

**REPRESENTATION OF EUROPEAN POST-
COMMUNIST COUNTRIES IN CROSS-NATIONAL
PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS**

Kazimierz M. Slomczynski
The Ohio State University and Polish Academy of Sciences

Irina Tomescu-Dubrow
The Ohio State University



The National Council for Eurasian and East European Research
910 17th Street, N.W.
Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20006

TITLE VIII PROGRAM

Project Information*

Contractor:	Ohio State University
Principal Investigator:	Kazimierz M. Slomczynski
Council Contract Number:	819-14
Date:	November 14, 2005

Copyright Information

Individual researchers retain the copyright on their work products derived from research funded through a contract or grant from the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research (NCEEER). However, the NCEEER and the United States Government have the right to duplicate and disseminate, in written and electronic form, reports submitted to NCEEER to fulfill Contract or Grant Agreements either (a) for NCEEER's own internal use, or (b) for use by the United States Government, and as follows: (1) for further dissemination to domestic, international, and foreign governments, entities and/or individuals to serve official United States Government purposes or (2) for dissemination in accordance with the Freedom of Information Act or other law or policy of the United States Government granting the public access to documents held by the United States Government. Neither NCEEER nor the United States Government nor any recipient of this Report may use it for commercial sale.

* The work leading to this report was supported in part by contract or grant funds provided by the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, funds which were made available by the U.S. Department of State under Title VIII (The Soviet-East European Research and Training Act of 1983, as amended). The analysis and interpretations contained herein are those of the author.

Executive Summary

The democratization of political systems and the switch to market economy that people in various parts of the world have experienced over the past twenty-five years have resulted in increased general interest in the state of public opinion. This heightened concern with understanding public views on socioeconomic and political transformations has led to a rise in the number of cross-national surveys, both academic and commercial. However, the participation of countries in cross-national research on public opinion is very uneven, not only due to economic factors but also for political and cultural reasons: there are leaders, well-developed countries of the Northwest who participate most often, and laggards of the South and East. To the extent that exclusion or underrepresentation commonly affects countries that are systematically different from those included, comparative studies are likely to encounter serious problems.

With this in mind, we focus on the post-communist countries of Europe, and examine their representation in cross-national research projects to determine the extent to which the coverage is uneven, and what factors account for such inequality. Contrary to other studies that examine the growth of public opinion research from the perspective of data quality and comparability of the countries already included, we analyze why some countries are repeatedly left out or underrepresented, whether these omitted countries differ systematically from those included, and what consequences are likely to occur in comparative research.

Introduction

The democratization of political systems and the switch to market economy that people in various parts of the world have experienced over the past twenty-five years have resulted in increased general interest in the state of public opinion. This heightened concern with understanding public views on socioeconomic and political transformations has led to a rise in the number of cross-national surveys, both academic and commercial.¹ However, the participation of countries in cross-national research on public opinion is very uneven, not only due to economic factors but also for political and cultural reasons: there are leaders, well-developed countries of the Northwest who participate most often, and laggards of the South and East.

To the extent that exclusion or underrepresentation commonly affects countries that are systematically different from those included, comparative studies are likely to encounter serious problems. Substantively, knowledge will be limited, impeding the ability to legitimately generalize findings and interpretations beyond the included regions. Methodologically, in research that treats countries as the framework for peoples' attitudes and behavior, and uses various techniques of contextual analysis and hierarchical modeling, results may be seriously biased as underrepresented countries distort the distribution of macro-level variables.

With this in mind, we focus on the post-communist countries of Europe, and examine their representation in cross-national research projects to determine the extent to which the coverage is uneven, and what factors account for such inequality. Contrary to other studies that examine the growth of public opinion research from the perspective of data quality and comparability of the countries already included, we analyze why some countries are repeatedly left out or underrepresented, whether these omitted countries differ systematically from those

included, and what consequences are likely to occur in comparative research. To address these issues we (1) describe major cross-national public opinion surveys, indicating the share of the European post-communist countries; (2) provide information about data availability from these surveys; and (3) discuss methodological issues relevant to comparative analyses in social sciences in general, and sociology and political science in particular.

Our analysis covers the period conventionally marked by the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) to the admission of a number of post-communist countries to the European Union (2004). The end of communism in Eastern Europe led to a significant reconfiguration of the region through processes of state disintegration, reconstruction, and the formation of new states. To capture these changes, we group the post-communist countries of Europe into two main categories, each with two subcategories:²

(A) Countries that emerged out of the former Soviet Union

(A1) Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova

(A2) The Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania

(B) Countries independent of the Soviet Union

(B1) countries largely maintaining their state configuration after 1989:

Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania

(B2) countries undergoing significant state reconfiguration after 1989:

Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Macedonia, Serbia-Montenegro, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

Given East Germany's special position following the unification with the German Federal Republic, we leave it out of the analysis. In addition, since the focus of our paper is Eastern Europe, we also exclude Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia, which formally belong to Europe, but are usually identified with the Caucasus region.

The differentiated communist legacy is important to an understanding of the current participation of East European countries in major projects involving public opinion research.

Under communism, public opinion research was severely limited, especially involving any international projects. However, within the communist bloc, research on public opinion was better developed in some countries than in others. For example in Poland, the Public Opinion Research Center was created in 1958; until the fall of communism it produced much useful data, sometimes in cooperation with foreign organizations. In the 1970s and 1980s, academic institutions in Poland also conducted a number of surveys, and in the last phase of the communist era, the Polish government opened a new public opinion research center.³

At the same time, Hungary and the former Yugoslavia were also relatively intensively engaged in public opinion research, often applying international standards. This kind of research was allowed even in some parts of the former Soviet Union, in some instances conducted through cross-national cooperation.⁴ In contrast, before 1990, public opinion surveys were practically nonexistent in the remote republics of the Soviet Union and such countries as, for example, Albania or Romania. This differentiated communist legacy is important to an understanding of the current participation of East European countries in major projects involving public opinion research.

Major Cross-national Projects on Public Opinion

To examine how the post-communist countries of Europe fare in comparative public opinion surveys, we focus on two broad categories of instruments: (a) large general cross-national surveys, and (b) specific East European surveys. While in many respects different from each other, these instruments are alike in that all are academically oriented; they cover a broad set of issues in the sense of a wide area of public opinion questions; all are being continued in

some form (directly, or indirectly, evolving into another project); and relatively large scientific production has emerged from these projects.

LARGE GENERAL CROSS-NATIONAL SURVEYS

In this section we describe selected large general cross-national surveys that are important in carrying out comparative analyses involving different countries, particularly comparisons of Western and Eastern Europe. These projects are: *World Values Survey* (WVS), *International Social Survey Program* (ISSP), *Comparative Study of Electoral Systems* (CSES), and *European Social Survey* (ESS). With regard to the election studies, we look only at those dealing with a wide range of political and economic opinion questions. Table 1 gives a synthetic description of these four major data sources, which we discuss in more detail below.

TABLE 1. SYNTHETIC DESCRIPTION OF MAJOR ACADEMIC CROSS-NATIONAL SURVEYS

Name of the survey	Acronym	Year of the first study	How frequently repeated	Number of countries ^a	Sample size ^b	Method of gathering data ^c
World Value Survey	WVS	1981	5 years	60	1,200	I, N
International Social Survey Program	ISSP	1987	1–2 years	32	1,500	I, M
Comparative Study of Electoral Systems	CSES	1996	4 years	50	1,500	I
European Social Survey	ESS	2001	2 years	23	2,500	I

^aRefers to the last edition (wave). The number of countries is approximate because in some cases one country is represented by two units (e.g., West and East Germany).

^bTarget sample size.

^cI—interview, M—mail questionnaire, N—for some countries it is unclear what method was used to gather data.

The World Value Survey (WVS)

At the beginning of the 1980s the European Value Survey was conducted in several countries ($N_k = 12$).⁵ This survey initiated the *World Value Survey*, in which more and more countries participated. Currently, the WVS constitutes a fundamental research project on attitudes and beliefs of the general public, encompassing sixty-six countries that cover over 80

percent of the world population. Its coverage of an extensive range of issues—from attitudes toward governments to post-materialist values—and large territorial representation make this project a useful tool for sociologists, political scientists, economists, and other social scientists.

The WVS was conducted in four waves: 1980–1983 ($N_k = 22$), 1990–1991 ($N_k = 42$), 1995–1996 ($N_k = 54$), and 1999–2001 ($N_k = 62$). National samples have differed in both methods of respondent selection (from multistage probability sampling to quota compilation) and sample size (from $N_i > 3,000$ to $N_i < 1,000$, with the optimum threshold $N_i = 1,500$). There are obvious holes in the fieldwork documentation: in many cases it is not even clear how the survey was conducted—whether face-to-face interviews took place in the respondent's home or the questionnaires were distributed to potential respondents and then collected by the staff. On the positive side, the WVS data clearly describe all of the variables and are accessible for analysis using standard statistical applications (SPSS, SAS, or STATA). A bibliography stemming from this project is available on the Internet.⁶

International Social Survey Program (ISSP)

This research originated as a result of the cooperation of four institutions conducting annual surveys in their respective countries: Germany—Zentrum für Umfragen, Methoden, und Analysen (ZUMA); the United States—National Opinion Research Center (NORC); the United Kingdom—Social and Community Planning Research (SCPR); and Australian National University (ANU). From 1985 to the present, thirty-five other countries joined the original four, most of them in Europe, but some in Asia (Philippines and Bangladesh) and Africa (South Africa). In practice, the ISSP questionnaires are included in more general survey schema, based on the U.S General Social Survey (GSS).

The ISSP modules concern a variety of topics such as the role of the government (1985, 1990, 1996), social networks (1986, 2001), social inequality (1987, 1992, 1999), family (1988, 1994, 2002), work orientations (1989, 1997, 2005), religion (1991, 1998), environment (1993, 2000), national identity (1995, 2003), and citizenship (2004). The bibliography contains 45 books, almost 250 journal articles, and 200 chapters in edited volumes.⁷

Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES)

Individual countries worldwide conduct surveys pertaining to the public's electoral preferences. To be comparable across space, such surveys require some coordination to assure that the research instruments are the same or equivalent. Comparative studies sometimes involve only certain regions of the world. A large set of data on electoral behavior in East European countries has been maintained by the Central Archive for Empirical Social Research, University of Cologne, but since it is limited regionally, we describe it in a separate section. Here, we focus on election studies conducted according to the same schema in various regions of the world.

The *Comparative Study of Electoral Systems* is a collaborative program of election studies conducted in over fifty countries. In these studies, a common module of the questionnaire is included in post-election surveys of each participant country. The main questionnaire items deal not only with vote choice, candidate and party evaluations, and attitudes toward the electoral system itself but also with general assessments of present and past economic and political conditions. In addition, the module contains a large range of sociodemographic variables. A particularly attractive feature of CSES is that survey data are supplemented by district-level and state-level information about the elections and their results.

The Web site of the CSES lists eight books, twenty-four journal articles, and thirty chapters in edited volumes.⁸ It also provides a summary of some results stemming from comparative analyses. These results deal with such issues as left-right self-placement, perceived fairness of the most recent election, and overall satisfaction with democracy.

The European Social Survey (ESS)

Substantively, the principal goal of this project is to monitor the attitudes, beliefs, and behavioral patterns of the European population primarily in the context of institutional change. However, there is another goal: to set high standards for cross-national survey research. Both goals are explained in detail in well-prepared documents of the ESS Directorate.⁹ The short description of ESS provided in the User Bulletin for the program is as follows:

*The European Social Survey (ESS) is an academically-driven social survey designed to chart and explain the interaction between Europe's changing institutions and the attitudes, beliefs and behaviour patterns of its diverse populations. The survey covers over 20 >> European nations and employs rigorous methodology. Funding for the central design and coordination of the ESS comes from the European Commission via its Foundation, which initiated the project. Funding for national data collection and coordination comes from funding agencies in participating countries.*¹⁰

The questionnaire includes a “core” module remains relatively constant from round to round. It focuses on political orientations (including public trust, political interest governance, and efficacy), social values, and economic attitudes (including attitudes toward well-being). A list of basic demographic variables is extensive although a lack of information about job income is a serious omission. Additional modules focus on particular issues such as immigration or gender roles.

The first round of the ESS was realized in 2002 with the intention of repeating surveys every second year. The data from the second round, completed in 2004, has been recently released. Other rounds are in preparation.

The ESS User Bulletins publish a list of papers in which data from the project were used or methodological issues of the surveys discussed. The number of bibliographical items is high (totaling over fifty papers) and steadily growing (in the User Bulletin of August 2005, fourteen articles are listed).¹¹

* * *

How are European post-communist countries represented in the cross-national public opinion surveys under discussion? To answer this question systematically, in Table 2 we list the frequencies with which each country participated in a given project, and the weighted sum of the participation. The former reveals unequal participation in particular projects while the latter is a measure across projects. The weighted sum was computed as an addition of the proportions in which a given country participated in each of the four projects, thus giving a theoretical maximum value of 4 and minimum value of 0.

Two aspects of the results are noteworthy. First, within the particular projects, representation is very unequal. For example, Slovenia participated in the *International Social Survey Program* in all thirteen waves, while eleven countries did not participate at all. All countries participated in at least one wave of the *World Value Survey*, although only Hungary participated in all four waves. Since the *Comparative Study of Electoral Systems* and the *European Social Survey* had only two waves, the range of inequality is, by definition, smaller.

TABLE 2. PARTICIPATION OF EUROPEAN POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES IN MAJOR ACADEMIC CROSS-NATIONAL SURVEYS: FREQUENCY AND LAST YEAR OF INCLUSION

	World Value Survey	International Social Survey Program	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems	European Social Survey	Weighted sum ^a (S ₁)	
Number of countries^b	60	32	50	26		
FREQUENCY						
Total	4	13	2	2		
A						
A1						
Russia	3	10	2	0	2.519	
Belarus	3	0	1	0	1.250	
Ukraine	2	0	1	1	1.500	
Moldova	1	0	0	0	0.250	
A2						
Estonia	3	0	0	1	1.250	
Latvia	3	7	0	0	1.289	
Lithuania	3	0	1	0	1.250	
B						
B1						
Albania	1	0	0	0	0.250	
Bulgaria	3	10	1	0	2.019	
Hungary	4	12	1	2	3.423	
Poland	3	10	2	2	3.519	
Romania	3	0	1	0	1.250	
B2						
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1	0	0	0	0.250	
Croatia	2	0	0	0	0.500	
Czech Republic	3	11	2	2	3.596	
Macedonia	1	0	0	0	0.250	
Serbia-Montenegro	2	0	0	0	0.500	
Slovakia	3	3	0	1	1.481	
Slovenia	3	13	1	2	3.250	

^aSum of the countries' values (frequencies of participation) divided by the respective totals (number of waves) for all four projects.

^bRefers to the last wave.

In general, Hungary and Poland (in the B1 group), and the Czech Republic and Slovenia (in the B2 group) lead in terms of participation frequency. Next come the countries that emerged from the former Soviet Union (in group A), except for Moldova (in group A1).

Second, across-surveys coverage of European post-communist countries is particularly uneven because the inequalities of all of the surveys included in the analysis tend to be cumulative. In terms of the weighted sum, the Czech Republic is on top, followed by Poland and Hungary. At the bottom we find Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia.

SPECIFIC EAST EUROPEAN SURVEYS

Two “siblings” of the *Standard Eurobarometer* were developed to cover Eastern Europe in public opinion research typical for the rest of Europe. Just after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the European Commission ordered the *Central and Eastern Eurobarometer* (CEEB). During 1990–97 a total of eight surveys were conducted in some Eastern European countries (see Table 3 for the frequency of inclusion of particular countries). In October 2001, the European Commission launched a new series of surveys, the *Candidate Countries Eurobarometer* (CCEB) in the thirteen countries applying for European Union membership (for East European countries included in the CCEB, see Table 3). After a three-year gap, from 1998 to 2000, the CCEB replaced the CEEB. Both the CCEB and CEEB are compatible with the *Standard Eurobarometer* in terms of substance and methodology.

There are other initiatives conducting surveys under the rubric *barometers*, not related to the structures of the European Union. The most important among them is an initiative coordinated by Richard Rose of the Center for the Study of Public Policy at the Scottish University Strathclyde called *New Barometers* (NB). Four projects are especially relevant for scholars studying the post-communist transition in Europe:

TABLE 3. COUNTRIES INCLUDED IN THE *CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROBAROMETER* (CEEB, 1990–1997), THE *CANDIDATE COUNTRIES EUROBAROMETER* (CCEB, 2001–2004), AND A SERIES OF *NEW BAROMETER* (NB) STUDIES (1991–2004), *ELECTION STUDIES OF EASTERN EUROPE* (ESEE, 1989–2002), AND *CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY* (CDEE, 1990–2001)

	CEEB, 1990–1997	CCEB 2001–2004	NB 1991–2004 ^a	ESEE 1989–2002	CDEE 1990–2001	Weighted sum ^b (S ₂)
A						
A1						
Russia ^c	4	0	13	3	2	2.773
Belarus	5	0	7	2	1	1.845
Ukraine	5	0	7	3	2	2.436
Moldova	1	0	2	0	0	0.279
A2						
Estonia	7	4	6	1	2	3.427
Latvia	7	4	6	1	1	2.927
Lithuania	7	4	6	1	2	3.427
B						
B1						
Albania	6	0	0	1	0	0.841
Bulgaria	8	4	7	6	2	4.084
Hungary	8	4	7	8	2	4.266
Poland	8	4	7	7	2	4.175
Romania	7	4	7	2	2	3.595
B2						
Bosnia-Herzegovina	0	0	2	0	0	0.154
Croatia	2	0	0	2	0	0.432
Czech Republic	8 ^d	4	7	11	2	4.539
Macedonia	5	0	0	0	0	0.625
Serbia-Montenegro	1	0	2	8	0	1.006
Slovakia	8 ^d	4	7	2	2	3.720
Slovenia	6	4	7	4	2	3.652

^aIncludes *New Democracy Barometer* (NDB), *New Europe Barometer* (NEB), *New Baltic Barometer* (NBB), and *New Russia Barometer* (NRB).

^bSum of the countries' values (frequencies of participation) divided by the respective totals (number of waves) for all five projects.

^cIncludes studies conducted in Greater Moscow, European USSR, and European Russia.

^dCzechoslovakia in 1990–91.

1. Surveys of the *New Democracy Barometer* (NDB) conducted in Belarus, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Croatia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine. Over the period 1991–98, this survey was conducted five times. In some instances Moldova and East Germany were included.

2. Surveys of the *New Europe Barometer* (NEB), initiated in 2001. The first edition included Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia. The latest edition began in 2005.

3. Surveys of the *New Baltic Barometer* (NBB), conducted in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Since 1993, five waves of the NBB have been administered. In 2001, the NBB became part of the NEB.

4. Surveys of the *New Russia Barometer* (NRB) launched in 1992 and continuing to the present. These surveys are conducted with the close cooperation of VCIOM, a leading public opinion research center in Russia.

In addition to barometer-type surveys, two other projects are worth mentioning: *Election Studies of Eastern Europe* (ESEE), covering 1989–2002, and *Consolidation of Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe* (CDEE), covering 1990–2001. Both projects concentrate on emerging democracies and the formation of a market economy. They include an extensive set of demographic variables, including social background characteristics.

The representation of East European countries in cross-national surveys devoted to this region is displayed in Table 3. Generally, we see a pattern of participation similar to that displayed in Table 2. Group B is covered best, with Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic again leading in terms of representation. However, Bulgaria is not far from these leaders, and Romania is not far from Slovenia. The surveys do a fairly good job of including former Soviet

Union members, except for Moldova. Again, this country's coverage is low, as it is coverage of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, and Albania.

Availability of Data and Data Archives

Most of the data from surveys discussed in this article are available from the standard data archives: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) at the University of Michigan, UK Data Archive (UKDA) at the University of Essex, and Central Archive for Empirical Social Research (CAESR) at the University of Cologne.¹² The availability of these data from the original sources, which give more detail about the projects, is summarized in Table 4.

It is essential for East European countries to create their own data archives to store cross-national surveys. In 2002 the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) organized a workshop on social science data archives in Eastern Europe. As a result, the East European Data Archive Network (EDAN) was created. This organization helps to establish data archives and solve common problems in adjusting the East European data archives to the standards of advanced Western data archives. The GESIS Service Agency¹³ (Eastern Europe/Central Archive) is the German member of EDAN and serves as the coordinator of all activities concerning the network, and its relationships with the International Federation of Data Archives (IFDO), and the Council of European Social Science Data Archives (CESSDA). The EDAN Web site provides a list of the national archives of Eastern Europe that cooperate within the network.

TABLE 4. AVAILABILITY OF DATA FROM THE MAJOR CROSS-NATIONAL SURVEYS

Name of the survey	Acronym	Type of organization ^a	Project director or contact person	Availability ^b	Documentation ^c	Web site (www.)
LARGE GENERAL CROSS-NATIONAL SURVEYS						
<i>World Value Survey</i>	WVS	C	R. Inglehart	I	B	worldvaluessurvey.org
<i>International Social Survey Program</i>	ISSP	C	K. Skjak ^d	B	B	issp.com
<i>Comparative Study of Electoral Systems</i>	CSES	C, U	V. Sapiro	I	A, B	umich.edu/~cses
<i>European Social Survey</i>	ESS	C	R. Jovell	I	A	europeansocialsurvey.org
EAST EUROPEAN SURVEYS						
<i>Central and Eastern Eurobarometer</i>	CEEB	I	M. Backup ^e	A	A	europa.eu.int
<i>Candidate Countries Eurobarometer</i>	CCEB	I	M. Backup ^e	A	A	europa.eu.int
<i>New Europe Barometer^f</i>	NEB	U	R. Rose	P	B	cspp.strath.ac.uk
<i>Election Studies of Eastern Europe</i>	ESEE	U, F	H. Weinen ^e	A		geis.org/en/data_service
<i>Consolidation of Democracy</i>	CDEE	U	E. Roller ^f	A		geis.org/en/data_service

^aC—consortium, I—international organization, U—university or other academic institution, P—private organization, F—foundation.

^bA—direct access to Web site, A—easy access through data archive, B—restricted access through data archive, R—access regulated by commercial rules, L—only aggregate data available.

^cA—excellent documentation, B—fair documentation, C—additional information necessary.

^dAssistant director, ISSP.

^eCoordinator.

^fOther co-principal investigators: D. Fuchs, H-D. Klingemann, B. Wessels, and J. Simon.

In the future the Central European Opinion Research Group (CEORG), a newly established research foundation, could be crucial in coordinating cross-national research on public opinion in Eastern Europe.¹⁴ The core of this organization is built around major public opinion research institutes in the Czech Republic (Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění, CVVM), Hungary (Társadalomkutatási Intézet, TARKI), and Poland (Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej, CBOS). However, the CEORG Web site already provides comparable data not only from these three countries but also from Slovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, Lithuania, Estonia, and (occasionally) Ukraine.¹⁵

Methodological Consequences of Countries' Misrepresentation in International Projects

Extensive literature exists on the methodological issues of cross-national analysis of survey data. In this article, we examine only those issues that stem from uneven representation of East European societies in public opinion instruments. In particular, we discuss the consequences that result from countries' unequal participation in international projects, focusing on (a) generalizability of findings for all of Eastern Europe, and (b) inferences regarding the impact of country-level characteristics. In each case we indicate specific biases introduced by the misrepresentation of East European countries in the pool of all countries that participate in the international projects.

First, and perhaps most obvious, the systematic exclusion or under-representation of some countries affects research that is devoted to detailed descriptions of peoples' attitudes and behaviors in certain parts of the world. Not having enough survey data on, for example, Belarus, Moldova, or Albania, prevents us from legitimately generalizing findings and interpretations to Eastern Europe as a whole. In addition, this kind of bias is very unfavorable with respect to area studies: the exclusion of certain countries leads to incomplete knowledge about the region.

Methodological problems related to uneven representation go far beyond these obvious points, however. They pertain especially to research that treats countries as a macro-level context for peoples' attitudes and behavior. Oriented toward finding regularities of the impact of country-level characteristics on individual-level characteristics, this type of study usually employs various techniques of contextual analysis and hierarchical modeling. Since country-level characteristics most often refer to political and economic development, the results can be seriously biased if societies that are excluded or underrepresented distort the distribution of macro-level variables. Thus, the important question is whether the extent of participation of East

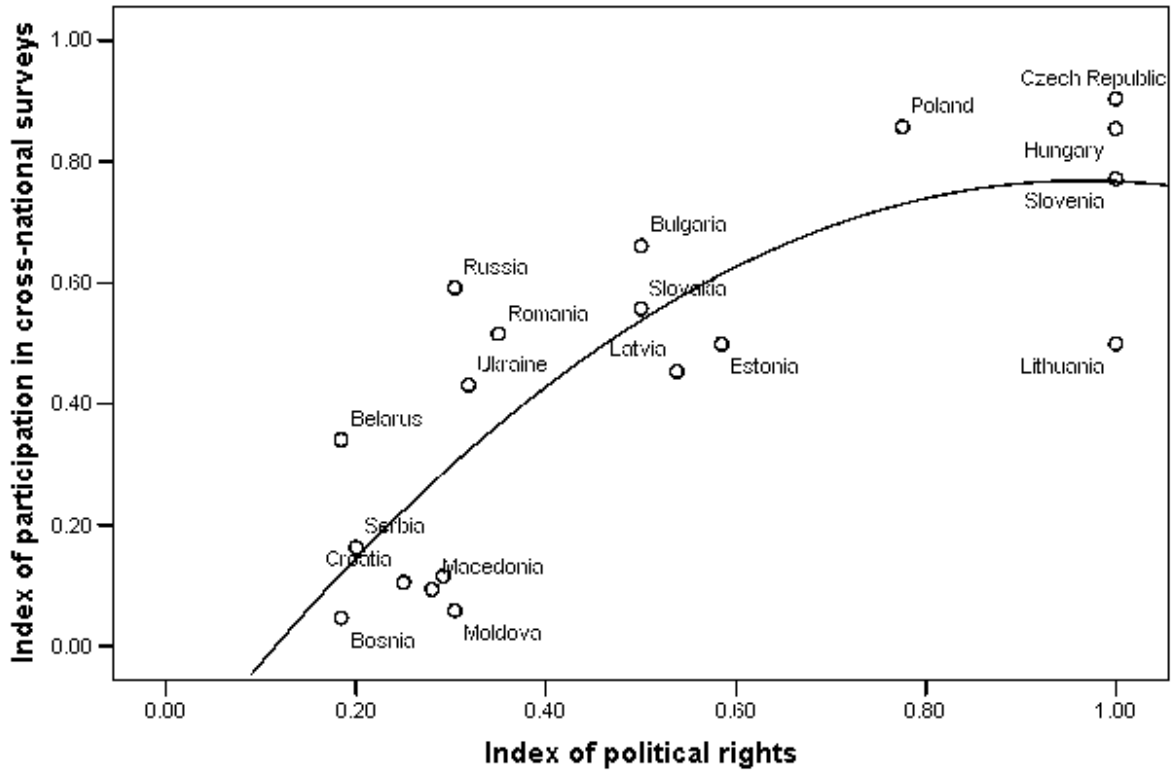
European countries in cross-national research is closely related to political and economic characteristics.

To examine this issue, we constructed a global measure of countries' participation in cross-national public opinion surveys by averaging weighted indexes describing the extent of countries' participation in both large cross-national projects and specific East European projects. We use the formula: $\text{Global Index} = \frac{1}{2} [S_1 / 4 + S_2 / 5]$, where S_1 and S_2 refer to the weighted sums (cf. last column in Tables 2 and 3), and numbers 4 and 5 refer to the number of respective projects. For nineteen countries included in our analysis, this global index ranges from 0.05 to 0.90, with the mean 0.45, and standard deviation 0.29. The Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary have the highest scores (index ≥ 0.85), the Baltic countries—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—fall in the middle ($0.50 \geq \text{index} \geq 0.45$), and Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Moldova have the lowest scores (index ≤ 0.10). The index mirrors well the differentiation of countries with respect to their participation in cross-national public opinion surveys.

We also constructed an *index of democratization*, and an *index of economic well-being*. The index of democratization is based on the Freedom House ratings of political rights.¹⁴ We took an average of these ratings for the period 1994–2001 and inversed it, so that a high score indicates a high level of implementation of political rights. The index of economic well-being is simply gross national income per capita expressed in U.S. dollars adjusted for purchasing power parity.¹⁷

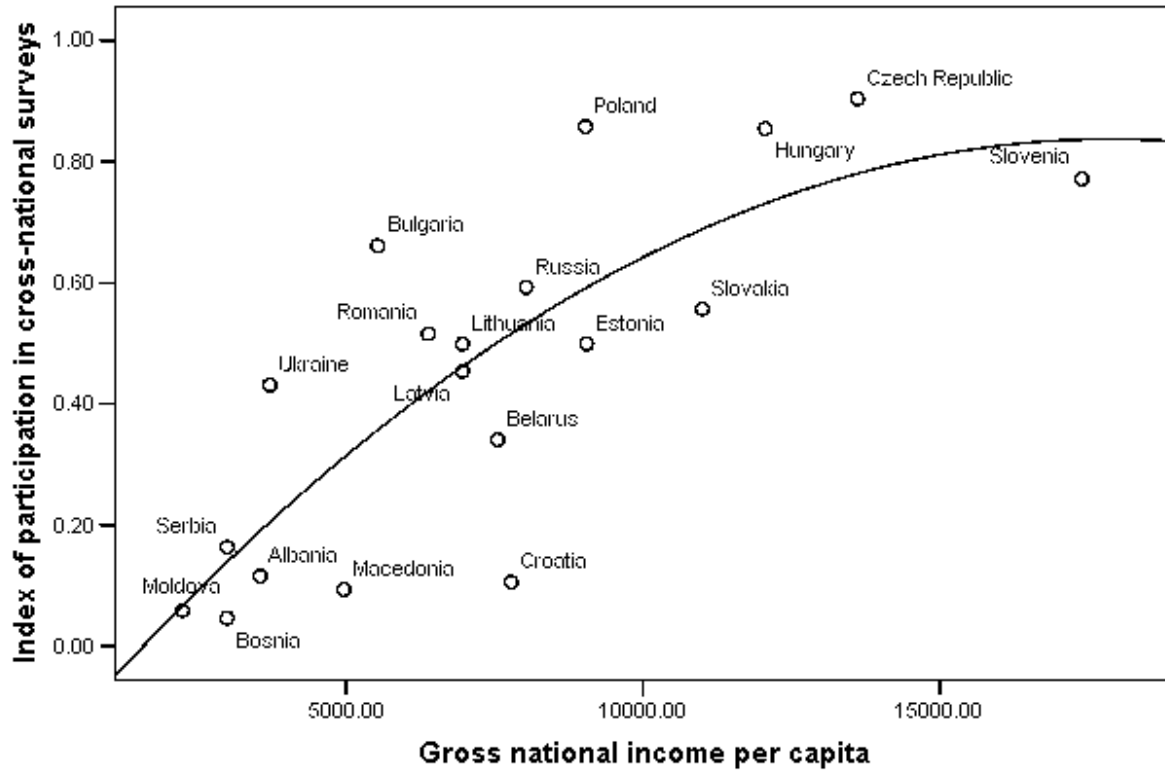
In Figures 1 and 2, values of the global index of participation in cross-national surveys are plotted against the index of democratization and the index of economic well-being, respectively.

Figure 1. Implementation of Political Rights and Participation in Cross-National Surveys in Eastern European Countries



In both Figures 1 and 2, three clusters of countries can be clearly distinguished. The first cluster, denoting high participation in cross-national surveys and relatively high levels of political and economic development, is composed of the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, and Slovenia. The second cluster is located in the middle of the axis identified with the index of participation in cross-national research and axes of democratization and economic well-being. This cluster contains Russia, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia, and Estonia. Since Lithuania scores relatively high on the index of political rights, it functions as an

Figure 2. Gross National Income and Participation in Cross-National Surveys in Eastern European Countries



outlier of this cluster in Figure 1. However, it is in the center of the second cluster in Figure 2.

Finally, the third cluster, denoting low participation in cross-national surveys and relatively low levels of political and economic development, is composed of Albania, Moldova, Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia, and Croatia.

The indexes of political rights and gross national income per capita are related to each other: they have a shared variance of 50–60 percent, depending on whether these variables are expressed in their raw scores or transformed logarithmically. However, each of these variables exerts a significant effect on the index of participation in cross-national surveys even if they are mutually controlled (cf. Table 5, Model III). Taken together, they explain over half of the variability in the index of participation in cross-national surveys. Thus, knowing the

implementation of political rights and the level of economic well-being of a given country allows one to predict the extent to which this country collaborates with other countries on survey research.

TABLE 5. REGRESSION OF THE INDEX OF PARTICIPATION IN CROSS-NATIONAL SURVEYS ON THE INDEX OF POLITICAL RIGHTS AND GROSS NATIONAL INCOME, FOR EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Independent variables	Model I		Model II		Model III	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Index of political rights ^a	0.397**	0.067	—	—	0.254**	0.083
Gross national income per capita ^a			0.408**	0.076	0.216*	0.089
Constant	0.788**	0.069	-3.129**	0.673	-1.229	0.830
Adjusted R^2 , F (degrees of freedom)	$R^2 = 0.657$, $F = 35.5$ (1)		$R^2 = 0.603$, $F = 28.4$ (1)		$R^2 = 0.734$, $F = 25.8$ (2)	

^aIn logarithmic form.
* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

Conclusion

This paper examines whether reliable analysis of public opinion polls in post-communist countries is possible, given presently available data. To make this assessment, we compare international surveys that make explicit claims about providing cross-national data on the post-communist countries of Europe. Specifically, we examine the *World Values Survey*, the *International Social Survey Program*, the *Comparative Study of Electoral Systems*, the *European Social Survey*, and several specific East European surveys with respect to the presence or absence of particular European states. We demonstrate that some of the European post-communist countries have not been appropriately represented to draw substantive conclusions about the cross-national differences between the old and new Europe. Specifically, we show that the extent of participation in international projects is strongly related to countries' political and economic development, measured by the index of political rights and gross national income, respectively.

Notes

1. Frank Louis Rusciano, *World Opinion and the Emerging International Order* (New York: Praeger, 1998). Basic information on public opinion surveys around the world is contained in the yearbook *Index to International Public Opinion* (IIPO), published since 1978. In preparing this article we used selected IIPO volumes: Elizabeth Hann Hasting and Philip K. Hasting, *Index to International Public Opinion* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1990, 1994, 1998); Elizabeth Hann Hasting, *Index to International Public Opinion* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2003). We also used the monthly review *World Opinion Update*. The *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, published under the auspices of the World Association of Public Opinion, provides useful information on international surveys and problems of comparative research. A recent article on comparative public opinion research and its methodological problems that we found very informative is Anthony Heath, S. Fisher, and S. Smith, "The Globalization of Public Opinion Research," *Annual Review of Political Science* 8 (June 2005): 297–333.
2. Kazimierz M. Slomczynski and Goldie Shabad, "Reconfiguration of Eastern Europe After the Fall of Communism: An Overview," *International Journal of Sociology* 28, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 3–14. For concise information on the reconfiguration of Eastern Europe before and after the fall of communism, see Richard Crampton and Ben Crampton, *Atlas of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge, 1997).
3. David Mason, *Public Opinion and Political Change in Poland, 1980–1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). In Poland, some surveys were conducted by clandestine organizations; see Marek Tabin, "Podziemne badania ankietowe w Polsce" [Underground Survey Research in Poland], *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* 34, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 203–11.
4. Darrell Slider, "Party-Sponsored Public Opinion Research in the Soviet Union," *Journal of Politics* 47, no. 1 (February 1985): 209–27.
5. In this article we assume the convention that N refers to the sample size: N_k denotes the number of countries, and N_i denotes the number of persons.
6. See, www.worldvaluessurveys.org. The list of publications from the WVS has more than 300 items. The most important are: Paul R. Abramson and Ronald Inglehart, *Value Change in Global Perspective* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995); Ronald Inglehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Societies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Ronald Inglehart, Miguel Basanez, and Alejandro Moreno, *Human Values and Beliefs: A Cross-Cultural Sourcebook* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998); Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Ronald Inglehart, Miguel Basanez, Jaime Diez-Medrano, Loek Halman, and Ruud Luijkx, *Human Beliefs and Values: A Cross-Cultural Sourcebook Based on the 1999–2002 Values Surveys* (2004): Mexico: Siglo XXI Editores; Peter Ester, Loek Halman and Ruud de Moor, eds., *The Individualizing Society: Value Change in Europe and North America* (Tilburg: Tilburg University Press, 1995); Jan van Deth and Elinor Scarbrough, eds., *The Impact of Values* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Dieter Fuchs, eds., *Citizens and the State: Changing Public Attitudes toward Government in Western Europe* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Loek Halman and Neil Nevitte, eds., *Political Value Change in Western Democracies: Integration, Values, Identification and Participation* (Tilburg: Tilburg University Press, 1997); Pippa Norris, ed., *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
7. See, www.issp.org/trends.htm. Most cited publications pertain to the perception of social inequalities, political attitudes, environmental issues, sex roles and friendship patterns, and national identity. A sample of these publications includes: Wilhelmus Arts, Piet Hermkens, and Peter Van Wijck, "Modernization Theory, Income Evaluation, and the Transition of Eastern Europe," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 40, no. 1 (February 1999): 61–78; Jonathan Kelley and M.D.R. Evans, "The Legitimation of Inequality: Occupational Earnings in Nine Nations," *American Journal of Sociology* 99, no. 3 (July 1993): 75–125; Jonathan Kelley and M.D.R. Evans, "Class Conflict in Six Western Nations," *American Sociological Review* 60, no. 2 (April 1995): 157–78; Tom Smith, "The Polls: The Welfare State in Cross-National Perspective," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 51, no. 4

(Fall 1987): 404–21; James Davis, “Attitudes Toward Free Speech in Six Countries in the mid 1980s: Australia, Austria, Great Britain, Italy, the United States, and West Germany,” *European Sociological Review* 6, no. 2 (May 1990): 1–14; Merove Gijsberts and Paul Niuewbeerta, “Class Cleavages in Party Preference in the New Democracies in Eastern Europe: A Comparison with Western Democracies,” *European Societies* 2, no. 4 (December 2000): 397–430; Elke Bruckner and Karin Knaup, “Women’s and Men’s Friendships in Comparative Perspective,” *European Sociological Review* 9, no. 3 (July 1993): 249–66; Knud Knudsen and Kari Wearness, “Reactions to Global Processes of Change: Attitudes toward Gender Roles and Marriage in Modern Nations,” *Comparative Social Research* 18, no. 2 (March 1999): 161–96; Kathleen M. Dowley and Brian D. Silver, “Subnational and National Loyalty: Cross-National Comparisons,” *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 12, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 357–71. A general description of the ISSP project is contained in a book by Niko Tos, Peter Ph. Mohler, and Brina Malnar, eds., *Modern Society and Values: A Comparative Analysis Based on the ISSP Project* (Ljubljana: University of Ljubljana and ZUMA, 2000); see also a special issue of the *International Journal of Sociology* (vol. 30, no. 1, Spring 2002), edited by Kazimierz M. Slomczynski and Robert Kunovich.

8. See, www.cses.org/resources. Three books are of particular importance: Pippa Norris, *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Mark N. Franklin and Christopher Wlezien, eds., *The Future of Election Studies* (Amsterdam: Pergamon, 2002); and Hans-Dieter Klingeman, ed., *A Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, 1995–2000*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

9. See, Ruth O’Shea, Caroline Bryson, and Roger Jowell, “Comparative Attitudinal Research in Europe,” a document written on behalf of the Central Coordinating Team of the EES, posted on the EES Web site, www.europeansocialsurvey.org.

10. See, User Bulletins No. 1, November 2004 through No. 4, August 2005, www.europeansocialsurvey.org.

11. Ibid.

12. See, www.icpsr.umich.edu/, www.data-archive.ac.uk/, and www.za.uni-koeln.de/, respectively.

13. See, www.gesis.org.

14. See, www.ceorg-europe.org.

15. See, for example, www.ceorg-europe.org/research2001_10.pdf, www.ceorg-europe.org/research2001_9.pdf, and www.ceorg-europe.org/research2004_9.html

16. See, www.freedomhouse.org/ratings/index.htm. Original ratings range from 1 (highest) to 7 (lowest). For the period 1994–2001 the data are available for all East European countries, with the exception of Serbia and Montenegro. In this exceptional case, we assigned an arbitrary number 5, typical for countries experiencing deep external and internal conflicts. For all countries, taking into account data for seven years results in a relatively stable measure of democratic progress.

17. World Bank, *World Development Report 2002: Building Institutions for Markets* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), Table 1, pp. 232–33.