



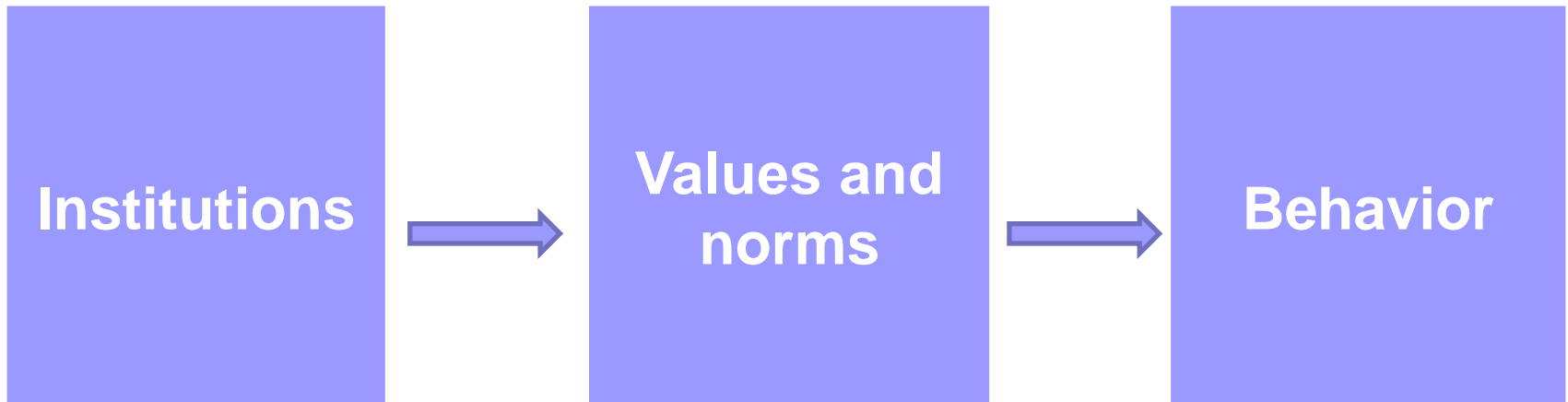
HIGHER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS
NATIONAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY

**Impact of Prior Development Trajectories on the
Values and Attitudes of the Population:
A Comparison of East Germany and Russia**

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Theoretical research framework



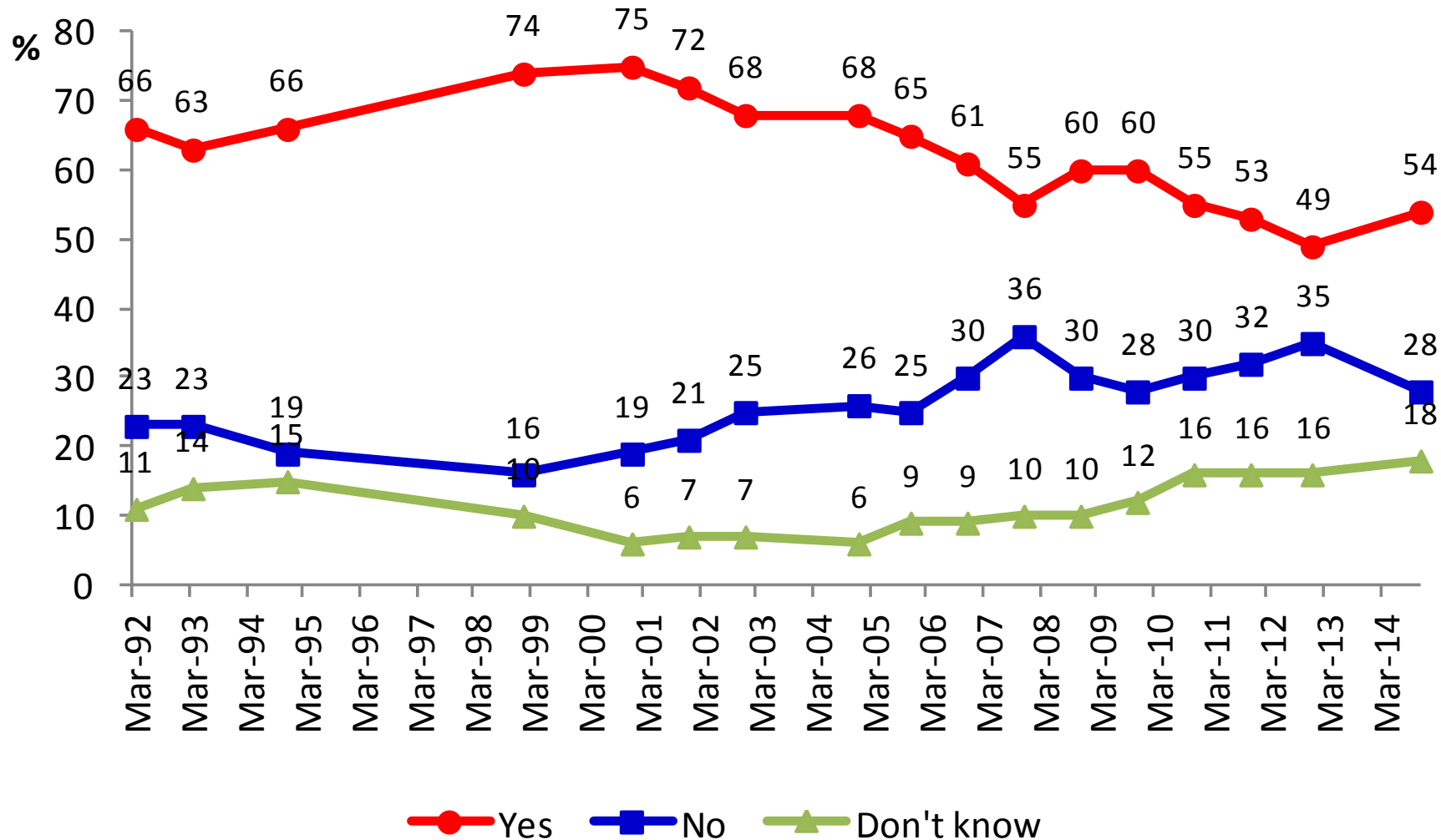
Project goal: Analyzing of dynamics of change of values and social attitudes towards the state of the population of West and East Germany and Russia for the period from 1990 till present time, and determining the influencing factors, in particular, studying the influence of socialist past.

Project targets:

1. Performing comparative analysis of institutional change in West and East Germany for the period from 1990 to 2000, and their difference from Russia;
2. Comparing values and social attitudes of the population of West Germany, East Germany and Russia towards the state at the present time.
3. Performing analysis of the dynamics of change of values and social attitudes of the population of Germany and Russia for the period from 1990 to 2000;
4. Analyzing peculiarities of the influence of values on the economic and political behavior of the population in Germany and Russia;
5. Identifying the key factors influencing the peculiarities of values and social attitudes in East Germany and Russia. Special attention will be paid to the factors which are meaningful from the standpoint of path dependence (national culture, impact of the socialist past, regional specifics, etc.).
6. Determining the degree of influence of the socialist past on values and social attitudes of the population of East Germany and Russia at present time.

Nostalgia for the Soviet Times?

Do you regret the 1991 collapse of the USSR? (%) Survey by Levada-Center (Russia)



What social and political regime best suits Russia? (as perceived by Russians), %

years	Soviet regime, which was before the 1990s	“Western” democracy	Current regime
1996	39	28	8
1997	45	26	10
1998	43	32	5
2000	45	29	13
2003	48	22	18
2004	41	24	19
2005	42	20	23
2006	39	19	27
2007	35	19	27
2008	24	15	36
2009	38	18	25

Source: Levada-Center

Differences between West and East Germans remain in ...

- **labor behavior** (Ingwer and Braun, 1996; Maier, Rappensperger and Zwarg, 1994; Ruiz Quintanilla, 1994; Ester et al., 1994),
- **family model** (Richter, 1993; Störtzbach, 1994; Beck-Gernsheim, 1997),
- **the birthrate** (Eberstadt, 1994; Fleischhacker, 1994; Witte and Wagner, 1995; Dorbritz, 1997; Lechner, 2001; Philipov, 2002; Kreyenfeld, 2003),
- **gender inequality on the labor market** (Trappe and Rosenfeld, 1998),
- **electoral behavior and political preferences** (Sodaro, 2004),
- etc.

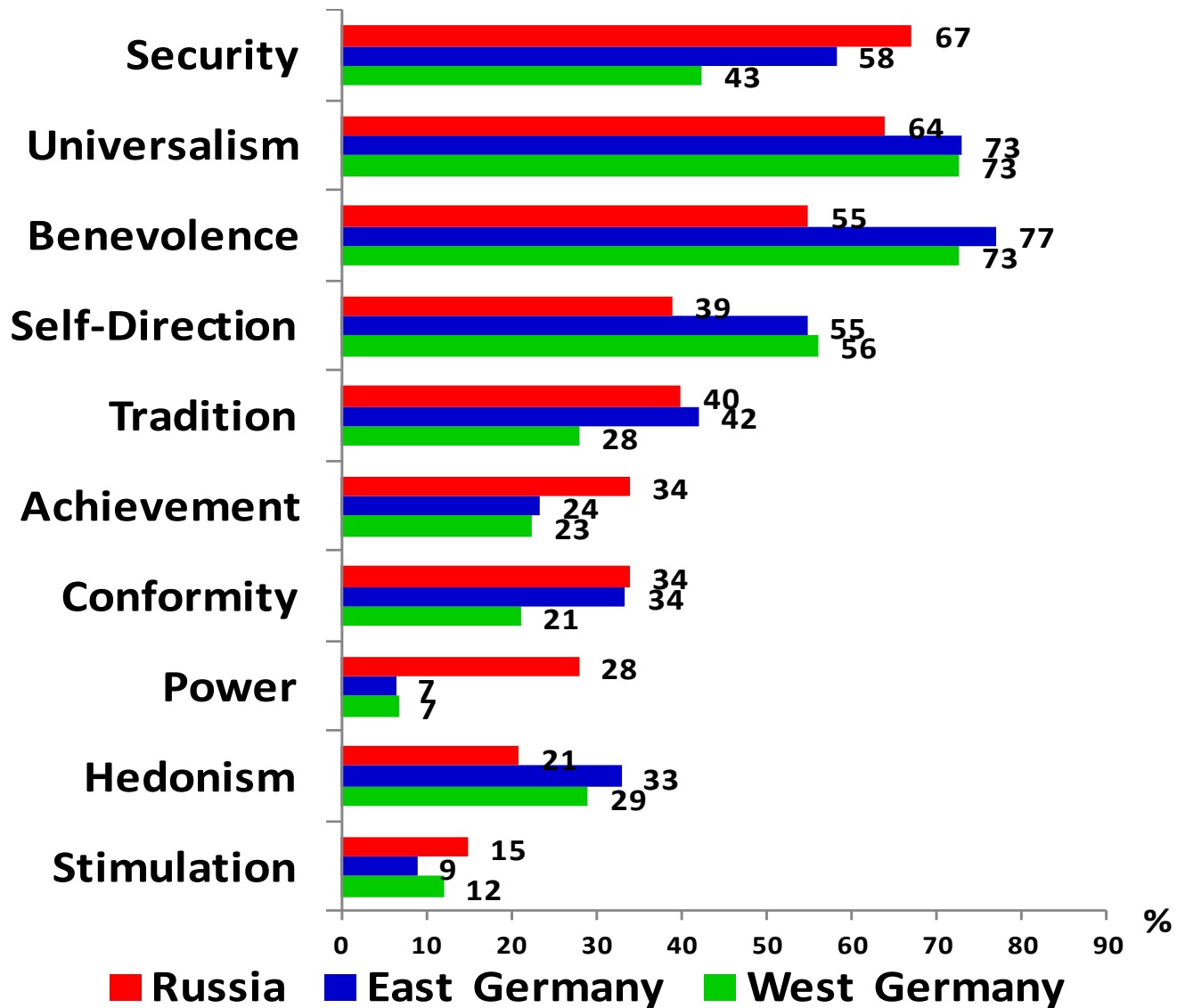
**Materialist and Post-Materialist Values in Germany and Russia
(1996-1997)**

Post-Materialist Index (4-item)

	West Germany	East Germany	Russia	Germany
Materialist	7	15	56	11
Mixed	49	64	43	56
Post-materialist	44	21	2	33
Total	100	100	100	100

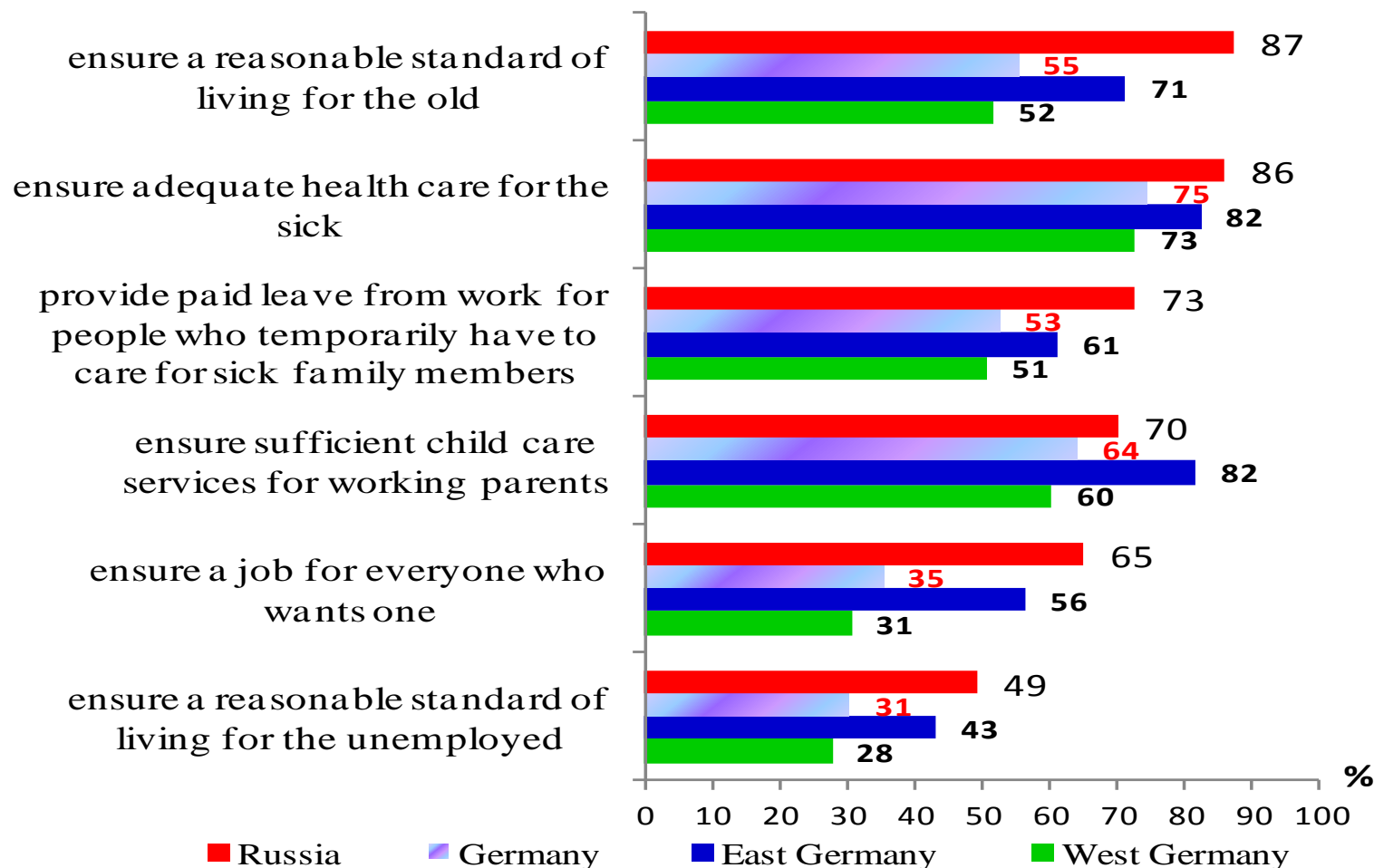
Source: WVS; Russia – 1996; Germany -1997

Basic Human Values in Russia and Germany (Schwartz)



Source: ESS 2008

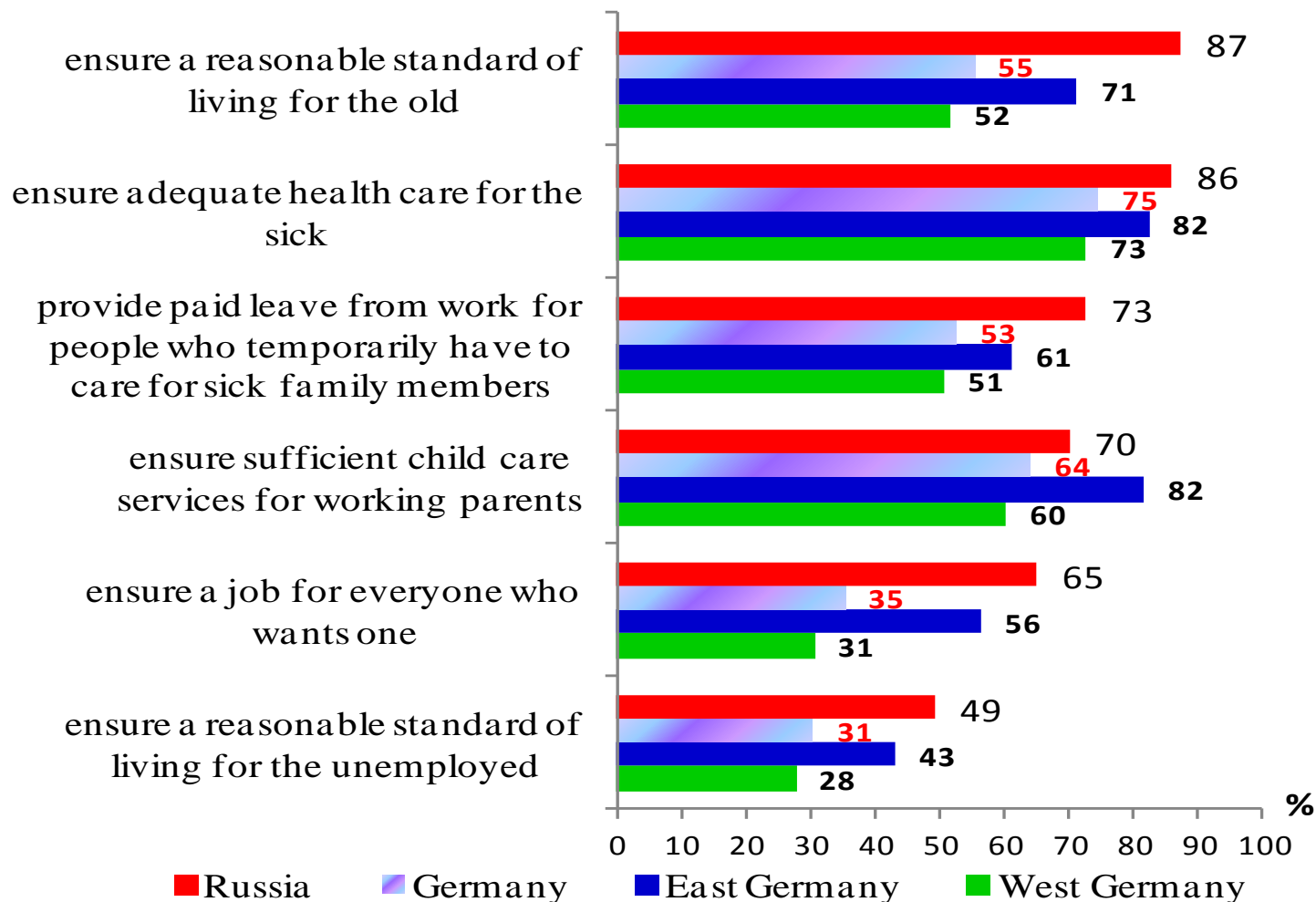
The percentage of the population considering the relevant social functions to be the government responsibility*, %



* Choosing as variants of answer 8, 9 or 10 on a score of 0-10, where 0 means it should not be the government's responsibility at all, and 10 means it should be entirely government's responsibility

Source: ESS 2008

The opinion of Russians and Germans about the implementation of the state's social functions (negative assessment), %



* The negative assessment is the sum of answers 0, 1, 2, 3 on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 - "extremely bad", 10 - "extremely good".

Source: ESS 2008

Methodology for building the indicator of social attitudes towards the state (ESS 2008):

- 1) *“ensuring a job for everyone who wants one”*
- 2) *“ensuring adequate health care for the sick”*
- 3) *“ensuring a reasonable standard of living for the old”*
- 4) *“ensuring a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed”*
- 5) *“ensuring sufficient child care services for working parents”*
- 6) *“providing paid leave from work for people who temporarily have to care for sick family members”*

**A State
Responsibility for
Social Support
Index**

Note: *The index is measured on a scale from 0 to 60, where 0 means the social functions should not be government's responsibility at all while 60 means the respondent believes it should be entirely the government's responsibility.*

Linear regression with the State responsibility for social support Index as the dependent variable (unstandardized coefficients)

	Germany	West Germany	East Germany	Russia
(Constant)	40,9**	33,3**	41,3**	34,3**
East Germany	-2,8**			
Living comfortably on present income	1,0	0,8	2,5*	4,4**
Coping on present income	0,2	0,1	1,4	1,5**
Finding it difficult on present income	-0,8	-1,1	0,7	0,1
Male	0,8**	0,8*	0,8	-1,0**
Married	0,4	0,6	-0,1	-0,5
Separated	-0,7	-0,4	-1,8	0,8
Divorced	-0,3	-0,4	0,5	0,7
Widowed	-0,3	-0,2	-1,2	-1,3
Very interested in politics	0,9*	1,2**	0,4	0,4
Quite interested in politics	1,0**	1,3**	0,0	-0,7
Hardly interested in politics	-1,0	-0,5	-2,8*	0,2
Political preferences (left - right)	-0,5**	-0,5**	-0,4**	0,0
Values of security	-2,6**	-2,3**	-3,7**	-4,8**
R2	0,15	0,09	0,14	0,14

Note: *** p< .001; **p< .01; *p< .05

Multiple linear regression with dummy variables. Omitted categories are West Lands of Germany (place of survey), " finding it very difficult on present income", female, "never married", "not at all interested in politics".

Linear regressions with the State responsibility for social support Index as the dependent variable (standardized coefficients)

	Germany	West Germany	East Germany	Russia
East Germany	-0,18**			
Living comfortably on present income	0,08	0,06	0,16*	0,14**
Coping on present income	0,02	0,01	0,11	0,10**
Finding it difficult on present income	-0,04	-0,05	0,04	0,01
Male	0,06**	0,07*	0,06	-0,07**
Married	0,04	0,05	-0,01	-0,03
Separated	-0,01	-0,01	-0,02	0,01
Divorced	-0,01	-0,02	0,02	0,02
Widowed	-0,01	-0,01	-0,05	-0,06
Very interested in politics	0,06*	0,08**	0,02	0,02
Quite interested in politics	0,08**	0,11**	0,00	-0,05
Hardly interested in politics	-0,03	-0,02	-0,09*	0,01
Political preferences (left - right)	-0,15**	-0,15**	-0,11**	0,01
Values of security	-0,21**	-0,19**	-0,29**	-0,31**
R2	0,15	0,09	0,14	0,14

Note: *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

Multiple linear regression with dummy variables. Omitted categories are West Lands of Germany (place of survey), "finding it very difficult on present income", female, "never married", "not at all interested in politics".

Factors of forming the welfare attitudes to the state in Russia and Germany

- The factor of belonging to Western and Eastern Germany has the strongest influence on the social attitudes of the German population. The fact of belonging to Eastern Germany significantly increases the social attitudes.
- Unlike in Western Germany, the values of security (in Schwartz's values scale) and the self-assessment of income level in Russia and in Eastern Germany most strongly influence the welfare attitudes of the people.
- The income level indicator has a statistically significant impact on the welfare attitudes of West Germans, but it is significantly weaker than that of East Germans.
- In Western Germany, the influence of the security value on the welfare attitudes is strong and statistically significant, but it is significantly higher in Eastern Germany.

Methodological Issues:

- How can we measure the impact of the socialist (communist) past on the attitudes of the population?
- How can we separate the impact of the socialist (communist) past from the impact of the economic shock of the 1990s in Russia and economic growth of the 2000s?

Stages of Project (2016 – 2018):

- **Stage 1. Analyzing the secondary data of surveys of Russians and Germans** (*GSOEP, ESS, EVS, ISSP, Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Science, the Levada Center, etc.*) **(2016)**

- **Stage 2. Conducting interviews with Russians, East and West Germans (2017)**

Conducting a series of semi-formalized interviews with representatives of different age groups of Russia and East and West Germany using a common toolkit and a common sample (up to 100 interviews).

- **Stage 3. Quantitative surveys in Russia and Eastern and Western Germany of representative samples (2018)**

Conducting an independent field study of a representative sample of Russians and Germans (the total sample shall amount to at least 2,000 people in Germany and 1,800 in Russia)

Thank you!

“People have different views on what the responsibilities of governments should or should not be. For each of the tasks I read out please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much responsibility you think governments should have. 0 means it should not be governments’ responsibility at all and 10 means it should be entirely governments’ responsibility” (ESS 2008)

		Should not be governments’ responsibility at all										Should be entirely governments’ responsibility	(Don’t know)
		00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88
D15	...ensure a job for everyone who wants one?	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88
D16	...ensure adequate health care for the sick?	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88
D18	...ensure a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed ⁴⁸ ?	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88
D19	...ensure sufficient child care services ⁴⁹ for working parents?	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88
D20	...provide paid leave from work for people who temporarily have to care for sick family members?	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

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<http://lcsr.hse.ru/en/conf2015>