
Славоміра Бялоблоцька

Соціальна складова державної/урядової політики в країнах Центрально-Східної Європи: становлення, моделі та наслідки

Розглянуто особливості становлення моделі соціальної політики в країнах Центрально-Східної Європи. Окреслено вплив міжнародних і національних інститутів на усталення, а також консолідацію соціальної складової державної/урядової політики в країнах Центрально-Східної Європи. Визначено проблеми політики соціального захисту в країнах Центрально-Східної Європи. Детерміновано відмінності соціальної політики в країнах Центрально-Східної Європи від зразків класичної західноєвропейської моделі соціальної політики.

Ключові слова: Європейський Союз, Центрально-Східна Європа, уряд, соціальна політика, соціальний захист, модель соціальної політики, соціальна допомога, соціальне реформування.

Ślawomira Białobłocka

Social component of national/governmental policy in Central and Eastern European countries: formation, models and implications

The article is dedicated to analyzing social policy formation model's features in Central and Eastern European countries. The author outlined impact of international/national institutions on institutionalization and consolidation of social component of national/government policy in Central and Eastern European countries; determined the problem of social protection policies in Central and Eastern European countries; identified differences in social policy among Central and Eastern European countries and the examples of classical Western-European model of social policy.

Keywords: European Union, Central and Eastern Europe, government, social policy, social protection, social policy model, social assistance, social reform.

In constitutions of all Central and East-European countries social protection is one of the main functions of the state/government which means that it assumes the responsibility for providing the assistance to the weak and miserable people, to all those who can not make their living and do not have alternative sources of income. Though, the systems of social policy of countries of the region are not identical, as each of them had its own history of establishment and development. With regard to this, under modern conditions, the analysis of social component of state policy in the countries of the region which achieved different standards of the life quality and the search of possible ways of experience borrowing becomes especially meaningful.

Problematics of researching the social policy, social component of governmental activity in the Central and Eastern Europe and perspectives of establishment and/or development of the welfare states in the region was reflected in the works of the following researchers : G. Bonoli¹, B. Deacon², G. Fajth³, Z. Ferge⁴, E. Fultz⁵, M. Sengoku⁶, G. Standing⁷, J. Aidukaite⁸, M. Bernaciak, A. Duman, V. Rys⁹, V. Šćepanović¹⁰, D. Bohle, B. Greskovits¹¹, A. Cerami, P. Vanhuyse¹², L. Cook¹³, S. Crowley, D. Ost¹⁴,

- ¹ G. Bonoli, *Classifying Welfare States: a Two Dimensional Approach*, "Journal of Social Policy" 1997. vol 26, nr 3, s. 351-372.
- ² B. Deacon, *Developments in East European social policy*, [w:] C. Jones, *New Perspectives on the Welfare State in Europe*, Wyd. Routledge 1993.; B. Deacon, *Eastern European welfare states: the impact of the politics of globalization*, "Journal of European Social Policy" 2000, vol 10, nr 2, s. 146-161.
- ³ G. Fajth, *Social Security in a Rapidly Changing Environment: The Case of Post-communist Transformation*, "Social Policy and Administration" 1999, vol 33, nr 4, s. 416-436.
- ⁴ Z. Ferge, *Welfare and 'Ill-fare' Systems in Central-Eastern Europe*, [w:] B. Sykes, B. Palier, M. Prior, *Globalization and European Welfare States: Challenges and Change*, Wyd. Palgrave 2001.; Z. Ferge, G. Juhász, *Accession and social policy: the case of Hungary*, "Journal of European Social Policy" 2004, vol 14, nr 3, s. 233-251.
- ⁵ E. Fultz, *Social security reforms in Central and Eastern Europe: How effective, equitable, and secure?*, Budapest 2002.
- ⁶ M. Sengoku, *Emerging Eastern European Welfare States: A Variant of the "European" Welfare Model*, [w:] S. Tabata, A. Iwashita, *Slavic Eurasia's integration into the world economy and community*, Wyd. Sapporo 2004.
- ⁷ G. Standing, *Social Protection in Central and Eastern Europe: a Tale of Slipping Anchors and Torn Safety Nets*, [w:] G. Esping-Andersen, *Welfare States in Transition. National Adaptations in Global Economies*, Wyd. Sage 1996.
- ⁸ J. Aidukaite, *The Emergence of the Post-Socialist Welfare State: The Case of the Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania*, Wyd. Elanders Gotab 2004.; J. Aidukaite, *Welfare reforms and socio-economic trends in the 10 new EU member states of Central and Eastern Europe*, "Communist and Post-Communist Studies" 2011, vol 44, nr 3, s. 211-219.
- ⁹ V. Rys, *Transition countries of central Europe entering the European Union: Some social protection issues*, "International Social Security Review" 2001, vol 54, nr 2-3, s. 177-189.
- ¹⁰ M. Bernaciak, A. Duman, V. Šćepanović, *Employee Welfare and Restructuring in The Public Sector: Evidence from Poland and Serbia*, "European Journal of Industrial Relations" 2011, vol 17, nr 4, s. 365-380.
- ¹¹ D. Bohle, B. Greskovits, *Neoliberalism, embedded neoliberalism and neocorporatism: Towards transnational capitalism in Central-Eastern Europe*, "West European Politics" 2007, vol 30, nr 3, s. 443-466.
- ¹² A. Cerami, P. Vanhuyse, *Post-communist Welfare Pathways: Theorizing Social Policy Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe*, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2009.; P. Vanhuyse, *Divide and Pacify: Strategic Social Policies and Political Protests in Post-Communist Democracies*, Wyd. Central European University Press 2006.; P. Vanhuyse, *Power, Order and the Politics of Social Policy in Central and Eastern Europe*, [w:] A. Cerami, P. Vanhuyse, *Post-Communist Welfare Pathways: Theorizing Social Policy Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe*, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2009, s. 53-72.
- ¹³ L. Cook, *Eastern Europe and Russia*, [w:] F. Castels, S. Leibfried, J. Lewis, H. Obinger, C. Pierson, *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, Wyd. Oxford University Press 2010, s. 671-688.; L. Cook, *Postcommunist Welfare States: Reform politics in Russia and Eastern Europe*, Wyd. Cornell University Press 2007.; L. Cook, *Negotiating Welfare in Postcommunist States*, "Comparative Politics" 2007, vol 40, nr 1, s. 41-62.; L. Cook, M. Orenstein, M. Rueschemeyer, *Left Parties and Social Policy in Postcommunist Europe*, Wyd. Westview Pr. 1999.
- ¹⁴ S. Crowley, D. Ost, *Workers after Workers' States: Labor and politics in Postcommunist Eastern Europe*, Wyd. Rowman &

J. Draxler, O. Van Vliet¹⁵, H. Fenger¹⁶, S. Haggard, R. Kaufman¹⁷, T. Inglot¹⁸, M. Keune¹⁹, G. Meardi²⁰, M. Orenstein, M. Haas²¹, M. Varga²², I. Vural²³, C. Aspalter²⁴, A. Guillen, B. Palier²⁵, J. Kovacs²⁶, N. Lendvai²⁷, G. Pascall, N. Manning²⁸, P. Laroque²⁹, W. Beveridge³⁰, M. Karhalova³¹, B. Hacker³², L. Deryhlazova³³, V. Sobchenko³⁴, M. Antuofermo, E. Di Meglio³⁵, etc.

Most works suggested (in particular those published after the Central and East European countries joined the European Union) show that the establishment of social policy and

Littlefield 2001.

- ¹⁵ J. Draxler, O. Van Vliet, *European social model: No convergence from the East*, "European Integration" 2010, vol 32, nr 1, s. 115-135.
- ¹⁶ H. Fenger, *Welfare regimes in Central and Eastern Europe: Incorporating Post-Communist Countries in a Welfare Regime Typology*, "Contemporary Issues and Ideas in Social Sciences" 2007, vol 3, nr 2, s. 1-30.
- ¹⁷ S. Haggard, R. Kaufman, *Development, Democracy, and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe*, Wyd. Princeton University Press, 2008.
- ¹⁸ T. Inglot, *Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia: Adaptation and Reform of the Post-Communist 'Emergency Welfare States'*, [w:] A. Cerami, P. Vanhuyse, *Post-Communist Welfare Pathways: Theorizing Social Policy Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe*, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2009, s. 73-95.; T. Inglot, *Historical Legacies, Institutions, and the Politics of Social Policy in Hungary and Poland, 1989-1999*, [w:] G. Ekiert, S. E. Hanson, *Capitalism and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe: assessing the legacy of Communist rule*, Wyd. Cambridge University Press 2003, s. 210-248.; T. Inglot, *Welfare States in East Central Europe, 1919-2004*, Wyd. Cambridge University Press 2008.
- ¹⁹ M. Keune, *Welfare States and Restructuring in Central and Eastern Europe*, [w:] M.-A. Moreau, M. Lypez, *Restructuring in the new EU member states: social dialogue, firms relocation and social treatment of restructuring*, Wyd. Peter Lang 2008, s. 81-102.
- ²⁰ G. Meardi, *Social Failures of EU Enlargement: A Case of Workers Voting With Their Feet*, Wyd. Taylor & Francis 2011.
- ²¹ M. Orenstein, M. Haas, *Globalization and the Future of Welfare States in Post-Communist East-Central European Countries*, [w:] M. Glatzer, D. Rueschemeyer, *Globalization and the Future of the Welfare State*, Wyd. University of Pittsburgh Press 2005, s. 130-152.
- ²² M. Varga, *Striking with Tied Hands: Strategies of Labor Interest Representation in Post-Communist Romania and Ukraine*, Wyd. Universiteit van Amsterdam 2011.
- ²³ I. Vural, *Converging Europe: Transformation of Social Policy in the Enlarged European Union and in Turkey*, Wyd. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd 2011.
- ²⁴ C. Aspalter, *Analysing the welfare state in Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia: An ideal-typical perspective*, "Social Policy & Administration" 2009, vol 43, nr 2, s. 170-185.
- ²⁵ A. Guillen, B. Palier, *Does Europe matter? Accession to EU and social policy developments in recent and new member states*, "Journal of European Social Policy" 2004, vol 14, nr 3, s. 203-209
- ²⁶ J. Kovacs, *Approaching the EU and reaching the US? Rival Narratives on Transforming Welfare Regimes in East-Central Europe*, "West European Politics" 2002, vol 25, nr 4, s. 175-204.
- ²⁷ N. Lendvai, *EU Integration and the transformation of post-communist welfare: traversing a 'quantum leap'*, "Social Policy & Administration" 2008, vol 42, nr 5, s. 504-523.
- ²⁸ G. Pascall, N. Manning, *Gender and social policy: comparing welfare states in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union*, "Journal of European Social Policy" 2000, vol 10, nr 3, s. 240-266.
- ²⁹ P. Laroque, *Social Security and Social Development*, "Bulletin of ISSA" 1966, vol 19, nr 3-4.
- ³⁰ W. Beveridge, *Social Insurance and Allied Services*, Wyd. McMillan 1942.
- ³¹ M. Karhalova, *Sotsyalnaia Evropa v XXI veke*, Wyd. Moskva 2011, s. 371-372.
- ³² B. Hacker, *Hybridization instead of clustering: Transformation processes of welfare policies in Central and Eastern Europe*, "Social Policy & Administration" 2009, vol 43, nr 2, s. 152-169.
- ³³ L. Deryhlazova, *Modernyzatsiia evropeiskoi sotsyalnoi modely v usloviakh kryzysa*, „Vestnyk tomskoho gosudarstvennogo universyteta» 2012, vol 1, nr 17, s. 64-74.
- ³⁴ V. Sobchenko, *Osnovni modeli sotsialnoi polityky v krainakh Tsentralnoi ta Skhidnoi Yevropy*, «Derzhavne budivnytstvo» 2011, nr 2.
- ³⁵ M. Antuofermo, E. Di Meglio, *Population and social conditions*, Wyd. Eurostat: "Statistics in focus" 2012, nr 9.

Welfare States in the region after the collapse of “public democracy” regimes («real socialism») have passed at least *two stages*.

At first social problems did not occupy a significant place in the cabinets activity in the countries of the region. The matter is that during the first transformational years of post-communist development the governments of Central and East-European countries focused on the solution of first of all political and economic problems. Besides, transformation of the social protection system was not considered the primary task of reformation directions of most of the regional countries³⁶. Consequently, the governments of Central and East European countries have not prepared the systematic and long-lasting strategies of the future development of the social protection systems and projects of Welfare States and focused on the stage-by-stage ad hoc approach to the solution of social development problems. It was especially noticeable in the context of struggle with unemployment and poverty in the region³⁷. It was significantly caused by the peculiarities of the regimes operating during «public democracy» regimes and the first years of post-communist development of the social protection systems in the countries of the region with which the principles of social equality and justice were regulated. And, accordingly, transfer of the countries of the region from “socialist” social protection system established during the decades to any new or reformed model of social policy was needed not to allow the essential recession of social services. Therefore, in the system of social values operating at the early 1990-s the elderly people who remembered the “soviet system” suffered most. The situation was significantly aggravated by the former communist and new post-communist left political parties speculating on social and economic nostalgia (in the first half of 1990-s in some Central and East European countries the influence of post-communist parties was the greatest).

Although, already soon, mostly in the second half of 1990-s. – in the course of preparation for joining the European Union (which was determined by the agreements of Central and East European countries about the association with the European Union), – governments of the regional countries initiated the social policy reformation processes and resorted to the long-lasting strategies of social life planning. All the peculiarities of the social component of governments activity started to be considered in complex and integrally with the challenges of economic, fiscal, ecological, and demographic challenges. Basic parameters of reforming the social life in the region, starting from 1990s came to include the following peculiarities and directions: isolation of the state from the public sector of social protection and implementation of plurality of social protection institutional systems. Consequently, the whole number of allowances on goods and services was cancelled, the healthcare and socio-medical

³⁶ H. Wagener, *The Welfare State in Transition Economies and Accession to the European Union*, “West European Politics” 2002, vol 25, nr 2, s. 156.

³⁷ B. Deacon, *Eastern European welfare states: the impact of the politics of globalization*, “Journal of European Social Policy” 2000, vol 10, nr 2, s. 146-161.

industries were privatized and marketized, as well as the system of social and socio-economic insurance in general, the Voluntary Sector was initiated in the form of voluntary and non-governmental organizations, social protection funds separated from the state budget, pension funds separated from the medical insurance, the authorities of regional and local power bodies were increased in the social policy implementation. The reforms conducted were aimed at demonopolization and pluralization of social assistance, to increase the freedom of social service choice, to decentralize the public administration systems. Consequently, the social policy system was actually based on the social communities' requirements³⁸.

At the same time, the reforms conducted have become the result of some negative tendencies of social development in the Central and East-European countries. Thus, the increase of inequality in the income distribution took place, as well as the poverty and social isolation deepened (especially for the elderly people and unintelligent members of society), aggravation of the demographic situation (stabilization of low rates of population increase, life expectancy decrease, and family life deinstitutionalization) etc.³⁹.

In this context most important is that the social policy reformation of the Central and East European countries was influenced by at least two institutions – *on the one hand, European Union* and on the other hand – World bank and International Monetary Fund. Besides, the researchers are more inclined to think that the influences of trans-European structures were bigger than the influence of the European institutions. It was reflected in the fact that it was World bank and International Monetary Fund who suggested the three-component model of pension system in most Central and East European countries, market health insurance system, residual system of protection against unemployment, as well as the social protection system for the people in need⁴⁰. Nevertheless, European Union was not always directly interested in the facilitation of realization of classical strong West-European model of social policy and focused on the macroeconomic stabilization of the region. But, even in spite of this, the EU influence on formation of social policy models in Central and East European countries turned out to be essential. It first of all was reflected in the ideas, interests, and institutes totally unknown for the region. «New» member-states of European Union approved

³⁸ Z. Ferge, *Welfare and 'Ill-fare' Systems in Central-Eastern Europe*, [w:] B. Sykes, B. Palier, M. Prior, *Globalization and European Welfare States: Challenges and Change*, Wyd. Palgrave 2001, s. 135-136.

³⁹ L. Hantrais, *Central and East European States Respond to Sociodemographic Challenges*, "Social Policy and Society" 2002, vol 1, nr 2, s. 145-146.

⁴⁰ Z. Ferge, *European Integration and the reform of social security in the Accession Countries*, „Journal of European Social Quality“ 2001, vol 3, nr 1-2, s. 9-25.; F. Bafoil, *Transfert institutionnel et européanisation. Une comparaison des cas estallemand et est-européens*, "Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée" 2006, vol 13, nr 2, s. 213-238.; B. Deacon, M. Hulse, P. Stubbs, *Global Social Policy. International Organizations and the Future of Welfare*, Wyd. SAGE Publications 1997.; K. Müller, *The Political Economy of Pension Reform in Central and Eastern Europe*, [w:] *Reforming Public Pensions. Sharing the Experiences of Transition and OECD Countries*, Wyd. OECD 2004, s. 23-50.; N. Manning, *Diversity and change in pre-accession Central and Eastern Europe since 1989*, "Journal of European Social Policy" 2004, vol 14, nr 3, s. 211-232.; M. Orenstein, *The new pension reform as global policy*, "Global Social Policy" 2005, vol 5, nr 2, s. 175-202.; B. Sissenich, *The Limits of Networks: The Transfer of EU Social Policy to Poland and Hungary*, [w:] F. Schimmelfennig & U. Sedelmeier, *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*, Wyd. Cornell University Press 2005, s. 156-177.

the «*policy of conditionality*», which has become the direct consequence of European Union expansion, as well as cognitively broadened not only the possibilities but the perspectives of social policy in the region⁴¹. Consequently, the question arises whether Central and East European countries inherited the model of social policy traditional for the Western Europe or approved totally different variant, if yes – which exactly. Traditionally, when they speak about *classical all-European social policy practice, several social policy models are singled out*, which are determined by the practice of their implementation (in pure or mixed form) in these or those countries. Accordingly, it is believed that as the Central and East European countries inherit the institutional heritage of West-European countries, they completely or partially approve the social policy practice characteristic of Western Europe, among which most popular are Bismark's and Beveridge's social policy models⁴².

«*Bismark's model*» establishes the correlation between the level of social protection and the duration of professional activity. Human social rights in this model are conditioned by the deductions paid during the whole active life. It means that social payments acquire the form of unearned revenues (insurance contributions). «*Beveridge's model*» proceeds from the fact that the person has the right to minimum protection in case of the disease, old age and/or other reason of personal self-dependence possibilities⁴³ decrease. The systems of insurance against the disease are the inalienable parts of this model as well as the pension systems which provide for the minimum income for elderly people independent of their past efforts of deductions from the salary (so-called «social pensions» vs. «professional»)⁴⁴. Though, this distribution is quite general and can not completely embrace the peculiarities and types of social policy models. Therefore, the four key social policy models have become most popular in Europe: catholic, liberal, conservative and social-democratic (literature also provides for the other classifications of social policy models and most of them are correlated with the above-mentioned and below social policy models).

⁴¹ H. Grabbe, *The EU's Transformative Power: Europeanization through Conditionality in Central and Eastern Europe*, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2006.; F. Schimmelfennig, U. Sedelmeier, *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*, Wyd. Cornell University Press 2005.; Z. Ferge, G. Juhász, *Accession and social policy: the case of Hungary*, "Journal of European Social Policy" 2004, vol 14, nr 3, s. 233-251.; N. Lendvai, *Review Essay: The weakest link? EU accession and enlargement: dialoguing EU and post-communist social policy*, "Journal of European Social Policy" 2004, vol 14, nr 3, s. 319-333., A. Cerami, *Social Policy in Central and Eastern Europe. The Emergence of a New European Welfare Regime*, Wyd. LIT Verlag 2006.

⁴² P. Laroque, *Social Security and Social Development*, "Bulletin of ISSA" 1966, vol 19, nr 3-4.

⁴³ W. Beveridge, *Social Insurance and Allied Services*, Wyd. McMillan 1942.

⁴⁴ Responsibility for financial stability and money preservation in «*Bismark's model*» is born by the «*bank management*». They are not subsidized from the budget as tax redistribution realized through the universal budget approach contradicts to the logic of labor (insurance) participation. Social security is principally independent from the state «financial inflows». It means that the government is only the guarantor of social policy realization. Except for the countries with the lack of possibilities of active labor participation for whom the national solidarity exists which is realized through special social services for disadvantaged families or charity. Activity of these services is considered subsidiary. Nevertheless, «*Beveridge's model*» mostly depends on the governmental activity. The matter is that this model is funded through the taxes. It means that in «*Beveridge's model*» of social policy the principle of national solidarity prevails based on the concept of distributional justice, though, the system of national solidarity is augmented by the additional collective professional or individual levels which gives bases for the social policy models variation.

Table 1. Classification of European models of social policy and their correlation: theoretical perspective

Models			
"Bismark's"		"Beveridge's"	
European/continental		Northern/Nordic	
Catholic	Conservative	Liberal	Social-democratic
Achievements model		Residual	Institutional
Conservative/ethatic		Liberal/ Anglo-American	Social-democratic/ Scandinavian
Catholic	Corporate	Liberal	Northern
Primitive	Institutional	Residual	Modern

Source: H. Brown, H. Smith, *Normalisation: A Reader for the 1990-s*, Wyd. London 1990.

Principles of *catholic social policy model* are determined in the number of encyclicals issued by Vatican during XX cent., particularly in «Populorum progressio» («Peoples development», 1967) and «Sollicitudo rei socialis» («Concern about social matters», 1987). Main principle of this model is «secondarity», which in «Chrisiliche Soziallehre» («Christian social doctrine») means that different problems should be settled by the closest distance. Individual is the closest distance for himself. If he can not help himself, then he addresses his family and relatives. Another instance is a local community, neighbors, church and public organizations. If this does not help, individual should use the insurance services. The last instance in this model are state organizations and state government bodies. In catholic model family and other institutions of civil society in the local community play the main role. It also presupposes the structure of clientalism and patronage, although diffused by the development of market structures, political and social rights of individual⁴⁵.

Liberal model views market as the most important sphere of people's interaction organization. It presupposes "residual" social policy, it means that the people should be able to exist in the society without any social insurance. Therefore, financial social sphere is funded «with whatever funds remain», realization of liberal model depends upon availability of great amount of voluntary and informal assistance. The government is characterized by limited but general responsibility for the people's social protection. Liberal model of social policy is based on two main principles: social insurance is conducted both by the employers and employees; state social assistance is realized due to the different level budgets using the criteria of poverty or low income.

Conservative model focuses on the market and obligatory social insurance under state/governmental supervision. The model is formed/funded by social partners represented by the employees and employers, is based on the achievements principle, when the work determines

⁴⁵ V. Sobchenko, *Osnovni modeli sotsialnoi polityky v krainakh Tsentralnoi ta Skhidnoi Yevropy*, «Derzhavne budivnytstvo» 2011, nr 2.

future social protection. It leads to the rehabilitation primacy over the pensioning in order to avoid early retirement due to the disablement. In well-developed spheres the protection level can be high for well-organized workers. The problems arise due to those social groups which are not permanently employed or are not employed at all and therefore are not insured. The citizens belonging hereto should count on local charity organizations and on social assistance which is normally not significant.

Social-democratic model is based on the universalism principle. Social protection is the right of all the citizens, therefore it is provided mainly by the state budget with the participation of government. Funding of social-democratic model is based on stable and high level of profitability, strong trade unions and contractual relations between them, i.e. on the well-developed social partnership. State/governments provides the financial support to the social sphere through the taxation system, in this case it is responsible not only for expansion and funding of social assistance, but also for the operation of different social services, which is possible on condition of decentralized but strong government. Cornerstone of this model is the active redistributive policy on the part of government, which provides for the progressive taxation system which allowed speaking about the poverty elimination, determining only the existence of the so-called «weak groups». Social-democratic model provides for the high level of expenses for the social sphere, therefore, is more “social” as compared to the other social policy models mentioned.

Specificity of social policy models implementation in the West-European countries is that they are usually approved in their pure form. It is usually about implementation of liberal, conservative and social-democratic models (or different modifications of «Beveridge’s» and «Bismark’s» models). Nevertheless, the peculiarity of social policy models in the Central and East European countries, which should logically follow certain (or «pure») samples of social policy models of Western Europe, is that the first are mostly (although differently) based on the principles of the so-called «synthetic» all-European *paradigm of social policy*. Among these principles the following can be singled out: moderate state participation in social warranties provision (it is due to this that the social state phenomenon is differently realized); inclusion and involvement of social warranties in the list of human and civil rights; solidarity of generations, groups and the whole society; justice which is realized in the mechanism of incomes redistribution in favor of the citizens with the low income; social partnership or a dialogue, i.e. active participation of the employees in the solution of organization and employment issues. *Criteria* of eastern-central-European *model of social policy* (which is significantly realized in practice starting from the second half of 1990-s) also include: absence of social protection system, which is characterized by the cost optimization and absence of «universal insurance against all social and economic risks»; inequality of resources distribution, as the social protection system, social justice in the incomes and prevention of poverty risks is the priority; active state intervention into the social policy in case of parallel accumulation

of social functions in the private sector (besides, the state should be responsible for the social warranties and level of people's life); functional role of social partnership (with regard to the fact that social partners influence the national labor legislation and participate in salary negotiations); moderate taxation level (regulated on the level of governmental programs)⁴⁶.

But formal peculiarities of all-European paradigm of social policy are not fully realized in the Central and East European countries. There are objective reasons of this. The matter is that this region for the moment of its joining the European Union was characterized by the process of gradual transfer from centralized (socialist) to the corporate social protection model and social policy in general. Consequently, *social standards*, characteristic of the «old-» member-states of European Union are incompletely but partially inherited by the «new» member-states of European Union. Generally, the EU social policy inheritance by the Central and East European countries takes place with regard to the adherence to the internationally-legal and nationally-legal standards in the sphere. Countries of the region are the EU members, therefore, it is understandable that big role in the regulation and/or realization of social policy is plaid by the international organizations which, in their activity, explore the norms and recommendations implemented with consideration of national peculiarities of each separate country of the region. The reason of different *social standards development* – social risk minimization, facilitation of the social tension diminishing, as well as creating the grounds of stable expected social rehabilitation.

In this case two aspects should be taken into account: standardization of social rights and development of social standards of life quality. International standards implemented in the Central and East European countries first of all include European social charter (1961 and 1996). Nevertheless, national social standards include all the laws approved and operating in certain states. Generally, starting from the second half of 1990-s and even long after joining the European Union, Central and East European countries approved the following standards⁴⁷: average life expectancy (85 years); population literacy (approaches 100 percent); education duration (15 років); real GDP per capita (approaches 40 ths. doll.); aggregate birth rate (average number of children born by the woman in the fertile age between 20 - 45 years) (2,14-2,15); population ageing coefficient (part of population over 65 in general population) (7 percent); correlation between the richest and the poorest (not less than 1 to 10); part of population below the poverty line (not more than 10percent); correlation between the minimum and average salary (not more than 0,33); minimum level of hourly wage (not less than 3 euros.); unemployment rate with regard to the hidden unemployment level (not more than 8-10 percent); human development level (not less than 0,9). All Central and East

⁴⁶ M. Karhalova, *Sotsyalnaia Evropa v XXI veke*, Wyd. Moskva 2011, s. 371-372.; L. Deryhlazova, *Modernyzatsiia evropeiskoi sotsyalnoi modely v usloviakh kryzysa*, „Vestnyk tomskogo gosudarstvennogo unyversyteta” 2012, vol 1, nr 17, s. 64-74.

⁴⁷ V. Sobchenko, *Osnovni modeli sotsialnoi polityky v krainakh Tsentralnoi ta Skhidnoi Yevropy*, „Derzhavne budivnytstvo” 2011, nr 2.

European countries try to follow or achieve these standards. Nevertheless, they manage to achieve social standards differently, which is testified by the table 2 as of 2011-2012:

Comparative analysis of actual and empirical social policy results in the regional countries shows that the social protection level of Central and East European countries does not comply with the indexes established by the European standards. It is obvious in such social defense indexes as: average life expectancy (all countries of the region); population literacy (except for Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Slovenia; the lowest population literacy out of the countries analyzed is in Romania); average education duration (all countries of region); real GDP per capita (all countries of the region); part of population below the poverty line (except for Czech Republic, Lithuania and Latvia); correlation between minimum and average salary (all countries of the region); total birth rate (all countries of the region); employment level (except for Czech Republic, Poland, Romania, and Slovenia); minimum level of hourly salary (except for Czech Republic, Estonia, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia, Hungary); human development index (all countries of the region). Minimum salaries level also essentially correlates the efficiency of national welfare distribution (Genie index) (from 155-160 EUR in Bulgaria and Romania to 780 EUR in Slovenia). The infant mortality rate is also quite sufficient in some countries of the region. Only in Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Hungary GDP costs for social protection policy exceed twenty percent.

While evaluating the social functions of post-Soviet Welfare States of Europe, H. Fenger⁴⁸ associates Central and East European countries with three modal ranges. *First* – hybrid social policy and social state model which appeared according to the patterns of former soviet models, although, it incorporated on the one hand the peculiarities of conservative and corporate model (at least according to the indexes of social policy expenses of the government), on the other hand, social-democratic and liberal model (at least according to the public confidence level indexes in the countries). Among the instances of the countries of this modal range – Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Other countries belong to the *second modal range*, which is also a hybrid social policy and social state model, though, originating from the classic European practice. This type includes – Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. They are characterized by the faster and smoother economic growth, as well as by the higher social welfare level (first of all it is reflected in the infant mortality rate and in the life expectancy). Besides, these countries are more egalitarian than the countries of the first modal range. The *third modal range* is represented by the countries where the social states and Welfare States only started to appear. The example of such Central and East European country is Romania where the literacy level is the lowest, education duration is the shortest, real GDP per capita is one of the smallest, part of the population below the poverty line is the biggest, birth rate is the smallest, infant mortality rate is the highest, the lowest level

⁴⁸ H. Fenger, *Welfare regimes in Central and Eastern Europe: Incorporating Post-Communist Countries in a Welfare Regime Typology*, "Contemporary Issues and Ideas in Social Sciences" 2007, vol 3, nr 2, s. 1-30.

Table 2. Compliance of the social policy results in the Central and East European countries with the social standards of Europe (2011–2012)

Stan	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Bułgaria	7327	70,9	98,3	10,6	15933	28,2	10,6	–	18,8	4,1	1,51	8,5	11,3	1,5	158,5	18,1	0,782
Czechy	10505	75,1	99,0	12,3	26590	26,0	9,0	0,35	16,2	3,8	1,43	2,7	6,7	4,4	312,0	20,1	0,873
Estonia	1340	71,5	100	12,0	23631	36,0	17,5	0,39	17,2	4,5	1,52	2,5	12,5	4,1	320,0	18,1	0,846
Litwa	3008	68,4	100	10,9	23399	37,6	4,0	0,48	18,1	4,6	1,76	4,2	15,3	2,7	289,6	19,1	0,818
Łotwa	2042	68,9	100	11,5	20969	36,6	5,9	0,57	18,6	4,5	1,34	6,6	16,2	2,9	287,1	17,8	0,814
Polska	38538	72,7	100	10,0	22162	34,1	10,6	0,45	13,8	3,6	1,30	4,7	9,7	4,0	376,6	18,9	0,821
Rumunia	21356	71,1	97,6	10,4	16518	30,0	13,8	0,48	15,0	3,3	1,25	9,4	7,4	2,0	157,3	17,6	0,786
Slovenia	2055	77,1	100	11,7	27475	31,2	12,3	0,58	16,8	4,3	1,56	2,9	8,2	7,2	783,7	24,8	0,892
Słowacja	5404	72,5	99,0	11,6	25300	26,0	–	0,46	12,8	2,9	1,45	4,9	13,5	3,9	337,7	18,6	0,840
Węgry	9958	71,6	99,0	11,7	22119	31,2	13,9	0,50	16,9	4,2	1,23	4,9	10,9	3,4	340,6	23,1	0,831
Średnie dane	–	72,0	99,3	11,3	22410	31,7	10,8	0,47	16,4	4,0	1,44	5,1	11,2	3,6	336,3	19,6	0,830
Pożądanane dane	–	85,0	100	15,0	40000	–	<10	<0,33	>7,0	–	>2,14	–	<10,0	>3	–	–	>0,900

Źródło: *European social statistics: 2013 edition*, Wyd. Publications Office of the European Union 2013.; *UNDP 2013 Development projects*, Wyd. United Nations Development Programme 2013, źródło: <https://data.undp.org/dataset/UNDP-2013-Development-projects>; *World Development Indicators database*, Wyd. World Bank 2013, źródło: <http://data.worldbank.org>

Conventional symbols: A – population quantity, ths. people; B – average life expectancy, years.; C – population literacy (in percent); D – average education duration, years.; E – real GDP per capita (in USD.); F – Genie index; G – part of population leaving below the poverty line (in national context); H – correlation between minimum and average salary; I – part of population over 65, %; J – part of population over 80, %; K – total birth rate; L – infant mortality rate; M – unemployment level, %; N – minimum hourly salary rate, in EUR; O – minimum monthly salary, in EUR; P – GDP percent for the social protection policy, %; Q – human development index.

of the monthly and hourly salary, the lowest GDP percent for the social protection policy, one of the lowest levels of human life quality in the region.

Generally, the social protection system of each Central and East European country is based on one out of three basic criteria of assistance provision: check of the demand, control of obligations fulfillment and the fact of simple belonging to the certain group or category of population. In this case, each separate social protection model forms the specificity of social standards. In most countries the desire to have the efficient social protection system based on the guaranteed minimum income and state social standard is obvious. Nevertheless, the financial problems remain pressing which, especially from the beginning of financial and economic crisis (from 2008), do not allow guaranteeing enough minimum income to all citizens. Consequently, during 2009-2014 in some countries of the region the number of people under risk of poverty or below the poverty line increased (on national level)⁴⁹. Besides, the population stratification deepened and the state's incapability to fulfill its social obligations increased. But even despite this, the comparison of regional tendencies in Central and Eastern Europe with the world practices during 1990-2014 does not give the grounds to state that in the selected countries the gap between the rich and the poor people consistently grows and the social protection level goes down. No, despite this, the countries of the region managed to improve their social governmental functions within the said period of time.

It was especially obvious in the context of necessity and certain steps in the social policy sphere in the region after collapse of "public democracy" (or "real socialism") regime in the Central and Eastern Europe – first of all at the end of 1980 – beginning of 1990-s., and later in the middle and in the end of 1990-s. Social policy reformation coincided with the collapse of authoritarian and post-totalitarian political regimes in the region. Most important linear and distributive marker of conducting the social reforms or reform in the sphere of social policy in the region is reflected in the context of considering the peculiarities of social development between the periods to and after the beginning of complex social reforms. *On the ones side of the line* (up to the middle 1990-s or to the beginning of complex social reforms in the region or even in the first years of these reforms introduction) – the situation under which most population of the Central and Eastern Europe belonged to the category of the poor. *On the second side of the line* (from mid 1990- s or from the beginning of complex reorganization of social assistance system and generally the social policy reformation) – tendency was observed as to the decrease of number of the poor and decrease of the gap between the poor, middle class, and the rich. Characteristic features of the *social policy reformation process* in most countries of the region (depending on how fast they could democratize) have become as follows: social assistance under the influence of local authorities, as well as from the budget of special local funds; formation and realization of social protection systems based

⁴⁹ M. Antuofermo, E. Di Meglio, *Population and social conditions*, Wyd. Eurostat: "Statistics in focus" 2012, nr 9, źródło: http://ep.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-SF-12-009/EN/KS-SF-12-009-EN.PDF

on social assistance provision on the part of national legislation (central government) and regional legislation (or local government authorities); social policy funding at the expense of central and regional budgets. This made impossible/minimized the possibility of appearance or radicalization of social tension outburst and guaranteed minimum income level practically for all groups of population. Then the system started to include the people's work contributions. It means that in most countries of the region the social protection level depends upon the citizens' labor contribution. To conclude, it should be noted that today the rule of social development in the Central and Eastern Europe has become that every citizen is guaranteed, on the one hand, certain subsistence minimum, on the other hand – possibility for self-realization in the society. It means that each citizen can count on certain number of social services which can be provided both by state and non-state companies.

Nevertheless, the social protection systems and social policy models in the countries of the region are quite diverse, have their peculiarities which need to be specified. *Divergence of models* – is one of the factors that the social protection level in “new” members-states of European Union is somewhat different. Main difference between the models is focused in the structures of social protection systems. In some countries of the region their material support takes place through national taxes and duties, in the other countries there are the sources of financial support (these are the costs of physical entities and enterprises, charity contributions). Noteworthy, the level of the state participation in financial support of the social policy is not a direct guarantee of successful social protection. Besides, there are several factors (different geographical location, national traditions and peculiarities of national economy structure, socially-professional population composition, etc.), related to the functioning of socially-economic mechanism of European Union, which have an essential impact on the national systems of social protection and social policy models (the matter is that EU deals only with the coordination of social protection national policies, leaving the governments as the social protection systems and social policy models to the competence of the states⁵⁰). It was reflected in somewhat diverse approaches of some Central and Eastern European countries to the social issues, namely, social protection issues⁵¹.

⁵⁰ Key peculiarity of *European Union coordination function* in the sphere of social policy is that back in 1992 (when the Central and East-European countries only declared their intentions to join the EU, and became such in 2004 and in 2007) the Recommendations were approved «About approximation of social security systems». They suggested to implement the four-component structure of the social security system and social policy. *The first component* is the provision of the guaranteed income for all the citizens which can be provided according to the principles «what you have» and «who you are». *The second component* – negotiation of worker's income during retirement, in case of the disease and/or under the other conditions with the level of his/her former incomes according to the principles «what you did». *The third and the fourth components* – is the free access to medical assistance and reintegration of marginal groups of population and the ones excluded from the normal life into the society.

⁵¹ For example, in *Czech Republic* at the beginning of 1990-s the classic variants of combination of pragmatic social policy model and economic liberalization model were suggested and approved. (In the first country the government presupposed the performing pensioning and social supply functions). Consequently, starting from 1995 (after the Czech Republic passed the law «About the retirement insurance») the retirement age in the country increased, and the privileges were canceled when granting the increased pension with relation to the labor conditions. Some diversity of Hungary is that when gradual introduction of new pensioning conditions the norms of previous (from the real socialism epoch) law «About social security» (1988) remained in force. The changes took place in 1997 when new laws were passed «about social protection provision»,

Summing up the peculiarities of realization of social component of state/governmental policy in the Central and Eastern Europe, it should be noted that the change of socially-economic conditions in the countries of the former «socialist groups» raised the necessity of introducing new types of protection and/or servicing, as well as wide development of legal control of social assistance to the people with the low income. Though, many principles of social policy realized during the social economy epoch survived, which guarantees the graduality and deliberateness in the process of social protection systems reformation, their approximation the European norms and standards.

«about private pension and private pension funds», «About operation of compulsory medical insurance», «About social services and social security». New legislation has essentially decreased the level of social warranties, increased the retirement age, especially for women, canceled the pensioning privileges related to the working conditions, decreased the amount of social assistance. Final reformation of Hungarian social policy model took place in 2013, when the country resorted to the gradual transfer and partial implementation of accumulation system. The peculiarity of the social policy and social security policy in Poland is regulated by the laws «About social insurance system» and «About pensions from the social insurance Fund», approved in 1998. Due to the adoption of these legislative acts the transfer to the accumulative system of old-age pensioning started. Besides, the equal share system was introduced of insurance contributions payment by the employer and the insured, the order of pensions calculation to the insured was changed. The specificity of the Polish case is that in this country the laws remained in force regulating the social policy which were passed during the period of “real socialism” regime, in particular, the laws «About monetary support in case of disease and maternity» (from 1974), «About security related to the labor injuries and professional diseases» (from 1975) etc. (some of them were approved as amended before joining the European Union or after joining the European Union). See more in detail.: *Zákon o důchodovém pojištění*, Zákon č. 155/1995 Sb., źródło: <http://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1995-155>; *Ustawa z dnia 13 października 1998 r. o systemie ubezpieczeń społecznych*, Dz.U. 1998 nr 137 poz. 887, źródło: <http://prawo.legco.pl/prawo/ustawa-z-dnia-13-pazdziernika-1998-r-o-systemie-ubezpieczen-spoecznych/>; *Ustawa z dnia 17 grudnia 1998 r. o emeryturach i rentach z Funduszu Ubezpieczeń Społecznych*, Dz.U. 1998 nr 162 poz. 1118, źródło: <http://www.arslege.pl/ustawa-o-emeryturach-i-rentach-z-funduszu-ubezpieczen-spoecznych/k63/>; *Ustawa z dnia 25.06.1999 r. o świadczeniach pieniężnych z ubezpieczenia społecznego w razie choroby i macierzyństwa*, Dz. U. z 2014 r. poz. 159, źródło: <http://www.przepisy.gofin.pl/przepisy,2,17,50,381,,spis-tresci-aktu-prawnego.html>; *Obwieszczenie Marszałka Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 22 września 2009 r. w sprawie ogłoszenia jednolitego tekstu ustawy o ubezpieczeniu społecznym z tytułu wypadków przy pracy i chorób zawodowych*, Dz.U. 2009 nr 167 poz. 1322, źródło: <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/Download?id=WDU20091671322&type=1>