



University of
Zurich^{UZH}

European Social Survey: How Europeans view and evaluate democracy

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**2nd International Conference on Governance, Crime
and Justice Statistics, Mexico City June 19-21 June**

Session: 'National and international experiences in measuring
governance and related concepts'

The ESS (by Rory Fitzgerald)

- Chart stability and change and interpret how Europe's social, political and moral fabric is changing
- Achieve and spread higher standards of rigour in cross-national research
- Biennial hour long face-to-face interview with nationally representative samples
- Core and rotating module (open competition)

The ESS module *on democracy*

- **Two stories about democracy** (Runciman 2013)
 - A success story
 - A story of pessimism and fear
- **A success story**
 - Democracy – a universal value
 - The third wave of democratization
- **A story of pessimism and fear**
 - Lack of consolidation in newly democratized countries
 - Even established democracies are challenged today
 - What has gone wrong with democracy? (The Economist, March 1st-7th, 2014)

The ESS module *on democracy*

- **Challenges in Europe**

- Erosion of national democracy: shifting power to supranational agencies and other unaccountable actors
- Eurocrisis: the ‘Troika’ as an example

- **The citizens’ discontent**

- Populist mobilizations
- Withdrawal from politics
- Rampant political cynicism

The ESS module *on democracy*

- **How about popular support for and satisfaction with democracy in Europe?**
 - **90%** of Europeans (strongly) agree that ‘democracy may have problems but it’s better than any other form of government’ (EVS 2009)
 - **only 48%** of Europeans are very/fairly satisfied with the way democracy works in their country (EB_May2012)
- **General measures: how about a more detailed account?**

Democracy: a multidimensional concept

ELECTORAL/DEMOCRATIC DIMENSION	
Competition	Free and fair elections
	Differentiated offer by parties
	Parties free to criticize
Vertical accountability	Retrospective accountability
	Justification by government
Deliberation	Participation in political discussion
Responsiveness	Responsibility to other EU governments

LIBERAL DIMENSION	
Rule of law	Equality before the law
Horizontal accountability	Checks and balances (courts)
Minority rights	Protection of minority rights
Freedom of press	Press freedom
	Media reliability

Democracy: a multidimensional concept

SOCIAL DIMENSION	
Social Justice	Protection against poverty
	Reduction income differences
PARTICIPATORY DIMENSION	
Direct participation	Participation in referendum
INCLUSIVENESS DIMENSION	
Inclusiveness	Inclusiveness of participation rights (migrants)

Democracy: two aspects

- **Views:** the meaning attributed to democracy, the expectations with respect to democracy – the necessary requirements of democracy
- **Evaluations:** the assessment of democracy – satisfaction with the way democracy works in one's own country

Format - problems

- Abstract concepts
- Reference to democracy
- Stimulus of meaning items
- Scale for meaning and evaluation items
- Satisficing/ social desirability
- Pair-wise vs. List-wise
- Dichotomous items

Views

Using this card, please tell me how important you think it is for democracy in general... ***that national elections are free and fair***

Not at all
important for
democracy
in general

Extremely
important for
democracy
in general

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Evaluations

Using this card, please tell me to what extent you think each of the following statements applies in [country]. ***National elections in [country] are free and fair***

Does not apply
at all

Applies
completely

0

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Views of democracy

Liberal elements	
rule of law	9.2
checks and balances	8.8
media reliability	8.7
minority rights	8.3
media freedom	8.2
average	8.6
democratic elements	
free and fair elections	8.9
explanations govt	8.8
opposition free	8.3
sanction govt	8.4
party offer alternatives	8.0
citizen deliberation	7.4
responsibility to EU govts	6.5
average	8.0

social justice	
poverty protection	8.7
income equality	8.2
direct democracy	8.3
inclusiveness (migrants)	7.9

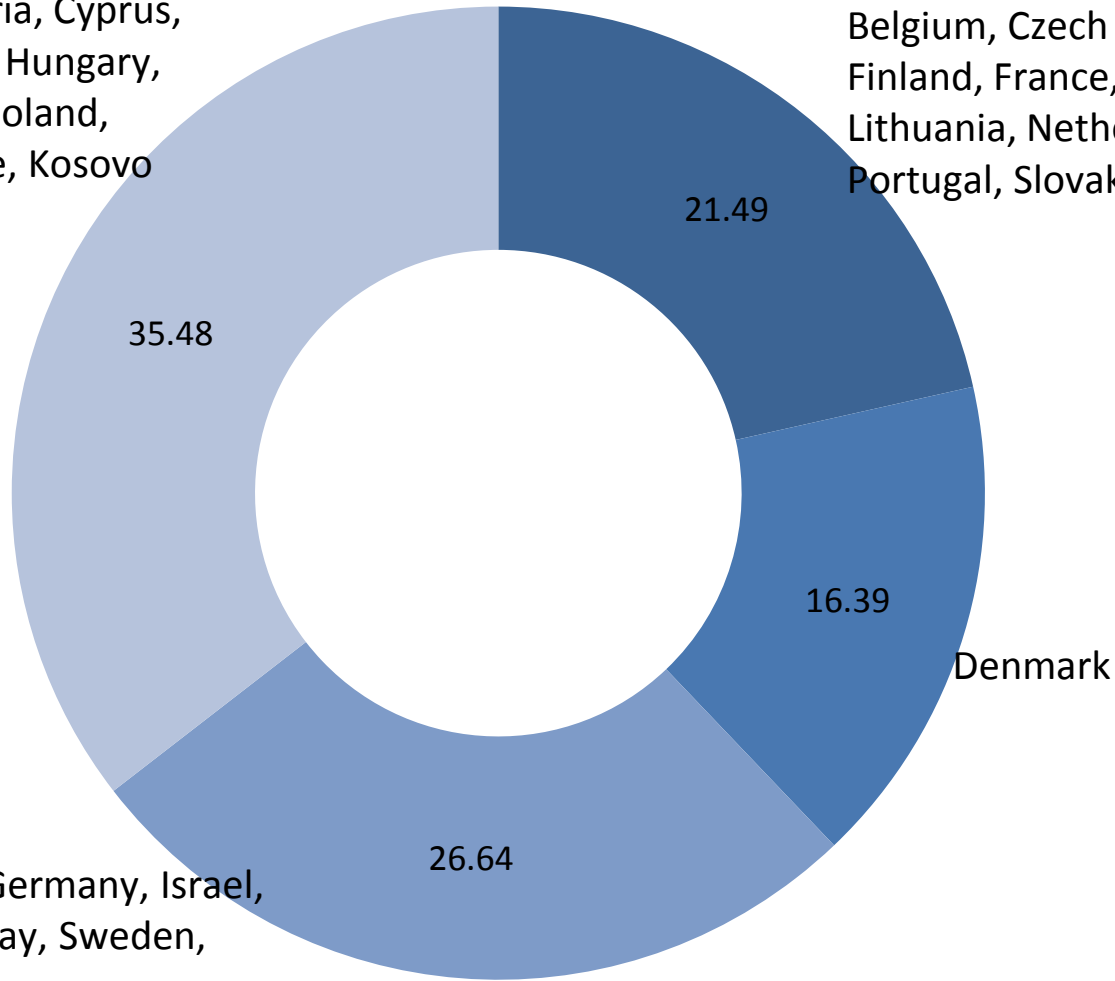
Views of democracy

item	country-specific ranking			
	1st	top 3	last 3	last
liberal dimension				
rule of law	24	27	0	0
checks and balances	0	9	0	0
media reliability	0	4	0	0
media freedom	0	0	2	0
minority protection	1	0	2	0
democratic dimension				
free and fair elections	3	18	0	0
explanations by government	0	13	0	0
retrospective accountability	0	1	1	0
freedom of opposition	0	0	0	0
offer parties	0	0	11	0
citizen deliberation	0	0	22	4
responsibility to EU govts	0	0	28	23
social justice				
poverty protection	1	11	0	0
income equality		1	5	0
direct democracy	0	0	2	0
inclusiveness (migrants)	0	0	11	1

Types of democrats

Albania, Bulgaria, Cyprus,
Estonia, Spain, Hungary,
Ireland, Italy, Poland,
Russia, Ukraine, Kosovo

Belgium, Czech Republic,
Finland, France, Great Britain,
Lithuania, Netherlands,
Portugal, Slovakia



Switzerland, Germany, Israel,
Iceland, Norway, Sweden,
Slovenia

■ Uncommitted

■ Liberal democrat

■ Social democrat

■ Complete democrat

Evaluations of democracy

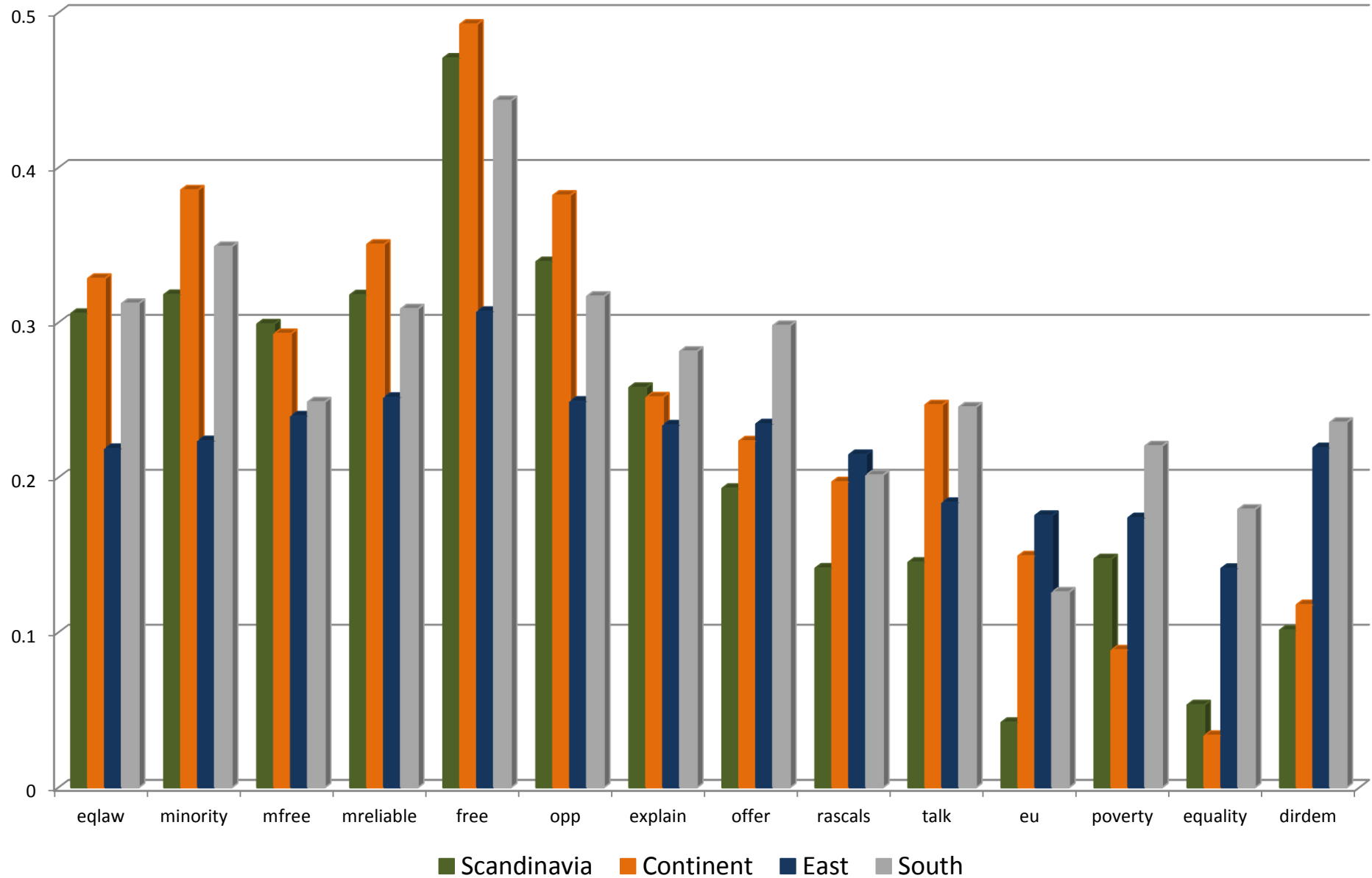
Liberal dimension	
Rule of law	5.2
Media reliability	6.0
Minority rights	6.3
Media freedom	7.3
Average	6.2
Electoral dimension	
Free and fair elections	7.1
Explanations govt	4.8
Opposition free	7.4
Sanction govt	5.6
Party offer alternatives	5.6
Deliberation	6.5
Responsibility to EU	5.6
Average	6.1

Social dimension	
Poverty protection	4.2
Income equality	4.2
Direct democracy	5.0

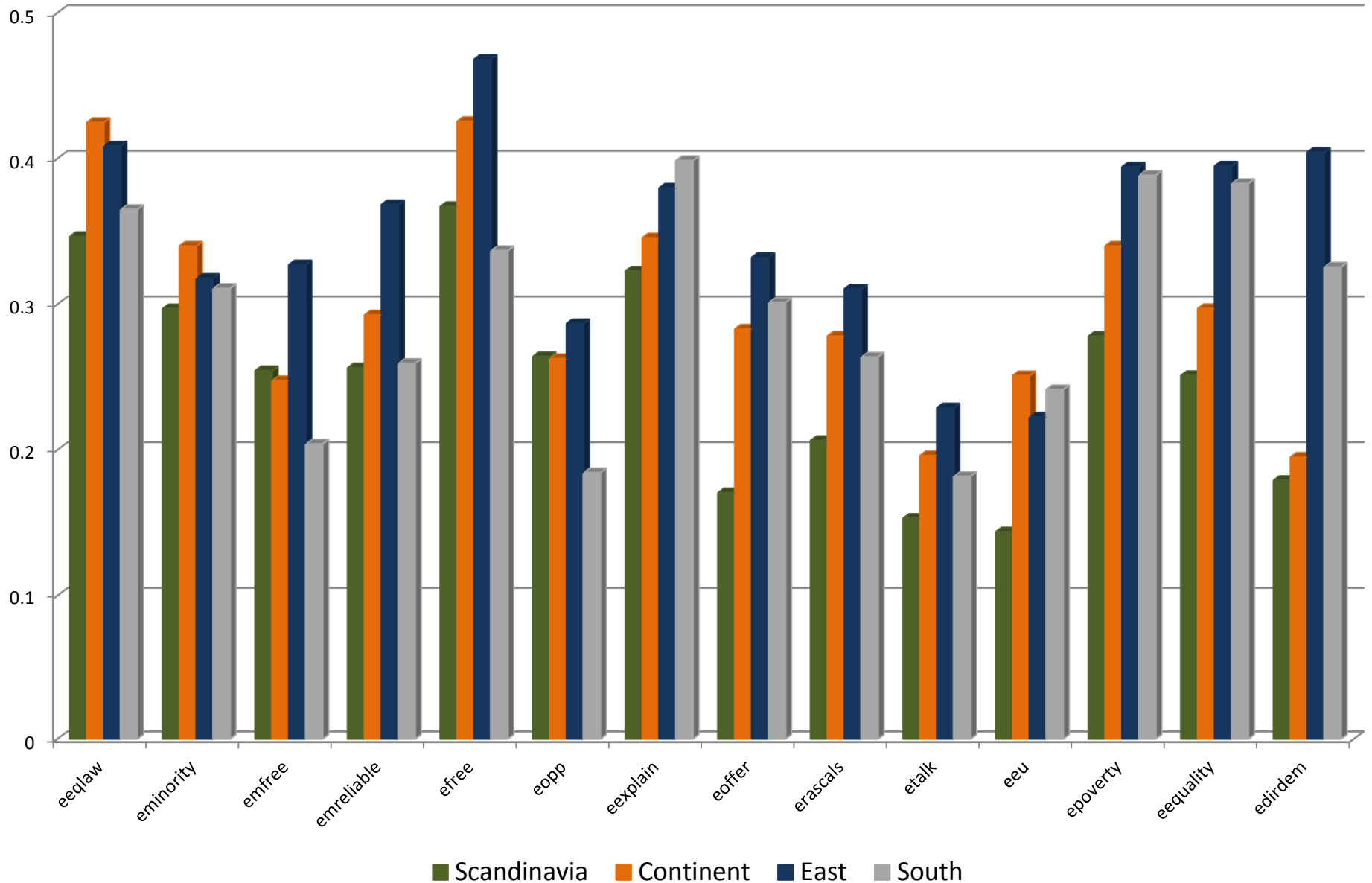
Evaluations of democracy

item	country-specific ranking			
	1st	top 3	last 3	last
liberal dimension				
media freedom	3	22	0	0
minority protection	2	2	0	0
media reliability	0	4	0	0
rule of law	0	0	10	4
democratic dimension				
free and fair elections	10	7	0	0
freedom of opposition	10	19	0	0
citizen deliberation	3	5	0	0
responsibility to EU govts	1	1	0	2
retrospective accountability	0	0	0	1
offer parties	0	0	0	1
explanations by government	0	0	9	0
social justice				
poverty protection	0	0	18	13
income equality	0	0	19	10
direct democracy	0	1	0	3

ESS items and Support for ideal democracy

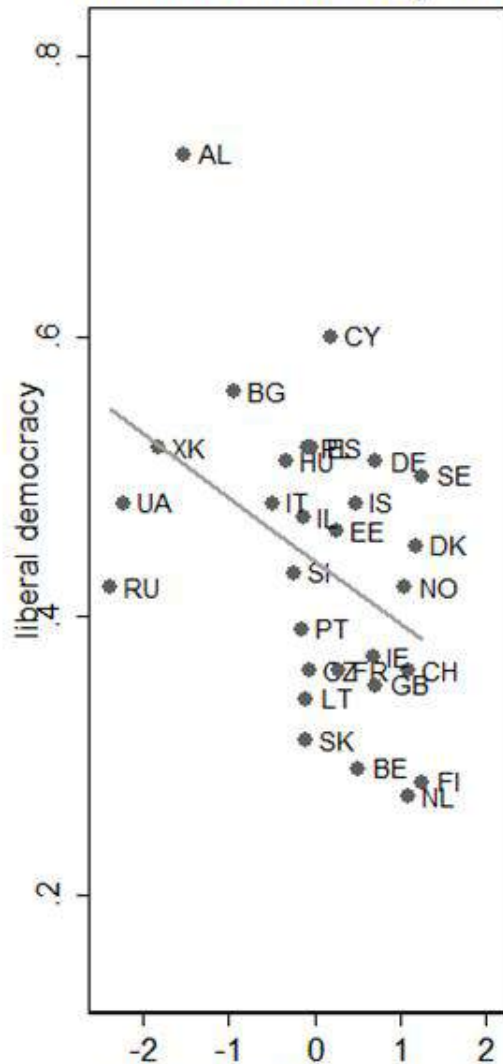


ESS items and Satisfaction with democracy



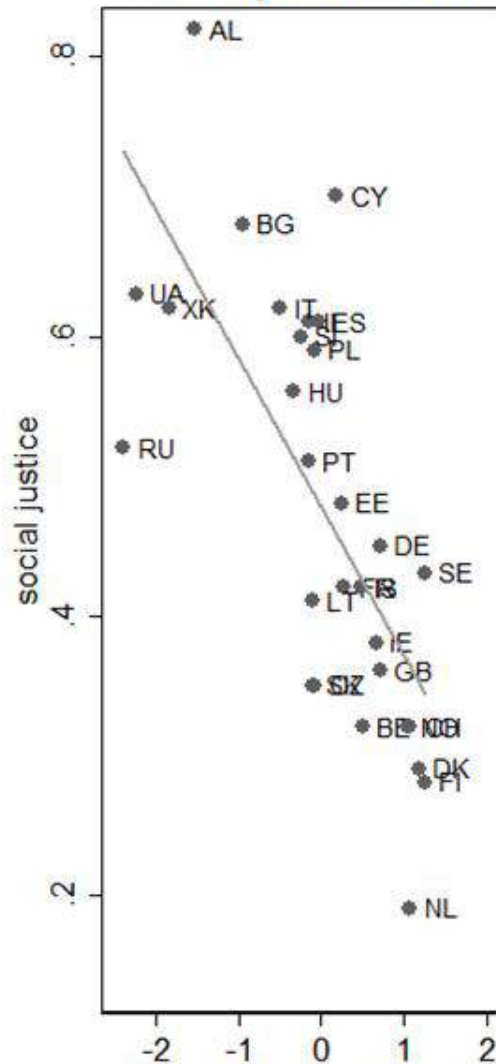
ESS items and objective measures (WB)

liberal democracy-WB



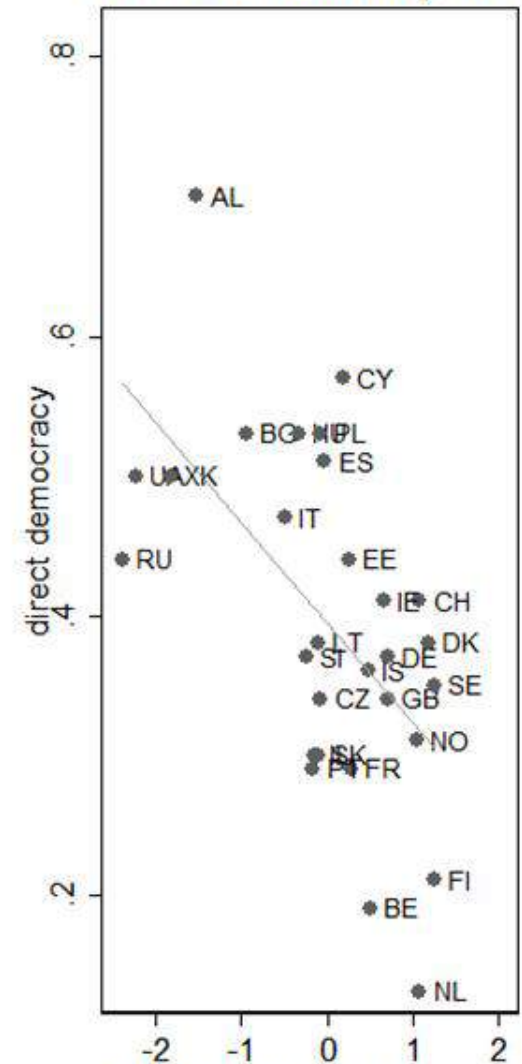
WB indicators

social justice-WB



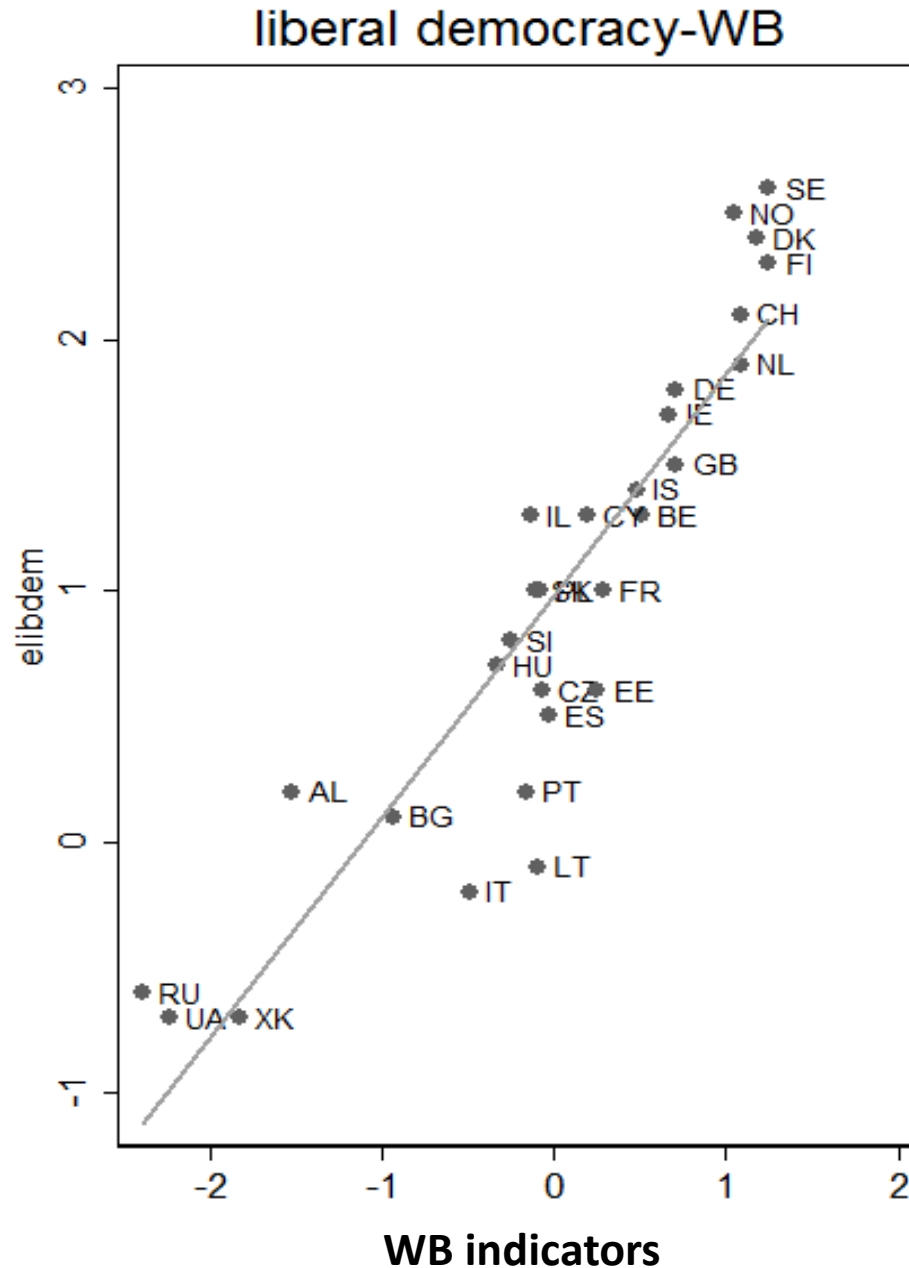
WB indicators

direct democracy-WB



WB indicators

ESS items and objective measures (WB)



Concluding remarks

Europeans are not “one and the same”

ESS data:

- Provide a more precise account of ‘how democracy should be’ according to Europeans
- Allow for a more precise qualification of European democracies (citizens as the *true* experts)