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TESTING TURKEY'S PLACE WITHIN THE MAPS OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL VALUES[1]

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Abstract

Following the attempt by Alesina and Guiliano (2013) to measure global culture and to project these measurements onto real choropleth geographical world maps, we utilize the data from the World Values Survey (WVS) to arrive at robust measurement scales of global economic, political and social values and to assess Turkey's place within them. Our study, which is based on 92,289 representative individuals with complete data in 68 countries, representing 56.89% of the global population, looks at hard-core economic values in these countries. From our new nine dimensions for the determination of the geography of human values, based on a promax factor analysis of the available data, we use six factor analytical scores to calculate a new Global Value Development Index, which combines: avoiding economic permissiveness; avoiding racism; avoiding distrust of the army and the press; avoiding the authoritarian character; tolerance and respect; and avoiding the rejection of the market economy and democracy. Turkey is ranked 25, ahead of several EU member countries. But there are still considerable deficits concerning the liberal values compo-

nents, which are very important for effective democracy, and there are very large regional differences, confirming the dictum by Huntington (1996) about Turkey as a torn country.

1. Introduction

Whatever the way, the European Union (EU) candidate Turkey's internal and external developments will sharply divide opinions around Europe and beyond (Clesse and Tashan, 2004, Szymanski, 2015, 2016a, 2016b; Wasilewski, 2017a, 2017b; Wodka, 2017). And in whatever way, the scientific study of opinion and value structures and processes in the context of EU enlargement with Turkey, the other candidate countries and in the EU-28 and beyond are an absolute necessity. Following the new attempt by Alesina and Guiliano (2013), to measure global culture and to project these measurement scales onto real choropleth geographical world maps, we also utilize the freely available data from the *World Values Survey (WVS)* at the University of Michigan[2] to arrive at such robust and similar measurement scales of global economic, political and social values and we attempt to place Turkey within them.

The problems analyzed in this empirical paper are not new to international political science, or also to Polish political science. Szymanski, 2016b, writing on the political culture of contemporary Turkey, had already remarked *"basic, primary obstacles to the democratic consolidation, connected first of all with [i.e. Turkey's] attitudinal and behavioral dimensions, namely an exceptional set of elements of the political culture of the elites (to a large extent the ruling elites but also the political elites generally) – authoritarian tendencies, lack of consensual culture (and the occurrence of political polarization) as well as the narrow understanding of democracy."* (Szymanski, 2016b: 18)

Our central question in this essay within this framework is thus what is Turkey's place on realistic new maps of global values, given that the existing sociological cross-national value comparisons are insufficient? The aim of this essay is thus two-fold: to build such new global value maps, and to see what are the implications for Turkey and its unhappy relationship with the EU, well-known in international social science (see Haferlach, Tekin & Wodka, 2017; Wodka, 2017). The study will hopefully become not only a contribution to the academic debate on the subject, but also a useful tool for decision makers in international politics. The methodology put forward here can also help decision makers to assess the value structures in other EU enlargement candidate countries, and also can help the decision makers in other cases to arrive at sounder judgments about economic, social and political basic values, prevalent in a given country.

The systematic use of large-scale comparative international opinion data, above all from the *WVS*, which we undertake here, is not new and is no longer restricted to the sociological discipline. More and more, the economics discipline becomes aware of the enormous possibilities to address the contentious issues of culture in the economics of a global society, characterized more and more by migration and the globalization of world religions. Global value research, which originally grew out of the desire of large transna-

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[2] http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/

tional corporations (i.e. the IBM Corporation) to adapt to ever more complex and plural-istic cultural patterns of their clients and staff (Minkov, 2009; Minkov and Hofstede, 2011, 2013) is by now a long-established social science discipline, and it is a pity how little the overall European public and especially the decision makers took notice about its results in the debate regarding Turkish EU-accession thus far.

Sociology, for sure, did its "homework" and there are even attempts to arrive at real-istic assessments of global Muslim and Arab Muslim opinion in a comparative perspec-tive. Sociology, already looking back on a very long, established tradition of the empirical sociology of religions, which dates back to the 19th Century (Morel, 2003), contributed greatly over the last two decades towards the understanding of global Muslim opinion (Diez-Nicolas, 2007, 2010; Moaddel, 2002, 2003, 2008; Tessler, 2003, just to mention a few).

At this stage, the comparative social scientist and economist might wonder whether per-haps all the debate that rages on the issue under scrutiny here – i.e. Turkey's place as a Eu-ropean nation – is really well-informed by the evidence from quantitative social science on the subject. Turkey, the country of origin of around some 70% of the 3.5 million Muslims residing in Germany,[3] from the early beginnings was an integral part of the *WVS* Project. The failure of the European political debate to take into account the results of systematic field research in social science research on the issue of Turkey is all the more depressing, since the systematic use of data from the *WVS* in advanced social science Turkish studies is now commonplace (Erişen, Erişen and Özkeçeci-Taner, 2013; Negrón-Gonzales, 2012; Sarigil, 2011; Şimşek, 2013; Yeşilada, 2002; Yeşilada and Noordijk, 2010).

Confronted by a European public debate, which is threatening to become *"essentialist"* on both sides of the great *"Turkish EU-membership divide",* it is necessary to recall at the outset that for advanced research in the economics discipline, the question about the re-lationship between economics and religion is not new. By mid-February 2018, it has again become clear that neither France nor Germany really want Turkey to become a member of the European Union:

"France and Germany have particular problems with the prospect of a further opening of their doors to Turkish migrants, and French president Emmanuel Macron did not pull his punches when President Recep Tayyip Erdogan visited Paris last week. He told him bluntly that Turkey has no foreseeable chance of joining the EU, simply confirming what everyone in this town has long known. Whenever the EU dares to talk about enlargement these days, the focus is exclusively on the western Balkans agreement. Erdogan's authoritarian methods have been a convenient excuse for long-fingering accession discussions, although the need to safeguard the agreement with Ankara on keeping and looking after Syrian refugees in return for dollops of EU cash has seen the union play down its criticism of the Turkish leader" Irish Times, February 15, 2018[4]

The essay by Barro and McCleary (2003) is a good example of how economic research today uses data from the *WVS* Project to study the relationship between religion, de-nominations and economic growth. Alesina (2013); Alesina and Angeletos (2005); Alesi-na and Fuchs-Schündeln (2007); Alesina and Guiliano (2010, 2011, 2013); Alesina, Cozzi and Mantovan (2012); and Alesina, di Tella, and MacCulloch (2004) all show how the economic discipline can indeed gain hard-core, quantitative and valuable insights from

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[3] http://www.euro-islam.info/country-profiles/germany/

[4] https://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/europe/eu-blowing-hot-and-cold-on-turkish-acces-sion-1.3392388

comparative knowledge about such phenomena as generalized trust and social capital, individualism, family ties, morality, attitudes toward work and perception of poverty, and religious practice for economic processes. In this essay, we define "cultures" largely following Alesina and Guiliano (2013) on a global scale, and also in Turkey.

In our attempt to openly test the often unspoken but politically very relevant contention by many members of the European political class and the public at large that in the end Turkey does not really belong to Europe because it's a Muslim country[5] (see below) by advanced international data and advanced quantitative methods, like Promax oblique factor analysis, we use 30 indicators from the *WVS*. Although some of our indicators are different from those used by Alesina and Guiliano (2013), there are lots of similarities between the two approaches, and a high correspondence between the choropleth geographical maps of global values, presented by Alesina and Guiliano, and our own attempts will emerge. There are, nevertheless, some differences in the approach: we uniformly use promax oblique factor analysis to test the relationships between the value factors. Our chosen indicators represent the best available choice of *WVS* data in terms of interview coverage, and in addition, our results – in contrast to those reported by Alesina and Guiliano, also contain important social, economic and political background variables.

In the course of our research, we are going to present data not only at the national, but also at the regional level of the nearly 70 nations compared here, analyzing the factor analytical scores of our new nine global value indicators, derived from over 90.000 representative interviews across the globe and also in the Turkish regions, and we will compare their performance with those of all other regions of the world with available data and a sufficient number of reported *WVS* interview partners per region (i.e. n>30). In that process we will discover the still existing deep regional value cleavages which exist in Turkey, benefiting the ruling conservative Islamist AKP, whose power-base is the Turkish speaking urban and rural poor Sunni Muslim majority population from Anatolia.

In designing this research project, we made the discovery that hitherto existing attempts in sociology to draw maps of human values across nations (i.e. Hofstede and Inglehart), valuable as they may be, are really still unsatisfactory in terms of country coverage, issue coverage and also methodologies used. Thus, besides background variables such as age, gender, education level, life satisfaction, educational values, values of responsibility, general political attitudes on the left-right spectrum, identification with democracy, general social capital variables (trust in people, in the armed forces, in the Press) and religious attitudes, our study in particular looks at hard-core economic values in all the countries of the world with available data, namely:

1. Competition good or harmful (competition policy, admission of a free market)
2. Migration policy (prevent people from coming) (migration policy)
3. Important child qualities: hard work (attitudes towards work)
4. Justifiable: avoiding a fare on public transport (attitudes towards public services; limited morality)
5. Justifiable: cheating on taxes (tax evasion and shadow economy)
6. Justifiable: claiming government benefits even if one is not entitled to them (attitudes towards public services, work attitudes)
7. Justifiable: someone accepting a bribe (corruption)

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[5] http://www.dw.de/turkey-not-fit-for-eu-accession-sarkozy/a-14875593

8. Rejecting neighbours: immigrants/foreign workers (economic and social discrimination)
9. Neighbours: People of a different race (economic and social discrimination)
10. University is more important for a boy than for a girl (economic and social discrimination).

Fascinating relationships between the underlying factors, explaining these 30 variables, and which render themselves for objective and value-free comparisons will emerge, and we will also be able to name for each country of the world the exact position it has on those factors. We will be able to show the regional cleavages for those factors, and we will be able to say whether Turkey's population has attitudes which are different from or are similar to other current EU-candidate countries, such as Macedonia. We will be able to judge whether in principle there exist really fundamental value differences between Turkey and the rest of Europe, disqualifying Turkey *ex ante* from EU membership – or not. These results will hold irrespective of recent political tendencies in the country, connected with the Gezi Park protest movement.

The rest of this study is organized as follows: Section 2 provides a general picture of Turkey ante portas. Section 3 discusses the political economy and sociology of global values. The often overlooked role of the shadow economy in assessing global values is analyzed in Section 4. The methodology is outlined in Section 5. Section 6 is on re-analysis of Inglehart's data. The final factor analytical model is presented in Section 7, followed by the new choropleth maps of global human values in Section 8. In Section 9, we discuss regional value differences at the sub-national level and in the final Section Turkey – a Torn Country? Conclusions and Perspectives are presented.

2. Turkey ante portas

In our view, the culturalist "debate" about *"Islam in Europe"*, focusing on *"Islam as such"*, leaves no room for the legitimate concerns of those who indeed fear that the secular Republic established by Kemal Atatürk is progressively being undermined by an increasingly authoritarian political leadership, which won yet another victory at the polls in 2014, all the protest movement in the major cities around Gezi Park notwithstanding.[6] But this essay is not on Turkish internal politics, but, if you like, on comparative values *"as such"*, regardless of one's stand in the often controversial and bitter cleavages now surfacing in Turkish society.

Most "official", i.e. government-think tank related foreign policy experts in the European Union would agree with the statement of the current chief Turkey country expert at the Polish Institute for International Affairs (PISM), Karol Wasilewski (2017a), who reached the conclusion that:

"The dynamic changes that have taken place in Turkey in the last few years have made the future of EU-Turkey relations uncertain. Although Turkish politicians assure their European counterparts that EU membership is still Turkey's strategic goal, their actions within the country have moved away from the Copenhagen criteria and made continuation of accession negotiations difficult to continue. However, within certain limits, the EU can regain some of its influence on Turkey. First, despite the many differences and potential for

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[6] http://www.gloria-center.org/2013/04/turkeys-regime-fails-abroad-is-world-champion-at-fundamental-transformation-at-home/

increased tensions, the EU should hold a long-term strategic perspective and keep Turkey close for its own interests. Second, while evaluating other steps in EU-Turkey relations, European leaders should acknowledge that the EU is at least equally important for Turkey as it is for Europe. Third, the EU should have a comprehensive and well-executed strategy towards Turkey so Turkish politicians will be fully aware of the potential benefits of close cooperation with the Union, as well as the potential costs of breaking off ties. Fourth, European politicians should remember that Erdoğan is still an excellent gambler, and not risk-averse. While he knows when to push the stakes, he can easily change his actions when they are not paying off. Finally, it would be beneficial for the EU to note that despite Erdoğan's continuing consolidation of power, Turkey remains a politically polarized country. This, in turn, may mean that mechanisms inherent in the Copenhagen criteria, democracy and rule of law may eventually be needed in Turkey, even if only in the longer term. A mix of actions will allow the partners to make full use of the huge potential found in their shared interests, which is extremely important in times of growing uncertainty regarding the shape of the global order." (Wasilweski, 2017a)

On an international level, however, an increasing number of experts, especially from Israel, would not accept any more such a benign view of events, still leaving open a window of hope for Turkish accession to the European Union. Col. (ret.) Dr. Jacques Neriah (Neriah, 2018), a special analyst for the Middle East at the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, who was formerly Foreign Policy Advisor to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Deputy Head for Assessment of Israeli Military Intelligence, expressed his reservations about Turkey's current role in aiding Islamist currents around the Middle East in the following language:

"Turkey's military has also served its own political ambitions and goals. Turkey's military intelligence had been blamed by Egyptian authorities for being involved in the Sinai insurgency, siding with the Islamists, while Lebanese sources have also mentioned the activities of Turkish agents in de-stabilizing Lebanon" (Neriah, 2018)

In a scathing analysis of Turkey's current political scene, Yoni Ben Menachem, a veteran Arab affairs and diplomatic commentator for Israel Radio and Television, and a senior Middle East analyst for the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, who served as Director General and Chief Editor of the Israel Broadcasting Authority, writes (Ben Menachem, 2017) that President Erdogan nowadays supports terrorism and Islamism – from Gaza to Sinai – and that there are many attempts to forge Turkish alliances with the Muslim Brotherhood. The Former Chief of Staff of the Israeli Armed Forces and former Minister of Defense, Moshe Ya'alon even went a step further by saying that in a bid for world domination, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan is deliberately flooding Europe with Muslims to "Islamicize" the continent (sic): *"Erdogan is intentionally Islamicizing Europe. People are ignoring it. It's deliberate Islamization,"* he told *The Times of Israel.* [7]

Also, an increasing number of geo-strategic analysts from the United States Defense establishment begin to view Erdogan's policies as a real new danger for the free world (see among others, the Rand Corporation study Larrabee, 2018). A recent comment by the influential Washington-based Heritage Foundation, was even entitled *"Erdogan's Turkey Drifts from U.S. Ally to Frenemy"*[8]

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[7] http://www.timesofisrael.com/an-ex-defense-chief-sees-europe-deliberately-islamicized-at-turkeys-hand/

[8] https://www.heritage.org/middle-east/commentary/erdogans-turkey-drifts-us-ally-frenemy

It is important to remember that not Islam, but Islamism is the reason quoted for this new kind of approach to Turkey under Erdogan. Many international observers, among them Toghill (2012), found that the real issues in Turkish accession have nothing to do with legal criteria, economic requirements or international relations. The problem, Toghill argued, is really simply that of admitting a large Muslim country into the EU. But it's often forgotten that the then French overseas department of Algeria with a largely Muslim population was an integral part of the then *"European Economic Community"* from January 1st, 1958 right to July 5th, 1962, the day when Algeria became independent.[9] When Algeria joined the European Economic Community, no Copenhagen criteria were in place, and a bitter counter-insurgency war was being fought with tens of thousands of victims. So, adherents of Turkey's EU-accession might say that Muslim Algeria as a colony involved in a bitter civil war was welcome as a European Economic Community member, but Turkey is not.

With more than 30 years since the Turkish Republic's application to join the European Economic Community in 1987, and more than 20 years since the country was declared eligible to join the EU in 1997, the EU one way or the other, will have to reach a decision[10] on how to proceed. In 1997 Turkey was declared eligible to join the EU. Turkey's involvement with European integration dates way back to 1959 and includes the Ankara Association Agreement (1963) for the progressive establishment of a Customs Union (ultimately set up in 1995).[11]

Countries preparing to join the EU today are: Albania, Bosnia and Kosovo as potential candidates and Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey[12] as official candidates[13]. As a glance at the United States Central Intelligence Agency *"World Factbook"* will convince every reader of this article very quickly,[14] these countries are characterized by the following Muslim share of population: Turkey (99.8%), Albania (56.7%), Bosnia and Herzegovina (40%), Macedonia (33.3%), Montenegro (19.1%), and Serbia (3.1%).

Carkuglu and Rubin (2003) viewed the question of EU membership as one of Turkey's most important foreign policy problems and an important domestic issue as well. The EU's behaviour was seen as a rejection of its principles by those who hate, look down on, or discriminate against Turkey. The full reasons for the slow pace of advance towards membership include Turkey's population size, its relative poverty, its Muslim population, its limits on democracy, its human rights situation, the Armenian, Kurdish and Cyprus questions, the conflict with Greece, the structure of the economy, and domestic opposition to Turkey's westernization. Regional security was seen then as the only issue of full mutual agreement. Only a single so-called negotiation Chapter (science and research) of the 33 Chapters was completed on June 12, 2006, while all the other membership negotia-

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[9] http://www.eui.eu/Research/HistoricalArchivesOfEU/News/2013/07–30-EurafricaandDeGaulle-sConstantinePlan.aspx

[10] http://www.todayszaman.com/news-338454-merkel-reiterates-doubts-on-turkeys-eu-membership-but-supports-talks.html

[11] http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/countries/check-current-status/index_en.htm

[12] http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/turkey/index_en.htm

[13] The official Website of the EU notes that in the case of Iceland that Iceland requested not to be regarded as a candidate country, and yet Iceland is still included in the official candidate country list! See: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/countries/check-current-status_en

[14] https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/

tion Chapters remain contentious.[15] Minority rights play an important role in the underlying conflicts (Yilmaz, 2012).

Thus, it is no wonder that a number of experts, including Szymański, in his (2015) study thought that the pre-accession process of Turkey will be continued but its pace and course will depend to a large extent on the position of the Union's main powers, the clear vision of the EU as well as the economic/political situation and public feelings in Europe. In this whole conjunction, the question of underlying value differences plays an important role.

3. The political economy and sociology of global values

Alesina and Guiliano (2013) define culture to comprise measurable tendencies in the following variables: generalized trust, individualism versus collectivism, family ties, generalized vs. limited morality, attitudes toward work and perceptions of poverty and religion.

The most studied cultural trait, according to Alesina and Guiliano (2013) is the measure of generalized trust toward others. The importance of this trait cannot, as argued by Alesina and Guiliano, be overemphasized. They mention that every commercial transaction has within itself an element of trust; and economic backwardness in the world can, following economist Kenneth Arrow, be explained precisely by the lack of mutual confidence. The *WVS* asks respondents around the globe: *"Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful when dealing with others?"* Nowadays, there is, as Alesina and Guiliano highlight, a vast literature showing a close connection between trust and economic development. Generalized vs. limited morality are also, Alesina and Guiliano argue, relevant in fostering economic development. Limited morality exists where cooperative behavior is extended only towards immediate family members, whereas generalized morality exists where cooperative behavior is extended toward everyone in society.

Among the most prominent competing international sociological attempts to define and measure the development of human values we should specify the two current major approaches dominating international social science: Hofstede's theory of global values and Inglehart's and his associates' studies of world values.

First, we mention Geert Hofstede. This Dutch psychologist and his associates really stood at the beginning of comparative international value research. Initially, they based their empirical studies on global culture on the statistical analysis of the staff of the US transnational enterprise IBM in 40 different countries around the world (see also Hofstede, 2001; Hofstede, and Minkov, 2010; Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, 2010; Minkov and Hofstede, 2011, 2013). According to Hofstede and his school, there are four to six basic clusters of international value systems, and they are all defined along the scales of how different national societies handle ways of coping with inequality, ways of coping with uncertainty, the relationship of the individual with her or his primary group, and the emotional implications of having been born as a girl or as a boy. Hofstede defines these dimensions of national culture as: power distance, individualism vs. collectivism, masculinity versus femininity, uncertainty avoidance index, long-term orientation and indulgence versus restraint.

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[15] https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/20180131-negotiations-status-turkey.pdf

Between 1990 and 2002, Hofstede replicated these dimensions in six other cross-national studies on very different populations from consumers to airline pilots, covering between 14 and 28 countries. In the 2010 third edition of his book *'Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind'*, scores on the dimensions are listed for 76 countries.[16] But – perhaps somewhat surprisingly for large sections of the European public, the ranks of Turkey on the global Hofstede scales are somewhere in the middle of global society based on a sample of 62 countries: uncertainty avoidance index (18), power distance (25), indulgence versus restraint (27), individualism vs. collectivism (35), masculinity versus femininity (36) and long-term orientation (36). For the final analysis we only considered the countries with complete values.

By contrast Inglehart, in some of his main publications, developed an interpretation of global value change (Inglehart, 2003; Inglehart and Baker, 2000; Inglehart and Norris, 2003; Inglehart and Welzel, 2003, 2005), which rests on a well-known two-dimensional scale of global values and global value change, which is based on the statistical technique of factor analysis of up to over twenty key *WVS* variables from the originally more than 900 survey items on practically all major areas of human concern, from religion to politics to economic and social life. Factor analysis reduces variables to the underlying statistical dimensions.

The two Inglehart dimensions (see Inglehart and Baker, 2000, pp. 23–24) are: (i) the Traditional/Secular-Rational dimension and (ii) the Survival/Self-expression dimension. These two dimensions also explain more than 70 percent of the cross-national variance in a factor analysis of ten indicators, and each of these dimensions is strongly correlated with scores of other important variables. The factor scores generated by these 10 items listed previously are highly correlated with factor scores from his earlier research. In a statistical table in that landmark article, Inglehart and Baker also show the results from a factor analysis of variables with 165,594 *WVS* respondents (Inglehart and Baker, 2000, Table 1). As expected, the factor loadings are considerably lower than those at the national level.

For Inglehart and his associates, the rise of rational-secular values is an important element in socio-economic and democratic development. Self-expression values, as opposed to survival values, give high priority to environmental protection, tolerance of diversity and the rising demands for participation in decision making in economic and political life. For Inglehart there is a dramatic shift in child-rearing values, from an emphasis on hard work towards an emphasis on imagination and tolerance as important values to teach a child in the course of socio-economic development. Societies that rank high on self-expression values also tend to rank high on interpersonal trust. The culture of trust and tolerance are crucial to democracy. Secularism (y-axis) and self-expression (x-axis) are but two sides of the same coin – modernity. The Inglehart School assumes the following global *"map of human values"*. In our adaptation of the famous Inglehart map (Graph 1), we highlight the position of Turkey on it. Assuming that self-expression values rise in parallel with secular-rational values, it is clear that Turkey's path corresponds to the "global path".

[Graph 1: Map of global human values according to Inglehart and associates (our own adaptation) and the place of Turkey on it]

Our own calculations show that Tanzania, Puerto Rico and Jordan are the least secular countries of the world, while Sweden, Japan and the Czech Republic are the most secu-

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[16] http://www.geertHofstede, .nl/dimensions-of-national-cultures

lar countries of the world. Turkey's ranking needs a special comment here: while Turkey is more religious than most West European countries, it is as religious as the United States, Poland, and the Latin American democracies Chile and Brazil. Its ranking at 49 of the 66 countries is not sensational, replicating the previously mentioned tendency from Hofstede's surveys. New Zealand, Australia and the United States are the most self-expression-oriented countries of the world, while all of the five most survival oriented and least self-expression-oriented countries of the world were of Orthodox Christian cultural heritage: Moldova, Ukraine, Russia, Belarus and Romania. So, Turkey ranks 45 on the global self-expression scale, regarded by Inglehart and his associates to be so vital for "effective democracy". Turkey is ahead of several countries of the EU, reminding readers that self-expression values are defined by the priority to self-expression and quality-of-life, happiness, preparedness to sign a petition, tolerance vis-à-vis homosexuality, and trust in people. The results clearly suggest that the world of Christian Orthodoxy is the global region with the lowest self-expression values.

Our choropleth maps – Maps 1 and 2 – designed with Inglehart's data, further highlight these aspects of the Inglehart global map of human values. Generally, one refers to the "map of human values" nowadays in the context of the famous Graph, designed by Inglehart and his associates, shown in Graph 1 of this essay. However, the design of real choropleth maps, i.e. maps designed to show global statistics on an easily readable world maps, which simplify the global data range to up to nine, ten or eleven layers (high, medium, low) brings about important insights into the essence of social scientific theories, and – even at the price of oversimplification – try to show to the audiences confronted with these theories where a given phenomenon is strongest or weakest.

[Map 1: Inglehart: Secular Values. Data from the WVS waves 1–4]

[Map 2: Inglehart: Self-Expression Values. Data from the WVS waves 1–4]

Inglehart and Baker (2000) also maintain that in traditional societies a main goal in life is to make one's parents proud and one must always love and respect one's parents, regardless of how they behave. Conversely, parents must do their best for their children even if their own well-being suffers. People in traditional societies idealize large families, and they actually have them. However, extensive evidence indicates that these values tap into an intergenerational shift from an emphasis on economic and physical security toward an increased emphasis on self-expression, subjective well-being, and quality-of-life concerns. In contrast to the hitherto dominant explanations, we introduce the dimension of the shadow economy, acceptance of corruption, and overall moral decay (see also Schneider, 2005 Torgler and Schneider, 2007). And as we see in the results, this consideration of the dimension of economic permissiveness results in a significant redrawing of the global maps of human values.

4. The overlooked role of the shadow economy in assessing global values

It is clear that Hofstede and Inglehart neglected a very important dimension of economic and social life – the shadow economy, which is becoming more and more important in the process of the further enlargement of the EU. Let us just take one important example – the evaluation of a randomly chosen current EU member candidate country, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The United States Department of States, in its country human rights report, issued in February 2014, refers to the government's failure to fully re-

spect the rule of law, interfering in the judiciary and the media, and selective prosecution of political opponents, government corruption and police impunity, political interference, inefficiency, favoritism toward well placed persons, and corrupt judicial system.

Shadow economic activity has been on rise and causing violations of laws and regulations, lowering tax revenue collections, statistical discrepancies, inequality, corruption and public budget deficit and public debt problems for the state and its organizations. The shadow economy captures all the activities beyond measurement by official activity. In all countries, there is evidence that the shadow economy has a significant share of the overall economy. It is also labelled as hidden, black, underground, unobserved, unofficial, unrecorded, and parallel economies. The rise of the shadow economy around the world is attributed to the stronger presence of government activity, increase in tax rates, and the desire to escape taxes and regulatory restrictions. Tanzi and Schunecht (1997), Tanzi (1999), Schneider (2005), Eilat and Zinnes (2002), Ahumada et al. (2008) and Chaudhuri et al. (2006) shed light on these shadow economic activities, its measurement and development across developed, developing and transition economies. Tanzi (1999) suggests that the shadow economy thrives because of the presence of activities that are difficult to measure and tax.

There are several factors identified by researchers that are expected to have a negative association with the size of the shadow economy. These include trust (D'Hernoncourt and Meon, 2012), and tax morale and quality of institutions (Torgler and Schneider, 2009). Three key factors whose extent has impacted the size of shadow economy are: debt, default risk, corruption and financial development (Elgin and Uras, 2012; Blackburn et al., 2012), Information Communication Technologies (ICT) (Indjikian and Siegel, 2005) and environmental violations (Biswas et al., 2012).

Schneider (2005) considers shadow economic activities a fact of life. Schneider (2005) defines the shadow economy to include all market-based legal production of goods and services that are deliberately concealed from public authorities for the following reasons: (i) to avoid payment of income, value added or other taxes, (ii) to avoid payment of social security contributions, (iii) to avoid having to meet certain labour market legal standards, and (iv) to avoid complying with certain administrative procedures. However, this definition does not include economic activities that are illegal and fit the characteristics of classical crime, as well as the informal household economy or tax evasion.

In another approach Eilat and Zinnes (2002) treat the shadow economy as a distinct entity, instead of seeing it just as a symptom of policy failures of the transition countries. They examine its short-term and dynamic consequences for development. The shadow economy is measured in two different ways: first, the electricity method which attributes growth in total electricity consumption in excess of growth in GDP to the shadow economy, and the second measure is a modified electricity approach correcting for limitations in the first approach.

Yet in a third approach, Ahumada et al. (2008) look at the monetary measure of the shadow economy where the money demand function, observed cash balances, and its variation which is explained by variables which induce agents to make hidden transactions, is used to estimate the size of the shadow economy. However, on econometric grounds, researchers have criticized the quantitative accuracy of this method. The critique is attributed to time series properties, structural breaks and sensitivity to units of measurement to lag the dependent variable and its initial condition.

Limited statistics from high income countries point to a positive trend in shadow economic activities development, but little is known yet about its magnitude in transition, low-income and emerging economies. Schneider (2005) estimates the shadow economy for 110 countries (66 developing, 23 transition and 21 industrialized OECD) observed for 1990/1991, 1994/1995 and 1999/2000. The results provide some insights about the main causes and studies the dynamic effects of the shadow economy. The main causes of the shadow economy are found to be the tax and social security contribution burdens, the intensity of regulations and the low quality of public sector services.

The transition economies have undergone major changes. Increased unemployment, decline in GDP, a paralyzed bureaucracy and government corruption during this period saw a surge in the growth of shadow economic activities. Eilat and Zinnes (2002) conducted research on the shadow economy in transition countries. The objective was to use a policy perspective to find out whether shadow economy is a "friend" or a "foe". The research was conducted in three parts: it lays out the theoretical and empirical backgrounds, it estimates the size of the shadow economy, and it examines its effects and discusses issues of policy implementation.

For the empirical part, Eilat and Zinnes (2002) measure the relative size of the shadow economy to official GDP in 25 transition countries for the period 1990 to 1997. The patterns show that, once established, the shadow economy is hard to remove. Estimation results show that a dollar decline (rise) in official GDP is attenuated by a shadow economic expansion (contraction) of 31 (25) cents. Finally, the authors examine whether the shadow economy prevents, slows down, or promotes economic growth and competitiveness, and through what mechanisms. In addition, they consider implications for policymaking that address the key questions and provide policy recommendations.

Schneider (2005), in the context of industrialized and transition economies, mentions that the shadow economy is expected to influence the tax system and its structure, the efficiency of resource allocation between sectors, and the official economy in a dynamic sense. Schneider (2005) concludes that for all countries investigated, the shadow economy as share of GDP has reached a remarkably large size (Africa 33.9%-41.2%; Americas 34.2%-41.5%; Asia 20.9%-26.3%; Transition countries 31.5%-37.9% and highly developed countries 13.2%-16.8%). The average percentage shares of GDP in all cases are increasing over time. The author demonstrates empirically a strong interaction of the shadow economy with government policies and with the official economy. He draws three further conclusions. First, an increasing burden of taxation and social security payments, combined with rising state regulatory activities, are the major driving forces underlying the size and growth of the shadow economy. Second, the shadow economy has a statistically significant and quantitatively important influence on the growth of the official economy. Increases in the shadow economy have a negative effect on the official growth in a developing country, but a positive effect in the developed industrialized and transition countries. Finally, shadow economies are a complex phenomenon, and are present in all types of economy. People engage in shadow economic activity because of government actions, most notably high levels of taxation and regulation.

There are several factors that are expected to have a negative association with the size of shadow economy. These include trust, tax morale, and quality of institutions. Some researchers use subjective variables such as perceptions, expectations, attitudes and motivations such as tax morale or institutional quality. The relationship between tax mo-

rale and institutional quality and the shadow economy was investigated by Torgler and Schneider (2009). The shadow economy is measured as a percentage of the official GDP. WVS/European Values Survey data on cheating on taxes and Latinobarometro data on the justifiability of avoiding paying taxes are measures of tax morale, and the quality of governance index is used as a proxy for institutional quality. They use a multivariate analysis to examine the quantitative impact of these factors on the level of, and changes in, the shadow economy. They find strong support for the hypothesis that higher tax morale and a higher institutional quality lead to a smaller shadow economy.

Another factor with significant potential impact on the size of shadow economy is trust. Trust can be a substitute to formal and legal contracts in a situation when the agents involved in shadow transactions cannot rely upon the formal legal system to enforce agreements or settle disputes. This view suggests that trust increases the size of the formal sector by negatively impacting the size of the informal sector. In this regard, D'Hernoncourt and Meon (2012) investigate the relationship between trust and the size of shadow economy. They report a negative relationship between the size of the shadow economy and generalized trust. Trust is defined as the trust index provided in the WVS data. Trust and the shadow economy are negatively related and trust matters more for developing countries.

5. Methodology

Following the introduction of the world-famous Human Development Index and its annual updates in the Human Development Report in recent years (see UNDP, 2013) a richer literature on the quantitative measurement of development outcomes has been developed. These outcomes are often multidimensional and each of the dimensions is represented by several indicators with both positive and negative effects on the development outcome. In this study the objective is not only to evaluate the effects of certain policy programmes, but also to quantify the state of the outcome. The multidimensionality of the outcome requires the creation of composite indices to have a single measure of performance and also to aggregate the indicators to rank the units in one unique way.

Examples of such indices are studies of globalization and its impacts on inequality, poverty and economic growth. Concerning the measurement of globalization, Heshmati (2006a and 2006b) introduces two composite indices of globalization. They indicate the level of globalization and show how it has developed over time for different countries. The indices are composed of four main components: economic integration, personal contact, technology and political engagement, each generated from a number of indicators. The indices were also used in a regression analysis framework to study the causal relationships between income inequality, poverty, economic growth and globalization. The results show evidence of a weak and negative relationship between globalization and income inequality and poverty. An important index of globalization based on similar methodology, but comprehensive data is the KOF index (see also Dreher, Gaston and Martens, 2008).

There are at least two parametric indices employed for computing an index of a development process: the principal component (PC) or factor analysis (FA). In this paper, we introduce a Value Development Index, based on *WVS* data. Since the two methods in normalized form give PC scores with unit variance, the PC is more frequently used in the analysis of a development process. PC analysis is a multivariate technique used for examining relationships within a set of interrelated quantitative variables. The principal

components computed; each is a linear combination of the original indicators with coefficients equal to the *Eigen vector*s of the correlation of the covariance matrix. The principal components are sorted according to the descending order of the *Eigenvalues*, which are equal to the variance of the components. PC analysis is a way to uncover approximate linear dependencies among the indicators.

As part of the analysis, the *Eigenvalues* and *Eigenvectors* are investigated. Only *Eigenvalues* bigger than 1.0 are used in the computation of development process indices. The *Eigenvalues* are declining from the first component to other components. By looking at the *Eigenvectors,* it becomes evident which indicators form a specific component and the nature of their effects. In each sub-component, an indicator with an *Eigenvector* exceeding 0.30 is considered statistically as a significant contributor to the principal component.

Each of the indices has its own advantages and disadvantages. They can be used to measure the state of development among countries and attribute it to the possible underlying causes. A breakdown of the index into major components provides possibilities to identify positive and negative factors contributing to the development. The structure of the components is determined by the researcher. In practice the researchers use only the first principal component in the computation of a parametric index and in the ranking of the countries studied. This method has the disadvantage in that it ignores the information embodied in the remaining indicators. One alternative to account for the information embodied in all principal components with an *Eigenvalue* bigger than one is to use a weighted average PC index. In the aggregation of the principal components, one can use their explained share of the total variance as weights. This method of aggregation will allow the utilization of information from all indicators of an outcome. Lim and Nguyen (2014) discuss alternative weighting approaches to computing indices of economic activity.

It should be emphasized that the PC method is generally a very useful method to reduce the complexity of the data with multi-dimensions. However, the linear combinations of the different dimensions of interest may not always be easy to interpret. The factor analysis examined above and various methods of factor rotation have been conducted in the context of linear factor analysis of continuous variables. The standard linear factor-analytic methodologies do not work well for dichotomous items. This limitation has led to the development of nonlinear methods. In both cases, the determination of the association between items and factors is the same and is made using factor loading which is considered by Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) as the correlation between the factor and items. Strongest loadings above a threshold value 0.3 or 0.4 are preferred. Nonlinear factor analysis is often used to identify both the presence and nature of multidimensionality in a set of test items. The loaded matrix is rotated in order to amplify the presence of simple unidirectional latent structures. This is a simple structure from a set of items as when each factor has a few items with high loadings and the rest have loadings near to zero.

Finch (2006) conducted a simulation study to compare the performance of two commonly used methods of rotation, namely orthogonal (Varimax) and oblique (Promax) to identify the presence of a simple structure. Factor rotation involves a transformation of the initial factor loadings to obtain a more simple structure without changing the underlying mathematical relationships in the data. Finch suggests the nonlinear factor analysis rotation method as the preferred method. Orthogonal rotations assume the factors are uncorrelated, while the oblique rotations assume the factors are correlated. The former contains the correlation between the factors, while the later measures the relationship

between the individual factors and items. Promax takes the rotated matrix provided by Varimax and raises the loadings to powers where the transformed loading values reflect the simple structure better than in the case of Varimax (McLeod et al., 2001). The results from the Flinch simulation suggest that the two approaches are equally able to recover the underlying factor structure, though the promax method is better in the identification of the simple structure. Given conflicting recommendations in the literature, Dien et al. (2005) present a standard protocol for applying PC analysis to event-related potential datasets. The focus is on optimizing PC analysis with emphasis on matrix type, factor loading weighing, extraction and rotations using data simulations.

6. Re-analysis of Inglehart's data

As convincing as Inglehart's theory and the empirics of his contentions might appear at first sight, several essays and books have questioned Inglehart's way of combining the analyzed variables into his dimensions or the linkage between his dimensions and democratic development (Hadenius, and Teorell, 2005; Haller, 2002; Haller and Hadler, 2006; Steenkamp and Geyskens, 2012; Tausch and Karoui, 2011; Tausch and Moaddel, 2009). As we said, PC analysis or factor analysis with orthogonal standard rotation of factors is a convenient, but not always the best, way to reduce the relationships in a statistical correlation matrix between variables. It is of paramount importance to be clear here – what relationships exist between the factors, and which relationships are being allowed or we might even say are being dictated by the model? No correlations between the factors? Or are correlations being allowed? The statistical method chosen by Inglehart, derived by the initial PC analysis to arrive at his final factor analytical results – the standard varimax rotation, which allows for no correlations between the chosen factors – today is increasingly being substituted in the literature by methods like the promax rotation, which allows for such correlations between the factors (Finch, 2006). To make matters worse, Inglehart's choice of the WVS data did not always use the items which are the best available in a maximum number of countries and theoretically of importance at the same time. His analyses are based on a theoretical maximum of 146,789 global interviews reflecting 22 variables; while we thought it more appropriate to base our analysis on a theoretical maximum of 180,041 global interviews for 30 variables.

In our research design, we avoided imputation of missing values and deleted observations with missing values. This may affect the representativeness of the data. At the end of the day, there were 92,289 persons around the globe with complete data for all the 30 variables of our research design. We worked with the very best documented *WVS* items. Seen in such a way, the present analysis is the biggest of its kind ever undertaken in social science history. Our "new" nine factors all very much make 'sense' and are free from problematic assumptions. We included all 30 original indicators, into the original principal components and later the promax factor analysis. Our research design was thus intended to be more straightforward and simple, and in addition, it uses a more advanced and up to date statistical methodology. In contrast to Inglehart, we also include background variables, such as gender, age and education (see Table 1). Thus, our analysis is no longer a "gender-free zone": [Table 1: The research designs compared][17]

17   For reasons of scarce Journal space, all Appendix Tables and Graphs are available at the Website: https://www.academia.edu/32279891/Testing_Turkey_s_Place_on_the_Maps_of_Global_Economic_Po-

Our re-analysis is based on 68 countries, and there are a good number of Muslim societies or predominantly Muslim societies with complete data covering all the 30 variables from around the globe. The choice of our variables from the WVS is provided in Table 2. No substitution of missing values had to be carried out, and the SPSS 20 statistics programme was applied, with the default options for factor analysis/promax rotation in place. Thus, it is important to emphasize that access to the data allow researchers to reexamine the results presented here.

[Table 2: The choice of our variables from the *World Values Survey*]

The WVS data we used correspond to 88.96% of the total global population and 84.75% of the world's Muslim population; and our re-analysis of the Inglehart world map of human values still yields results with complete data, which are a good sample of 56.89% of the global population and 56.16% of the global Muslim population.[18]

7. The final factor analytical model

Graph 2 shows the *Eigenvalues* of our investigation; with the first two factors way past any linear continuation of the factors 10–29, shown in the x-axis. Eight of our nine factors [economic permissiveness, traditional religion, racism, generational education gaps, distrust of the army and the press, authoritarian character, tolerance and respect, and the 'ego' company (independence + selfishness) are not only well above *Eigenvalue* 1.0, but also way above the linear continuation of the *Eigenvalues* of factors 9–19. Following such a simple standard procedure of analyzing the *Eigenvalues,* we suggest treating the results for factor 9 – rejection of the market economy and democracy – with some caution at least. For that reason, our Table 3 lists these results with *indented letters.*

Although its *Eigenvalue* is still above 1.0, its vicinity to the factors 10–19 is clearly visible. In all, our model explains some 47% of the total variance of the correlation matrix of the data for 30 variables from more than 90,000 interview partners of the *WVS*, with two factors explaining more than 17% of the total variance in between them – economic permissiveness, and traditional religion, the two defining processes of global values and global value change today. We have highlighted all factor loadings from the rotated structure matrix (*Promax rotation* according to the SPSS 20 with *Kaiser normalization)* in different typing and shadings in order to ease reading the results.

We should emphasize the point that the correlations between the factors are not correlations between aggregations at the country level but reflect the correlations between the factors, to be extracted from the data at the individual level of more than 90,000 interview partners, across countries and across cultures. Under such conditions, correlations between factors of more than +/-0.10 are already to be considered high. Nevertheless, we have to emphasize that the relationships between economic permissiveness, and traditional religion, the factors with *Eigenvalues* of 2.0 or above, and the rest of the nine factors under consideration here, all with an *Eigenvalue* of 1.0 or above, in no way sufficiently firmly confirm the expectations of militant contemporary secularism.

Seven factors under consideration here are a new input for the entire global debate about human values. These include: the strength of economic permissiveness; the clear

litical_and_Social_Values

[18] WVS five wave aggregated file 1981–2005 (new) available at http://www wvsevsdb com/wvs/WVS-Data. jsp

proof of the existence of a factor describing racism; the generation gap in education, connected with the value transformation processes; the existence of a joint political distrust factor against both the army and the press; which also exists in very rich Western democracies;, the clear proof of an "authoritarian personality" factor and a re-emergence of the Hofstede dimension of "long term orientation", called here *the ego company*. Two factors bear great resemblance to the results achieved by Inglehart and his associates – traditional religion and tolerance and respect and post-materialism (see Graph 2).

[Graph 2: Screenplot for our factor analysis]

Table 3 shows the structure matrix – Promax with Kaiser normalization. Table 4 presents the correlations between the factors, Table 5 the aggregate country results and Table 7 the country ranks of global values. These tables are now to be considered as the main basis of our further interpretations and form the nucleus of the new choropleth world maps of human values.

8. The new choropleth maps of global human values

Graph 1 depicted the Inglehart/Welzel map of human values. The real choropleth maps, Maps 3 to 11, designed by us on the basis of the preceding *WVS* data, now focus on our analysis and its geographical implications. Table 3 allow the assessing of the condensed variable definitions, immediately following from Table 3, and also to assess our list of the five highest and lowest placed countries for each of our nine factors. The table is further complemented by nine choropleth maps, from Map 3 through to Map 11.

Factor 1. Economic permissiveness definition based on:
- Justifiable: cheating on taxes
- Justifiable: avoiding a fare on public transport
- Justifiable: someone accepting a bribe
- Justifiable: claiming government benefits

Best practice of avoiding it	Worst practice of avoiding it
▪ Bangladesh	▪ Serbia
▪ Zimbabwe	▪ Zambia
▪ Turkey	▪ Philippines
▪ Tanzania	▪ Moldova
▪ Morocco	▪ Thailand

Factor 2. Traditional religion definition based on:
- How important is God in your life?
- Important child qualities: religious faith
- Negative loading: never attend religious services

Highest values:
- Nigeria
- Ghana
- Jordan

- Indonesia
- Tanzania
- Lowest values:
- Russian Federation
- Sweden
- Czech Republic
- Estonia
- Germany

Factor 3. Racism definition based on:
- [Rejecting] Neighbours: Immigrants/foreign workers
- [Rejecting] Neighbours: People of a different race
- Immigrant policy (prevent people from coming)

Best practice of avoiding it	Worst practice of avoiding it
▪ Sweden	▪ Hong Kong
▪ Burkina Faso	▪ Bangladesh
▪ Canada	▪ Jordan
▪ New Zealand	▪ Thailand
▪ Belarus	▪ India

Factor 4. Generational education gap definition based on:
- Highest educational level attained
- Rejecting sexist position: University is more important for a boy than for a girl
- Negative loading Age
- Negative loading – Important child qualities: thrift saving money and things

Highest values:
- Dominican Republic
- Uganda
- Kyrgyzstan
- Nigeria
- Peru
- Lowest values:
- Thailand
- Mali
- Poland
- Czech Republic
- Slovakia

Factor 5. Distrust of the army and the press definition based on:
- [No] Confidence: The Press
- [No] Confidence: Armed Forces

- Negative loading: [Right wing] self-positioning in political scale (scale 1-left to 10-right)

Best practice of avoiding it	Worst practice of avoiding it
▪ Vietnam	▪ Germany
▪ Tanzania	▪ Argentina
▪ Bangladesh	▪ Macedonia
▪ Jordan	▪ Trinidad and Tobago
▪ India	▪ Serbia

Factor 6. The authoritarian character definition based on:
- Lack of social capital (Most people can be trusted [highest numerical value: you just can't be too careful])
- Important child qualities: hard work
- Important child qualities: obedience
- Negative loading: Important child qualities: imagination
- Negative loading: Important child qualities: independence

Best practice of avoiding it	Worst practice of avoiding it
▪ Norway	▪ Russian Federation
▪ Sweden	▪ Zimbabwe
▪ Switzerland	▪ Nigeria
▪ New Zealand	▪ Uganda
▪ Finland	▪ Trinidad and Tobago

Factor 7. Tolerance, respect and post-materialism definition based on:
- Important child qualities: tolerance and respect for other people
- Important child qualities: feeling of responsibility
- Rejecting sexist position: University is more important for a boy than for a girl
- Negative loading: Important child qualities: hard work

Best practice:
- Sweden
- Norway
- Switzerland
- Finland
- Germany
- Worst practice:
- Mali
- Burkina Faso
- Ethiopia
- Nigeria
- Bangladesh

Factor 8. The "ego company" definition based on:
- Important child qualities: feeling of responsibility
- Important child qualities: independence
- Negative loading: Important child qualities: unselfishness
- Negative loading: Important child qualities: obedience

Highest values:
- South Korea
- Azerbaijan
- Taiwan
- Latvia
- Estonia
- Lowest values:
- Burkina Faso
- Zimbabwe
- Jordan
- Ghana
- Tanzania

Factor 9. The rejection of the market economy and democracy defined based on:
- Sex (Gender) [in multivariate analysis: female] (1=male; 2=female)
- Competition good or harmful
- Political system: (It's very bad] having a democratic political system

Best practice of avoiding it	Worst practice of avoiding it
▪ Nigeria	▪ Poland
▪ Bangladesh	▪ Chile
▪ Morocco	▪ Guatemala
▪ India	▪ Uruguay
▪ Jordan	▪ Thailand

9. Regional value differences at the sub-national level

The World Value Survey data also permit the research community to analyze the results not only at the national level, but also at the regional level, where the interviews were recorded.

The idea that global values are often present in the nations of the world in a highly regionally contradictory pattern is relatively new in the research literature on the subject but has tremendous political and also international implications. First studies in this direction were published, among others, by Torgier and Schneider (2007). The added value from the within country regional differentiation might be outweighed by the low level of reliability and validity of the results. In case of Turkey, minority rights and democracy are factors influencing its EU membership which justify accounting for regional value differences at the sub-national level. Of the global regions with more than 30 interview partners

each, it emerges for example that the 30 most economically permissive social climates are located in:

Copperbelt Province	Zambia
South East Serbia	Serbia & Montenegro
Central West Serbia	Serbia and Montenegro
Vulkaneshtskij	Moldova
Autonomous Gaugasian Rep.	Moldova
Zhitomyr oblast	Ukraine
Arges	Romania
Sahel Region	Burkina Faso
Kirovograd oblast	Ukraine
Northern	Ghana
Assam	India
Mopti	Mali
Ararat Marz	Armenia
Southern	Ukraine
Central	Ukraine
Gomel oblast	Belarus
Sikasso	Mali
Ziemelu reg.	Latvia
Kampala	Uganda
Altiplano/Centro	Guatemala

The 30 superstars of economic law-abiding (=highest negative loadings on the economic permissiveness factor) we find in the following regions of the world:

Kishoreganj	Bangladesh
East Central Anatolia	*Turkey*
Feni	Bangladesh
Mymensingh	Bangladesh
Western Black Sea	*Turkey*
Sylhet	Bangladesh
Western Marmara	*Turkey*
Chittagong	Bangladesh
Rangpur	Bangladesh
Habiganj	Bangladesh
Samegrelo	Georgia
Masvingo	Zimbabwe
Brahmanbaria	Bangladesh

▪ Lampung	▪ Indonesia
▪ Mashonaland West	▪ Zimbabwe
▪ Addis Ababa	▪ Ethiopia
▪ East Java	▪ Indonesia
▪ *Eastern Black Sea*	▪ *Turkey*
▪ Midlands	▪ Zimbabwe
▪ Nator	▪ Bangladesh
▪ Northwest	▪ Vietnam
▪ Sirajgonj	▪ Bangladesh
▪ Marrakech-Tensift	▪ Morocco
▪ Punjab	▪ India
▪ *Eastern Marmara*	▪ *Turkey*
▪ Dareah Istimewa Yogyakarta	▪ Indonesia
▪ North central	▪ Vietnam
▪ *Western Anatolia*	▪ *Turkey*
▪ Dhaka	▪ Bangladesh
▪ Mashonaland Central	▪ Zimbabwe
▪ Barisal	▪ Bangladesh

The 30 most racist and xenophobic cultures of the world are to be found in the following regions:

▪ Sirajgonj	▪ Bangladesh
▪ Jharkhand	▪ India
▪ Brahmanbaria	▪ Bangladesh
▪ Kishoreganj	▪ Bangladesh
▪ Feni	▪ Bangladesh
▪ Nator	▪ Bangladesh
▪ Habiganj	▪ Bangladesh
▪ Sylhet	▪ Bangladesh
▪ Chittagong	▪ Bangladesh
▪ Barisal	▪ Bangladesh
▪ Banten	▪ Indonesia
▪ Dhaka	▪ Bangladesh
▪ Eastern	▪ Ghana
▪ The South	▪ Thailand
▪ Assam	▪ India
▪ Mymensingh	▪ Bangladesh
▪ Comilla	▪ Bangladesh

- *Central Anatolia*
- Madhya Pradesh
- Rajasthan
- The North
- West Bengal
- Orrisa
- Bihar
- Northwest
- Jeonbuk/North Jeolla
- DKI
- Copperbelt Province
- Southeast
- Dareah Istimewa Yogyakarta

- *Turkey*
- India
- India
- Thailand
- India
- India
- India
- Vietnam
- Korea-South
- Indonesia
- Zambia
- Vietnam
- Indonesia

On a European level, one should not underestimate the long-term implications of such findings. It emerges, for example, that even in highly developed overseas democracies, regional value differences are considerable, as, say, between the deeply religious "Bible Belt" in the US South and the relatively secular New England. Secular Western Turkey quickly catches up with other European regions concerning the "Westernization" of values. Table 7 provides us with a first overview of the highest and lowest placed regions in the current EU members and the EU-accession countries, ranked by an average Value Development Index score which is based on the factor analytical results, presented on the country to country level in Table 5 and on the *Eigenvalues,* presented in Graph 2 of this work. The factor analytical parametric index comprises the following variables: avoiding economic permissiveness; avoiding racism; avoiding distrust of the army and the press; avoiding the authoritarian character; tolerance and respect; and avoiding the rejection of the market economy and democracy. Our Table 7 suggests huge regional differences within the EU, which will increase even more after the next proposed round of EU-enlargement.

The results from Table 8 reveal some very unfortunate results about the still persistent absence of a climate of social tolerance in some Turkey's regions. Of all global regions with available data with 30 or more interview partners per region, the Turkish region of Western Marmara ranked at 13 for the presence of an authoritarian character, and the Eastern Black Sea region was ranked 41 of the more than 500 classified regions on this scale. Central Anatolia was global rank of 18 in the global scale of regional racism, and the Western Black Sea region was ranked 31 on this indicator. Central Anatolia was down at the very bottom of global regions with an achieved rank of 457 in the scale of tolerance and respect and post-materialism, while the rankings for the Aegean region and partly also Istanbul were much more favourable.

[Table 7: The rankings of the best and the worst ranked regions in the EU and the candidate and potential candidate countries]

[Table 8: The rank of Turkish regions in the geography of global values]

10. Turkey – a Torn Country? Conclusions and Perspectives

In the following, we will use factor analytical scores to calculate a new Global Value Development Index, which uses the measurement scales (factors) of our work, and which hopefully will be recognized by religious and non-religious readers alike as measurement scales. These scales express the true degree of development of a civil society of a country, independent from the extent of traditional religion in the country, and also independent from the educational gap, and also independent from the factor "ego company", where different cultural codes of global society might sharply diverge on the assessment on whether this is a "good" or "bad phenomenon".

Thus, our Global Value Development Index country score combines: avoiding permissiveness; pessimism; avoiding racism; avoiding distrust of the army and the press; avoiding the authoritarian character; tolerance and respect + post-materialism; and avoiding the rejection of the market economy and democracy. The weight, given to each factor, corresponds to the *Eigenvalues* listed in Graph 2 of this work.

We have to emphasize at the outset that the six dimensions combine phenomena where Turkey is among the top 30% of global society, i.e. avoiding economic permissiveness and avoiding the distrust of the army and the press as the long-lasting influences of Kemalism on Turkish society at large. The combined indicator also includes two components where Turkey's performance is rather mediocre compared to other countries (tolerance and respect and avoiding the rejection of the market economy and democracy), while the results for avoiding racism and for avoiding the authoritarian character are among the bottom 20% of global society. Due to the positive performance concerning economic morality and also the trust in the empirically most important two pillars of a free and democratic society – the army and the press – and the weight that these factors have in the overall model of global values, the overall Turkish performance, emerging from Table 9, is quite positive. However, we have to emphasize that this performance corresponds – as the chapter heading suggests – to the experience of a culturally much divided country.

Our country results show that the five best ranked countries of our entire globe are all western democracies with a solid historical anchoring of their societies in the traditions of liberal Enlightenment: Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, New Zealand, and Australia. But we already find among the next five countries the two developing countries, Vietnam and Tanzania, and the EU-member countries Italy (predominantly Roman Catholic), Finland (predominantly Protestant) and Canada. Our global value development index, combining law-abiding and social capital, avoiding racism; trust of the army and the press; no authoritarian character; a high degree of tolerance and respect; and a high acceptance of the market economy and democracy, ranks the predominantly Muslim nation of Morocco twelfth – just behind the United States of America – and still ahead the Latin American democracy Uruguay and Germany, to be followed by Bosnia and Indonesia.

[Table 9: The rankings of the countries of the world based on a new Global Value Development Index]

While in general terms, our analysis is quite optimistic about the civil society foundations for a stable democracy for several Muslim countries, including Morocco, Bosnia, Indonesia, Turkey and Jordan, our analysis is fairly pessimistic for the former communist countries and successor states of the former Soviet Union, predominantly Muslim and non-Muslim alike. They excel hardly anywhere by an overwhelmingly positive perfor-

mance, while the history of communism, which began to be implemented in Russia in 1917, destroyed the religious fabric of society and left a hyper-authoritarian society in its place. Russia's percentile performance scores, which might be interpreted as a serious question mark about Russia's future trajectory, are the following: the 'ego' company (18%), avoiding the distrust of the army and the press (61%), avoiding economic permissiveness (78%), tolerance and respect (79%), avoiding the rejection of the market economy and democracy (87%), traditional religion (100%) and avoiding the authoritarian character (100%).

Our map, built on the results of Table 9, also shows that some of the assumptions made by European decision makers, which pushed EU enlargement ahead of democratic consolidation after the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe, are wrong. The degree of development of a democratic civil society, characterized by law-abiding and social capital, avoiding racism; trust of the army and the press; no authoritarian character; a high degree of tolerance and respect; and a female acceptance of the market economy and democracy is very poorly developed in several of the countries, admitted into the EU in 2004 and after. Our choropleth map of global value development (Map 12) then summarizes the results of Table 9 at a glance.

[Map 12: Combined global value development index]

It is also interesting to note how neighbouring countries, diverge in their value patterns: just compare Uruguay and Brazil, both predominantly Roman Catholic; Italy and Hungary, both predominantly Roman Catholic, Morocco and Mali, both predominantly Muslim, or for that matter, Morocco and Spain, just separated by the Straits of Gibraltar; Tanzania and Zambia, two neighbouring African countries, and Vietnam and Thailand, two Asian neighbouring countries. While Uruguay, Italy, Morocco, Tanzania and Vietnam are real frontrunners in overall value development, we find that Brazil; Hungary, Mali, Zambia, and Thailand are real laggards in global value development. These phenomena hold independently of the attained development level of a country, measured by the Human Development Index of the UNDP. All of a sudden, we discover how exceptional countries such as Uruguay, Italy, Morocco, Tanzania and Vietnam really are, and that global social science research would do well to focus on the value structures in these countries.

As we already noted, however, Turkey's overall performance is mainly due to its good ranking in the field of economic morality and also by the trust of its public in the pillars of a free and democratic society. Using again the factor analytical method for the indicators: avoiding racism, absence of an authoritarian character, tolerance and respect, and avoiding the rejection of the market economy and democracy, we however realize that Turkey is only ranked 61 of the global scale of 67 classified countries. Since such a ranking immediately follows from Tables 5 and 10, this contention does not need a further proof here. Of all the nations on earth with available data, there is a very high racism, a very pronounced authoritarian character, little tolerance and respect and postmaterialism, and a relatively high rejection of democracy and the market economy. Table 10 shows the factor analytically weighted results – with the *Eigenvalues* as the weights for the factors. For Turkey's accession to the EU, these results imply an important agenda for the future: the state of law and secular democracy in Turkey and respect for minority rights must be strengthened. The recent announcement that there will be special prisons for persons with a homosexual sexual orientation must be interpreted as the very last event in a recent long

chain of actions on the part of the current, incumbent Turkish administration to de-Westernize the country in the name of a mystical *"Ummah"* instead of liberal democracy.

[Table 10: Turkey's global ranking on tolerance and democracy indicators]

Just how important the dimension of tolerance, respect and postmaterialism is for "effective democracy" we realize when we look at the bi-variate scatterplots on liberal values as the drivers of "effective democracy", which we define with Alexander, Inglehart and Welzel, 2012 as the combination of civil rights with the absence of corruption (Graph 3).

[Graph 3: Liberal values as drivers of "effective democracy"]

In the long run, we are optimistic about the human development and security. All social scientific evidence seems to suggest that Turkey is indeed on a path to long-lasting changes and societal re-alignments. Among all the available social indicators of the world, infant mortality per 1.000 live births is among the most reliable, direct and completely documented indicator of the presence or absence of mass poverty. The economic basis for future coming changes in Turkey is the positive social development during the last decade and a half, which we can witness at the World Bank's data site with infant mortality, in 2016, at 11, down from the 171.1 in 1960. We realize at once how deeply AKP rule has transformed the formerly poor Turkish villages and urban *Gecekondular* (shanty towns). This social change is also evident from the fact that from 2000 onwards, Turkey, as of 2012, increased its global ranking in overcoming infant mortality by another spectacular improvement of 16 ranking places, only surpassed by Iran, South Korea, China and Tunisia.

Increased human development, rising life expectancy and reduced infant mortality are all a sign of rising human security. One of the robust lessons of global value research is that with increasing human security, peoples' longings for democracy, tolerance and civil society will increase. Issues of post-materialism will become important, precisely for those young generations, who could afford themselves a decent education at one of the country's thriving Universities, including from Turkey's rapidly increasing middle class. Their parents and grandparents were lifted out of poverty during the last decades. But as so often happens in history, a particular social and political movement might have served a country well for a longer period, only to be confronted with the situation that the very policies of a given regime reach its limits, and changed a country for the better, entering a period for which the thought patterns and receipts of the successful past no longer fit the needs of the future. Democracy, post-materialism, urban development, gender issues, and a "soft" and humanistic reading of the great plural religious heritage of the country will become the order of the day, precisely corresponding to the predictions of the theories of value change, which we presented in this essay.

Many European country experts on Turkey would agree with Szymanski's opinion (Szymanski, 2016a, 2016b) that before the rule of the Justice and Development Party as well as after 2002 Turkey is still a secular state and not a confessional state or post-secularism meaning a definite departure from secularism. But its shape is changing as a result of a number of processes and socio-political phenomena occurring in Turkey after World War II, which make this change possible, made to varying degrees in different periods (see also Wodka, 2017).

To wind up our comparisons, we have calculated our results with population weighted averages for the Anglo-Saxon overseas democracies (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United States), which are the real frame of reference of any EU-2020 or European "Lisbon

Strategy" comparison; the EU countries with available data (Bulgaria; Cyprus; Czech Republic; Estonia; Finland; Germany; Hungary; Italy; Latvia; Lithuania; Poland; Romania; Slovakia; Slovenia; Spain; Sweden), Turkey and Russia (Table 11 and Graph 4). In terms of a *"Lisbon strategy"* to make Europe the most advanced economic and social region on earth, performing better than the United States or, for that matter, Australia, Canada, or New Zealand, Turkey's accession to the EU will not provide a critical mass of positive assets of values, like avoiding racism; avoiding the authoritarian character; tolerance and respect; and avoiding the rejection of the market economy and democracy.

[Table 11: Population-weighted value development indices for the Anglo-Saxon overseas democracies, the EU, Turkey, the countries of the West Balkan and the Russian Federation]

[Graph 4: Population-weighted value structures for selected countries and country groups]

Yeşilada and Noordijk (2010) had previously come to the conclusion that the Turkish public has become more conservative (traditional on the Inglehart-Welzel factor of the traditional-secular/ rational scale) during the period of 1995 to 2005. Their findings indicate that this is not a phenomenon that started with the election of the AKP in 2002. The authors maintain that it is a trend that can be traced to 1995 and has intensified toward more conservatism since then. Our essay confirms their basic analysis. At the same time, Yeşilada and Noordijk think that a slight but significant shift in survival-self-expression values was observed: a regressive shift from 1990 to 2000 followed by a slight return toward more self-expression in 2005. Since 1994 the Turkish electorate as a bloc, Yeşilada and Noordijk argue, has moved to the right of the political spectrum. The authors suggest that Turkish society is far from values observed in many EU member states with respect to religiosity and Inglehart and Welzel's values map.

Abdollahian, Coan, Oh and Yeşilada (2012) were, however, correct in pointing out the basic dilemma for the AKP leadership under Erdoğan: Turkey, as a high-performer on the Human Development Index dimension, will sooner or later face the enormous pressures in the direction of democratization and self-expression values, which any society around the globe faces when human development is in a rapid and positive direction. The authors say that economic progress has important implications for the evolution of rational-secular and self-expression value orientations. Specifically, the interactive relationship between progress and value orientations suggests, Abdollahian et al. argue, that major changes in existential conditions moderate the ebb and flow of cultural evolution. The expected rate of change in both rational-secular values and self-expression are related to where a nation is located in the development process. Moreover, Abdollahian et al. (2012) derive predictions about a zone of democratic transition and a zone of revolutionary change. Revolutionary change in political institutions suggests pronounced forces for change when political expectations fail to align with political realities. Nations could become trapped in an oscillating system characterized by unmet demands for political change and instability. Economic progress is a necessary condition for successful secularization and expressive political behaviour, which precede lasting democratic institutions. The real test for Erdoğan and the AKP will come when Turkey enters the phase of information and knowledge-based services and will evermore face the impact that technology has on culture, politics, and development. In Huntington's view *"A bridge... is an artificial*

creation connecting two solid entities but is part of neither. When Turkey's leaders term their country a bridge, they euphemistically confirm that it is torn." (Huntington 1996: 149)

Graph 4 and Table 11 support our contention that the member countries of the EU and the European Commission should carefully weigh the costs and benefits of further enlargements, also in terms of the value balances in comparison to the world's leading democracies and the rising democracies in Latin America and other regions of the world, which conform much better to the essence of the values of the Enlightenment.

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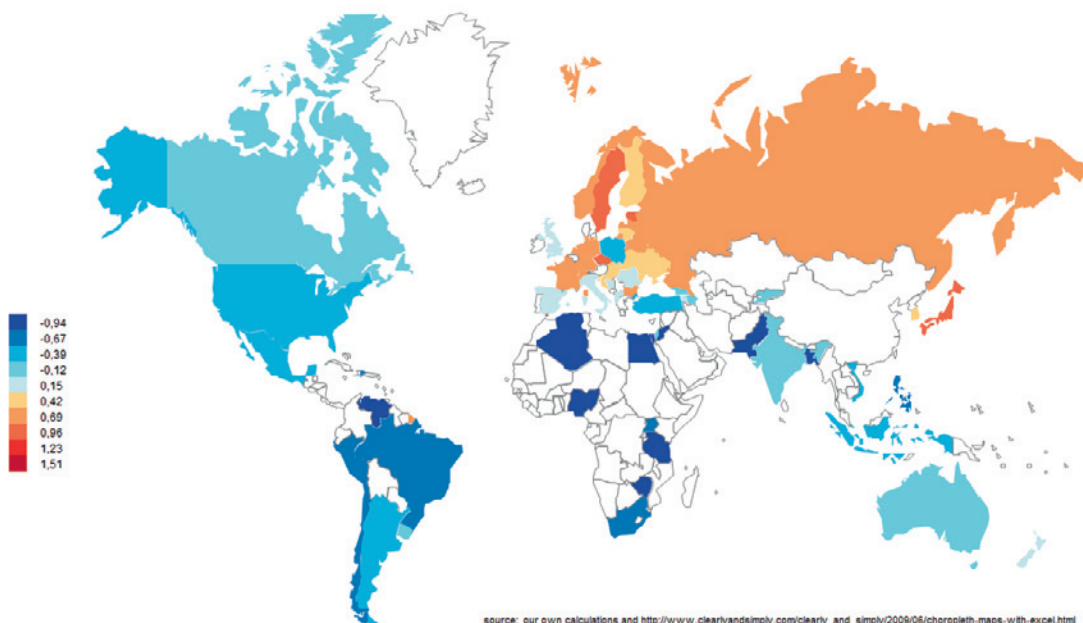
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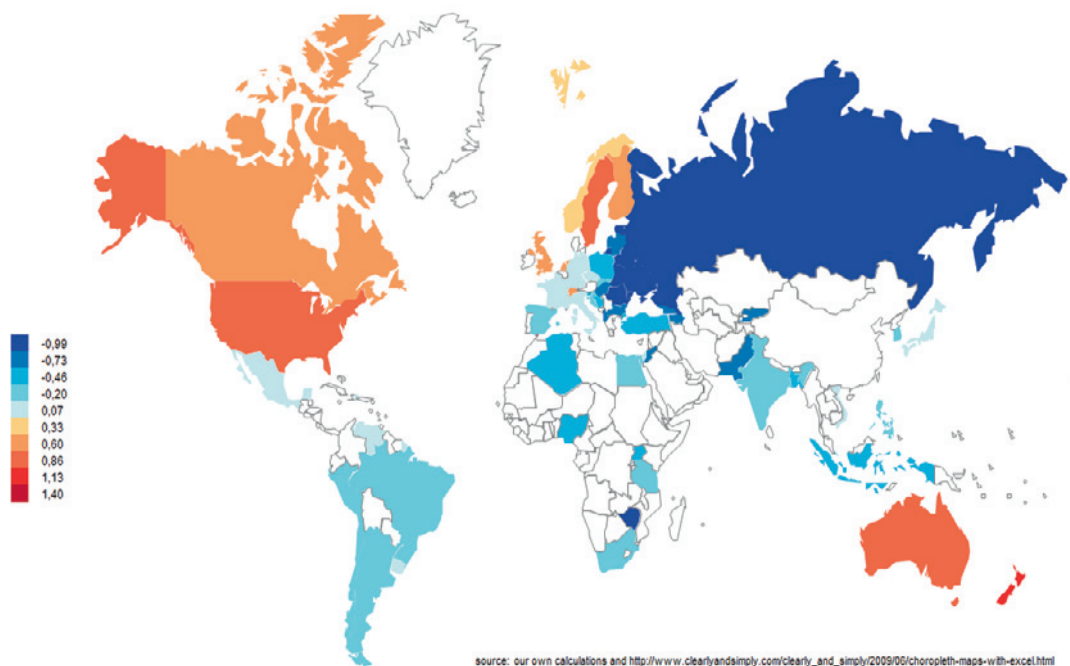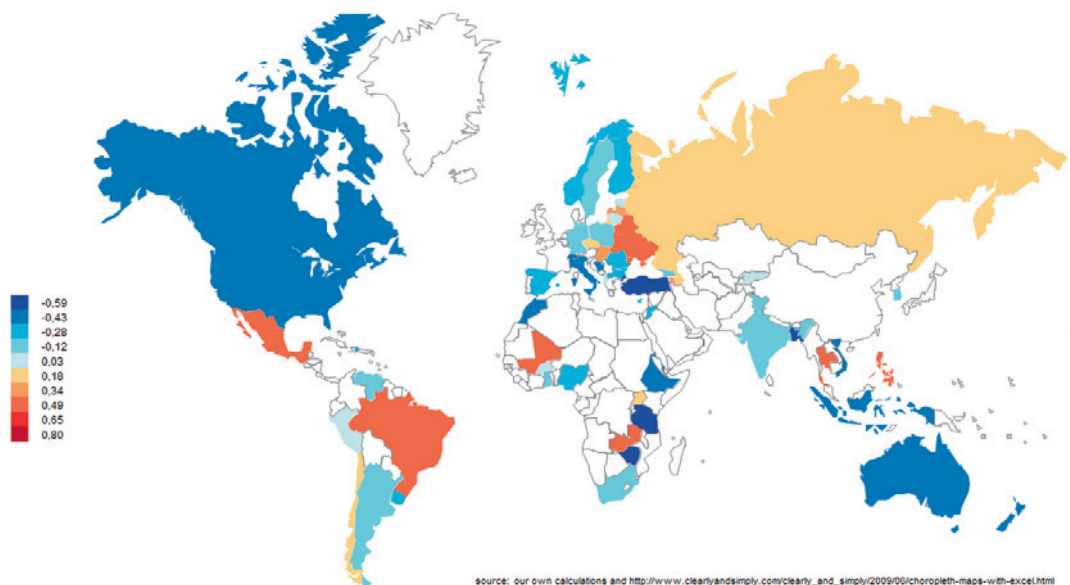
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Appendix

For reasons of scarce Journal space, all Appendix Tables are available at the Website: https://www.academia.edu/32279891/Testing_Turkey_s_Place_on_the_Maps_of_Global_Economic_Political_and_Social_Values

Map 1: Inglehart: Secular Values. Data from the WVS waves 1–4

source: our own calculations and http://www.clearlyandsimply.com/clearly_and_simply/2009/06/choropleth-maps-with-excel.html
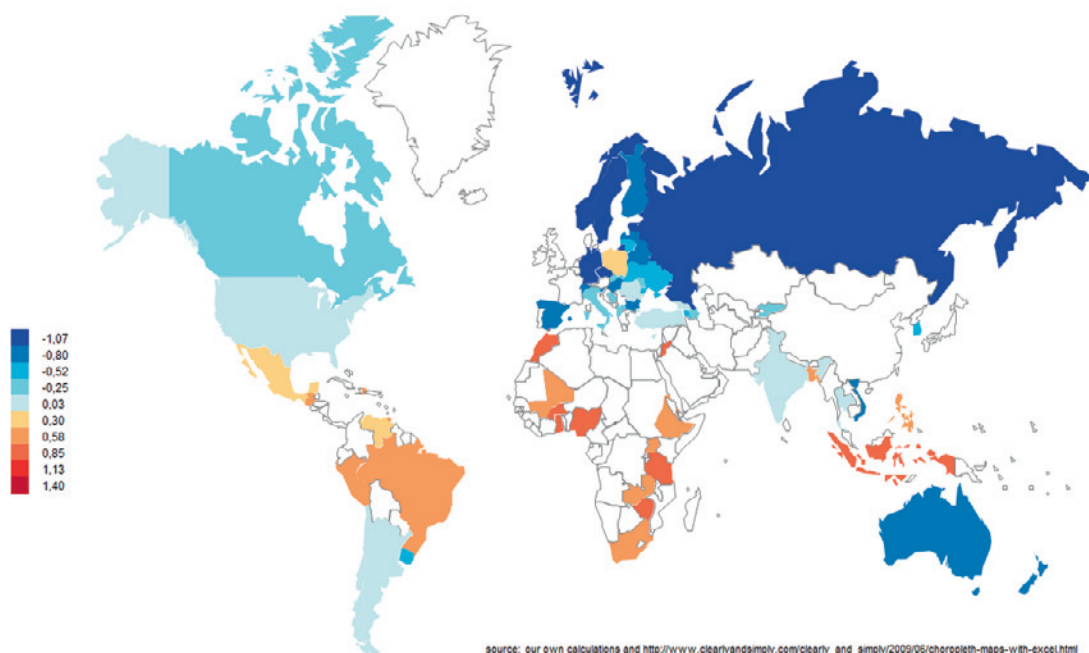
Map 2: Inglehart: Self-Expression Values. Data from the WVS waves 1–4

Map 3: Economic permissiveness
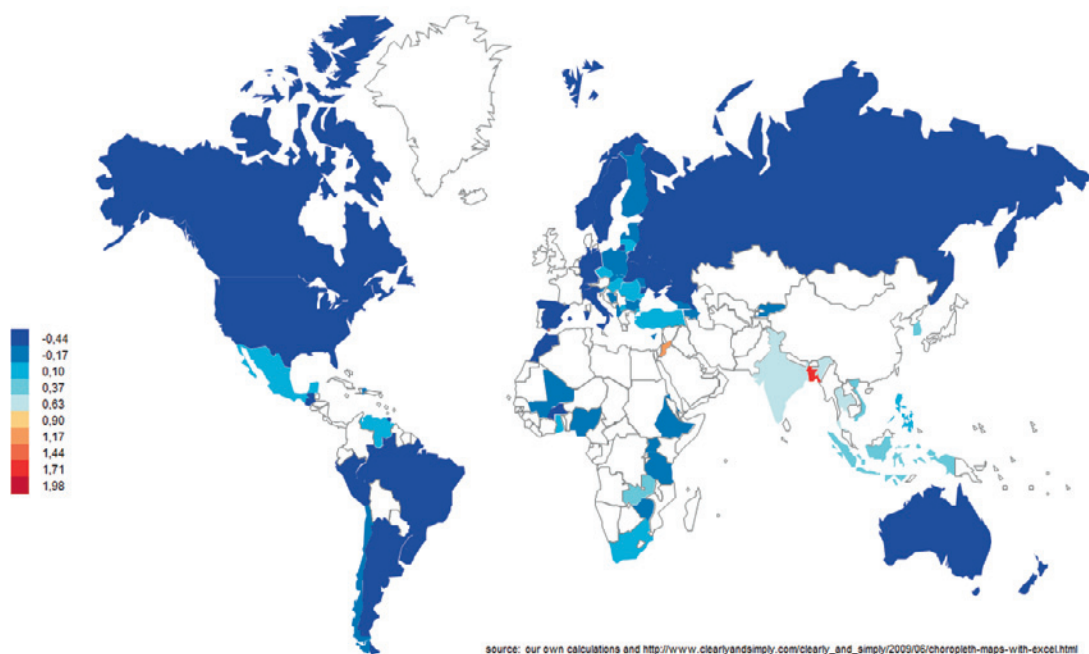

Justifiable: cheating on taxes
Justifiable: avoiding a fare on public transport
Justifiable: someone accepting a bribe
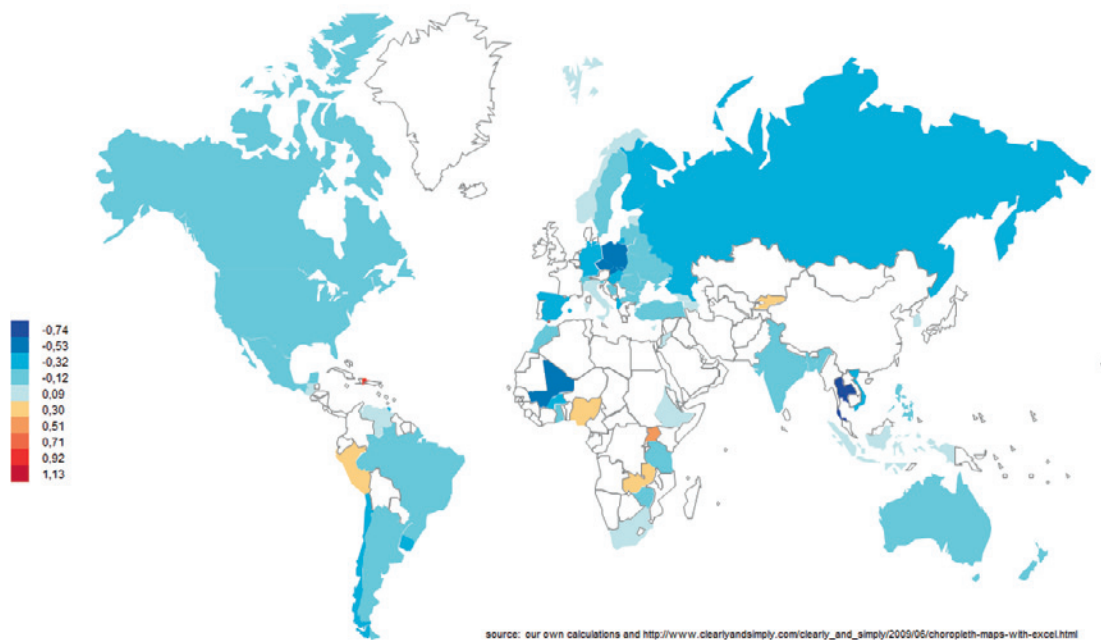Justifiable: claiming government benefits

Map 4: Traditional religion

source: our own calculations and http://www.clearlyandsimply.com/clearly_and_simply/2009/06/choropleth-maps-with-excel.html

How important is God in your life
Important child qualities: religious faith
Negative loading: never attend religious services

Map 5: Racism

source: our own calculations and http://www.clearlyandsimply.com/clearly_and_simply/2009/06/choropleth-maps-with-excel.html

[Rejecting] Neighbours: Immigrants/foreign workers
[Rejecting] Neighbours: People of a different race
Immigrant policy (prevent people from coming)

Map 6: Generational education gaps, a growing acceptance of female higher education and the rejection of thrift

source: our own calculations and http://www.clearlyandsimply.com/clearly_and_simply/2009/06/choropleth-maps-with-excel.html
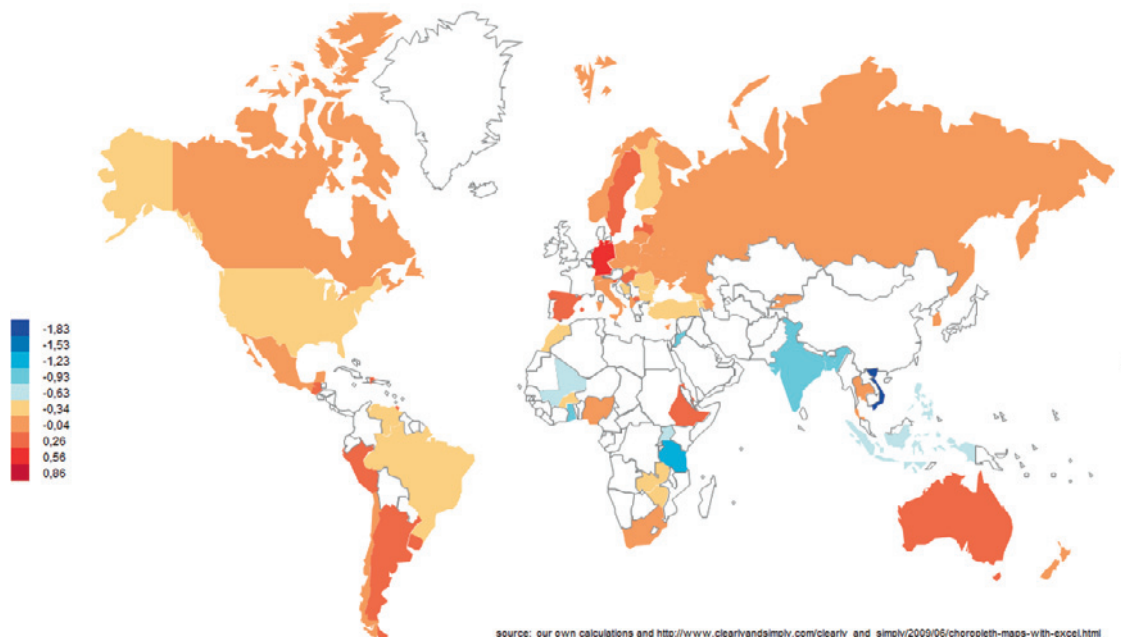
Highest educational level attained
Rejecting sexist position: University is more important for a boy than for a girl
Negative loading Age
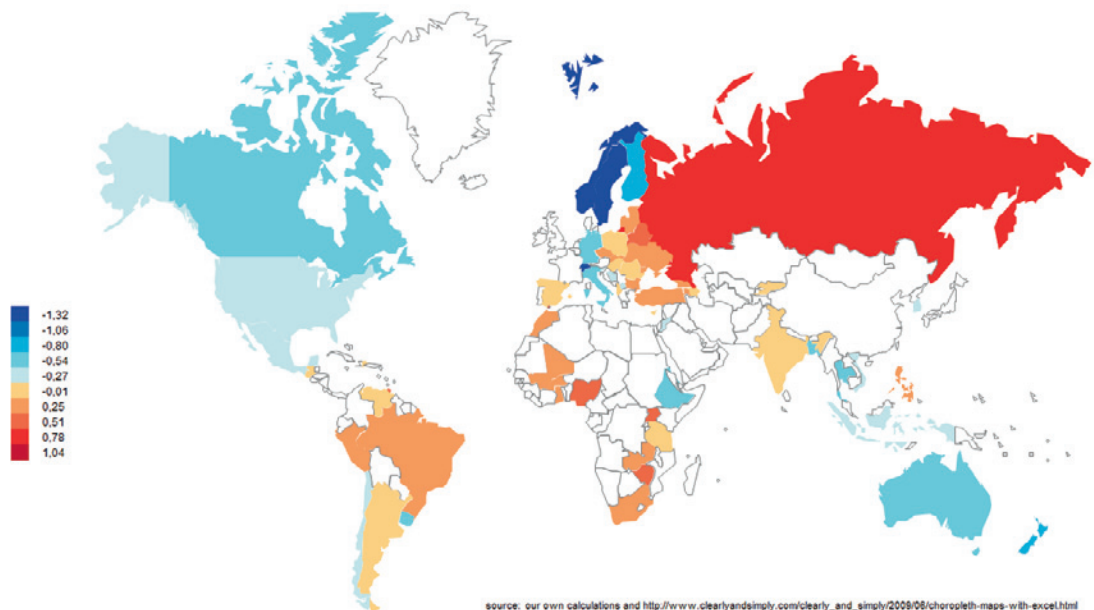Negative loading Important child qualities: thrift saving money and things

Map 7: Distrust of the army and the press

source: our own calculations and http://www.clearlyandsimply.com/clearly_and_simply/2009/06/choropleth-maps-with-excel.html

[No] Confidence: The Press
[No] Confidence: Armed Forces
Negative loading: [Right wing] self positioning in political scale (scale 1-left to 10-right)

Map 8: Authoritarian character

Lack of social capital (Most people can be trusted [highest numerical value: you just can't be too careful])
Important child qualities: hard work
Important child qualities: obedience
Negative loading: Important child qualities: imagination
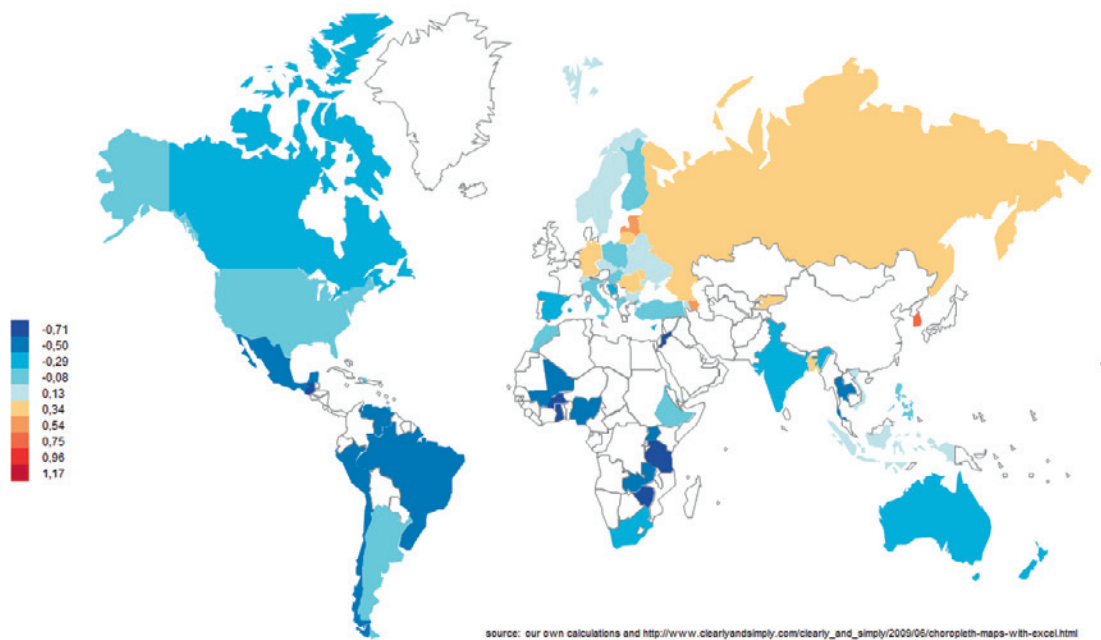Negative loading: Important child qualities: independence

Map 9: Tolerance and respect + post-materialism
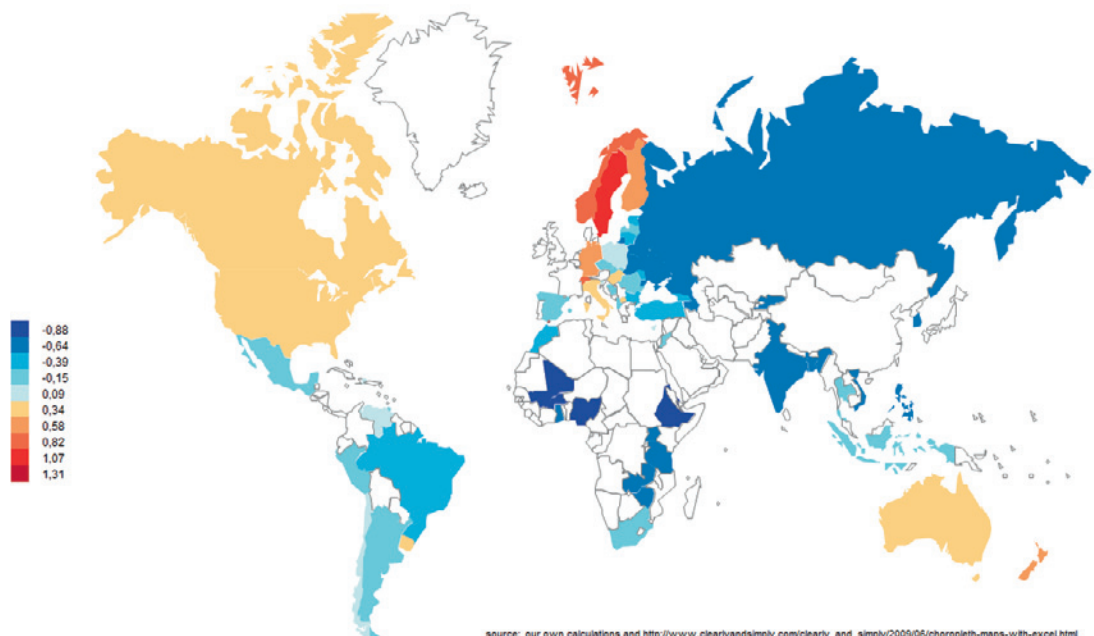
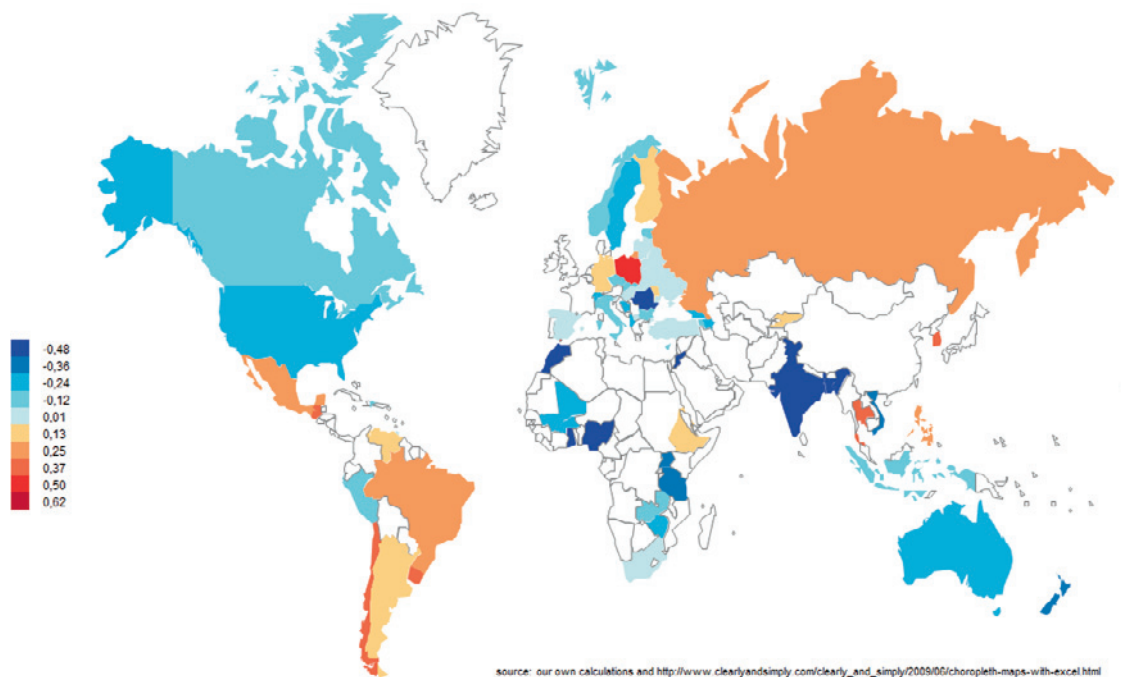Important child qualities: tolerance and respect for other people
Important child qualities: feeling of responsibility
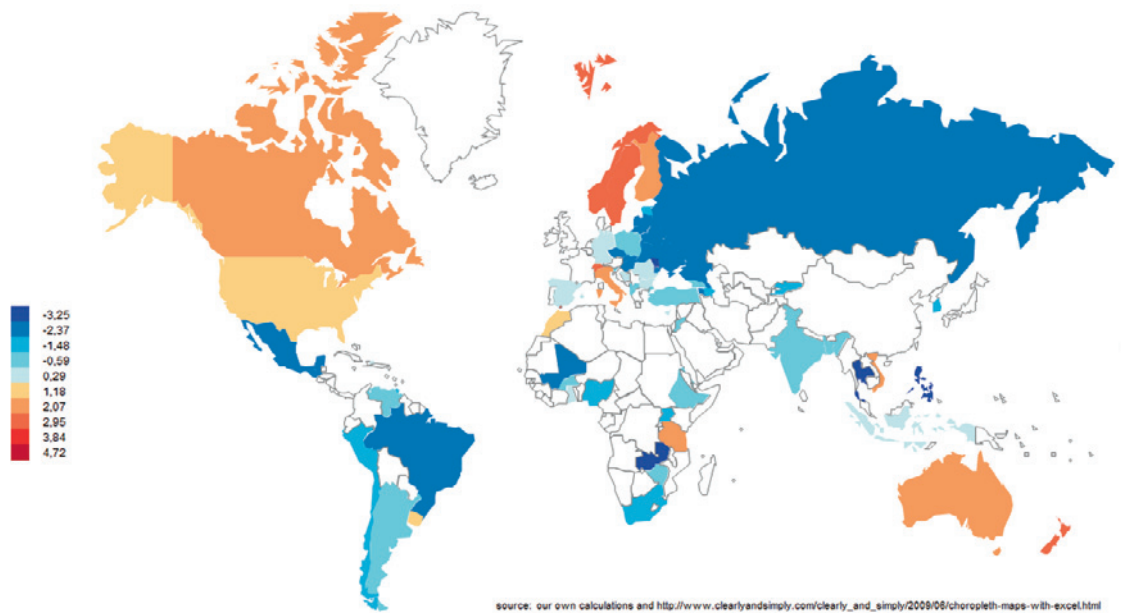Rejecting sexist position: University is more important for a boy than for a girl
Negative loading: Important child qualities: hard work

Map 10: The 'ego' company

source: our own calculations and http://www.clearlyandsimply.com/clearly_and_simply/2009/06/choropleth-maps-with-excel.html

Important child qualities: feeling of responsibility
Important child qualities: independence
Negative loading: Important child qualities: unselfishness
Negative loading: Important child qualities: obedience

Map 11: Rejection of the market economy and democracy

source: our own calculations and http://www.clearlyandsimply.com/clearly_and_simply/2009/06/choropleth-maps-with-excel.html

Sex (Gender) [in multivariate analysis: female] (1=male; 2=female)
Competition good or harmful
Political system: (It's very bad] having a democratic political system

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Map 12: Combined global value development index

source: our own calculations and http://www.clearlyandsimply.com/clearly_and_simply/2009/06/choropleth-maps-with-excel.html

Note: avoiding permissiveness, racism, distrust of the army and the press, authoritarian character, rejection of the market economy and democracy; and practicing the values of tolerance and respect (weighted by the *Eigenvalues* of the promax factor analytical model)