

UNDERSTANDING THE IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICT ON SOCIAL CAPITAL AND NETWORKS IN SOUTH OSSETIA.

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A key to an individual's welfare rests in society and how it organizes itself. Correspondingly, the main intention of armed conflict is the dissolution of the cohesiveness of a social group under attack. Armed conflict in South Ossetia has undoubtedly become a collective trauma for all witnesses and matters of security have dominated the minds of the South Ossetian society over the last twenty years. Now that the focus has shifted to reconstruction, state-building and economic development, South Ossetia is faced with the challenge of rebuilding of its social structures and healing the effects of uncertainty brought upon by conflict.

With loss of lives, permanent injuries, population displacement, destroyed infrastructure, political instability, and ensuing insecurity comes the flight of human capital from a conflict-affected locale. Human capital has been described as "a central mechanism in economic growth and development processes."² Distinct from physical capital, defined as accumulated physical and financial wealth and typically emphasized by classical economics, assets in the forms of human capital and social capital "are now being seen as having as much, if not more, significance for economic growth."³ Social (and institutional) capital is vested in relationships between individuals, whereas human capital includes education, experience, and natural talents.⁴

In a place of a relatively small size such as South Ossetia, dense patterns of social ties are formed within communities and act as sources of new knowledge and resources. Such social networks transmit information about opportunities and allow for mutually beneficial collaborations through conjunctures of events. During the conflicts over the last two decades these functional communities have been demolished, along with the social capital embedded in these networks. South Ossetia can be characterized by the presence of dense networks, which are generally prevalent in smaller groups, making it a perfect example for analysis of social networks and capital.

This article focuses on the impact of violent armed conflict on the contextual conditions of social networks in South Ossetia, with implications on economic performance. The article begins with an overview of social capital and network theory followed by application in the context of South Ossetia. Next, specifics of the post-war environment are reviewed. Finally, recommendations are provided for further research, followed by conclusions.

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² Galor, Oded, and David N. Weil. 2000. "Population, Technology, and Growth: From Malthusian Stagnation to the Demographic Transition and Beyond." *American Economic Review* 90(4): 806-828. DOI: 10.1257/aer.90.4.806.

³ Karl Marx defined capital "as the inputs which share in the residual profit."

⁴ Piazza-Georgi, Barbara. 2002. "The role of human and social capital in growth: extending our understanding." *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 26 (4): 461-479. DOI: 10.1093/cje/26.4.461

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL AND NETWORKS REVIEWED

An export from sociological theory, the concept of social capital, in the form of mobilized social ties, represents a relational resource of individual actors fundamental to the establishment of social cohesion and economic stability. The social capital hypothesis holds that those with better social capital are better able to realize their goals through networks of exchange.⁵ In the sphere of socio-economics, the aspect of relationships on value co-creation is achieved through coordinated action allowed by social networks.

The concept of social capital went from being “an individual asset to a feature of communities and even nations.”⁶ Collective social capital rests within the structures of communities and is shaped through exchange of social support among households. The collective good aspect of social capital on a wider community can be seen through relations between two individuals having external effects on other persons and by creating trust. Social structures also, in turn, shape actions of individuals.

Social network analysis is an approach related to, but distinct from, social capital. Social network analysis assumes the interdependence of social actors, allowing for the examination of the structures of relationships between them. Taking into account the context within which individuals shape one another’s actions, social network analysis studies patterns of relations, with outcomes caused by unique constraints, opportunities and perceptions.

Social networks are constructed through social interactions and meeting of obligations of reciprocity, leading to development of norms and their subsequent institutionalization of group relations. Such group norms and culture also have the ability to “shape skill and productivity.”⁷ These group relations, with their structure and dynamics influenced by the interaction of their elements, serve as usable as reliable sources of benefits. In shaping economic as well as collective action,⁸ social ties build a collective capacity, or social capital at a collective level.

Due to their dynamic nature, social networks create opportunities and allow for productive integration through the establishment of contacts with counterparts. By connecting expertise and desires, networks use social ties to act as sources of new knowledge and resources in today’s postindustrial society where ideas serve as capital and offering analytic advance. Moreover, markets develop through “their origination phase of social networks,”⁹ which make access to economic resources through social resources possible.¹⁰

⁵ Flap, Henk and Beate Völker. *Creation and Returns of Social Capital*, Routledge, Aug 2, 2004.

⁶ Eric L. Lesser, *Knowledge and Social Capital: Foundations and Applications*, doi:10.1016/B978-0-7506-7222-1.50001-5.

⁷ Mark Granovetter, “The Impact of Social Structure on Economic Outcomes,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19, no. 1 (2005): 33–50, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4134991>.

⁸ Brian Uzzi, “Social Structure and Competition in Interfirm Networks: The Paradox of Embeddedness,” *Administrative Science Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (1997): 35-67.

⁹ Jason Potts, Stuart Cunningham, John Hartley, and Paul Ormerod, “Social network markets: a new definition of the creative industries,” *Journal of Cultural Economics* 32, no. 3 (2008): 167-185.

¹⁰ Alejandro Portes, “Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 1-24, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/223472>

Flow and quality of information determine the impact of social structures on economic outcomes.¹¹ Through larger and more efficient information dissemination, social networks serve as sources of innovation and its diffusion. Social networks are also at the heart of the networked information economy, bypassing the limitations of the market-based production places and organized in a decentralized pattern in today's considerably more complex and service-oriented economic systems.

Although "much of social life revolves around a non-economic focus," the mixing of society and economics is what produces the effect of social embeddedness of the economy.¹² Embedded in individual and organizational networks, social capital is measured by the available resource links and an actor's control over those links.¹³ The productivity of social capital at a collective level can be considered in terms of reduced production, transaction, and monitoring costs.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN THE SOUTH OSSETIAN CONTEXT: IMPLICATIONS FOR NORMS, GOVERNANCE, AND THE ECONOMY.

Social relations in South Ossetia

Large shocks such as armed conflicts tend to produce profound restructuring of existing social norms and distributional arrangements.¹⁴ South Ossetia's ubiquitous collectivistic worldview permeates all spheres of life, solidifying relationships both within and outside of households. A close look at the social structure in South Ossetia points to the existence of a tightly-woven community. Cooperation, based on considerations of sharing a common future and past experiences, influences all spheres of community activities.

One major benefit of denser networks is the greater ability to emphasize trust by molding individual behavior. Since norms play a large role in establishing a "moral community" with a threat of "collective punishment,"¹⁵ they tend to be easier to enforce within denser networks. Besides serving a source of family support, social capital created by tight community networks is also useful in rule enforcement and thus bears a social control function.¹⁶

The overall damage caused to the social fabric post-conflict encompasses the less tangible and measurable costs compared to the physical harm of war.¹⁷ The population data for South Ossetia indicate that there have been dramatic changes since 1991. In the fall of 2015 a census was undertaken in South Ossetia, with final results to be published in mid-2016. The preliminary results point to the permanent population of a little over 51 thousand people, with Tskhinval

¹¹ Granovetter, "The Impact of Social Structure on Economic Outcomes," 33.

¹² Granovetter, "The Impact of Social Structure on Economic Outcomes," 35.

¹³ Henk Flap and Beate Völker, eds., *Creation and Returns of Social Capital* (Routledge, 2004).

¹⁴ Patricia Justino, "The Impact of Armed Civil Conflict on Household Welfare and Policy Responses," Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Development Policy Analysis Division, (2008), http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/wess/wess_bg_papers/bp_wess2008_justino.pdf

¹⁵ James E. Rauch, "Business and Social Networks in International Trade," *Journal of Economic Literature* 39, no. 4 (2001): 1177-1203.

¹⁶ Eric L. Lesser, *Knowledge and Social Capital: Foundations and Applications* (Butterworth-Heinemann, 2000).

¹⁷ Deborah J. Warr, "Gender, class, and the art and craft of social capital," *The Sociological Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (2006): 497-520, DOI: 10.1111/j.1533-8525.2006.00056.x.

alone containing 30 thousand inhabitants.¹⁸ The previous census was conducted in 1989, at which point 98.5 thousand inhabitants were reported with 42.3 thousand living in Tskhinval.¹⁹

Impact of social coherence on state-building and institutions

Social capital plays a significant role in the overall governance environment and the efficacy of government institutions.²⁰ In turn, “effects of networks seem to be conditioned by institutions.”²¹ Thus, the mutually reinforcing relationship between society and its institutions cannot be underestimated.

Social capital enables people to solve collective action problems through the presence of well-performing political institutions, thereby promoting political efficacy, maintaining peace and contributing towards post-conflict recovery and local development. Correspondingly, “organizations, as institutional settings, are conducive to the development of high levels of social capital.”²² Therefore, it is not surprising that profound effects of conflicts on the distribution of social capital among individuals translate to the way communities relate internally and externally.

Traditions and focus on communal ties serve an important role in socio-political self-organization in Ossetia, as seen within older forms of communal order and those of the more recent past. An earlier example of a shock rearranging the socio-political self-organization of communities was seen following hostile incursions into territories inhabited by Ossetians taking place in the 13th and 14th century, which forced Ossetians to retreat into more mountainous areas.²³ At that time, an older method of governance actualized through a gathering called ‘nykhas’ returned, serving as a reversion from a feudal system of organization, and actualizing the communicative principles of the traditional political culture in Ossetia.²⁴

Organizing the daily life of the community, the ‘nykhas’ served as the coordinator of power relations within political-economic unions of settlement groups. Showing importance of public opinion in exercising authority, the ‘nykhas’ as a council held a democratic essence and socializing potential by modeling many aspects of meaningful conduct. Although the ‘nykhas’

¹⁸ Управление государственной статистики РЮО [Office of government statistics of the Republic of South Ossetia], “Охват переписи в Южной Осетии составил более 51 тыс. человек [Scope of the census in South Ossetia included more than 51 thousand people],” <http://ugosstat.ru/ohvat-perepisi-v-yuzhnoy-osetii-sostavil-bolee-51-tys-chelovek/> (translation by author).

¹⁹ Этнокавказ [Etnokavkaz], “Этносостав Южной Осетии в 1886-1989 [Ethnic make-up of South Ossetia in 1886-1989],” <http://www.ethno-kavkaz.narod.ru/rnsossetia.html> (translation by author).

²⁰ Jonathan Isham, Thomas Kelly, and Sunder Ramaswamy, *Social Capital and Economic Development: Well-being in Developing Countries* (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2002).

²¹ Flap and Völker, *Creation and Returns of Social Capital*, 3.

²² Janine Nahapiet and Sumantra Ghoshal, “Social Capital, Intellectual Capital, and the Organizational Advantage,” *The Academy of Management Review* 23, no. 2 (1998): 242-266.

²³ Naumov, et al. “South Ossetia in the Conditions of Structural Changes: Societal Processes and Conflict Potential,” (Saratov: Povolzhskaya Academy of Public Service P. A. Stolypyn. 2010. P. 28.

²⁴ Хадикова А. Х., Дауева Т. Т., “Коммуникативный аспект традиционной политической культуры осетин [The communicative aspect of traditional Ossetian political culture],” *Современные проблемы науки и образования [Modern Problems of Science and Education]*, no 6 (2013), <http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/kommunikativnyy-aspekt-traditsionnoy-politicheskoy-kultury-osetin> (translation by author).

lost its initial importance in the public sphere of Ossetian societies towards the end of the 19th century²⁵ it remains an important example for the analysis of the communicative aspect of the political culture of the Ossetians.

The ‘nykhas’ as a form of societal self-organization was prevalent during periods of isolation of the Ossetian societies. Similarly, the conditions of economic and political isolation of South Ossetia prior to 2008 precipitated a return to a process of social networks formation based on blood-relative relations. As a result of this transformation, and a reduction in social and political capital, the main structures of political system began to exhibit a de-facto communal character and the political behavior, to a large extent, became determined by the factor of communal belonging.

With the partial recognition of statehood post-2008, the nature of internal and external decision-making in South Ossetia, particularly in connection with the distribution of the externally received resources, became the source of skepticism towards the effectiveness of the existing state structures and political governance. Moreover, the question of how the new government should be built following the decades of conflict is a sensitive issue when it comes to the perceptions by the outside world, for which an interest in portraying the process of state-building in South Ossetia as unsuccessful and statehood as unrealized may exist.

The conflicts in South Ossetia have undoubtedly lowered the state’s ability to solve problems and hampered its functioning. The results of the lowered administrative potential were mirrored by the low-rating of the politicians from the previous administration, largely due to embezzlement of reconstruction assistance,²⁶ which were captured by a survey conducted in 2011 on the eve of the presidential election campaign.²⁷ These sentiments, reflecting the dissatisfaction of the South Ossetian residents with the work of the post-war administration, echoed dissatisfaction with economic and other dimensions of welfare.

The survey, intended to obtain public opinion on the socio-economic and political situation in South Ossetia, made a connection between existing socio-economic problems and the mass population exodus. Experts who participated in the survey²⁸ alluded to the ineffective work of state structures in South Ossetia and assessed the economic development of South Ossetia as low

²⁵ Хадикова А. Х., Дауева Т. Т., "Коммуникативный аспект традиционной политической культуры осетин," 3.

²⁶ Б.К. Харебов и К.Г. Дзугаев [B.K. Harebov and K.G. Dzugaev], "Республика Южная Осетия после признания: Проблемы и перспективы [Republic of South Ossetia after recognition: Problems and perspectives]," Южная Осетия в условиях структурных преобразований, *Южная Осетия в условиях структурных преобразований: Общественные процессы и конфликтотенный потенциал [South Ossetia during structural transformations: Societal processes and conflict potential]*, Поволжская академия государственной службы, Саратов, 2010.

²⁷ The survey was undertaken by the Center for Social and Market Research ‘SOCIUM’ in cooperation with the North Ossetian Center for Social Research of the Institute for Socio-political Research.

²⁸ 661 respondents and 10 experts took part in the survey. The expert group consisted of leading economists, political scientists, historians, representatives of the administrative apparatus, journalists, education sector representatives, entrepreneurs and other residents of South and North Ossetia. The survey took place in Tskhinval and all four rural districts of South Ossetia.

due to the current demographic situation.²⁹ The main problems reported included unemployment, poverty, quality of medical services, corruption and lack of opportunity for the young.³⁰

While conflict negatively affects the institutional ability to shepherd the economy, provide basic social services, and maintain socio-economic stability,³¹ further compounding the problems in South Ossetia is the lack of a strong civil society. Social capital in the political sphere is highly associated with civil society, as it produces a dense civil society, balancing the power of the state and reducing the reliance of the populace on the state.³² Although a stronger civic society presence could help increase transparency and mitigate some of the effects of the conflict, the line between the state apparatus and civic society is rather blurred.³³ Development of independent civil society groups would bring a higher degree of attention to socio-economic issues and promoting cooperation between individuals.

Economic development trends in South Ossetia post-conflict

Destruction entailed by warfare, combined with the erosion of institutions, typically leads to a deterioration of the economic environment. The economic disruption and isolation as a result of violent armed conflict and tension over the last twenty years has produced severe negative long-term social and developmental consequences in South Ossetia.

Economic institutions evolved as social constructions and economic activity is coordinated by groups of people rather than isolated individuals,³⁴ further emphasizing the embeddedness of economic activities in social structures. Transactions take place through loose collections of individuals who maintain ties, thereby facilitating embeddedness.

Since economic action is embedded in social structure, with the decimation of the population goes the undermining of the basis of the economy and crumbling of statehood. Conflicts also change social relations in ways that affect also the non-asset, but economically relevant quality of life and welfare. The events of the last twenty years reversed the economic and social development achieved prior to the start of the conflict in 1989.

The last decades of the Soviet period saw an improvement in the economic and social development of South Ossetia within the framework of a program providing funds to nationalities inhabiting the peripheral regions of the Soviet Union. This program countered the

²⁹ Дзутцев Хасан Владимирович, Геворкян Артем Самвелович [Hasan Dzutsev and Artem Gevorkian], "Общественное мнение о социально-экономической и политической ситуации в Республике Южная Осетия накануне предвыборной кампании президента [Public opinion on socio-economic and political situation in the Republic of South Ossetia]," *International Journal of Russian Studies*, no. 2 (2011): 134-162, http://www.ijors.net/issue2_2_2013/pdf/___www.ijors.net_issue2_2_2013_article_1_dzutsev.pdf (translation by author).

³⁰ Дзутцев Хасан Владимирович и Геворкян Артем Самвелович, "Общественное мнение о социально-экономической и политической ситуации в Республике Южная Осетия накануне предвыборной кампании президента," 161.

³¹ Patricia Justino, "The Impact of Armed Civil Conflict on Household Welfare and Policy Responses," *IDS Working Papers* 01/2009; 2011(12). DOI: 10.2139/ssrn.1425043.

³² Francis Fukuyama, *Social Capital and Civil Society*, IMF working Paper No. 00/74, April 2000.

³³ International Crisis Group, "South Ossetia: The burden of recognition," *Europe Report* no. 205, June 2010.

³⁴ Mark Granovetter, "Economic Institutions as Social Constructions: A Framework for Analysis," *Acta Sociologica* 35, no. 1 (1992): 3-11.

minimal opportunities for self-sufficiency and development afforded by the central government of the Georgian SSR³⁵ and was responsible for an increase in the number of industrial and social infrastructure objects in South Ossetia.

It is also important to note that the adverse economic shock of the 1991 war in South Ossetia was compounded by the collapse of the Soviet Union, thereby presenting a separate developmental challenge. Armed conflicts during the period of transition from a planned economy significantly hampered the process of necessary economic and political reforms. Furthermore, many of the social problems during the transitional period were exacerbated by the destruction of infrastructure for data collection and the resultant absence of reliable information which would aid in such reforms.

The deterioration of the economic environment due to conflict contributes to a reduction in the desired levels of factors of production, as some mobile factors (such as physical and human capital) are more able to leave than others (such as land), giving rise to a gradual exodus of these more mobile factors.³⁶ The flight of human capital goes hand in hand with a reduction in economic interdependence both within the local economy and with outside trade partners. Similar to the period prior to the dissolution of the Soviet Union, South Ossetia's reliance on the Russian Federation still continues particularly when it comes to external trade.

Economic problems were found to be felt so acutely in South Ossetian households that 24 percent of residents surveyed in 2010 expressed a desire to move out of South Ossetia.³⁷ Of those, more than half are interested in immigrating to Russia in search of better economic opportunities.³⁸ Another 2010 survey of South Ossetians determined that almost all households surveyed have family members in Russia,³⁹ further solidifying the dependence on the Northern neighbor.⁴⁰

Besides the loss of valuable human capital resulting from casualties, migration, and displacement of people, the removal of private funds which could have been used for investment is another reality of post-conflict states.⁴¹ Confirming this trend is the fact that the public sector currently

³⁵ К.С. Мокин и Н.А. Барышная [K.S. Mokin and N.A. Baryshnaya], "Южная Осетия и Абхазия: Формирование государственности и становление идентичности [South Ossetia and Abkhazia: Formation of statehood and identity]," *Южная Осетия в условиях структурных преобразований: Общественные процессы и конфликтотенный потенциал [South Ossetia during structural transformations: Societal processes and conflict potential]*, Поволжская академия государственной службы, Саратов, 2010 (translation by author).

³⁶ Paul Collier, "On Economic Consequences of Civil War", *Oxford Economic Papers* 51, no. 1 (1999): 168-83.

³⁷ Vladimir Kolosov and John O'Loughlin "After the Wars in the South Caucasus State of Georgia: Economic Insecurities and Migration in the 'De Facto' States of Abkhazia and South Ossetia," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 52, no. 5 (2013): 631–654. DOI:10.2747/1539-7216.52.5.631.

³⁸ Vladimir Kolosov and John O'Loughlin "After the Wars in the South Caucasus State of Georgia: Economic Insecurities and Migration in the 'De Facto' States of Abkhazia and South Ossetia."

³⁹ Gerard Toal and John O'Loughlin, "Inside South Ossetia: Survey of Attitudes in a De Facto State," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 29, no. 2 (2011): 136-172.

⁴⁰ The survey included respondents from Tskhinval city, Tskhinval rayon, Znaursky rayon, Java rayon, and Leningor rayon, and was conducted by Professor Khasan Dzutsev of the Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences center in Vladikavkaz, North Ossetia.

⁴¹ Justino, "The Impact of Armed Civil Conflict on Household Welfare and Policy Responses," 15.

represents the largest employer and source of income in South Ossetia.⁴² With both the private and public sectors not leaving much in the way of options for the youth of South Ossetia, approximately half of those graduating secondary-level schools and wishing to continue their education leave for Russia.⁴³ This trend exacerbates the challenge of maintaining the minimal population count in South Ossetia for the necessary level of activity for economic self-sustainability.⁴⁴

RECOMMENDATIONS

Social capital and networks are areas suggested for empirical study in South Ossetia, particularly when it comes to tie formation and dissolution. Examining the impact of human and social capital loss in South Ossetia would require extensive collection and review of data. Taking into account the manner in which social capital is distributed among individuals as well as its creation and returns, such collection of network data could show social relations and examine different mechanisms through which social systems affect economic action. A thorough assessment of households across South Ossetia would also reveal a more complete picture of the social costs of conflict and its dimensions, and may offer insights into how best to further encourage the post-war recovery and mitigate the disruption of non-linear dynamics of economic activity.

The role of the state as the abstract mediator resolving a society's fate is the ultimate one in deciding the proper allocation of resources in a post-conflict situation. Despite given limitations, the current situation in South Ossetia presents a chance for carrying out bold reforms through comprehensive systematic changes, not the least of which is increasing the transparency of public institutions. Although the government of south Ossetia is facing a significant challenge of simultaneous reform and removal of the social consequences of war, creating factors that empower collective action, coupled with access to resources provided by the state, can serve to build new businesses. Government policies can also stimulate the growth of collective social capital and rebuild the structure and quality of societal relations.

Since social capital influences social mobility, with institutions of higher education making decisive contributions to structural dynamics of a society, the importance of improving the educational opportunities presented in South Ossetia cannot be underestimated. To stem the flow of the youth graduating from South Ossetia's secondary schools to Russian universities, the South Ossetian university complex can be engaged in such an effort. The youth of South Ossetia should be able to obtain specialized education and knowledge with an emphasis on new technologies and professions, in order to increase their chances on the labor market and to claim their rightful place as the main driving force in the restoration of the economic activity in South Ossetia.

The university complex' plan to adopt the Russian experience of forming networked structures to ensure the creation of a strategy for socio-economic growth of innovative potential science and

⁴² International Crisis Group, "South Ossetia: The burden of recognition," 5.

⁴³ International Crisis Group, "South Ossetia: The burden of recognition," 6.

⁴⁴ Коста Дзугаев [Kosta Dzugaev], "Национальная идея осетин: история и современность [National idea of Ossetians: History and modernity]" Информационно-аналитический ресурс "ИР" [Informational-analytical resource "IR"], <http://iarir.ru/node/70> (translation by author).

professional training could facilitate such processes.⁴⁵ Taking into account the regional specificity, new integrative relations between the South Ossetian State University and the other local educational and industrial organizations could be realized for economic development.

Tied with the need for the strengthening public institutions is the necessity in improving the business environment in order to stimulate economic development and offset the high level of unemployment that currently permeates South Ossetia, as the youth is also more likely to take risks and to start businesses. According to a recent survey, the youth of South Ossetia has been characterized as being aware of their potential and realistically assessing their abilities. The survey of 142 working and studying young people (ages 18-25) concluded that the youth holds an interest in their future and exhibits a presence of adequate goals for self-development.⁴⁶

CONCLUSION

As humans we represent diversely-motivated beings – striving for material gain as well as psychological well-being and social connectedness. External structures such as communities and organizations are necessary for individual development through their potential of fostering an ability “to act freely and effectively.”⁴⁷ Therefore, when there are major disruptions such as population loss and reorientation of the economy we can expect both the available resource links and the actors’ control over those links to diminish.

Conflict exposure undoubtedly affects human development and the multi-dimensional notion of quality of life. In South Ossetia the exposure to conflict lead not only to loss of lives and inhibited psycho-social well-being, but also the disruption to the non-linear dynamics of economic activity. Recommendations for how to address the societal cost of conflict that South Ossetians continue to bear must await the analysis of more complete data to determine the factors for the longer-term recovery strategy. However, there are clear recommendations that emerge from this study with regard to what further research would be useful.

⁴⁵ Джагаева Татьяна Ерастовна [Dzhagaeva Tatyana Erastovna], “Иновационные процессы в университетской деятельности республики Южная Осетия [Innovative Processes in the Performance of University of South Ossetia],” Вектор науки Тольяттинского государственного университета [Vector of science of the Tolyatti state university] no. 2 (2014): 73-75, <http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/innovatsionnye-protsessy-v-universitetskoy-deyatelnosti-respubliki-yuzhnaya-osetiya> (translation by author).

⁴⁶ Khabaeva L.M., Abaeva I.V., Krupnov D.Y., Psychological Analysis of Life-meaning Orientations of the youth of South Ossetia, *Современные проблемы науки и образования*, Выпуск № 5 / 2014.

<http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/psihologicheskij-analiz-smyslozhiznennyh-orientatsiy-molodezhi-yuzhnoy-osetii>

⁴⁷ Yochai Benkler, *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom* (Yale University Press, 2007), p. 20.