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Aims and Scope:

Changing Societies & Personalities is an international, peer-reviewed quarterly journal, published in English by the Ural Federal University. *CS&P* examines how rapid societal-level changes are reshaping individual-level beliefs, motivations and values – and how these individual-level changes in turn are reshaping societies. The interplay of personality traits and sociocultural factors in defining motivation, deliberation, action and reflection of individuals requires a combination of theoretical and empirical knowledge. Since an interdisciplinary approach is needed to understand the causes and consequences of the contemporary world's changing socio-political institutions, moral values, and religious beliefs, the journal welcomes theoretical and empirical contributions from a wide range of perspectives in the context of value pluralism and social heterogeneity of (post)modern society.

Topics of interest include, but are not limited to

- value implications of interactions between socio-political transformations and personal self-identity;
- changes in value orientations, materialist and post-materialist values;
- moral reasoning and behavior;
- variability and continuity in the election of styles of moral regime and/or religious identity;
- the moral bases of political preferences and their elimination;
- social exclusion and inclusion;
- post-secular religious individualism;
- tolerance and merely "tolerating": their meanings, varieties and fundamental bases;
- ideologies of gender and age as variables in political, moral, religious and social change;
- educational strategies as training for specific social competences;
- social and existential security.

The journal publishes original research articles, forum discussions, review articles and book reviews.

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EDITORIAL

In Search of New Research Paradigms

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Permanent socio-cultural transformations, reflection on which is the main scope of *Changing Societies & Personalities*, continue to generate social theories with their own methodologies for constructing and representing social reality. The poly-paradigmatic nature of contemporary social knowledge implies its embeddedness in various theoretical systems that create alternative pictures of the world. On the one hand, social knowledge is pluralistic, that is, allowing for a plurality of equivalent explanatory concepts; on the other, it is interdisciplinary, that is, irreducible to the methodology of a single social or humanities discipline. The paradigms of social knowledge are immanently linked to social, political, economic and cultural contexts of a particular society. Structurally, these paradigms comprise not only explicit (conscious), but also hidden (unconscious) elements. The articles presented in the current issue of *Changing Societies & Personalities* demonstrate all these qualities: they are based on different conceptual foundations; they reflect specific features of the current state of the described societies; they are self-critical and leave room for further research.

In the article *Knowledge: From Ethical Category to Knowledge Capitalism,* Dmitry M. Kochetkov and Irina A. Kochetkova assert that contemporary economics considers knowledge as one of the main factors in economic growth, along with scientific and technological progress. The economic interpretation of knowledge is currently changing, and a new neoliberal paradigm of science and higher education is emerging. The authors aim to define "knowledge" as an economic category in comparison with various knowledge-based economic concepts. The authors analyze the learning economy where learning "is understood not simply as an access to information but as acquisition of certain knowledge and skills"; they describe the knowledge economy as an economic system where "knowledge is a key factor (or resource) in production and economic growth". They examine the economics of scientific knowledge (ESK), an approach to understanding science, which relies on the concepts and methods of economic analysis in the study of the epistemic nature and value of scientific knowledge.

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Several helix models are constructed to elucidate interactions between the university, business, government, civil society institutions, etc., and to determine favorable conditions for sustainable development. Finally, the theory of knowledge-based public administration is proposed as a new research field.

In the article *Changing the Paradigm of Inclusion: How Blind People Could Help People without Disabilities to Acquire New Competences,* Konstantin V. Barannikov, Fayruza S. Ismagilova, Zijun Li, and Oleg B. Kolpashchikov stress the exceptional importance of involving people with disabilities (PWD) in the workplace. The initiation of effective disability inclusion programs has become a vigorous imperative for organizations, which presupposes the fulfillment of productive and competitive diversity for them, as well as the possibility for people with disabilities (PWDs—over 15% of global populations) to become equally recognized and appreciated for their potentials. The authors point out the wide distribution of a paternalistic paradigm—"a model of attitude towards a person who is incapable of independent existence and self-development and therefore needs protection, care, and control". The authors disagree with this approach, claiming that PWDs possess unique potentials, particularly in mentoring activities. As a result, a new disability inclusion paradigm is proposed for involving successful blind professionals, who have the ability to adapt to changing conditions because of extraordinary tactile and auditory perception skills and cognitive capacities, including memory and language. In addition, successful blind people have a high level of ambiguity tolerance, which is a crucial quality for leadership. The article defines inclusion "as an intercultural interaction between people with and without disabilities", which enriches organizational diversity and culture.

Rini Sudarmani, Tri Wahyuti, and Prima Naomi in the article *Surviving COVID-19 Pandemic: The Role of Social Media and Family Social Capital in Promoting a Healthy Lifestyle in Indonesia* describe the efforts of the Indonesian government undertaken to curb massive COVID-19 outbreaks. Specifically, the authors analyze the Policy of Emergency Public Activity Restrictions (PPKM), which, among other things, urges government offices, schools, and private companies to shift their operations to the online mode. As a result, the potential of social media and the number of social media users in Indonesia is constantly growing (about 160 million active users out of 272.1 million of total population). In particular, the article focuses on the role of women in the promotion of a healthy lifestyle, because "in Indonesia, mothers are responsible for the health and happiness of their families and they are also the ones who introduce new values and habits into family routines". The authors investigate the relationship between the extent to which mothers in Indonesian families use social media and their views on the principles of healthy living based on the survey of 156 married female respondents conducted in 2020.

The article *A General Attitude towards Shopping and Its Link with Basic Human Values in the UK* by Francesco Rigoli proposes a classification of shopping as a prototypical expression of consumer culture according to the two broad conceptional frameworks: Self-expression theories and Social Status theories. The former "interprets the appeal of shopping as arising because shopping would be experienced as a manifestation of personal freedom, choice, and autonomy, allowing one to

articulate one's own identity, rationality, and creativity". The latter maintains that "in consumer societies, which goods one purchases is fundamental for defining social status, thus rendering shopping attractive in the race for social rank". The author notes that the debate between Self-expression theories and Social Status theories raises an empirical question concerning the real appeal of shopping for common people.

Natalya A. Kostko and Irina F. Pecherkina in the article *Urban Identities in Russian Cities and the Prospects of Their "Smart" Development* investigates "citizens' ideas about the cities they inhabit and about the ideal city they would like to live in". The authors present the results of a survey conducted among the residents of three Siberian cities—Tyumen, Tobolsk and Khanty-Mansiysk, located in the Tyumen Region in Western Siberia,—in order to show the correlation between these people's urban identities and their willingness to contribute to their cities' "smart" transformations in the future. In the article, the concept of "smart city" is used, which offers a versatile view on how cities may integrate into the information society comprising such aspects as economy, mobility, environment, people, governance, environment, etc., as well as provides an attractive vision of the future. The authors stress that "an important element of the concept is its focus on public engagement and on empowering the citizens by inviting them to take part in the process of decision-making". In the article, different local contexts, which should be taken into account in governance practices, are investigated.

The article *Cognitive Attitudes and Biases of Victim Mentality* by Olga O. Andronnikova and Sergey I. Kudinov is focused on the problems of victimization and victim behavior, which are analyzed from different perspectives. The authors define victimization "as a consequence of negative events experienced by a person"; and victimhood "as a set of human characteristics caused by a complex of social, psychological, and biophysical conditions that exist in a cultural context and contribute to the maladaptive style of an individual's response, which leads to the damage of their physical or mental health". The nature of victim behavior and victimogenic cognition are examined with the purpose of verifying the main hypothesis of the article: the correlation between the level of victimhood and the irrational beliefs that determine the nature of victim behavior. The study is based on the interviews with 106 specialists in psychological counseling.

Christos Konstantinidis, Evangelos Bebetsos, Filippos Filippou, and Eleni Zetou (Komotini, Greece) in the article *Gender Attitudes toward Homosexuality in Greece,* mark two major socio-political reasons for the massive rise of homophobia in the 1980s: first, the spread of HIV/AIDS, which caused the death of thousands of gay men, and second, the growing influence of fundamentalist Christian movements, which aggravated the hatred against the homosexual community. Concerning Greece, the authors note that the research on homophobia is limited; they mention the divided nature of the society where only half of the citizens are homosexual-friendly. Women are more receptive to homosexuality than men; younger people are more open-minded concerning sexual orientation than older people. The article pays special attention to homophobia in sports. Data on the current situation in various sports in Greece is collected and analyzed. The authors used the Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay

Men (ATLG) scale to measure people's attitudes toward homosexuality. In addition, the relevance of the ATLG Scale to the population of Greece is estimated.

The BOOK REVIEWS section contains three reviews. *Trade, Politics and Borderlands: Russia and Britain in the Age of Enterprise* is a review of Matthew P. Romaniello (2019), *Enterprising Empires: Russia and Britain in Eighteenth-Century Eurasia* by Sergei V. Sokolov, who investigates commercial relationships between the British and Russian empires throughout the long 18th century. The second review *Orwellian Doublespeak: Dialogicality and the English Language* by Thomas Beavitt is aimed at validating (or rejecting) the ironic usage of the term "Orwellian" as applied in the context of contemporary English language scientific communication. The third—*Reactualisation of Triadology in Polemics with Postmetaphysics*—by Andrey V. Lavrentiev is a review of Oleg Davydov's *Revelation of Love. Trinitarian Truth of Being*, 2020, which is considered as an attempt to justify the truth of the Christian understanding of reality in the contemporary world.

Discussions around the topics raised in the present issue will be continued in the subsequent issues of our journal. In planning to introduce new interesting themes, we welcome suggestions from our readers and prospective authors for thematic issues, debate sections or book reviews.

For more information, please visit our journal web-site: https://changing-sp.com/

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ARTICLE

Knowledge: From Ethical Category to Knowledge Capitalism

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ABSTRACT
In the post-industrial economy, the efficiency of scientific knowledge generation becomes crucial. Researchers began to interpret knowledge as a factor of economic growth in the second half of the 20th century; since then, within the theory of economics and management, various approaches have been developed to study the impact of knowledge on economic growth and performance. With time, the focus of knowledge-based theories shifted from corporate management to macrosystems and economic policy. The article describes the main stages in the development of socio-economic concepts of knowledge and analyzes the theoretical and methodological aspects of each approach. The authors have also formulated the critical problems in the analysis of the economic category of knowledge at the present stage and suggested ways of overcoming them. The article may be of interest both to researchers and to practitioners in the sphere of corporate strategies and economic policy.

KEYWORDS
knowledge management; intellectual capital; knowledge economy; economics of scientific knowledge; Triple Helix; Quintuple Helix

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Introduction

The category of *knowledge* was first introduced into scientific circulation in ancient Greece. However, initially, this term had an exclusively philosophical or ethical meaning. Socrates considered knowledge a source of virtue, and his disciple Plato interpreted knowledge similarly. Aristotle's interpretation was much closer to the modern understanding of the word, but it would not even have crossed his mind to regard knowledge as a way of developing the Greek economy (in fact, the very concept of economics in its modern sense did not exist at that time). Until Marx's time, practice had been seen as something unworthy of a philosopher. The Christian church even equated knowledge with revelation, and wealth was declared sinful. Everything changed with the advent of the scientific and technological revolution, followed by the industrial revolution. Natural sciences were rapidly developing, and technical inventions were rapidly changing the world. Surprisingly, the economics came to the role of scientific knowledge and technological progress in the development of socio-economic systems only in the second half of the 20th century.

At the present stage of the development of science, knowledge, as well as scientific and technological progress[1], are considered the factors of economic growth, regardless of school and course within the framework of economic science. However, theoretical and methodological disagreements between neoclassicists, institutionalists, Marxist, and other schools often obscure the very essence of knowledge generation processes and their economic significance. First, it is necessary to trace the evolution of the theory of economic growth. Classical economists from Adam Smith to Marshall attributed higher economic growth rates mainly to the accumulation of physical capital (Marshall, 2013; Mill, 1848; Say, 1836/2008; Smith, 1776/1874). Thus, in the classical theory of economic growth, knowledge was absent as a category.

The economic crisis of the 1920s–30s made economists concentrate on the problems of the business cycle: thus, Keynes (1936) dealt with fluctuations in unemployment and output in determining interest rates and money supply. Harrod and Domar, following the Keynesian model, adopted a constant savings rate and capital intensity ratio when deriving the economic growth formula (Domar, 1946, 1947; Harrod, 1939). Solow's neoclassical growth model included maximizing the profits of producers, who align marginal costs and marginal productivity of factors of production; maximizing utility by consumers, who save a fixed share of their income for future use; the equality between savings and investment, and the replacement of capital and labor (Solow, 1956). Technological progress was an exogenous factor in the Solow model—countries with a higher level of savings had a higher income level. Still, higher growth rates were possible only due to a higher level of technological progress. Lucas (1988), Arrow (1962), and Romer (1990) made the technological

[1] The authors consider scientific and technological progress as a process of implementing scientific knowledge in practice; therefore, in the text we will use the term "knowledge" in relation to both scientific knowledge and scientific and technological progress. In cases where the difference is essential for the study, we will make an appropriate emphasis.

factor *endogenous* by introducing knowledge or human capital into the production function along with physical capital.

Not only is the economic interpretation of knowledge changing, but the new neoliberal paradigm of science and higher education is also emerging. This issue is considered, for example, in the article by Olssen and Peters (2005), and others (Hornidge, 2011; Jessop, 2016). In classical liberalism, the individual is characterized as having an autonomous human nature, capable of realizing their rights and freedoms. In neoliberalism, the state seeks to create not just a person, but a competitive entrepreneur. Education and science in the concept of neoliberalism are interpreted in terms of inputs–outputs, thereby being reduced to an economic production function. The main aspects of the new public management are flexibility (for organizations through the use of contracts), clearly formulated goals (both organizational and personal), as well as focus on results (measurement and managerial responsibility for achievement). In addition, the microeconomic methods of the quasi-market or private sector with their new set of contractual norms and rules replaced the *"ethics of public service"*, according to which organizations were regulated in accordance with the norms and values arising from assumptions about the *"common good"* or *"public interest"*. Consequently, the concepts of *"professional"* or *"trustee"* are considered in the framework of the *"principal-agent"* scheme. The scale of institutional changes at the current stage allows us to talk about a new socio-economic formation—*knowledge capitalism*.

Generally, nowadays, there are four factors[2] that can shift the production possibility curve to the right without an inflationary gap (arranged in increasing order according to the degree of impact):

- physical capital
- increase in the quantity of the workforce
- increase in the quality of the workforce
- scientific and technological progress

The first factor is functionally dependent on the level of savings and investments. The third and fourth factors are the result of the efficient generation of scientific knowledge, which can be accumulated both in the form of human capital and intellectual property[3]. Accordingly, the effective generation of scientific knowledge can eliminate structural imbalances and ensure economic growth without inflationary costs. The purpose of this work is to propose a definition of the economic category *knowledge*, based on the comparative analysis of the interpretations of knowledge generation in various socio-economic concepts. Furthermore, we intend to clarify what role knowledge plays in economic processes at the current stage of development and how this phenomenon affects various socio-economic systems.

[2] The authors deliberately do not consider natural resources as a factor of economic growth in the new economy. On the contrary, the resource orientation of the economy of a country (region) may have extremely negative consequences.

[3] An example is the Leontief paradox, which showed the capital intensity of American exports precisely in terms of human and not physical capital.

Processes of Knowledge Generation

The concept of knowledge generation is rooted in Schumpeter (1934), who methodologically separated innovation from inventions. The cycle of scientific and technological activities includes three phases: invention (creating new knowledge)–innovation (implementing new knowledge)–imitation (copying innovation by other market players). Vanderburg (2005) extends this scheme from the perspective of the technology life cycle: invention–innovation and development–diffusion–substitution. It should be noted that the concept of diffusion of innovation has become extremely popular towards the end of the last century (Eveland, 1986; Peres et al., 2010; Rogers, 2003). Lonergan expanded the scope of diffusion of innovation by proposing a repeated cycle of technological, economic and political changes: situation–insight–communication–conviction–agreement–decision–action–new situation–insight, etc. (Lonergan, 1997).

It should be noted that a distinction is made between analytical knowledge (scientific base) and synthetic knowledge (engineering base) (Laestadius, 1998). Science is to explain the global issues of human existence and the world, or to find universal patterns—"truths" (Frezza et al., 2013). Lonergan (1997) further emphasized mathematical and empirical heuristic structures. Engineering/technology aims to meet the urgent needs of man and society (Koen, 2003), to create artifacts. Analytical knowledge more often takes an explicit or codified form (articles, reports, patents); synthetic knowledge exists in a tacit form, it results in new products and technological processes (Popov & Vlasov, 2014). Codified knowledge has a standardized compact form (David & Foray, 1995) and can be delivered over long distances (Foray & Lundvall, 1996); tacit knowledge is sensitive to localization—it is usually transmitted personally. This classification of knowledge came from the work of Polanyi (1962), who wrote about the impossibility of separating the produced knowledge from the personality of the researcher. Moreover, two types of knowledge (explicit and tacit) dynamically interact with each other, which is the basis of the spiral process of expanding existing knowledge. Nonaka and Takeuchi in the mid-1990s created a model for the interaction of explicit and tacit knowledge in the process of knowledge generation in the workplace. This model is known as SECI and will be discussed in more detail in the following section of this paper (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). Individual and organizational knowledge is maximized by translating tacit knowledge into explicit, which can then be interpreted, presented, codified, stored, retrieved, and disseminated (Nunes et al., 2006).

Sociologist Pitirim Sorokin proposed an original interpretation of knowledge generation as an *epistemic process* (Sorokin, 1941). His model included three stages:

- *Mental integration* is the union of two narratives into a single system as an act of creation of the human mind;
- *Empirical objectification* is a means of "delivering" new knowledge to the final recipient;
- *Socialization* is the dissemination of knowledge among individuals through socialization agents.

The latter emphasizes the social context of the utilization and dissemination of scientific knowledge, which makes it similar to the diffusion of innovations and hermeneutics.

Considering the acquisition of new knowledge as a production process, three stages of knowledge generation are traditionally distinguished: generation, dissemination, and utilization (Popov et al., 2009). We proposed to supplement the model with the distribution of knowledge; thus, the knowledge generation cycle consists of four stages: (a) production; (b) exchange; (c) distribution; (d) utilization of knowledge (Kochetkov & Vlasov, 2016). It is essential to draw a line of demarcation between exchange and distribution. In the case of an exchange, we deal with the relationships of one or more economic agents. Distribution implies the free distribution and use of new knowledge by an unlimited circle of economic agents. Distribution of knowledge allows the creation of externalities that stimulate regional economic development. Knowledge-spillovers, in this case, are an exogenous factor in relation to a particular company or industry (Jacobs, 1969, 1984; Porter, 1990).

Knowledge-based Management Concepts

Knowledge Management

Considering the generation of scientific knowledge as a production process, we need to determine the control functions of this process. Without dwelling on the whole variety of management theories, we adhere to the concept of the classical administrative school of management (Fayol, 1949), which distinguishes four main functions of management: planning, organization, control, and motivation. It seems relevant to us to interpret motivation as leadership, respectively, further we will adhere to this functional scheme (planning, organization, control, and leadership).

In the mid-1990s, Nonaka and Takeuchi developed the SECI explicit/tacit knowledge generation cycle (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). The acronym SECI refers to the four-phase cycle of knowledge creation:

- *Socialization*: tacit knowledge is distributed between people through the institution of mentoring, conversations, corporate culture, exchange of experience, etc. Key skill: Empathizing.
- *Externalization*: people begin developing metaphors and analogies to explain the rational meaning of implicitly informed behavior. Tacit knowledge becomes more explicit in the process of developing concepts. In other words, this process can be described as a codification of tacit knowledge. Key skill: Articulating.
- *Combination*: explicit ideas are combined with other explicit ideas in finding dependencies and eliminating redundancy; the culmination of the process is the creation of complete descriptions of processes and procedures for completing tasks. Speaking of scientific knowledge, we mean the formulation of scientific laws. Key skill: Connecting.
- *Internalization*: explicit ideas expand during development. Knowledge is again in the zone of socialization, and the spiral of knowledge cultivation is entering a new round. Key skill: Embodying.

Nonaka and Takeuchi classified knowledge as an asset based on the SECI model into four groups:

- *Routine Knowledge Assets*: tacit procedural knowledge routinized and contained in organizational culture, action, and everyday practice.
- *Systemic Knowledge Assets*: explicit, codified and systematized knowledge stored in documents, databases, manuals, specifications, and patents.
- *Conceptual Knowledge Assets*: explicit knowledge in a symbolic form, including product concepts, brand equity, design styles, symbols, and language. Note that scientific knowledge also belongs to this group.
- *Experiential Knowledge Assets*: tacit knowledge arising from collective experience, including the skills and judgments of individuals, prosocial feelings such as trust and care, as well as motivational resources that fuel engagement, passion, and tension.

The concept of Nonaka and Takeuchi is mainly focused on procedures, which causes difficulties in quantifying the result. In an attempt to bridge this gap, the theory of intellectual capital was developed.

There are a number of terms quite similar to knowledge management. E.g., the term *"cognitive management"* can be found in literature treated as *"the systematic management of processes by which knowledge is identified, accumulated, distributed and applied in an organization to improve its performance"* (Abdikeev, 2014, our translation from Russian—D. K., I. K.). Based on this definition, we can conclude that the terms "cognitive management" and "knowledge management" are synonymous.

Intellectual Capital (IC)

The concept of intellectual capital was originally used in corporate strategies and had the same theoretical prerequisites as knowledge management, so it is often very difficult to draw a clear distinction between these two theoretical concepts. Brooking (1996) defined intellectual capital as a combination of intangible assets that allow companies to create sustainable competitive advantages. Stewart (1997) defines intellectual capital as "knowledge, information, intellectual property, experience that can be used to create wealth" (Stewart, 1997, p. X). Dumay (2016) replaces "wealth" with "value" for two reasons: (a) the term "value" is used much more often in theoretical studies of intellectual capital and the practice of strategic management than "wealth"; (b) the inputs and outputs of the process of creating intellectual capital cannot always be measured in money. Thus, the question about what constitutes the intangible assets that make up the intellectual capital of an organization is still open for debate.

Traditionally, three components of intellectual capital are distinguished: human capital, structural capital and customer capital (Bontis, 1998; Miller et al., 1999). The first two components are internal in relation to the organization; the third one is external. In relation to the latter, the term "relational capital" (Khavand Kar & Khavandkar, 2013) is often used, which covers all external relations of the company, including market relations, relations of cooperation, power and management.

This approach seems to be preferable, as the company in the process of creating value contacts not only customers, but also suppliers, authorities, and public organizations (for example, in Russian business practice, relations with government structures make up an important part of intangible assets; sometimes they even are the key asset of a company).

The concept of *human capital* goes back to Adam Smith as *"acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants or members of the society. The acquisition of such talents, by the maintenance of the acquirer during his education, study, or apprenticeship, always costs a real expense, which is a capital fixed and realized, as it were, in his person"* (Smith, 1776/1874, p. 122). One of the first to use the term "human capital" was Nicholson (1891). Later it was adopted by various authors, but until the end of the 1950s, it did not become a part of the lingua franca of economists. This term was introduced into wide use by Mincer (1958). Schultz (1961) considered human capital as something akin to property, which fundamentally distinguishes this concept from the classical interpretation of labor in economic theory. The publication of the book by Becker (1993) marked the finalization of human capital as an independent research field[4]. The main component of human capital is the knowledge and skills acquired in the process of education, training, and work. However, in recent years, health has been increasingly referred to as a component of human capital (Goldin, 2016), although this indicator is often used in the analysis of macro systems[5].

Structural and *relational capital* are sometimes referred to as *social capital*, which, in its turn, forms intellectual capital together with human capital. Thus, the typology becomes multilevel. J. Nahapiet and S. Ghoshal (1998) refer to social capital as cognitive capital, which means general cognitive codes (symbols), language and meanings (narratives). This definition is very close to Frolov's classification of institutions (Frolov, 2016):

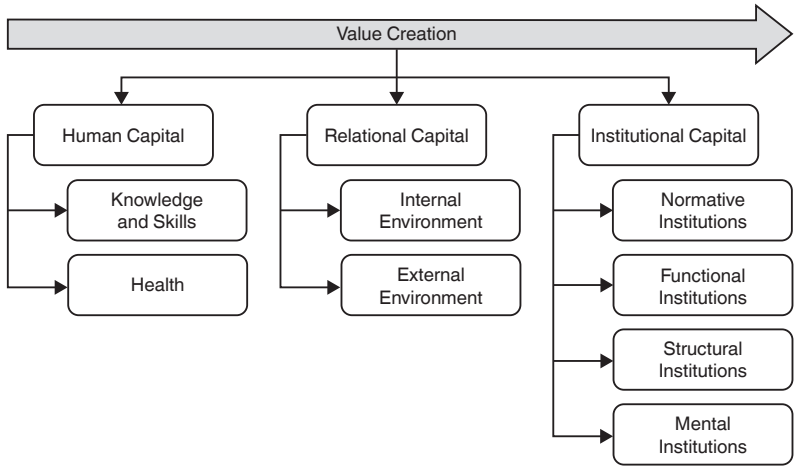
- regulatory—norms, rules, customs, standards, conventions, contracts, etc. (North, 1990);
- functional—status functions and routines (Nelson, 1994; Searle, 1995);
- structural—organizational forms and models of transactions (Scott, 1995);
- mental—collective representations, beliefs, stereotypes, values, cognitive patterns, etc. (Denzau & North, 1994).

Thus, the term *"institutional capital"* seems to be more applicable in this case, because it more accurately describes the essence of the phenomenon (Fig. 1). It is important to note that institutional capital comprises those institutions that directly participate in or contribute to the value creation process.

[4] However, Becker, by his own admission, was forced to use a long subtitle to defend himself from the attacks of critics.

[5] On the other hand, firms also take care of their employees' health, usually by paying for health insurance and sports. It recognizes the importance of employee health indicators in the value creation process.

Figure 1
The Structure of Intellectual Capital



Regarding the process of creating intellectual capital, researchers most often identify combination and exchange (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). The concept *"combination"* goes back to Schumpeter: *"To produce means to combine materials and forces within our reach"* (Schumpeter, 1934, p. 65). This concept is also found in the cycle of generating explicit/tacit knowledge of Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) and in studies of organizational learning (Boisot, 2013; Cohen & Levinthal, 1990; Kogut & Zander, 1992). Combination along with codification is one of the ways of producing new knowledge.

Knowledge exchange can exist both in the external and internal environment of an organization. The processes of internal knowledge sharing are most consistent with the institution of teamwork, which is a form of social interaction based on the unity of goals, objectives, and methods of work performed and built into the organizational context (Kozlowski & Bell, 2003). The most important determinants of a successful team are complementarity of skills (Davis, 2009), mutual assistance (Khatri et al., 2009), and trust between participants (Chiregi & Navimipour, 2016). The exchange of knowledge in the external environment refers to various forms of networking. As an example, we can cite "hybrids" in the terminology of Williamson (1991), who made a methodological transition from the "firm-market" dichotomy to the "market-hybrid-hierarchy" coordinate system.

Recently, researchers have increasingly used the theoretical and methodological apparatus of intellectual capital in the process of analyzing meso- and macro-systems (Bounfour & Edvinsson, 2005). In this case, the process of creating intellectual capital is supplemented by at least two phases—distribution and utilization. As mentioned above, exchange is a closed process in which two or more partners participate. In contrast, distribution is an open process of disseminating knowledge within a certain economic space. Distribution creates positive externalities; therefore, its role for economic growth

is even greater than in the case of exchange. In particular, Marshall (2013) was among the first to identify the role of externalities in economic development; later, Arrow (1962) and Romer (1986) further developed and supplemented the concept; it was finalized by Glaeser et al. (1992). This type of externalities, known in science as MAR (Marsall–Arrow–Romer), is based on the flow of knowledge (knowledge-spillovers). A prerequisite for their occurrence is specialization, as externalities are endogenous to the industry. The concept of J. Jacobs, unlike MAR, implies a diversified economy (Jacobs, 1969, 1984). The flow of knowledge in its interpretation is an exogenous factor in relation to a particular industry, but endogenous in relation to the territory. M. E. Porter subscribed to the same view (Porter, 1990).

The utilization of knowledge in a given territory plays an equally important role in the process of creating intellectual capital. Knowledge can be consumed as part of a product or service of both final and intermediate consumption. In the latter case, a company or another department within the same organization may act as a customer. In the situation of intermediate consumption, knowledge is often transferred in the form of Intellectual Property Objects (IPOs). Thus, the key indicators for the analysis of the intellectual capital of a country, city or region could be easily identified—these are, first of all, indicators of the creation and use of intellectual property objects, the knowledge-intensiveness of goods and services produced, as well as indicators of the health of the population included in the workforce.

It should also be noted that a country (region, city) is not an economic agent, unlike a company, therefore the main task of the government is to create conditions for the accumulation of intellectual capital within a given territory. Accordingly, with reference to the meso- and macrolevels, our definition of intellectual capital of a region (country) is as follows:

> The intellectual capital of a region (city, country) is a set of assets, factors, and conditions that determine the production (codification, combination), exchange, distribution and utilization of knowledge in the process of public production in a given territory.

Research and practice in the field of intellectual capital is the subject of a wide range of organizational theories and methodologies, but the theoretical understanding of this matter is still quite limited (Dumay, 2012). Theoretical and methodological pluralism causes a lack of unified approach to the assessment of intellectual capital[6]. This theoretical inconsistency is an obstacle to understanding intellectual capital, possibly explaining the limited use of intellectual capital management and accounting (measurement) methods (Rooney & Dumay, 2016). Thus, most schools, within the framework of knowledge-based management concepts, focus on the description of procedures, but have poor measuring instruments, and most importantly, do not provide a comprehensive theoretical understanding of the role of knowledge in the process of economic growth, which often interferes with their practical application.

[6] For example, the lack of a unified approach to accounting for intangible assets is a rather serious problem, considered in accounting studies.

Knowledge-Based Economic Concepts

Learning Economy

The distinction between explicit and tacit knowledge has been used in a number of works on the *learning economy* (David & Foray, 1995; Foray & Lundvall, 1996; Lundvall & Borras, 1997; Lundvall & Johnson, 1994). The learning economy is an economic system in which the ability to learn is critical to the success of people, firms, regional and national economies. Learning is understood not simply as access to information but as acquisition of certain knowledge and skills (Lundvall & Borras, 1997). Learning as a process is present in both knowledge-based and traditional sectors of economy. The development of competencies in low-tech industries may be more significant for economic growth than in a small number of high-tech enterprises (Maskell, 1996, 1998).

The learning economy is one of the theoretical branches of knowledge-based economy; however, in economics and economic policy, the term "knowledge economy" is more rooted than "learning economy" (European Council, 2000). Nevertheless, the learning economy played an important role in the transition from managerial concepts of the micro-level to the analysis of knowledge generation processes and their impact on economic growth at the macro-level. First of all, this concept has been widely used in regional studies (Maskell & Malmberg, 1999; Morgan, 1997; Storper, 1995, 1997), particularly, in the theoretical concept of regional competitiveness. The discourse of competitiveness at the macroeconomic level goes back to Michael E. Porter. In his influential work, The Competitive Advantage of Nations (Porter, 1990), Porter applied his concept of strategic advantage to firms and industries to analyze the competitive position of nations. He argued that the new competitive advantage paradigm had replaced the obsolete Ricardian theory of comparative advantage. Porter's position was severely criticized, primarily by Paul Krugman (Krugman, 1994, 1996). Nevertheless, the concept of Porter, despite some internal inconsistency and obvious incompleteness, was recognized both among the "new regionalists" (Huggins, 2000, 2003; Malecki, 2002; Maskell & Malmberg, 1999), and political discourse (European Commission, 1999, 2004; DTI, 2003).

One of the most authoritative works on the new paradigm of regional development was published by Morgan (1997). It formulates the following basic principles of a new approach to the development of regions:

- The network paradigm overcomes the traditional state-market antinomy thanks to developed intermediary institutions, such as regional development agencies.
- The convergence of economic geography and innovation studies creates a potentially important new research area that focuses on the *interactive model of innovation*, as well as the role of *institutions* and *social agreements* in economic development.

The network model of innovation and development of the social capital of territories were put into practice in the 21st century, but mostly within the framework of the knowledge economy.

Knowledge Economy

The knowledge economy can be generally defined as an economic system where knowledge is a key factor (or resource) of production and economic growth (Kochetkov & Vlasov, 2016). The term "knowledge economy" was coined by Machlup (1962) in relation to one of the economic sectors and this term immediately found wide application in the corporate sector. Drucker (1970) noted the crucial role of knowledge in the process of creating added value. In the late 20th century, knowledge began to be perceived as a key factor in economic growth. Thurow (1999) provided a set of applied recommendations for achieving a high level of social welfare through the knowledge economy.

It was important to comprehend theoretically the role of knowledge generation in economic growth, to find their place in economic models. The knowledge economy is based to a large extent on endogenous models of economic growth. Romer (1990) introduced into the production process the factor of accumulated knowledge that arises as a result of R&D at universities or research institutes. Stocks of knowledge that exist in the form of constructions, formulae or models are non-rival goods with positive externalities in consumption, since they are freely available. Romer assumes separate production functions for research products, intermediate and final consumption goods, illustrating the endogenous process of technological progress and its impact on economic growth. Workers in the research sector produce new ideas that they sell to firms, which, in their turn, apply these ideas for production of final goods. The productivity of workers in the final goods industries increases when they get the best tools for the job. Thus, economic growth is ultimately the result of the use of human resources in the research sector, such as universities and research institutes. The production function is similar to the Solow model:

$$Y = K^{1-\alpha}(AL_Y)^{\alpha},$$

where Y is the level of output, A is the level of technology, L_Y is the volume of labor costs, K is capital, and a is the labor input coefficient of production. The level of technology A is now the result of the workers' efforts in the research sector. The total labor force (L) can be used either in the knowledge sector L_A, or in the final goods sector L_Y:

$$L = L_A + L_Y.$$

Technological progress in endogenous economic growth models equals an increase in research labor:

$$\frac{\dot{A}}{A} = \delta L_A.$$

This definition implies that the increase in the overall productivity of factors of production will be proportional to the number of labor units related to research and development (R&D). With a constant share of labor involved in R&D, technological progress will be proportional to the labor force—the result found in the Romer/Grossman-Helpman/Aghion-Howitt models and many others. Accordingly, higher population growth rates are beneficial, not harmful to economic growth because the economy can attract more people to research and development.

An essential alternative specification of the R&D equation, which, at least on the surface, supports the key results of the Romer/Grossman-Helpman/Aghion-Howitt models without imposing economies of scale, suggests that the increase in overall factor productivity depends on the proportion of research work, not its quantity:

$$\frac{\dot{A}}{A} = \delta \frac{L_A}{L} = \delta s.$$

Eliminating economies of scale is an extremely attractive idea, but nonetheless, it contradicts the foundations of the Romer/Grossman-Helpman/Agpion-Howitt models. The specification without economies of scale is counterfactual, according to which an economy with one unit of labor can produce as many innovations (or at least can generate equivalent growth in the total productivity of factors of production) as an economy with one million units of labor. Besides, both specifications of the model did not find empirical evidence. Jones (1995) showed the possibility of using the average research productivity parameter (the so-called decentralized model) in the model:

$$\overline{\delta} = \delta A^{\varphi} L_A^{\lambda},$$

where $\overline{\delta}$ is the average productivity of research labor, A is the stock of knowledge or technology in the economy, φ measures externalities during the R&D process, λ reflects the possibility that duplication and coincidence of studies at a certain point reduce the total number of innovations produced by L_A units. Accordingly, the growth rate of knowledge is equal to:

$$\frac{\dot{A}}{A} = \frac{\delta L_A^{\lambda}}{A^{1-\varphi}}.$$

By differentiating this equation, one can find that the technological progress rate g_A is determined by the population growth rate and externalities:

$$g_A = \frac{\delta n}{1-\varphi},$$

where n is the growth rate of labor.

The knowledge economy is an essential part of political discourse, e.g., it initially formed the basis of the regional policy of European integration (European Council, 2000). The decisions of the Lisbon European Council are often regarded as a political failure now because these decisions were not implemented properly and did not produce expected results. Nevertheless, it was these decisions that led to the development of such projects as the European Research Area (ERA) and smart specialization.

The World Bank is evaluating the level of development of the knowledge economy at the global level. Its methodology includes 147 indicators for 146 countries in the following areas: economic indicators, institutional regime, power, innovation, education, gender indicators, and information and communication technology (ICT) (Chen & Dahlman, 2005). Based on these methods, the KAM Knowledge Index (KI) and the Knowledge Economy Index (KEI) were created (World Bank Institute, 2012).

Economics of Scientific Knowledge

The economics of scientific knowledge (ESK) is one of the youngest areas in the heterogeneous field of "Science of Science". The ESK relies on concepts and methods of economic analysis to study the epistemic nature and value of scientific knowledge (Zamora Bonilla, 2012). The expression "economics of scientific knowledge" was first popularized by W. Hands in a series of works from the 1990s (Hands, 1994a, 1994b). The term itself arose by analogy with the sociology of scientific knowledge (SSK).

The theoretical framework of the economics of scientific knowledge consists of two major theoretical paradigms—optimization and exchange. The former is based on the premise that the search for the best research methodology is the rational maximization of the utility function by the individual (scientist). C. S. Peirce was one of the first scholars to discuss this topic in 1879, less than ten years after the emergence of marginal analysis in economic theory (Kloesel, 1989). The book remained almost unnoticed but was re-discovered almost 100 years later by Rescher (Rescher, 1976). In his later works, Rescher consistently developed Pierce's ideas (Rescher, 1978, 1989). Another author who tried to apply the cost-benefit rationality to the problems of the philosophy of science was J. Radnitzky (Radnitzky, 1986, 1987).

Another approach to optimization is an attempt to define a specific ("cognitive" or "epistemological") utility function that should be maximized by rational scientific research. It is a strategy of making decision on the adoption of certain assumptions or hypotheses. Therefore, it is assumed that scientists must solve a scientific problem instead of looking for an alternative solution if and only if the *expected utility (EU)* that they receive from the first decision is higher than the expected utility that they will receive from any other solution to this problem. The expected utility of accepting hypothesis *h*, taking into account the evidence *e*, is defined as:

$$U(h,e) = \sum_{s \in X} u(h,s)p(s,e),$$

where *s* are the possible states of the surrounding world; *u*(*h,s*) is the epistemic utility of accepting *h* if the true state of the world is *s*; and *p(s,e)* is the probability that *s* is a true state, taking into account the evidence *e*. Naturally, the fundamental problem of this approach is the very definition of a utility function (or what is a utility in this case) (Zamora Bonilla, 2012). Levi (1967) and Hilpinen (1968) add the risk-taking parameter to the expected cognitive utility:

$$EU(h,e) = p(h,e) - qp(h,e),$$

where parameter *q* is a measure of the scientist's attitude to risk: the lower *q* in the researcher's epistemological utility function, the greater is the tendency to avoid risk.

Numerous economic agents are interconnected, which generates multiple social phenomena that are also studied by economic science. From this theoretical premise, a paradigm of exchange in the ESK was developed. The metaphor of the

scientific market was put forward by Coase (1988), who argued that he did not see the difference between the market for goods and the market for ideas. This approximation allows us to use market analysis methods for epistemological purposes. It should be noted that the theory of market relations in science studies is the subject of heated debate. A number of researchers claim that the more science becomes a market, the less it benefits ordinary citizens (Fuller, 2000).

The ESK is a young[7] and promising scientific field. However, it stands closer to epistemology than to economics. Despite the use of economic research methods, scientific knowledge, as a rule, is considered in isolation from the actual economic processes.

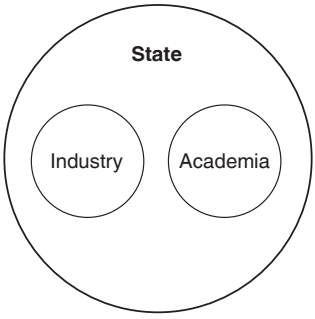
Helix Models

The helix models describe the cyclic process of the development of economic and social systems. The *Triple Helix* concept was introduced at the turn of the millennium (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000) and influenced regional development projects in the 21st century. Its structural components were studied by Henry Etzkowitz from the University of Entrepreneurship (Etzkowitz, 1983, 1998), and by Loet Leydesdorff and Peter Van den Besselaar in the field of evolutionary dynamics of science, technology and innovation (Leydesdorff & Van den Besselaar, 1994, 1998).

The Triple Helix implies the interaction of the university, business and government in creating innovation. An important role is played not only by the participants themselves, but also by the type of relationship between them. For example, in the USSR and other countries of the socialist camp, there was a closed model, where the state played the role of supreme arbiter (Fig. 2) in relations between universities and industry—Mode 1 (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000). The model is characterized by isolation from the outside world, and the absence of a market mechanism determines the low efficiency of the innovation process. Unfortunately, this model of "bureaucratic innovation" not only still exists in Russia but is also actively stimulated by the state through direct financing mechanisms, tax incentives, and companies with state participation.

Figure 2

An Etatistic Model of University–Industry–Government Relations



Source: Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff, 2000.

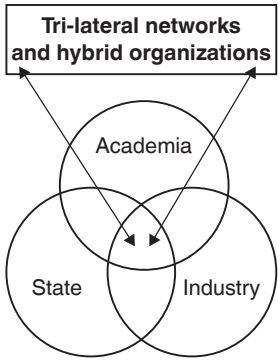
[7] Excluding the work of C. S. Pierce, but it was invisible to the scientific community for a long time.

Mode 2 of the Triple Helix implies the independence of its participants from each other. Goods and services are acquired from each other on a contract basis for reasons of profit. Thus, mode 2 goes back to the classics of economic theory, the "invisible hand" of Adam Smith (Smith, 1776/1874). Nevertheless, as we know from the further development of economic science, classical political economists did not take into account market failures. Therefore, this theoretical model almost never works well in practice (just as there is no market economy in its purest form).

Mode 3 of the Triple Helix implies the overlapping of institutional spheres (Fig. 3). It is in the overlay areas that redundancy is generated. Generation of redundancy is on the top of information flows (Leydesdorff, 2018; Leydesdorff et al., 2017). The term *"Triple Helix"* is usually associated with this model.

Figure 3

The Triple Helix Model of University–Industry–Government Relations



Source: Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000.

For this model to function, an *"endless transition"* is extremely important. It is nothing more than an endless process of creative destruction according to Schumpeter. This process stimulates a constant increase in the role of knowledge as a resource in production and distribution (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000).

In one of his later works, Etzkowitz also emphasized the exceptional role of the university and state in the period of the change of technological paradigms (Etzkowitz & Klofsten, 2005). The university assumes the roles of creating development forms unusual for common practice (in addition to traditional training and fundamental research). Business is increasingly engaged in self-training and research. The government (in this case, regional authorities) provides support for initiatives through regulatory mechanisms, fiscal policy instruments, and direct funding.

Elias Carayannis and David Campbell expanded the model of the Triple Helix by proposing the *Quadruple Helix*. In addition to the university, business, and government, the fourth helix includes civil society institutions. The authors themselves defined the fourth helix as *"public"* (based on media and culture) and *"civil society"* (Carayannis & Campbell, 2009). Of course, the public is a core element in the knowledge-based society as the main consumer of knowledge.

Knowledge flows permeate all areas of public life. An equally important component is the "knowledge culture", which includes values and lifestyle, multiculturalism and creativity, the media, universities, and multi-level innovation systems (local, regional, national and global) (Carayannis & Pirzadeh, 2014). Together, they form the *"Creative Knowledge Environment"* (CSE), i.e., a social environment conducive to the creation of new knowledge and innovation. This concept directly correlates with the institutional environment, in particular, with the degree of economic freedom in the country and the type of social contract.

If the Quadruple Helix contextualizes the Triple Helix model in social environments, then the *Quintuple Helix* introduces the natural context of innovation systems. The Quintuple Helix, in full accordance with the interdisciplinary nature of modern scientific knowledge, aims to create and develop conditions for the sustainable development of society, the economy and democracy in the mid- and long term. Carayannis & Campbell introduced the concept of *"social ecology",* which represented a transdisciplinary field of research for comprehensive solutions to global problems (Carayannis & Campbell, 2010). Thus, while the first three helixes represent the institutional spheres of the innovative development of society, the fourth and fifth helixes contextualize their interaction in social and natural environments.

Discussion and Conclusions

The socio-economic approaches to knowledge as an economic category are summarized in Table 1. The subject-object scheme is the basis of classification.

Table 1

Knowledge-based Socio-Economic Concepts

Theoretical concept/ framework	Key thesis	Subject	Object	Note
1. Theory of economic growth:				
1) Neoclassical Solow Model	The level of technology is a given (exogenous) factor	Economic agents; macro level entities (city, region, country)	Technology level within the production function	The most universal theoretical models; the theoretical basis of the knowledge economy and neoclassical theory as a whole
2) Endogenous Growth Model	The stock of knowledge accumulated in the economic system overcomes the law of diminishing returns		Stock and flow of knowledge within the production function	
2. Knowledge Management	Strategic management of knowledge generation processes creates sustainable competitive advantages	Economic agents	Knowledge generation processes within the firm	One of the most popular and widely used models in the corporate sector; however, the weak point is the lack of a single quantitative methodology for analysis and control

Table 1 Continued

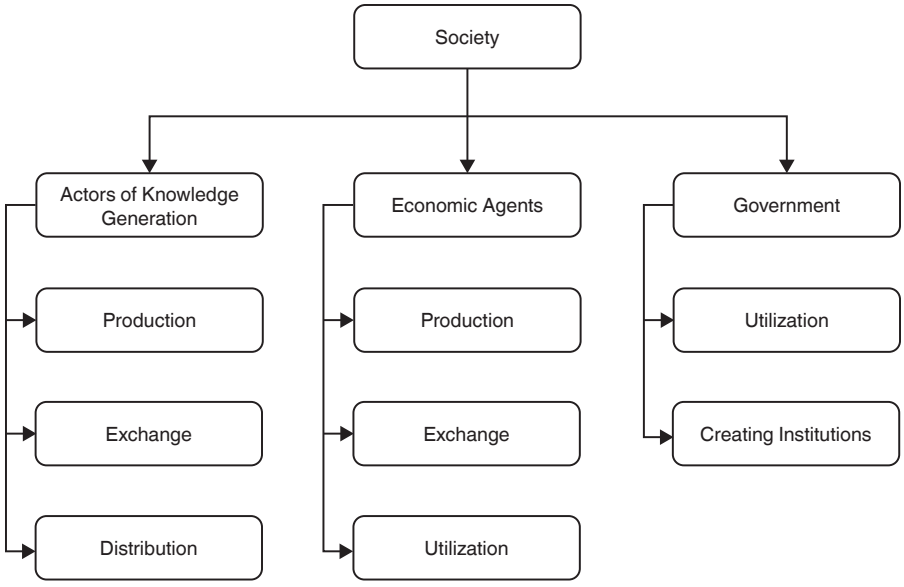
Theoretical concept/ framework	Key thesis	Subject	Object	Note
3. Intellectual Capital	The accumulation of intangible assets creates sustainable competitive advantages	Economic agents; since the 90s. XX century – macro level entities (city, region, country)	Intangible assets (human capital, relational capital, institutional capital)	A more transparent quantitative methodology than in the previous case, however, key indicators remain the subject of discussion
4. Learning Economy	Learning ability is a critical factor in economic success	Economic agents; regions	Learning processes within economic systems	This theoretical concept existed for a rather short period of time, losing theoretical competition to the knowledge economy
5. Knowledge Economy	Knowledge is a key growth factor in the new economy	Economic agents; since the 90s. XX century – macro level entities (city, region, country)	Knowledge generation processes within economic systems	It is one of the most recognized and widely used socio-economic concepts at the present stage of development; based on the theoretical basis of neoclassical models of economic growth; popular in political discourse
6. Economics of Scientific Knowledge	The researchers' decisions in the process of choosing a methodology are similar to maximizing behavior of an economic agent; it opens new possibilities for applying the methods of economic analysis in epistemology	Resercher; research team	Optimization of the function of cognitive (epistemic) utility	A young and extremely promising field of research, which is closer to epistemology than to economic theory
7. Helix models				
1) Triple Helix	Overlapping of institutional spheres generates redundancy	University-business-government	Generation of redundancy and synergetic effect	Influenced most regional development projects in the 21st century
2) Quadruple Helix	The fourth helix includes civil society institutions	+ public and civil society		Contextualizes the Triple Helix model in social environments
3) Quintuple Helix	Introduces the natural context of innovation systems	+ natural environment		Contextualizes the Triple Helix model in natural environment

Source: authors' own development

The variety of theoretical approaches is historically explainable, but at this stage we need integration. A theoretical understanding of the knowledge economy at the macro-level requires new approaches because the government is neither an actor in the generation of knowledge nor an economic agent. Nevertheless, the government creates conditions for effective generation of scientific knowledge. In our opinion, it is necessary to formulate a new theoretical field that synthesizes the approaches of the knowledge economy, knowledge management and intellectual capital at theoretical and practical levels. The goal of the new scientific field should be the formation of the *theoretical foundations of public administration, focused on improving the efficiency of knowledge generation processes as a factor in economic growth*. Let us call it the theory of *knowledge-based public administration*. This theory is based on two premises:

1. *Functional differentiation of entities in the process of knowledge generation.* The process of knowledge generation includes 4 phases: production (codification/combination), exchange, distribution, and utilization (Fig. 4). The state, not being a direct participant in these processes, performs the essential function of creating the conditions for efficient generation of knowledge within the socio-economic system. These conditions are implemented in the form of institutions created by the government. At the same time, both government and actors in knowledge generation (universities, research institutes) are representatives of society; in other words, they are connected with society by principal-agent relations. In turn, economic agents are part of society, i.e., we can speak about the relationship between the whole and the part.

Figure 4
Functional Diagram of the Entities in the Process of Knowledge Generation

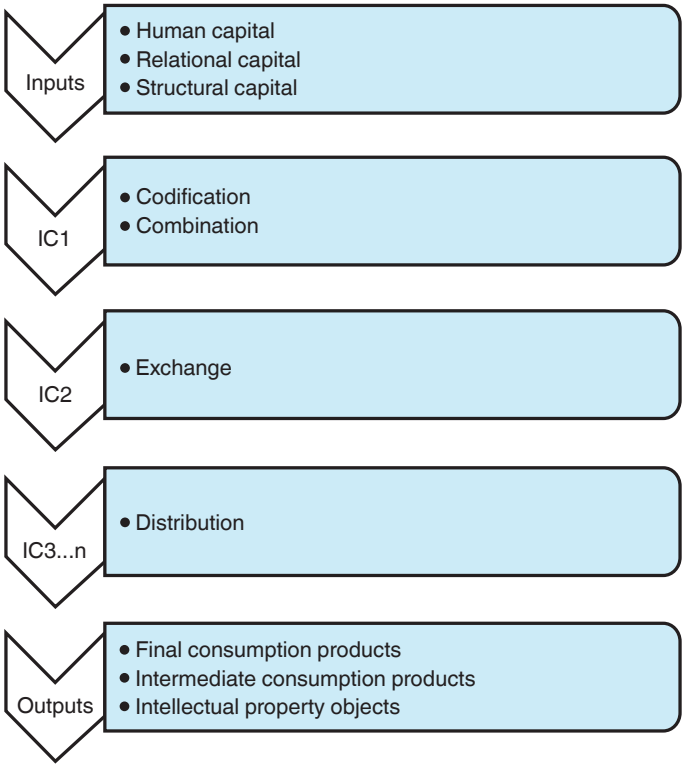


For approximation purposes, we attribute knowledge generation actors to the public sector (universities, research institutes); corporate departments (R&D) are economic agents in this diagram. They both produce knowledge and make an exchange on a contract basis. Nevertheless, it is the public sector that disseminates knowledge through various distribution channels, creating positive externalities. The corporate sector, on the contrary, is interested in limiting the effect of externalities through the legal mechanism of intellectual property. Economic agents consume knowledge in the form of final or intermediate consumption products, as well as intellectual property objects. The government is also a consumer of knowledge, but its primary function is to design and implement optimal institutions. It is important to note that the generation of knowledge is a cyclic process, which is reflected in the SECI explicit/tacit knowledge generation cycle.

2. The process of knowledge generation is based on the continuous transformation of intellectual capital. In the description, we followed the process approach: the inputs of the process are human, relational and institutional capital; outputs are products of final/intermediate consumption and objects of intellectual property (Fig. 5). The outputs of one process can become the inputs of another.

Figure 5

The Process of Transformation of Intellectual Capital



If we look at the theory of the knowledge economy through the prism of K. Marx's theory of social reproduction (Marx, 1885/1992), it becomes obvious that part of the country's economy will always be involved in the process of reproduction of intellectual capital[8]. We can state the emergence of a new socio-economic formation—knowledge capitalism. We understand knowledge capitalism as an economic system based on expanded reproduction of intellectual capital and characterized by high mobility of resources and factors of production. Accordingly, one of the important consequences of the transition to knowledge capitalism will be a further decrease in the role of national borders in the global economy, i.e. the process of its de-territorialization. Knowledge capitalism along with the knowledge economy is a template for national policies (primarily, Western countries and "developed" Asia) starting with the reports of the OECD (1996) and the World Bank (1998), which consider education as an underestimated form of knowledge capital that will determine not only the future of the economy but also society as a whole (Guy Peters, 2012).

Intellectual capital has a number of significant differences from physical capital that shape the new formation:

- The accumulated intellectual capital (stock) directly affects the flow of new knowledge. This ability of the system to self-development underlies theories of endogenous economic growth. Knowledge creates the effect of externalities—for example, the knowledge gained in one scientific field creates a cumulative wave in other scientific areas; the same applies to industries. At the same time, the costs of replicating knowledge in comparison with the costs of their creation are negligible.
- The period of renewal of intellectual capital is much shorter than that of physical capital. It can be associated with Moore's law, according to which the chip power doubles every two years without increasing the cost. Accordingly, the business cycle in modern conditions is becoming much shorter.
- The intangible nature of knowledge does not allow us to talk about the complete alienation of the results of scientific work. The process of alienation is affected by such characteristic of scientific work as authorship. Therefore, we can assume that an increase in the share of intellectual capital in products will contribute to a more equitable distribution of income in the future.
- An essential component of intellectual capital is human capital, which has high mobility. Therefore, the task of both firms and the government is not only to create/attract human capital but also to retain it.

It is important to note that here we get a new "paradox of knowledge". Knowledge is created both through public funds and through private investment. It is impossible to split financial flows within one socio-economic system. Therefore, private business often uses the knowledge created at the expense of all taxpayers to create their own products, including intellectual property. On the other hand, very often inventions of

[8] Even Adam Smith attributed knowledge and skills to constant capital.

private companies change the world for the better (remember mobile phones). From the global perspective, the private ownership of knowledge, which is supported by the patent law institution, deepens inequalities between countries. This huge topic is beyond the scope of this study, but it is an extremely interesting and promising direction for future work.

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ARTICLE

Changing the Paradigm of Inclusion: How Blind People Could Help People without Disabilities to Acquire New Competences

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ABSTRACT

People with disabilities have been increasingly regarded as the most powerful and overlooked workforce in the labor market, although frequently confronted with ineffectiveness in cooperation with colleagues without disabilities. The traditional paradigm of inclusion considers blind people as dependents needing help. Inclusive society is highly aimed at effective interactions between the workforce with and without disabilities. The present article regards people with disabilities as those having diverse potentials, which stem from different cultural backgrounds, and behaving differently during intercultural interactions with individuals without disabilities. This article proposes a new disability inclusion paradigm involving successful blind professionals in mentoring activities, to share their experience with top managers and experts in Russian organizations. Through focus groups and in-depth interviews, this article finds specific differences in explicit and implicit interactive behaviors between individuals with and without blindness.

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Furthermore, the present article highlights the positive effect of a disability inclusion paradigm on cultural intelligence development of organizational managers and experts.

KEYWORDS
blind person's competence, paradigm of disability inclusion, mentoring and mentorship, cultural intelligence, intercultural interaction

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Introduction

In an unstable social and market environment, diversity management in an organization has become one of the most pressing problems. In particular, the question arises of how to ensure the effective functioning of organizations where the workforce is diverse in terms of language, well-being level, and work experience. In turn, these differences can lead to misunderstandings and even conflicts in interactions between employees, managers and subordinates. One of the manifestations of diversity is inclusion as a way of involving people with disabilities in a work team (Alexandra et al., 2021; Sherbin & Rashid, 2017). Diversity equals representation, while inclusion integrates diverse potentials, encourages their participation, and fosters the competitive edge of diversity (Sherbin & Rashid, 2017). Inclusion involves group members' high-level sense of belonging and own value of uniqueness in the organization (Afsar et al., 2021; Shore et al., 2011). Yet, as a nascent issue, an inclusion paradigm of social minorities in the workplace has been scarcely pictured (Brimhall et al., 2017).

Inclusion of disability in the workplace has been growingly addressed by government policies and organizational initiatives in the last decade (Swain et al., 2013). It has become a vigorous imperative for organizations to initiate effective disability inclusion programs to realize a win-win solution. Not only could organizations fulfill productive and competitive diversity, but also people with disabilities (PWDs) become equally recognized and appreciated for their potentials.

According to the World Report on Disability (2011), over 15% of global populations live with disability. Working-age persons with disabilities are an untapped workforce. For the last decade, PWDs have been treated as dependents needing assistance (Bualar, 2014). The traditional practice of including people with disabilities is based on a paternalistic paradigm. We understand the paternalistic paradigm as a model of attitude towards a person who is incapable of independent existence and self-development and therefore needs protection, care, and control.

However, PWDs possess unique potentials. Adjustment to disabilities is not a mysterious or trouble-free process; it demands extraordinary adaptive and interactive abilities for PWDs to obtain a significant level of success. Extant studies have highlighted that PWDs facilitate improved productivity and economic benefits

in organizations despite the expense of accommodation (Solovieva et al., 2011). Managers without related experience feel hard to recognize specific potentials of PWDs and establish the compelling strategies for disability inclusion in workplaces (Baldridge et al., 2015; Bonaccio et al., 2020). One of the ways to effectively include employees with disabilities is to involve them in mentoring activities. This new role of a mentor will allow an employee with disabilities to get out of the relationship of paternalism and become a leader and role model for their colleagues.

Because of differentiated experience, education and norms, PWDs and people without disabilities could be recognized as two social groups that possess respective cultural traits (Wilson et al., 2017). The group of PWDs co-constructs their commonly shared social knowledge, cultural identities, and group affiliation. In addition, these two groups structure their own in-group favoritism and stay stable to a certain degree (Efferson et al., 2008). Disability inclusion may lead to adjustment issues for both PWDs and individuals without disabilities, which is similar with what expatriates face in cross-cultural contexts. Therefore, disability inclusion in workplaces requires from employees the use of cultural intelligence (cultural quotient or CQ); this refers to the competence to function and interact successfully in culturally diverse contexts (Earley & Ang, 2003), and is cited as a vital competitive element of top managers (Dogra & Dixit, 2019). A recent study has highlighted that benign inclusion and intercultural interactions are related to individuals' CQ development (Alexandra et al., 2021).

Our idea is to abandon the paradigm of paternalistic attitudes towards inclusion. This study aims to describe the phenomenon of inclusion as a constructive intercultural interaction between people with blindness and people without disabilities. As participants of such interaction, people with disabilities:

a) carry differ cultural traits;
b) behave differently when interacting with non-disabled colleagues;
c) enhance organization's competitive advantages by their activities; and
d) help employees and managers learn new competencies, such as attention to weak signals, openness to new experiences, and the ability to interact with people from a different culture.

Thus, this article proposes a new role for people with disabilities in Russian organizations. Successful blind people act as mentors and share their unique knowledge with top managers and the talent pool. Specifically, blind mentors train non-blind peers to acquire the practices used by blind people, and therefore to identify cross-cultural differences in interactive behavior between blind people and their non-disabled colleagues. In this article, we show that mentors with disabilities help leaders and experts to develop managerial competences more successfully.

Disability Inclusion Strategy: Involving PWDs in Mentoring Activity

Building on existing literature, disability is interpreted more as a social and cultural phenomenon than purely an individual pathological phenomenon. The World Report on Disability (2011) defines disability as the impairments, limitations and restrictions that a person faces in the course of interacting with their environment—physical, social, or attitudinal. The social model towards disability, which developed in the early 1970s,

has posited disability as a socially-created product rather than individual failings (Barnes, 2019; Harpur, 2012). In view of the social model, a social-oppression model underlined that disability is socially-construed unfair treatment towards people with disabilities (Swain et al., 2013). Disability inclusion has been advocated there from (Vornholt et al., 2018). Accordingly, there had been an increase in the employment of PWDs in the workplace.

Nevertheless, the improved employment quota is not sufficient to reap the benefit of well-qualified disability inclusion. As it has already been indicated, disability inclusion should consist of three elements: (a) involvement in activities, (b) maintaining reciprocal relationships, and (c) sense of belonging (Hall, 2009). The majority of disability inclusion paradigms applied by organizations only expect the involvement of PWDs in the organizations. Scarce attention has been paid to establishing reciprocal relationships, raising the sense of belonging for PWDs, and involving PWDs in managerial decision-making. Furthermore, unique competences of PWDs as well as the effective collaboration between PWDs with colleagues without disabilities, have been underestimated in the traditional paternalistic disability inclusion paradigm.

To go further, it demands a transformative disability inclusion paradigm. There are several issues of the traditional disability inclusion paradigm, which have been increasingly addressed in the last five years.

On the one hand, PWDs barely perceive their own sense of belonging and uniqueness (Purc-Stephenson et al., 2017). It is ubiquitous that in spite of being employed, PWDs still confront stigma and distrust of their competences (Baldridge et al., 2015). The image of PWDs as constant dependents has somehow been the norm (Bualar, 2014). What is worse, occasionally PWDs have been employed only for special human resource quota, but not expected to perform productively and benefit the organization. PWDs are struggling to prove they are a competent and reliable workforce (Purc-Stephenson et al., 2017). In addition, few extant studies reveal the phenomenon of “false admiration”, which refers to the condition that disabled professionals are praised for the routine tasks of their jobs, just because they live with disabilities (Dorfman, 2016). These explicit and implicit unfair treatments towards PWDs served as unspoken barriers, which countered the effective disability inclusion. Accordingly, it is vital for the transformative disability inclusion paradigm to exert uniqueness of PWDs, weighing squarely with the contribution of PWDs to organizations, and discover competitive performance from productive intercultural cooperation between PWDs and their colleagues without disabilities (Romani et al., 2019). In particular, for blind people, extraordinary abilities have been developed to successfully adjust to blindness physically, attitudinally, and socially. This uniqueness of a blind workforce and its effect on an organization are encouraged and need to be highlighted in a disability inclusion paradigm.

Though the majority of top managers hold prospective attitudes to the inclusion of blind people, above half (54.5%) of managers and experts in organizations are lacking the specific knowledge of a workforce with disabilities and the interactive experience with this group of employees (Onabolu et al., 2018). Without previous knowledge and interactive experience, managers and professionals find it hard to

value the competence of PWDs and fail to set effective inclusion strategies. Pertaining to difficulties confronted by managers and professionals, this article shows that they could be realized by involving successful PWDs in a mentoring role. Few studies have involved successful blind people in managerial activity and highlighted the significant role of successful blind mentors for career development of youths with disabilities (Silverman & Bell, 2020). Successful blind people should be allowed and encouraged to assist top managers and professionals with developing a productive disability inclusion paradigm. What's more, the extraordinary talent of mentors may enable managers to acquire competitive managerial abilities through this effective interaction.

Based on these theoretical assumptions, we propose to consider how successful blind people can be involved in mentoring activities in organizations, and to investigate the positive impact of such mentoring on the cross-cultural communication skills of top managers and professionals.

Extraordinary Competences and Interactive Behaviors of PWDs

In order to interconnect with their environment, blind people need adaptive and interactive skills and competences.

Firstly, it is necessary but complicated for blind people to embrace the external environment (Hehir et al., 2015; Zaborowski, 1997). Through this struggle, blind people gradually form their own sets of strategies to accept differences and adapt to dynamic contexts. Blind individuals have an ability to adapt to differences and variations, which is an ability that is essential for top managers who are open to diversity and ready for change management (Richard et al., 2019).

Secondly, numerous studies have highlighted that people with blindness possess extraordinary tactile and auditory perception skills and cognitive capacities including memory and language as a result of functional sensory rehabilitation and adaptive neuroplastic changes of the brain (Föcker et al., 2012). Simultaneously, extant studies show that blind people have an increased social awareness in order to interact properly with individuals around them (Halperin et al., 2016; Oleszkiewicz, 2021). Given the dynamic environment, acute sensory sensitivity towards weak external informative signals is critical for top managers and professionals, which contributes to their managerial activities such as adapting to changing conditions, interacting with a diverse number of employees, situational awareness processing, and structural planning (Petrie & Swanson, 2018). Hence, it is reasonable to envisage that the involvement of successful blind people in mentoring activities will facilitate new interactive behaviors, all of which will inevitably benefit diversity management skills.

Thirdly, successful blind people have a high level of ambiguity tolerance. Ambiguity tolerance refers to the way an individual or group perceives and processes information about ambiguous situations or stimuli when confronted with an array of unfamiliar, complex, or incongruent messages. Ambiguity tolerance has been cited as a crucial quality for leadership, business planning and managerial skills (McLain et al., 2015; Pathak et al., 2009). In particular, ambiguity tolerance is positively related to performance in the global workplace and cross-cultural settings (Herman et al., 2010).

Based on these extraordinary competences, people with blindness are believed to use different interaction modes compared to colleagues without blindness during any cooperation. Extant literature has pointed out that individual differences could shape the specific cooperation signals (LePine & Van Dyne, 2001). Hence, the response to signals received by individuals with and without blindness to any current situation will differ during their cooperation.

Thus, the first hypothesis that this study is going to address is as follows.

- H1: There exist distinct interactive behaviors during cooperation between individuals with blindness and individuals without disabilities.

It is reasonable to believe that individuals with blindness are more sensitive to weak interactive signals than individuals without blindness and establish implicit interactive frameworks with considerable differences. This leads us to our second hypothesis, which is as follows.

- H2: There is a qualitative difference in the response to weak interactive signals between individuals with blindness and individuals without disabilities during any cooperation.

Inclusion Paradigm and Cultural Intelligence Development

Cultural intelligence (CQ) enables the capability to identify and appreciate cultural differences, to function and interact successfully in culturally diverse contexts (Earley & Mosakowski, 2004). It allows a person to open up to diversity and helps them improve their intercultural communication skills (Kadam et al., 2021; Min et al., 2020). CQ has been considered as an indispensable quality of managers and experts in the current environment (Dogra & Dixit, 2019).

Thomas and colleagues (2012) defined that CQ consists of three aspects such as cultural knowledge, cross-cultural skills, and meta-cognition CQ. This article adopts its most popular multidimensional structure comprising four aspects of CQ: (a) meta-cognitive CQ (awareness and understanding of cultural diversity and regulation of cultural knowledge); (b) cognitive CQ (cultural knowledge); (c) motivational CQ (drive and efficacy to engagement in culturally diverse contexts); and (d) behavioral CQ (appropriate verbal and non-verbal behaviors in culturally diverse contexts) (Ang et al., 2007; Earley & Ang, 2003; Earley & Mosakowski, 2004). It has been postulated that metacognitive CQ as well as behavioral CQ are crucial for intercultural competency (Rose et al., 2010; Van der Horst & Albertyn, 2018). Moreover, evidence shows that meta-cognitive and motivational CQ shape behavioral CQ (Gooden et al., 2017).

It has been identified that individual CQ could be enriched by involving participants from different cultures in collaborative activities (Alexandra et al., 2021). Apart from it, improved CQ from one cross-cultural context is going to be consistent with other intercultural situations. As it has been described in this article, interactions between PWDs and people without disabilities resemble intercultural interactivity. Thus, blind mentors' interactions with sighted mentees, may mentees' CQ. Building on it, this article poses hypothesis H3.

- H3: The inclusion paradigm to involve successful blind individuals as mentors in organizations, which encourages the development of managers' and experts' CQ.

Method

Qualitative Research Design

In order to examine the hypotheses, this study attempts to inquire into and compare interactive signals respectively applied by the workforce with and without blindness when engaged in productive cooperation. The qualitative research design was selected because it allows studying complex objects and approaching it from different angles (Rahman, 2017), and therefore in our study it has an advantage over the quantitative method. The study also includes various in-depth vignettes such as individuals' feelings, views, experiences, and related behaviors. For those reasons, focus groups and in-depth interviews have been elected as means of verification.

Focus groups have several advantages. Firstly, they enable participants to discuss perceptions, thoughts, opinions and feelings (Krueger & Casey, 2000). Secondly, they involve interactions which yield more open and honest views (Morgan, 1997; Tharbe et al., 2020; Wilkinson, 1998). Thirdly, focus groups serve as a suitable method to explore newly emerging research questions (Wilkinson, 1998). Thereby, in order to reach our target groups and collect as much information and details as possible, this study methodologically relies on the methods of focus groups and in-depth interviews with both mentors and mentees.

Participants and Procedures

Focus groups are typically formed of eight to ten participants so as to achieve productive feedback (Wilkinson, 1998). In this study, the first focus group was conducted among 10 employees with visual deficits (5 female, 5 male) from Russian organizations, such as schools, institutes, companies, and social organizations. They were aged from 35 to 52 years old. These participants included Russians and Kazakhs; all were Russian speakers. All of them had a higher education and had more than 5 years of experience of working with colleagues without disabilities. The second focus group was carried out among 8 managers and experts (4 female, 4 male) from Russian organizations, which hire employees both with and without blindness. These organizations included companies, institutes, and social enterprises such as libraries, art galleries and factories, travel agencies and institutes. The proportion of employees with and without disabilities in their organizations equaled 1:1. Managers and experts were from 38 to 56 years old. All of them were Russian with a higher education and had more than 5 years of managerial experience with a blind workforce. All of these directors have directly interacted with their subordinates with visual impairments.

The in-depth interviews have been conducted with 5 highly competent blind experts (3 male, 2 female) as mentors and their 8 mentees (4 male, 4 female) without disabilities. All mentors and mentees were from 35- to 57-year-old. All of them have higher education. All blind mentors work in social enterprises or government offices as directors or consultants in handling inclusion of disabilities. They are equipped with sufficient inclusion work experience. And 8 mentees work at Russian public or private companies as managers. They had more than 10 years of work experience

and work as middle or senior managers. Thus, each of them has an experience to be either a blind mentor or a mentee of a blind mentor. Blind mentors delivered several workshops to teach mentees to focus on non-visual environmental signals and to interact with blind colleagues more effectively. Besides, all mentees are interested in disability inclusion and participation in the mentoring.

All focus groups and interviews were conducted in Russian via Zoom[1]. First, the host explained to participants the objective of the focus group. Then, to motivate participants to be more open, the host briefly outlined the successful work experience of participants at their companies and invited them to share their opinions concerning inclusive interaction. Participants were asked to answer the host's questions one by one. They were invited to be open and honest also adding to other participant's opinion what they might like to add. At the same time, they were asked not to correct other participants and argue with them. All these mandates were needed to provide a comfortable environment, on the one hand, and focus on details, on the other hand.

These three online meetings were conducted separately and with three non-overlapping groups of participants. The focus groups were carried out in December, 2020 and with 15-day intervals between them. Each focus group lasted around 2 hours.

The first focus group with a blind workforce covered 2 questions:

Remember the situations when you started to cooperate with a co-worker without a disability. Maybe, you interacted with him/her to solve a common task or to accomplish projects together. To do this, you should build productive cooperation. Please, finish the following statements:

a) "*To support productive interaction with a co-worker without disabilities, I behave as follows*."

b) *"To support productive interaction with me, my co-worker without disabilities usually behaves as follows*."

The second focus group with organizational managers and exports involved 3 structural questions.

a) "*Characterize the behaviors demonstrated by employees in their interactions with their blind colleagues during their cooperation in your organizations."*

b) *"Name the criteria of effective intercultural cooperation between blind employees and employees without disabilities."*

c) *"Describe the benefits obtained from the cooperation with blind individuals in your organization."*

Each in-depth interview with mentors or mentees lasted around 1 hour. The same 2 questions were addressed to participants of the first focus group and to blind mentors during the in-depth interviews to analyze their managerial and mentoring experiences with mentees. In-depth interviews were conducted in May, 2021.

Moreover, 2 additional questions are asked to mentored managers and experts in the course of in-depth interviews.

a) "*Characterize interactive behaviors during mentoring activities with blind mentors."*

[1] Zoom is a trademark of Zoom Video Communications, Inc.

b) *"Describe benefits which were obtained from the mentoring activities with blind mentors."*

All focus groups and in-depth interviews data were recorded, then collected and analyzed.

Results

The information collected from two focus groups and in-depth interviews has been analyzed. We gathered all the participant's responses given by employees with and without disabilities, in order to facilitate effective intercultural interaction. According to the differences in visual and verbal explicitness of signals during the interaction, individual interactive behaviors have been labeled in two separate categories, such as strong signals and weak signals. The strong-signal interactive behaviors use interactive strategies which are more interpersonal, and visual or verbally recognized, while weak-signal interactive behaviors are more implicit. In addition, based on the three-factor model of intercultural effectiveness posed by Hammer, Gudykunst, and Wiseman (1978), both strong interactive signals and weak interactive signals are categorized into three aspects:

a) related to mental adjustment or emotion;

b) related to communication; and

c) related to interpersonal relationships.

Finally, three categories of interactive behaviors are respectively listed as strong-signal and weak-signal interactions, such as emotion and mental aspects (2 items), interpersonal relation (2 items), and communication (4 items).

For example, pertaining to strong-signal emotional and mental facets during intercultural interaction, blind employees mostly do not correct their partner's error explicitly, while employees without disabilities prefer to mention it immediately to improve the effectiveness of intercultural interaction. And, both groups of employees express positive emotions such as friendliness and warmth, with smiles and so on, to promote effective interaction. When it comes to strong-signal interpersonal relations, blind employees would rely on their co-workers to complete the task more efficiently. While employees without disabilities hardly ever depend on their employees with disabilities and got used to the paternalistic interaction in daily work. As for weak-signal interactive facets, compared with employees without disabilities, blind employees were afraid to show their weakness all the time and had higher stress or weakness during handling tasks. Blind employees prefer to feel their uniqueness rather than PWDs inclusion in comparison to employees without disabilities.

The data were then estimated by applying the content-analysis approach. The analysis of Interactive behaviors' results is presented in Tables 1 and 2, and comparisons are presented in Table 3 and 4.

Table 1 shows similarities and differences in explicit interactive behaviors of workforce, with and without blindness, during intercultural cooperation. Both the workforce with blindness and without disabilities manifested positive emotions to facilitate productive intercultural cooperation. Furthermore, the both groups have

explicit communication skills to use clear statements for issues, well-structured explanations, and active voice behaviors during the cooperation. Employee voice behavior is defined as promotive behavior that emphasizes expression of constructive challenges in order to improve and recommend modifications to standard procedures even when others disagree, which is an extra-role behavior of interpersonal communication (LePine & Van Dyne, 2001; Van Dyne & LePine, 1998). Whereas, differences also have been underlined. Individuals with blindness use implicit reactions to point out colleagues' mistakes and give feedback to colleagues' performance more often than people without disabilities during the intercultural cooperation. People without disabilities try to avoid dependence on and support from individuals with blindness during their cooperation. To a certain extent, these distinct interactive behaviors reflect not completely an equal disability inclusion paradigm in organizations. Consciously and unconsciously, both individuals with blindness and without disabilities were shaped and got used to former disability dependent inclusion. If individuals with blindness directly point out the colleague's mistakes or giving him negative feedback felt, they feel uncomfortable, guilty and stressed.

Table 1

Content-units "Strong Signals of Behavior"

Categories	No.	Content-units	Used by non-blind person	Used by blind person	Difference
Emotion and mental facets	1	explicit emotional reactions	positive	positive	no
	2	attitude towards partner's error	react immediately	implicit	yes
Inter-personal relation	3	balancing dependence and independence	rigidity in role identification during cooperation	flexible role change between dependence to independence	yes
	4	support	not ready to receive help from PWDs	mutual support	yes
Communication	5	statement	explicit and clear	explicit and clear	no
	6	explanation	well-structured and expanded	well-structured and expanded	no
	7	feedback	positive or negative	non-judgemental	yes
	8	voice behavior	explicit expression	explicit expression	no

Table 2 shows similarities and differences in implicit interactive behaviors during cooperation between individuals with blindness and without disabilities. Generally, it is evident that individuals with blindness behave differently using implicit interactions more often than individuals without disabilities. Thus, H2 is confirmed. In particular, individuals with blindness feel more stressed feeling themselves weak or wrong during the cooperation. Moreover, individuals with blindness appreciate if their uniqueness is recognized, while individuals without disabilities favor the sense of belonging to organizations. These differences still reflect the worries about "false

inclusion" of blind individuals. Communication behaviors vary a lot, individuals with blindness show a competitive capacity for information processing, its holistic perception and attention to details. This differentiation may be explained by the typical information processing strategies of individuals with blindness. For instance, when hearing lots of instructions, many individuals without disabilities customarily write down the key points to aid information processing while blind individuals are used to memorizing and absorbing information on the spot. Additionally, individuals with blindness are more sensitive to intonation and voice strength during interactions. Compared with individuals without disabilities, blind individuals could keep listening for a long while maintaining high effectiveness and higher tolerance of ambiguity during intercultural communication.

Table 2
Content-units "Weak Signals of Behavior"

Categories	No.	Content-units	Used by non-blind person	Used by blind person	Difference
Emotion and mental facets	1	stress for self-weakness	Accepting mistakes	high stress for self-error and avoid powerlessness	yes
	2	awareness of inclusion	sense of belonging	preference for own uniqueness	yes
Inter-personal relation	3	attachment	pursuing safe attachment	pursuing safe attachment	no
	4	personal lasting bonds	expectation for social lasting bonds	expectation for social lasting bonds	no
Communication	5	information processing	perceive information with aids	absorb information attentively	yes
	6	intonation and voice strength	normally	more sensitive	yes
	7	listening	difficulties to keep attention for long while	more carefully	yes
	8	tolerance of ambiguity	normally	higher tolerance	yes

Comparisons of explicit and implicit interactive behaviors, differences versus similarities between individuals with blindness and individuals without disabilities have been laid out in Table 3 and Table 4.

Table 3
Results of Content-units Calculation

	N of signals used by non-blind person	N of signals used by blind person	Differences
Strong signals	8	8	4
Weak signals	8	8	6
Total	16	16	10

Table 4

Frequency of Differences in Interactive Behaviors

	Differences	Similarities	Sum	Frequency of differences
Strong signals	4	4	8	50%
Weak signals	6	2	8	75%
Sum	10	6	16	62.5%

Thus, during intercultural cooperation, implicit interactive modes used more frequently by individuals with blindness. Hence, H1 and H2 are both confirmed. Considering the small sample (10 participants for the first focus group, 8 participants for the second group, and 5 mentors, 8 mentees for the interview, in total 31 participants) and methods applied, we only used descriptive statistics.

The information about the effect of the inclusion paradigm on managers' and exports' CQ development was collected through the second focus group as well as in-depth interviews with mentored managers and experts. Responses have been analyzed by four facets of CQ conceptualization such as meta-cognition, cognition, motivation and behaviors according to proportion. We follow criteria from self-report CQ Scale by Ang, Van Dyne and Rockstuhl (2015), and the short form for CQ by Thomas et al. (2015). If one respondent mentions more than one facet of CQ, all facets mentioned have been calculated. The share of each description is measured in relation to the total number of responses (see Table 5).

Table 5

CQ Development through Inclusion Paradigm

CQ Facets	No.	Descriptions	Count	Frequency
Meta-cognition	1	"I tried to learn and consciously expanded my knowledge about blind individuals when I was mentored by outstanding blind individuals."	4	16%
	2	"I aimed to check and consciously examined the accuracy of my knowledge about blind workforce when I was mentored by blind mentors."	3	12%
Cognition	3	"I learned new rules for non-visual expression when interacting with blind individuals, for example, how to introduce myself in a blindness-friendly way."	1	4%
	4	"I realized the importance of intonation and proper voice strength during mentoring activities with blind mentors."	1	4%
Motivation	5	"I feel more confident when socializing with individuals from a different cultural background."	4	16%
	6	"I gradually start to enjoy interacting with PWDs and individuals from other cultures."	3	12%
	7	"I believe I could also deal with stress of adjusting to other cultures after the cooperation with blind individuals."	4	16%
Behavior	8	"I changed my verbal behaviors during interactions with blind individuals, for example, I adjusted my intonation, I increased my voice strength."	3	12%
	9	"I adapted the rate of my speaking during interactions with blind individuals."	2	8%

Table 5 reveals the managers' and experts' CQ development mentioned during the focus group discussion and in-depth interviews. During the focus groups and interviews, the participants were not asked directly about the development of CQ. We gathered their answers about the "effectiveness of intercultural cooperation" as well as the answers about the "benefits from disability inclusion and the new inclusion paradigm to be mentored by successful blind individuals". Based on these answers, we selected answers related to CQ development according to the items of CQ scales (Ang et al., 2007, 2015; Thomas et al., 2015). In sum, 28% of the responses involved the development of meta-cognitive CQ, 8% of the responses involved the development of cognitive CQ, 44% of the responses involved the development of motivational CQ, and the remaining 20% of the responses involved the development of behavioral CQ in interactions with blind individuals. Therefore, hypothesis H3 is supported, which proves that interactions and mentoring activities with blind individuals encourage the CQ development of organizational managers and experts. Moreover, motivational CQ and meta-cognitive CQ increased more than behavioral and cognitive CQ, which is highly consistent with the existing evidence.

Discussion

This article highlights the uniqueness of PWDs and puts forward the transformative disability inclusion paradigm to involve successful PWDs into organizational mentoring activities, thus achieving win-win outcomes. The study of extraordinary competences of individuals with blindness mentioned by this article shed light on exploration and recognition of PWDs' competitive advantages in workplaces.

Firstly, the article describes interactive behaviors by blind individuals and co-workers without disabilities during their intercultural interaction. Differences in interactive modes represent cultural diversity, which could bring about knowledge sharing, skill transmission and innovation. It draws attention to specific distinct interactions and strategies for utilizing diversity. On the contrary, differences may lead to misunderstandings in culturally diverse workplaces. Our findings explicate the efficiency of cooperation between people with and without disabilities from a new perspective. Building on extant literature, obstacles that hinder the effective cooperation between people with and without disabilities multidimensionally consist of lacking in motivation, cognitive biases, as well as emotional discomfort toward another social group (Baldridge & Kulkami, 2017; Beatty et al., 2019). This article adds to the information concerning differences as the obstacles to productive disability inclusion. Especially, more differences were revealed in implicit interactions rather than explicit interactions.

Secondly, as it has been revealed, during intercultural cooperation, blind employees often use different implicit emotion-related and communicative interactive modes of behavior, which were neglected by much of the previous research.

Thirdly, this article underlines the opportunity to develop managerial competences, and especially CQ, involving blind persons as mentors and encouraging them to share their knowledge and experience with mentees.

Developed CQ of managers and experts enhances their managerial skills in other unfamiliar intercultural cases. Application of our findings not only could improve programs of CQ development, but also enhance the effect of PWDs on organizational performance.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

As with any research, limitations present avenues for further research. Considering the changing disability inclusion paradigm, as a newly arrived issue, this article adopts focus groups and in-depth interviews with targeted groups to listen to their feelings and attitudes. The small sample size limits the representativeness of our findings about broader interactive differences and their effect on CQ development. It calls for further quantitative investigations with larger samples to reinforce our findings. Simultaneously, the results of this article partly subjective due to semi-structured discussions and self-reported views. Further research if potentially conducted with well-structured scales and more objective criteria will be beneficial. This study only explored how individuals with blindness are involved in mentoring activities with organizational managers and exports. Future research may expand the parameters with wider disability types and investigate in more detail the features of inclusion of people with disabilities. Ultimately, the findings of this study may have regional or cultural limitations since involved organizations and most participants are from Russia. More studies are encouraged across other nations and regions in the future.

Implications

Firstly, the new disability inclusion paradigm provided by this study emphasizes the need for changing inclusion practices in organizations. It displays a win-win inclusion practice of involving successful PWDs into mentoring activities to share their experience and optimize organizational inclusion strategies and the diversity of managerial skills.

Secondly, CQ development of organizational managers and experts is vital in the current competitive business environment. Affirmative impact of the proposed inclusion paradigm brings to light the new directions in CQ development programs.

Conclusion

The current inclusive society is aimed at productive cooperation between people with and without disabilities. This article proposes a new inclusion paradigm for workforce with disabilities in workplace and reveals the uniqueness of the workforce with blindness. According to this new paradigm, firstly, inclusion appears as an intercultural interaction between people with and without disabilities. Secondly, as participants in these interactions, people with disabilities behave differently from colleagues without disabilities and demonstrate potential that enriches organizational diversity, and brings different cultural characteristics to organizational culture. Thirdly, people with disabilities enhance the competitive intercultural advantage for organizations through their activities. Finally, this disability inclusion

helps employees and managers without disabilities acquire new competencies, such as attention to weak signals, openness to new experiences, and the ability to interact with people from a different culture. Our research shows that the changing paradigm of disability inclusion, on the one hand, allows people with disabilities to avoid excessive paternalism in the workplace, and on the other hand, opens new horizons for the professional culturally competent training of personnel for the modern organization.

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ARTICLE

Surviving COVID-19 Pandemic: The Role of Social Media and Family Social Capital in Promoting a Healthy Lifestyle in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Promotion of a healthy lifestyle amid the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia is an important part of disease prevention. Public outreach via social media shapes the public perception of the government's campaign to stop COVID-19 spread. This study investigates the impact of social media and family social capital on the promotion of a healthy lifestyle. The study covered a sample of 165 women in Indonesia; it was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic. Female respondents were selected because of their essential role in the family. The results show that the awareness of a healthy lifestyle is most likely affected by family social capital rather than social media use. Greater cohesion and interaction among family members, less family conflict, and better paternal control contributed to stronger family social capital. These findings contribute to a better understanding of how a healthy lifestyle can help families survive the pandemic.

KEYWORDS

promotion, healthy lifestyle, social media use, family social capital, COVID-19

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Introduction

In recent years, Indonesia along with the rest of the world is struggling with the coronavirus pandemic. Since its first appearance in Wuhan, China, 2019, the virus has spread to almost every country. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), the coronavirus continued to spread with a 12% increase in mid-July 2021. Globally, 180 countries reported the appearance of the Alpha variant of SARS-CoV-2, while fewer countries reported other variants (Beta, Gamma, and Delta). The global number of new cases was more than 3.4 million with almost 57,000 deaths as of July 2021 (World Health Organization, 2021). In Indonesia, the number of patients with confirmed positive COVID-19 test was increasing day by day, especially with the appearance of a highly infectious strain, the Delta variant. The government of Indonesia has made various efforts to curb the outbreaks. One of them is the Policy of Emergency Public Activity Restrictions (PPKM)[1]. Among regions severely affected by the coronavirus in Indonesia, Jakarta reported an upsetting spike of COVID-19 infections and death rates in June 2021 (Loasana, 2021).

The PPKM policy is expected to improve the effectiveness of physical distancing measures. Among other things, the PPKM policy urges government offices, schools, and private companies to shift their operations to the online mode. All companies are asked to comply with the government regulations so that they can carry out their activities from home. However, certain areas remain open to fulfil the basic needs of the community. For example, organizations in the health sector, food or basic needs sector, energy sector, financial services sector, and the payment system may continue operating from their offices (Gorbiano et al., 2021).

The Work from Home (WFH) policy has led to changes in the way people carry out their activities, introducing what is often called "the new normality" in the community. People are now using online media, such as Zoom[2] or Skype[3] for meetings and education instead of conducting face-to-face meetings. The PPKM policy's steps aimed at curbing the transmission of the virus, include 3Ms: wearing masks (*memakai masker*), maintaining distance (*menjaga jarak*), and washing hands with running water and soap for 20 seconds (*mencuci tangan*). The 3Ms are widely promoted by the Indonesian government on all levels.

Although the campaign continues, its efficiency decreases (Mufarida, 2020). The level of compliance in Indonesia has only reached 59.20%, especially during the long holidays. There has also been a slackening in the discipline regarding the 3Ms. Given the pessimism among the communities regarding the government's efforts to deal with the pandemic, promotion of a healthy lifestyle and hygienic rules should be high on the government's agenda. The campaign promoting the 3Ms

[1] PPKM stands for *Pemberlakuan Pembatasan Kegiatan Masyarakat*, which means restrictions to community activities starting from July 3 to July 20, 2021.

[2] Zoom is a trademark of Zoom Video Communications, Inc.

[3] Skype is a registered trademark of the Microsoft group of companies.

involves mass media and social media channels, especially Instagram[4], Facebook[5], YouTube[6], and WhatsApp[7].

In social media, the PPKM is referred to as a health protocol (*prokes*). Social media have a great potential in getting the message across to the public, since the number of social media users in Indonesia continues to grow. According to Hootsuite data (Digital 2021: Indonesia, 2021), there are 160 million active social media users and 175.4 million Internet users in the country. In 2021, the total population of Indonesia is estimated to be 272 million. Active social media users can undoubtedly help spread the messages more personally and more quickly. The implementation of WFH or online education activities also encourages more active social media use. People are still interacting with each other even though they stay at home.

The number of WhatsApp and Instagram users has multiplied during the COVID-19 pandemic from 64.8% in 2018 to 73.7% in 2020 (APJII, 2020). WhatsApp is used most frequently for communication (91.5%). According to KATADATA.co.id, social media use such as WhatsApp and Instagram experienced a spike of up to 40% (Burhan, 2020). This user upsurge happened because many people used social media to communicate with their colleagues, friends and relatives during the lockdowns. Moreover, according to the survey for Kantar, a consulting firm, its number of users is predicted to continue growing (COVID-19 Barometer, 2020). At the beginning of the pandemic, the global use of WhatsApp soared to 27% and then to 40%. The increase in the use of WhatsApp and Instagram occurred because many countries implemented lockdowns and restrictions during the pandemic. The public used these platforms to share news and important information related to the coronavirus. The information shared also varies, from links to news sites to posters or videos about preventing infections through a healthy lifestyle (*pola hidup bersih dan sehat, PHBS*—clean and healthy lifestyle).

There are few studies considering the mediating role of social media and family social capital, especially those that focus on healthy lifestyles, during the COVID-19 outbreaks. Previous studies tend to emphasize the need to promote a healthy lifestyle among rural communities, especially farmers or animal breeders. Ruyani and Gnagey (2018) found that the community living on the slopes of Wayang mountain typically disposes of the majority of household and cattle waste by dumping it directly into the Ciliwung river, thus this waste is not being treated at the special wastewater treatment plant. This study has also highlighted other alarming facts: for example, the processing equipment for turning cattle waste into biogas is damaged the presence of a communal septic tank is still an option. The study outlines alternative solutions to these problems, including public health education through mass media and other popular culture approaches as the means for social change in building synergy among the stakeholders.

Another study of interest was carried out by Habibi (2017), who focuses on the socio-cultural reality of hygienic and healthy living behavior practiced by the women

[4] Instagram™ is a trademark of Instagram Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries.

[5] Facebook™ is a trademark of Facebook Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries.

[6] YouTube™ is a trademark of Google Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries.

[7] WhatsApp™ is a trademark of WhatsApp Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries.

of Bhuana Jaya village. Using a descriptive qualitative approach, the results showed that the women of Bhuana Jaya village who follow the principles of a healthy lifestyle and hygiene procedures in their households enjoy a higher status in their families and communities. In addition, these women have Internet access to obtain health information.

There is also evidence of the impact of social media use on family life. For example, Ellison et al. (2007) concluded that social media have successfully increased people's self-confidence, especially among people with low self-esteem. The study reveals that interaction and strong ties with family members in social media boosts the user's self-confidence level. It thus reflects the high social capital. It should be noted, however, that the influence of social media on people's well-being is not always positive. For example, Kabasakal (2015) showed that social media use makes university students dissatisfied with life. The increasing predictors of problematic Internet use is highly correlated with the poor family functioning. Thus, the problematic Internet use increased with the increasing life dissatisfaction of the university students.

In our study, we are going to focus on the role of women in the promotion of a healthy lifestyle: in Indonesia, mothers are responsible for the health and happiness of their families and they are also the ones who introduce new values and habits into family routines. Information related to the COVID-19 pandemic that reaches them will undoubtedly affect their choices when faced with uncertainties. We intend to investigate the relationship between the extent to which mothers in Indonesian families use social media, family social capital, and these women's awareness of the principles of healthy living.

For our sample, we selected 156 married female respondents through the snowball sampling method. The survey was conducted in the second half of 2020 during COVID-19 pandemic. We asked the female respondents whose age was between 21 to 60 years old to complete the questionnaires, which were sent to them in an electronic form. Among 156 respondents, 46% of them are private employees. Others are entrepreneurs (13%) and civil servants (10%). 30% of the respondents chose not to reveal their profession.

This paper is structured as follows: the first section presents the theoretical background on communication, social media use, family social capital, and the creation of awareness through social media. The methodology of the study will be explained in the following section. Then we will describe our model followed by the results of the empirical simulation using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. Finally, the discussion and conclusion will be presented along with the possible research avenues.

Theoretical Background

Social Media Communication

Communication is a process of delivering messages from the sender of the message (sender) to the recipient of the message (receiver) with the aim to change attitudes or behavior. Messages are conveyed by using symbols both orally and in writing. Generally, communication is conducted face-to-face or through media, which allow senders to distribute messages to a broader audience and produce specific effects.

This definition does not consider communication process related to special cases, i.e., for people with disabilities.

In the context of media, there are various means to convey messages. They can be delivered through printed mass media such as books, magazines, and electronic media such as television, radio, and computer/Internet-based media. Currently, the use of Internet-based social media is in high demand since they help maintain interconnectedness, access to individual audiences as recipients and senders of messages; in addition, they are interactive and ubiquitous (McQuail, 2011), practical, cheap and convenient.

The characteristics of social media are related not only to the users (targeted audiences) but also to the technological features such as "*likes", "shares",* and "*retweets".* Social share buttons can stimulate people to spread the news they received. The use of trending hashtags on Twitter[8] and Facebook can invite people to find the latest news easily and identify news topics, which are currently being discussed by searching them by region, country, and city (Parr, 2010).

Social media have become a widely used means of disseminating information, which changes the way people communicate. Setiadi (2016) demonstrated that, as a result of the development of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), social media have changed the ways of communicating in Indonesian communities. Despite the obvious advantages of social media use, however, they also have a negative side: Subramanian (2017) proved that young people exposed to social media are more isolated and show less respect towards the elders in their circle.

The use of social media to disseminate health information is also a common practice. Aptindika et al. (2019) conducted a study in Situbondo Regency that social media, such as Facebook, influence the dissemination of health information. They observed that the number of medical visits and visits to public health centers (*puskesmas*) increased with more exposure to social media.

An important observation was made by Rakhmat:

> Exposure to impressions is defined as the use of media by the audience which includes the amount of time spent in various media, types of media, types of media content, media consumed and various relationships between audiences and media content consumed or with the media as a whole. (Rakhmat, 2004, p. 66)

Social media use can be measured in three ways: frequency, duration, and intensity. The frequency shows how routinely an individual accesses social media (Ardianto et al., 2004). The duration is related to the length of time individuals spend using social media. This parameter was used in a number of studies such as Duffet (2017), Gezgin (2018), Natalia & Agustina (2021). The intensity of social media use is the extent to which a person receives information from social media, reads information, reacts, and disseminates the information obtained through social media.

[8] Twitter® is a trademark of Twitter Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries.

Social Media and Family Social Capital

The term "social capital" refers to relationships created through a series of networks and people who share values. By building relationships on an ongoing basis, people can work together to achieve goals that cannot be reached alone (Prayitno et al., 2019). Social capital is a set of values, norms, rules that are shared by members of a group involved in the process of social interaction.

In a family context, social capital becomes a necessity that must be owned to support harmony in a family. An empirical study in China shows that family social capital has a positive association with self-rated health at an older age in a rural Chinese community (Lu et al., 2021). Even in the absence of promotion of health-related behavior, support from the family is a significant determinant of self-rated health among older rural adults. Geraee et al. (2019) found that there are four aspects that can be used as a reference in looking at family social capital: family cohesion, family interaction, lack of family conflict, and family control. Family cohesion is defined as a form of closeness of family members to one another such as doing family activities together. Family interaction is a communication climate that is created within a family, such as openness, discussion, and interactions that occur in family relationships. The lack of family conflict becomes social capital in a family relationship, which can be characterized by the ability of the family to resolve conflicts. Family control is related to how family members have the ability to control other family members, such as a mother having control over family activities at home or a father having control over his role as head of the household.

There have been few studies related to social media and family social capital. Geraee et al. (2019) found that social media, which is very popular with the community of high schools in Isfahan Iran and is even perceived to reduce interactions in the family, actually only affects a part of family social capital and life satisfaction. Family factors, especially mothers, provide support for family members to develop and have life satisfaction (Chong & Baharudin, 2017). Khotimah et al. (2020) found that the factors of family social capital and cooperation with neighbours are needed to control the spread of COVID-19.

Health Awareness and Social Media Use

In communication, awareness is a result or effect of certain activities or sensations. Awareness is therefore regarded as the attitudes towards the stimulants that hit individuals.

Alteration in cognitive awareness is often observed in consumer behavior studies, such as the studies determining the effectiveness of a marketing message. Studies in marketing show that social media can spread messages and influence individuals (Sander & Lee Teh, 2019; Voramontri & Klieb, 2019). It includes both trustable messages and hoaxes. Research that measures changes in attitudes, awareness, and behavior can be found in the context of political campaigns through social media (Gibson, 2015; Kahne & Bowyer, 2018; Stier et al., 2018). These studies concluded that messages disseminated through social media can alter the awareness of the target audience.

Change in attitude and awareness goes through the stages of changing the cognitive, affective, and conative components (Azwar, 2010). The cognitive component corresponds to changes in the individual's beliefs based on their perceptions—seeing, hearing, or feeling (Sassenberg et al., 2005). The affective component is a change related to the individual's feelings about the received message. Feelings such as like and dislike, happy or not happy will determine the success of the following conative process. The conative perception is an individual's behavioral response to the received message. A change in behavior can occur when a person accepts the message as a result of logical reasoning. An understandable message leads to a sense of trust.

Based on the above, it can be concluded that messages conveyed through social media will alter the awareness of the target audience through the cognitive, affective, and conative components. The same principle applies to behavior changes in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic. It is likely that the awareness of the coronavirus will lead individuals to choose a healthier lifestyle. Patrão et al. (2017) found that different factors affect the choice of healthy lifestyles among men and women. Roy et al. (2020) and Salman et al. (2020) suggested that COVID-19 worries and behavior stemming from cognitive, affective and conative processes on the individual level are important factors for the dynamics of the pandemic.

The success of a message conveyed through social media can be assessed by measuring the achievement of cognitive, affective, and conative processes in the audiences.

Methodology

This study uses a quantitative survey. The respondents are mostly married women (70%) who live in the greater Jakarta area. Others reside outside the greater Jakarta area. Women were the target of this study because they play a prominent role in the family and may reinforce certain values, habits or behavior patterns of family members.

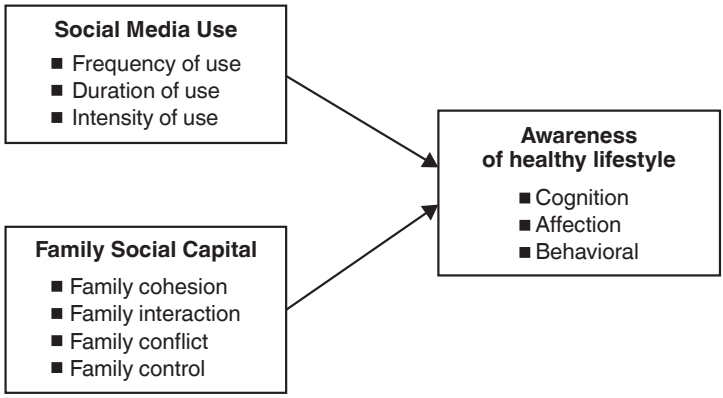
These women voluntarily participated in this study and were willing to express their opinion. The sample was obtained by using the principle of non-probability sampling considering the number of unknowns. The Taro Yamane formula is used to determine the number of respondents for an infinite population and the precision level of 10% is 100 people.

This study uses a non-probability sampling technique, the snowball technique. The researcher distributed a Google form questionnaire to several respondents who were working mothers and agreed to participate in this study. They are referred to as the first-level respondents. Then, the first-level respondents passed the questionnaires on to others whom they also know and who meet the same criteria until the number reaches 100 people within a month. During this time, the number of returned questionnaires exceeded the expected number. In total, we received 169 responses. However, there were four incomplete responses, which were not included in the study. The analysis covered 165 responses.

This study uses a 5-point scale for each question ranging from "strongly disagree" (a), "disagree" (b), "neither agree nor disagree" (c), "agree" (d), and "strongly agree" (e).

Figure 1

Model Specification of Awareness of Healthy Lifestyle



We used three main variables: social media use, family social capital, and awareness of a healthy lifestyle and hygienic principles. Social media use (x_1) measures the frequency of use, duration of use, and intensity of use, such as reading, commenting, and liking other people's posts, sending or receiving pictures, text, videos, or music; checking other people's profile pictures, pages, posts, and stories. The studies performed by Ardianto et al. (2004), Brusilovskiy et al. (2016), and Rachmat (2004) used the same definition in the survey. The family social capital (x_2) is a development of the scale explored in the previous study by Geraee et al. (2019) covering aspects of family cohesion, family interaction, lack of family conflict, and family control. The awareness of a healthy lifestyle and hygienic principles (y) is intended to measure family members' level of cognition, affection, and behavioral tendencies that may affect the spread of the coronavirus. Table 1 shows the breakdown components of the primary variables from the survey. Since all components use the same Likert 5-point scale, the main variables are calculated from the average of each corresponding breakdown component.

Table 1

Components of Studied Variables

Social media use x_1	Family social capital x_2	Awareness of a healthy lifestyle y
Frequency of use $x_{1,a}$	Family cohesion $x_{2,a}$	Cognition tendency y_a
Duration of use $x_{1,b}$	Family interaction $x_{2,b}$	Affection tendency y_b
Intensity of use $x_{1,c}$	Lack of family conflict $x_{2,c}$	Behavioral tendency y_c
	Family control $x_{2,d}$	

The descriptive statistics for the three main variables in this survey are shown in Table 2. The mean value of x_1 is slightly higher than the mean value of x_2, by 0.192. On average, the respondents engage with social media in moderation (within reasonable limits using the social media). From the responses on social media use, we found that the effectiveness of the dissemination of the message through social media tends not to depend on the number of times the message is distributed. The magnitude of information exposure to the audiences most likely affects the effectiveness of the dissemination of the message. We also found that the respondents are likely to have a high family social capital.

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Number of Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min.	Max.
x_1	165	2.727	0.323	1	3.62
x_2	165	2.535	0.274	1.45	3.12
y	165	2.632	0.299	1.83	3

Model Specification

This study aimed to investigate the relationship between the awareness of a healthy lifestyle and hygienic principles, social media use, and family social capital. The awareness is modeled as a relationship between social media use and family social capital. Another study in the same discipline uses the same model specification hypothesizing that life satisfaction among adolescents is influenced by social media use and family social capital (Geraee et al., 2019). This study specifies two models: the first model represents a linear relationship with the independent variables "Social media use" and "Family social capital", and the second model is similar to the first model, but includes the relationship between social media use and family social capital. The model specifications can be written as follows:

$$y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{1,i} + \beta_2 x_{2,i} \dots \quad (1)$$

$$y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{1,i} + \beta_2 x_{2,i} + \beta_3 (x_{1,i} \times x_{2,i}) \dots \quad (2)$$

where y_i is the dependent variable measuring the count of the respondent's family i with the level of awareness of a healthy lifestyle and hygienic principles, x_i is the use of social model in family i, and x_2 is the level of family social capital.

Results and Discussion

Correlation Matrix

Table 3 summarizes the correlation matrix for x_1, x_2, and y. Family social capital is positively correlated with awareness of a healthy lifestyle and hygienic principles with the coefficient of 0.7253 ($p < 0.005$). Social media use shows a similar correlation with the coefficient of 0.2032 ($p < 0.05$). A stronger family social capital tends to influence

awareness at a greater magnitude than the frequent use of social media. The high and low frequency of use, the duration of accessing social media, and the number of messages read do not significantly impact the level of awareness. Thus, social media only plays a role in delivering the information. It does not affect the individual's awareness of the coronavirus. Mukherjee et al. (2019) mention that digitalization creates the need to comprehend how social media affects people's beliefs and behaviors in relation to health. Asril et al. (2020) found that health beliefs have a significant and positive correlation with a healthy lifestyle. The effectiveness of the delivered information depends on how the users (audiences) use the social media.

Table 3
Correlation Matrix

	x_1	x_2	y
x_1	1.0000		
x_2	0.2006 0.0098	1.0000	
y	0.2032 0.0089	0.7253 0.0000	1.0000

Social media use is positively correlated with the awareness of a healthy lifestyle and hygienic principles with the coefficient of 0.2006 ($p < 0.05$). The frequency, duration, and intensity of using social media was significantly correlated with the strength of family social capital. This study, therefore, suggests that social media use can significantly enhance the family social capital. There is no evidence that social media use reduces the family social capital. The idea that social media use may disrupt the stability of the family social capital is not supported. In other words, family members who are active users of social media will not alienate themselves from their families.

Regression Results

Regression result model 1, where there is no relationship between the use of social model (x_1) and the family social capital (x_2), yielded an *r*-squared value of 52.96%. The test showed that there is a positive and significant relationship between the level of awareness and family social capital ($\beta = 0.7801$, $p < 0.005$). Family social capital plays a role in determining the level of awareness. The coefficient of determination of this relationship is about 0.7801, which indicates that the influence of social capital on the level of awareness is quite strong. There is no conclusion regarding the interaction between the level of awareness and use of social media ($\beta = 0.0557$, $p > 0.05$).

Certain aspects of family social capital such as cohesiveness, lack of conflict, family control, and harmony seem to contribute to the level of awareness of a healthy lifestyle and hygienic principles. These findings show that the role of family social capital components cannot be neglected because they have equally important roles. It should be noted that the definition of family in Indonesia might not be only limited to blood and in-law relationships. The cultural aspect should be carefully considered so that it will not be mistaken with neighbourhood social capital (Alvarez et al., 2017).

Table 4
Ordinary Least-Square Regressions

Awareness of a healthy lifestyle (y)	Model 1	Model 2 With interaction x_1 and x_2
Use of social media (x_1)	0.0557326 0.0509921 0.276	0.3182074 0.426754 0.457
Family social capital (x_2)	0.7801448 0.601592 0.000	1.061997 0.4589382 0.222
Interaction use of social media and family social capital ($x_1 * x_2$)	–	–0.1025049 0.1654646 0.536
Constant	0.5023016 0.1853198 0.007	–0.2175454 1.176713 0.854
Number of observations	165	165
r-squared	0.5296	0.5307
Adj. *r*-squared	0.5328	0.5220

Note. Regression coefficients are in the first row, standard errors are in the second row, and *p*-values are in the third row.

Table 5
Correlation Matrix for Family Social Capital and Awareness of a Healthy Lifestyle

	$x_{2,a}$	$x_{2,b}$	$x_{2,c}$	$x_{2,d}$	y_a	y_b	y_c
$x_{2,a}$	1.0000						
$x_{2,b}$	0.7002 0.0000	1.0000					
$x_{2,c}$	0.5727 0.0000	0.6568 0.0000	1.0000				
$x_{2,d}$	0.5451 0.0000	0.5589 0.0000	0.5627 0.0000	1.0000			
y_a	0.5399 0.0000	0.5986 0.0000	0.5990 0.0000	0.5233 0.0000	1.0000		
y_c	0.5087 0.0000	0.5440 0.0000	0.5639 0.0000	0.5639 0.0000	0.7475 0.0000	1.0000	
y_c	0.5451 0.0000	0.5489 0.0000	0.5038 0.0000	0.5869 0.0000	0.6795 0.0000	0.7813 0.0000	1.0000

Even so, it is suggested that social media are still influential as a medium for disseminating and delivering information about a healthy lifestyle and hygienic principles. In exploring a deeper correlation between family social capital and the awareness of a healthy lifestyle, this study found that that these components are significant ($p < 0.001$) and positively correlated. This finding is consistent with the study conducted by Alvarez at al. (2017), who found that family social capital has

a distinct effect on family health. The awareness and positive perception living amid COVID-19 can undoubtedly promote better family health.

Regression result model 2, showing the relationship between social media use (x_1) and family social capital (x_2), yielded a better *r*-squared value than model 1, accordingly 53.07% and 52.96%. However, no conclusion can be made because of the absence of a significant correlation ($p < 0.01$). It may be explained by the fact that the level of awareness of the respondents may have already been high when the questionnaire was distributed, as a result, the relationship between social media use and family social capital was negligible.

Conclusion

As the number of cases of COVID-19 continues to increase, especially with the emergence of new variants, the importance of health protocols and their promotion is growing. This study focuses on the impact of social media use and family social capital on Indonesian people's awareness of the need to choose a healthy lifestyle and follow hygiene and sanitation principles. One of the ways of getting this message across to people may be the social media. However, the effectiveness of this information channel depends on how people use social media.

The role of the mother in the family is very important since she can influence the choices other members of the family make regarding their lifestyles and adherence to the principles of hygiene. Moreover, such aspects of the family as care, cohesiveness, and cooperation are also important aspects of behavior change. Family social capital is a medium for catalyzing the changes in daily family behavior.

Using the snowball survey, this study observes that the level of family social capital is significantly correlated with a better awareness of living amid the coronavirus. Families with strong bond are more likely to have healthy lifestyle in stopping COVID-19 spread. The care from the family members helps other family members to cope in uncertain situations. They share useful information among their members to maintain the wellbeing. Thus, they tend to follow government campaigns such as 3M campaign (wearing masks, maintaining distance, and washing hand) and PBHS (clean and healthy lifestyle). Through family control, mothers ensure that other family members follow these routines. Any choices made in the family during pandemic are taken by considering the principle of hygiene. On the other side, no statistical evidence is found in this study between the social media use and the awareness toward healthy lifestyle during COVID-19 pandemic.

Our research findings may of interest to policymakers seeking to devise measures and solutions to survive in the middle of the coronavirus pandemic. Future research in this area may examine other factors affecting people's awareness of the principles of hygiene or the ways of promoting such principles on the state level. Moreover, since the notion of family social capital is multifaceted and multidimensional, there are still many opportunities for researchers to interpret and measure family social capital.

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Appendix

Questionnaire

Demography
(1) Where do you live?
(2) How old are you?
(3) How much money do you spend monthly?
(4) What is your marital status?
(5) How long have you been married?
(6) What is your current occupation?
(7) How many children do you have?
Social Media Use
(1) How often do you use WhatsApp during COVID-19 pandemic?
(2) How often do you use Facebook during COVID-19 pandemic?
(3) How often do you use Instagram during COVID-19 pandemic?
(4) How often do you use YouTube during COVID-19 pandemic?
(5) How often do you use Twitter during COVID-19 pandemic?
(6) How often do you use LINE during COVID-19 pandemic?
(7) How long (in hours) do you use social media daily?
(8) I use social media daily
(9) I rarely use social media daily
(10) I never use social media daily
(11) I spend most time in a day to surf social media
(12) I do not spend most time in a day to surf social media
(13) I use social media daily for a short time
(14) I actively received information, i.e., in text and video, about COVID-19 pandemic
(15) I read information from my acquittances about COVID-19 pandemic when using social media
(16) I give LIKE for all information in any form, i.e., photos, pictures, and video, about COVID-19 pandemic when using social media
(17) I actively send information or comment on the posting about COVID-19 pandemic
(18) I forward information about COVID-19 pandemic
Family Social Capital
(1) I appreciate every family member that I feel “closer”
(2) My family does all household works together
(3) Family gathering or reunion is our favourite activity
(4) My family always go for leisure together
(5) Every family member has his or her own tasks for the household works
(6) My family often discuss or talk together
(7) I appreciate the transparency from other family members to strengthen the quality of our interaction

(8) My family always spend time together during COVID-19 pandemic
(9) I appreciate the communication with other family members directly and indirectly (i.e., using social media)
(10) Whenever we discuss about private affairs, we do not discuss it openly
(11) If there is a disagreement, every family member is free to say his or her opinion
(12) Any family dispute can be resolved peacefully in our family
(13) Difference is normal even though it can lead to family dispute
(14) I observe that there is trust among family members
(15) I perceive that every family member knows other members' schedule
(16) As a mother, I have full control for arranging family activities at home
(17) I observe that every family member obeys to father
(18) I observe that every member greets each other to show concern
(19) Every family member reminds other family members to complete the activities

Awareness of Healthy Lifestyle

(1) I understand health protocol during COVID-19 pandemic
(2) I understand how to maintain a good health condition
(3) I understand how to use hand sanitizer after touching surfaces in public space
(4) I understand that viruses, bacteria, and germs can be found every where
(5) I understand the benefit of using mask to prevent COVID-19 transmission
(6) I like healthy living
(7) I do healthy living even though it is not practical
(8) I like reminding other family members to follow health protocol
(9) I feel unhappy if I observe other family members do not use mask when going outside
(10) I am happy if my family keep healthy lifestyle
(11) I tend to remind continuously other family members to keep healthy lifestyle
(12) I provide mask for other family members
(13) I provide hand sanitizer for other family members
(14) I provide hand wash facility in my premise
(15) I make it a habit for every family member to wash their hands frequently
(16) Every family member follows the rules of social distancing by keeping a distance from other people when outside the house
(17) Every family member follows the rules of social distancing by avoiding crowds
(18) Every family member throws away the bag or packaging before being brought into the house
(19) After leaving the house, family member immediately takes shower and changes clothes
(20) When bringing or receiving items from outside the house, family members firstly clean it with soap
(21) When bringing or receiving goods from outside the house, family members firstly spray it with disinfectant

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ARTICLE

A General Attitude towards Shopping and Its Link with Basic Human Values in the UK

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ABSTRACT
Prior literature about shopping has focused mostly on specific aspects such as on attitudes towards specific products or shopping practices. A General Shopping Attitude (GSA), capturing how much an individual is attracted by shopping in general, has rarely been explored. In an online questionnaire study conducted in the UK, here we developed and validated a self-report scale to assess GSA. Moreover, adopting Schwartz's theory of basic human values as framework, we explored the relationship between GSA and general value orientations. We observed that people valuing more Self-enhancement versus Self-transcendence (i.e., valuing the own social status and wellbeing versus the wellbeing of others and of the environment) reported more positive GSA. This fits with theories proposing that, in consumer societies, shopping is appealing because it allows one to achieve social status. Contrary to perspectives claiming that shopping is appealing because it enables expressing creativity and freedom, a negative relation between GSA and Self-direction (i.e., a tendency to value freedom and creativity) emerged. Rather, this observation fits with proposals viewing the appeal of shopping in its ability to enable one to conform to a reference group's standards. These findings shed light on general value orientations underlying the appeal of shopping.

KEYWORDS
general attitude towards shopping; social status; self-expression; conformism; basic value

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Introduction

Influential scholars regard consumer culture as being at the centre of contemporary society (especially in Western Europe and the USA but increasingly also elsewhere) and shopping as a prototypical expression of such culture (Featherstone, 2007; Slater, 1997; Stillerman, 2015). Many of these scholars view the modern individual as being fascinated by shopping. Where would this fascination come from? To this question, different answers have been proposed by scholars. We propose to classify some of the approaches to this question in two broad families: *Self-expression theories* and *Social status theories*. The former interpret the appeal of shopping as arising because shopping would be experienced as a manifestation of personal freedom, choice, and autonomy, allowing one to articulate one's own identity, rationality (about which goods maximize utility and minimise monetary cost), and creativity (Campbell, 1987; Douglas & Isherwood, 2021; Holt, 2004; Miller, 1998; Zelizer, 1989). For example, Douglas & Isherwood (2021) view consumption as a creative ritual enacted to mark identity and express meaning within a community. Contrary to this view, Social status theories maintain that, in consumer societies, which goods one purchases is fundamental for defining social status, thus rendering shopping attractive in the race for social rank (Bourdieu, 1979/1984; Hirsch, 1976; Veblen, 1899/2005). As an example, Veblen (1899/2005) introduced the notion of conspicuous consumption to describe a tendency to purchase luxury goods in order to signal economic power.

This debate between Self-expression theories and Social status theories raises an obvious empirical question: what is the real appeal of shopping for common people? What is the actual attitude common people have towards shopping? Arguably, people vary in their attraction towards shopping; why are some more attracted than others? Do certain general value orientations, such as valuing self-expression (Campbell, 1987; Douglas & Isherwood, 2021; Holt, 2004; Miller, 1998; Zelizer, 1989) or valuing social status (Bourdieu, 1979/1984; Hirsch, 1976; Veblen, 1899/2005), account for these individual differences? Surprisingly, these questions remain largely unaddressed. The present paper explores them in the context of contemporary British society. Although prior literature about shopping behavior is overwhelming, this has focused on specific aspects such as on attitudes towards specific products or shopping practices (e.g., online shopping). A General Shopping Attitude (GSA), capturing the appeal of shopping in general, remains to be explored. Here we focus on examining such GSA and in exploring its link with general value orientations such as valuing self-expression or valuing social status. To this aim, the study sets two objectives. The first consists in developing a self-report measure of GSA. The second objective is to explore the relation between GSA and general value orientations. With this regard, we relied on the *theory of basic human values* (Schwartz, 1992), because, as we shall see, this proposes that human values can be described by two broad dimensions analogous to valuing self-expression and valuing social status, respectively. Below, we spell out these two objectives in detail.

General Shopping Attitude (GSA)

Although our specific focus on the concept of GSA is new, to some degree two previous lines of research tap into it, albeit only indirectly. A first research line has explored a materialistic value orientation, capturing a tendency to care about materialistic concerns such as money, appearance, social comparisons, and material goods (Kasser & Kanner, 2004). While this construct appears to encompass aspects potentially related with GSA, it remains unclear to what degree these aspects are captured. Moreover, several aspects external to the notion of GSA are also included. Finally, operationalizations of the materialistic value orientation appear to encompass certain personality traits or general values from the outset (e.g., including most items referring to negative emotions or envy) (Solberg et al., 2004). Conversely, when constructing the GSA, we aimed at removing any explicit overlap with personality or general values, in such a way that any relation found empirically could not be explained by semantic overlap (see below). For these reasons, the construct of materialistic value orientation is not suited to assess GSA in a specific fashion. A second relevant research line has explored the motives driving people when shopping. After initially identifying 11 of such motives (Tauber, 1972), more recent work has grouped these in two broad dimensions comprising utilitarian and hedonic factors (Babin et al., 1994; Guido, 2006). Utilitarian motives would be at play when shopping is instrumental to purchasing a desired item in an efficient and rational manner, whereas hedonic motives would be aroused by the ludic and entertaining nature of going shopping as such. However, this research approach does not examine to what extent, overall, people are attracted by shopping: knowing whether utilitarian or hedonic motives are engaged during shopping does not tell us precisely to what extent shopping is appealing for an individual. Altogether, previous literature does not yet allow for a specific assessment of GSA; the present study aims to fill this gap.

In short, a first objective of the paper is to develop a method to assess GSA. Below, the second objective is examined, consisting in exploring the link between GSA and general value orientations in the context of the theory of basic human values (Schwartz, 1992).

Basic Values and GSA

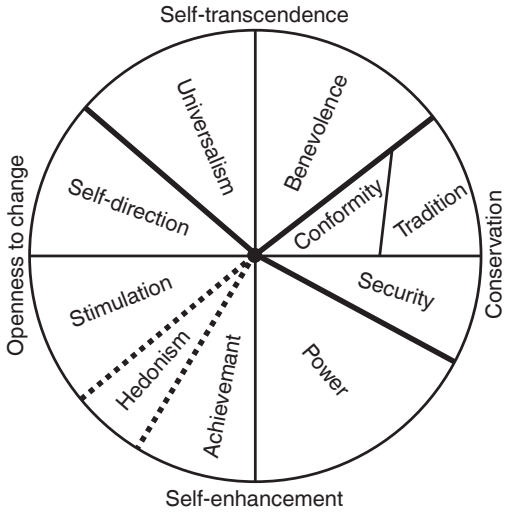
The theory of basic human values (Schwartz, 1992) is one of the most influential perspectives on the psychology of human values, corresponding to abstract principles driving human behaviour in everyday life. This theory postulates the existence of ten basic values arranged (based on their pattern of correlations) along a quasi-circular organization (Fig. 1): basic values appear to be distributed circularly but not evenly spaced, thus forming clusters (from which the definition of quasi-circular arrangement). The ten basic values are:

- *Self-direction* (valuing independent thought and action, autonomy, freedom, and creativity)
- *Stimulation* (seeking novel experience, arousal, variety, and challenge in life)

- *Hedonism* (valuing enjoyment and pleasure)
- *Achievement* (reflecting a strive for acquiring competence in fulfilling socially defined goals)
- *Power* (valuing attainment and preservation of dominant positions in the social system)
- *Security* (seeking harmony, safety, and stability of society and relationships)
- *Conformity* (restraining from actions, inclinations, and impulses that violate social norms)
- *Tradition* (acceptance, commitment, and respect for norms, rituals and ideas of the own culture)
- *Benevolence* (commitment for the wellbeing of close others in everyday interactions)
- *Universalism* (understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the wellbeing of all people and nature)

Figure 1

Representation of Schwartz's Theory of Basic Human Values



Note. Adapted from Schwartz, 1992, p. 24.

Moreover, the space where the basic values are arranged can be described by two broader dimensions. The first opposes Self-enhancement, emphasising the own well-being and social position (and including Power, Achievement, and Hedonism as basic values), versus Self-transcendence, focusing on the welfare of other people and of the environment at large (and including Universalism and Benevolence as basic values). The second dimension opposes Conservation, valuing stability and compliance with social norms (and including Tradition, Conformity, and Security as basic values), versus Openness to change, valuing freedom, change, and autonomy

(and including Self-direction, Stimulation, and Hedonism as basic values—note that Hedonism is relevant for both Self-enhancement and Openness to change). This two-dimensional structure is particularly relevant for assessing Self-expression (Campbell, 1987; Douglas & Isherwood, 2021; Holt, 2004; Miller, 1998; Zelizer, 1989) and Social status (Bourdieu, 1979/1984; Hirsch, 1976; Veblen, 1899/2005) theories of shopping (introduced above): the Self-enhancement versus Self-transcendence axis appears as remarkably appropriate for describing how much individuals value social status (with Self-enhancement corresponding to heavy interest in social status and Self-transcendence to poor interest in social status), whereas the Conservation versus Openness to change axis appears as remarkably appropriate for describing how much individuals value self-expression (with Openness to change corresponding to valuing self-expression and Conservation to disregarding self-expression).

Thus, when exploring the link between GSA and human values, two predictions arise from Self-expression and Social status theories of shopping: (a) following Self-expression theories, individuals stressing more Openness to change versus Conservation are predicted to have a more positive GSA; (b) following Social status theories, individuals stressing more Self-enhancement versus Self-transcendence are predicted to have a more positive GSA. This paper aims to test these predictions.

Methods

Participants

Recruitment of participants was carried out online using the Prolific website[1]. Any (18 years old or older) individual from any country interested in participating to online social science studies can register with the Prolific website. Individuals receive monetary reward after participating to a study. Most people get to know Prolific via social media, poster/flyer campaigns at universities, and through referrals from researchers and participants already using the site. When registering to Prolific, individuals are asked demographic questions, which later allow researchers to pre-screen participants during recruitment. When a researcher creates a new study, any eligible participant (i.e., those meeting the pre-screening criteria) can sign in and participate until the sample in complete (the sample size is established a priori). Eligible participants are informed that a new study is available because the study becomes visible to them when accessing the Prolific website, and because the Prolific system sends an email to a random subset of eligible participants (Rigoli, 2021).

For the present study, 300 adults were recruited (all participants were included in the analysis). This sample size was established a priori based on a Pearson correlation hypothesis testing, a type-one error rate of 0.05, a type-two error rate of 0.1, and an expected Pearson coefficient of r = .2 (this requires 259 participants minimum; we rounded this number to 300). By relying on the Prolific pre-screening, we ensured that all participants were UK citizens (citizenship was established based

[1] www.prolific.co

on the following pre-screening question: "What is your nationality?"). Participants were all English speakers (this also was ensured based on a pre-screening question)[2]. To assess test-retest reliability, 100 participants among the 300 initially recruited were tested again after about two months.

Procedure and Measures

The study was published on March 11, 2021 and the sample was fully collected on the same day. Participants answered a set of questions online via the Qualtrics website[3]. Answering all questions took approximately 10 minutes, and subjects were paid £1.50 for participating in the study. Questions included a newly created GSA scale and the Schwartz's Value Survey (SVS) (Schwartz, 1992), a widely used instrument to assess basic values. These measures were the focus of the study. For exploratory purposes, we also asked some additional questions. Below, the GSA scale, the SVS, and the additional questions are described in detail. To assess the test-retest reliability of the GSA scale, a subset of participants (n = 100) filled this scale on May 28, 2021.

GSA Scale

As it was mentioned above, a main objective of the study was to develop and validate a self-report measure of GSA. This scale was constructed as follows. We considered theories viewing attitudes as constituted by three facets (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993): emotional (reflecting the affective states elicited by an action/object), cognitive (describing beliefs about the benefits associated with that action/object), and behavioural (capturing a tendency to engage in that action/object). Following these theories, we formulated three items for each facet (items were initially created after discussions with common people and marketing experts). For each item, participants had to indicate how much they agree or disagree (on a 5-point rating scale) with the following statements:

- when I have free time, I spend much time and energy going shopping
- shopping is one of my favourite hobbies
- even when I am currently unable to go shopping, I often make plans about it
- shopping often makes me forget problems
- shopping often makes me feel euphoric
- shopping is often boring
- shopping helps me expressing myself
- shopping helps me being liked by other people
- shopping helps me fulfilling my personal goals

Items 1, 2 and 3 map to the behavioural facet; items 4, 5, and 6 to the emotional facet; and items 7, 8, and 9 to the cognitive facet. The total score of the scale was calculated as the sum across items (with item 6 being reversed).

[2] The study was approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the University supporting the study (located in the UK; IRB code: ETH1920-0624.

[3] www.qualtrics.com

Schwartz's Value Survey (SVS)

To assess values in the context of the theory of basic human values, we administered the SVS (Schwartz, 1992). Here, for each of 56 items describing a general human value or principle, participants are asked to indicate on a 9-point rating scale (ranging from –1 [opposed to my principles], 0 [not important], 3 [important], 6 [very important], 7 [of supreme importance]) how much that item is important for them. Scoring of the scale worked as follows. First, to correct for individual tendencies to report a different overall average score, for each participant the average across all items was subtracted to each item. Second, only 45 items (those established by prior literature as adequate for cross-cultural comparisons; Schwartz, 1992) were further considered. Among these, each item maps to a specific basic value; items associated with the same basic value were averaged to obtain the score for that basic value. For example, the basic value of Power was scored as the average across 4 items (social power, wealth, authority, and preservation of public image). Finally, the scores for the two broad dimensions of Self-enhancement versus Self-transcendence and Openness to change versus Conservation were computed. For the former, we summed all items for Self-enhancement and subtracted all items for Self-transcendence (i.e., we summed items for Power [4 items], Achievement [4 items], and Hedonism [2 items], and subtracted items for Benevolence [5 items] and Universalism [8 items]). For the latter, we summed all items for Openness to Change and subtracted all items for Conservation (i.e., we summed items for Self-direction [5 items], Stimulation [3 items], and Hedonism [2 items] and subtracted items for Tradition [5 items], Conformity [4 items], and Security [5 items]).

Additional Questions

In addition to the GSA scale and the SVS, the following variables were also collected:

- Age, assessed through the statement "Indicate your age", answered by indicating a number.
- Gender, recorded through the statement "Indicate your gender", with male and female as options.
- Ethnicity, assessed through the statement "Indicate your ethnicity", with Caucasian, ethnic minority, and mixed as options (the two latter categories were collapsed for analyses).
- Education, assessed through the statement "Highest education", with options 1 = "No formal qualification", 2 = "GCSE", 3 = "A level", 4 = "Undergraduate degree", 5 = "Graduate or doctorate degree".
- Socioeconomic status, assessed through the question "How would you define your economic status in comparison with other people in the UK?", with options 1 = "Substantially worse off, 2 = "Moderately worse off", 3 = "Middle level", 4 = "Moderately better off", 5 = "Substantially better off".
- Religiosity, assessed through the question "Do you consider yourself a religious person?", with options 1 = "Not religious", 2 = "Somewhat religious", 3 = "Religious", 4 = "Highly religious".

- Political orientation, assessed through the question "Overall, are your political opinions closer to the left or to the right?", with options 1 = "Strongly right", 2 = "Moderately right", 3 = "Neutral", 4 = "Moderately left", 5 = "Strongly left".
- Life satisfaction, assessed through the question "Overall, how satisfied are you about your life?", with options 1 = "Very unsatisfied", 2 = "Unsatisfied", 3 = "Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied", 4 = "Satisfied", 5 = "Very satisfied".

Statistical Analyses

To ascertain that a single factor underpinned all items of the GSA scale, we ran an exploratory factor analysis based on maximum likelihood. Decision on how many factors to retain relied on considering both the point of inflection criterion and the Kaiser criterion (counting how many factors had eigenvalue higher than one). To assess the internal consistency of the scale, the Cronbach's Alpha score was calculated (and a decision whether any item should be retained was based on looking at the Alpha score if that item was deleted). Finally, to evaluate convergent validity of the scale, its relationship with age and gender was assessed. A large body of evidence indicates that shopping is more common among females (Milestone & Meyer, 2012; Stillerman, 2015) and young people (Stillerman, 2015; Wassel, 2011). Thus, a valid GSA scale would be expected to be related with gender and age accordingly. To assess the test-retest reliability of the GSA scale, for participants who filled the scale twice we calculated the Pearson correlation of the total score between time one and time two.

After validating the GSA scale, we examined its relationship with the SVS adopting Pearson correlations. To ensure a family-wise type-one error rate of .05, we distinguished between a priori and post-hoc tests. A priori tests, for which two-tailed $p = .05$ was adopted as significance threshold, were restricted to the two broad dimensions of Self-enhancement versus Self-transcendence and Openness to change versus Conservation. Post-hoc tests concerned the Pearson correlation between the GSA scale and individual basic values (10 tests in total). Adopting a Bonferroni correction, a two-tailed $p = .005$ was employed as significance threshold for post-hoc tests. Finally, for exploratory purposes, the Pearson correlations (and associated p values) between the GSA scale and the additional questions was calculated, although these do not represent hypotheses tested in this study.

Results

Descriptive statistics for interval variables are reported in Table 1 (for gender and ethnicity, the sample included 175 females and 270 white participants, respectively).

The exploratory factor analysis of the GSA scale produced the scree plot shown in Fig. 2. Both the Kaiser criterion and point of inflection criterion indicate that a single factor underlies all items (with 56% of variance explained and a minimum communality score of .382). When considering internal reliability, a Cronbach's Alpha of .918 was obtained (a minimum item-total correlation of r = .609 emerged; Alpha did not improve if any item was removed). These results show that the scale had internal reliability (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). Supporting convergent validity

of the scale, females exhibited higher GSA than males (t(298) = 3.835, $p < .001$), and the GSA scale correlated negatively with age (r(298) = –.193, $p = 0.001$). Concerning the test-retest reliability of the scale (calculated as the correlation between total scores for time one and time two), according to standard criteria (Cicchetti, 1994) this resulted to be good (r(98) = .724, $p < .001$).

The GSA scale exhibited a positive relationship with the Self-enhancement versus Self-transcend dimension (Fig. 3; r(298) = .281, $p < .001$), but not with the Openness to change versus Conservation dimension (Fig. 4; r(298) = –.037, $p = .523$). Table 2 reports Pearson correlations between the GSA scale and individual basic values (and among basic values themselves). Based on a Bonferroni correction applied to these tests (implying in a significance threshold of $p = .005$; see the Methods section above), a significant positive correlation emerged for Power (Fig. 5; r(298) = .277, $p < .001$) and a significant negative correlation emerged for Self-direction (Fig. 6; r(298) = –.172, $p = .003$) and Universalism (Fig. 7; r(298) = –.197, $p < .001$); non-significant results were obtained for other basic values. Finally, Table 3 reports Pearson correlations (and associated p values) for the relationship between the GSA scale and the additional questions (and among these questions themselves). We report these data for exploratory purposes, stressing that no hypotheses were tested regarding them.

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for All Interval Variables

	Mean	SD	Skewness
GSA	20.71	7.81	.27
Self-direction	.66	.77	.54
Stimulation	–.68	1.16	–.29
Hedonism	.43	1.16	–.32
Achievement	–.19	.86	–.15
Power	–2.06	1.30	–.04
Security	.16	.80	.07
Tradition	–1.14	.99	–.27
Conformity	.03	.90	–.30
Benevolence	.75	.67	.31
Universalism	.70	.89	–.04
Self-enhancement vs Self-transcendence	–17.47	14.79	.05
Openness to change vs Conservation	6.83	13.99	.22
Age	36.81	13.73	.80
Education	3.50	1.09	–.29
Socioeconomic status	2.97	.85	–.048
Political orientation	3.27	1.18	–.17
Religiosity	1.48	.75	1.53
Life satisfaction	3.41	1.06	–.52

Table 2

Pearson Correlation Matrix for the GSA Scale and the Basic Values

	GSA	Self-direction	Stimulation	Hedonism	Achievement	Power	Security	Tradition	Conformity	Benevolence	Universalism
GSA scale	1	r=–.172 *p*=.003**	r=.024 *p*=.677	r=.132 *p*=.022*	r=.151 *p*=.009*	r=.277 *p*<.001**	r=–.030 *p*=.609	r=–.010 *p*=.867	r=.116 *p*=.044 *	r=–.145 *p*=.012*	r=–.197 *p*=.001**
Self-direction		1	r=.170 *p*=.003**	r=.065 *p*=.262	r=–.013 *p*=.818	r=–.281 *p*<.001**	r=.271 *p*<.001**	r=–.371 *p*<.001**	r=–.292 *p*=.677	r=–.001 *p*=.989	r=.200 *p*=.001**
Stimulation			1	r=.202 *p*<.001**	r=.105 *p*=.070	r=.006 *p*=.917	r=–.357 *p*<.001**	r=–.344 *p*<.001**	r=–.295 *p*<.001**	r=–.076 *p*=.189	r=–.012 *p*=.843
Hedonism				1	r=–.032 *p*=.578	r=.209 *p*<.001**	r=–.159 *p*=.006*	r=–.246 *p*<.001**	r=–.267 *p*<.001**	r=–.109 *p*=.060	r=–.111 *p*=.054
Achievement					1	r=.329 *p*<.001**	r=–.130 *p*=.024*	r=–.210 *p*<.001**	r=–.040 *p*=.493	r=–.148 *p*=.01*	r=–.305 *p*<.001**
Power						1	r=.067 *p*=.245	r=.152 *p*=.009*	r=.030 *p*=.603	r=–.466 *p*<.001**	r=–.570 *p*<.001**
Security							1	r=.198 *p*=.001**	r=.245 *p*<.001**	r=–.181 *p*=.002**	r=–.260 *p*<.001**
Tradition								1	r=.384 *p*<.001**	r=–.128 *p*=.026*	r=–.398 *p*<.001**
Conformity									1	r=–.088 *p*=.130	r=–.416 *p*<.001**
Benevolence										1	r=.290 *p*<.001**
Universalism											1

Note. * for $p < .05$; ** for $p < .005$.

Table 3

Pearson Correlation Matrix for the GSA Scale and the Additional Questions

	GSA	Age	Gender	Ethnicity	Education	Socioeconomic status	Political orientation	Religiosity	Life satisfaction
GSA scale	1	r=–.193 *p*=.001**	r=.217 *p*<.001**	r=.191 *p*=.001**	r=–.065 *p*=.262	r=–.001 *p*=.984	r<.001 *p*=.995	r=.143 *p*=.013 *	r=–.025 *p*=.670
Age		1	r=–.015 *p*=.790	r=–.160 *p*=.005*	r=–.184 *p*=.001**	r=.064 *p*=.271	r=–.244 *p*<.001 **	r=.052 *p*=.369	r=.119 *p*=.039*
Gender			1	r=.007 *p*=.902	r=.100 *p*=.084	r=.085 *p*=.142	r=.105 *p*=.068	r=–.031 *p*=.595	r=.119 *p*=.040*
Ethnicity				1	r=.005 *p*=.933	r=–.070 *p*=.226	r=.087 *p*=.131	r=.207 *p*<.001 **	r=–.066 *p*=.245
Education					1	r=.256 *p*<.001**	r=.238 *p*<.001 **	r=–0.61 *p*=.289	r=.119 *p*=.039*
Socioeconomic status						1	r=–.130 *p*=.024 *	r=.041 *p*=.480	r=.401 *p*<.001**
Political orientation							1	r=–.220 *p*<.001 **	r=–.176 *p*=.002**
Religiosity								1	r=.087 *p*=.131
Life satisfaction									1

Note. * for $p < .05$; ** for $p < .005$.

Figure 2

Scree Plot Relative to the Exploratory Factor Analysis of the GSA Scale

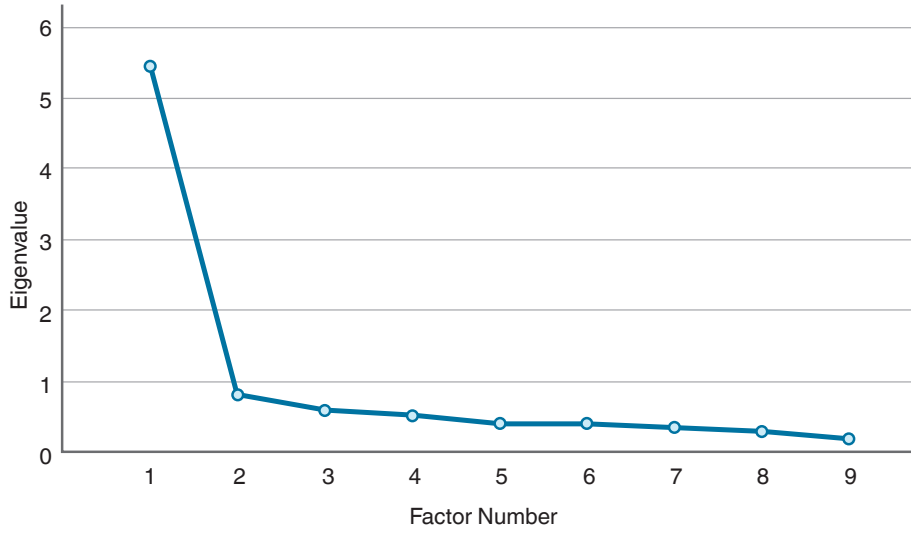


Figure 3

Relationship between Self-enhancement versus Self-transcendence and the GSA Scale

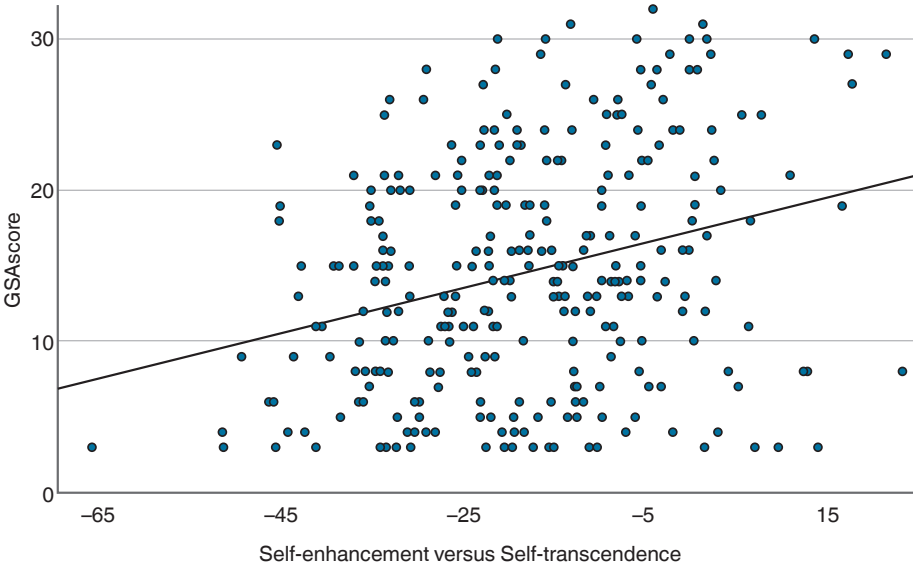


Figure 4

Relationship between Openness to change versus Conservation and the GSA Scale

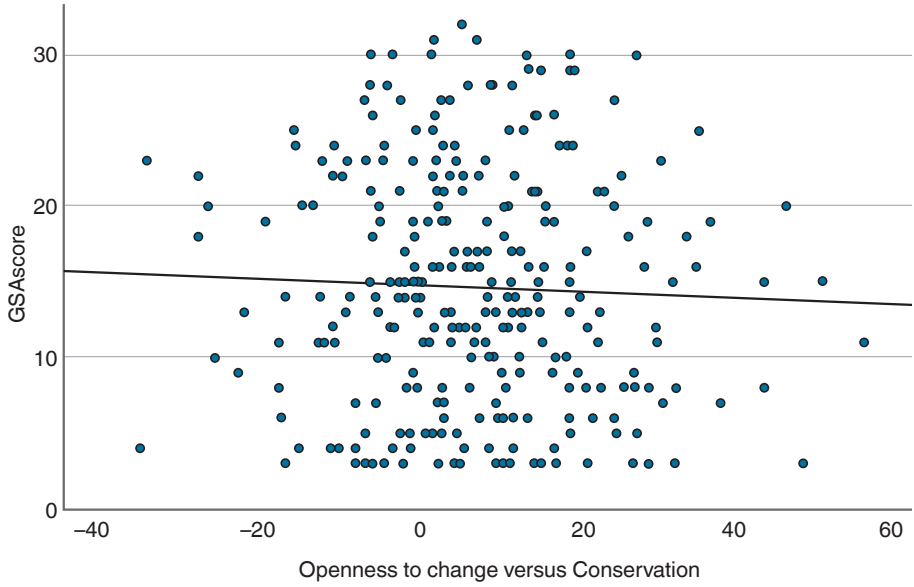


Figure 5

Relationship between Power and the GSA Scale

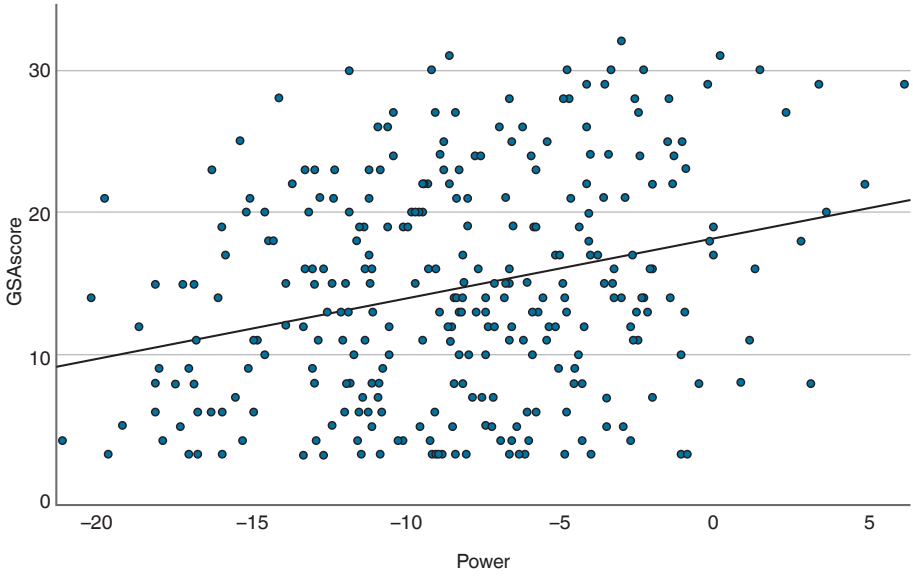


Figure 6

Relationship between Self-direction and the GSA Scale

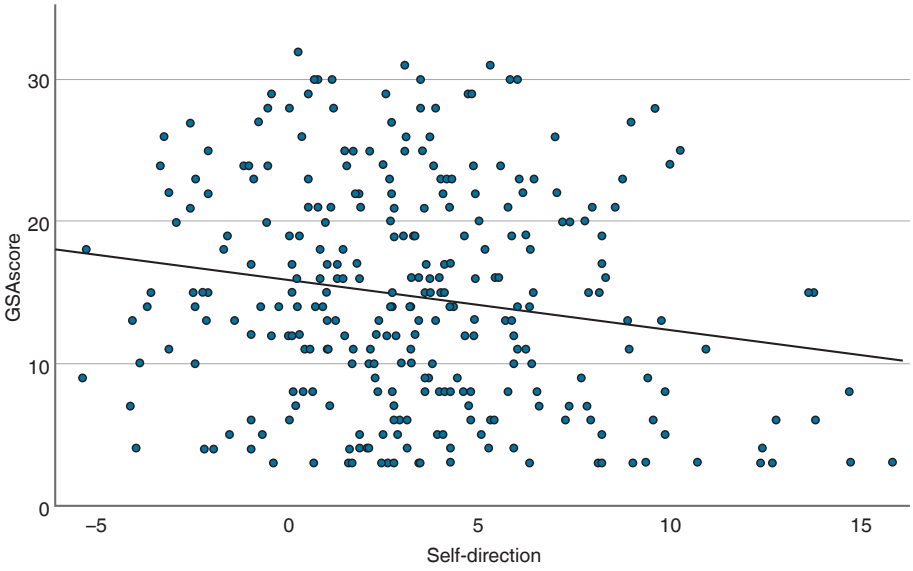
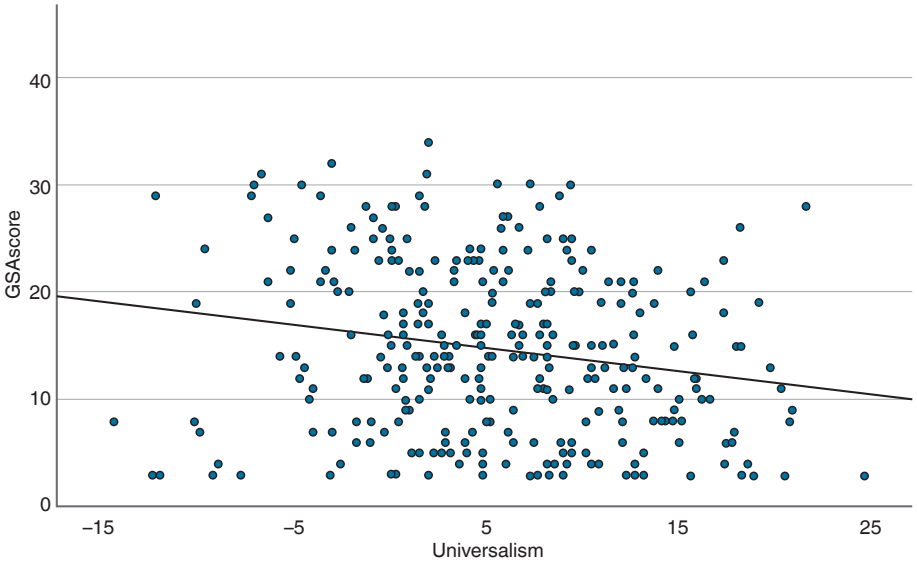


Figure 7

Relationship between Universalism and the GSA Scale



Discussion

This paper offers a method for measuring GSA through a short self-report scale and supports the internal reliability and convergent validity (based on a correlation with gender and age) of the scale. Consistent with Status theories of shopping (Bourdieu, 1979/1984; Hirsch, 1976; Veblen, 1899/2005), the GSA scale was related with the Self-enhancement versus Self-transcendence dimension. A lack of correlation between the GSA scale and Openness to change versus Conservation does not fit with Self-expression theories of shopping (Campbell, 1987; Douglas & Isherwood, 2021; Holt, 2004; Miller, 1998; Zelizer, 1989). Regarding individual basic values, the GSA scale correlated positively with Power, and negatively with Universalism and Self-direction.

These findings show that valuing the own power and status and disregarding the wellbeing of others and the environment (aspects captured by the Self-enhancement versus Self-transcendence dimension) encourage a more positive GSA. This is in line with proposals highlighting competition for status as driving shopping (Bourdieu, 1979/1984; Hirsch, 1976; Veblen, 1899/2005). According to this view, in consumer societies status is often measured by the goods one buys and exhibits. These goods would represent signals of status such as wealth (e.g., expensive items reflecting affluence), power, and taste (i.e., the ability to select products based on their supposed quality and beauty; Bourdieu, 1979/1984). Our results indicate that, although appreciating Power and disregarding Universalism appear as primary basic values in driving the relationship between GSA and valuing social status (as these basic values exhibit a significant correlation with GSA; Table 2), a consistent pattern is evident also when considering the remaining basic values (though statistically non-significant, for these basic values the correlation with GSA goes in the expected direction; Table 2).

Not only a lack of correlation between Openness to change versus Conservation and GSA fails to support Self-expression theories of shopping (Campbell, 1987; Douglas & Isherwood, 2021; Holt, 2004; Miller, 1998; Zelizer, 1989), but an inverse correlation between Self-direction and GSA goes exactly in the opposite direction. This finding indicates that people reporting more positive GSA disregard autonomy, freedom, and creativity. We can interpret this observation in light of the notion that conformism might be a key driver of shopping (Riesman, 1950/1961; Simmel, 1900). Conformism implies a motivation to comply with the prevailing social norms, thus suppressing inclinations towards personal autonomy, freedom, and creativity. In the context of shopping, conformism would instigate people to purchase goods that are currently in vogue among a reference group, rather than those that enable original self-expression. Notably, regarding the Openness to change versus Conservation axis, no basic value showed a significant correlation with GSA except for Self-direction. For example, when considering basic values underlying Conservation, no correlation emerged for Tradition, Conformity, and Security. This might occur because, in consumer societies, trends and products are constantly changing. Hence, a more positive GSA might ensue from welcoming the dynamic nature of consumption (hence not appreciating Conservation values more than other people) and yet perceiving

such dynamics as driven by external, rather than self-established, standards to which one strives to conform (hence discounting Self-direction).

We highlight some limitations of the study. First, this was carried out in a specific time (March 2021) and place (UK). Many scholars view the UK as being among the countries where consumerism has been well-entrenched for longer (Slater, 1997). Whether similar results extend to countries with different society, culture, and history remain an open question. A possibility is that this might depend on how pervasive and long-lasting consumerism is in a country. For example, in societies where consumerism is relatively new and is not so pervasive, people reporting more positive GSA might be even more motivated by social status and conformism. This would fit with the proposal that self-expression becomes more important in post-Fordist societies (where consumerism is more well- established like in the UK) compared to Fordist ones (where consumerism is more recent) (Featherstone, 2007; Slater, 1997; Stillerman, 2015). Adoption of online recruiting represents a second limit of the study: this implies that categories such as internet illiterates and older people are likely to be underrepresented in the sample. Linked to this, a large body of research has shown that specific segments of the population (defined in terms of socio-demographic characteristics) are driven by different values during consumption (Dolnicar et al., 2018; McDonald, 2012). In light of this literature, our study leaves open the question of whether our findings generalise across different population segments.

In summary, this paper develops a method to measure GSA through a short self-report scale, and explores the link between this variable and general value orientation. Consistent with Social status theories of shopping (Bourdieu, 1979/1984; Hirsch, 1976; Veblen, 1899/2005), GSA correlated with a Self-enhancement versus Self-transcendence value orientation. Contrary to Self-expression theories of shopping (Campbell, 1987; Douglas & Isherwood, 2021; Holt, 2004; Miller, 1998; Zelizer, 1989), it did not correlate with Openness to change versus Conservation. Rather, an inverse correlation with the basic value of Self-direction emerged, suggesting that conformism (Riesman, 1950/1961; Simmel, 1900), and not self-expression, might explain a fascination towards shopping. Altogether, these findings contribute to shed light on the motives that drive many to engage in an activity (shopping) that takes central stage in contemporary society.

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ARTICLE

Urban Identities in Russian Cities and the Prospects of their "Smart" Development

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ABSTRACT

This article deals with the urban identity and its connection with the urban dwellers' willingness to take part in the processes of decision-making concerning the future of their cities, their rejection, or, on the contrary, acceptance of the vision of "smart" development promoted by city leaders. The study gives special attention to the gap between the citizens' perceptions of their cities and the ideal image of their city (perception-expectation gap). The study provides an overview of the contemporary approaches to the concept of "smart city", and approaches to urban governance and city identity. The study focused on three Russian cities—Tyumen, Tobolsk and Khanty-Mansiysk, located in Tyumen region in Western Siberia. Our surveys were conducted in November 2020 and involved the residents of these cities aged 18 to 70. In total, 877 people were surveyed in Tyumen, 443 people in Tobolsk and 498 people in Khanty-Mansiysk. The questionnaire, which was specially designed for this study, was aimed to measure the residents' level of attachment to their cities and their perception-expectation gap. Significant differences were revealed between the cities in terms of the strength of their residents' urban identity, their emotional attachment to their cities, and expectations about their further development. We found that the larger is the perception-expectation gap, the less emotionally attached the citizens are to their cities and the less committed they are to contributing to its future development and prosperity. These research findings can be of interest to urban policy-makers, regional and national governments. The proposed research methodology can be adapted and/or expanded for further cross-city and cross-country analysis.

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smart city, urban governance, social space, social context, city identity, citizen participation

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Introduction

Urbanization and the development of information and communication technologies (ICTs) are bringing radical change to modern cities and the world in general (Bibri & Krogstie, 2019). The visions of what the city of the future should look like are more often than not shaped by the "smart city" concept, which offers a universal view on how cities may integrate into the information society. A "smart city" comprises a set of aspects such as economy, mobility, environment, people, governance, environment, etc. (Giffinger, 2007). This concept also implies a set of goals of urban development as well as resources and tools for reaching them.

Cities are dynamic systems whose prosperity to a great extent depends on the local governments' ability to take into account the complexity of the processes of urban development and the specific local contexts. Moreover, modern cities are facing enormous technological, informational and other pressures, which affect people's daily lives, urban economy, urban space and so on. A viable way to respond to these pressures is offered by the "smart city" concept. However, digitalization as a core element of this concept may cause resentment and erosion of trust on the part of urban dwellers, who may be wary of the new technologies taking control of their daily lives, for example, of the city governments' attempts to track and collect data about their activities (through video surveillance or facial recognition software). Therefore, the main challenge of the implementation of "smart city" projects is to overcome this lack of trust. To this end, it is important to gain a better understanding of the citizens' connections to the places they inhabit, in particular the nature of the relationship between what can be described as these people's urban identity and the identity of the city. Urban dwellers may reject the new "smart" identity of their city that the government envisions and refuse to legitimize it. This negative scenario can be avoided if more attention is given to the social context and to civil participation in decision-making processes.

This study investigates citizens' ideas about the cities they inhabit and about the ideal city they would like to live in. It is these ideas that local governments should focus on in order to promote the vision of a "smart city" and to gain the support of local communities. Thus, one of the research tasks we aim to address in this paper is to provide an overview of the contemporary research on the themes of urban identity by showing its connection to the practices of city governance and the "smart city" concept. We also present and analyze the results of the survey that

encompassed the residents of three Siberian cities to show the correlation between these people's urban identities and their willingness to contribute to their cities' "smart" transformations in the future.

The above-described research tasks determined the structure of this paper: the following section outlines the conceptual framework of the study and provides an overview of the literature on the "smart city" concept, city governance, and urban identity. The third section describes the research methodology and data. The fourth section presents the results of the survey. The fifth section discusses the survey results and summarizes our main research findings.

The novelty of this study lies in the fact that it discusses the prospects of "smart" urban development by measuring the gap between the urban identity of the residents of three Russian cities and the identity of their cities constructed by local governments in accordance with the "smart city" concept.

Theoretical Framework

"Smart City" Concept

In contrast to the views upheld by the proponents of critical urbanism (Greenfield, 2013; Luque-Ayala & Marvin, 2015) and critical social theory (Brenner, 2009; Kitchin, 2014; Sheltona et al., 2015; Vanolo, 2016), we support the postulate that the "smart city" concept is based on the discursive logic of intellectual urbanism. This logic focuses on the goals and mechanisms of urban development, on the stakeholders steering the new processes, and on the need to integrate the "smart city" concept into the local context of each city (Caprotti & Cowley, 2018; Bramwell, 2020).

A detailed description of approaches and views on the "smart city" concept and its main structural elements is given in a number of works (Albino et al., 2015; Joss et al., 2017). Among other things, these studies emphasize the importance of urban dwellers and urban communities in understanding the essence of the smart city. A smart city is a result not only of a carefully planned project relying on the assemblage of innovative technologies but also of the practices and initiatives of different actors and parties with different interests (Coletta et al., 2019).

The focus on the social aspect, however, does not solve the problem of determining what a smart city is, and who smart citizens are. The inclusion of a person in the structure of a smart city does not solve the problem of how sociality and social contexts should be incorporated into this concept.

In our view, "smartness" should be measured through objective and subjective indicators, the former including material infrastructure and the latter opinions of residents (Albino et al., 2015, p. 14). Our study focuses on the latter aspect—the sociological parameters that can be used for city governance. In this respect, the term "social space" is quite relevant. It is defined as a spatiotemporal set of social ties, interdependencies and interactions, clashes of interests of different groups of citizens. This approach does not contradict the understanding of the city "as spatially polarized ensembles of human activity marked by a high level of internal symbiosis" (Scott, 2008, p. 548), but it takes further the idea that interactions determine the

location (Smirnyagin, 2016) and the ideas underpinning the theory of collective actions (Batty, 2013).

In the contemporary research literature, there are three main views on the role of smart technologies in cities. The studies of the first group emphasize the leading role that smart technologies play in urban development, economic growth, improvement of the living standards and so on (Baculáková, 2020). The studies of the second group adopt a more critical view of smart technologies and point out the risks connected with their increased use. These studies argue that people are becoming increasingly dependent on modern technologies (Biczyńska, 2019); that their application leads to the loss of privacy and social justice in modern society (Vanolo, 2014); and that the unprecedented use of smart technologies such as surveillance software absorbs sociality and helps governments increase their control over people (Schindler and Silver, 2019). The studies of the third group view smart technologies primarily as tools to achieve the goals of urban development (Hollands, 2015; McFarlane & Söderström, 2017).

Our approach to the use of smart technologies in cities is closer to the third view: one cannot escape the fact that modern urban dwellers increasingly rely on smart technologies in their daily lives (Woetzel & Kuznetsova, 2018, p. 66), and that these technologies form an important part of these people's perceptions of urban life and their expectations concerning the development of their cities in the future.

The question that remains open for discussion is who a smart citizen is. One of the indicators of "smartness" could be the social capital of urban dwellers (Deakin, 2014), that is, the ties and relationships between individuals based on trust and solidarity. Thus, we can define a smart citizen as an individual with high human, intellectual and social capital, who is pursuing the goals of personal development, the development of their community, city, and country as a whole. Such orientations result from the influence of many factors, including those related to urban identity of citizens.

City Governance

Modern city leaders in their decision- and policy-making should take into account a number of social factors (McFarlane & Söderström, 2017; Raco, 2018) related to the local context and characteristics of urban population. It is particularly important to ensure civil participation in decision-making and other processes on a regular basis in the conditions of digitalization (Angelidoua & Psaltoglou, 2017; Cardullo & Kitchin, 2019; Joss et. al., 2017).

In our study we are going to analyze the urban identities of people inhabiting second-tier cities in Russia—these cities act as centres of territorial/regional development. In European practice, second-tier cities include small and medium-sized cities (up to 100,000 citizens) with their own development problems (Atkinson, 2019; Rodríguez-Pose, 2018). In the research literature, there are two main views on how national governments should be dealing with the cities of this type. According to the first view, second-tier cities are less competitive than larger cities which drive national development; therefore, state funds should be spent on supporting the leaders rather than their less successful counterparts (Crouch & Le Galès,

2012). The proponents of the second approach, on the contrary, argue that state funding should be allocated to second-tier cities to enable them to deal with their problems more effectively (Yavo-Ayalon et al., 2019, p. 796). We subscribe to the second view that second-tier cities with extra funds and other assistance from the state government would be more likely to make better use of their own resources (e.g., human resources) and thus develop more efficiently. Thus, innovative development of second-tier cities to a great extent depends on their abilities to retain a qualified workforce and ensure their citizens' support.

In Russia, second-tier cities include large administrative-territorial units of the regional level. These cities possess a considerable potential and are capable of benefiting from new resources although the positive effects may be not as strong as in the case of national capitals and megalopolises. For Russia, it is particularly important to provide sufficient support for second-tier cities and thus prevent qualified workforce from migrating to the country's two largest metropolitan areas—Moscow and St. Petersburg. The challenge of retaining the population in second-tier cities implies the need to develop concepts, strategies and models for the development of these cities, for example, the "smart city" concept. This concept not only offers a set of goals, tools, and resources but also provides an attractive vision of the future—an innovative, modern, digital city. What makes the "smart city" concept particularly attractive is that it shows the way to help struggling cities and areas to catch up with their more prosperous counterparts, improve their standards of living and become more competitive on the national and global arena. An important element of the concept is its focus on public engagement and on empowering the citizens by inviting them to take part in the process of decision-making.

There are two major topics discussed in relation to urban governance: citizen participation in urban development and new resources for urban development (Cruz et al., 2019, p. 1). We believe that these topics are in fact intertwined since citizen participation is by its very nature a social resource that can be used for urban development. Therefore, building the conditions conducive to meaningful citizen participation should be viewed as an important part of "smart city" projects. People's willingness to live in a smart city and contribute to its creation largely stems from their urban identity and ideas about the ideal city. It is also necessary to narrow the gap between the visions underpinning smart city initiatives and expectations of the key stakeholders, including urban citizens and communities (Myeong et al., 2021, p. 47).

In the research literature, there are three main approaches to urban governance: resource-based approach (Drozdova, 2019; Veselova et al., 2018), object-based approach (Kolodiy et al., 2020), and subject-based approach (Vorob'eva et al., 2019). The resource-based approach prioritizes the key factors that determine a city's development. One of the most urgent problems is to find the necessary resources (Bramwell, 2020). Nowadays more significance is attached to intangible rather than tangible assets (Morozov et al., 2020). Interestingly, one of the reasons behind the popularity of the "smart city" concept is that the smart city itself may be considered a resource (Sheltona et al., 2015). The object-based approach foregrounds the role of citizens: the main goal of smart governance is to enhance social development

(Tikhonov & Bogdanov, 2020). Within this approach, smart governance has much in common with the concept of multi-level governance in Europe (Grisel & Waart, 2011, p. 175). The subject-based approach aims to identify the key stakeholders involved in urban development and governance. In our view, the most productive strategy is to combine all the three approaches: not only is it important for a city to accumulate sufficient resources for further development but it is equally important that the city's residents were aware of the significance of these resources and recognized the need to use them. This condition is met if the urban dwellers' identity correlates with the identity of the city.

Social parameters of cities, for example, the local context, should also be taken into account in the practice of governance. The local context of each city is unique. Each of the city's subsystems, characteristics or elements can contribute to the implementation of a "smart city" project or, on the contrary, inhibit it. The question that needs to be addressed, both theoretically and practically, is how the universality of the "smart city" model can be combined with particularities of life in this or that city and its social space. The goals and tools of "smart city" projects are rather standardized and need to be carefully adjusted to the local context of each particular city. Otherwise, the clash between the general vision of "smart" urban development and the local context can cause conflicts in the future.

Urban Identity

The discussions surrounding identity and its various types, in particular civil identity (Drobizheva, 2018), show that this word, which used to be largely an academic term, has entered other, more general contexts such as governance. In fact, there are studies that point directly to the potential of identity for city development (Morozova et al., 2020). It is important to distinguish, however, between the urban identity of citizens and urban identity as the identity of a city itself since it is the interrelation of these two identities that shapes people's attitudes towards the visions of their cities' development in the future and their willingness to contribute to these transformations.

In his seminal work, *The Image of the City* (1960), Kevin Lynch defines identity as a "sense of place" or the extent to which a local inhabitant or a visitor to the city can recall or recognize this place as being distinct from other places, as being unique or having its own peculiar character (Lynch, 1960). He also points out that a public image of any city is the "overlap of many individual images" (Lynch, 1960, p. 46). Kees Terlouw in his study of regional identity distinguishes between "thick" and "thin" identities, that is, the well-established and more stable identities of old regions and more transitory and fluid identities of new regions as well as their "hybrid" types (Terlouw, 2012). He also points out four main aspects (or "shapes") constituting a regional identity: territorial (borders, land use patterns, territorial shape); institutional (institutions used for communicating regional identity, e.g., educational institutions and the mass media); symbolic (this aspect stems from stereotypes based on the territorial shape of a region and the characteristics of its population); and functional (the established role of a region in larger systems) (Terlouw, 2012, p. 709). Terlouw's reasoning is quite applicable to a city's identity.

It is also important to emphasize the role of the city dwellers' perceptions in shaping the identity of their cities. According to Pierre Bourdieu, the subject's perception of the social world arises as a result of its subjective structuring, which is directly related to the identity of the individual. The structuring by the individual of his perception regarding the city and its (city's) identity determines the urban identity of the city dweller (Bourdieu, 1993). City dwellers may be feeling a stronger or weaker connection to their cities. Borén, et al. (2020) put forward the concept of "intra-urban connectedness" to denote "the creation of new institutional arrangements between actors and institutions underpinning the local performance of a creative economy with a further dimension, which is a strong … adherence to a political cause and particular urban identity" (Borén et al., 2020, p. 255). Therefore, intra-urban connectedness, which is partially based on citizens' urban identity, determines the city's overall readiness for innovation, e.g., for building smart city digital eco-systems.

Galina Gornova in the study of the structure of urban identity, which she defines as an established individual vision of oneself as an inhabitant of this particular city, the feeling of being naturally connected to this city, emotional sensation of belonging to this city and its community, describes its four main constitutive components: a cognitive component, affective component, value-normative component, and practical (behavioural/instrumental) component (Gornova, 2018). She argues that the cognitive and affective components play the most significant role in the development of city residents' urban identity.

The urban identity of citizens and the identity of the city itself are not static, their structures include a variety of constantly changing elements (D'Ambrosio, 2019; Rosa, 2013; Terlouw, 2009; Terlouw, 2012). The traditional city and its identity are transformed under the pressure of digitalization, acquiring new features and properties. This is what makes the study of the gap between citizens' perceptions of their cities, the identities of these cities, and the future visions of their development devised by city leaders particularly relevant.

Methods and Materials

Methodologically, our study relies on a number of previous studies (for example, Jabareen & Eizenberg, 2021; Radina, 2015; van Houtum & Lagendijk, 2001) and was conducted in accordance with the quantitative approach. We carried out sociological surveys in three cities of Tyumen region, located in the southern part of Western Siberia—Tyumen (816.8 thousand people as of 2021), Khanty-Mansiysk (104,054 people) and Tobolsk (102,000). Tyumen, which is the capital of the region, is the largest while Khanty-Mansiysk and Tobolsk have approximately the same population size. Our surveys were conducted in November 2020 and involved the residents of these cities aged 18 to 70. The questionnaire was specially designed for this survey and comprised 51 questions. In total, 877 people were surveyed in Tyumen, 443 people in Tobolsk and 498 people in Khanty-Mansiysk. The sample reflected the gender and age makeup of these city's population. The sampling error does not exceed 3% per single feature.

As was explained above, urban identity is viewed as a type of social identity that can be described by looking at its affective, cognitive, assessment and behavioral components. We focus on the affective (emotional) component—the feeling of belonging, the citizens' emotional connection with the city. We are also interested in the motivations of urban dwellers—why they choose to live in this or that city and whether they are going to stay there in the future or would like to leave it.

The theme of urban identity was addressed in the question:

Do you agree with the following statements: A. In my city I feel really at home; B. Many things in the city remind me of my past. C. I have a sense of belonging to this city. D. My future is closely linked to this city. E. I feel close to the people of my town.

Each of these statements corresponded to one of the indices we used to calculate the Integral Index of Urban Identity. A 5-point consent scale was used to assess the respondents' answers to this question: "1" corresponds to "everyone fully agrees", "0" corresponds to "everyone completely disagrees". The indices (see Table 1) were calculated by using the formula of equality (0* "I completely disagree" + 0.25* "I rather disagree + 0.5* "Both yes and no" + 0.75* "I rather agree" + "I fully agree"). The integral index is equal to the sum of all indices divided by their number. The index value of less than 0.5 was estimated as the low degree of citizens' emotional attachment to the city; from 0.51 to 0.8, as medium degree; and more than 0.8, as a high degree of emotional attachment.

To study the citizens' actual perceptions of their cities, we asked them to choose from the list of ten characteristics, including innovative economy, transparent governance, business climate, and "smart" technologies:

- innovative, competitive economy
- transparent, open city governance
- digital (smart) technologies in city governance
- good business climate
- tigh standard of living
- comfortable environment
- high level of education of its citizens
- tourism
- friendly community
- unique, high-quality products by local manufacturers

Then the citizens were asked to choose the characteristics of their ideal cities. For both questions, the same set of 10 characteristics had to be rated on a 5-point scale. In the first question, "1" meant "this does not apply to my city at all" and "5", "this fully applies to my city". In the second question, "1" meant "It does not matter" and "5", "An ideal city must have this characteristic". The questionnaire also included a question as to how the respondents would describe the role of their cities in the development

of their regions and the country. The list of characteristics included 15 positive and negative statements:

- strategically important
- technologically advanced
- generator of creativity and ideas cultural, historical centre
- educational centre
- tourist centre
- centre for the development of technologies, innovation and entrepreneurship
- economic centre
- "smart city"
- a major hub for the exploration of northern territories
- destination for low-skilled migration
- talent factory
- province in all respects
- exporter of resources, including labour resources
- I don't know

The respondents could choose any number of characteristics or add their own ideas. It should be noted that in all the three locations only a small number of respondents chose the characteristic "smart city".

Data Analysis and Results

The results of our analysis have shown significant differences in the urban identities of the citizens of the three cities under consideration (Table 1). In Tyumen, residents show a relatively high level of attachment to their city: 80% of respondents perceive Tyumen as their home, almost 70% of them connect their future with the city (integral index, 0.71). The situation in smaller cities—Tobolsk and Khanty-Mansiysk—is somewhat different. In terms of the sense of "feeling at home" in their cities, residents of Khanty-Mansiysk have shown similar results to residents of Tyumen (statement *in my city I feel really at home*—Index 1, emotional attachment). The integral index for residents of Khanty-Mansiysk, however, is smaller than the integral index for Tyumen—0.67, which can be explained by the differences in people's responses to the two statements—*Many things in the city remind me of my past* (Index 2, rootedness), and *my future is closely linked to this city* (Index 4, future). Khanty-Mansiysk, like many cities in the north of Tyumen Region, is a city of migrants who come from the "mainland" and consider Khanty-Mansiysk as a temporary place to stay and who sooner or later plan to go back to their hometowns or elsewhere. This explains the weakness of the residents' connection with the city's past or future of the city and correlates with the data on the length of residence in the city. In Khanty-Mansiysk, the average length of residence is 19 years, while in Tyumen it is 28.2 years, and even more in Tobolsk, 32.4 years.

Although Tobolsk has the longest average period of residence, its integral index is the lowest, 0.65. In Khanty-Mansiysk, 77% of respondents agreed with

the statement *in my city I feel really at home* (Index 1, emotional attachment), in Tyumen, 80%, and in Tobolsk, only 61%. Citizens of Tobolsk connect their past with the city, which has a rich history, and associate it with an array of unique historical and cultural monuments and they envision it in the form of its unique historical and cultural monuments (in fact, Tobolsk scored the highest as a cultural and historical center). However, the citizens do not feel emotional attachment to the city or to its community, and they do not see their future in it.

19% of the respondents from Tyumen, a quarter of the respondents from Khanty-Mansiysk and 30% of the respondents from Tobolsk have shown a low level of attachment to the city, that is, their urban identity is not very strong (the index is below 0.5).

These data are confirmed by the correlation with their responses to the question about their attitudes towards the city (the affective component of urban identity) (Table 2).

Table 1
Indices of the Identity of Citizens in the Cities of Tyumen Oblast

Judgments	Tyumen	Tobolsk	Khanty-Mansiysk
1. In my city, I really feel at home	0.81	0.69	0.80
2. Many things in my city remind me of my past	0.66	0.68	0.57
3. This city is really close to me	0.75	0.68	0.75
4. My future is closely linked to this city	0.73	0.65	0.63
5. I feel that I am close to the people of my city	0.59	0.53	0.61
Free Index	0.71	0.65	0.67

Table 2
Attitude of Citizens to the City of their Residence, %

	How do you feel about the city you live in?				
	I am glad that I live here	I am rather pleased, but many things do not satisfy me	I do not have peculiar feelings towards the city	I do not like to live here, I would like to leave the city	
Tyumen	64	25	9	2	100
Tobolsk	32	55	8	5	100
Khanty-Mansiysk	61	27	8	4	100

As was discussed in the theoretical section, an important factor is the gap between the citizens' perceptions of the real city they inhabit and their ideas about the ideal city they would like to live in. We found that residents of the three Siberian cities were quite unanimous in their ideas about an ideal city. They most often prioritized a comfortable living environment, high standards of living, democratic city governance and good business climate—these characteristics were the most frequently chosen as attributes of an ideal city (Figure 1). Only in Tobolsk, where the

authorities and residents place high hopes on the city's development into a major tourist centre (Table 4), attractiveness for tourists turned out to be a significant characteristic for an "ideal city".

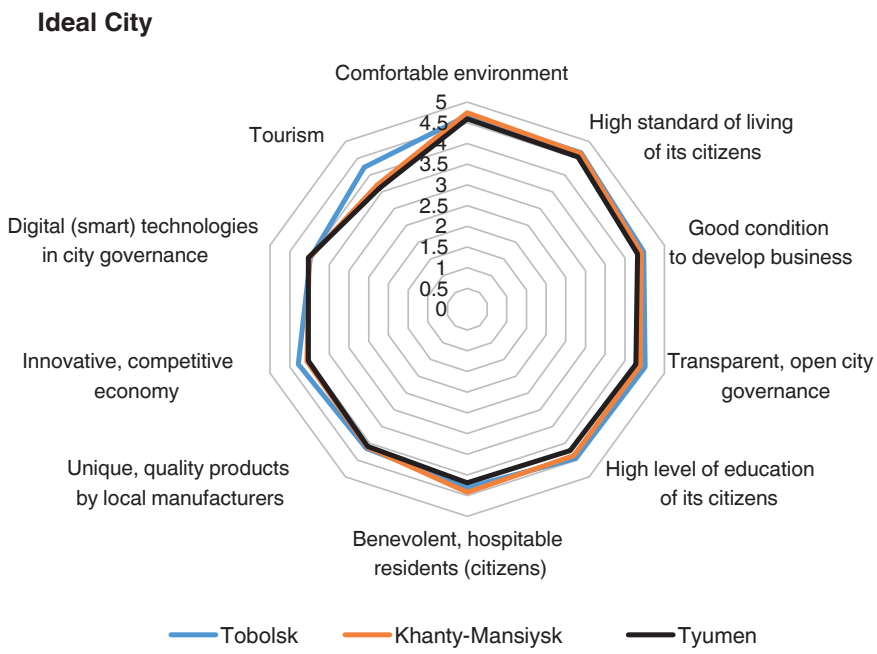
The perception-expectation gap is significant in all the estimated parameters of the three cities. It reaches the highest level in Tobolsk—the city with the lowest urban identity index (Figures 2–4).

The gap between the residents' vision of an ideal city and their perceptions of the real cities (or the perception-expectation gap) correlates with the values of the integral urban identity index. The larger is this gap, the weaker is the urban identity and the greater is the respondents' desire to move to another place (the Spearman correlation coefficient is 0.198 and 0.216 if the error is less than 0.001, respectively). The average gap in the 10 parameters we considered is 1.5 times higher in the group of the respondents who would like to leave the city in comparison with those who are satisfied with their life in the given city. The contradiction between the perceived reality of urban life and the residents' expectations indicates their rejection of the city's identity and also reveals the weakness of social ties in the city.

The priorities indicated by the respondents' choices are a comfortable urban environment, good business climate, a close-knit and friendly community, and high standards of living (see Table 3 below), i.e., the same parameters that determine these people's visions of an ideal city.

Figure 1

Ideas about the "Ideal City" in the Cities of the Survey, Average Ratings on a 5-point Scale



Figures 2–4

Respondents' Perceptions about the "Ideal City" and their City, Average Estimates on the 5-point Scale

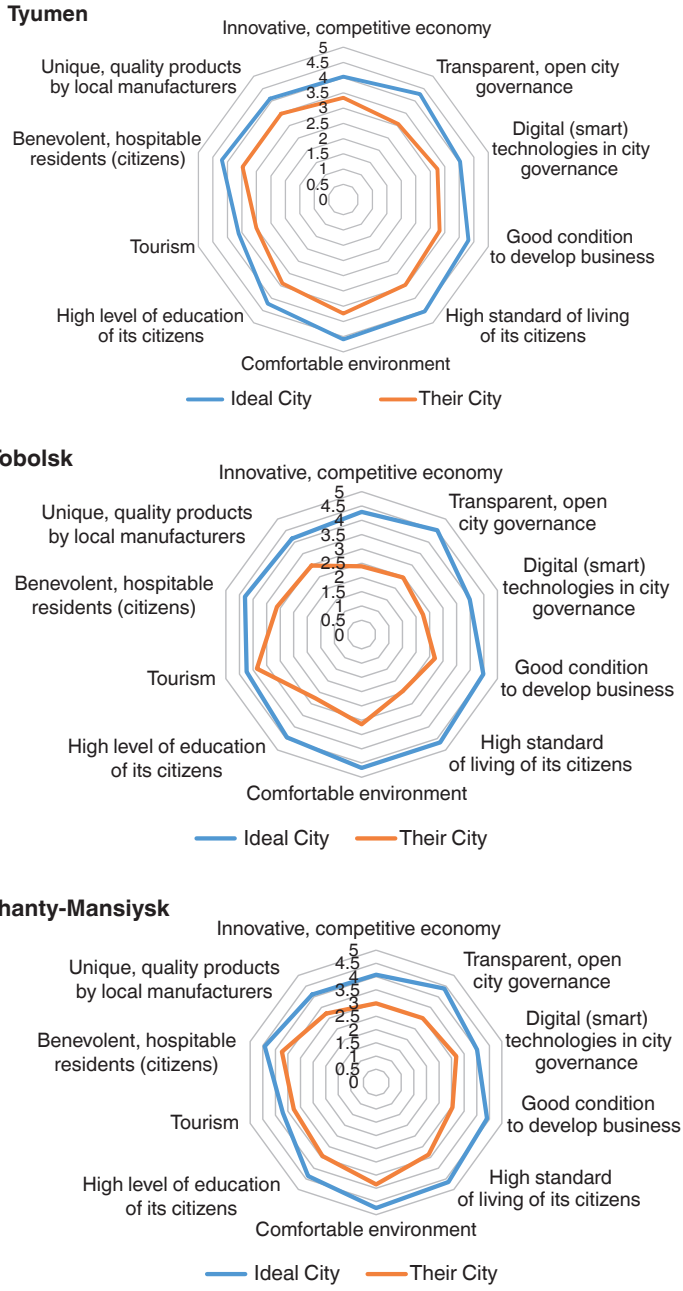


Table 3

Correlation by Spearman Criterion between City Identity Index and the Gap in Estimates of Characteristics of their City and of the Ideal City

City Characteristics	City Identity Index
Innovative economy	0.127
Transparent, open city governance	0.148
Digital (smart) technologies in city governance	i.c.**
Good condition to develop business	0.157
High standard of living of its citizens	0.152
Comfortable environment	0.246
High level of education of its citizens	0.144
Tourism	i.c.
Benevolent, hospitable residents (citizens)	0.165
Unique, quality products by local manufacturers	0.128
Average gap in ideas on 10 parameters***	0.198

* in all cases, the maximum bilateral significance, that is, the probability of error is lower than 0.001;

**i.c. — irrelevant correlation;

***average gap in ideas about the ideal city and the city of residence = sum of all gaps divided by their number

Table 4

Rating of the most Popular Statements about the Role of the City in the Development of Oblast and of the Country as a whole, %

How would you characterize the role of your city in the development of the region and the country as a whole. My city is:	Level of Citizens' City Identity			Total from Sample in Each City
	Low	Average	High	
Tyumen				
1. Strategically important	32	36	38	36
2. Educational centre	25	31	37	32
3. Cultural, historical centre	15	29	38	29
8. Smart city	9	15	21	16
Khanty-Mansiysk				
1. Cultural, historical centre	28	42	47	40
2. Strategically important	17	38	38	33
3. Tourist centre	18	22	34	24
10. Smart city	8	10	15	11
Tobolsk				
1. Cultural, historical centre	55	64	74	64
2. Tourist centre	47	44	65	51
3. Province in all respects	45	25	9	27
11. Smart city	2	1	2	2

Level of Citizens' City Identity:
Low – Consolidated City Identity Index, $I \le 0,5$
Average – $0,51 \le I \le 0,8$
High – $I > 0,8$

The residents' assessment of the status of the city, its role in regional and national development is also of interest. The respondents were offered 15 characteristics, out of which they could choose any number of options or they could add new ones. (see Table 4 below)

Each city has shown its own unique configuration of characteristics in this respect: Tyumen and Khanty-Mansiysk are perceived by most of their citizens as *strategically important*, as *a centre of technological development, innovation and entrepreneurship*, and as an *economic centre*. Tobolsk is seen primarily and exclusively as a cultural, historical and tourist centre (the remaining "positive" statements accounted for no more than 8%). In addition, 27% of Tobolsk residents describe their city as *a province in all respects* while similar opinions were voiced only by 8% of the respondents in Tyumen and 13%—in Khanty-Mansiysk. As for the "smart city" characteristic, in Tyumen it is in the middle of the ranking (8th position), in other cities it is closer to the bottom (10th position in Khanty-Mansiysk and 11th in Tobolsk).

Discussion and Conclusions

The success of smart city projects depends on the willingness of urban authorities to take into account the city's social context, primarily the social space and its key element—the identity of urban dwellers and the identity of the city. It is, therefore, necessary to address the perception-expectation gap, that is, the gap between the urban dwellers' vision of the actual cities they inhabit and their expectations constituting the image of an "ideal city". This gap, in its turn, correlates with the citizens' acceptance or rejection of the vision of their cities' "smart" development in the future. We believe that this gap can be narrowed if the concept of urban identity is institutionalized in strategies of urban development. In their decision-making, city managers should give due regard to the identity of the city's residents, their needs, interests, and priorities.

Our analysis of the identity of the inhabitants of Siberian cities Tyumen, Tobolsk and Khanty-Manskiysk has shown different local contexts, which should be taken into account in governance practices. Interestingly, the residents of Tyumen have shown the strongest emotional connection with their city while in Khanty-Mansiysk, on the contrary, a large part of the population tend to see this city as a destination for labour migraion; people often do not associate their future with this city and plan to move elsewhere. An interesting case is presented by Tobolsk, which in Kees Terlouw's terms, is a city with a "thick" identity: even though many of the respondents have reported that they feel that their past is strongly connected to this city, they are not satisfied with the prospect of connecting their future with it—in fact, Tobolsk has shown the lowest integral index of urban identity among the three cities under consideration.

Our findings can be of interest to national and regional policy-makers and city managers since they reveal the importance of the social factor for planning smart urban development and other reforms. At the moment, in the eyes of the urban dwellers we surveyed, the "smart" city is not a significant characteristic or an important element of their cities' new identities.

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ARTICLE

Cognitive Attitudes and Biases of Victim Mentality

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ABSTRACT
The research analyses cognitive attitudes and biases in people with victim mentality. The hypothesis that the study aims to test is that there is a correlation between the level of victimhood and the cognitive attitudes and biases that determine victim behaviour. Methodologically, the study relies on a range of tools, including the questionnaire "Predisposition to Victim Behaviour", the Victim Mentality Questionnaire, the Dysfunctional Attitudes Scale and the adjusted REBT-test (rational emotive behaviour therapy). The study was conducted in 2018 in Russia and covered a sample of 106 people: 45 male and 61 female respondents aged 20–29. The hypothesis was confirmed and correlations were found between the type of victim behaviour, victim mentality, dysfunctional attitudes and irrational beliefs. Irrational beliefs are thus considered as victimogenic determinants correlating with the level of victimhood and forms of victim behaviour. These findings can be used to develop preventive and therapeutic strategies to help patients suffering from victim mentality and related problems.

KEYWORDS
cognitive attitudes, cognitive patterns, cognitive biases, victimhood, victimization, victim behaviour, victim mentality

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Introduction

Despite the broad array of modern approaches to studying human cognition, the problem of victimhood and victim mentality still remains a largely underexplored issue in cognitive research. It is, therefore, necessary to gain a more in-depth understanding of the cognitive processes inherent in individual victim behaviour in order to devise the ways to prevent and correct it (Falikman & Spiridonov, 2011).

Victimhood is a set of human characteristics caused by a complex of social, psychological and biophysical conditions that exist in a cultural context and contribute to the maladaptive style of an individual's response, which leads to the damage of their physical or mental health (Andronnikova & Volokhova, 2018). It is important to distinguish between victimhood and victimization: victimhood may manifest itself through a range of behaviours and can be fixed in attitudes and identity while victimization is a process leading to the development of victim mentality through qualitative changes on three levels: structural pathologies, functional disorders, and patterns of victim behaviour (Andronnikova & Radzikhovskaya, 2011).

In recent years, the problems of victimization and victim behaviour have been analysed from different perspectives. Quite often, victimization is considered as a consequence of negative events experienced by a person. Such approaches, however, do not give due account to the individual characteristics of this person, which impedes the prevention of further victimization.

Victimhood may be seen as a socio-psychological phenomenon (Rohatsen, 2019), a personality characteristic (Andronnikova, 2005; Strelenko, 2013), as a result of social interaction deficits (Rudensky, 2018; Yatsenka, 2019), as a role (Odintsova, 2012), and so on. Such a multitude of perspectives leads to methodological problems and creates difficulties in developing some sort of general understanding of this phenomenon. To date, there is substantial research literature discussing the factors associated with the cultural, socio-political, psychological, and biological characteristics that contribute to victimization. However, until now, the victimogenic determinants associated with one's cognitive-personality style, temporal personality perspectives, and cognitive patterns have remained under-investigated. At the same time, there is a lack of diagnostic tools to study victimogenicity. There are almost no research tools that could be used to explore victimhood as a set of human characteristics. Moreover, there is insufficient methodological support for the development of measures to prevent victimization. As of today, to prevent victimization, behaviour and family-related approaches are used, but they do not give due regard to the need to correct the cognitive attitudes underlying individual emotional reactions, mental and behavioural responses in a situation of trauma.

Initially, victimology functioned within the framework of criminology. With time, victimology studies became much broader and more interdisciplinary in nature. Nevertheless, there is still a perceived need to shift the research focus within these studies to the field of psychology, not only the psychology of age or social psychology, but also cognitive and personality psychology. To examine the cognitive mechanisms behind victimization it is necessary to look at the influence of cognitive attitudes and

cognitive biases on the victim's behaviour and their life choices. Therefore, it is important to research the nature of victim behaviour and victimogenic cognition (victim mentality) and identify the cognitive characteristics and biases that a victim personality possesses. This is the research gap that this study seeks to address.

Theoretical Framework

Currently, much attention in psychological studies is given to victimogenic factors, including cognitive biases and attitudes, which is the topic we are going to address in this paper.

There is a group of recent studies dealing with the problem of cognitive attitudes in psychology (Bocharova, 2019; De Houwer, 2019; Rasskazova et al., 2019; Shamionov & Grigorieva, 2018; Zmigrod et al., 2019). Unfortunately, they do not address the question of victim mentality.

Speaking of the cognitive attitude characteristic of victim mentality, it is necessary to consider the concept of cognitive "patterns" that shape such attitudes. It should be noted that there is no agreed understanding of this concept among the researchers, although almost all the studies we analysed approached cognitive "patterns" as recurring elements of thinking that humans use for problem solving or reasoning, pointing out that these patterns constitute part of human personality (Volkova & Gusev, 2016).

The concept of cognitive patterns was used by Bartlett (1932) and Piaget (1950) to describe the structures that underlie event interpretation such as beliefs and rules, self-attitude and the attitude towards other, specific and/or abstract impersonal categories (Beck & Freeman, 2002). Thus, cognitive patterns determine a person's emotional response, thinking and behaviour (Padun & Tarabrina, 2003). Therefore, such concepts as cognitive patterns and cognitive attitudes may define a single phenomenon, and the functionality and dysfunctionality of patterns and attitudes will thus be determined by the degree of their influence on the social adaptability of a particular person. The patterns have additional structural qualities, and differ in the degree of their activation at different moments. In the case of a pathological condition, the "pattern" becomes hypervalent, occupies the dominant position and suppresses other patterns, thereby violating the adaptation and determining systemic biases in the information processing (Linehan, 1993). In this context, a person may be seen as a fairly stable organization consisting of behaviour systems and forms that determine the specificity of the process of receiving the stimuli leading to a response (Janoff-Bulman, 1992; Olson, 1994).

Hypervalent active patterns filled with victimhood content (for example, beliefs about life's unfairness and injustice, one's helplessness, etc.) mediate the stable adaptive responses that ensure a person's victim behaviour and their self-identification as a victim. When individual patterns have a very low activation threshold, they are triggered by insignificant incentives and prevent the use of the patterns that are more adaptive to a given situation. In fact, we can speak of the impaired cognitive "flexibility"—the ability of cognitive mechanisms to be updated in response to the

changing environment (Osavoliuk & Kurginyan, 2018). The impaired behavioural flexibility means the inability to activate and transform the cognitive processes in response to the changing conditions, which leads to the inability of a person to independently change the usual way of perceiving information and regulating behaviour (Deák, 2004) as well as the inability to explain life events (Dennis & Vander Wal, 2010). Due to the low activation threshold and impaired flexibility, an individual's beliefs within the pattern increase, then become unconditional, and finally take an extreme maladaptive form. As a result, those individual struggles have difficulties in establishing adequate personal boundaries. This situation is additionally exacerbated by the history of childhood trauma, emotional neglect and broken emotional bonds with the closest people, leading to a cognitive impairment that occurs when the mechanisms of assimilation and accommodation described by Piaget (1950) are disrupted. In other words, a child finds it difficult to assimilate a traumatic experience, but even more difficult is the accommodation of the pattern to this experience (Padun & Tarabrina, 2003).

Janoff-Bulman and McPherson Frantz (1997) studied the structural and content-related change in the cognitive patterns of those who survived a psychological trauma. Traumatic events have led to changes in these people's "basic beliefs". Janoff-Bulman and McPherson Frantz described the characteristics of these changes depending on the type of trauma and proposed a therapy aimed at restoring the basic beliefs.

In their research on the consequences of child abuse, Weismoore and Esposito-Smythers (2010) focus on the role of cognitive distortions and a low self-esteem. According to Weismoore and Esposito-Smythers, the cognitive biases (overgeneralization and selective abstraction) mediate the prevalence of nonsuicidal self-harm as a way of coping with overwhelming emotions that arise from the perception of the world as a threatening place. Miller et al. (2017) point out that the cognitive biases (the negative cognitive triad and cognitive distortions) increase (or decrease) the effects of dating violence. The negative cognitive triad is defined as the negative views of oneself, of the world, and the future. The cognitive distortions that usually develop in adolescence and stabilize in early adulthood (Romens et al., 2009) include catastrophizing, overgeneralization, personalization, and selective abstraction. Romens et al. (2009) consider cognitive distortions as the basis for cognitive vulnerability that leads to the risk of suicide. These results are supported by Wolff et al. (2014).

In psychology, studies of victim personality (see, for example, Aquino & Byron, 2002; Braiker, 2004; Sykes, 1992) connect it with the phenomenon of victim mentality that evolves within the family system and shapes the idea of oneself and the social situation. According to Sykes (1992), helplessness and suffering experienced by a child lead to the emergence of a specific sacrificial mentality characterized by the need for compassion, sympathy, revenge and a sense of undeserved resentment. Aquino and Byron (2002) pointed out the following behavioural tendencies that may be predictive of perceived victimization in workgroups: the tendency to arouse other people's compassion; the exaggeration of harm to oneself in various situations, sometimes catastrophizing harm or situation complexity; a sense of the world injustice

in relation to oneself; accusing others of creating the situations when victims had to work hard to compensate for the damage, etc. Thus, the studies of victim mentality as a manifestation of specific cognitive processes indicate such obvious distortions connected to the perception of oneself and the world as catastrophizing, exaggerating consequences or difficulties and helplessness.

Considering cognitive biases characteristic of a person with a victim mentality, it is necessary to mention the phenomenon described by Linehan (1993) as the "just-world hypothesis". This protective mechanism mediates the state of security associated with the belief that everything that happens to a person is the result of their actions and that they can protect themselves by following the rules. In their study of the phenomenon of beliefs in justice, Rubin and Peplau (1973) found that it is characteristic of authoritarian and conservative people and also leads to a negative assessment of those who, for whatever reason, are discriminated. In their study of justice attitudes, Harvey and Callan (2014) also point out the relationship between the low self-esteem and people's tendency to perceive negative situations and experiences as natural. Their findings are supported by the research by Callan et al. (2014), who discovered that in real life the participants' beliefs about seeing themselves as "the ones who deserve bad results" mediate the relationship between their self-esteem and a variety of self-destructive thoughts and behaviour (for example, self-deception, thoughts about self-harm). This means that victim mentality and low self-esteem caused by traumatic experiences make a person consider negative life events as "being deserved" and thus render him or her unable to overcome the negative attitude on their own. These beliefs will lead to self-defeating beliefs and behaviours and to specific choices in various situations resulting in further victimization. This cognitive attitude (perception of oneself as deserving good or bad outcomes) determines the types of responses to unhappiness and, as a result, can shape the trajectory of well-being. This assumption is supported by Büssing and Fischer (2009). Thus, the just-world hypothesis and low self-esteem are also characteristic of people with a high level of victimhood.

While considering the victim's cognitive attitudes, one cannot ignore the concept of "irrational beliefs", which Albert Ellis and Catharine MacLaren (2008) defined as the attitudes that have no objective grounds and result in strong emotional responses. Their research methodology is suitable for diagnosing cognitive attitudes constitutive of victim personality and thus will provide the theoretical framework for our further analysis.

Unlike the studies cited above, we aim to take a more comprehensive approach and use as a point of departure the assumption that cognitive biases mediate the occurrence of negative consequences of life events and engender specific ways of perceiving the world. The resulting hypothesis to be tested in this study is that there is a correlation between the level of victimhood and the irrational beliefs that determine the nature of victim behaviour. We have identified the following cognitive attitudes related to victim response types and victim mentality: the just-world beliefs, perceiving oneself as deserving negative events in the future, catastrophizing negative events or damage, the basic beliefs related to learned helplessness and excessive self-demands.

Materials and Methods

The purpose of this research is to study the cognitive biases in victim thinking. The victim's behavioural manifestations that arise as stable models are based on the cognitive attitudes, which determine the person's emotional response, thinking and behaviour in a traumatic situation.

Our study covered a sample of 106 specialists in psychological counselling: 45 male and 61 female respondents aged 20–29 (the gender imbalance of the sample was determined by the gender imbalance inherent in the profession). All of the respondents were Russian. 15% of the respondents had secondary vocational education; 45% higher education; and 40% were enrolled in Master's studies. All the respondents gave their voluntary informed consent to participate in the research.

The research was conducted in 2018 and was divided into several stages. Within these stages the ideas about the overall design of the study were formed, the assumptions about possible cognitive characteristics of victim personality were discussed and substantiated, the research methods were selected and the data were collected and analysed.

To test the hypothesis, we used a range of methodological and diagnostic tools. The first was the questionnaire "Predisposition to Victim Behaviour" (Andronnikova, 2005). This is a standardized self-report inventory (86 questions), which measures the respondent's predisposition to certain forms of victim behaviour understood as a set of behavioural characteristics that increase the likelihood of the person's falling victim to an accident, crime or unfortunate circumstances. Since behaviour is determined by attitudes, we are going to focus on the latter. The methodology comprises seven scales: "Predisposition to Aggressive Victim Behaviour"; "Predisposition to Self-Harming and Self-Destructive Behaviour"; "Predisposition to Hypersocial Behaviour"; "Predisposition to Addictive and Helpless Behaviour"; "Predisposition to Uncritical Behaviour"; "Predisposition to Passive Victim Behaviour" and "Realized Victimhood". The score of expert test validity is 0.78; the score of the method's retest reliability, 0.79.

The second tool was the Victim Mentality Questionnaire (Andronnikova & Radzikhovskaya, 2011), which comprises 24 questions and is used to identify social and personal beliefs that form the structure of a person's self-concept. The score of expert test validity is 0.63; the score of the method's retest reliability, 0.67.

The third tool is the Dysfunctional Attitude Scale developed by Beck & Weisman adjusted by Zakharova (Zakharova, 2013). This scale is used to study the cognitive biases that underlie inappropriate emotional responses and psychogenic disorders. It contains 40 statements rated on a 7-point scale. The reliability coefficient is 0.77.

The test developed by Albert Ellis as part of rational emotive behaviour therapy (REBT) and adjusted for the Russian context by Andrey Kameniukin is applied to investigate cognitive biases (Kameniukin & Kovpak, 2008). Ellis's test contains 50 questions and 6 scales, 4 of which are the main scales and correspond to 4 groups of irrational beliefs: "catastrophizing", "self-demandingness", "demandingness to others", "low frustration tolerance", and "global evaluation".

The study was conducted in accordance with the following procedure. First, all the respondents completed the Victim Mentality Questionnaire and the questionnaire results were used to select participants of the focus group while the respondents with no victim mentality were included into the control group. At the second stage, other tools were applied ("Predisposition to Victim Behaviour"; Dysfunctional Attitude Scale; and the REBT test). Mathematical processing of the resulting data was conducted by means of the ρ—Spearman's correlation coefficient for the high victim mentality group and the Mann–Whitney *U*-test for the two independent groups. We conducted comparative analysis (Mann-Whitney *U*-test) comparing the results of the groups, by looking at the strength of victim behavioural tendencies and realized victimhood. The correlation analysis to identify the correlation between victimhood and cognitive biases was carried out for each group. The Mann-Whitney and *r*-Pearson criteria were chosen because the features are presented on a nonparametric scale, more specifically, on the order scale.

Results

At the first stage of the study, we found that 29% of the respondents manifested strong signs of victim mentality (31 people). These respondents were included into the focus group for further research, and the other respondents formed the control group. We assumed that a person with victim mentality has the corresponding cognitive victimogenic characteristics that reduce their adaptability and make them more vulnerable in dangerous situations. For this group, we studied the level of realized victimhood and the typical forms of victim behaviour.

According to the results of comparative analysis (Mann–Whitney *U*-test), respondents with victim mentality demonstrate much higher scores on the scale of "Realized Victimhood" ($p \leq 0.01$). This scale shows how often the respondents find themselves in the role of victim in different situations, e.g., in situations that threaten their life, social status, or health, because they display behavioural patterns that ultimately make them victims. Comparison of the respondent groups according to the chosen victim behaviour parameters also showed a significant difference on the scales "Predisposition to Aggressive Victim Behaviour" ($p \leq 0.01$) and "Predisposition to Dependent and Helpless Behaviour" ($p \leq 0.05$). Thus, people with victim mentality tend to demonstrate aggressive behaviour and end up in unpleasant or even in health or life-threatening situations. Aggression may take the form of an open attack or a provocation by means of "conflict generators"—offensive remarks, mocking comments, etc. In their behaviour, these people demonstrate irascibility, dominance, predisposition to anger and irritability, low frustration tolerance and readiness to change the situation violently. Another type of victimhood responses that prevail among the respondents in this group is related to their learned helplessness.

The application of the Dysfunctional Attitude Scale methodology has also brought some interesting results: we found a difference between the groups of respondents ($p \leq 0.05$), which indicates that respondents with victim mentality are prone to or have

already encountered neurotic disorders, whereas they possess a limited ability to control their thoughts. Ellis's methodology was used to identify the irrational beliefs that are more characteristic of the respondents with victim mentality.

The correlation analysis in the group of respondents with victim mentality showed a correlation between the type of victim behaviour, dysfunctional attitudes, and irrational beliefs (see Tables 1 and 2).

The correlations between victim mentality, dysfunctional attitudes and irrational beliefs are presented in Table 1.

Victim mentality correlates with the "Frustration Tolerance" scale: the higher is the level of frustration tolerance; the lower is the level of victim mentality. This result confirms our assumption that psychological work with victim individuals may target frustration tolerance.

The analysis of the correlation between the Dysfunctional Attitudes Scale and the Victim Mentality Questionnaire shows that there is a direct correlation between the scales manifested in the intensity of dysfunctional attitudes (including psychopathological neurotic symptoms) in the situation of self-identification as a victim.

Moreover, we found a correlation between the level of dysfunctional attitudes and the "Self-demandingness" scale (–0.267, $p = 0.049$), which can be interpreted as a sign of neurotic self-demands, self-criticism and dependence on other people combined with pronounced dysfunctional attitudes.

The correlations detected through the REBT methodology and the questionnaire "Predisposition to Victim Behaviour" are shown in Table 2. The predisposition to aggressive behaviour correlates with the catastrophizing attitude. There is a tendency towards a similar correlation for neurotic self-demandingness that leads to excessive stress, perfectionism and, finally, aggression. Moreover, there is a connection to the parameter "Global Evaluation", which can be interpreted as anger in response to being criticized. Thus, the tendency to exaggerate the gravity of a situation or event (catastrophizing); to fixate on negative fantasies and to place excessive self-demands lead to increased aggression in interpersonal relationships and victimization.

The scale "Global Evaluation" correlates with the scales "Predisposition to Aggressive Victim Behaviour", "Predisposition to Self-Harming and Self-Destructive Behaviour" and "Predisposition to Uncritical Behaviour". In this case, it would be logical to suggest that global evaluation mediates the whole personality perception, which results in a low level of criticality in situation assessment and the inability to demonstrate an active coping behaviour (learned helplessness). The choice of a certain victim behaviour type in this case can be mediated by other factors such as the parenting type or personal characteristics. This question, however, falls outside the scope of this research and requires further exploration.

The scale "Predisposition to Self-Harming and Self-Destructive Behaviour" reliably correlates with the scale "Neurotic Demandingness to Others". It is possible that an unreasonably high level of demandingness to others leads to frustration and auto-aggression as a result of the person's inability to remake the world.

Table 1

Correlation Analysis of the Data of the Victim Mentality Questionnaire, REBT Test, and Dysfunctional Attitudes Scale

	Irrational beliefs					Dysfunctional attitudes scale
	Catastrophizing	Self-demandingness	Demandingness to others	Low frustration tolerance	Global evaluation	
Victim Mentality	0.136 $p > 0.05$	−0.080 $p > 0.05$	0.023 $p > 0.05$	**−0.363** **$p = 0.002$**	0.008 $p > 0.05$	**0.264** **$p = 0.021$**

Table 2

Correlation Analysis of the Data of the REBT Test and Questionnaire "Predisposition to Victim Behaviour"

Irrational beliefs	**Predisposition to victim behaviour**					
	Predisposition to aggressive victim behaviour	**Predisposition to self-harming and self-destructive behaviour**	**Predisposition to hypersocial behaviour**	**Predisposition to addictive and helpless behaviour**	**Predisposition to uncritical behaviour**	**Realized victimhood**
Catastrophizing	**−0.331** **$p = 0.034$**	−0.133 $p > 0.05$	−0.251 $p > 0.05$	−0.242 $p > 0.05$	−0.154 $p > 0.05$	−0.061 $p > 0.05$
Self-demandingness	**−0.271** **$p = 0.02$**	−0.106 $p > 0.05$	**−0.269** **$p = 0.021$**	**−0.326** **$p = 0.026$**	−0.181 $p > 0.05$	−0.181 $p > 0.05$
Demandingness to others	−0.193 $p > 0.05$	**−0.261** **p=0.023**	−0.142 $p > 0.05$	−0.254 $p > 0.05$	−0.243 $p > 0.05$	−0.171 $p > 0.05$
Low frustration tolerance	0.062 $p > 0.05$	−0.207 $p > 0.05$	0.035 $p > 0.05$	−0.123 $p > 0.05$	−0.071 $p > 0.05$	**−0.254** **$p = 0.03$**
Global evaluation	**−0.271** **$p = 0.02$**	−0.219 $p > 0.05$	−0.192 $p > 0.05$	**−0.346** **$p = 0.0001$**	**−0.329** **$p = 0.0002$**	−0.147 $p > 0.05$

At the level of tendencies, the "Predisposition to Hypersocial Behaviour" scale correlates with the "Catastrophizing" scale (the more dangerous the situation is, the more important it is to help others) and the "Self-Demandingness" scale. The scale "Predisposition to Addictive and Helpless Behaviour" correlates with the same scales and there is a tendency to have neurotic expectations from others, which supports the individual's own infantile aspirations. Uncritical behaviour is associated with the same scale—"Neurotic Demandingness to Others"—at the level of statistical tendencies. Quite predictably, we have also found a correlation between the scales "Low Frustration Tolerance" and "Realized Victimhood".

Discussion

The analysis of the results and their comparison with the previous research reveal several important aspects of the cognitive attitude constitutive of a victim's personality. Firstly, the correlation between "Low Frustration Tolerance" and "Realized Victimhood" scales has been confirmed, which supports our assumption that a person with a high level of realized victimhood tends to rely predominantly on irrational beliefs and is often unable to critically assess the situation. The catastrophizing attitude correlates with a person's predisposition to aggressive victim behaviour, mostly of a defensive type.

"Demandingness to Others" has a strong correlation with the predisposition to self-harming and self-destructive behaviour. Special attention should be paid to such attitudes as self-demandingness that strongly correlates with the three scales of victim behaviour (predisposition to addictive and helpless behaviour, predisposition to hypersocial behaviour and predisposition to aggressive victim behaviour), and explains how chronic self-dissatisfaction and low self-esteem reinforce the victim's behavioural forms and the anticipation of punishment rather than reward. This explanation is supported by the findings of Wood et al. (2009) on emotional regulation, self-esteem and social justice. They have identified low self-esteem and negative emotional states in people who place high demands on themselves and consider themselves unworthy. Callan et al. (2014) established the correlation between the negative experience, the subsequent devaluation of an individual and the formation of self-destructive beliefs and self-destructive behaviour. They proved that negative life experiences, no matter how random they might be, can lead to changes in self-esteem and become the basis for victim behaviour.

The "Global Evaluation" scale, which reflects negative self-perception, has a strong correlation with the scales of victim behaviour (predisposition to addictive and helpless behaviour, predisposition to uncritical behaviour, predisposition to aggressive victim behaviour), which indicates the correlation between low self-esteem and the perception of unhappiness, which a person sees as resulting from their previous bad deeds. Our research data confirm Harvey and Callan's findings (2014) about the connection between the victim value level and the fairness justification type. They argue that a victim who has a low social value (a criminal, for example) is considered as a person who deserves punishment, whereas the one who has a high social value (a good person) is not seen

as deserving the misfortunes that have happened to them. This idea is supported by Callan et al. (2014), who found out that people who are firmly convinced that they deserve bad things happening to them demonstrate a more pernicious behaviour, including self-deception, a desire to get a negative assessment from their close people and a search for negative reviews about their work. According to Büssing and Fischer (2009), the feeling of being unworthy of good things can underlie the types of human responses to unhappiness and, as a result, can determine the trajectory of well-being and recovery on condition that a disease is considered as a punishment.

A fixed negative idea of oneself as a person who is incapable of protecting themselves (learned helplessness), reliance on evaluative biases in perception of other people, and exaggeration of negative consequences are described in studies about people with victim mentality (see, for example, Büssing & Fischer, 2009; Callan et al., 2014).

Thus, our study confirms the assumption that a victim's behaviour patterns are based on their cognitive attitudes, which opens avenue for further research. Therefore, there is a need for a new look at the organization of counselling and therapeutic support for people who struggle with the victim mentality. The initial stage of victim mentality requires us to identify the cognitive attitudes that underlie the person's disturbed self-image and low self-esteem. Then, based on the cognitive attitudes identified at the previous stage, it is necessary to plan the counselling process aimed at building up cognitive consistency: to reduce the non-adaptive pattern hyper-valence an develop new response patterns; to work out the victim content of the cognitive patterns, for example, to uproot irrational beliefs about the world's injustice, catastrophizing; to increase response flexibility; to create non-victim attitudes and more appropriate behavioural patterns. Finally, it is necessary to help people with victim mentality form a healthier self-esteem by means of their consistent immersion into positive self-esteem experiences.

Conclusions

The theoretical analysis of the research on victim behaviour and cognitive features of victim personality has led us to define new approaches to counselling and therapeutic supervision of people with victim mentality. Our research findings can be used to develop new ways to reduce victimhood by correcting the underlying cognitive biases.

We assume that the irrational beliefs can be considered as victimogenic determinants correlating with both the level of victimhood and an individual's forms of victim behaviour. However, this assumption requires further research. In this study, we showed that a person displaying different types of victim behaviour has a corresponding set of cognitive distortions.

To develop preventive measures aimed at the reduction of the realized victimhood level, it is necessary to take into account the existing thinking patterns and specific cognitive biases characteristic of this or that patient.

The empirical findings of this study confirm the initial hypothesis and indicate areas for further research on this topic. The research results can be used to develop measures aimed at preventing and reducing the level of victimhood in patients.

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ARTICLE

Gender-Related Attitudes toward Homosexuality in Greece

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ABSTRACT
The purpose of this study is to investigate the relevance of the "Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men" (ATLG) Scale developed by G. M. Herek to the Greek society. The study consists of two stages or sub-studies. At the first stage, the sample consisted of 186 undergraduate university students and at the second, 254 undergraduate university students, who studied at the Department of Physical Education and Sport Science, Democritus University of Thrace in Komotini, Greece. Methodologically speaking, our research relied on the methods of descriptive statistics, exploratory factor analysis, confirmatory factor analysis, reliability analysis (Cronbach's α, composite reliability and average variance extracted) and *t*-test for independent sample. The results of the first stage showed that the two factors, men's homophobia and women's homophobia, accounted for 58% of the total variance. At the second stage, three confirmatory factor analyses were performed: men's homophobia, women's homophobia and total homophobia. We also found gender-related differences in students' attitudes to homosexuality, but only as far as male homosexuality is concerned.

KEYWORDS
homosexuality, homophobia, attitudes, gender, Greece, ATLG

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Introduction

Homophobia

According to Schuiling and Likis (2011), negative attitudes and feelings towards homosexuality or people who have been identified or considered as homosexuals, bisexuals, and transgender (LGBT), are characterized as homophobia. Such attitudes are usually expressed in the form of detest, contempt, bias, aversion, or hatred, and they may be based on absurd fear, which is sometimes related to religious beliefs (McCormack, 2012). Heteronormativity is institutionally imposed through daily patterns or interactions between pupils and teachers. Such attitudes start at school and are later transferred to adulthood (Chesir-Teran, 2003). They may also lead to homophobic acts or verbal and physical abuse of pupils deviating from normative sexuality (Kosciw et al., 2008). Heteronormativity is also related to children's constant admonition against homosexuality and the promotion of appropriate gender and sexual relationships inside and outside classrooms (Eder & Parker, 1987; Nayak & Kehily, 1996). These demonstrations of heterosexuality stigmatize people attracted to the same gender and have a negative effect on their well-being (Konstantinidis et al, 2002).

The massive rise of homosexuality in the 1980s had major implications for the homosexual community (E. Anderson, 2009a). This was caused by two major socio-political facts. Firstly, the spread of HIV/AIDS, which caused the death of thousands of gay men, and secondly, it became apparent that the share of homosexual men in general population was in fact quite substantial (E. Anderson, 2009b). Prejudices and fake news about HIV began to spread, with homosexual men being considered as "killers" of heterosexuality and traditional family (Peterson, 2011). As an act of despair, men start to exercise to gain muscle and try to avoid the social stigma of homosexuality by various means such as the excessive use of steroids (Halkitis et al., 2004) to ensure that their appearance corresponded to the established idea of masculinity (Magrath, 2017), which was identified as the "Rocky-Rambo complex" (Kellner, 1991).

Secondly, as a response to the outbreak of HIV/AIDS, the growing influence of fundamentalist Christian movements stirred up hatred against the homosexual community. The religious rhetoric often worked cooperatively with the strong conservative policy (E. Anderson, 2009b), for example, in 1988, Section 28 was adopted in the UK, which prohibited the discussion of homosexuality-related matters in schools (Epstein & Johnson, 1998). In Greece, HIV/AIDS as a social phenomenon did not play significant role in shaping peoples' opinion about homosexuals compared to other European countries (McNair, 2005). This can be explained by the social invisibility of homosexuals and the lack of organization within the LGBT community, the absence of what can be described as gay culture and the absence of a strong political, homosexual political pressure—the so-called gay lobby (Phellas et al., 2014).

In Greece, there is still a perceived lack of research on homophobia (Fygetakis, 1997; Yannakopoulos, 1996), although in recent years there has been an academic interest in this topic (Kalogerakou, 2018; Papanikolaou, 2019; Rapti, 2017; Zervoulis,

2016). There are even less studies dealing with this topic in relation to sports (Georgiou et al., 2018, 2019; Grigoropoulos, 2010; Grigoropoulos & Kordoutis, 2015). We believe, however, that this is an interesting topic which is worthy of attention since the majority of people in sports are young adults—the category that constitutes the core of the Greek society—and, therefore, their opinion is quite illustrative of the prevailing public attitudes to LGBT people. The contribution of this study to the existing field is that for the first time in Greece, it is based on the data from various sports. It also relies on a more thorough statistical analysis to examine the reliability and validity of the "Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men" (ATLG) Scale (Herek, 1984) as an essential methodological tool. Thus, the resulting data provide a more comprehensive and complete picture of the situation in Greece related to the issue of homophobia in sports.

In most European countries, the majority of people are tolerant toward homosexuality (on average, about 70%: Spain 88%, Germany 87%, the Czech Republic 80%, France 77%, the UK 76%, Italy 74%). Poland is the only notable exception, where the percentage of people who reported being tolerant to homosexuality is 42% while 46% of people expressed negative attitudes towards homosexuality (Kohut, 2013). In Greece, the situation resembles that of Poland: only a half of the citizens consider themselves to be LGBT-friendly, with women being generally more tolerant to homosexuality than men. As for age differences, younger people tend to be more open-minded when it comes to sexual orientation, while older people seem to be more conservative (Kohut, 2013).

There have been a number of more specialized surveys focusing on specific population groups in Greece (see, for example, Drydakis, 2009; Grigoropoulos, 2010; Grigoropoulos & Kordoutis, 2015; Grigoropoulos et al., 2010; Karellou, 2003; V. Papadaki & E. Papadaki, 2011; Papadaki et al., 2015). Unfortunately, in comparison with other European countries, Greece ranks among the least tolerant countries in relation to homosexuality. There is an overall report, which reveals that the levels of homophobia and discrimination against the LGBT community are very high in Greece (Pavlou, 2009). Unfortunately, many homosexual Greeks find it very difficult to translate their sexual desires and behaviours into a political statement of homosexual identity even today (Zervoulis, 2016). This is partly due to the change in the geopolitical situation of the country compared to the past. Modern Greece is a Mediterranean country in the south-eastern part of Europe. It is located at the crossroads between the West and East, conveying the experiences of its past and being influenced by both Europe and the Middle East. Greece's war history with other great civilizations of the wider Middle East (such as the Egyptians, Assyrians and especially the Persians) and the Ottoman occupation, which lasted 400 years, and more in some areas, have severely affected the cultural background of the country (Zervoulis, 2016). Let us not forget that about 1.25 million Greeks were expelled from Turkey (Fygetakis, 1997). At the same time, 50,000 inhabitants lived in Athens, while today they are over 3 million. All these expelled people brought customs and beliefs with them, one of which certainly was the different types of their sexual attitude. These customs and beliefs were influenced due to the coexistence of these people with other cultural groups in the area (Zervoulis, 2016).

Homophobia and Gender

Gender is regarded as a critical factor that affects attitudes to homosexuality and homophobia. According to D'Augeili and Rose (1990), Wright et al. (1999), Warriner et al. (2013), Moral de la Rubia and Valle de la O (2014), Pavlica et al. (2016), men are homophobic to a greater degree than women. All of these studies considered young adults, in particular high school and college students. According to previous researchers (Moral de la Rubia & Valle de la O, 2014; Pavlica et al. (2016), the focus on this age is important, because it is the period when people form their social opinion. Therefore, the researchers of this study decided to use the same age group sample.

Methodological Tools to Measure Attitudes to Homosexuality in Sports

To measure tolerance toward homosexuality in sports, several questionnaires were used (Piedra et al., 2017). Among the most common ones are the "Attitudes towards Lesbian and Gays" (ATLG) (Herek, 1984), and the Modern Homophobia Scale (Raja & Stokes, 1998). These two methodological tools were designed to measure the attitudes towards sexual minorities in general and not specifically in sports. They came to be regarded as universal instruments and were applied in a range of social and cultural contexts (Cárdenas & Barrientos, 2008; Collier et al., 2015; Moral de la Rubia & Valle de la O, 2014; O'Brien et al., 2013; Rosik, 2007). As far as sports are concerned, the most commonly used tools are the "Perceptions of Homophobia" Rosik (2007) and "Heterosexism in Physical Education scale" (PHHPE) (Morrow & Gill, 2003), measuring the perception of homophobia and heterosexism (discrimination in favour of heterosexual and against homosexual people) among teachers (PHHPE-TS) and students (PHHPE-SS).

Research Objective

This study was considered necessary to address the perceived research gap due to the lack of studies on attitudes to homosexuality and homophobia in Greece and, most importantly, the lack of suitable methodological tools. The main aim of the study is to adapt Herek's "Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale" (ALTG) (Herek, 1984) to the Greek society. The research comprised two stages or sub-studies.

Methodology

1st stage

At this stage, the purpose was to investigate the structural validity and reliability of the ATLG Scale for the Greek context.

Sample

The participants were 186 undergraduate students of the School of Physical Education & Sport Science of the Democritus University of Thrace in Komotini, Greece (74, 39.8% men and 112, 60.2% women). The age of the respondents ranges between

18 and 23 years old. The sexual orientation of the sample remains unknown because researchers did not consider it necessary and did not intend to draw comparisons based on the sexual orientation of the respondents. This clarification was added to the guidance text given to the research participants.

The ATLG Scale

The majority of research on sexual prejudice in relation to sports had mostly used the methodology developed by Herek (1984)—the ATLG Scale (see, for example, A. R. Anderson & Mowatt, 2013; Ensign et al., 2011; Gill et al., 2006; O'Brien et al., 2013; Oswalt & Vargas, 2013; Roper & Halloran, 2007; Sartore & Cunningham, 2009). Another tool was called the "Modern Homophobia Scale" (Forbes et al., 2002), and it was used to measure the attitudes towards sexual minorities in sports. However, these scales were not designed to measure negative attitudes in a particular setting or environment, where there may be different types of stereotypes and prejudices associated with the traditional homophobic climate.

The ATLG Scale was originally elaborated in English (Herek, 1984) but it has been adjusted to other languages as well, such as Spanish (Cárdenas & Barrientos, 2008), and it has been used for research purposes in many countries such as the United States (LaMar & Kite, 1998), the UK (Hegarty, 2002), Canada (Mohipp & Morry, 2004), Chile (Cárdenas & Barrientos, 2008), Mexico (Moral de la Rubia & Valle de la O, 2013, 2014) and Ghana (Norman et al., 2016). The questionnaire consists of 20 questions. The first ten deal with the attitudes towards homosexual men (ATG subscale) and the other ten, with the attitudes towards homosexual women (ATL subscale). The respondents' choice of the degree of agreement or disagreement is expressed by using the 5-grade Likert-type scale (from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree"). The highest scores, close to 5, refer to greater identification with the statement, while the lowest, close to 1, refer to greater rejection of the statement. Participants were also asked to provide information about their gender and age.

Statistical Analyses

The following statistical analyses were performed: an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was used to examine the validity and reliability of the questionnaire. Factor reliability (Cronbach's α) was examined by conducting reliability analysis. Descriptive statistics were calculated to broadly examine the degree of homophobia.

The authors of this study proposed that if some of the factors turn out inappropriate, control of data and variables' suitability could be seen as the first stage of factorial analysis. The following statistical criteria were used to ensure this control: the partial correlation coefficient, which is controlled with the value of KMO (Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin) and Bartlett's test of Sphericity (Hair et al. 2009; Teixeira et al., 2020), and the Measure of Sampling Adequacy (MSA).

The KMO index takes values from 0 to 1. When the range of this value is between 0.8 and 1, the sampling is adequate. When this value is less than 0.6, the sampling is not adequate, and remedies should be taken. In some cases, limit is set at 0.5 (Glen,

2016). Regarding MSA values, rates .9 and .8 are the most appropriate, concerning that values from .6 to .7 are acceptable but not so reliable, and those which are less than or equal to .5 have to be deleted and not be taken into consideration at the analysis to come (Hair et al., 1998).

Results

Suitability of Data and Variables

The results showed that the statistical criterion of Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin is remarkably high (.939). Furthermore, the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity rejects the zero hypothesis that the correlation's table is the only one (the value of control function 2358.520, degrees of freedom 190, and $p = .000$). Data analysis indicated that the survey's data are suitable for a factorial analysis.

In order to check if all the indicators are appropriate for this model, the value of the "Measure of Sampling Adequacy" (MSA) has been considered. According to the results, all the indicators are within the limits of the MSA criteria with the index ranging between .879 and .963 (Hair et al., 1998).

Exploratory Factor Analysis

One of the objectives of the paper was to test the psychometric properties of the scale. A Principal Component Analysis (Exploratory Factor Analysis) with varimax rotation was performed using SPSS 26 to test the factor structure of the scale in the Greek context. As shown in Table 1, the two factors that emerged from the analysis accounted for 58% of the total variance. These factors corresponded to the two dilemmas (Table 1).

Table 1

Principal Component Analysis of the ATLG Questionnaire

Items	1	2
ATG 1		**.721**
ATG 2		**.781**
ATG 3	.313	**.716**
ATG 4	.485	**.851**
ATG 5	.371	**.825**
ATG 6	.468	**.804**
ATG 7		**.729**
ATG 8	.399	**.887**
ATG 9	.353	**.854**
ATG 10	.320	**.650**
ATL 1	**.777**	
ATL 2	**.536**	
ATL 3	**.818**	.305
ATL 4	**.605**	
ATL 5	**.750**	.361
ATL 6	**.832**	
ATL 7	**.663**	
ATL 8	**.694**	.376
ATL 9	**.736**	.363
ATL 10	**.772**	.340
Total Variance: 58%		
% of Variance	33.56	24.44
Eigen Value	6.06	5.20

Reliability Analysis

The values for Cronbach's α were calculated to assess the internal consistency reliabilities of "Men's Homophobia" (.93), and "Women's Homophobia" (.89). The results indicated that both scales showed acceptable internal consistency since Cronbach's α was higher than .88.

Table 2

Reliability Analysis of the ATLG Questionnaire (1st stage)

Factors	Men		Women		t-test	Significance	Cronbach's α
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.	T	p	
Men's Homophobia	2.99	.95	3.89	.77	$t_{(184)} = 5.82$	**.000**	.93
Women's Homophobia	3.89	.94	4.08	.81	$t_{(184)} = 1.60$	n.s.	.89

Discussion

The purpose of the first stage was to examine the structural validity and internal consistency of the "Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men" Scale in the Greek environment.

Concerning this tool's structural validity, the exploratory factor analysis of the questionnaire has brought to light the two factors proposed by Herek (1988). As can be expected from these foreseeable results, ours contradict those of earlier studies, such as those of LaMar and Kite (1998), who found 4 factors, Cárdenas and Barrientos (2008) in Chile, who found 5, Moral de la Rubia and Valle de la O (2013) in Mexico, who found 3. Concerning the differences resulting from the analyses, we believe that this difference may be due to the cultural and geographical differences between the countries surveyed. Other factors may have contributed to this differentiation of results. For instance, in Cárdenas and Barrientos (2008), a 6-grade Likert-type scale is used while we use the traditional 5-grade scale. Furthermore, since the study of LaMar and Kite (1998) was conducted quite long ago, this may also have caused the differences in the results.

We found that both scales, for men and women, showed acceptable high internal consistency. As for the degree of homophobia, the results indicated that Greek men are friendlier towards lesbians than male homosexuals. This result can be based on men's erotic fantasies about the relationship between two women (Louderback & Whitley, 1997). We believe that this explanation may also apply to people in Greece and to the social stereotypes that prevail in Greek society as the idea of sexual encounters between women is more widespread and accepted than between two men. In contrast with men's behaviour, women's attitude to male and female homosexuality is more conciliatory. Greek women appear to be more open-minded than men, a hypothesis that works cooperatively with the available research evidence (Cárdenas & Barrientos, 2008; Moral de la Rubia & Valle de la O, 2014). Most importantly, the outcomes of the study have shown the suitability and validity of the ATLG scale in the Greek context and we renamed the adjusted scale the "Range of Homophobia Scale" (RHS).

2nd stage

Research Goals

The purpose of this stage was to confirm the factor structure and reliability of the Greek version (RHS) of the ATLG Scale (Herek, 1984).

Sample

The participants were 254 undergraduate students of the School of Physical Education & Sport Science of the Democritus University of Thrace in Komotini, Greece (102, 40.2% men and 152, 59.8% women). The age of the respondents ranges between 18 and 23 years old. The sexual orientation of the respondents remains unknown because we did not intend to draw any comparisons based on their sexual orientation. This clarification was added to the guidance text given to the respondents. Another reason why we chose not to ask the respondents about their sexual orientation was that the requirement to disclose information about their sexuality might have affected their answers.

Tools

The instrument which was used was the adjusted ATLG Scale renamed as the RHS questionnaire

Statistical Analyses

The following statistical analyses were performed. Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was used to examine the validity and reliability of the questionnaire. Factor reliability (Composite Reliability and Average Variance Extracted) was examined by conducting a reliability analysis. Descriptive statistics were calculated to broadly examine the degree of satisfaction.

Confirmatory factor analysis: the method it was used for estimation was the Maximum Likelihood (ML). The adjustment (fit) indices that have been taken into account and their acceptable values are the following: namely minimum discrepancy (CMIN or χ^2), degrees of freedom (df), minimum discrepancy divided by the degrees of freedom (χ^2/df) less than 5, Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) less than .08, Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR) less than .05, incremental indices Comparative Fit Index (CFI) greater than .90, Normed Fit Index (NFI) (Bentler, 1990; McDonald, & Marsh, 1990) and Parsimony Normed Fit Index (PNFI) values equal to or greater than .60. The control of the internal consistency of the factors was performed using the index composite reliability (Aguirre-Urreta et al., 2013; Hair et al., 2019). The reliability of the factor is acceptable when the index takes values greater than or equal to .70. To assess the discriminant and convergent validity, the Average Variance Extracted (AVE) index was considered. Values of greater than or equal to .50 are acceptable.

Results

Confirmatory Factor Analyses

Three confirmatory factor analyses were performed using LISREL 8.80. The method of estimating the parameters was that of maximum likelihood (Bentler, 1990; Platsidou, 2001).

Men's Homophobia

The hypothesized model consists of one latent variable, namely "Men's homophobia". The results of the confirmatory factor analysis demonstrated that the hypothesized model produced a significant chi-square, $\chi^2(254) = 126.87$, $\chi^2/df = 3.639$, $p < .05$. The NFI and CFI were found to be .94 and .95 respectively. The RMSEA was also used to assess the degree of fit of the model. The RMSEA value for the hypothesized model was found to be .065 and SRMR = .038.

Women's Homophobia

The hypothesized model consists of one latent variable, namely "women's homophobia". The results of the confirmatory factor analysis demonstrated that the hypothesized model produced a significant chi-square, $\chi^2(254) = 115.36$, $\chi^2/df = 3.30$, $p < .05$. The NFI and CFI were found to be 0.96 and 0.97 respectively. The RMSEA was also considered to assess the degree of fit of the model. The RMSEA value for the hypothesized model was found to be .063 and SRMR = .041.

Total Homophobia

The confirmatory analysis was performed to check whether the 20 questions could be a factor in examining total homophobia. The theoretical model consists of one latent variable, namely "Total homophobia". The results of the confirmatory factor analysis demonstrated that the hypothesized model produced a significant chi-square, $\chi^2(254) = 826.96$, $\chi^2/df = 4.86$, $p < .05$. The NFI and CFI were found to be .94 and .96 respectively. The RMSEA was also used to assess the degree of fit of the model. The RMSEA value for the hypothesized model was found to be .062 and SRMR = .044.

Composite Reliability and* Average *Variance Extracted

As shown in Table 3, all factors showed particularly good reliability since the CR index takes values .939 for men's homophobia and .912 for women's homophobia. In terms of discriminant and convergent validity, the AVE index showed a satisfactory value for men's homophobia (.608). In contrast, the factor "women's homophobia" showed marginally acceptable values (.514) (Table 3).

As shown in Table 4, men are more homophobic than women when it comes to male homosexuality. On the contrary, we found no gender-related differences in the level of homophobia towards lesbians.

Regarding total homophobia, no statistically significant gender-related differences are observed (see Table 5).

Discussion

The purpose of the study was to confirm the factor structure and reliability of the Greek version (1st stage) of the Scale of the "Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men", which means that it is relevant for the survey in Greece.

The theoretical model of confirmatory factor analysis included investigation of the three factors: the degree of homophobia against male homosexuality, the degree of homophobia against female homosexuality, and homophobia regardless of the gender.

Confirmatory factor analysis has shown the validity of the proposed theoretical model. The scale proposed by Herek (1984) and the one we developed at the first stage can also be used as a single scale measuring homophobia regardless of the gender. The internal consistency of both the overall scale and the two factors was extremely high, considering the results that were similar to those of the first stage.

Table 3

Construct	Item	CR	AVE
Men's Homophobia	.706 .797 .695 .848 .770 .788 .745 .877 .863 .681 .754 .560 .820 .564 .774 .841 .668 .700 .738 .785	.939	.608
Women's Homophobia		.912	.514

Table 4

Mean, Standard Deviation, and t-test of ATLG Questionnaire (2nd stage)

Factors	Men		Women		t-test	Significance
	M	S.D.	M	S.D.	*t*	*p*
Men's Homophobia	3.12	.85	3.98	.79	$t_{(252)} = 4.15$	**.05**
Women's Homophobia	3.45	.81	4.04	.82	$t_{(252)} = .618$	n.s.

Table 5

Mean, Standard Deviation, and t-test among Genders

Total Homophobia			t-test	Significance
Factors	M	S.D.	*t*	*p*
Men	3.57	.91	$t_{(252)} = 1.57$	n.s.
Women	3.73	.85		

Both the stability of the internal reliability of the two factors and the scale as a whole, as well as the stability of the averages presented in the second survey, show that the "Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men" Scale is a reliable measure of homophobia in Greece. Additionally, the validated new scale was renamed into the "Range of Homophobia Scale" (RHS) based on the ATLG scale and intended for the Greek context.

Conclusion

This study has shown the reliability of the ATLG scale and subscales in the Greek context, thus addressing the perceived gap in the current research on this topic (Papadopoulos, 2019). This tool was used to measure the attitudes of Greek people towards homosexual men and women by focusing on the students majoring in physical education and sports. Taking into account the fact that only 22% of the citizens in Greece feel comfortable about watching a public kiss (or even a handshake) between two people of the same gender (Papaioannou, 2019), the research on attitudes to homosexuality is more relevant than ever.

We found that the adapted version of the ATLG scale and the "Range of Homophobia Scale" (RHS) we developed are suitable for use in Greece. We believe that these methodological tools hold a lot of potential for further research on this topic.

In this research, the age of the respondents in our sample is known but not their sexual orientation. The gender distribution of the sample corresponds to the percentages of people of each gender in the Greek society according to the data from the population census (ELSTAT, 2011). It is suggested that the questionnaire should be used by other researchers in the following surveys focusing on other social groups in Greece, in order to expand the results and have more comprehensive research data.

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BOOK REVIEW

Trade, Politics and Borderlands: Russia and Britain in the Age of Enterprise

Review of Matthew P. Romaniello (2019). Enterprising Empires: Russia and Britain in Eighteenth-Century Eurasia. Cambridge University Press

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In this well-written book, Matthew P. Romaniello presents a study of the commercial relationships between the British and Russian empires throughout the long eighteenth century. The book title is accurately chosen. The author describes not only British efforts to establish trade with Russia (or through Russia's lands), but also surveys Russian commercial enterprises in both Asia and America, revealing the Russian government's great desire to take advantages of its vast territory and the political situation in the borderlands. Both Russia and Britain were equally enterprising commercially—this is probably the main idea behind the whole book. With a caveat on the difference between the two in terms of naval power and financial resources, the author claims that "the traditional argument of Russia's economic 'backwardness' can be challenged", and the Russian "eighteenth-century commercial economy was undoubtedly robust and as successful as those of Europe's leading countries" (Romaniello, 2019, p. 3).

The author points out that this observation is not new. His work is indeed based on a large historiographical tradition, which holds divergent opinions and investigates different aspects of Russian and British commercial relations within this period. On the one hand, the abundance of literature makes it difficult for any new study to present novelty and uniqueness, but, on the other, this historiographical situation provides an opportunity to use a great deal of facts

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and figures collected in studies of Anglo-Russian trade and diplomacy. Romaniello has managed to find his own focus: the book is centered on significant actors, such as traders, entrepreneurs, and diplomats. It is based on different narrative and private sources—travel accounts, diplomatic correspondence, letters, and memoirs. With these documents, the author explains to us the aims and course of eighteenth-century British trade in Russia, Asia, and America. Talking a lot about people, the book contains few figures: the author takes full advantage of previous studies (Kaplan, 1995) to assess the volume of finance and goods. This approach helps explore human dimension in international commerce.

The other important "heroes" of the book are commercial companies. The research is concerned with commercial activity of all charted British companies involved in the trade with Russia including the Russia Company, the Levant Company, the Eastland Company, and the East India Company. The author studies their business, efforts, and rivalry, touching on a wide range of matters from commercial competition to parliamentary lobbying. It is especially valuable that the book covers the eighteenth-century history of the Russia Company. It has long been held that the heyday of this company occurred in previous centuries, with the eighteenth century being largely neglected. Romaniello reveals that the company was very active in several decades of the eighteenth century, namely in the 1730s and 40s, immediately after the signing of the Anglo-Russian commercial treaty (1734). From the Russian side, significant attention is paid to the Russian American Company, the first Russian established company to trade North American commodities. Although the scale of this company cannot be compared with its English counterparts, it was once a very significant enterprise for the Russian Empire and allows the author to some extent equate Russian business with its British counterpart, at least in terms of its organizational forms and goals.

The list of archival sources is impressive (Romaniello, 2019, pp. 264–265). The author uses documents from Britain, Russia, the United States, Spain, and Denmark. The British Library, the National Archives in Kew, the National Library of Scotland, the National Records of Scotland, the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, the Library of Congress, and the National Archives and Records Administration (USA) are the most significant depositories employed. There is a certain inclination towards English archival sources, as is also the case for the published primary sources. This has an impact on the visibility of Russian characters and positions, which I will discuss later.

The book is arranged chronologically and encompasses around 150 years: from Muscovite trade regulations (codes) issued in the 1650–60s to the Napoleonic era, when Russia for a short time joined the so-called Continental System. The chronological arrangement does not mean that the author describes every set of events in Anglo-Russian relations. The five chapters are dedicated to different chronological periods. Within each period, the author focuses on significant points in imperial entrepreneurship that were crucial for Anglo-Russian commerce.

The first chapter analyses the struggle of English merchants to regain commercial privileges in Russia in the second half of the seventeenth century.

The *Torgovyi ustav* (1653) and its renewal in 1667 marked the Russian transition to mercantilism. It put an end to the earlier policy of massive privileges for foreign merchants and companies. At the same time, England introduced a more organized approach to its merchant companies, putting its trade under governmental control through the Navigation Acts. The moderate success of British enterprises in Russia is investigated in chapter two. Britain achieved its long-sought goal to sell American tobacco in Russia (1698). British interests included the transition trade with China, with the English medic John Bell making his way to this country through Russia. But the most desirable destination was Iran. From the sixteenth century, when Antony Jenkinson travelled through Russia down the Volga River, the English deemed the Iranian trade highly profitable. The attempts to establish a steady route failed in the sixteenth century and during the reigns of the early Romanovs. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Russia Company doubled its efforts, but did not succeed until the 1730s.

The third chapter studies the Iranian affair. It begins with the signing of the Anglo-Russian commercial treaty of 1734, which was a great achievement of British diplomats. The treaty allowed British merchants to trade with Iran through Astrakhan. Soon after this, the British adventurer and naval captain John Elton made it down the Volga, reaching Astrakhan and then Iran. When his activities became suspicious to the Russian government, the Russia Company dispatched Jonas Hanway in an attempt to mitigate the situation. The account left by Hanway (a very detailed book, in fact) is one of the main sources for Romaniello. The failure of the British to secure a foothold in the Iranian silk trade (1746) and the later desperate attempts to rectify the situation are also matters of concern in the chapter. Additionally, the author follows Russian success in Siberia and Iran, looking closely at the treaties and institutions of Russian commercial agents and consuls on the Caspian Sea. The important conclusion of the third chapter is that Russia had the upper hand in trade relationships at the time, as the British navy was dependent on raw materials from Russia.

Chapter four investigates the time of Catherine the Great. In this period, Britain did succeed in signing a new treaty with Russia (1766), but it did not give British merchants the same privileges as the previous agreement. Russia made advances in the Black Sea region by waging war against the Ottoman Empire: this contributed to deterioration in the Anglo-Russian relationship. The chapter describes how the new notion of Russia as a rival emerged. Russian success in the Far East and North American exploration added to these fears. In the fifth chapter, a broad picture of Russian enterprises is built up. The chapter focuses on the Pacific region where the Russian American Company emerged (1799), but the European theater and the Black Sea are not omitted.

The close look at Russian borderland territories has an unexpected outcome: the book can be considered a history of commerce on the Russian frontier and in the empire's remote regions. The actions of British agents and companies in these territories are thoroughly studied by Romaniello. Both the personal and institutional dimensions are examined. For example, the author provides a quite in-depth description of the interactions between the Russian administration in Astrakhan and

British merchants, focusing on the encounters of John Elton and Jonas Hanway with the Astrakhan governor Vasilii Tatishchev. The latter was a big proponent of the merchants, although he was suspicious of British enterprise This part of the book also has a downside however: the author does not really take into account o the fact that some of Russia's remote territories had a special status, with their administrators exercising considerable power over internal and external affairs (Lazarev, 2017). Taking the role of regional administrators and elites more fully into account would give a broader perspective on the reasons for the ups and downs in both British and Russian commercial enterprises.

Another potential criticism is rooted in the weakness of the book's Russian characters. While British voices are clearly audible, Russian actors remain nearly silent most of the time. This can be easily explained by the composition of the sources. The author tends to rely on English sources, which leads to more detailed description of British characters. In most cases, the author gives a very accurate image of the events, but there are some gaps. For instance, the denunciation of the Anglo-Russian treaty deserves a more thorough study from the Russian side. Romaniello, following English accounts, explains that Captain John Elton was the main culprit, with his activities on the Caspian Sea (he built several warships for the Iranian shah) resulting in Russian withdrawal from the treaty. However, as Russian sources show, the new government of Empress Elizabeth (1741–61) embarked on a policy of protectionism in favor of domestic merchants (Iukht, 1994), and therefore Elton's malevolent activity was rather a pretext han the true reason for the abolition of the Anglo-Russian commercial treaty.

This minor criticism does not undermine my overall positive opinion of the book. The study's selectiveness gives it a much-needed focus, and a certain lack of the Russian viewpoint is compensated by a quite comprehensive English source base. This is the research of this issue that has long been needed: a personality-centered, very well-written, and academically in-depth book exploring the vast geography of Anglo-Russian commercial and diplomatic interactions in the Age of Enlightenment.

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BOOK REVIEW

Orwellian Doublespeak: Dialogicality and the English Language

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The English writer George Orwell is often credited with uncannily accurate prophetic powers, so much so *that the adjective "Orwellian" may (ironically) refer to that predicted dystopian future through which we are presently living* (McKenna, 2019). Various terms drawn from Orwell's novel "1984"—including "Big Brother", "Thought Police", "Two Minutes Hate", "Room 101", "memory hole", "Newspeak", "doublethink", "unperson" and "thoughtcrime"—have also entered the popular lexicon. But perhaps the most striking illustration of the political tendency to abuse language appears in the incongruous fictitious slogan WAR IS PEACE. SLAVERY IS FREEDOM. IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH.

In his famous 1946 essay *Politics and the English Language* (Orwell, 1946), which has since become a "required text" (Pinsker, 1997) in the essay canon (Bloom, 1999), Orwell asserts that "all issues are political issues, and politics itself is a mass of lies, evasions, folly, hatred and schizophrenia". To his list of contemporaneous terms that suffer from political "abuse"[1], he adduces the term "science". It is interesting to consider what Orwell would have made of the common present-day usage of this word that employs the definite article ("the science"), often prefaced with imperative verbs such as "trust", "listen to" or "believe in"[2], to imply something that is established as beyond appropriate criticism.

In a previous work, we examined the extent to which English functions as an "interlingua" to facilitate scientific communication, as well as some senses in which it can be criticised as promoting linguistic imperialism (Popova & Beavitt, 2017). In subsequent works, we considered three sociological aspects of the phenomenon of science (Popova et al., 2018) and discussed usages of the English article system from the perspective of Russian scientific

[1] "fascist", "democracy", "socialism", "freedom", "patriotic", "realistic", "justice", "class", "totalitarian", "science", "progressive", "reactionary", "bourgeois", "equality"

[2] Google ngram search, retrieved 27-09-2011

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communication, which is increasingly conducted in the English language (Beavitt & Popova, 2020) indefinite- and definite articles in English. While existing pedagogical approaches are successfully used to teach near-native competency in the use of English articles, the final stage of native-equivalent competency continues to evade even advanced ESL/EAP students, especially those whose first language (e.g., Russian). While some of these usages appear to be both rhetorical and covert, we also drew attention to the many ways in which the English article system can function to enhance the dialogicality of a text.

In order to validate or reject the ironic usage of the term "Orwellian" as applied in the context of contemporary English language scientific communication, the following research question arises: Are we currently living in an Orwellian dystopia? If so, what role does language—in particular, the English language—play in how this dystopia is unfolding?

Aiming his invective at the "abuse of language" based on the erroneous belief (perhaps traceable to Analytic philosophy) that "language is a natural growth and not an instrument which we shape for our own purposes", Orwell pithily observes that

> A man may take to drink because he feels himself to be a failure, and then fail all the more completely because he drinks. It is rather the same thing that is happening to the English language. It becomes ugly and inaccurate because our thoughts are foolish, but the slovenliness of our language makes it easier for us to have foolish thoughts. (Orwell, 1946)

In his much-cited critique of Orwell's essay, Carl Freedman refers to the "seductive" implication that "compositional pedagogy can be a purely technical and ideologically neutral task", i.e., a simple matter of "teaching the student how best to express his or her thoughts on any given topic". For him, such an "intuitively false" assumption would rest on a "naively empiricist view of language as a wholly passive, unstructured material which can be cut, like so many yards of cloth, to fit […] any pre-given and presumably non-linguistic thought" (Freedman, 1981).

Objecting to the "predictable" and "dreary" insertion of "whose" (e.g., "whose science?") before every hegemonic "value word", Sanford Pinsker also worries that "clear writing" has come to be seen as an "academic liability rather than as an asset". He reports the concern raised by students that, if it is "too clear", their writing will risk being dismissed as "under-theorised" (Pinsker, 1997).

Why do people write? Orwell seems to have a clear idea why *he* writes, but he does not explicitly address the problem in his essay. Perhaps it is to propagandise a certain political position? In any case, for him, writing seems to have something to do with "having something to say". Maybe he even feels that good writing will have the effect of "making the world a better place"?

In his 2015 Orwell memorial lecture, the English theologian Rowan Williams discusses Orwell's now "familiar" rules for good writing: avoid "secondhand metaphors", use short words where possible, abbreviate, use the active voice in preference to the passive, and avoid using "foreign" phrases where a common English alternative

exists (Williams, 2015). According to Williams, following these rules can help a writer to communicate something other than that he or she is "powerful enough to say what he or she likes", while breaking them may constitute "ways of avoiding communication" on the part of those who "do not want to be replied to or argued with". In particular, Williams endorses Orwell's injunction against "bad or confused metaphor", since such expressions are intended to "conceal or ignore" in order to "shrink the limits of the world to what can be dealt with in the speaker's terms alone". Good metaphor, conversely, "presents us with something we can't visualise" in order to increase "awareness, in unexpected ways, of what we see or sense" (Williams, 2015).

Thus, for Williams, the essential criterion concerns whether a writer's language "invites response". In envisaging good writing as an essentially dialogical process, involving rather than excluding the reader, Williams nevertheless remarks that a writer "sometimes has to be difficult"; thus, it becomes necessary to distinguish between "necessary or salutary difficulty" and the "self-serving obfuscation" that Orwell identifies as a "tool of power". In the light of justifiable "scepticism about anything that looks like complexity for its own sake" and "feeling that it ought to be possible to say things straightforwardly" (Williams, 2015), such necessary or salutary difficulty can also be seen in terms of a challenge issued to the reader to create their own synthesis.

Therefore, in order to write more dialogically, with the aim of including rather than excluding readers, how reliable are Orwell's "rules"?

Orwell's ironic objection to the use of ready-made phrases, which "perform the *important* [emphasis added] service of partially concealing your meaning even from yourself", appears not to take into account that such collocations, like the words that make them up, have specific meanings in different discourse contexts. Moreover, when English is used as a second language (ESL), a different consideration emerges, since acquiring fluency in a language is highly dependent on the ability to memorise and appropriately turn recognisable phrases (Wray, 2007). Considered from a wider educational perspective, then, one possible reason for writing in a particular language might be in order to provide "authentic" material for those who set out to "learn" that language, i.e., participate in its discourses. If an L2 reader "hears the author's voice" (a possible criterion for dialogical writing) in the form of an "internal" dialogue, they is already well on the way to L2 fluency. For ESL users, the admonition against using "foreign" words and phrases also seems less applicable, since the primary aim here is to maximise one's comprehensibility to an interlocutor, who may also be an ESL user, rather than conform to some supposed autochthonous linguistic purity asserted on the part of "English". In such cases, using words derived from e.g., Latin and Greek roots that may be common to a reader's L1 and L2 may be less excluding, i.e., more dialogical.

Orwell's admonition to avoid using the passive voice can also be legitimately criticised, not least since over 20 percent of Orwell's sentences in this essay are constructed in this way. Although he readily admits that he commits "the very faults I am protesting against", this does not inspire confidence in the infallibility of the rules he sets out. While usages of the passive voice have indeed tended to decline since 1946, accompanied by an increase in the use of first-person pronouns (Banks,

2017), this decline is by no means terminal. Besides, while writers admittedly tend to use the passive voice when they don't want to name the actor of the verb, such concealments are not always dishonest. For example, in scientific writing, it may be more dialogical to invite a reader to participate in an attitude that "it is known…" rather than baldly state that "we (scientists) know…".

In his recent Spectator review of UK Labour party leader Keir Starmer's blandly designated pamphlet "The Road Ahead" (Starmer, 2021), Sam Leith's criticisms were encapsulated in the title: "Keir Starmer's essay is a cliché-ridden disaster" (Leith, 2021). Noting that we live "in an attention economy", in which readers' attention is at a premium, Leith criticises the "quite inordinate length" of Starmer's "pieties, bromides and abstractions", comprising "a groaning tumbril of dead metaphors trundling along the slow road to nowhere". Prodding several of these metaphors to confirm that they are indeed dead, Leith channels Orwell to show that these constitute examples of "writing that isn't paying attention to what it's saying", i.e., excluding the reader by undervaluing his or her attention.

For George Trail, Orwell's rhetorical approach is based on compelling a reader's participation, i.e., involving him or her "as an active and engaged consumer of the essay" (Trail, 1995). The brief analysis presented in the present review would suggest that the author achieves this as much by creatively breaking his own rules as by obeying them. Indeed, since dialogicality by no means implies agreement, it may be observed that Orwell breaks his own rules as part of a strategy to achieve more active reader participation in the dialogue presented by his text.

In scientific writing based on empirical research, a key function of the text is to describe the "laboratory" or experimental setup in sufficient detail to allow a reader to repeat the experiment in order to verify the results (and conclusions) for them. Here, while accuracy is paramount, it makes little difference whether active ("We placed the samples in sterilised petri dishes") or passive ("The samples were placed in sterilised petri dishes") constructions are used. In discussions of obtained results, on the other hand, a more dialogical strategy may involve the reader using an active construction with "we" ("We can see from the data presented in the table that…"). However, if what follows from "that" is not what the reader "sees" through his or her own interpretive lens, prompting him or her to repeat the experiment under similar conditions to those earlier described, then the text will have fulfilled its dialogical purpose.

In conclusion, while one encounters many ironically rhetorical usages of the term "Orwellian" to refer to *that predicted dystopian future through which we are presently living*, such uses should not be taken "literally". Readers may experience various emotions when presented with texts that invite their dialogical participation, not all of which are necessarily experienced as "positive". In extreme cases, dialogicality may even result in the overturning of a scientific paradigm or collapse of a political consensus. Conversely, non-dialogical texts, which exclude a reader by demanding his or her a priori "agreement", imply the eventual redundancy of the human author, to be replaced by machines spewing out incontrovertible "facts". Dear reader, if I have managed to hold your valuable attention as far as this conclusion, I trust you will "agree" that the latter would constitute a perfect example of an "Orwellian dystopia".

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BOOK REVIEW

Reactualisation of Triadology in Polemics with Postmetaphysics

Review of Oleg Davydov (2020). Revelation of Love: Trinitarian Truth of Being. St. Andrew's Biblical Theological Institute

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The book *Revelation of Love: Trinitarian Truth of Being* is a monograph written by the Russian thinker Oleg Davydov and published by St. Andrew's Biblical Theological Institute in 2020. While working on the book, the author was engaged in research activities at the institutes in the Far Eastern Russian cities Khabarovsk and Vladivostok; at the time of publication, he was a Professor at the Department of Theology of the Moscow Theological Academy.

The monograph presents an original project, which is significant both for contemporary Russian theology and Christian philosophy generally. First and foremost, the scale of the project is impressive as the author sets out to develop a fundamental Christian apologetics for the modern world, which ranges from the mediaeval metaphysics up to the contemporary postmodern philosophy. Moreover, the author abandoned traditional style of theological discourse and produced a work of a synthetic genre, which combines a scientific monograph with a polemical treatise, a manifesto, and it also includes lengthy metaphoric digressions.

In his attempt to justify the truth of the Christian understanding of reality, the author compares a very wide range of theological and philosophical doctrines with modern and contemporary theories. His approach is mainly critical as the author aims to show the inconsistencies in the dominant philosophical paradigms of our time and reveal the flaws in various modern and postmodern theological projects. It is in in this polemical context that the monograph addresses the main issue of Christian theology—the relation of God to the creation. Consequently, it also discusses the nature of knowledge and the possibility of communication with God.

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Davydov rebukes contemporary Christian thinkers for having abandoned their "ontological responsibility", which, in his opinion, resulted in the degradation of Christian thought. Christian theology turned into "all too human" historical and philological criticism, anthropological hermeneutics, and sentimental moralising (p. XV). Although such a radical rejection of the "human" might resemble the theocentric turn in 20th century European Protestant theology, Davydov's criticism has different motivations. The author is inspired by David Bentley Hart and Hans Urs von Balthasar, but he also draws from Gregory of Nyssa and Bonaventure. While the radical orthodoxy movement is considered separately, Davydov traces its origins to the works of von Balthasar, Karl Barth and others. Although radical orthodoxy is not a new trend in theological thought, Davydov's presentation clarifies a number of significant issues and, more importantly, brings a truly fresh stream of thinking into contemporary Russian theology.

Structurally, the book consists of an introduction and fourteen chapters. While admitting that his intention to follow "the path of faith seeking understanding" (p. XXI) precludes systematic exposition, Davydov unfolds his argument in a clearly visible logic. In the first chapters, the author lays down his principles and outlines structural framework for his entire book. Here, along with the central theme—apologetics of Trinitarian Revelation, the analogy of being is set forth as a methodological principle. The subsequent chapters analyse the ways the Trinity operates and manifests itself in the life of the created world with the help of such transcendentals as beauty, truth, and goodness. The last chapters—"variations on a common Trinitarian theme" (p. XXI), in the author's definition,—discuss Christology, pneumatology, kenosis, and eschatology. While developing the central theme, these chapters can be read as independent pieces. The book in its entirety summarizes major Christian themes and presents them from the critical perspective of postmodern metaphysics. In what follows, we will limit our consideration to the central ideas and main argument of the book.

The first chapter "Genesis and Revelation" begins with a criticism of post-metaphysics. It is blamed by Davydov for emasculating rational comprehension of reality because it eliminated such ideas as "God" and "Truth". In the same chapter, in order to explicate the main characteristics of the Trinitarian Revelation, the author distinguishes the revelatory knowledge of God the Trinity from the emanative-metaphysical knowledge. Triadological problems are illuminated in a rather multifaceted way, including the Trinity's relation to creation. The analogy between the unity of intra-Trinitarian relations and the relations of Divine Persons to creation is highlighted as well as the perichoretic nature of the unity of Persons and other important aspects of Christian Triadology are discussed. The analysis is structured around the arguments of major European thinkers such as Hans Urs von Balthasar, Joseph S. O'Leary, William Clark, Conor Cunningham as well as Russian religious philosophers Sergei Bulgakov and Paul Evdokimov. It is the acceptance of the Trinitarian Revelation that, according to the author, is the only way to adequately comprehend reality, while (post-) modern epistemology leads away from the true state of affairs.

A separate paragraph of the first chapter is devoted to the *transcendentals*—ontological predicates of being (truth, beauty and goodness) that reveal being in existence. For Davydov, in reflecting properties of the divine in the created world, the transcendentals represent the connecting element between Creation and Creator. While describing the history of the doctrine of the transcendentals from its beginning in Western scholasticism, the author claims that German idealistic philosophy distorted the objective nature of the transcendentals and traces back to this distortion much of the contemporary transcendentalist tendencies. The author provides a more detailed analysis of the individual transcendentals in the subsequent chapters (5–7).

In the second chapter, the analogy of being is used to express the relationship of the creation to the Creator. A detailed excursus into the development of the idea of *analogia entis* in the Western mediaeval theology is followed by the description of its revival in modern theology. The analogy of being reappears in the works of such Catholic theologians as Erich Przywara and von Balthasar. Davydov also expounds the history of the rejecting the *analogia entis* by both secular (Heidegger, Deleuze, Derrida) and religious thinkers (Barth). For Davydov, the method of analogy combines both apophatic (negative) and cataphatic (positive) ways of knowing God, thus accounting for both mystical and rational-empirical capacities of human beings.

The third chapter ('Being and Creation') discusses the creation of the world "from nothing" (*ex nihilo*) and its centrality for the Christian understanding of reality. Thus, despite the apparent autonomy of world's existence, it is inextricably linked with its Creator. The author denounces Heideggerian and other post-metaphysical projects, which deny "ontotheology" by positing being outside of God. Instead, in discussing the relation of the Creator to the Creation, Davydov emphasises both unity and difference: unity is the transmission of Divine being to the creation, while difference is the inexpressibly different ontological modality of God and the world. In the following chapter, a detailed discussion of "post-metaphysical" and "trinitarian" views of reality is presented. Heidegger's ontic-ontological model and other post-metaphysical constructions enforce a separation from God for the sake of autonomous existence, which ultimately lacks a substantive basis. According to a trinitarian view, conversely, a creature can experience his or her difference from God as peaceful and harmonious.

The apologetics for the Trinitarian nature of being (God and—similarly—the world) continues in Chapter 6 where the author focuses on the historical context of reviving trinitarian problematique in the 20th century theology. It begins with identifying two (conditional) planes of the existence of God the Trinity—immanent and economic. Davydov discovers origins of this idea in dialectical theology (Barth and Eberhard Jüngel), which were later explicated in Catholic theology by von Balthasar and Karl Rahner. Although it has become a *locus communis* in Western theology, it is necessary to distinguish interpretations of this idea in Eastern and Western theology. Eastern theology presumably has lost the "functional" meaning of the Trinity (especially in Palamism). However, the consensus between the Eastern and Western traditions regarding the correspondence between immanent and economic Trinity is possible, at least in the cognitive aspect. It is possible because

God the Trinity can be known through His economic actions in relation to creation. However, this is only possible if the inner life of God is not determined by *ad extra* divine actions (see, for example: Lavrentiev, 2014; Vletsis, 2009).

In addition, the monograph presents many other aspects of Christian theology, which are comparatively laid out their interpretations in classical and modern philosophical thought. But for reasons of brevity, we now turn to the stylistic form of the book under review.

First of all, a reader will notice the complex syntax of the work: the text is replete with many subordinate clauses and dangling attributes. At the lexical level, terminology is quite unconventional and text abounds in metaphorical phrases: "the immanent plan of possibilist theology" (p. 194), "Nietzschean cadence" (p. 188), "persuasive force", (p. 319), "postmodernists valorise the systole of apophatic theology, abstracting it from cataphatic diastole" (p. 147). Although the meaning of such words and newly formed combinations is, in principle, comprehensible, it unduly burdens already lengthy and semantically complex text.

Some incorrect uses of terminology in Russian need to be mentioned. For example, the notion of "economy" (in the original Russian text *ikonomia*) and its adjective "economic" (*ikonomisheskiy*) refer in general to the providential and soteriological divine action towards the creation. Instead of this term, which has long been established in Russian theological discourses, the author uses—having in mind the theological meaning—the forms *ekonomia, ekonomika* ("economy", pp. 357, 358, etc.), the phrase *ekonomicheskaia Troitsa* ("economic Trinity") (see, for example, pp. 37, 59, 336 and etc.). It is not explained and causes confusion, since "economics", "economy", and "economic" do not have any theological connotations in the Russian.

Despite these irregularities, the work is a worthy apology for the traditional Christian view of reality, which demonstrates the failure of attempts on the part of modern theologians to switch to the modality of modern discourses ("irreligious Christianity", "death of God", etc.).

The author may well be identified as an adept—even a representative—of radical orthodoxy. However, his work does not only reproduce its main postulates or traces its development, it creatively re-interprets the movement in the context of Russian theology and sets it within the framework of established Orthodox patterns of thought. The non-confessional nature of the movement (despite its British-Catholic origin) allows its integration into the Orthodox paradigm, especially since it is traditional common Christian truths that are being defended here. The confessionless—or overconfessional—nature of Davydov's monograph should also be noted: questions of interconfessional divergences, the search for a true position in some particular Christian confession are left out of the book, which is essentially directed toward a Christian worldview that is independent of historical collisions and misunderstandings[1].

[1] Although the author clearly does not articulate his confession, nevertheless, by indirect indications, it can be assumed that it is precisely Orthodox: the confession of the Nicene-Constantinople Creed (p. XV) and his position of professor at a higher Orthodox theological school.

At the same time, it is possible to discern a critical attitude towards the conservative position of the Eastern Christian tradition and sympathy for certain intentions of Western theology in Davydov's work[2]. However, this should be seen as testifying to an attempt to find the best in Western and Eastern Christian thought with the aim of their fruitful synthesis. Perhaps, the author's project is vulnerable to certain narrowly confessional criticisms. For example, on the *filioque*, which is excellently problematised by Davydov in the context of Christian pneumatology: Orthodox and non-Orthodox theologians, of different historical periods and positions, are in the dialogue with each other. However, it is not our task to seek such vulnerabilities. In this regard, I would only like to note that theology involves not a thoughtless repetition of once accepted dogmatic formulations and their fanatical protection, but a living thought arising from personal spiritual experience, and a thinker, who, in daring to think about God and His actions, inevitably faces risks. Nevertheless, without incurring such risks, living knowledge of God is hardly possible.

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[2] See, for example, p. 139: "vostochno-hristianskaja tradicija, vozmozhno, chrezmerno uvlekshis' konfessionalizmom i apologetikoj" ("[...] the Eastern Christian tradition, perhaps overly carried away by confessionalism and apologetics" et seq.).

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No author	*Merriam Webster's collegiate dictionary* (10th ed.). (1993). Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster (publisher location is optional).
Chapter	Author, A. A. (2012). This is a chapter. In J. J. Editor (Ed.), *Book title: And subtitle* (pp. 300–316). Abingdon: Routledge (publisher location is optional). Author, A. A. (2012). This is a chapter. In J. J. Editor & B. B. Editor (Eds.), *Book title: And subtitle* (pp. 300–316). Abingdon: Routledge (publisher location is optional). Author, A. A. (2012). This is a chapter. In J. J. Editor, P. P. Editor, & B. B. Editor (Eds.), *Book title: And subtitle* (pp. 300–316). Abingdon: Routledge (publisher location is optional).

Edited	Editor, J. J. (Ed.). (2012). *Book title: And subtitle*. Abingdon: Routledge (publisher location is optional). Editor, J. J., Editor, A. A., & Editor, P. P. (Eds.). (2012). *Book title: And subtitle*. Abingdon: Routledge. Editor, J. J., & Editor, P. P. (Eds.). (2012). *Edited online book: And subtitle.* (*The website name*). https://www.w3.org
Edition	Author, A. A. (2012). *Book title: And subtitle* (4th ed.). Abingdon: Routledge (publisher location is optional).
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Not in English	Doutre, É. (2014). *Mixité de genre et de métiers: Conséquences identitaires et relations de travail* [Mixture of gender and trades: Consequences for identity and working relationships]. Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement, 46, 327–336. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0036218 For transliteration of Cyrillic letters please use the links: ALA-LC Romanization Tables at the web-site of The Library of Congress http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/roman.html
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Multivolume works	
Multiple volumes from a multivolume work	Levison, D., & Ember, M. (Eds). (1996). *Encyclopedia of cultural anthropology* (Vols. 1-4). New York, NY: Henry Holt (publisher location is optional). Use Vol. for a single volume and Vols. for multiple volumes. In text, use (Levison & Ember, 1996).
A single volume from a multivolume work	Nash, M. (1993). Malay. In P. Hockings (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of world cultures* (Vol. 5, pp. 174–76). New York, NY: G.K. Hall (publisher location is optional). In text, use (Nash, 1993).
Journal	
One author	Author, A. A. (2011). Title of article. *Title of Journal*, *22*(2), 123–231. https://doi.org/xxxxxxxxxxxxxx Provide the issue number ONLY if each issue of the journal begins on page 1. In such cases it goes in parentheses: Journal, *8*(1), p–pp. Page numbers should always be provided. If there is no DOI and the reference was retrieved from an online database, give the database name and accession number or the database URL (no retrieval date is needed): Author, A. A. (2011). Title of article. *Title of Journal, 22*(2), 123–231. (*The website name*) https://www.w3.org If there is no DOI and the reference was retrieved from a journal homepage, give the full URL or site's homepage URL: Author, A. A. (2011). Title of article. *Title of Journal*, 22, 123–231. (*The website name*) https://www.w3.org
Two authors	Benjamin, L. T., Jr., & VandenBos, G. R. (2006). The window on psychology's literature: A history of psychological abstracts. *American Psychologist*, *61*(9), 941–954. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.61.9.941 Author, A. A., & Author, B. B. (2004). Title of article. *Title of Journal,* 22, 123–231. https://doi.org/xx.xxxxxxxxxx
Three authors	Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (1987). Title of article. *Title of Journal*, 22, 123–231. https://doi.org/xx.xxxxxxxxxx
More authors	Include all names up to seven. If there are more than seven authors, list the first six with an ellipsis before the last. Author, M., Author, B., Author, E., Author, G., Author, D., Author, R., …, Author, P. (2001).
Organization as author	American Psychological Association. (2003). Title of article: And subtitle. *Title of Journal*, 2, 12–23. https://doi.org/xx.xxxxxxxxxx
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Peer-reviewed article published online ahead of the issue	Author, A. A., & Author, B. B. (2012). Article title. *Title of Journal*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/xx.xxxxxxxxxx If you can update the reference before publication, do so.
Supplemental material	If you are citing supplemental material which is only available online, include a description of the contents in brackets following the title. [Audio podcast] [Letter to the editor]
Other article types	Editorial: Title of editorial. [Editorial]. (2012). *Title of Journal*, 14, 1–2. Author, A. A. (2010). Title of review. [Review of the book Title of book, by B. Book Author]. *Title of Journal*, 22, 123–231. https://doi.org/xx.xxxxxxxxxx
Article in journal supplement	Author, A. A. (2004). Article title. *Title of Journal*, 42(Suppl. 2), xx–xx. https://doi.org/xx.xxxxxxxxxx
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Unpublished work	
Manuscript	Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (2008). *Title of manuscript*. Unpublished manuscript. Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (2012). *Title of manuscript*. Manuscript submitted for publication.
Forthcoming article	Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (in press). Title of article. *Title of Journal*. https://doi.org/xx.xxxxxxxxxx
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Reports	
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Patent	Cho, S. T. (2005). U.S. Patent No. 6,980,855. Washington, DC: U.S. Patent and Trademark Office.
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Act	*Mental Health Systems Act*, 41 U.S.C. § 9403 (1988).
Audio and visual media	Taupin, B. (1975). Someone saved my life tonight [Recorded by Elton John]. On Captain fantastic and the brown dirt cowboy [CD]. London: Big Pig Music Limited (publisher location is optional). Author, A. (Producer). (2009, December 2). *Title of podcast* [Audio podcast]. (*The website name*) https://www.w3.org Producer, P. P. (Producer), & Director, D. D. (Director). (Date of publication). *Title of motion picture* [Motion picture]. Country of origin: Studio or distributor. Smith, A. (Writer), & Miller, R. (Director). (1989). Title of episode [Television series episode]. In A. Green (Executive Producer), Series. New York, NY: WNET. Miller, R. (Producer). (1989). The mind [Television series]. New York, NY: WNET.
Database	Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, A. A. (2002). A study of enjoyment of peas. *Journal Title,* 8(3). Retrieved February 20, 2003, from the PsycARTICLES database.
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