

Communists and Democrats.
Democratic Attitudes in the Two Germanies

Measurement and Theory of Democratic Attitudes

Outline

Intro

Communists and Democrats

Theory

Scale

Findings

Summary

Recap: McClosky & friends

- ▶ Massive scale, developed in the 1960s
- ▶ Various sub-dimensions of democratic attitudes
- ▶ Still going strong in the 1980s
 - ▶ No direct democracy
 - ▶ No internet/social networks
 - ▶ ?

Russell Dalton



- ▶ PhD Michigan, 1978
- ▶ Comparative Political Behaviour
- ▶ Democratic Attitudes/Democratisation
- ▶ Germany
 - ▶ after 1945
 - ▶ after 1990

(East) Germany after 1990

- ▶ Like other post-communist societies
 - ▶ Legacy of the past
 - ▶ Recent experience of democratisation

- ▶ But ...
 - ▶ Economically more advanced/modern than others
 - ▶ Links with West Germany
 - ▶ (Potential) links between unification/democratisation/economic success
 - ▶ Unique opportunities for comparison

Why Germany is interesting

- ▶ Germany test case for political culture theory
 - ▶ Both Germanies tried to re-educate their citizens
 - ▶ Both Germanies politically/economically successful (on the surface, before 1989)
- ▶ 'Like twins, separated at birth'

Western Germany after 1945

- ▶ Initially, (West) Germans openly sceptic about prospects for democracy
- ▶ Large segments of elites/general population supported National Socialism/authoritarianism
- ▶ 'Schönwetter-'/'Fragebogendemokraten'
- ▶ Within ca. 25-30 years, political culture 'remade', even survived unrest of 1970s
 - ▶ Economic *and*
 - ▶ political miracle
- ▶ Similar experiences in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Austria(?)

Why Post-Communism is different

- ▶ Other authoritarian systems despised democracy
- ▶ Communism/socialism
 - ▶ Grew out of a democratic movement
 - ▶ Cherished democratic values (though: strange notion of democracy)
 - ▶ Encouraged (ritualistic) participation
- ▶ Promotion of higher education + leisure time → demands for real democracy
- ▶ Relationship between Communism/democracy somewhat ambivalent

Hypotheses

- ▶ Four plausible (?) hypotheses
 1. Socio-economic development
 2. Socialist democracy (culture created by regime)
 3. Counter culture (Western influence)
 4. Democratic attitudes *created* by revolution of 1990

- ▶ Strict tests not viable, but compatible patterns/
ex-post-expectations

The Kaase-Wildenmann-Scale

- (a) Conflicts between different interest groups and their demands on the government are adverse to the welfare of all.
- (b) Every citizen has the right to take his convictions to the street if necessary.
- (c) A citizen forfeits the right to strike and demonstrate if he threatens the public order.
- (d) In every democratic society there are some conflicts which call for violence.
- (e) Everyone should have the right to express his opinion even if he differs from the majority.
- (f) It is not the job of the political opposition to criticize the government, rather it should support the government's work.
- (g) It is not conceivable to have a viable democracy without a political opposition.
- (h) In principle, every democratic party should have a chance to govern.
- (i) The interests of the people at large should always have priority over the special interests of an individual.

Westerners vs Easterners, ca. 1990

	West Germany							East Germany			
	1968	1979	1982	1988	1990	1991	1993	April 1990	December 1990	1991	1993
<i>Democratic values: percentage agreeing</i>											
Democracy requires a political opposition	89	93	92	93	93	95	92	95	95	96	90
Every citizen has the right to demonstrate	74	86	87	91	90	94	92	90	92	96	91
Everyone should have the right to express their opinion	93	95	94	94	92	97	93	90	98	97	94
Every democratic party should have chance to govern	86	93	93	91	91	92	92	88	91	95	95
Public interests should have priority over individual interests	94	95	92	89	89	89	85	85	92	93	90
<i>Conflict versus Order: percentage disagreeing</i>											
A citizen forfeits right to protest if order threatened	30	26	21	30	28	31	34	50	32	33	42
The political opposition should support the government	28	31	34	46	39	41	47	53	42	33	38
Conflicts between interests are adverse to public interest	27	26	21	48	47	56	36	74	51	50	32
In a democratic society, some conflicts require violence	73	81	83	86	79	86	81	81	88	78	82

Bivariate correlations

	East Germany	West Germany
<i>Social position</i>		
Education level	0.04	0.26*
Income	0.06	0.15*
<i>Party sympathy ratings</i>		
Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS)	-0.36*	—
Democratic Awakening (DA)	0.23*	—
Social Democrats (SPD)	0.02	0.18*
Free Democrats (FDP)	-0.03	-0.02
Christian Democrats (CDU)	-0.01	-0.18*
Social Union (DSU)/CSU	0.00	-0.20*
Greens	—	0.17*
Republikaner	—	-0.19*
<i>Economic evaluations</i>		
Good FRG national economy	0.26*	0.18*
Better FRG national economy in year	0.16*	-0.08*
Good GDR national economy	-0.29*	-0.23*
Better GDR national economy in year	-0.11*	-0.11*
Good personal situation now	-0.20*	0.06
Better personal situation in year	0.08	0.00
Sense of relative deprivation	0.30*	-0.03
Age	0.15*	0.16*

A multivariate 'model' of democratic attitudes

	East Germany	West Germany
<i>Social position</i>		
Education level	-0.05	0.16*
Income	0.06	0.05
<i>Party sympathy ratings</i>		
Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS)	-0.25*	—
Democratic Awakening (DA)	0.13*	—
Greens	—	0.15*
Republikaner	—	-0.14*
<i>Economic evaluations</i>		
Good FRG national economy	0.10*	0.11*
Good GDR national economy	-0.17*	-0.20*
Sense of relative deprivation	0.16*	-0.02
Age	0.15*	0.05
Multiple <i>R</i>	0.52	0.42

Class questions

1. Summarise, in your own words, the main findings from the text
2. Do you like the scale?
 - 2.1 What (if anything) is missing?
 - 2.2 What (if anything) is wrong?
3. Which items would you like to include ...
 - 3.1 From McClosky's scale?
 - 3.2 Anything else?