

## Support for International Development in Former Communist Countries of the European Union –

### Reconstructing Political Culture

Bogdan Mihai RADU, Babes-Bolyai University

(Preliminary data analysis, please do not quote)

Values within the EU (Eurobarometer 67.1/2007)

	Postcommunist countries (% out of all postcommunist respondents)	“Western” Eu countries (% out of all Western respondents)	Highest postcommunist value (% out of respondents in that respective country)	Lowest postcommunist value (% out of respondents in that respective country)
Environment	55.1	53.1	Slovakia 63	Bulgaria 45.3
Solidarity	34.4	38.8	Slovakia 43	Romania 27.4
Entrepreneurship	11.0	7.4	Bulgaria 14.8	Lithuania 8.9
Cultural diversity	14.6	10.1	Latvia 23.8	Poland 8.2
Peace	60.2	59.7	Hungary 68.1	Lithuania 46.4
Progress	13.1	12.0	Hungary 25.3	Estonia 7.8
Freedom of opinion	26.4	34.7	Czech Republic 34.6	Hungary 14.5
Tolerance	32.5	35.3	Slovenia 50.0	Latvia 20.5
Respect of history	22.0	13.3	Estonia 28.5	Bulgaria, Romania 15.3

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Definitions of the European Union (Eurobarometer 67.1/2007)

EU represents	Postcommunist countries (% out of all postcommunist respondents)	“Western” Eu countries (% out of all Western respondents)	Highest postcommunist value (% out of respondents in that respective country, first category)	Lowest postcommunist value (% out of respondents in that respective country, last category)
Europe – continent of culture	92.4	71.2	Bulgaria 53.7	Romania 33.3
Europe – the culture of diversity	91.6	82.4	Bulgaria 46.0	Lithuania 22.5
No European common culture	61.7	58.1	Estonia 28.8	Poland 10.2
Globalization helps spread European culture	72.6	69.2	Bulgaria 30.3	Czech Republic 12.2
European culture equals its long common history	91.5	84.1	Bulgaria 57.6	Lithuania 28.4
No European culture, just Western culture	34.1	36.1	Bulgaria 10.4	Latvia 3.5
Globalization threatens European culture	67.6	62.5	Estonia 31.5	Poland 17.1
When compared to other countries, it is easier to see what European culture shares	87.4	75.6	Bulgaria 36.6	Slovenia 19.0

Reasons and goals for states’ involvement in international development assistance (Eurobarometer 67.1/2007)

**Support for International Development in Former Communist Countries of the European Union –**

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Reasons	Postcommunist countries (% out of all postcommunist respondents)	“Western” Eu countries (% out of all Western respondents)	Goals	Postcommunist countries (% out of all postcommunist respondents)	“Western” Eu countries (% out of all Western respondents)
Self interest	26.8	29.3	Reduce poverty	68.7	65.3
Prevent terrorism	16.9	17.7	Access to primary education	32.6	34.2
Global stability	24.8	29.5	Gender equality	10.6	17.0
Encouraging democracy	17.6	22.4	Reduce child mortality	33.3	27.2
Clear conscience	11.1	11.9	Reduce maternal deaths	9.3	8.9
Political allies	17.0	13.8	Combat diseases	49.6	45.9
Avoid emigration	24.1	17.0	Sustainable development	23.4	33.6
Help poor people	10.5	12.6	Gobal partnership for development	16.2	18.4

Results of analysis conducted while at GESIS Eurolab, Koln, November 2013

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Percentage of respondents (in each country) believing the nation state is the one responsible for solving/deciding over/regulating the matters below (the other answers were: regional organizations, the UN).

Country	International peace %	Protection of the environment %	International aid %	Refugees %	Human rights %
Bulgaria	21.9	48.0	7.5	15.2	33.6
Georgia	79.1	72.1	21.6	67.3	78.7
Germany	20.1	36.1	23.5	24.8	20.8
Moldova	37.4	51.4	20.1	39.4	54.8
Poland	27.3	58.3	20.8	45.2	49.1
Romania	38.1	50.6	18.7	31.3	42.7
Slovenia	26.3	39.3	10.1	20.2	39.4
Sweden	20.1	39.0	14.1	33.7	16.3
United States	29.7	44.8	30.4	34.2	43.9
<b>Averages per variable</b>	<b>26.7</b>	<b>39.6</b>	<b>16.6</b>	<b>28.3</b>	<b>31.7</b>

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Central tendency indicators for postmaterialism, democracy and religious measures (per country)

Country - year		Post-Materialist index 12-item min=1 max =5 (5=postmaterialist)	How often do you attend religious services min=1, max=8 (8=non goer)	Religious person min=1, max=3 (3=non religious)	Democracy index min=6 max=60 (high values, more democratic)
Bulgaria (2006)	Mean	1.43	5.24	1.42	47.4
	N	893	986	897	789
	Std. Deviation	1.081	2.021	.592	13.04
Georgia (2009)	Mean	1.44	4.29	1.04	54.11
	N	1413	1500	1477	1273
	Std. Deviation	1.050	1.969	.202	7.34
Germany (2006)	Mean	2.62	6.00	1.75	51.27
	N	1935	2015	1950	1273
	Std. Deviation	1.117	2.197	.745	8.28
Moldova (2006)	Mean	1.75	4.74	1.17	48.37
	N	1020	1043	1016	948
	Std. Deviation	1.125	1.969	.401	8.63
Poland (2005)	Mean	2.01	2.94	1.07	50.64
	N	924	993	970	866
	Std. Deviation	.987	1.733	.316	9.70
Romania (2005)	Mean	1.60	3.93	1.07	55.49
	N	1527	1765	1739	1434
	Std. Deviation	1.053	1.936	.279	5.67
Slovenia (2005)	Mean	2.39	5.06	1.37	48.30
	N	933	1010	915	868
	Std. Deviation	1.046	2.349	.656	9.71
Sweden (2006)	Mean	2.75	6.71	1.84	48.76
	N	974	1002	981	963
	Std. Deviation	1.160	1.721	.693	5.67
United States (2006)	Mean	1.99	4.56	1.28	46.24
	N	1210	1198	1202	1182
	Std. Deviation	1.255	2.727	.512	10.27
Total	Mean	2.17	5.10	1.40	49.4
	N	16699	17598	17119	15117
	Std. Deviation	1.229	2.389	.616	9.26

The democracy index was constructed by adding 6 questions from a battery of similarly measured items tapping understandings of democracy as: free elections, civil rights, freedom from oppression, economic prosperity, rule of law, gender equality.

## **Support for International Development in Former Communist Countries of the European Union –**

### **Reconstructing Political Culture**

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The postmaterialism index was constructed by Inglehart. The postmaterialist items are ‘more say about jobs and communities’, ‘make our cities and countryside more beautiful’, ‘more say in political decisions’, ‘protecting freedom of speech’, ‘progress toward less impersonal and more humane society’ and ‘progress toward a society in which ideas count more than money’. The materialist items are ‘economic growth’, ‘strong defence forces’, ‘order in the nation’, ‘fighting rising prices’, ‘stable economy’, and ‘fight against crime’. After examining the structure of these items with principal components analysis, Inglehart (1997, 111) drops the ‘more beautiful’ option from the postmaterial scale, as it does not load strongly on a postmaterialist factor.

Logistic regression models on 5 dependent variables measuring attitudes towards the role of the nation state in international issues (regime type is a country level variable and has 3 values: old democracy (US,

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Sweden, Germany), new democracy (Romania, Poland, Bulgaria, Slovenia) , and non-democracy (Georgia, Moldova))

	International peace	Environmental protection	International aid	Refugees	Human rights
Postmaterialism	<b>-.123</b> (.021)	<b>-.105</b> (.019)	-.024 (.023)	<b>-.088</b> (.020)	<b>-.100</b> (.020)
Religiosity	<b>-.177</b> (.051)	<b>-.087</b> (.044)	<b>-.193</b> (.056)	<b>-.124</b> (.047)	<b>-.219</b> (.048)
Church attendance	-.015 (.012)	<b>-.026</b> (.011)	<b>.045</b> (.013)	-.014 (.011)	<b>-.027</b> (.011)
gender	.026 (.046)	<b>-.088</b> (.043)	.032 (.052)	.033 (.044)	-.026 (.045)
age	.002 (.001)	<b>.005</b> (.001)	<b>.005</b> (.002)	.001 (.001)	.002 (.001)
education	.005 (.012)	.011 (.011)	-.013 (.013)	<b>.036</b> (.011)	.002 (.011)
democracy	.000 (.015)	<b>.012</b> (.002)	-.008 (.003)	<b>.008</b> (.002)	.002 (.002)
regyme type	<b>-.732</b> (.034)	<b>-.402</b> (.031)	<b>.197</b> (.038)	<b>-.398</b> (.032)	<b>-.783</b> (.033)
<i>Cox&amp;Snell Rsq</i>	.094	.047	.010	.040	.113
<i>Nagelkerke Rsq</i>	.129	.062	.016	.055	.151

b-coefficients and std. errors, bold for significant at .05, bold and \* for significant at .01

Logistic regression model; dependent variable – support for nation state in ensuring international peace (postmaterialism 12 item index)

	Bulgaria	Georgia	Germany	Moldova	Poland	Romania	Slovenia	Sweden	United States
Postmaterialism	<b>-.326</b> (.100)	-.008 (.071)	<b>-.114</b> (.057)	-.094 (.065)	-.055 (.086)	<b>-.094*</b> (.056)	.003 (.082)	-.045 (.075)	<b>-.129</b> (.054)
Religiosity	.119 (.190)	.441 (.409)	-.165 (.113)	-.003 (.193)	.139 (.284)	.327 (.208)	-.017 (.153)	-.079 (.138)	<b>-.395</b> (.151)
Church attendance	-.074 (.058)	<b>-.098</b> (.041)	-.034 (.036)	.025 (.039)	-.079 (.058)	-.033 (.032)	.008 (.044)	.030 (.056)	.010 (.026)
gender	.143 (.206)	.062 (.148)	-.138 (.127)	<b>.355</b> (.145)	.052 (.166)	.099 (.118)	-.175 (.170)	-.143 (.172)	.002 (.131)
age	-.007 (.006)	<b>.010</b> (.005)	-.002 (.004)	.007 (.005)	-.001 (.005)	-.022 (.004)	-.003 (.005)	-.008 (.005)	-.001 (.004)
education	-.054 (.050)	-.068 (.044)	<b>-.076</b> (.031)	-.007 (.005)	<b>-.100</b> (.048)	-.022 (.026)	-.004 (.045)	<b>-.080</b> (.043)	<b>-.087*</b> (.051)
democracy	<b>-.035</b> (.007)	<b>.034</b> (.009)	<b>-.017</b> (.007)	<b>-.033</b> (.008)	<b>-.017</b> (.008)	<b>.021</b> (.011)	.014 (.009)	-.011 (.016)	<b>-.012</b> (.006)
<i>Cox&amp;Snell Rsq</i>	.057	.018	.016	.031	.015	.009	.006	.007	.021
<i>Nagelkerke Rsq</i>	.087	.029	.026	.042	.022	.012	.008	.011	.030

b-coefficients and std. errors, bold for significant at .05, bold and \* for significant at .01

## Support for International Development in Former Communist Countries of the European Union –

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Logistic regression model; dependent variable – support for nation state in providing international aid  
(postmaterialism 12 item index)

	Bulgaria	Georgia	Germany	Moldova	Poland	Romania	Slovenia	Sweden	United States
Postmaterialism	.161 (.159)	<b>-.181</b> (.073)	<b>.108</b> (.054)	.057 (.077)	-.017 (.095)	.037 (.067)	-.042 (.118)	-.087 (.086)	<b>-.106</b> (.053)
Religiosity	<b>-.798</b> (.398)	<b>-1.705</b> (.724)	-.067 (.103)	<b>-.593</b> (.277)	.039 (.328)	-.139 (.261)	-.134 (.217)	.149 (.159)	.023 (.145)
Church attendance	.021 (.092)	.040 (.040)	<b>-.076</b> (.034)	-.072 (.047)	-.078 (.065)	.021 (.038)	.093 (.062)	-.011 (.065)	<b>-.073</b> (.026)
gender	<b>.721</b> (.352)	.108 (.144)	-.141 (.116)	.053 (.172)	<b>.307*</b> (.181)	.053 (.141)	<b>-.423*</b> (.246)	-.124 (.198)	<b>.243*</b> (.130)
age	<b>-.020*</b> (.011)	-.002 (.005)	.007 (.003)	.000 (.006)	-.002 (.006)	<b>.012</b> (.004)	.012 (.008)	.007 (.006)	<b>.011</b> (.004)
education	<b>-.223</b> (.088)	<b>-.113</b> (.042)	.037 (.027)	-.049 (.065)	<b>-.113</b> (.052)	.036 (.031)	-.025 (.066)	.054 (.051)	-.065 (.051)
democracy	<b>-.021*</b> (.011)	<b>.028</b> (.011)	<b>-.014</b> (.007)	<b>-.035</b> (.009)	-.011 (.009)	<b>-.024</b> (.046)	-.019 (.012)	-.009 (.018)	-.010 (.006)
<i>Cox&amp;Snell Rsq</i>	.036	.027	.017	.030	.014	.009	.014	.005	.028
<i>Nagelkerke Rsq</i>	.093	.042	.026	.046	.022	.013	.027	.009	.037

b-coefficients and std. errors, bold for significant at .05, bold and \* for significant at .01

Logistic regression model; dependent variable – support for nation state in ensuring international peace  
(traditional/secular values and survival/self-expression values)

	Bulgaria	Georgia	Germany	Moldova	Poland	Romania	Sloven	Swede	United
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Traditional /secular values	<b>-.1.279</b> (.476)	.154 (.279)	-.031 (.232)	<b>-.633</b> (.276)	-.020 (.183)	-.018 (.170)	.384 (.264)	-.345 (.288)	<b>-.221*</b> (.120)
Survival/self-expression values	.194 (.620)	.231 (.210)	-.597 (.391)	.217 (.298)	.085 (.206)	.129 (.177)	-.140 (.419)	<b>1.018*</b> (.551)	<b>.288*</b> (.148)
Religiosity	.526 (.846)	.547 (.812)	.289 (.477)	.225 (.540)	- 20.534 (1611 7.754)	.824 (.568)	-.391 (1.362 )	-.061 (.527)	-.115 (.281)
Church attendance	.126 (.186)	-.085 (.066)	-.198 (.137)	<b>.167*</b> (.095)	.097 (.090)	-.095 (.062)	.168 (.137)	.136 (.138)	.058 (.039)
gender	.752 (.705)	.071 (.234)	-.287 (.387)	<b>.990</b> (.355)	.165 (.253)	.079 (.208)	.388 (.483)	-.047 (.530)	.116 (.176)
age	-.006 (.018)	.006 (.007)	.002 (.013)	.012 (.012)	-.009 (.008)	<b>-.012*</b> (.007)	.030 (.018)	-.020 (.017)	.002 (.005)
education	-.240 (.165)	-.099 (.070)	-.059 (.098)	.005 (.147)	<b>-.179</b> (.075)	<b>-.090*</b> (.049)	<b>.259*</b> (.140)	-.173 (.156)	-.082 (.073)
democracy	.004 (.028)	.015 (.016)	-.011 (.019)	<b>-.062</b> (.019)	-.011 (.012)	<b>.040</b> (.020)	.034 (.027)	-.027 (.043)	-.008 (.009)
Cox&Snell Rsq	.189	.013	.034	.139	.035	.035	.105	.088	.022
Nagelkerke Rsq	.276	.021	.051	.189	.051	.047	.145	.133	.031

b-coefficients and std. errors, bold for significant at .05, bold and \* for significant at .01

Logistic regression model; dependent variable – support for nation state in providing international aid (traditional/secular values and survival/self-expression values)

	Bulgaria	Georgia	Germany	Moldova	Poland	Romania	Slovenia	Sweden	United States
Traditional /secular values	-.026 (1.043)	-.412 (.293)	.081 (.243)	-.326 (.278)	-.056 (.208)	-.119 (.207)	.606 (.452)	<b>-.658*</b> (.343)	.016 (.116)

**Support for International Development in Former Communist Countries of the European Union –**

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Survival/self-expression values	.689 (1.666)	<b>.631</b> (.231)	-.307 (.408)	-.139 (.302)	<b>.563</b> (.236)	-.049 (.211)	-.478 (.725)	.346 (.632)	.141 (.145)
Religiosity	-1.799 (1.935)	-19.448 (10952.456)	-.360 (.503)	.163 (.565)	- 19.862 (16024,646)	-.328 (.740)	- 19.295 (21477.795)	-.161 (.593)	<b>.498*</b> (.272)
Church attendance	.416 (.371)	.085 (.067)	.041 (.128)	<b>-.215</b> (.098)	.089 (.102)	.018 (.072)	.120 (.218)	.196 (.153)	<b>-.109</b> (.040)
gender	2,609 (1,659)	.293 (.243)	.452 (.417)	.361 (.349)	<b>.604</b> (.283)	-.118 (.072)	-.821 (.833)	.597 (.577)	.248 (.174)
age	-.166 (.096)	-.007 (.008)	.008 (.013)	-.011 (.012)	-.014 (.008)	<b>.015*</b> (.008)	<b>.052*</b> (.030)	-.013 (.018)	<b>.011</b> (.005)
education	<b>-.389*</b> (.351)	<b>-.136*</b> (.070)	.091 (.096)	-.105 (.150)	<b>-.173</b> (.082)	<b>.097*</b> (.058)	-.025 (.254)	.251 (.172)	-.082 (.072)
democracy	-.023 (.063)	.018 (.018)	-.016 (.020)	<b>-.046</b> (.018)	<b>-.023*</b> (.013)	-.005 (.021)	-.005 (.044)	-.001 (.048)	-.012 (.009)
<i>Cox&amp;Snell Rsq Nagelkerke Rsq</i>	<i>.198 .488</i>	<i>.045 .073</i>	<i>.024 .037</i>	<i>.078 .110</i>	<i>.056 .089</i>	<i>.014 .021</i>	<i>.066 .150</i>	<i>.080 .132</i>	<i>.037 .051</i>

b-coefficients and std. errors, bold for significant at .05, bold and \* for significant at .01