

www.polyp.org.uk

animated version- www.foei.org/livemore

The Capitalist Personality: Transformation to a Market Economy and Changing Social Values in China, Russia, and Eastern Germany.

Moscow

Leipzig

Chris Swader

Assistant Professor of Sociology

Senior Research Fellow, LCSR

cswader@hse.ru

Shanghai

**National Research University
Higher School of Economics**



NATIONAL RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY

Contents

- Research questions
- Definitions
- Theory and Intent
- Research design
- 3- country Findings
- OECD findings

Leipzig

Moscow

Shanghai



Research Question

How has the transformation to capitalist economic culture affected the valuation of face-to-face sociality?

Leipzig

Moscow

Shanghai



Definition: Capitalism

Free-market economy: A system where economic exchanges are governed by the principles of supply and demand, rather than being controlled by the state.

Private property allows for personal accumulation and interpersonal exchange.

Profit orientations allow for the accumulation of capital.

- Focus on consumption and work (everyday life) .



Definition: Values

values: general beliefs used to prioritize behavior.
The meeting point between cognition and behavior.

Moscow

social values: those values that emphasize “**the other**,” social relationships, and **face to face communication** between individuals. (Intimate, not abstract relations)

Shanghai

individualist values: those values that emphasize non-social spheres, such as the self, most highly.

- Activity and latency



Theoretical Strands

- Informal social control
- Classical sociological tension
- Cognitive Dissonance
- Transitology and Values
- Critical Theory

Moscow

Beijing

Shanghai



Research Design

- Post-communist societies
- Most-different case design: China, Russia, E. Germany
- Qualitative: highlight processes, tensions
 - Interview teams: native-speaking interviewers, translators, training
 - Interviews with most-affected (businessmen) vs. less-affected (fathers) (2005-6; n=32, 300+ pages of transcripts)
 - Values now, 15 years ago (retrospective), change causes, value conflicts, time diaries
- Quantitative: descriptive, secondary analysis of the World Values Survey. 4 waves (2000, 1995, 1990, 2005).
- Mixed methods: primarily qualitative. Quant. cross-checking with qualitative results across a broader sample, but *not* “testing”. Side by side comparison



Findings

**... increasing latency of social values,
moral flexibilization; enhancement of work,
consumerism, individualism**

**... enacted through the mechanisms of
conscious adaptation, ideological conflict,
cognitive dissonance resolution,
intergenerational changeover**



Independence

Important child qualities: independence

1.0
0.8
0.6
0.4
0.2
0

1901-1920
1921-1925
1926-1930
1931-1935
1936-1940
1941-1945
1946-1950
1951-1955
1956-1960
1961-1965
1966-1970
1971-1975
1976-1980
1981-1985
1986-1990

Birth cohort

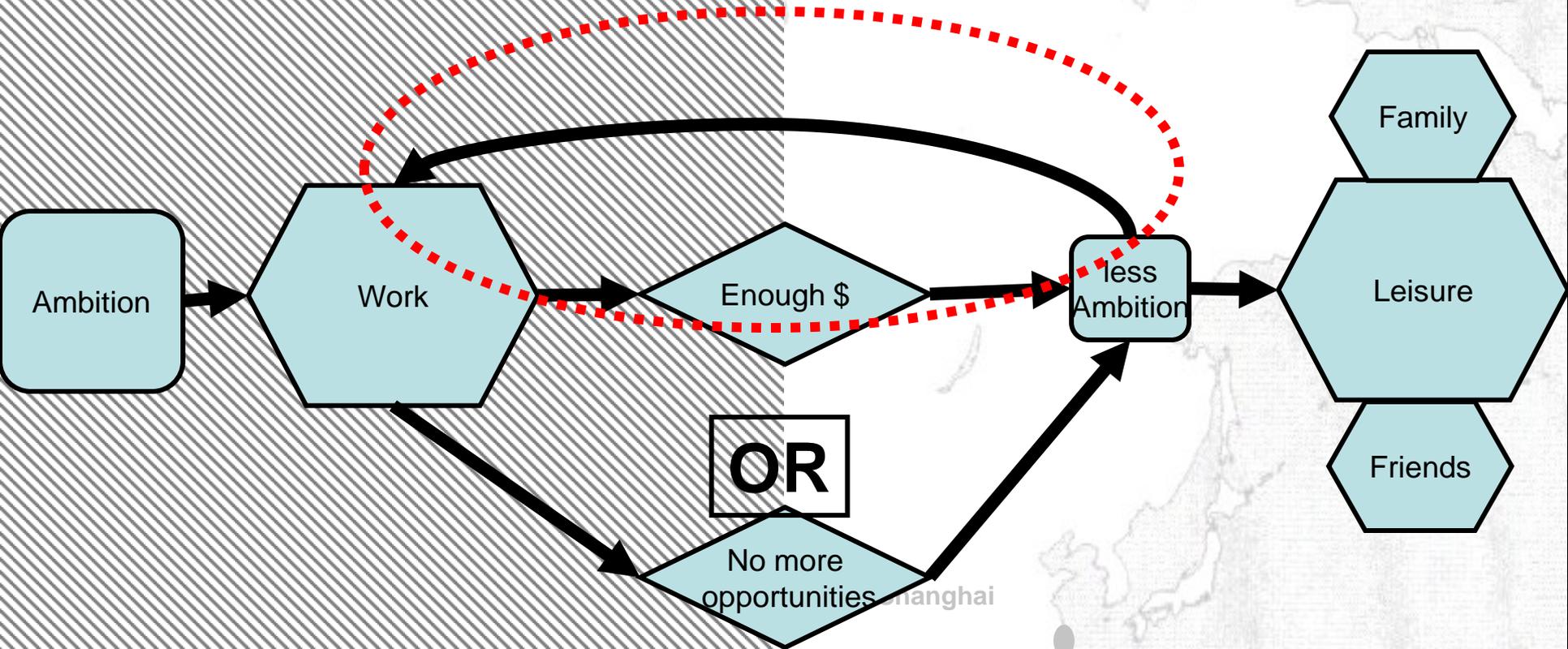
Country
— "China"
- - - "Russian Federation"
■ "Germany East"



Typical Work to Family Values Transition of Younger Cohort

Phase 1: Work

Phase 2: Family



„Work as personal achievement“

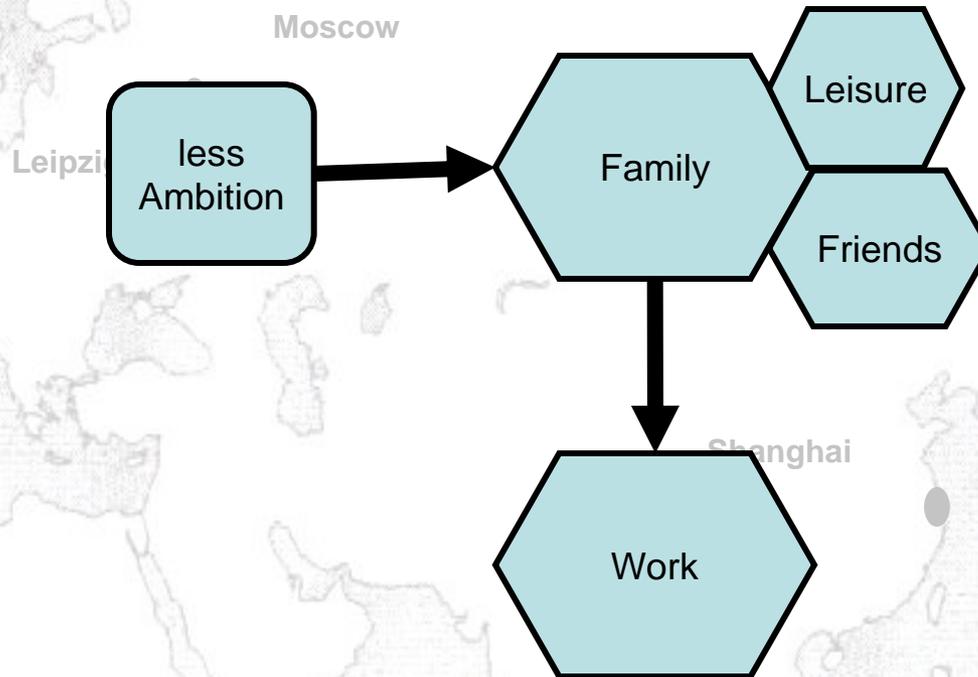
“Work for money“

„career“



Typical Work/Family Values Constellation of Older Cohort

Family-Work Harmony



„Work as duty“

Important child qualities: thrift, saving money and things

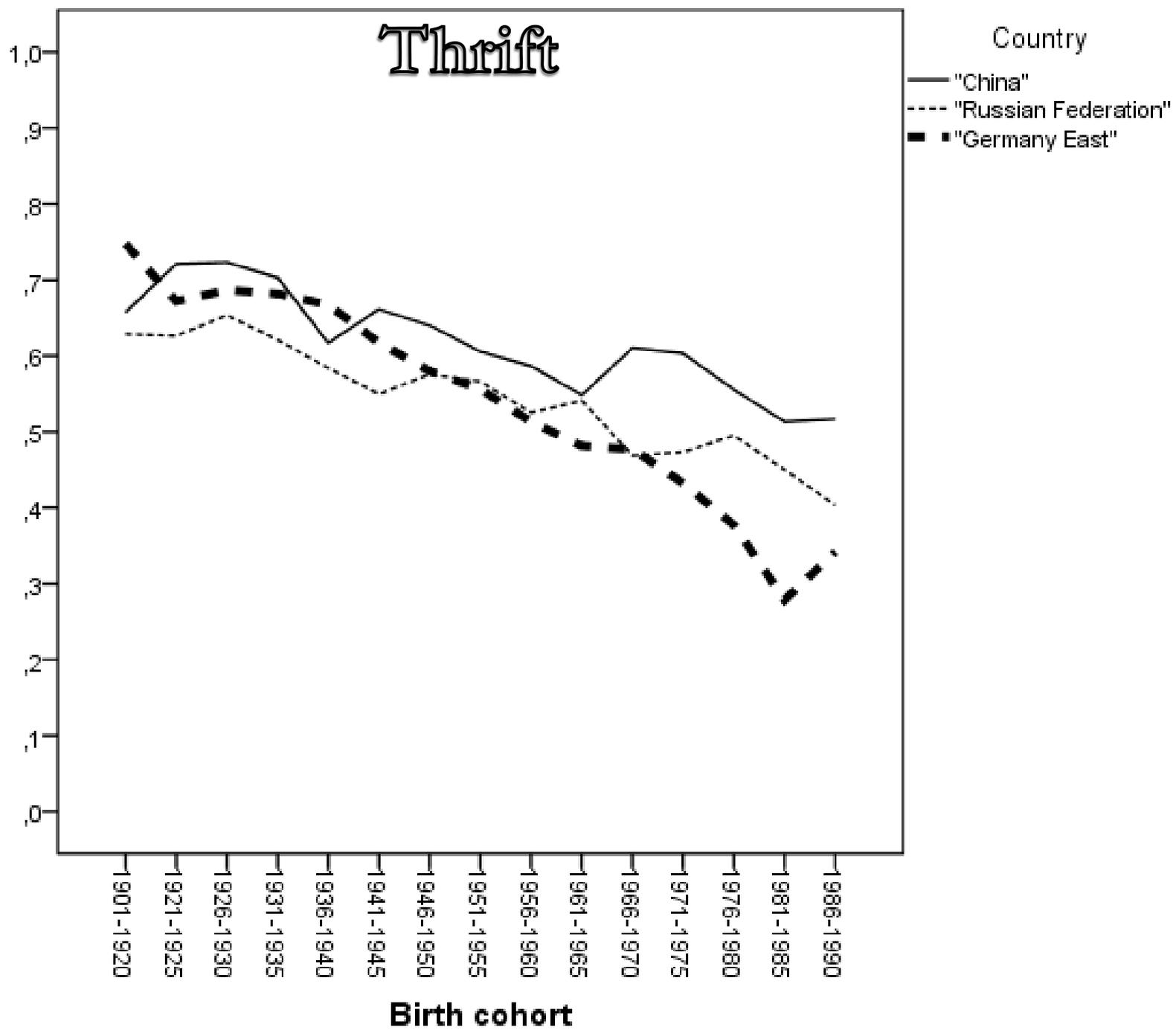


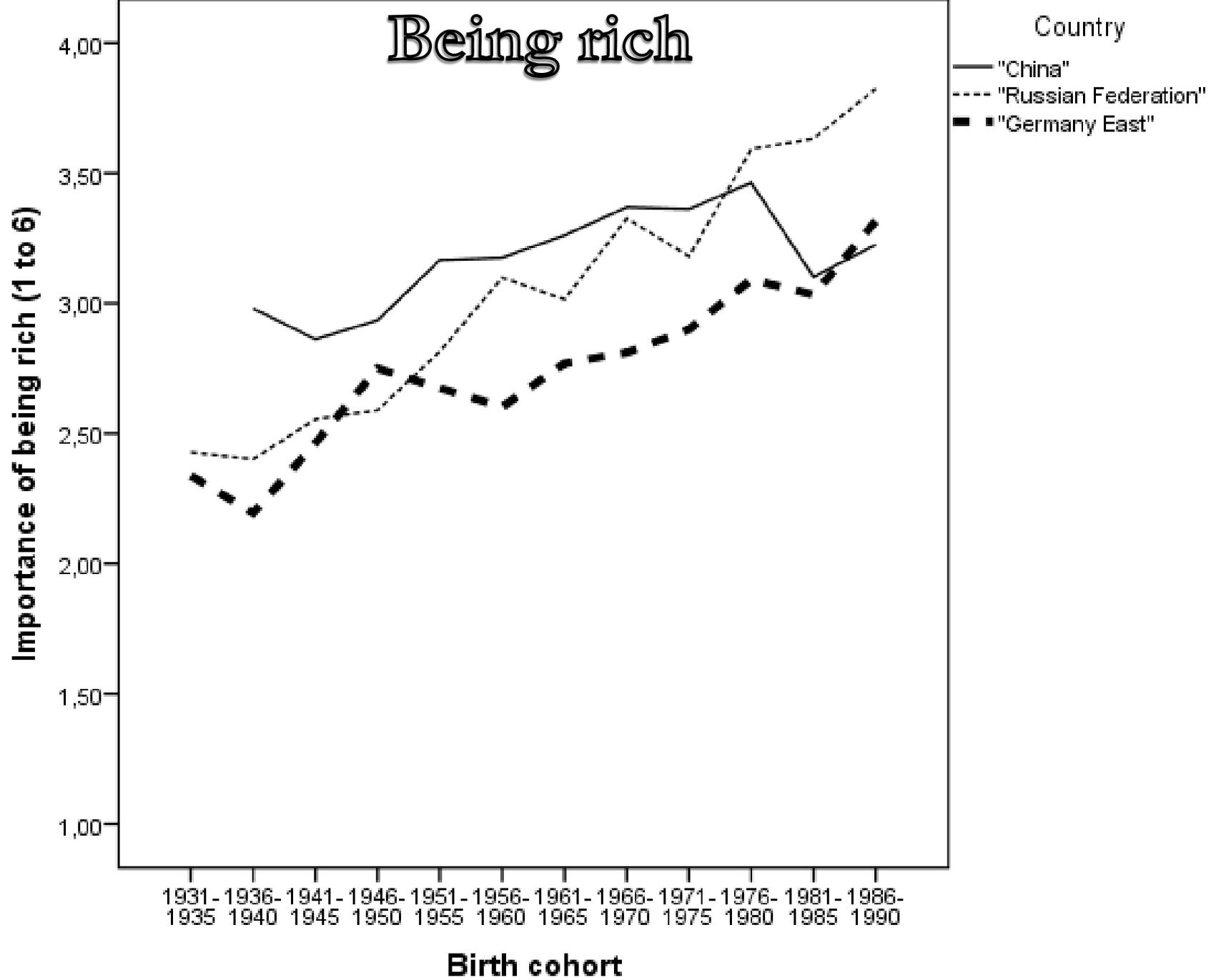
Image Cultivation

I accept [consumption] for my image...a simple example: cars. Where a person is also judged from the outside... ‘Is the business alright when he is driving such an old wreck?’ (L9)

Shanghai



Being rich



Money and Success

Money means only a number for me now and the process to make money is the process to manifest success. The number is indicative of the correctness of one's decisions...^{M13} The winner is the king and the loser is the servant. (S13)

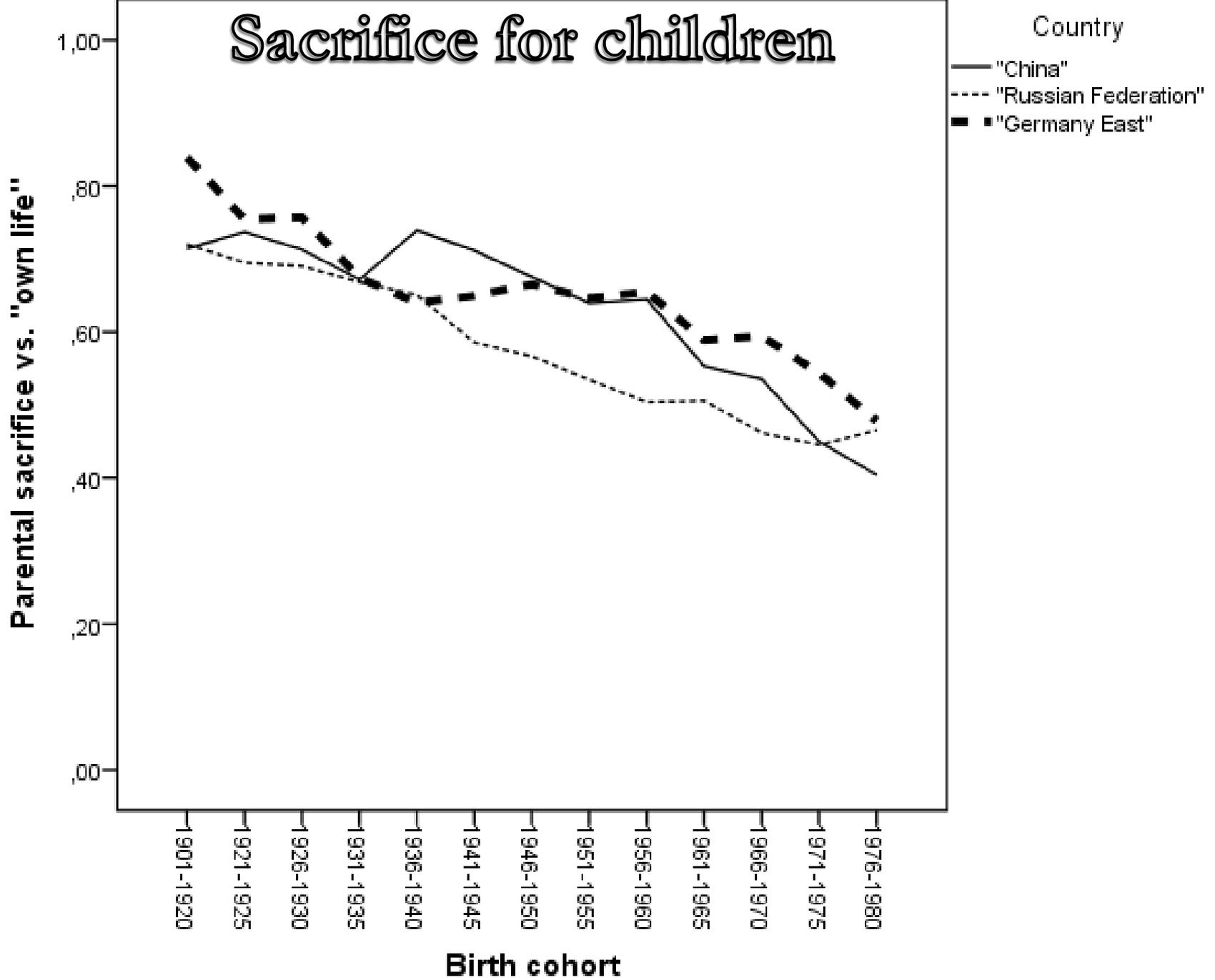
Leipzig

In my opinion, a businessperson who does not think about money and material success cannot engage in business. (M11)

Shanghai



Sacrifice for children



Weakened Transmission of Norms to Youth

(S5)

Q: Now your daughter is nearly three years old and she will attend preschool soon.

A: It's too early to talk about such things. She is not old enough to go to preschool.

Q: Two or three years later?

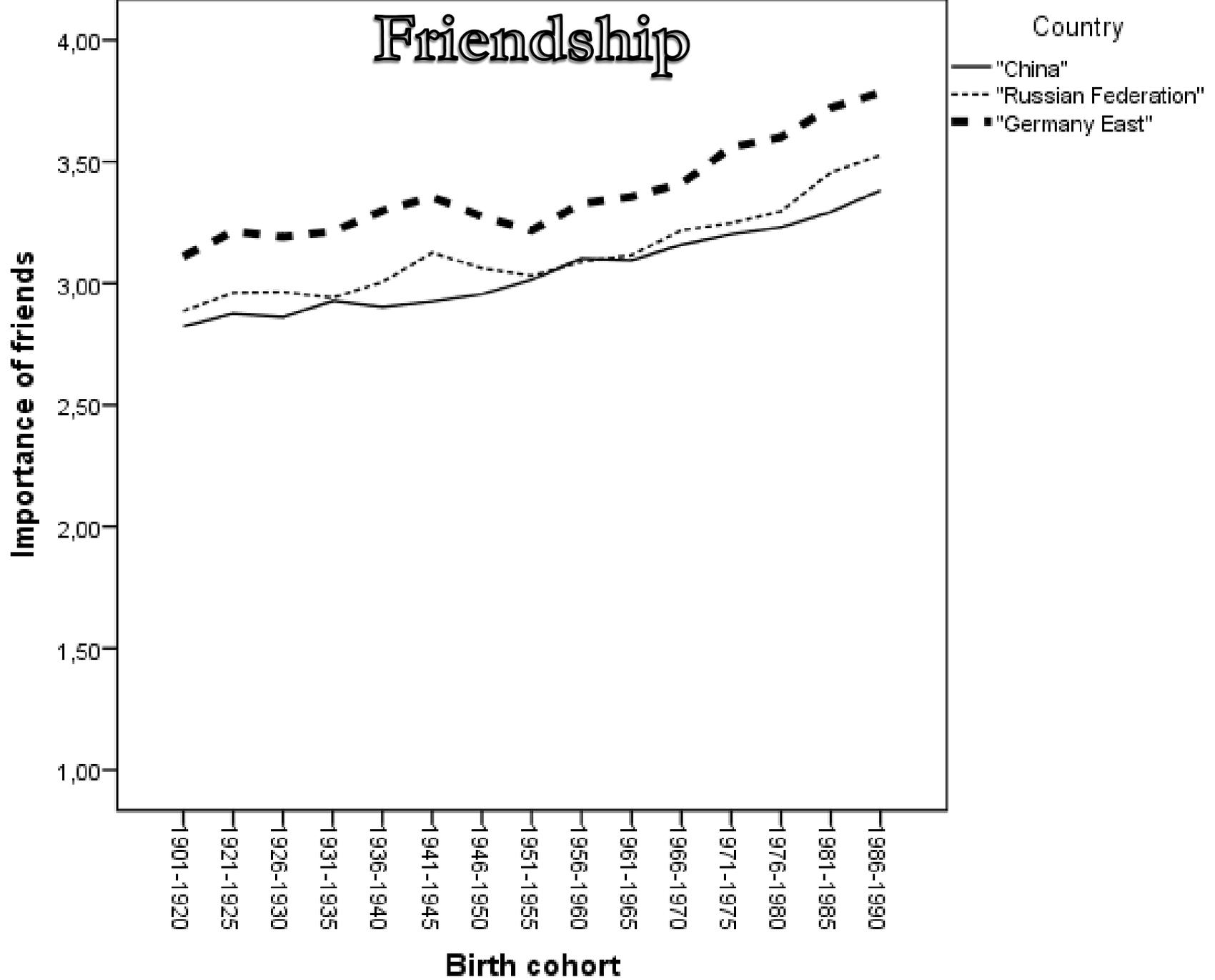
A: Yes, three years later.

Q: What values and principles do you require in her?

A: I haven't thought of such a question. You are requiring me to think of the problems of 15 years later. (He laughs.)



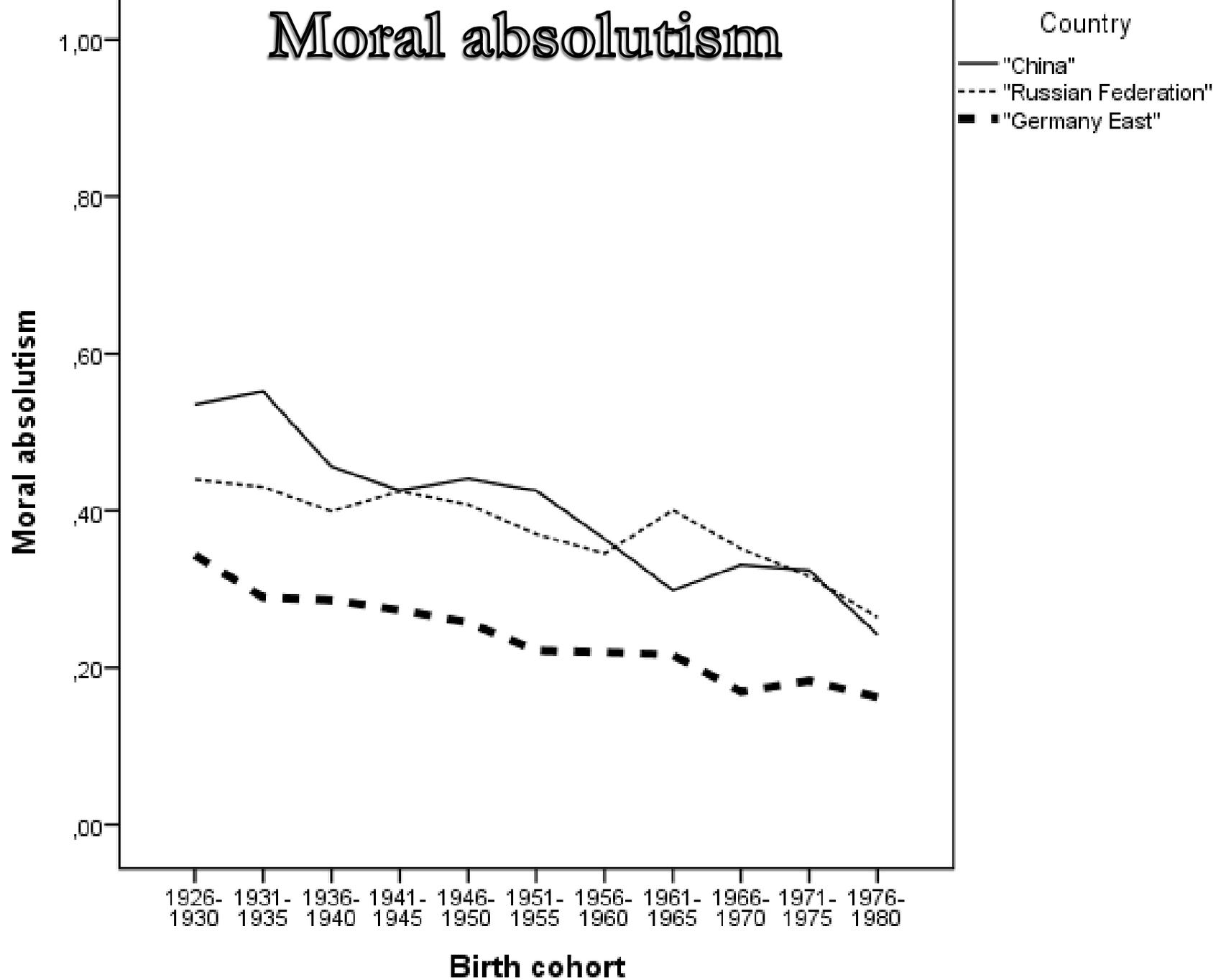
Friendship



Instrumentalized Friendship

I just recall myself in the 80s. The opinion of classmates was important for me then. But I didn't care about it after 91, as everything had collapsed. A kind of mind individualization had happened. I realized that I do not need to count on anybody; I can count just on myself, maybe partly on my parents and a couple of friends. All the rest was not important.(M9)

Moral absolutism



De-moralization

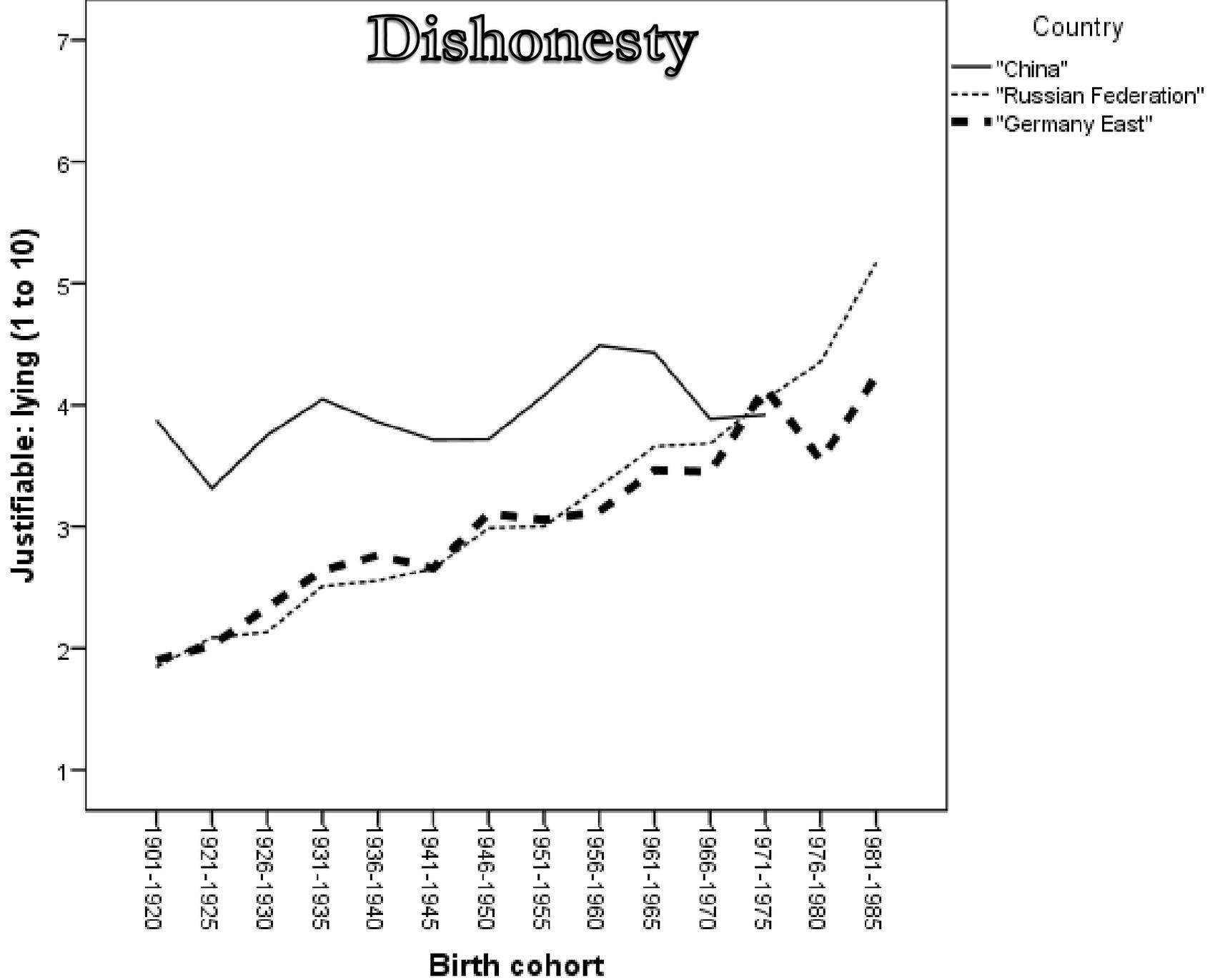
...But today in the FRG everyone is responsible for his own actions. Now it is more important to assert oneself. Well, whereas at the time I would have criticised my son because of egoistic behaviour, I now say: "You have to learn to cope with it." In this society, a sheep can't do anything against wolves: he must be a wolf himself.

Eastern German man Interviewed by H. Uhlendorff (2003:216)

As you see, I have adapted, so.... I accepted the new rules. In my case, all the communist ideals I cherished collapsed. (M11)



Dishonesty



Moral Flexibility

Well, for instance, 15 years ago as goes for honesty I would have been honest by all means. That is something that I would tell my kids to be careful with because that is very dangerous. That is a social factor, that's how it is, and with honesty by all means you risk your neck. And insofar today honesty requires a lot more sensitivity than I, maybe that 15 years ago like that as well and I didn't recognize it but back then I was considerably more relentless as regards this value. (L5)



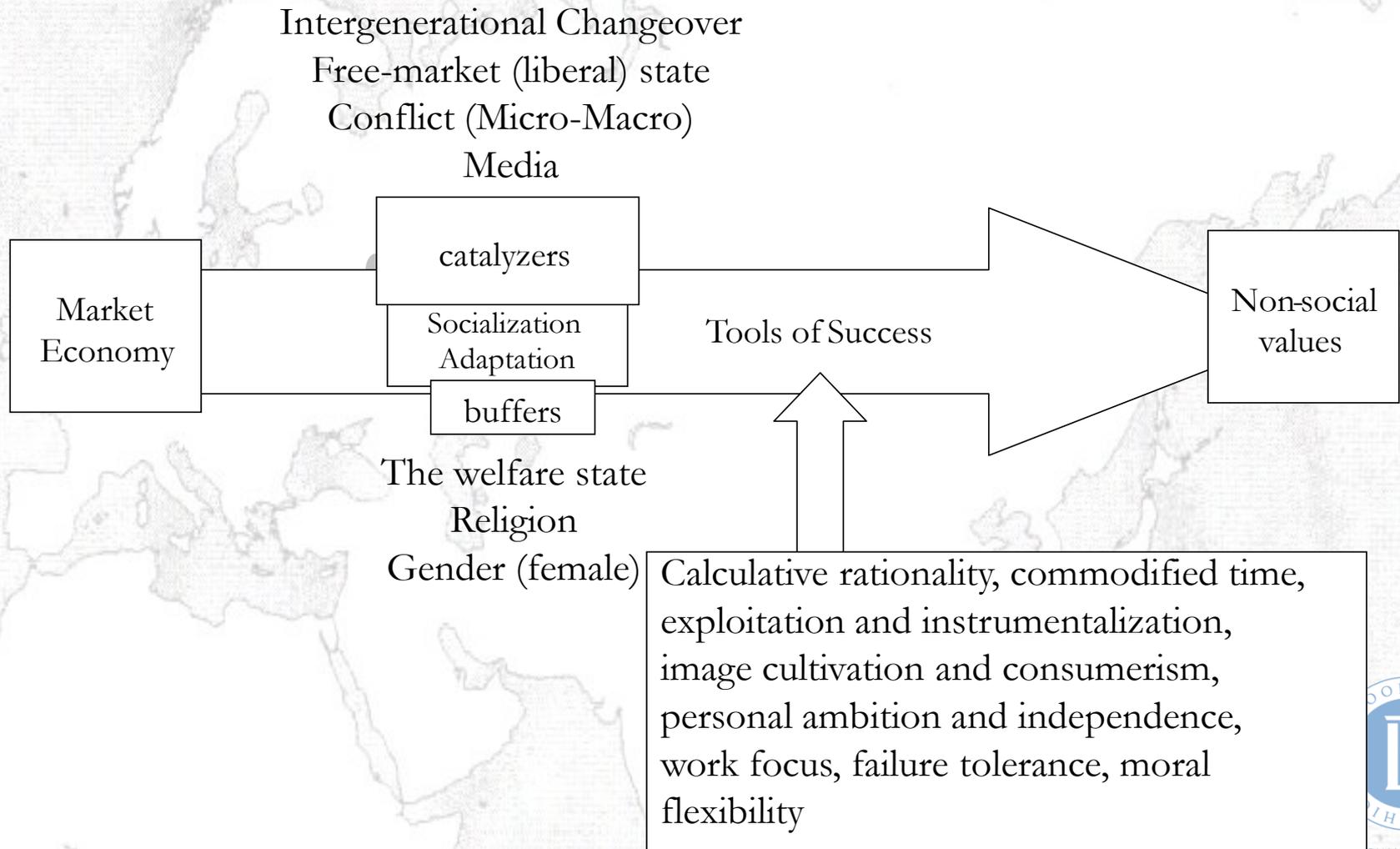
Cognitive Dissonance

I am comprised of two different persons. One of them is a family type. When I go back to [the city where my wife and children live], I am a family devoted person: I clean my little children's behinds, I kiss my children, I take them horseback riding and to play tennis. These things bring me enormous pleasure. The other person is the Moscow one. This means lechery, the night clubs, et cetera.

(M5)



Findings: Mechanisms of Value Change



What about the rest of the world?

Leipzig

Shanghai



Table A9.2 OECD, Post-communist, and Developing Societies included in Chapter 9 Analysis

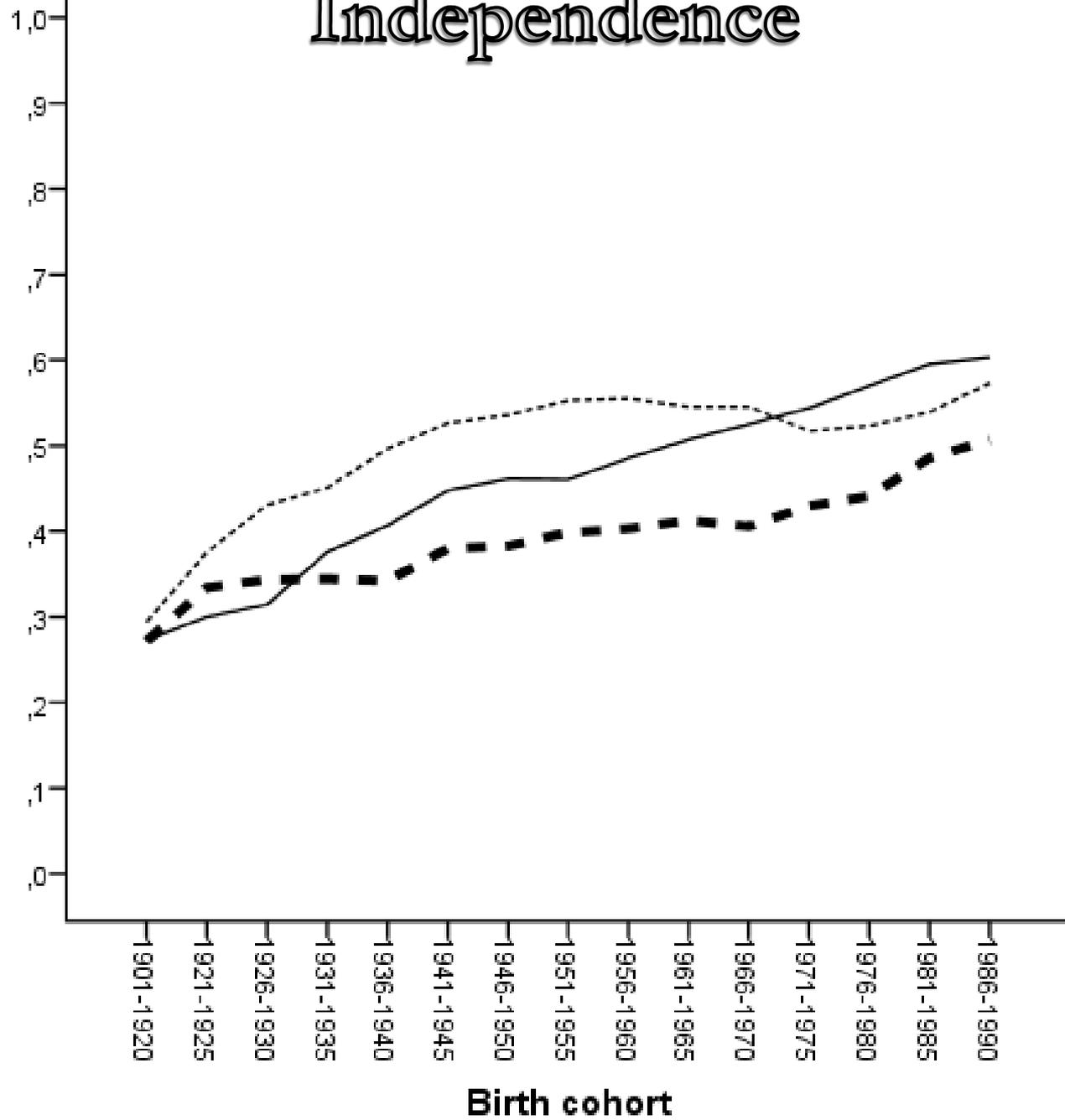
Post-communist	OECD	Developing
"Albania"	"Australia"	"Algeria"
"Azerbaijan"	"Canada"	"Argentina"
"Armenia"	"Chile"	"Bangladesh"
"Bulgaria"	"Finland"	"Brazil"
"Belarus"	"France"	"Colombia"
"China"	"Israel"	"Cyprus"
"Croatia"	"Italy"	"Dominican Republic"
"Czech Republic"	"Japan"	"El Salvador"
"Estonia"	"South Korea"	"Ethiopia"
"Georgia"	"Mexico"	"Ghana"
"Hungary"	"Netherlands"	"Guatemala"
"Kyrgyzstan"	"New Zealand"	"India"
"Latvia"	"Norway"	"Indonesia"
"Lithuania"	"Spain"	"Iran"
"Moldova"	"Sweden"	"Iraq"
"Poland"	"Switzerland"	"Jordan"
"Romania"	"Turkey"	"Malaysia"
"Russian Federation"	"Great Britain"	"Mali"
"Slovakia"	"United States"	"Morocco"
"Viet Nam"	"Germany West"	"Nigeria"
"Slovenia"		"Pakistan"
"Ukraine"		"Peru"
"Macedonia"		"Philippines"
"Germany East"		"Puerto Rico"
"Serbia"		"Rwanda"
"Montenegro"		"Saudi Arabia"
"SrpSka - Serbian Republic of Bosnia"		"South Africa"
"Bosnia Federation"		"Zimbabwe"
		"Thailand"
		"Trinidad and Tobago"
		"Uganda"
		"Egypt"
		"Tanzania"
		"Burkina Faso"
		"Uruguay"
		"Venezuela"
		"Zambia"

Leipzig



Independence

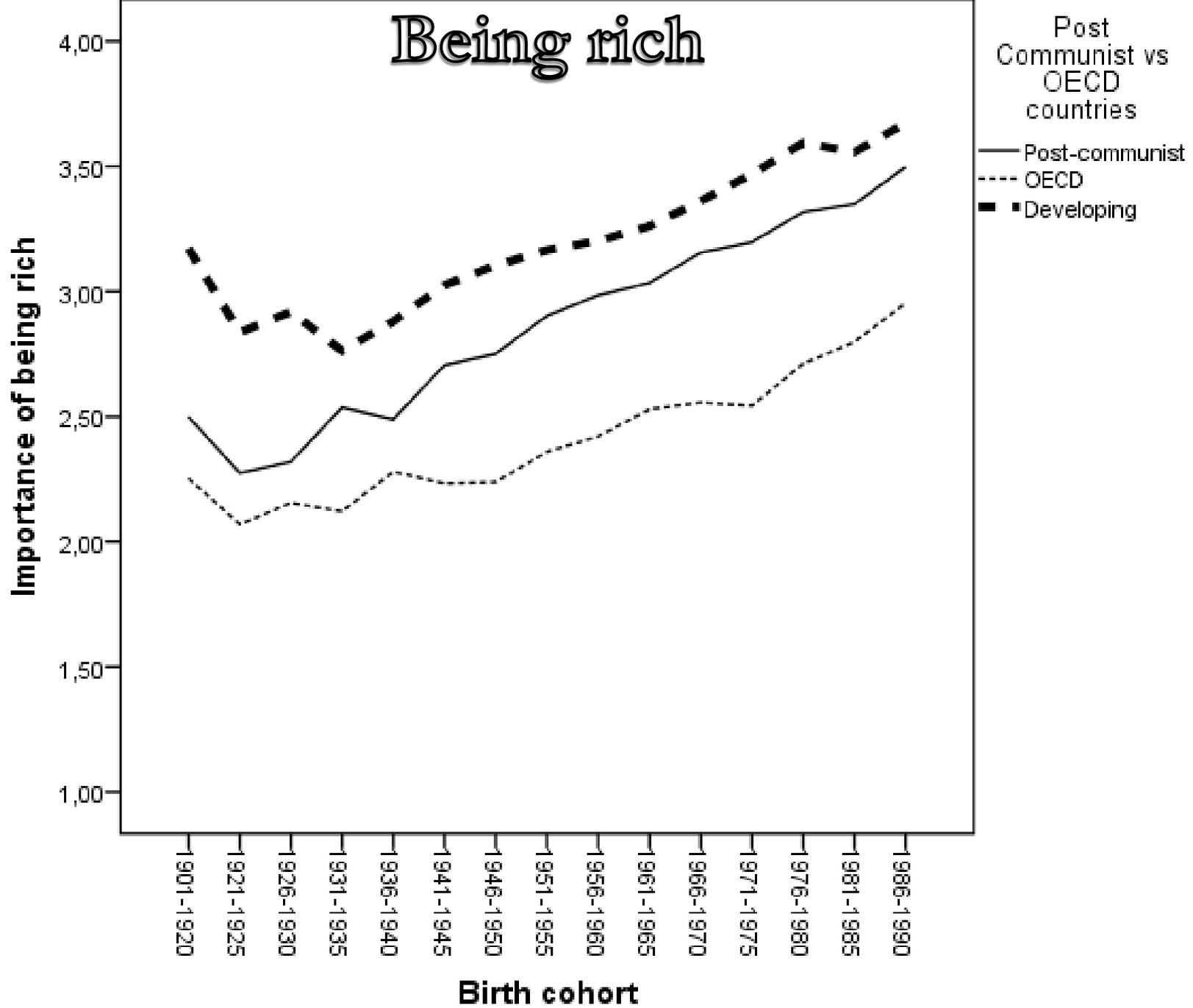
Important child qualities: Independence



Post Communist vs OECD countries

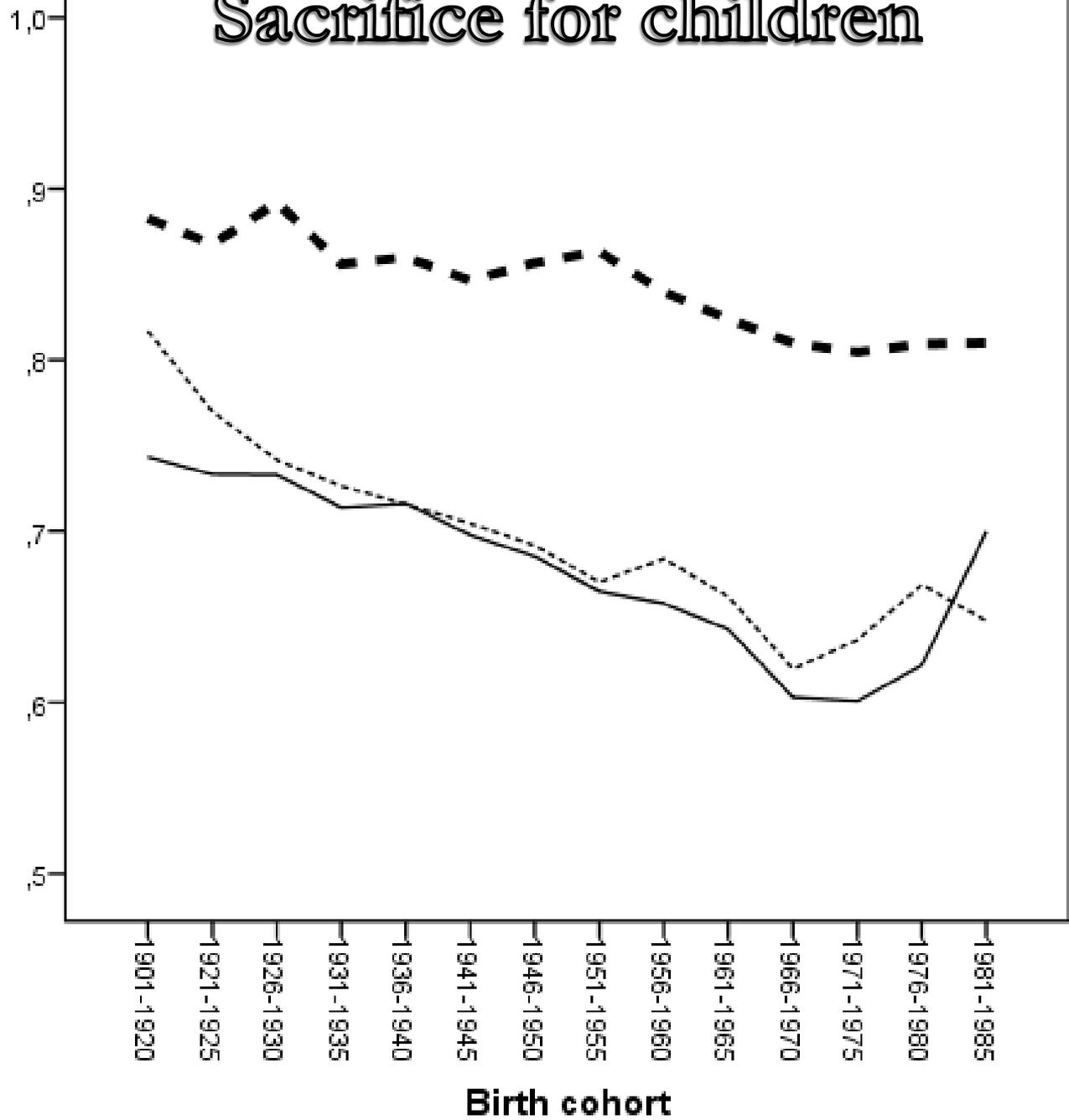
- Post-communist
- - - OECD
- ■ - Developing

Being rich



Sacrifice for children

Parental sacrifice vs. "own life" (0 to 1)

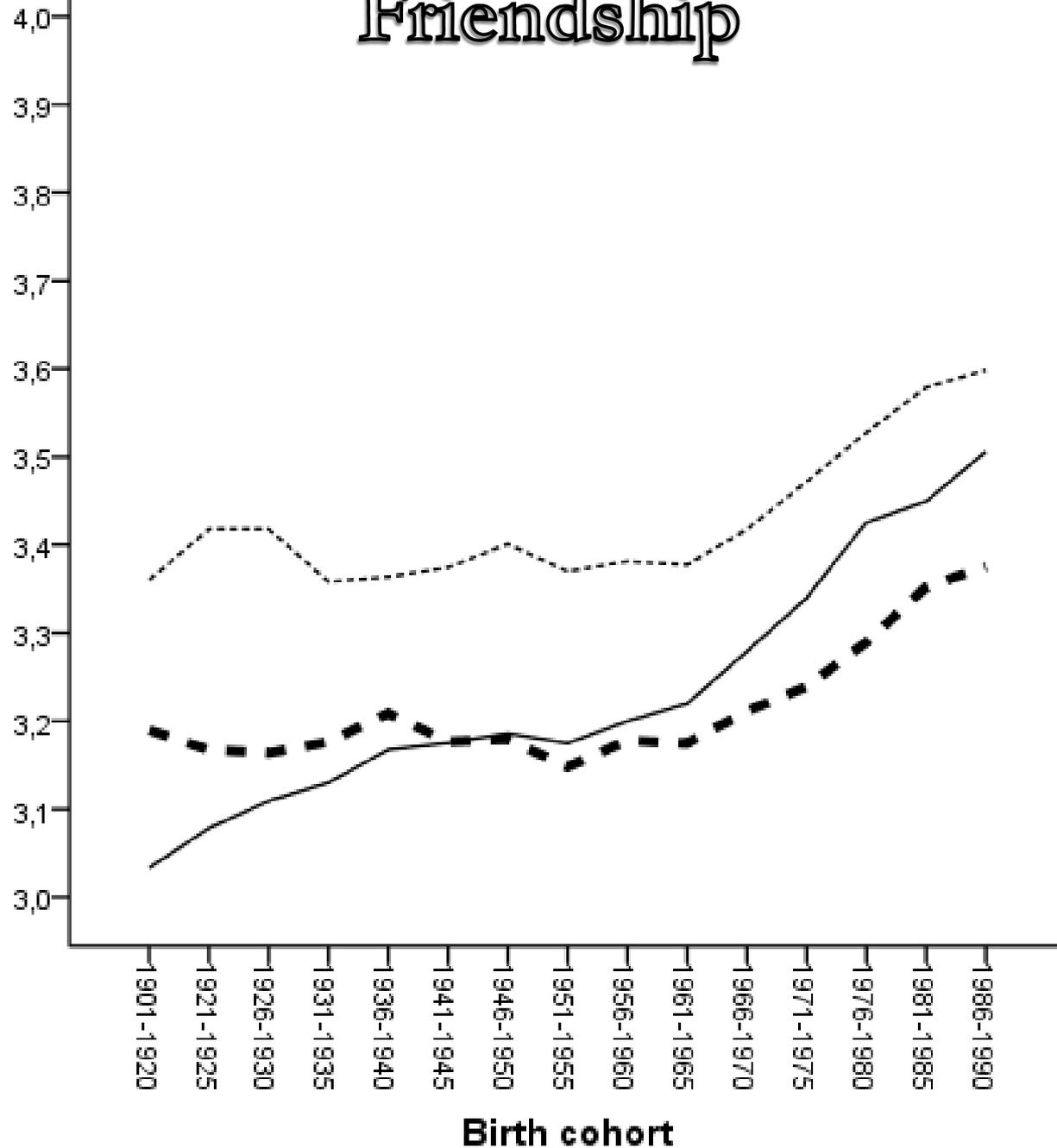


Post Communist vs OECD countries

- Post-communist
- - - OECD
- Developing

Friendship

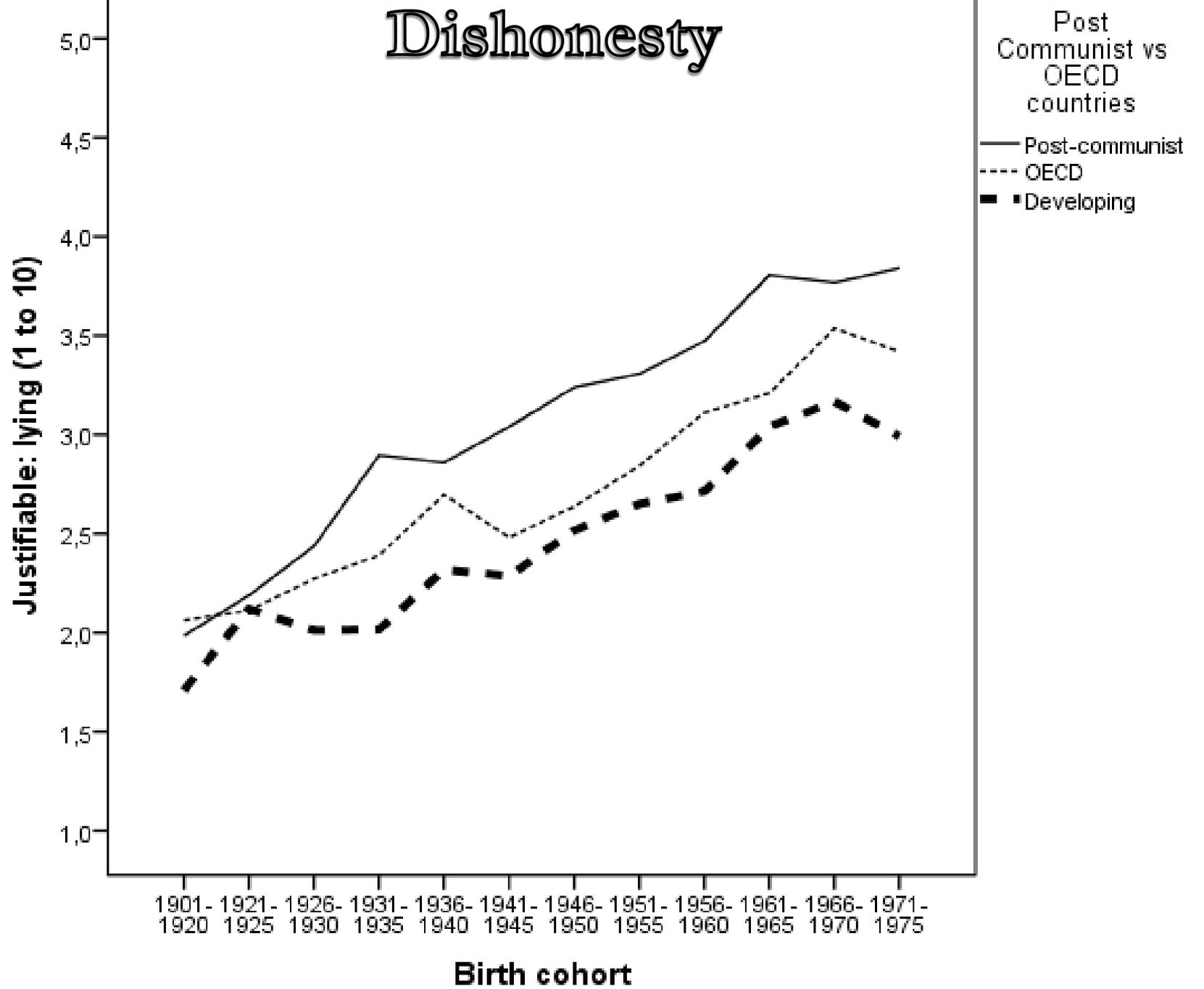
Importance of friends (3=rather important, 4=very important)



Post Communist vs OECD countries

- Post-communist
- - - OECD
- · - Developing

Dishonesty



Parting Comments

- Social values are not the only important values.
- Capitalism is a factor impacting values, not the only factor.
- The purpose is to indicate how capitalist adaptation leads to tension with social values.

Moscow

Leipzig

Shanghai





"I love our lunches out here, but I always get the feeling that we're being watched."