

Frontiers of Democracy
Embedding Democratic Values
- an overview -

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Democratization and values

- **Democratization:** institutional change and citizen participation
- **Participation:** precedes and may be associated with political value change
- **Value change** – lengthy, complicated, not straightforward (like some institutional choices are)
- *How to change political values, mentalities, culture?*

Democratic transition

- Unique in Central and Eastern Europe because it entails **simultaneous fundamental changes in the political, economic, and social system**
- In some cases, democratic transition also entailed **nation state construction**
- There is strong and long lasting **communist legacy**
- Weak **democratic precedents** as points of reference
- Loaded terms: transition, consolidation

Conceptualizations of values

- Political values belong to **political culture**/civic culture (Almond and Verba, 1963)
- 3 types of political culture: **parochial, subject and participatory**
- Political values, attitudes and evaluations: **diffuse and specific support**
- Oneself within the political system: **political efficacy**

A chicken and egg story

- Should democratization be preceded by democratic political values?
- Yes (Inglehart, 1990)
- No (Muller and Seligson, 1994)
- Both

Democratization by...

- **Modernization** (Lipset, 1959)
- **Urbanization** (Rueschemeyer et al, 1992)
- **International pressure; EU as a socializing agent** – transformative power Europe (Schimmelfenig 2006, Grabbe 2006, Bandelj, Finley and Radu, 2015)
- Political value construction is influenced by individual perceived **success during transition**
- **National identity** and political values (Kuzio 2001)

Not just political values

- **Social capital** (Putnam 1993, 2000) – bonding vs. bridging social capital; downside of social capital
- **Social trust** (Uslaner 2002)
- Norms
- **Networks**

Confidence in institutions and trust in people (WVS) (% of total)

Country (year)	Church (a great deal and quite a lot)	Army (a great deal and quite a lot)	Press (a great deal and quite a lot)	National Parliament (a great deal and quite a lot)	National Government (a great deal and quite a lot)	EU (a great deal and quite a lot)	Trust in people (most people can be trusted)
Bulgaria (1997)	57.5	81.4	46.8	45.3	59.9	72.3	28.6
Bulgaria (2005)	60.8	72.5	50.8	20.9	34.1	63.0	22.2
Hungary (1998)	44.0	57.9	31.1	39.0	43.7	64.7	22.7
Hungary (2009)	47.8	40.1	21.4	17.2	16.7	52.4	29.2
Poland (1997)	67.4	79.5	46.3	34.5	39.0	61.0	17.9
Poland (2005)	72.7	67.3	37.8	12.1	18.0	46.2	19.0
Poland (2012)	59.4	67.7	28.9	13.5	20.2	40.4	22.8
Romania (1998)	80.4	82.0	35.8	19.4	21.7	50.1	18.7
Romania (2005)	88.1	82.1	43.1	17.1	26.6	62.8	20.3
Romania (2012)	73.5	67.4	28.0	15.6	18.9	46.7	7.7

Desirable features of the political system (WVS) (% of total)

Country (year)	Having a strong leader (very good)	Having a democratic political system (very good)	Having experts make decisions (very good)	Having the army rule (very good)
Bulgaria (1997)	27.3	37.4	20.6	5.5
Bulgaria (2005)	32.2	32.7	27.1	2.8
Hungary (1998)	6.4	50.5	42.0	1.8
Hungary (2009)	8.1	46.4	33.5	1.6
Poland (1997)	6.9	23.4	24.4	2.4
Poland (2005)	-	-	-	-
Poland (2012)	2.9	20.3	18.4	1.2
Romania (1998)	18.8	66.4	16.1	6.6
Romania (2005)	34.5	53.9	28.6	6.4
Romania (2012)	40.5	48.6	42.7	11.5

Political participation and interest (WVS) (% of total)

Country (year)	Interest in politics (very interested and interested)	Petition signing (have done so)	Demonstration participation (have done so)
Bulgaria (1997)	43.1	7.5	10.7
Bulgaria (2005)	43.6	12.0	12.4
Hungary (1998)	49.7	25.2	9.2
Hungary (2009)	45.3	14.4	4.6
Poland (1997)	42.1	20.4	9.8
Poland (2005)	40.2	23.4	10.1
Poland (2012)	42.6	30.9	8.0
Romania (1998)	39.5	17.3	20.0
Romania (2005)	31.9	6.1	6.3
Romania (2012)	37.0	10.8	9.5

(In)tolerance towards minorities (WVS) (% of total)

Country (year)	Different race	Immigrants	Homosexuals
Bulgaria (1997)	17.3	15.6	40.8
Bulgaria (2005)	20.1	17.6	49.8
Hungary (1998)	18.6	24.9	53.4
Hungary (2009)	15.7	23.8	39.8
Poland (1997)	19.9	21.0	66.0
Poland (2005)	12.4	13.7	51.3
Poland (2012)	5.5	7.2	39.5
Romania (1998)	29.7	32.8	55.8
Romania (2005)	17.8	16.3	59.1
Romania (2012)	23.5	21.3	54.2

Construction of political values (arenas for learning)

- School – civic education
- Family
- Peers
- Church
- Civil society organizations
- Social interaction
- Political organizations
- Through protest
- Online

Conclusions

- Democratic transition – a contextual process
- People in East Central Europe have not yet internalized democratic political values fully
- They are intolerant, materialistic, ideologically confused (the left is still stigmatized), preferring security to freedom, but slowly changing

Thank you!

- For any questions:
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