Which Way is the Rich Way? The Micro-Macro Paradox of Post-Communist EU Accession

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Abstract

In this paper, we document a hitherto unrecognized "micro-macro paradox" of EU accession in post-communist countries: on the micro-level, economic prosperity increases the likelihood of supporting EU membership; while on the macro-level, economic prosperity decreases aggregate levels of support for EU membership. To do so, we first present evidence demonstrating that economic winners were consistently more likely to support EU membership than economic losers across five years (1995, 1996, 2001, 2002, 2003) and ten countries (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania, and the Czech Republic). We then demonstrate that across this same set of countries we are unable to find a systematic corresponding link between aggregate level measures of economic prosperity and aggregate levels of support for EU membership. Moreover, in almost every analysis where we can find a consistent pattern, it is in the opposite direction: less economic success translates into higher levels of aggregate support for EU membership. Our explanation for the micro-macro paradox of EU accession builds off of previous work by one of the authors (Tucker et al. 2002) suggesting that for citizens in post-communist countries the EU represents a guarantee that the economic reforms will continue. However, we argue here that there may be other meanings for EU membership as well and that the relative salience of these different meanings may in particular be conditional on the passage of time and on a country's likelihood of joining the EU. We then demonstrate how this more nuanced approach to the meaning of EU membership in the post communist context both explains the original paradox and test the extent to which additional observable implications of the argument are supported by the data.

Key Words: European Union, EU, Post-communist countries, Public-Opinion Formation, Micro-Macro Paradox, Red State – Blue State Paradox, Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Estonia, Romania, Bulgaria

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1 Introduction

For citizens of the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the last two decades have been times of dramatic change. Not only have these citizens witnessed the collapse of communism and the end of the Warsaw Pact, but almost all have also seen their countries march towards – and in the case of ten countries actually join – the European Union (EU), a decision that may actually come to be an equally important determinant of long term political and economic development (Vachudova 2005). Not surprisingly, the process of EU accession in post-communist countries has attracted wide attention from scholars of public opinion who seek to explain how citizens form attitudes about the EU and how these attitudes translate into support for or opposition to EU membership. A large body of literature exists on this question in the context of established democracies in West Europe (e.g. Anderson 1998; Gabel 1998a, 1998b; Gabel and Whitten 1997; Anderson and Kaltenthaler 1996; van der Eijk and Franklin 1996; Gabel and Palmer 1995; Eichenberg and Dalton 1993) and this existing literature has driven initial work on citizen attitudes in post-communist countries (Tverdova and Anderson 2004, Cichowski 2000).

In contrast, Tucker et al. (2002) propose a theory of support for EU membership that explicitly takes into account the distinctive history of post-communist countries. The authors argue that in the post-communist context EU membership may imply something different than in established West European democracies, namely that EU membership can represent an implicit guarantee of cementing the post-communist economic transition to capitalism and free markets. Building on this assumption, they hypothesize that economic "winners", or citizens who see themselves as having benefited economically during the transition period, ought to support EU membership as the ultimate guarantor of the new economic era. Conversely, "losers", or those who have been hurt economically during the transition, ought to oppose EU membership.[2] They find strong empirical support for this prediction across ten countries using cross-national survey data from the 1996 Central and Eastern European Eurobarometer.

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[2] The term "transition" has come under increasing scrutiny as of late, with some suggesting that it implies a successful transition to democracy as its ultimate outcome. We remain completely agnostic on this point, and use it here only in its commonly applied sense of referring to the period following the collapse of communism in East-Central Europe.

Here we extend the Tucker et. al analysis empirically as well as theoretically. Empirically, we test the winner-loser hypothesis on additional survey data and across multiple years, up to and including the vote on EU accession in 2003.[3] In doing so, we continue to find strong support for the general winners-losers hypothesis. Extending the analysis over multiple years, however, reveals a surprising paradox. While there is a tight relationship between being an economic winner and supporting EU membership within each country-year observation (e.g., the Czech Republic in 1995, Slovakia in 2003), just the opposite is true at the aggregate level across countries and over time: countries with more thorough or successful economic transitions tend to have lower aggregate levels of EU support than economically less successful countries. We call this finding the "micro-macro paradox" of EU accession: on the micro-level, economic prosperity increases the likelihood of supporting EU membership; while on the macro-level, economic prosperity decreases aggregate levels of support for EU membership. Intriguingly, this paradox perfectly parallels the "red-state/blue-state" paradox in the United States where wealthier voters are more likely to vote for the Republican party, while the wealthiest states in the country (e.g., California, New York, Massachusetts) are more likely to produce higher aggregate totals for Democratic candidates (Gelman et al. 2007).

The goal of this paper, therefore, is to both document the existence of this micro-macro paradox of EU accession and to propose an explanation for it. After describing our data in Section 2, we take the first step towards documenting the paradox in Section 3, where we present evidence demonstrating that economic winners were indeed consistently more likely to support EU membership than economic losers across five years – 1995, 1996, 2001, 2002, 2003 – and ten countries: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania, and the Czech Republic. (We do not have observations for Romania or Bulgaria in the 2003 surveys due to the fact that they did not vote that year on EU membership, thus giving us a total of 48 country-year observations.) Indeed, somewhat stunningly, we can not find a single case across these 48 country-year observations where we are confident that economic losers were more likely to support EU membership than economic winners. In Section 4, we then demonstrate that across this same set of countries we are unable to find a systematic corresponding link between aggregate level measures of economic prosperity and aggregate

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[3] Two of our cases, Romania and Bulgaria, were not included in the first round of EU expansion into Central Europe and thus did not vote on EU membership in 2004.

levels of support for EU membership. This observation holds regardless of whether we look at the data *in toto* or grouped by year. Moreover, in almost every analysis where we can find a consistent pattern, it is in the opposite direction: less economic success translates into higher levels of aggregate support for EU membership.

Our explanation for the micro-macro paradox of EU accession builds off of Tucker et al. (2002)'s suggestion to consider the meaning of EU membership in the post-communist context. We agree with Tucker et al.'s contention that for citizens in post-communist countries the EU represents a guarantee that the economic reforms will continue. However, we argue that there may be other meanings for EU membership as well, and that the relative salience of these different meanings may in particular be conditional on the passage of time and on a country's likelihood of joining the EU. In Section 5, therefore, we introduce two other "meanings" for EU membership in the post-communist context – EU membership as the ability to join a "winners club" of successful countries and EU membership as forcing a slow down or even reversal of economic reforms in particularly advanced countries – and demonstrate how they can explain the micro-macro paradox we observe. We then document a number of additional implications of this theoretical argument that are supported by the empirical evidence in an effort to bolster our claim that we have identified the correct explanation for the paradox.[4]

2   Data Selection and Variables

We have, to the best of our knowledge, reviewed all available cross-national surveys that assess support for EU membership that have been conducted in post-communist countries since the collapse of communism. From these surveys, we have included in our paper every study with both a measure of individual attitudes towards EU membership as well as an appropriate measure of individual self-assessment of economic progress. Based on these two criteria, five surveys qualified to be included in our analysis: the 1995 and 1996 Central and Eastern Eurobarometer (CEEB) and the 2001, 2002 and 2003 (October/November) Candidate Countries Eurobarometer (CCEB), each with a sample size of about 1,000 respondents per country and year.[5]

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[4] In preparation for writing this paper, we have explored other potential explanations for the paradox and have found none with nearly as much support for additional observable explanations. The next version of this paper will include a section explicitly addressing these alternative explanations.

[5] In our descriptive analysis of change in aggregate support we can additionally include the 1997 CEEB and the 2003

Our dependent variable is an individual's vote decision in a hypothetical referendum on the question of his or her country's membership in the EU. As in Tucker et al. we group respondents into four categories: "would vote for" membership , "would vote against" membership, " would not vote", and "undecided/don't know/no answer".[6]

To measure economic winners and losers we rely on individuals' self assessment of their anticipated financial situation over the next 12 months. While admittedly a crude measure of whether an individual is an overall winner or loser from the transition experience, it does tap directly into the question of whether an individual feels as if he or she is doing well economically. Moreover, the theoretical basis behind the winners-losers argument really does apply to a subjective belief in being an economic winner or loser more so that objectively doing better or worse, thus again suggesting that this is an appropriate measure.[7] We furthermore recode responses on the CEEB from five to three categories – a prognosis that one's economic situation will "get better", "get worse", or "stays the same" – to match the CEEB.[8] We refer to respondents who perceive that their financial situation will improve over the next twelve months as winners and those who think their economic situation will get worse over the same time period as losers. Respondents who answered that their financial situation will stay "the same" are

(May) CCEB which contain measures of EU support but not a measure of individual economic progress. Combining data from the CEEB and the CCEB required us to establish equivalence between the variables from both surveys. (It is, of course, equally important to establish equivalence over time and across countries *within* a survey. But both the CEEB and the CCEB have been developed with exactly these two goals in mind.) In most cases we had to collapse variables into broader categories in order to make them comparable. We nevertheless have attempted to remain as careful as possible in the interpretation of our results, always noting when any difference we might find between the two surveys could be due to methodological reasons.

[6] The CCEB did not include "undecided" as valid answer for this question and hence we could have a biased measure if undecided respondents would systematically chose either "for" or "against". We do not think that this is the case. First, respondents could always refuse to answer a question if none of the categories matched their true attitudes. Second, we replicated our analysis with all undecided respondents in the CEEB excluded and the results and conclusions remained unchanged.

[7] Tucker et al. (2002) used individuals' retrospective (financial situation over the last 12 months) as well as prospective (financial situation over the next 12 months) financial evaluations which they combined into a single measure. While we would have preferred to use a similar measure, the CCEB, unfortunately, only includes prospective financial assessment and hence we are forced to rely on this single variable. Nevertheless, Tucker et al. report a high degree of correlation between the two measures, suggesting that we would be likely to find very similar results had we employed such a measure.

[8] The categories in the CEEB are "get a lot better", "get a little better", "stayed the same", "get a little worse", and "get a lot worse". The question wording is slightly different in the two surveys. Respondents in the CEEB were asked "And over the next 12 months, do you expect that the financial situation of your household will [answer categories]" whereas the question wording in the CCEB is "What are your expectations for the year to come: will 2001 [or other appropriate year] be better, worse or the same, when it comes to the financial situation of your household?". We do not think that these differences will systematically bias our results. Furthermore, we do not find that the proportion of winners and losers increases or decreases significantly between the two surveys.

referred to, creatively, as "the same".

Our choice of additional independent variables was guided by Tucker et al (2002)'s analysis. Variables included are gender, education, age, residency, profession and income. All variables besides age are included as (a series of) dummy variables to avoid assuming ordinal characteristics. The coding scheme and reference categories for all variables are provided in the tables summarizing the results.

We begin briefly examining our key variables graphically using the raw data. Figure 1 shows percentages of respondents by their vote decision in the hypothetical EU membership referendum.[9] One can see considerable variation in support between, as well as within, countries. Support was lowest in Estonia, fluctuating around an average support of about 35%. Support was highest in Romania with percentages of supporters close to 90% in every year. Figure 2 shows the distribution of winners and losers in each country and year. On average, about half the respondents are classified as either winner or loser, with the two groups being about the same size. The one notable outlier in this regard is Romania in 1996 where about 80% of the respondents are classified as winners.[10]

Figure 3 shows that the strong relationship between winner/loser-status and support for the EU can already be found in the raw data: in every country and in every year there are always more winners supporting EU membership than losers; furthermore, "the same" category is always between the two groups, with the only exception being Poland in 1995 where the proportion of losers supporting EU membership is slightly larger than the proportion of those in "the same" category. In Figure 4 we highlight the strong effect of being a winner on supporting the EU by plotting winner-support against loser-support. As one can see, each observation is clearly above the 45 degree line.

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[9] In the graphs below we have included all respondents in order to document the raw data, that is, we also include those respondents who will be excluded from the multivariate analysis due to missing values in the control variables.
[10] It is worth noting that this large proportion is not due to coding errors on our part (we have rechecked the original data) nor due to the lack of a weighting scheme. Most respondents in the winner category (86%) have answered "get a little better" to the question about their anticipated financial situation and accordingly only 14% come from the "get a lot better" category. We suspect that this could be partially a function of the results/anticipated results of the November, 1996 Romanian presidential and parliamentary elections, as the surveys were taken in the weeks immediately preceding and following these elections.

3 Winner and loser status as determinants of attitudes towards the EU in post-communist countries

In this section we replicate the Tucker et al. (2002) analysis on the same set of 10 countries but over a total of five years, including survey data from 2003 which utilizes respondents' self-reported vote decision in the EU referendum. While we would have preferred to have a complete time series, the availability of data requires us to rely on surveys from 1995 and 1996, and then again from 2001-2003. One advantage of these particular years, however, is they allow us to draw upon a period of time when EU membership was a more remote ideal (in the mid 1990s) as well as when the vote and eventual accession was becoming a more realistic event (from 2001-2003). We thus have 48 observations at the country-year level, each compromising about 1,000 survey respondents, to test empirical support for the winner-loser hypothesis and to see if the postulated relationship holds over time.

The dependent variable in our analysis consists of four unordered categories (for, against, would not vote, undecided/don't know/no answer) and hence we estimate multinomial logit models. The reference category in all models are respondents who would vote (had voted) against their countries' EU membership. We first estimate a model on the completely pooled dataset in which all countries and years are pooled together. In the next set of models we estimate separate models for each year with all countries within a year pooled together. Finally, we estimate separate models for each country and year.

Table 1 summarizes the results from the completely pooled model. Here we find an estimated coefficient of 1.12 (p<.001) for winners supporting EU membership. This estimate is much larger than the estimated winner-coefficients for the other three categories which means that winners, compared to losers, are most likely to vote for EU membership. Respondents in the "the same" category (e.g., who were neither winners nor losers) were also more likely than losers to support EU membership, and the coefficient estimate of 0.50 is, as expected, smaller than the estimate for winners. It is also interesting to note that perhaps the best objective measure of being an economic winner, the size of one's income, is also positively related to support for EU membership.

Tables 2 to 6 summarize the estimated coefficients for each year analyzed separately. The

coefficient for winners supporting EU membership is always positive, significantly different from zero, and always larger than the coefficient for "the same" category. Furthermore, there is considerable variation in the size of the coefficient; it is relatively small in 1995 with 0.61, increases to 1.21 in 1996 and then increases steadily from 1.14 in 2001 to 1.18 in 2002 and to 1.57 in 2003. Among the socio-demographic variables we find some systematic pattern for education and income as, from 2001 to 2003, respondents with higher education and higher incomes were more likely to be supporters.

We do not present estimation outputs for the models estimated on each country and year separately as this would require us to include 48 additional tables. In Section 5 we address these estimates in more detail. Here we only discus the main finding, which is very clear. The coefficient for winners relative to losers (losers is the omitted category in the regressions) is *always* positive and is statistically significant in 36 out of the 48 cases. The coefficient for "the same" relative to losers is, with only four exceptions (Bulgaria 1996, Latvia 1995, Poland 2002, and Slovakia 1996) always smaller than the coefficient for winners relative to losers; the coefficient is furthermore positive and significantly different from zero in 31 out of the 48 cases. There are five cases in which the coefficient is less than zero, but it never reaches statistical significance in any of these cases.

Taking all of these results together, we can safely conclude that the winner-loser hypothesis is strongly supported by the data. There is undoubtedly a strong relationship between an individual's self-assessment of his or her economic prospects and his or her attitudes towards joining the EU. This relationship, however, does not hold at the aggregate level, which we demonstrate in the following section.

4   The micro-macro paradox of EU membership support

It is not unusual for the social sciences to find behavioral patterns at the individual level which are reversed when the data is analyzed in aggregated form. As previously noted, one well know example is the "red-state/blue-state" phenomenon in the US. What has not been noted to date, however, is the fact that attitudes towards EU membership in post-communist countries reveal a similar pattern. As we have demonstrated above, within countries at particular points of time, economic winners are always more likely to support the accession of their country to the EU than

economic losers. This finding suggests that countries which have done comparatively better economically during the transition period should have higher aggregate levels of support compared to less economically successful countries. As it turns out, though, there is no empirical evidence to support such a claim.

Using various macroeconomic indicators we show in this section that aggregate support for EU membership is either unrelated to a country's economic success or negatively correlated with it, such that more economic success is associated with lower levels of support. Individual macroeconomic indicators are, of course, only proxy measures for a country's overall economic fortunes. We are also aware of potential quality problems using such measures in a comparative framework (Herrera and Kapur 2007). For these reasons, we use a range of different macroeconomic indicators (including measures of progress on economic reform) in an effort to triangulate in on the more nebulous concept of being "economically successful". While any individual measure might be suspect, we argue that the strength of our conclusions lies in the fact that all of these measures reveal the same pattern of counterintuitive findings.

We begin by considering specific indicators of macro-economic conditions. In Figures 5 and 6, we look at the relationship between percent change in inflation - first for all countries, then excluding the hyperinflation countries of Bulgaria and Romania - and aggregate levels of support for EU membership. Counter intuitively, we find that the higher the increase in inflation, the more citizens support EU membership. The highest level of support can be found in Romania in 2001 and 2002, the years when prices went up dramatically, while support is lowest in countries where inflation remained constant. Our second measure is GDP growth (Figure 7) and again we find the same counterintuitive result: the higher GDP growth, the lower the level of EU support.

In Figures 8 and 9 we look at countries' rate of unemployment and GDP as a percentage of GDP in 1989.[11] Here the pattern is less obvious. Support and unemployment rate are negatively correlated in 1996 and 1997 but there is no systematic relationship in the other years; support and GDP (1989) are weakly positively correlated in some years and uncorrelated in others. Across the four measures, though, we can very safely conclude that there is no support for the claim that higher levels of aggregate support for EU membership go hand-in-hand with more successful

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[11] GDP in 1989 is an important reference year as it is the last year under communist rule. Thus GDP as a percentage of GDP in 1989 provides a good assessment of where the country currently stands as compared to when communism collapsed, or, put another way, the overall progress of the transition to date.

economic conditions.

We also examine the relationship between aggregate level support for EU membership and overall progress on instituting economic reforms. In Figure 10 we plot each country's aggregate level of EU support against an overall transition indicator from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD).[12] We turn to this measure in an attempt to find a single unified assessment of extent to which a country has "done well" during the transition process. It is possible to think of these measures in different ways – e.g., as a sign of how much of the economies potential of the country has been unleashed, how effective the government has been in implementing economic policy, etc. – but our main goal here is simply to provide a more unified counter-point to the individual measures of particular aspects of macro-economic conditions in the previous paragraph. Higher values on the indicator are associated with more progress on economic reform. As is clearly evident from Figure 10, the two measures are negatively correlated in each year, once again displaying our counter-intuitive pattern. Thus the more advanced a country is pursuing economic reforms, the lower its level of support for EU membership.

Taking all of the evidence from the preceding sections together, therefore, we would argue that we have successfully demonstrated a micro-macro paradox of EU accession in post-communist countries. Within countries, economic winners are more likely to support EU membership than economic losers. Across countries, however, more economic success does not translate into more aggregate level support for EU membership. If anything, more economically successful countries tend to have lower levels of aggregate support for EU membership. We turn to the question of why this may be the case in the next section.

5   The micro-macro paradox explained

How can we explain the above documented micro-macro paradox? Here we argue that an important confounding effect is a country's likelihood of joining the EU. More specifically, membership in the EU may mean different things to citizens of post-communist countries at different periods of time. While we agree with Tucker et al. that EU membership can always

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[12] This indicator is a subjective classification by the EBRD's Office of the Chief Economist about each country's progress in the economic transition. A more detailed methodological description is available on the EBRD's website "Transition indicators methodology" (http://www.ebrd.com/country/sector/econo/stats/timeth.htm, March 20, 2007).

serve as a guarantee of the irreversibility of the transition from a communist to a capitalist economic system, we suggest that it may take on additional meaning in other time periods as well. First, when potential membership in the EU is in doubt because of uncertainty about when (or even whether) a country will be invited to join the EU, some citizens in post-communist countries may see the EU primarily as a "winners club" of successful countries with exclusion carrying the risk of being permanent. In these periods, we would still expect higher levels of support among winners than among losers for EU membership (because the effect Tucker et al. identified is still likely to be present), but we would also expect the gap between winners and losers to be smaller and thus overall levels of support to be relatively high. Once membership becomes more likely, we would expect this "winners club" motivation to die down, thus leaving the "guarantee of post-communist economic reform" meaning proposed by Tucker et al. more dominant. At this point, we should see a widening of the gap between winners and losers due to a drop off in support from losers. Taking these two points together, we can expect to observe an aggregate decline in support for EU membership as membership becomes more likely. If, as would be expected, the likelihood of membership is conditional on economic progress and more likely to be awarded first to economically more successful countries – or, at the very least, that as countries become more economically successful an eventual invitation to join the EU begins to seem more inevitable – then we can explain the paradox: economically more successful countries ought to have lower levels of aggregate support for EU membership, despite the fact that within these countries' winners are more likely to support EU membership than losers. Moreover, we get another observable implication of this hypothesis for which we can look in the data: the gap between winners and losers ought to be smaller in country-year observations when EU membership is less certain.

Additionally, in a subset of economically very successful countries, it is possible that as EU membership becomes imminent, it could come to be seen as an actual impediment to further economic reforms and/or cutting into a country's competitive economic advantages. For example, one Estonian opponent described called the EU " a 'Soviet Union in disguise' that will force the country to deliberalize its progressive economic policies, including a zero-percent corporate income tax".[13] In these limited cases, we might expect a small subset of *winners* to come to

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[13] Stephen C. Johnson, "Gearing up for hard sell on EU membership," *The Baltic Times*, Dec. 19, 2002, accessed

oppose EU membership. This would again provide a reason why we might find lower aggregate levels of support in the most economically successful countries, thus helping to explain the paradox. Moreover, this too leads to other observable implications, namely that the support among winners should also drop immediately preceding EU membership, and thus the size of the gap between winners and losers might also tighten a bit (or at least compared to other countries where support among winners has not dropped off).

To assess these claims, we turn to the empirical evidence. We use multilevel models to jointly estimate the effect of winner/loser-status within and across countries. For each year we estimate a varying-intercept, varying-slope model with an intercept term for each country and varying coefficients for the effects of winners and "the same". For computational efficiency we reduce our dataset to those respondents who would either vote for or against EU membership, the two comparison groups in which we are primarily interested in.[14] This means we reduce our dependent variable to two outcomes – "for" and "against" – which then allows us to estimate logistic regression models. Coefficients derived from logistic regression models are essentially the same as the corresponding coefficients from a multinomial logit model and hence we only lose some efficiency in the estimation as we take less information into account (Alvarez and Nagler 1998). To be more precise, we are estimating a model of individual vote choice

$$\Pr(y_i = 1) = \mathrm{logit}^{-1}(\alpha_{j[i]} + \beta^{\mathrm{w}}_{j[i]}\mathtt{winner} + \beta^{\mathrm{t.s.}}_{j[i]}\mathtt{the\ same} + \beta x_i + \varepsilon_i)$$

where
$$\alpha_j = \mu_\alpha + \nu_j \qquad , \ \nu_j \sim N(0, \sigma^2_\alpha)$$

$$\beta^{\mathrm{w}}_j = \mu_{\beta^{\mathrm{w}}} + \eta_j \qquad , \ \eta_j \sim N(0, \sigma^2_{\beta^{\mathrm{w}}})$$

$$\beta^{\mathrm{t.s.}}_j = \mu_{\beta^{\mathrm{t.s.}}} + \omega_j \qquad , \ \omega_j \sim N(0, \sigma^2_{\beta^{\mathrm{t.s.}}})$$

and where $j = 1, \ldots, 10$ denotes countries and $j = 1, \ldots, n$ denotes individuals.[15] $\alpha_j, \beta^{\mathrm{w}}_j$ and $\beta^{\mathrm{t.s.}}_j$ are random effects for the intercept and the coefficients for winners and "the same", respectively. Control variables are denoted as x_i and are the same as in the multinomial logit models in section

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via Lexis-Nexis Academic.

[14] Multilevel models with a dependent variable consisting of unordered categories are very complicated to estimate and are not implemented in current statistical software packages yet.

[15] Notation as in Gelman and Hill (2007). $j[i]$ denotes i's membership in country j.

3 (gender, education, age, residency, profession and income). We include each of these variables as fixed effect as we did not find systematic variation in their coefficients when estimating multinomial logit models on the completely unpooled data in section 3. We furthermore do not include any of the macroeconomic measures as group-unit variable as in previous models it turned out that they do not affect the results. We estimate the above specified model separately on each year and then compare the main results graphically.

The key coefficients in the multilevel models are, of course, the effects for winners, $\beta^{\text{w}}_{j[i]}$. The estimated coefficient for β^{w}_{j} is positive and statistically significant in each of the five years, again indicating the strong effect of being a winner on EU support. We are additionally interested in the variability of the random coefficient, that is, in the differences between the winner effects in each country. Above we have hypothesized that loser support should drop the more likely a country will join the EU. We do not have a precise measure of "likelihood of joining the EU" but given that over time more and more of the countries in our sample have officially opened negotiations with the EU for membership, we expect to find an increase in the winner effect over time.[16] To summarize this information we add the average effect β^{w}_{j} to each of the country-specific winner-coefficients and present these coefficients via box-plots for all years in figure 11. Comparing these box-plots over time reveals two interesting results. First, the average winner effect is steadily increasing which means that winners in 2003 were much more likely to support EU accession than losers. Second, the spread of the coefficient size is decreasing over time, that is, while in 1995 being a winner had a very different impact in each of the countries the effect was much more homogenous in 2003.

Figure 11 tells us that the effect of being a winner increases over time but it does not tell us if this is due to winners become more likely to support EU membership or losers less likely to support EU membership. To address this point, we construct the same graph as just discussed but for the random intercept term. As we have included dummy variables for winners and "the same" the average effect of losers (the reference category) is captured by the intercept term α_{j} and the country specific intercept terms $\alpha_{j[i]}$. Figure 12 presents box-plots for the intercept terms, again plotted over time. From here we can clearly see that it is the losers, which, on average, become

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[16] More precisely, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia and the Czech Republic have started negotiations in 1997, and Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Slovakia in 2000.

less and less likely to support EU accession.

To go beyond interpreting the coefficient sizes we also display the probabilities of winners and losers supporting EU membership for each country-year observation in Figure 13. All other explanatory variables in the model are kept constant at meaningful values.[17] The graphs in Figure 13 neatly confirm what we have already suggested when looking at the coefficient sizes: the probabilities for winners and loser to support EU accession are very close in earlier years. In Slovakia, Lithuania and Poland, for example, winners and losers are almost equally likely to voter for EU membership. In other countries, such as Latvia, Estonia, Slovenia, and the Czech Republic, the differences in probabilities are larger, but still relative small when compared to later years within the same countries. Then, over time, there is an increasing gap between winner and losers, mostly caused by the probabilities for losers decreasing. Latvia, Estonia, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Lithuania, and Hungary fit this pattern. Not so, however, in Bulgaria and Romania where the probabilities for both winners and losers remain at a very high level. This is also consistent with our theoretical story, as Bulgaria and Romania are considered the two "EU laggard" countries from the group analyzed in this paper. Neither of the two was invited to join the EU in its initial expansion into Central Europe in 2004 and both very troubled by hyperinflation in the mid- to late 1990s.[18]

It is also interesting to note that Slovakia, which was at one point considered unlikely to be invited into the EU in the first round due to the actions of the Meciar government, also reveals some of the tightest gaps between winner and loser support for EU membership. Once it becomes more apparent that Slovakia will indeed be in the first round, the gaps grow to the size found in other countries.[19]

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[17] We have set age at its mean value of 43 years. The setting of the other variables correspond to a male respondent with secondary education who lives in a city or town, works in the public sector and has an income in the 3rd income quintile. Setting the independent variables to other values than those above change the predicted probabilities only slightly and do not affect our conclusions. The graphs of these predicted probabilities currently included in the Figure are actually calculated on the basis of the MNL results from the previous section; they will be replaced with graphs that look extremely similar calculated from the multi-level model in the next version of the paper.

[18] The Polish case warrants a bit more discussion as well. Although Poland shows an increasing gap between winner and losers, contra to our expectations, there overall relatively high levels of predicted support among both groups. We are still examining why this is the case, but suspect it may be an artifact of the procedure by which we calculated these predicted values, as the raw data do not suggest higher support for EU membership in in Poland than elsewhere.

[19] Interestingly, when Meciar was still in power, overall support for EU membership was quite low, perhaps suggesting an influence for Meciar's apparent disdain for the West. Once Meciar is out of power and Slovakia has to

Finally, we see a drop in winner support in the economically very successful countries Estonia and Hungary, which is consistent with our hypothesis that winners in these countries might associate EU membership with slowdown or reversal of economic reforms and hence are more likely to vote against it. One might have expected a similar effect in the economically advanced Czech Republic, but instead we find a sharp increase in winner as well as loser support from 2002 to 2003.

6   Conclusion

We conclude by addressing contributions our paper can make in three important areas, ranging from the more specific to the more general: our understanding of public opinion towards the EU in post-communist countries; the importance of context in the formulation of public opinion more generally; and finally the nature of micro-macro paradoxes as a feature of social scientific phenomena.

First, we have provided a central unifying framework for public opinion towards EU membership in post-communist countries. Drawing on close to 50,000 separate interviews with citizens from 10 different countries over an 8 year period, we have presented a parsimonious yet nuanced picture of this phenomenon. Simply put, economic winners are more likely to support EU membership than economic losers regardless of a range of social-demographic characteristics. This rule is remarkably robust to variation in both time and place. The nature of this gap, however, is in part a function of the country's progress towards EU membership. When membership is somehow in doubt, the gap is smaller; when membership becomes more likely the gap begins to widen as losers become disproportionately less enthusiastic about membership. The one exception to this rule – we believe – is that in the most economically advanced (or perhaps most economically reformed) countries, winners may also come to be a bit more skeptical as membership comes closer as well.

These findings, however, point out the crucial importance of *context* in the study of public opinion formation. We do not intend any of these findings to be seen as a challenge to the excellent work done on attitudes towards EU membership in West European democracies that

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deal with the consequences of his rule as a potential impediment for early EU membership, predicted support for EU membership jumps to levels found in Bulgarian and Romania among both winners and losers.

focuses more explicitly on an individual's places in the economy and the nature of his or her skill set. Instead, we suggest that while EU membership (or EU deepening) may have had one meaning in the West European context, in the post-communist context it has primarily meant something else. We have detailed these meanings in the text of the paper; here we want only to reemphasize the point that context can be to our understanding public opinion formation.

Finally, the topic of "micro-macro paradoxes" has been receiving increased attention in recent years, primarily because of the growing red-state / blue-state phenomenon in the United States, but also because of increased attention from political methodologists. Our paper suggests that these types of paradoxes may actually be a more common social phenomenon than previously thought. If that is the case, then it calls into question whether we can begin to theorize about the types of issues they are likely to affect. Intriguingly, both the EU accession and red-state / blue state paradoxes revolve around the question of economic well being, with economically better off actors being more likely to do something than their less well off counterparts (although for completely different reasons in the two cases). Are social scientific micro-macro paradoxes likely to be limited to issues of wealth? If not, what other characteristics (ethnicity? occupation?) might be likely to generate these types of paradoxical outcomes? What characteristics (gender?) might be less likely to do so? These remain interesting questions for future research.

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Figures

Vote decision in a hypothetical referundum on EU membership as percentage of all respondents
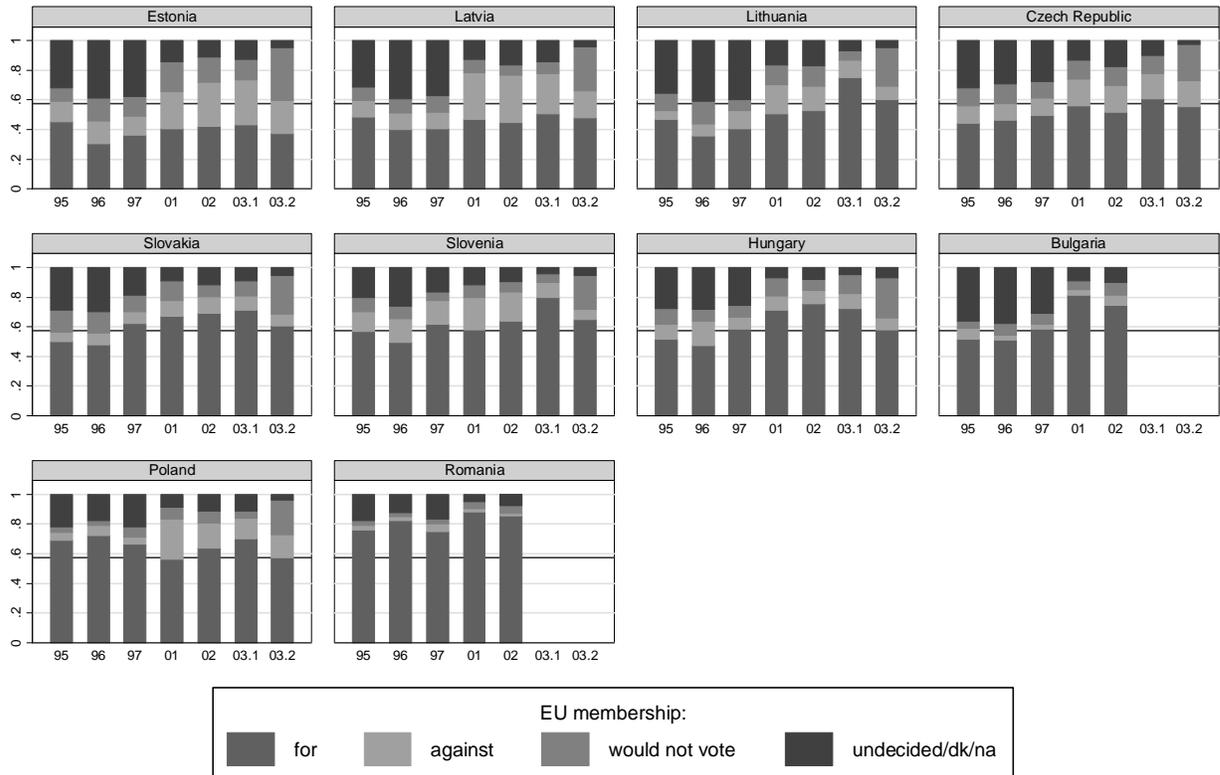
Figure 1: *Percentages of respondents by vote decision in a hypothetical referendum on EU membership. In 2003 the question refers to actual vote decisions and data for Bulgaria and Romania is not available as no referenda were held. Countries are ordered by average support for EU membership in each country. The line at 0.6 represents average support across all countries. The sample size in each year is about 1,000 respondents per country.*

Distribution of winners and losers by country and year
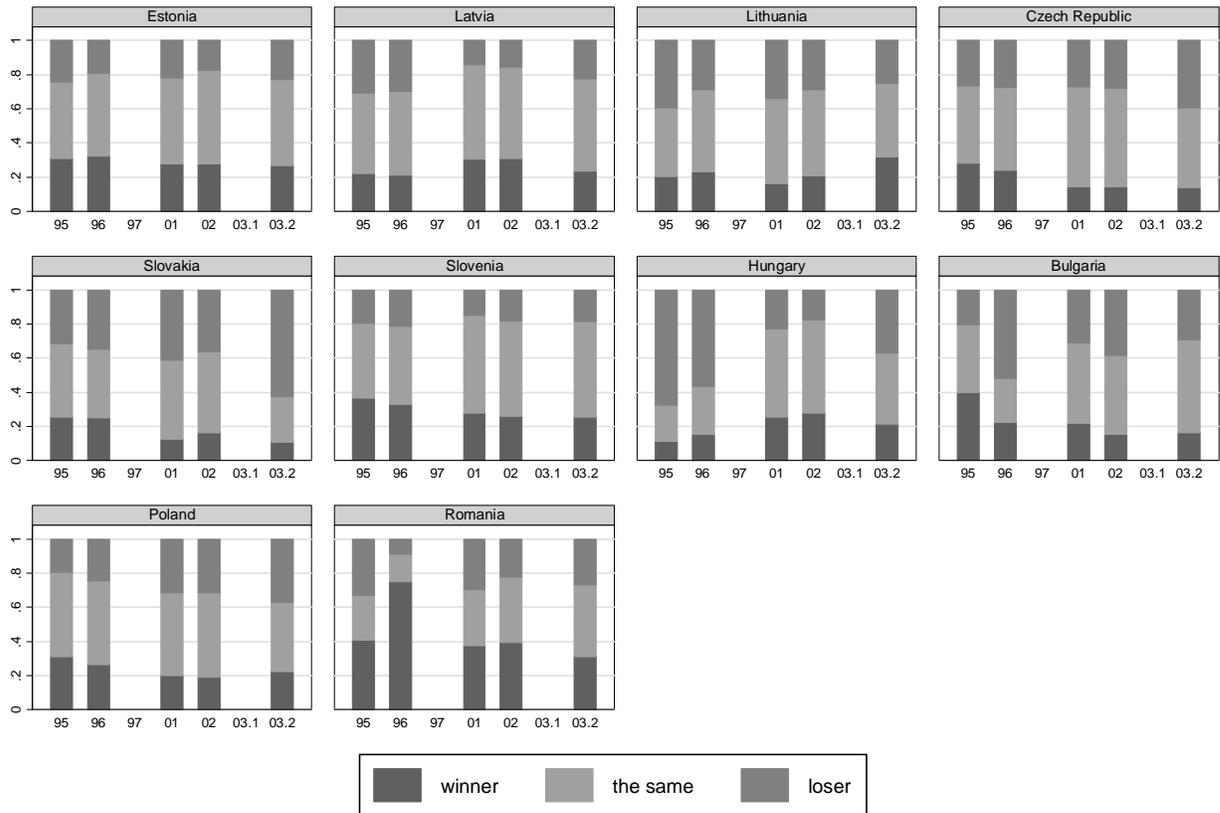
Figure 2: *Proportions of winners, losers, and "the same" by country and year. Classification is based on respondents' answer to a question about their anticipated financial situation of their households with answer categories "better" (winner), "the same", and "worse" (loser). Data not available for 1997 and 2003 (May).*

Proportions of winners and losers supporting EU membership
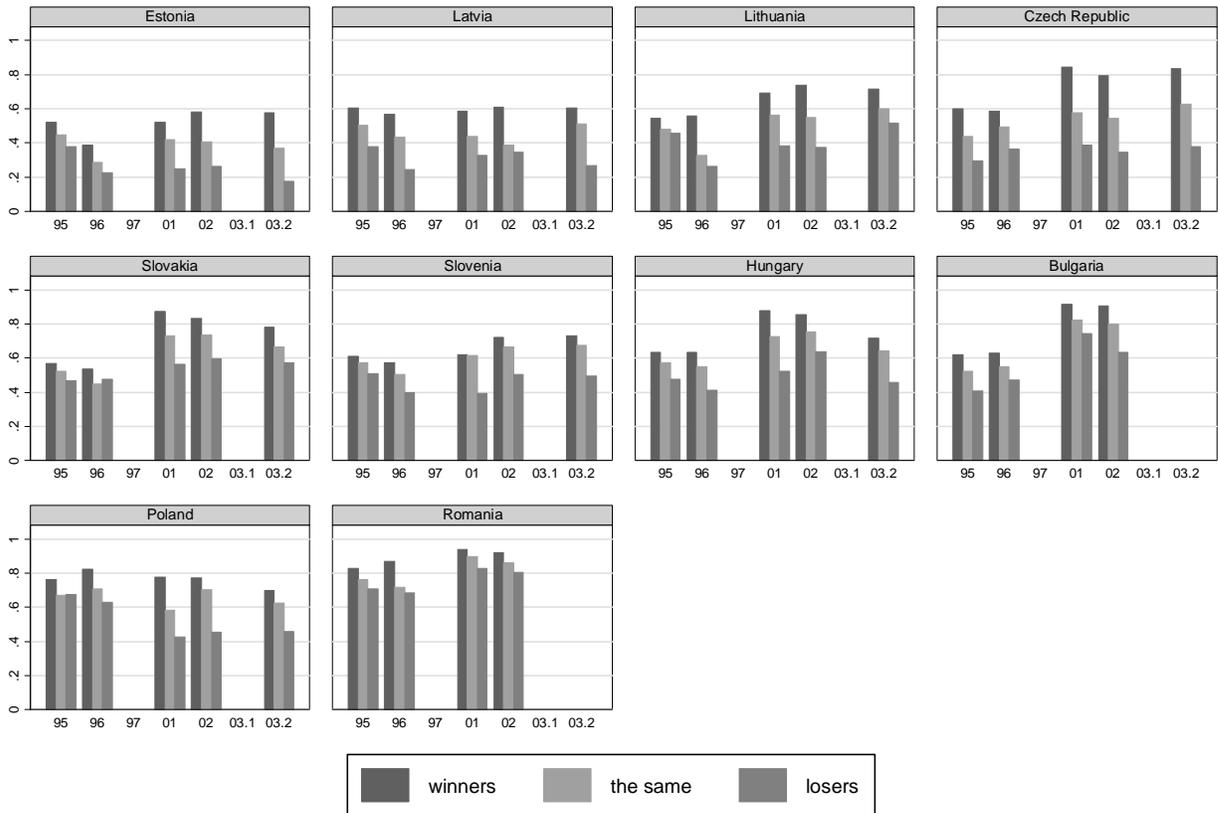
Figure 3: *Proportions of winners, losers, and "the same" supporting EU membership. There are always more winners supporting the EU than losers; the proportions of "the same" is always between the two groups with the exception being Poland in 1995 where there are slightly more "the same" than losers.*
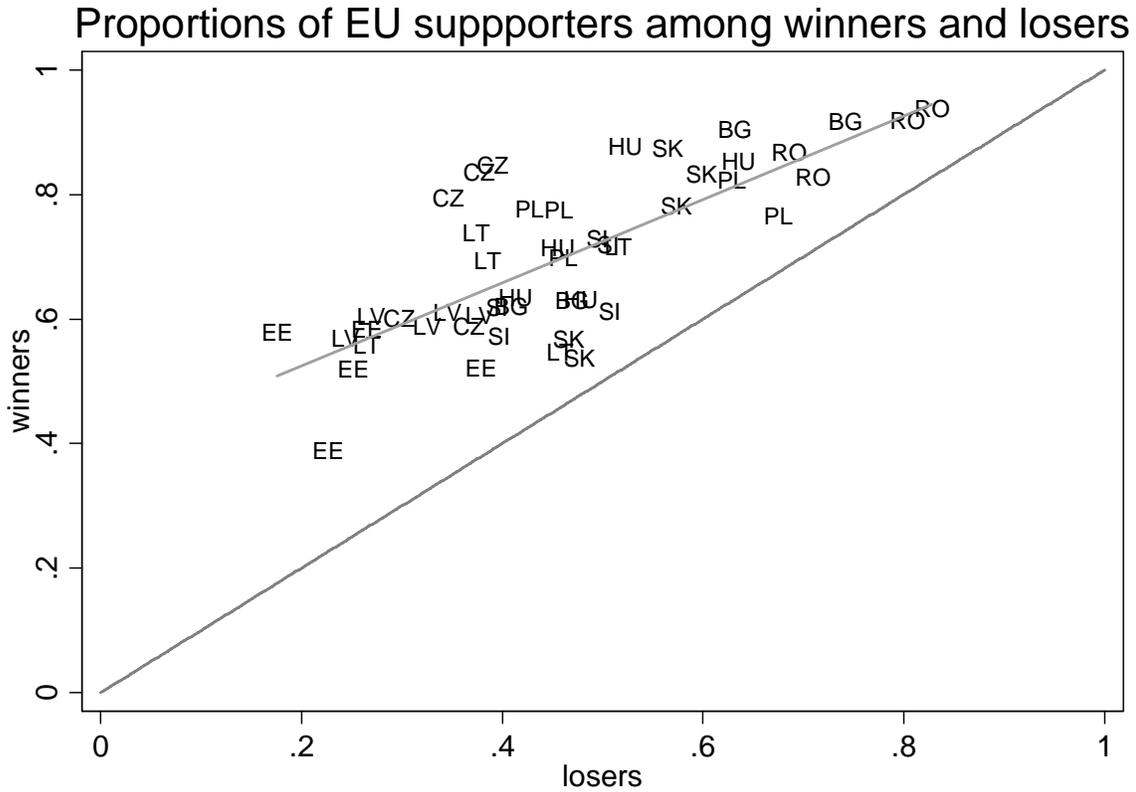
Figure 4: *Proportions of winners and losers supporting EU membership of their countries. Each label represents one particular country-year observation. There are four observations for Bulgaria and Romania and five observations for all other countries in which a referendum was held in 2003. The shorter line represents fitted values from an OLS regression of the y-axis variable on the x-axis variable. All observations lie above the 45 degree line which means that in each country and in each year the proportions of winners supporting the EU is greater proportions of losers.*

Level of EU membership support compared to level of inflation
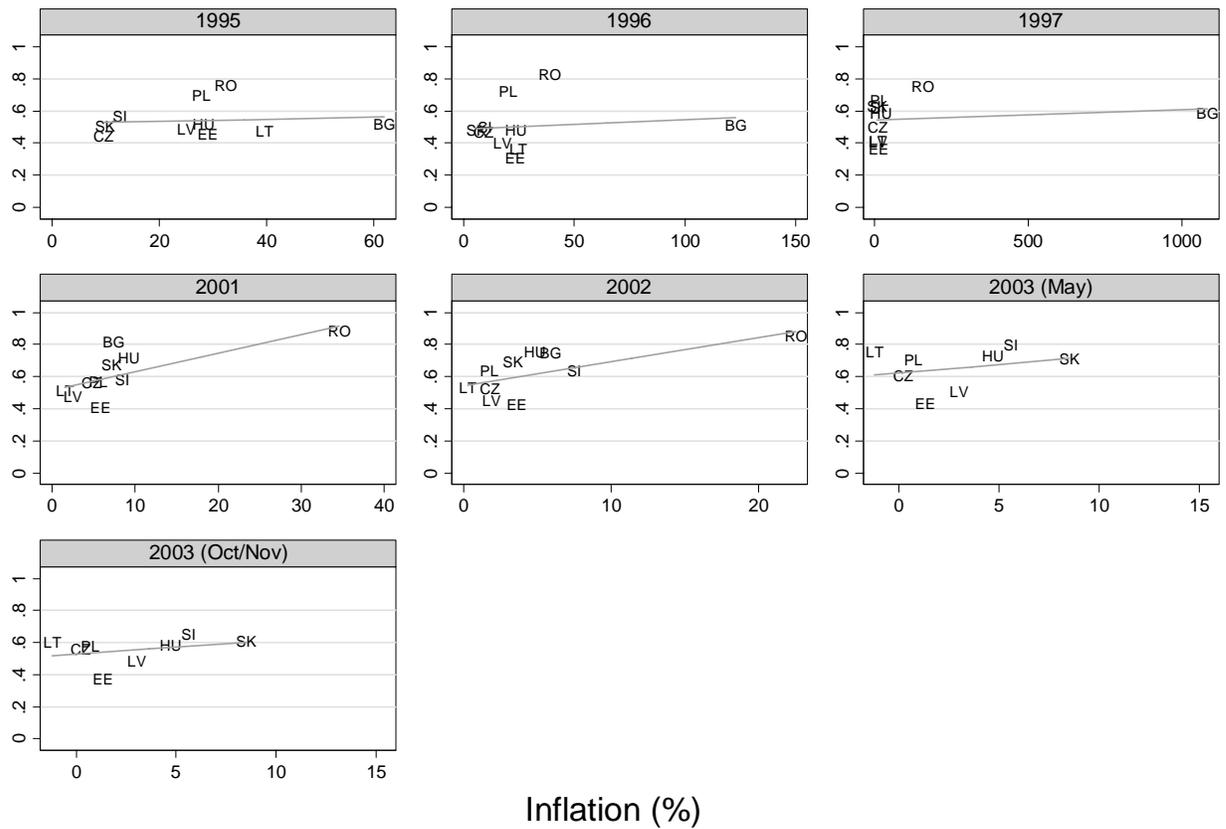
Figure 5: *Level of EU membership support compared to percent change in inflation. The lines represent fitted values from an OLS regression of the y-axis variable on the x-axis variable.*

Level of EU membership support compared to level of inflation
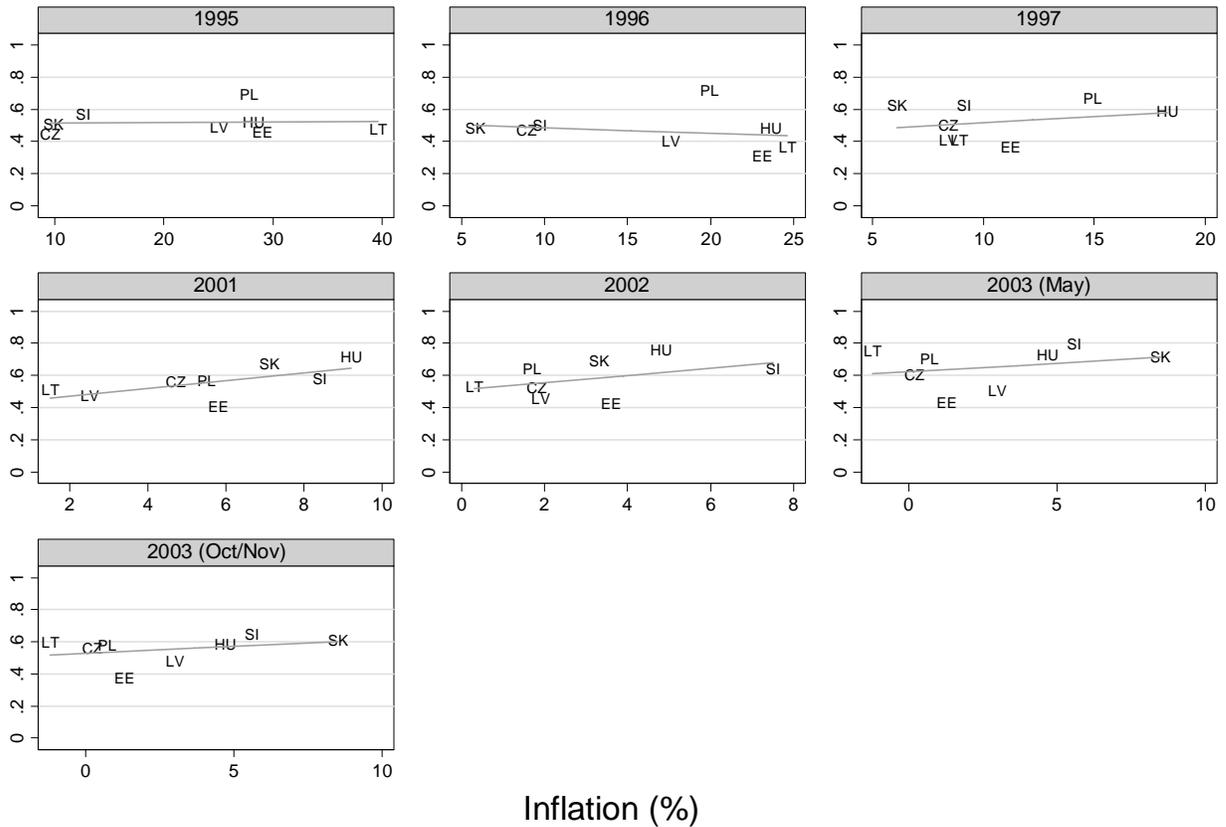
Figure 6: *Level of EU membership support compared to percent change in inflation (excluding hyperinflation countries Bulgaria and Romania). The lines represent fitted values from an OLS regression of the y-axis variable on the x-axis variable.*
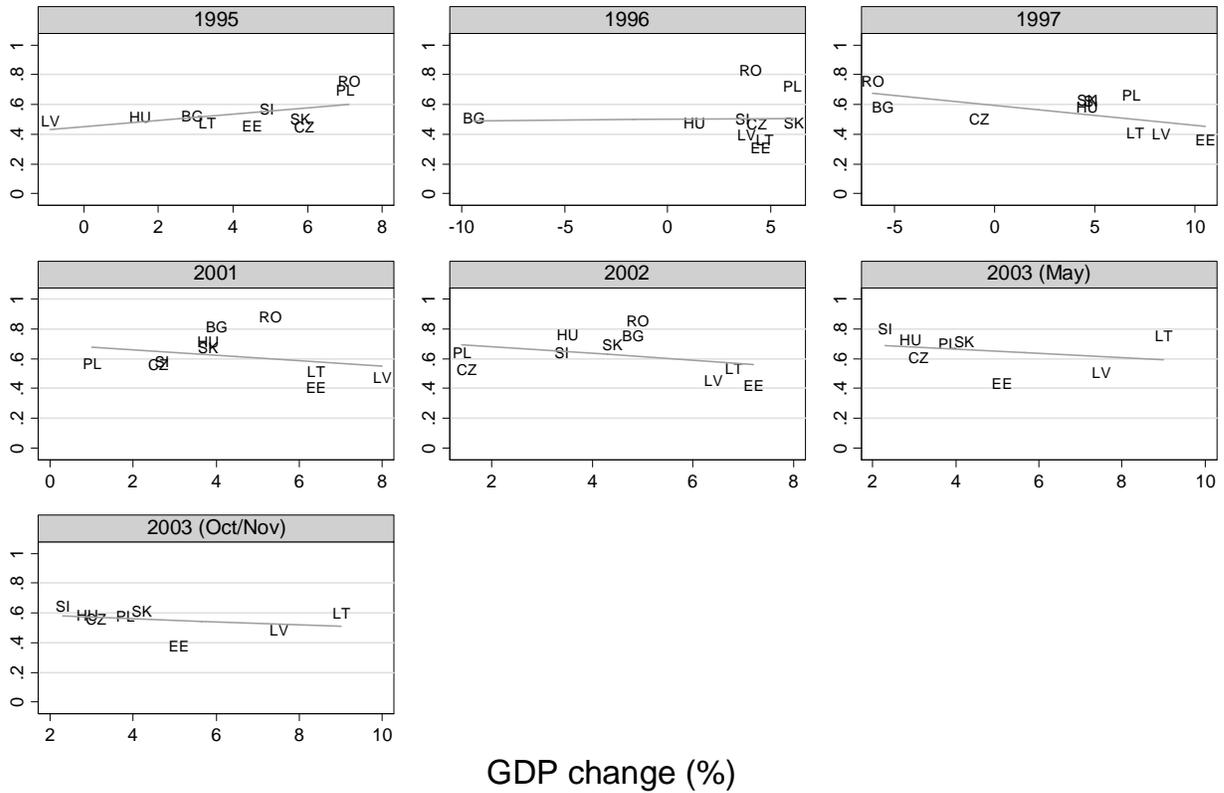
Figure 7: *Level of EU membership support compared to GDP growth. The lines represent fitted values from an OLS regression of the y-axis variable on the x-axis variable.*

Level of EU membership support compared to Unemployment rate
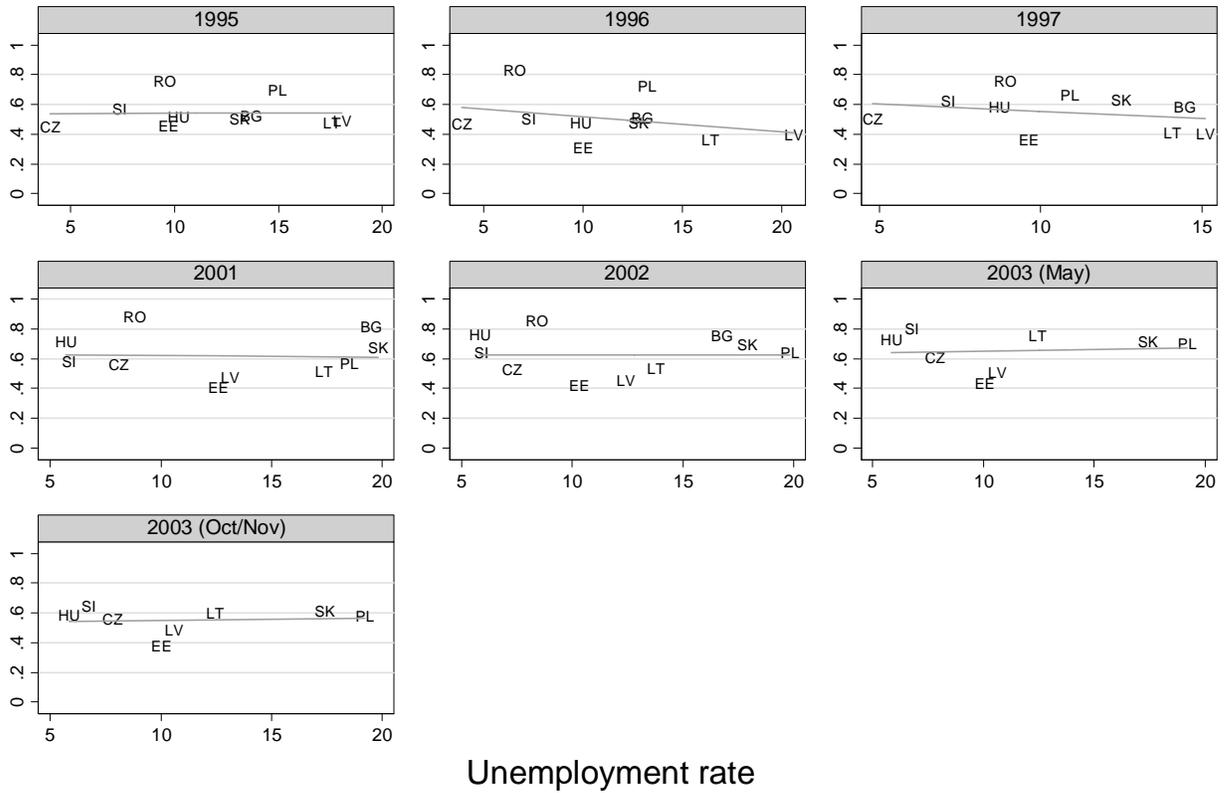
Figure 8: *Level of EU membership support compared to unemployment rate. The lines represent fitted values from an OLS regression of the y-axis variable on the x-axis variable.*

Level of EU membership support compared to GDP (1989)
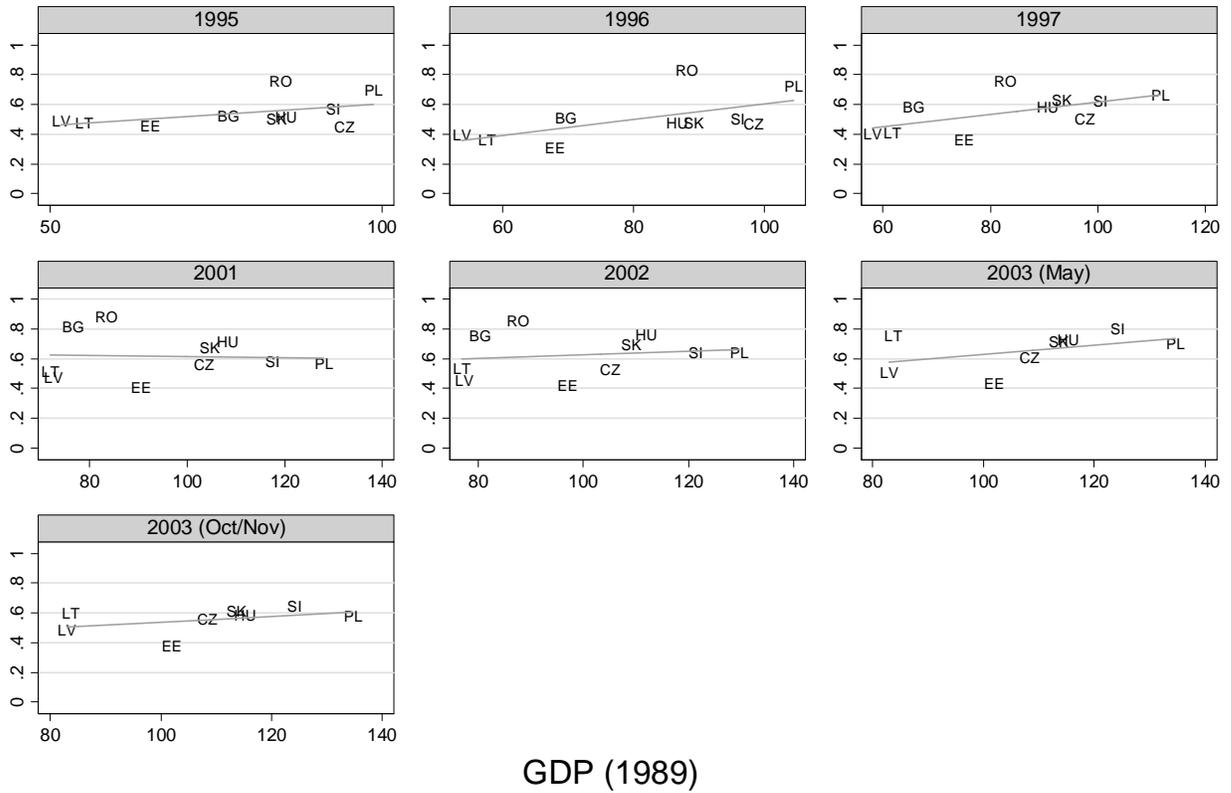
Figure 9: *Level of EU membership support as percent of GDP in 1989. The lines represent fitted values from an OLS regression of the y-axis variable on the x-axis variable.*

Level of EU membership support compared to EBRD average transition indicator
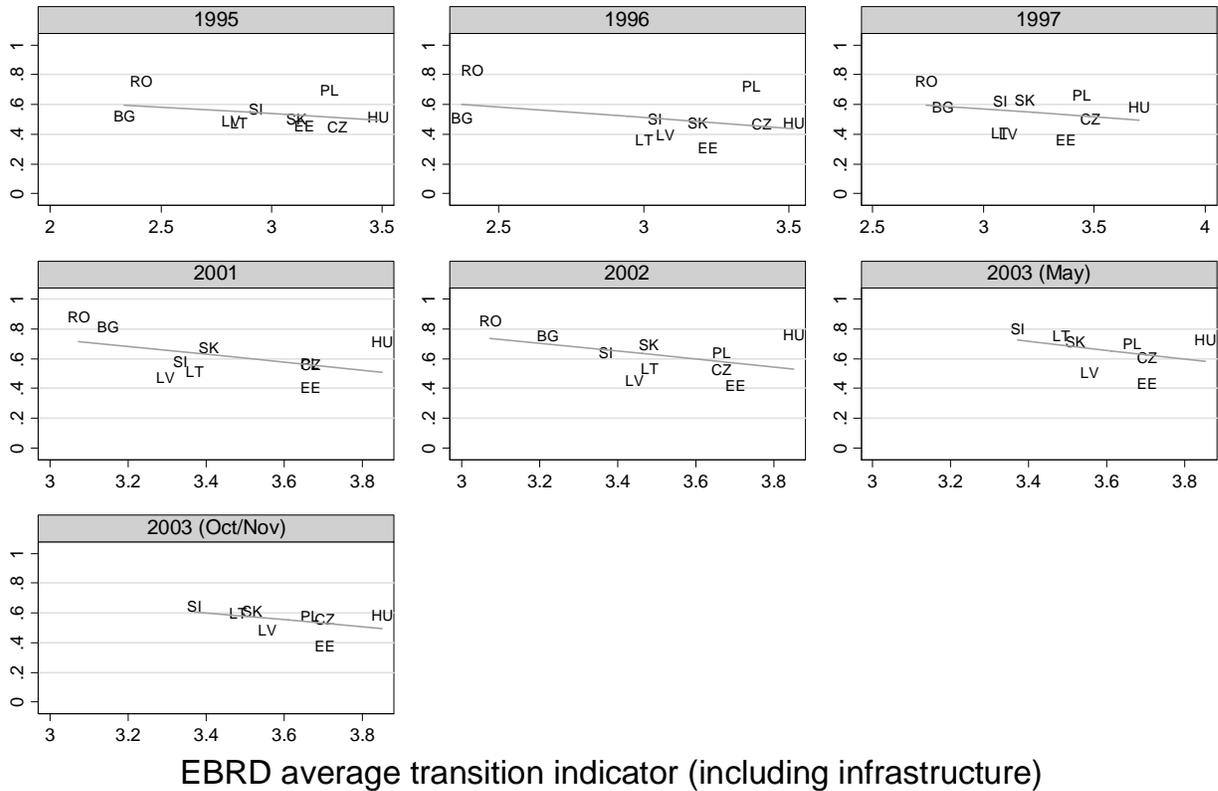
Figure 10: *Level of EU membership support compared to the average transition indicator from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). Larger values on the transition indicator are associated with more economic progress.*
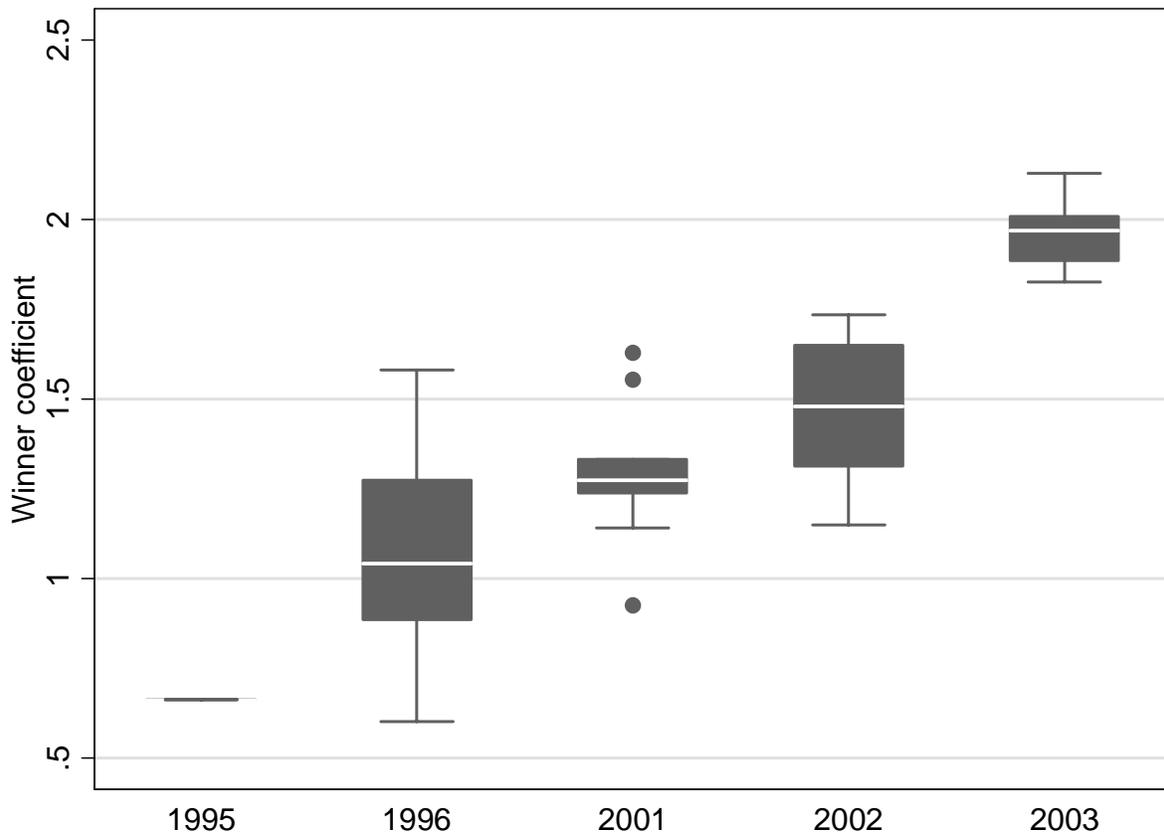
Figure 11: *Summary of country-specific winner coefficients as derived from the varying-intercept, varying-slope model. The average random effect has been added to each coefficient. The winner effect is relatively small in 1995 with no variaton across countries. The average effect is then decreasing over time with variation in 2003 being much smaller than in the previous three years.*
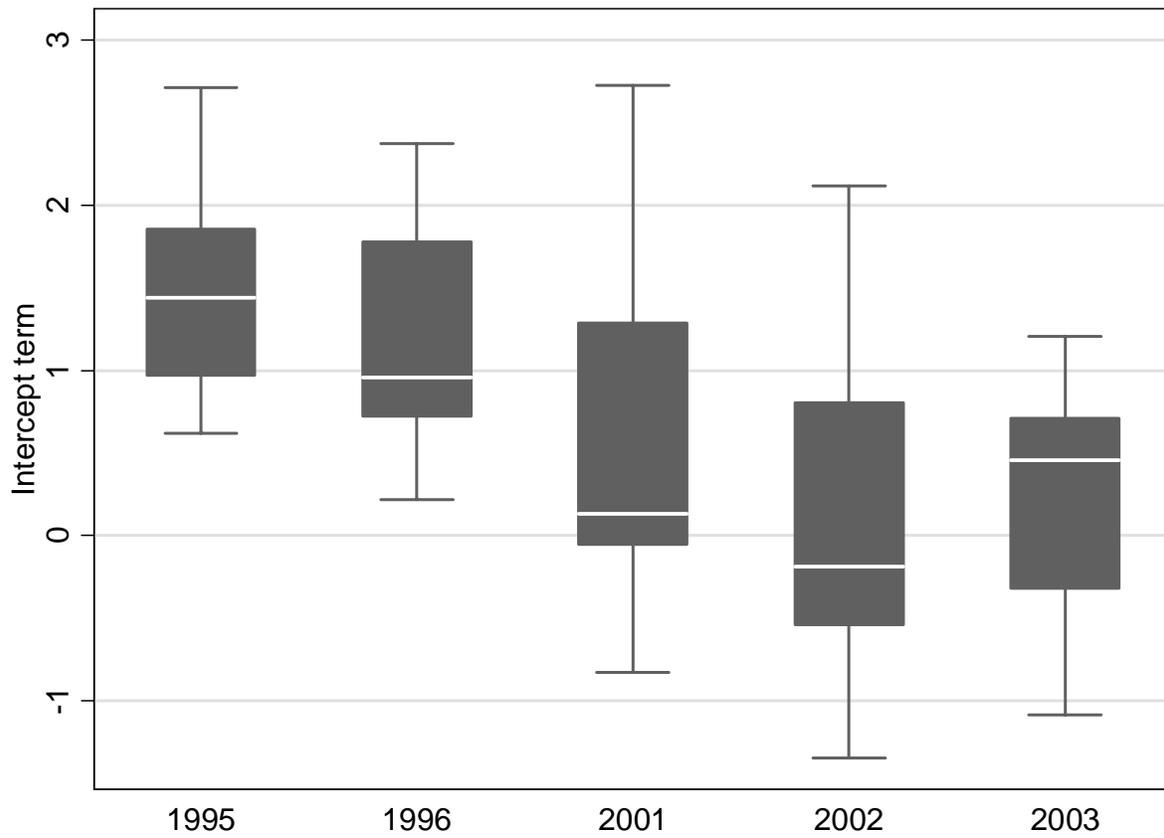
Figure 12: *Summary of country-specific intercept terms as derived from the varying-intercept, varying-slope model. The average random effect has been added to each coefficient. The intercept terms are decreasing over time, indicating that support from losers is dropping.*

Predicted probabilities of EU support for winners and losers
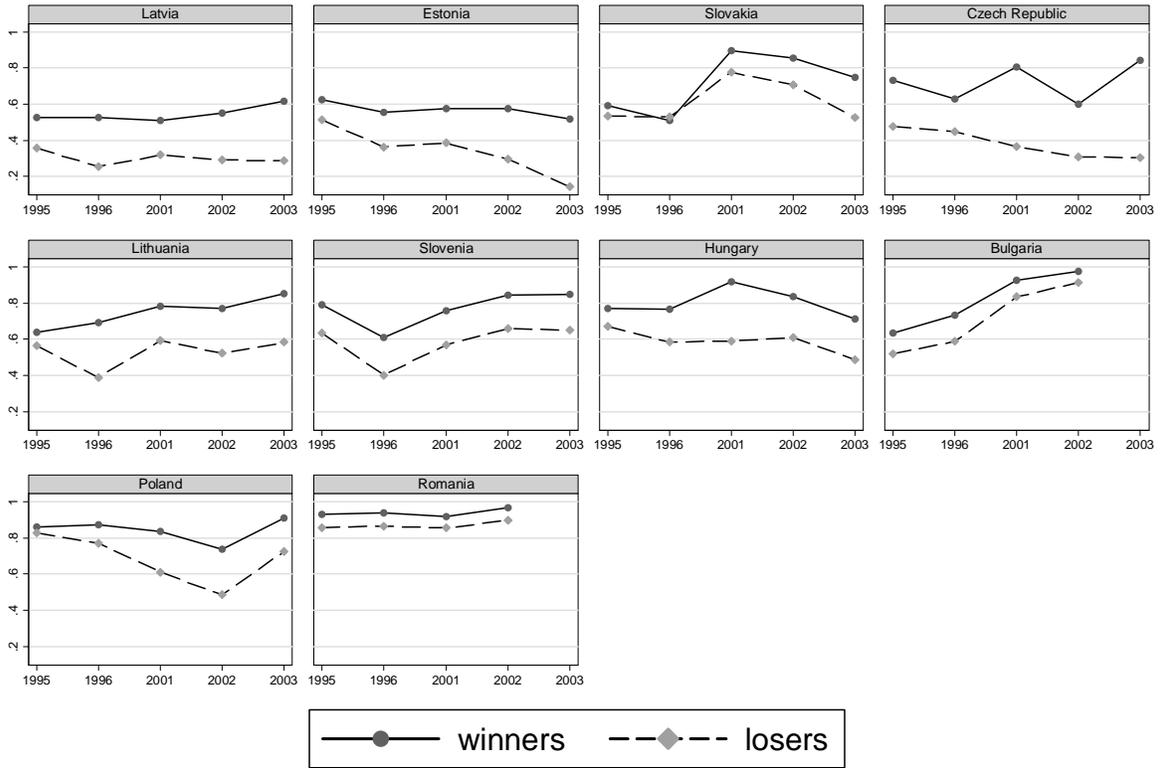
Figure 13: *Predicted probabilities for winners and losers supporting EU membership. Control variables are held constant at meaningful values which correspond to an "average" survey respondent. Countries are ordered by average size of winner and loser probability.*

Tables

Table 1: Multinomial logit model of EU support on winner/loser-status and control variables. The dependent variable has four categories (for, against, would not vote, undecided/don't know/no answer) with the second group specified as baseline category. Model estimated on completely pooled dataset.

	Completely pooled model								
	for			**would not vote**			**undecided/DK/NA**		
	coef	se	p	coef	se	p	coef	se	p
Anticipated financial situation (ref. group: worse)									
better ("winner")	1.12	0.05	0.000	0.15	0.06	0.023	0.57	0.05	0.000
the same	0.50	0.04	0.000	0.17	0.05	0.000	0.28	0.04	0.000
male	-0.06	0.03	0.071	-0.35	0.04	0.000	-0.38	0.04	0.000
Education (ref group: primary)									
secondary	0.00	0.04	0.959	-0.57	0.05	0.000	-0.53	0.04	0.000
higher	0.16	0.05	0.003	-0.81	0.07	0.000	-0.66	0.06	0.000
age (years/100)	-0.36	0.16	0.020	-0.36	0.21	0.078	-0.33	0.18	0.059
Residency (ref.group: village/rural area)									
city/town	0.00	0.04	0.919	-0.10	0.05	0.052	-0.02	0.05	0.645
small town	0.08	0.04	0.043	0.03	0.05	0.630	-0.15	0.05	0.002
Occupation (ref. group: public sector/state owned enterprise)									
private sector	-0.21	0.05	0.000	0.07	0.07	0.363	-0.25	0.06	0.000
self employed	-0.02	0.08	0.777	0.05	0.12	0.656	-0.29	0.10	0.004
agricultural sector	-0.42	0.10	0.000	-0.43	0.14	0.003	-0.07	0.11	0.543
pensioner	0.09	0.06	0.151	0.20	0.08	0.012	0.03	0.07	0.619
student	0.10	0.08	0.210	0.58	0.10	0.000	-0.26	0.10	0.006
housewife	0.20	0.10	0.039	0.22	0.12	0.079	0.29	0.11	0.007
unemployed	-0.05	0.07	0.472	0.10	0.09	0.258	-0.02	0.07	0.762
other	-0.30	0.09	0.001	0.01	0.12	0.938	-0.18	0.10	0.080
Income (ref. group: 1st quintile)									
2nd quintile	-0.03	0.05	0.553	-0.25	0.06	0.000	-0.31	0.05	0.000
3rd quintile	0.24	0.05	0.000	-0.10	0.06	0.111	-0.13	0.06	0.019
4th quintile	0.37	0.06	0.000	-0.08	0.07	0.263	0.09	0.06	0.148
5th quintile	0.51	0.06	0.000	-0.09	0.09	0.314	0.21	0.07	0.004
Constant	1.00	0.09	0.000	0.49	0.12	0.000	1.13	0.11	0.000

No. of observations	39,309		LR chi^2	3,183.42
Log. Likelihood	-43722.16		Prob > chi^2	0.000

Table 2: Multinomial logit model of EU support on winner/loser-status and control variables. The dependent variable has four categories (for, against, would not vote, undecided/don't know/no answer) with the second group specified as baseline category. Model estimated on pooled dataset for 1995.

	Pooled across countries in 1995								
	for			**would not vote**			**undecided/DK/NA**		
	coef	se	p	coef	se	p	coef	se	p
Anticipated financial situation (ref. group: worse)									
better ("winner")	0.61	0.11	0.000	-0.41	0.15	0.005	0.12	0.11	0.295
the same	0.24	0.09	0.007	-0.12	0.12	0.314	0.11	0.10	0.255
male	-0.24	0.08	0.003	-0.57	0.11	0.000	-0.69	0.09	0.000
Education (ref group: primary)									
secondary	0.03	0.09	0.734	-0.54	0.12	0.000	-0.40	0.10	0.000
higher	0.21	0.13	0.107	-0.91	0.20	0.000	-0.49	0.14	0.001
age (years/100)	-0.56	0.39	0.151	-0.35	0.53	0.506	-0.33	0.42	0.433
Residency (ref.group: village/rural area)									
city/town	0.36	0.10	0.000	0.12	0.14	0.388	0.03	0.11	0.789
small town	0.24	0.10	0.018	0.30	0.13	0.022	0.06	0.11	0.607
Occupation (ref. group: public sector/state owned enterprise)									
private sector	-0.19	0.14	0.160	0.02	0.19	0.937	-0.02	0.15	0.877
self employed	0.28	0.22	0.211	0.45	0.30	0.135	0.23	0.24	0.353
agricultural sector	-0.31	0.19	0.102	-0.56	0.30	0.058	0.06	0.20	0.769
pensioner	-0.02	0.14	0.881	0.02	0.20	0.905	0.09	0.15	0.549
student	0.16	0.20	0.442	0.80	0.25	0.002	0.04	0.22	0.870
housewife	0.17	0.23	0.465	0.07	0.30	0.819	0.21	0.24	0.391
unemployed	0.03	0.17	0.874	0.21	0.22	0.335	0.23	0.18	0.205
other	-0.19	0.23	0.414	0.15	0.31	0.625	0.15	0.24	0.524
Income (ref. group: 1st quintile)									
2nd quintile	0.02	0.11	0.892	-0.19	0.15	0.212	-0.02	0.12	0.893
3rd quintile	0.10	0.12	0.435	-0.12	0.16	0.449	-0.04	0.13	0.731
4th quintile	0.09	0.13	0.504	-0.23	0.18	0.187	0.00	0.14	0.977
5th quintile	0.23	0.15	0.141	-0.06	0.21	0.785	-0.04	0.17	0.806
Constant	1.65	0.22	0.000	0.70	0.29	0.017	1.66	0.23	0.000

No. of observations	8,517		LR chi^2	650.96	
Log. Likelihood	-9042.241		Prob > chi^2	0.000	

Table 3: Multinomial logit model of EU support on winner/loser-status and control variables. The dependent variable has four categories (for, against, would not vote, undecided/don't know/no answer) with the second group specified as baseline category. Model estimated on pooled dataset for 1996.

	Pooled across countries in 1996								
	for			**would not vote**			**undecided/DK/NA**		
	coef	se	p	coef	se	p	coef	se	p
Anticipated financial situation (ref. group: worse)									
better ("winner")	1.21	0.10	0.000	0.17	0.14	0.226	0.40	0.11	0.000
the same	0.43	0.09	0.000	0.18	0.11	0.100	0.29	0.09	0.001
male	-0.14	0.08	0.070	-0.46	0.10	0.000	-0.60	0.08	0.000
Education (ref group: primary)									
secondary	-0.13	0.09	0.130	-0.56	0.11	0.000	-0.29	0.09	0.002
higher	-0.11	0.12	0.349	-1.08	0.18	0.000	-0.61	0.13	0.000
age (years/100)	-0.76	0.37	0.037	-0.57	0.48	0.231	-0.56	0.39	0.150
Residency (ref.group: village/rural area)									
city/town	0.14	0.10	0.145	0.12	0.12	0.343	-0.01	0.10	0.898
small town	0.19	0.10	0.064	0.03	0.13	0.838	-0.10	0.11	0.379
Occupation (ref. group: public sector/state owned enterprise)									
private sector	-0.33	0.12	0.007	0.04	0.17	0.788	-0.11	0.13	0.399
self employed	-0.39	0.17	0.024	-0.53	0.28	0.053	-0.60	0.20	0.003
agricultural sector	-0.26	0.20	0.195	-0.32	0.27	0.238	-0.10	0.21	0.634
pensioner	0.13	0.14	0.364	0.10	0.18	0.593	0.11	0.15	0.452
student	0.04	0.19	0.831	0.28	0.24	0.253	0.07	0.21	0.748
housewife	0.28	0.24	0.238	0.16	0.29	0.590	0.24	0.24	0.317
unemployed	0.01	0.17	0.945	0.00	0.22	0.991	0.13	0.18	0.443
other	-0.20	0.21	0.351	-0.25	0.30	0.414	0.10	0.22	0.668
Income (ref. group: 1st quintile)									
2nd quintile	-0.08	0.12	0.500	-0.46	0.14	0.001	-0.35	0.12	0.004
3rd quintile	0.31	0.12	0.010	-0.29	0.15	0.059	-0.17	0.13	0.188
4th quintile	0.28	0.13	0.035	-0.49	0.17	0.004	-0.20	0.14	0.157
5th quintile	0.35	0.14	0.012	-0.63	0.19	0.001	-0.26	0.15	0.075
Constant	1.39	0.21	0.000	0.94	0.28	0.001	1.79	0.22	0.000

No. of observations	8,555		LR chi^2	853.66	
Log. Likelihood	-9425.187		Prob > chi^2	0.000	

Table 4: Multinomial logit model of EU support on winner/loser-status and control variables. The dependent variable has four categories (for, against, would not vote, undecided/don't know/no answer) with the second group specified as baseline category. Model estimated on pooled dataset for 2001.

	for			**would not vote**			**undecided/DK/NA**		
	coef	se	p	coef	se	p	coef	se	p
Anticipated financial situation (ref. group: worse)									
better ("winner")	1.14	0.10	0.000	0.23	0.16	0.145	0.48	0.16	0.002
the same	0.49	0.07	0.000	0.17	0.10	0.092	0.22	0.11	0.046
male	0.00	0.07	0.993	-0.56	0.10	0.000	-0.59	0.10	0.000
Education (ref group: primary)									
secondary	0.11	0.09	0.213	-0.54	0.12	0.000	-0.63	0.12	0.000
higher	0.39	0.11	0.001	-0.45	0.16	0.005	-0.69	0.17	0.000
age (years/100)	-0.12	0.32	0.711	0.61	0.46	0.182	0.86	0.48	0.073
Residency (ref.group: village/rural area)									
city/town	-0.13	0.09	0.116	-0.55	0.12	0.000	-0.44	0.13	0.000
small town	-0.17	0.08	0.032	-0.53	0.11	0.000	-0.35	0.12	0.003
Occupation (ref. group: public sector/state owned enterprise)									
private sector	-0.24	0.11	0.033	-0.24	0.17	0.161	-0.11	0.18	0.547
self employed	0.14	0.18	0.416	-0.02	0.27	0.942	-0.11	0.30	0.716
agricultural sector	-1.05	0.28	0.000	-0.55	0.36	0.132	-1.06	0.44	0.016
pensioner	0.01	0.13	0.966	-0.29	0.19	0.122	-0.38	0.20	0.050
student	0.18	0.18	0.305	-0.06	0.26	0.825	-0.16	0.28	0.556
housewife	-0.02	0.19	0.910	-0.10	0.26	0.693	-0.14	0.27	0.600
unemployed	-0.11	0.13	0.422	-0.19	0.19	0.327	-0.08	0.20	0.702
other	-0.51	0.19	0.007	-0.37	0.27	0.160	-0.42	0.28	0.132
Income (ref. group: 1st quintile)									
2nd quintile	0.11	0.09	0.234	-0.32	0.13	0.012	-0.28	0.13	0.034
3rd quintile	0.19	0.10	0.068	-0.14	0.14	0.314	-0.27	0.15	0.072
4th quintile	0.39	0.12	0.001	-0.02	0.17	0.921	-0.15	0.18	0.405
5th quintile	0.19	0.14	0.185	-0.22	0.21	0.295	-0.43	0.23	0.061
Constant	0.80	0.21	0.000	0.35	0.29	0.226	0.12	0.30	0.689

No. of observations	7,304		LR chi^2	707.77
Log. Likelihood	-7257.303		Prob > chi^2	0.000

Table 5: Multinomial logit model of EU support on winner/loser-status and control variables. The dependent variable has four categories (for, against, would not vote, undecided/don't know/no answer) with the second group specified as baseline category. Model estimated on pooled dataset for 2002.

| | Pooled across countries in 2002 | | | | | | | | |
| | for | | | would not vote | | | undecided/DK/NA | | |
	coef	se	p	coef	se	p	coef	se	p
Anticipated financial situation (ref. group: worse)									
better ("winner")	1.18	0.10	0.000	0.36	0.16	0.023	0.45	0.15	0.002
the same	0.56	0.07	0.000	0.38	0.11	0.000	0.35	0.10	0.001
male	-0.07	0.07	0.299	-0.41	0.10	0.000	-0.47	0.10	0.000
Education (ref group: primary)									
secondary	0.24	0.09	0.005	-0.51	0.12	0.000	-0.35	0.11	0.002
higher	0.33	0.11	0.004	-0.71	0.18	0.000	-0.47	0.16	0.004
age (years/100)	0.15	0.31	0.626	0.13	0.47	0.779	0.51	0.44	0.249
Residency (ref.group: village/rural area)									
city/town	-0.26	0.08	0.001	-0.50	0.13	0.000	-0.45	0.12	0.000
small town	0.06	0.08	0.425	0.04	0.12	0.740	-0.10	0.11	0.360
Occupation (ref. group: public sector/state owned enterprise)									
private sector	0.07	0.11	0.501	0.17	0.18	0.340	0.06	0.16	0.707
self employed	0.27	0.18	0.149	0.14	0.32	0.673	0.45	0.26	0.084
agricultural sector	-0.41	0.24	0.093	-0.42	0.39	0.282	-0.62	0.37	0.091
pensioner	0.46	0.12	0.000	0.35	0.20	0.072	0.11	0.18	0.528
student	0.50	0.17	0.003	-0.09	0.28	0.748	-0.04	0.25	0.862
housewife	0.79	0.21	0.000	0.47	0.31	0.121	0.18	0.29	0.537
unemployed	0.45	0.13	0.001	0.17	0.21	0.420	0.00	0.19	0.983
other	0.03	0.18	0.864	0.54	0.25	0.033	0.15	0.24	0.525
Income (ref. group: 1st quintile)									
2nd quintile	0.14	0.09	0.112	-0.06	0.13	0.664	-0.11	0.12	0.352
3rd quintile	0.57	0.10	0.000	0.04	0.15	0.785	0.09	0.14	0.536
4th quintile	0.82	0.12	0.000	-0.01	0.18	0.938	0.06	0.17	0.733
5th quintile	1.10	0.14	0.000	0.06	0.23	0.809	0.10	0.21	0.625
Constant	-0.07	0.20	0.726	-0.54	0.31	0.078	-0.40	0.28	0.157

No. of observations	7,575		LR chi^2	780.12
Log. Likelihood	-7418.515		Prob > chi^2	0.000

Table 6: Multinomial logit model of EU support on winner/loser-status and control variables. The dependent variable has four categories (for, against, would not vote, undecided/don't know/no answer) with the second group specified as baseline category. Model estimated on pooled dataset for 2003.

| | **Pooled across countries in 2003** | | | | | | | | |
| | **for** | | | **would not vote** | | | **undecided/DK/NA** | | |
	coef	se	p	coef	se	p	coef	se	p
Anticipated financial situation (ref. group: worse)									
better ("winner")	1.57	0.14	0.000	0.66	0.15	0.000	1.43	0.14	0.000
the same	0.89	0.09	0.000	0.49	0.10	0.000	0.84	0.09	0.000
male	-0.03	0.08	0.719	-0.01	0.09	0.933	0.05	0.09	0.612
Education (ref group: primary)									
secondary	0.41	0.11	0.000	-0.54	0.12	0.000	0.03	0.12	0.821
higher	0.64	0.14	0.000	-0.83	0.16	0.000	0.08	0.15	0.580
age (years/100)	0.55	0.40	0.165	-1.20	0.45	0.007	0.70	0.42	0.095
Residency (ref.group: village/rural area)									
city/town	-0.25	0.10	0.018	0.13	0.12	0.275	0.01	0.11	0.954
small town	0.15	0.10	0.137	0.21	0.11	0.057	-0.35	0.11	0.001
Occupation (ref. group: public sector/state owned enterprise)									
private sector	0.04	0.13	0.790	0.19	0.16	0.230	-0.01	0.15	0.962
self employed	-0.12	0.21	0.554	0.14	0.25	0.577	-0.45	0.24	0.061
agricultural sector	-0.44	0.31	0.151	-0.25	0.37	0.502	0.32	0.31	0.300
pensioner	0.15	0.16	0.356	0.55	0.18	0.003	0.60	0.17	0.000
student	0.56	0.23	0.017	1.15	0.25	0.000	0.38	0.26	0.138
housewife	0.04	0.25	0.860	0.32	0.28	0.255	1.21	0.25	0.000
unemployed	-0.08	0.17	0.639	0.25	0.19	0.188	0.73	0.18	0.000
other	0.20	0.25	0.431	0.17	0.28	0.550	0.40	0.27	0.133
Income (ref. group: 1st quintile)									
2nd quintile	-0.23	0.12	0.059	-0.41	0.13	0.002	-0.48	0.13	0.000
3rd quintile	0.08	0.13	0.570	-0.29	0.15	0.044	-0.24	0.14	0.093
4th quintile	0.20	0.15	0.185	-0.25	0.16	0.121	0.22	0.15	0.152
5th quintile	0.62	0.17	0.000	-0.14	0.19	0.473	0.66	0.18	0.000
Constant	0.00	0.26	0.985	1.01	0.29	0.000	-0.35	0.28	0.199

No. of observations	7,358		LR chi^2	1,100.14	
Log. Likelihood	-8762.131		Prob > chi^2	0.000	