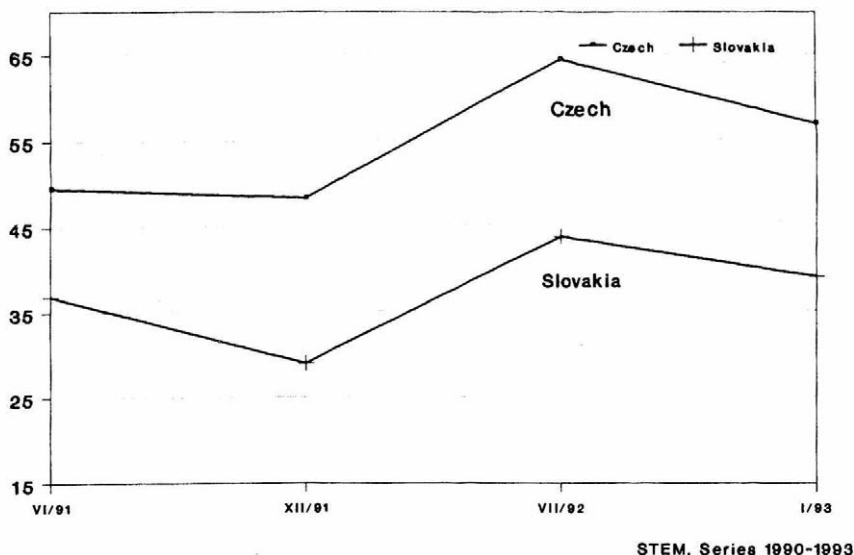


Succes in Building up Democracy (Percentage "Yes")



coherent with the idea that plurality, diversity and even conflict are the crucial factors in the systemic change. To conclude, we should be aware of the fact that the impressive

support of the new regime, apparent from the STEM's data, may in fact later turn out to be rather frail, volatile, and vulnerable.

Jan Hartl

Regional differences: where is more social protection requested?

It should come as no surprise that economically and socially European countries (not to speak of Eastern European and the Balkan countries) differ considerably. People's perceptions and expectations of the welfare state also differ. It is not easy to compare them in a setting of rapid change and continuing territorial divisions. Nevertheless, some features are not changing so rapidly: the cultural level and mentality of the nations, their hidden social structures, the degree of their internalized communist experience, etc. The consequences of a long-term crisis in Poland are not the same as those of the gradual abandonment of communism in Hungary. Similarly, the lively spirit of capitalism in the Czech Republic and the former backward-

ness of Slovakia can still be traced, as comparative survey data shows.

In order to describe some of these disparities, we will use the survey *The Dismantling of the Safety Net and Its Political Consequences*, which was coordinated and financed by the Institute of East West Security Studies in New York. The field work took place in October of 1991 and from this four national analytical files were created: for the Czech Republic (1187 respondents), Slovakia (817 respondents), Hungary (1500 respondents) and Poland (1491 respondents). Here we will use the multinational data file which contains information on 4995 adults. In this survey, many questions concerning the welfare state were answered and the various responses have been organized into distinct factor analysis clusters (Table 1):

Table 1. Average scores of some opinions in the Czech Republic, Slovakia Hungary and Poland (averages from 4 categories, the highest being strong agreement, the lowest strong disagreement)

	Czech Republic	Slovakia	Hungary	Poland
1. Differences should be small	2.45	2.83	2.73	3.21
2. Equal pensions for everyone	2.24	2.39	2.22	3.07
3. Child allowances high	2.86	3.29	3.22	3.44
4. Money for competent people	2.91	2.56	1.98	3.28
5. Wealth is not legitimate	3.23	3.32	3.06	3.39
6. Possibility to pay education	3.12	2.65	2.79	3.33
7. Tuition at universities	2.29	2.04	1.96	3.18
8. Possibility to pay doctor	2.79	2.69	3.03	3.04
9. Everyone should pay doctor	1.75	1.61	1.59	2.85
10. Everyone is responsible	2.29	2.03	1.84	2.72
11. Everyone has to pay rent	2.86	2.59	2.69	3.15
12. State neglects guarantees	2.83	3.24	3.14	3.57

Statements:

1. "The differences in incomes and property must be small."
2. "All pensioners should have equal benefits."
3. "Child allowances should cover all the costs of children."
4. "It is right that competent people can earn a lot of money, even millions."
5. "People here get rich mainly by unfair means."
6. "Everyone should have the right to buy a better education for his/her children in private primary and secondary schools."
7. "University students or their parents should pay tuition covering a great deal of the real costs of their education."
8. "If someone has enough money, he or she should have the possibility of buying better medical care."
9. "Current medical treatment should be paid directly by the patients."
10. "Everyone is responsible for his or her poverty."
11. "If someone does not have enough money to pay the rent, he or she should move to a cheaper apartment."
12. "The government does not pay enough attention to the provision of social guarantees for the population."

1. *More equality* (differences should be small, child allowances high, wealth is not legitimate, etc.);
2. *More paid services* (possibilities to pay for better education, better medical treatment, etc.);
3. *More individual responsibility* (the individual is responsible for his or her poverty, everyone should have an apartment according to his or her financial possibilities, etc.);

In Table 2, multiple classification analysis (the Anova procedure of the SPSSx) is used. In the first part, deviations from average factor scores are presented - both observed (before adjustment to other independent variables) and adjusted (after adjustment). Coefficients eta show the correlation between the dependent and individual independent variable. The coefficients beta can be read as standardized regression coefficients in the sense used in multiple regression: the

square of beta indicates the proportion of additional variance explained by each factor.

The analysis of variance has shown several considerable differences between the observed countries. As far as the inequality issue is concerned (Factor 1), there is a sharp contrast between the Czech and Slovak Republics. Slovaks tend to be levellers and Czechs antilevellers, Hungarians in this respect are similar to Slovaks and Poles similar to Czechs. An orientation toward paid services (Factor 2) is not very welcome in Central Europe, yet Poles accept it more than Czechs and Czechs more than Hungarians or Slovaks. In strong contrast to Poland, the Czech Republic's population stresses individual responsibility for one's standard of living.

The differences between East European nations are partly parallel to educational or age differences. Better-educated and younger people (and also Czechs) demand more inequality, less educated and older people (and also Slovaks) demand greater state guarantees etc. Looking at the set of expectations,

national specificities seem to play a paramount role. We are, however, witnessing various patterns, far from a simple "left-right" axis.

The data show that the differences even between the western and eastern parts of the former Czechoslovak Federation are considerable and growing. The communist system was much more advantageous for Slovaks, the systematic redistribution in favor of the less developed eastern territory. After the "complete success" of these politics was declared and statistically documented by the communist regime in the late 1980s, the republics' diversity surfaced with unexpected urgency. Slovaks currently expect more welfare protection, ask for higher social benefits, are less prepared to accept personal responsibility for their standard of living and expect more confidence in the efficiency of state activity. Therefore, populist politics, which promises prominent state engagement in the economy and social life, has had much greater success in Slovakia.

Table 2. Factor loadings of some opinions in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland (Varimax rotation)

	1	Factor 2	3
1. Differences should be small	.76	-.17	-.00
2. Equal pensions for everyone	.65	-.00	.13
3. Child allowances high	.53	-.04	-.13
4. Money for competent people	-.53	.29	.16
5. Wealth is not legitimate	.51	.02	-.22
6. Possibility to pay education	-.16	.71	-.06
7. Tuition at universities	.04	.67	.05
8. Possibility to pay doctor	-.06	.52	.11
9. Everyone should pay doctor	-.11	.54	.17
10. Everyone is responsible	-.05	.11	.72
11. Everyone has to pay rent	.03	.17	.61
12. State neglects guarantees	.26	.01	-.59

According to the last elections, conservative values seem to prevail in the Czech Republic. Nevertheless, following both political preferences and social expectations, the Czech population is crystallizing into two poles - roughly speaking, into the winners

and losers in the recent and oncoming changes. Only from a long-term perspective can human capital become the main axis of economic success and can attitudes become identifiable along the re-emerging social structure. After several decades of massive

redistribution, almost the entire Slovak population consider itself to be a loser. At the end of 1992, the dilemma of containing two different socio-economic settings in the country resolved itself politically. Until now, social policies in the Czech and Slovak Re-

publics have developed more or less in parallel but budget constraints in the Slovak Republic will soon force cuts in social expenditures - the opposite of what the voters voted for.

Table 3. Factors of some opinions in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland
Multiple classification analysis of factor loadings

Factors	Observed values			Adjusted values		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Adjusted deviations:						
Gender:						
men	-.11	.06	.01	-.09	.05	.02
women	.10	-.06	-.01	.08	-.05	-.02
Age:						
20-29	-.12	.05	-.03	-.06	.06	-.03
30-39	-.13	.07	-.03	-.03	.04	.00
40-49	-.01	.02	-.03	.05	.00	-.03
50-59	.08	-.07	.01	.02	-.06	.00
60-	.19	-.08	.07	-.03	-.04	.05
Education:						
elementary	.44	-.14	.04	.39	-.09	.07
vocational	.11	-.03	.02	.15	-.07	-.02
secondary	-.26	.10	-.03	-.26	.09	-.02
university	-.75	.19	-.07	-.76	.20	-.06
Country:						
Czech Republic	-.16	.11	.35	-.16	.12	.36
Slovak Republic	.20	-.20	.00	.20	-.21	.00
Hungary	.12	-.18	-.05	.13	-.19	-.06
Poland	-.10	.20	-.22	-.11	.20	-.22
Coefficients:						
	eta			beta		
Gender	.10	.06	.01	.09**	.05*	.02
Age	.13	.06	.04	.04	.04	.03
Education	.37	.11	.04	.36**	.10**	.05**
Country	.14	.18	.21	.15**	.18**	.22**
R2				.17	.05	.05

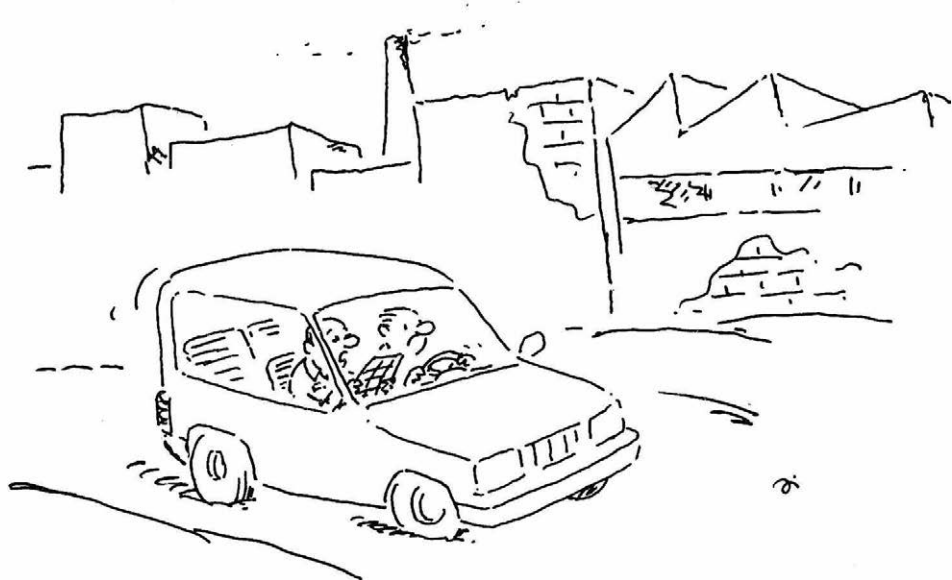
* significant at the level < 0.01

** significant at the level < 0.001

Working labels of individual factors:

1. More equality
2. More paid services
3. More individual responsibility

Jiří Večerník



YES. IT'S STILL EUROPE, WILKINS...