

# Anti-Capitalism and Culture in West and East European Countries

Seminar of LCSR, 11 of October 2012

# Anti-Capitalism Sentiments

- V126. Ownership on Business

10 points scale from More Private to More Government

# Results of T-Test for Ex-Communist and West European Countries

- 1 subsample – People from Ex-Communist Countries in Europe, N=31049

mean of anti\_cap = 0.50

- 2 subsample – People from West European countries, N=7 767

mean of anti\_cap = 0.38

t = -29, Sig. = 0

# Results of T-test for East and West Germany

- 1 subsample – People from West Germany (N=972)

mean anti\_cap=0.33

- 2 subsample – People from East Germany (N=955)

mean anti\_cap=0.46

t=-11,8, Sig.=0

# Key Question

- What is the source of anti- capitalist sentiments in Post-communist European countries and what determinates the level of anti-capitalist sentiments in these countries.

# Cultural Theory and Capitalism

- Conservative and radical tradition (Williams, Mulhern)

*Capitalism necessarily distorts, preys on or corrupts traditional ways of life or the self-organised activity of innovating groups.*

- Postmodernism tradition (Foucault )

*Capitalism is never lived as an abstraction, and yet it must be possible to identify its 'singularity' to be able to say anything about it at all.*

# What capitalism is?

- *Commodifacation* (Marx and Shumpeter)
- Detraditionalisation (Fernand Braudel, Manual Delanda)
- Dislocation, deterritorialisation (Deleuze, Guattari)
- Mass Culture and consumerism (Adorno, Gramsci).
- Commodifacation of knowledge (J.-F. Lyotard)

# What are the actual features of contemporary culture of which these critics are critical?

- The general process of detraditionalisation as generating a culture which is pluralistic and individualistic, in which the logic of commodification is extended across a wide range of social fields and in which the nineteenth- and twentieth- century institutions of social solidarity dissolve. (Bauman, Giddens, Beck, Lash)
- Separation, individualisation, alienation: in different terms these all describe aspects of a process which is endemic to unregulated, unopposed capitalism, and which has manifested itself in many different ways throughout the history of capitalist modernity. (Žižek)

# Cognitive Theory of Moral Sense

- The feeling that X is good are grounded on reasons that can be objectivized and formalized and social life is filled with axiological convictions that may seem to be unconscious because they perceived as evidents. (Raymond Boudon)

# Hypothesis

- The reason for anti-capitalism sentiments is sense of justice or sense of injustice. For someone justice is when incomes made more equal (egalitarian point of view), for someone justice is when better life depends on hard work (meritocratic point of view), someone justice is when better life depends on connections (patriarchal point of view). Capitalism is characterized by meritocratic ideology. But majority of people from post-communist countries have egalitarian or patriarchal sense of justice.

# DATA

## 30 European Countries, WVS 1995.

Ex-USSR countries	Ex-Yugoslavian countries	Other Post-communist countries	West Countries
Russia	Serbia	Bulgaria	Norway
Ukraine	Montenegro	Romania	Sweden
Belarus	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Czech Republic	Switzerland
Moldova	Croatia	Slovakia	West Germany
Estonia	Slovenia	Albania	Finland
Latvia	Macedonia	East Germany	Britain
Lithuania		Hungary	
Georgia		Poland	
Armenia			
Azerbaijan			

# Sense of Justice

- Egalitarian

1-Agree with statement “Income should be made more equal”

- Meritocratic

1- Agree with statement “In the long run, hard work usually brings the better life”

- Patriarchal

1-Agree with statement “Hard work doesn’t generally brings success – it’s more matter of connections

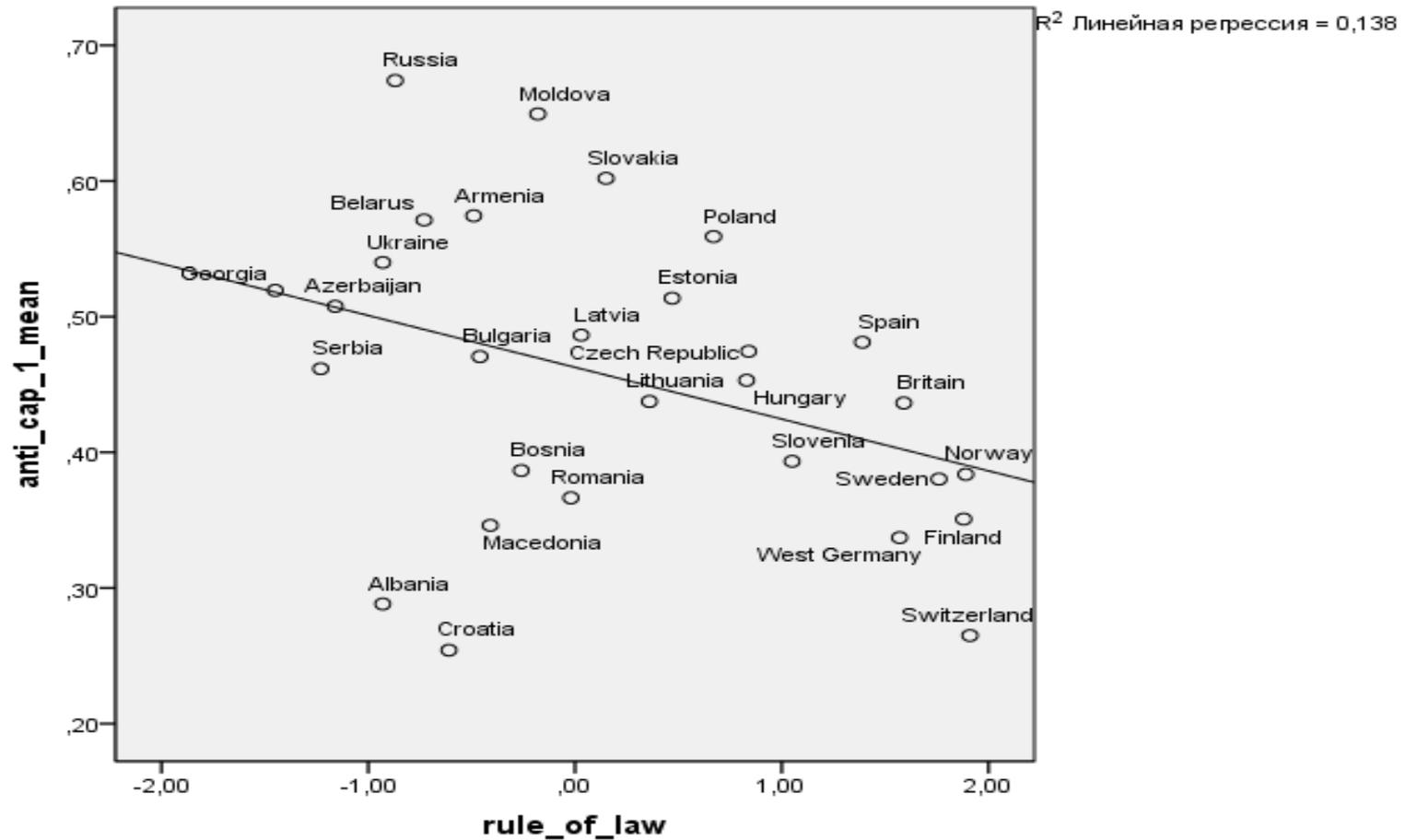
# Regression Analysis on Individual Level

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<b>Constant</b>	0.4*	0.398*	0.37*
<b>Age</b>	0.002*	0.002*	0.002*
<b>Female</b>	0.058*	0.06*	0.005*
<b>High education</b>	-0.044*	-0.047*	-0.027*
<b>Income</b>	-0.105*	-0.105*	-0.108*
<b>Proud of nation</b>		0.03	
<b>Willing to fight in war</b>		0.01	
<b>Egalitarian sense of justice</b>			-0.313*
<b>Meritocratic sense of justice</b>			-0.347*
<b>R2</b>	<b>0.042</b>	<b>0.043</b>	<b>0.21</b>
<b>N</b>	30748	29034	19093

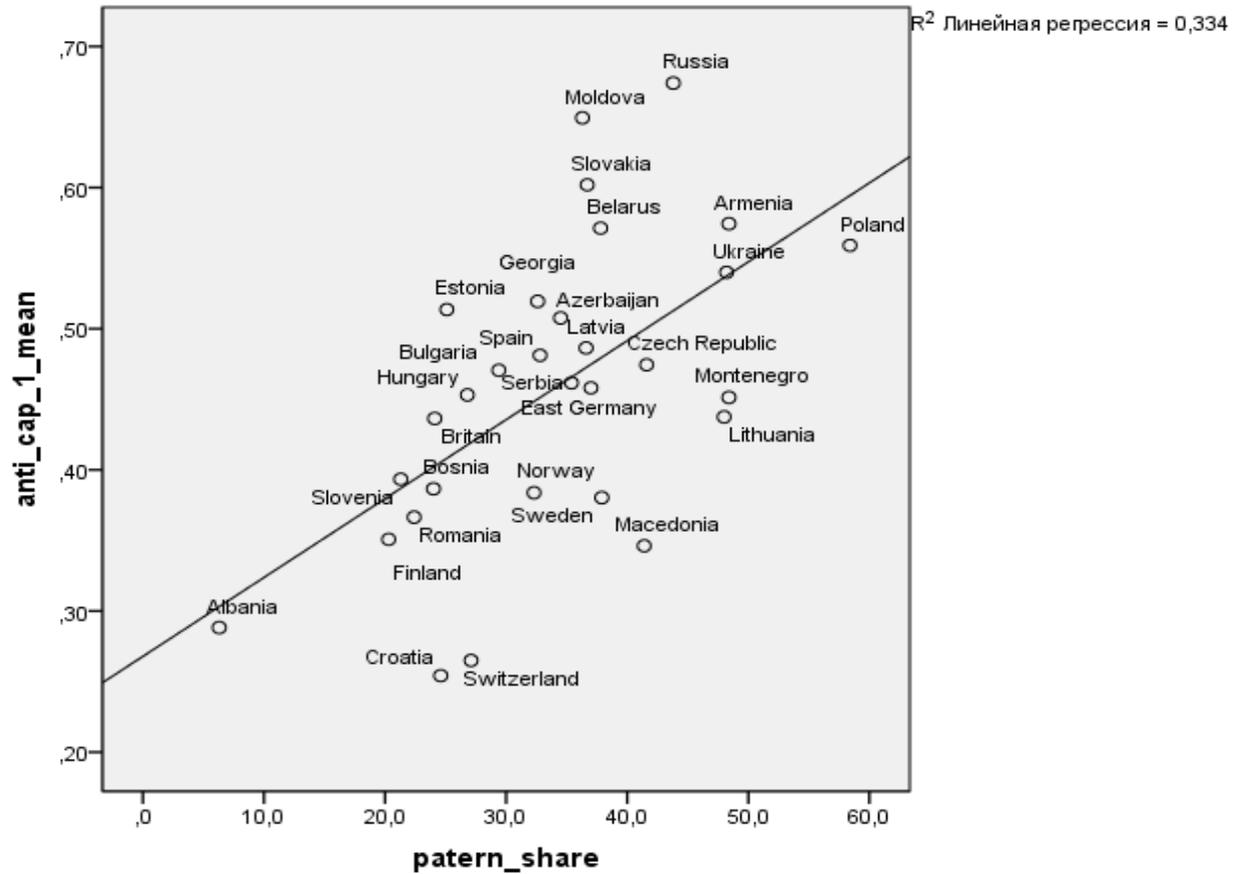
# Regression Analysis on Country Level

	<b>Model 1</b>	<b>Model 2</b>
<b>Constant</b>	0.463*	0.34*
<b>Rule of Law Index</b>	-0.038*	-0.036*
<b>% people who agree with hard work doesn't bring success – it's matter of connections</b>		0.04*
<b>R2</b>	0.138	0.347
<b>N</b>	28	28

# Anti-Capitalism Sentiments and Rule of Law Index



# Anti-Capitalism Sentiments and Justice



# Multilevel Model

Individual level:	Fixed Effect:
Age Female High education Income Egalitarian sense of Justice Meritocratic sense of Justice	Rule of Law
Country Level:	Random Effect:
Rule of Law	Age Female High education Income Egalitarian sense of Justice Meritoratic sense of Justice

# Multilevel Analysis

<b>Fixed Effects</b>	<b>Model 1</b>	<b>Model 2</b>	<b>Model 3</b>
Intercept	0.3*	0.7*	0.7*
Age	0.002*	0.002*	0.002*
Female	0.05*	0.03*	0.039*
High education	-0.07*	-0.04*	-0.005*
Income	-0.09*	-0.04*	-0.108*
Egalitarian Sense of justice	-0.25*	-0.2*	-0.25*
Meritocratic Sense of Justice	-0.309*	-0.3*	-0.311*
Age*Rule of Law Index		-0.001*	-0.008*
Female*Rule of Law Index		0.007	
High education*Rule of Law Index		0.002	
Income*Rule of Law Index		0.002*	0.03*
Egalitarian Sense of justice*Rule of Law Index		0.018*	0.02*
Meritocratic Sense of Justice*Rule of Law Index		0.014	
<b>Random Effects</b>	<b>Model 1</b>	<b>Model 2</b>	<b>Model 3</b>
intercept	0.2*	0.1*	0.1*
Age	0.02*		0.001*
Female			0.03*
High education			0.05*
Income			0.11*
Egalitarian Sense of justice	0.27*	0.26*	0.007*
Meritocratic Sense of Justice			0.057*
<b>Model Fit Statistics</b>	<b>Model 1</b>	<b>Model 2</b>	<b>Model 3</b>
Deviance	5947	5665	5350
Number of Parameters	2	2	29
AIC	5951	5669	5408