

**THINKING CONCEPTUALLY, ANALYZING EMPIRICALLY:**

**THE NEW EUROPE BAROMETER**

*PROFESSOR RICHARD ROSE FBA*

**Centre for the Study of Public Policy**

**University of Aberdeen**

[www.abdn.ac.uk/cspp](http://www.abdn.ac.uk/cspp)

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## THE CHALLENGE: SURVEYING POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES SINCE 1991

### Institutions Transformed

Polity: Parties instead of The Party

Economy: From plan to free exchange

Society: Informal social capital comes out in the open

Majority of states also new

## NEW EUROPE BAROMETER SURVEYS IN TIME AND SPACE

	1991	92	93	94	95	96	98	2000	01	02	03	04	05	07	08	09
<i>Former Soviet Union</i>																
Russia		X	X	X	X	2X	X	2X	X		2X	X	X	2X	X	X
Belarus		X	X		X		X	X				X				
Ukraine		X	X		X		X	X					X			
Moldova								X	X							
<i>New EU member states</i>																
Bulgaria	2X	X	X		X		X		X			X	X			
Czech R	2X	X	X		X		X		X			X				
Estonia			X		X	X		X	X			X				
Hungary	X	X	X		X		X		X			X				
Latvia			X		X	X		X	X			X				
Lithuania			X		X	X		X	X			X				
Poland	2X	X	X		X		X		X			X				
Romania	X	X	X		X		X		X			X	X			
Slovakia	2X	X	X		X		X		X			X				
Slovenia	X	X	X		X		X		X			X				
<i>Balkan states</i>																
Croatia		X	X		X		X			X				X		
Serbia							X	X		X				X		
Bosnia-Herc.												X	X			

## ALTERNATIVES FOR QUESTIONNAIRE CONSTRUCTION

A: Use standard questions tested in Western settings

Strategy of UN, IMF, World Values Survey, etc.

Provides comparable data

But situations at best only half comparable

\*MAXIMS: Listen to people talk who are experiencing transformation

Don't pay people to ask questions they think are pointless

B: Turn anecdotes into data think conceptually

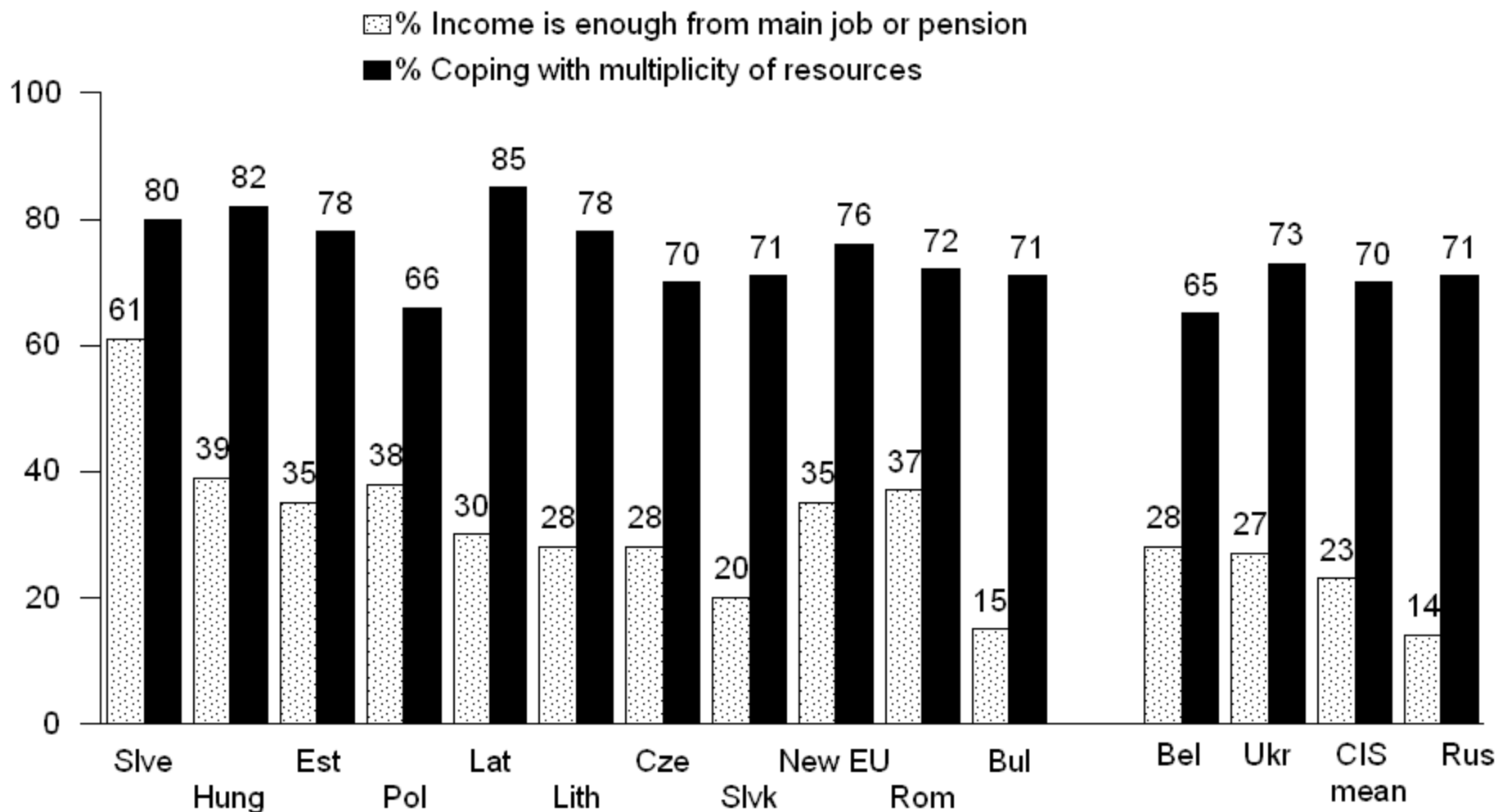
\*Micro-economic model:

Total Welfare in Family = Household + Market + State

\*Political evaluations: Churchill hypothesis

\*Social capital: Social networks as productive tools for getting things done--by hook or crook

## MULTIPLE ECONOMIES MAKE A BIG DIFFERENCE IN COPING

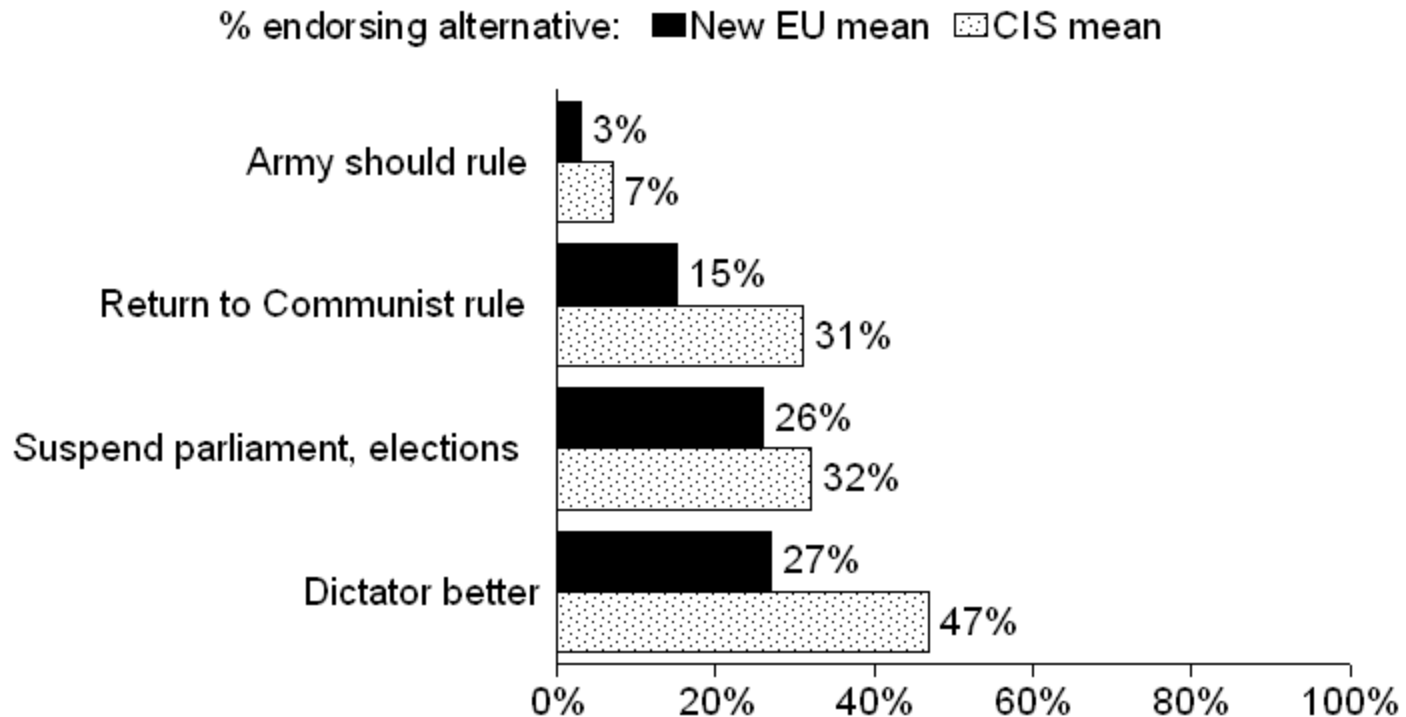


Source: New Europe Barometer, 2004

## LITTLE SUPPORT FOR UNDEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVES

*Q.B3. Our present system of government is not the only one that this country has had. Some people say that we would be better off if the country was governed differently. What do you think?*

- a) Army should rule;            b) Return to Communist rule;  
c) Strong man better;        d) Suspend parliament, elections*



Source: New Europe Barometer, 2004

## MODERN AND ANTI-MODERN FORMS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

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	<u>Involved</u> %
MODERN ORGANIZATIONS WORK	
<u>Public sector allocates by law</u>	
Police will help protect house from burglary	43%
Social security office will pay entitlement if you claim	35%
<u>Market allocates to paying customers</u>	
Buy a flat if it is needed	30%
Can borrow a week's wage from bank	16%
INFORMAL ALTERNATIVES	
<u>Non-monetized production</u>	
Growing food	81%
Can borrow a week's wage from a friend	66%
PERSONALIZE	
<u>Beg or cajole officials controlling allocation</u>	
Keep demanding action at social security office to get paid	32%
Beg officials to admit person to hospital	22%
ANTI-MODERN	
<u>Re-allocate in contravention of the rules</u>	
Use connections to get a subsidized flat	24%
Pay cash to doctor on the side	23%
PASSIVE, SOCIALLY EXCLUDED	
<u>Nothing I can do to:</u>	
Get into hospital quickly	16%
Get pension paid on time (pensioners only)	24%

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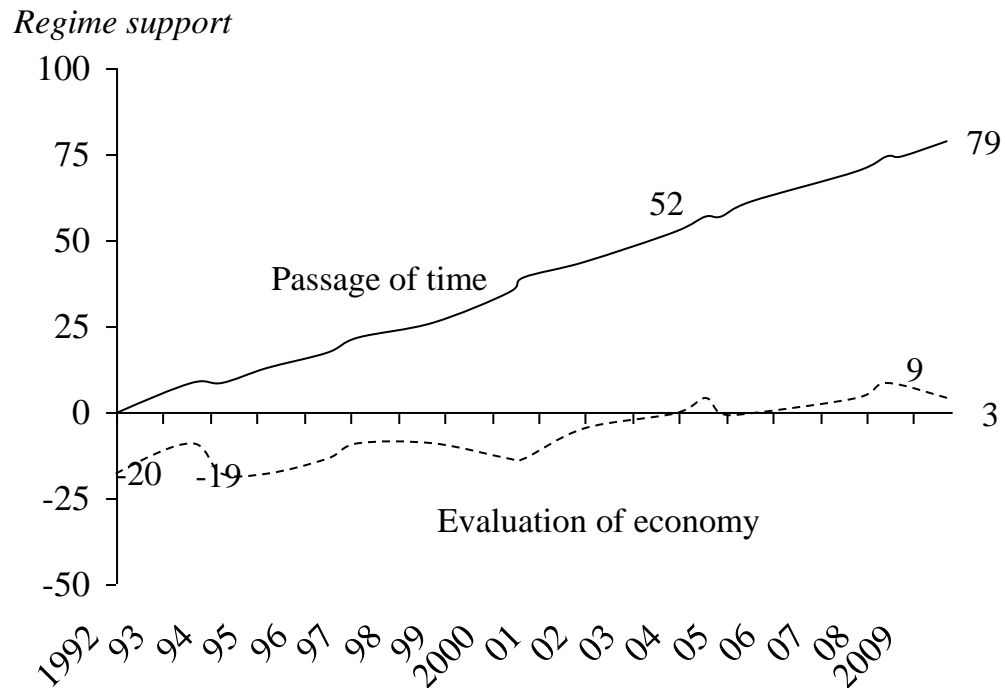
Source: New Russia Barometer Survey VII (1998). Fieldwork by VCIOM; number of respondents: 1,904.

# DIFFERENTIAL IMPACT OF TIME AND ECONOMY ON REGIME SUPPORT

From *Popular Support for an Undemocratic Regime:*

*The Changing Views of Russians*

(CUP, Spring, 2011)



New Russia Barometer surveys



## DO YOUR OWN THING WITH THE NEB

[www.abdn.ac.uk/cspp/catalog13\\_0.shtml](http://www.abdn.ac.uk/cspp/catalog13_0.shtml)

1st. Ask yourself--Which countries, when, why?--from more than 100 surveys

.New Europe/ New Baltic Barometers: 10 new EU member states, 1991-2004

.New Russia Barometer: 18 surveys 1992-2009  
+ Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova

.Balkans: Croatia, Serbia 1992-2004

2nd. Then ask: What are my key concepts?

3rd. What measures are there in the questionnaire?

.Multiple: Macro + micro economic

Evaluations of what elite supply + what respondents want

Social behaviour + social preferences

4th. What uses have been made of this data?

.See publications over 20 years at CSPP web site

*Understanding Post-Communist Transformation: a Bottom Up Approach*  
(Routledge, paperback, 2009)

5th Where do I find the data?

Go to the UK Data Archive and draw down to taste