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INTRODUCTION

We dedicate this volume to the memory of **Professor Sidney Verba**. The editorial staff of the Central European Political Science Review received the notice that **Prof. Sidney Verba** died at the age of 87, who was already considered for a long time the classic expert of contemporary political science, mostly of political culture, comparative politics and of data scientific collection. He was regular reader of **Central European Political Science Review**.

Julia Isabel Flores from Mexico wrote a nice commemorative chapter about Prof. Sidney Verba the CEPSR. We will initiate the **CEPSR Vol. 20. No. 77 (THE FUTURE OF EUROPEAN UNION)** with this chapter, and we offer this issue to the memory of Professor Sidney Verba.

The main topic of **Vol. 20. No. 77** is dealing with THE FUTURE OF EUROPEAN UNION. The issue include among others a chapter from Jerzy Wiatr and Silvo Devetak. We have now authors from Poland, Slovenia, Bosnia, Albania, Turkey, Hungary and Czechia as well.

CEPSR is the greatest Central European social science journal edited by CEPOLITI since 2000. Its publication frequency is 4 issues per year (Spring, Summer, Fall, Winter) in 2000 printed copies. There is no deadline for submission of new and old issue. **CEPSR** is an open access peer-reviewed, interdisciplinary international platform for disseminating results of relevant research related to all the disciplines of social science, political science, sociology, anthropology, communication, culture, etc.

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János Simon
Editor-in-chief

Julia Isabel Flores

***In Memoriam* of Prof. Sidney Verba
The Great Pioneer of Data Collection**

“As the great Italian sociologist-economist, Vilfredo Pareto put it “Give me fertile error bursting with the seeds of its own correction; ... you can keep your sterile truth!”¹

Sidney Verba²

One of the greatest political scientists

The recent death on March 4, 2019 of the distinguished political scientist Sidney Verba will be an occasion to reflect on his contributions to the field of political science. He was one of the greatest political scientists of the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st.

Sidney Verba was born on May 26, 1932, in the East Flatbush section of Brooklyn to Morris and Recci Verba, Jewish immigrants from what is now Moldova in Eastern Europe. Verba graduated from Harvard in 1953 with a degree in history and literature, having taken only one government course. He then enrolled in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton, where he earned a master’s degree and his doctorate in politics received a Ph.D. from Princeton University in 1959. Professor Verba was an assistant and associate professor at Princeton and a full professor at Stanford and the University of Chicago before returning to Harvard in 1973. Before going to Harvard, he taught at Princeton, Stanford University, and the University of Chicago.

He was a Carl H. Pforzheimer University Professor *Emeritus* and research professor of government. He taught at Harvard for 35 years and was the longest-serving director of the University Library in Harvard’s history. He held the post between 1984 and 2007, during the dawn of the digital age, and led the Library Digital Initiative, the massive digitization of its books and materials that opened the University’s collections to a global audience. Retired in

1 Quoted in Jan F. Triska, Paul M. Cocks, and Gabriel Almond; *Political Development in Eastern Europe*, (Praeger, 1977) p. vii.

2 Sidney Verba. Keynote Address at International Conference on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the *Civic Culture*, Mexico City, October 21, 2009

2007 continued to work as chair of the Committee on Human Rights at the National Academy of Sciences until just a few years ago as a way to keep pursuing his intellectual interests in equality and justice. He said: “*Academics, are the only people I can think of for whom this sentence makes sense: ‘I’m hoping to get some time off so that I can get some work done’*”.

At various times, Professor Verba was also chairman of the Harvard University Press, president of the American Political Science Association and chairman of the human rights committee of the National Academy of Sciences. He was a member of the National Academy of Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Received many awards and honors for his contributions to political science. In 2002, he won the Johan Skytte Prize, which has been described as the Nobel Prize for political science.

The Civic Culture

A giant in modern political science, Sid Verba’s passion was to understand — and further — participatory democratic citizenship (Gary King). As a scholar, Verba pioneered the use of survey research as central to the discipline. What he did shaped the field of comparative politics.

Beginning with “*The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*,”³ which he wrote with Gabriel Almond in 1963 when he was Dr. Almond’s research assistant at Princeton University, Professor Verba created surveys into civic participation and political inequality that challenged conventions and erased the idea of American exceptionalism- that the United States was somehow different from everywhere else- and couldn’t be compared.

“The Civic Culture” a groundbreaking work, which compared political attitudes in the U.S. to those in the U.K., Germany, Mexico, and Italy, revolutionized political science. His pioneering research comparing political behavior among the world’s democracies became a classic book among students of politics, undertook pioneering research on democratic participation, civic life, and political inequality. “The Civic Culture” sought to find a common

3 Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Series: Center for International Studies, Princeton University. Princeton University Press. 1963

denominator among stable democracies by systematically comparing data from multiple nations: two established ones (the United States and Britain); two emerging from autocratic governments (Germany and Italy); and an aspiring one (Mexico).

In 2009, a half-century later, Professor Verba reflected on his groundbreaking research writing, “It applied a new technique (social surveys) never or rarely used across cultures, to a vast subject (political culture) never studied systematically, and it connected culture to democracy.”

The book concluded that constitutional government cannot be imposed unless a political culture promotes the institution of the family, fosters the organization of civil society and upholds democratic values. It also found that educated people were more likely to participate in politics. Not all of the book’s conclusions proved correct, however.

“In one crucial aspect, the study had the future wrong”. Professor Verba wrote in 2009 “It focused heavily on the role of education in developing a civic culture. Educated individuals were more participant, more tolerant of others, more supportive of democratic norms. This result about individuals has held up pretty well over time. But the book was written in a time of great optimism about the future of democracy. As education spread, we – and many other scholars of that period – expected that a new, more secular and rational world would emerge. The role of religion, of ethnic and racial identity and clashes based on basic characteristics like religion or race or ethnicity would diminish, creating a more peaceful and democratic world. Looking back fifty years, it is clear that the prediction was wrong. We live in a world of conflict, and much of it centers around those basic characteristics.

And in general, what one found out about culture 50 years ago will not match what is going on now. It is in part that our ability to study and to understand things like political culture has changed (improved, we hope), but more important the world has changed. Consider technology and globalization (two related massive changes.) Political culture now exists in a global world – of population movements of communications revolution. The internet is creating new ways of doing things, new ways of thinking. One mistake we used to make is that culture is somehow permanent – something that one is born into and that a nation keeps and passes on from generation to generation. And there is a stickiness to cultural patterns. New

innovations come along and are absorbed into the ongoing culture. But cultures are permeable, and people do change and nations do change”⁴.

He wrote more than 20 books that examined citizen engagement and activism in democratic political life in the United States and around the world.

Equality

In the 1970s, Verba published books with several co-authors that were trailblazing in both analysis and methodology, and also set the agenda for different subfields in the discipline. Those were “Participation in America” with Norman Nie, “The Changing American Voter” with Nie and John Petrocik, and “Participation and Political Equality” with Nie and Jae-on Kim. His 1993 book “Designing Social Inquiry,” written with Gary King and Robert Keohane, is still used by every graduate student in political science.

The works that followed *The Civic Culture*, however, differed in two significant ways. Verba said: “The earlier work was concerned with democratic culture and differences across the nations in commitment of the populations to democratic beliefs and values. The later work maintains an interest in such cultural and attitudinal matters but is centered on political activity and the equality of that activity. A basic democratic ideal is the equal consideration of the preferences and interests of all citizens, an ideal embodied in the principle of “one person, one vote.” Equal consideration depends on equal citizen voice—voice that may be expressed through many kinds of citizen activity. The newer research has as its central theme the description and measurement of equal voice and the deviations from it, as well as a search for the origins of the deviations”⁵.

In 1995, he published “Voice and Equality,” co-written with Schlozman and Brady. The book examined patterns of political participation in the U.S. and brought the issue of inequality in political participation to the forefront. “Participation is unequal in politics and is structured, among other things, by socio-economic resources, especially education...It’s not only a good thing that we have a democracy, but what really matters is the roles of people in it”.

4 Sidney Verba. Keynote Address at International Conference on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the *Civic Culture*, Mexico City, October 21, 2009

5 Sidney Verba “A Life in Political Science”. The *Annual Review of Political Science*. polisci.annualreviews.org. doi:10.1146/annurev-polisci-082409-094200

Verba's work was driven by his concern for bringing equality to the American political system to allow all citizens to participate in civic and political life. Verba and Almond's book explored what they termed "the political culture of participation". Verba later went on to co-author "Voice and Equality," in which he outlined the obstacles in American society that prevented citizens from fully participating in the country's democracy.

He retained his office in the Center for Government and International Studies building, meeting with students and working on his book "The Unheavenly Chorus" — which he co-authored with Schlozman and Henry E. Brady.

Equality movements

Sidney Verba played an early role in some of the Harvard University's initial efforts to investigate the prevalence of sexual assault on campus. He surveyed undergraduates, graduate students, and faculty members in 1983, gathering information about attitudes towards assault, harassment by peers, and harassment by non-peers. He included a section about potential remedies to the issue of assault. "He was more on top of this issue than probably anybody. Took it very seriously"⁶. In that role, he oversaw the gathering of information about sexual harassment on campus and the creation of a campuswide policy for handling harassment complaints regarding everything from gender, race, and religion to age and sexual orientation.

Methodology

In the Sixties when *Civic Culture* was published, the authors did political science a great favor (we don't forget that in addition to the surveys in 5 countries, they applied 122 in- depth interviews). They expanded the methodological canvass from crude, quantitative stuff to incipient qualitative Political Science. It is with them that a political scientist could talk about political culture, political behavior, political participation.

But innovation rested with that generation, whether one is talking of the classical theorists of political development – Gabriel Almond, Sidney Verba, Lucian Pye or their liberal internationalist

⁶ Interview with Jennifer L. Hochschild. Government Department Chair Professor. *The Harvard Crimson*, March 11, 2019.

successors in the Joseph Nye, Robert Keohane or their counterpart in International Relations,

There is no better evidence of this than the methodology book Gary King, Robert Keohane and the same Sidney Verba wrote in 1994 coming to terms with Qualitative Methodology. Political Science is not about facts in themselves anymore, but the interpretation and that interpretation is a very subjective thing. What they did and what those of them still living are doing is what critical geopolitics scholars call writing the world.

Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research, written with Gary King and Robert O. Keohane, attempted to apply understandings from quantitative political science analysis to qualitative analysis, mindful that there are differences between the two genres but much overlap between them. The book bridged the gap between quantitative and qualitative studies, showing their mutually supportive function and their joint contribution to political analysis.

Science and Human Rights

As chair of the Committee on Human Rights at the National Academy of Sciences Verba was worried for the role of science and human rights. As Verba wrote “The obvious questions that we might ask ourselves are: How does respect for human rights advance science and how does science benefit the promotion of human rights? Science is both human and humane; as one of the most elevated of human activities, it allows the highest instincts and special features of our species to flourish. Science is also humane, in that it is compassionate and benefits humanity in many ways”⁷.

Scientific inquiry transcends national boundaries and it is a model for cooperation and mutual respect among scientists who may differ in other ways—nationality, language, race, and ethnicity, and in their religious and ideological beliefs. The joint work of scientists across borders often contributes to more general human understanding” he said. “Science is committed to finding the truth. It is not easy, but the truth over the long run will help us make the world a better place—a place we value. We must continue that struggle”.

⁷ Sidney Verba. *Science and Human Rights*. Launch of the AAAS Science and Human Rights Coalition Washington DC, January 14, 2009

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