

# PATTERNS OF ASSOCIATIONISM AND TRUST IN EUROPE

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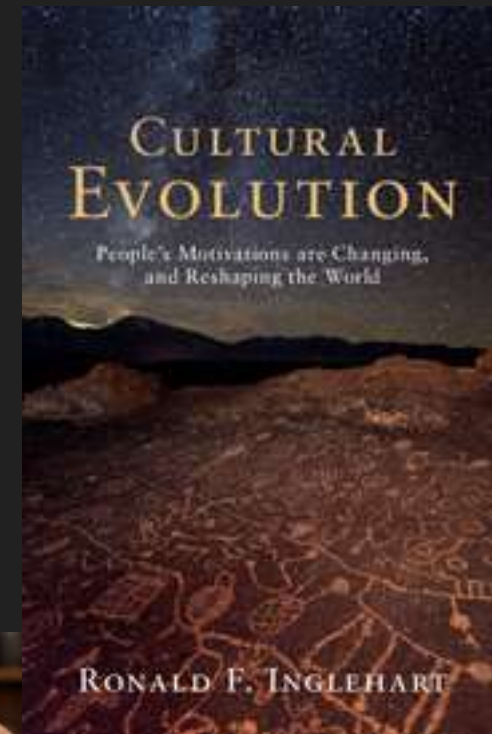
# The 'recent' story of convergence

1992



2018

Maybe ... not!



# Troublesome news or not?

European Union

?

Postcommunist societies

?

# (Pseudo-)modernity

## Western societies

- Traditional values



- Postmodern values

## Postcommunist societies

- Neotraditionalism (Walder, 1986; Jowitt 1992)
- Fake-modernity (Sztompka, 1993)
- Pseudo-modernity (Winiecki, 1988; Voicu, 2001)
- „double morale” (Verdery, 1996)
- „blat economy” (Ledeneva, 1998)
- „antimodern” (Rose, 2000)

# Social capital as missing link?

- (Paldalm & Svedsen, 2002)
- Communism: state control over society & associational life (associations, labor unions, church organizations, etc.)
- Lot of evidences: Raiser et al, 2001; Voicu, 2003.

# Social capital as cultures of participations

- Bădescu & Sum, 2005
- Pichler & Wallace, 2007
- Voicu, 2014



- Is it legitimate to discuss about changes in aggregate levels of social capital?

# Pathways

- One may consider changes in social capital levels as pathways followed by societies
- One may borrow the life-course perspective and apply it to societies...

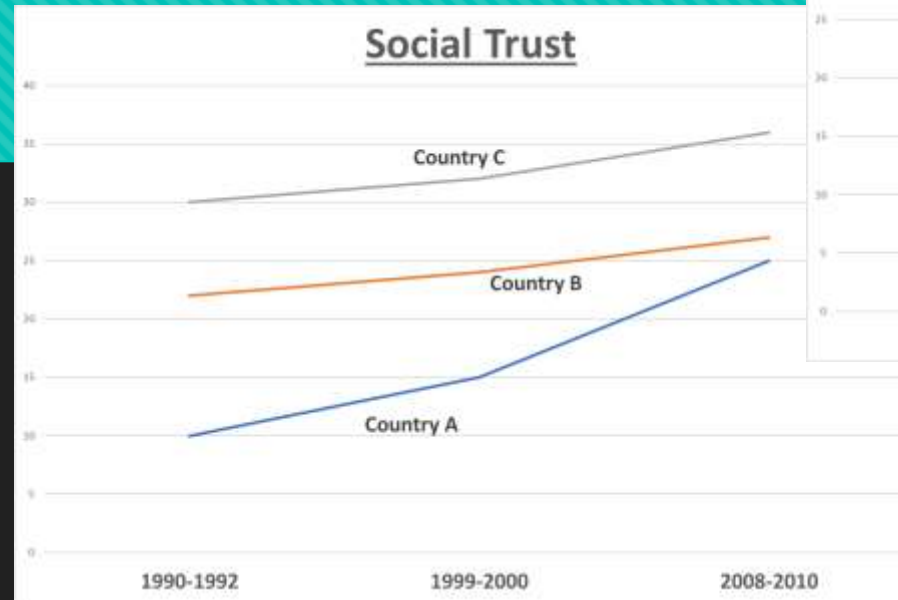
# Research question

We test two alternative hypotheses:

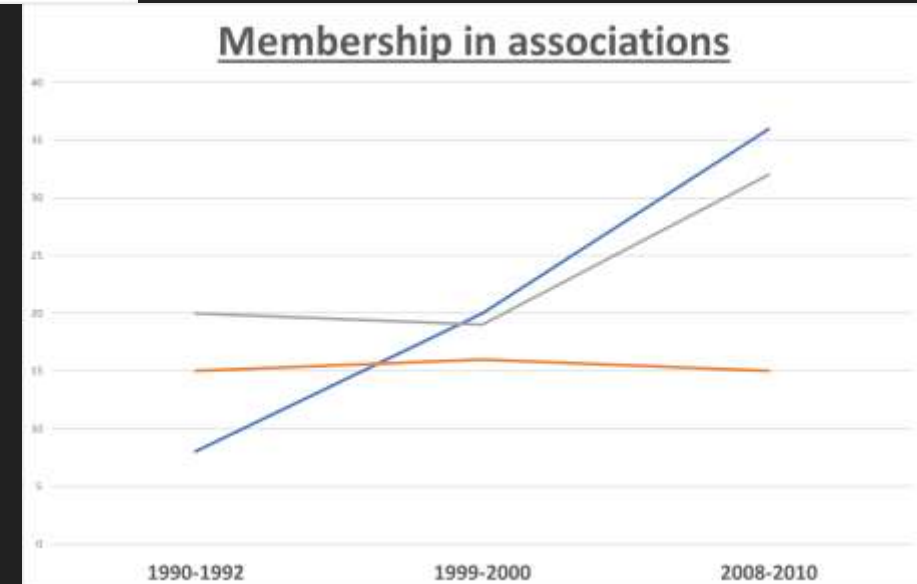
1. There is convergence in the pathways of changing social capital across CEE and Europe
2. The trajectories followed by CEE and other European countries in the past decades actually maintain cross-European differences in levels of social capital



# Method (I)



- It is more efficient to compare 3D profiles ...
- ... and to consider growth rates instead of actual levels
- (however, since growth rates may depend on initial levels, one may consider initial levels and growth rates)



# Method (II)

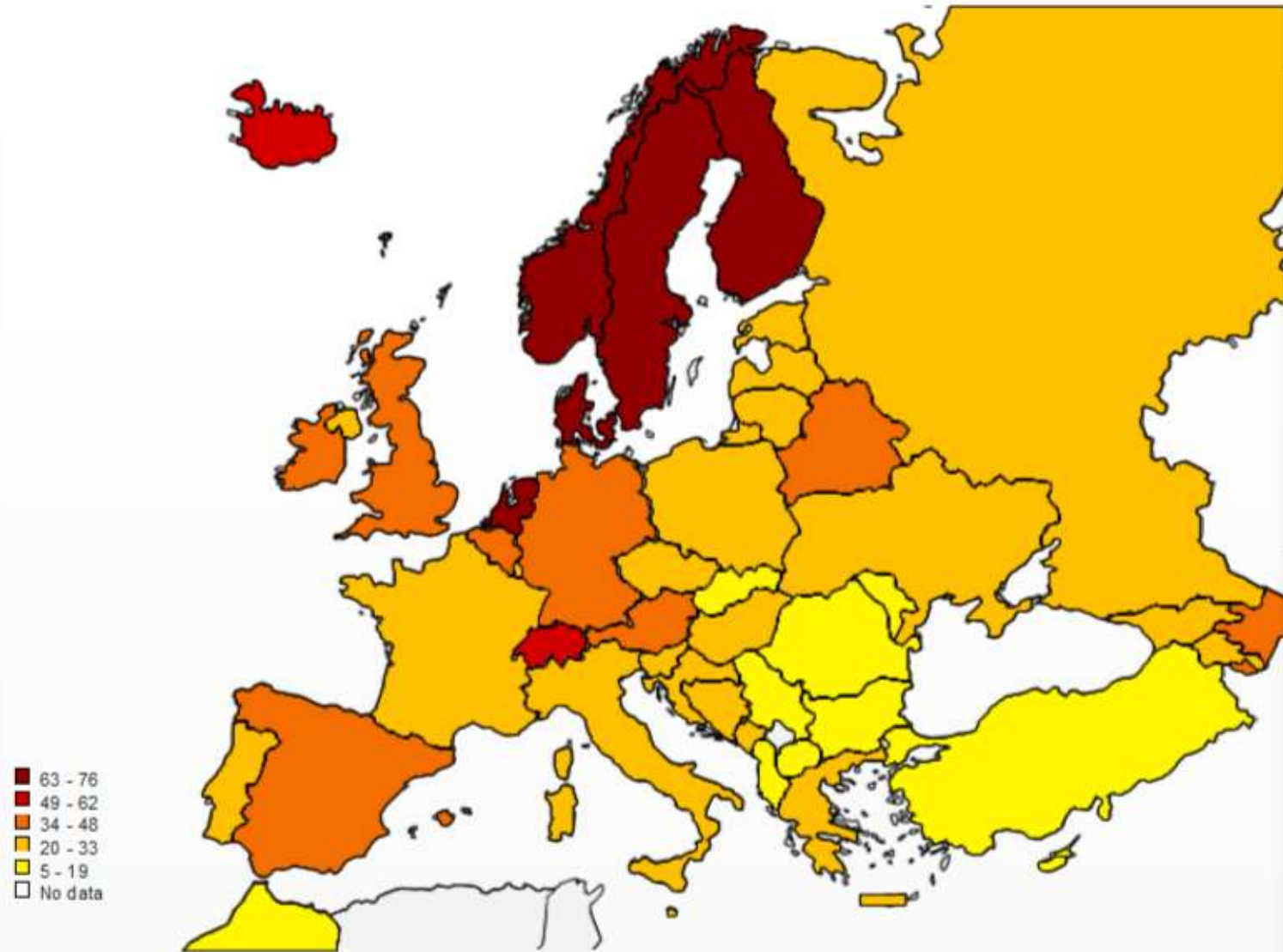
- Cluster analysis (Ward & squared Euclidian distances; stability tested with adjusted-Rand, comparing against weighted average linkages with Euclidian distances)
- Data from European Values Study 1990-1993, 1999-2001, 2008-2009
- % trusting people
- % members in voluntary associations
- % joining protest movements (petition, boycott, peaceful demonstration)

## Results

Yes, there is diversity.

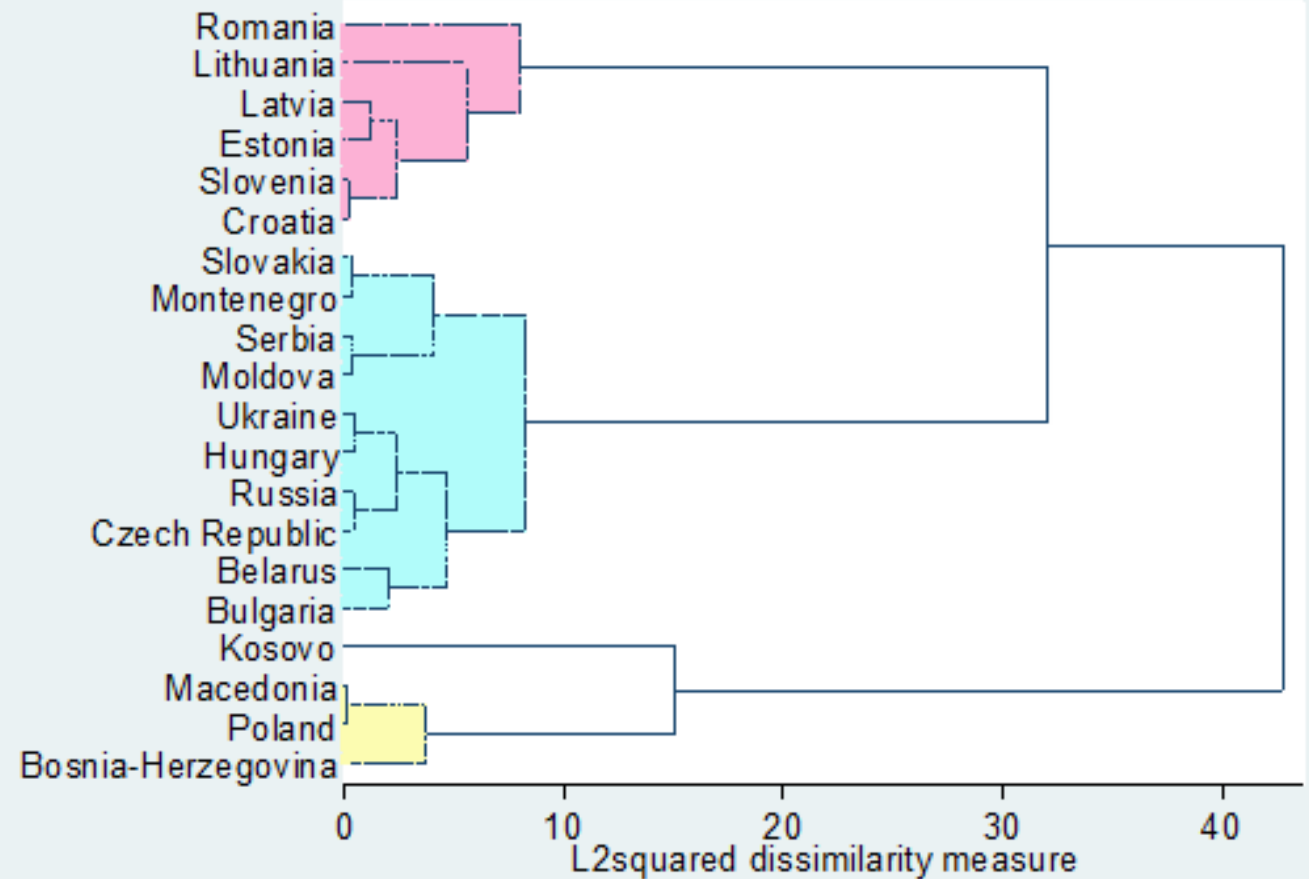
However, is there a trend towards less diversity/more homogeneity?

Percentage of people that say, generally speaking, most people can be trusted



## CEE, post-transition

Clusters of CEE countries depending solely on patterns of change between 1999 and 2008 (Ward linkage)



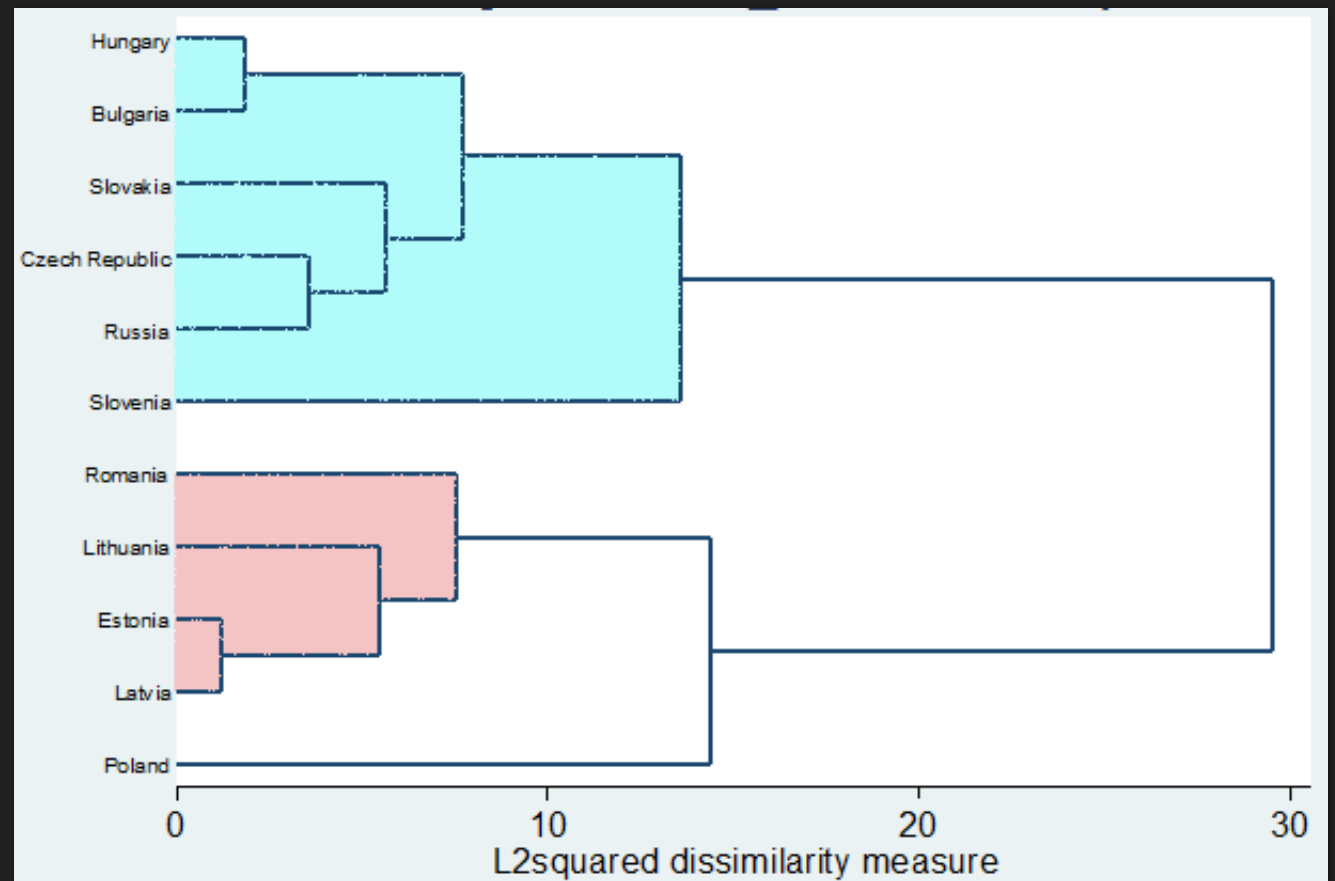
Cluster		Growth rates*		
		membership	protest	trust
1	Bosnia, Poland, Macedonia	-.42	.22	.53
2	Kosovo	-.40	.41	-.42
3	Czech Rep, Montenegro, Slovakia, Moldova, Russia, Hungary, Belarus, Ukraine, Serbia, Bulgaria	-.32	-.20	-.07
4	Lithuania, Croatia, Slovenia, Latvia, Romania, Estonia	.14	-.08	.34

Very little change if adding initial (1999) levels to the model

## CEE, 1990-2010

Clusters of CEE countries depending solely on patterns of change between 1990 and 2008 (Ward linkage)

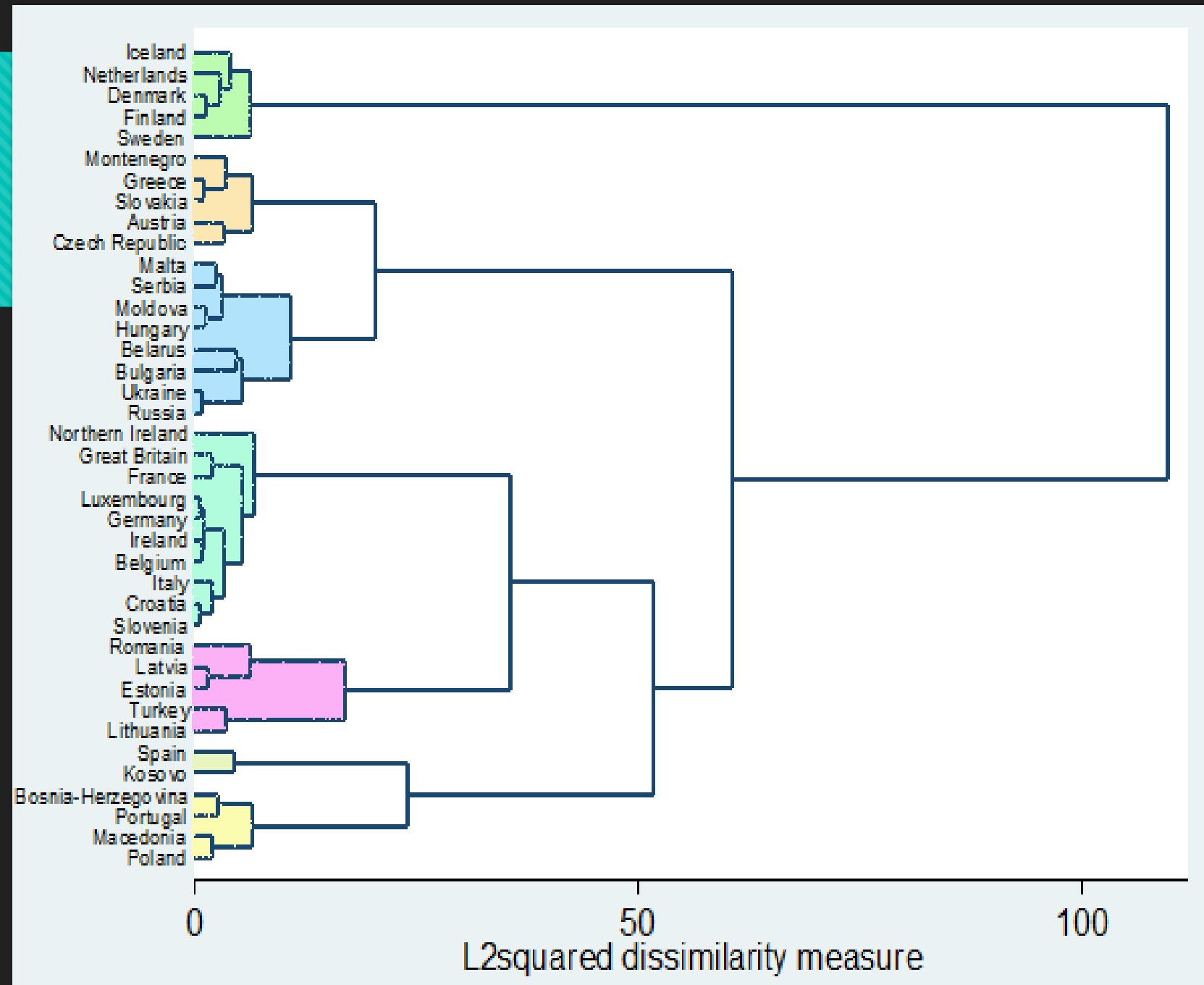
(changes between 1990 and 1999, as well as between 1999 and 2008 are considered)



		Growth rates (1999-1990)		Growth rates (2008-1999)		
		membership	Trust	mb.ship	protest	trust
1	Poland	-.37	-.41	-.36	.29	.48
2	Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Romania	-.52	-.21	.20	-.12	.46
3	Hungary, Bulgaria, Czech Rep, Slovakia, Russia	-.14	-.13	-.26	-.21	.02

## All Europe 1999-2008

Dendrogram of European countries depending on patterns of change (2008-1999) and initial levels (1999) of social capital (Ward linkage)



**A few clusters mix Western and Eastern societies**

# Discussion

- The static views reported for the end of the 1990s showed a clear divide between East and West, as well as North and South. Yet, **when considering the post-2000 dynamics, the resulting image is one of a continent that has a great potential for convergence.**
- There is not such a great divide in patterns and levels of social capital, although a Northern and an Eastern core are clearly visible. Other homogeneous groupings combine Eastern and Western societies in different degrees.

# Implications

- One can identify patterns of change in the so-called “soft” societal structures, which, according to some authors (Andorka 1993; Sztopka 1993), remained fairly traditional despite communist regimes’ modernizing efforts.
- In particular, the steady increase in trust in almost all countries from the region is excellent news for those betting on its role in promoting sustainable societal cohesion and growth.



# Further research

- Further analyses are needed to investigate the “causes” of such groupings as well as the role or the consequences of observed patterns for economic and political development.
- Furthermore, additional analyses are needed to conclude whether the economic crisis at the end of the 2000s was a game changer or not in terms of social capital and development; the common EVS/WVS wave conducted in 2017-2018 will provide the best source for such analyses.