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# Value Change and Learning Effects at the Global-Local Nexus

ALEKSANDER KURYLEV

This article reflects upon the processes of value change and learning effects at the global-local nexus, as these are expressed in the results of a sociological study of the work ethic of contemporary Russian re-immigrants from Western developed states. 'Re-immigrants' are defined here as people who have begun pursuing economic activities in their home countries after spending a number of years abroad.

Following Sklair's main argument that the collapse of the communist project imposed upon the countries of the former Soviet Union the dual challenge of both transforming old socialist economic institutions and striving toward integration into the world of global capitalism,<sup>1</sup> this article attempts to capture specific elements of the work ethic of re-immigrants that could be seen as informal institutional determinants, either supportive or obstructive of the successful reformation of formal post-socialist economic institutions in Russia, and of the integration of Russian society into the global economy. In this lies this paper's main contribution, which seeks to examine the current institutional changes in Russia in two simultaneous dimensions - as domestically driven post-Soviet economic transformations, and as responses to externally based pressures of the global integration process.

The term 'work ethic' is understood to mean a set of values and practices that serve both as the main informal institutional determinants of the economic behavior of individuals and groups, and as significant factors influencing the formation and functioning of formal economic institutions.

At first glance, it would be reasonable to assume that re-immigrants, after their return to Russia, tend to reproduce the traditional Western capitalist work ethic. Having spent a valuable part of their life in the 'West', and being guided by its work values and practices, Russian re-immigrants should be predisposed to transmit this experience to their fellow countrymen in Russia. As one of the re-immigrants interviewed claimed:

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<sup>1</sup> Sklair 1991, 213.

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Actually, sometimes I feel like a person who is trying to explain to aborigines how one should properly behave in the capitalist world.

Although the metaphor is attractive, it is a bit misleading. The work experience of contemporary Russian re-immigrants has two important distinctive features:

- During the emigration years in Western developed states, Russian re-immigrants have had a unique chance not only to acquire traditional capitalist work values and practices, but also to familiarize themselves with the new work ethic of global capitalism;
- Yet, the enormously important trait distinguishing Russian re-immigrants from other foreigners who attempt to pursue economic activities in Russia is that re-immigrants are quite familiar with the old socialist work ethic, since all of them had accumulated a broad experience of the socialist economy before they migrated abroad.

These two distinctive features of re-immigrants' work ethic can be seen as the main factors determining the success of their economic activity in Russia, not only in the sense of their predisposition to deal with the old socialist institutions and practices, but also in terms of the introduction of a new global capitalist work ethic into the local transitional society.

Indeed, the collapse of the socialist system and the opening of state borders provided numerous Russian émigrés living in the West with a unique opportunity. For the first time in many years, they were able to come to their homeland without fear of persecution for political and ideological reasons. But most important, these former Russian compatriots were allowed to pursue economic activity within their home country; thus, they began to reproduce the new work ethic of global capitalism in Russian society, as well. There is a host of well-known examples of successful economic activities undertaken in Russia by representatives of the Russian émigré elite. For instance, in 1994, the banker Boris Jordan started working in the Moscow branch of the First Boston Bank, and in few years established his own Russian-based, Western-style investment bank, Renaissance Capital. In 1997, Simon Kukes, a Russian-born expert in oil technology employed by the US Oil Company Amoco, was appointed president of Tiumen Oil Company in Nizhnevartovsk. In addition, Kuke's partner Leonard Blavatnik, an employee of an influential Washington-based public relations firm, started actively coordinating the investment projects of American banks in the Russian oil industry. In the mid 1990s, Lev Chernoi, one of the partners of the British-based transnational trading

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company TransWorld Metals Group, began to play a crucial role in the Russian aluminum industry.<sup>2</sup>

During the last decade, a large number of publications have appeared in the Russian and Western periodical press describing the impact of the Russian émigré elite on various spheres of Russian society. Rather than producing another such overview of the activities of distinguished re-immigrants in Russia, I will deal with the phenomenon of re-immigration to Russia in a broader sense. Focusing my analysis on the work ethic of randomly selected returnees, I will try to examine their influence ‘from below’ on the current changes in Russia.

The empirical data for this study was collected by two methods that allow analyzing both qualitative and quantitative characteristics of the work ethic of re-immigrants. I conducted formal interviews with randomly selected re-immigrants in order to analyze their work value preferences. In addition to this traditional quantitative approach, informal interviews exploring qualitative practical dimensions of re-immigrants’ work ethics were administered as well. Along with the interview findings, this article also offers a brief historical overview of re-immigration to Russia from the West.

### **Theorizing the Re-Immigrants’ Work Ethic**

There have been many attempts from various points of view to apply Weber’s sociology as the theoretical framework for exploring the current economic transformation in Russia. Representatives of various disciplines and research traditions have tried to apply to Russian conditions the famous Weberian thesis asserting an affinity between the ‘capitalist spirit’ and the protestant ethic as expressed in work behavior.<sup>3</sup> However, most of these attempts neglected to consider the fact that very soon after its publication, in the early twentieth century, Weber’s powerful analysis of psycho-religious and cultural motivations was amended by Sombart’s theory of migration. In his research on the results of mass migration during the

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<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that Belgian born Andrei Kozyrev began his term as a Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation during this time, as well, and in 1991, Andrei Shleifer, Professor of Economics at Harvard University, was invited to Moscow as an advisor to the Russian government. In addition, such famous representatives of the Russian cultural émigré elite as Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Mstislav Rostropovich have made valuable contributions to the intellectual life of post-socialist Russian society.

<sup>3</sup> Weber 1958.

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protestant reformation, Sombart called the famous Weberian explanation into question. Since he found that a great number of successful protestants during the reformation were in fact former migrants, Sombart came to the conclusion that migrants adhered to the 'capitalist spirit' more extensively than native inhabitants. As a rule, migrants tended to introduce capitalist innovations into the economic life of host societies, since they did not view the cultural and religious restrictions in a foreign country the same way that native inhabitants did.<sup>4</sup>

A similar argument regarding the innovative character of migrants' activity has been developed in recent influential writings on global change. Appadurai, for instance, suggests that the influence of migrants should be considered, along with technological improvements in form of electronic media, as a major force producing new global changes.<sup>5</sup> In her study of institutions and actors regulating the global economy, Sassen stresses the particular case of migrants as the main actors creating a new global economic order 'from below'.<sup>6</sup> One of the most important conclusions of the Australian sociologist Holton, who investigated the historical roots of the contemporary globalization process, is that the international migrations of the twentieth century have contributed significantly to the formation of a new global ideology.<sup>7</sup>

The common trait of these and other contemporary studies examining the role of migrants in the formation of the global economic system is that all of them attempt to develop a new conceptual view that places emphasis on the articulation of both the local and the global aspects of migration. The question of particular interest is how global actors such as migrants behave in specific local conditions. In most cases, contemporary migrants faced with new local cultural surroundings perceive themselves as minority groups, isolated from the political and economic resources of the host society. This serves as the main stimulus for migrants' endeavors to replace traditional local mechanisms of power distribution and to introduce to the host society a set of new, multicultural and transnational institutions of global capitalism.

I would like to suggest that, similarly, a re-immigrant - who has returned to his/her native cultural surroundings after years of absence - has a status very close to that of a foreigner. In a sense, he/she sees his or her native culture in a new way, while the transformed local environment also

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<sup>4</sup> Sombart 1913.

<sup>5</sup> Appadurai 1996.

<sup>6</sup> Sassen 1996a, 59-99; Sassen 1996b.

<sup>7</sup> Holton 1998.

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treats him or her differently from before. This ‘doubly dislocated’ status makes re-immigrants a rewarding subject for the study of transformation and globalization processes if we accept the hypothesis that both local and global changes have occurred in Russian society.

### **Brief Historical Overview of Re-Immigration to Russia**

Re-immigration has been a continuous phenomenon in Russian history, with a few periods of especially concentrated flow. According to statistical data collected by Soviet historians in the beginning of the 1980s, and published in the book *Why We Returned to the Soviet Union*, the history of re-immigration to Soviet Russia can be divided into two major periods:

- 1921-25, the New Economic Policy (NEP);
- 1955-64, Khrushchev’s economic reforms.<sup>8</sup>

The first period of re-immigration is associated with the NEP. During this period, the Bolshevik authorities’ introduction of market elements to the Soviet economy stimulated the process of re-immigration to the country. On 22 August 1921, a decree of the Council of Peoples’ Commissars formulated a procedure for granting Soviet citizenship to those who had emigrated from Russia prior to 1917. In November 1921, the Bolshevik authorities issued an amnesty to former members of military white guard organizations. As a result of the adoption of these decrees, from October 1922 to August 1925, a Special Commission of Labor and Defense permitted 3,249 factory workers to enter the country in order to work in industry, and 2,689 peasants to work in the agricultural sector. The three largest Moscow plants - the Russian-American Instrumental Plant (later renamed the Moscow Instrumental Plant), the Auto-Mechanical Plant (later renamed Ligachev’s Plant, also known in Russia as *ZIL*), and the Clothing Factory of the Third Internationale - were established with the active participation of re-immigrants. At the same time, about twenty agricultural communes were created by re-immigrants in various regions of Russia.<sup>9</sup>

The second period of re-immigration is associated with the end of Stalin’s regime and the beginning of Khrushchev’s reforms. On 17

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<sup>8</sup> Afanasief and Baranov 1984.

<sup>9</sup> Tarle 1993, 41.

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September 1955, a Decree of the USSR Presidium of the Supreme Soviet was issued, entitled 'On Granting Amnesty to Soviet Citizens Who Had Collaborated with the Occupying Forces During the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45'. Historical publications document thousands of people returning to Russia after the adoption of this decree. However, among the re-immigrants of the Khrushchev period were not only those who had left Russia during the Second World War, but also Russians who had been abroad much longer, and who represented different social groups. For example, in 1962, around one thousand direct descendants of Old Believers who had emigrated during Patriarch Nikon's seventeenth-century reforms of the Orthodox Church returned to Russia from Turkey.

The historical evidence highlights one particular tendency: the number of re-immigrants increased whenever attempts at reforming Soviet economic institutions took place in Russia.

*The Work Ethic of Re-Immigrants and the 'Spirit of Global Capitalism'*

In 1993, the Russian authorities adopted a new law granting all Russian citizens permission to stay abroad without any previously issued approvals and visas.<sup>10</sup> The adoption of this law can be seen as a symbolic amnesty to all those Russian emigrants who had previously declined Soviet citizenship and decided to stay abroad. Within a few years, it became popular among Russian emigrants to organize short-term 'tourists trips' to the home country. During these trips Russian emigrants took steps to restore old, and establish new social networks and ties with their Russian compatriots. As a result, some of the emigrants started to spend more time in Russia than in their host society.

One of the most attractive opportunities that opened up for Russian emigrants in their home country was the possibility of employment in Russian branches of Western companies. For instance, the results of a survey conducted by Freinkman-Khrustaleva and Novikov in 1994 among Russian emigrants in Germany, showed that 74% of all respondents were ready to return to Russia immediately, but only as employees of Western companies. According to the authors of this survey, there were two main reasons for the prevalence of this particular attitude. On the one hand, such a position could provide emigrants and their families with stable incomes, as well as ensuring a Western type of social security provision. On the

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<sup>10</sup>Freinkman-Khrustaleva 1995, 111.

other hand, the relatively inexpensive cost of living in Russia, and the opportunity to communicate daily with their Russian-based family members and friends, can be also seen as important supportive stimuli for the emigrants' intention to work in Russia.<sup>11</sup>

In 1995-97, I conducted twenty-five formal and twenty-three informal interviews with contemporary Russian re-immigrants who had returned from Western developed states after 1991. The research was carried out in the two largest Russian cities, Moscow and St. Petersburg. Generally, there was only one strict precondition in the selection procedure for respondents - they had to have spent no less than five years in one of the Western developed countries prior to their return to Russia. Income level, educational background, occupation, citizenship, age, gender and ethnic origin played no role in the selection procedure. The original idea was to select a sample of respondents that would represent virtually all strata of society. In order to fulfill this particular condition, the first fifteen respondents were found with the help of individuals who were not acquainted with each other and who originated from varying socio-economic groups.

After that, the so-called 'snowball effect' was applied in this study, when interviews led to finding other prospective interviewees. Unexpectedly, however, the first fifteen respondents (as well as ten others) all belonged to one particular social group of business professionals. Moreover, it also happened that about half of all selected respondents were employees of joint venture businesses and transnational companies.<sup>12</sup> 16 respondents identified themselves as Russians, seven as Jews, and two respondents declined to reveal their ethnic origin.

Another unexpected finding is that most of the respondents who had been residing in Russia for several years were still holding Western citizenship. In a few cases, they held dual citizenship of both their native and previous host countries. This is the main reason why it appeared almost impossible to discover any reliable statistical information regarding the process of re-immigration to contemporary Russia. As a rule, a Russian emigrant entering his/her home country with a foreign passport is

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<sup>11</sup> Freinkman-Khrustaleva and Novikov 1995, 125.

<sup>12</sup> This unexpected finding enabled me to consider the particular influence of the work ethic of average employees of joint venture businesses and transnational companies on the globalization processes in Russia, while the well-known research conducted by Sklair identified only the particular contributions of the economic activity of executive officers of big transnational companies to global changes in the case of Australia. Sklair 1996; Sklair 1995.

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considered a foreigner in statistical documents. At the same time, Russian emigrants possessing dual citizenship are treated in official statistics as Russian citizens.<sup>13</sup>

The formal interview sample included 14 women and 11 men, while the informal sample included 12 women and ten men. It is important to mention that the formal and informal interviews were conducted with the same set of respondents. Respondents' ages varied from 25 to 47 years. Most of the selected respondents returned from the United States and Germany, but re-immigrants from Canada, England, Finland and France were interviewed, as well. Also, the interview sample includes re-immigrants who lived in more than one country during the period of emigration. All of the respondents completed their secondary education degree in Russia. Over half of the interview participants also received their university diplomas in Russia prior their emigration abroad.

During the formal interviews, re-immigrants were given questionnaires on work values that addressed topics such as competitiveness of earnings, level of job satisfaction, work-time convenience, opportunities to take initiative within the process of work, career opportunities, usefulness of work for society, etc. Re-immigrants were asked to select up to seven response categories from a list of 15, which could be applied to them. This method of empirical data collection is analogous to the one used in a cross-national study of values directed by Inglehart.<sup>14</sup> It is therefore possible to compare my data with those gathered by Inglehart's team. The results of my survey are presented in Table 16.1.

The original list of work values is provided in the first column of Table 16.1. The second column presents the selection frequency of each value as a percentage. In the third column, the work values are ranked in accordance with the selection frequency presented in the second column.

**Table 16.1 The work values of contemporary Russian re-immigrants**

Work values	Frequency (%)	Rank
Good pay	79	1

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<sup>13</sup> Mark Wyman has described a similar problem in his comparative-historical study of re-immigration to Europe from the United States in the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. According to Wyman, in most of the cases it was almost impossible to distinguish re-immigrants from temporary travellers during those years as well. Wyman 1993, 13.

<sup>14</sup> Inglehart 1997.

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Pleasant people to work with	71	2
A job that is interesting	60	3
A job that meets one's abilities	54	6
Good hours	46	7
A useful job for society	43	9
Generous holidays	21	15
Good job security	57	4
A job respected by people in general	25	14
An opportunity to use initiative	46	8
A job in which you feel you can achieve something	57	5
Meeting people	39	10
A responsible job	36	11
Not too much pressure	29	13
Good chances for promotion	32	12

Among the most frequently mentioned values both in my research and in Inglehart's study were such values as 'good pay', 'pleasant people to work with', 'a job that is interesting' and 'a job that meets one's abilities'. On the other hand, such values as 'not too much pressure' and 'good chances for promotion' were less frequently selected both by the re-immigrants and by the 43-country sample. The largest difference is in the selection frequency of one particular value, 'a job respected by people in general'. 25% of the re-immigrants and 40% of the 43-country sample selected this value during the formal interviews (compare data in Tables 16.1 and 16.2).

**Table 16.2 The work values of the contemporary populations of 43 countries**

Work values	Frequency (%)	Rank
Good pay	74	1
Pleasant people to work with	67	2
A job that is interesting	57	3
A job that meets one's abilities	56	5
Good hours	46	7
A useful job for society	44	9
Generous holidays	29	15

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Good job security	57	4
A job respected by people in general	40	12
An opportunity to use initiative	46	8
A job in which you feel you can achieve something	53	6
Meeting people	43	10
A responsible job	42	11
Not too much pressure	34	14
Good chances for promotion	36	13

Source: Data taken from Inglehart, Basanez and Moreno 1998, tables 99-114.

However, the most significant tendency was revealed by a comparison of two specific groups of values. In Inglehart's study, work values, as a rule, were divided into two main clusters: active-achievement values (an opportunity to use initiative, a job in which you feel you can achieve something, meeting people) and passive-hedonistic values (good pay, generous holidays, good hours of work). Comparison of these two groups of values provided me with an opportunity both to measure the level of re-immigrants' predisposition to introduce innovations into Russian transitional society and to supplement insufficient approaches which consider only an 'individualistic vs. collectivist' dichotomy of value changes in contemporary Russia.<sup>15</sup>

On the active-achievement scale, the scores of Russian re-immigrants turned out to be closer to those of respondents from Western countries than to the average scores of Russian citizens. Inglehart's data showed that, despite a general turn toward market-oriented values, Russian citizens still tend to choose passive-hedonistic work values over active-achievement ones. The values 'an opportunity to use initiative', 'a job in which you feel you can achieve something' and 'meeting people' were selected by 46%, 57% and 39% of re-immigrants, 46%, 53% and 43% of the 43-country sample, and 29%, 28%, 27% of Russian population, respectively (compare tables 16.1, 16.2, and 16.3).

**Table 16.3 The work values of the contemporary Russian population**

Work values	Frequency (%)	Rank
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<sup>15</sup> For more details on work-values classifications, see Furnham and Lewis 1986.

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Good pay	83	1
Pleasant people to work with	71	2
A job that is interesting	67	3
A job that meets one's abilities	54	4
Good hours	46	6
A useful job for society	48	5
Generous holidays	43	7
Good job security	38	9
A job respected by people in general	40	8
An opportunity to use initiative	29	10
A job in which you feel you can achieve something	28	11
Meeting people	27	12
A responsible job	21	13
Not too much pressure	19	14
Good chances for promotion	17	15

Source: Data taken from Inglehart, Basanez and Moreno 1998, tables 99-114.

Moreover, the same tendency is revealed when comparing re-immigrants' work values with those of the most economically successful citizens of Russia, those identified in Inglehart's study as 'upper-income respondents'. On the active-achievement scale, the scores of the most economically successful Russian citizens turned out to be higher than those of the Russian population in general, but still much lower than average scores of re-immigrants. For example, the frequency of selection of the active-achievement value 'opportunity to use initiative' is 33% among upper-income Russians, 29% among the Russian population in general, and 46% among Russian re-immigrants. In almost the same way, the work value, 'a job in which you feel you can achieve something' was selected by 33% of the upper-income Russians, 28% of the Russian population in general, and 57% of the re-immigrants. At the same time, such passive-hedonistic values as generous holidays and good hours of work still play a more important role in the work-value preferences of the most economically successful Russian citizens than among re-immigrants (compare tables 16.1 and 16.4).

**Table 16.4 The work values of the upper-income Russian population**

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Work values	Frequency (%)	Range
Good pay	83	1
Pleasant people to work with	72	2
A job that is interesting	72	2
A job that meets one's abilities	58	4
Good hours	42	6
A useful job for society	47	5
Generous holidays	39	9
Good job security	40	7
A job respected by people in general	40	7
An opportunity to use initiative	33	10
A job in which you feel you can achieve something	33	10
Meeting people	29	12
A responsible job	23	13
Not too much pressure	18	15
Good chances for promotion	22	14

Source: Data taken from Inglehart, Basanez and Moreno 1998, tables 99-114.

It seems obvious that the aforementioned work-value orientations shared by the majority of the Russian population, as well as by the representatives of its most economically successful group, serve as an important obstacle to the transformation and globalization processes in the region. By contrast, my preliminary data indicate that the active-achievement scores of Russian re-immigrants provide us with an opportunity to classify their work values as supportive factors for the transformation and globalization processes in Russia. In a sense, Russian re-immigrants are predisposed to introduce innovations into the transitional society.

In order to capture the qualitative characteristics of the re-immigrants' work ethic, I also conducted interviews with re-immigrants in the form of 'guided conversations', using a tape recorder. The interviews lasted three hours on average. During the interviews, re-immigrants were asked to speak about their work experience during emigration and after re-immigration, with great care taken to eschew all possible suggestions of value judgements coming from the interviewer. As it turned out, most of

the respondents had not thought much about re-immigration to Russia prior to doing so.

Frankly speaking, I never thought about whether I should return or not... it was the circumstances that developed in this particular way.

I could not have predicted that I would stay in Russia for so long. I just wanted to come to see my friends and relatives; later on, some business appeared, new plans, projects [...] just returned and that's it!

If someone had tried to tell me two years ago in New York that I would be living here [in Russia] again, I would have considered it a bad joke. Events developed in such rapid and unexpected ways that I did not even have time to realize how and why I returned. In one day I have found myself living here, in Russia.

These statements point not only to the lack of motivational predisposition among contemporary Russian re-immigrants, but also to the absence of an explicit decision-making process regarding re-immigration itself. It seems that in the case of contemporary Russian re-immigrants, it is absolutely impossible to find any specific explanatory reasons for the re-immigrants' decision to return, since they returned to Russia unexpectedly. Former Russian compatriots returned to Russia just because 'circumstances developed in such a particular way'. Some of the respondents even claimed that it was only during interviews that they first began to realize the reality of their return and self-consciously to think of themselves as re-immigrants. Moreover, in sociological as well as legal terms, these returnees would not necessarily be classified as re-immigrants. Most of the respondents have mentioned the positive effects of the country's open borders. They have also reflected upon the Internet as one of the significant technological features facilitating their communication with previous host societies. Several respondents are actively using the features of electronic banking systems to operate their personal accounts in Western banks. Also, respondents frequently mention international air travel as one of the most significant elements of their professional activity. And what is most interesting, almost all of the respondents claimed that, as a rule, they visit their previous host country at least once per year. This means that even after their return to Russia, re-immigrants are still maintaining social connections with their previous host societies. As some of respondents expressed:

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Actually, I do not feel a citizen of one particular country. More probably, I am a cosmopolitan [...] that it is to say citizen of the world. Don't you feel that there is no longer such a notion as *zagranița* [abroad] anymore? As for me, I don't see any differences between Moscow and New York. Although, you may never find such Soviet-style grocery stores in Moscow as they still have in New York's Brighton Beach [Russian émigré district in New York].

But you know, conditions of life in all countries have started to look so similar. In fact, there are no distinctions between life here [in Russia] and life over there [in Western countries]. To some extent it makes me feel quite bored, the same McDonald's everywhere, the same stores, the same night clubs and discos...But, on the other hand, it is not so bad since I feel at home everywhere.

As far as the work ethic is concerned, most of the re-immigrants spoke about working skills they learned during the period of emigration, and outlined particular working skills that they would like to teach their colleagues in Russia. It is very important to stress that re-immigrants' statements about 'learning' were not inspired by the interviewer. Several re-immigrants emphasized that during emigration they acquired the skills to operate the new electronic tools. They particularly stressed the skills of using such electronic facilities as the Internet, e-mail and electronic banking.

I can't imagine my life without the Internet. The first thing that I do after entering my office in the morning is read my e-mail. It sometimes takes me more than two hours. Then I check exchange rates in some 'currency converter', briefly look through newspapers, and send daily tasks to my employees. Basically all my work depends on the computer and the Internet.

It was quite difficult in the beginning to acquaint them [Russian employees] with using the Internet. I had to explain to them hundreds of times that it is cheaper and faster to send information via e-mail than to make international phone calls.

I told her that this kind of document would be more convenient to type with the help of computer. And can you imagine what she replied? 'Convenient? Yes, probably [...] but better to use the typewriter [...].' But she used the computer anyway, and now no one would be able to ask her to start using the typewriter again.

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Also, some respondents provided examples of inappropriate use of electronic tools by their Russian colleagues and employees during working hours. In a few cases, this even led to serious conflict situations and misunderstandings.

They were playing games on the computers when I entered the office [...] what could I do? They behaved like small kids [...] And you know, it is absolutely useless to force them to do something against their will.

The main problem is that they are spending much time surfing the Internet for their own needs. I still don't know how to solve this problem.

She was chatting all the time in ISQ and I finally had to ask her to delete this program. But anyway, she started to use some other online chat [...].

Besides the skills of using electronic equipment, Russian re-immigrants also claimed that during their emigration years in Western developed countries they learned how to change and transform themselves - *samoorganizovatsia* or *organizovyvat' sebia* (literally, to organize oneself) - in order to achieve a certain level of success in their professional activity.

The most important is that they learned how to *organizovyvat' sebia*, [...] they started to work better.

Actually, I survived over there [in emigration] only because I managed to *samoorganizovatsia* [...] Exactly in this moment I started to feel like a strong and independent person.

In the beginning, I constantly had an extremely unhappy expression on my face. My friend Michel was always asking me: What's wrong with you? Do you have any troubles?

'No, I am just very tired', - I replied.

But later, I understood that it is important to learn how to *samoorganizovatsia* in order to be always at my best - always smiling, constantly caring about my self-image [...] and it should always be like this and forget whether you are in a bad or good mood.

First of all, he had to learn just a simple thing - how to *samoorganizovatsia* - to start to care about himself, always be on time, be polite with clients. In this case you will definitely achieve success in your work, I told him [one of the respondents' employees].

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They are spending a lot of time on empty talk [...] I don't know why it is so difficult to learn that you should be focused entirely on your job while you are working, and all other private stuff can be discussed during non-working hours.

Well, I understand that serious unexpected problems can sometimes appear in one's private life. In this case I let people go home without any problems. But it is hard to explain why some people are spending working time on empty talk without sufficient reason. My personal opinion is that they are just lazy people who do not have any clue how to *samoorganizovatsia*.

These statements on *samoorganizovatsia* and *organizovyvat' sebia* highlight what may also be called 'self-fashioning skills' among Russian re-immigrants. These words express a set of particular practices enabling individuals not only to change their modes of personal behavior, but also to transform their perception of the surrounding world through reconsideration of their personal self-fashion. One might also suggest considering *samoorganizovatsia* as 'self-organizing', the direct translation of two words: *samo* - self; and *organizovatsia* - organizing. However, *samoorganizovatsia* and *organizovyvat' sebia* in re-immigrants' statements is more than just an indication of self-organizing or self-transformation - it is a set of skills assisting post-socialist individuals to eliminate old socialist attitudes and habits, and enabling them to elaborate the new life-styles through acquaintance with the work ethic of global capitalism.

As a rule, the words *samoorganizovatsia* and *organizovyvat' sebia* are used by Russian re-immigrants in two cases. The words *samoorganizovatsia* and *organizovyvat' sebia* help re-immigrants to articulate their own experiences of learning self-fashioning skills during the years spent in emigration. On the other hand, these words serve as the key terms describing the set of practices that re-immigrants have already taught, or wish to teach in the future, to their Russian colleagues and employees. In their statements on *samoorganizovatsia* and *organizovyvat' sebia*, re-immigrants stress some particular traits of the post-socialist work ethic that are in contradiction to the new ethic of global capitalism. In relation to this, respondents especially criticize the shortage of self-confidence, and the lack of punctuality and motivation to work hard among their Russian counterparts.

It is self-fashioning skills that helped re-immigrants to eliminate these particular negative features of their own work behavior during their emigration in Western societies. That is why re-immigrants attempt to acquaint their Russian colleagues and employees with exactly the same practices.

Hence, the new work ethic, as introduced into transitional Russian society by re-immigrants, consists of the three main elements:

- active-achievement work values, which serve as a supportive condition for any innovative activity;
- professional skills of operating new electronic tools, which help determine success in business and entrepreneurial activity; and
- self-fashioning skills, which can be seen as the specific practices that support individuals in adapting themselves to the conditions of global capitalism.

Having experienced everyday activities within institutions of both the old socialist economy and the global economic system, Russian re-immigrants have a good chance to acquaint their compatriots in Russia with all three aforementioned elements of 'the spirit of global capitalism', especially in a practical dimension.

## **Conclusion**

Summing up the research findings presented in this paper, one should first note the supportive character of the work ethic of re-immigrants for the current institutional changes in Russia. The important finding expressed in this article is that contemporary re-immigrants are predisposed to introduce global work values and practices into transitional Russian society, thus acquainting Russian citizens with the new work ethic of global capitalism.

However, it is also important to stress that contemporary Russian re-immigrants cannot be considered pure re-immigrants. A large number of re-immigrants currently residing in Russia still hold Western or dual citizenship, and maintain ties with their previous host societies. This is due to the technological innovations, international air travel and electronic tools that enable re-immigrants to pursue activities in multiple societies simultaneously. This finding stresses that it is not the institutional changes in Russian society alone that have evoked contemporary re-immigration to the country, but that the amplification of new global institutions and practices has influenced the contemporary trend of re-immigration as well.

Bearing in mind these particular tendencies of the process of re-immigration to Russia, it would be reasonable to start using a new term to describe the contemporary case of non-pure re-immigration to the region, within the framework of current transformation and globalization processes. The concepts of 'transnational migrants' or 'new cosmopolitans', for instance, would more appropriately describe those

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Russians who have decided to pursue economic activity in their home country after spending years in emigration in Western developed states. Indeed, all of the main characteristics of contemporary Russian re-immigrants are very similar to those of the transnational capitalist class described by Sklair in his study of globalization processes in Australia.<sup>16</sup> The transnational character of Russian re-immigrants' economic activities can be revealed in the following features:

The economic interests of Russian re-immigrants are linked mostly to the global economy, rather to its local forms. They prefer to work in transnational companies or establish their own businesses belonging to the economic systems of several societies simultaneously, and thus producing goods and services that are mostly associated with global, rather than local, forms of capital.

Russian re-immigrants attempt to establish new modes of control and regulation in the workplace and especially in the informal institutional dimension through acquainting their Russian counterparts with the new work ethic of global capitalism.

Russian re-immigrants demonstrate global ways of thinking in most economic and cultural issues.

Russian re-immigrants have a commonly shared life-style, articulated in the practices of self-fashioning.

Finally, the most important conclusion is that Russian re-immigrants seek to identify themselves as 'citizens of the world' stressing the multicultural and transnational features of their own self-identity.

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<sup>16</sup> Sklair 1996.