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State identity in Europe today: Some determinants

Abstract

Objectives: The article is aimed at studying the differentiation of the strength of state identity in selected European countries and attempts to explain the observed tendencies.

Research Design & Methods: The empirical part is based upon three waves of the International Social Survey Programme entitled 'National Identity'.

Findings: The results show that state identities in Western European countries are well-developed. Central/Eastern European societies are characterised by lower levels of state identity than Western European ones. We attribute this phenomenon to legacies of the past, especially the to many centuries of economic underdevelopment of the region that was enhanced increased by communism and low levels of social capital in Eastern European societies.

Contribution: This study links the state identity of citizens of European countries with their living conditions and past legacies.

Article Classification: Research article

Keywords: state identity, national identity, social capital, communist legacy, post-communist countries

JEL classification: H1, H4, P3, P5

Introduction

There are group identities. Among them national identities are particularly strong and expansionary. National identity was born in Europe as an effect of industrial and national revolutions and has ever since been very strongly bound together with civic identity (Habermas, 1994). As a consequence citizenship has acquired a double status. It indicates the legal status of an individual, its main feature being the assignment of the individual to a particular country (political status). It also signifies the state of appurtenance to a culturally-defined nation. This belonging results in a mental bond of the individual to the group that constitutes the nation-state. However, particular European societies may vary by the significance of the cultural and political dimensions in building their national identity. Gerard Delanty is willing to recognise the primacy of the cultural factor, 'the political identity of the individual is shaped less by his or her relation to the state, as an apparatus of power, than to the nation as a moral community' (Delanty, 1995, p. 161). This issue is an empirical one which we raise in a further part of this article. In particular European countries the state-building and nation-building processes proceeded differently, which may affect the strength of the civic and

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cultural dimensions in construction of this form of collective consciousness traditionally referred to as the national identity (Tilly, 1975; Gellner, 1983). Regardless of the big wave of the return of nationalism currently observed in Europe that attenuates the civic dimension as a source of national solidarity, there is rationale behind seeing the opposite process: the releasing of civic identity from under the weight of national consciousness (Delanty, 2000; Habermas, 1992). The question of the components or dimensions of national identity is subject to lively debate in literature (Kunovich, 2009; Jones & Smith, 2001; Hjerm, 1998). The opposition that is most commonly exposed is one between the ethnic and the civic conceptions of the nation and, accordingly, ethnic, and civic identities (Brubaker 1996; Shulman, 2002; Zubrzycki, 2001).

The main contribution of this article is a proposition of a novel concept of state identity as an individual-level phenomenon, theoretically linking the prevalence of attitudes related to the latter to both past legacies and contemporary living conditions of citizens and empirical demonstration of its diversity among the nations of Europe as well as that which people experience in their everyday life as having a crucial role in determining the intensity of state identity.

Defining state identity

Based on the given inspirations, in the conceptualisation of our research we propose a distinction between ethnic identity, based on individual relations to a culturally-understood ethnic community organised within a state (language, values, myths, common past), and state identity, whose foundation is the relationship of citizens with the state as a community of citizens. We treat these forms of identity as relatively autonomous dimensions of national identity that can be studied separately. In this article we want to focus on the state identity. This requires the indicating of the means of manifestation of state identity in the consciousness of individuals. Typical indicators of the connection of an individual to the state are as follows: a) the awareness of belonging to a particular country and a sense of connection with that country; b) the awareness of one's rights and obligations, the belief that citizenship is 'the right to have rights' (Arendt, as cited in Somers, 2008, p. 5); c) the belief that the state, whose citizen one is, is better than other countries in some important respects; d) location in a geographical space defined by the borders of the state ('state is merely and essentially an arena, a place,'; Mann, 1984, p. 187); and e) a tendency to activity within the structures of a civil society (Turner, 1993; Shotter, 1993; Somers, 2008).

What we suggest here is a distributive understanding of state identity, as a form of group consciousness that manifests itself at the individual level as a set of beliefs about the state and the citizens composing the nation-state. We directly refer to the social identity theory of Henri Tajfel (1981): individuals perceive themselves as belonging to some social categories, they identify with other persons belonging to those categories or at least they refer to them, they share some beliefs and emotions with them and their 'I' includes a vital feature of 'we'. Therefore, individualistically understood state identity has a social characteristic in the sense that it is socially endowed and confirmed in the course of everyday interactions. It is derived from some normative patterns included in state-disseminated ideologies through, for example, the education system (Acuff, 2012).

The concept of 'state identity' is congenial to 'state identification'. We assume that the former refers to identity understood as 'I', 'Self' or to a certain self-knowledge of the agent consisting of relatively stable beliefs of an individual about themselves and their attitudes towards the state and fellow citizens. The concept of 'state identification' refers to the process of self-recognition and identifying oneself as a member of a particular civic community; the emphasis here is on the action, the process – phenomena limited in time and variable. Identification defined as such does not

have to be connected with an affective attitude towards the community.

Within the preliminary considerations, it is necessary to emphasise that the meaning we hereby assign to the concept of state identity is different from the sense of this term in the theory of international relations. There state identity will be a feature of a particular country that is considered, with reference to the legacy of Max Weber, as an organisational actor which is characterised by solid traits and interests which guide the actor's actions. Alexander Wendt (1999, pp. 193–245), one of the main proponents of this idea, emphasises that the process of anthropomorphising the state is entirely justified and is much more than just a metaphor. Thus understood, state identity is also subject, like individual identities, to the process of confirmation by significant others. These are the other countries that together form the international system.

In our understanding the state is also a collective actor, but it is all about how the citizens refer to it, not what the behaviour towards the state displayed by other collective entities (e.g. corporations or labour unions) is. For citizens the state is that which locates them in the social and political space; an object invoked by individuals in response to the standard identity question 'Who are you?'. So when we hear the answer 'I am Russian/Polish/French', we interpret it primarily as an indication of the membership of a country: citizenship.

Theoretical argument

The basic questions of our article are as follows: 'What is the differentiation of the strength of state identity in contemporary European societies?'; 'What would explain this diversification across countries?'; and 'Are these identities permanent or is their strength changing?'.

Our expectations are based on the assumption that the intensity of individual attitudes of state identity has its roots in both the past processes and contemporary living conditions in a country. The former matters simply because the formation of states and nations leading to the nation-state phenomenon lasted for centuries. The latter is expected to play an important role, because the state constitutes the environment for every individual to live, develop, and prosper. In the following paragraphs we provide detailed hypotheses regarding these factors.

The point of departure for legacy-based expectations is a well-known distinction between two main paths leading to a modern nation-state. One, typical for countries such as France or England, commenced when an existing state (a medieval monarchy) developed its bureaucracy so it could effectively exercise authority over its territory. The clerks and formal institutions such as the state-managed education system were the factors building the bond with a larger entity resulting in the emergence of the nation-state.[1] Another path was typical for countries such as Germany or Italy and began with a cultural awakening of the national consciousness lead by artists, poets, and philosophers who preached the idea of an ethnic 'Volk'. This process created attributional grounds for a nation-state constituting the national habitat.

Both paths were elite-driven, although the former model relies on actions of elites with real political power and the latter involves intellectuals who possess no actual authority. These two models explain relatively well the formation of national and state identity in Western Europe. In the countries which followed either of these routes the junction of the national and the civic is not problematic (Linz & Stepan, 1996, pp. 28-9).

Eastern Europe had experienced a path that didn't follow either of the aforementioned models. The medieval monarchies succumbed to the reign of great foreign dynasties such as the Habsburgs, the Hohenzollerns, the Romanovs and the Ottomans. Their lieges were of diverse ethnic origin, speaking often dissimilar languages and professing various religions.

[1] A detailed discussion of the role of education in creating national identity can be found in Darden and Grzymala-Busse (2006, pp. 90–4) and Gellner (1983).

The ideology of nationalism may have penetrated the empires, but because of the multidimensional diversity of the societies it was not possible to follow the exemplar of France or England. Also, the cultural distance between the elite and the vast population of the empire was too broad to allow the creation of a national bond. The only state that peoples in Eastern Europe could have thought about as their own and relate to was the memory (or a myth) of a medieval entity. Thus the only possible reaction to the spread of the national ideology was the creation of a German-like conception of 'Volk' (Crawford & Lijphart, 1995, pp. 186-7). The postulate of creating an independent habitat – the nation-state – followed; although it could have been only achieved by releasing from the dominion of the empire. The notion of a nation resulted from this process was based on cultural features such as language, religion or customs. Nascent Eastern European national identities were not as strongly bound with the civic identity as in the West. Thus, based on the argument developed so far we expect the state identity in Eastern Europe nowadays to be significantly weaker than in Western Europe.

The nation-states in Eastern Europe blossomed after the end of World War I. The modernisation theory would postulate the model of nationhood to converge with the one observed in the West. However, the process was inhibited by World War II and the new division of the continent. Countries behind the Iron Curtain fell under the rule of the new Soviet empire. Can the differentiation of state identity in Europe be considered a legacy of the communist ideology based on Marxism? Marxism turns against the state, because it constitutes the main instrument of class exploitation. It promotes a vision of classless and stateless societies, and it is also suspicious of any national ideologies.

This set of beliefs was not disseminated in communist countries, with the exception of the first decade of communism in the USSR. The circulated ideology was that of national Bolshevism and its various local alterations that existed in particular countries of the empire. In practice, communism was trying to build national pride on the one hand, which was aided by an intrusive propaganda of success and a specific historical policy, and, on the other hand, to strengthen the citizens' bond with the state. With time, communist nationalism became a better and better instrument of control over societies, as well as it supplanted internationalist contents, and constituted an important legislative resource for the authorities of individual countries (Anderson, 1991).

It is also worth noting that the rudimentary sources of political authority in communist countries were not local. With some notable exceptions, such as Bulgaria, the communist parties were either perceived as agents of foreign control or governing against the interest of the nation. The peoples of Eastern Europe once again stood against states that weren't theirs. Consequent changes of political borders in the region in the 20th century also affected the formal civic status of many people. If one holds three different citizenship in a lifetime, that is supposed to make his/hers state identity weaker (Linz & Stepan, 1996, p. 29).

Another legacy-based hypothesis that is well-grounded in theory, and one that can be applied to explain the differences in state identities, refers to Max Weber's famous thesis about the impact of Protestant ethics on people's social practices in the economic sphere. Although the process of secularisation is advanced in Europe, not only are current religious practices significant for a range of values of particular societies, but what is also important is the religious tradition dominant in a given society (Norris & Inglehart, 2004; Rusciano, 2003, pp. 365–6). In our analysis we accept a simple division of European countries into those with Protestant and non-Protestant (i.e. Catholic or Orthodox) traditions, respectively. We expect the countries with dominant Protestant traditions to maintain stronger state identity.

However, a question remains: 'What is the mechanism that translates the Protestant tradition into a greater satisfaction with the citizenship of and pride in the achievements of a country?' Many sociological beliefs in special virtues of the

Protestant societies have been negatively verified in the course of empirical research. Analysing the data collected within the World Values Study, Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart (2004) state that people living in Protestant societies today do not stand out as those with a greater commitment to economic values characteristic of the free market, or a greater commitment to the liberal vision of the state. There is also no empirical basis to conclude that Protestant societies today have higher ethical standards that could foster good governance or trust in business. But the fact that Protestant societies nowadays do not have features that aid the development of capitalism does not imply that such relatedness was absent in the past. Norris and Inglehart's findings suggest a hypothesis that religious tradition could have affected the level of state identities through the factors which are involved in the formation of social capital of individual societies. We share the understanding of Robert Putnam (2000, pp. 15–28) of social capital as a certain condition of social ties and the level of mutual trust between individuals. State identity is particularly aided by one of the components of social capital, namely a generalised and distributed trust.

Both of the arguments regarding differing European legacies rely on the assumption that not just the past but even distant history influences the attitudes of contemporary persons. The post-communist countries are expected to share several important traits. This assumption posits our research within the comparatively oriented area studies of the social and political realms of Eastern Europe existing in the field of sociology and political and cultural studies (Bernhard & Jasiewicz, 2015). The adopted perspective implies the use of the concept of legacy for describing the effects of the past exerted on the contemporary world. It can be defined as the current state of affairs of interest resulting from past conditions or the outcome presupposed to result from the antecedent. The outcome qualifies as a legacy only if that explanatory factor ceased to directly operate at some point before the outcome is observed (Wittenberg, 2015, p. 369). The Eastern European post-communist countries are now free from foreign rule and there is no reason for national identity to be separated from state identity anymore.

Legacies also defy 'the initial constellation of actors and the distribution of their resources at the beginning of a regime change' (Gel'man, 2008, p. 159). They 'impose structural constraints on the political actors' actions and provides them with a set of resources available for mobilisation during the process of regime change' (Gel'man, 2008, p. 159). A similar approach is represented by Kitschelt (1986), Elster *et al*. (1998, pp. 60–2, 293), and Crawford and Lijphart (1995, p. 172). This exhibits the significance of a legacy. The separateness of the attitudes regarding the nation as the people sharing common customs and towards the state may be exploited by political entrepreneurs as it provides grounds for effective anti-establishment appeal leading to electoral successes of right-wing populism.

The study in this article follows the perspective emphasising the distinctiveness of Leninist socio-economic and political legacies (Pop-Eleches, 2015, p. 392). We argue that the post-communist countries possess a complex of distinctive features that affect the intensity of state identity. The factors determining the phenomenon explored are not exclusively connected with a communist past. They might lie in the times of early modernity or even some path-dependency tracked from the Middle Ages. We engage the category of post-communist countries to signify both what remains of the past of national development under dynastic rule of empires and the consequences of communist rule (Wittenberg, 2015, p. 371).

The second group of hypotheses regarding the strength of the state identity expect it to be related to the living conditions in a country. People perceive and demand the state to be responsible for the condition of the economy, everyday security and public services (Raciborski, 2011). Ensuring the delivery of these goods is performed by the government apparatus by implementing countless public polices every day. The created emotional state identity is a reciprocal of the goods

provided by the state. In our analysis the material living conditions are represented by the level of economic development (expressed as GDP per capita). Also, social capital may be treated as a variable representing the contemporary living conditions in a country rather than a representation of past legacies (Putnam, 2000; Dekker & Uslaner, 2001). Both of those arguments are consistent with the expected effects of the communist legacy. Post-communist countries are significantly less economically developed than the ones in Western Europe and have a lower level of social capital.

Table A1 in the Appendix shows the results of the measurement of social capital in the form of average values of an index introduced later in this article for the data from the 2002 and 2012 ESS waves. Unsurprisingly, the top countries, the societies of which are characterised by the highest level of social capital, include well-developed countries that never experienced communism, such as Denmark, Norway and Finland. There is also no surprise at the bottom of the ranking: Bulgaria, Poland and Slovakia.

The hypotheses developed so far may be treated as competitive explanations for the differentiation of state identity. Is it a communist past or economic development that matters? Is it a Protestant legacy or social capital which explains the different intensity of state identity?

The above-cited legacy definitions also suggest another way these past-reliant arguments may help us to understand social phenomena. Past legacies exert their influence not directly, but instead as factors moderating the relationship between other variables. They do so by creating context. Therefore we expect that not only does the diversity of legacies matter for the *strength* of state identity, but also it may modify the effects of other variables, for example the impact of economic development and social capital may differ depending on past legacies. Here we abstain from formulating any precise expectations in regard to these possible moderating effects, but we test the significance of such interactions in the empirical part of this article.

The final question we explore in this paper regards the permanency of state identity. It has been argued so far that the explored complex of attitudes was generated in a *longue-durées* process and therefore the intensity of state identity should not alter rapidly. The postulated relationship between the condition of the economy and the state identity suggests that in a country experiencing a relatively undisturbed growth one may expect a similarly stable level of state identity. We think that some growth may also occur if the economic conditions are propitious. We presume we observe one of these tendencies in Western-European countries.

Should a similar trend be anticipated with regard to the countries burdened with decades of communist rule? The transition to democracy in this region at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s was caused by several factors, one of which was the glaring deterioration of living conditions, i.e. the inability of the state to provide citizens even with essential consumer goods. The legacy of the transition to the market economy adds another explanation to the presumably lower level of state identity at the starting point of the new order, but it does not really help with providing a clear expectation regarding the dynamics of the phenomenon.

There are two concurrent hypotheses to be formulated regarding the latter. The modernisation approach anticipates that new democracies will converge in virtually every aspect to the western models as their economies grow and European integration advances. Past legacies are considered to be obstacles to overcome on the way (for further discussion, see Blokker, 2005, pp. 505–8). Following this approach would make us expect a gradual convergence of the intensity of state identity with the pattern observed in the Western Europe, i.e. augmenting of the level of the measured variable in all of the countries studied.

Does the fate of post-communist countries entail such a smooth development? Much has been said about the rapid economic growth of Eastern European countries, especially the ones that joined the European Union and have become beneficiaries

of the generous funding from the community. On the other hand, the low income inequality from communist times increased (Ivanova, 2007; Loveless & Whitefield, 2011), corruption scandals shook the political scenes (Karklins, 2005; Sajó, 2003; Seligson, 2002) and numerous cases of state capture were revealed and exposed by the media, resulting in a deterioration of trust towards the elites (Sapsford & Abbott, 2006). The years after the fall of communism brought prosperity to some, but many others became embittered by the results of the transformation. These troubles may undermine state identity.

Operationalising state identity and the data used in the analyses

In order to verify our expectations empirically a choice of indicators of state identity had to be made and a way to measure it had to be developed. This had already been the path of many researchers, but the subject of their interest was in general national identity (Rusciano 2003, pp. 361–6; Kunovich, 2006). Although this construct is similar, it still differs from ours. Frank Rusciano (2003) and Robert Kunovich (2009), who also used the data from 'International Social Survey Programme (ISSP): National Identity,' distinguish between the two attributes of 'national identity.' One of those, most often referred to as the civic form of national identity, we are now trying to upgrade to a distinct theoretical construct.

In order to measure the strength of state identity, we first constructed an index based on five questions coming from the extensive survey research within the ISSP: National Identity I 1995, National Identity II 2003, National Identity III 2013 (ISSP Research Group 1998, 2012 and 2015, respectively). Although this is not an entirely satisfactory empirical operationalisation of our concept of state identity, a certain lack is usually the case when using data once collected for other theoretical purposes. The index applied is different from the indexes constructed by other researchers who used the data from consecutive modules of the National Identity research, although its content shows some similarity to the construct that Kunovich (2009) called 'civic forms of national identity'.[2]

The first component of our index assumes that state identity is built on a general sense of a strong bond with the country. The question was, 'How close do you feel to [Respondent's country]?' The following answers were available: Very close / Close / Not very close / Not close at all. In our view this measures people's generalised attitude to their country of residence satisfactorily. The question does not force the respondent to differentiate between their attitudes towards the state, the nation, and its traditions, or the state's achievements. Instead it refers to the approach that is most commonly called patriotism. In the figures presented later in this paper this approach is represented as the 'closeness' variable.

The second component of our index assumes that state identity is built on the satisfaction with being a citizen of a particular state. The question was, 'How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I would rather be a citizen of [Respondent's country] than of any other country in the world?' The answers available were: from 'Agree strongly' and 'Agree', through 'Neither agree nor disagree' and 'Disagree', finishing with 'Disagree strongly'. What is significant in this question is the emphasis on citizenship rather that

[2] In his work Kunovich (2009, pp. 579–80) uses the following question, 'Some people say that the following things are important for being truly [e.g. American]. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?' as well as these items: 1. To have been born in [America]; 2. To have [American] citizenship; 3. To have lived in [America] for most of one's life; 4. To be able to speak [English]; 5. To be a [Christian]; 6. To respect [America's] political institutions and laws; 7. To feel [American]; 8. To have [American] ancestry. Scale: Not important at all / not very important / fairly important / very important. Based on the results of a factor analysis, the author incorporated items 1, 2, 3, 5, and 8 to the ethnic dimension, and items 4, 6, and 7 to the civic dimension.

the nation, religion, or culture. In the figures below this will be represented as the 'citizen' variable.

Finally, the third component of the index stems from the belief that pride in the achievements of one's country is an essential element of state identity. Here, we used three items (out of ten) from the question, 'How proud are you of [Respondent's country] in each of the following?'

(1) the way democracy works (later referred to as the 'democracy' variable);
(2) its political influence on the world (the 'influence' variable);
(3) economic achievements (the 'economy' variable).

The applied variables came from three different questions with separate scales. The scales were re-coded and normalised to equal length comprised within the range of 0 to 4, where 0 is the weakest intensity of a given attitude, and 4 is its maximum intensity. (Questions for which answers were assigned to points on a four-point scale (from 1 to 5), have been reversed and the questions with a scale from 1 to 4 were further subjected to the linear change, which resulted in the extension of distances between points on the scale so that they can be contained in the specified range from 0 to 4.)

The above-mentioned variables were added up and in such way the state identity index was created, one that we use in further analyses (the 'identity' variable). Table A2 in the Appendix summarises the individual-level correlations for the combined samples from the three applied waves of the ISSP study. In table 1 we present a factor analysis of the components of the index. Unsurprisingly it shows two dimensions included in the index: the first one includes variables regarding closeness and citizenship, while the second one relates to the pride in democracy, the state's influence, and economy. They might be referred to as 'patriotism' and 'pride' respectively.

Table 1. Factor loadings (pattern matrix) and variances uniqueness of the components of the state identity index

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
Citizen	0.2939	0.4072	0.7478
Closeness	0.2946	0.4012	0.7523
Democracy	0.6918	-0.1348	0.5032
Influence	0.7144	-0.0740	0.4841
Economy	0.6705	-0.1368	0.5318

Source: Own calculations based on the combined samples of 1995, 2003 and 2013 ISSP for European countries.

A reliability test was performed for the created index using Cronbach's alpha, which resulted in a value of 0.676. This posits this arbitrary index at the border of acceptability (conventionally considered the crossing of the threshold of 0.7).

Although the primary source dataset we use enables one to perform a wider comparative study, we have limited our analysis to the European countries. Our theoretical argument is embedded in the European context and does not allow one to formulate any hypotheses regarding other countries.

Further analyses also include the level of GDP per capita as an independent variable (representing the level of economic development in the preceding year). The values are derived from the database of the World Bank (World Bank, 2016). The data on the level of social capital is taken from the European Social Survey (ESS Round 1 and Round 6, i.e. 2002 and 2012.) We use a synthetic index varying from 0 to 30 in our further analysis.[3] Since the index values came from a different database than the source of information on state

[3] The index was created by summing respondents' answers to following three questions asked in all editions of the European Social Survey (ESS 2002; 2012): (1) 'Using this card, generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?' (2) 'do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?', and (3) 'Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful or that they are mostly looking out for themselves?'. Each question used a scale from 0 to 10, where the higher the value of an answer code given by the respondent the greater the declared trust, perceived fairness, and helpfulness.

identity, it was not possible to carry out an analysis on the individual level. Therefore average values of the index of social capital were set for individual countries from the 2002 and 2012 ESS waves, representing the years prior to the applied ISSP data. Due to the lack of any earlier data, values of the index of social capital from the 2002 ESS research (the earliest ESS survey available) were assigned to the 1995 ISSP records.

The action of assigning the countries according to the division into post-communist countries, on the one hand, and Western Europe, on the other, as well as according to the religious legacy (Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox), has been carried out by the authors of this paper.

The strength of state identity in European countries, its diversification across countries, and variability over time

In the first stage of the analysis we are going to describe the diversification of the strength of state identity which is visible to the naked eye; we will subsequently consider the question of the variation of this phenomenon over time, and we will then statistically verify the hypotheses formulated earlier, along with some additional possible explanations. We use the results of all three waves of the ISSP National Identity research, although this entails some methodological difficulties, since a considerable variability of countries throughout the respective waves has been observed. In total the study included 26 different countries, although it is important to note that due to the sample structure the results for Germany have been measured separately for the former East Germany and West Germany.

The study was conducted three times only in eight countries (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Norway, Russia, Slovenia and Great Britain);[4] twice in 12 countries (Austria, Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland), and only once in six countries (Croatia, Estonia, Iceland, Italy, Lithuania and Portugal.) It is necessary to remember that the countries were not drawn for particular waves; it was the organisational aspect that mattered. However, the samples for individual countries **were** random, which enables us to use statistical procedures on the individual **intra**-national level, and also we can compare the average values of the variables between countries. The vast majority of differences in the index values between countries (Figures 1–3)[5] **are** statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). The primary limitation resulting from the nature of the sample is its lack of representativeness for the 'European society'. Nonetheless, this loss is not great, because there is no European society; in fact, there is not even a European Union society.

The index values of state identity displayed at the top of each of the figure columns consisting of the index components show that those who identify with their countries the most strongly are small and wealthy societies which have always belonged to the West politically, have never experienced communism and have a well-developed welfare state infrastructure. This group of countries will therefore include Norway, Ireland, Switzerland, Austria, Denmark and Finland. On the other hand, the lower places in the ranking throughout all of the waves are taken by post-communist societies (the pattern was disrupted by Italy in the 1995 wave). The societies with a particularly low level of state identity are those of Slovakia, Latvia, Hungary and Russia. (In Russia, however, an increase has been seen in 2013.)

The considerable arbitrariness of the applied scales constituting the index of state identity makes it difficult to attach much significance to the absolute values of the index. However,

[4] The ISSP sample includes respondents from England, Wales, and Scotland, but not from Northern Ireland. Therefore in the article we refer to Great Britain and not the United Kingdom.

[5] The same data in may be found in the Appendix: tables A3–A5.

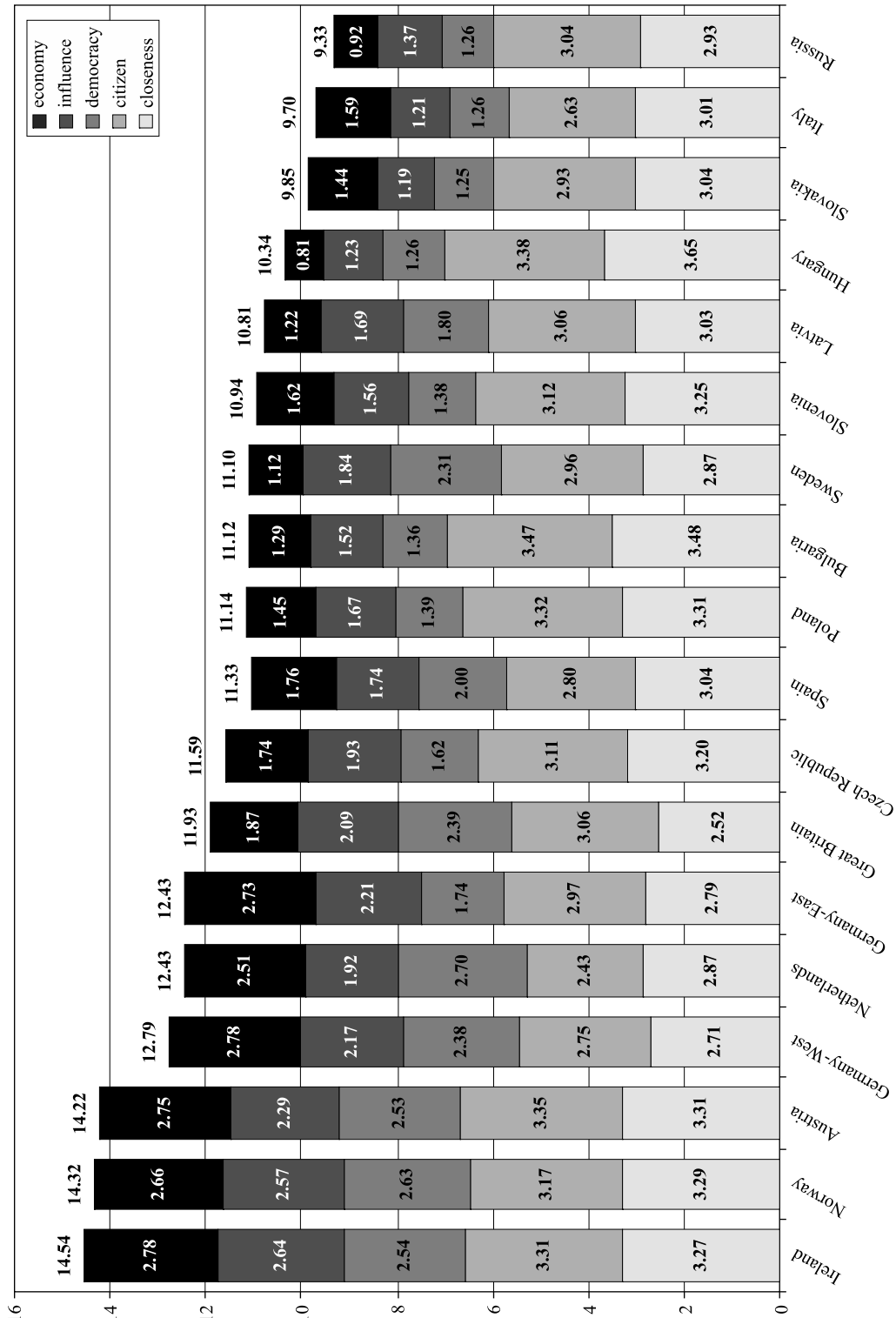

Figure 1. Values of the index of state identity and its constituents in selected European countries in 1995

Source: Own calculations based on the 1995 ISSP sample of European countries.

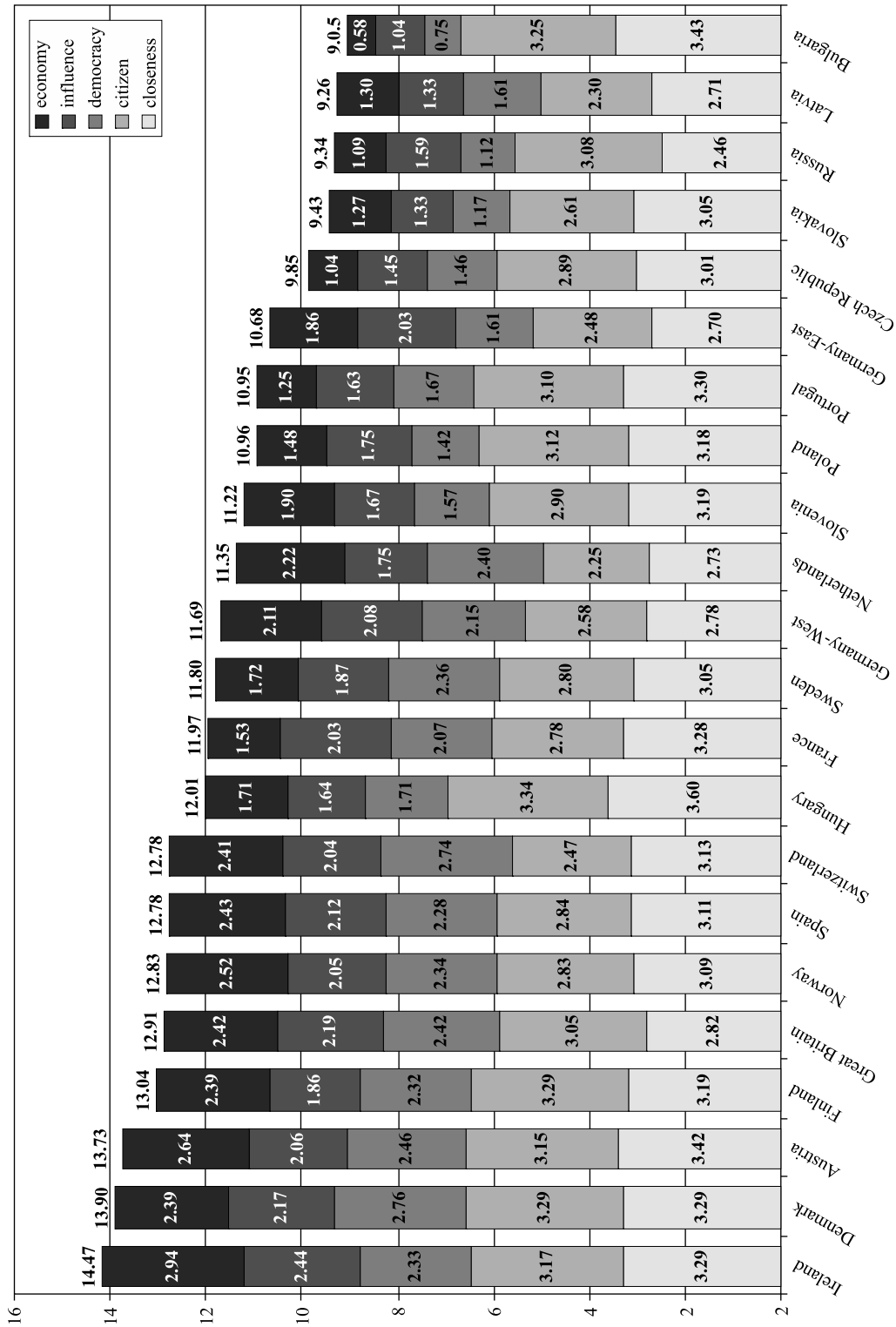

Figure 2. Values of the index of state identity and its constituents in selected European countries in 2003

Source: Own calculations based on the 2003 ISSP sample of European countries.

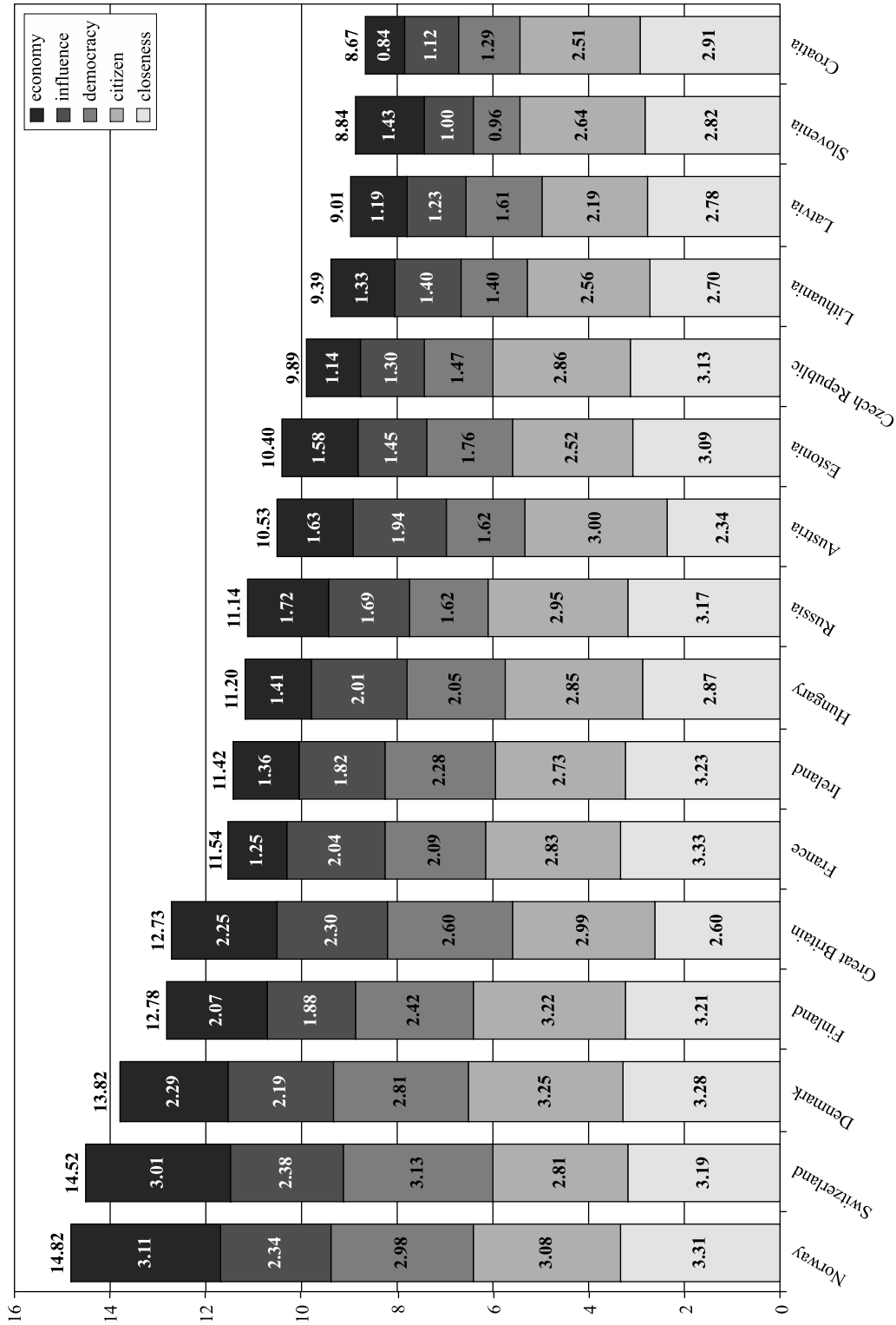

Figure 3. Values of the index of state identity and its constituents in selected European countries in 2013

Source: Own calculations based on the 2013 ISSP sample of European countries.

in no European country did it exceed 15 points, which is 75% of the theoretical maximum, and this is a moderate threshold to recognise that the intensity of a given phenomenon is high. In several countries the mean value was less than 10 points. This kind of bad civil mood has been reported in the 2013 research in the Baltic States and the Balkan countries. The average values of the index are far from the maximum in almost all European countries. This shows that citizens can be critical of their countries and their identification with the state is rarely total. The components of our index reveal that the intense bond with the state is a fact only when we are asking about the general attitude towards one's own country (or about a sense of connectedness and satisfaction with nationality.) However, when we are looking at specific reasons to be proud of one's own country, the declarations are very restrained and coincide quite closely with the expert evaluation of individual countries regarding these particular dimensions.

A fact worth noting is that a very strong bond with one's own country and satisfaction with nationality is declared by Bulgarians, Hungarians, and Poles, but at the same time these societies are very critical when it comes to evaluating the political and economic significance of their countries, and the functioning of democracy therein. The countries with a low level of citizens' statements regarding the sense of connectedness include countries that would otherwise seem to be happy habitats, such as Great Britain (1995 and 2013), Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. Why? An answer cannot be found through statistical analyses, because very few cases are under investigation, but what is probably of importance is the existence of competitive national identities in all of those societies (particularly all over Great Britain: English, Scottish and Welsh). It is not surprising, then, that the position of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia regarding the same aspects is low, too. This seems to be a simple consequence of the fact that the Russian-speaking population is a considerable (and politically relevant) group of those countries' inhabitants. The ethnic fractionalisation index values in the three Baltic countries are among the highest among the countries in this study: 0.32, 0.59, and 0.51 respectively (Alesina et al., 2003).

When we look at the ranking of countries representing the overall satisfaction of their inhabitants with the citizenship held (the 'citizen' variable), we can see that the new states that emerged in Europe after 1989 as a result of the dissolution of the USSR, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia are characterised by a rather low intensity of civic ties. The progress of nationalism is not spectacular in these countries, although new countries always provide a very intense civic education and try to promote patriotism in every possible way. The low rates prove that quick and lasting results are not easily achievable.

An individual's pride in his/her country manifests itself in many ways. We assumed that its best indicators would include high evaluation of the functioning of democracy, a belief in the significant position of one's country in the world, and faith in the economic successes of one's country. These three scales proved to be highly correlated with one another, and together they form a very important dimension of individuals' state identity (see Table A1 in the Appendix). But then again, the overview of the particular scales of this dimension is quite informative. It turns out that the citizens of European countries do not take pride in the way democracy works in their societies. The marks are high and stable over time only in Switzerland, Norway and Denmark. Very low marks are recorded for the post-communist countries, of which Bulgaria broke the record in 2003. The convergence of the location of particular European countries in the expert rankings of the functioning of democracy on the one hand and the marks collected within the ISSP study on the other is amazingly high.[6]

[6] The Spearman Rho coefficient of the ranking resulting from the 2013 ISSP data regarding pride in democracy used here and the ranking of the evaluation of democracy according to *The Economist* is 0.774.

The results obtained justify the dyadic hypothesis that the citizens of European countries have high expectations about standards of democracy (hence the restraint in granting the highest marks) and that they are able to evaluate whether these expectations are actually met (hence the coincidence with the expert evaluation).

When it comes to a sense of pride in the importance of one's own country in the world, we can see a paradox. The citizens of the largest and economically strongest EU countries (e.g. Germany, France, Great Britain and Spain) are nowhere near the forefront of the ranking. Again, those most satisfied are the citizens of small Western European countries, i.e. Ireland, Switzerland and Norway.

Citizens' pride in the economic achievements of their countries is to an astonishingly large extent a consequence of the actual efficiency of these countries' economies. The richest nations of Western Europe are the most satisfied, while the nations of Central and Eastern Europe are the most dissatisfied. The realism of citizens formulating such evaluations is proved by the fact that the marks were increasing in times of prosperity and decreasing in times of crisis, e.g. the rapid deterioration of the ratings in Ireland between the years 2003 and 2013, or the large rise in Russian citizens' pride in the economy between the years 1995 and 2013.

A preliminary overview of the components of our index enables one to draw the conclusion that an integral state identity is a fairly rare phenomenon. The low correlation of the indicators of ties with a country and of overall satisfaction with citizenship, on the one hand, and indicators of pride in the achievements of the state, on the other, accurately reflects the actual attitudes. There is no contradiction here. People continue to be patriots even though they do not consider their country to be an Eldorado.

State identities are a permanent phenomena, but some changes in European countries turned out to be statistically significant in between the consecutive waves. A decline in state identity was recorded between the ISSP waves in eight European countries; that fall was particularly high in Ireland between 1995 and 2013 (by more than three points), Bulgaria between 1995 and 2003, and Slovenia between 1995 and 2013 (by more than two points). A significant increase occurred in six countries, with a particularly large rise in Switzerland (by almost two points between 2003 and 2013). This suggests that the nations of Western Europe maintain high and stable state identities. Between 1995 and 2013 the average value of the index measured on the individual level increased slightly in the Western European countries included in the sample: from 12.475 to 12.898 points. In the studied post-communist countries from Central Europe the intensity of these identities, already so much lower than at the beginning of their market and democratic transformations, declined even more over the last dozen or so years: from 10.685 points in 1995 to 9.756 in 2013. Both indicated differences are statistically significant[7] and their interpretation can lead to somewhat depressing conclusions. On the other hand, a similar test using only the country samples that participated in all of the ISSP waves used in this study (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Norway, Russia, Slovenia and Great Britain) suggests there was a statistically significant ($p < 0.001$) drop in state identity among both Western European (from 13.657 in 1995 to 12.92 in 2013) and post-communist countries (from 10.508 to 9.92, respectively). However, one might argue that the number of countries which participated in both the first and the last waves of the research is too small to provide a basis for a viable comparison of the average values that could be generalised as a tendency for the European countries in general (especially with the distinction between post-communist countries and Western Europe).

[7] It is necessary to note here that these average values have been set for the 1995 and 2013 ISSP samples, which included countries the list of which overlapped only partially.

The results so far are that at least some of the wealthy nations of Europe continue with their commitment to the state and are increasingly proud of their states, while the poorer nations are losing faith in the state and the strength of their state identity is declining. Therefore, the old convergence theories that came to life after the collapse of communism, saying that the rapprochement between societies would come in all dimensions, cannot be decisively confirmed nor rejected.

Testing some of the determinants of state identity

We begin testing the main hypotheses of this article by comparing the means of state identity index across countries of different legacies. Then we proceed to check whether these results are maintained when controlling for GDP per capita and social capital.

When it comes to the notion of state identity, the division into post-communist countries and countries with no such legacy is statistically significant. Despite a considerable variability of the countries covered in the ISSP research in consecutive waves, this division is noticeable in all the waves, and analysis of variance produces unequivocal results. The results are summarised in Table 2. In each case, the hypothesis about the difference between the average values is confirmed at the $p < 0.001$ significance level.

An analysis of variance was also conducted to test our expectations regarding the legacy of the dominant tradition: Protestant versus remaining countries in the studied sample (either

Table 2. A comparison of the average level of state identity in Western European countries versus post-communist countries

ISSP Wave		Western Europe	Post-communist countries	Difference
1995	Mean (Std. Err.)	12.475 (.037)	10.685 (.040)	1.790 (.054)
	Number of observations	9475	7969	
2003	Mean (Std. Err.)	12.514 (.029)	10.087 (.036)	2.427 (.047)
	Number of observations	13401	8565	
2013	Mean (Std. Err.)	12.898 (.037)	9.756 (.040)	3.142 (.055)
	Number of observations	8676	8209	

Source: Own calculations based on the 1995, 2003 and 2013 ISSP data.

Table 3. A comparison of the average level of state identity in Protestant versus remaining (Catholic or Orthodox) countries

ISSP Wave		Protestant countries	Remaining countries	Difference
1995	Mean (Std. Err.)	12.415 (.041)	11.158 (.037)	1.257 (.056)
	Number of observations	6923	8524	
2003	Mean (Std. Err.)	12.142 (.036)	11.149 (.032)	.993 (.048)
	Number of observations	9263	12703	
2013	Mean (Std. Err.)	12.735 (.043)	10.231 (.037)	2.504 (.057)
	Number of observations	7680	9205	

Source: Own calculations based on the 1995, 2003 and 2013 ISSP data.

Catholic or Orthodox). It reveals that in all the waves countries with a Protestant tradition are characterised by higher average values of the index of state identity. The differences are also statistically significant, at a high $p < 0.001$ level. Table 3 provides a summary of these results.[8]

It should be pointed out that the studied difference turned out particularly big in 2013 (the average value for the Protestant countries is higher than 2 points). This relatedness seems to confirm the following belief of Ernest Gellner (1983, p. 142), as described in his now classic work, 'But, whatever the truth about this complex and crucial issue, the emergence of the industrial world was somehow intimately linked to a Protestantism which happened to possess some of the important traits that were to characterise the newly emerging world, and which also engender nationalism'. These features usually include: an emphasis on individualism, making everyone responsible for themselves and their salvation; a work ethic; egalitarianism; and also an emphasis on literacy.

In order to verify the cumulative impact of all of the variables previously taken into account a fixed-effects linear two-level regression model has been set. The data from three ISSP waves (1995, 2003, and 2013) was pooled into one dataset. The level-1 observations are respondents and country-year clusters serve as level-2 units. Following the conventional modelling strategy we begin with estimating the baseline model with no predictors, then we proceed with adding factors and interactions.

The baseline model shows the estimated residual intra-class correlation equals 0.2, which means the majority of the variance of the explained phenomenon is at the individual level. A significant portion of the standard deviation still remains at the inter-class level (1.649), which leaves room for a macro-level analysis related to the formulated hypotheses.

The results of the analysis are presented in table 4. Model 1 includes all of the variables introduced in the theoretical part: the legacy-driven factor variables (post-communist and non-protestant dummies)[9] and living condition indicators (GDP per capita and the social capital index). Model 2 tests the moderating effect of the post-communist context on the effects of living condition factors and model 3 performs a similar check with regard to religious tradition. Each of the models includes a set of dummy variables indicating a wave of the ISSP survey, from which a given record is derived, which can be treated both as a dynamic indicator and a control for the fact that the data has in fact a three-level structure (persons embedded in waves embedded in countries). Unfortunately it was not possible to include such a complicated structure in the analysed model, due to the insufficient number of level-2 units.

Model 1 shows that social capital has a positive influence on the level of state identities controlling for the direct effects of the division into post-communist countries ($p < 0.01$) and the dominant religious tradition. The impact of legacy-based factors turns out to be statistically insignificant. National wealth, represented by the GDP per capita indicator, also has a significant influence on the dependent variable ($p < 0.01$). It can only be surprising that the strength of the relatedness of the national income to the value of the index of state identity, conveyed through the Pearson correlation coefficient ($r = 0.565$), did not prove to be even higher. Though the coefficient B in the regression equation does not seem to be high, its values are statistically significant, at the $p < 0.01$ level. A gain in GDP per capita by $10,000 results in an increase in the value of the index of state identity by 0.719 points.

[8] We have also tested the significance of the difference between means for Protestant and Catholic countries and results we consistent with hypothesis. Countries with a dominant Orthodox tradition (Bulgaria and Russia) were excluded from this additional analysis.

[9] Post-communist and non-protestant countries are denoted by '1'. '0' represents Western European and Protestant countries. The coding reflects the directionality of the hypotheses: lower state identity is expected for the legacies coded as '1'.

Table 4. The impact of the studied variables on state identity

Independent variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
GDP per capita	7.19e–05***	6.66e-05***	8,47e-05***
	(2.39e-05)	(2.30e-05)	(1.90e-05)
Social capital	0.300**	0.344***	0.187
	(0.126)	(0.121)	(0.130)
Post-communist countries	-0.239	3.061	-0.587
	(0.385)	(2.499)	(0.444)
Non-Protestant	0.596	0.509	-2.857
	(0.422)	(0.448)	(2.748)
GDP per capita*post-communist countries		-5.99e-05	
		(5.46e-05)	
Social capital*post-communist countries		-0.152	
		(0,229)	
GDP per capita*non-Protestant			-0.000117***
			(3.553-05)
Social capital*non-Protestant			0.411
			(0.207)
2003 wave	-0.720*	-0.560	-0.315
	(0.383)	(0.419)	(0.422)
2013 wave	-2.121***	-1.686***	-1.447***
	(0.476)	(0.539)	(0.559)
Constant	5.981***	5.234***	7.238***
	(1.941)	(1.842)	(1.939)
Log pseudo likelihood	-117970.09	-117967.94	-117965.45
Number of observations	45,315	45,315	45,315
Number of groups	45	45	45

Robust standard errors in parentheses.
*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

We can fully appreciate its significance if we realise that the GDP per capita in Norway is approximately $90,000, while in Bulgaria it amounts to approximately $10,000.

The results from model 1 might seem to provide evidence that the legacy-based argument developed in the theoretical section of the article does not sustain after controlling for other factors. This corollary is only partially true. While the legacies do not directly determine the intensity of state identity, their importance is only revealed after a careful scrutiny of the marginal effects basing on model 2 and 3 estimates (Brambor et al., 2006). The results are presented in table 5 (insignificant coefficients have been omitted for the sake of clarity).

The conditional regression slopes obtained for GDP per capita show that the influence of the variable is significant ($p < 0.01$) only in either Western European or Protestant countries. The differences between marginal effects in both

Table 5. Marginal effect of GDP per capita and social capital on state identity depending on past legacies

Legacy	Marginal effect of	
Model 2	**GDP per capita**	**social capital**
Post-communist		
Western-European	6.66e-05*** (2.30e-05)	0.344*** (0.121)
Difference		
Model 3		
Protestant	8.47e-05 (1.90e-05)	
Catholic or Orthodox		.598*** (0.167)
Difference	-0.000117*** (3.55e-05)	0.411** (0.207)

Robust standard errors in parentheses.
*** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1. Insignificant coefficients omitted.

categories are not significant when it comes to the Western Europe vs post-communist dimension, but the claim that the interaction exists is supported by the fact a statistically significant relatedness between GDP per capita and state identity is seen only in Western European countries.

In a similar fashion post-communist legacy matters with regard to the effects of social capital on state identity. The factor is only significant in Western European countries. The coefficients obtained with model 3 incorporating religious legacy leads to the conclusion that social capital influences state identity only in Catholic or Orthodox countries. This result might be partially explained by the fact that the mean value of the social capital index in Protestant countries (17.977) is high enough to disable the effect of this variable. The social capital index mean is significantly lower in Catholic and Orthodox countries (14.215).

These results do not enable one to reject well-grounded theses about the importance of religious traditions and communist legacy for the formation of the current strong diversification in the level of identification in relation to these variables. Religious tradition and communist legacy had an effect in the past, be it through influence on social capital or influence on the development of capitalism conveyed through the GDP level. It is difficult to deny the fact that communism came into existence in economically underdeveloped countries with the Catholic or Orthodox tradition. Even if communism did not enhance this underdevelopment, it also did not shorten the distance to the developed countries of Western and Northern Europe.

The presented results enable one to say that what matters for state identity in European countries are the factors representing the present-day living conditions in a country, such as GDP per capita and social capital. However, the intensity of these statistical relationships is moderated by legacy-based factors. GDP per capita does explain the differentiation of state identity among Western European countries and those with a dominant protestant tradition; the effect of wealth is positive. Social capital works as an explanatory variable in Western European countries, and Catholic, and Orthodox countries.

A brief comment is needed about the results concerning the dynamic aspect of state identity. All of the models in table 4 show a statistically significant ($p<0.01$) drop of state identity between the 1995 and 2013 waves, but they do not control for the composition of the countries in each wave. However, these results are sustained after re-estimating model 1 for the sample including only the countries that participated in all three ISSP waves used in this study (i.e. the Czech Republic, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Norway, Russia, Slovenia and Great Britain). The other two models could not be re-estimated in a similar manner due to the strong collinearity of interaction terms in the restricted sample.

Conclusion

State identities in European countries are well crystallised and diversified. In most societies people's high overall satisfaction with citizenship

can be seen, although citizens can be critical of their states' achievements, and their state identity is rarely total. The societies of Eastern Europe are characterised by a much lower level of state identities, but this difference should be attributed primarily to levels of economic development and social capital, not to legacy-based arguments related to factors such as political culture and national conscience. Legacies do matter when it comes to explaining the differentiation within the legacy-based groups of countries. National wealth and social capital are significant factors in Western Europe, but they do not matter for state identity differentiation in post-communist countries. Legacies have the power to deactivate certain factors observable at the European level.

Why do we actually regret the fact that state identities throughout European post-communist countries are less intense than in Western Europe or in the USA? Is the general weakening of state identities in Europe something that we should worry about? After all, strong identities can easily be transformed into aggressive nationalism.

In our article we have clearly distinguished between the ethnic-orientated and the state-oriented. Strong state identities do not produce such threats in the way that ethnic identities do, which is primarily due to the fact that state identities can be based on democratic citizenship, and democratic citizenship is equal and inclusive.

In the eyes of certain people the state is a great value. To quote Michael Walzer (1992, pp. 105),

But the state can never be what it appears to be in liberal theory, a mere framework for civil society. It is also the instrument of the struggle, used to give a particular shape to the common life. Hence citizenship has a certain practical pre-eminence among all our actual and possible memberships.

The state is an essential device for a happy life for people. Its collapse, currently seen in many places around the world, will always mean war and mass misery.

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Appendix

Table A1. Average values of the index of social capital in the studied European countries[10]

Country	Mean value	Country	Mean value
Denmark	20.45	Lithuania	15.52
Norway	19.65	Spain	14.75
Finland	19.10	France	14.61
Sweden	18.68	Russia	14.12
Netherlands	17.42	Czech Republic	13.66
Switzerland	17.37	Slovenia	13.51
Ireland	17.21	Hungary	13.47
Kingdom	16.32	Italy	13.37
Estonia	16.24	Portugal	12.92
Austria	15.93	Slovakia	12.14
Germany-East	15.55	Poland	11.89
Germany-West	15.55	Bulgaria	10.76

Source: Own calculations based on the 2002 and 2012 ESS data.

[10] Due to the fact that the average values presented here are based on the national average values in a maximum of two waves of the ESS research (2002 and 2012), the size of standard errors and confidence intervals conventionally included in such tables have now been omitted.

Table A2. Pearson correlations of the 'state identity' index components, and the very index

	Citizen	Closeness	Democracy	Influence	Economy	Identity
Citizen	1.000					
Closeness	0.355	1.000				
Democracy	0.134	0.157	1.000			
Influence	0.200	0.177	0.562	1.000		
Economy	0.136	0.140	0.532	0.538	1.000	
Identity	0.534	0.521	0.743	0.759	0.735	1.000

Source: Own calculations based on the combined samples of 1995, 2003 and 2013 ISSP for European countries.

Table A3. Values of the index of state identity and its constituents in selected European countries in 1995

Country	Closeness	Citizen	Democracy	Influence	Economy	State identity
Ireland	3.27	3.31	2.54	2.64	2.78	**14.54**
Norway	3.29	3.17	2.63	2.57	2.66	**14.32**
Austria	3.31	3.35	2.53	2.29	2.75	**14.22**
Germany, West	2.71	2.75	2.38	2.17	2.78	**12.79**
Netherlands	2.87	2.43	2.70	1.92	2.51	**12.43**
Germany-East	2.79	2.97	1.74	2.21	2.73	**12.43**
Great Britain	2.52	3.06	2.39	2.09	1.87	**11.93**
Czech Republic	3.20	3.11	1.62	1.93	1.74	**11.59**
Spain	3.04	2.80	2.00	1.74	1.76	**11.33**
Poland	3.31	3.32	1.39	1.67	1.45	**11.14**
Bulgaria	3.48	3.47	1.36	1.52	1.29	11.12
Sweden	2.87	2.96	2.31	1.84	1.12	**11.10**
Slovenia	3.25	3.12	1.38	1.56	1.62	**10.94**
Latvia	3.03	3.06	1.80	1.69	1.22	**10.81**
Hungary	3.65	3.38	1.26	1.23	0.81	**10.34**
Slovakia	3.04	2.93	1.25	1.19	1.44	**9.85**
Italy	3.01	2.63	1.26	1.21	1.59	**9.70**
Russia	2.93	3.04	1.07	1.37	0.92	**9.33**

Source: Own calculations based on the ISSP 1995 data.

Table A4. Values of the index of state identity and its constituents in selected European countries in 2003

Country	Closeness	Citizen	Democracy	Influence	Economy	State identity
Ireland	3.29	3.17	2.33	2.44	2.94	**14.17**
Denmark	3.29	3.29	2.76	2.17	2.39	**13.90**
Austria	3.42	3.15	2.46	2.06	2.64	**13.73**
Finland	3.19	3.29	2.32	1.86	2.39	**13.04**
Great Britain	2.82	3.05	2.42	2.19	2.42	**12.91**
Norway	3.09	2.83	2.34	2.05	2.52	**12.83**
Spain	3.11	2.84	2.28	2.12	2.43	**12.78**
Switzerland	3.13	2.47	2.74	2.04	2.41	**12.78**
Hungary	3.60	3.34	1.71	1.64	1.71	**12.01**
France	3.28	2.78	2.07	2.30	1.53	**11.97**
Sweden	3.05	2.80	2.36	1.87	1.72	**11.80**
Germany, West	2.78	2.58	2.15	2.08	2.11	11.69
Netherlands	2.73	2.25	2.40	1.75	2.22	**11.35**
Slovenia	3.19	2.90	1.57	1.67	1.90	**11.22**
Poland	3.18	3.12	1.42	1.75	1.48	**10.96**
Portugal	3.30	3.10	1.67	1.63	1.25	**10.95**
Germany-East	2.70	2.48	1.61	2.03	1.86	**10.68**
Czech Republic	3.01	2.89	1.46	1.45	1.04	**9.85**
Slovakia	3.05	2.61	1.17	1.33	1.27	**9.43**
Russia	2.46	3.08	1.12	1.59	1.09	**9.34**
Latvia	2.71	2.30	1.61	1.33	1.30	**9.26**
Bulgaria	3.43	3.25	0.75	1.04	0.58	**9.05**

Source: Own calculations based on the ISSP 2003 data.

Table A5. Values of the index of state identity and its constituents in selected European countries in 2013

Country	Closeness	Citizen	Democracy	Influence	Economy	State identity
Norway	3.31	3.08	2.98	2.34	3.11	**14.82**
Switzerland	3.19	2.81	3.13	2.38	3.01	**14.52**
Denmark	3.28	3.25	2.81	2.19	2.29	**13.82**
Finland	3.21	3.22	2.42	1.88	2.07	**12.78**
Great Britain	2.60	2.99	2.60	2.30	2.25	**12.73**
France	3.33	2.83	2.09	2.04	1.25	**11.54**
Iceland	3.23	2.73	2.28	1.82	1.36	**11.42**
Ireland	2.87	2.85	2.05	2.01	1.41	**11.20**
Hungary	3.17	2.95	1.62	1.69	1.72	11.14
Russia	2.34	3.00	1.62	1.94	1.63	**10.53**
Estonia	3.09	2.52	1.76	1.45	1.58	**10.40**
Czech Republic	3.13	2.86	1.47	1.30	1.14	**9.89**
Lithuania	2.70	2.56	1.40	1.40	1.33	**9.39**
Latvia	2.78	2.19	1.61	1.23	1.19	**9.01**
Slovenia	2.82	2.64	0.96	1.00	1.43	**8.84**
Croatia	2.91	2.51	1.29	1.12	0.84	**8.67**

Source: Own calculations based on the ISSP 2013 data.