



Laboratory for Comparative Social Research

INDIVIDUALIZATION AND SOCIAL SOLIDARITY IN POST-COMMUNIST EUROPE: DO OLD DIVISIONS HOLD?

Anna Shirokanova
shirokaner@gmail.com

Belarusian State University, Belarus
Laboratory for Comparative Social Research, HSE, Russia

„Social Change in Cross-National Perspective“
November 6, 2012

Research Question

When the “all-inclusive” state care is gone, could family become the focus of social solidarity again, provided that its functions had been previously absorbed by state institutions?

What is Social Solidarity?

„...the ties that bind“ - but what ties, and do they always have to bind?

Evolutionary, there are different sources of social solidarity:

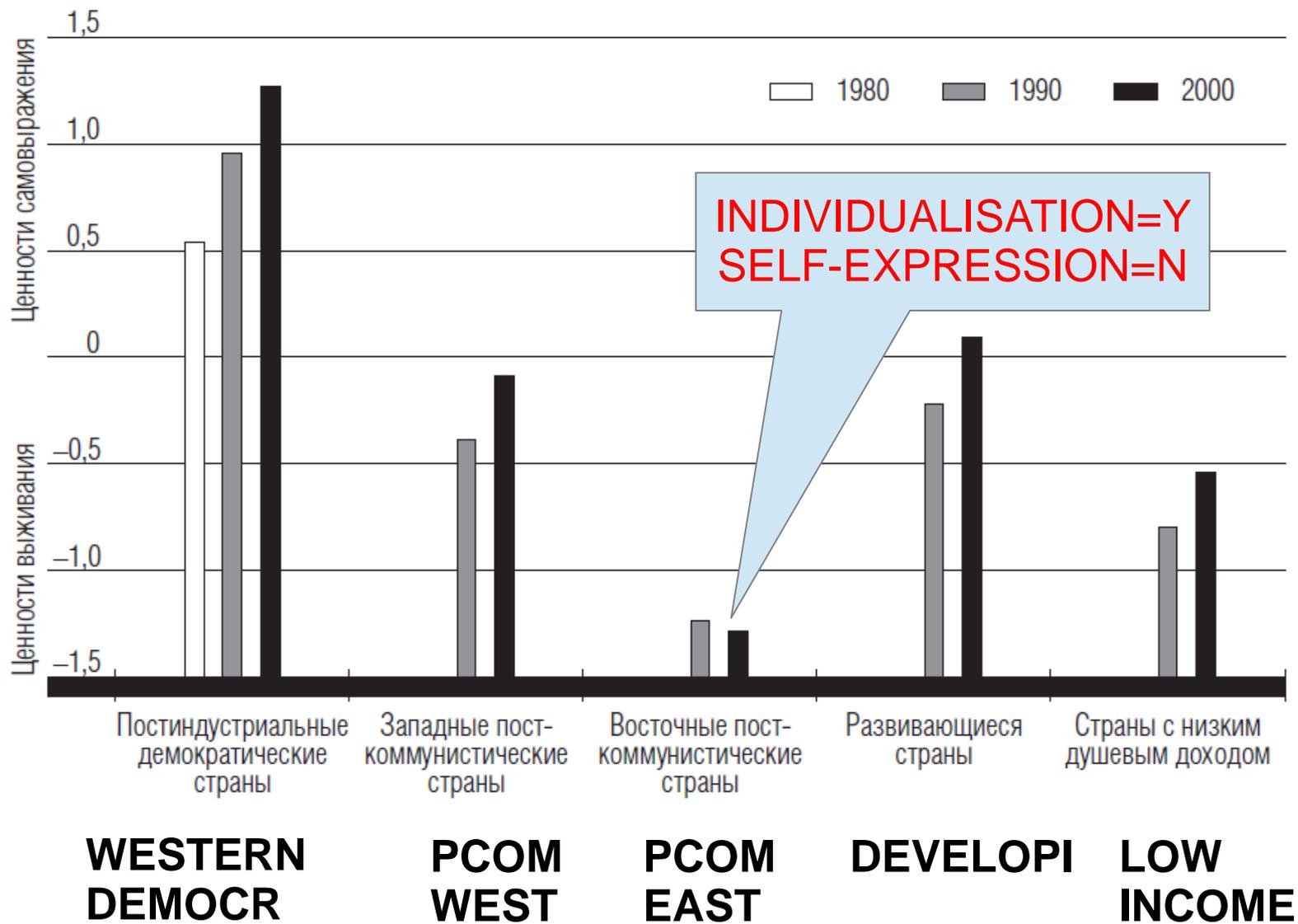
1. Sources:

informal (**family, friends**, other groups) and formal (social care, **welfare state**)

2. Dimensions of social solidarity in this study:

- family solidarity;
- redistribution solidarity.

POST-COMMUNIST VALUE CHANGE



Previous Research

Research on social solidarity in Europe, both theoretical and empirical (van Oorschot 1998; Arts and Gelissen 2001; Komter 2004; van der Veen 2007; Beer & Koster 2007; Janmaat & Braun; Kankaras & Moors 2009, and, yes, Inglehart & Welzel 2005 – detailed analysis):

- social solidarity is not only rights but also responsibilities;
- formal solidarity differs depending on welfare type;
- individualism in most cases is not equal to egoism

Important findings:

- 1) solidarity works in a spiral, e.g. less formal solidarity causes less support for it;
- 2) Europe is not so different in the variance of social solidarity, but the factor structures vary;
- 3) postmaterialist values work differently in eastern Europe;
- 4) there are western and eastern post-communist countries, where postmaterialist values create different patterns.

Research Questions

1. What is the impact of the communist past on social solidarity patterns in Europe?
 - Continuously pro-equalizing or Strongly anti-equalizing?
 - Are family relations the backbone?
2. Can we see the Cold war-time divisions in Europe through the preferences in formal and informal social solidarity?
 - What is the difference between post-soviet and post-socialist countries, if any?

Hypotheses

1a. Family solidarity is stronger due to the fall of welfare in postcommunist countries.

2a. Postcommunist postmaterialists are against redistribution.

1b. Lower family solidarity among postmaterialists, while generally poor welfare (non-humanist individualism).

2b. Low redistribution solidarity as a „feedback“ to soviet times.

Data and Method

EVS 2008; MLM

Outcome variables:

1. Family Solidarity= parents'+children's mutual responsibilities ('sacrifice all');
2. Family Solidarity 2 =responsibilities of adult children to parents *and* Concern about immediate family (!non-normal distribution...)
3. Redistribution S=Concern about: *the elderly, unemployed, immigrants, disabled, poor children.*

Independent Variables

Country level:

- HDI 2008 (could be 2007, or IHDI 2010)
- Postcom = post-communist (24)
- Postsov = post-soviet (10)
- Postsoc = post-socialist (7)

Individual level:

- 4-item postmaterialism [0;0.5;1]
 - Gender (1 = fem)
 - Education (over 12 yrs)
 - Age group (18-29 = ref.)
 - Religion
 - Social capital
- » ! the weighting issue

Results

H1a: Refuted. Post-communism in general is insignificant for family solidarity, post-soviet countries score lower (as well as postmaterialists and better educated).

*Post-comm. women have higher family solidarity.

H1b: Refuted. Postmaterialist values have the universal decreasing effect on family solidarity, no differences in post-communist countries

FAMILY SOL 1: L1 7%, L2 42 % explained;

FAMILY SOL 2: L1 7%, L2 21% explained.

For post-soviet countries FS 1: L1 8% L2 53%

Results

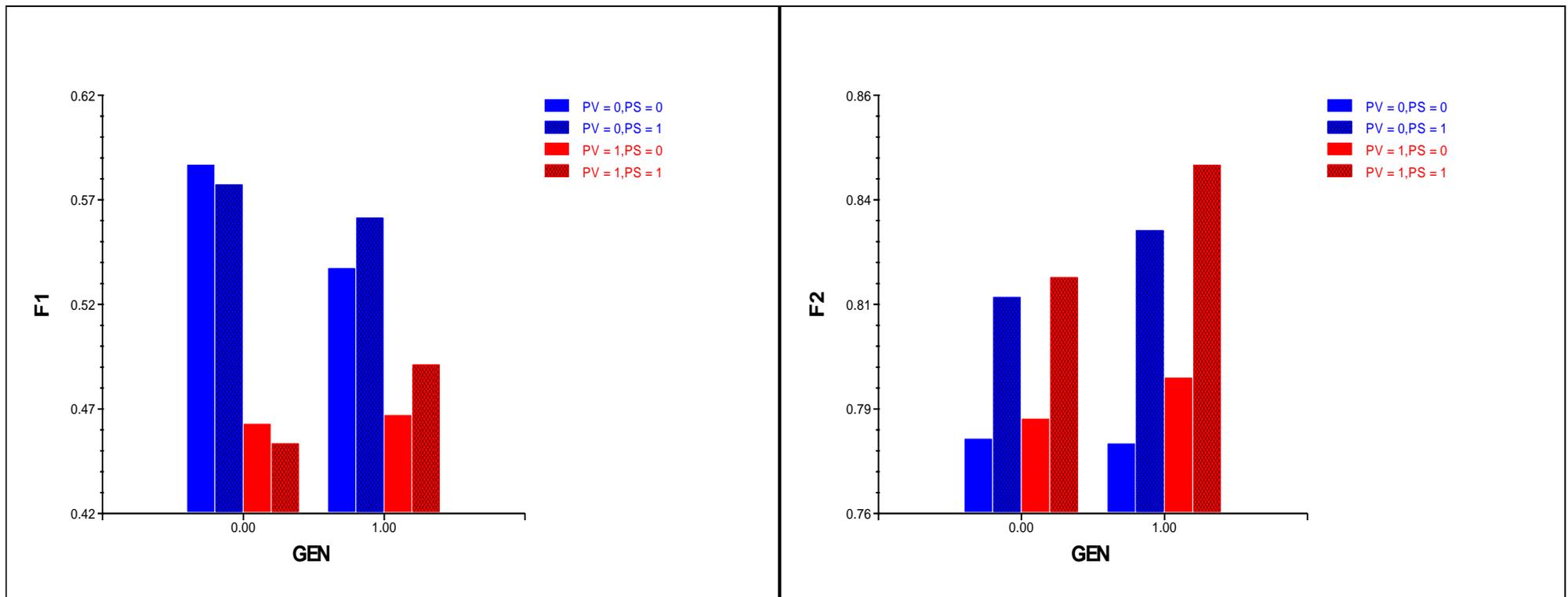
H2a: Confirmed. Post-communist postmaterialists score lower on redistribution solidarity (indirect effect only), while western postmaterialists score higher. (lower HDI – higher; women – higher; education – lower).

H2b: Confirmed. Lower income post-soviet countries are not high on redistribution solidarity (*the spiral logic*). Moreover, post-soviet postmaterialists are even harder on redistribution, and this is contrary to post-socialist and western Europe.

REDISTR SOL 1: L1 2%, L2 15 % explained;
post-soviet countries: L1 2%, L2 17% explained.

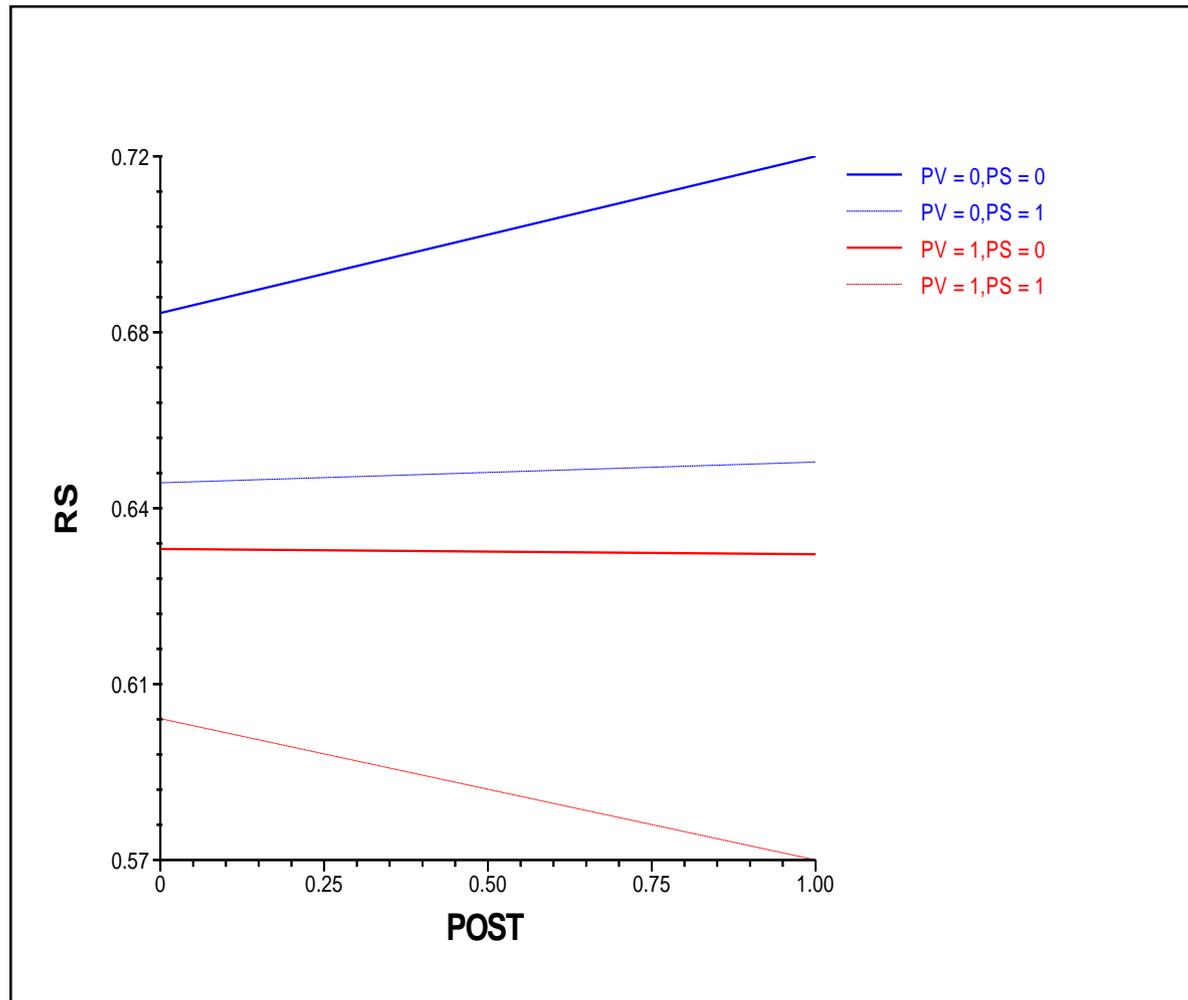
SNP, which is 'Some Nice Pictures'

FAMILY SOLIDARITY: POST-SOCIALIST COUNTRIES SCORE HIGHER THAN POST-SOVIET

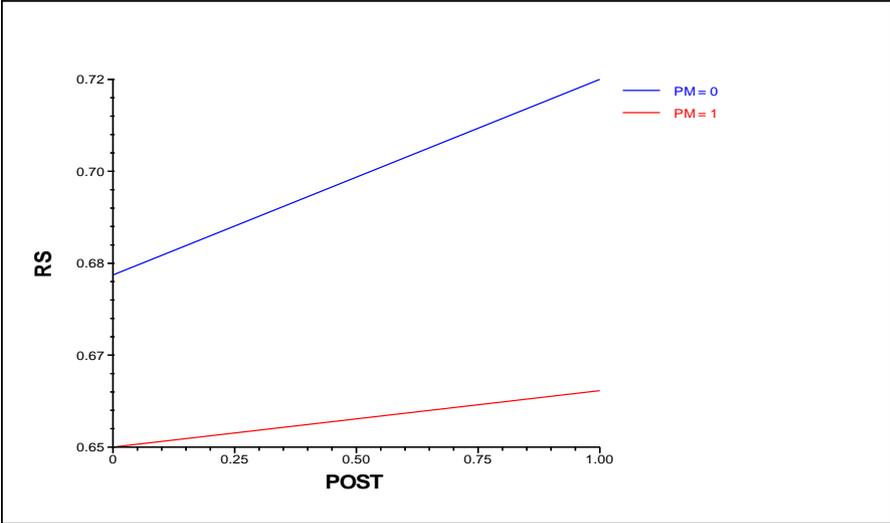
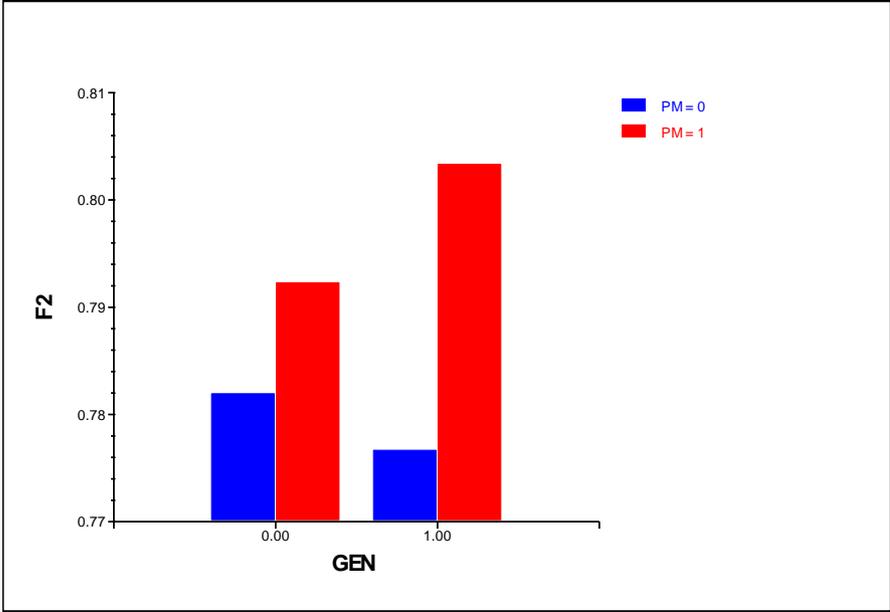
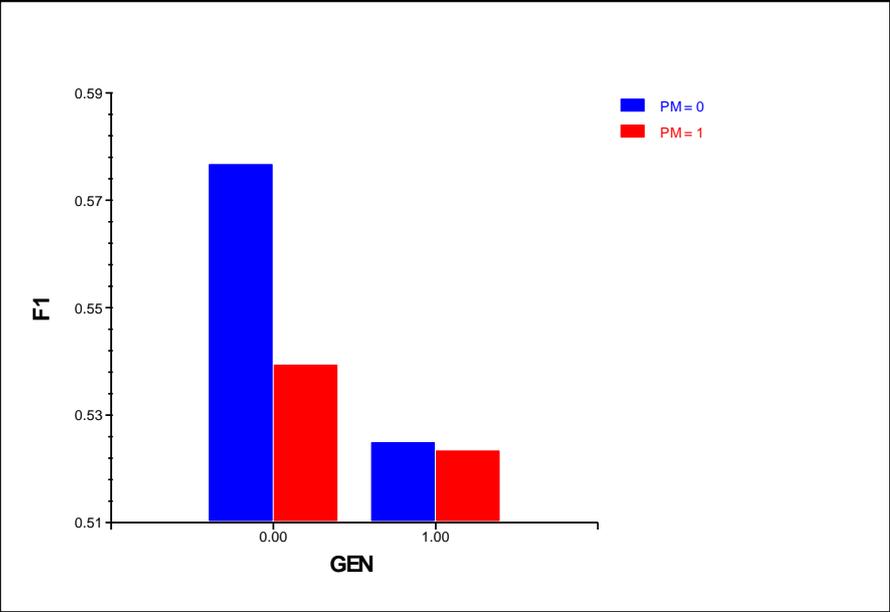


RED=POST-SOVIET
BLUE=WESTERN
FIRST BLACK=POST-SOCIALIST

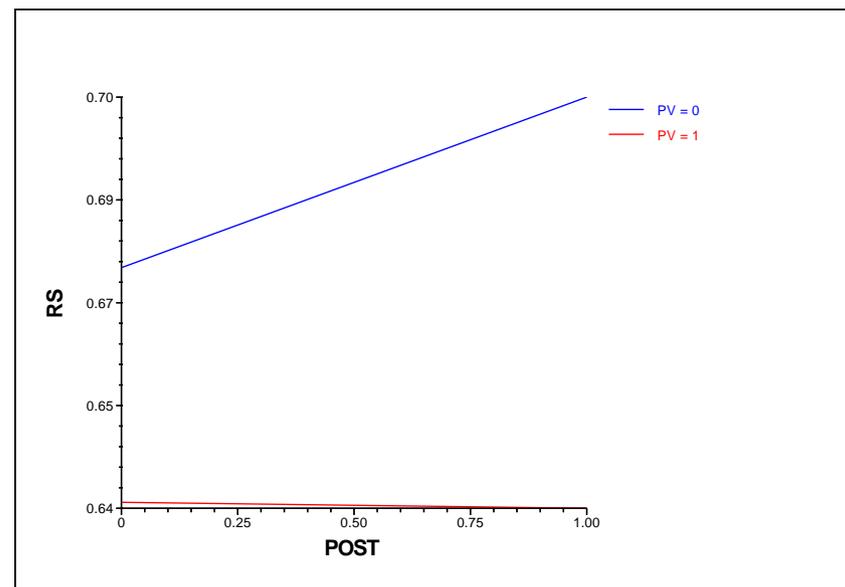
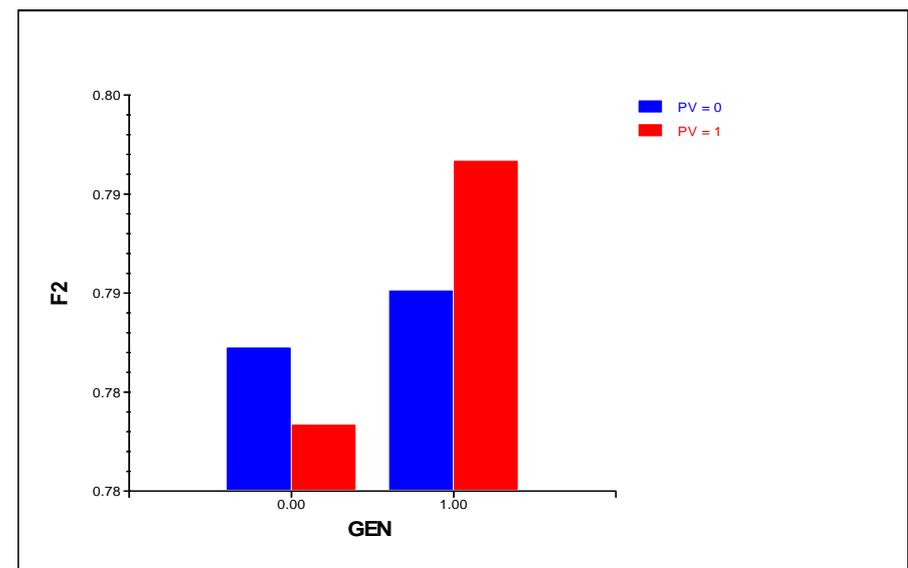
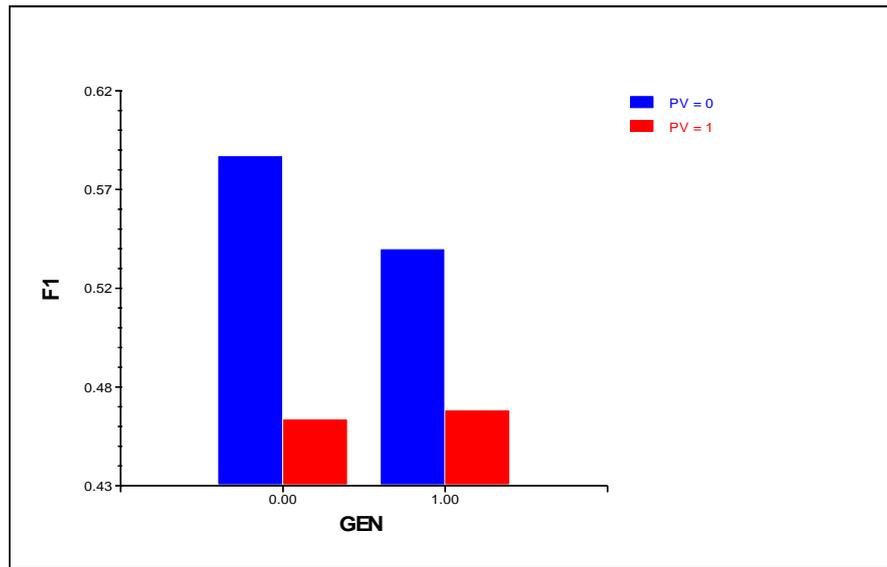
REDISTRIBUTION SOLIDARITY: WESTERN POSTMATERIALISTS ARE MOST ALTRUIST, POST- COMMUNIST POSTMATERIALISTS ARE NOT



All Post-Communist Countries



Post-Soviet Countries as a Group



Discussion

1. There is an influence of previous equalizing communist policy on social solidarity today.
2. There ARE western and eastern post-communist countries in solidarity issues.

What we learn:

- Post-soviets score lower on family solidarity than post-socialists.
- Post-soviet postmaterialists behave weirdly, against the general background (effect of average PM rate – yet this confirms previous findings).

What is Post-Communist Social Solidarity Like?

Or What ties people together?

Family solidarity: very uneven; generally lower than in western Europe, especially in post-soviet countries;

Formal solidarity (welfare state): lower than in western Europe; no significant effect of post-communism.

Problems and Further Ideas (to be tackled in the Paper)

- 1) Two indicators of family solidarity behave in different ways (non-normal distribution, one scale, the other dichotomous)
- 2) Low explained variance on the individual level: religion might be important (institutional factors), as well as social capital (extra factors on individual level other studies (ISSP?...))
- 3) Institutional explanations could be extremely helpful (e.g. political will of post-socialist countries to join the EU, or the devastating effect of the 1991 on post-soviet welfare, etc.)

Fresh Insight from the Field

(Bevzenko 2012):

“Resources for Social Success”, Ukraine, 2009

Mostly in our country	Mostly in the West	Both here and there
Influential relatives (51% vs 13 %)	High intelligence (56-30)	Attractive looks (11-10)
Well-off parents (37-15)	High education (49-26)	Good health (28-23)
Skill to work around the law (33-5)	Skill to make use of money (24-15)	High social origin (38-24)
Influential friends (27-7)	Knowledge of foreign language (23-13)	Readiness to help others (10-8)
Egoism, individualism (12-6)	Honesty (18-11)	Readiness to take risk (19-18)
	Political awareness (10-7)	Skill to persuade (12-14)

Your comments now, please!
(last chance for the Titanic...)

And big thanks for
your attention!

App: Proportion of postmaterialists in post-communist countries, %

Azerbaijan – 7

Armenia – 10

Bosnia – 3.5

Bulgaria -2

Belarus – 6

Croatia – 8

Czech – 10

Estonia – 5.5

Georgia – 7

Hungary – 8

Latvia – 7

Lithuania – 4

Moldova – 5

Montenegro – 6

Poland – 7

Romania – 4

Russia – 1

Serbia – 6

Slovak – 7

Slovenia – 14

Ukraine – 2

Macedonia – 10

Germany East – 14

Kosovo - 7