

WALKING FORWARD – BACK TO FUTURE? CSR IN EASTERN EUROPE CASE STUDIES

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EASTERN EUROPE, FINANCIAL CRISIS AND CHALLENGES TO CSR

Back to future or walking forward? CSR research and practice should consider the emergence of a *pan*-European landscape of firms after the extension of the European Union. Empirical research reveals how national and multinational companies (MNCs) impact local values and identities, and take an active part in the transformation of Eastern European societies. MNCs function as creators of values, identifications and social norms¹.

The following is based on results of the project LOCLAB “The impacts on local labour markets”. It concentrated on five case studies. The communities Siemiatycze (Poland), Skidel (Belarus), Chop and adjacent villages (Ukraine) reflect small centres of peripheral regions. Stupino (Russia), and Pernik (Bulgaria) are satellites near the big centres Moscow and Sofia. The study emphasised the essential core of issues concerning every day life of people, the field of work offers, conditions and dynamics. Globalisation is focused on the substantial aspect of “arriving” at a local place.

¹ A detailed and synthetic analysis of post-socialist transformation is delivered by Genov using Weber’s thesis of rationalisation and explaining the negative factors and positive triggers of “upgrading rationality of organisations” in different countries of Eastern Europe. Transformation was the subject of a series of activities of World_Drives association, Eastern European network (Meier-Dallach, 2002; 2005; 2008).

Figure 1: The five case studies Siemiatycze (Eastern Poland), Skidel (Western Belarus), Chop and adjacent villages (Western Ukraine), Stupino (near Moscow), Pernik (near Sofia)



ARRIVING AT LOCAL CONTEXTS

The involved contexts reflect high diversity. Nonetheless, they provide a helpful frame for explanations of how multinational companies are impacting the economic and daily life in the locations. The positioning of the cases along the *socio-ecological* stratification line between centres and peripheries is summarised in appendix 1. The three village-towns are small centres of rural regions far from big centres and metropolises. They are located simultaneously in border zones that imply a rather disruptive history up to the present. The two industrial towns Stupino and Pernik are sub-centres of metropolitan regions. In terms of globalisation research, Eastern countries belong to the *semi-peripheries* of the world system. Siemiatycze, Skidel, Chop are small centres located in the peripheries of the Eastern European semi-periphery. Hence their roles are crucial; as small centres of a rural surrounding they are influencing the national divide between the metropolitan centres, Warsaw, Minsk, Kiev, and the peripheral hinterland of the countries, Podlasie, Grodno, Transcarpathia. Scientific literature documents the huge divide in semi-peripheries. While in West European countries developmental gaps

between centres and peripheries are decreasing, disparities between centres and peripheries in Eastern Europe increase².

FIVE LOCAL CONTEXTS OF FIRMS AND SOCIOECONOMIC SITUATIONS

The post-socialist contexts and communities form specific “landscapes” shaping the economic and social life of people³. Here the landscape of firms is the starting point for a feature describing the cases as specific socio-scapes. The communities are presented by metaphoric names summarising essential features.

Skidel – protected island⁴: In Skidel the industrial sector inherited from the Soviet-period remained absolutely important. The state sector embraces 90% of the working people. According to this fact the socio-scape of this village-town was named “*protected island*”. The experience of foreign firms and investors is mostly missing. The respondents can neither perceive nor assess the impacts of foreign firms. This type of island, closed to modern trends, notifies one pole of the scale along the periphery-centre continuum. In protected islands the socialist past is preserved and the social performance and responsibility is defined by one basic value: the survival and maintenance of a firm as necessity to hold the work places for the population even if a firm is running at a loss and cannot pay the salaries. In these contexts a strong trend to maintain the model of “*labour society*” is observable: people expect a pattern of ordered rules and practices to support the working context.

In protected islands the socialist pattern of “good governance and conduct” is strongly influenced by the *state- and social security-oriented model*, which contrasts to the *private and on individual achievement oriented pattern*. However, also in Skidel critical symptoms in regard to the labour society model are observable. There is a high rate of unregistered unemployed workers and the number of workers with unlimited contracts is rather low. The state-secured model cannot meet the expectations of good jobs for everybody. The qualitative portrait illustrates the situation of a community focused on the model of labour society in a dynamic period, from which Skidel cannot be protected.

² See e.g. Römisch & Ward (2005) about the regional employment patterns in the New EU Member States.

³ “Landscape” refers to the fact that communities form spaces characterised by interactions between economic, social and cultural developments, which arise not only from internal local sources but are shaped by global processes (cp. Appadurai, 1990).

⁴ The study on Skidel and the Grodno region was realised by the Belarussian team (Filinska, Rotman, 2007).

Siemiatycze – a “whirl context”⁵: Siemiatycze shows a strong decrease of the labour society model. The state sector is much lower than in Skidel, a fifth of the manpower has got contracts of employment by oral agreement, but the inhabitants of the village-town have mainly positive experiences with foreign companies. External drives and impacts lead to migration, to insecurities and stressful symptoms. In contrast to Skidel at the opposite pole of the scale Siemiatycze is denominated a “whirl context”.

Chop and adjacent villages – a peninsula⁶: Chop and its adjacent villages are closer to the Polish village-town Siemiatycze than to Skidel on this scale. But still the state sector and the rate of full-contract workers are higher than in Siemiatycze. The different border interactions and controls of the state in Belarus and Ukraine have impacts on the economic and social life. The perception and assessment of new foreign firms in Chop is significantly higher than in Skidel. In the Transcarpathian region big investments from countries of the EU are propagated and welcomed. In contrast to Skidel it looks like a peninsula with boundaries to the neighbours in the West.

Stupino – merging the old with the new⁷: Western firms are importing own modern concepts and rules of conduct; these are confronted with the models of the traditional home firms going back to the socialist period. Opposite to environments with a static constellation like Skidel, *conflicts* between the two labour-worlds arise; the state and social security model is still predominating and the elite protect it against the penetration of foreign patterns. The level of conflict between the modern private- and the older state-oriented model of development increases in socio-scapes where Western companies enter by investments, joint ventures, the building of sub-units of production or by founding important firm locations in the host environments. Evidently the fear of killing effects of home industries and of the social security perspective is increased according to a negative scenario, when the foreign companies grow penetrating dominators. Such fears are obvious in many Central Eastern and NIS environments. These milieus can be described and analysed as “*merging socio-scapes*”.

⁵ The study on Siemiatycze was realised, and published by the Polish team (Poczykowski, Bienkowska et al., 2007).

⁶ The study on Chop and adjacent villages of Transcarpathian region was realised by the Ukrainian team (Stegnyj, Churilov, 2007).

⁷ The study on Stupino was realised, and published by two Russian teams (Vorozheikina, Levinson et al., 2007).

Figure 2: Stupino near Moscow: Western Multinationals (Campina) enter into the landscape of firms shaped by the old companies (steel factory) from the Soviet period



Pernik – “between losing and hopes⁸”: Pernik experienced a hard deindustrialisation period. Formerly a typical steel producing industrial town even attracting commuters from Sofia, the big plants became liquidated or re-structured. The town has lost a huge number of industrial working places, people had to commute, migrate or to survive in non-industrial, private and small enterprises. Evidently the assessment of foreign firms as “good” players is lower than the negative opinion. Their role is less positively evaluated than in the other contexts.

THE CONTEXTS AS LIFE SPACES

The study emphasised an approach where the population plays the major role in assessing the life spaces and chances linked to the economic sphere of work, enterprises, welfare and governance. So the joint questionnaire was constructed as an instrument enabling the respondents to describe their own attitudes to their location as context of life. Besides objective factors labour, environmental, social, cultural factors play a most important role as capitals of a community. These factors of attachment and integration are measured by its quality for identity building and its strengthening of social cohesion in the communities. The profiles of the cases have been completed with this instrument. The analysis delivers four kinds of capital of cohesion:

Labour: The labour market and chances for jobs as existential capital is more than an individual good. To have or not to have a workplace, to be or not to be a person with a special profession and prestige are parts of local capital. People running jobs within a community build a pool of capacities for the community’s public and everyday life. Work and jobs are anchors for the attachment of people to a place. They generate social cohesion. Figure 3 shows that this existential capital, the

⁸ The study on Pernik was realised, and published by the Bulgarian team (Ignatova, 2007).

uniqueness of job facilities, ranks lowest in all socio-scapes. In Siemiatycze only 3% of the respondents find this existential capital unique for their location; it increases lightly in Skidel, significantly in Chop and Stupino.

Primary groups: However, peripheries may have strong gaps of labour related capital, whereas the attachment and the anchoring in the networks of family, relatives and primary groups remain strong. The data confirm that these potentials of East European communities are the most important type of social capital. Only in Siemiatycze this anchor of attachment to the place is significantly lower than in the other case studies.

Local culture: Peripheral and rural contexts are looking back to rich local traditions, feelings of belonging together and common history. This capital is highest in Chop and also rather high in Skidel. In Siemiatycze cultural capital is less estimated as a force of attachment as well as in the satellite town of Stupino.

Landscapes: Poor in modern equipments but rich of nature and landscapes are *the* advantages of peripheral regions and sites. Evidently all cases show a rather high assessment of the “green” capital. The Polish case again shows the lowest level of it.

The deficit of the labour market potential is a good indicator for the peripheral status and situation of a community. Its deficit is the driving force to migrate or to commute. People working outside their location are frequently also outside oriented for leisure time. The quality and offers to spend leisure time in the own community are not challenged. In fact, the data show that – like missing of working opportunities – offers for leisure in the community are missed more strongly than, e.g. in Western communities, as a comparison between Stupino and Opfikon, a Swiss satellite town near Zurich, indicates. In summary the four communities can be described as a continuum from a high peripheral, labour related status to a more central one – marked by Stupino, the looking forward satellite town of Moscow.

Figure 3: The socio-scapes measured by its capital of attractiveness & cohesion: percentages of people who evaluate the four items as unique in the community (the items present typical issues of four factors of 15 items of a battery).

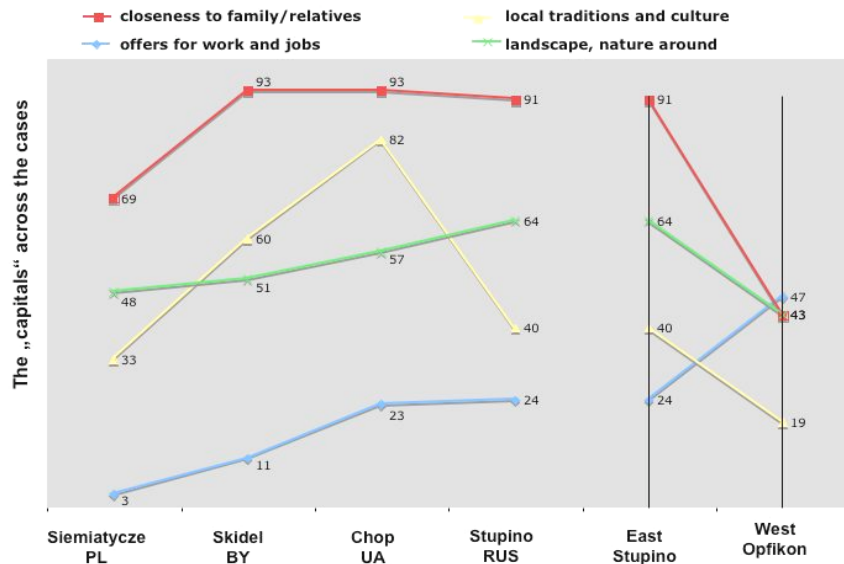
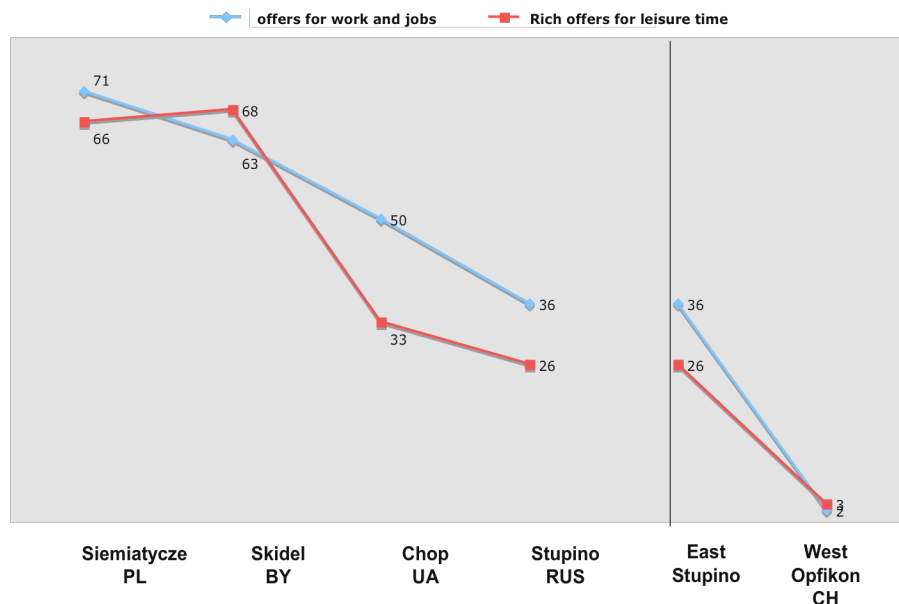


Figure 4: Percentages of people missing labour & job opportunities as well as offers for leisure in the community



Globalisation is a process crossing all borders between East and West, centres and peripheries. But there are crucial differences between regions. In Opfikon people is bound overwhelmingly by the labour capital and by factors of modern urban qualities. As an “airport-downtown” it is one of the most densely connected places in Europe. People can commute and move into international as well as national destinations. But simultaneously the Swiss community is losing the other three capitals compared to Stupino: social networks, landscape, local culture and intimacy.

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THE NEWCOMERS COME?

The most dynamic case is the boom-town Stupino. In fact the old industrial structures are superimposed by new labour situations; nearly 80% of the population mention negative or positive examples of foreign companies. In Stupino the foreign companies are evaluated overwhelmingly in positive terms. Six from ten respondents know positive foreign firms against only a fifth mentioning negative examples. Also in the Transcarpathian context and in Siemiatycze the positive firms are significantly higher in the image of people than negative ones. In these socio-tops the entering of foreign companies is evident while in the protected island of Skidel foreign companies are nearly missing. Also quite low is the perception of foreign newcomers in Pernik and it seems that rather negative cases are shaping people’s experience.

Figure 5: Knowledge of positive or negative examples of foreign companies in the own contexts (%)

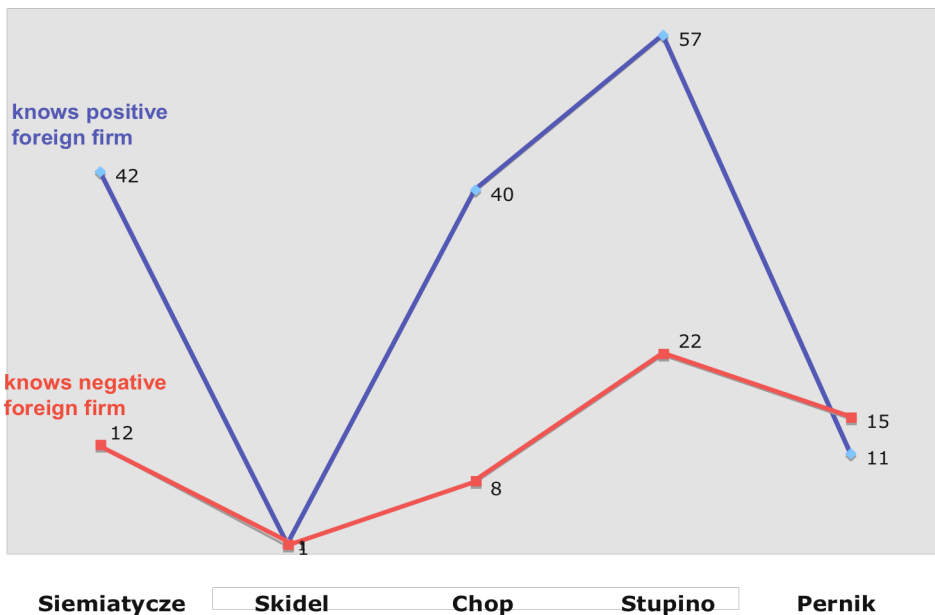
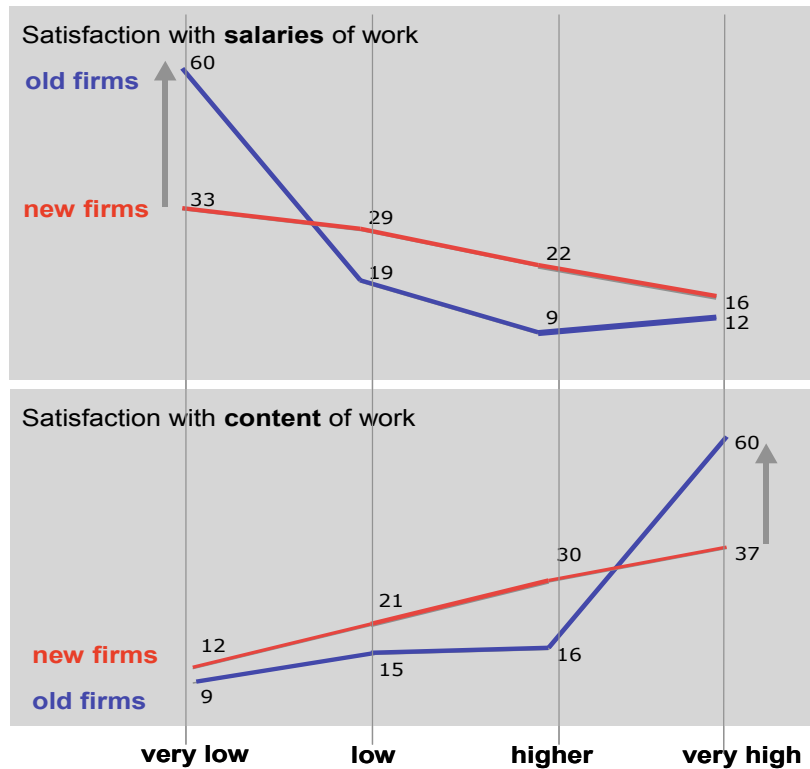


Figure 6: Satisfaction with salaries & the content of work by those occupied in a new company compared with employees of an old company in Stupino (%)



In Stupino the interactions and probable rivalries between new and old structured enterprises can be analysed excellently. There is a higher dissatisfaction with *salaries* of respondents working in old companies compared to those employed in new ones. In contrast people working in older structures are more satisfied with the *content* of work. The salary is an output of work, the utilitarian reward component, while the content of labour (what people do during the work time) is an intrinsic component of labour activities. It seems that “work culture” is polarising between features inherent to work in old firms, and the output of work, mainly the utilitarian rewards in new firms.

In Stupino a series of relevant aspects of life situations and attitudes are confirmed contrasting between the different enterprises (appendix 2). Regularly the significant contrasts arise between the employees of state firms compared to those in foreign firms. In state firms, – the traditional part of the economic landscape, – one finds more losers (51%) than among respondents working in a foreign firm; here 60% feel to be

winners. Further existential life situations confirm the same divide: Employees in foreign firms assess an improvement of their situation in the last years (70%), and expect an amelioration for the next years (64%), they report a significant better state of health and live on a consolidated level of consumption; 73% can buy durable goods while the majority of people working in state firms lives on basic level (can buy food and things for primary needs).

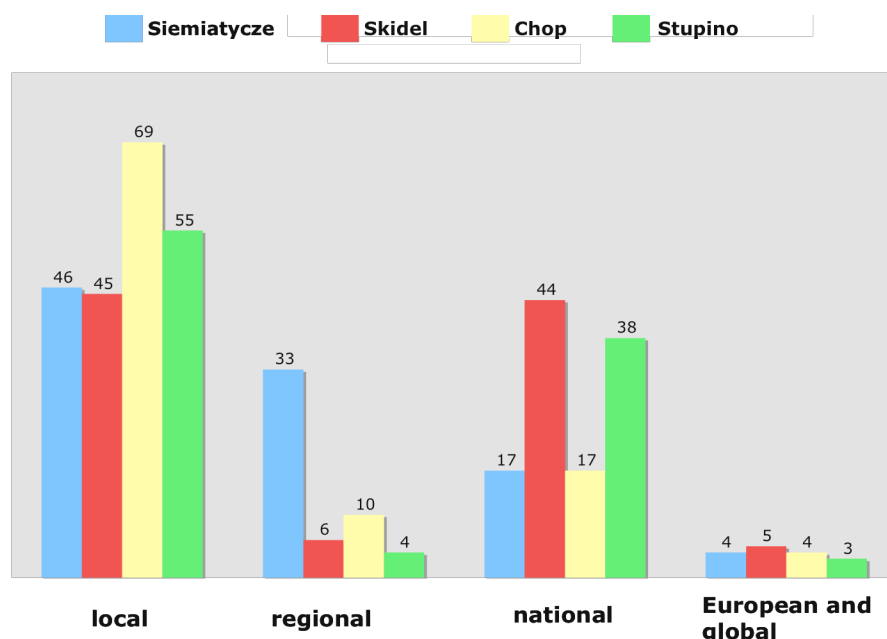
Stupino seems to be polarised not only structurally but also ideologically. The older industrial work culture in socialist societies has shaped specific societal models and mentalities. One of its essential parts is how to see and to blame the events in public life, e.g. the problem of unemployment and the kind of investments to solve the problem. The structural blame locates the responsibility for problems and actions to cope in the field of public players, the state, official organisations or structures. This model finds the majority among the employees in the non-foreign zones of the firm's landscape (59% / 64%). In the foreign firms the individual blame is chosen by seven of ten persons; the foreign firms seem to socialise the employees to focus the blame on the level of individuals, persons and of the self.

STRONG LOCAL CULTURES

People in remote zones of Eastern European countries live with strong tensions between the relevance of social ties and the absence of modern factors like work and infrastructure. In peripheries the identifications of people are predominantly local, even in Stupino (Fig. 7). Very low are the regional and the international identities. Only in Siemiatycze the region Podlasie attracts more identifications.

Firms entering peripheries from outside are confronted to a strong local culture. The norms of people are not „rationalised“ in the sense of modern international norms; individuals work for living and for belonging to the groups within the local settings. This local attachment can be more relevant than to have a (better) job. The modern mobility pattern, to follow the best job market offers, is restricted by the loyalty and relevance of the primary relations. And if mobility is not avoidable often a family-related *collective* pattern of migration is chosen, e.g. the shuttle work-migration style to Brussels in the case of Siemiatycze.

Figure 7: Identifications of people in the socio-scapes between local, regional, national, European and global level (%)

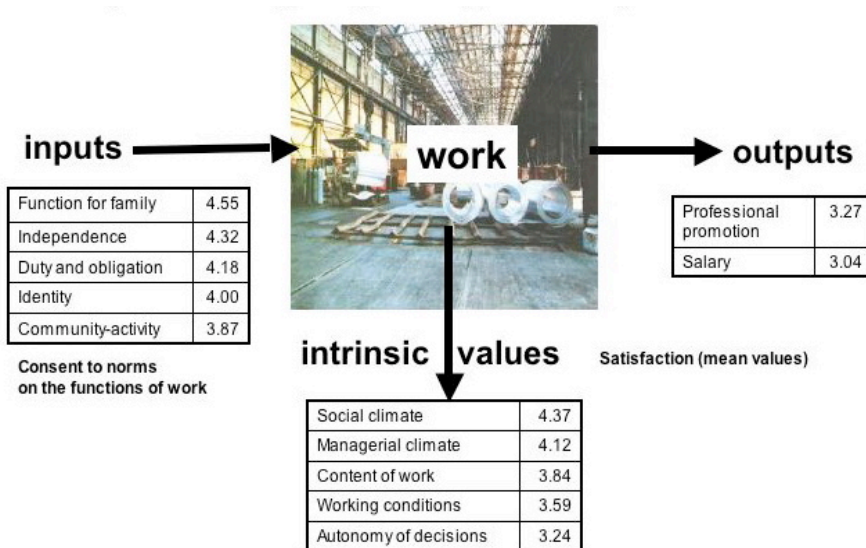


WORK CULTURES AND ITS CONTEXTUAL ROOTS

The strong local attachments and the role of work in local contexts are crucial for understanding attitudes and conducts of people in Eastern Europe. In the field studies attitudes to labour were measured by *intrinsic* aspects: *social climate* as relation to colleagues, *managerial climate* as relation to hierarchy, *content* of work, *autonomy*, the opportunities to make decisions, and *conditions* of work. Work and labour generate *outputs*, mainly the rewards contributing to the satisfaction and wellbeing of individuals by the *salary*. A further reward output of work is the *professional improvement* or career. Finally work is motivated by specific *inputs*. Besides the investments to run a job (physic and psychic energy) there are norms shaping the sense of work, e.g., the *relevance* and the *motivation* to work as a *societal* norm.

The analysis of the data reveals clearly an *intrinsic* work culture; the work as process and its inherent conditions contribute more to satisfaction than the reward outputs, the salary and the professional promotion (Fig. 8). Among the norms (as input into work) the relevance for family and private life is first ranked; hence, the strong familial ties in the peripheral areas are visible in work culture. To remain independent through work, working as a duty and obligation, as identity and as contribution to the community are further norms following the ranking.

Figure 8: Work culture measured by satisfaction of intrinsic, output und input aspects (consent to norms) by the ranking of mean-values (total sample)



It is evident that a *socially oriented* work culture predominates. Working produces satisfaction by contacts between employees (horizontal ties) and between employees and managers (vertical ties). It seems that this socially oriented work culture reflects a pattern shaped strongly by the socialist period. It contradicts to the modern *rather individualistic and reward oriented patterns* prevailing in the modern capitalist economy. In fact three hypotheses could be verified:

Firstly, the correlations confirm that the standard of labour society, to be full-time employed, increases nearly all kinds of satisfaction (except that of autonomy and the managerial climate).

Secondly, in older firms the socially oriented work culture is stronger than in foreign firms where mainly the reward oriented culture, the satisfaction with salary and with working conditions is strengthened. The justification for work is significantly stronger oriented to duty, a typical norm shaped by the socialist labour model. The state firms emphasise a community relation to work.

Thirdly, the value of autonomy is higher in those contexts where small structures are relevant, in Siemiatycze and Chop. In the industrial and more urbanised contexts this value is significantly lower while the output value of professional promotion is higher.

Within the discussion of globalisation the drive for flexibility and mobility of workers is a strong issue. In general a work culture can pro-

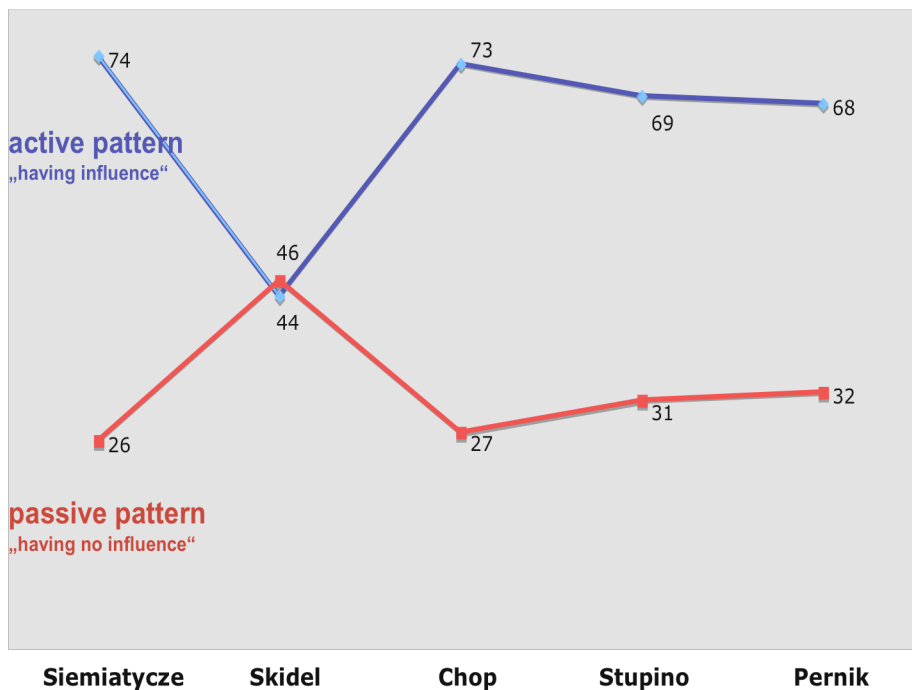
mote the “flexible” worker or support the “preservative” employee. In the over all analysis the *brake power* of flexibility exerted by the different components of work culture has been explored. It showed that in first line satisfaction with the content of work, secondly autonomy, working conditions, and then further the salary, the promotion perspective and the managerial climate would hinder a job changing for an augmented salary of 20%. The intrinsic values and assets of work situations reduce the trend to change the job.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE? INSIGHTS INTO THE SOCIETAL MODELS

One of the challenges for research in globalisation is to explain the regional shaping of societal models in different parts of world society. The Eastern European area is of special interest since a period of strong models shaped the collective memories of local societies.

Firstly, a pattern can be discerned as state-, security-, and structure-based, which is embedded into a passive eschatology. It is supposed that in Skidel, Grodno region, these images are prevalent. They are anchored in soviet history and maybe in periods of the past.

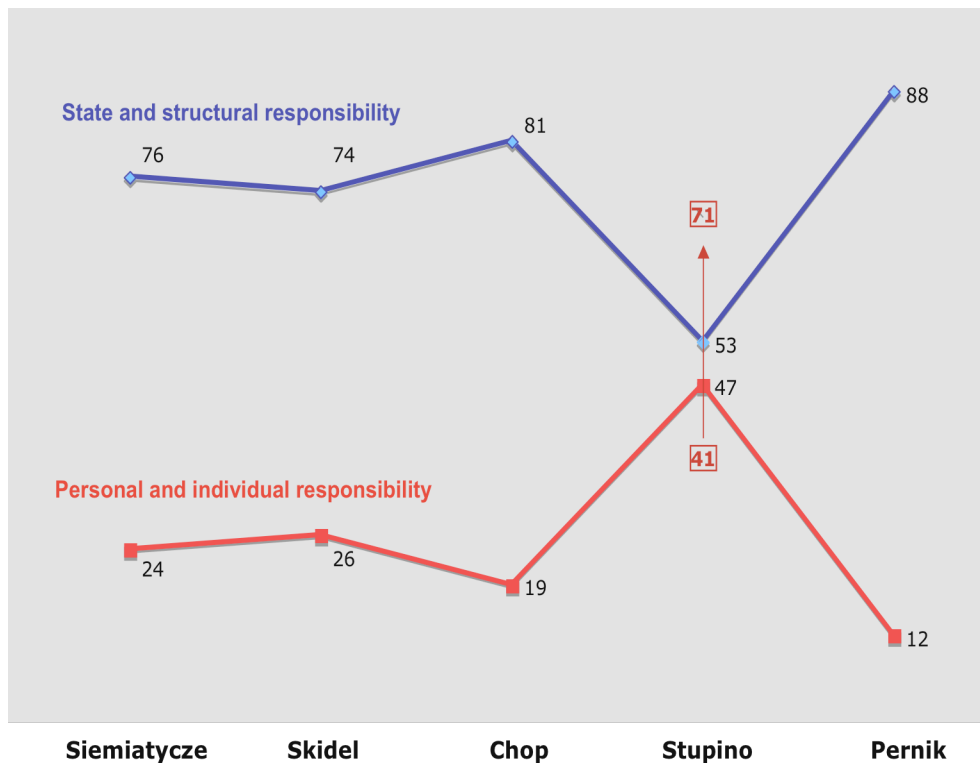
Figure 9: Societal models: degree of self-efficacy: active pattern versus passive pattern of influence in the communities (%)



Belarus has been invaded periodically from outside by armies and events like Chernobyl. It seems that in Skidel the phenomenon of passive eschatology has survived: the assessment of personal influence on life and environment is much lower than in all other cases (Fig. 9). However, in the overall perspective the active pattern clearly predominates the passive one. Further results confirm that the indicator of self-efficacy is strongly connected with life satisfaction.

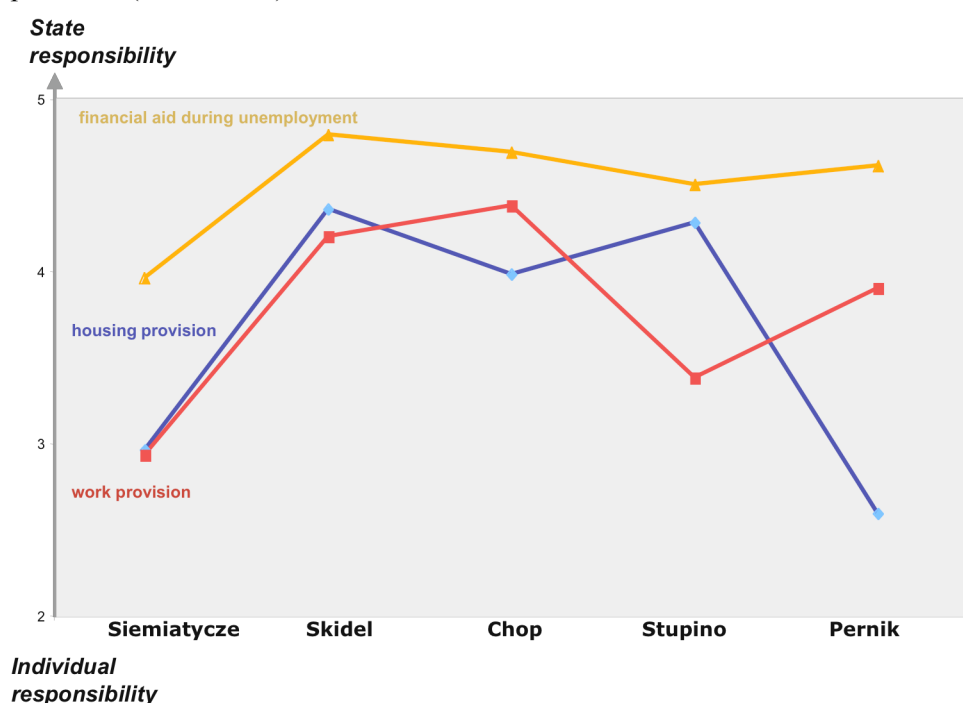
Figure 10 indicates the leading role of structural blame compared to individual blame. In all cases the claim for structural origins of a problem is stronger than the causes found in personal or individual deficits. In Stupino, the laboratory of merging processes, the personal blame pattern is nearly as relevant as the structural one. A cumulative impact is observable; the personal blame pattern in state and collective enterprises adds up to 41%, and increases to 71% in the foreign parts of the firm landscape. The foreign companies work as a mission agency to change societal models from a structural to a more individual and personal pattern. The contrast to Pernik is striking where structural blame is highest. Loss of jobs by deindustrialisation generated a strong structural shift in people's mind based on real experiences.

Figure 10: Societal models: individual versus state responsibility for solving problems in the communities (%)



Over all cases a strong state responsibility for providing help in situations of unemployment confirms state oriented attitudes in the Eastern hemisphere (Fig. 11). This coincides with the previous results, which overwhelmingly confirmed the crucial role of labour for the life perspectives. If in peripheral contexts of Eastern Europe unemployment increases, the societal model of a strong intervention state, an anti-private mindset, is strengthened. Transition linked with unemployment is braking liberalisation and regularly causes backlash effects to the state-security pattern. Independent from a pro-liberal or pro-state option, the labour market situations and developments remain the deciding factors for the future.

Figure 11: Societal models: Individual versus state responsibility for financial aid during unemployment, solving housing problems, and work provision (meanscores)

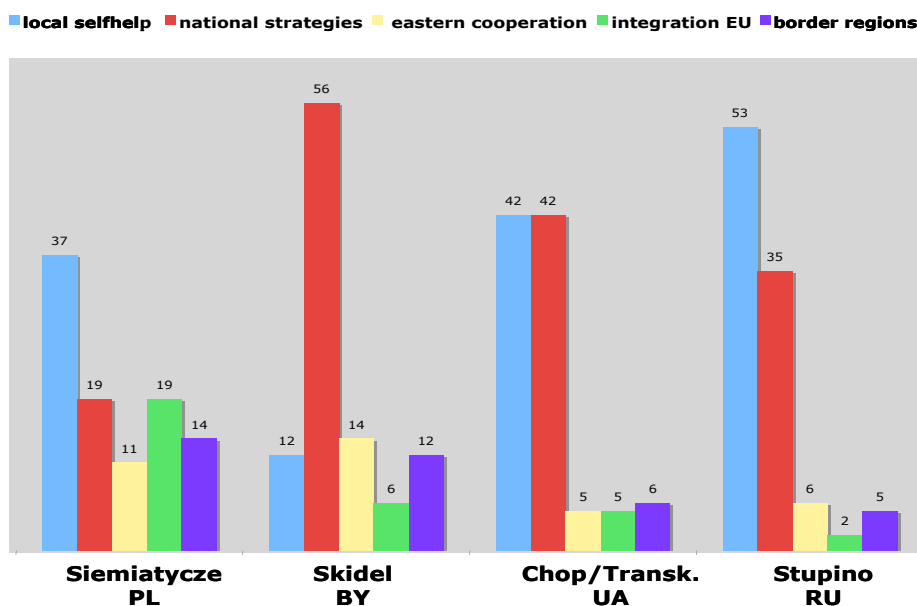


In Siemiatycze state responsibility during unemployment is significantly lowered. Poland is shifting away from the socialist memory to a more individual model. This trend is linked to the “shuttle migration” which enables people to seek individual solutions for a collective problem. In Stupino provision for work is lowered significantly; here the state role can be reduced because the labour market is delivering more offers. The change of memories requires visible trends, i.e. provision of job facilities. Pernik seems to be a deviant case; the housing problems are

assigned strongly to individual responsibility. But in Bulgaria evidently the housing problem is not a first ranked one since the private ownership of houses and flats is high. Hence societal models are not fixed as inherited patterns but react to changes.

As has been shown above identification with the local contexts is highest. This is replicated when problem solving is concerned. Overall, the local levels of society for solving problems are primordial (Fig. 12).

Figure 12: Best level of society for solving problems; local, national, Eastern cooperation, EU and border regions in the communities (%)



Stupino addresses the local level highest: the self-interest of the boom-town with a self-confident past becomes evident. In Belarus the national level has a higher degree of confidence. Belarus has a national policy for promoting peripheral regions and local contexts; this result replicates the observation in the Chernobyl region⁹. The Ukrainian case supports the national and the local level on equal terms. Border region strategies are mostly assessed in the Polish and Belarusian case. One result is crucial in the period of so called globalisation: Big scaled international co-operation as levels and spheres for actions are rather low evaluated.

⁹ see the three-nation comparative investigation of Chernobyl impacts after 20 years by World_Drives, Eastern Network (2006)

CSR APPROACH IN EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES – FIVE CONCLUSIONS

If one looks through the lenses of Eastern European contexts CSR is hardly to match by standardised models, indicators and measures. It needs to focus on the specific landscape of firms in a region and on its interactions with manpower. The local contexts conceived as societal communities are of most importance.

First, in Eastern European regions the core meanings of CSR are preformed by experiences, attitudes and norms going back to socialist practices. The case studies show that these backward outlooks can be strong in contexts appearing as protected islands (Skidel). Modern or imported CSR concepts by Western MNCs stay abstract and extraneous for major parts of a local population. *It is necessary to get insights into local models and experiences of what did or does mean social responsibility in a region.*

Second, there are “merging contexts” (Stupino). Here CSR is challenged by a new divide like in a laboratory. As qualitative interviews illustrate the currently installed Western companies seem to function as agency for a new culture of work and labour (paying better salaries, claiming individualistic values). They behave as pioneers implementing efficiency, individual career and the corresponding conducts. They are rather “making man modern¹⁰” than creating and offering models and practices of responsibility. *New firms should be aware of local norms and expectations before launching CSR like a missionary station in a communitarian environment.*

However, traditional companies still attract by their own culture of work (content of work, social contacts, community orientation). In older companies this culture of work goes hand in hand with norms shaped in socialist periods. Employees and managers or stakeholders of municipalities are socialised by these notions of what could mean CSR. Insights into qualitative materials confirm results that this traditional culture of work is still a living one, which can be observed in conducts of employees as well as in relations of companies to local population. *New and old firms could negotiate those norms of CSR, which support modern as well as traditional values in entrepreneurial environments.*

Third, MNCs are like UFOs landing with their own norms on CSR. However, contexts shaped by local companies are parts of a public and political culture rooted in previous experiences. The central state e.g. was the provider of nearly all equipments and investments, of bad and good social performance. In Eastern Europe CSR was a public and state issue. Despite of these facts MNCs take their CSR concepts as a kind of

¹⁰ Companies are agencies for socialising people for norms and values of modernisation (Inkeles, 1974).

private or universal ethic far and freed from contextual relicts¹¹. *The embedding of CSR into public and political models and practices are most relevant for successful innovation for both, new and old companies in such a context.*

Fourth, CSR is a secondary issue in those regions where working places are missing, as it is the case in all contexts analysed above. Here any offers for labour are a primordial contribution to local social performance. But the results show that in rural contexts, small and middle sized towns, three kinds of local capital are positively assessed, closeness to family and relatives, local traditions and culture, landscape, nature around. *Besides offering labour, CSR should promote these local factors as measures for social cohesion and reducing migration.*

Fifth, CSR in Western economic cultures is often treated as an image and communication tool; its added value is a prestige effect. CSR is an issue during periods of good conjunctures but put aside in face of crisis and decrease. Most Eastern European countries experience currently a first hard crisis after some steps forward to a better welfare. Since the financial crisis undermines the promises to participate in global economy of a one world scenario, distrust to the possibility of participation will be reinforced in Eastern European regions. The crisis comes just in a period when some dilemmas and whirls of transition processes¹² seem to be appeased. Jumping to future (like in Stupino) will be replaced by back to future. *CSR is challenged to find a substantial meaning, strategies and measures, which stimulate a walk to future by small steps.*

¹¹ Barmeyer & Davoine, 2005

¹² Transition can be described and analysed by six types of drives evidently very particular in each country. Important are e.g. “floating minds”, high rates of instability of attitudes, i.e. indicators of ambiguity (Meier-Dallach 2005, p. 2502).

Appendix 1:

Selected features of the five contexts represented by the groups in the samples (%)

The data rely on samples of 400-700 respondents per case

Dimensions	Siemiatycze	Skidel	Chop (Tr)	Stupino	Pernik
ecological position					
	peripheral	peripheral	peripheral	semiperipheral	semiperipheral
	small centre	small centre	small centre	medium centre	medium centre
	village-town	village-town	villages	town	town
	far from metrop.	far from metrop.	far from metrop.	near metropole	near metropole
	near border	near border	near border	far from border	far from border
Labour market sectors					
agrarian	7	12	7	0	1
industrial	20	40	22	63	40
services	73	48	71	37	48
State-private					
state sector	47	91	63	32	24
private sector	38	4	26	24	64
foreign firms	10	0	5	34	8
mixed	5	5	6	10	4
work contract status					
unlimited contract	14	25	70	88	85
limited contract	66	69	9	11	12
oral agreement	20	6	21	1	3
status non-active pop.					
househ., pension, disab.	46	40	45	58	34
student	24	8	11	24	20
jobless registered	16	7	2	1	18
jobless unregistered	14	45	42	17	28
foreign firms					
positive examples	42	1	40	57	11
negative examples	12	1	8	22	15

Appendix 2:

The divide between perspectives, past-experiences, expectations, health, standard of life and society models dependent from place of work in Stupino (%)

	Stupino	state firms	local private	foreign	mixed
perspective	winner	17	23	60	18
	intermediate	32	29	20	25
	loser	51	48	20	57
past	last 5 years				
	worsened	16	16	4	19
	no change	47	44	26	33
	improved	37	40	70	48
expectation	next 5 years				
	worsening	10	10	0	4
	no change	59	54	26	79
	better	17	23	64	11
	hard to say	14	13	10	7
health	phys. Health				
	bad	12	9	6	19
	middle	59	38	45	15
	good	29	38	49	15
life standard	live standard				
	not enough	1	1	1	0
	primary needs	59	44	22	50
	durable goods	38	52	73	50
	no difficulties	2	3	3	0
societal model	blame				
	structural	59	64	29	54
	individual	41	37	71	46

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