

Socialist Values and the Development of Democratic Support in the Former East Germany

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ABSTRACT. Through the use of a three-wave panel study of citizens of the former East German city of Leipzig, the article explores the changes in the relationship between socialist values and democratic support over time. It finds that the direct effect of socialist values on democratic satisfaction declines substantially from the 1993–96 portion of the panel study to the 1996–98 period. As individuals acquire more experience with the democratic system, they appear to assess the system less in terms of its relation to socialism and the previous regime, and more in terms of current economic and political performance. Moreover, evaluations of the democratic system themselves appear to influence the individuals' adherence to socialist values throughout the time spanned by the panel studies; in fact, the article shows that there is little direct effect of socialist values on system support by 1998, once the reverse causal process is taken into account. The results are discussed in terms of their implications for democratic development in the former East Germany, and for more general theories and models of the democratization process.

Keywords: Democratic support • Democratic values • East Germany • Political culture • Socialization

Introduction

Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, political scientists have devoted considerable attention to analyzing the nature and extent of support for democratic values and institutions in the fledgling democracies of Eastern Europe, Africa, and Latin America. This task has been greatly facilitated by the abundance of opinion surveys conducted in new democracies over the past ten to fifteen years. In sharp contrast to the relative lack of opinion data from the post-World War II wave of democratization, there have been dozens of studies that have documented the

levels and the determinants of democratic support in the immediate post-cold war era (e.g., Rose, Mishler, and Haerpfer, 1998; Finifter and Mickiewicz, 1992; Seligson and Booth, 1993; Fuchs, Roller, and Wessels, 1997; Norris, 1999; see Finkel, Sigelman, and Humphries, 1999, for a review of the recent literature).

As a result of this surge of research, the sources of mass support in democratic systems have become increasingly, though still imperfectly, understood. There is general agreement that levels of democratic support depend to a significant extent on the economic and political performance of the new regimes themselves. As citizens perceive that regimes deliver positive economic outputs and provide increased democratic freedoms, reduced corruption and peaceful alterations of power within a democratic electoral framework, the level of public support for democratic values, structures, processes, and institutions increases dramatically (Bratton and Mattes, 1999; Evans and Whitefield, 1995; Mishler and Rose, 1997; Rose, Mishler, and Haerpfer, 1998; Weil, 1989, 1993). While there is often strenuous disagreement regarding the relative importance of economic versus political outcomes, nearly all scholars of democratization agree that, taken together, the regime's performance on these dimensions is crucial in the development and solidification of support in emerging democracies.

More controversial, however, are the purported effects of attitudes about previous communist or authoritarian regimes, especially in the East European and former Soviet context, on democratic support. While the old regimes themselves have been largely discredited based on poor economic performance and the denial of fundamental democratic and human rights (Rose and Mishler, 1994; Mishler and Rose, 1999), it is far from clear that the values that inhered in these regimes have been rejected by East European publics. In particular, many recent studies of the newly-unified Germany have argued that support for socialism as an ideal, as opposed to the reality of the former German Democratic Republic (DDR), endures among East Germans and represents a significant impediment to the development of support for liberal democratic institutions and processes (Fuchs, Roller, and Wessels, 1997; Fuchs, 1999; Rohrschneider, 1994, 1996, 2000; Roller, 1994; Weil, 1996). In these formulations, the 45-year socialization process that took place under the East German communist regime successfully instilled a set of values in the populace, emphasizing social and economic equality over unfettered political and market freedom, that is fundamentally incompatible with the liberal democratic arrangements currently in place in the Federal Republic.

This "socialist socialization" hypothesis implies further that the likelihood of short-term increases in democratic support in the East is relatively low, as large-scale shifts in democratic attitudes should take place only after the natural replacement of generational cohorts that were socialized under the DDR regime. However, such a conclusion may be overly pessimistic, or at least somewhat premature. While individuals socialized under communism may have indeed brought to the unified Germany a different set of values than did citizens from the former West, it is far from clear that such values have the same negative *effects* on democratic support that they once did. There has been little research comparing the magnitude of economic or political performance evaluations on democratic support with that of adherence to socialist ideals or other long-standing values across time, and thus we do not know how enduring are the relationships suggested by Fuchs, Rohrschneider, and others.

Further, there have been no studies that have attempted to account for possible reciprocal relationships between democratic support and commitment to socialist

values over time. It may be predicted that perceptions of the success or failure of a liberal democratic system will have consequences for values that are antithetical to that regime (Gibson, 1996b), just as regime performance has been shown to have consequences for supportive democratic values such as tolerance and support for regular elections (Dalton, 1994; Weil, 1993, 1996). Thus we may expect that, over time, democratic support may itself begin to affect commitment to socialist values, making claims about the enduring influence of values on democratic support even more problematic.

In this article, we examine the relationships between adherence to socialist values, satisfaction with economic and political performance, and support for democracy using two panel studies conducted with respondents from Leipzig, East Germany, in the 1990s. To our knowledge, these data are the only extant panel studies of post-communist democratic support outside of the former Soviet Union itself (Gibson, 1996a, 1996b). We find support for each of the causal processes outlined above. The direct effect of socialist values on democratic system support declines substantially from the 1993–96 panel to the panel conducted in 1996–98. As individuals acquire more experience with the democratic system, they appear to assess the system less in terms of its relation to socialism and the previous regime, and more in terms of current economic and political performance. Moreover, support for the democratic system itself appears to influence the individuals' adherence to socialist values throughout the time spanned by the panel studies; in fact, we show that there is little direct effect of socialist values on support by 1998, once the influence of support on values is taken into account.

Support for Democracy: Alternative Explanations and the Legacy of Socialism

Initial examination of the levels of support for democratic values and institutions in post-cold war Eastern Europe presented something of a puzzle for theories of political culture, which suggested that a country's political structures and the political orientations of its populace should become more congruent over time. By contrast, survey data indicated that East German and other Eastern European publics, despite their long exposure to socialist regimes, registered extremely high levels of support for democratic values, and democracy as a form of government, almost immediately after the collapse of the communist regimes (see Dalton, 1994; Finifter and Mickiewicz, 1992; Gibson, Duch, and Tedin, 1992; Reisinger et al., 1994; Rose and Mishler, 1994; Weil, 1993). Several explanations were put forward to account for these patterns, each of which has since become part of the standard view of the post-cold war wave of democratization.

The Demonstration Effect of Western Regimes

According to one view, throughout the cold war period, Eastern publics were exposed through the mass media, personal contacts, and the active propaganda efforts of democratic governments to the values and norms of democratic regimes. Successful Western democracies thus became models that citizens in the East aspired to for their countries to emulate, in a process referred to variously as a "demonstration effect" (Weil, 1993), a "counter-cultural model" of political socialization (Dalton, 1994), "system-external learning" (Roller, 1994), or an

“indirect exposure, long-term learning model” (Klingemann and Hofferbert, 1994; Kaase and Klingemann, 1994).

The Failure of Communism

Closely related to the “demonstration effect” hypothesis is the notion that democratic regimes and values were supported initially because of the utter failure of the previous communist systems in economic and political performance. Virtually every opinion survey taken in the early 1990s showed that large majorities of East European publics had negative views of the old regime (e.g., Rose and Mishler, 1994; McIntosh and McIver, 1992; Toka, 1995); further analyses showed that these negative views directly translated into support for democratic values (Weil, 1996) and support for the new democratic systems of government (Rose and Mishler, 1994; Rose, Mishler, and Haerpfer, 1998; Mishler and Rose, 1999; Weil, 1996). As Rose and Mishler (1994: 169) claim, “Although a new regime is limited in what it can immediately achieve, by definition it has one indubitable claim: it is *not* the old regime.”

Economic and Political Performance of the New Regime

Finally, many analysts believed that support for democracy and democratic values was closely linked not only to observations of Western success and the poor performance of the previous regime, but also to the anticipated and actual performance of the new one. Mishler and Rose (1995, 1999) advanced a “fear and hope” model to account for these processes, whereby Eastern publics supported new democratic regimes because they “represented a break from the rejected communist past and because citizens harboured strong hope that current economic sacrifices would produce real prosperity in the foreseeable future” (Mishler and Rose, 1999: 88). Further analyses demonstrated in a large number of studies from a variety of countries that support for democratic systems—their values, institutions, and structures—depends directly on the expectations of citizens for the future as well as on current regime performance.

The relevant dimensions of performance include both economic and political outcomes. Perceptions of both current and future *economic conditions* have often been found to be significant predictors of democratic support (Dalton, 1994; Rose and Mishler, 1994; Mishler and Rose, 1999; Rohrschneider, 1999); while satisfaction with *political outcomes* such as increased perceived freedoms, successful representation of individual and group policy preferences, and the responsiveness of the system to citizen demands also seem to prompt democratic support (Evans and Whitefield, 1995; Miller and Listhaug, 1999; Mishler and Rose, 1995, 1999; Pollack, 1997; Hofferbert and Klingemann, 1999). As Evans and Whitefield (1995: 503) argue, “People support democracies because they are seen to work, reflecting respondents’ experience of the pay-offs from democracy itself”

The Socialist Socialization Model

All of these explanations for variations in democratic support in post-communist Eastern Europe—the demonstration effect of successful Western democracies, the perceived failures of communism, and the perceptions of the economic and political performance of current regimes—place relatively little emphasis on the

political and economic values that socialist regimes attempted to inculcate during their 45-year reign. By contrast, what we call the “socialist socialization” model places primary emphasis on the legacy of nearly half a century of socialization to socialist norms, of exposure to socialist educational systems, and to massive amounts of state-sponsored propaganda.

Such processes led many scholars, notably Duch (1993), Finifter and Mickiewicz (1992), and Whitefield and Evans (1996) in the context of post-Soviet Russia, and McIntosh and MacIver (1992) in the context of Eastern Europe, to claim that Eastern publics harbor distinctive political, and especially economic, values. These studies claim that Eastern publics, while broadly supportive of democratic values in the abstract, remain deeply skeptical about the economic reforms, market principles, and capitalist values that characterize the new democratic regimes. McIntosh and MacIver (1992), for example, show that pluralities of Poles, Slovaks, and Hungarians in 1991 preferred a society with many “state guarantees” regarding security and social welfare over an “individual opportunity” society; and Finifter and Mickiewicz (1992: 861) similarly show that Russians are still strongly supportive of an interventionist state, concluding that “there has not been a wholesale abandonment of socialist principles.”

The socialization hypothesis has been developed and tested most intensively, however, by scholars analyzing East German support for democracy, and East–West differences in democratic attitudes, since the fall of the Berlin Wall (Fuchs, Roller, and Wessels, 1997; Fuchs, 1999; Rohrschneider, 1994, 1996, 1999, 2000; Roller, 1994; Westle, 1994). According to the “socialist socialization” school, scholars have been too quick to adopt performance and diffusion-type explanations, and too quick to dismiss the legacy of the former DDR’s socialization processes, as determinants of current democratic values and support for democratic institutions.

Fuchs and his colleagues, and Rohrschneider argue that “value orientations corresponding to a liberal democracy can develop only to a limited degree in . . . socialist systems” (Fuchs, 1999: 128). Such principles as accepting political conflict and the free competition of the marketplace, adhering to strict procedural rules for adjudicating disputes, and protecting civil and economic liberties despite possible social inequality, cannot be learned through observation of Western regimes or “value diffusion,” but rather through long-term political socialization or direct experience with the institutions and processes of liberal democratic government. Rohrschneider (1999) observes that this kind of “institutional learning” was impossible for East German citizens, and of course the socialization apparatus of the DDR expounded principles that were fundamentally different from those just mentioned. In the ideology of the East German state, the most important considerations were not civil liberties, economic freedom, and compromise over inevitable political disputes, but rather state-centered attempts to enforce social equality at the expense of political and economic competition and freedom.

Nevertheless, the DDR considered itself a “democracy,” and Fuchs, Rohrschneider, and others suggest that citizens in the former East Germany were socialized into what may be termed a “socialist democracy,” one that combines official adherence to the rule of law, basic human rights and free elections with support for an “all-embracing welfare state” that is concerned with realizing social and economic equality and providing extensive cradle-to-grave social security. Thus, according to this view, East Germans at the time of unification brought a

fundamentally different set of political and social values to the newly-united country from their counterparts in the West, differences that reflected alternative conceptions of democracy and the ideal society.

The “socialist socialization” hypothesis is consistent with a vast array of findings regarding East and West Germans’ orientations toward democracy and socialism after unification. In contrast to the overwhelming support East Germans gave after 1990 to the idea of unification with the West, and to general democratic principles such as citizens’ rights to express opinions and the desirability of a political opposition, there has been much less support for the actual structures of the existing regime, for the performance of the democratic system, for minority rights and political pluralism, and for principles of economic freedom and market competition (Rohrschneider, 1999; Westle, 1994; Fuchs, 1999). In addition, levels of support for all of these orientations are much lower than those observed in the West.

Thus, former East Germans at the time of unification appeared to maintain their support for certain basic ideas of socialism, despite their failure to endorse the socialist reality of the DDR. These values, in turn, are thought to produce large differences in the kind of political system that is favored in principle by Germans from the East and West, large differences in the kinds of demands that are made on the political system, and large differences concerning their expectations and their evaluations of political and economic outputs. Thus support for socialism is hypothesized to exert both *direct* negative influence on Easterners’ support for existing democratic structures (Weil, 1996; Rohrschneider, 2000), as well as negative *indirect* influence through their evaluations of the country’s economic and political performance (Rohrschneider, 1999: 26–28).

The implications of the “socialist socialization” hypothesis for the development of liberal democratic orientations in the East are, for several reasons, decidedly pessimistic. First, it appears that the differences between Eastern and Western German democratic orientations have become more accentuated in the years following unification. Fuchs (1999: 136) suggests that, especially with increased unemployment, cuts in social services, and declining economic performance, the “latent incongruities” between socialist values and the experienced realities of the liberal democratic state became more and more manifest in the East in the early 1990s, resulting in even lower levels of support for democracy as it existed in the new Germany.

Second, the “socialist socialization” model predicts only slow changes in support for democracy over time. As Rohrschneider (1999: 247) claims, “. . . core democratic qualities develop only slowly and over longer time periods . . . at a minimum, the development of democratic values requires a considerable amount of time, perhaps even significant generational turnover.” In both cases, the socialization perspective predicts that the short and even medium term promises to be a most difficult transitional period, one where the stability of German democracy will be fundamentally open to question.

Hypotheses

Much of the evidence presented by scholars in the “socialist socialization” school is, in our view, highly compelling, providing a cogent response to the view that democratic attitudes can develop solely through demonstration effects or through positive economic or political performance. Although the absence of reliable

survey data from the pre-1989 period makes it impossible to prove that Easterners' views are the result of DDR socialization processes, the evidence presented makes clear that significant East–West differences in ideological orientations were present almost immediately at the time of German unification, and that these differences had important effects on the way that Easterners viewed their new democracy.

Yet the assumptions of *enduring* effects from socialist values to democratic support, and the necessarily slow change in democratic orientations over time, are, in our view, open to question. It may indeed be the case that attachment to socialist values is a deeply entrenched part of Easterners' political consciousness, and it may indeed be the case that such values invariably serve to inhibit the development of liberal democratic ideals. However, two alternative processes are also plausible, based on previous theoretical and empirical research. First, the effects of socialist values on democratic orientations may be less enduring than the socialist socialization school suggests; that is, they may recede in importance as evaluative yardsticks that are used to assess the performance of the democratic system. This process of diminishing causal effects could occur even if the absolute *level* of support for socialist values remained the same (or even increased) at both aggregate and individual levels. Second, the levels of professed support for socialist values may themselves change as a result of democratic experience; positive evaluations of democratic structures may have a direct *negative* impact on support for socialism over time. In this case, we expect a reciprocal causal linkage between democratic support and adherence to socialist values, and possibly a *stronger* linkage from evaluations of democracy to socialist values rather than the reverse as individuals acquire more experience with the democratic process. If either of these processes holds, then the possibilities for democratic stability in the East would be greater as well, as the impediment to support for democracy exerted by the socialist legacy of the DDR would be declining at a more rapid pace than predicted by the socialization school. We discuss each of these processes in more detail.

There are several ways that the effect of socialist values on democratic satisfaction and support could change over time, despite stability in their absolute levels. One way is for other factors, such as economic performance evaluations or socio-demographic factors, to supplant socialist values as principal determinants of individuals' evaluations of the liberal democratic regime.

Such a view reflects the possibility that the *structure* of support for democratic systems changes over time, from one grounded in attitudes about the old regime—presumably resulting from socialization processes—to one built from current experience and system performance. Thus we may predict a kind of “priming” effect of system performance, whereby citizens' judgments about political regimes will come to depend more on contemporary events, rather than ideological values, over time. The speed at which this process may take place is open for empirical investigation. Such a view would be consistent with the recent findings of Anderson and O'Connor (2000), who show that East Germans' perceptions of economic conditions became more and more closely tied to objective economic performance during the 1990s. This same kind of learning process, in our view, may influence the weight that individuals attach to economic or other performance factors over time in evaluating the current regime.

A more subtle change could take place through the alteration of the pattern of direct and indirect effects of socialist values and support for democracy. At the

onset of the democratization process, adherence to socialist values is thought to affect the way that individuals evaluate the economic and political performance of the new regime—thus indirectly affecting democratic support (Rohrschneider, 1999, 2000)—and also to exert a global (direct) effect on evaluations of the system itself. As Fuchs (1999: 144) observes, “social demands in East Germany are addressed to democracy as a form of government, in West Germany the addressee is the current political parties and the incumbent government.” Over time, however, the structure of these relationships in the East may come to resemble those in the West, so that adherence to socialist values no longer calls the entire system into question, but rather exerts influence mainly through evaluations of the system’s economic and social policy performance. In this way the effect of socialist values may become *only* an indirect one, as citizen demands become more and more channeled through “normal” political and representational processes (see, also, Trometer and Mohler, 1994). And as with our earlier conjectures, the speed at which this may occur is an empirical issue.

Both of the scenarios sketched above assume that the levels of adherence to socialist values in the East remain relatively stable over time, and that these orientations are exogenous influences on democratic support. Yet it is a distinct possibility that individuals’ attitudes toward socialist values are themselves dependent in part on attitudes towards democracy and democratic values, increasingly so as individuals acquire more direct experience with the democratic process. This suggests that the causal direction between support for democracy and socialist values may run from democratic support to socialist values, rather than (or in addition to) the reverse.

Commitment to socialist values could depend on democratic support in several ways. First, to the extent that individuals evaluate the current democratic regime negatively, expressed adherence to socialist values may become more attractive, representing to some degree a nostalgia for an idealized version of socialism (Klingemann and Hofferbert, 1994). Second, just as positive experience and positive evaluations of democratic regimes can serve to facilitate the development of values conducive to liberal democracy (Weil, 1993, 1996), so too should these experiences erode commitments to values that are antithetical to liberal democracy, in particular those embodying a “socialist democracy” or a “Third Way” between liberal democracy and authoritarian socialism. In this way individuals may make systemic evaluations about the democratic regime, which then affect their adherence to ideological values that support or oppose liberal democracy. Such a view suggests that the congruence of a system’s institutions, structures, and processes with the ideological values of individuals can be achieved in several ways: either through alterations of systemic evaluations to bring them in line with ideological values, or by adjusting values to bring them in line with democratic evaluations.

Further, we may expect that evaluations of democratic structures would exert greater influence on socialist attachments over time, as individuals’ direct experience with liberal democratic arrangements becomes a salient real alternative to remembered experiences with socialism. This is exactly what Gibson (1996b) found in an analysis of the relationship between evaluations of democratic structures and processes, and support for capitalist values in post-communist Russia. Over time, the direction of causality between the two dimensions flowed primarily from democratic support to market orientations and not the reverse, in a process that he described as asserting the “primacy of politics”

in determining basic value orientations. Whether this same kind of linkage might have occurred in the East German context is, again, open to empirical question.

Given the lack of empirical evidence that has thus far been brought to bear on these questions, we simply do not know which of these processes characterize the interrelationships of socialist values, system performance, and support for democracy over time. In this article, we use a panel study of democratization processes in the former East Germany to assess these alternative views. We first examine the relative magnitude of socialist values and economic and political performance variables in determining democratic satisfaction over time. We then estimate more elaborate reciprocal effects on the causal models, where democratic support and socialist values can influence one another over time. For both analyses, we make use of panel data collected in the former East Germany between 1993 and 1998. To our knowledge there have been no panel analyses assessing the stability of democratic orientations among the German public since the onset of unification (see Rohrschneider, 1994, however, for analysis of the stability of democratic orientations at the elite level).

Data

The data for the analyses to follow come from a four-wave panel study administered in the city of Leipzig, part of the former East Germany, between 1990 and 1998 (see Opp, Voss, and Gern, 1995; Opp, n.d., for more details on the sampling and study design). Clearly, the city of Leipzig cannot be taken as representative of the former East Germany as a whole, as Leipzig is one of the region's largest cities, and a historic cultural and *Messestadt* (trade fair city) which enjoyed somewhat more open ties to the West during the DDR regime. Moreover, Leipzig was the center of the protest movement that ultimately played a key role in the downfall of the DDR regime (Opp, Voss, and Gern, 1995), and thus we may expect that levels of dissatisfaction with the old regime, support for socialist values, and perhaps satisfaction with democracy will be different than those exhibited through a random sampling of citizens of the former DDR. Nevertheless, we are concerned here mainly with the *interrelationships* between socialist values and democratic support, and only secondarily with their absolute levels. The available data here are more appropriate for that purpose. Moreover, the benefits of panel data are clear for the assessment of stability and change in the key variables over time, and there are, as noted above, unfortunately no national samples of former East Germans that incorporate a panel design.

Key variables necessary for the analyses were not included in the first wave of the study (1990) and therefore only respondents in the remaining three waves were examined (1993, 1996, and 1998). The sample sizes for the original panel are presented in Table 1. Due to attrition among panel participants, the original

TABLE 1. *The Leipzig Panel Study.*

	1993	Waves 1996	1998
Original panel	783	438	292
Augmented panel		566	278
93–96 Waves only	438		
96–98 Waves Only		570	

sample was augmented in 1996 with the addition of another 566 randomly-selected respondents. In order to maximize the sample size in the causal models presented here, the three waves are considered to form two separate panels: a 1993–1996 panel and a 1996–1998 panel. Using a single, three-wave panel design in the models results in a sample size of 292 respondents (those present in all three waves) whereas splitting the waves into two separate panels results in 438 respondents in the first panel and 570 respondents in the second panel.

Measurement of Democratic Support and Socialist Values

We summarize our measurements briefly in this section. The exact wording for all questions used in the analysis can be found in the Appendix.

Measurement of Democratic Support. For democratic support, we use initially responses to the single item, “To what extent do you have positive opinion (view) about our democracy at the moment?” This question corresponds closely to the “satisfaction with democracy” type questions that are commonly used in the German ALLBUS (General Social Survey), Eurobarometer surveys, and elsewhere. As such, the question is subject to the same criticisms that others have mounted against the “satisfaction” measure, that is, the uncertainty regarding the level of political support it is actually measuring (outputs versus structures or values) and the possibility that it may represent little more than an ephemeral response to existing conditions (see Norris, 1999). We think the item can be conceptualized as a measure of “regime performance,” (ibid., 10–11), an “intermediate” level of political support among institutions, actors and regime principles or values (see also, Anderson and Guillory, 1997). Although not an ideal measure, it is also the single question in the Leipzig panel study that comes closest to the items used by Fuchs, Rohrschneider, and others in their work.

After analyzing single-indicator models, we embed this single item in a multiple indicator model of democratic support by using two additional questions related specifically to regime structures: a question asking “To what extent do you think that the courts in the Federal Republic guarantee a fair trial?”, and a question asking “To what extent do you feel that the basic rights of citizens are well-protected by our political system?”. The three items (including the “positive view of democracy”) are all part of the “political support-alienation” measure used by Muller and Opp (1986), Muller, Jukam, and Seligson (1982), and Muller and Jukam (1977) to gauge “diffuse political support” or the legitimacy of the regime as a whole, rather than evaluations of current performance or support for the incumbent administration. The average inter-item correlation of the three-item measure over the three survey waves is 0.61 and the average Cronbach’s *alpha* across the three waves is 0.81.

Measurement of Socialist Values. The survey contains two items tapping one’s commitment to socialist values. The first item asks whether one agrees with the statement, “Socialism is a good idea that was poorly carried out,” which is identical to the question used by Fuchs, Rohrschneider, and others in the “socialist socialization” school. The second is the extent to which one agrees or disagrees with the statement “I would have preferred that the former DDR remained socialist, but with more democracy and market elements.” This question is explicitly designed to measure support for the “Third Way” between liberal democracy and

DDR-style authoritarian socialism that is believed to characterize East German ideological views. It is, along with the first question, another way that East Germans can express their support for an idealized view of a political system in between the realities of the former DDR and the current unified Germany. The two items are correlated at greater than 0.64 for all three waves, and the correlation of the two items changes little across the waves. The average Cronbach's *alpha* of the two-item scale across the three waves is 0.77, suggesting that they are tapping to a considerable extent a common underlying dimension of support for an ideal socialist system of government.

Results

Trends in Key Variables Over Time. We begin by presenting the simple trends over time in the various measures of democratic support and socialist values, along with trends in a series of variables related to economic and political satisfaction among Leipzig respondents. It is clear that Leipzig residents exhibit slightly higher levels of satisfaction (and lower levels of dissatisfaction) with democracy in 1996 than in 1993, with a somewhat greater movement toward democratic satisfaction by 1998. The percentage of respondents who give positive responses to the question, "To what extent do you feel positively disposed towards our democracy at the moment?," increases from 32 to 41 percent over the period spanning 1993 to 1998.

At the same time, there is evidence of some erosion in the support for socialist values among Leipzig respondents. Most of the movement, again, seems to have taken place between 1996 and 1998, when support for socialism as an ideal declines from 54 to 47 percent and support for a "Third Way," a modified DDR with "more democratic and market elements" declines from 38 to 30 percent. These trends suggest that satisfaction with democracy and adherence to socialist values are somewhat dynamic over the period spanned by the panel studies, though it is not evident from the trends themselves whether the patterns of democratic support and socialist values are causally related and if so, in which direction and to what degree.

"Performance" models of democratic support argue that satisfaction with democracy should rest not only on adherence to socialist values, but on the degree to which individuals are satisfied with a host of political and economic outputs. We include a number of such measures in the analysis, and Table 2 shows trends in these variables as well (again, exact wording of the questions can be found in the Appendix). Looking at the various performance-based evaluations, it appears that Leipzig residents have mixed evaluations of political and economic system outputs, with the trends over time being mostly, though not exclusively, positive. On the purely political outputs, respondents appear overwhelmingly satisfied with the opportunities for free speech in the Federal Republic in 1993 (65 percent of respondents report being satisfied). Their satisfaction with free speech in the FRG is not markedly different by 1998 despite small fluctuations across the waves (63 percent of respondents report being satisfied with the opportunities for free speech in 1998). A majority of respondents across the three waves of the panel, however, expresses *dissatisfaction* with how politicians in Bonn represent the interests of East Germans, but the percentage of dissatisfied respondents decreases by 11 percentage points from 1993 to 1998. Thus we may say that Leipzigers are overwhelmingly satisfied with the opportunities to exercise democratic liberties, but still skeptical of the abilities of politicians to represent Eastern interests.

TABLE 2. *Trends in Democratic Satisfaction, Socialist Values, and Economic and Political Performance Variables (Leipzig, East Germany, 1993–1998).*

	1993	1996	1998
<i>Democratic satisfaction</i>			
“To what extent do you have a positive view of our democracy at the moment?”			
Positive %	31.6	34.3	40.6
Not positive %	38.2	21.5	20.9
<i>Socialist values</i>			
“Socialism is a good idea that was poorly carried out”			
Agree %	56.4	54.1	47.0
Disagree %	25.2	23.9	29.3
“I would have preferred that the DDR remained socialist, though with more democratic and market elements”			
Agree %	39.9	37.7	30.4
Disagree %	41.4	42.3	36.9
<i>Political performance (1–5 scales)</i>			
Satisfied with opportunities for free speech %	65.1	59.2	62.7
Dissatisfied with representation of interests by politicians in Bonn %	68.3	58.7	56.9
<i>Economic and social performance (1–5 scales)</i>			
Mean satisfaction with economic outcomes	2.25	2.39	2.39
Mean satisfaction with social outcomes	2.78	2.94	2.88
Mean satisfaction with crime and immigration outcomes	1.46	1.73	2.02
<i>Personal economic assessments</i>			
Mean satisfaction, economic situation and income (1–5)	3.53	3.29	3.26
Satisfied with current living situation %	77.7	74.3	84.4
Optimistic about future economic situation %	54.6	39.7	23.5

Source: Leipzig Panel Studies 1993–96, ($N=401$), and 1996–98 ($N=508$). Figures for 1996 are the average values observed for the two separate panels.

Turning to economic and social policy outputs, we constructed three indices to measure satisfaction with “sociotropic” economic outcomes, satisfaction with various social policy outcomes, and satisfaction with the levels of crime and immigration. The index of satisfaction with economic outcomes is composed of six items asking respondents their evaluations of current economic conditions such as the cost of living, unemployment, and the reconstruction of the economy in East Germany. The social policy outcomes index contains four items asking about satisfaction with social security, educational opportunities, child care, and health. Finally, the index of satisfaction with crime and immigration outcomes includes three items related to issues of political asylum, violence against foreigners, and general perceptions of crime (exact wordings can be found in the Appendix). For all three indices, the mean level of satisfaction increases across the three waves, indicating that Leipzig respondents have become generally, though not uniformly, more satisfied with the performance of the system in these domains. Economic satisfaction increases slightly between 1993 and 1996 and then levels off, while social policy satisfaction increases and then recedes by 1998. Only satisfaction with the levels of crime and violence in Leipzig and the country’s asylum politics show a consistent increase over time.

Finally, in contrast to these halting trends in satisfaction with various political, economic and social outcomes, Leipzig residents became distinctly less satisfied with their *personal* economic situations, and more worried about their personal economic future over the course of the 1993–98 period. We measured the respondents' satisfaction with their current economic situation using a two-item additive index composed of the degree of satisfaction with their current income, and current overall economic condition. The mean of this index (on a 1–5 scale) drops from 3.53 in 1993 to 3.26 in 1998, indicating decreasing satisfaction with current economic circumstances. Moreover, the percentage of respondents who are optimistic about their future economic situation drops dramatically, falling 31 percentage points from 1993 to 1998. These findings are consistent with the economic turmoil present in much of East Germany during this time period. The only personal economic variable that showed any increase over this period was the respondent's satisfaction with their living situation, which started at very high levels in 1993 and increased about 6 percentage points by 1998.

Modeling Democratic Satisfaction. These trends suggest that Leipzig residents became slightly more positive about the democratic system during the time period spanned by the panel study. Changes in support for socialist values are consistent with this trend, though many of the changes in perceptions of political performance and sociotropic economic evaluations are also consistent with the increases in democratic satisfaction. Only personal economic evaluations are clearly inconsistent with the aggregate trends in democratic support.

In order to unravel the causal linkages between democratic support, socialist values, and evaluations of political and economic performance, we next examine a number of models of democratic satisfaction over time. As noted above, we first explore the results, using the single item for "positive views about our democracy." Since this dependent variable is ordinal (responses are arrayed on a 5-point agree/disagree scale), ordinal logistic regression is employed to model the response. We include demographic controls for gender, education, income, age, and religiosity in the models as well. The results are shown in Table 3.

In both panels, socialist values have a strong and statistically significant negative effect on democratic satisfaction, thus providing support for the "socialist socialization" model of democratic satisfaction. Even after controlling for a host of other explanatory variables, one's attachment to the ideal of socialism still exerts a downward pressure on democratic satisfaction in both panels.

However, contrary to expectations from the socialization school about the enduring stability of this effect, it is evident that the effect of socialist values on democratic satisfaction declines markedly across the two panels. The unstandardized ordered logit coefficient falls by close to half, from $-.52$ in the 1993–96 panel to $-.29$ in the 1996–98 panel. This decline takes place in the absence of generational replacement, an obvious non-issue in a panel study, and takes place over a relatively short period of time. The magnitude of the drop is significant in substantive terms as well. Individuals who were *least* supportive of socialism in 1996 and who had a prior probability of .40 of being "satisfied" on the democracy measure would change their probability of being satisfied to .20 if they were at the midpoint on the socialist values scale, and to .08 if they were at the highest level of adherence to socialist values; the corresponding figures in 1998 are .28 and .18. Thus, the "drag" on democratic satisfaction exerted by the same

TABLE 3. Ordered Logistic Regression Models Predicting Democratic Satisfaction, 1993–1998.

Variable	1993–1996		1996–1998	
	Coefficient	Wald	Coefficient	Wald
Democratic satisfaction (t – 1)	.61**	31.16	.13	1.67
Socialist values	–.51**	27.82	–.29**	9.34
Responsiveness of politicians	.82**	36.04	.75**	34.92
Satisfaction with free speech	.29**	6.85	.46**	21.03
Economic outcomes	–.17	.39	.93**	16.49
Social outcomes	.16	.60	.39**	4.17
Crime and immigration	.14	.43	.22	1.65
Current economic/income	–.01	.01	.03	.07
Current housing	–.03	.03	.12	1.76
Future economic situation	–.07	.36	–.08	.42
Sex (male)	.24	1.49	–.28	2.53
Education	–.09	.02	.03	.31
Income	.09	.06	–.05	1.86
Age	.01**	2.90	.01	.01
Religiosity	.05	.29	–.08	1.05
Threshold (1)	–.10	.01	3.12**	11.28
Threshold (2)	2.04**	3.95	4.88**	27.17
Threshold (3)	4.87**	21.57	7.33**	57.76
Threshold (4)	7.62**	48.34	10.47**	103.88
Pseudo R-squared (McFadden)	.17		.19	

** $p < 0.05$

Source: Leipzig Panel Studies 1993–96, ($N = 401$), and 1996–1998 ($N = 508$).

level of adherence to socialist values falls by nearly 10 percentage points from the first panel period to the second, only two years later. This is strong initial evidence that, while socialist values are important determinants of democratic satisfaction in Leipzig, the *effects* of socialist values on democratic support appear to decline significantly, even in a truncated time period.

In addition, we find several signs pointing to a more performance-based evaluation of democracy by the second panel period. Satisfaction with political performance in terms of opportunities for free speech and effective representation of Eastern policy interest in Bonn are significant predictors of democratic satisfaction in both panels, with the interest representation measure being the strongest single factor in determining democratic support. What is most striking, however, is the dramatically increased importance of economic and social policy outcomes by the second panel analysis. In the 1993–96 period, both sociotropic evaluations and social policy evaluations were irrelevant predictors of democratic satisfaction, yet by 1998 both variables are statistically significant, and economic evaluations in particular have important effects, controlling for all other variables in the model. This suggests strongly that the ideologically-based evaluative yardstick in the 1993–96 period was replaced by a more performance- and policy-based yardstick by 1998, exactly what we suggested could occur over time as individuals acquire more experience with the outcomes of the democratic system.¹

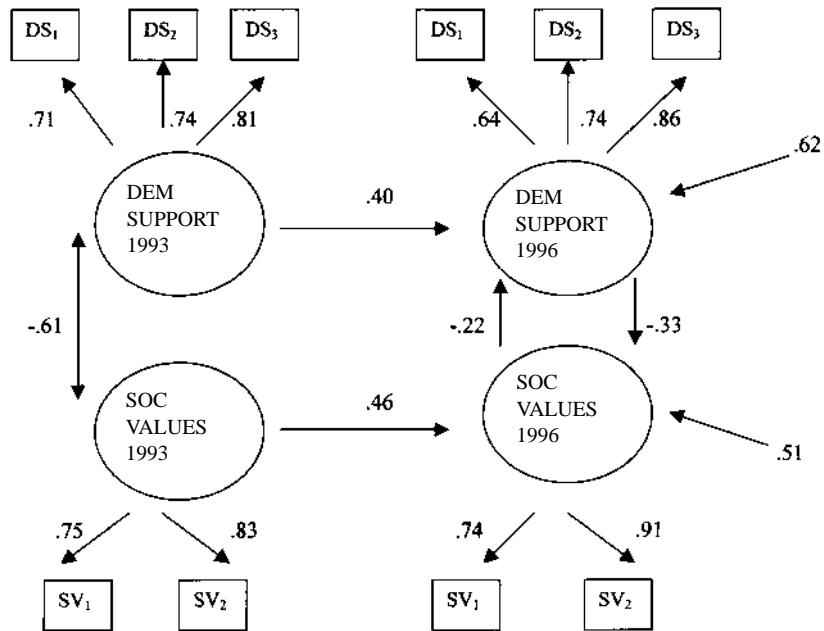
Yet, as Rohrschneider (1999) suggests, socialist values could nevertheless continue to exert influence on democratic satisfaction in an *indirect* fashion, as

support for socialism could have significant effects on the ways that individuals evaluate current economic and political performance. We cannot rule this process out, and indeed further analysis shows that socialist values have significant effects in both panel periods on the interest representation measure, sociotropic economic evaluations, and evaluations of social policy outcomes. These analyses are not definitive, however, because it is possible that there are actually reciprocal causal linkages between some of these variables. But under the generous assumption of unidirectional causality, we may still say that the link between socialist values and democratic satisfaction changed significantly between the two panel periods. In the first period, there are strong direct and indirect effects of socialist values on democratic support. In the second period, the direct effect weakens considerably, with the indirect effects accounting for most of the overall causal relationship. This change in the structure of the relationship has important implications for the future of democratic satisfaction in the East, as we will discuss in more detail below.

Modeling Reciprocal Causation between Two Factors. The ordered logistic regression model presented in Table 3 provides suggestive evidence that the direct effects of socialist values on democratic support declines over time. However, the model fails to take into account the possibility of reciprocal linkages between the two factors over time. If socialist values are not exogenous, but rather both a determinant and a product of democratic support, then it may be the case that the results in Table 3 have *overestimated* the direct influence of support for socialism on the development of democratic satisfaction. A finding of reciprocal linkages between the two concepts would also confirm the theoretical process outlined above, whereby it was claimed that orientations toward liberal democracy could influence the levels of ideological values that inhere in alternative political systems.

To examine this issue, we re-conceptualize the model presented in Table 3 as a structural equation model in which both democratic support and socialist values are allowed to affect one another. In doing so, we also include multiple indicators for both democratic support and socialist values, in order to account more adequately for the errors of measurement in the two constructs. One indication that measurement error might be a factor in the model presented in Table 3 is the insignificant effect of the lagged democratic support variable in the second panel. While the stability of the single-indicator measure of democratic support is high between 1993 and 1996 (0.53), there is very little continuity between the two measures taken in 1996 and 1998 (0.10). Since a considerable body of previous research has suggested that democratic satisfaction ought to be somewhat more stable, the weak association between two consecutive measures of it suggests the strong possibility of measurement error, which generally attenuates observed stabilities over time (see Finkel, 1995).

The model depicted in Figures 1 and 2 is a reciprocal synchronous effects model with democratic satisfaction and socialist values affecting each other in the second wave of each panel. Both democratic satisfaction and socialist values are modeled as latent constructs with several separate individual survey items relating to each construct. Through LISREL, several imperfect measures of each construct, which separately contain measurement error, can be combined into an error-free measure of the common latent construct. The measurement model, represented by the relationship between the latent constructs in the model and the separate indicators of each construct, is akin to a factor analytic solution (although it is



Legend

DS₁ = Positive view toward our democracy

DS₂ = Courts guarantee fair trial

DS₃ = Basic rights well protected

SV₁ = Socialism is good idea, poorly carried out

SV₂ = Wished DDR remained socialist with more democracy and market elements

Model Fit: Chi-Square = 34.98 with 25 df, $p > .05$.

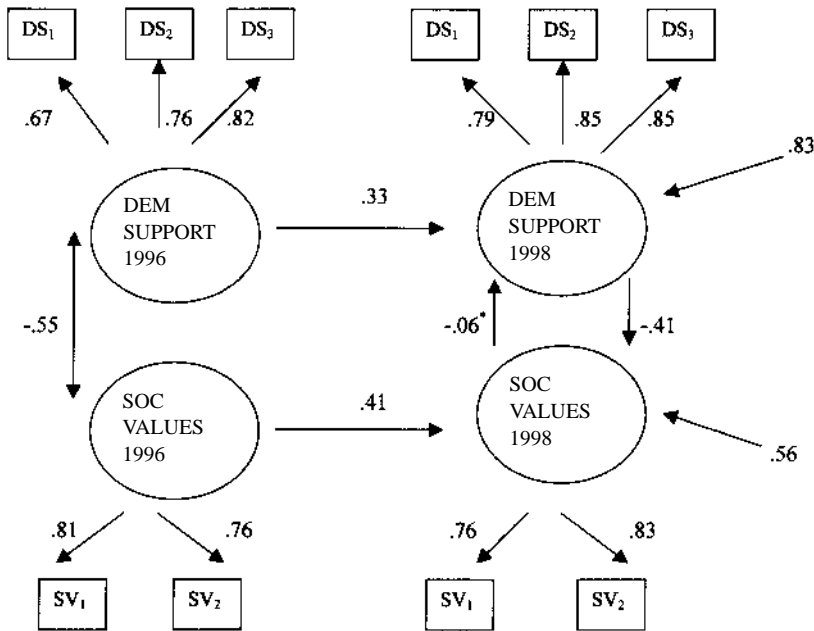
Note: Completely Standardized Solution estimated in LISREL (i.e. standardized indicators and latent variables). All coefficients are significant at .05 level. Correlated Error Terms between indicators in 1993 and 1996 not shown.

FIGURE 1. *The Relationship between Democratic Support and Socialist Values, 1993–96.*

superior in that it is simultaneously estimated along with the structural components of the model).

In Figures 1 and 2, the variables DS₁, DS₂, and DS₃ represent the three indicators discussed above to measure the latent construct of democratic support. In addition to the item about the current functioning of democracy already used previously in the ordered logistic regression analysis, we used two other items tapping one's belief in whether the courts in Germany guarantee a fair trial, and whether the basic rights of citizens are "well-protected" in the Federal Republic. As noted above, these items form part of the political support-alienation scale used by Muller, Jukam, and Seligson, (1982), Muller and Opp (1986), and others in measuring regime support or legitimacy sentiment regarding the political system.

The variables sv₁ and sv₂ represent the two items included in the socialist values index used previously in the ordered logistic regression model. As can be seen in both Figures 1 and 2, the measurement models for both democratic support and socialist values show that all of the separate indicators of democratic support and



Legend

- DS₁ = Positive view toward our democracy
- DS₂ = Courts guarantee fair trial
- DS₃ = Basic rights well protected
- SV₁ = Socialism is good idea, poorly carried out
- SV₂ = Wished DDR remained socialist with more democracy and market elements

Model Fit: Chi-Square = 25.86 with 25 df, $p > .05$.

Note: Completely Standardized Solution estimated in LISREL (i.e. standardized indicators and latent variables). All coefficients except the one starred are significant at .05 level. Correlated Error Terms between indicators in 1993 and 1996 not shown.

FIGURE 2. *The Relationship between Democratic Support and Socialist Values, 1996-98.*

socialist values have relatively high loadings on their associated latent factor. All correlations between the indicators and their latent factor exceed .64, and in many cases reach values of .85 or above. Interestingly, the “positive view” of democracy question used in the earlier logistic regression analysis loads extremely highly on the democratic support construct by 1998, indicating that the item, which has been criticized for measuring a relatively short-term orientation, hangs together very well with questions that tap basic evaluations about the system’s democratic structures and institutions.

The structural portion of the model is represented by the relationships between the latent constructs at each wave of the panel. Of primary interest in each figure are the reciprocal effects between democratic satisfaction and socialist values in 1996 (for the 1993–96 panel) and in 1998 (for the 1996–98 panel). In order to measure the reciprocal effects of democratic satisfaction and socialist values in the second wave of each panel, lagged measures of each construct from the prior wave are used to achieve model identification.

The results show first that the longitudinal stability of the latent constructs is high (represented by the standardized coefficients linking each construct and its prior, lagged value), indicating a relatively large degree of continuity in democratic satisfaction and socialist values over time. This is important since one concern with the ordered logistic regression model depicted in Table 3 was the lack of stability in the single-item measure of democratic satisfaction between 1996 and 1998. After correcting for measurement error in the items, and embedding the democratic satisfaction measure into a multiple indicator construct of democratic support, our conventional understanding of democratic support as a more stable orientation is essentially confirmed. A similar conclusion is reached regarding the stability of support for socialist values.

As was the case with the ordered logistic regression model, socialist values do have a significant negative effect on democratic satisfaction in 1996, but the effect is substantially reduced in 1998. Indeed, it appears that the effect of socialist values on democratic satisfaction is statistically insignificant in 1998, once controlling for the possibility of the reciprocal causal link. These findings indicate that the direct effect of socialist values on democratic satisfaction may not be as strong as that found in the model in Table 3: when the model is properly specified, socialist values are shown still to have an effect on democratic satisfaction in 1996 (although not as large as in the unidirectional model), but the effect is largely eliminated by 1998.

The reciprocal effects model reveals in addition that democratic support has a consistent, and growing, negative effect on socialist values. The effect of democratic support on socialist values is stronger than the reverse effect in both panels, and the effect increases from 1996 to 1998. This finding supports the claim that adherence to socialist values is determined to some degree by one's level of democratic support. Moreover, while the relationship over time between these two constructs appears to be moving toward one of unidirectional causality, it is in the opposite direction from that posited by the "socialist socialization" school. By 1998, it is no longer the case, according to these data, that adherence to socialist values serves to inhibit support for the democratic order; rather attitudes about the democratic order are structuring one's support for anti-(liberal) democratic values. Leipzig respondents increased somewhat their support for democracy between 1996 and 1998, and this increase had a concomitant negative influence on their adherence to the values of socialism. As individuals acquired more experience—and in this case, more positive regard—for the democratic system as a whole, their support for anti-system values subsequently declined. This process mirrors that found in post-Soviet Russia by Gibson (1996b), whereby support for democratic institutions and procedures began to exert greater and greater influence on economic (capitalist) values over time. "Congruence" between institutional support and ideological values is accomplished in both cases not through changes in attitudes about democracy, but rather through alterations in the ideological values themselves.²

Conclusion

None of the results that we have presented, from a five-year panel study of Germans from the Eastern city of Leipzig, argues against the notion that East Germans were socialized to support ideological values that contradict those most congruent with a liberal democratic order. But they do call into question the notion—implicit in the socialization model—that socialist values will exert a

relatively *enduring* effect on democratic support, lessening in importance only after lengthy experience with a new political system, or after new cohorts who have not experienced socialism come of political age. We found evidence instead that points to a more rapidly declining role of socialist values in determining democratic support.

Our results have significant implications for the future of democratic orientations in East Germany, as well as for theories and models of the development of democratic support more generally. For East Germany, the change in the structure of the linkage of socialist values to democratic support indicates that Easterners' attachment to the ideals of socialism will "drag down" their support for democracy less and less over time. What will matter more are the economic and political outputs of the regime itself, and not what the regime "represents" in ideological terms. If economic outputs of the democratic regime become more positive, and if normal partisan politics in the Federal Republic succeed in convincing Easterners that their views are being taken more into account in the policy process, our results suggest that there is more cause for optimism in terms of the development of democratic support in the short term.

Further, if economic and political outputs in the East improve objectively, then the *indirect* negative effect that socialist values may still exert on democratic support through perceptions of economic and political performance should also decline. And to the extent that performance-based increases in democratic satisfaction feed back onto *lower* levels of adherence to socialist values, as our reciprocal effects models would suggest, then the prospects for the consolidation of liberal democracy in the future are potentially brighter still. Of course, continued negative regime performance could have deleterious effects on democratic support in the future, though, if our results are correct, these negative evaluations will no longer be coupled with intense ideological rejection of the democratic system itself.

For theories of democratic consolidation, the results strongly suggest that the causal effects hypothesized in models of democratic support are themselves dynamic, subject to change as individuals acquire more direct experience with democratic processes. Moreover, this process of "institutional learning" may take place at a somewhat more rapid pace than has been hypothesized previously (Rohrschneider, 1999). In a relatively short period of time, the predominant yardsticks for evaluating democracy can change from orientations and values associated with the old regime to the performance and outputs of the new one. And as support for democracy becomes more and more reinforced by experience, it may acquire the status of an enduring predisposition in its own right, influencing the way that citizens view alternative regimes and their associated ideological values. This confirms again the long-standing hypothesis that political structures and ideological values tend toward congruence; the evidence here suggests that congruence may take place more quickly and with a stronger effect of structures onto values, than has been assumed in much post-cold war democratization research (see also Gibson, 1996b; Seligson and Booth, 1993). An important task for future research is to identify more precisely how quickly, and under what kinds of conditions, individuals' socialized values become "endogenized" through experience with liberal democratic structures and processes in other developing democracies.

Appendix

Wording of Questions

Democratic Support

1. To what extent do you have a positive opinion toward our democracy at present?
2. To what extent do you think that the courts in the Federal Republic guarantee a fair trial?
3. To what extent do you feel that the basic rights of citizens are well-protected by our political system?

Respondent is asked to evaluate each statement. Responses to all items are scored on a 5-point agree-disagree scale.

Socialist Values

1. Socialism is a good idea that was poorly carried out.
2. I would have preferred that the former DDR remained socialist, but with more democracy and market elements.

Respondent is asked to evaluate each statement. Responses to both items are scored on a 5-point agree-disagree scale.

Political Performance

1. Responsiveness: To what extent do politicians in Bonn act in the interests of the people in the new German State?
2. Satisfaction with free speech: How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the opportunities for the free expression of ideas?

Respondent is asked to evaluate each statement. Responses to both items are scored on a 5-point agree-disagree scale.

"Sociotropic" Economic Outcomes. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with: (1) the general cost of living? (2) the level of rents? (3) the level of prices in the new German states? (4) the level of unemployment in the new German states? (5) the work of the "Treuhand"? (6) the income differences between the new and old German states?

Respondent is asked to evaluate each statement. Responses to all items are scored on a 5-point agree-disagree scale.

Social Policy Outcomes

How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with: (1) the social security (e.g., workplace security, tenant protection)? (2) the performance of the health system? (3) the support services for children? (4) the possibilities for education and continuing education?

Respondent is asked to evaluate each statement. Responses to all items are scored on a 5-point agree-disagree scale.

Crime and Immigration Policy Outcomes

How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with: (1) the government's asylum policies? (2) the extent of crime in the new German states? (3) the violence against foreigners by the radical right?

Respondent is asked to evaluate each statement. Responses to all items are scored on a 5-point agree-disagree scale.

Current Personal Economic Situation

1. How would you estimate your current overall economic situation. Would you say you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?
2. How satisfied are you with your current income? Would you say you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?

Current Housing Situation

All in all, how satisfied are you with your current living (housing) situation? Would you say you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?

Future Economic Situation

When you think about the future, do you think your personal economic situation will be much better, better, worse, or much worse?

Notes

1. Using the single item “socialism is a good idea” measure of socialist values instead of the two-item index yielded similar findings to those shown in Table 3 (if anything, there was an even greater decline in the direct effect of socialist values on democratic satisfaction over time when using the single item measure).
2. We also estimated cross-lagged models for both panels, where democratic support and socialist values in one wave influence each other in the subsequent wave. The three-year time lag in the first panel is probably too long to recover the true causal influences of the variables on each other, but nevertheless the results are entirely consistent with the models we report above. The standardized effect of democratic support on socialist values is $-.13$ in the first panel and $-.12$ in the second panel, while the standardized effect of socialist values on democratic support drops from $-.11$ in the first panel to $-.01$ in the second.

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Acknowledgements. We are grateful to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (the German National Science Foundation) for supporting the research used in this article (principal investigator: Karl-Dieter Opp). We also thank the editors of this journal, and Dieter Fuchs, Robert Rohrschneider, and Lynn Sanders for helpful comments and criticisms.