

## Invitation to workshop

# Democracy and non-democratic alternatives in the globalized world

**21 June 2019**

**Academic Conference Centre, Husova 4a, Prague 1**

This international workshop seeks to contribute to the ongoing debate about the de-consolidation of democracy. It will explore the contemporary disappointment with the ways how democracy is functioning, manifested in the falling confidence in democratic institutions. Worldwide, traditional political parties are losing their electoral base and are unable to reflect the growing contradictions and inequality in society adequately. Polarization of society and marginalization of some groups lead to the support of new populist-oriented political actors around the world. We bring together a set of experts from around the world (Czech Republic, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Germany, Hong Kong, Brazil) to explore these issues, from the perspectives of governance (Hauke Hartmann, Petra Guasti), populism in non-Western context (Alessandro Pinzani, Susanne Yuk Ping Choi), and transitional justice (Roman David, Dobrinka Kostova). We will focus on similarities and differences between three key regions: Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America and Asia. During the workshop, two recently monographs will be presented - *Communists and Their Victims: The Quest for Justice in the Czech Republic* (2018, by Roman David) and *Democracy under Stress: Changing Perspectives on Democracy, Governance and Their Measurement* (edited by Petra Guasti and Zdenka Mansfeldova).

**The event is financially supported by the Strategy AV21 of the Czech Academy of Sciences, research programme No. 15 - Global Conflicts and Local Interactions: Cultural and Social Challenges, and registration is free.**

**8.30 Registration**

**8.45-9.00 Welcome**

**Zdenka Mansfeldova**

**9.00-10.00**

**Opening Address:**

**Dr. Petra Guasti**, Goethe University Frankfurt and Institute of Sociology, Czech Academy of Sciences

**Non-linear Democratization: Central Europe between Past and the Future**

Across the Central and Eastern Europe, there is a steep decline in the stability of democratic institutions, as well as in political participation and the rule of law (BTI 2018). These changes highlight an important gap in the democratization literature, which have predominantly focused on linear (positive) change (Munck 2001). Scholars of democracy and democratization focused on explaining why some countries succeeded and other failed by

returning to authoritarianism (O'Donnell, Schmitter & Arnson 2013, Linz and Stephan 1996, 1999, Kitschelt et al. 1999). While there are no coups or widespread electoral fraud (Bermeo 2016), and none of the CEE democracies are at the immediate threat of undergoing a regime change, the quality of CEE democracy is deteriorating. Thus, there is a space between liberal democracy and authoritarianism. Among the Visegrad four countries, despite the similarities in economic performance, the intensity of the decline in democratic quality varies (BTI 2018). By focusing on legacies, as a possible explanatory factor of the variation in democratic quality in the Visegrad four countries (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia), this paper revisits the Kitschelt et al. approach (1999). I focus on legacies to explain the variation in the dynamics of democratic quality over time (cf. Kopstein 2003, Pop-Eleches and Tucker 2011). I broaden the scope of legacies to include three regime types occurring in the Visegrad four countries in the past 100 years (1918-2018).

*Discussant:* Doc. PhDr. Michel Perottino PhD., FSV UK

## **10.00-10.30 presentation of the Bertelsmann Transformation Index and its main findings**

**Dr. Hauke Hartmann, Bertelsmann Foundation, Germany**

The Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index (BTI) analyzes and evaluates whether and how developing countries and countries in transition are steering social change toward democracy and a market economy. Guided by a standardized codebook, country experts assess the extent to which a total of 17 criteria have been met for each of the 129 countries. These experts ground the scores they provide in assessments that comprise the country reports, all of which are available online. A second country expert then reviews these assessments and scores. In a final step, consistency is assured by subjecting each of the 49 individual scores given per country to regional and interregional calibration processes. Standardizing the analytical process in this way makes targeted comparisons of reform policies possible. The BTI aggregates the results of this comprehensive study of transformation processes and political management into two indices: the Status Index and the Governance Index. The Status Index, with its two analytic dimensions of political and economic transformation, identifies where each of the 129 countries stand on their path toward democracy under the rule of law and a social market economy. The Governance Index assesses the quality of political leadership with which transformation processes are steered.

### **Discussion**

#### ***Coffee break***

##### **I. Block - Justice and its enemies**

**Chair: Dr. Zdenka Mansfeldova**

**Prof. Roman David, Lingnan University, Hong Kong**

**Communists and Their Victims: The Quest for Justice in the Czech Republic**

In *Communists and Their Victims*, Roman David identifies and examines four classes of justice measures—retributive, reparatory, revelatory, and reconciliatory—to discover which, if any, rectified the legacy of human rights abuses committed during the communist era in the Czech Republic. Conducting interviews, focus groups, and nationwide surveys between 1999 and 2015, David looks at the impact of financial compensation and truth-sharing on victims' healing and examines the role of retribution in the behavior and attitudes of communists and their families. Emphasizing the narratives of former political prisoners, secret collaborators, and former Communist Party members, David tests the potential of justice measures to contribute to a shared sense of justice and their ability to overcome the class structure and ideological divides of a formerly communist regime. Complementing his original research with analysis of legal judgments, governmental reports, and historical records, David finds that some justice measures were effective in overcoming material and ideological divides while others obstructed victims' healing and inhibited the transformation of communists. Identifying "justice without reconciliation" as the primary factor hampering the process of overcoming the past in the Czech Republic, *Communists and Their Victims* promotes a transformative theory of justice that demonstrates that justice measures, require a degree of reconciliation, to succeed.

*Discussant:* Doc. PhDr. Olga Gyarfášová, PhD., Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences, Comenius University Bratislava

### ***Lunch break***

## **II. Block - Right-wing populism in non-Western Context**

**Chair: Dr. Petra Guasti**

**Prof. Alessandro Pinzani**, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Brasil, and Institute of Philosophy, Czech Academy of Sciences.

**Bolsonaro 'the Myth': The unholy alliance of religion and social media in the Brazilian election of 2018.**

The 2018 presidential election in Brazil was internationally considered to represent just another manifestation of the global tendency towards right-wing populism. The winner, Jair Bolsonaro, who had been active in politics for almost thirty years, presented himself as a "new" man opposed to the corrupted political establishment, to political correctness, and the allegedly dominant leftist ideology. Furthermore, he mobilized a political discourse that could find resonance among Brazilian voters because of peculiar historical and social circumstances that are specific for this country and, partly, for South America (e.g., because of the historical heritage of phenomena like *caudillismo*, *peronismo*, *varguismo*, etc.). Above all, however, we shall discuss his campaigning strategy. The fact that he made extensive use of social media to disseminate fake news and unproven claims against his opponents does not represent in itself something particularly new: Trump, the Leave campaign in the UK and other populist movements and candidates, had already resorted to these means. He only reached echo chambers in which people were already radically opposed to the PT government and were willing to accept even the most ludicrous stories concerning the PT candidate Fernando Haddad. This willingness to believe in such stories is what should interest us here. We shall see that Christian fundamentalism did play an important role in creating this situation and in preparing the conditions under which Bolsonaro's misogynist

and homophobic tirades, as well as his praise of entrepreneurship and moral condemnation of the poor, could be accepted and shared.

*Discussant:* Dr. Hauke Hartmann – Bertelsmann Stiftung, Germany

**Professor Susanne Yuk Ping CHOI**, Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Sciences, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

### **Gender Irrelevance: How Men and Women Rationalize their Support for Right**

Right-wing groups have generally been considered gender-conservative or, in some instances, sexist. Given this background, it is a puzzle why young people, particularly women with relatively liberal gender attitudes, support these groups. This paper tries to answer this question by comparing men's and women's justification for participation in nativist and antimigration political groups. It develops the concept of gender irrelevance, defined as the processes and strategies through which members of these groups render male dominance and gender segregation within their organizations trivial; sexist behaviors of some group members tolerable; and concerns about gender equalities unimportant, secondary, and ultimately irrelevant in their decisions to support these groups. The paper further illustrates the strategies of gender irrelevance, which include the misrepresentation, naturalization, individualization, and universalisation of gender inequality and biases; the construction and deployment of the twin discourses of female privilege and male disadvantage; the tendency to compartmentalize gender biases; the argument of compromising gender; and criticism against an allegedly exaggerated, inconsistent, and double-standard feminism. The research concerns Hong Kong's young and educated supporters of nativist and antimigration political groups. They are political minorities to the omnipresent Chinese state but majorities at home to mainland Chinese immigrants whom they construct as the "other." We believe that the concept of gender irrelevance applies to other contexts, and not merely to these young people in Hong Kong. It has the potential to help us understand the global rise of the Right.

*Discussant:* Dr. Zuzana Uhde, Institute of Sociology, Czech Academy of Sciences

### ***Coffee break***

### **III. Block - Democracy and its alternatives in Central Europe and beyond (TBC)**

**Chair: Dr. Petra Guasti**, Goethe University Frankfurt and Institute of Sociology, Czech Academy of Sciences

Doc. PhDr. Marek Hrubec, PhD., Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague

### **Alternative Interconnections of Political and Economic Democracy: Central Europe and Latin America**

A presentation will explore the shortcomings of the contemporary version of political democracy, mainly in Central Europe, specifically in the Czech Republic, and analyze alternatives (positive elements in practice and theory) concerning interconnections of political and economic democracy in Central Europe and Latin America. The presentation will take into consideration that economic democracy is the prerequisite for the full realization of political democracy. In this sense, the requirement of economic democracy is also

formulated as linked with the requirement of political democracy, which is not yet sufficiently realized. Therefore, economic democracy is not only the economic system itself. At the same time, the development of political democracy requires more elements to be included in politics, i.e., referendum, citizen initiative, deliberative democracy, and other innovations which in turn impact back on economic democracy and reinforce it, thereby also strengthening social and political justice. After the specification of the contemporary limits of participative democracy, the presentation will focus on a comparison of two versions of political-economic democracy: enterprise co-operative democracy and autonomous democracy. It analyses the main characteristics of these versions in theory and practice, and their advantages and disadvantages.

*Discussant:* Mgr. Ing. Martin Brabec, PhD., Institute of Philosophy, Czech Academy of Sciences

**Doc. PhDr. Olga Gyarfášová, PhD.**, Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences, Comenius University Bratislava

### **Troubled Path of CEE to Consolidated Democracy.**

Theories of transition teach us that the paths to consolidated democracies are not straightforward and can lead to diverse outcomes and regressions are possible. However, also that there is no single democracy; there are only democracies under different rules of competition and cooperation (Schmitter). During the first decade of democratization, dozens of academicians dealt with factors explaining the differences among the CEE like who is an agent of changes, strategies adopted (Munck and Skalník-Leff, 1997), structural differences (Musil 1993), different cultural and historical legacies (Rupnik 1999, 2018). Three decades after the change of regime, we see Visegrad four on diverged paths but not corresponding with the expectations we might have had two decades before. Recently, we observe - liberal democracy is challenged; authoritarian and illiberal tendencies are visible and begin to act against the consolidation of democracy. The strength and potential of these tendencies fluctuate across the region but also in time. The presentation will explore differences and similarities of democratization trajectories in V4 countries, and identify key distinction factors within two selected areas: (a) how the country's EU membership and European agenda is attempted by the political elite, (b) emergence of new political parties, their opportunity structure and ideological profile.

*Discussant:* Dr. Petra Guasti, Goethe University Frankfurt and Institute of Sociology, Czech Academy of Sciences

**Doc. Dobrinka Kostova, PhD.**, Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia

### **Democracy as a Target: The Case of Bulgarian Political Development**

Bulgaria's development in the last 30 years is characterized with institutional ineffectiveness, mistrust to the parties that they can bring prosperity to the country, electoral mobility and low civil control over governance. All these contribute to unstable democratization of the country. The low level of institutional trust complicates the process of democratization and

leads to ups and downs in the strength of acceptance of the basic rules of the democratic political system.

As a consequence, the process of building the democratic structures and their good functioning is a slow, however, a continuous process. A basic explanation for that is the approach to the transition. In Bulgaria continuity is considered inappropriate and the choice is toward a total change. Next, as the trust to elites is low, the governing leaders have no courage to implement non-popular reforms. An additional shortcoming is the lack of experience on the side of the elites, and that leads to the creation of networks between state institutes or some of their incumbents and representatives of the black economy and as a consequence there is a lack of equality in front of the law, a lack of fairness and good governance. Not keeping to the rules of the law on the side of some of the representatives of the state institutions, leads to similar behavior on the side of some of the citizens. These negative effects do not result in negative attitudes towards democracy but require more democracy and establishment of firm democratic principles. Till now the citizens are critical and requiring, but their support for democracy is stable. This paper is devoted to the analysis of Bulgarian elites, relations of trust in society and the challenges of European integration. Elites are of significance as the modernisation, and economic development of the country and effectiveness of state structures depend on their capacity, trust is essential for social cohesion and solidarity, and European Union accounts as an external factor for the success of integration in regional and international structures and organizations.

*Discussant:* PhDr. Zdenka Mansfeldova, CSc., Institute of Sociology, Czech Academy of Sciences

**The workshop is organized by:**

**PhDr. Zdenka Mansfeldová, CSc., and PhDr. Petra Guasti, Ph.D.**

Contact: [zdenka.mansfeldova@soc.cas.cz](mailto:zdenka.mansfeldova@soc.cas.cz)  
[petraguasti@gmail.com](mailto:petraguasti@gmail.com)

The workshop is held in English; registration is free, please send email to [simona.patkova@soc.cas.cz](mailto:simona.patkova@soc.cas.cz) and [zdenka.mansfeldova@soc.cas.cz](mailto:zdenka.mansfeldova@soc.cas.cz)