,4 %), local authorities (26,1 %), Federal (21,2 %) and Republican authorities (18,9 %), the Republican government (21,1 %), the Federal government (16,9 %), the President of Russia (17,6 %), the head of Dagestan (13,7 %), the mass media (10,9 %). Thus, empirical data allow us to conclude that the state of material well-being directly determines the level of confidence in various spheres of interaction and risks for the social health. The share with not very high assess their financial situation show distrust. It is more pronounced towards the far circle (political institutions). Such a position shows fundament for social tension in the mass consciousness of the Dagestan peoples in a latent form. It can turn into open confrontation under unfavorable conditions. For example, this is confrontations between the Avars and Chechens in the Kazbekov district, Kumyk and Laktsy in the Karaman zone.

The level of confidence of the surveyed Dagestan's to political institutions, different levels of government are interesting for us as part of the study of the resource of interethnic harmony. The results of our study show that there is not a very high level of trust to the Institute of the President and to the activities of V. Putin personally in the mass consciousness. It can be assumed that this is due to the fact that the very attitude to the personality of the President may have a dynamic, firstly. Secondly, it can be a symbolic attitude to the institution of presidential power. Now Putin is perceived by the public consciousness as a key figure in world politics regardless of whether supporters or opposition.

The establishment of spheres and social groups, to which the Dagestan people interviewed have confidence, involves the identification of structures and persons to whom they do not trust. The so-called *institutional trust* shows the degree of "vertical" social consolidation. The presence and lack of trust in various social institutions exercising managerial functions and designed to maintain the rule of law, indicates, first, the degree of coherence between the interests of the government and society, and secondly, States the level of political unification around the institutions of power and political leaders. If we turn to our empirical study, the results show the lowest level of trust of the Dagestan peoples in the media (40,1 %), probably because of their focus on maintaining the ideology of official power, although the state media should be engaged in voicing the position of the authorities on domestic and foreign policy. In addition, the media, as a rule, voice certain social problems, only after the official authorities pay attention to it.

There are law enforcement agencies (38,1 %) with a small difference in the second position. A difficult relationship developed with them among the local population for a

number of reasons. Among the latter were illegal actions of their representatives, a high level of corruption in this environment, the reluctance to defend the interests of ordinary citizens, unequal treatment of offenders. The punitive measures not applied or they are very soft if it is the official and his inner circle. It is causes protest and discontent among the population. The methods of combating extremists cause a high level of distrust of law enforcement officers. Groundless accusations of Wahhabism, torture and ill-treatment of detainees in jail, kidnapping and a number of other reasons are formed a generally negative perception of this structure and personalities. There are the local and Republican authorities in in the hierarchy of structures to which respondents are distrustful. It has a significant place here. Every third respondent in the whole array and the Republican government (one fourth of the respondents) has that opinion. Such a level of mistrust tends to destabilize any society. This is very dangerous for such a multi-ethnic entity as Dagestan in which the interests of ethnic communities and ethnic clans are intertwined. Moreover, it is also a nutrient medium for reducing social health and social protest. There is this process in a latent form in the Republic. By opinion´s authors, it may well result in an active phase with far-reaching negative consequences with a charismatic leader capable of leading the protest movement. Further, there are the Federal structures in the second group. This are the Federal government (15,9 %) and the Federal government (20,0 %).The respondents demonstrate distrust in respect of the latter.

There is a differentiation of the confidence attitudes to various social institutions in contemporary Dagestan society according the obtained results. We can to observe a significant gap between the confidence of the Federal government in the person of the President of Russia, the Federal government and a marked decrease in relation to the institutions of Republican government. The authors adheres to the position that the formation of trust of the Republican and local authorities takes place on the personal experience of the population of Dagestan, which appeals to different authorities and faces their ineffective work in reality. In addition, the phenomenon of distrust is an indicator of the declines level of the social health and effectiveness/inefficiency of the activities of the Republican and local authorities, as well as management policy. At the same time, the degree of trust or distrust to the Federal government is more characterized as abstract, although it States the level of support/non-support for the socio-economic policy of the Federal center.

The representatives of the law enforcement system (courts, prosecutors, police) occupy the before late place in the hierarchy of trust structures. They urged to support law and order and protect citizens. They skip ahead mass media with a small margin. It is evidence of the existence of a deep crisis between them and the population social health risks. Moreover, it is a signal for a shortage of legal relations in modern Dagestan society. It will be quite difficult to correct the situation. In addition, the respondents demonstrated the high level of distrust in local social institutions. There are little opportunities for socio-political self-organization within Dagestan.

Thus, the results of the study show that trust is distributed very unevenly in various institutions in modern Dagestan society. There is a high level of trust in the inner circle of the environment (family, parents, friends) and a low level of trust in political and public institutions at the same time. The author's assumption that with a high level of distrust of political institutions, the level of trust in the President of Russia will be higher, the results of the study have not been confirmed. If every tenth respondent trusts the President of the Russian Federation in the entire array, then one sixth of the respondents hold the opposite position. In other words, we can confirm a low level of trust in the institutional system.

There is the institution of the court, political parties, Parliament, local government. However, even a high degree of trust to the President as the highest official does not indicate the existence of the same level of trust in the institutional system as a whole. Moreover, we can be argued that the consolidation of society around state institutions is not stable.

In other words, we can be concluded that the culture of trust in modern Russian, including Dagestan society has not yet been formed and is at the initial stage of its formation. Trust relationship is its psychological basis in a family and friendly environment, as well as in labor collectives. Civil activity is low in Russia. We can assume that a trust to the friends can contribute to the formation of civil unions with a convenient socio-economic and political situation. A high level of trust is a prerequisite for building a culture of trust and improve social health in the near environment. But a high level of distrust of official structures is a great obstacle for it.

The results of the study state the contradictory behavior of the respondents in relation to the President of Russia. On the one hand, the past presidential elections showed a high level of confidence of the electorate to the head of state. On the other hand they showed a significant decrease at the daily. Vladimir Putin noted a whole range of complex problems in modern Russian society in his speech. He stressed the need to focus the government's efforts on domestic policy to solve social and economic problems because there is quite high protest potential in Russian society latently. It is important to identify those social spheres that the head of the Russian state had to be paid attention for our study.

The data of the answers to the question "What problems have to be solved by the President of Russia on the post?" showed the position that the President should solve the problem of unemployment (52,7 %). There is the share with such opinion more than half in all subgroups except for Russians (38,2 %) and Chechens (44,0 %). There are opinions about the importance of ensuring a fair distribution of income in the interests of ordinary people (51,6 %) and the fight against corruption existing in all spheres of modern Russian society (health, education, law enforcement, etc.) (51,4%) with a difference in hundredths of shares. One second part of the respondents holds the position that the head of state is obliged to ensure that Russians receive quality medical care, compliance with the law and order by all citizens regardless of their social status and material income, as well as effective economic development of the country. Every third of the respondent across focuses a high material level of Russians and education quality. The answers "to return to people the funds that were lost during the socio-economic reforms of the post-Soviet period" and "to ensure the protection of the rights of Russians abroad" noted a significantly smaller proportion of respondents compared with other opinions. Thus, the results of the study show that the surveyed Dagestan people are very much concerned about the social sphere with the low level of their lives and social health. There is the subsidization of the Republic, corruption scandals, a high level of distrust of various levels of government, protest potential in Dagestan society. All of the above is also one of the significant factors in the deterioration of the ethnic situation in General in Dagestan and a factor hindering the development of the principles of interethnic harmony.

Conclusion

The phenomenon of "trust" and the degree of its severity diagnose the state of interethnic climate and and social health level the nature of interaction of respondents in

different social spheres, as well as focus on maintaining or ignoring ethnic contacts. There is a formation of the environment of culture of trust in the conditions of polyethnic and polyconfessional in the modern Dagestan society. The uniting function is carried out by institutional trust, interpersonal trust, interethnic and interreligious trust. In other words, there is the level of trust and distrust in different social circles of interaction as an important resource for the formation of interethnic social health in modern Dagestan society. These are family, friends, colleagues, political institutions, etc. There is attitude to trust in General "everything" as the Dominant opinion in the mass consciousness of the respondents. It is called a generalized can play a key role both in the formation and strengthening of interethnic harmony, reduce the level of tension and confrontation in the interethnic sphere. Generalized trust and interethnic tolerance are in close interaction and mutual influence. The role of generalized trust in the formation of the principles of tolerance is important. And the tolerance is important to maintain confidence in different social groups and layers.

The authors preceded from the assumption that ethnicity having an institutional status in Dagestan is intensively expressed in daily contact. One of the parameters of interethnic harmony is a high level of interethnic and interreligious trust. The results of our study showed that the level of confidence in the representatives of their people and religion of the surveyed Dagestan peoples is not very high. It is 4,0 % and 8,7 %, respectively. Institutional trust shows the degree of "vertical" social consolidation. Trust in the institutions of power, which are obliged to carry out management functions and ensure stability in society states the level of coordination of interests of power and society, as well as the political consolidation resource around the power institutions and personalities. The results of the study suggest the ambiguity of the situation when the respondents demonstrate some confidence in the institutions of power, despite the poor assessment of the quality of their socio-economic, political, religious and other policies. Empirical data showed a relatively high level of trust in the Federal institutions of power (the President, the government), while its manifestation in relation to the local and Republican authorities is low (the third part demonstrates distrust of the representatives of the Republican and local authorities, one fourth of the Republican government). The respondents have the least confidence in the media, which pursue an information policy corresponding to the position of the official authorities. If they try to reflect a different point of view, that after the "approval from above". For example, it was with the arrests of large Dagestan officials.

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