

The Meanings of the Community and of the Individual in Slovakia and in Scotland

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper was to examine meanings of the terms 'individual', 'the community' and 'local community' in Slovakia and Scotland. The social, cultural, political and economic histories of these two small European nations are quite different. Slovakia is one of the post-communist countries in which rapid changes have recently taken place. In contrast, Scotland has enjoyed a relatively stable parliamentary democracy within the UK. Two groups of respondents, 200 from Slovakia and 200 from Scotland, were presented with a word association task which included 38 political and economic terms and with two scales containing the same list of terms. They rated phenomena referring to these terms with respect to their importance for the well-being of the individual and to the well-being of the community. The results suggest that for Scots but not for Slovaks, the term 'local community' evokes positive associations and that local community is a meaningful concept. The data suggest that local attachments and loyalties were destroyed in Slovakia during communism. (© 1997 by John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.)

Key words: community; local community; the individual; Slovakia; Scotland; democracy; totalitarianism

THE COLLECTIVE, THE COMMUNITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

It is trite to say that lay understanding and images of the individual and of society are embedded in cultural, ideological and personal experiences. Yet, any attempt to go beyond this 'obvious truth' draws the social scientist into an intricate web of semantic, conceptual and empirical complexities. For example, how are lay images of

the individual, the collective and the community embedded in cultures and in ideologies? (Farr, 1991). Are they interrelated in the same way on different sides of the former Iron Curtain? Are they linked to other co-existing political and economic issues? What constraints are imposed on the data when language is used to explore these images? These are big issues and the present paper does little more than scratch the surface.

Marxist collectivism

In Slovakia, as in all countries of the former Soviet bloc, the official ideology between 1948 and 1989 was based on the Marxist notion of collectivism. In contrast to many other forms of collectivism, an essential characteristic of Marxist collectivism was that it dissociated itself from the histories and traditions of the peoples who were supposed to become part of those new collectives. Only the masses are assumed to be the decisive political force that will shape the course of history and establish a just and fair system for all. It is the masses who instinctively distinguish right from wrong: they are the creators of history.

According to Lenin, when the masses are led by the Party, they can achieve miracles (Základy Marxismu Leninismu, 1961). In practice this meant that there was only one wisdom—that of the masses; and only one truth—that of the Party. As Arendt (1967, p. 249) commented, the Marxist theory of the proletariat as the saviour of humankind was vulgarized by the bolshevist agitators: 'These men began to tell the mob that each of its members . . . would automatically be the very incarnation of Loyalty, Generosity, Courage'. This ideology divided the world into simple dichotomies: friends of the people and enemies of the people; those who were for peace and those who waged war; there were workers and there was the bourgeoisie; things were either good or bad and there could be no compromises. The interests of the individual were unquestionably subordinated to those of the collective.

Slav identity

Culturally, the bolshevist definition of the collective was quite alien to Central European nations. For example, Slavs were traditionally characterized as having a high sense of communitarism with strong democratic aspirations and belongingness (e.g. Herder, 1967, volume 14, p. 280; Masaryk, 1895/1924, p. 229, 1898/1946, p. 285; Havel, 1992).

Communities, in contrast to Marxist collectives, have their histories, both in their happiness and in their sorrow. They have collective memories and their own community heroes. They have specific moral convictions which are enforced from within and strictly observed. These are embedded not only in language but also in other symbolic forms. For example, amongst a number of other functions served by national costumes is a sociosexual one with a high moral meaning.

A Moravian writer and dissident, Milan Šimečka, who lived most of his life in Slovakia, explained how, as a young man, he was attracted to the Party. There was a feeling of community, a 'sense of like-mindedness'. It was a need to be with those people who, for him, were part of the community:

When not studying, that community spent all its time in discussions and meetings, practising criticism and self-criticism . . . I now know that this old-fashioned Communist-style community was a very exclusive one. In a way it was a sect . . . like the utopian communes (Šimečka, 1984, p. 45).

Since communities have grown from loyalties to past traditions and moralities, the affiliation of individuals to those communities posed a threat to the creation of an anonymous, uniform and Marxist type of collective. Breaking up communities and creating collectives required some focused strategies. Šimečka described how, later, his own political community changed and finally vanished. Some people emigrated and became engaged in cataloguing the faults of Marxism; others were imprisoned; still others were only allowed to do manual work and their children were forbidden, for political reasons, to study at University. Only one member of the original community became Regional Party Secretary and remained in that position.

Destruction of local communities

Concerning local communities, there were two major ways in which they were destroyed. First, secret police skillfully developed networks of informers and assiduously fostered the impression of having total control over the local community. Interrogations of particular individuals were designed to undermine the standing of that individual in the eyes of his/her neighbours. This had a demoralizing effect on the whole community. It was advisable not to trust your neighbour; either the neighbour might be called for interrogation and mention your name in some context or other; or he/she might be part of the network of secret informers. Thus, uncertainty on the part of the public concerning their neighbours helped to maintain the regime.

The second way in which a sense of local community was destroyed was through a passive acceptance of the regime. In conforming to the demands (both written and unwritten) of the totalitarian collective, people actually strengthened it. Šimečka pointed out how he, like many others, was inclined to conform rather than to take an uncompromising moral stand:

I would employ words that were not my own, but the expression of a venial hypocrisy. . . . I would separate truth in general from specific truths, injustice in general from specific cases of injustice, violence in general from specific instances of violence. . . . In this way I evaded pointing the finger and shouting: 'The Emperor has no clothes!' (That has always been the riskiest course to take) (Šimečka, 1984, p. 143)

He continued to say that these attitudes only changed people who freely adopted them. People lived in an unreal world giving an impression of reality. The regime and its ideology were recycled by their own conduct because it was enough to be passively loyal and to behave in public *as if* one were in agreement.

The disappearance of traditional communities and the atomization of society due to mobility and industrialization has been a concern of social scientists in Western Europe and in the USA for decades. Anonymous aggregates of people who live together in large sprawling suburbs, having virtually nothing in common, having no common goal or ethical commitment (e.g. Riesman, 1950; Nisbet, 1962; Bellah *et al.*, 1985) replaced traditional communities. As early as 1840 Tocqueville argued that their petty interests and their neutrality made people conform to rules, constitute

uniform masses of individuals who are all equal and all alike, ready to be 'softened, bent and guided'; they rarely act but are constantly restrained from acting. Pressures to uniformity increase dramatically under the influence of the mass media of communication.

It thus appears that totalitarian collectivism and democratic individualism have some features in common. These include the isolation of individuals, loneliness and conformity. It is significant that Riesman's (1950) classic study of individualism was entitled *The Lonely Crowd*.

So far, relatively little is known about lay representations of totalitarian collectives, of communities and of individuals. The purpose of the present study, which was part of a large project investigating individualism in a period of rapid political and economic change, was to examine what meanings people in Slovakia, one of the post-communist countries in Central Europe, and in Scotland, a relatively stable parliamentary democracy, attached to terms such as 'the individual', 'community' and 'local community'.

SLOVAKIA AND SCOTLAND

Both Slovakia and Scotland have approximately five million inhabitants, a high proportion of whom live in cities, while mountainous areas, i.e. the Slovak Tatras and the Scottish Highlands, are sparsely populated. The dominant political orientation of the majority of people in both nations has traditionally been that of a welfare state, with socialist parties receiving a majority of the votes. Nationalism is a political issue in both countries.

Slovakia was for 300 years, until 1918, part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy whose collapse coincided with the end of the First World War. It then became part of the Czechoslovak Republic and enjoyed 20 years of democracy. This ended with the Nazi occupation when Slovakia became an independent state collaborating with the Nazi regime. After the Second World War, Slovakia once again became part of the Czechoslovak Republic which, after the communist coup in 1948, was incorporated into the Soviet bloc. Another 20 years passed and the gradual political and moral decay of the communist regime led to the Prague Spring of 1968 and its aftermath, the Soviet occupation, lasting a further 20 years. The revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe led to the collapse of the Soviet empire in 1989. Slovakia was part of the Czechoslovak Republic until December 1993 when it became an independent state.

Scotland was an independent state until 1707 when the Act of Union joined it together with England, thus abolishing separate parliaments for the two Kingdoms. The Act guaranteed that Scotland would retain certain of its fundamental and distinct institutions, such as education, the legal system, the Church of Scotland and local authorities. These institutions have retained a distinct Scottish identity to the present day.

The Scottish social structure has remained relatively homogeneous throughout the present century, thus preserving a strong sense of community. Informality and a sense of local identity are apparent even in large cities, in particular around Glasgow, and public services maintain a personalized and individual character (Kellas, 1989). The sense of community has often been associated with the romanticizing of Scottish

history (as, for example, in the novels of Sir Walter Scott), with national Scottish heroes and, in some areas, with clan identity (Budge and Urwin, 1966).

Scottish history, literature and the Scottish Renaissance of the early nineteenth century are prominent subjects of study in schools and at higher education institutions. Education has always played a very important role in passing on tradition and in the formation of national identity; the Scots have always prided themselves on having, in the past, more universities than the English. In contrast to England, emphasis is on general education, just as it is in Continental Europe. In contrast to the English middle class, most of the Scottish middle class send their children to state schools rather than to private schools.

METHOD

Participants

Two groups of respondents, 200 from Slovakia and 200 from Scotland, participated in the present study. Both the Slovak and Scottish respondents were selected from two age-groups, 18–23 and 40–45. The rationale for the choice of these two age-groups was to capture the following two Slovak generations: (a) the generation born around the time of the Communist takeover in Central and Eastern Europe and who entered into their adulthood during the events of the Prague Spring in 1968 and its aftermath, the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia; (b) the generation who grew up during the period of so-called 'normalization' which followed the Soviet occupation in 1968 and who entered adult life around the time of the collapse of communism in 1989. The Scottish sample were chosen to match these two generations of Slovaks.

In each generation, 100 respondents were male and 100 were female; 100 were educated to university entrance level and 100 had below university entrance education. The data were collected, in Slovakia, between February and May 1994, i.e. almost immediately after the split of Czechoslovakia into the Czech and Slovak Republics. In Scotland, data were collected between February and July 1994. The respondents completed the tasks in small groups of 5–10 people. Two kinds of data were collected. The participants were first presented with a word association task and they then completed two tasks involving rating scales.

Procedure

The word association task included 38 political and economic terms, each printed on a separate page of a booklet. Respondents were asked to note down, as quickly as possible, the first word that came into their minds in association with each stimulus word.

Having completed the word association task, the respondents were presented with two scales containing the same list of terms. They were asked, first, to evaluate, on a five-point scale from 'not at all important' to 'very important' (with higher scores indicating greater importance) the political and economic phenomena to which those terms referred. First, they rated these phenomena with respect to their importance for the well-being of the individual (Individual Scale). Second, they rated them with respect to their importance for the well-being of the community (Community Scale). The term 'the individual' was absent from the Individual Scale and the term 'community' was absent from the Community Scale, resulting in 37 terms in each of

the two scales. The terms used in this research were selected on the basis of several previous studies carried out in Slovakia and in Scotland (Fifková and Hrabovská, 1992; Marková, 1992; Plichtová and Svetonová, 1992; Moodie, Marková and Plichtová, 1995).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Local community and the individual: an analysis of word associations

Similarities and dissimilarities in word associations can be studied using various descriptive and quantitative approaches. In accordance with the aims of this study, we selected two approaches. The first is a *post hoc* content analysis of associations to the terms 'local community' and 'the individual'. The second type of analysis concerns whether these two terms are related to other political and economic terms included in the present study.

The local community. The data from the word association tasks were analysed by examining all responses given by the Slovaks and Scots to the term 'local community'. The procedure for the inclusion of an association was as follows. First, all associations occurring at least twice in each sample were selected for analysis. Eight mutually exclusive and exhaustive *post hoc* categories were then created. Second, all remaining associative responses that occurred once only were re-examined for possible inclusion in one of the eight categories. All remaining single responses were included in the category 'other'. Tables 1 and 2 show the frequency distribution of the associations for each of the two generations of Slovaks and Scots.

Table 1. Categories of response to the term 'local community' by the Scottish and the Slovak samples

| Category of response | 18–23 years | | | 40–45 years | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| | Slovak <i>n</i> = 100 | Scottish <i>n</i> = 100 | χ^2 | Slovak <i>n</i> = 100 | Scottish <i>n</i> = 100 | χ^2 |
| Missing | 15 | 4 | $\chi^2 = 5.81$ $p < 0.05$ | 13 | 2 | $\chi^2 = 7.21$ $p < 0.01$ |
| 1. Place name, street, village, town | 8 | 34 | $\chi^2 = 18.83$ $p < 0.001$ | 13 | 29 | $\chi^2 = 6.78$ $p < 0.01$ |
| 2. People, groups, society | 29 | 8 | $\chi^2 = 13.26$ $p < 0.001$ | 29 | 8 | $\chi^2 = 13.26$ $p < 0.001$ |
| 3. Friends, family, neighbours | 2 | 22 | $\chi^2 = 17.09$ $p < 0.001$ | 2 | 23 | $\chi^2 = 18.28$ $p < 0.001$ |
| 4. Closeness, togetherness | 3 | 14 | $\chi^2 = 6.42$ $p < 0.005$ | 3 | 12 | $\chi^2 = 4.61$ $p < 0.05$ |
| 5. Lost, gone, good, important | 2 | 1 | | 10 | 11 | |
| 6. Councils, services | 5 | 6 | | 3 | 6 | |
| 7. Negative, meaningless concept | 19 | 3 | $\chi^2 = 11.49$ $p < 0.001$ | 19 | 2 | $\chi^2 = 13.62$ $p < 0.001$ |
| 8. Religion, religious groups | 4 | 0 | | 0 | 0 | |
| Other | 13 | 8 | | 8 | 7 | |

Table 2. Categories of response to the term 'the individual' by the Scottish and the Slovak samples

| Category of response | 18–23 years | | | 40–45 years | | |
|---|--------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| | Slovak <i>n</i> = 100 | Scottish <i>n</i> = 100 | χ^2 | Slovak <i>n</i> = 100 | Scottish <i>n</i> = 100 | χ^2 |
| Missing | 3 | 3 | | 3 | 2 | |
| 1. Person, people, everybody | 45 | 21 | $\chi^2 = 11.96$ $p < 0.001$ | 53 | 26 | $\chi^2 = 14.14$ $p < 0.001$ |
| 2. Me, self, I | 13 | 42 | $\chi^2 = 19.66$ $p < 0.001$ | 8 | 42 | $\chi^2 = 29.04$ $p < 0.001$ |
| 3. Lonely, isolation | 22 | 6 | $\chi^2 = 9.01$ $p < 0.01$ | 17 | 2 | $\chi^2 = 11.39$ $p < 0.001$ |
| 4. Singular, one, small | 0 | 5 | | 0 | 0 | |
| 5. Rights, freedom, equality | 0 | 6 | | 0 | 5 | |
| 6. Self-sufficient, responsible, strength | 6 | 4 | | 1 | 4 | |
| 7. Important, good | 1 | 5 | | 3 | 2 | |
| 8. Selfish, selfishness | 0 | 1 | | 3 | 2 | |
| Other | 10 | 7 | | 12 | 12 | |

Statistical comparisons were conducted only in categories which included non-zero cells for all Slovaks and Scots of both generations. The data show that significantly more Slovaks, in both generations, failed to produce an association to the term 'local community'. Within category 7 (negative, meaningless concept) seven Slovaks from the younger generation and six from the older generation reported that the term was meaningless to them. None of the Scots from either generation responded in this manner. The categories of response which revealed significant differences between Slovaks and Scots include the following: category 1 (place/location) contained associations which referred to names of streets, villages, towns, etc. Within this category, both generations of Scots produced significantly more associations than the Slovaks. Category 2 (people/groups) contained associations with a general reference to people, groups of people and society in general. Within this category of response, the data show that Slovaks from both generations produced significantly more associations than the Scots. Taking categories 1 and 2 together suggests very strongly that 'local community' is a meaningful concept for the Scots but is interpreted by the Slovaks as corresponding to society in general. In the study reported later in this paper we use the word 'community' rather than 'local community'.

In categories 3 (friends/family/neighbours) and 4 (closeness/togetherness) the Scots, of both generations, produced significantly more associations than the Slovaks. Responses in category 7 (negative, meaningless concept) were produced by significantly more Slovaks than Scots. Negative responses included items such as 'mafia', 'hate', 'corruption', 'nightmare'. No differences were found between the national samples on the frequencies of response referring to 'councils/services' (category 6).

In summary, the data show that the Scots tended to associate the term 'local community' with a place, such as a street, village or town; with family, friends,

neighbours; and with a sense of closeness/togetherness. The Slovaks produced more associations relating to people in general, groups of people, society; and more negative associations overall. More often they did not give an association.

Responses in category 5, which contained associations reflecting a sense of loss, something which has gone, were produced by 11% of the older generation of Scots but by none of the Slovaks. This category also includes an expression of opinion, amongst 10% of the older generation of Slovaks, that the local community is 'good, important'. Neither of these sets of views are shared to any degree by the younger generations of these respective samples. Category 5 as a whole produces the only significant generation effect in this particular study ($\chi^2 = 73.68$, $p < 0.0001$). It could be seen as a nostalgia factor for the good old communities. The older generation of Slovaks see the local community as good or important, whilst the same generation of Scots mourns its passing.

The individual. A similar procedure was applied to all associations given in response to the term 'the individual' by Slovaks and by Scots, resulting in eight mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories. Table 2 shows the frequency distribution of all responses. No differences were found between Slovaks and Scots in the number of missing responses. The total number of such responses was much smaller than for the word 'local community' (11 vs. 34).

Category 1 (person/people) contained associations such as 'person', 'people', or 'everybody'. Within this category, Slovaks of both generations produced significantly more associations than Scots. Category 2 (self) contained associations such as 'me', 'self', 'I', and the Scots made more associations of this type than the Slovaks. The essential difference between categories 1 and 2 is that the associations in category 1 are expressed in the third person (singular and plural), whilst those in category 2 are mainly expressed in the first person singular (with the word 'self' being neutral).

The associations contained in category 3 reflected a sense of loneliness, and the Slovaks of both generations produced significantly more associations of this type. This is consistent with the absence of a sense of personal identity (category 2) together with an absence of social identity, i.e. in terms of the local community (see above). No differences were found between the Slovaks and the Scots across category 6, which reflected the theme of self-sufficiency, responsibility and strength; and category 7 which contained associations such as 'good/important'.

In summary then, Slovaks tended to associate the term 'the individual' with the general theme of 'person/people/everybody' or with loneliness/isolation. The Scottish sample clearly associated the term 'the individual' with the 'self'. Two categories were created through responses given exclusively by the Scots; category 4 contained associations such as 'single/singular/one' which were produced by 5% of the younger Scots; and category 5, which contained associations related to 'rights/freedom/equality' were given by 6% of young Scots and by 5% of the older generation of Scots.

A semantic space analysis of associative nets. The structure of association can be represented within a matrix. As we were concerned with the conceptual relationship between 'local community', 'the individual' and the other political and economic terms, we constructed matrices that comprise inter-term associative frequencies, that

is, the frequencies with which the terms elicited each other (Deese, 1965, p. 58). Therefore, only those associations were entered into the matrix that corresponded either to stimulus terms or to their derivations or synonyms. Altogether 1084 (14.3%) of such associations were produced by the Slovaks and 1077 (14.2%) by the Scots.

Using the program 'proximities' (SPSSx, 1988), the measure phi-squared was used to compute the similarity matrices for the distribution of the frequency of association to each stimulus word. The proximity matrices were then subjected to multidimensional scaling using 'alscal' (SPSSx, 1988) which resulted in a two-dimensional graphic representation of the stimulus coordinates. As a result, political and economic terms with similar distributions of associations appear close together, while unrelated terms appear further apart on the graph. The plot thus represents a descriptive map of terms and their clusters. The researcher is free to interpret such configurations in ways that are considered meaningful (SPSSx, 1988, p. 352).

Figures 1 and 2 show the descriptive two-dimensional configurations of the associations to 'the individual', 'local community' and the other political and economic terms used in the study. Figure 1 presents the semantic space for the Slovak sample and Figure 2 for the Scottish sample. Focusing on 'the individual' and 'the local community', visual inspection of Figure 1 reveals three clusters of associations.

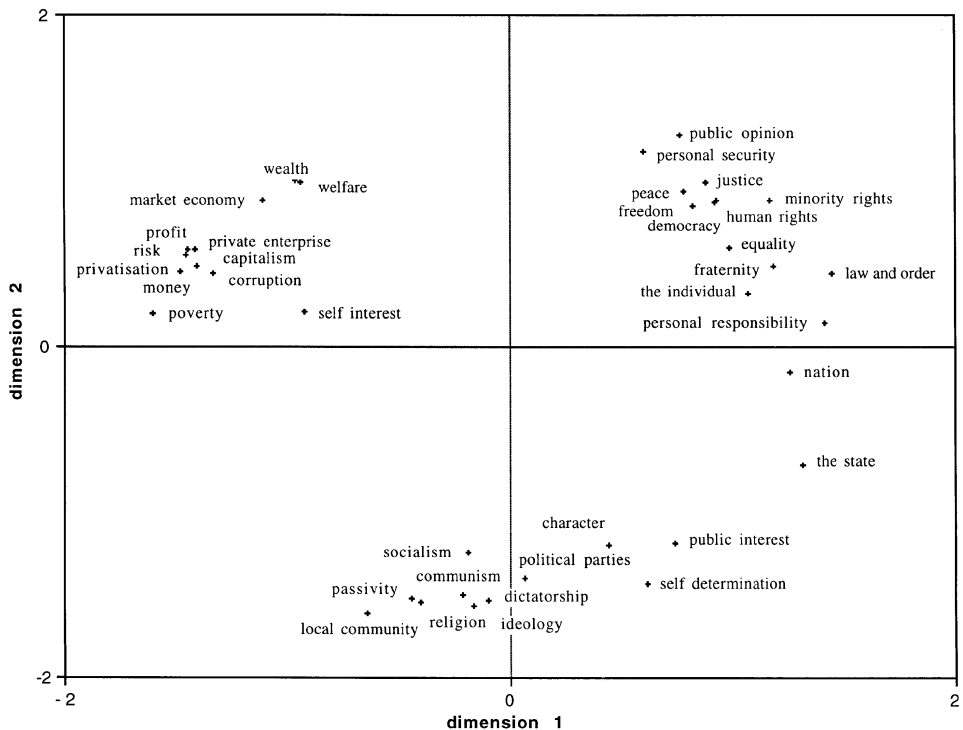


Figure 1. The positioning of the terms 'local community' and 'the individual' in semantic space in the Slovak sample

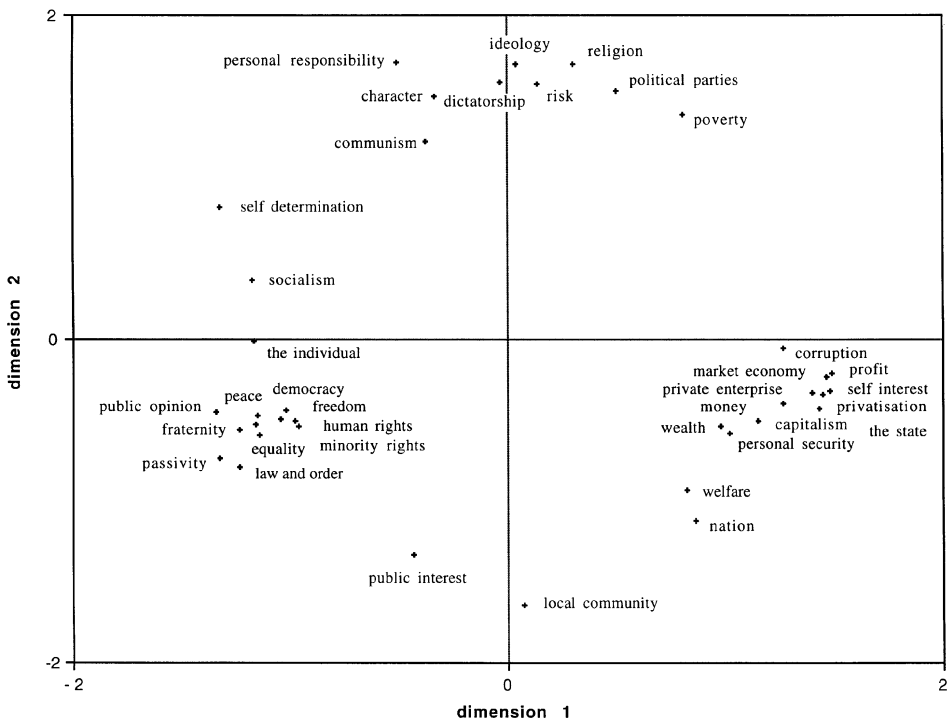


Figure 2. The positioning of the terms ‘local community’ and ‘the individual’ in semantic space in the Scottish sample

The first cluster contains terms that relate to economic issues, e.g. profit, market economy, capitalism and so on. The second cluster contains terms that relate to political issues such as democracy, freedom, justice, human rights. These are issues that represent positive values for democracy (e.g. Malinowski, 1947; Moodie, Marková and Plichtová, 1995). This cluster also includes the term ‘the individual’. The third cluster, which contains terms that are associated with negative and dictatorial forms of government and with dictatorship (Moodie, Marková and Plichtová, 1995), also contains the term ‘local community’. These data thus show that for the Slovak sample both the terms ‘the individual’ and ‘local community’ are associated with political issues, the former with positive and the latter with negative ones.

Figure 2 shows data from the Scottish associations. The terms form two distinct clusters which again, as in the Slovak plot, relate to economic issues and to issues of democracy. The negative terms do not appear to be sufficiently closely related to be called a cluster. The ‘individual’ is closest, though not entirely part of, the democracy cluster. ‘Local community’ appears largely unrelated to other political and economic concepts, although it is furthest in semantic space from the loosely related set of negative terms.

The community and the individual: an analysis of scales

An analysis of the community and individual items from the Individual and Community Scales. Two items, one each from the Individual Scale and the Community Scale, were examined in more details. These were, 'How important for the well-being of the community is the individual?' (Community Scale) and 'How important for the well-being of the individual is the community' (Individual Scale). A 2×2 analysis of variance (ANOVA) in the form of national sample (Scots/Slovaks) \times generation (younger/older) was applied to the mean ratings for each of the two items. No differences were found between the national sample for the item 'How important for the well-being of the community is the individual?'. In contrast, the item 'How important for the well-being of the individual is the community?' was more important for the Scots, showing a significant main effect of the national group ($F(1,382) = 69.95, p < 0.001$). The mean scores for both of these comparisons are shown in Figure 3.

Further analyses revealed that within the Scottish sample, no differences were shown in their ratings of the 'importance of the individual for the community' and the 'importance of the community for the individual', with mean scores of 4.06 and 3.93 respectively. In contrast, the Slovaks rated these two items differently ($t = 7.63, p < 0.001$) with mean scores of 3.91 and 3.06 respectively. From Figure 3 it can be seen that the Scottish sample show no differentiation in their ratings between the 'importance of the individual for the community' and the 'importance of the community for the individual'; both the Scots and the Slovaks equally rated the 'importance of the individual for the community', but the Slovaks do not perceive the 'community as being important for the individual'. This amply confirms, from a different set of data, and from a different psychological perspective, what we have already established from an analysis of the word associations. The difference in psychological perspective is due to the fact that word associations are produced spontaneously, 'off the top of the head', and thus permit the expression of affect,

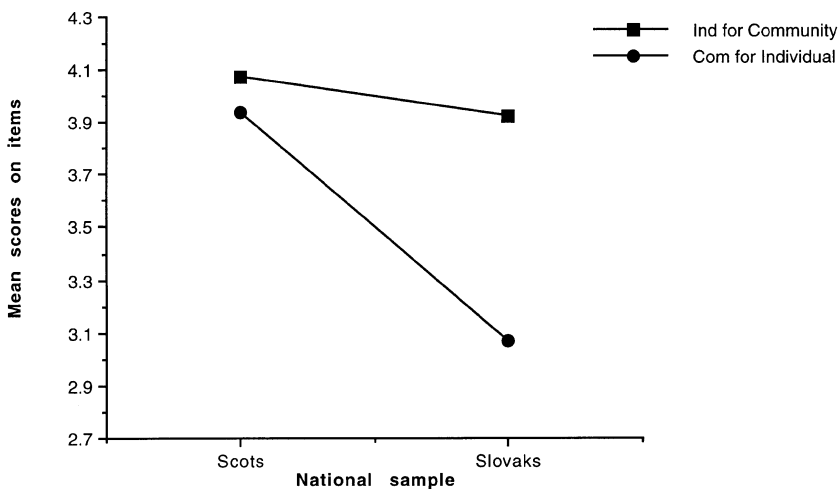


Figure 3. How important is the individual for the community? and How important is the community for the individual?

whilst the rating scales are a highly cognitive task. They express judgements about the importance of various factors for the well-being of the community and of the individual.

A factor analysis of the Community Scale. To determine how the Community Scale items were related to each other, the data from both Slovaks and Scots were pooled and entered into a principal components factor analysis using varimax rotation. An item was included in a given factor if (a) its loading on that factor was higher than on any other factor, and (b) its loading was equal to or greater than 0.40. Factor scores for each individual were calculated to allow comparison between Slovaks and Scots. The analysis revealed four factors which accounted for 50.4% of the total variance:

- (1) *The economy* (Eigenvalue 6.03; 23.2% variance; α 0.85) comprised ten terms; 'market economy', 'privatization', 'profit', 'private enterprise', 'the state', 'political parties', 'capitalism', 'money', 'nation' and 'public interest'.
- (2) *Democracy* (Eigenvalue 3.70; 14.2% variance; α 0.78) was characterized by eight terms; 'freedom', 'justice', 'human rights', 'minority rights', 'equality', 'democracy', 'peace', and 'law and order'.
- (3) *The self* (Eigenvalue 2.15; 8.3% variance; α 0.77) contained six terms; 'self determination', 'character', 'personal security', 'personal responsibility', 'self-interest' and 'the individual'.
- (4) *Welfare*, (Eigenvalue 1.22; 4.7% variance) contained two terms; 'welfare' and 'wealth'.

Table 3 shows the items making up the four factors and their loadings. Factor (1) clearly relates to markets and to economy with 'market economy', 'privatization', 'profit', 'private enterprise'—together with 'the State'—sharing the highest loadings. Factor (2) contains a group of items best described, collectively, as democracy, with 'freedom', 'justice' and 'human rights' being the items loading most highly on this factor. Factor (3) contains a group of items relating to the nature of the self; these items are concerned essentially with autonomy (i.e. 'self-determination', 'personal security' and 'personal responsibility'). They are very much a social expression of the human self. The item with the lowest factor loading (out of six items) is 'the individual'. Factor (4) comprises the two items 'welfare' and 'wealth', which together account for 13% of the variance. In the light of the evidence from the word association tasks (see above) it is probably wise to assume, in relation to all four factors, that, for Slovak respondents the word 'community' will relate to society in general, whilst for Scottish respondents it may correspond more closely to the local community.

The construction of a comparator set of items from the Individual Scale. As we were primarily interested in the relationship between the community and the individual, we selected those items from the Individual Scale that corresponded to the four factors obtained from an analysis of the ratings from the Community Scale. We thus obtained two sets of items, one from the Community Scale and one from the Individual Scale. Reliability analyses (Cronbach's α coefficients) for the first three dimensions from the second set of dimensions (Individual Scale) were 0.75, 0.73 and 0.63 respectively ($p < 0.001$). As the reliability measures for these new scales were

Table 3. Factor analysis of the Community Scale

| | Factor 1 (23.2%) | Factor 2 (14.2%) | Factor 3 (8.3%) | Factor 4 (4.7%) |
|-------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Market economy | 0.78 | | | |
| Privatization | 0.75 | | | |
| Profit | 0.74 | | | |
| Private enterprise | 0.71 | | | |
| The State | 0.70 | | | |
| Political parties | 0.62 | | | |
| Capitalism | 0.59 | | | |
| Money | 0.55 | | | |
| Nation | 0.48 | | | |
| Public interest | 0.40 | | | |
| Freedom | | 0.73 | | |
| Justice | | 0.71 | | |
| Human rights | | 0.71 | | |
| Minority rights | | 0.61 | | |
| Equality | | 0.60 | | |
| Democracy | | 0.58 | | |
| Peace | | 0.50 | | |
| Law and order | | 0.46 | | |
| Self-determination | | | 0.74 | |
| Character | | | 0.68 | |
| Personal security | | | 0.67 | |
| Personal responsibility | | | 0.65 | |
| Self-interest | | | 0.64 | |
| The individual | | | 0.48 | |
| Welfare | | | | 0.72 |
| Wealth | | | | 0.64 |

moderate to good, the items were combined to form a second set of measures from the Individual Scale identical in content to those from the Community Scale. Since factor 4 ('welfare') from the Community Scale accounted for 4.7% of the variance this pair of items was omitted from any further analyses.

Three (one for each set of items) three-way MANOVAs ($2 \times (\text{national sample}) \times 2 \times (\text{generation}) \times 2 \times (\text{target})$), with repeated measures on the last factor, target (rating for its importance to the well-being of either the individual or the community) were carried out. The results are displayed in Figures 4–6. Since generation was not found to contribute significantly to the results either as a main effect or as an interaction effect, all results are presented as total group scores.

For each set of items, the MANOVAs revealed significant main effects of target (individual community), set (1), the economy, $F(1,387) = 187.24$, $p < 0.001$; set (2), democracy $F(1,387) = 7.98$, $p < 0.01$; set (3), the self, $F(1,387) = 207.09$, $p < 0.001$). In addition, for each set, main effects of national group were revealed set (1), $F(1,387) = 36.82$, $p < 0.001$; set (2), $F(1,387) = 13.42$, $p < 0.001$; set (3), $F(1,387) = 17.72$, $p < 0.001$). In one set (the economy) a significant national group \times target interaction effect was obtained, $F(1,387) = 11.29$, $p < 0.001$). The significant main effect of the target can be taken as strong evidence that for both

national samples it was a meaningful task to ask them to note the importance of the common terms first of all in relation to the importance of the individual and then in relation to the importance of the community.

As shown in Figure 4, set (1) (the economy) was rated, by both groups, as being more important for the community than for the individual. Clearly the economy and its health is important for the well-being of the community. In addition, compared to the Scots, the Slovaks rated set (1) as being more important both for the individual and for the community. Since Slovakia is undergoing a period of rapid economic change (compared to Scotland) this is scarcely surprising. The interaction effect indicates that the Scots and Slovaks differ in their ratings, depending on whether the target is the individual or the community ($t = 3.37$, $p < 0.001$, means -0.52 , -0.30 respectively).

Figures 5 and 6 show the main effects of target and of national sample in sets (2) and (3) respectively. Set (2) (democracy), like set (1), is rated as being more important for the community than for the individual by both Scots and Slovaks. This set of items, *for both national groups*, is more important than the previous set, i.e. for both Scots and Slovaks democracy is even more important for the well-being of *both* the community *and* the individual than the economy. The Scots rated this set, overall, as being more important than did the Slovaks. This may reflect the fact that Scotland has been a settled parliamentary democracy for several centuries. The items in set (3) (the self) were rated by both the Scots and the Slovaks as being more important for the individual than for the community. In addition, the Slovaks rated this set, overall, as being more important than did the Scots.

These results suggest that the Slovaks show greater variation in their ratings of the terms when asked to consider how important they are in relation to the individual and the community. This may be because, for them but not for the Scots, the community is a negative concept (see Table 1). Table 4 shows the mean rating scores for both national groups for all terms. The terms are presented in the Table in the

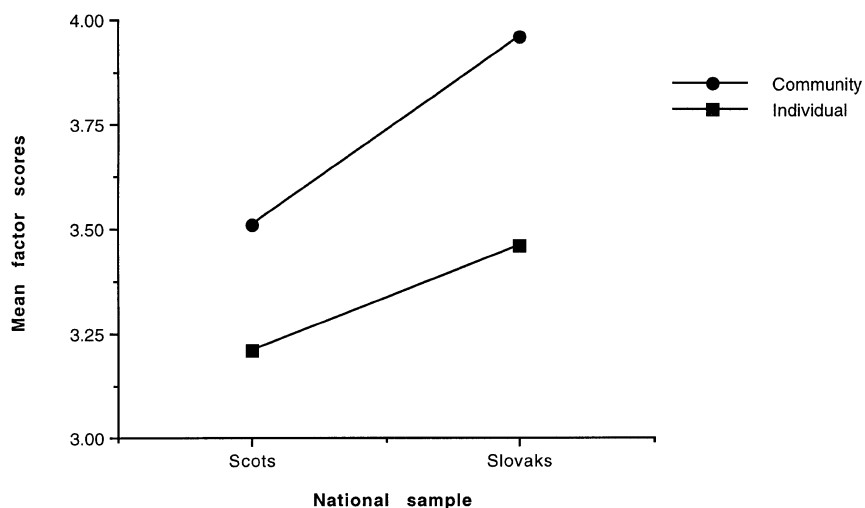


Figure 4. Items relating to the economy

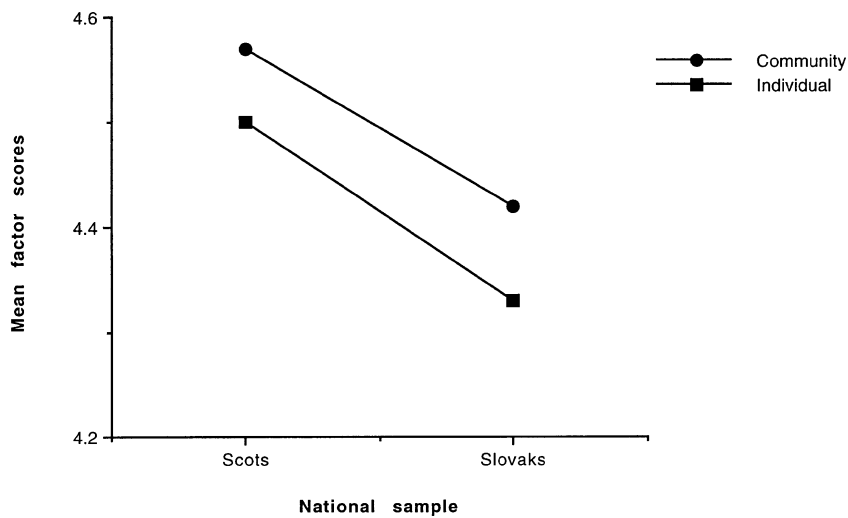


Figure 5. Items relating to democracy

same order as they are within the three sets. For the terms making up set (1) (the economy) both groups tend to rate them *pro* the community rather than *pro* the individual. For five of these terms; 'market economy', 'privatization', 'private enterprise', 'political parties' and 'public interest' the Slovaks were shown to rate these as significantly more *pro* the community than the Scots.

For the items making up set (2) (democracy) the Slovaks rated 'justice' as significantly more *pro* the individual than the Scots and 'minority rights' as significantly more *pro* the community. However, for the items making up this set, the overall picture is more mixed than for any other factor, with 'freedom' being rated

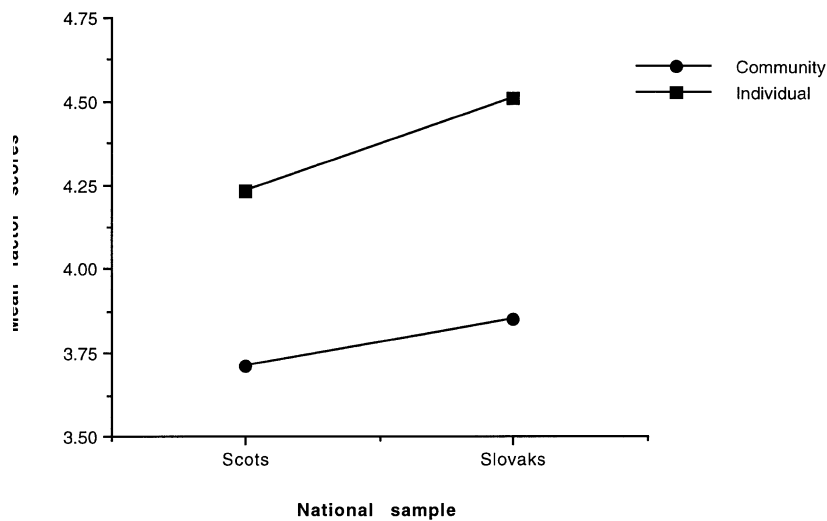


Figure 6. Items relating to the self

Table 4. Mean scores for the Scottish and Slovak sample for the items making up the four factors for the Individual Scale and the Community Scale along with the 'Ind-Comm' scores

| Terms | National Group | 'Ind' Scale | 'Comm' Scale | Ind-Comm score |
|-------------------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|
| Market economy | Scots | 2.92 | 3.29 | -0.37* |
| | Slovaks | 3.56 | 4.19 | -0.63 |
| Privatization | Scots | 2.40 | 2.80 | -0.40** |
| | Slovaks | 3.09 | 3.90 | -0.81 |
| Profit | Scots | 3.26 | 3.46 | -0.20 |
| | Slovaks | 3.86 | 4.27 | -0.41 |
| Private enterprise | Scots | 3.27 | 3.37 | -0.10* |
| | Slovaks | 3.48 | 3.82 | -0.34 |
| The State | Scots | 3.40 | 4.04 | -0.64 |
| | Slovaks | 3.88 | 4.59 | -0.74 |
| Political parties | Scots | 2.98 | 3.41 | -0.43*** |
| | Slovaks | 2.51 | 3.58 | -1.07 |
| Capitalism | Scots | 2.84 | 2.95 | -0.11 |
| | Slovaks | 2.45 | 2.75 | -0.30 |
| Money | Scots | 3.99 | 4.04 | -0.05 |
| | Slovaks | 4.24 | 4.29 | -0.05 |
| Nation | Scots | 3.31 | 3.66 | -0.35 |
| | Slovaks | 3.84 | 4.11 | -0.27 |
| Public interest | Scots | 3.72 | 4.11 | -0.39* |
| | Slovaks | 3.41 | 4.08 | -0.67 |
| Freedom | Scots | 4.77 | 4.60 | +0.17 |
| | Slovaks | 4.71 | 4.60 | +0.11 |
| Justice | Scots | 4.66 | 4.68 | -0.02* |
| | Slovaks | 4.76 | 4.58 | +0.18 |
| Human rights | Scots | 4.65 | 4.55 | +0.10 |
| | Slovaks | 4.59 | 4.55 | +0.04 |
| Minority rights | Scots | 4.29 | 4.37 | -0.08* |
| | Slovaks | 4.46 | 3.78 | -0.32 |
| Equality | Scots | 4.66 | 4.61 | -0.05 |
| | Slovaks | 4.11 | 4.11 | 0 |
| Democracy | Scots | 4.07 | 4.37 | -0.30 |
| | Slovaks | 4.04 | 4.31 | -0.27 |
| Peace | Scots | 4.68 | 4.71 | -0.03 |
| | Slovaks | 4.75 | 4.77 | -0.02 |
| Law and order | Scots | 4.25 | 4.65 | -0.40 |
| | Slovaks | 4.25 | 4.65 | -0.40 |
| Self-determination | Scots | 4.44 | 3.74 | +0.70 |
| | Slovaks | 4.61 | 3.87 | +0.74 |
| Character | Scots | 4.25 | 3.78 | +0.47 |
| | Slovaks | 4.57 | 3.95 | +0.62 |
| Personal security | Scots | 4.35 | 3.88 | +0.47 |
| | Slovaks | 4.53 | 4.04 | +0.49 |
| Personal responsibility | Scots | 4.46 | 4.10 | +0.36 |
| | Slovaks | 4.62 | 4.18 | +0.44 |
| Self-interest | Scots | 3.67 | 3.05 | +0.62** |
| | Slovaks | 4.23 | 3.21 | +1.02 |

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

pro the individual by both groups and 'democracy' and 'law and order' rated *pro* the community.

For set (3) (the self) all the items were rated *pro* the individual by both groups. However, 'self-interest' was rated by the Slovaks as significantly more *pro* the individual than by the Scots.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Although one has to be cautious in interpreting the data, since the samples are not representative, certain suppositions are still possible. One is that community, in the purely local sense, seems to exist in Slovakia in a weak sense and possible reasons for this were discussed in our introduction. Marxist collectivism undermined purely local attachments and loyalties. People were identified in terms of their membership of certain classes and categories, rather than in terms of their social and personal relationships. At a planning meeting in the early stages of the reported research we experienced some difficulty, particularly in the Czech and Slovak languages, in finding terms that would adequately express the meaning of 'local community'.

The word association tasks, as distinct from the rating scales which we also used, enabled us to explore connotative, as well as denotative, meanings. In the Slovak sample, where the term 'local community' had a denotative meaning, its connotative meaning was almost wholly negative.

In the Scottish sample the term 'local community' had a clear denotative meaning and its connotative meaning was almost wholly positive. The commonest response in Scotland to the term 'local community' was for the respondent to name the locale where he/she lives. Many individuals in Scotland derive a sense of identity, both in their own eyes and those of others, from where they reside. Individuals in Scotland are more likely than individuals in Slovakia to have a measure of choice in where they live. If, in addition, they own their homes, then they are likely to have a personal, as well as an economic, investment in the community where they reside.

In the semantic space of the Slovak sample (Figure 1) 'the individual' and 'the local community' are integral parts of two distinct clusters of political values, namely democracy and dictatorship, respectively. This supports the view we developed in our introduction that under Marxist collectivism 'the local community' becomes part of the state apparatus for the control of individuals through a network of secret informers. In the semantic space of the Scottish sample (Figure 2) 'the local community' is quite independent of the fairly tight clusters relating to the economy and to democracy. It is at the opposite point in semantic space to the negative values associated with dictatorship, i.e. it is an almost wholly positive value. In the factorial structure of the Community Scale, i.e. Table 3 (which includes *both* national samples), 'law and order' forms part of the *democracy* factor and personal security forms part of the *self* factor. In Western democracies citizens at the level of the local community often organize themselves into 'neighbourhood watch schemes'.

Arendt (1967) argued that totalitarianism destroys community, not only by isolating individuals but also by creating loneliness. Isolation and loneliness are not one and the same thing: one can be isolated but not lonely; and one can be lonely in a crowd. Totalitarianism, however, affects both spheres simultaneously. While totalitarianism breaks up social traditions and isolates people in their public and

political lives, loneliness engulfs the whole of their lives. It uproots individuals. They are no longer recognized and guaranteed by others (Hegel, 1807). Our data show that in the Slovak sample, not only is the local community viewed as something meaningless and negative but associations to 'the individual' refer also to 'loneliness' and 'isolation'.

The picture in the Scottish sample is somewhat different. We have noted above that the Scots' association with 'local community' referred largely to the names of places and to togetherness (family, neighbours, friends, etc), with 11% of participants from the older generation expressing nostalgia for the communities of the past which are now lost and gone for ever, at least in their eyes. 'The individual', for the Scots, was associated largely with the self and with a sense of agency.

Loneliness and isolation have often been claimed as being part of modern life in democratic societies. The data from Scotland do not show this kind of isolation, although some older Scots in the present sample expressed feelings that communities, nowadays, are not what they used to be. It is possible, though, that if this study were carried out in some parts of Western cities in which communities had been destroyed, one might find associations similar to those found in Slovakia in the present study. In the USA and in Western Europe there is now an increasing effort to restore local communities. The same will be necessary in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The problem of how to restore communities is a challenge in all modern societies.

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