

Psychology of Democracy: A Matter of Life and Death

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the European Union



What is expecting you?

Historical digression

Zones of peace and zones of turmoil

Pax democratica

Democratic paradoxes

Importance of Civility

Empirical research on Psychology of

Democracy

Suggest material and inspirational souvenirs

?What can psychologists do?

INVITATION

THE STORY OF TWO FRIENDS
AND THE BIGGEST PROTESTS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC
SINCE THE VELVET REVOLUTION

MILLION MOMENTS FOR DEMOCRACY

6TH JULY 5.30 PM

RB 209



STRATEGYAV21
Identities in the World of Wars and Crises



Czech Academy
of Sciences



My formative events

Political socialization

Prague Spring



1956

1968

1989



Hungarian Revolution
Soviet invasion

Soviet invasion

My formative events

Prague Spring



Velvet revolution



1956

1968

1989



Hungarian Revolution
Soviet invasion

Soviet invasion

My formative events

Prague Spring



Velvet revolution



1956

1968

1989



Hungarian Revolution
Soviet invasion

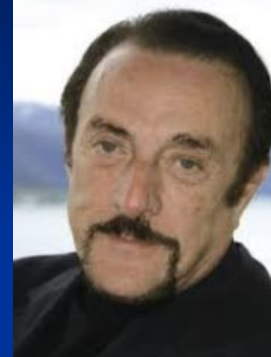
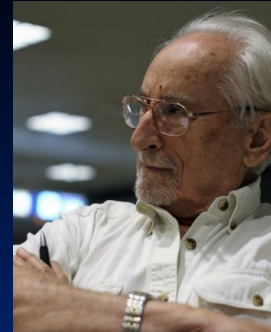
Soviet invasion

My formative events

Prague Spring



Velvet revolution



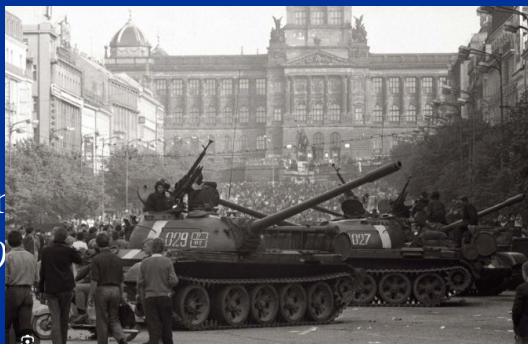
1956

1968

1989

2014- 2022-

2024



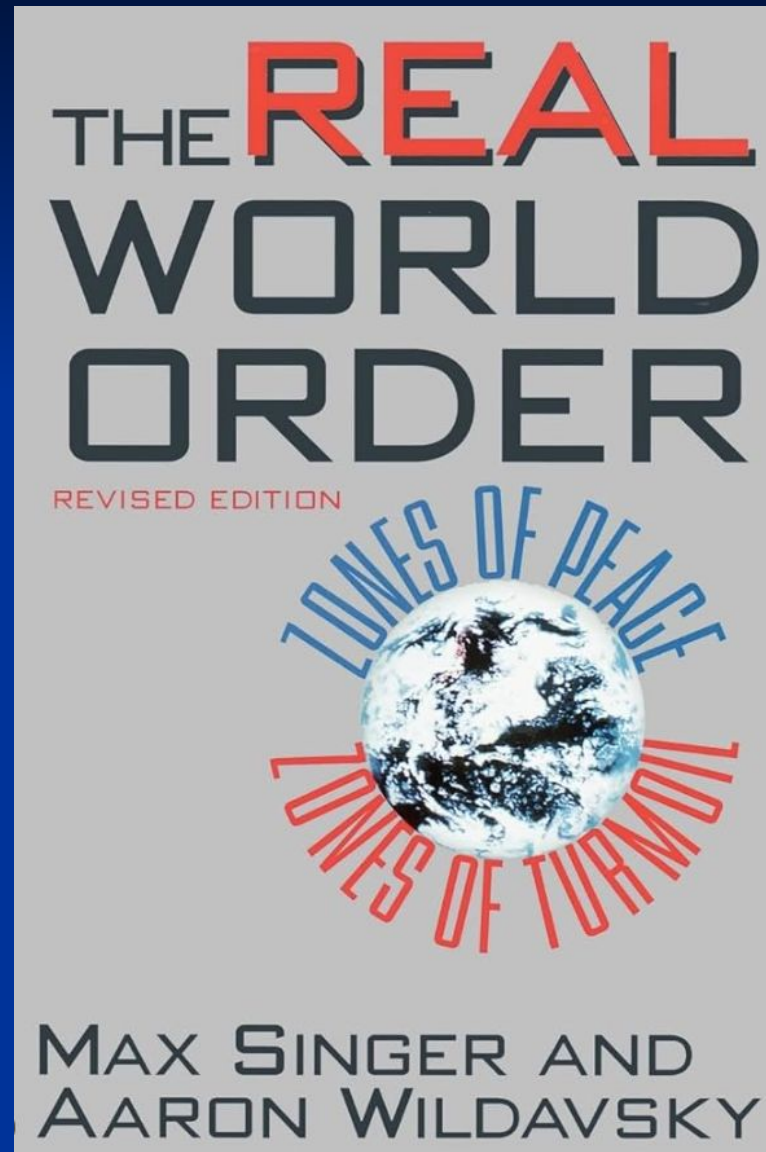
Trump II

Hungarian Revolution
Soviet invasion

Soviet invasion

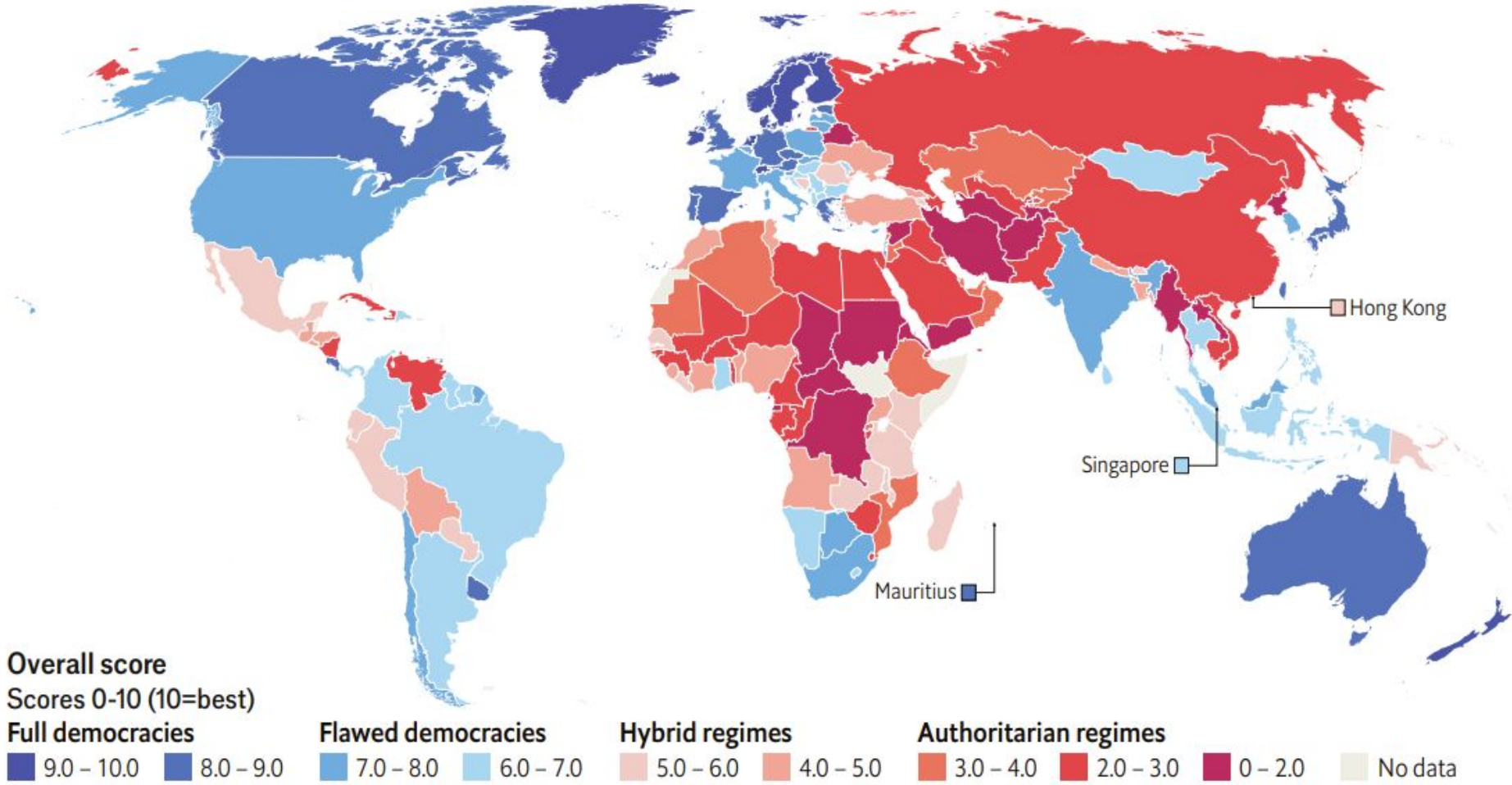
Russian invasion

Elections have consequences. Political regimes matter.



Zones of peace = zones of democracy, shrink, all continents

Democracy Index 2024, global map by regime type



Overall score
Scores 0-10 (10=best)

Full democracies Flawed democracies Hybrid regimes Authoritarian regimes No data

Source: EIU.

Democracy Index 2024, by regime type

| | No. of countries | % of countries | % of world population |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| Full democracies | 25 | 15.0 | 6.6 |
| Flawed democracies | 46 | 27.5 | 38.4 |
| Hybrid regimes | 36 | 21.6 | 15.7 |
| Authoritarian regimes | 60 | 35.9 | 39.2 |

Note. "World" population refers to the total population of the 167 geographies (165 countries and 2 territories) covered by the Index. Since this excludes only micro states, this is nearly equal to the entire estimated world population.

Source: EIU.

Democracy Index 2024

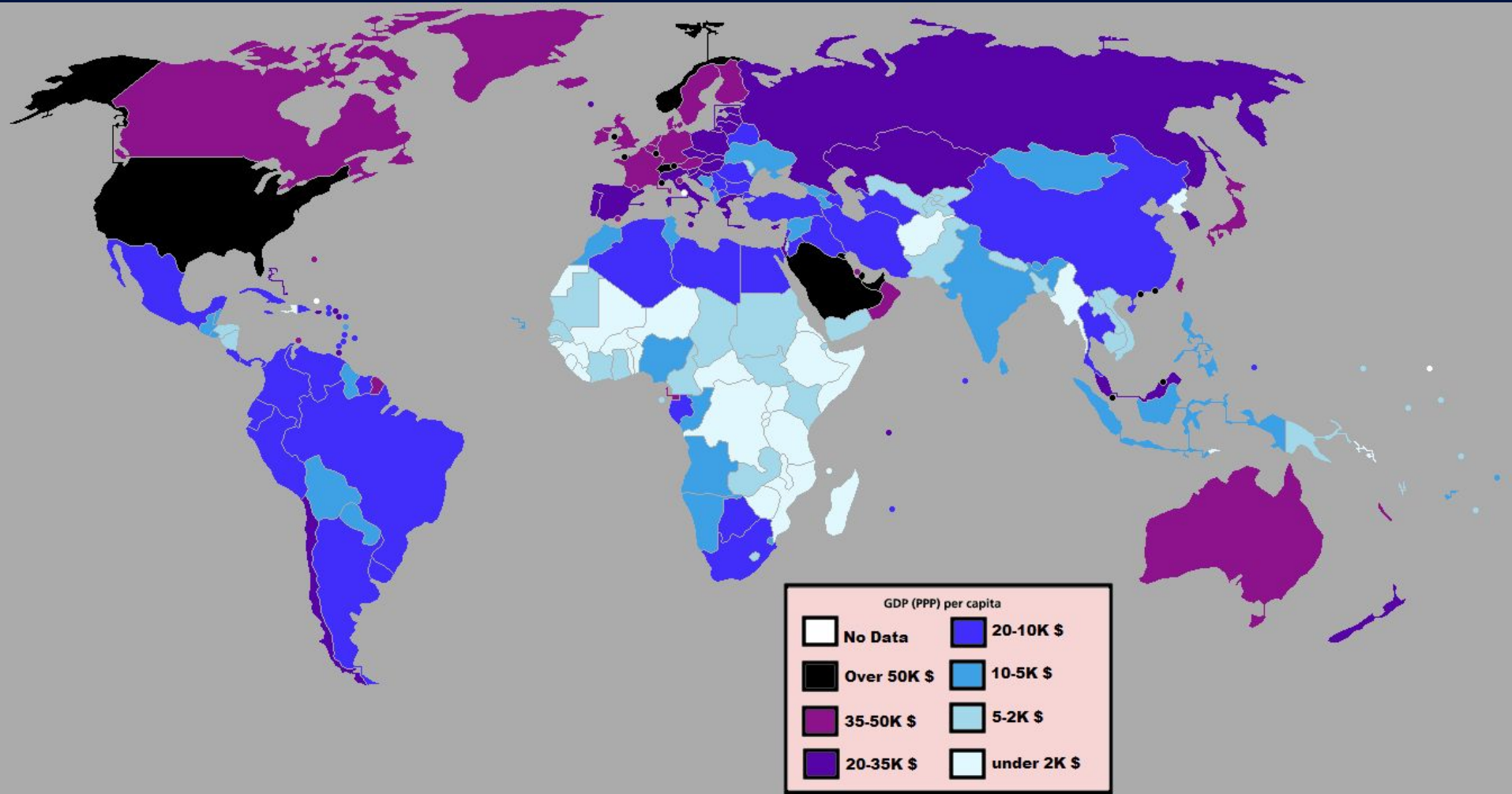
| | Overall score | Rank | Change in rank from previous year | I Electoral process and pluralism | II Functioning of government | III Political participation | IV Political culture | V Civil liberties |
|-----------------------|---------------|------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| Full democracy | | | | | | | | |
| Norway | 9.81 | 1 | 0 | 10.00 | 9.64 | 10.00 | 10.00 | 9.41 |
| New Zealand | 9.61 | 2 | 0 | 10.00 | 9.29 | 10.00 | 8.75 | 10.00 |
| Sweden | 9.39 | 3 | 1 | 9.58 | 9.64 | 8.33 | 10.00 | 9.41 |
| Iceland | 9.38 | 4 | -1 | 10.00 | 8.93 | 8.89 | 9.38 | 9.71 |
| Switzerland | 9.32 | 5 | 3 | 9.58 | 9.29 | 8.33 | 10.00 | 9.41 |
| Finland | 9.30 | 6 | -1 | 10.00 | 9.64 | 7.78 | 9.38 | 9.71 |
| Denmark | 9.28 | 7 | -1 | 10.00 | 9.29 | 8.33 | 9.38 | 9.41 |
| Ireland | 9.19 | 8 | -1 | 10.00 | 8.21 | 8.33 | 10.00 | 9.41 |
| Netherlands | 9.00 | 9 | 0 | 9.58 | 8.93 | 8.33 | 8.75 | 9.41 |
| Luxembourg | 8.88 | 10 | 1 | 10.00 | 9.29 | 6.67 | 8.75 | 9.71 |
| Australia | 8.85 | 11 | 3 | 10.00 | 8.57 | 7.22 | 8.75 | 9.71 |
| Taiwan | 8.78 | 12 | -2 | 10.00 | 8.57 | 7.78 | 8.13 | 9.41 |
| Germany | 8.73 | 13 | -1 | 9.58 | 8.21 | 8.33 | 8.13 | 9.41 |
| Canada | 8.69 | 14 | -1 | 10.00 | 8.21 | 8.89 | 7.50 | 8.82 |
| Uruguay | 8.67 | 15 | -1 | 10.00 | 9.29 | 7.78 | 6.88 | 9.41 |
| Japan | 8.48 | 16 | 0 | 9.58 | 8.93 | 6.67 | 8.13 | 9.12 |
| United Kingdom | 8.34 | 17 | 1 | 9.58 | 7.50 | 8.33 | 6.88 | 9.41 |
| Costa Rica | 8.29 | 18 | -1 | 9.58 | 7.50 | 7.78 | 6.88 | 9.71 |
| Austria | 8.28 | 19 | -1 | 9.58 | 7.50 | 8.89 | 6.88 | 8.53 |
| Mauritius | 8.23 | 20 | 0 | 9.58 | 7.86 | 6.11 | 8.75 | 8.82 |
| Estonia | 8.13 | 21= | 6 | 10.00 | 8.57 | 6.67 | 6.88 | 8.53 |
| Spain | 8.13 | 21= | 2 | 9.58 | 7.50 | 7.22 | 7.50 | 8.82 |
| Czech Republic | 8.08 | 23= | 3 | 9.58 | 6.43 | 7.78 | 7.50 | 9.12 |
| Portugal | 8.08 | 23= | 8 | 9.58 | 7.14 | 6.11 | 8.75 | 8.82 |
| Greece | 8.07 | 25 | -5 | 10.00 | 6.79 | 7.22 | 7.50 | 8.82 |

Democracy Index 2024, by regime type

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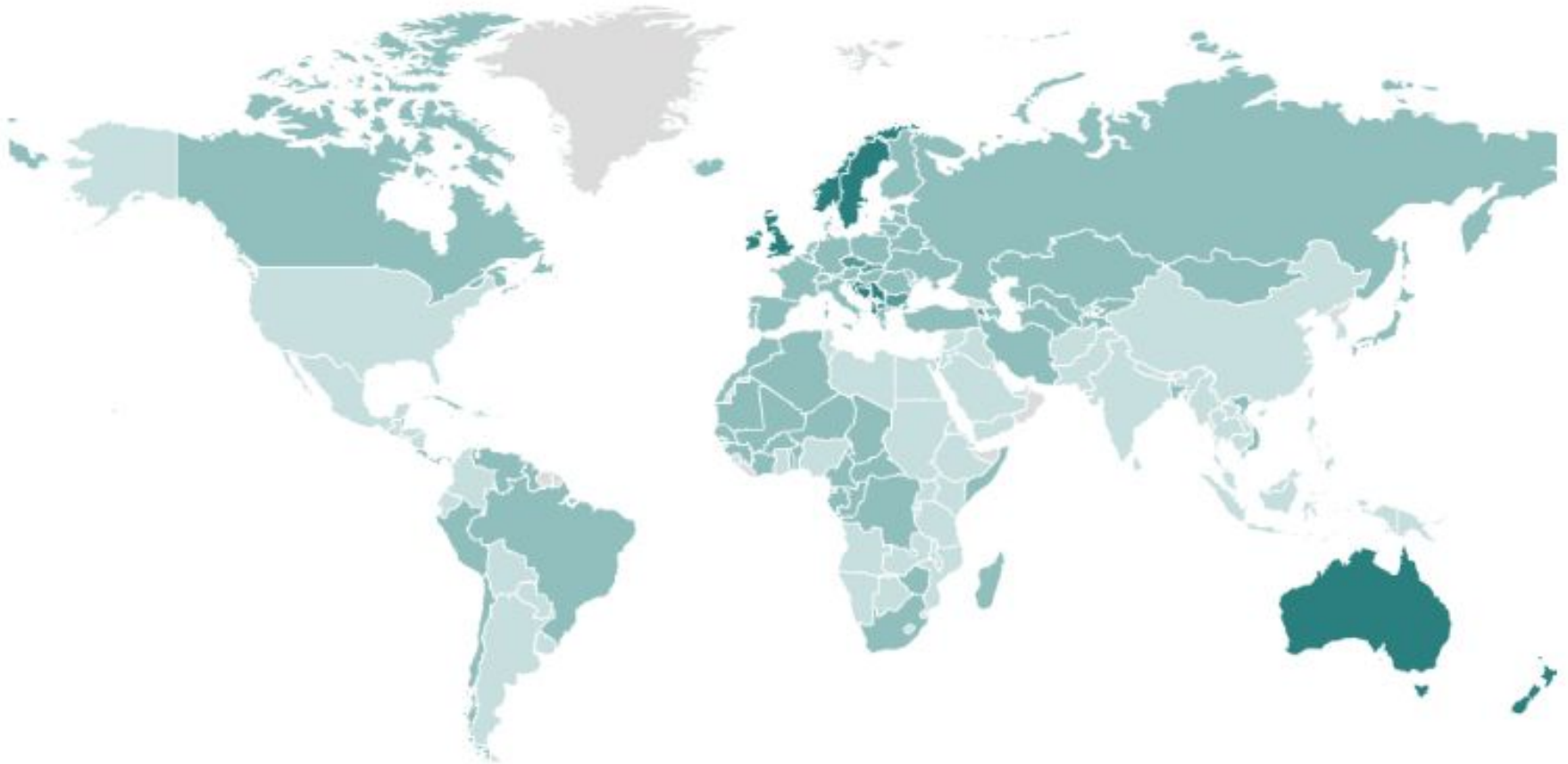
Source: EIU.



<https://www.vox.com/2014/8/26/6063749/38-maps-that-explain-the-global-economy>

Maternity leave

0-3 mos (0-90 days) 3-6 mos (91-180 days) 6-9 mos (181-270 days) 9 mos and more (271+) Data not available



Alyson Hurt, Erin Killian, and JoElla Straley

General consensus about democracy

Democracy is a regime that best secures
human rights,
self-actualization,
economic prosperity,
institutionalized conflict resolution.

Democracy is
institutionalized conflict resolution

Democracy is
institutionalized conflict resolution

Pax democratica = Democratic peace

(Kant, Rummel, Russett)

Blueprint for eternal peace

Zum ewigen Frieden, Immanuel Kant, 1795

When all countries are **democracies**

international peace - LAW

Aaron & Wildavsky reviewed the 20th ct.

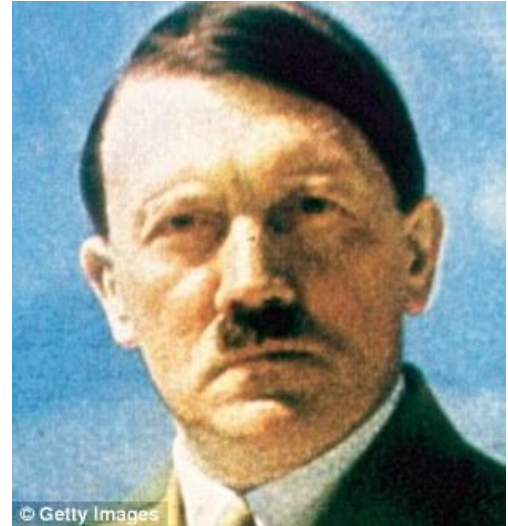
pointed out that

over **40 million** people were killed in wars and
over **100 million** by their own governments

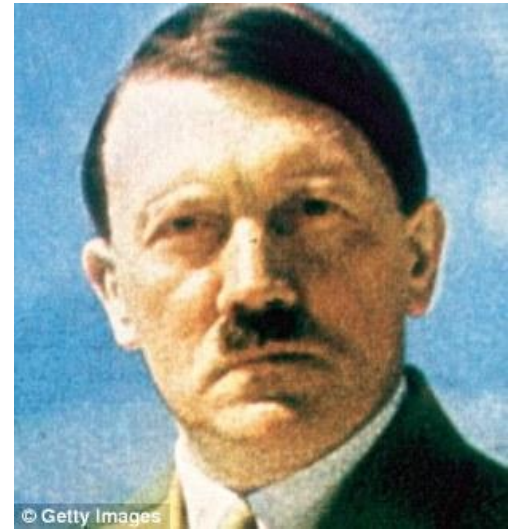
Mega-murderers



Mega-murderers



Mega-murderers



60

40

30



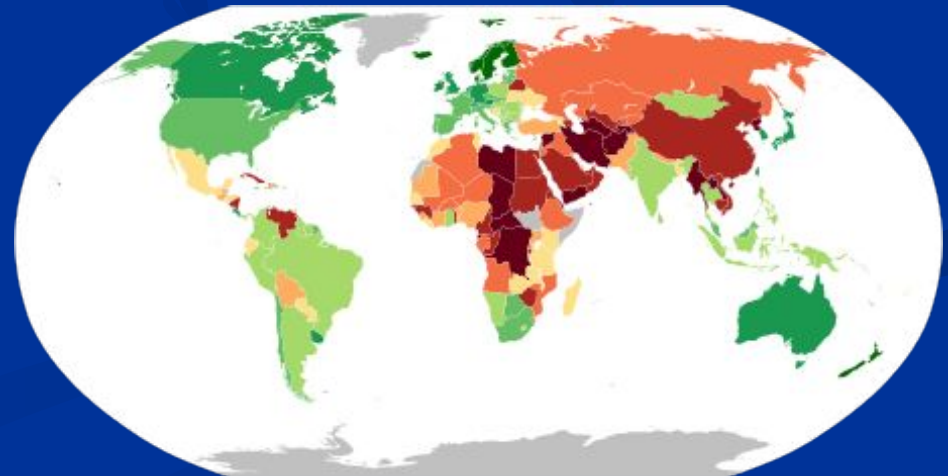
Pax democratica democratic peace

Zum ewigen Frieden, Immanuel Kant, 1795

DOMESTIC



INTERNATIONAL



Pax democratica = Democratic peace

(Kant, Rummel, Russett)

INTERNATIONAL: Real democracies

do not wage war with each other

DOMESTIC: Democracies are killing fewer

of their own citizens than other regimes

Psychology of Democracy: A Matter of Life and Death

Democracy not just a liberal dream
but also selfish interest



Democracy is a
complex and
paradoxical
phenomenon

Democratic paradoxes and paradoxical quotes:

Democracy as the least evil

No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise.

Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.

Winston Churchill

The best argument against democracy
is a five-minute conversation
with the average voter.

Winston Churchill

Democracy is a device that ensures
we shall be governed no better
than we deserve.

George Bernard Shaw

Paradox of a regime enabling its self-destruction

Václav Havel pointed out that
“The natural disadvantage of
democracy is that it ties hands of
people who are honest, while it
allows people who don't take it
seriously to do almost whatever
they want.”

Derrida speaks of **autoimmunity**
Hans Kelsen: Democracy is the
form of government which puts up
the least resistance to its enemies.



The paradox of effective self-defense at the moment of crisis

While democracy appears
to be a regime that is letting itself
slowly torn apart,
when it comes to a real crisis
“democracy seems intensely alive”
(Melo, 2016, p. 71).

It is not the voting that's democracy;
it is the counting.

Tom Stoppard

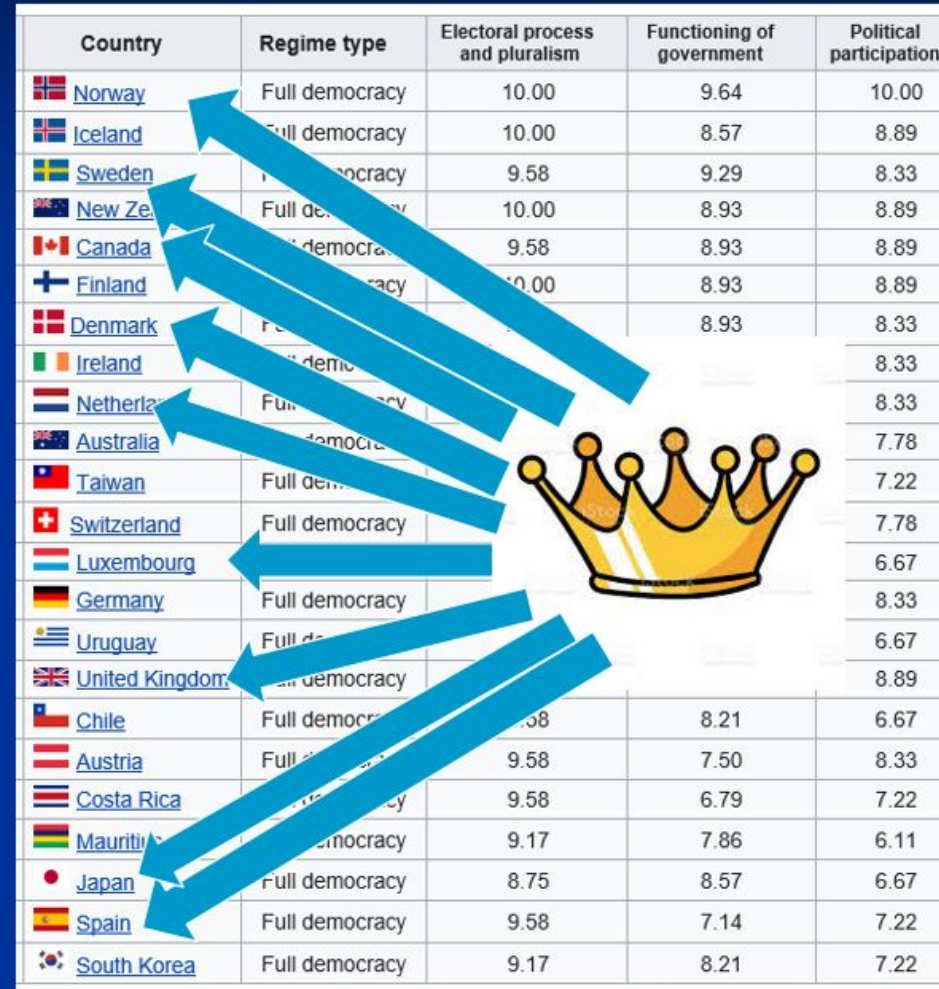
...and reporting on the results
(Trump's fake news)
























Democracy in the name?

North Korea: Democratic People's Republic of Korea
People's Republic of China

Full dems often kingdoms:

Norway,
New Zealand
Sweden,
Canada,
Denmark,
Netherlands,
United Kingdom
Japan



| Country | Regime type | Electoral process and pluralism | Functioning of government | Political participation |
|---|----------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
|  Norway | Full democracy | 10.00 | 9.64 | 10.00 |
|  Iceland | Full democracy | 10.00 | 8.57 | 8.89 |
|  Sweden | Full democracy | 9.58 | 9.29 | 8.33 |
|  New Zealand | Full democracy | 10.00 | 8.93 | 8.89 |
|  Canada | Full democracy | 9.58 | 8.93 | 8.89 |
|  Finland | Full democracy | 10.00 | 8.93 | 8.89 |
|  Denmark | Full democracy | 9.58 | 8.93 | 8.33 |
|  Ireland | Full democracy | 9.58 | 8.93 | 8.33 |
|  Netherlands | Full democracy | 9.58 | 8.93 | 8.33 |
|  Australia | Full democracy | 9.58 | 8.93 | 7.78 |
|  Taiwan | Full democracy | 9.58 | 8.93 | 7.22 |
|  Switzerland | Full democracy | 9.58 | 8.93 | 7.78 |
|  Luxembourg | Full democracy | 9.58 | 8.93 | 6.67 |
|  Germany | Full democracy | 9.58 | 8.93 | 8.33 |
|  Uruguay | Full democracy | 9.58 | 8.93 | 6.67 |
|  United Kingdom | Full democracy | 9.58 | 8.93 | 8.89 |
|  Chile | Full democracy | 9.58 | 8.21 | 6.67 |
|  Austria | Full democracy | 9.58 | 7.50 | 8.33 |
|  Costa Rica | Full democracy | 9.58 | 6.79 | 7.22 |
|  Mauritius | Full democracy | 9.17 | 7.86 | 6.11 |
|  Japan | Full democracy | 8.75 | 8.57 | 6.67 |
|  Spain | Full democracy | 9.58 | 7.14 | 7.22 |
|  South Korea | Full democracy | 9.17 | 8.21 | 7.22 |

Paradox - What is in the name?

...the defenders of every kind of regime claim that it is a democracy...

George Orwell

....democracy is the “only game in town”
most authoritarian regimes fake democracy

**Nobody and nothing will stop Russia
on the road to strengthening democracy
and ensuring human rights and freedoms.**

Vladimir Putin

Over 500 definitions of democracy

Full democracy, flawed democracy,
thick or thin democracy,
people's democracy,
illiberal and totalitarian democracy

Instead of defining democracy, it is better to enumerate its main features - inventory

Key democratic practices

proposed by Robert Dahl, Larry Diamond, Schmitter & Karl.

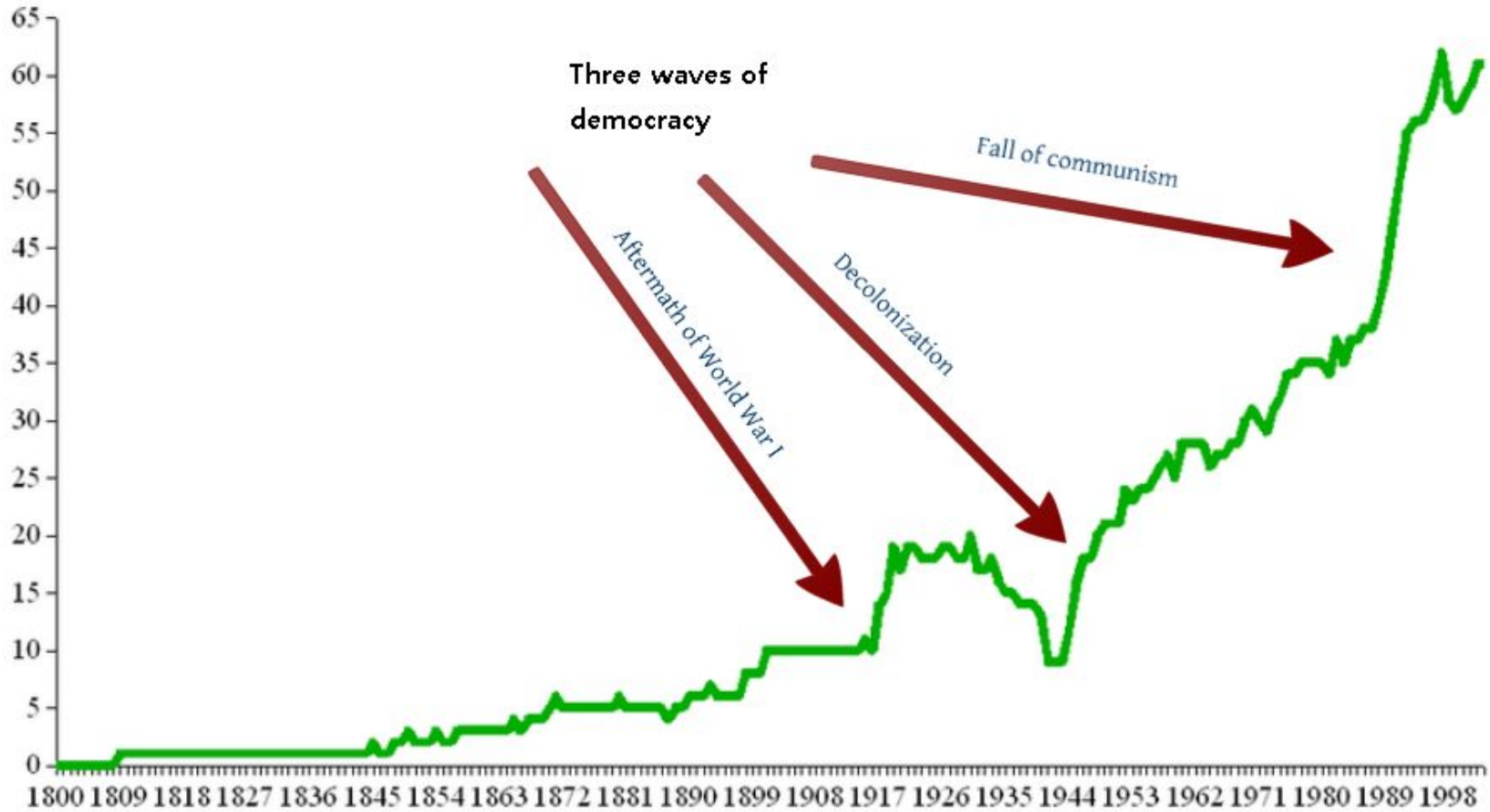
1. The **power in the country is divided**: executive – legislative – legal bodies
2. The country is governed by the **rule of law**
3. **Control over government** decisions about policy is **constitutionally vested in elected officials**.
4. Elected officials are chosen in **frequent and fairly conducted elections** in which coercion is comparatively uncommon.
5. Practically **all** adults have the **right to vote** in the election of officials.
6. Practically **all** adults have the **right to run for elective offices** in the government.
7. Citizens have **freedom of speech**, a **right to express themselves** without the danger of severe punishment on political matters broadly defined.
8. Citizens have a right to **seek out alternative sources of information**.
Moreover, alternative sources of information exist and are protected by law.
9. Citizens also have the right to **form relatively independent associations** or

The paradox of fragile yet stable democratic regime

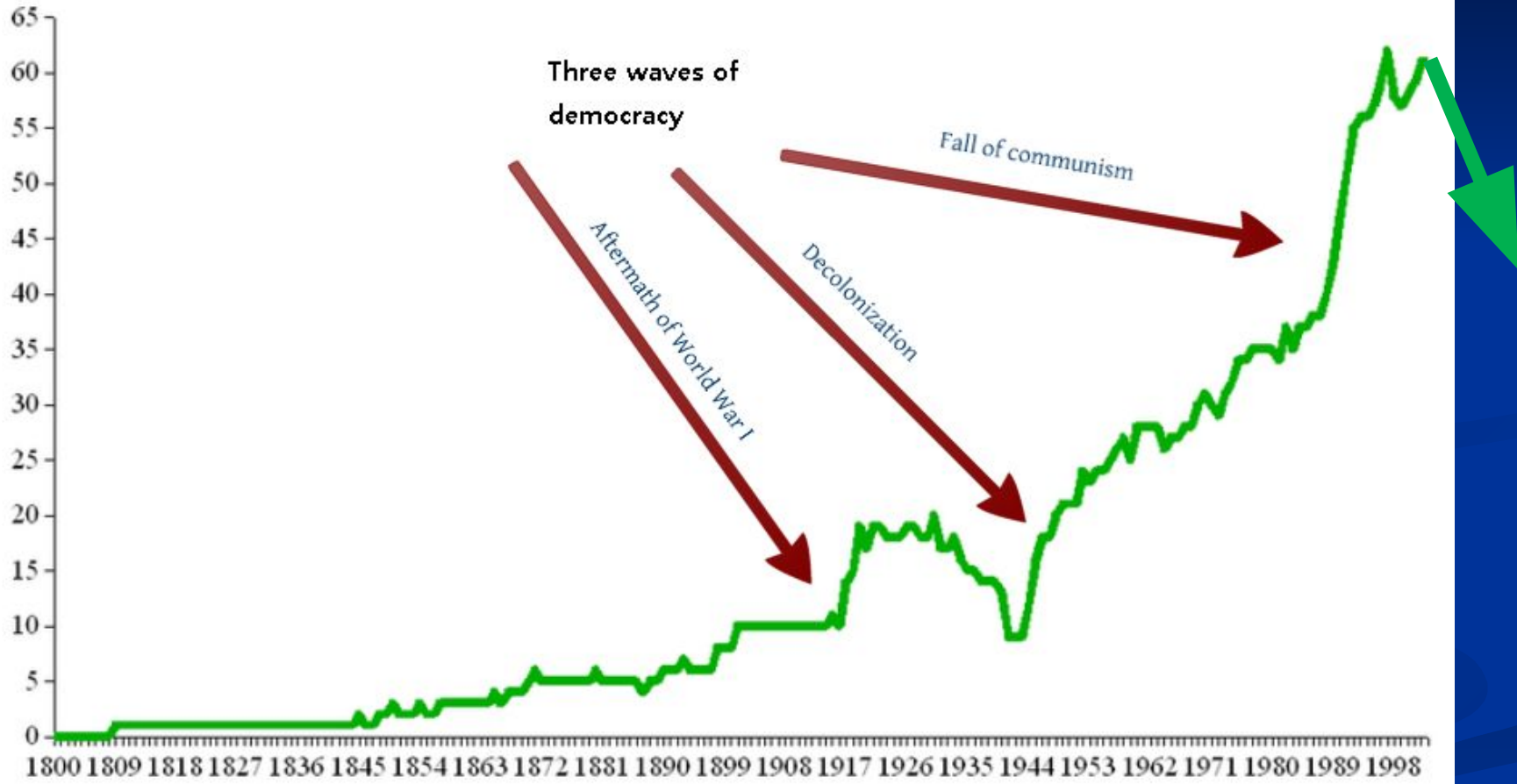
While democracy in the long run is the most stable form of government,
in the short run, it is among the most fragile.

Madeleine Albright

Number of nations scoring 8 or higher on the Polity IV scale 1800-2003



Number of nations scoring 8 or higher on the Polity IV scale 1800-2003



The paradox of the natural selection of the worst candidates

The election process naturally promotes leaders whose personality seems detrimental to democracy: the selfish, dishonest, unscrupulous, narcissistic, psychopathic.

Paradoxically, the otherwise mostly powerless electorate tends to empower the demagogic populists who will deprive them even more.

Paradox of care about politics

One SHOULD be concerned with politics so one would NOT HAVE TO. In order to devote to politics only as little time as possible (and free ourselves for other activities), we have to be engaged in it. (Janata 2017)

Basic democratic paradox

Democracy, potentially the most peaceful regime, is based on principles which are in conflict with each other

- Freedom vs. equality
- Freedom of one individual against freedom for others
- Freedom vs. security
- Individual vs. minorities vs. the majority rights
- Civic vs. national views
- Laws vs. popular will

Conflict in democracy is natural.

Things have to be negotiated over and over.

There is no prepared script

Thus, the regime is in a **permanent tension, dynamic disequilibrium.**

Basic democratic paradox

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Thus, the regime is in a **permanent tension, dynamic disequilibrium.**



<https://mmpi.ie/what-is-disequilibrium/>

But....not only that democracy is a system in permanent conflict - psychologists know that human psyche is to a great degree self-serving and **selfish**

- Freud: self-serving defense mechanisms, e.g., denial, projection – we bend reality for our profit.
- Festinger: cognitive dissonance – we forcefully harmonize disagreeing cognitions and emotions in a self-serving way.
- Kruglanski, Jost... theories of motivated social cognition – we choose what we WANT to know
- Ross: Fundamental Attribution Error we explain bad behavior of others by their bad personality, our bad behavior by unusual situation.
- Social Traps: selfish individuals cause loss for a whole group
Platt, Hardin -Tragedy of the Commons

The grand social psychological challenge for democracy

The society is in a permanent tension
and dynamic disequilibrium

&

Humans are often selfish
not naturally predisposed to democratic
coexistence

How come then that democracies survive?
What is so special about democracies?



Liberté – Egalité - Fraternité

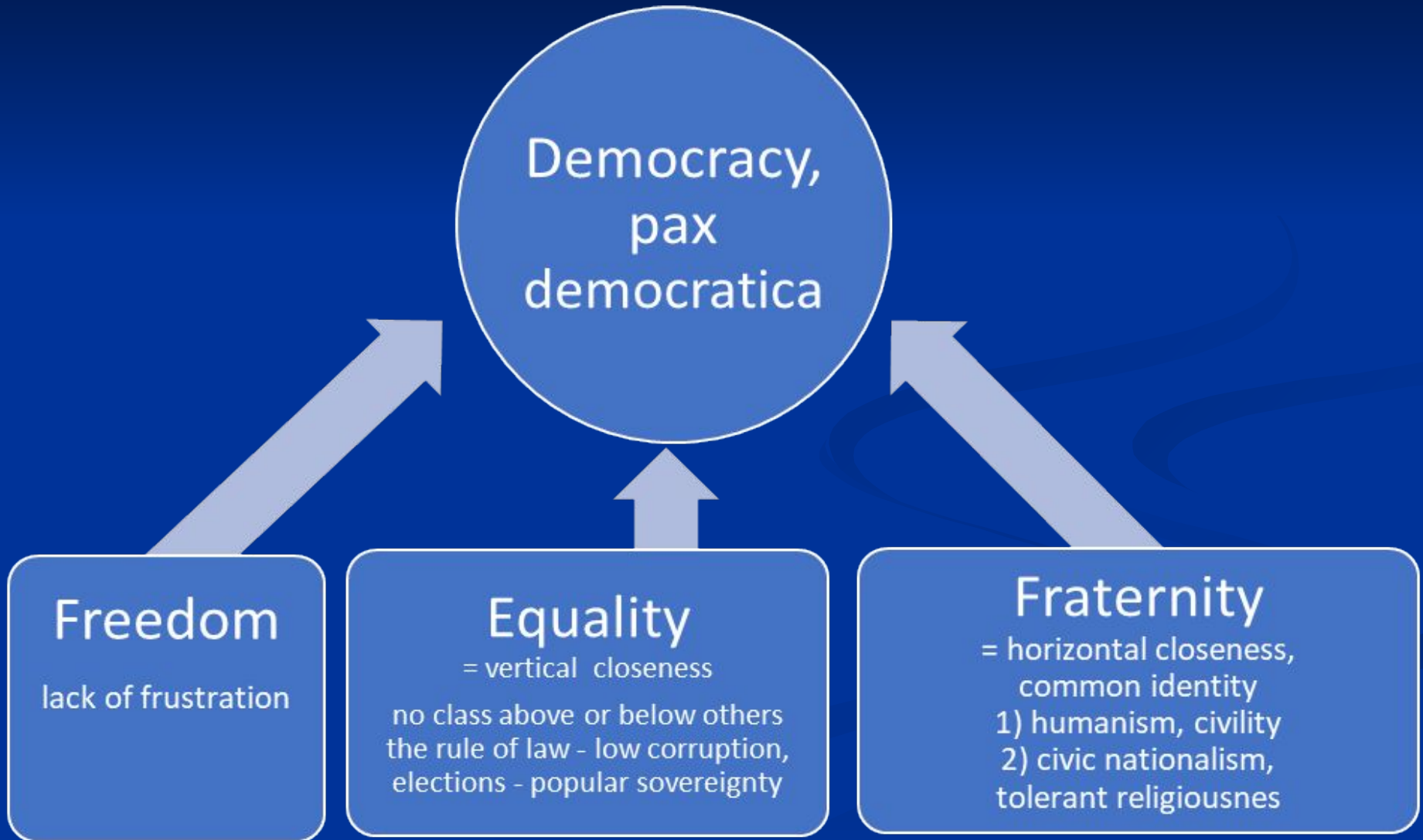
Democracies
(and with them
the democratic peace)
are based on
liberty, equality, and fraternity

Feierabend & Klicperova-Baker (2015)



photo by David Henry © 2015 <http://www.davidphentry.com>

How democracies differ from other regimes:

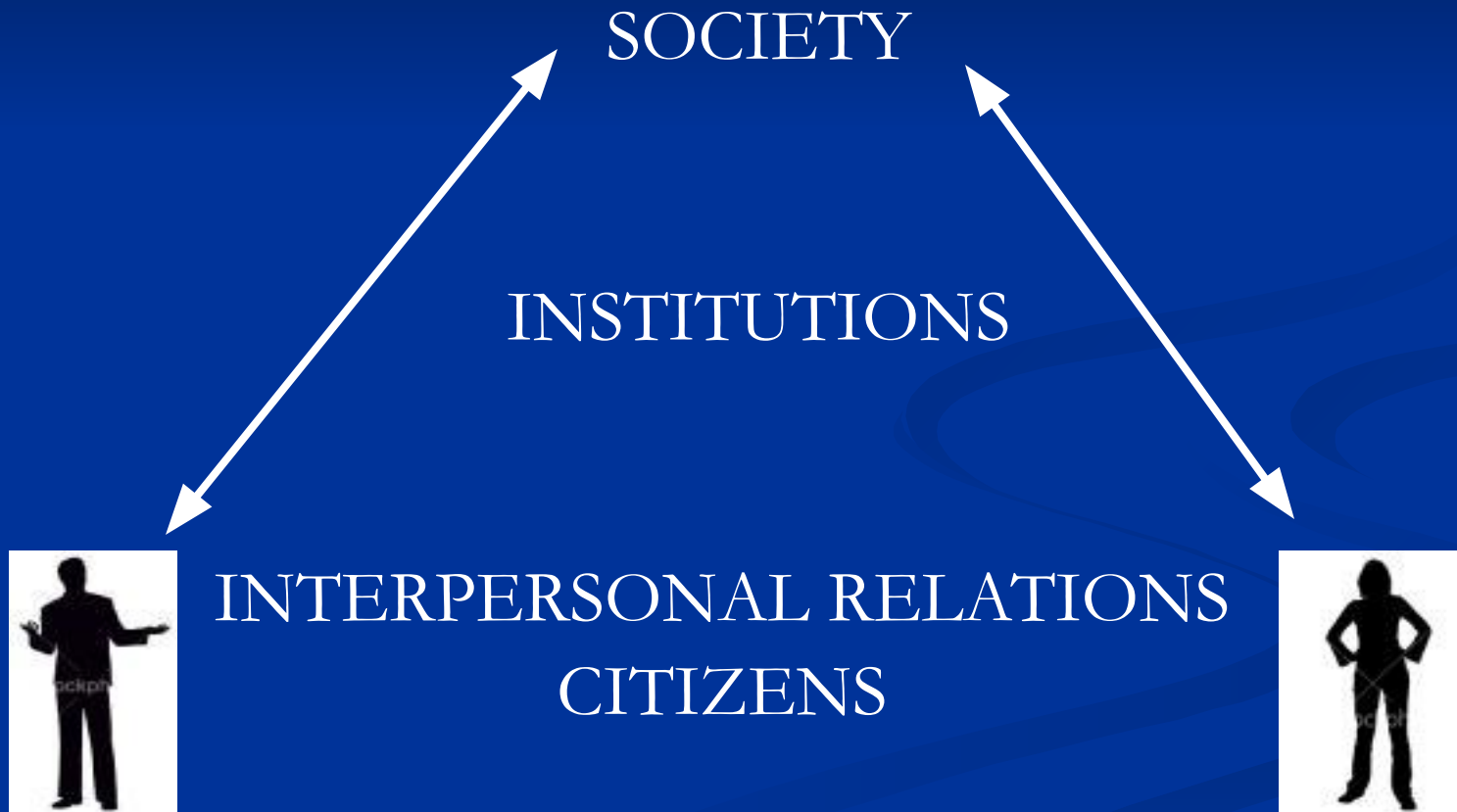


Fraternity - civility
= cornerstone of democracy

**buffer which softens the inevitable
conflicts between freedom and
equality**

CIVILITY

on horizontal (interpersonal) level
on vertical level (citizens x institutions x society)



The importance of civility

Velvet Revolution
1989



Velvet Divorce
of Czechoslovakia
1992/1993





Czech velvet revolution: nonviolent conflict resolution

Civility

Nonviolent gestures

Positive crowd behavior, forgiveness

Students disseminated info, fliers

Theaters became discussion fora

Leaders personified moral principles

Civic (democratic) patriotism

Culture, creativity, and humor

Spirituality and religion

Voting – general strike



Peaceful conflict management



1918

1938

1948

1968

1989

1992



yet, since 2022 decisive military support for Ukraine

The basic democratic paradox
democracy, potentially the most
peaceful regime,
is based on principles which are
in conflict
with each other;
these conflicts are resolved by
civility and decency

Empirical research

relationship between

democracy

and

psychological attitudes and values



**RONALD INGLEHART
CHRISTIAN WELZEL**

**POLITICAL SCIENTISTS
AUTHORS OF THE CULTURE MAP**

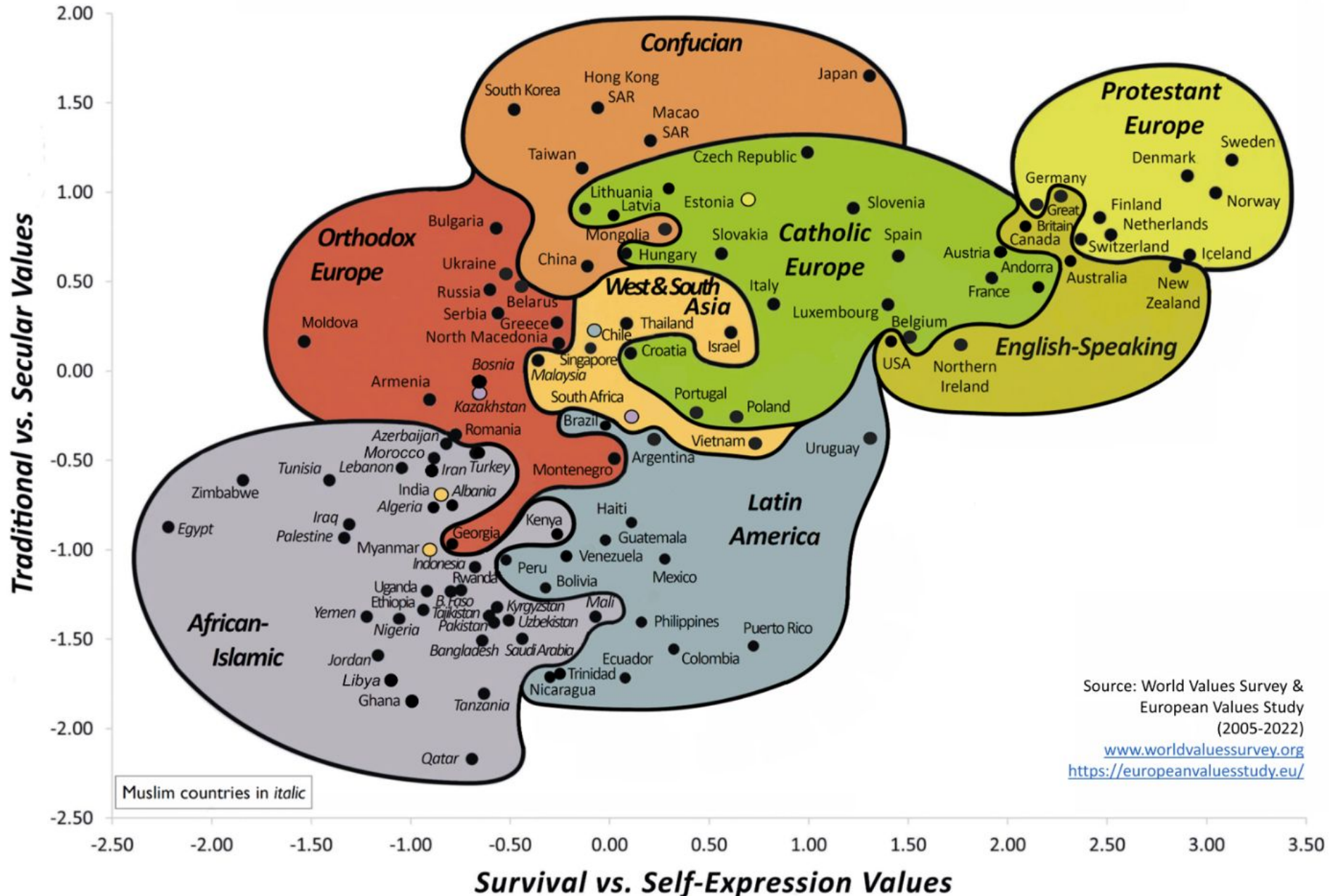
The **World Values Survey (WVS)**

is a global research project that explores values and beliefs around the world.

It measures: support for democracy It
measures: support for democracy, tolerance of
foreigners and ethnic minorities, support for
gender equality It measures: support for
democracy, tolerance of foreigners and ethnic
minorities, support for gender equality, religiosity
It measures: support for democracy, tolerance of
foreigners and ethnic minorities, support for

... and ...

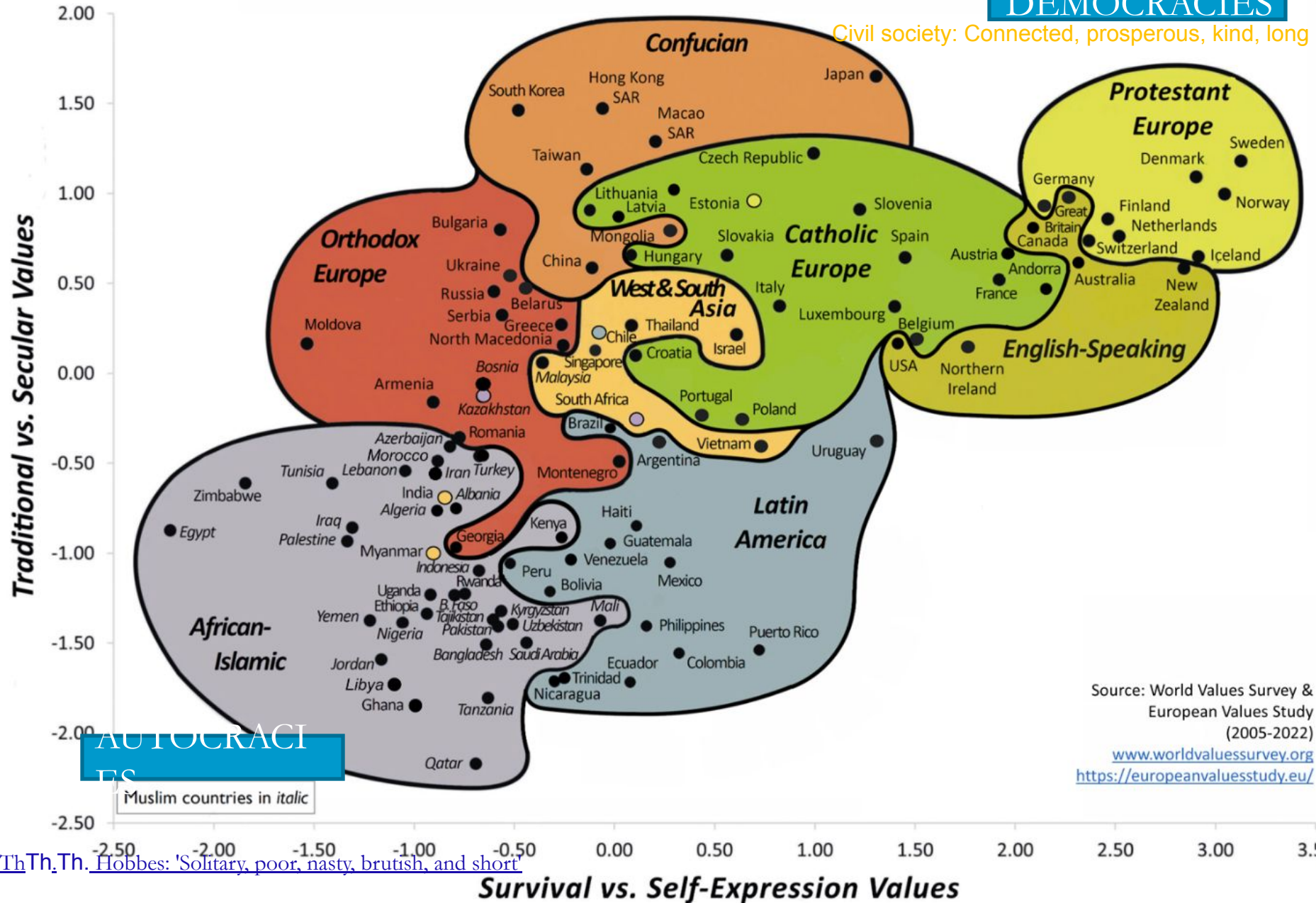
The Inglehart-Welzel World Cultural Map 2023



The Inglehart-Welzel World Cultural Map 2023

DEMOCRACIES

Civil society: Connected, prosperous, kind, long



Source: World Values Survey & European Values Study (2005-2022)
www.worldvaluessurvey.org
<https://europeanvaluesstudy.eu/>

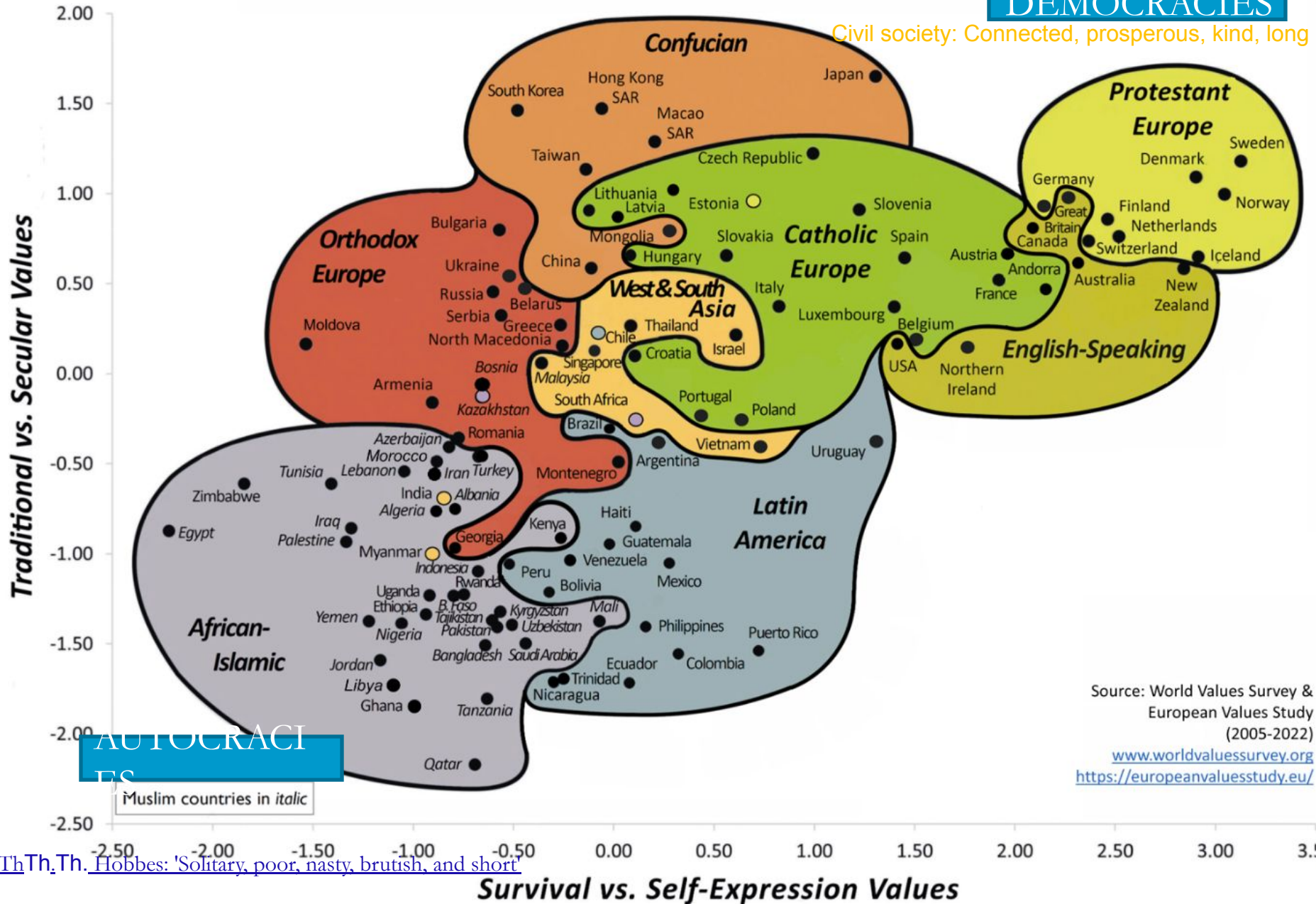
ThTh.Th. Hobbes: 'Solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short'

Modal personality
National character

The Inglehart-Welzel World Cultural Map 2023

DEMOCRACIES

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Group mentalities
relatively stable characteristics
of group behavior

Modern theories of political characters

Anti-democratic character

Adorno et al. – authoritarianism

F-scale (fascist personality)

Democratic character

Laswell, 1951 - democratic personality

Post-totalitarian/communist mentality

(Klicperova et al.)

societies are mosaics

Looking for Prodemocratic and Antidemocratic mentalities in Europe

Cluster analysis of European Social Survey data

Method European Values Study – database 2008-2010,
44 European countries, N = 63,281 respondents

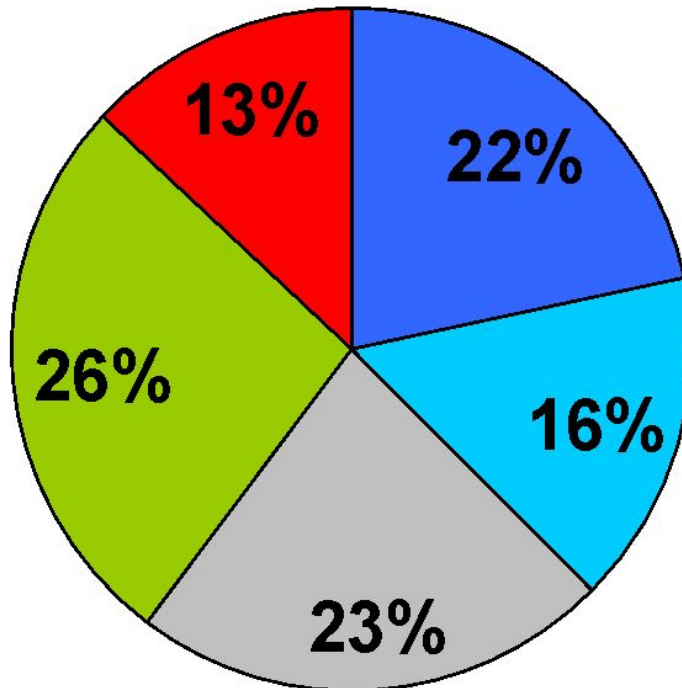
73 variables, mainly measures of

1. tolerance and benevolence (minorities, foreigners, modern lifestyles - feminism, gays, divorce, abortions)
2. religiousness
3. democratic spirit - voting, activism, democratic creed

European mentalities cluster analysis

(EVS 2011, N=63,281)

Europe



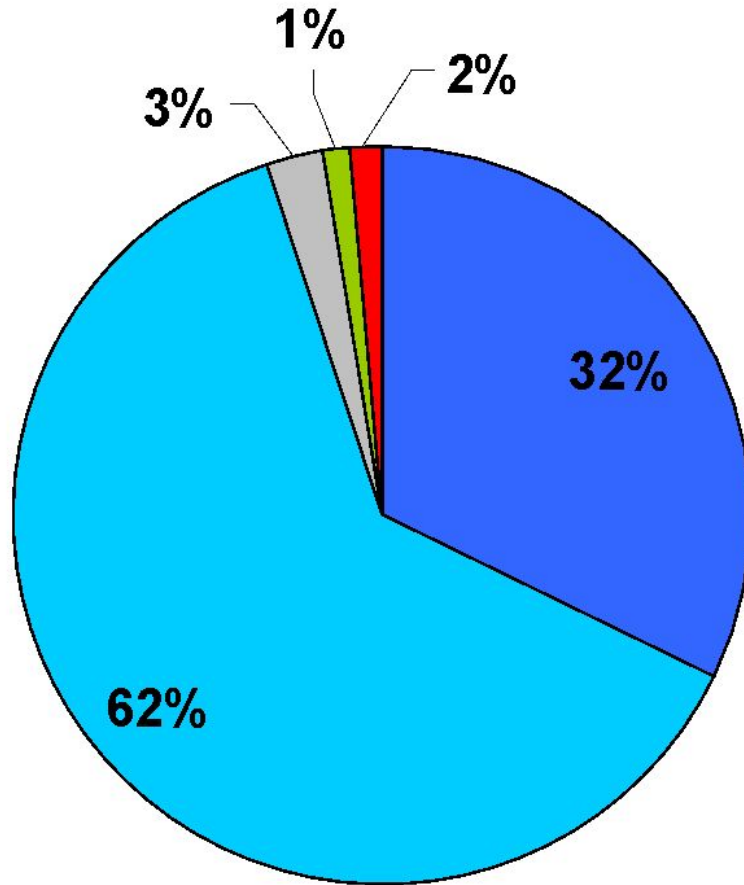
- Religious democrats
- Secular democrats
- Non-democratic skeptics
- Intolerant traditionalists
- Authoritarian activists

| selection of 73 items | I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. | Eta |
|-----------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Democracy is good | 3.62 | 3.48 | 3.00 | 3.17 | 3.21 | .309 |
| Divorce justifiable | 8.01 | 5.18 | 6.07 | 3.55 | 4.72 | .489 |
| People can be trusted | 63% | 46% | 18% | 14% | 18% | .405 |
| People try to be helpful | 5.49 | 5.72 | 4.09 | 3.84 | 4.06 | .324 |
| Will vote at election | 2.78 | 2.75 | 2.41 | 2.61 | 2.61 | .205 |
| Believe in God | 38% | 96% | 56% | 99% | 96% | .601 |
| Concerned with sick | 3.66 | 3.78 | 3.36 | 4.01 | 3.83 | .237 |
| Gays undesirable | 5 % | 17 % | 36 % | 63 % | 51 % | .447 |
| Different race undesirable | 4% | 7% | 15% | 26% | 20% | .237 |
| Desiring a strong leader | 1.56 | 1.91 | 2.25 | 2.56 | 2.52 | .357 |
| Desiring army rule | 1.15 | 1.35 | 1.49 | 1.89 | 1.94 | .376 |
| Occupy buildings | 1.35 | 1.04 | 1.05 | 1.01 | 1.68 | .533 |

| | I. | | | | | Eta |
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| | Secular democrats | | | | | Eta |
|----------------------------|----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
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| Occupy buildings | 1.35 | 1.04 | 1.05 | 1.01 | 1.68 | .533 |

European mentalities (EVS 2011) Denmark

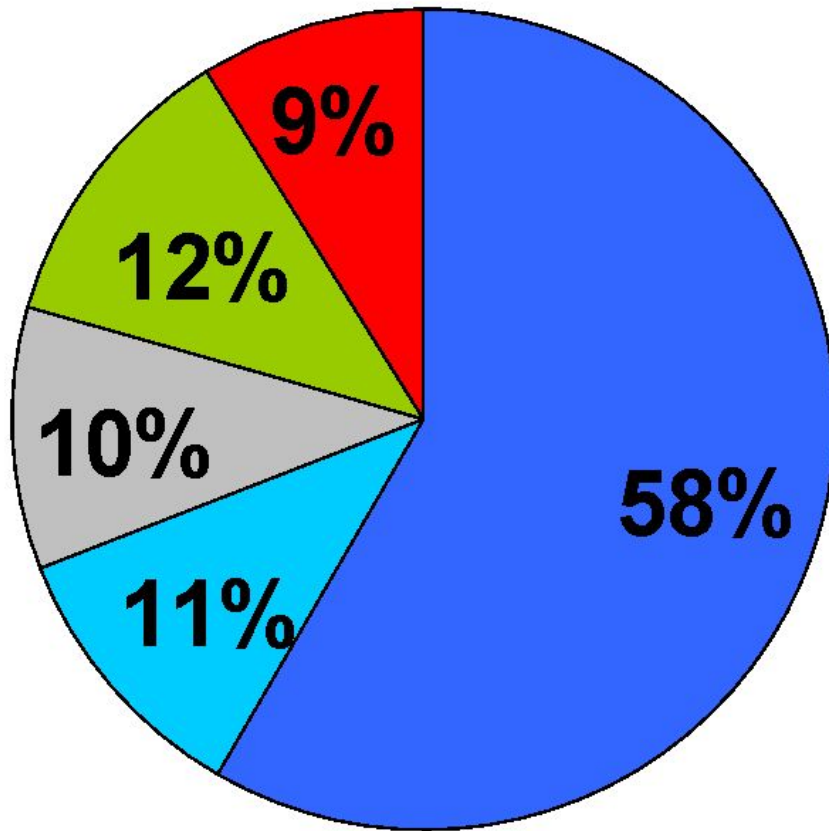







- Religious democrats**
- Secular democrats**
- Non-democratic skeptics**
- Intolerant traditionalists**
- Authoritarian activists**

| | | II. | | | | Eta |
|-----------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Democracy is good | 3.62 | 3.48 | 3.00 | 3.17 | 3.21 | .309 |
| Divorce justifiable | 8.01 | 5.18 | 6.07 | 3.55 | 4.72 | .489 |
| People can be trusted | .63 | .46 | .18 | .14 | .18 | .405 |
| People try to be helpful | 5.49 | 5.72 | 4.09 | 3.84 | 4.06 | .324 |
| Will vote at election | 2.78 | 2.75 | 2.41 | 2.61 | 2.61 | .205 |
| Believe in God | 38% | 96% | 56% | 99% | 96% | .601 |
| Concerned with sick | 3.66 | 3.78 | 3.36 | 4.01 | 3.83 | .237 |
| Gays undesirable | 5 % | 17 % | 36 % | 63 % | 51 % | .447 |
| Different race undesirable | 4% | 7% | 15% | 26% | 20% | .237 |
| Desiring a strong leader | 1.56 | 1.91 | 2.25 | 2.56 | 2.52 | .357 |
| Desiring army rule | 1.15 | 1.35 | 1.49 | 1.89 | 1.94 | .376 |
| Occupy buildings | 1.35 | 1.04 | 1.05 | 1.01 | 1.68 | .533 |

| | | Religious democrats | | | | Eta |
|-----------------------------------|------|---------------------|------|------|------|------|
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European mentalities (EVS 2011) Ireland

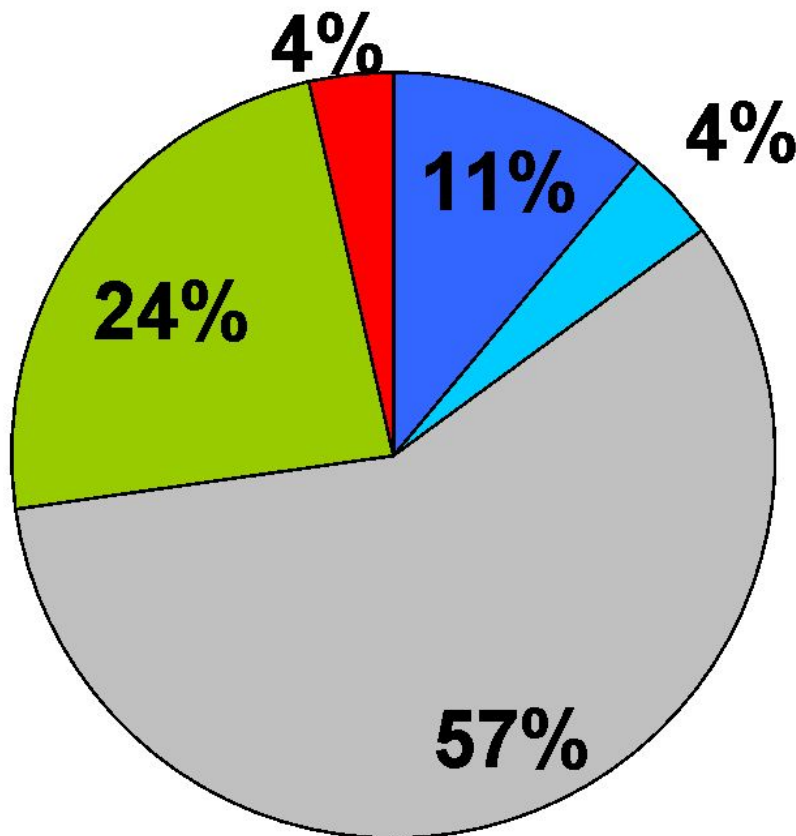


-  **Religious democrats**
-  **Secular democrats**
-  **Non-democratic skeptics**
-  **Intolerant traditionalists**
-  **Authoritarian activists**

| | | | III. | | | Eta |
|-----------------------------------|------|------|-------------|------|------|------|
| Democracy is good | 3.62 | 3.48 | 3.00 | 3.17 | 3.21 | .309 |
| Divorce justifiable | 8.01 | 5.18 | 6.07 | 3.55 | 4.72 | .489 |
| People can be trusted | .63 | .46 | .18 | .14 | .18 | .405 |
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| Occupy buildings | 1.35 | 1.04 | 1.05 | 1.01 | 1.68 | .533 |

| | | | Non-democratic skeptics | | | Eta |
|----------------------------|------|------|-------------------------|------|------|------|
| Democracy is good | 3.62 | 3.48 | 3.00 | 3.17 | 3.21 | .309 |
| Divorce justifiable | 8.01 | 5.18 | 6.07 | 3.55 | 4.72 | .489 |
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| Occupy buildings | 1.35 | 1.04 | 1.05 | 1.01 | 1.68 | .533 |

European mentalities (EVS 2011) Hungary

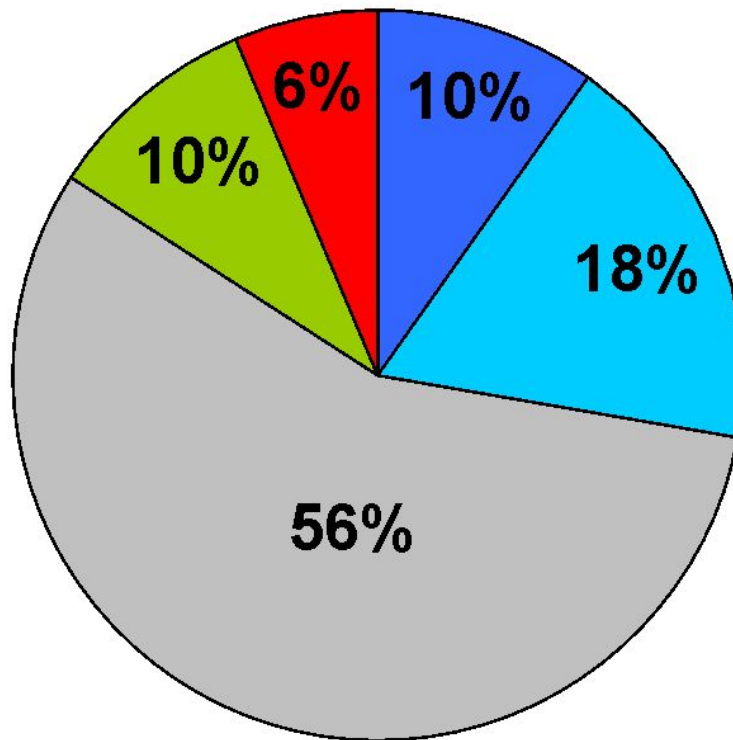


- Religious democrats
- Secular democrats
- Non-democratic skeptics
- Intolerant traditionalists
- Authoritarian activists

European mentalities

(EVS 2011)

Czech Republic



■ Religious democrats

■ Secular democrats

■ Non-democratic skeptics

■ Intolerant traditionalists

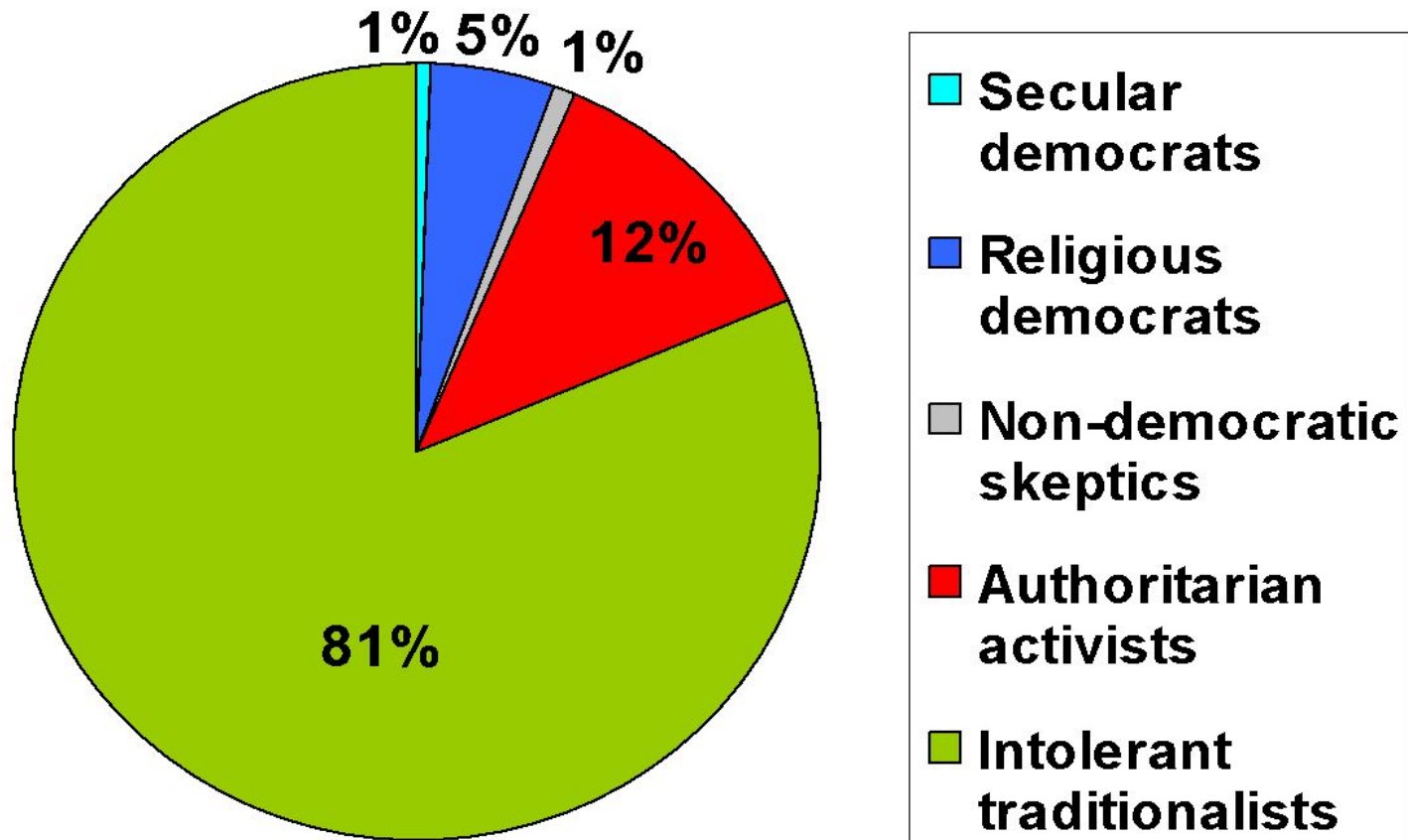
■ Authoritarian activists

| | | | | IV. | | Eta |
|-----------------------------------|------|------|------|-------------|------|------|
| Democracy is good | 3.62 | 3.48 | 3.00 | 3.17 | 3.21 | .309 |
| Divorce justifiable | 8.01 | 5.18 | 6.07 | 3.55 | 4.72 | .489 |
| People can be trusted | 63% | 46% | 18% | 14% | 18% | .405 |
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| Occupy buildings | 1.35 | 1.04 | 1.05 | 1.01 | 1.68 | .533 |

| | | | | Intolerant traditionalists | | Eta |
|----------------------------|------|------|------|----------------------------|------|------|
| Democracy is good | 3.62 | 3.48 | 3.00 | 3.17 | 3.21 | .309 |
| Divorce justifiable | 8.01 | 5.18 | 6.07 | 3.55 | 4.72 | .489 |
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| Desiring army rule | 1.15 | 1.35 | 1.49 | 1.89 | 1.94 | .376 |
| Occupy buildings | 1.35 | 1.04 | 1.05 | 1.01 | 1.68 | .533 |

European mentalities (EVS 2011)

Turkey

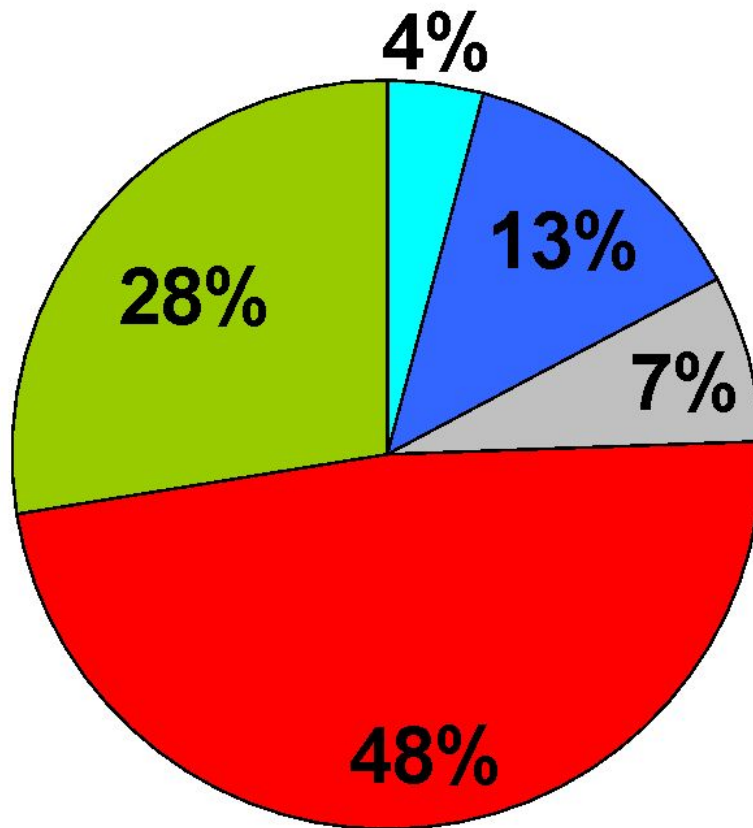


| | | | | | V. | Eta |
|-----------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Democracy is good | 3.62 | 3.48 | 3.00 | 3.17 | 3.21 | .309 |
| Divorce justifiable | 8.01 | 5.18 | 6.07 | 3.55 | 4.72 | .489 |
| People can be trusted | 63% | 46% | 18% | 14% | 18% | .405 |
| People try to be helpful | 5.49 | 5.72 | 4.09 | 3.84 | 4.06 | .324 |
| Will vote at election | 2.78 | 2.75 | 2.41 | 2.61 | 2.61 | .205 |
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| Occupy buildings | 1.35 | 1.04 | 1.05 | 1.01 | 1.68 | .533 |

| | | | | | Religious radicals | Eta |
|----------------------------|------|------|------|------|--------------------|------|
| Democracy is good | 3.62 | 3.48 | 3.00 | 3.17 | 3.21 | .309 |
| Divorce justifiable | 8.01 | 5.18 | 6.07 | 3.55 | 4.72 | .489 |
| People can be trusted | 63% | 46% | 18% | 14% | 18% | .405 |
| People try to be helpful | 5.49 | 5.72 | 4.09 | 3.84 | 4.06 | .324 |
| Will vote at election | 2.78 | 2.75 | 2.41 | 2.61 | 2.61 | .205 |
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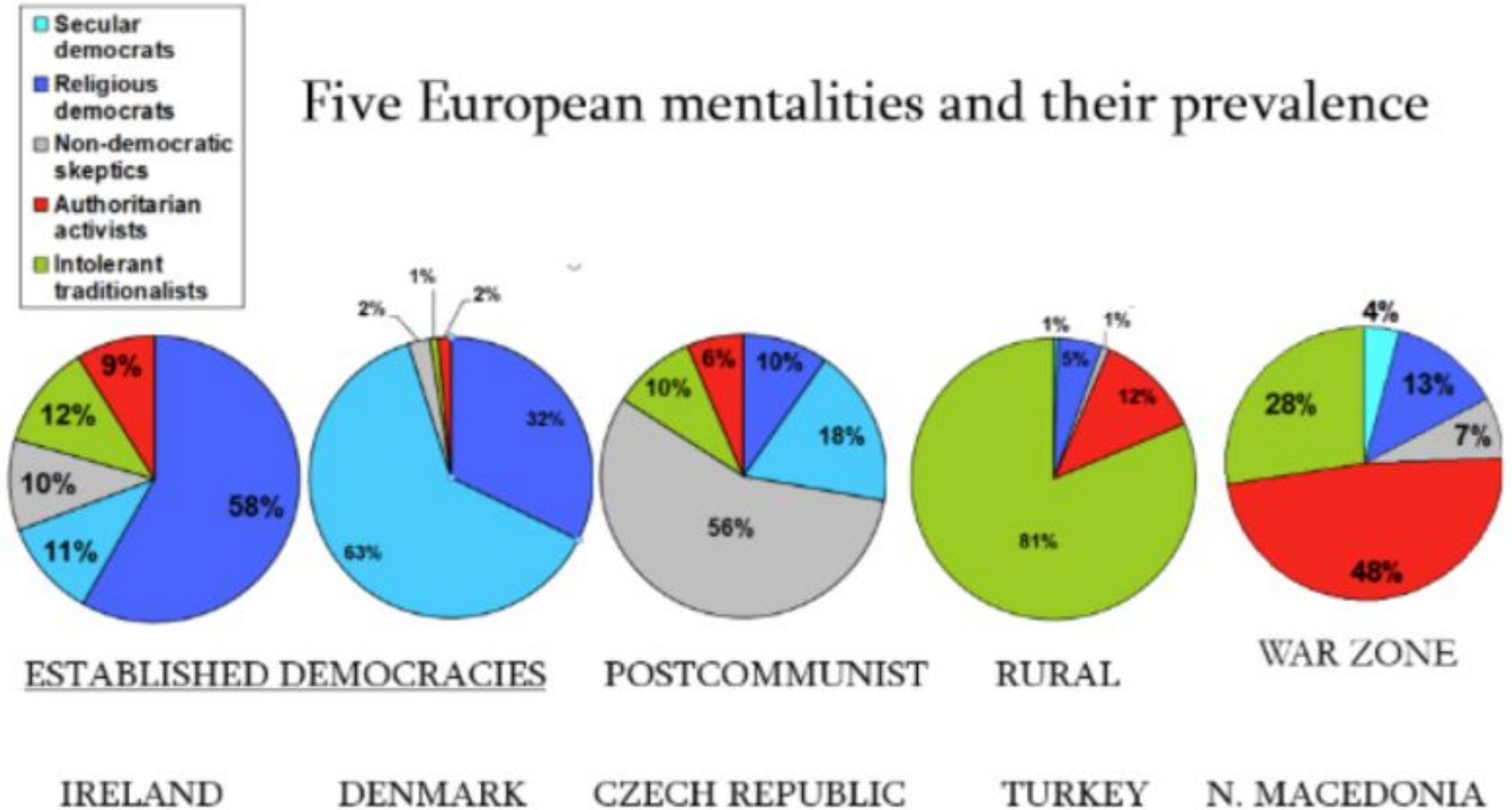
European mentalities (EVS 2011)

Macedonia – Former Yugoslavia



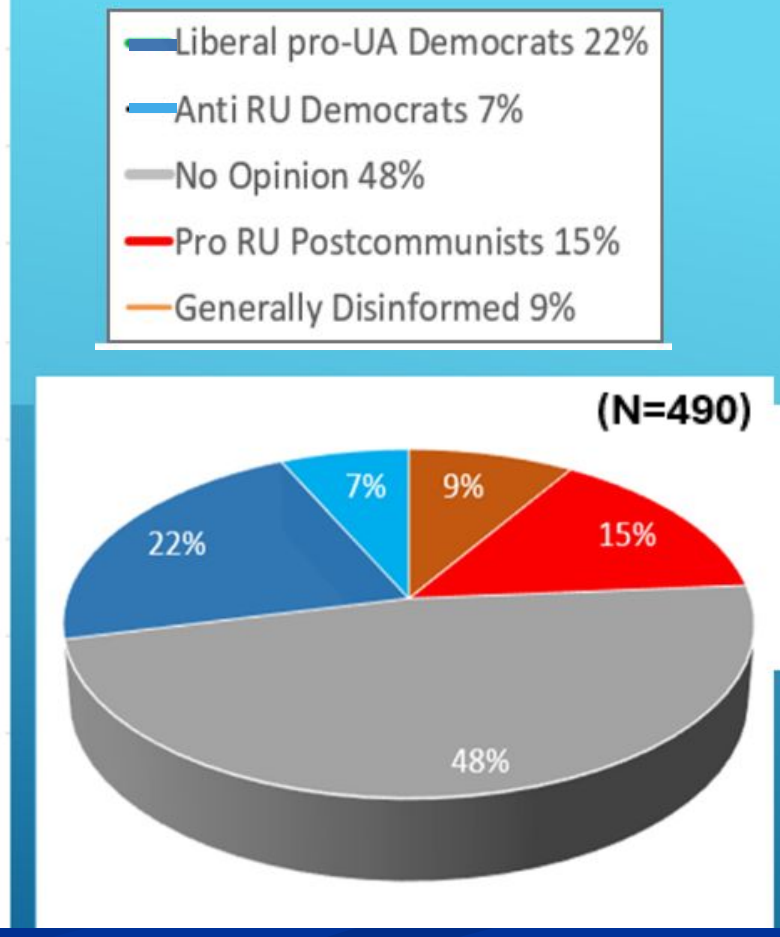
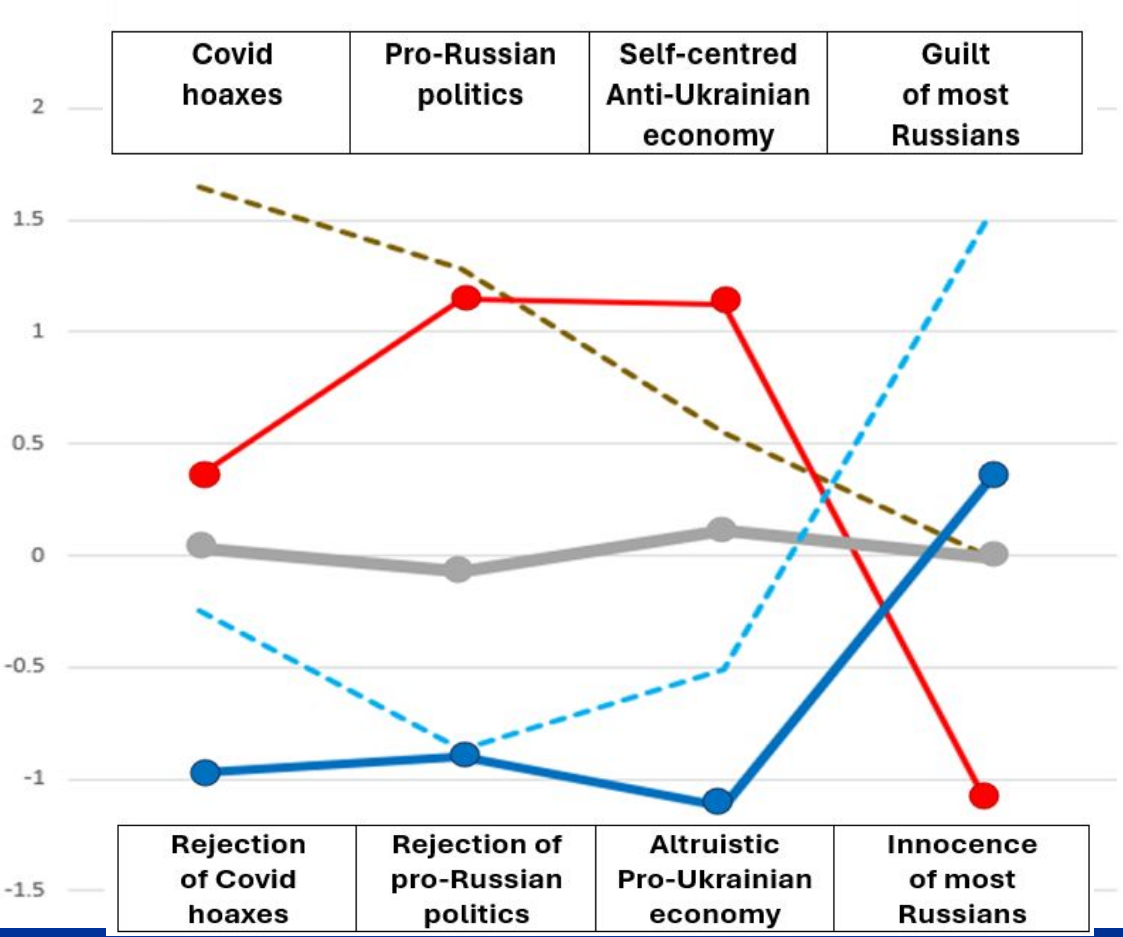
- Secular democrats
- Religious democrats
- Non-democratic skeptics
- Authoritarian activists
- Intolerant traditionalists

Five European mentalities and their prevalence



Various challenges and vulnerabilities
Reassurances

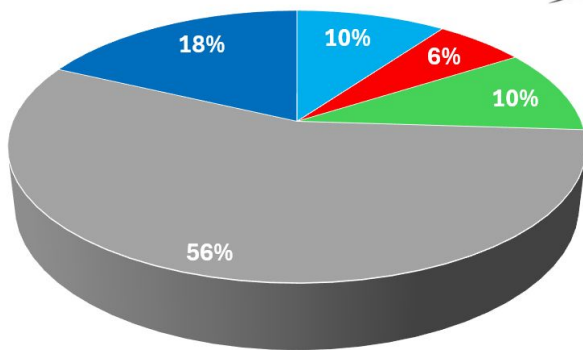
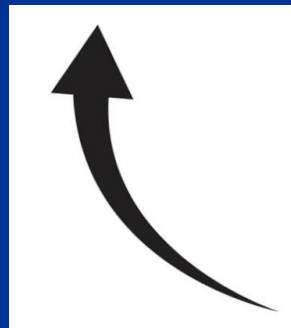
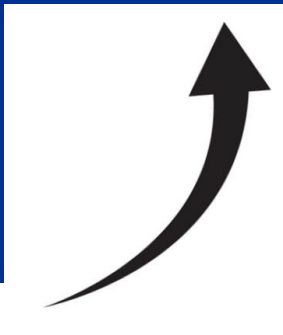
5 PREVALENT CZECH POLITICAL MENTALITIES CHARACTERIZED BY 4 DIMENSIONS/FACTORS



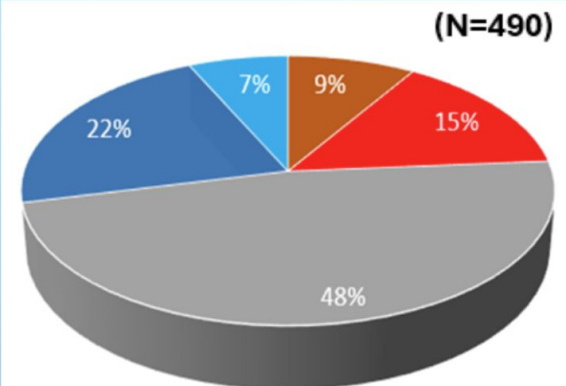
ASSESSMENT OF CZECH POLITICAL MENTALITIES

| | |
|---|--------|
| Secular, liberal democrats | 18-22% |
| Religious, less liberal democrats | 7-10% |
| No opinion, non-democratic sceptics | 48-56% |
| Authoritarians, Post-Communists | 6-15% |
| Intolerant traditionalists, Disinformed | 9-10% |

- Secular democrats
- Religious democrats
- Non-democratic skeptics
- Authoritarian activists
- Intolerant traditionalists



- Liberal pro-UA Democrats 22%
- Anti RU Democrats 7%
- No Opinion 48%
- Pro RU Postcommunists 15%
- Generally Disinformed 9%



Perception of threat in Central Europe (late 2023)

Do you personally think any of the following groups or countries threaten your identity and values or not?

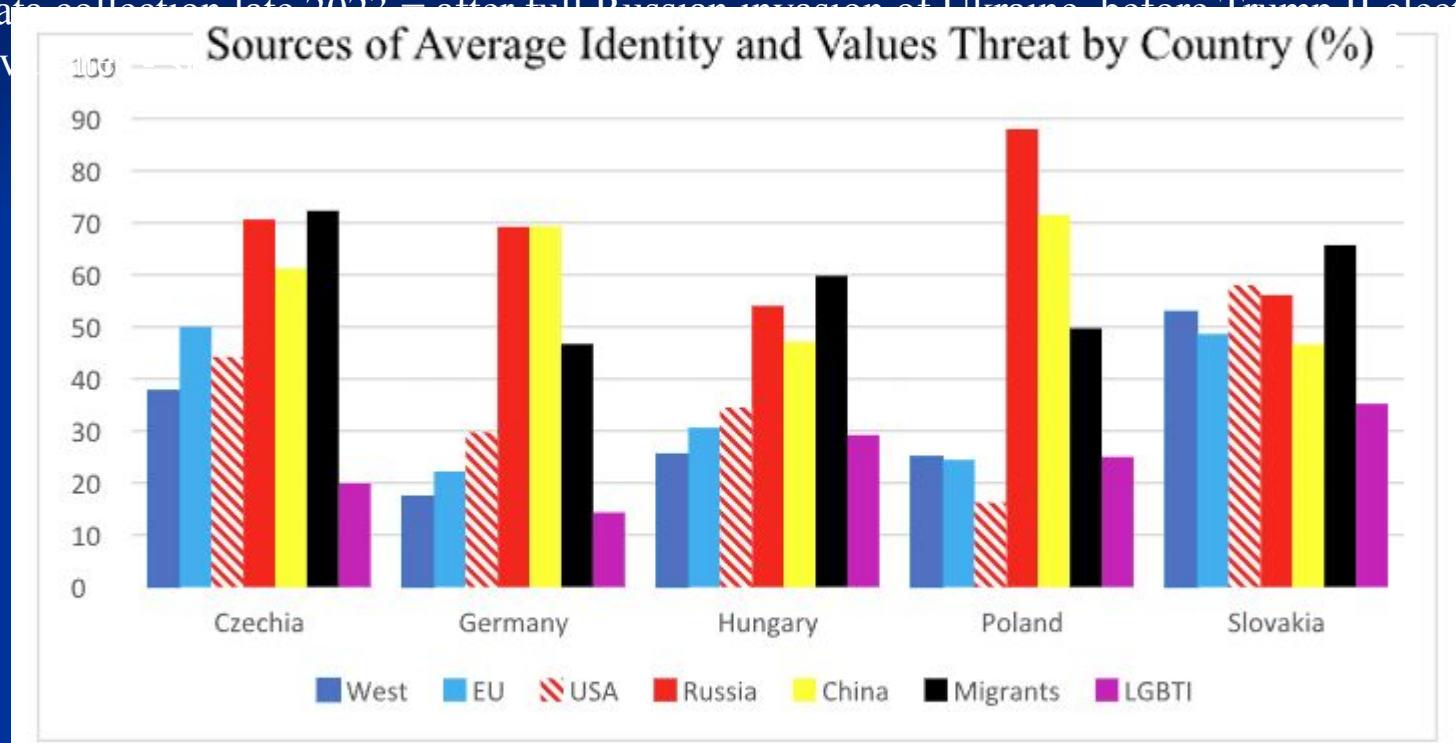
Please evaluate each item separately.

- (1) Western societies and their way of living;
- (2) European Union;
- (3) United States of America;
- (4) Russia;
- (5) China;
- (6) Migrants;
- (7) People with other sexual orientation (LGBTI).

Klicperova-Baker, Jelinek, Kveton, Brezina, Boehnke, Deutsch, Jakab, Šrol, Cavojska, Przybylski, Deutsch, Maftan 2024

Do you personally think any of the following groups or countries threaten your identity and values or not?

(Data collection late 2022 – after full Russian invasion of Ukraine, before Trump II election; Covid-19 pandemic)



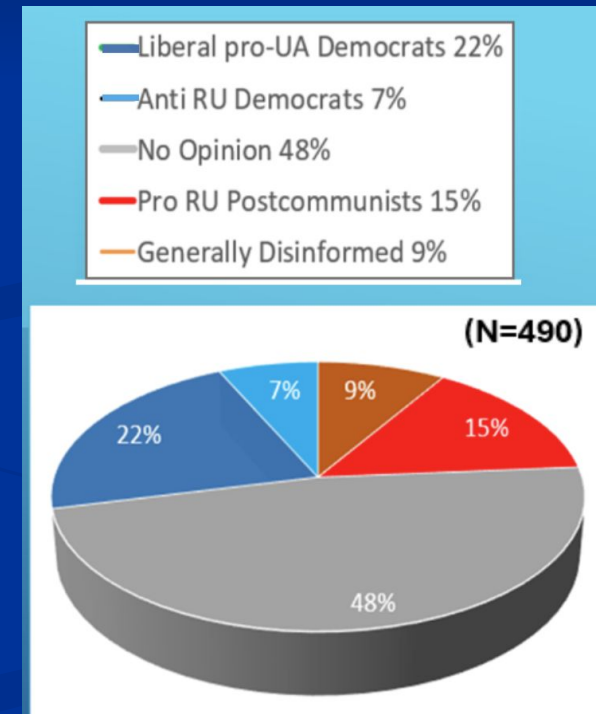
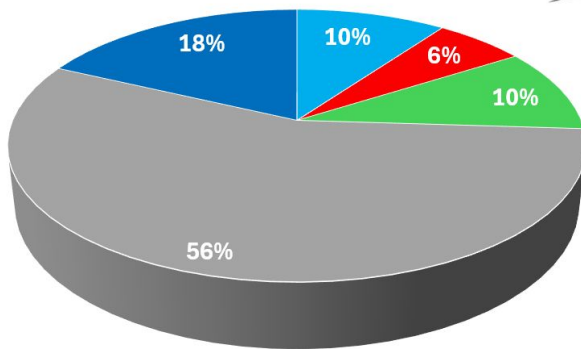
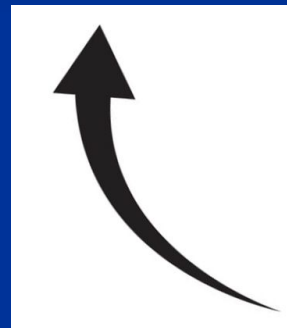
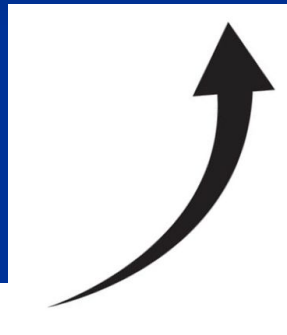
Klicperova-Baker, Jelinek, Kveton, Brezina, Boehnke, Deutsch, Jakob, Šrol, Cavojova, Przybylski, Deutsch, Maftean 2024

Challenge for democracy:

Polycrisis, general erosion of democracy, post-communist legacy, aggressive hybrid war from Russia – disinformation campaigns



| | |
|---|--------|
| Secular, liberal democrats | 18-22% |
| Religious, less liberal democrats | 7-10% |
| No opinion, non-democratic sceptics | 48-56% |
| Authoritarians, Post-Communists | 6-15% |
| Intolerant traditionalists, Disinformed | 9-10% |

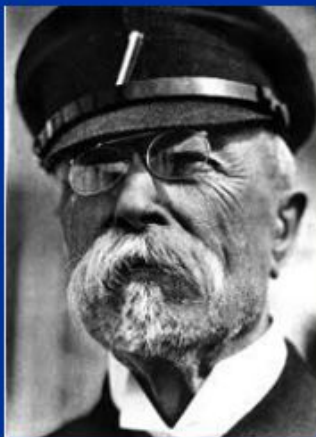


Yet, the Czechs have
one historical advantage,
we have a decent democratic
and humanistic legacy
(golden age of the 1st republic 1918-1938)

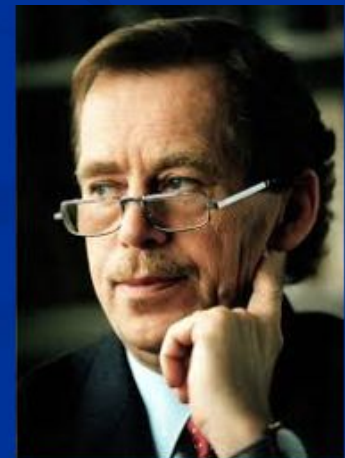
Importantly, our experts in political psychology were
our cherished presidents

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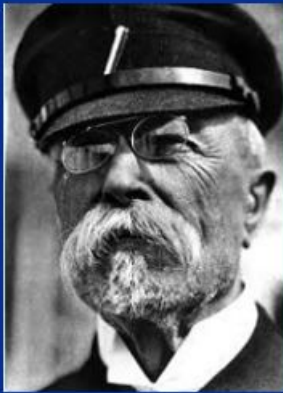
T. G. Masaryk
Václav Havel



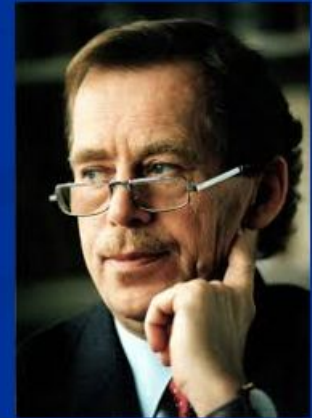
Material souvenirs



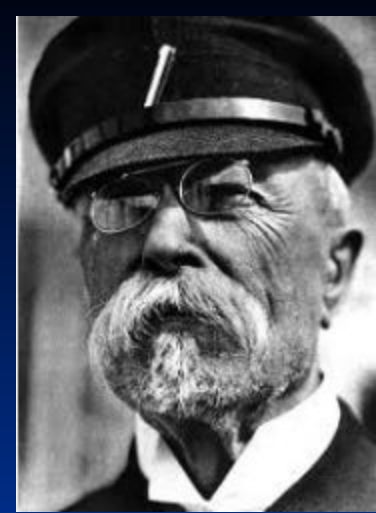
Humble offer of a také home inspiration
for courage to live in truth x post-truth era



T. G. Masaryk
Václav Havel



humanism and democracy
outstanding political psychologists
gems of poli-psy are often outside our discipline.



Tomas G. Masaryk: Founding father of Czechoslovakia
Professor of Sociology, great respect for psychology
He was very close to President Woodrow Wilson – University Prof.
He modeled the multinational Czechoslovakia after the USA

Political psychologist + moral philosopher

Suicide as a Mass Social Phenomenon (1881) – Masaryk’s habilitation thesis
suicide as a consequence of social and psychological disturbances in modern civilization.
Moral and human dimensions of this issue include the breakdown of tradition
and the loss of faith and meaning in life.

Modern Man and Religion (1896) – Essays explore the **spiritual crisis of modernity**.

The Social Question (Vol. I, II, 1898) – Masaryk’s criticizes Marxism and points out
a strong **psychological dimension**. He famously writes that

“without psychology, no proper interpretation of historical facts is possible,”
and stresses the need for a deeper insight into people’s **motivations and inner experience**.
Psychological factors shape political and social life.

Humanitarian Ideals (1901) –lectures highlighting perspectives on **morality and human ideals**.
Masaryk emphasizes *humanity* as the highest value.

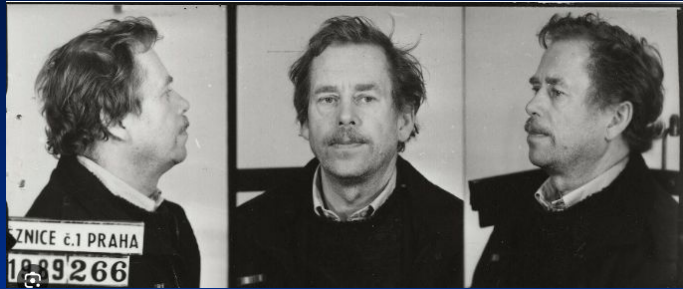
Intelligentsia and Religion (1906) – An essay devoted to the relationship between
the **educated public** and religion, Masaryk examines how rationality influences faith.

Václav Havel

Dissident



President



The Garden Party (1963, play) – absurdist comedy **satirizing Communist life**.

The Memorandum (1965, play) – An absurdist satire of bureaucracy and language under an authoritarian regime. Havel invents a fictitious auxiliary language (“Ptydepe”)

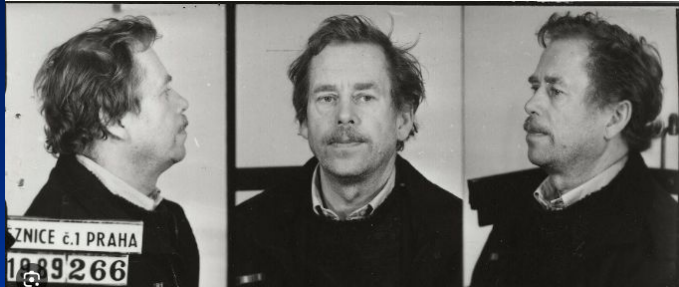
The Increased Difficulty of Concentration (1968, play) – frustration and confusion that results when political dogma makes even simple tasks nearly impossible

Largo Desolato (1985, play) – a semi-autobiographical drama about Leopold Nettles (Kopřiva), a dissident philosopher. Havel explores the intense psychological toll of **living under surveillance** of an oppressive regime.

Temptation (1985, play) – A modern **Faustian allegory** set in a research institute of a Communist state. Dr. Foustka, a rational scientist, who is longing for meaning. “Mephistopheles” figure) offers him forbidden knowledge. Conscience and skepticism become acts of rebellion against the dehumanizing logic of bureaucracy

Václav Havel

Dissident → President



The semi-autobiographical Vaněk Trilogy

(Dissident Morality vs. Morality of Conformists)

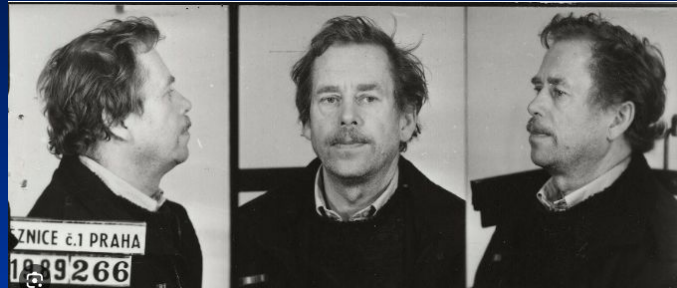
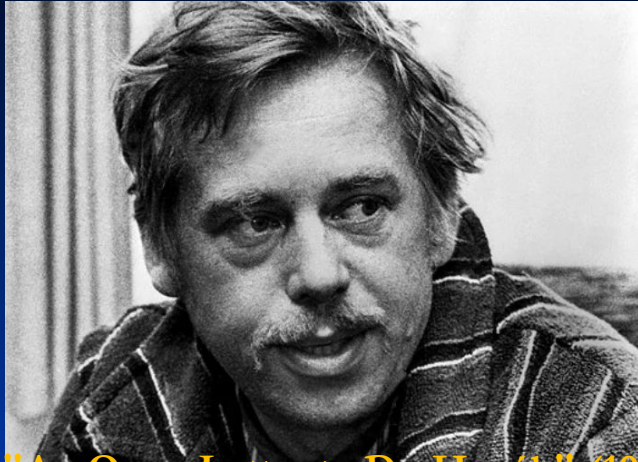
- **Audience** (1975, play) – in a brewery a Czech dissident writer Vaněk meets the brewmaster, who spies on him. Witty portrait of a dissident in an oppressive system.
- **Unveiling** (1975, play) – A confrontation of a dissident with a well-to do conforming couple which desperately seeks Vaněk's moral approval for having cooperated with the oppressive power, while Vaněk awkwardly tries to uphold principle.
- **Protest** (1978, play) – Dissident Vaněk visits an old colleague to persuade him to sign a Charter 77-type protest letter. Havel highlights the clash between moral duty and self-preservation:

Humor and kindness, civility, compassion with the oppressors



Václav Havel

Dissident → President



"An Open Letter to Dr. Husák" (1975) Addressed the General Secretary of the Communist Party, provides psychological analysis of a society under Soviet occupation and authoritarian oppression, the permanent humiliation of human dignity. Analysis of **psychology of passive conformity**, exploring how state oppression internalizes humiliation and damages self-worth.

"The Power of the Powerless" (1978) Havel's landmark political essay on life under Communism. Authoritarian power maintains itself by forcing citizens to and live a "lie," perform ideological rituals (example of the compliant greengrocer). Havel argues that "life in truth" would undermine the system's foundations. Psychology of conformity and dissent: ordinary people, by acting sincerely, can awaken each other's conscience and transform political reality from the ground up.

"Politics and Conscience" (1984) essay criticizing modern politics as impersonal Manipulation instead of true political action guided by honesty, empathy, and responsibility to others.

Take home messages – Inspiration

Legacy of our two political psychologists, presidents –

T. G. Masaryk:



V. Havel:



1 280 x 651

TRUTH PREVAILS

Democracy
is the political realization
of love for one's neighbor.

Truth and love will overcome lies
and hatred.

— Vaclav Havel —

?

What can psychologists do? What can I do?

Experts – research contributing to
understanding and fostering democracy
understanding the basic paradox

that conflicts are inevitable and civility is one of the solutions

Citizens - unite to be more inspired and more effective

Kristen Monroe – Caucus of Concerned Scholars

krmonroe@uci.edu

Martina Klicperova – Psychology of Democracy group

klicperovabaker@gmail.com

Numerous complaints in media that secular people do not have any purpose, that there is a general value vacuum, axiological crisis?

Democrats can have a creed as well as e.g., Christians have a credo.

Democratic Creed

Democracy—liberal democracy that respects freedom (and responsibility)—
is the most favorable regime for mature citizens, for human rights,
and for the self-actualization of the individual.

Democracy is a guide to the peaceful resolution of problems (*pax democratica*)—
truly democratic countries do not go to war with one another,
and democratic countries kill fewer of their own citizens than autocracies do.

Just as during the French Revolution,

today the pillars of democracy remain liberty, equality, and fraternity:

- a) **Liberty** means freedom from oppression and access to shared values,
- b) **Equality** means the rule of law and the relative closeness between those at the top and bottom of society; the principle of equality limits power, e.g., through term limits and a system of checks and balances,
- c) **Fraternity** means humanism, decency, respect
(a sense of closeness among all people and benevolence toward strangers).

It is especially fraternity—**decency** (civility, honesty, respect, truthfulness, generosity, etc.)—that forms the social glue between people. And not just between friends, but also between strangers in a democratic society. Decency serves as a buffer that softens the conflicts that naturally arise in a free society. According to T. G. Masaryk, democracy is the political realization of love for one's neighbor.

One of the inherent tensions or “stress points” of democracy is the conflict between two of its pillars: freedom and equality. (Absolute equality suppresses freedom, while absolute freedom denies equality.) The balance between freedom and equality must constantly be sought; the above mentioned decency/fraternity helps to establish a just equilibrium and mitigate conflict.

Democracy is a living organism—a process. It must grow from roots; it cannot simply be transplanted like a cut flower. It requires ongoing care. Like organs in a body, democracy requires institutions—and their balance.

Patriotism (love of one's homeland) and even **nationalism** (love of one's nation) are not in themselves obstacles to democracy, so long as they do not feed hatred toward others and maintain a civic character—that is, they must also include love for freedom, equality, the law. Instead of promoting exclusive ethnicity, they must honor these inclusive civic values.

This is why democrats tend to feel a kinship and sympathy with other democratic nations.

Our natural allies are found all across the world and even within non-democratic regimes where they are in the minority.

Democratic thinking is moral. Lawrence Kohlberg described moral development as progressing from **pre-conventional morality** (avoiding punishment, seeking rewards), through **conventional morality** (social conformity, adherence to norms), to **post-conventional morality** (guided by values and higher principles). It is this final stage that is most conducive to democracy. The more people reach this highest stage of moral development, the less need there is for police, control, or coercion.

A **democratic political culture** consists of informed, moral, and active citizens.

G. Almond and S. Verba described the evolution of political culture from immediate parochialism, through passive subjecthood, to engaged, informed civic participation.

One of the main problems in modern societies is alienation. Having tasted democracy, many citizens get disappointed as the current state of democracy failed to meet their high expectations. Negativity and skepticism prevent them from improving democracy.

A democratic profile does not have to follow a single prototype. There is more than one democratic mindset; **liberal, secular democrats** and **conservative, religious democrats** can coexist and complement each other compatibly.

A key component of democratic freedom is **responsibility**, including **co-responsibility for the state of the world**, in the sense of **Jaspers's metaphysical responsibility** for the evil that occurs in the world.

As **Immanuel Kant** said: "*When all nations are republics*" (which today we would call democracies), "*there will be peace.*" This is a vision worth believing in and striving toward.

We must be resilient in the face of the disappointments and paradoxes of democracy—such as the one articulated by Václav Havel: "A natural disadvantage of democracy is that it binds the hands of those who take it seriously, while giving almost unlimited freedom to those who do not."

For a society to be democratic, it is not necessary for democrats to be the majority—especially if a large portion of the electorate does not vote. Often, **democrats and elites hold key societal roles**, even without majority support.

Democracies help guide human life toward the **common good**, and they offer individuals the potential to live **creative, happy, healthy, and long lives**—in contrast to autocracies, where life is often **brutal, unhappy, and short**.

Usefulness of the Democratic Creed



INVITATION – A Czech know how



THE STORY OF TWO FRIENDS
AND THE BIGGEST PROTESTS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC
SINCE THE VELVET REVOLUTION

MILLION MOMENTS FOR DEMOCRACY

6TH JULY 5.30 PM

RB 209



STRATEGYAV21
Identities in the World of Wars and Crises



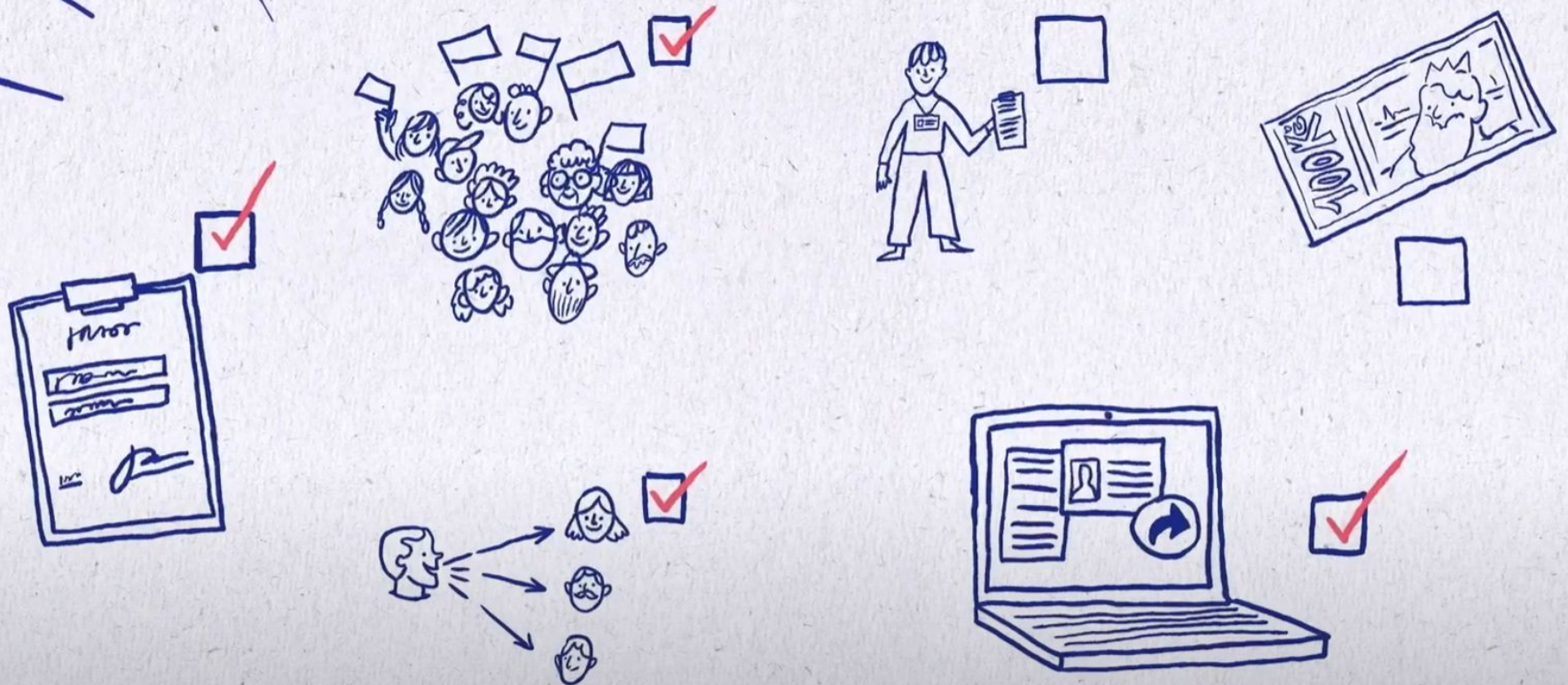
 Czech Academy
of Sciences





MILLION MOMENTS
FOR DEMOCRACY

Manual: How to organize



Successful mobilization CASE STUDY



You just need to give it a moment

INVITATION

Thank you for your attention

klicperovabaker@gmail.com



THE STORY OF TWO FRIENDS
AND THE BIGGEST PROTESTS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC
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MILLION MOMENTS FOR DEMOCRACY

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STRATEGYAV21
Identifies in the World of Wars and Crises





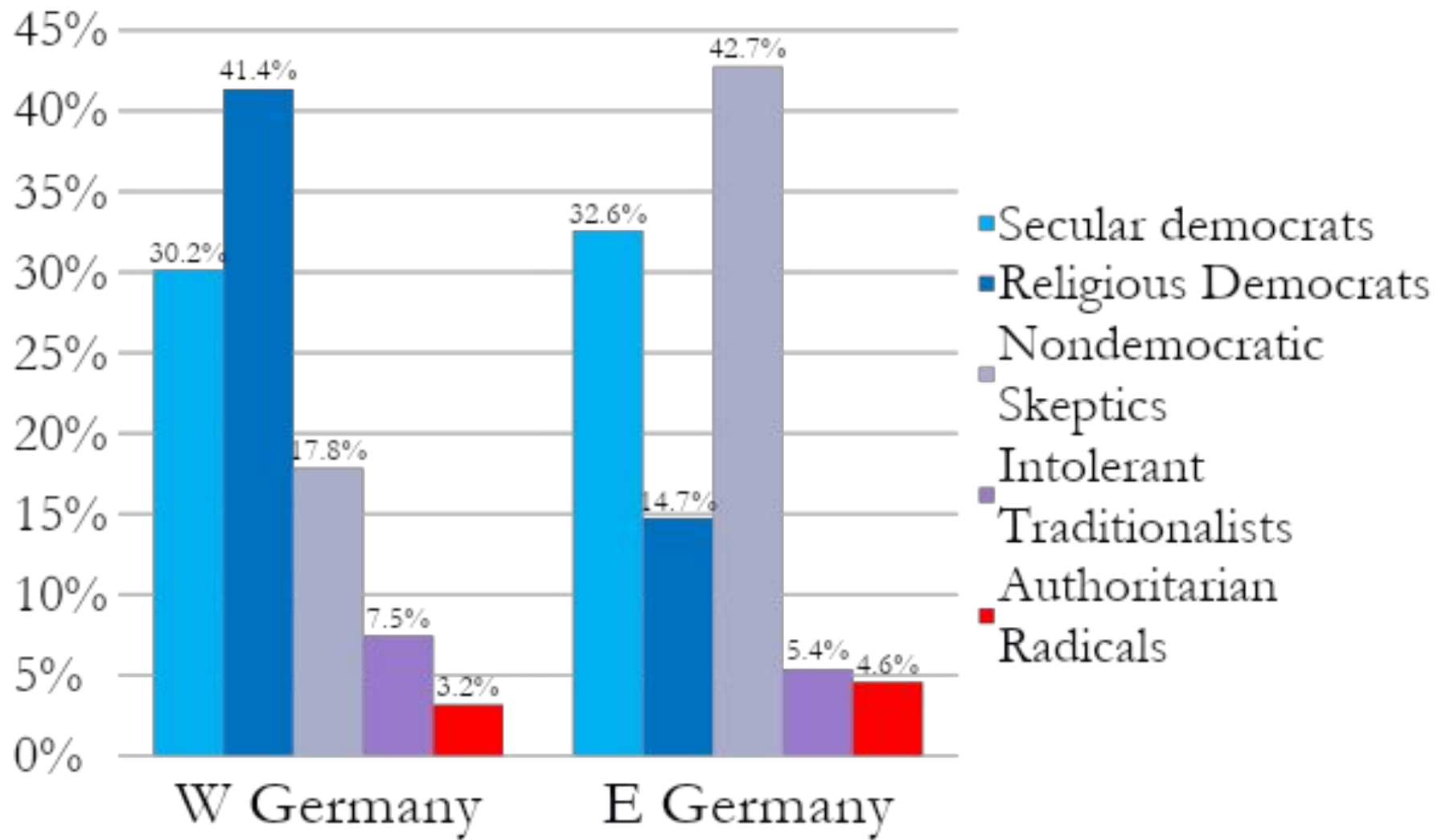
Additional slides for discussion



We are enjoying democracy. One never knows how long it will last. © Renčín

Let us search for ways to explain the mechanisms of democratic peace, analyze the many paradoxes of democracy, assess democratic political culture, create a network of “Psychology of Democracy,” and search for additional ways how to make a difference.

Zones of peace (democracy) and turmoil



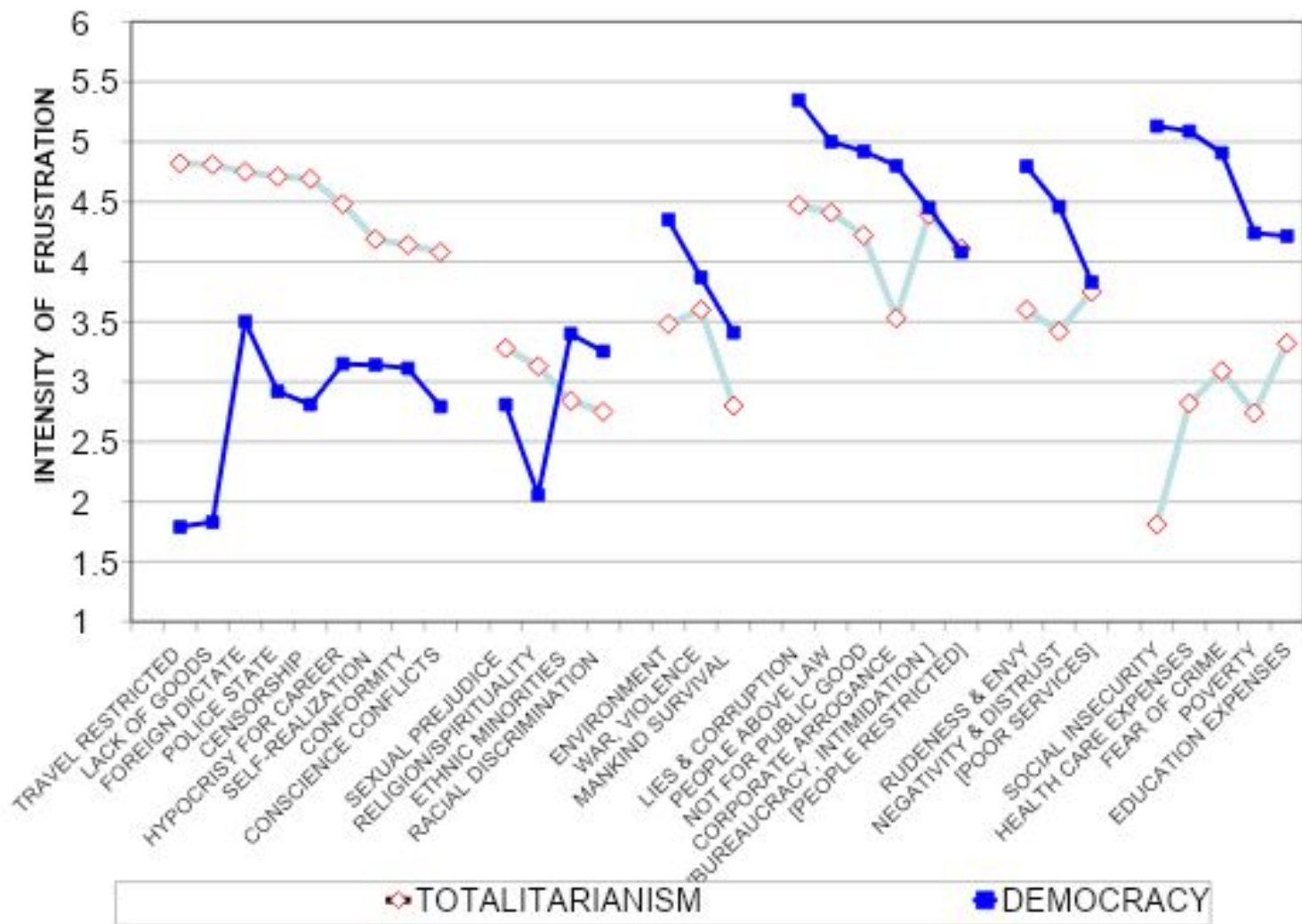
| | | POLITICAL CULTURE | | | |
|--|--|--|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | | Apolitical obedient provincialism | Post-Communism | Model citizenship | Non-democratic radicalism |
| M O R A L I T Y | Tolerant bonvivant Liberals | -0,33* | -0,28* | 0,12* | -0,11* |
| | Virtuous Christian Conservatives | 0,17* | | 0,50* | |
| | Dependent and safety seeking negativistic Post-communists | 0,10* | 0,41* | -0,31* | |
| | Hedonic risk-taking Egotists | 0,18* | -0,12* | -0,44* | 0,16* |

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TOTALITARIAN AND DEMOCRATIC FRUSTRATIONS

Self-actualization - Intolerance - Survival - Pol. culture - Relations - Elm. needs



Democratic elites (Secular and Religious Democrats combined)

