Culture and Economy Aspects of the Spheres of the Society

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Abstract

In the course of my research I conducted at the Doctoral School of the Hungarian University of Agriculture and Life Sciences (MATE), I examined the role of feelings, emotions, attitudes, and motivations in respect of economic processes and decisions. Within this in connection with the cultural relationships of development, I looked for the answer to the following question. If the economic development level of countries (groups of countries) is different from each other, up to what extent we may consider the differences as having been determined by the cultural nature of the economy.

Studying the literature and especially the work of János Kornai (1999,2022) highlighted that it is not sufficient to investigate only the area of culture for differentiating the environmental impacts, but it is also necessary to explore additional elements of the societal system (politics, economics, culture, ideology). Therefore, in our own research, we review the responses that are given by the theoretical approaches from the aspect of the spheres of the society.

1. Introduction

In the nineties, the post-socialist countries of our region adopted developed institutions from the developed countries and adapted them, as it applies to some elements of the democratic system and the institutions of market economy and mixed economy. Acknowledging the direction and depth of the changes, it can still be seen that the import of institutions has not generally resulted in the keenly awaited catch-up in the field of economy and democracy. As time passes, it may become increasingly clear that the gap cannot simply be ascribed to being a problem of growth. The changes cover a considerable part of the political and social sphere and all this has an impact on the everyday life and future prospects of individuals; therefore, they call for an analysis from a broader perspective. (Muraközy, 2012)

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With over three decades after the change of the system we may ask the question whether the post-socialist member states of EU are becoming closer to some kind of already existing market economy model, or they have common traits on the basis of which they constitute a more recent model, or they constitute as they are several models? (Farkas, 2017)

In addition to the results of the new institutional economics, we examine the issue from the perspective of political economy theories and international management research, so we formulate the following research questions:

1. When we analyse the political sphere from the aspect of political economics, we try to find with what do the complementing or rivalling theories explain the development of the different welfare states?
2. When we approach the economic sphere from the aspect of the new institutional economics, how do the analyses of the trends of the variants of capitalism (VoC) determine the situation of the East-Central European countries?
3. When we overview the cultural sphere on the basis of international comparisons, by selecting a few culture maps, we are curious to know where are the East-Central European countries located on these maps?
4. From ideological side we cover the group-forming features of religion and the impact of secularisation.

The primary objective of our study is to briefly introduce what are the similarities, differences, and interactions that can be found between the aspects of the different areas of science. We point out the trends and the tendencies.

2. Review of scientific literature

2.1 The welfare states and the four political economic theories

The welfare state is the product of modern capitalism. It evolved in the course of the process of industrialisation with the purpose of mitigating the societal differences and the market risks that occurred as a consequence of the capitalist production method. (Gedeon, 2011) The expression „welfare state" appeared for the first time during World War II, in the United Kingdom. (Weir, 2001)

In our days, the welfare states face fiscal and demographic crises of different extents; therefore, they are forced to reduce the subsidies they provide. The population becoming increasingly old produces a shift in the social systems, the number of people paying to the budget decrease, the industrialisation and the "euro sclerosis" resulted in a high level of unemployment, and the labour market was transformed by the increasing ratio of the atypical employment forms and the entry of women on mass scale into the labour market. (Moore, 2001)

According to the work of Esping-Andersen (1990), the three worlds of welfare capitalism are one of the most frequently applied initial points of social society research. This standardisation is based on the classification made by Max Weber (1949/2011), which is applied, supplemented, or criticized on a wide scale. (Orosz, 2019)

The welfare state grouping of Esping-Andersen is the following:

- liberal (residual),
- conservative (corporative) and
- social democrat (universal) (Esping-Andersen, 1991; quoted Andersen (2012)

The Figure 1. illustrates the three types of welfare states. The shown types are ideal and "pure" types, theoretical constructions; they introduce the basic concepts and operation mechanisms of the welfare principles. They serve as the measure for describing the actual welfare systems, and they do not appear in their pure form in life. (Andersen 2012)

Figure 1. Three welfare models: Corporatist, Universal and Residual

Mandatory social insurance Financed by social contributions Typically for employed manual workers	Support for the poor Typically tax financed For all citizens, but only according to need	
Gradually extended to all social groups at the labour market	Gradually extended to all citizens	Still targeted the poor. Means-tested
CORPORATIST MODEL (conservative model; Bismarck-model; Social insurance model; Performance-achievement model)	UNIVERSAL MODEL (social democratic model; institutional model)	RESIDUAL MODEL (liberal model)
"People's insurance" Redistribution from everybody to everybody High taxes		"Protection against poverty" Means-tested support Low taxes
Rights based on contributions	Rights based on citizenship	Rights based on need
Benefits according to contributions Security according to social status	Equality as citizens	Safety net for the poor

Source: own editing based on Andersen (2012, p.7.)

The liberal welfare state redivides only a relatively little part of the resources of the tax revenues, it supports those in need, the person not in need may protect themselves against the market risks with private contracts, the state with this method sustains the dualism of the welfare system. The social democratic welfare state provides for its citizens social benefits at a high level on the basis of automatic rights, it redistributes relatively many resources, by this it reduces societal inequalities. The conservative welfare state ties its benefits to employment; it reproduces the societal inequalities, in connection with employment, based on the impact on societal inequalities it may be positioned in between the liberal and the social democratic welfare states. (Gedeon, 2011) If we interpret the welfare state as an insurance construction, then the welfare systems may also be differentiated on the basis of risk coverage and risk division, 1999, Andersen, 2012, p. 13.)

Table 1. Welfare Regimes as Models of Social Insurance

		Risk Coverage=Scope	
		Broad	Narrow
Risk pooling	High	Universal/Social Dem.	X
	Low	Corporatist/Conservative	Residual/Liberal

Based on Andersen, 2012, p.13.

The welfare mixed economy is a relatively new concept; it may be tied to the name of Powell (2007). It is a classical viewpoint, which was already also manifested by the regime theory of Esping-Andersen (1999). According to this approach, welfare is achieved with some combination of the "welfare triangle" of the state, market and family. Voluntary activities (civil organisations, societies) represent the fourth welfare producing factor; occasionally they take this also into consideration, and thus the triangle becomes a "'welfare diamond". (Andersen, 2012, p. 14.)

The four political economic theories represent different viewpoints, but they are connected by the causal relationship that was deduced between the societal coalitions and the welfare regimes. (Gedeon, 2011).

* The thesis of power resources (Power Resource Thesis (PRT))
* The theory of coalitions between the classes
* The theory of the Varieties of Capitalism – VoC
* Theory of political institutional influence

PRT: Esping-Andersen (1991) differentiate the types of the welfare states on the basis of decommodification. According to their opinion, the type of the welfare state defines the levels of decommodification. Decommodification appears when a worker who does not rely on the market is able to sustain himself. This reduces the supremacy of the employers; for this reason decommodification does not serve the interests of the employers. The impact of decommodification depends

on the strength of the employees. The liberal state is the lowest level of the residual welfare state, while the social democratic state represents its top level, and the conservative one is between the two. (Gedeon, 2011).

The theory of coalitions between the classes: According to Swenson, the theory of power resources does not explain the development of the welfare state, because according to the equivalency thesis the interests of the similar classes are the same in the different countries. „Therefore the differences of the regimes of welfare states may be deduced not from the power relations between the homogeneous classes, but from the differences of the inter-class coalitions of the employers (capitalists) and the employees (workers)." The welfare state has the market regulating and the redistributing functions simultaneously (Gedeon, 2011, p. 12.)

VoC: similarly to the inter-class coalitions theory, it relates the changes of the welfare state to the labour market schemes. The welfare state is the response given to the labour market failures. According to Estevez-Abe, Iversen and Soskice, (2001): „the failure of the market is connected to the stimulation of investment in human capital: the employees undertake the cost of training leading to specific knowledge only if the welfare state ensures the usability of the acquired qualification." The qualification may be: „ (1) firm-specific, (2) industry-specific, and (3) general". (Gedeon, 2011, p. 18.)

The welfare state promises protection against the employers. The VoC theory differentiates four welfare regimes, the purely enterprise-specific education is outside the Esping-Andersen-type typology. The all-around explanation of the VoC school is pointed on by McCarty and Pontusson, according to the theory the social policy justifies the investment into acquiring the specific skills, and investment into the specific knowledge explains the social policy, due to its all-around nature, it cannot be considered a causal explanation, for this reason we have to return to the role of the power relations between the classes and the government, which is the central topic of PRT. (Gedeon, 2011).

According to the theory of political institution influence, the different political configurations lead to different outputs, phrasing it otherwise, the different election systems support different regimes. The representation of the parties covers the classes or coalitions. Coalitions may be signed by three societal classes: the poor people (with low income), the medium class (of medium income), and the rich people (of high income). According to Iversen and Soskice, (2006, p. 167), in the course of the democratic redistribution the poor people always win, the medium class gets more than the rich people, but still wins less than the poor people. According to the authors this may be also supported empirically. (Gedeon, 2011),

2.2 Cultural economics

Cultural attitudes have a role in the economic performance of the individual countries, by determining the efficiency of resource utilisation, they influence it indirectly. Cultural attitude was identified by Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Karl Marx mostly with diligence, saving, hard working, ambitions due to the desire of having a better life, respecting properties, observing and the enforceability of the contract, inventiveness. (Samuelson, 2010)

The work of Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) has already a science historical significance by today. It provides the critical summary of the early culture-related terms and concepts. The authors collected more than 160 culture-related terms and they sorted them under nine categories. In their analysis, culture-based on its group forming properties - may mean 1) lifestyle; 2) the societal/cultural heritage taken over from the previous generation; 3) the specific method of thinking that is defined by culture; 4) the behavioural patterns that are characteristic of the society or its defined group; 5) common experiences, adventures; 6) behavioural acquired during socialisation; 7) characteristic conflict managing procedures; 8) mechanisms that regulate normative behaviour; 9) theories concerning the behaviour of the society set by the specific areas of science. (Bordás, 2019, Hargitai, 2021)

It reflects the continuous expansion of researches dealing with culture that Baldwin and his co-authors (2006) five decade later along the grouping of functions, processes, and structures already identified more than 300 culture definitions. (Bordás, 2019)

When understanding the cultures – from the aspect of inter-cultural communication – not the term of culture has a primary role, but the concept that represents the basis of inter-cultural communication that may be deducted from the cultural differences. (Bordás, 2019)

Hargitai raises our attention to the fact that in the scientific sense, culture is a depicting type of topic, each people, each society, social group has a culture, which is manifested among others in the language, in rites, in attires, and in the religion, thus the valuating concept of culture – the contra-positioning of high and primitive cultures - is lost. (Hargitai, 2021)

2.3 Ideology

The new psychological setup of modern people develops continuously; the development is significantly outstanding in the renaissance, it obtained a clearer outlines during the period of the scientific revolution, then it became spread and stabilized in the age of Enlightenment. By the nineteenth century – upon the pressure of the democratic revolutions and the industrial revolution – it existed

already in its matured form. The development of the features of modern men reflects the gradual and then rather radical turning away of the human psyche from its loyalty to God and turning towards loyalty to men, an evolution turning away from afterlife and turning towards mundane, from transcendent to the empirical, from belief towards rationality and facts, from the universal to the nature, from a sinful, lost mankind towards a progressing mankind. (Tarnas, 1991)

It is important to mention the relationship of modern men with secularization and rationality. Systematic, critical thinking, and independent judgement are characteristic of modern thinking, which already could not be reconciled with belief in divine revelations and with absolute obedience to the provisions of the church hierarchy. The autonomous individual opinion forming is the pragmatic manifestation of the works of Luther, Galilei, and Descartes, continuing the Medieval Age practice - bowing intellectually in front of Aristotle and the Church - became increasingly impossible. The modern men endeavours to achieve intellectual independence, and they become increasingly mature. The modern Western thinking looks for the sources of everything instead of the previously accepted authority, in the results of our age, in consciousness and self-consciousness based on experience. It obtained power through modern consciousness becoming an authority. (Tarnas, 1991)

In spite of secularisation often they attribute a very important role to religion (Weber, 2003); among others, they explain with this the backlog of the countries of the Catholic South-European and Latin America compared to the Protestant North-Europe and North America.

Huntington, the author of the book titled "The clash of the civilizations and the new world order" tries to overview the development of the world policy after the cold war. It was declared that this work was not prepared as a social science work. Its central thought was that one of the deepest conflicts appearing in the world develops between people that belong to different cultures, the interests of the state and their appropriate associations are formed by the cultural differences. (Huntington, 1998)

3   Material and method

According to a basic principle of the comparative methodology, no matter what factor we examine, in order to place it into its relationships, we have to examine its social, economic environment, since it is difficult to judge anything by itself, let it be a topic that involves a micro or macro area. Comparison may be spatial (region, country, international), but we may not disregard the time dimension either. The science of today on one side progresses towards specialisation; however, on the other side an increasing demand appears for cooperation between

the areas of science, for examining the topic from economical, sociological, psychological, historical, or political aspects. (Muraközy, 2015)

Often applied and accepted methodological approach to the analysis of the welfare state regime types, (Seeleib, Kaiser, 2011).

Based on North (2005), we see institutions as defining the rules of the game for the actors, i.e. both limitations and opportunities. Individuals and organizations shape, interpret, and perceive their opportunities through the acquired skills and knowledge. Actors with different cultural backgrounds and experiences evaluate the facts differently, and this affects their decisions.

It is conceivable that under the assumption of limited rationality and path dependence, development does not lead to a state of equilibrium. Acceptance of path dependence does not mean determination, but the limitation of choices and the fact that changes are evolutionary and occur gradually. (Farkas, 2017)

In general, it can be said about international institutional comparisons that, for the sake of measurability, the existence of differences is mapped through various indicators. The selected indicators are mostly subsystems of endogenous growth theories: human capital, the system of education, innovation, regulation of the market of products, the financial system, and welfare benefits. The relationship of economic growth and the various subsystems has been confirmed by a wealth of research. Uncertainty cannot be ruled out in selecting the institutions included in market economy modelling, irrespective of whether they apply the mainstream economic growth theories or an approach rooted in sociology. (Farkas, 2017)

4 The results of empirical research and discussion

4.1 The welfare state grouping of Hicks and Esping-Andersen

The work of Andersen refers to another differentiation of the types of the welfare states, according which de-familization will continue to remain a standard dimension. The supporting of the families having double earnings is characteristic in the case of the universalist welfare states. The other welfare states do support less this setup. In the case of the corporative welfare states, there are several solutions outlined; they have moved from resistance against change towards neutrality or active support. However, the social care sector remained characteristically smaller than in the Scandinavian countries. (Andersen, 2012)

Hicks, Esping-Andersen (2005) summarised the three types of the welfare state and their properties in the following table.

Table 2. The three types of welfare states

Properties of the regime	Regimes		
	Liberal	Conservative	Social democrat
Population covered	Selective	Employees	Universal
Welfare role of the market	Strong	Weak	Weak
Targeted population	Poor	(men) employees	Each citizen
Decommodification	Weak	Medium	Strong
De-familization	Weak	Weak	Strong
(Re-commodification	Medium	Weak	Strong
Redistribution	Weak	Weak	Strong
Decreasing poverty	Low	Medium	Significant

Source: based on Hicks and Esping-Andersen, (2005 p. 513) and Gedeon, 2011 p. 8.)

Northern countries rather follow the universal model; the continental European welfare states do stick to the corporative model; while the Anglo-Saxon welfare states we classify under the residual model. Ferrera (1996) mentions that the South-European model is sometimes introduced as a separate regime, and sometimes they introduce it as a sub-type of corporativism. (Andersen, 2012)

4.2 Institutional economics and the Varieties of Capitalism (VoC)

They consider the writings of Hall and Soskice of year 2001 to be the starter of the VoC trend, the dual standardisation of their research: a) liberal (on the basis of the example of the USA) and b) co-ordinated market economy (based on the example of Germany). The primary critics of this typology is the fact that the Mediterranean countries do not fit into this grouping. In the study of Hall and Gingerlich (2004) the Southern states got a separate name, and they refer to them as a mixed market economy model. On the basis of the plural standardisation of Amable (2003) capitalism has 5 models: a) market-based, b) social democratic, c) continental Europe, d) Mediterranean, e) Asian. The first four models may be found among the EU member states. (Farkas, 2018)

A number of other authors use the four-type based division; the study of Sapir (2006) is the most often referred study: it uses the names of a) Anglo-Saxon, b) Nordic, c) continental European and d) Mediterranean. (Sapir, 2006)

In the years of the 2000 millennium, some of the researchers identified the post-socialist countries also with these models or assumed that in the future this will be the direction of their development. In the cluster analysis of Berrou and Carrincazeaux (2005), the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary are near to the Mediterranean countries. Buchen (2007) identified the institution system of Estonia and Slovenia with the Central and East European manifestation of the liberal and coordinated market economy. According to Blanke and Hoffman (2008) the Baltic states follow the liberal model, while the Czech Republic, Poland,

Hungary and Slovenia follow the model of the co-ordinated market economy. (Farkas, 2018)

Another group of researchers (Cernat, 2006; King, 2007) did not find these standardisations to be appropriate. Nölke and Vliegenhart (2009) named the Visegrád countries as depending market economics existing in the frameworks of VoC, deriving it from the decisive role foreign capital plays in the case of these countries. According to the intermediate solution of Scheikert and his author partners (2013), the East-European countries have the following two sub-groups a.) liberal and b) co-ordinated market economy. According to Bohle and Greskovits (2007), three variants evolved after the collapsing of the socialist system in Central and Eastern Europe: a) the purely neoliberal type in the Baltic states, b) an „embedded" neoliberal type in the Visegrád countries, and the c) neo-corporatist system in Slovenia. (Farkas, 2018)

An increasing number of researches study whether the East-Central-European countries form a separate model. Based on the empirical studies of Orosz (2019) carried out between 1995 and 1997, the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), and Bulgaria formed an independent cluster, Romania displays a deviation in the respect of many variables; however, it is most similar to this cluster. The Baltic countries set the target to increase employment and decrease poverty. (Toots-Bachmann, 2010) In Bulgaria and Romania the development of the welfare systems started later than in the other transitional countries; it started in the second half of the 1990s. Their transition is also called as „two-step democratic transition". (Sotiropoulos et al., 2003) In this period Slovenia was introduced into the continental cluster, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia also mostly belonged here, although in the case of the latter country there is a bigger distance. Hungary and Poland seem to be similar along the examined dimensions to Ireland, Croatia, and Portugal. (Orosz, 2019)

According to the second half of the research, carried out between 2014 and 2015, the forming of the East-Central European cluster started. There are differences within the cluster between the Baltic and the Balkan countries, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and Croatia, this may be decisively attributed to their response reactions that were given to the crisis of 2008-2009. (Orosz, 2019)

Based on the investigations of the 25 member states of the EU, Farkas also obtained a similar result in connection with the situation of the East-Central-European Countries compared to the situation of the old member states, „the clusters altogether and essentially correspond to the four models, which crystallised from the old member states of the EU according to the literature that does not follow the dual standardisation … and which … have to be supplemented with the Central and East European Model." (Farkas, 2017)

Table 3. The common clusters of the 25 member states of the EU

North-West cluster	Austria, Belgium, Denmark, United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, Ireland, Germany
Mediterranean cluster	Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain
Nordic cluster	Finland, Luxemburg, Sweden
Central and East European cluster	Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia

Source: Farkas (2017)

4.3 Clusters of cultural approaches

The most comprehensive empirical methodologies covering the entire world are connected to the names of Ronen–Shenkar, GLOBE, Hofstede, Triandis, Mintzberg, Trompenaars, Hall and Lewis. We will highlight three groupings from these methodologies.

The study of Ronen and Shenkar (1985) that played a determining role for a long time summarised and synthetised the cultural cluster-forming results that were published until the time when the article was written. They found the following cultural country groups with respect to Europe:

- English cluster: Great Britain, Ireland, the Netherlands;
- Scandinavian cluster: Denmark, Finland, Sweden;
- German cluster: Austria, Germany, Switzerland;
- Latin-European cluster: Belgium, France, Italy, Portugal, Spain;
- Middle East cluster: Greece, Turkey. (Blahó, Czakó, Poor, 2021).

„The basis of classifying the countries into groups in addition to their geographical vicinity (e.g. the Scandinavian cluster) are the language (e.g.: in the German cluster the German) or the belonging to the same language group (e.g.: the countries of the Latin-European cluster) and religion (e.g.: in the case of the Latin countries the Catholic religion is the determining religion)." (Bakacsi, Sarkadi-Nagy, 2003)

The GLOBE (Global Leadership and Organizational Behaviour Effectiveness) was a comparative culture and leadership research covering 61 countries. Based on the cluster grouping of the European countries, they concluded that Hungary shows a strong similarity in respect of the leadership characteristics to the Latin countries of Europe (Spain, Portugal, and Italy). It is in the same group as Poland and Slovenia, while the Czech Republic forms a separate cluster. (Bakacsi, Sarkadi-Nagy, 2003)

According to Inglehart, in the developing and developed societies of the world, there are world view changes taking place, which exert their impact on the level of

the values. Inglehart and Welzel, for the purpose of illustrating the cultural differences recommended two dimensions: a) Survival vs self-expression, b) tradition vs. secularism-rationality. These dimensions cross each other, and they form a two-dimensional space, in which the different countries of the world may be placed according to their scores. This allows the creation of the cultural maps of the world changing by time, and it illustrates the different countries of the world and their cultural evolution. (Inglehart et al. 2014) (It is possible to view the visualization of the changes on the website of WVS).

"Survival" means the need for economic and physical security. These cultures are uncertain in respect of the novelties and the changes. In the case of „self-expression" the emphasis is on welfare and the quality of life: security is the part of the everydays, the members of the culture consider its existence to be natural, they accept the differences and the changes. Religion, family, and authority are the most important values in the case of the „traditional" cultures, while for the „secular-rational" cultures these elements have little significance. (Inglehart et al. 2014)

The research results of the World Cultural Map - A World Value Survey published in 1996 make it clearly visible where is the place of the post-socialist countries on the world map. (Inglehart et al. (2014))

Figure 2. World Value Survay – World Cultural Map (1996)
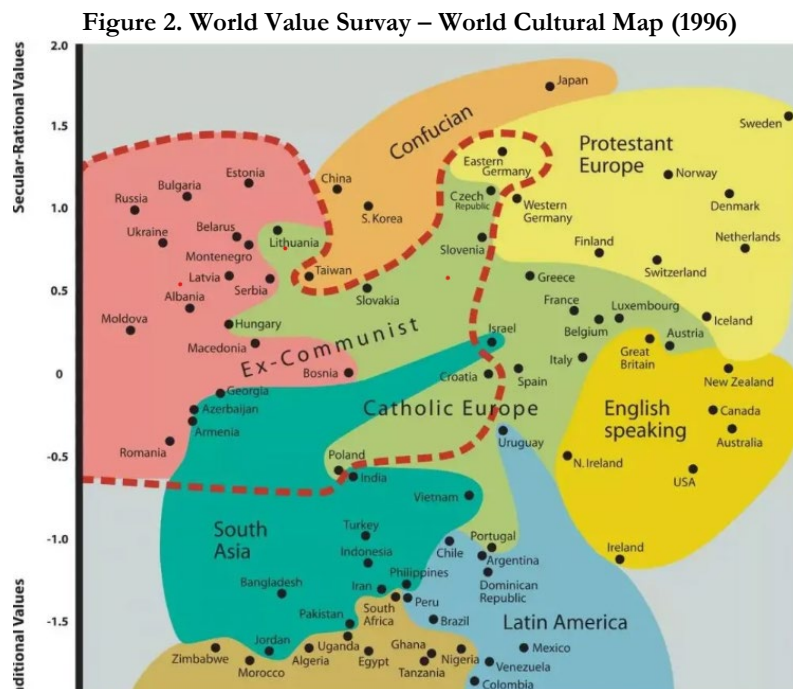
Source: WVS Database (worldvaluessurvey.org

The research results of the World Cultural Map - World Value Survey published in 2022 illustrate the changes that took place during the close to three decades that went by.

Figure 3. World Value Survay – World Cultural Map (2022)
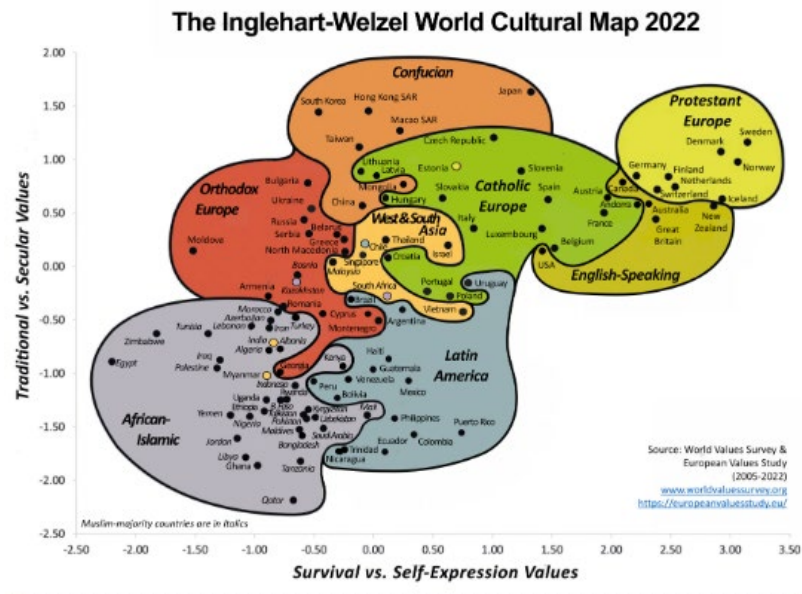
Source: WVS Database (worldvaluessurvey.org

The primary advantage of the Inglehart-Welzel model is its relative simplicity and its ability to represent the cultural evolution of the world taking into consideration the cultures as dynamic elements. The WVS-approach may be criticised from ideological aspect because it reflects a West oriented world view. It is true the more the scores a country approach the "self-expression" and the "secular rationality" poles, they are depicted more like a "developed" country, the development is therefore based on criteria that are valued by the West. (Pastorelli, 2021)

4.4 Ideological groupings

According to Huntington, the current issues of world policy may be traced back to civilisation differences; however, the (political, economic) patterns determining development are different by civilisations. He also reviews the views concerning the future of the world: the paradigms of one world, two worlds, the realistic and the complete chaos, and finally he concludes that with keeping some elements of the paradigms, we may speak about seven or eight main civilisations after the cold

war: Chinese (Confucian), Japanese (Shintoism), Indian (Hindu), Islamic, Western, Orthodox, Latin-American, and African (this latter one as a consequence of colonialisation may also be considered as a part of the West.) (Huntington, 1998)

5   Conclusion

The four political economic theories (Power Resources Thesis, The theory of coalitions between the classes, The theory of the Varieties of Capitalism, The theory of political institutional influence) represent different viewpoints, but they are connected by the causal relationship that was deduced between the societal coalitions and the welfare regimes. (Gedeon, 2011)

Table 4. Deduction of the entire causal chain of the theories

Names of the theories	The process of the creation and the depiction of the entire causal chain						
Power Resources Thesis (PRT)	➡	Social coalitions	➡		Political character of the government	➡	Welfare regime
The theory of coalitions between the classes	➡	Labour market regime	➡		Social coalitions	➡	Welfare regime
The theory of the Varieties of Capitalism (VoC) school	➡	Labour market regime	➡	Social coalitions, median voter	➡	Political character of the government	➡ Welfare regime
The theory of political institutional influence	➡	Institutional specialties of the election system	➡	Social coalition	➡	Political character of the government	➡ Welfare regime

Own editing based on Gedeon (2011)

McCarty és Pontusson rámutat arra, hogy a VoC oksági lánca esetében a szociálpolitika és a specifikus készségek megszerzésébe való beruházás közötti összefüggés nem lehet oksági, mert a hivatkozás körkörös, a változók egymást magyarázzák. Az oksági magyarázat létrejöttéhez vissza kell nyúlni a PRT-hez, vagyis az osztályok közötti erőviszonyok és a kormányzat politikai jellege magyarázhatja a jóléti állami rezsimek közötti eltérések okait, és ezzel indokolható, hogy a munkások miért ruháznak be a különböző készségek megszerzésébe (McCarty és Pontusson, 2009: 12 in Gedeon, 2011. p. 19-20.)

„The specific types are basically different in their impact on the societal layers, and in the background of the difference of this impact there are the different institutional specialties and financing methods of the welfare state." (Gedeon, 2011, p. 8.)

The theoretical approaches to political economics (Power Resource Thesis) differentiate three types of the welfare regimes: liberal, conservative, and social democrat. This triad grouping is not completely sufficient, for this reason they introduced the South European models as a separate regime, or as the sub-type of the corporate model.

The empirical researches of the trend of the Variants of Capitalism (VoC) present the difficulties that occur in connection with the analysis of the countries involved in the transition. A group of the researchers assumed that the development trend and the model of the post-socialist countries will be the same as those of the old member states of the EU, while others were looking for new trends. The researches highlighted that some countries (e.g.: the Czech Republic and Slovakia) got into the continental cluster in the beginning years of the second millennium, while Romania and Bulgaria as a result of their two-step transition formed a separate cluster, however, this status proved to be only transitional. It seems that the similar responses given to the economic crisis brought back the old vs. new setup, several researchers agree that the transitional countries are in a separate, Central and Eastern European cluster.

„The history of system changes in Central and Eastern Europe is a good example of North's (1990) statement that even radical changes deepen later, because the deeply rooted cultural heritage and the resulting informal constraints adapt only slowly to the radical and rapid formal changes." (Farkas, 2017)

The international culture researches introduce the specific clusters in addition to introducing them on culture maps, along the different cultural dimensions and/or geographical vicinity, also based on languages or language groups and religious matching. The cultural cluster definition of Ronen and Shenkar has many similarities to the Sapir type mixed four-pole arrangement referring to the old member states of the VoC trend and with European welfare states model. The researches of WVS illustrate well - based on the dynamic nature of culture - the cultural evolution of the world.

Table 4. Research related the social spheres

Welfare regimes (Political economics)	European welfare states (Power Resource Thesis)	Sapir – VoC – most often referred	Ronen and Shenkar Cultural cluster
Liberal (residual) model	Anglo-Saxon	Anglo-Saxon	English cluster
Conservative (universal) model	Northern countries	Nordic	Scandinavian cluster
Social democrat (corporatist) model	Continental European states	Continental European	German cluster
Separate or Social democrat (corporatist model)	South European states	Mediterranean	Latin European cluster and Greece in Middle East cluster

Source: Own editing

Inglehart warns that culture goes through significant changes; for this reason in the course of the comparative analysis of the countries, in addition to the spatial dimension, an outstanding attention has to be also paid to the time factor.

The ideological side demonstrates the new psychological setup of modern men, who upon the impact of the democratic and industrial revolutions turned away from God, and systematic, critical thinking, independent judgement became the main characteristics of modern thinking, supplemented with rational thinking, although in connection with this latter aspect we may mention the limited rationality of Herbert and the works of the representatives of behavioural economics (Kahneman, Thaler), but this scope of issues is beyond the subject of this study of ours. While Marx ties the progress of history to class conflicts and class fights, according to Huntington the development of world policy is represented by the conflicts between people that belong to different cultures, and the civilizational differences, the patterns determining development are different by civilisations.

Our current research provides the basis for the theoretical background of future research into the culture of institutions and the economy, which is a point of reference for the preparation of our own empirical research into culture (cluster analysis). The results of cluster analysis will be compared with the theories referred to and empirical research. From the statistical groupings, we can also show informal institutional and cultural similarities. Analyses of the time horizon from the 1990s to the present day are available; thus, it is possible to filter out the effect of the 2008/2009 crisis or the COVID-19 epidemic resulting in permanent or temporary changes in the performance of the EU member states, and previous research will help in classifying such performance.

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