



CUADERNOS DE TRABAJO

THE TRANSFORMATION OF VALUES IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY

Comparative evaluation of European isomorphism in the Southern and Eastern Neighbourhood

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research justification

The process of globalization has brought together cultural synergies as never before in history, greatly affecting the social sphere. As Greenfield's theory of social change points out (2009: 406-407), social changes are dominated by modification in value patterns. In other words, with the study of the changes of values, it is possible to take the pulse of society, trying to observe the direction and moment of change in the community.

Likewise, globalization has given rise to a large number of interstate networks, which have placed foreign policy as one of the main actor on an interconnected society. In this new framework of international relations, the European Union (hereinafter EU) is a key actor, with enormous interest in improving its external relations, particularly with its closest neighbours (Raigón, 2008: 80-81). From this interest arises the European Neighbourhood Policy (hereinafter ENP), which is currently one of the main axes of the EU's foreign policy. The ENP was created in 2004 as a response to the biggest enlargement that took place in the Union. Initially focused on the former Soviet republics, its framework soon expanded to include the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean area. According to the European Union's official website, the ENP is the policy through which the Union works with its Southern and Eastern neighbours to enhance prosperity, security and stability, along the lines of the EU's Foreign and Security Policy. The last revision of the ENP was in November 2015 (European Neighbourhood Policy, n.d.).

The ENP neighbours are 16, 6 in the East: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, and 10 in the South: Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Syria and Tunisia (European Commission (2), n.d.).

The EU states in Article 2 of the Treaty of Lisbon that: "*The Union is founded on the values of re-*

spect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail" (European Union. Treaty of Lisbon, 2007, Art. 2). Similarly, a few articles later, Art. 8.1 states: "*The Union shall develop a special relationship with neighbouring countries, aiming to establish an area of prosperity and good neighbourliness, founded on the values of the Union and characterised by close and peaceful relations based on cooperation*" (European Union. Treaty of Lisbon, 2007, Art. 8.1).

European values are demarcated and dealt with in detail in the theoretical framework of this research. However, it is undeniable the role of European values as a key variable in the implementation of the ENP. Consequently, it is possible to indicate that, those countries whose values are more in line with those of the EU, will be able to deepen their agreements in order to achieve a narrower neighbourhood. The main goal with it is to accomplish a greater success in the development of public policies, which would have positive implications, both economically and socio-politically, for the EU and its neighbours (Leino and Petrov, 2009: 662-663).

This research analyses the evolution of the "European values" in the two major neighbourhood regions, East and South, before and after the implementation of the ENP, in order to observe how, the European values identified by the Treaty of Lisbon, have evolved over time. Therefore, delimiting temporarily the research framework, it covers 18 years, from 1996 to 2014. The geographical delimitation includes all ENP countries that have also been surveyed by the World Values Survey (hereinafter WVS), that will be explained later, at the two selected time points, the first 1996-2002 and the second 2010-2014. There are 9 countries that meet these conditions, 5 from the Eastern Neighbourhood: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia and Ukraine,

and 4 from the Southern Neighbourhood: Algeria, Egypt, Jordan and Morocco.

It would be pretentious and probably wrong to try to assume whether the ENP has been the fact that has led to the evolution of these values. The values change is based on the interrelation of a multitude of variables, both of the situation of the individual in the social structure, and of the country's own institutions, as well as, the definition each one has of itself as a person, among a multitude of other facts that affect values change (Rokeach, 2008: 6-7). Therefore, to analyse a single factor as determinant would be an undeniably simplification of reality. In this case, the ENP is taken as a framework for delimiting the EU's neighbouring countries of interest. Additionally, during the development of the analysis, one of the main goals is the find new paths correlated to values that could help to improve the actual ENP.

The desire pursued by this research is to observe the changing trends of values in the neighbourhood countries, because this would be a guide for the EU when renewing and improving the Action Plans. Those Action Plans are the tool used by the EU in the ENP when signing both economic and political agreements with the different countries. In addition, it is desirable to observe what are the variables that affects each of the values, to propose new action procedures or paths abovementioned, which could generate a positive evolution on the impact of the ENP in the future.

The ENP accounts for 18.7% of the EU External Action Budget approved for the period 2021-2027, with a gross amount of 22 billion of the total 123 billion for External Action (EU Neighbours South East, 2018). It is undeniable that it is an important policy for the EU, but more and more frequently, voices are beginning to emerge, criticising its effectiveness and the excessive spending for the few the objectives achieved (Amirah Fernández et al., 2005; Sadowski, 2013; Blockmans, 2017).

This report is therefore essential as an “in itinere” evaluation of the situation of values in the neighbourhood (Harguindéguy, 2015: 99-101). The aim is to find out where to go further with each country individually in future agreements. Also, to know to whom should be directed the policies of European values promotion, and to whom those of deepening in the European values, in other words, how stimulate the values on those countries that evolve negatively and to go further between those countries with values that evolve favourably. In short, to verify whether this assessment of change according to European values facilitates understanding and dialogue between neighbours. As well as, the adaptation of each agreement to the particular situation of the country, in order to improve the capacity, and thereby enhance effectiveness in implementing the ENP.

The general plan of contents is initially based on the approach, both to the research question, and to the objectives and hypotheses to be answered during the course of the analysis. Secondly, the theoretical framework proposes an approach to the way in which the pillars of research have previously been studied, these are: social values, European values, the isomorphism of the EU and, finally, the ENP. Thirdly, it deals with the methodological framework, which indicates the fundamental variables that have been used for the analysis, as well as, the statistical procedures that have been carried out. The methodological framework is followed by the analysis of the results obtained. Finally, the theoretical framework and the analysis of results converge into the conclusions, where the research question is answered, the hypotheses are contrasted and, finally, the limitations and future perspectives of the research are exposed.

1.2. Objectives and hypothesis

The research question to be answered throughout the investigation is: how have some of the European values evolved in the countries of the EU's Eastern and Southern neighbourhood? A second research question is also answered in a complementary way, namely: which social variables have under-

gone a transformation affecting those values more in line with the European values?

The above-mentioned questions, about the change in values taking place in the countries where the ENP applies, make it necessary to set a series of objectives, which will guide the research to its conclusion. One general objective and two specific objectives are created for this purpose:

1. Analyse the transformation of European values in ENP countries.

Secondly, there are two specific objective that are set out:

2. Observe the main variables that influence the change of European values.
3. Make specific proposals by country, regarding the evolution of values, and by region regarding in which greater emphasis should be placed on promoting or deepening European values, according to the evolution of each one.

After expressing the objectives and aims pursued by the research, the following hypotheses are put forward, which will subsequently be confirmed or refuted through the analysis of data in the conclusion:

1. The passage of time has led to a rapprochement with European values, albeit to a different degree in the Eastern and Southern regions.
2. In the Eastern Neighbourhood the evolution of European values is more positive than in the Southern Neighbourhood. Therefore the European isomorphism is more successful in the Eastern Neighbourhood.
3. Among the variables that affects each of the European values, those sociodemographic variables are losing some explanatory influ-

ence in favour of more individualistic variables.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical approach to the object of study, the impact of the ENP on the values of Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean, is based on the analysis of the main theoretical approaches that guide the research. There are two different parts in the theoretical approach. In the first place, values are dealt with, the concept of value is delimited and defined, followed by the theorisation of European values. The second part delves into the isomorphism of the EU and an analysis of the ENP, making a tour showing the agents involved and the main objectives of the policy, as well as, the major results and criticisms obtained to date.

2.1. Values.

2.1.1. What are "values"?

It is necessary to define one of the main concepts of the research, the term "value", which produces a great debate due to its breadth and multiple meanings. In the Oxford Dictionary of Sociology (2009) value is defined from three perspectives: from statistical analysis, from economics and finally, from research and philosophy. According to the last meaning: "*In attitude research, values are ideas held by people about ethical behaviour or appropriate behaviour, what is right or wrong, desirable or despicable. In the same vein, philosophers treat values as part of ethics, aesthetics, and political philosophy*" (Scott, 2009: 245).

There is a dichotomy in the conception of values either as "dispositions" of individuals or as "attitudes" towards various elements or stimuli. As Scott points out in the Oxford Sociology Dictionary, "*values are a type of social data, distinctions are often drawn between values, which are strong, semi-permanent, underlying, and sometimes implicit dispositions; and attitudes, which are shallow,*

weakly held, and highly variable views and opinions” (Scott, 2009: 246).

Likewise, Björn Badersen makes an open definition of the concept of value, considering it as “*something that is good or bad, or better or worse than another one. Values are often, but not necessarily, connected to some sort of action, or absence on action. Values can also be related to a specific state of mind of what is good in a specific situation*” (quoted in Eklund, 2013: 7).

There is a multitude of research that focus on the field of identity, and more particularly on the present situation of European identity, such as Sojka (2015), Schmidt (2009) or Paradés Martin (2017). Considering that values construct a large part of identity, identity changes may be due, in part, to various modifications of values (Tamcke, 2016: 51). This is a key issue in the matter of this research, as a change of the EU’s core values in some countries could lead to a rapprochement of identity, which would therefore facilitate political relations (Pereyra-Doval, 2013: 50).

2.1.2. How values have been studied?

Once the concept of value to be used in this research has been defined, an analysis is made of how values have been studied from a sociological point of view, and why they are important.

One of the main classical authors studying the impact of values on society is the frenchman Emile Durkheim. In his work “The Elementary Forms of Religious Life” (2014), he discusses the way in which collective consciousness is constructed by individual consciousnesses. How it arises from the interrelation of these multiple consciousnesses, and the way in which they both feedback through a dependent relationship. However, this collective consciousness presents the individual with a series of values, which are shown to be desirable, but which, in reality, result as a forced imposition of the social environment, thus, they constrain the individual. When Durkheim deals with ideals, he refers to established value systems (Vera, 2002: 111), as

he indicates: “*Society cannot be built without creating ideals [...] but these ideals are not abstract, cold intellectual representations, devoid of any effectiveness. They are essentially motors, because behind them there are real and active forces: the collective forces, the natural forces.*” (Durkheim, 2000: 115).

The methodological statement put forward by Max Weber in “The methodology of Social Sciences” (2011: 55-58), is one of the main approaches on the relevance of values from a philosophical and social base. Weber establishes a typology of social actions divided into instrumental, evaluative, affective and traditional. The second is based on values, which will be developed later on in his idea of “ethics of principles”, antagonistic to the “ethics of responsibility” (Coller, 2007: 151-153). In the work “Politics as a vocation, science as a vocation” (1919), Weber develops his idea of these two ethics. The first, the ethics of principles, which is based on the conviction of a moral corpus, such as, for example, the “moral principles” of Christianity, that are a series of external convictions, principles or values. While on the other hand there is the ethics of responsibility, in which one acts taking into consideration the consequences of his actions (Weber, 1919: 178).

Therefore, it is observable the relevance of values in Weber’s thinking. They are an inherent filter to society, through which citizens see and construct history, there are no facts as such, but these are always observed from a particular perspective created by values. From this interpretation is obtained, therefore, that the change of values would modify the way society is constructed, and its perspective of how it has been constructed in the past. The sociologist’s objective is, accordingly, to look for value neutrality in his analysis, in other words, to be “ajudgmental”, that is mandatory to be able to reach knowledge (Drysdale, 1996: 74).

Shared values are fundamental for the maintenance of society, according to T. Parsons, without this social consensus the system would not be able to function, this is the fundamental corpus of

what is known as the Theory of Consensus (Coller, 2007: 189-198). Therefore, in order to achieve an effective neighbourhood policy or a stable and fruitful political agreement the existence of a series of shared values is fundamental. *“Societies can tolerate diverse attitudes, however, they require a certain degree of homogeneity and consistency in the values maintained by the people, giving rise to a common fund of shared values, which delimit the political and social consensus. In general the normativist theories of functionalism (or theories of consensus), in particular, Talcott Parsons, emphasizes the importance of shared values for the maintenance of social order”* (Scott, 2009: 37). However, this theory is very criticized, among others by R. Dahrendorf (quoted in Gilbert, 1997: 30-33), who defends the Theory of Conflict, that is the constant change of society through conflict. In this last theory, the values are imposed by hegemonic groups, in a Gramscian sense, thus, it is the social structure and those that are in the superior scale of this, who impose the moral, principles and dominant values. There are, therefore, two antagonistic positions, the one defended by Parsons through consensus, to which Dahrendorf responds with the theory of conflict.

Among contemporary thinkers, Kluckhohn stands out, he points out that values are representations of what is desired and they are decisive elements of a culture (Hillmann, 2001: 998-1000). In Durkheim's line, they justify and link society with established social norms.

One of the most relevant contemporary authors is Ronald Inglehart, who during the 1970s made one of the first theoretical approaches to the study of European identity (Paradés Martín, 2017: 58), and is also one of the most renowned contemporary thinkers in the study of values. In his work *“The Silent Revolution”* (2015), Inglehart proposes his theory of the change of values, based on the passage of values from the materialist to the postmaterialist society. These values change within two axes, the first goes from values of survival and scarcity, to those of security and self-expression, and on the second axis, closely related to Weber's

thought, values move from traditional to secular or rational (Díez Nicolás, 2011: 11). There are events that impact society and change its values. Inglehart (2015) defends that, in the case of these last decades, a change of values has taken place in Western countries, giving rise, in the first place, to a decline of traditionalism characterized by hierarchical authority, patriotism or religion. At the same time, political expression changes and political skills are balanced between elites and the masses, where the manifestation of tendencies contrary to them have a great possibility of appearing. His research focuses on the values and capacity of the institutions that are in the field of research, because although the values are very changeable, the structure of the institutions is much more difficult to alter. The performance of these variables and their interrelationships are what for Inglehart cause the change of values.

According to Inglehart's thinking, it is seen that the situation can evolve from events that impact society, and how both political and economic stability has led to a specific type of society. However, the ups and downs and instabilities of the last decades have also impacted society. Therefore, throughout the research it will be observed whether this change has managed to be oriented in line with the European values. While European society itself evolved in its values, it also tries to arise and direct this change among its neighbours. Neighbouring countries also experience changes that lead to variations in their own values. It is therefore pertinent to note whether the values that are designated as European in this research, that will be analysed profoundly in the next point, have evolved positively in the neighbourhood countries, both East and South. The success or failure of this issue will be verified in the analysis of data.

There are an increasing amount of authors studying value change in the region of interest. In recent years and motivated especially by phenomena such as the Arab springs, the change of values in the society of the Southern neighbourhood has begun to gain popularity. An example of this is the work done by Moaddel and Gelfand, *“Values, Political*

Action and Change in the Middle East and the Arab Spring” (2017), in which a research is carried out of the trends of values by age in Arab countries, as well as, an analysis of the perspectives of change, both political and social, that the addition of this new paradigm entails.

2.1.3. Are there “European values”?

First of all, it is necessary to consider whether there really are “European values”. As indicated in the EU’s introduction to Article 2 of the Lisbon Treaty, the EU’s values are: human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and human rights. In addition, a special section on the EU website is devoted to describe or clarify what each of these values means. Human dignity is shown to be inviolable, and must be respected and protected, forming part of the fundamental basis of law. With regard to freedom, it refers to freedom of movement and residence within the Union, which are protected in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. In the case of democracy, the political model of the EU is representative democracy, which gives European citizens a series of political rights that must be protected. Equality focuses on the parity of citizens before the law, in all areas, and it is the key to the principle of European integration. In the case of this research, as explained more depth in the methodological framework, when it comes to equality, it has been determined to address particularly gender equality. With regard to the rule of law, all the Union’s actions are supported by treaties that have been democratically approved by each of the member countries. Finally, human rights cover a wide range of issues such as non-discrimination, the right to protection of personal data or access to justice, among others (European Union. The EU in brief, 2019).

According to Martin Tamcke, European values are civilizing and multicultural, “*universal arguments against the relativism of multiculturalist, endorse a bridge between civilizations, in an effort to establish shared values of people of different cultures*”. (Tamcke et al., 2016: 49)

In addition, European values have also given rise to debates. As they are extremely abstract, according to Leino and Petrov (2009: 656) with the aim of being both “shared”, “common” and “universal”, since if they were going to be framed it would be complex for them to reach all citizens. However, this particularity is also used by the EU to justify its borders, since, to a certain extent, those values are what differentiates them from the others and unites the members among them. Therefore, it is also relevant that, the Treaty of Lisbon talks about foreign policy and that it is correlated with European values as a necessary condition for the fulfilment of the objectives, that are, at the same time, conditions of a differentiated identity (Leino and Petrov, 2009: 660-662).

This leads to think that it is possible to find a valuable social action in society. Therefore, European individuals will act according to their values, if they are Europeanist values, the construction will be positive. Nonetheless, if they are mostly Eurosceptic the European construction can lead to failure (Paradés Martín, 2017: 84-85). This idea can be extrapolated to the success or failure of the ENP, since if the values converge and are similar, the neighbourhood will be successful, while if this is not the case, the agreements will be an arduous task.

With regard to statistical studies, the European Social Survey (ESS) founded by Roger Jowell and Max Kaase in 1995 is a database of great relevance. It has carried out biannual European surveys since 2002, in which a total of 37 European and neighbouring countries have participated. The main peculiarity of the ESS is the magnitude of the variables it handles, with a total of 18 different topics, in which the ones dedicated to human values are of great importance (European Social Survey, n.d.).

Equally fundamental is the European Values Survey (EVS), created by Inglehart in the 1980s, which forms part of a broader framework called the World Values Survey (WVS). The latter is the database used in the research. These research groups try to answer questions such as what patterns of val-

ues exist, or whether certain cultural units can be found. Also, it is analysed if, in spite of the change of values, a series of constant cultures would be maintained. That is to say, although values change, they try to analyse whether they do so with the same intensity, and even, until certain point, in the same direction (World Values Survey, n.d.). The WVS is the largest database of values at worldly, which facilitates the comparison of the countries of the Eastern and Southern neighbourhood, this is why it has been selected for this study.

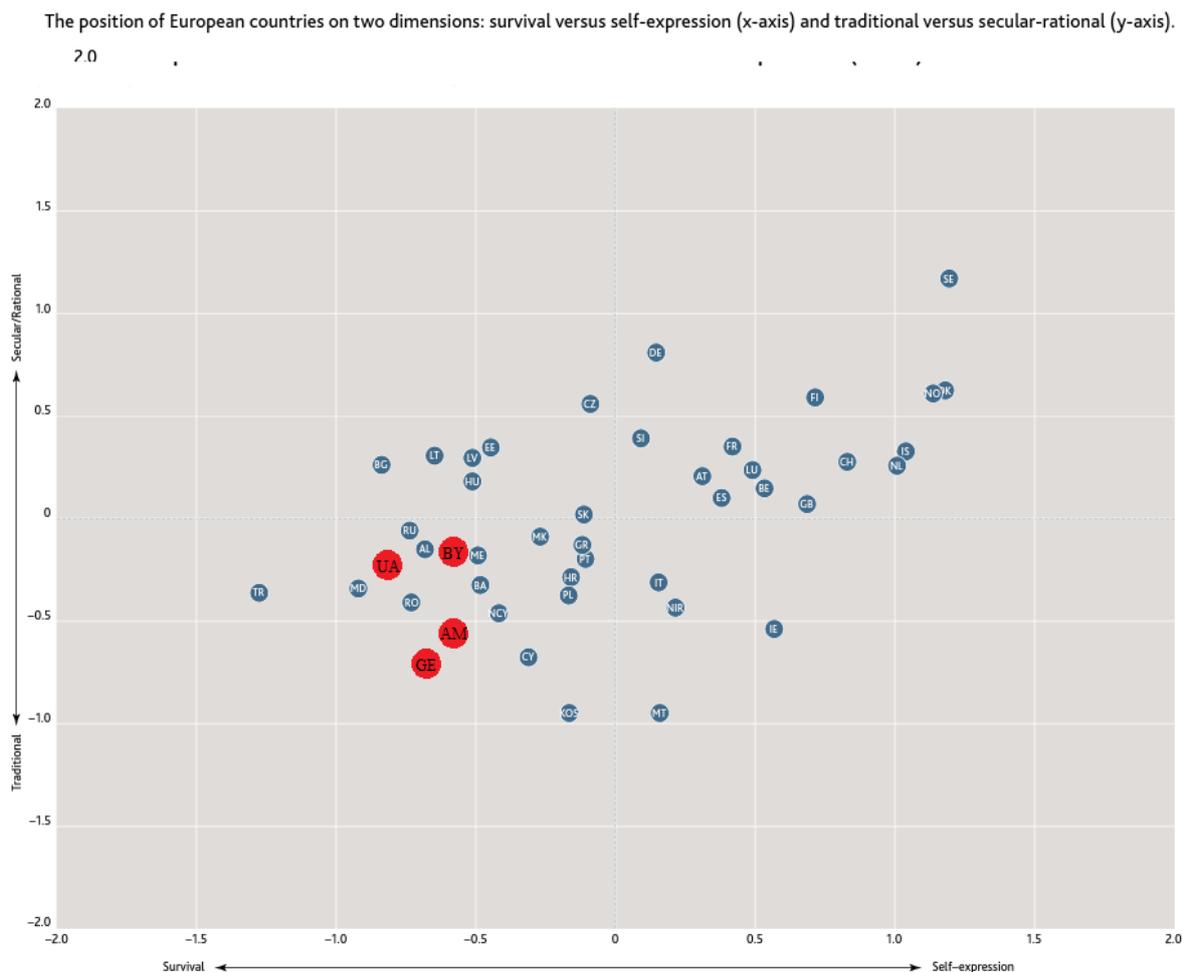
Nevertheless, there are some limitations in obtaining data from some countries, especially in conflict zones. However, despite this, it is the most

reliable and highest quality data source nowadays (Moaddel and Gelfand, 2017: 296-297).

The latest results obtained by the European Values Survey show that Europe is not a homogeneous continent. The variables raised by Inglehart in his theory of materialistic to postmaterialistic values can be seen in Graph 1, in which the Y-axis countries are framed from more traditional to more secular/rational, and in the X-axis of values based on survival, both economic and physical security, freedom of expression and quality of life.

Graph 1 shows that, when taking the countries of Europe, in general, there is no unity, and the

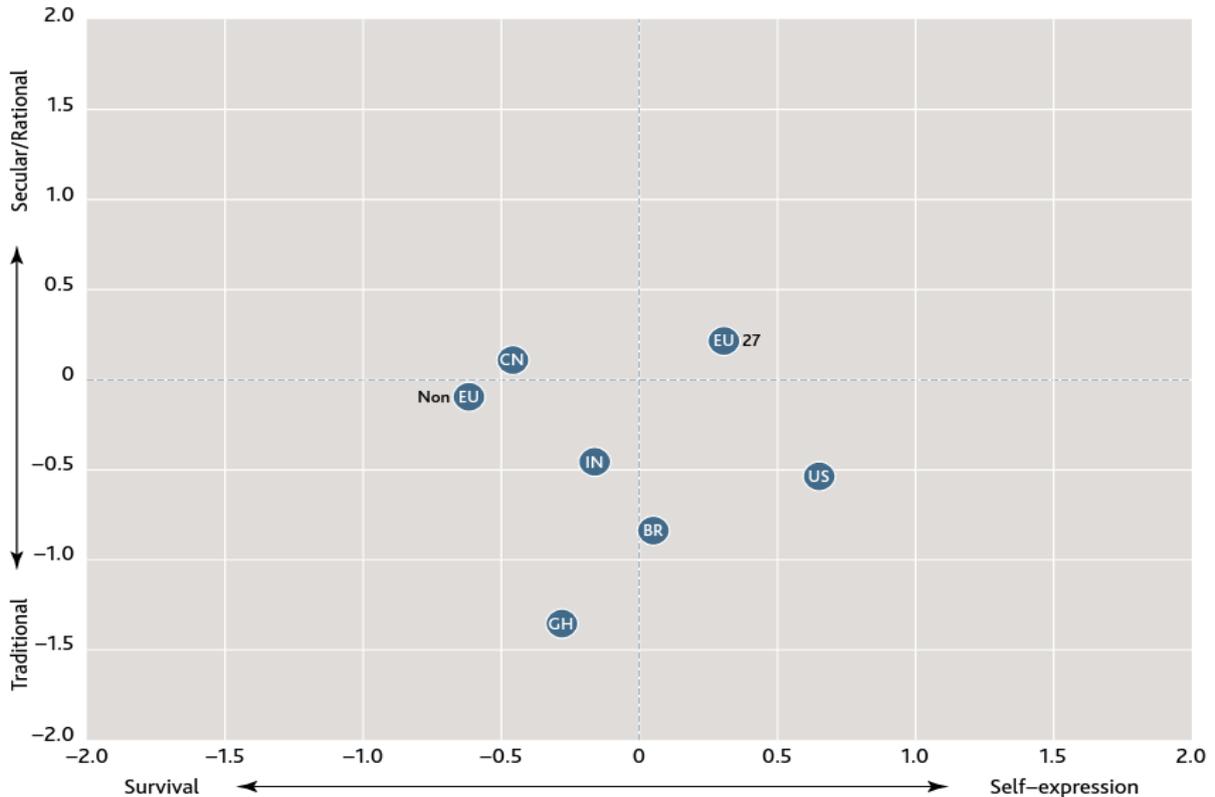
GRAPH 1. EUROPE'S VALUES MAP



Source: Halman, L., Sieben, I., & van Zundert, M. (Eds.). (2011). Atlas of European Values. Trends and Traditions at the turn of the Century. Brill.

GRAPH 2. WORLD'S VALUES MAP

The position of the EU 27 countries, non-EU countries, United States (US), China (CN), Brazil (BR), India (IN), and Ghana (GH) on two dimensions: survival versus self-expression (x-axis) and traditional versus secular-rational (y-axis).



Source: Halman, L., Sieben, I., & van Zundert, M. (Eds.). (2011). *Atlas of European Values. Trends and Traditions at the turn of the Century*. Brill.

spectrum of values reaches from Turkey to Sweden, the two countries with the greatest distance between them. Likewise, the former Soviet republics are more to the left than those capitalist economies with a longer lifetime. Similarly, it is not only the economic development of the country that shows a pattern, but also its history, and, particularly, its religion. It is observable some groupings between those Protestant countries (in the upper right section), Catholics (center right), Orthodox (center left) and Muslims (lower left section).

In this graph there are also data from Armenia (AM), Belarus (BY), Georgia (GE) and Ukraine (UA), which are located like the rest of ex-Soviet countries in the lower left area, with more tradi-

tional and survival values. However, when observing what is indicated in the Atlas of European values, it is mentioned that some of the data for these countries are from the 1994-99 wave, so it is opportune to observe their change in the last 20 years (Halman, Sieben et al, 2011: 140).

When comparing in Graph 2, the values of the EU member countries with the rest of the countries, both non-member European countries and countries from other continents, it can be seen that, in this case, there is a common pattern among the members of the EU. However, it should be pointed out that this graph does not include countries from the Southern Mediterranean or Eastern Europe. It is extracted from the analysis of the graph 2 that

there is greater union in the member states with each other, than with the third parties mentioned. However, the main similarities or differences with its most direct neighbours are not perceived, this aspect is to be observed in the development of the research.

Finally, it must be reiterated that there is a certain homogeneity in the values of the EU members, which is fundamental for their integration and survival (Halman et al., 2011: 5).

2.2. The isomorphism of the EU

The idea of isomorphism begun to gain strength in the field of the sociology of organisations, it was developed by Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell in 1983. These authors show in their article how by rational decisions of the administrators the organizations tend to be resembling over time (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983: 148-150). Likewise, they took the term “isomorphism” from Hawley (1968: 329-331) when indicating that isomorphism is the tendency that causes an individual to become similar to the population in which he finds, due to a series of conditioning factors of his environment.

DiMaggio and Powell establish a typology of isomorphism: coercive, legislative and mimetic. The first takes place when legislation is imposed on organizations, the second is due to a professionalization of the people who are part of the organizations, for example, if they are all trained in the same centers, the general trend is that, once they enter in the labour market, they do it with some similar perspectives. Finally, the third type, mimetic isomorphism, takes place when, an organisation is trying unsuccessfully to find a solution for a problem, and decided to observe what others have done in similar situations.

However, despite dealing with this typology from the perspective of organisations, sight should not be lose about the fact that society and value systems themselves are also part of a complex network of cultural and social organisations (Drori, Meyer and Hwang, 2006: 2-3). In a multitude of investiga-

tions it has been observed the impact of indigenous culture, as an organization itself, on the beliefs and values of the citizens (Nelson and Gopalan, 2003: 1115).

The isomorphism of EU values has been investigated on numerous occasions. A research that is similar to the present one, but only focusing on the Member States, is that of Ronald Fischer (2012). Through the ESS, the author analyses whether there really is a change of values in Europe over time. His analysis raises numerous questions of great interest such as, the fact that values, which according to the author are an individual and cultural issue, are immersed in national trends, and how the boundary between the individual and the national is blurred in the question of values (Fischer, 2012: 884). This feedback shows how policies drive citizen values, but in turn, to what extent a society can create different policies according to its own values. From this idea it is, therefore, inferred that external agreements between the EU and its neighbours can blur or strengthen borders, depending on how values are treated.

2.3. The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)

The ENP, which has already been broadly defined in the introduction, is one of the fundamental mechanisms of the EU’s external policy. The ENP investment for 2014-2020 exceeds 15 trillion of euros. And, as indicated in the introduction, it accounts for 18.7% of the EU’s External Action Budget for the years 2012-2027 (EU Neighbours South East, 2018).

The operational mechanism of the ENP is based mainly on Action Plans, these are bilateral agreements between the Union and the country concerned. The European External Action Service (EEAS), the Commission and the Member States, together with the country concerned (European Neighbourhood Policy, n.d.), work simultaneously to approve the plan. First, the European Commission is assigned to produce an individual country report, which is then used as the basis for the creation of the Action Plan (Govantes, 2013: 100). In

the Action Plans the specific measures of the agreement are recognized. Similarly, after the signing of the document by the EU and the country concerned, the Union will carry out Strategic Evaluations, which show the main advances in the different pledges, as well as some recommendations for improvement (European Commission (1), n.d.).

The ENP is based on four main lines of action: governance; democracy and human rights; development and economic stability; security; and, finally, migration. The key to the ENP is cooperation, which aims to achieve equality, respect for human rights and social justice. (European Neighbourhood Policy. European Union External Action, n.d.). Each of these themes must be dealt with within the framework of the promotion of European values, as indicated in Article 8.1 of the Lisbon Treaty (European Union. Treaty of Lisbon, 2007, Article 8.1) mentioned in the introduction. Therefore, issues such as security or migration should always be analysed taking into account that citizens are treated equally, that human rights are respected or that there are no restrictions on the freedom of individuals, among other issues.

The history of the EU's Foreign Policy is a complex one, and despite having been throughout its history a key piece in the construction and integration of the EU, it was already demonstrated in 1990 that the cession of sovereignty in foreign policy by the Member States was not possible (Soetendorp, 2014: 3-4). Therefore, external management is laborious as it constantly gives rise to pulses between national interests, the interests of the Union and those of third countries. The ENP has achieved a certain degree of consensus, despite some overlaps with other foreign policies (Cardwell, 2011: 222). Nevertheless, the ENP has managed to survive and become one of the EU's longest-lasting foreign policies. Although, perhaps, as several authors indicate, more successfully in the Eastern neighbourhood than in the South (Freyburg et al, 2011: 1027), this might be because the evolution of values has been more "isomorphic" in the East than in the South. Although, this issue will be verified through-

out the analysis. Furthermore, as the ENP is based on European values, which guide all the EU's external action (European Union. Treaty of Lisbon, 2007, art.8.1), it is essential to observe the evolution of these values, as they show how successful the ENP has been, and how far it has gone beyond mere economic agreements. As stated in the speech during its creation in the European Commission, "*we are also committed to developing ever deeper ties and bridges of cooperation with our neighbours and to share the future of this community of values with others beyond our shores*" (European Council 2003). Achieving progress in European values is, therefore, fundamental to the effective functioning of this policy.

Nevertheless, the ENP is heavily criticised, not only for the budget it represents, as indicated in the introduction, but also for promoting visions of "soft imperialism" (Haukkala, 2008: 1613) and wandering from a high centralism of the Commission (Niemann and Hoffmann, 2018: 13). Therefore, throughout the research it is desirable to focus the observation on the other side of the agreement, to verify the real situation of the values, and to be able to raise the convenience of a change of perspective in the drafting of the Action Plans, depending on the country and the region with which the agreement is carried out.

3. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The research methodology is quantitative and retrospective, that is, using secondary data, already generated by the WVS. Likewise, two moments have been selected, the first from 1997 to 2002, and the second from 2010 to 2014, with the aim of carrying out a longitudinal analysis, trying to observe the evolution and the change that has taken place in each of the elements analysed.

The dependent variables are the European values. The list has been taken by the information given in Article 2 of the Treaty of Lisbon, these values filed are: freedom, democracy, equality, human

rights, dignity and the rule of law. All the previous values had a question related to them in the questionnaire, with the exception of human dignity, which entails a multitude of debates when measuring it, even in the legislative field (McCrudden, 2008: 723-724), that's why in a quantitative field and with the used database posed serious problems. Therefore, only five of the six proposed values have been selected, these are the dependent variables to be analysed during the research.

In the first part of the methodology, the independent variables that have been selected are each of the countries. In the second part of the methodology, a series of correlation analyses were carried out, to check which the most relevant independent variables were. Fundamental independent variables included: life satisfaction, financial satisfaction, confidence in the government, the police and the press, and finally, the situation of women in the labour market, the political arena and the educational field. In this case, each of the values does not depend solely on these variables, but it is influenced in one or another way by them. Likewise, the limit of the possible bidirectionality of some independent variables with the dependent one was raised. This question is highly complex when it comes to being

measured. Therefore, to a certain extent, the research suffers from this limitation. In order to avoid introducing certain influences that would overlap, and harm the research, a collinearity analysis was carried out to eliminate those variables that had collinearity.

The data source used is the WVS, already commented on in the theoretical framework, which is, to date, one of the highest quality databases (Moaddel and Gelfans, 2017: 181).

The geographical delimitation where the research is carried out is made up of the countries that are part of the ENP, both from the East and from the South, and which, simultaneously, have data in the WVS for the two selected time periods.

With respect to the selected waves, two moments are taken, before and after the implementation of the ENP, in 2004. The data are obtained from three different waves. The first is Wave 3 of the WVS, carried out between 1996 and 1998, includes information of the Eastern Neighbourhood. The second is Wave 4, which was developed between 1999 and 2004, includes data from the countries of the Southern Neighbourhood. And thirdly,

TABLE 1. COUNTRIES OF ANALYSIS

EASTERN NEIGHBOURHOOD			SOUTHERN NEIGHBOURHOOD		
	W3 (1996-1998)	W6 (2010-2014)		W4 (1999-2004)	W6 (2010-2014)
Armenia	1997	2011	Argelia	2002	2014
Azerbaijan	1997	2011	Egypt	2001	2013
Belarus	1996	2011	Israel		
Georgia	1996	2014	Jordan	2001	2014
Moldavia	1996		Lebanon		2013
Ukraine	1996	2011	Libya		2014
			Morocco	2001	2011
			Palestine		2013
			Syria		
			Tunisia		2013

Source Elaboration based on data from WVS and European Neighbourhood Policy.

the Wave 6, with data from 2010 to 2014, which is also the last one published by the WVS. Therefore, it is checked below in Table 1, which ENP countries have information available in the respective survey waves, for the subsequent analysis (Inglehart et al, 2014).

TABLE 2. COUNTRIES SAMPLE SIZES

Country	W1 (1996-2002)	W2 (2010-2014)
Armenia	2.002	1.100
Azerbaijan	2.000	1.002
Belarus	2.092	1.535
Georgia	2.008	1.202
Ukraine	2.811	1.500
Total East	10.913	6.339
Argelia	1.282	1.200
Egypt	3.000	1.523
Jordan	1.223	1.200
Morocco	1.251	1.200
Total South	6.756	5.123
TOTAL	17.669	11.462

Source: Elaboration based on data from WVS.

As can be seen, only 9 countries meet the requirements, 5 from the Eastern Neighbourhood: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia and Ukraine, and 4 from the Southern Neighbourhood: Algeria, Egypt, Jordan and Morocco. The first two waves, wave 3 and wave 4, have been mixed to create a single wave, covering a survey period from 1996 to 2002. While the third wave, in this case wave 6, includes all countries, so it does not have the need to be join to any other. Throughout this research, the reference to wave 1 is, therefore, the period from 1996 to 2002, and wave 2 from 2011 to 2014. The organization of the waves has been made to facilitate the synthesis in the results and due to the principle of parsimony in the statistical models developed.

Similarly, the selected period is of great interest, because it encompasses a multitude of events that have changed the course of history in both regions, from the democratisation processes of the former Soviet republics, to the Rose Revolution in Georgia, the economic crisis of 2008, the Ukrain-

ian war or the Arab springs, among others (Priego, 2011: 80-82; Villa, 2010: 145-146). These changes have meant, as it has been seen in the theoretical framework, important stimuli for the change of values (Greenfield, 2009: 406-407). Table 2 presents the countries finally selected, with their corresponding sample sizes.

3.1. Variables

3.1.1. Dependent variables.

As indicated in the introduction of this point, 5 European values have been taken: Freedom, Democracy, Equality, Human Rights and Rule of Law. Thenceforth, it is included the literal wording of these variables as it is described in the questionnaire, as well as, the justification and measurement for each of the values. For a detailed consultation of the dependent variables' data, their descriptive statistics can be found in Annex I.

With respect to the idea of freedom, the same question has been taken in the three questionnaires.

“Some people feel they have completely free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effects on what happens to them. Please use this scale where 1 means “none at all” and 10 means “a great deal” to indicate how much freedom of choice and control you feel you have over the way your life turns out.” (WVS Questionnaire, 1996-1998: 7. 1999-2004: 6. 2010-2014: 4)

This question was selected because it openly asked the respondent about the freedom of decision that he or she believes has in life, and, furthermore, by asking exactly the same question in the three questionnaires, it made possible to compare the results. The variable is a scale that is measured from 1 to 10, with an increasing tendency towards more freedom. This variable was recoded to be the same as the other dependents variables, creating 4 response options, which went in increasing trend from “not freedom at all”, to “scarce-low freedom”,

“enough freedom” and ending, finally, in “a lot of freedom”.

With respect to the value of democracy, in the first wave, the question is not included in the questionnaire. However, within the database there is a created variable (EE_167), which indicates the level of satisfaction with the country’s democracy. The question is expressed differently in the two waves:

Questionnaire wave 4: *“On the whole are you very satisfied, rather satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy is developing in our country?”* (WVS Questionnaire, 1999-2004: 14).

Questionnaire wave 6: *“How democratically is this country being governed today? Again, using a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means that it is “not at all democratic” and 10 means that it is “completely democratic,” what position would you choose?”* (WVS Questionnaire, 2010-2014: 10).

The answers in the first two wave questionnaires range from 1 to 4, the first being very satisfied and the last not satisfied at all. While in the third one it is measured from 1 to 10, in an increasing trend. Again, this variables were recoded, like the previous one, to be measured in 4 response options, which follow a trend from lower to higher satisfaction. That is to say, the first option is “not democratic at all”, followed by “scarce-low democratic”, “enough democratic” and finally “very democratic”.

When analysing the question of equality, certain doubts were raised, European values, as has been seen in the theoretical framework, tend to be very generic in order to be as common as possible (Leino and Petrov, 2009: 656). Gender equality is a key variable to be studied, but the question of introducing new types of equality, such as income equality or equality before the law, was also raised. The problem arises from the observation that some of the equality issues were not asked in all waves. Finally, it was decided to take an index created by the

WVS itself, which appears in all the selected waves. This index measures gender equality, framed within emancipatory values. The index creates a measurement in 10 groups, which go in an increasing scale from 0 to 1. Later the variables were recoded, so that it was measured the same as the other independent variables, creating, therefore, 4 values within the variable. These are “not at all egalitarian”, “scarce-low egalitarian”, “enough egalitarian” and “very egalitarian”. In this case, it is necessary to bear in mind that the values of the variable are not pure answer choices of the respondents, but groupings of multiple of these answers in other questions.

The fourth dependent variable is Human Rights. Again something similar to democracy happens with the question. The first questionnaire does not ask openly about the respect for Human Rights that exists in the country, but this variable is constructed later from the WVS itself. However, it is written and measured in the same way in the three waves:

“How much respect is there for individual human rights nowadays (in our country)?” (WVS Questionnaire 1999-2002: 14. 2010-2014: 10)

In this case the variable is measured in 4 response options with decreasing tendency. It is recoded to change the trend. Again a growing trend is created with 4 response options, ranging from “no respect at all”, “scarce-low respect”, “enough respect” and “a lot of respect”.

Finally, with regard to the rule of law, this variable is asked in all the questionnaires, but in wave 4 none of the countries of the Southern Neighbourhood responds. For this reason, the possibility of abandoning this value was first considered, but actually, the absence of a response from these countries regarding confidence in the rule of law is significant in itself. There is only the limitation of not being able to compare the evolution of the value in the Southern Neighbourhood. However, a comparison can be done in the Eastern Neighbourhood and the

latest data from both regions can also be checked. In the two questionnaires the question selected is:

“Could you tell me how much confidence you have in the legal system: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all?” (WVS Questionnaire, 1996-1998: 17. 2010-2014: 8)

As in the previous cases, the variable is recoded in order to reverse its trend, which in the questionnaire was posed from more to less. Therefore, there are 4 answer options, “no trust at all”, “scarce-low trust”, “enough trust” and “a lot of trust”.

3.1.2. Independent variables

The independent variables that were initially used to perform the regressions were of a sociodemographic character. That is, variables related to population patterns in society (Scott, 2009: 107). The variables selected to create the sociodemographic profile were: country, age, gender, marital status, descent, educational level and employment situation. Likewise, variables that were not purely sociodemographic were introduced, as they were self-designations of the individual, and they were believed to be essential when it came to influencing each one of the values. They were took: financial satisfaction, self-designation class, ideology and religiosity. Finally, as explained in the theoretical framework, Inglehart has created a way of measuring values, from materialistic to postmaterialistic (2015: 60-65). Being also one of the founders of the WVS, an index of the materialistic and postmaterialistic tendencies of the respondent was introduced into the database.

These variables were first introduced with the aim of observing in which way they affected each of the values, and with what intensity they did so. However, when performing the regressions it was possible to verify that the explanatory capacity of the models, that is, the R squared in the regressions, was minimal, exceeding 15% only in the equality

index. In most cases, the R squared did not reached 10%.

The problem of the lack of influence of sociodemographic variables was an inconvenience for the research. After consulting literature on the subject, and taking into account the theory of value change in individuals of Inglehart (2015: 12-18), it was decided to make a change of perspective in the research. In order to observe which independent variables most affect each of the European values, a correlation analysis is carried out. From this correlation analysis are extracted those variables with more than 15% correlation in each of the waves. Subsequently, a collinearity analysis is carried out to avoid overlaps in the relationship. Although, as mentioned above, it is necessary to take into account the possibility that some variables influence each other due to bidirectionality. And finally, the variables are introduced into the models until they are as explanatory as possible. Therefore, the independent variables change, according to the values and waves, which supposes a limit since it is not possible to explain the change within them, but rather the change of the factors that influence each analysed value. Some of the main independent variables, which tend to coincide in the two waves or have a great influence are the following: satisfaction in life, financial satisfaction, confidence in the government, the police and the press, and finally, the situation of women in the labour market, political arena and educational field, as previously mentioned. Thereupon, table 3 shows how these variables are measured after being recoded to follow a growing trend.

Later, at the time of performing the regression, it is necessary to mention that, if there was any categorical variable with influence on the value, it was “dummified” (Montero Granados, 2016: 7-9).

Once all the recoded variables and ordered data are available, cross-table analysis, and, later, a series of regressions are performed.

TABLE 3. MAIN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES MEASURED.

Variable	Measure
Life satisfaction	1: Completely unsatisfied. ... 10: Completely satisfied.
Financial satisfaction	1: Completely unsatisfied. ... 10: Completely satisfied.
Confidence in the Government	1: None at all. ... 4: A great deal.
Confidence in the police	1: None at all. ... 4: A great deal.
Confidence in the press	1: None at all. ... 4: A great deal.
When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women	1 = Disagree. 2 = Neither. 3 = Agree.
On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do	1 = Strongly disagree. ... 4 = Strongly agree.
A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl	1 = Strongly disagree. ... 4 = Strongly agree.

Source: Elaboration based on data from WVS.

3.2. Statistical operations

3.2.1. Cross tables

In the cross-table analysis, the response to each of the values is interrelated according to the country, with the aim of checking whether there are large differences, both nationally and regionally.

By means of the crossed tables, the main objective of the research is to be fulfilled, which will

help to provide an answer to the research question in the conclusions. This first objective was: “To analyse the transformation of European values in ENP countries”.

A cross table is made independently for each country and each value, resulting in 58 cross tables per wave (54 in the first because there are no rule of law data in the Southern Neighbourhood), which finally gives a total of 104 cross tables that will be

analysed in the results. Additionally, the cross tables have been converted into graphs, so that it is easier and more visual to check the data obtained and the changes in each country. These graphs and their results are discussed in a later section. The cross tables are attached in Annex II and the graphs in Annex III.

3.2.2. Regression

Multiple linear regressions have been carried out with the aim of observing how each of the variables impact to each of the European values. Once the results have been obtained, those that coincide are analysed to see the change, as well as, the variables with the greatest impact on each wave and region.

The analysis has resulted in 19 regressions, one per wave, value and region. That is why it was decided in this case to group the countries into regions. Otherwise the number of regressions increased to a total of 86, whose analysis would be excessive taking into account the nature and scope of the research.

The regressions that have been selected were those with the greatest number of significant variables and the highest the R squared, that is, the percentage of prediction of the variance. Likewise, and as mentioned above, collinearity analyses were carried out with the aim of eliminating those variables that caused multicollinearity and, thus, reduced the predictive capacity of the regression model.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

4.1. Cross tables

The analysis of the cross tables shows the changes that have occurred at each value in the different countries, from the first to the second wave. The data used are found in Annexes II and III where all the information obtained from the cross tables appears. Likewise, a scatter plot for each value is included within the text and as a support. These graphs show the change by country: those countries

on the left of the average line have improved their situation since 1996, while those on the right have worsened. Likewise, the further away the country is from the average line, the more change it has experienced from one wave to the next.

4.1.1. Freedom

Freedom is the first value to be analysed. At first, the Eastern Neighbourhood is observed, with the majority option and perceptions that can be highlighted. When citizens are asked about their perception of freedom when making decisions, in the East it is observed that the majoritarian option among all countries except Georgia is the lack of freedom. The lowest perceptions are found in Belarus and Ukraine.

In the case of the Southern Neighbourhood, the preponderance options are centred on the idea of freedom, and even of enjoying a great deal of autonomy. So, at first, these data would seem to show a more positive view in the South than in the East. However, if the data are looked closely, a very high polarisation in Egyptian society and a lighter polarisation in Moroccan perception are seen. In both cases, the main chosen option is the one of a great deal of freedom, but a large part of society has also chosen options that denounce a big lack of the value. This question shows a certain taboo regarding the issue of freedom of expression, or the existence of a society with very differentiated groups, where some have much freedom while others have almost no freedom at all (Amin, 2002: 129-131).

In the second wave, in the Eastern Neighbourhood all countries except Armenia choose options that indicate a perception of freedom within the proposed response options. The same happens in the Southern Neighbourhood, with the exception of Morocco. So, in general, the citizen perception of freedom has increased. It is noteworthy in this case to observe how citizen perceptions differ from what international organizations indicate. Freedom House, an US NGO that measures the level of freedom and democracy in the world, placed Azerbaijan and Belarus in the years of the surveys as not free

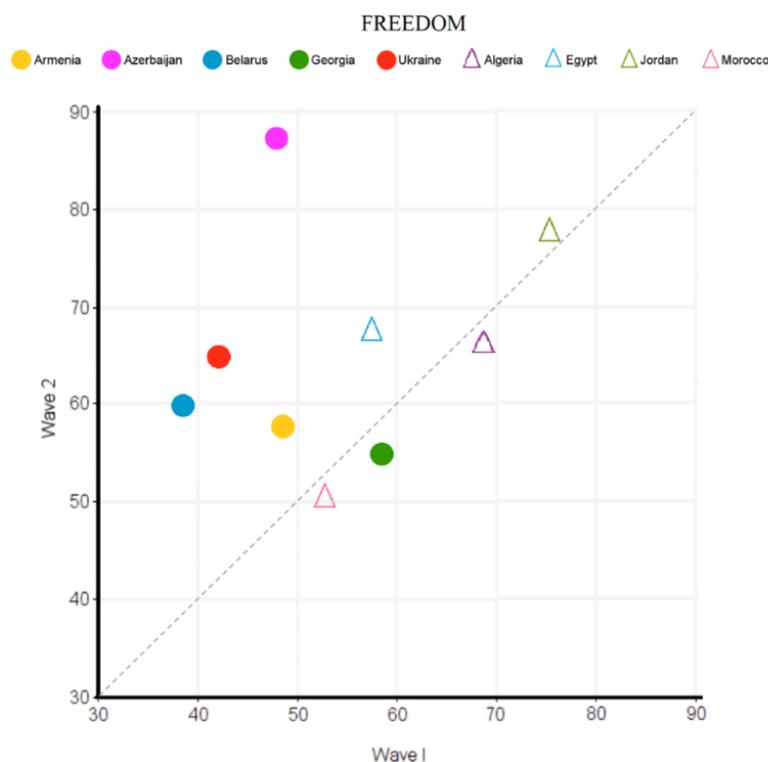
(Freedom House, 2011). However, the respondents in Armenia are the ones who feel less free. Something similar happens in the Southern Neighbourhood, where the sample surveyed in Morocco, which Freedom House places with greater freedom than Algeria or Jordan (Freedom House, 2011), is more critical and they feel they have less choice.

An analysis of the change in the idea of freedom in the scatter plot shows a certain regional homogeneity, with the exceptions of Azerbaijan in the East, and Morocco in the South. The most marked and positive changes have taken place in the East, where most of the countries have improved their situation. In spite of everything, the countries of the South are in a better situation than those of the East. But it should not be forgotten that those who have selected the most positive options are Jordan and Algeria, which at that time had hegemonic authoritarian systems, as Szmolka name them (2010: 108-112), and Freedom House placed them as not free, unlike Mo-

rocco and Egypt, which at that time were partially free (Freedom House, 2014).

In conclusion, by observing in a general way the value of freedom in the two analysed neighbourhoods, it can be verified a certain pattern. The pure data would lead to think that the situation has worsened, but the capacity to criticise a situation that was not previously denounceable shows a certain openness. In other words, the possibility of denouncing an issue that is seen as unsatisfactory shows greater freedom, as this was not even denounceable before (Dalpino, 2011: 3-4; Sater, 2002: 111). As seen in the scatter plot, there is regional homogeneity, with more positive changes in the Eastern Neighbourhood than in the South. Although the Southern Neighbourhood achieves higher figures. Finally, not only is there greater regional homogeneity, but also the gap between the Eastern and Southern Neighbourhood has narrowed, with more uniform

GRAPH 3. Freedom scatter plot



Source: Elaboration based on WVS data.

results in terms of freedom and patterns of change with similar directions, mostly improving.

4.1.2. Democracy

With regard to the idea of democracy, in the first wave different patterns are observed in the two regions. In the Eastern Neighbourhood, the perception of a lack of democracy is unanimous. This pattern is repeated in Algeria, which is the exception in the Southern Neighbourhood. The rest of the Mediterranean region is more optimistic, with the majority selecting more democratic options in Egypt and Jordan, and, to a lesser extent, somewhat more critical in Morocco. The Egyptian case is noteworthy, where the number of responses that show a lack of democracy is practically residual. This last question could be explained by Mubarak's use of long-term democratisation as an instrument for legitimising the regime (Salamé, 1994: 189-192). Likewise, the paradox that most respondents in Mediterranean regimes chose democracy, when their political systems were doubtfully enjoying such character, can be explained through Gerschewski's (2013: 19-25) idea of the use of (democratic) legitimation, repression and co-optation of citizenship as bases for stability in authoritarian systems. In this case Gerschewski (2013: 19-20) refers to legitimation through formal democratic institutions, which are not really that, but which maintain stability. Mubarak also used the idea that a long-term democratisation was taking place, in the sense that, there were exceptional situations, which caused democratic freedom to be given by power in a dosed form (Salamé, 1994: 190). These variables, together with a strong repression and cooptation, provoke that the citizenship does not protest, in spite of the restriction of freedoms, and the situation is accepted as "enough democratic" (Gerschewski, 2013: 20-25).

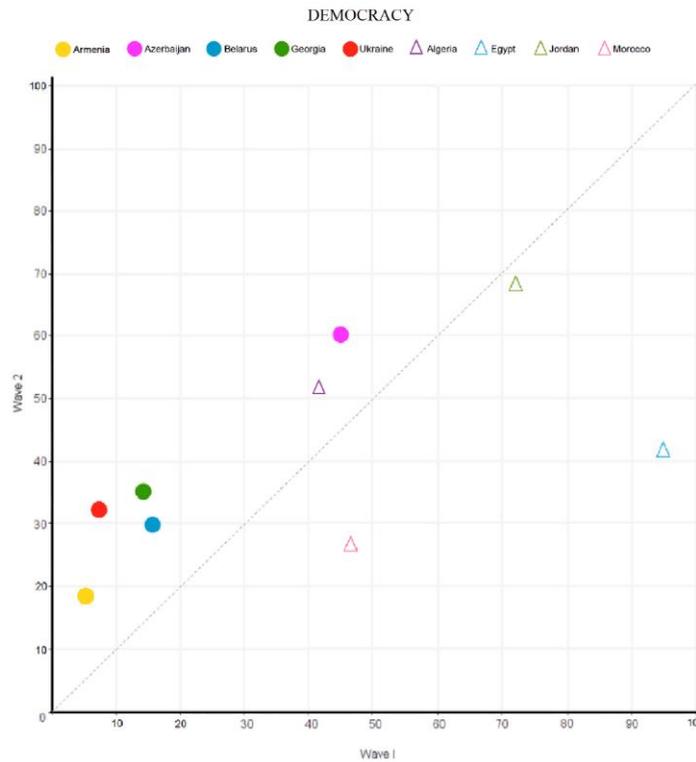
In the second wave in the East Neighbourhood, the most common choice among those surveyed continues to be the lack of democracy, with the exception of Azerbaijan, where the situation improves, since the majority chooses enough democracy in this case. It is remarkable that, generally speaking, the percentages of democracy in the region are in-

creasing. However, many voices are beginning to raise denouncing the weakness of this democratisation, even in Azerbaijan, which achieved the best results (Gahramanova, 2013: 796-798). Some authors also criticised how the factors that strengthen democracy are in a fragile situation, which the EU is not being fully capable of strengthening (Simão, 2012: 199).

In the case of the Southern Neighbourhood there are also significant changes of interest. Algeria and Jordan are the only countries where the idea of democracy continues to be the majoritarian. This is fundamental if it is bear in mind that these are two of the countries where Arab springs had the least impact (Yom and Gause, 2012: 86-87) and the data analysed for these countries are from 2014, when Arab springs were already established. In Morocco, where there were a series of protests that led to constitutional reform (Belghazi and Moud-den, 2012: 38-39), there were lower percentages of democracy in the first wave, and in the second these fall even lower. Perhaps enhanced by the criticism, that began to emerge from 2011 because of the democratic limitations offered by the regime (Yom and Gause, 2013: 75). Finally, the data from Egypt at first glance seem bleak, as the idea of democracy collapses, fuelling the rise of options that denounce an absolute lack of the value. However, as in the case of freedom, this fall does not necessarily mean a worsening of living conditions, but can show a more critical society (Sater, 2002: 111). Similarly, it should be borne in mind that the data in this survey are from 2013, when the coup d'état that overthrew Morsi took place. Therefore, these data could show the fear of a society that has emerged from an authoritarian regime, and fears entering a new one after a democratic period that has barely managed to settle down (Sadiki, 2014: 210-211).

To sum up, when analysing the value of democracy in the two neighbourhoods, certain trends can be observed. Examining the overall change through the scatter plot, some homogeneity is perceived in the Eastern region, with, again, the exception of Azerbaijan. In this area there is a general improve-

GRAPH 4. Democracy scatter plot.



Source: Elaboration based on WVS data.

ment, despite having low percentages, partly due to the little success of its revolutions and the high fragility of democratic factors (Tudoroiu, 2007: 339-341). While in the Southern region practically all countries, except Algeria, worsen their political situation, in particular Egypt and Morocco, despite having higher percentages of democracy than the Eastern Neighbourhood. However, as noted above, this decline in the idea of democracy among respondents may be due to less fear of criticism from, among others, civil society, which was key in the Arab springs period, showing greater openness (Cavatorta, 2012: 76-77). It would be interesting to observe the current situation of this graph, after the changes that have taken place fundamentally in Algeria and Egypt over the last year (Wainwright, 2019: 1-2; Mische y Roll, 2019: 4).

4.1.3. Equality

With regard to the question of equality, it is necessary to bear in mind that it is an index, as indi-

cated in the methodological framework. Therefore, it is made up of different responses that have been unified from the WVS to give general equality data in each country. The results obtained are mostly negative.

In the Eastern Neighbourhood the only country that “succeeded” in achieving an equality index is Ukraine. The worst scores are taken in this case by Armenia and Azerbaijan, with the majoritarian option being an absolute lack of equality. The Ukrainian case may be due, among other things, to a series of labour reforms that were introduced in the 1990s and ended up positively affecting the situation of women in the country (Brainerd, 2000: 158-159). The data in this area slightly break with the general stereotype of equality in countries with a Soviet past, as the situation was not entirely positive, and worsened with the restructuring of markets after the fall of the USSR (Woldu and Budhwar, 2011:1366-1367).

In the countries of the South the figures are not very promising either, the most common option is, as among some in the East, the absolute lack of equality, especially in Morocco and Jordan. Egypt achieves a somewhat better situation, but remains within inequality. In fact, it is interesting to note that none of the constitutions in these countries during the 1990s considered equality between men and women in all fields. The Egyptian Constitution was where most issues for equality were mentioned, while Jordan and Algeria did not even allude to the issue (Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt, 1971; Constitution of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 1952; Constitution de l'Algérie, 1996).

Therefore, it is observed that equality is in a bad position in both regions, although slightly better in the Eastern Neighbourhood.

In the second wave a number of changes take place, especially in the Eastern countries. Belarus, Georgia and Ukraine achieve scores that show a high level of equality. However, in all of them, they are closely followed by unequal options. Despite everything, the change is very positive. Armenia and Azerbaijan, which in the nineties were already somewhat further behind, have improved from a complete lack of equality to options that show inequality but with less strength. In short, among the countries of the East, the best situation continues to be that of Ukraine. However, the overall changes are very positive.

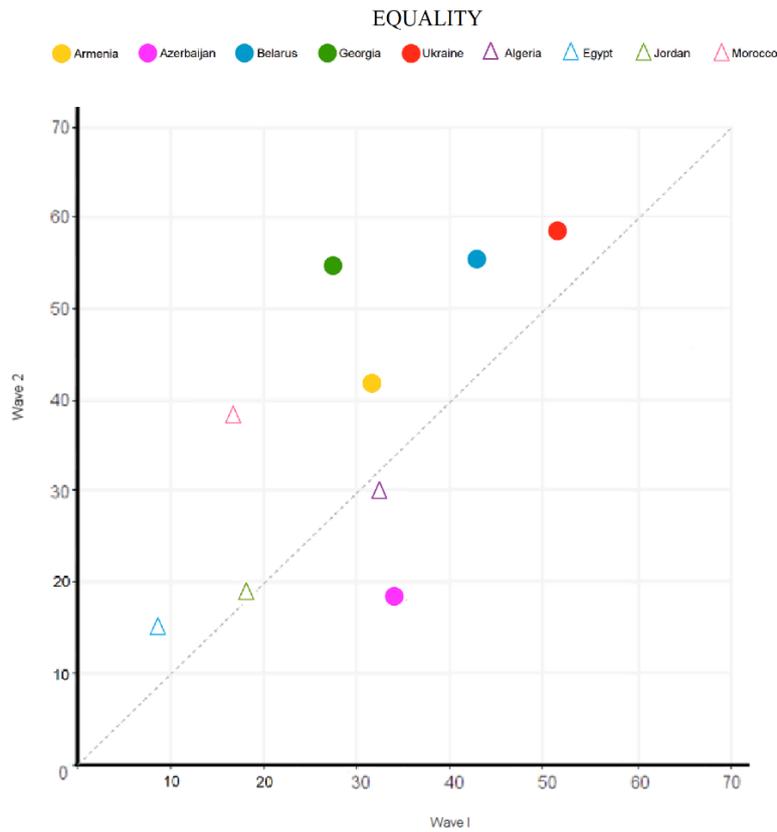
On the contrary, the countries of the South have not experienced great improvements, all are placed in options of absolute inequality. With the exception of Morocco, which is improving, but still does not achieve equality. Nevertheless, in general terms, in all countries except Algeria, the situation of equality has increased despite not being in the majority, particularly, as has been pointed out, in Morocco. At the legislative level, it is interesting that the issue of equality has begun to appear formally. All countries except Jordan (Constitution of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 1952), have introduced gender equality in their constitutions (Constitution de

l'Algérie, 2016, art.36; Constitution du Royaume du Maroc, 2011, art.19; Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt, 2014, art.11). In spite of this, as the data show, the legislative change has not produced major changes in citizen perception.

Likewise, if one observes the indicators of international organisations such as UNDP, which carries out an index of gender inequality at world level, in the Eastern Neighbourhood, Belarus is the country with the best situation, while the worst is Georgia, which shows that the citizen perception does not coincide, again, with what has been said by international organisations. Since those surveyed in Armenia and Azerbaijan have given less egalitarian answers than those in Georgia. In the case of the countries of the South, the worst index in the period of the second wave were Egypt and Morocco, while the best scores according to UNDP were from Algeria (UNDP, 2018). In this case it does coincide with what was observed in the scatter plot.

In essence, when analysing the value of equality in both neighbourhoods some trends can be observed. The change seen in the scatter plot shows that the Eastern region is uniform, with the exception, as in the previous cases, of Azerbaijan. The same is true for the Southern region, which shows some homogeneity despite being below the East, as seen during the analysis. In short, the situation of equality has worsened seriously in Azerbaijan and slightly less in Algeria, improving in the others, although in the case of Jordan the change is almost imperceptible. In spite of everything, in this, as in the other values, it should be borne in mind that a change for the better or worse does not directly mean a real improvement or deterioration in the rest of the social, cultural, political and economic elements. In this case the change in perception is shown *ceteris paribus*, that is to say, by means of Weberian ideal types, in which only the change in perception of those surveyed is observed, which can show general perception trends.

GRAPH 5. Equality scatter plot.



Source: Elaboration based on WVS data.

4.1.4. Human Rights

In terms of respect for human rights, in the first wave the low percentage of people who have selected a lot of respect, both on the Eastern and Southern shores, is significant.

In the case of the Eastern Neighbourhood, there is unanimity when it comes to say that human rights are not respected, with the exception of Azerbaijan, who select that there is respect. For the rest, the most critical perspective is the majoritarian among the countries of the East. These data are very thought-provoking, since they are taken after the ceasefire of the war of the High Karabakh, which confronted Armenia and Azerbaijan from 1988 to 1994, and which still nowadays has serious consequences on the difficult relationship between the

two countries (Bláhová, 2019: 70-71). The most positive country in the area is Azerbaijan, which continues to maintain legal power over the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh (Migdalovitz, 2001: 4). This confrontation, of not only political, but also ethnic and cultural roots (Bláhová, 2019: 80), may explain why Azerbaijan shows different patterns to the rest of the countries in its region. The construction of Azerbaijani identity after the fall of the USSR was based on certain ethnic differences, which means that it does not have good relations with its environment, and leads to divergences in perceptions in comparison with, for example, Armenia (Tokluoglu, 2005: 723).

Among the countries of the South there is a slightly more positive outlook, even though, Alge-

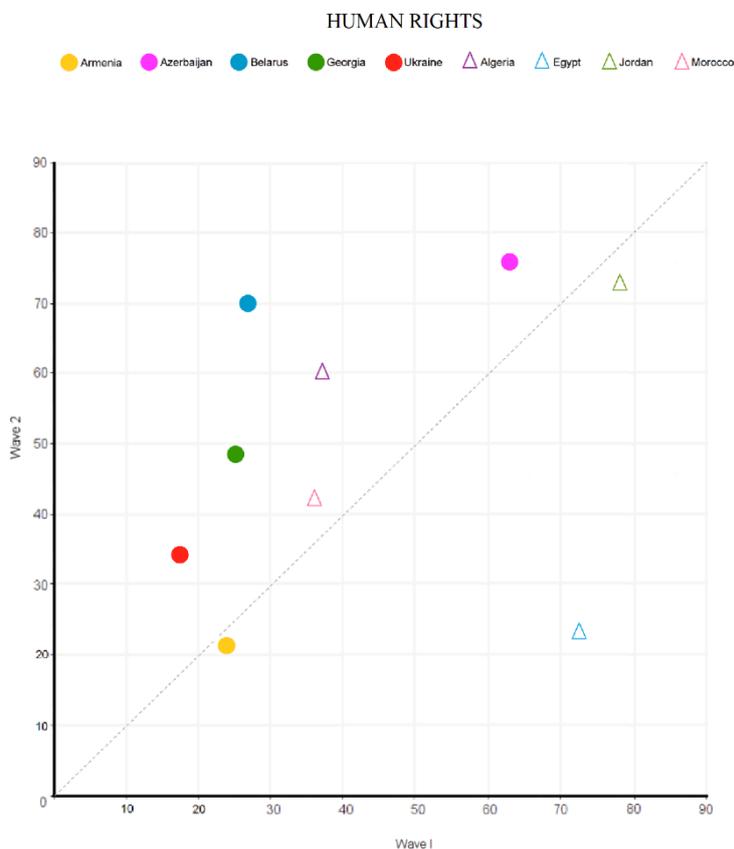
ria and Morocco point out that human rights are not respected, Egypt and Jordan indicate that there is some respect. The worst data in this region are from Algeria, but it should be noted that, at the time of the survey the country was in the months following the end of a civil war, that lasted from 1991 to 2001 (Gleditsch, 2004: 255).

The second wave represents an improvement in the situation among the Eastern countries, particularly in Azerbaijan, Belarus and Georgia. In the cases of Armenia and Ukraine, there has been virtually no change in the last 15 years. In the first country, nowadays, tensions with Azerbaijan continue (Bláhová, 2019: 71). Similarly, during the period in which Human Rights Watch surveys were conducted, a series of denunciations were made of the human rights situation in Armenia, focusing on the excessive use of force against citizens, as well as,

torture and limitations on freedom of expression and assembly (Human Rights Watch, 2011a). With regard to Ukraine, in 2011 the country had not yet entered in the well-known Ukrainian war, which is still going on today (Lichtenstein, Esau et al., 2019: 67). In spite of everything, the human rights situation was deficient, which is why Human Rights Watch made a series of recommendations, albeit on a smaller scale than in the case of Armenia, such as judicial reform, greater control over hate crimes and improved protection of civil society (Human Rights Watch, 2011b).

In the Southern Neighbourhood no major changes can be seen in Jordan or Morocco, which continues to place itself mostly in disrespect. Algeria, a little more positive, begins to perceive a greater respect for human rights. And the country that is retreating most alarmingly is Egypt, where there is

GRAPH 6. Human Rights scatter plot.



Source: Elaboration based on WVS data.

a shift from a majority choice of respect for human rights to a majority choice of absolute lack of respect among those surveyed. In Egypt, this may be due to the aforementioned coup d'état, which led to an increase in citizen insecurity and greater control by the army (Roll, 2016: 34-36). However, it may also be the consequence of a society that in 2001 feared criticism of the political system, but that after the Arab springs and the overthrow of Mubarak, abandoned the fear of denouncing negative situations, despite the fact that these criticisms continue to be punished in many cases (Arafa, 2013: 168-173).

In conclusion, when analysing the value of Human Rights in both neighbourhoods, some trends can be observed. It can be seen that there was some homogeneity in the Eastern countries, with the exception of Azerbaijan, this regional homogeneity has blurred slightly in the last wave. Overall, however, the perception of respect has improved, except in the case of Armenia. Nevertheless, the decline in this country is minimal compared to the Southern Neighbourhood. Algeria shows the greatest improvement, followed by Morocco. However, in Jordan there is a worsening of the perception of human rights, and the fall is drastic in Egypt, which is completely sagging from the general trend, due to particular political instabilities, as it has been mentioned before.

4.1.5. Rule of law

This variable has the particularity of not being able to be compared among the countries of the South, since the 1996-2002 wave did not ask anything related to the rule of law or trust in institutions among Arab countries. In spite of everything, the complete absence of information referring to this value, as has been mentioned on other occasions, is significant in itself, as it may show the consolidation of some authoritarian regimes (Göbel, 2011: 183). That is why it has been decided to maintain, despite the impossibility of comparison in one of the groups.

In the case of the Eastern countries, the opinions are placed between the lack of confidence and

the confidence, when seeing the extremes it is observed greater support in the complete absence of confidence in the rule of law. When looking at the general data, all Eastern Neighbourhood countries are more in the lack of trust. The most critical countries are Armenia, Azerbaijan and Ukraine. By contrast, Belarus and Georgia are slightly more optimistic. If the most critical countries are analysed in their context, Armenia and Azerbaijan, which are in conflict and tensions, both political and ethnic, are still present today (Laitin and Suny, 1999: 145-146). Likewise, in the Ukrainian case, in addition to the tensions with Russia after the country's independence, the Verkhovna Rada (Ukrainian parliament) in that period focused on state building. However, it had little success in establishing a strong rule of law (Whitmore, 2004: 4). In fact, the figures in all Eastern Neighbourhood countries analysed are low, according to Laitin and Suny (1999: 150), because the post-Soviet countries after independence faced a dilemma. In the revolutionary desire to put an end to the old political system, the structure created by the communist party and the USSR was undone, which led to the loss of an already established infrastructure, leaving nuclei of influence without legal power, which ended up leading to different forms of informal power. Therefore, the construction of the state was prioritized, to the detriment of the establishment of a consistent rule of law (Laitin and Suny, 1999: 149-150).

In the second wave, the situation improves slightly among the Eastern countries in the case of Azerbaijan and Belarus. Armenia has hardly any change between the two waves. Finally, Ukraine and Georgia are worsening their situation and, at the most recent moment, they are lacking confidence. The fall of Ukraine is striking.

The approach of the "rule of law" by the EU in these countries is manifested in three ways. Firstly, centred on the holding of fair elections and constitutional reforms. Secondly, judicial reforms to improve the quality of courts. And thirdly, in connection with institutional development and good governance (Burlyuk, 2014: 14). However, as the

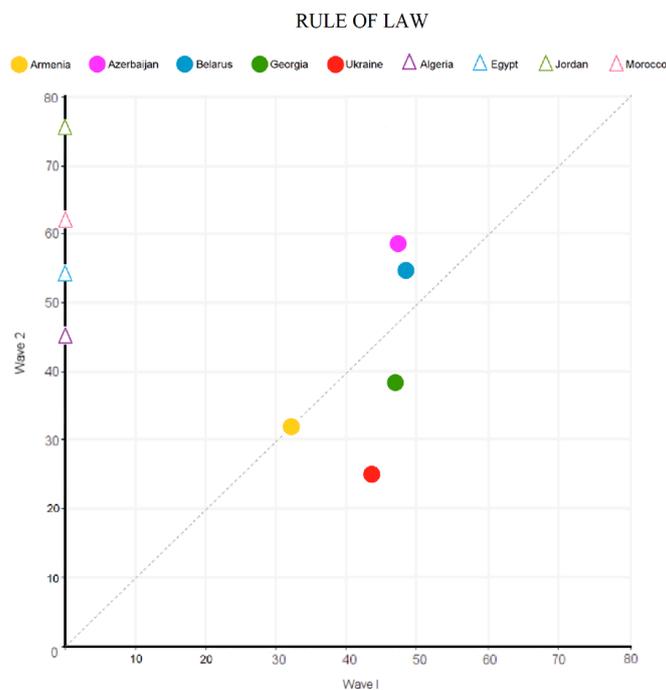
data show, this holistic perspective of the rule of law has not achieved good results in the perception of citizenship. Likewise, if the data from the World Rule of Law Index, created by the World Justice Project, is taken in the period of the surveys, Georgia was the country in the region with the best rate of rule of law, being the number 30 of the 97 countries analysed, and Ukraine where it existed the worst situation in the region was at number 83 (World Justice Project, n.d.). Therefore, and as seen in other cases, the international indices and the perception of citizenship do not coincide in the case of Georgia, where the position of citizenship is more critical than the evaluation carried out by the World Justice Project.

Finally, the situation of the Mediterranean countries in the second wave is interesting. Algeria is the most critical country, with the majority option of lack of confidence. However, the rest of the countries are in favour of trust, and Jordan's response is striking, with a high degree of trust. Interest-

ingly, the only two monarchies, where Arab springs had little or no impact, are the ones with the highest rates of confidence in their legal systems. This particularity may be due to the reforms carried out by kings Mohamed VI and Abdullah II, which were initially created to calm social unrest and ensure the permanence of the monarchies, but which have shown progress that can be positive for improving the quality of the rule of law in the long term (Biagi, 2014:1240-1241).

Finally, when analysing the value of rule of law in both neighbourhoods, some patterns can be observed. The scatter plot shows a certain homogeneity between Armenia, Georgia and Ukraine, with somewhat negative data and a situation that has generally worsened or remains unchanged. On the other hand, Belarus and Azerbaijan are where the data are more optimistic, and where, there have also been improvements in citizen perception. Finally, with regard to the countries of the South, an analysis of change cannot be carried out, as mentioned

GRAPH 7. Rule of law scatter plot.



Source: Elaboration based on WVS data.

above, but it is noteworthy that despite Egypt's bad situation, it is in Algeria where there is the least confidence in the rule of law. This last question could have become influential in the new protests that have taken place at the beginning of 2019 in Algeria, as some of authors begin to situate the poor quality of the rule of law, and its perception by citizens, as one of the multiple factors that might have motivated these new protests (Wainwright, 2019; Northey and Narriman Guemar, 2019). Nevertheless, this movement is still too new for there to be conclusive academic research.

4.2. Regressions

The existence of a change of values is undeniable. However, these variations are motivated by a multitude of interrelated variables, as it has been seen, for example, with the political context, in the crossed tables. Therefore, with the desire to be able to observe which variables, from the list supplied by the used sources, affected and affect each of the values to a greater extent, a series of regressions are carried out. The regressions, therefore, show the variables with the greatest influence. These are then used to respond to the ultimate objective of the research, the proposal of new ways of action that could benefit the relationship between the EU and the countries of both neighbourhoods. If, for example, one of the variables that most affects the perception of democracy, which, as a value, has undergone changes in the countries, is trust in the government, strengthening this trust through the ENP Action Plans could facilitate an improvement in value. This would, therefore, and to a certain extent, enable more fruitful relations and the fulfilment of ENP objectives.

A regression by wave, region and value has been carried out, as discussed in the methodological framework, giving a total of 19 regressions. At first, only the sociodemographic variables were analysed, in order to try to observe a certain social profile more influenced by these values. However, when regressions were made only with sociodemographic variables, the obtained R squared were very low, ranging from 3,8 to 19.1% of explanation. In ad-

dition, they were losing weight in the second wave, which leads to think that the importance of gender, education or the fact of having children, among other issues, affected values more in the past than in the present. This change may show that values are now more influenced by another set of complex interrelated internal issues and factors, rather than the individual's own sociodemographic situation, which is significant. However, these changes may be motivated by multiple variables, such as social or sample homogenization, which would facilitate the entry of new variables. The relative loss of strength of the social structure has already been explained by some authors, such as Jenkins (2014: 8-9).

Consequently, later on, and, as explained in the methodological framework, the way of choosing the variables was changed, so that the models could explain as much as possible, and with it, be able to observe which variables have the greatest impact on each of the values. In order to analyse only the data that are of interest for the research, certain general clarifications are made before going deeper into each of the values.

The variables treated are only those that are significant in correspondingly significant models. Previously, an analysis of collinearity has been carried out, eliminating from the regressions those independent variables with multicollinearity, that is to say, that affected each other, and reduced the predictive power of the regression model (Haitovsky, 1969: 488). Likewise, when performing regression models, some variables were significant in some waves or regions, while others were not. That is why, in the analysis, only the variables that coincide from one wave to another are observed, to check the change, as well as those that have a greater impact according to the region in each wave. If the data in detail wanted to be consulted, the complete models can be found in Annex IV.

After these previous clarifications, thereupon, the key variables obtained in the regressions are analysed.

4.2.1. Freedom

The regression model developed to explain the situation and evolution of the value associated with freedom in the East Neighbourhood yields a modest R squared, of 18.9% in the first wave, and 16.7% in the second. It is, therefore, a complex value to be obtained from the variables offered and integrated from the WVS. The results are shown schematically below for ease of comprehension.

Eastern Neighbourhood. Similarities between the two waves:

- The only variable that coincides significantly in both models is life satisfaction, which increases its influence in the second wave, this is reflected in the standard coefficient. In both cases the direction of the variable is positive, which leads to think that, the greater the satisfaction in life, the more positive perception of freedom is.

Eastern Neighbourhood. Variables with greater impact on the first wave:

- One of the variables with the greatest impact on the first wave is patriotic pride, this impact is also positive. That is, the greater the pride in the country, the greater the idea of freedom.

Eastern Neighbourhood. Variables with greater impact on the second wave:

- In the second wave the variables with greater impact change, disappearing patriotic pride in exchange for life satisfaction and trust in society. In both cases the directions are positive.

Eastern Neighbourhood. Explanations taken from the results:

- Therefore, nowadays those people who are satisfied with their life and who trust society are those who have a greater perception

of freedom. Consequently, these would be two of the variables to be promoted in future agreements made by the EU to try to achieve progress in this value in the Eastern region.

With respect to the Southern Neighbourhood regression models, in relation to the change in the value of freedom, a modest R squared is, again, observed, varying from 19% in the first wave to 18.6% in the second.

Southern Neighbourhood. Similarities between the two waves:

- In this case, two variables coincide in the moments analysed, again satisfaction in life appears, to which financial satisfaction is now also added. Both variables have positive direction, but satisfaction in life loses some influence, that gains financial satisfaction with the passage of time.

Southern Neighbourhood. Variables with greater impact on the first wave:

- The variable with the greatest impact on the first wave is, in addition to satisfaction in life, the importance given to work in life. It is noteworthy that those people who give more importance to free time and rest than to work are those who have a greater perception of freedom.

Southern Neighbourhood. Variables with greater impact on the second wave:

- In the second wave, the variables with the greatest impact are financial satisfaction, life satisfaction, and income scale, all three in a positive direction.

Southern Neighbourhood. Explanations taken from the results:

- In conclusion, in this value there is a general pattern in both regions, in which the vari-

ables with the greatest impact are those related to the self-perception of the individual and his situation in life.

Possible proposals for improving the ENP in the two regions, based on the results:

- Those with more positive attitudes, like greater satisfaction in life, financial satisfaction and confidence in society, are more likely to think that they have greater freedom of decision. Therefore, this trend shows that, in the case of the regression models obtained, the value of freedom has a high content of individual self-perception, which could try to be enhanced through certain public policies. As Ruut Veenhoven (2000: 260-265) observed through the comparison of 44 countries, there is an interrelationship between freedom and happiness, which is also observed in the data obtained, the freer a person is, the greater the happiness he has, and vice versa. Therefore, policies aimed at improving the quality of life of citizens could come to influence a positive trend of citizenship on their freedom.

4.2.2. Democracy

When analysing the regression models developed for the analysis of the value of democracy in the Eastern Neighbourhood, they reveal larger R squared, ranging from 36.9% to 32.3% in the second wave. In this case, the higher R squared values allow to affirm that the model developed is much more predictive of the situation of democracy in the Eastern Neighbourhood, than it was in the case of freedom.

Eastern Neighbourhood. Similarities between the two waves:

- In this region, the only variable that coincides in the two waves is respect for human rights, in both cases with a great influence and positive trend. This variable also experi-

ences an increase in its importance from the first, to the second wave.

Eastern Neighbourhood. Variables with the greatest impact on the first wave:

- With respect to the first wave, the variable that influences more than human rights is the satisfaction with the people who work in the national office, again with a directly proportional growth.

Eastern Neighbourhood. Variables with the greatest impact on the second wave:

- In the second wave, human rights are joined by the question of whether, during election periods, television channels favour the parties in government. In this case the relationship is negative among those surveyed, that is to say, the more they believe that the media favours the party in government, the lower the perception of democracy.

When it comes to observing the value of democracy in the Southern Neighbourhood, the R squared is even higher, so it shows a better predictability of the model in the Southern Neighbourhood than in the East. The R squared in this case is 38.5% in the first wave, which decreases in the second wave to 33.4%.

Southern Neighbourhood. Similarities between the two waves:

- Once again, the only variable that coincides with, and at the same time has a relevant influence is respect for human rights. This variable achieves a great increase in its influence in the second wave, a tendency similar to that which occurs, to a lesser extent, in the Eastern neighbourhood.

Southern Neighbourhood. Variables with the greatest impact on the first wave:

- In this case, the variables with the greatest impact on the first wave are satisfaction with people in the national office, and the score given to the political system at the time of the survey, in both cases with a positive trend in its relationship with democracy.

Southern Neighbourhood. Variables with the greatest impact on the second wave:

- In the second wave the impact variables change, in this case the main influence come from human rights and trust in the government.

Possible proposals for improving the ENP in the two regions, based on the results:

- The importance of human rights can be observed in both regions, which leads to think of a high interrelationship between the different European values. In other words, if one of them is promoted, this could have positive consequences for the others.
- Also, the opinion and trust that citizens have in the government directly affects the idea of democracy that exists in both regions. One option that could have a positive influence among other measures would be, for example, to promote policies of greater transparency, in the case of the Eastern Neighbourhood, where the treatment of favours given by the media to the government is important. These transparency measures have had positive results in improving citizen perception in other countries, as shown by Porumbescu's study (2017: 28-29).
- With respect to the Southern Neighbourhood, some policies that could be positive for the perception of democracy would be, among others, those related to an improvement in the quality offered by public services and a greater inclusion of citizens in politics, in an attempt to lower their deference. As

Olphert and Damodaran (2007: 494-495) indicate, many governments such as the British, have begun to carry out this type of measures with positive results in recent decades.

4.2.3. Equality

The regression model carried out to observe the value of equality in the Eastern Neighbourhood yields very high R squared, this is due to the fact that this variable, as has been indicated on other occasions, is an index, so when taking the variables that the WVS uses to carry out the index, the model's capacity for explanation increases considerably. The percentage of the R squared in the first wave is 92.1%, which varies slightly, passing to 92.3% in the second wave.

Eastern Neighbourhood. Similarities between the two waves:

- In this case, in the Eastern Neighbourhood, the variables coincide: "when jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women", "on the whole, men make better political leaders than women do", and, finally, "a university education is more important for a boy than for a girl". The three variables, of course, have a negative tendency, that is, the more somebody agrees with these statements, the less equality there is.

Eastern Neighbourhood. Variables with the greatest impact on the two waves:

- The three variables mentioned in the previous paragraph are those that have the greatest impact on the regression models of the two waves.

In the regression models obtained in relation to equality in the Southern Neighbourhood, again, the same pattern is repeated as in the Eastern Neighbourhood. Due to the index character of this variable, the obtained R squared are very high, 87.9% in the first wave and 90.8% in the second.

Southern Neighbourhood. Similarities between the two waves:

- In the Southern Neighbourhood the tendency is exactly the same, the variables that coincide are those that treat the priority or pre-eminence of man at the labour, political and educational fields, again, with negative tendency. Therefore, those people contrary to the ideas exposed in the statements, have a more egalitarian perspective.

Southern Neighbourhood. Variables with greater impact on the two waves:

- Repeatedly, the abovementioned variables coincide as the variables with the greatest impact on the two Southern waves.

Possible proposals for improving the ENP in the two regions, based on the results:

- In this case, therefore, some of the policies that could have positive consequences for the improvement of equality would be those that promote the inclusion of women in employment, education and politics. In fact, since 1996 the EU has been applying the strategy known as “mainstreaming gender equality” for the promotion of gender equality. This approach seeks the integration of the gender perspective in a transversal way in the elaboration of public policies by all the actors involved (Verloo, 2005: 12-20).
- One of the methodologies for analysis and evaluation of this strategy is the one proposed by Christine Booth and Cinnamon Bennet (2002), which speaks of a “three-legged equality stool”. This is a holistic analysis methodology that includes the perspectives of equal treatment (which are evaluated at the legislative level), the perspective of women (through the discourse and life stories of women, as well as with the help of civil society) and finally, the gender perspective

(in which the gender policies that are being carried out for equality are analysed). These three perspectives have to evolve evenly, otherwise the stool becomes lame (Booth and Bennet, 2002: 434-438).

- Therefore, the EU could, in addition to create specific policies for women’s inclusion, carry out evaluation instruments, such as the one proposed by Booth and Bennet (2002), in order to observe the real needs of the population and how they are being answered to by the institutions.

4.2.4. Human Rights

The regression models carried out with respect to the Human Rights variable in the Eastern Neighbourhood achieve high R squared, which show good predictability. The percentages obtained go from 36.5% in the first wave, to 32.2% in the second.

Eastern Neighbourhood. Similarities between the two waves:

- The variables that coincide in the two waves are: trust in government, rule of law and financial satisfaction. The three with a positive trend and a directly proportional relationship in relation to the value analysed. Once again, it shows how the EU values are interrelated, as there is a degree of influence between the rule of law and human rights, which greatly increases its influence in the second wave. In fact, all three variables have a greater impact on the second wave than on the first, they gain importance over time.

Eastern Neighbourhood. Variables with greater impact on the first wave:

- In the first wave, the variables with the greatest impact are satisfaction with people in the national office, and the idea that decisions are made at the general level to satisfy big interests and not for the good of the majority of society. The first variable has a positive

trend, while the second is negative, that is, the more importance is given to big interests, the worse the situation of human rights.

Eastern Neighbourhood. Variables with the greatest impact on the second wave:

- In the second wave, the trend changes, in this case the variables with the greatest impact are rule of law and trust in the government. As indicated above, both have positive trends.

In the Southern Neighbourhood, again, regression models related to the idea of respect for Human Rights give high R squared, which show good predictive ability. However, there is a drop from the first to the second wave, from 43.3% to 22.4%. In spite of everything, the numbers are still positive.

Southern Neighbourhood. Similarities between the two waves:

- In this region, only the variable of confidence in the police coincides, with a positive trend, that is, the greater the confidence placed in the forces of law and order, the greater the perception of respect for human rights. However, this variable loses impact over time. This could be explained by the decrease of authoritarianism. Some studies indicate that the confidence and importance of the police is not excessively high in regimes that are in transition from authoritarianism to democracies, since it is the moment in which people dare to talk about the issue and show their distrust (Cao, Lai and Zhao, 2012: 41). Therefore, one of the variables that might have influenced this decrease, in the importance of the police in the South, would be the democratizing waves of Arab springs.

Southern Neighbourhood. Variables with the greatest impact on the first wave:

- In the first wave in the Southern Neighbourhood, the variable with the greatest impact coincides with the Eastern Neighbourhood, satisfaction with the people in national office, and is followed by the idea that democracy is developing in the country, both with positive direction.

Southern Neighbourhood. Variables with greater impact on the second wave:

- In the second wave, the variables that most affect the model are the ideas of democracy and that the government is fighting against corruption, both with positive tendencies.

Possible proposals for improving the ENP in the two regions, based on the results:

- It can be observed how in the Eastern Neighbourhood the rule of law and trust in the government are relevant.
- While the South focuses more on the idea of democracy and the fight against corruption.
- These ideas are closely related to what is observed in the value of democracy. Therefore, measures similar to those proposed in this case, of greater transparency and citizen inclusion, could have very positive effects. Since, as has been observed, there is some feedback between European values, policies focused perhaps on these areas, could come to promote not only the perception of democracy, but also the way in which citizens feel that human rights are respected.

4.2.5. Rule of law

Finally, with respect to the regression models carried out in relation to the rule of law in the Eastern Neighbourhood, these generate very high R squared, which go from 53.2% in the first wave, to 67% in the second. This shows a high capacity of prediction in relation to this issue.

Eastern Neighbourhood. Similarities between the two waves:

- The variables that coincide in the two models are: secular values, and confidence in the press, the police and the government. Interestingly, secular values have a negative tendency, which would lead to think that the more secular (i.e., postmaterialistic) values are, the less confidence there is in the rule of law. However, this variable loses great influence in the second wave. With respect to the question of trust in the three mentioned organisms, all have positive tendency, which would lead to think that the rule of law not only depends on the police, as it had been observed in the previous value in the South region, but that it is based in a complex network in which the media, the forces of order and the government are interrelated. It is curious that only the forces of law and order increase their influence over time.

Eastern Neighbourhood. Variables with greater impact on the two waves:

- In the two waves the variables with the greatest impact coincide, these are trust in the police and in the government.

In the case of the Southern Neighbourhood, as indicated throughout the research, there is no data for the first wave, therefore no comparison can be made. In spite of everything, the model obtained on the rule of law in the second wave has a very high R squared, which shows a good predictive capacity of the model, this is 71.4%.

Southern Neighbourhood. Variables with greater impact on the second wave:

- In the Southern Neighbourhood exactly the same thing happens as in the Eastern Neigh-

bourhood. In the second wave, the only one for which data are available, the variables with the greatest impact are trust in the police and the government.

Possible proposals for improving the ENP in the two regions, based on the results:

- To some extent the abovementioned relationship is consistent, as it exists the perception that the police are the executing arm of government directives. Although they are expected to act with some autonomy, but not independence, to maintain the rule of law (Beare and Murray, 2007: 111). It is in this complex relationship between government and law enforcement that the legitimate monopoly of violence takes place (Weber, 2011: 2).
- Consequently, some of the measures the EU could take to try to improve citizens' perception of the rule of law, which is key to state-building, should be geared towards greater trust in both, the government and the police. The measures that have been carried out in different countries to improve confidence in the police are very varied, ranging from improvements in transparency (Jackson, 2015: 4-6), to policies of greater inclusion of women in police forces, as this factor has lowered the perception of police corruption and increased citizen confidence when it has been carried out in other countries (Barnes, Beaulieu and Saxton, 2018: 13-14). This last measure, moreover, would have a positive impact on the issue of equality, as it could encourage greater inclusion of women in the labour market, which, as we have seen previously, is key to improving equality perception.

5. CONCLUSION

The findings of the investigation are grouped under three headings. First, the limits of the analysis are discussed. Secondly, in order to answer the research question and refute the hypotheses raised, the change of values in the two neighbourhoods is analysed, as well as, what these changes mean for the ENP and the agreements with each of the countries. This section also includes an evaluation of the ENP with the aim of proposing certain avenues for improvement and new lines of action. Finally, the third point focuses on the future prospects of research.

It is undeniable that the research suffers from a number of limitations, some of which have been alleviated. In spite of everything, and due to the nature and delimitation of the analysis, this mitigation has not been possible in certain cases. First of all, one of the first limits is the very definition of values, and in particular of European values. As Leino and Petrov (2009: 656-660) indicate, European values are kept open, because they are intended to be common, universal and shared at the same time, but they are also used as a border between EU members and other countries. Therefore, to a certain extent, it is a contradiction of the EU to seek to export the values that the Union uses to differentiate itself from others. Likewise, with regard to the definition of European values, another of the limitations posed by the research is that it is not possible to go deeper into what each of the values means in the different regions being studied, finally carrying out the definitions only from an European perspective. The definitions given by the EU have been taken, because the final objective is to propose improvements of the EU in its foreign policy, so it was necessary to introduce the perspective of the Union. However, it is undeniable that, if the EU were to deepen the sense of freedom or equality, among other values, that exists in each of its neighbours, the policies could achieve a new perspective, which is much more real and effective. In this way, moreover, some of the criticisms of European foreign policy observed in the theoretical framework, in relation to “soft-imperialism” (Hau-

kala, 2008: 1613) and excessive centralism (Niemann and Hoffmann, 2018: 13), would be softened.

In addition to the limits on the meaning of the values, the work also shows its restrictions by being solely quantitative in methodology. It is undeniable that, in order to deal with such complex issues as the sense of the rule of law or democracy, a qualitative basis is required, that shows more broadly the cultural identity of each of the regions. For example, by conducting interviews, it could be observable, not only what each of the values means in the different places, but also how they are perceived and affect the identity of each region. The use of only quantitative methodology, without triangulation of data, has classical limits. Durkheim (2000: 115) indicated, as has been seen in the theoretical framework, that collective consciousness is constructed through multiple individual consciousnesses. Therefore, when having only one sample, and although this is significant, it is not possible to observe all the consciousnesses. In a certain sense, the samples always carry that type of bias. The WVS is a high quality survey, but obviously it has its own limitations, for example, it is practically unfeasible to maintain the same sample with a follow-up over the years due to the size of the study. The follow-up would be ideal, since when changing from wave to wave the sample, perhaps a year the respondents are more sensitive to some issue than in previous periods, because the values are inserted in very dynamic contexts and dependent on the perceptions of each individual. In the investigation another of the classic problems of the quantitative method was observed at first, the change of some questions from one wave to the other, this problem has been solved in practically all values, as can be seen in the methodological framework. Finally, it would also be desirable if other perspectives had been introduced into the index on the question of equality. Gender equality is a fundamental issue today. However, it would have been positive to look at other issues such as equality with regard to citizenship or opportunities, among other.

Therefore, it has been wished to show some of the main limitations, in order to expose the realistic

capabilities of the research. The analysis has never sought to propose an infallible improvement of the ENP, but rather certain patterns and trends that can promote positive changes in the policy implementation. The ultimate aim, therefore, was to produce some outlines on how to assess the implementation of the ENP, through a type of social analysis that is not the usual, and sometimes is undervalued, the analysis of value change. Despite all the unquestionable restrictions, certain trends have been observed, which may be useful in proposing improvements in the design and implementation of the ENP. This is followed by a discussion of the most relevant issues and changes observed in the research.

With regard to the change of values in each country, it is interesting to note that Azerbaijan is a country that does not coincide at all with the results of its neighbours. Therefore, this issue must be very much present at the time of carrying out future Action Plans. As a clarification, when it is mentioned, therefore, a homogeneity in the Eastern region, Azerbaijan is not included, since in all the values analysed it has divergent tendencies with its surroundings. One of the issues that is beginning to be glimpsed in the analysis of results is the increase in sensitivity and critical capacity, this issue is especially observed in the Southern Neighbourhood. With regard to the value of freedom, hence, that citizens indicate that they are free, does not mean that they become free or have that perception, the fact of saying that one is not free is, itself, a sample of freedom (Sater, 2002: 111). In fact, in relation to the values of freedom, democracy and Human Rights, the South tends to have more positive results than the East, when, as has been seen in the analysis of results, perhaps they were not in formal terms in such a good situation.

When analysing the question of democracy, it is necessary to bear in mind that in recent decades there have been a number of structural changes in both regions. However, in the Southern Neighbourhood countries these changes were more recent at the time the second wave was carried out. Hence, there may be greater volatility. The radical worsen-

ing of the democratic situation in the South indicates certain tendencies of criticism and dissatisfaction, but it would be interesting to observe the evolution of these changes in future waves. Likewise, in these protest movements, it is undeniable that the Arab Springs were the most important, but not the only one, there have been other relevant protests, such as the Algerian demonstrations that took place at the beginning of 2019. The increase in the possibility of criticism, together with new technologies, has boosted the appearance of a multitude of cyclical protest movements (Grinin and Kowotavev, 2019: 166-167).

With regard to the question of equality. Despite the negative data, it is interesting to note that there is an improvement. Perhaps international organizations do not observe change in such a clear way, but when citizens are asked, it is possible to begin to see a predisposition to change. This is a research contribution.

When it comes to seeing the final results in relation to Human Rights, national and regional confrontations are clearly observed, as in the case of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Therefore, this trend shows that international bodies, such as the EU, should work to try to improve relations. Nevertheless, once again, it would be interesting to observe the change in this value after issues such as the Ukrainian war (Kuzio, 2018: 47-48), the protests in Algeria (Wainwright, 2019: 1-2) or the entry of the new Egyptian political regime (Miche and Roll, 2019: 4).

Finally, with regard to the rule of law, in the East there is concern about immobility or worsening in Armenia, Ukraine and Georgia. But it is positive the fact of asking this question in the countries of the Southern Neighbourhood in the second wave, which shows some progress.

In short, the first hypothesis that was put forward at the beginning of the investigation was the following: “the passage of time has led to a rapprochement with European values, albeit to a differ-

ent degree in the Eastern and Southern regions”. After analysing the data, it can be confirmed that the hypothesis was correct. Overall, there is some regional improvement and homogeneity. If the two neighbourhoods are compared, it is possible to see that the Eastern and Southern Neighbourhoods have internal unions, although they are different. This trend occurs in all values, with the exception of human rights, in this case the second wave has meant some territorial dispersion, especially in the Eastern region. However, as mentioned above, this may be due to new political tensions. Greater similarity, as indicated in the theoretical framework, is positive, suggesting that European policy is achieving some of its objectives related to the change of values. Likewise, in all scatter plots there are more countries with progress than those in regression, with the exception of human rights.

If the consensus theory of T. Parsons is followed, it is observed that coexistence and the maintenance of social order is more successful the more convergences of values exist (Coller, 2007: 189-198). Likewise, extrapolating the ideas of Paradés Martin (2017: 84-85) about the construction of the EU to the Union foreign policy, similar values would lead to a more Europeanist construction. In this case, similar values could help advance fruitful external relations among stakeholders.

With regard to the second hypothesis: “in the Eastern Neighbourhood the evolution of European values is more positive than in the Southern Neighbourhood”, this is also true if the results obtained are observed. Although there is greater homogeneity and progress, which is positive, these favourable changes occur especially in the Eastern Neighbourhood. If scatter plots are examined, those points that tend to be more to the left, that is, with improvement, tend to be the Eastern countries. In particular in the cases of democracy, freedom and human rights.

The changes in values analysed are influenced by multiple variables: in the second part of the data analysis it is observable which of these variables af-

fect each of the values the most. At first, as indicated in the regression analysis, sociodemographic variables were introduced. However, these explained little of the model. This question is related to Ronald Inglehart’s theory of value change (2015: 12-18). Because the decrease in the explanation of socio-demographic variables may be due, as Pavlovic (2009: 187) analyses, to the fact that post-materialistic values lead to a greater importance of individualism, together with a greater homogenization of society, the weight of other variables begins to increase. Nevertheless, sociodemographic variables will always introduce some control when performing the analysis (Delhey, 2010: 72), since post-materialistic values do not occur in many cases in the same way, for example, in different age groups (Roales-Nieto and Segura, 2010: 509-510). These questions would validate the third hypothesis of the research: “Sociodemographic variables are losing some explanatory influence in favour of more individualistic variables”. As it has been seen in the analysis, the values follows this trend.

When looking at the variables that most affect each of the values, with the aim of proposing improvements to the ENP, it is interesting that there are multiple convergences in the two regions. For example, in the case of freedom, self-perception and satisfaction are essential, and, in the case of the South in particular, financial satisfaction. With regard to democracy, transparency and greater inclusion of citizens in politics is also fundamental. This idea can also be seen in the question of human rights, where trust in government, the rule of law and democracy carry weight. Again, the perception of the rule of law is influenced by trust in the government and in the police. Finally, in the case of equality, the most important issues are those related to the inclusion of women, both at the educational level, as well as at the political and labour fields.

Therefore, the idea of observing these variables was to check, among those countries with the most positive changes, whether it would be possible to elaborate courses of action centred on the deepening of European values. While in those countries

where the evolution of values has not been so effective, try to promote them. Likewise, the regressions have shown the high interrelation between European values, especially in the case of democracy, human rights and the rule of law. Therefore, as indicated in the data analysis, promoting or deepening one could encourage positive change in the others. This is a double-edged sword, since if the perception of one of these values worsens, the same would happen to the others.

In short, the identified courses of action that could be implemented in the ENP, with the aim of achieving a more successful policy, would be particularly focused on two areas. First, institutional transparency, as this issue would increase confidence in different organisations, such as the government or the police. And in a second place, the policies should focus on improve citizen inclusion, at a gender level to facilitate the labour and educational insertion of women, and at a general level to promote the participation of citizens in politics, in this sense an increase in trust could also be achieved, as well as an approximation of the administrative structure to citizens in order to be able to respond to their problems more effectively. Both variables could increase governance in the regions. These measures are related to the new public management (NGP) perspective from which many authors write about models of political inclusion of citizenship and transparency. Some examples are Sjöblom (1999: 18-21), which deals with public values and policies within the scope of the NGP, as well as, Kim and Lee (2012: 2-3) in which they elaborate ideas similar to those of Sjöblom (1999) and relate them to their applicability using new technologies.

Therefore, policies could be carried out taking into account citizen perceptions, ranging from issues such as strengthening values, with more specific policies, such as, for example, the creation of citizen portals at municipal level, in some countries such as Egypt or Algeria, to policies that penetrate more clearly into the country's administrative structure, such as, for example, the promotion and

improvement of transparency laws or open government in areas such as Ukraine or Belarus.

The success of the ENP is essential, not only for the EU's foreign policy in general, but also for Euro-Mediterranean relations in particular. The entire course of agreements between the EU and the Mediterranean area since its inception in the 1950s (Pierros et al., 2019: 15-17) has finally competed in the ENP since 2004 (Johansson-Nogués, 2004: 243-245). Success in these policies is, therefore, also an important measure in Euro-Mediterranean relations.

Finally, as indicated above, this research has provided some outlines and analysed a number of trends, but in the future it could be extended from different spheres. In the first place, and in order to alleviate one of its fundamental limits, it would be very interesting to extend the analysis with qualitative methodology, that is, by means of interviews in different regions, which would show some citizen perceptions and what each of the values implies in the different places of the neighbourhood. In this way, moreover, this new methodology would complement the existing one, giving rise to a mixed methodology and triangulation of data, which would open up new possibilities for analysis. Likewise, the WVS is preparing the last wave to be published. These new data would be of great interest for analysis in the future, as they would show how trends in values are settling after convulsive changes such as those that have taken place in recent years.

In short, although the ENP is not infallible and has many possible future advances, like this research, it is one of the best projects at international level to establish a dialogue based on these fundamental pillars, which sometimes go unnoticed in social analysis, the shared values. As the first president of the European Council, Herman Van Rompuy said in 2011, "*Even if geography may set a frame, the European borders are essentially set by values, by our beliefs*" (Halman et al., 2011: 5), and these borders may be more or less complex depending on the values of those on both sides.

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ANNEX 1: Descriptive data of dependent variables.

TABLE 1. Elaborated based on data of WVS waves of 1996-1998, 1999-2004 and WVS 2010-2014

Variable	WAVE III (1996-1998)				WAVE IV (1999-2004)				WAVE VI (2010-2014)			
	\bar{X}	Std. deviation	Min.	Max.	\bar{X}	Std. deviation	Min.	Max.	\bar{X}	Std. deviation	Min.	Max.
Freedom	2,4733	,93940	1	4	2,7282	1,18793	1	4	2,8100	,83818	1	4
Democracy	1,9643	,72841	1	4	2,8691	,83077	1	4	2,2923	,87928	1	4
Equality	2,2105	1,02857	1	4	1,7874	,82817	1	4	2,2876	1,06669	1	4
Human rights	2,0644	,82545	1	4	2,6116	,93741	1	4	2,4087	,87772	1	4
Rule of law	2,3255	,86352	1	4	-	-	-	-	2,4546	,98734	1	4

ANNEX 2. Crossed tables (%).

TABLE 1. Elaborated based on data of WVS waves 1996-1998 and 1999-2004

WAVE I 1996-2002

FREEDOM

	ARMENIA	AZERBAIJAN	BELARUS	GEORGIA	UKRAINE	ALGERIA	EGYPT	JORDAN	MOROCCO
None	11,6	19,9	15,7	12	17,6	8,3	39,1	5,5	18,5
Scarce-low	41,1	33,3	44,7	28,9	40,7	22,8	8,5	20,4	29,4
Enough	29,7	24,6	28,8	37,7	30,9	42,3	9,6	36,1	19,7
A great deal	17,6	22,2	10,8	21,4	10,7	26,6	42,8	38	32,4
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 2. Elaborated based on data of WVS waves 1996-1998 and 1999-2004

DEMOCRACY

	ARMENIA	AZERBAIJAN	BELARUS	GEORGIA	UKRAINE	ALGERIA	EGYPT	JORDAN	MOROCCO
None	30,3	4,6	29,2	22,5	32	20,8	0,1	7,9	16,1
Scarce-low	65	51,5	54,7	61,6	60,6	38,2	5,1	19,9	36,3
Enough	3,5	26,4	14,9	14,9	6,5	37,1	59,3	61,7	39
A great deal	1,2	17,5	1,2	1	0,9	3,9	35,5	10,4	8,6
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 3. Elaborated based on data of WVS waves 1996-1998 and 1999-2004

EQUALITY

	ARMENIA	AZERBAIJAN	BELARUS	GEORGIA	UKRAINE	ALGERIA	EGYPT	JORDAN	MOROCCO
None	37,3	34,9	27,4	35,3	20,5	35,1	40,8	44,9	52,8
Scarce-low	31,9	32,2	31,3	36,8	29,3	32	49,5	37,6	31,1
Enough	21,4	17,1	26,2	18,1	31,2	19,2	9	12,3	11,9
A great deal	9,4	15,8	15,1	9,7	19,1	13,7	0,8	5,2	4,1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 4. Elaborated based on data of WVS waves 1996-1998 and 1999-2004

HUMAN RIGHTS

	ARMENIA	AZERBAIJAN	BELARUS	GEORGIA	UKRAINE	ALGERIA	EGYPT	JORDAN	MOROCCO
None	31,7	4,3	24,8	30,6	38,1	27,6	8,8	6,8	26,8
Scarce-low	45,5	34,4	47,9	44,8	43,6	36,7	19,5	19,6	35,4
Enough	20,4	44,6	26,7	23,4	17,1	31,2	46	53,2	34,1
A great deal	2,4	16,7	0,6	1,2	1,1	4,5	25,7	20,5	3,8
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 5. Elaborated based on data of WVS waves 1996-1998 and 1999-2004

RULE OF LAW

	ARMENIA	AZERBAIJAN	BELARUS	GEORGIA	UKRAINE	ALGERIA	EGYPT	JORDAN	MOROCCO
None	30	8,7	14,7	22,2	17,4	-	-	-	-
Scarce-low	38,7	44,7	36,5	32,3	38,7	-	-	-	-
Enough	24,5	41,5	37,5	37,6	36,3	-	-	-	-
A great deal	6,8	5,1	11,3	8	7,6	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	-	-	-	-

TABLE 6. Elaborated based on data of WVS wave 2010-2014

WAVE II 2010-2014

FREEDOM

	ARMENIA	AZERBAIJAN	BELARUS	GEORGIA	UKRAINE	ALGERIA	EGYPT	JORDAN	MOROCCO
None	9,1	3,2	4,7	5,6	5,5	6,3	8,1	3,7	5,5
Scarce-low	33,0	14,0	35,7	37,2	28,3	26,4	24,6	18,3	43,9
Enough	29,1	53,8	45,4	40,2	44,5	43,8	52,1	46,2	31,5
A great deal	28,9	29,0	14,2	16,9	21,7	23,6	15,2	31,8	19,1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 7. Elaborated based on data of WVS wave 2010-2014

DEMOCRACY

	ARMENIA	AZERBAIJAN	BELARUS	GEORGIA	UKRAINE	ALGERIA	EGYPT	JORDAN	MOROCCO
None	35,5	6,3	18,4	10,9	24,4	9,9	33,2	4,7	27,1
Scarce-low	45,9	33,7	50,5	55,8	43,1	38,1	26,0	25,9	46,9
Enough	15,0	48,3	25,5	30,4	26,8	39,9	29,9	47,0	21,2
A great deal	3,7	11,7	5,7	2,9	5,7	12,2	11,0	22,3	4,8
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 8. Elaborated based on data of WVS wave 2010-2014

EQUALITY

	ARMENIA	AZERBAIJAN	BELARUS	GEORGIA	UKRAINE	ALGERIA	EGYPT	JORDAN	MOROCCO
None	21,6	30,1	16,3	16,5	12,5	42,4	43,6	40,7	27,4
Scarce-low	36,4	51,3	28,4	29,5	29,2	28,3	42,1	40,2	35,2
Enough	22,6	12,8	25,1	24,4	26,7	14,7	6,6	13,8	15,6
A great deal	19,5	5,8	30,2	29,6	31,7	14,7	7,7	5,4	21,9
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 9. Elaborated based on data of WVS wave 2010-2014

HUMAN RIGHTS

	ARMENIA	AZERBAIJAN	BELARUS	GEORGIA	UKRAINE	ALGERIA	EGYPT	JORDAN	MOROCCO
None	29,2	5,2	4,3	11,3	20,3	9,9	45,0	5,6	19,3
Scarce-low	50,2	20,1	25,8	39,4	44,8	29,7	31,4	21,4	37,2
Enough	18,3	57,3	58,2	47,6	32,5	40,7	20,2	54,3	35,3
A great deal	2,3	17,4	11,7	1,8	2,3	19,7	3,4	18,7	8,1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 10. Elaborated based on data of WVS wave 2010-2014

RULE OF LAW

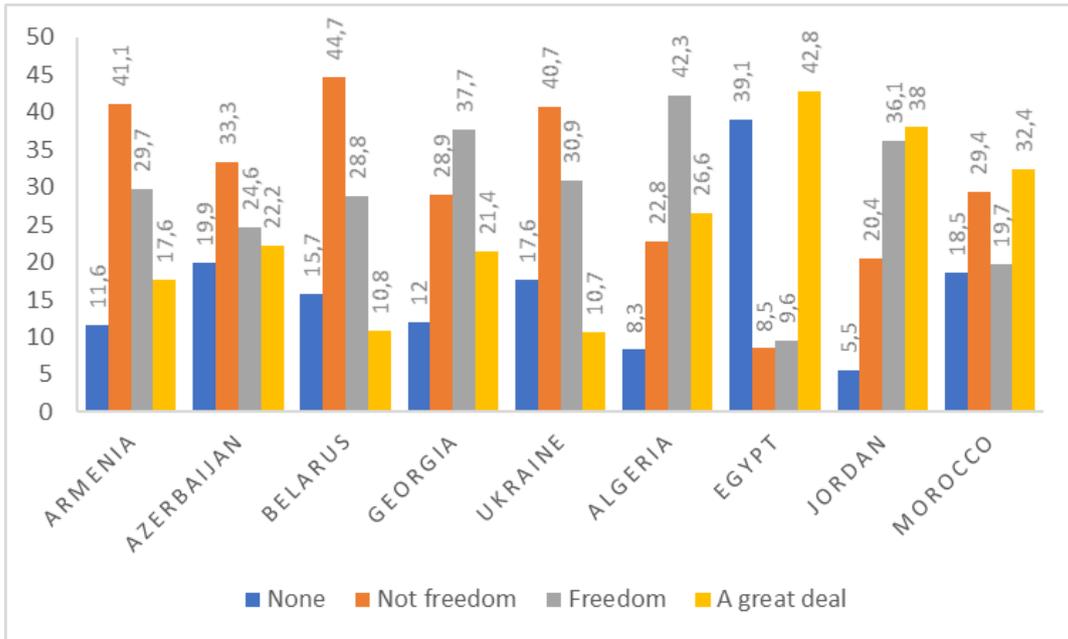
	ARMENIA	AZERBAIJAN	BELARUS	GEORGIA	UKRAINE	ALGERIA	EGYPT	JORDAN	MOROCCO
None	32,0	18,7	11,1	19,5	32,9	17,2	23,7	8,1	14,8
Scarce-low	36,8	22,6	33,7	44,0	41,8	37,8	21,7	17,4	23,5
Enough	27,6	35,9	43,4	31,8	22,2	24,8	37,0	31,3	37,0
A great deal	3,6	22,9	11,8	4,7	3,1	20,1	17,6	43,2	24,8
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ANNEX 3. Cross tables graphs

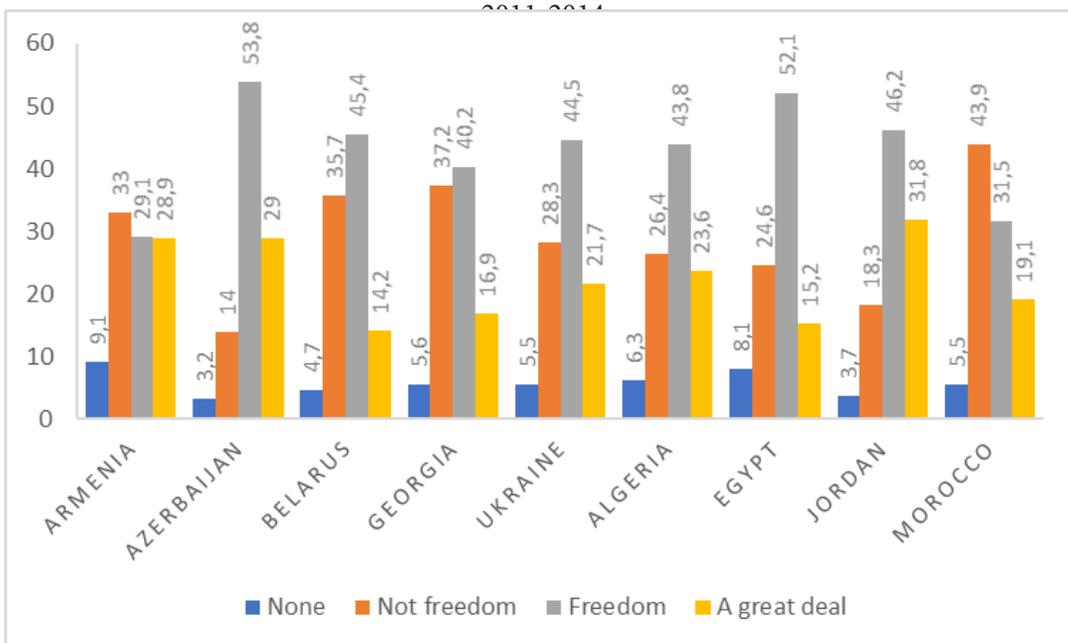
GRAPHIC 1. Elaborated based on data of WVS waves 1996-1998 and 1999-2004

FREEDOM

1996-2002



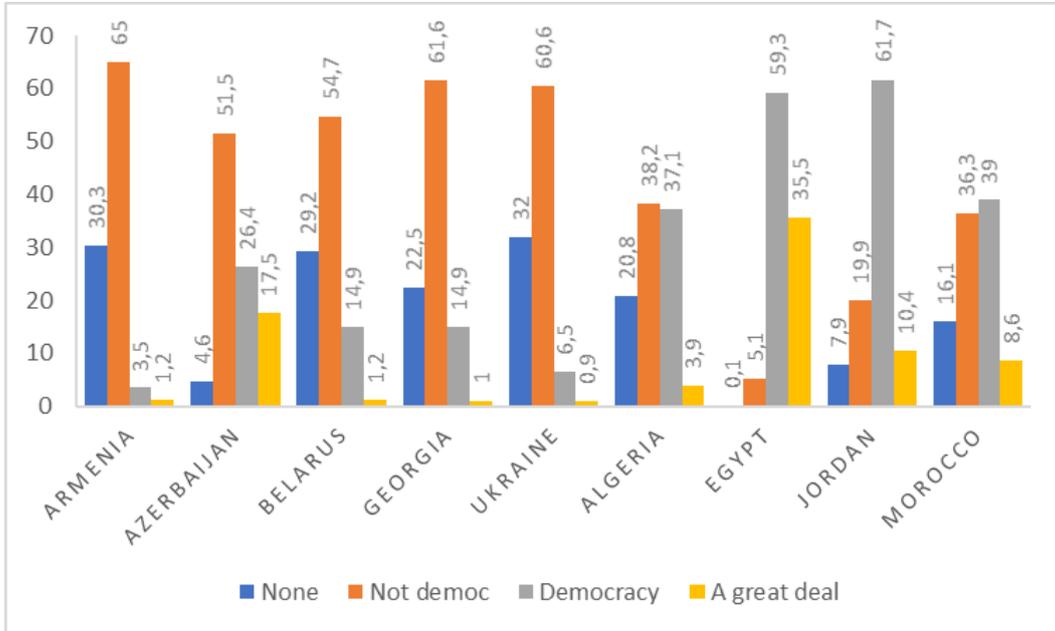
GRAPHIC 2. Elaborated based on data of WVS wave 2010-2014



GRAPHIC 3. Elaborated based on data of WVS waves 1996-1998 and 1999-2004

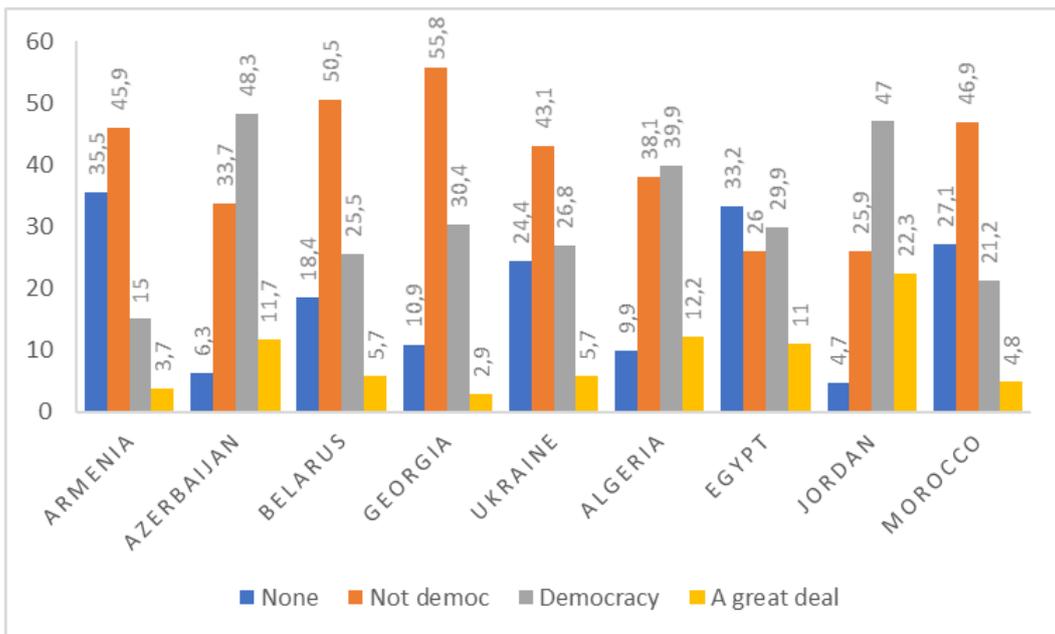
DEMOCRACY

1996-2002



GRAPHIC 4. Elaborated based on data of WVS wave 2010-2014

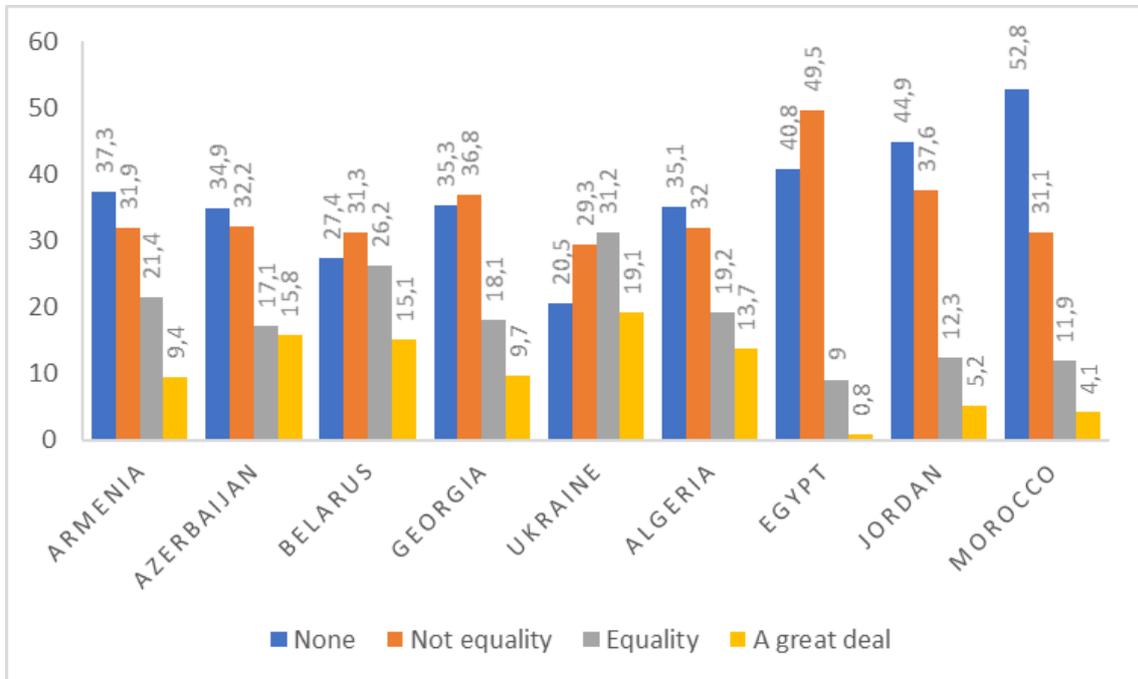
2011-2014



GRAPHIC 5. Elaborated based on data of WVS waves 1996-1998 and 1999-2004

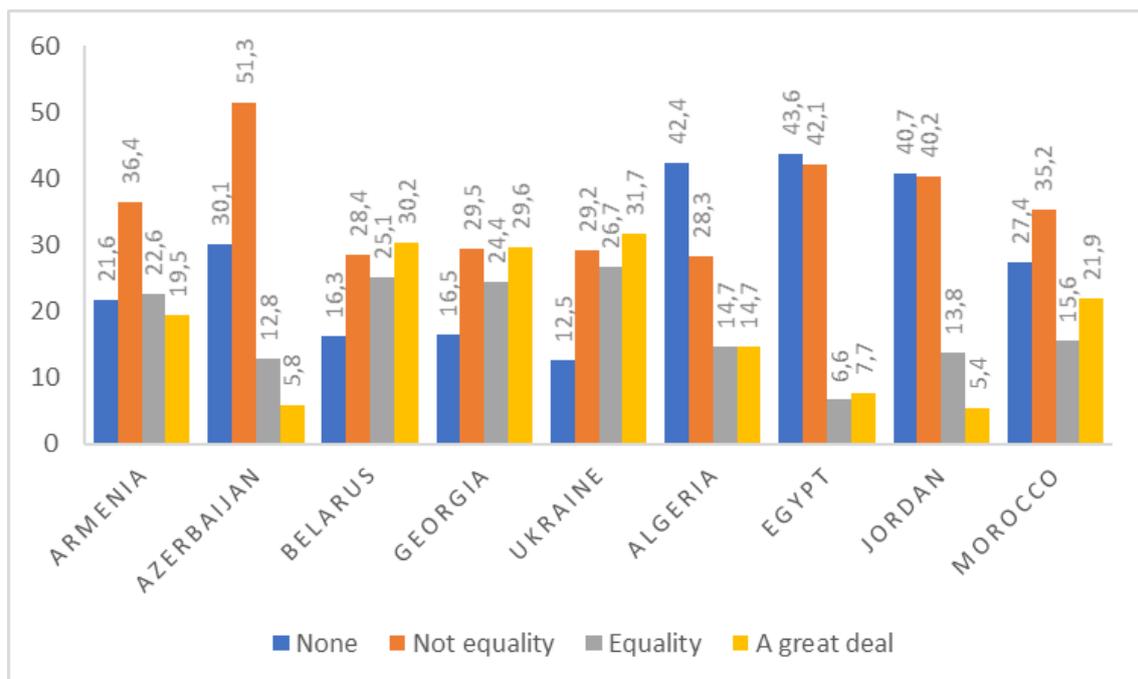
EQUALITY

1996-2002



GRAPHIC 6. Elaborated based on data of WVS wave 2010-2014

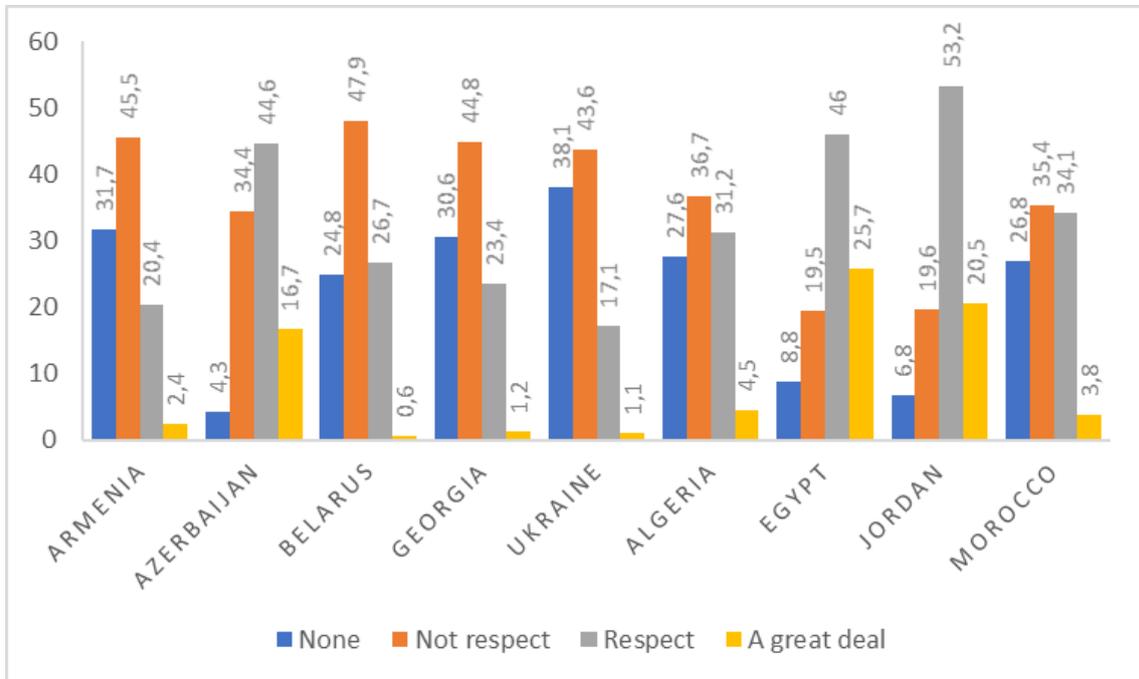
2011-2014



GRAPHIC 7. Elaborated based on data of WVS waves 1996-1998 and 1999-2004

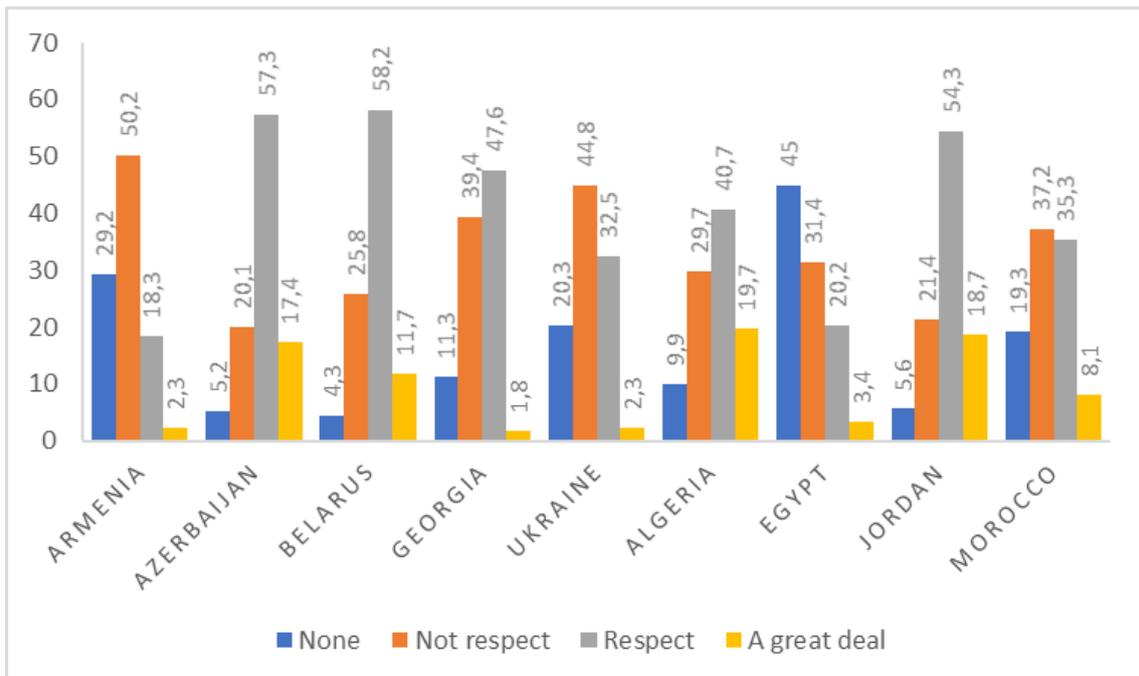
HUMAN RIGHTS

1996-2002



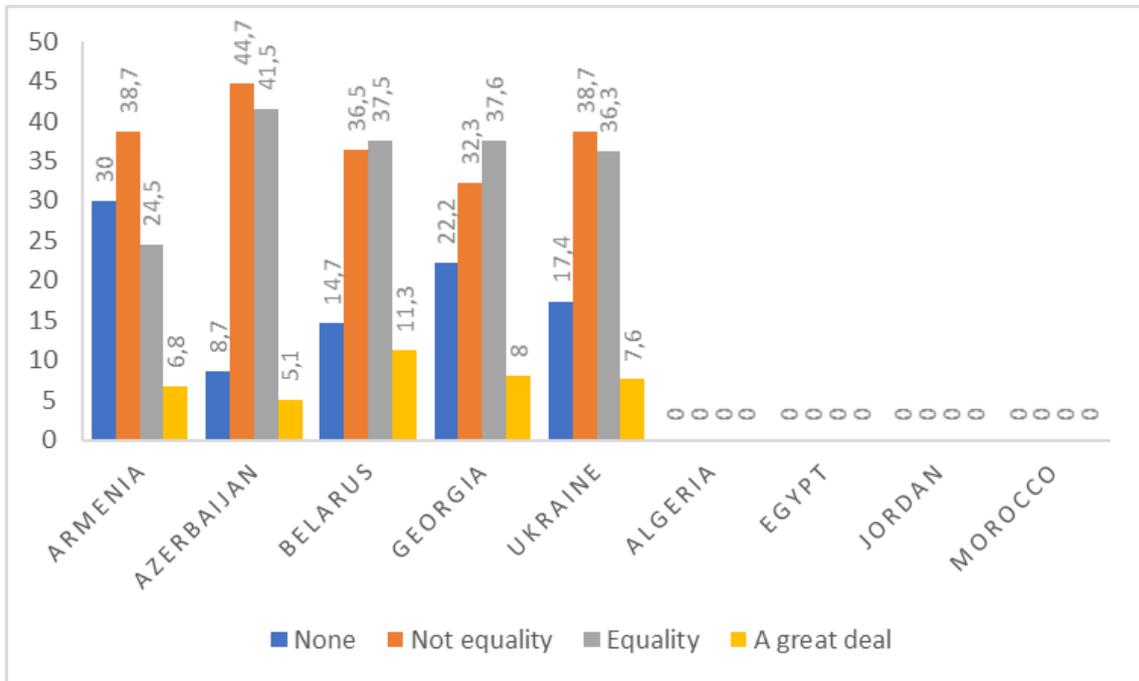
GRAPHIC 8. Elaborated based on data of WVS wave 2010-2014

2011-2014



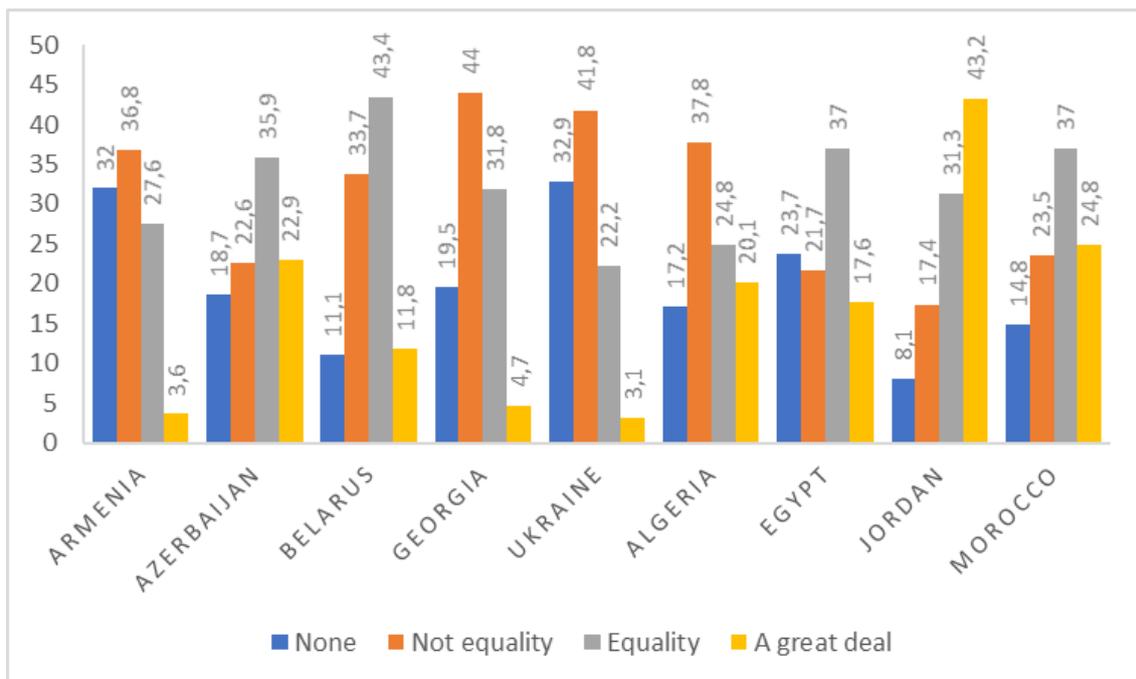
GRAPHIC 9. Elaborated based on data of WVS waves 1996-1998 and 1999-2004

RULE OF LAW



GRAPHIC 10. Elaborated based on data of WVS wave 2010-2014

2011-2014



ANNEX 4. Regression models

TABLE 1. Elaborated based on data for WVS (1996-1998), WVS (1999-2004) and WVS (2011-2014). Levels of signification: ***p<0,01 **p<0,05 *p<0,10

FREEDOM EAST	WAVE I (1996-2002)			WAVE II (2011-2014)		
	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coefficients	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coefficients
Life satisfaction	,319***	,081	,126	,062***	,006	,178
Neighbours: Christians	-,130***	,014	,288	-	-	-
A job which you feel you can achieve something	,167**	,065	-,081	-	-	-
Satisfaction with people in national office	,138**	,048	-,094	-	-	-
Nation pride	,321***	,055	-,187	-	-	-
Creation of free market economy is right for country's future	,223**	,078	-,092	-	-	-
Nature of task: Independence	-	-	-	,026***	,004	,091
Scale of incomes	-	-	-	,023***	,007	,049
Feeling of happiness	-	-	-	,042***	,016	-,039
State of health	-	-	-	,073***	,014	-,074
Do people try to take advantage of you?	-	-	-	-,044***	,004	,133
Financial satisfaction	-	-	-	,019***	,006	,055
Is important to be creative	-	-	-	,052***	,007	-,091
(Constant)	2,601	,250	-	2,321	,077	-
R ²	,189			,167		
R ² adjusted	,183			,166		

TABLE 2. Elaborated based on data for WVS (1996-1998), WVS (1999-2004) and WVS (2011-2014). Levels of signification: ***p<0,01 **p<0,05 *p<0,10

FREEDOM SOUTH	WAVE I (1996-2002)			WAVE II (2011-2014)		
	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coefficients	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coefficients
Financial satisfaction	-,043**	,018	-,087	,058***	,011	,184
Life satisfaction	,109***	,017	,235	,036***	,010	,118
Weight place on work	-,205***	,026	-,235	-	-	-
Provide help to poor countries	,140***	,031	-,136	-	-	-
Important in job to achieve something	,289**	,140	-,063	-	-	-
Satisfaction with people in national office	,091**	,040	-,072	-	-	-
Economic aid	,139***	,032	-,143	-	-	-
Scale of incomes	-	-	-	,049***	,012	,123
Ideology	-	-	-	,037***	,009	,104
National pride	-	-	-	,109**	,035	-,083
Work nature task: Independence	-	-	-	,032***	,009	,099
Most people can be trusted	-	-	-	,124**	,050	-,066
Important to be creative	-	-	-	,050**	,015	,088
(Constant)	3,559	,230	-	1,958	,143	-
R ²	,190			,186		
R ² adjusted	,184			,180		

TABLE 3. Elaborated based on data for WVS (1996-1998), WVS (1999-2004) and WVS (2011-2014). Levels of signification: ***p<0,01 **p<0,05 *p<0,10

DEMOCRACY EAST	WAVE I (1996-2002)			WAVE II (2011-2014)		
	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coeff	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coeff
Human Rights	,209***	,012	,247	,257***	,024	,252
Satisfaction with people in the national office	,230***	,013	-,242	-	-	-
Rate political system as you expect in 10 years	,017***	,003	,063	-	-	-
Decisions taken by big interests	-,299***	,026	-,134	-	-	-
Rate political system today	,020***	,004	,064	-	-	-
Confidence: The press	,064***	,010	-,076	-	-	-
Rate previous political system	-,015***	,003	-,061	-	-	-
Confidence: National Government	,039***	,010	-,054	-	-	-
Level of corruption	-,057***	,012	-,057	-	-	-
Life satisfaction	,015***	,003	,051	-	-	-
Confidence: the police	-,032**	,010	,043	-	-	-
Financial satisfaction	-	-	-	,028***	,008	,083
Confidence: Parliament	-	-	-	-,091***	,021	-,113
Confidence: Universities	-	-	-	-,057**	,022	,057
In elections: votes are counted fairly?	-	-	-	-,098***	,023	-,103
In elections: TV news favours governing party?	-	-	-	,139***	,021	,137
In elections: Election officials are fair	-	-	-	-,137***	,025	-,136
Scale of income	-	-	-	,049***	,011	,096
Secular Values	-	-	-	-,273**	,119	-,053
(Constant)	2,687	,084	-	1,448	,245	-
R ²	,369			,323		
R ² adjusted	,368			,319		

TABLE 4. Elaborated based on data for WVS (1996-1998), WVS (1999-2004) and WVS (2011-2014). Levels of signification: ***p<0,01 **p<0,05 *p<0,10

DEMOCRACY SOUTH	WAVE I (1996-2002)			WAVE II (2011-2014)		
	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coefficients	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coefficients
Human Rights	,177***	,017	,191	,324***	,048	,376
Scientific advances positive	,077**	,028	,044	-	-	-
Confidence: the police	,105***	,014	-,129	-	-	-
Rate political system today	,075***	,006	,224	-	-	-
Satisfaction with people in the national office	,220***	,018	-,244	-	-	-
Political action: strike	-	-	-	-,138**	,042	-,178
Confidence: The government	-	-	-	,172**	,051	-,194
Scale of incomes	-	-	-	,088***	,024	,199
(Constant)	2,385	,095	-	2,009	,281	-
R ²	,385			,334		
R ² adjusted	,383			,323		

TABLE 5. Elaborated based on data for WVS (1996-1998), WVS (1999-2004) and WVS (2011-2014). Levels of signification: ***p<0,01 **p<0,05 *p<0,10

EQUALITY EAST	WAVE I (1996-2002)			WAVE II (2011-2014)		
	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coefficients	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coefficients
When jobs are scarce, men should have priority beyond women	-,744***	,004	,657	-,728***	,005	,630
Men take better political leaders than women do	-,416***	,004	,341	-,411***	,005	,360
University education is more important for a boy	-,369***	,004	,333	-,376***	,005	,319
Being housewife is as fulfilling as working for pay	-,017***	,004	-,013	-	-	-
Abortion is justifiable	,003**	,001	,007	-	-	-
It is a problem that a woman makes more money	-	-	-	-,011**	,005	,009
Men take better business executives	-	-	-	-,013**	,005	-,012
Constant	-,918	,014	-	-,889	,016	-
R ²	,921			,923		
R ² adjusted	,921			,923		

TABLE 6. Elaborated based on data for WVS (1996-1998), WVS (1999-2004) and WVS (2011-2014). Levels of signification: ***p<0,01 **p<0,05 *p<0,10

EQUALITY SOUTH	WAVE I (1996-2002)			WAVE II (2011-2014)		
	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coefficients	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coefficients
When jobs are scarce men should have priority	-,649***	,007	,456	-,713***	,006	,560
Men make better political leaders	-,391***	,004	,422	-,386***	,005	,356
University is more important for a boy	-,350***	,003	,477	-,342***	,004	,380
Emancipative values	,020**	,034	,003	-	-	-
(Constant)	-,662	,036		-,720	,014	
R ²	,879			,908		
R ² adjusted	,879			,908		

TABLE 7. Elaborated based on data for WVS (1996-1998), WVS (1999-2004) and WVS (2011-2014). Levels of signification: ***p<0,01 **p<0,05 *p<0,10

HUMAN RIGHTS EAST	WAVE I (1996-2002)			WAVE II (2011-2014)		
	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coefficients	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coefficients
Satisfaction with people in national office	,277***	,014	-,241	-	-	-
Confidence in the police	,040**	,012	-,045	-	-	-
Rate political system today	,053***	,005	,149	-	-	-
How much is government doing for people in poverty?	,105***	,023	-,051	-	-	-
Main goal in work is to make my parents proud	,036**	,011	-,037	-	-	-
Level of political corruption	-,142***	,014	-,119	-	-	-
Confidence: National Government	,094***	,011	-,111	,120***	,018	-,154
Democracy	-,022**	,012	-,020	-	-	-
Rule of Law	,055***	,012	,061	,233***	,018	,234
Financial satisfaction	,019***	,004	,054	,130***	,019	,152
Decision take by big interests	-,483***	,031	-,173	-	-	-
Government responsibility	-	-	-	,018***	,005	,063
Confidence: Major Companies	-	-	-	,050**	,017	-,055
Older people are not respected	-	-	-	,078***	,015	,089
Secure in the neighbourhood	-	-	-	,096***	,018	-,087
In elections: voters are bribed?	-	-	-	,053***	,015	,066
In elections: Election officials are fair	-	-	-	-,056**	,017	-,059
Constant	4,135	,108	-	2,009	,138	-
R ²	,365			,322		
R ² adjusted	,363			,320		

TABLE 8. Elaborated based on data for WVS (1996-1998), WVS (1999-2004) and WVS (2011-2014). Levels of signification: ***p<0,01 **p<0,05 *p<0,10

HUMAN RIGHTS SOUTH	WAVE I (1996-2002)			WAVE II (2011-2014)		
	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coefficients	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coefficients
Weight place on work	-,051***	,009	-,096	-	-	-
Rate political system today	,025**	,007	,068	-	-	-
Satisfaction with people in the national office	,294***	,021	-,303	-	-	-
Decisions are made by big interest	-,122**	,038	-,056	-	-	-
Confidence: Television	,063***	,017	-,065	-	-	-
Democracy is developing	,165***	,021	-,153	-	-	-
Having the army rule	-,079***	,015	-,091	-	-	-
Confidence: The police	,104***	,017	-,118	,081***	,020	-,098
Democracy	-	-	-	,226***	,021	,228
Feeling of happiness	-	-	-	,077**	,026	-,066
Life satisfaction	-	-	-	,027**	,008	,075
Income equality	-	-	-	-,028***	,006	,090
Confidence: National government	-	-	-	,048**	,019	-,063
Progress towards a stable economy	-	-	-	-,201***	,039	-,120
Progress towards a less impersonal society	-	-	-	-,147**	,053	-,062
Progress towards less importance of money	-	-	-	-,233***	,057	-,089
Level of corruption	-	-	-	-,023**	,007	-,069
Government fighting corruption	-	-	-	-,189***	,028	-,149
(Constant)	4,334	,097	-	2,966	,137	-
R ²		,433			,224	
R ² adjusted		,431			,219	

TABLE 9. Elaborated based on data for WVS (1996-1998), WVS (1999-2004) and WVS (2011-2014). Levels of signification: ***p<0,01 **p<0,05 *p<0,10

RULE OF LAW EAST	WAVE I (1996-2002)			WAVE II (2011-2014)		
	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coefficients	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coefficients
Confidence: The press	,207***	,026	-,176	,037***	,010	-,033
Confidence: The police	,253***	,026	-,260	,530***	,011	-,526
Confidence: National government	,243***	,026	-,252	,114***	,013	-,122
Confidence: Major companies	,153***	,025	-,148	-	-	-
Confidence: The EU	-,094***	,022	,093	-	-	-
Level of political corruption	-,099**	,031	-,069	-	-	-
Political participation: strike	-,090***	,024	,075	-	-	-
Ideology	,021**	,009	,053	-	-	-
Neighbours: Kurds, Esids	,106**	,038	-,057	-	-	-
National pride	-,053**	,024	,049	-	-	-
Secular values.	-,986***	,142	-,167	-,244***	,045	-,046
Human Rights	-	-	-	,060***	,010	,053
Confidence: Political parties	-	-	-	,094***	,013	-,085
Confidence: Parliament	-	-	-	,103***	,014	-,105
Confidence: Environmental organizations	-	-	-	,044***	,009	-,040
(Constant)	4,768	,159	-	4,696	,048	-
R ²	,532			,670		
R ² adjusted	,527			,670		

TABLE 10. Elaborated based on data for WVS (1996-1998), WVS (1999-2004) and WVS (2011-2014). Levels of signification: ***p<0,01 **p<0,05 *p<0,10

RULE OF LAW SOUTH	WAVE I (1996-2002)			WAVE II (2011-2014)		
	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coefficients	Coefficients	Std. Error	Std. Coefficients
Secular Values	-	-	-	-,908***	,102	-,147
State of health	-	-	-	,034**	,015	-,031
Confidence: The police	-	-	-	,386***	,019	-,396
Confidence: National government	-	-	-	,403***	,018	-,408
Confidence: The AMU	-	-	-	,047**	,016	-,045
Constant	-	-	-	4,988	,056	-
R ²	-			,714		
R ² adjusted	-			,713		