

Declining democracy in East-Central Europe

(Edward Elgar, 2019)

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Abstract

Declining Democracy in East-Central Europe presents the five East-Central European countries as a region in its complexity, in the socio-economic, political and civilizational dimensions. Going beyond the usual political 'event history' of ECE parties and governments, this book offers a complex analysis of the ECE systemic change described both from the progressive and regressive side by exploring the deep reasons of hard populism in the societal frustration of the ECE population due to the failure of the catching up process. It reveals the big turning point around 2010 as a shift from the chaotic democracy to authoritarian rule, leading to a perverse regionalization and engaging in conflicts with the EU institutions about the EU rules and values. Finally, it outlines the perspectives for the renewal of democracy and the 're-entry' to the EU with the emergence of the young generation socialized already by in the EU democratic values.

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Appendix 1 General data

Table I
Basic data on East-Central Europe

Country	Territory	Population	GDP-1	GDP-2
CZ	78.866	10.610.947	1.3	24.900
HU	93.030	9.797.561	0.8	19.400
PL	312.679	38.422.346	3.0	19.400
SI	20.273	2.065.895	0.3	23.500
SK	49.035	5.435.343	0.5	22.000
EU28	4.422.773	511.500.000	100	28.600

The whole territory of ECE is 553.883 square km, the estimated population is 66.332.092, GDP-1 share in the EU GDP in % is 5.9% and GDP-2 per capita is in PPS (in €, 2017)

Table II
Human Development Index 2018

Country	Rank	LE	SC	GNI	HCI
CZ	28	78.8	12.3	11	14
HU	43	75.3	12.0	6	38
PL	36	77.6	11.9	11	30
SI	25	80.6	12.1	13	13
SK	40	76.4	12.2	1	40

LE – life expectancy in years, SC – mean years of schooling, GNI – per capita rank minus HDI rank, HCI – Human Capital Index rankings

UNDP (2018), 'HDR, Human Development Report 2017', http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2018_human_development_statistical_update.pdf,
WB (2018), 'The Human Capital Project', <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/30498/33252.pdf?sequence=4&isAllowed=y>.

Table III
KOF Globalization Index
Score (1991–2018) and rankings (2010–2018)

Country	1991 score	2010 score	2018 score	2010 rank	2018 rank
CZ	42.28	86.87	83.41	12	15
HU	62.33	87.31	84.2	10	12
PL	55.13	81.26	78.72	23	32
SI	41.87	78.78	79.76	28	26
SK	56.81	85.07	80.74	16	22

KOF (2018), 'Globalization Index', <https://www.kof.ethz.ch/en/forecasts-and-indicators/indicators/kof-globalisation-index.html>.

Table IV
Bertelsmann Globalization Index 2016

Country	General	Economy	Social	Politics
CZ	15	12	18	32
HU	10	9	19	22
PL	24	29	22	29
SI	25	21	28	36
SK	17	18	17	35

BS (2018), *Policy Performance and Governance Capacities in the OECD and EU: Sustainable Governance Indicators*, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung.

Table V
Bertelsmann Polity and Politics Index in ECE (2018)
(41 countries)

Country	QD	GOV	EC	EA
CZ	20	27	31	15
HU	40	37	35	40
PL	29	34	33	31
SI	16	31	38	23
SK	27	35	34	32

QD – Quality of Democracy, GOV – Governance, EC – Executive Capacity, EA – Executive Accountability

BS (2018), *Policy Performance and Governance Capacities in the OECD and EU: Sustainable Governance Indicators*, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung.

Table VI
Bertelsmann Policy Performance Index in ECE (2018)
(41 countries)

Country	PP	EP	SP	ENP
CZ	18	20	22	16
HU	34	37	38	18
PL	31	27	31	34
SI	20	31	17	12
SK	29	33	32	19

PP – Policy Performance in general, EP – Economic Policy, SP – Social Policy, ENP – Environmental Policy

BS (2018), *Policy Performance and Governance Capacities in the OECD and EU: Sustainable Governance Indicators*, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung.

Table VII
Convergence in income and consumption in ECE as % of EU15
(1993, 1995 and 2016)

Country	GDP 93	GDP 16	INC 93	INC 16	CON 95	CON 16
CZ	63	82	64	76	38	72
HU	44	63	43	61	46	58
PL	34	64	34	63	38	69
SI	61	78	62	76	66	70
SK	39	71	39	70	37	70

GDP 93 and GDP 16 – GDP per head in 1993 and 2016, INC 93 and INC 16 – gross national disposable income per head in 1993 and 2016, CON 95 and CON 16 – actual individual consumption in 1995 and 2016

Tóth, István György and Márton Medgyesi (2018), 'Looking back to the convergence trends and inequality developments in Central and Eastern Europe: Almost three decades after the transition', <http://www.iariw.org/copenhagen/toth.pdf>.

Table VIII
Actual individual consumption (AIC) and GDP per capita in ECE as % of
the EU28 (2015–2017)

Country	AIC 2015	AIC 2017	GDP 2015	GDP 2017
CZ	78	82	87	89
HU	63	62	66	68
PL	74	76	69	70
SI	76	77	82	85
SK	76	76	77	78

Eurostat (2018), 'AIC, actual individual consumption', <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/9447627/2-13122018-AP-EN.pdf/5975f52d-b92b-448d-8c5c-0532a4d50430>.

Table IX
World Happiness Index 2010–2017
Rankings in 156 countries

Country	2010/12	2012/14	2014/16	2016/17
CZ	39	31	23	21
HU	110	104	75	69
PL	51	60	46	42
SI	44	55	62	51
SK	46	45	40	39

WHR (2018), https://s3.amazonaws.com/happiness-report/2018/WHR_web.pdf.

OECD

Table X
Better Life Index 2018

Country	Health	Education	Having a say	Voters	Safety
CZ	61.2	93.4	21	59.5	68.3
HU	56.3	83.4	33	61.8	50.7
PL	57.8	91.3	36	55.3	66.3
SI	72.4	91.7	13	51.7	84.7
SK	64.8	87.3	23	59.8	60.1

Popular perceptions: Health – having good health, Education – secondary education level, Having a say in what government does, Voters – participation in the latest election, Safety – feeling of safety walking alone at night, in %

OECD (2018), 'Better Life Initiative 2017, Full dataset', [Better-Life-Initiative-2017-country-notes-data.xlsx](#).

Table XI
Distribution of household net wealth

Country	Bottom 40	Bottom 60	Top 10	Top 5	Top 1
HU	5.0	15.4	48.5	35.6	17.2
PL	6.2	18.3	41.8	29.0	11.7
SI	5.6	17.3	48.6	37.9	23.0
SK	10.6	25.9	34.3	23.0	9.3

(No data on CZ)

OECD (2018), 'Measuring well-being and progress: Well-being research', <http://www.oecd.org/statistics/measuring-well-being-and-progress.htm>.

WB (World Bank)

Table XII
Doing Business rankings

Country	2010	2017	2018
CZ	74	30	35
HU	47	48	53
PL	72	27	33
SI	53	37	40
SK	42	39	42

WB (2018), 'Doing Business 2018', <http://www.doingbusiness.org/content/dam/doingBusiness/media/Annual-Reports/English/DB2018-Full-Report.pdf>.

**WJP (World Justice Project)
(non-profit international organization)**

**Table XIII
General Rule of Law Index (97–113 countries)**

Country	2012	2014	2016	2018
CZ	–	23	17	17
HU	–	30	49	50
PL	–	22	22	25
SI	–	28	27	26

**Table XIV
Rule of Law Index, limited government**

Country	2012	2014	2016	2018
CZ	25	23	19	20
HU	33	36	87	93
PL	14	22	28	40
SI	30	30	46	35

**Table XV
Rule of Law Index, open government**

Country	2012	2014	2016	2018
CZ	46	33	20	25
HU	37	35	55	63
PL	29	27	16	27
SI	22	23	29	24

**Table XVI
Rule of Law Index, regulatory enforcement**

Country	2012	2014	2016	2018
CZ	28	22	22	22
HU	27	30	54	76
PL	26	26	27	29
SI	30	28	29	25

**Table XVII
Rule of Law Index, order and security**

Country	2012	2014	2016	2018
CZ	26	22	10	10
HU	21	21	16	12
PL	27	25	19	19
SI	29	37	24	15

World Justice Project (2018), 'Rule of Law Index 2017–2018', <https://worldjusticeproject.org/our-work/wjp-rule-law-index/wjp-rule-law-index-2017%E2%80%9C2018>.

Social Progress Index 2017

Table XVIII
The general ranks and the ranks in the three main sectors
(132 countries)

Country	SPI rank	BHN	FWB	OPP
CZ	22	6	26	24
HU	37	31	37	39
PL	32	28	35	31
SI	21	14	22	30
SK	30	19	31	37

SPI – Social Progress Index, BHN – Basic Human Needs, FWB – Foundations of Well-being, OPP – Opportunity

Table XIX
Foundations of Well-being

Country	FWB	ABK	ATI	HAW	ENG
CZ	26	14	17	48	27
HU	37	23	35	79	31
PL	35	35	33	63	32
SI	22	6	29	33	18
SK	31	45	16	54	26

ABK – access to basic knowledge (FWB-1), ATI – access to information (FWB-2), HAW – health and wellness (FWB-3), ENG – environmental quality (FWB-4)

Table XX
Opportunity

Country	OPP	PER	PFC	TAI	AAE
CZ	24	21	24	41	25
HU	39	62	50	62	30
PL	31	32	30	64	31
SI	23	30	18	26	26
SK	37	33	41	66	39

PER – personal rights (OPP-1), PFC – personal freedom and choice (OPP-2), TAI – tolerance and inclusion (OPP-3), AAE – access to advanced education (OPP-4)

Social Progress Imperative (2018), 'Social Progress Index 2018', <http://www.socialprogressindex.com/>.

Table XXI
Transparency International
Corruption Perception Index between 2012 and 2017
with scores between 2012 and 2017
and rankings in 2016–2017 in 166 countries

Country	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2016R	2017R
CZ	49	48	51	56	55	57	47	46
HU	55	54	54	51	48	45	57	69
PL	58	60	61	62	62	60	29	39
SI	61	57	58	60	61	61	31	38
SK	46	47	50	51	51	50	54	59

2012–2017 scores (1–100), and 2016R and 2017R rankings

Transparency International (2018), 'Corruption Perception Index 2017',
https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2017.

Appendix 2 EU dataset

Table I
GDP per capita in PPS (EU28=100) (2007–2016)

Country	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
CZ	82	84	85	83	83	82	84	86	87	88
HU	60	63	64	65	66	66	67	68	68	67
PL	53	55	60	62	65	67	67	67	68	68
SK	67	71	71	74	75	76	77	77	77	77
SI	87	90	85	83	83	82	82	82	82	83

Eurostat (2018a), 'GDP per capita in PPS' (table, last update 26.03.2018),
<http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=tec00114&plugin=1>.

Table II
Total public expenditure on education as % of GDP (2004–2014)

Country	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2014
CZ	4.20	4.08	4.2	4.05	3.92	4.36	4.25	4.51	3.8
HU	5.44	5.46	5.44	5.29	5.10	5.12	4.90	4.71	4.0
PL	5.41	5.47	5.25	4.91	5.08	5.09	5.17	4.94	4.9
SI	5.74	5.73	5.72	5.15	5.20	5.69	5.68	5.68	5.0
SK	4.19	3.85	3.80	3.62	3.61	4.09	4.22	4.06	4.1
EU28	4.95	4.92	4.91	4.92	5.04	5.38	5.41	5.25	5.25

Eurostat (2016), 'Expenditure on education',
<http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=tps00201&plugin=1>.

Table III
R&D expenditure as % of GDP (2007–2016)

Country	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
CZ	1.31	1.24	1.29	1.34	1.56	1.78	1.91	1.94	1.93	1.68
HU	0.97	0.99	1.14	1.15	1.20	1.27	1.41	1.38	1.36	1.21
PL	0.56	0.60	0.67	0.72	0.75	0.89	0.87	0.94	1.0	0.97
SI	1.42	1.63	1.82	2.06	2.43	2.58	2.59	2.39	2.2	2.0
SK	0.45	0.46	0.47	0.62	0.67	0.81	0.83	0.89	1.18	0.79
EU	1.77	1.84	1.93	1.93	1.97	2.01	2.02	2.03	2.04	2.03

Eurostat (2016), 'Expenditure on R&D',
<http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=tsdec320&plugin=1>.

Table IV
European Social Scoreboard (2010, 2016)
Living conditions and poverty as % of population

Country	SER	AROP	SMD	SHD
CZ	14.4, 13.3	9.0, 9.7	6.2, 4.8	15.3, 9.2
HU	29.9, 26.3	12.3, 14.5	21.6, 16.2	15.4, 17.2
PL	27.8, 21.9	17.6, 17.3	14.2, 6.7	22.3, 19.5
SI	18.3, 18.4	12.7, 13.9	5.9, 5.4	39.7, 12.2
SK	20.6, 18.1	12.0, 12.7	11.4, 8.2	10.1, 6.0
EU28	22.0, 23.1	16.3, 17.4	6.1, 6.6	6.4, 6.1

SER – social exclusion rate, AROP – at risk of poverty rate, SMD – severe material deprivation rate, SHD – severe housing deprivation of tenants

EC (2018), 'Social Scoreboard 2018', <https://composite-indicators.jrc.ec.europa.eu/social-scoreboard/>.

Table V
European Social Scoreboard (2010, 2016)
Impact of public policies on reducing poverty in GDP %

Country	GSP	GEH	GEE
CZ	13.2, 12.3	7.8, 7.4	5.1, 4.5
HU	17.4, 14.3	5.0, 4.8	5.5, 4.9
PL	16.7, 16.9	5.0, 4.6	5.5, 5.0
SI	18.1, 16.7	7.0, 6.7	6.5, 5.6
SK	15.3, 15.1	7.2, 7.4	4.2, 3.8
EU28	19.9, 20.0	7.3, 7.1	4.9, 4.6

GSP – general government expenditure on social protection, GEH – general government expenditure on health, GEE – general government expenditure on education

EC (2018), 'Social Scoreboard 2018', <https://composite-indicators.jrc.ec.europa.eu/social-scoreboard/>.

Table VI
European Innovation Scoreboard (EU28=100) (2018)

Country	HR	RS	FE	FS	IA	SI
CZ	82.3	72.5	79.2	47.3	62.7	94.8
HU	65.7	58.4	88.1	46.4	39.2	95.1
PL	53.6	29.4	95.1	30.8	74.5	53.1
SI	143.6	90.2	87.7	33.4	80.2	90.8
SK	64.0	50.5	59.3	27.6	35.3	101.2

HR – human resources, RS – attractive research systems, FE – innovation-friendly environment, FS – finance and support, IA – intellectual assets, SI – sales impact

EC (2018), 'European Innovation Scoreboard 2018',
https://ec.europa.eu/growth/industry/innovation/facts-figures/scoreboards_en.

Table VII
Labour productivity in ECE (€ per hour worked)

Country	2006	2011	2016
EU28	30.1	31.4	32.7
CZ	14.9	15.9	16.8
HU	10.5	12.1	12.1
PL	8.9	10.6	11.5
SI	19.4	20.1	20.7
SK	13.8	15.9	17.6

Eurostat (2018), 'Labour productivity in 2006, 2011 and 2016',
http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/National_accounts_and_GDP.

European Public Administration Country Knowledge (EUPACK) (TABLES VIII–XI)

Table VIII
Basic data on the ECE governments

Country	PE	PS	SG	SC	SE
CZ	43, 40	28	6, 6	86	n.a.
HU	50, 47	34	8, 11	64	15
PL	48, 42	30	6, 6	38	8
SI	50, 45	29	6, 6	78	19
SK	43, 42	32	8, 9	48	9
EU	n.a.	33	7, 7	n.a.	n.a.

PE – public expenditure as % of GDP (2010, 2016), PS – public sector employment of the total labour force (2013), SG – size of government employment in % (2011, 2017), SC – share of central government in total public sector employment in %, SE – share of civil servants in public employment in %

**Table IX
Government capacity and performance in ECE
The standard data of EUPACK**

Country	SP	SC	TG	PP	OA
CZ	4, 5	5, 6	32, 27	4, 4	19
HU	3, 3	2, 2	40, 30	4, 4	23
PL	7, 7	7, 7	28, 22	4, 4	17
SI	3, 3	4, 5	27, 15	5, 4	20
SK	4, 4	7, 6	39, 32	4, 3	24

SP – strategic planning capacity on the 1–10 scale (2014, 2016), SC – societal consultations on the 1–10 scale (2014, 2016), TG – trust in government in % (2010, 2016), PP – public sector performance on the 1–7 scale (2010, 2015), OA – overall assessment of public administration capacity and performance in the EU rankings

**Table X
Government performance in ECE, rankings in the EU (2014, 2016)**

Country	TG	VA	CC	PC	GC
CZ	24, 23	19, 17	20, 21	21, 19	22, 21
HU	25, 26	21, 25	21, 24	20, 22	27, 15
PL	20, 21	17, 15	18, 17	18, 14	13, 18
SI	12, 20	16, 22	17, 16	13, 17	14, 20
SK	27, 28	23, 20	22, 23	22, 22	18, 16

TG – transparency of government (European Commission), VA – voice and accountability (World Bank), CC – control of corruption (World Bank), PC – perception of corruption (Transparency International), GC – Gallup perception of corruption (Gallup World Poll)

**Table XI
Political culture of public administration in ECE, rankings in the EU (2016)**

Country	PD	IC	MF	UA	LO	IS
CZ	57	58	57	74	70	29
HU	46	80	88	82	58	31
PL	68	60	64	93	38	29
SI	71	27	19	88	49	48
SK	100	52	100	51	77	28
EU28	52	57	44	70	57	44

PD – power distance, IC – individualism/collectivism, MF – masculinity/femininity, UA – uncertainty avoidance, LO – long-term orientation, IS – indulgence/self-restraint

EUPACK-1 (2018a), 'A comparative overview of public administration characteristics and performance in the EU28', <https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/3e89d981-48fc-11e8-be1d-01aa75ed71a1/language-en>.

EUPACK-2 (2018b), 'Public administration characteristics and performance in EU28', <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=738&langId=en&pubId=8123&furtherPubs=yes>.

Public opinion – EB

**Table XII
Public mood in ECE at entry (2004)**

Country	SM	BM	SE	LS
CZ	45, 10	42, 41	27, 33	77, 22
HU	49, 10	48, 33	26, 28	50, 43
PL	60, 8	55, 30	29, 46	72, 28
SI	62, 6	68, 28	40, 22	90, 8
SK	67, 4	62, 25	27, 38	59, 40
EU25	56, 13	53, 34	39, 28	81, 19

SM – support for membership (for, against), BM – benefits from membership (yes, no), SE – situation earlier, five years ago (better, worse), LS – life satisfaction (satisfied, not satisfied)

EB (2004), 'Public opinion in the European Union', Standard Eurobarometer 62, http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/eb/eb62/eb_62_en.pdf.

**Table XIII
Trust in institutions in ECE (2017)**

Country	NG	NL	NM	EU
CZ	36, 61	42, 53	37, 61	35, 61
HU	46, 50	46, 48	29, 66	52, 41
PL	35, 59	38, 54	35, 56	57, 34
SI	17, 80	16, 81	26, 70	32, 62
SK	36, 60	31, 64	36, 58	51, 44
EU28	40, 56	52, 44	34, 61	47, 46

NG – trust in national governments (yes, no), NL – trust in national legal system (yes, no), NM – trust in national media (yes, no), EU – trust in EU (yes, no)

EB (2017), 'Trust in institutions', Special Eurobarometer 461, <http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion>.

**Table XIV
Citizens' perception in the EU in % (2018)**

Country	VC	MG	BM	EP
CZ	26, 61	34	62 (6)	24
HU	50, 58	61	78 (6)	46
PL	57, 68	70	88 (4)	36
SI	49, 64	58	73 (1)	57
SK	43, 62	50	77 (3)	30
EU28	48, 63	60	67 (3)	47

VC – My voice counts in the EU, My voice counts in my country, MG – Membership is good, BM – My country benefited from membership (and its increase from 2017), EP – More important role for the EP

EB (2018), 'Democracy on the move', Standard Eurobarometer 89.2 http://www.europarl.europa.eu/pdf/eurobarometre/2018/oneyearbefore2019/eb89_one_year_before_2019_eurobarometer_en_opt.pdf.

Table XV
Democracy perception in ECE countries (2018)

Country	DM	ED	NP	NS	RC
CZ	59, 39	43, 48	63, 31	67, 27	68, 25
HU	55, 44	58, 35	71, 22	67, 24	67, 25
PL	59, 34	61, 24	72, 16	64, 21	62, 21
SI	39, 60	43, 49	70, 20	52, 37	56, 32
SK	35, 63	45, 43	70, 19	56, 30	57, 28
EU28	55, 42	46, 42	70, 21	53, 34	56, 32

DM – Democracy works in my country (satisfied, dissatisfied), ED – How about the way democracy works in the EU (satisfied, dissatisfied), NP – New parties, Just being against something does not improve anything (agree, disagree), NS – The new political parties and movements can find new solutions better (agree, disagree), RC – We need a real change and this is what these parties and movements can bring (agree, disagree)

EB (2018), 'Democracy on the move', Standard Eurobarometer 89.2, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/pdf/eurobarometre/2018/oneyearbefore2019/eb89_one_year_before_2019_eurobarometer_en_opt.pdf.

Table XVI
General trust in ECE (2018)

Country	TP	PC	SI
CZ	35	68	14
HU	36	81	15
PL	51	70	38
SI	33	68	32
SK	23	68	11
EU28	47	56	39

TP – trust in people, PC – importance of political connections, SI – support for immigration

EB (2018), 'Fairness, inequality and intergenerational mobility', Special Eurobarometer 471, http://data.europa.eu/euodp/en/data/dataset/S2166_88_4_471_ENG.

Table XVII
Evaluation of EU membership

Country	SM	OM	NN
CZ	39	17	42
HU	60	7	32
PL	70	6	22
SI	56	11	31
SK	51	10	37
EU28	62	11	25

SM – support for membership (good thing), OM – opposing membership (bad thing), NN – neither-nor

EB (2018), 'Taking up the challenge: From (silent) support to actual vote', Parlemeter 90.1, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/at-your-service/files/be-heard/eurobarometer/2018/parlemeter-2018/report/en-parlemeter-2018.pdf>.

Table XVIII
Benefit from EU membership

Country	Benefited	No benefit	Don't know
CZ	64	28	7
HU	79	14	7
PL	87	7	6
SI	69	25	6
SK	77	17	6
EU28	68	24	8

EB (2018), 'Taking up the challenge: From (silent) support to actual vote', Parlemeter 90.1, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/at-your-service/files/be-heard/eurobarometer/2018/parlemeter-2018/report/en-parlemeter-2018.pdf>.

Table XIX
Views on free and fair elections in ECE in % (2018)

Country	Very	Fairly	Not very	Not at all
CZ	15	52	20	7
HU	13	46	25	12
PL	18	56	17	4
SI	16	47	23	10
SK	8	53	22	6
EU28	19	51	18	6

EB (2018), 'Democracy and elections', Special Eurobarometer Report 477, <http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/survey/getsurveydetail/instruments/special/surveyky/2198>.

Table XX
Satisfaction with the democratic principles in ECE in % (2018)

Country	S	R	P	M	O	I	F	C
CZ	62	48	64	66	55	38	33	22
HU	59	57	64	59	57	46	45	39
PL	72	62	74	56	68	58	58	55
SI	70	34	57	61	50	33	31	20
SK	62	41	60	57	50	39	34	25

S – freedom of speech, R - rule of law, P – participation in political life, M – media diversity, C – opportunities for civil society, I – political parties taking into account the interests of people, F – fight against fake news, C – fight against corruption

EB (2018), 'Democracy and elections', Special Eurobarometer Report 477, <http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/survey/getsurveydetail/instruments/special/surveyky/2198>.

Table XXI
Perception of EU citizenship in % (yes, no)

Country	Citizenship	Protective	Voice	Globalization
CZ	56, 43	53, 40	31, 62	31, 56
HU	80, 20	56, 41	48, 49	52, 42
PL	79, 19	64, 29	54, 38	51, 32
SI	72, 28	52, 40	26, 71	46, 44
SK	77, 21	59, 32	45, 44	42, 44
EU28	71, 28	56, 36	49, 43	51, 37

Citizenship – feeling as citizens of the EU, Protective – the EU is protective, Voice – the interests of my country are taken into account, Globalization – positive or negative process

EB (2018), 'Public opinion in the European Union', Standard Eurobarometer 90, <http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Survey/getSurveyDetail/instruments/STANDARD/surveyKy/2215>.

Appendix 3 Elections, governments and party developments in ECE

Czech Republic
Table I

Parliamentary elections in 2006, 2010, 2013 and 2017 (Chamber of Deputies, 200 seats)

Turnout 64.47, 62.60, 59.48 and 60.8% respectively

Parties	2006 votes	2006 seats	2010 votes	2010 seats	2013 votes	2013 seats	2017 votes	2017 seats
ODS	35.38	81	20.22	53	7.72	16	11.3	25
CSSD	32.32	74	22.08	56	20.45	50	7.3	15
KSCM	12.81	26	11.27	26	14.91	33	7.8	15
KDU-CSL	7.23	13	4.39	0	6.68	14	5.8	10
ZS	6.29	6	2.44	0	3.19	0	1.5	0
TOP 09	–	–	16.70	41	11.99	26	5.3	7
VV	–	–	10.88	24	–	–	–	–
ANO 2011	–	–	–	–	18.85	47	29.6	78
UPD	–	–	–	–	6.88	14	10.6	22
Pirati	–	–	–	–	–	–	10.8	22
STAN	–	–	–	–	–	–	5.2	6

ODS – Civic Democratic Party, CSSD – Czech Social Democratic Party, KSCM – Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, KDU-CSL – Christian Democratic Union–People’s Party, ZS – Green Party, TOP 09 – Coalition of TOP 09, VV – Public Affairs, ANO 2011 – Action of Dissatisfied Citizens, UPD – Dawn of Direct Democracy, later SDP, Pirati – Pirates, STAN – Mayors and Independents

Table II

EP elections in 2004, 2009 and 2014 (24, 22 and 21 seats respectively)
Turnout 28.32, 28.22 and 18.20% respectively

Parties	2004 votes	2004 seats	2009 votes	2009 seats	2014 votes	2014 seats
ODS	30.04	9 (ECR)	31.45	9 (ECR)	7.67	2 (ECR)
CSSD	8.78	2 (PES)	22.38	7 (PES)	14.17	4 (PES)
KSCM	20.26	6 (GUE)	14.18	4 (GUE)	10.98	3 (GUE)
SNK	11.02	3 (EPP)	1.66	0	0.52	0
KDU-CSL	9.57	2 (EPP)	7.64	2 (EPP)	9.95	3 (EPP)
NEZDEM	8.18	2 (NI)	–	–	–	–
ANO	–	–	–	–	16.13	4 (ALDE)
TOP 09	–	–	–	–	15.95	4 (EPP)
SSO	–	–	–	–	5.24	1 (EFFD)

ODS – Civic Democratic Party, CSSD – Czech Social Democratic Party, KSCM – Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, SNK – Alliance of the Independent European Democrats, KDU-CSL – Christian Democratic Union–People’s Party, NEZDEM – Independent Democrats, ANO – Action of Dissatisfied Citizens, TOP 09 – Coalition of TOP 09, SSO – Party of Free Citizens, ECR – European Conservatives and Reformists, PES – Party of European Socialists, GUE – Group of European United Left, EPP – European People’s Party, NI – Non-Inscrits (no party group)

List I Czech governments (1990–2018)

Czechoslovak governments

Marian Calfa: 7 December 1989 – 2 July 1992, KSC, Public against Violence, Civic Democratic Union

Jan Strasky: 2 July 1992 – 31 December 1992, Civic Democratic Party

Czech governments

Petr Pithart: 6 February 1990 – 29 June 1990, Civic Forum (OF) in coalition with KSC-CSL

Petr Pithart: 29 June 1990 – 2 July 1992, Civic Forum (OF) in coalition with HSD, SMS, KDU, replaced later by OH and ODS

Václav Klaus: 2 July 1992 – 4 July 1996, Civic Democratic Party (ODS) in coalition with KDU, CSL, ODA, KDS

Václav Klaus: 4 July 1996 – 2 January 1998, Civic Democratic Party (ODS) in coalition with KDU, CSL, ODA

Josef Tošovský: 2 January 1998 – 17 July 1998, Independent, caretaker government, ODS, KDU, CSL, ODA, ODS

Milos Zeman: 17 July 1998 – 15 July 2002, Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD)

Vladimir Spidla: 15 July 2002 – 4 August 2004, Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD), KDU, CSL, US-DEU

Stanislav Gross: 26 July 2004 – 26 April 2005, Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD), KDU, CSL, US-DEU

Jiri Paroubek: 25 April 2005 – 4 September 2006, Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD), KDU, CSL, US-DEU

Mirek Topolánek: 4 September 2006 – 9 January 2007, Civic Democratic Party (ODS)

Mirek Topolánek: 9 January 2007 – 8 May 2009, ODS, KDU, CSL, SZ

Jan Fischer: 8 May 2009 – 13 July 2010, caretaker, Independent, supported by ODS, CSSD

Petr Necas: 13 July 2010 – 10 July 2013, Civic Democratic Party (ODS), TOP 09

Jiri Rusnok: 10 July 2013 – 29 January 2014, Independent, CSSD, KDU-CSL

Bohuslav Sobotka: 29 January 2014 – 13 December 2017, CSSD, ANO, KDU-CSL

Andrej Babiš: 13 December 2017, ANO, caretaker government with the failure of vote of confidence on 16 January 2018, but later coalition with CSSD on 12 July 2018, with the support of KSCM from outside

(Altogether, at least 12 governments – actually 14 – starting with Václav Klaus, including two caretaker governments; the lifetime of governments is about two years.)

Hungary

Table III

Parliamentary elections in 2006, 2010, 2014 and 2018 (386, 386, 199 and 199 seats respectively)

Turnout: 67.83, 64.39 (first round, second round), 64.20, 46.62 (first round, second round), 60.09 (one round), 70.22% (one round) respectively

Parties	2006 votes	2006 seats	2010 votes	2010 seats	2014 votes	2014 seats	2018 votes	2018 seats
Fidesz	42.03	164	53.64	263	45.04	133	49.27	133
MSZP	43.21	190	21.28	59	(25.67)	29	11.91	20
Jobbik	–	–	16.36	47	20.30	23	19.06	26
SZDSZ	6.31	20	–	–	–	–	–	–
MDF	5.04	11	1.42	–	–	–	–	–
LMP	–	–	5.07	16	5.36	5	7.06	8
DK	–	–	–	–	(25.67)	4	5.38	9
Együtt	–	–	–	–	(25.67)	4	0.66	1

Fidesz – (originally: Alliance of Young Democrats), nowadays Fidesz – Civic Alliance, together with KDNP (Christian Democratic People's Party), MSZP – Hungarian Social Democratic Party, Jobbik – For a Better Hungary, SZDSZ – Alliance of Free Democrats, MDF – Hungarian Democratic Forum, LMP – Politics Can Be Different, DK – Democratic Coalition, Együtt – Together. After 2010 there was a new electoral law, with fewer MPs and a new proportion between the party lists and single member districts in this mixed system. There was one independent MP in 2006, 2010 and 2018. In 2018 one independent MP and one MP representing the German minority were elected. In 2014 MSZP, DK and Együtt-PM ran with a common party list, had 25.67% on the common list and altogether 38 seats, allocated as 29+4+4 seats and 1 seat given to a liberal MP. Electoral turnout: 67.83, 64.39% (2006, first round, second round), 64.20, 46.62% (2010, first round, second round), 60.09% (2014, one round) and 70.22% (one round)

Table IV

EP elections in 2004, 2009 and 2014 (24, 22 and 21 seats respectively)
Turnout 38.42, 36.28 and 28.92% respectively

Parties	2004 votes	2004 seats	2009 votes	2009 seats	2014 votes	2014 seats
Fidesz	47.40	12 (EPP)	56.36	14 (EPP)	51.49	12 (EPP)
MSZP	34.30	9 (PES)	17.37	4 (PES)	10.92	2 (PES)
Jobbik	–	–	14.77	3 (NI)	14.68	3 (NI)
SZDSZ	7.74	2 (ALDE)	2.16	–	–	–
MDF	5.33	1 (EPP)	5.31	1 (ECR)	–	–
DK	–	–	–	–	9.76	2 (PES)
E-PM	–	–	–	–	7.22	1 (GR)
LMP	–	–	–	–	5.01	1 (GR)

Fidesz – (originally: Alliance of Young Democrats), nowadays Fidesz – Civic Alliance, together with KDNP (Christian Democratic People’s Party), MSZP – Hungarian Social Democratic Party, Jobbik – For a Better Hungary, SZDSZ – Alliance of Free Democrats, MDF – Hungarian Democratic Forum, DK – Democratic Coalition, E-PM – Together 2014 and Partnership for Hungary (Green), LMP – Politics Can Be Different (Green), EPP – European People’s Party, PES – Party of European Socialists, ALDE – Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe, NI – Non-Inscrits (no party group), ECR – European Conservatives and Reformists, GR – Greens and European Free Alliance

**List II
Hungarian governments (1990–2018)**

József Antall: 23 May – 12 December 1993 (died in office), Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), FKGP

Péter Boross: 12 December 1993 – 15 July 1994 (completing the term), MDF, FKGP

Gyula Horn: 15 July 1994 – 6 July 1998, Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) and Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ)

Viktor Orbán: 6 July 1998 – 27 May 2002, Alliance of Young Democrats (Fidesz), FKGP

Péter Medgyessy: 27 May 2002 – 29 September 2004, Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) and Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ)

Ferenc Gyurcsány: 29 September 2004 – 9 June 2006, Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) and Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ)

Ferenc Gyurcsány: 9 June 2006 – 14 April 2009, Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) and Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ)

Gordon Bajnai: 14 April 2009 – 29 May 2010, HSP (MSZP), supported by AFD (SZDSZ) from outside

Viktor Orbán: 29 May 2010 – 10 May 2014, Fidesz with KDNP

Viktor Orbán: 10 May 2014 – 10 May 2018, Fidesz with KDNP

Viktor Orbán: 10 May 2018 –, incumbent, Fidesz with KDNP

(All parliamentary cycles have been completed with the same coalition.)

Poland

Table V

Parliamentary elections in 2005, 2007, 2011 and 2015 (Sejm, 460 seats)
Turnout 40.57, 53.88, 48.92 and 50.92% respectively

Parties	2005 votes	2005 seats	2007 votes	2007 seats	2011 votes	2011 seats	2015 votes	2015 seats
PiS	27.0	155	32.11	166	29.89	157	37.58	235
PO	24.1	133	41.51	209	38.19	207	24.09	138
SoRP	11.4	56	1.53	–	–	–	–	–
SLD	11.3	55	13.15	53	8.24	27	7.55	–
LPR	8.0	34	1.30	–	–	–	–	–
PSL	7.0	25	8.95	31	8.36	28	5.13	16
RP	–	–	–	–	10.02	40	–	–
Kukiz'15	–	–	–	–	–	–	8.81	42
Modern	–	–	–	–	–	–	7.60	28
Razem	–	–	–	–	–	–	3.62	–
MN	–	-2	–	-1	–	-1	–	1

PiS – Law and Justice, PO – Civic Platform, SoRP – Self-Defence of the Republic Poland (Samoobrona), SLD – Democratic Left Alliance, in 2015 as United Left (UZ) consisting of SLD, Your Movement (TR), Polish Socialist Party (PPS), Labour Union (UP), Greens (Zieloni) and Polish Labour Party (PPP), but it did not reach the threshold for party coalitions (8%), LPR – League of Polish Families, PSL – People’s Party, RP – Palikot’s Movement (Ruch Palikota), Kukiz’15 – Party of Pawel Kukiz (rock star), Modern (N) – Nowoczesna of Ryszard Petru, (Partia) Razem – Together (Young Socialists), MN – German minority

Table VI

EP elections in 2004, 2009 and 2014 (54, 50 and 51 seats respectively)
Turnout 20.87, 24.53 and 23.83% respectively

Parties	2004 votes	2004 seats	2009 votes	2009 seats	2014 votes	2014 seats
PO	24.10	15 (EPP)	44.43	25 (EPP)	32.13	19 (EPP)
PiS	12.67	7 (UEN)	27.40	15 (ECR)	31.78	19 (ECR)
LPR	15.92	10 (NI)	–	–	–	–
SoRP	10.78	6 (NI)	1.46	0	1.42	0
SLD-UP	9.35	5 (PES)	12.34	7 (PES)	9.44	5 (PES)
PSL	6.34	4 (EPP)	7.01	3 (EPP)	6.08	4 (EPP)
UW	7.33	4	–	–	–	–
SDPL	5.33	3	2.44	0	–	–
KNP	–	–	–	–	7.13	4 (NI)

PO – Civic Platform, PiS – Law and Justice, LPR – League of Polish Families, SoRP – Self-Defence of the Republic Poland (Samoobrona), SLD-UP – Democratic Left Alliance–Labour Union; PSL – People’s Party, UW – Freedom Union, SDPL – Social Democracy, KNP – Congress of the New Right, EPP – European People’s Party, UEN – Union for Europe of the Nations, NI – Non-Inscrits (no party group), PES – Party of European Socialists, ECR – European Conservatives and Reformists

List III
Polish governments (1990–2018)

Tadeusz Mazowiecki: 20 August 1989 – 4 January 1991, Solidarity and Democratic Union (UD), with ZSL, PZPR, SD

Jan Krzysztof Bielecki: 4 January 1991 – 6 December 1991, Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD), with ZChN, PC, SD

Jan Olszewski: 6 December 1991 – 6 June 1992, Centre Agreement (PC), with ZChN, SD

Waldemar Pawlak: 6 June 1992 – 11 July 1992, Polish People's Party (PSL)

Hanna Suchocka: 11 July 1992 – 26 October 1993, Democratic Union (UD), with KLD, ZChN, PSL

Waldemar Pawlak: 26 October 1993 – 7 March 1995, Polish People's Party (PSL) with SLD

Józef Oleksy: 7 March 1995 – 7 February 1996, Social Democracy (SLD) with PSL

Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz: 7 February 1996 – 31 October 1997, Social Democracy (SLD) with PSL

Jerzy Buzek: 31 October 1997 – 19 October 2001, Solidarity (AWS) with UW

Leszek Miller: 19 October 2001 – 2 May 2004, Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) with UP, PSL

Marek Belka: 2 May 2004 – 31 October 2005, Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) with UP

Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz: 31 October 2005 – 14 July 2006, Law and Justice (PiS) with SRP, LPR

Jarosław Kaczyński: 14 July 2006 – 16 November 2007, Law and Justice (PiS), with SRP, LPR

Donald Tusk: 16 November 2007 – 18 November 2011, Civic Platform (PO)

Donald Tusk: 18 November 2011 – 22 September 2014, Civic Platform (PO)

Ewa Kopacz: 22 September 2014 – 16 November 2015, Civic Platform (PO)

Beata Szydło: 16 November 2015 – 11 December 2017, Law and Justice (PiS)

Mateusz Morawiecki: 11 December 2017 –, incumbent, Law and Justice (PiS)

Slovenia

Table VII

Parliamentary elections in 2008, 2011, 2014 and 2018 (National Assembly, 90 seats)
Turnout 63.10, 65.60, 50.99 and 52.64% respectively

Parties	2008 votes	2008 seats	2011 votes	2011 seats	2014 votes	2014 seats	2018 votes	2018 seats
SD	30.45	29	10.52	10	5.95	6	9.93	10
SDS	29.26	28	26.19	26	20.69	21	24.92	25
ZARES	9.37	9	0.65	0	–	–	–	–
DeSUS	7.45	7	6.97	6	10.21	10	4.93	5
SNS	5.40	5	1.80	0	2.21	0	4.17	4
SLS	5.21	5	6.83	6	3.98	0	2.62	0
LDS	5.21	5	1.48	0	–	–	–	–
PS	–	–	28.51	28	2.96	0	–	–
CV	–	–	8.37	8	0.63	0	–	–
NSi	–	–	4.88	4	5.53	5	7.16	7
SMC	–	–	–	–	34.61	36	9.75	10
ZL	–	–	–	–	5.97	6	9.33	9
ZaAB	–	–	–	–	4.34	4	5.11	5
LMS	–	–	–	–	–	–	12.60	13

SD – Social Democrats, SDS – Slovenian Democratic Party, ZARES – New Politics-Social Liberals, DeSUS – Democratic Party of Retired People, SNS – Slovenian National Party, SLS – Slovenian People’s Party, LDS – Liberal Democracy of Slovenia, PS – Positive Slovenia (of Zoran Jankovic), CV – Civic List (of Gregor Virant), NSi – New Slovenia-Christian Democrats, SMC – Modern Centre Party of Miro Cerar, ZL – United Left, ZaAB – Alliance of Alenka Bratusek, LMS – Party of Marjan Sarec. The Hungarian and Italian minorities each have 1 seat

Table VIII

EP elections in 2004–2014 (7, 7 and 8 seats respectively)
Turnout 28.35, 28.37 and 20.96% respectively

Parties	2004 votes	2004 seats	2009 votes	2009 seats	2014 votes	2014 seats
NSi	23.57	2 (EPP)	16.58	1 (EPP)	16.56	2 (EPP)
LDS-D	(21.91)	2 (ALDE)	11.48	1 (ALDE)	–	–
SDS	17.65	2 (EPP)	26.66	2 (EPP)	24.88	3 (EPP)
ZLSD	14.15	1 (PES)	18.43	2 (PES)	8.02	1 (PES)
ZARES	–	–	9.76	1 (ALDE)	0.94	0
DeSUS	(21.91)	2 (ALDE)	7.18	0	8.14	1 (ALDE)
Verjamem	–	–	–	–	10.46	1 (GR)

NSi – New Slovenia, LDS-D – Liberal Democracy with Democratic Party of Retired People (DeSUS) in 2004, Democratic Party of Retired People (DeSUS) (separately) in 2009 and 2014, SDS – Slovenian Democratic Party, ZLSD – United List of Social Democrats, and Social Democrats (SD) in 2009 and 2014, ZARES – New Politics–Social Liberals, Verjamem – List ‘I believe’ (Green), EPP – European People’s Party, ALDE – Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe, PES – Party of European Socialists, GR – Greens and European Free Alliance

**List IV
Slovenian governments (1990–2018)**

Lojze Peterle: 16 May 1990 – 14 May 1992, DEMOS coalition
 Janez Drnovšek: 14 May 1992 – 25 January 1993, SDS, DS, LDS, ZLSD, SSS
 Janez Drnovšek: 25 January 1993 – 27 February 1997, LDS, SKD, ZLSD, SDSS
 Janez Drnovšek: 27 February 1997 – 7 June 2000, LDS, SLS, DeSUS
 Andrej Bajuk: 7 June 2000 – 30 November 2000, SDS, SLS, SKD
 Janez Drnovšek: 30 November 2000 – 19 December 2002, LDS, ZLSD, DeSUS
 Anton Rop: 19 December 2002 – 3 December 2004, LDS, SD, DeSUS
 Janez Janša: 3 December 2004 – 21 November 2008, SDS, DeSUS, SLS, NSi
 Borut Pahor: 21 November 2008 – 10 February 2012, SD, LDS, Zares, DeSUS
 Janez Janša: 10 February 2012 – 20 March 2013, SDS, DeSUS, SLS
 Alenka Bratusek: 20 March 2013 – 18 September 2014, PS, SD, DeSUS
 Miro Cerar: 18 September 2014 – 20 March 2018, Party of Modern Centre (SMC), DeSUS, SD
 Marjan Sarec: 17 August 2018 –, incumbent, five-party coalition (LMS, SD, SMC, DeSUS and ZaAB), supported by ZL

**Slovakia
Table IX**

Parliamentary elections in 2006, 2010, 2012 and 2016 (National Council, 150 seats)
 Turnout 54.7, 58.83, 59.11 and 59.82% respectively

Parties	2006 votes	2006 seats	2010 votes	2010 seats	2012 votes	2012 seats	2016 votes	2016 seats
SMER	29.1	50	34.79	62	44.41	83	28.28	49
SDKÚ	18.4	31	15.42	28	6.09	11	0.26	–
SNS	11.7	20	5.07	9	4.55	0	8.64	15
SMK- MKP	11.7	20	4.33	0	4.28	0	4.04	–
HZDS	8.8	15	4.32	0	0.93	0	–	–
KDH	8.3	14	8.52	15	8.82	16	4.94	–
SaS	–	–	12.14	22	5.88	11	12.10	21
MOST- HID	–	–	8.12	14	6.89	13	6.50	11
OL'ANO	–	–	–	–	8.55	16	11.02	19
L'SNS	–	–	–	–	–	–	8.04	14
Rodina	–	–	–	–	–	–	6.62	11
SIET	–	–	–	–	–	–	5.60	10

SMER – Direction – Social Democracy, SDKÚ – Democratic and Christian Union (and Democratic Party), SNS – Slovak National Party, SMK-MKP – Party of Hungarian Coalition, HZDS – People's Party–Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, KDH – Christian Democratic Movement, SaS – Freedom and Solidarity, MOST-HID – Bridge (a Hungarian and Slovak coalition), OL'ANO – Ordinary People and Independent Personalities, L'SNS – People's Party of Our Slovakia, Rodina – We Are Family, SIET – Network

Table X

EP elections in 2004, 2009 and 2014 (14, 13 and 13 seats respectively)
Turnout 16.96, 19.64 and 13.05% respectively

Parties	2004 votes	2004 seats	2009 votes	2009 seats	2014 votes	2014 seats
SDKÚ	17.09	3 (EPP)	16.98	2 (EPP)	7.75	2 (EPP)
SMER	16.89	3 (PES)	32.01	5 (PES)	24.09	4 (PES)
HZDS	17.04	3 (NI)	8.97	1 (NI)	–	–
KDH	16.19	3 (EPP)	10.87	2 (EPP)	13.21	2 (EPP)
OL'ANO	–	–	–	–	7.46	1 (NI)
NOVA	–	–	–	–	6.83	1 (ECR)
SaS	–	–	–	–	6.66	1 (ALDE)
SMK-MKP	13.23	2 (EPP)	11.33	2 (EPP)	6.53	1 (EPP)
MOST-HID	–	–	–	–	5.83	1 (EPP)
SNS	2.01	0	5.55	1 (NI)	4.55	0

SDKÚ – Democratic and Christian Union (and Democratic Party), SMER – Direction – Social Democracy, HZDS – People’s Party–Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, KDH – Christian Democratic Movement, OL’ANO – Ordinary People and Independent Personalities, NOVA – New Majority–Conservative Democrats (KDS) and Civic Conservative Party (OKS), SaS – Freedom and Solidarity, SMK-MKP – Party of Hungarian Coalition (Party of Hungarian Community in 2014), MOST-HID – Bridge (a Hungarian and Slovak coalition), SNS – Slovak National Party, EPP – European People’s Party, PES – Party of European Socialists, NI – Non-Inscrits (no party group), ECR – European Conservatives and Reformists, ALDE – Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe

List V Slovak governments (1990–2018)

Czechoslovak governments

Marian Calfa: 7 December 1989 – 2 July 1992, KSC, Public against Violence, Civic Democratic Union

Jan Strasky: 2 July 1992 – 31 December 1992, Civic Democratic Party

Slovak governments

Milan Cic: 10 December 1989 – 27 June 1990, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) and Public against Violence (VPN)

Vladimir Meciar: 27 June 1990 – 6 May 1991, Public against Violence (VPN), KDH, DS, MNI

Jan Carnogursky: 6 May 1991 – 24 June 1992, Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), ODU, DS, MNI

Vladimir Meciar: 24 June 1992 – 15 March 1994, Movement for Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), SNS

Jozef Moravcik: 15 March 1994 – 13 December 1994, Democratic Union of Slovakia (DEUS), KDH, SDL, NDS

Vladimir Meciar: 13 December 1994 – 30 October 1998, Movement for Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), SNS, ZRS, RSS

Mikuláš Dzurinda: 30 October 1998 – 18 October 2002, Slovak Democratic Coalition (SDK), SDL, SMK, SDP

Mikuláš Dzurinda: 18 October 2002 – 4 July 2008, Slovak Democratic and Christian Union (SDKÚ), SMK, KDH

Robert Fico: 4 July 2008 – 8 July 2010, Direction – Social Democracy (Smer-SD), SNS, LS, HZDS

Iveta Radicová: 8 July 2010 – 4 April 2012, Slovak Democratic and Christian Union (SDKÚ), DS, SaS, KDH, Most-Híd

Robert Fico: 4 April 2012 – 23 March 2016, Direction – Social Democracy (Smer-SD)

Robert Fico: 23 March 2016 – 22 March 2018, Direction – Social Democracy (Smer-SD), SNS, Most-Híd, SIET

Peter Pellegrini: 22 March 2018 –, incumbent, Direction – Social Democracy (Smer-SD), SNS, Most-Híd

Appendix 4 Ranking institutes

Bertelsmann Stiftung (BS)

Table I

Bertelsmann Sustainable Governance Indicators (SGI) in 2009 and 2018 Rankings in 30 and 41 developed countries, mostly OECD members

Country	DEM 09	DEM 18	GOV 09	GOV 18	EXE 18
CZ	19	20	28	27	31
HU	25	40	20	37	35
PL	27	37	29	34	33
SI	–	16	–	31	38
SK	23	27	19	35	34

DEM – quality of democracy, GOV – governance, EXE – executive capacity. SGI project began in 2009 and it has been widened step by step

BS (2018), 'Quality of democracy', <https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/en/topics/aktuelle-meldungen/2018/oktober/the-quality-of-democracy-is-declining-in-many-industrialized-states/>.

EIU (Economist Intelligence Unit)

Table II
Democracy Index 2006–2017
Rankings in 167 countries

Country	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016
CZ	18	19	16	17	25	31
HU	38	40	43	49	51	56
PL	46	45	48	44	40	52
SI	27	30	32	28	37	37
SK	41	44	38	40	45	42

EIU (2017), 'Revenge of "deplorables"', <http://felipesahagun.es/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Democracy-Index-2016.pdf>.

Table III
Democracy Index 2018
Rankings in 2017 in 167 countries, and scores (1–10)

Country	RANK	ELEC	GOV	PART	CULT	CIVIL
CZ	34	9.58	6.79	6.67	6.88	8.53
HU	57	8.75	6.07	5.00	6.25	7.06
PL	54	9.17	6.07	6.11	4.38	7.65
SI	36	9.58	6.79	6.67	6.25	8.24
SK	44	9.58	6.79	5.56	5.63	7.94

RANK – general rank in 2017; scores in 2017: ELEC – electoral process and pluralism, GOV – functioning of government, PART – political participation, CULT – political culture, CIVIL – civil liberties

EIU (2019) 'Democracy Index 2018: Me too? Political participation, protest and democracy', http://www.eiu.com/Handlers/WhitepaperHandler.ashx?fi=Democracy_Index_2018.pdf&mode=wp&campaignid=Democracy2018

Freedom House – Nations in Transit

Table IV
Scores of ECE states in 2003 (1–7, 1 is best)

Country	EP	CS	IM	GOV	JFI	CO	DS
CZ	2	1.5	2.25	2.25	2.5	3.5	2.33
HU	1.25	1.25	2.25	2.5	1.75	2.75	1.96
PL	1.5	1.25	1.75	2	1.5	2.5	1.75
SI	1.5	1.5	1.75	2.25	1.75	2	1.79
SK	1.5	1.5	2	2.25	2	3.25	2.08

EP – electoral process, CS – civil society, IM – independent media, GOV – democratic governance, JFI – judicial framework and independence, CO – corruption, DS – democracy score

FH (2003), 'Nations in transit 2003', <https://freedomhouse.org/report/nations-transit/nations-transit-2003>

Table V
Scores of ECE states in 2018 (1–7, 1 is best)

Country	EP	CS	IM	NDG	LDG	JFI	CO	DS
CZ	1.25	2	2.75	3	1.75	1.75	3.5	2.29
HU	3.25	3	4.5	4.5	3	3	4.75	3.71
PL	1.5	2	3	4	2	4.25	3.5	2.89
SI	1.5	2	2.5	2.25	1.5	2	2.75	2.07
SK	1.5	2	2.75	3	2.5	2.75	3.75	2.61

EP – electoral process, CS – civil society, IM – independent media, NDG – national democratic governance, LDG – local democratic governance, JFI – judicial framework and independence, CO – corruption, DS – democracy score

FH (2018), 'Nations in transit 2018: Confronting illiberalism', <https://freedomhouse.org/report/nations-transit/nations-transit-2018>

V-Dem (Varieties of Democracy)

Table VI
Rankings Liberal Democracy Index and its component indices

Country	LDI	EDI	LCI	ECI	PCI	DCI
CZ	22	20	28	21	51	62
HU	61	73	52	36	31	123
PL	50	49	56	31	36	116
SI	17	22	13	27	4	37
SK	30	27	39	50	7	102

LDI – Liberal Democracy Index, EDI – Electoral Democracy Index, LCI – Liberal Component Index, ECI – Egalitarian Component Index, PCI – Participatory Component Index, DCI – Deliberative Component Index

Table VII
Rankings in the Electoral Democracy Index

Country	EDI	FAI	CEI	FEI
CZ	20	30	19	29
HU	73	90	53	108
PL	49	79	25	106
SI	22	13	20	47
SK	27	61	23	28

EDI – Electoral Democracy Index, FAI – Freedom of Association Index, CEI – Clean Election Index, FEI – Freedom of Expression Index

Table VIII
Rankings in the Liberal Component Index

Country	LCI	ELI	LEI	JEI
CZ	28	34	58	38
HU	52	40	70	48
PL	56	65	79	81
SI	13	21	7	23
SK	39	41	46	41

LCI – Liberal Component Index, ELI – Equality before the Law and Individual Liberty Index, LEI – Legislative Constraints on the Executive Index, JEI – Judicial Constraints on the Executive Index

Table IX
Rankings in the Egalitarian Component Index

Country	ECI	EPI	EDI	EAI
CZ	21	23	7	33
HU	36	51	51	34
PL	31	21	46	38
SI	27	25	35	27
SK	50	64	56	53

ECI – Egalitarian Component Index, EPI – Equal Protection Index, EDI – Equal Distribution of Resources Index, EAI – Equal Access Index

Table X
Rankings in the Participatory Component Index

Country	PCI	CPI	DPI	LGI	RGI
CZ	51	51	87	55	36
HU	31	119	8	53	33
PL	36	107	44	11	49
SI	4	38	3	37	154
SK	7	58	10	4	23

PCI – Participatory Component Index, CPI – Civil Society Participation Index, DPI – Direct Popular Vote Index, LGI – Local Government Index, RGI – Regional Government Index

Table XI
Rankings in the Deliberative Component Index

Country	DCI	REJ	CGJ	RFC	ROC	ENS
CZ	62	73	45	60	67	59
HU	123	105	146	96	126	143
PL	116	148	48	136	121	68
SI	37	28	40	53	38	45
SK	102	106	132	102	80	89

DCI – Deliberative Component Index, REJ – Reasoned Justification, Common Good Justification, RFC – Respect for Counterarguments, ROC – Range of Consultation, ENS – Engaged Society

V-Dem (2018) 'Democracy for All? Annual Report 2018', https://www.v-dem.net/media/filer_public/68/51/685150f0-47e1-4d03-97bc-45609c3f158d/v-dem-annual-dem-report-2018.pdf.

V-Dem (2018), 'V-Dem Dataset – Version 8', <https://www.v-dem.net/en/data/data-version-8/>.

World Economic Forum (WEF)

Table XII
Competitiveness in East-Central Europe
Rankings in 2001, 2003, 2008, 2014, 2017 and 2018 in 133–137 countries

Country	2001	2003	2008	2014	2017	2018
CZ	37	39	31	31	31	29
HU	28	33	58	63	60	48
PL	41	45	46	41	39	37
SI	31	31	37	59	48	35
SK	40	43	47	67	59	41

From 2018 new measurement has been introduced based on the Fourth Industrial Revolution

WEF (2018), 'The Global Competitiveness Report', <http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GCR2018/05FullReport/TheGlobalCompetitivenessReport2018.pdf>.

Table XIII
Competitiveness in East-Central Europe
Rankings in the three main sectors in 2006, 2008, 2014, 2017

Country	General ranking	Basic requirements	Efficiency enhancers	Innovation factors
CZ	29, 31, 31, 31	42, 45, 31, 30	27, 24, 26, 29	27, 26, 32, 32
HU	41, 58, 63, 60	52, 58, 59, 64	32, 45, 49, 45	39, 61, 69, 79
PL	48, 46, 41, 39	57, 71, 44, 45	48, 31, 34, 34	51, 56, 57, 59
SI	33, 37, 59, 48	36, 29, 45, 35	30, 37, 56, 53	34, 30, 39, 37
SK	37, 47, 67, 59	47, 54, 56, 52	34, 34, 47, 44	43, 57, 59, 56

In 2006 three main sectors and nine pillars were introduced; later 12 pillars were developed

WEF (2017), 'The Global Competitiveness Report 2017–2018', <https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-competitiveness-report-2017-2018>.

Table XIV
Competitiveness in East-Central Europe
General and selected rankings of certain pillars in 2006 and 2016

Country	General	Inst	Infra	He-edu	Hi-edu	Inn
CZ	29, 31	60, 52	33, 49	58, 23	27, 27	28, 36
HU	41, 60	46, 101	48, 56	66, 78	30, 73	31, 62
PL	48, 39	73, 72	57, 44	26, 38	33, 40	44, 59
SI	33, 48	43, 56	32, 39	19, 14	26, 24	34, 35
SK	37, 59	53, 93	47, 63	74, 47	38, 62	42, 67

Inst – institutions, Infra – infrastructure, He-edu – health and education, Hi-edu – higher education, Inn – innovation

WEF (2017), 'The Global Competitiveness Report 2017–2018',
<https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-competitiveness-report-2017-2018>.

Table XV
Institutional situation and trust in institutions in East-Central Europe
Rankings in 2008, 2016 in 133–137 countries (1st pillar)

Country	Inst	Pub	Jud	Trust	Fav	Tran	Eff
CZ	62, 52	91, 99	61, 45	115, 89	104, 95	103, 73	87, 81
HU	76, 101	94, 108	57, 101	111, 105	114, 131	113, 125	127, 108
PL	66, 72	50, 57	55, 99	99, 101	64, 85	127, 116	94, 73
SI	46, 56	41, 69	51, 76	45, 92	56, 88	29, 67	66, 97
SK	78, 93	95, 117	81, 119	121, 109	127, 130	54, 87	109, 94

Inst – institutions in general, Pub – diversion of public funds, Jud – judicial independence, Trust – public trust in politicians, Fav – favouritism in the decisions of government officials, Tran – transparency of government policy making, Eff – efficiency of government spending

WEF (2017), 'The Global Competitiveness Report 2017–2018',
<https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-competitiveness-report-2017-2018>.

Table XVI
Public trust in politicians
Rankings between 2008 and 2016 in 133–137 countries

Country	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
CZ	115	121	134	139	146	138	107	92	89
HU	111	128	130	128	129	113	120	97	105
PL	99	82	76	90	100	101	100	104	101
SI	45	70	96	116	133	133	105	90	92
SK	121	132	132	136	139	121	113	110	109

WEF (2017), 'The Global Competitiveness Report 2017–2018',
<https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-competitiveness-report-2017-2018>.

Table XVII
Education and innovation situation in East-Central Europe
Rankings in 2008 and 2016 in 133–137 countries (5th, 7th and 12th pillars)

Country	Education	Talent 1	Talent 2	Innovation	Science	R&D
CZ	25, 59	-, 51	-, 74	21, 27	19, 27	26, 41
HU	80, 111	-, 126	-, 112	48, 96	23, 34	31, 68
PL	45, 72	-, 89	-, 113	57, 72	48, 49	76, 89
SI	32, 52	-, 93	-, 114	17, 32	26, 29	30, 44
SK	89, 118	-, 125	-, 130	55, 48	86, 71	80, 77

Education – quality of the educational system, Talent 1 – capacity to retain talent, Talent 2 – capacity to attract talent, Innovation – capacity for innovation, Science – capacity of scientific research institutions, R&D – university–industry collaboration in R&D. Talent 1 and Talent 2 were measured only in 2016

WEF (2017), 'The Global Competitiveness Report 2017–2018', <https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-competitiveness-report-2017-2018>.

Table XVIII
Human capital in East-Central Europe
Rankings in 2013 in 130 countries

Country	General	Education	Health	Workforce	Environment
CZ	33	36	36	36	31
HU	54	33	73	77	62
PL	49	42	47	63	57
SI	32	21	26	41	38

General – Human Capital Index: education, health and wellness, workforce and employment, enabling environment

WEF (2013), 'The Human Capital Report', <https://www.weforum.org/reports/human-capital-report-2013>.

Table XIX
Health and education situation in East-Central Europe
Rankings in selected fields in 2013 in 130 countries
Spending on education and health

Country	H	O	S	D	B	M	S-1	S-2
CZ	31	106	59	39	53	33	4.2	7.4
HU	84	94	99	114	47	104	4.9	7.7
PL	107	79	53	4	48	73	5.2	6.7
SI	39	103	70	24	33	45	5.7	9.1

H – health care and wellness quality, O – obesity, S – stress, D – depression, B – enabling environment for doing business, M – social mobility, S-1 – public spending on education, S-2 – public spending on health as % of GDP

WEF (2013), 'The Human Capital Report', <https://www.weforum.org/reports/human-capital-report-2013>.

Table XX
Human capital in East-Central Europe
Rankings in 2017 in 137 countries

Country	General	Capacity	Dep	Dev	Know-how
CZ	22	67	22	15	21
HU	39	33	56	69	36
PL	31	25	65	34	24
SI	9	7	64	13	18
SK	36	63	60	37	34

General – Human Development Index; Capacity – education level of society, Dep – deployment, labour and employment, Dev – development, education of young people, Know-how – skills of employees. The structure has been changed and there are no detailed data as in 2013

WEF (2013), 'The Human Capital Report', <https://www.weforum.org/reports/human-capital-report-2013>.

Table XXI
Global competitiveness rankings in 2018

Country	General	Institutions	Skills	Labour	Innovation
CZ	29	43	25	47	29
HU	48	66	49	83	39
PL	37	53	32	62	38
SI	35	35	29	43	28
SK	41	55	48	58	43

General rankings, institutions, skills, labour market, innovation capability

WEF (2018), 'The Global Competitiveness Report', <http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GCR2018/05FullReport/TheGlobalCompetitivenessReport2018.pdf>.

Table XXII
Institutions ('politics') rankings

Country	SC	JI	FP	CR
CZ	69	43	31	38
HU	87	103	60	57
PL	70	114	46	33
SI	36	21	29	31
SK	63	116	25	47

SC – social capital, JI – judicial independence, FP – freedom of the press, CR – incidence of corruption

WEF (2018), 'The Global Competitiveness Report', <http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GCR2018/05FullReport/TheGlobalCompetitivenessReport2018.pdf>.

**Table XXIII
Institutions ('governance') rankings**

Country	BT	GR	FO	IR
CZ	77	116	101	65
HU	61	95	96	121
PL	49	111	110	54
SI	24	122	85	20
SK	42	129	108	106

BT – budget transparency, GR – burden of government regulation, FO – future orientation of government, IR – conflict of interest regulation

WEF (2018), 'The Global Competitiveness Report', <http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GCR2018/05FullReport/TheGlobalCompetitivenessReport2018.pdf>

**Table XXIV
Innovation capability rankings**

Country	General	DW	SP	RD	QR
CZ	29	79	32	20	25
HU	39	139	33	26	45
PL	38	134	26	39	18
SI	28	75	43	15	54
SK	43	111	45	32	51

DW – diversity of workforce, SP – scientific publications, RD – R&D expenditures, QR – quality of research institutions

WEF (2018), 'The Global Competitiveness Report', <http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GCR2018/05FullReport/TheGlobalCompetitivenessReport2018.pdf>.

Appendix 5 Public opinion surveys

Pew Research Center

**Table I
End of communism cheered but now with more reservations
General change (1991 and 2009)**

Country	DE 1991	DE 2009	CA 1991	CA 2009	LS 1991	LS 2009
CZ	80	80	87	79	23	49
HU	74	56	80	46	8	15
PL	66	70	80	71	12	44
SK	70	71	69	66	13	43

DE – approval of change to democracy, CA – approval of change to capitalism, LS – satisfied with life

Pew (2009), 'End of communism cheered but now with more reservations', <http://pewglobal.org/2009/11/02/end-of-communism-cheered-but-now-with-more-reservations/>.

**Table II
Economic situation (2009)**

Country	ES-1	ES-2	ES-3	ES-4
CZ	18	81	45	39
HU	6	94	8	72
PL	38	59	47	35
SK	25	73	29	48

Widespread economic discontent: ES-1 (good), ES-2 (bad)
People worse off than under communism? ES-3 (better), ES-4 (worse)

Pew (2009), 'End of communism cheered but now with more reservations',
<http://pewglobal.org/2009/11/02/end-of-communism-cheered-but-now-with-more-reservations/>.

**Table III
Political situation (2009)**

Country	Sat-Dem 1	Sat-Dem 2	Success 1	Success 2
CZ	49	49	54	41
HU	21	77	54	42
PL	53	39	62	31
SK	50	46	55	38

Satisfaction with democracy: Sat-Dem 1 (satisfied), Sat-Dem 2 (not satisfied)
Success in life determined by forces outside our control: Success 1 (agree), Success 2 (disagree)

Pew (2009), 'End of communism cheered but now with more reservations',
<http://pewglobal.org/2009/11/02/end-of-communism-cheered-but-now-with-more-reservations/>.

The post-communist generation (millennials)

**Table IV
The generation gap in systemic change**

Country	D Total	Young	Older	C Total	Young	Older
CZ	80	84	76	79	86	74
HU	56	62	51	46	50	43
PL	70	77	66	71	81	66
SK	71	77	68	66	77	58

Change to democracy: D Total, Young (18–39), Older (40+)
Change to capitalism: C Total, Young (18–39), Older (40+)

Pew (2010), 'The post-communist generation in the former Eastern bloc',
<http://www.pewglobal.org/2010/01/20/the-post-communist-generation-in-the-former-eastern-bloc/>.

Table V
The generation gap in democracy versus strong leader

Country	D Young	S Young	D Older	S Older
CZ	84	13	79	16
HU	44	46	41	51
PL	63	30	51	39
SK	84	8	79	16

D Young – democracy for young (18–39), S Young – strong leader for young (18–39), D Older – democracy for older (40+), S Older – strong leader for older (40+)

Pew (2010), 'The post-communist generation in the former Eastern bloc', <http://www.pewglobal.org/2010/01/20/the-post-communist-generation-in-the-former-eastern-bloc/>.

Table VI
Views on religion, minorities and national identity

Country	Muslims	Religion1	Religion2	Fate	State	Family
CZ	12	21	7	43	75	66
HU	21	43	14	54	67	89
PL	33	64	29	56	70	83
SK	47	35	23	45	72	63

Muslims – ready to accept Muslims in the family, Religion1 – importance of religion for the national identity, Religion2 – important in their lives, Fate – belief in fate (predetermined by a supernatural power), State – supporting state–church separation, Family – family background is important for national identity

Pew (2018), 'Eastern and Western Europe differ on importance of religion, views of minorities, and key social issues', <http://www.pewforum.org/2018/10/29/eastern-and-western-europeans-differ-on-importance-of-religion-views-of-minorities-and-key-social-issues/>.

Globsec 2018 on Visegrad Four

Table VII
Where we belong? (All generations)

Country	West	In between	East
CZ	38	55	3
HU	45	47	3
PL	42	31	5
SK	21	56	13

Table VIII
Where we belong? (Aged 18–24)

Country	West	In between	East
CZ	57	38	4
HU	69	23	4
PL	27	40	9
SK	34	49	2

Table IX
EU membership

Country	Good	Bad
CZ	51	16
HU	58	9
PL	62	6
SK	53	13

Table X
Post-communist nostalgia
Fall of communism

Country	Good	Bad
CZ	81	16
HU	62	20
PL	74	13
SK	67	24

Table XI
Better life
Before 1989 or now?

Country	Before	Now
CZ	64	22
HU	35	34
PL	70	16
SK	35	41

Globsec Trends (2018), 'Central Europe: One region, different perspectives', <https://www.globsec.org/publications/globsec-trends-2018-central-europe-one-region-different-perspectives/>.

IRI (International Republican Institute)

Table XII
Public opinion in V4 in 2017 (IRI)

Country	Direction	Future	Stability/change
CZ	53, 45	43, 57	60, 39
HU	38, 50	26, 74	46, 49
PL	31, 57	25, 75	43, 53
SK	40, 59	33, 67	46, 53

Your country is heading in: (1) right direction, (2) wrong direction
 Young people have a good future in your country: (1) yes, (2) no
 What is needed in your country: (1) stability, (2) change

Table XIII
Political perceptions in V4 in 2017 (IRI)

Country	Government	Party	System
CZ	23	38	39
HU	39	23	38
PL	45	31	19
SK	32	28	40

The character of change in your country: Government – change of government to the opposition party, Party – change of party leadership to a new elite, System – new systemic change

Table XIV
Perceptions about the present in V4 in 2017 (IRI)

Country	Dem	More Dem	Prosperity	More Prosper
CZ	23	26	31	20
HU	24	30	32	14
PL	20	31	29	11
SK	21	26	28	26

Your preference: Dem – democracy, More Dem – somewhat more democracy, Prosperity – prosperity, More Prosper – somewhat more prosperity

Table XV
Effects of globalization in V4 in 2017 (IRI)

Country	Hurt-1	Hurt-2	Benefited-1	Benefited-2
CZ	8	38	48	6
HU	11	43	41	5
PL	6	25	37	5
SK	8	38	48	6

Effects of globalization: Hurt-1 – hurt a lot, Hurt-2 – hurt somewhat, Benefited-1 – benefited somewhat, Benefited-2 – benefited a lot

Table XVI
Perceptions about the future in V4 in 2017 (IRI)

Country	Stability	Change	Continuity	Reform
CZ	53	46	33	62
HU	54	37	33	52
PL	59	33	46	40
SK	58	41	40	57

What is needed in the EU: Stability – stability, Change – change; Opinions on the European Project: Continuity – to be continued, Reform – to be renewed

IRI (International Republican Institute) (2017), 'Public opinion in V4', https://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/four_country_full_presentation_may_24_2017.pdf.

Gallup, 2017

Table XVII
Syrian refugees not welcome in Eastern Europe

Country	Full	Partly	Not
CZ	2	34	56
HU	3	22	70
PL	2	42	50
SK	1	32	61

Full – should accept all Syrian refugees, Partly – should accept only a limited number of refugees, Not – should not accept any refugees

Gallup (2017), 'Syrian refugees not welcome in Eastern Europe', <https://news.gallup.com/poll/209828/syrian-refugees-not-welcome-eastern-europe.aspx>.

Notre Europe Institute

Table XVIII
Public opinion and the EU in the Visegrad countries, 2018
Feelings about immigration

Country	Positive	Negative
CZ	15	81
HU	19	77
PL	24	68
SK	18	77

Positive and negative feelings in %

Debomy, Daniel (2018), 'Public opinion and the European Union in the Visegrad countries', Notre Europe Institute, <http://institutdelors.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/PublicOpinionsVisegradCountries-Debomy-April18.pdf>.