

KNOWLEDGE – CULTURE AND DEMOCRACY PROGRESS

ADRIAN GORUN

Faculty of Letters and Social Sciences University “Constantin Brancusi” of
Targu-Jiu, Romania

Abstract in original language

Between the knowledge process, culture and the progress of democracy are established a series of correlations that can be revealed only by understanding precisely those concepts. Regarding the term of clarification explanations generated by several factors is required. First, it is not a rigorous one, covering an imprecise territory, indefinite by references and miscellaneous connotations. Then, the judgment that knowledge is an essential and existential attribute of human being can not be ruled out, and it is at the same time, ascertaining but also critical and selective. It should also be put on the same plane an intrinsic and elementary knowledge which has a subjective and spontaneous sense, which is found in the human genetic code, with an objective, critical, reflective and deliberate knowledge which is an epistemic knowledge (scientific). Its bipolarity and processing should be examined by reporting its finite subject to the infinitely subject matter and the gnosiology problems and solutions aimed to a specific state of knowledge (subjective and scientific) bearing usually a mark of genres and forms of knowledge that, each time, enjoyed the prestige of epistemological, having even a paradigmatic role. The approach that I propose not only surprising the correlations between conceptual parts (knowledge epistemic-culture-democracy), but especially in developing content sequences relating to formal democracy and substantive democracy, the role of democracy and political culture in progress, we reveal the unsatisfactory nature of the concept gnosiology only in terms of internal consistency and simplicity, of consistency with its own theoretical and methodological assumptions. The nature which is studied nowadays is not a pre-human one. It is already processed and cultural valued. The systems of meaning can be deciphered only by considering the context, turning the research results in the field of cultural anthropology, psycho-sociology, and history culture and focusing on the social psyche in the reconstruction of the horizon of human reality. The human condition is the human axiological foundations of universe, universe that is not confined either to the ontic or at gnosiological ones. And this is because the values are immanent and transcendent both as valued objects and subjects which would value. Thus, value is a relationship assessment of goods or creation, by virtue of correspondence between their characteristics and human aspirations. Therefore, one can say that a political system is shaped by the cultural factors and the political system, in turn, can cause changes into the culture, influencing other behavioral patterns of the society. Culture creates tradition, form autonomous systems of knowledge, shaping the structure of some institutions. In other words, culture creates a

different quantum of social experience. Democracy is the political form that has proved long time, a great capacity for learning and a huge transformation potential that occurred as the idea of government by the majority. In our opinion, the concept of democracy points to a multitude of problems in terms of a failure (if not a crisis) in the epistemic domain. Conditions of democracy originated in the political system (as any political regime) is the essential way in which the policy models in real hypostasis and goal hypostasis, concrete in the governance exercised by many and the ideal of government by as much as possible. The gears of globalization and knowledge society, reconstruction of the experiments experienced democracy, acceptance of democratic governance as the axiom, acceptance of extending the scope of political participation and the idea of universality of voting, pluralism and compromise, the positive contamination into the international plan are not sufficient arguments to show justification and legitimacy of democratic regimes compared with the non-democratic ones. Furthermore, normative judgments can not substitute for objective judgments. The response to these challenges may be made only by bringing into question the concepts of formal democracy and substantive democracy.

Key words in original language

Democracy; democratic systems; epistemic knowledge; globalization.

**1. EPISTEMIC KNOWLEDGE – CULTURE – DEMOCRACY –
CONCEPTUAL REFERENCES**

All the great culture ages have proposed theses, principles and gnoseological problems to the meditation and reflection¹. Even in the cultures and mentalities qualified as proto-historical, archaic, mythological, myths, images and symbols are structures communicating about the meaning of those cultures exponents is attributed to knowledge, essential and existential coordinate of man.

There is no rough concept for what we generally name knowledge. This, especially to the extent where the term usually used is vague, and covers an imprecise “territory”, not determined by references and heterogeneous connotations. But this is way clarifications are necessary. Especially because the judgement according to which knowledge is the essential and existential feature of man cannot be denied. This judgement becomes indicative: a certain moment of knowledge is involved in any human activity and commitment. At the same time, it becomes critical and selective: we cannot put at the same level an elementary, intrinsic knowledge (human ontis attribute), found in the human genetic code, in the existential project of the human being (as a component of life), with an objective, critical, reflexive knowledge. The elementary knowledge

¹In order to clear about the process of the theory of knowledge, see P.P. Negulescu, *New writings, I, The problem of knowledge*, Academy Publisher RSR, Bucharest, 1969.

represents the universality and identity of the human being – as bio-psychic being, socio-cultural and action being, and it is “knowledge or thought in subjective meaning, consisting of a state of mind or consciousness or a disposition towards behaviour or reactions²”. By comparison (although the gradualness of the plans is obvious), the objective knowledge, critically controlled, represents knowledge or thought in objective meaning, consisting of problems, theories and arguments as such³.

Elementary knowledge is spontaneous, subdued at the same time to some freedom and constraints horizons appeared both from the genetic code and the life situations (individual and group); objective knowledge is intentional, obtained through special and specialized activities, explicitly following some justness, authenticity and probation ideals. Objective knowledge is the epistemic (scientific) knowledge.

At cultural and historical scale, we can identify knowledge systems more or less integrated, proper to some human communities, systems where there are structured different types of knowledge (differentiated, synthesized, and hierarchised):

a) perceptive knowledge, of common sense; b) technical and pragmatic knowledge; c) scientific knowledge; d) philosophical knowledge; e) mythical knowledge; f) religious knowledge; g) artistic knowledge.

At the same time, all the forms of conscience and ideologies (coercive or non-coercive) are associated with moments and coefficients of specific knowledge. Then, within the framework of knowledge types, the following forms of knowledge may be identified:

a) empirical – theoretical; b) positive – speculative; c) intuitive - reflexive; e) representative – symbolic; f) individual - collective s.a.

therefore, we discuss of types of knowledge:

- elementary, spontaneous, common, subjective;
- objectified, elaborated, reflexive, critical, scientific, knowledge systems, genera and forms of knowledge; the types and forms of knowledge , characterized by their variable modalities of expression, communication, and diffusion.

2K.R. Popper Epistemology without a known subject, in Epistemology. Contemporary orientations, Political Publisher, Bucharest, 1974, p. 72.

3Ibidem.

In this approach⁴, taking into consideration the gradual character of knowledge in general, but also by the benefits resulting from the empiricism – rationalism dispute (mediated in the modern age by Kant's criticism), we are concerned by illustrating the relation: scientific knowledge – culture (especially political culture) – the progress of democracy. We will focus on the difference between the scientific knowledge system and the system of opinions, on highlighting those field of reality liable of a certain knowledge (comparisons with fields where certitudes are subordinated to statistics), on the need of passing (within the process of knowledge) from the misleading appearance of things to the observation of their essence, on the existence or non-existence of adequate means of the subject at a certain point, in order to establish the validity of some knowledge results or at least certain degrees of its credibility.

Knowledge bipolarity and gradual character have to be analyzed by reporting its finite subject (a finitudine established by admitting the genetic, existential, potential – action limitations of the investigation means) to the infinite object (spatial and temporal infinite and various forms of manifestation). At the same time, we have to take into consideration one evidence: that gnoseologic problems and solutions also focus on a determined state of knowledge (subjective and scientific), having the fingerprint of genera and forms of knowledge which, in every age, have had an epistemological prestige, even with a paradigmatic role.

Knowing the knowledge has only one “royal” way: it is a moment of human knowledge below the historical possibility. In our steps, both in surprising the the correlations between conceptual references (epistemic knowledge – culture – democracy), but especially in developing the content sequences regarding formal democracy and substantial democracy, the role of knowledge and political culture in the progress of democracy (but also in underlining some intrinsic limitations of the “phantom-theory” of democracy) we issue the assumption that the appreciation of a gnoseologic conception only under the aspect of coherence and internal simplicity, of consistency with its own theoretical and methodological premises, is not enough

In the dispute between episteme and gray matter (Taminaux' paradox) we have to take into consideration the farther consequences of democracy theory development, the extra-gnoseologic contexts (ontological, psycho-anthropological) it engages.

⁴ Vezi Filosofie, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1985, p. 220 și urm.

The contemporary picture of epistemological concerns and positions is extremely various. Participating in understanding the knowledge of society supposes a systematic analysis regarding:

- great internal transformations, regarding thought style or form produced in modern and current science, but especially the analysis of the new social-economic, cultural and political status of science within informational society;
- new methods and means allowing to carry theoretical researches (logical and mathematic, semantic, meta-theoretical) and empirical (psycho-genetic, psycho-sociological, historical, anthropological, cybernetic etc.), which used to be inaccessible;
- Philosophical and cultural traditions , contemporary scientific trends and schools (logical empiricism and analytical philosophy – R. Carnap, C.G. Hempel; critical rationalism– K.R. Popper; phenomenology – Ed. Husserl; neo-rationalism – G. Bachelard, F.Gonseth; genetic epistemology – J. Piaget; conceptual pragmatism – W.v.O. Quine; the new technology of science – Th.S. Kuhn, St. Toulmin; “scientific” realism – M Bunge, H. Putnam – the contextuality of truth – R. Rorty ş.a.);
- Methods, techniques, and instruments granting the epistemological researchers a higher degree of positivity, like: a direct analysis regarding epistemological problems that the top practice of scientific research supposes; formalising analysis and logical – mathematic reconstruction of scientific theories, as well as of intuitive epistemological concepts (theory, model, explanation, prediction, testing, truth etc.);
- Historical-critic and psycho-genetic methods (that underline the growth mechanisms of knowledge and the historical way in which they have evolved and succeeded their main hypotheses etc)5.

The nature studied by sciences nowadays, is not an anti-human nature; it is already processed and culturally valued. Significations systems may be decrypted only by taking into consideration the context, calling the results of the researchers in the field of cultural anthropology, psycho-sociology, the history of culture, placing the accent on knowing the social psychic in the process of “rebuilding” people’s reality horizon. In this context, Mircea Eliade uses the term of “semantic opacity” which means that any document, even contemporary ones, is “spiritually opaque” as long as it is not decrypted, by integrating it in a system of significations: “A prehistoric or contemporary tool only reveals its technological intentionality: everything

5Ibidem, p 226.

its producer or owners have thought, have imagined, have hoped related to it is unknown to us”⁶.

In a definition expressing the content essence, truth represents the value of knowledge. Man’s way of being, human nature, (Montaigne, Malraux), „mysterious being and for revelation” (Lucian Blaga) – is the grounds of the human axiological universe. Just like value judgements do not identify themselves with judgements about value, in the same way they do not resume themselves to ontic universe, not to the gnoseological one. This happens firstly because values are immanent and transcendent to valued objects and to valorising subjects. It is of great interest the idea expressed by a Shakespearian character in “Troilus and Cressida”: „ value dwells not in particular ...; It holds his estimate and dignity / As well wherein 'tis precious of itself /As in the prizer”. To put it in other words, values is when and where something (mainly anything) has less or more significance for someone (a human being capable of appreciation, compulsorily), involving a specific relation between the subject and the object.

A possible definition: Value is an appreciation relation of some goods or creations, in virtue of their correspondence between their features and man’s hopes.

Consequently, we may assume that value is not an intrinsic attribute of some objects (either material or ideal), not an intrinsic attribute of the subject, but a specific way of preferential and desiderative report of the subject towards the object based on social criteria⁷.

The system of values that offers structural identity to a community is defined as “a synthesis of cultural and civilisation components admitted as legitimate at communitarian level”⁸. Based on the symbolic interactions, culture is a system of “collective symbols”. Passing over the multitude of definitions given to culture, I believe that J.Plano’s is conclusive and edifying for our study: Culture is the assembly of behaviour patterns acquired and socially transmitted, specific to one society. As a defining element of a national group, it develops and preserves by studying, language, knowledge, folklore, faith, habits, traditions, institutions, both official and not official. In short, through the totality of social experience. In

⁶Mircea Eliade, *Istoria credințelor religioase*, vol. I, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1981, p 5.

⁷L. Grünberg, *Axiology and human nature*, Political Publisher, Bucharest, 1972, p 61-62; N. Rescher, *Introduction to Value Theory*, Prentice-Hall Inc; New Jersey, 1969, p 55.

P. Andrei, *The Philosophy of Value*, Foundations Publisher, Bucharest, 1945, p 23 și urm; I. Lavelle, *Traité des valeurs*, vol. I, P.U.F. Paris, 1951, p 92-93.

⁸Ștefan Buzărnescu, *The Sociology of Public Opinion*, Didactic and Paedagogic Publisher, R.A., Bucharest, p. 28.

a maximum essence, taking into consideration its political component also, we may say that a political system is modelled by cultural factors and political system, in its turn, can cause alterations at cultural level, influencing other behaviour patterns of the society. This requires another observation, namely that the existence of subcultures or counter-cultures, that may be depicted by alienating important groups from the dominant cultural group, can cause ostilities and tensions that, in their turn, may result into violence, repression and last revolution or civil war. This is a thesis that I shall take into consideration in analyzing democracy. The level (subsystem) of culture, social consciousness, ideology and spiritual life work together within the social system together with the level (subsystem) of the reports between human society – nature; the level (subsystem) of social structures and specific relations; the level (subsystem) of communitarian life.

Then, in the system of political culture, there are included:

- Ideas, conceptions, specific conscience forms – political, moral, philosophical, artistic, juridical, religious;
- Representations, mentalities, opinions, states of spirit, attitudes.

Briefly, representing the individual spiritual sphere, the condition of culture has a double meaning: it conditions and it is conditioned by the social environment.

We are interested on its impact upon the condition of the political system; values, aspirations cause representatives behaviours at individual, group, national, international level (especially through globalization). Culture creates tradition, forms autonomous knowledge systems, models the structure of institutions (creates another tonality of the social experience)⁹.

History is the control witness upon values and utilities of different political societies. This judgement may be issued both for democratic systems, and for non-democratic systems, especially regarding their legitimacy and legitimating.

Democracy is the political form that “has proven in time a great capacity of learning and a great potential of transformation”¹⁰; it has developed as an idea of government by the people, transforming the political life almost at the same time in Athens (and other cities– Greek states), as well as in the

⁹See Adrian Gorun, *Political Theory*, Presa universitară clujeană, Cluj Napoca, 2002, p. 43-47; Dumitru Lepădatu, *Political Processes and Phenomena*, Bucharest, Ed. Actami, 200, p. 59-66.

¹⁰Gianfranco Pasquino, *Political Science Course*, European Institute, 2002, p. 305.

castle state – Rome¹¹. Many authors have considered that Giovanni Sartori's exclamation: „Democracy! The name for a thing which does not exist”, included its work.

In my opinion¹², this exclamation is not compromising, but on the contrary, it draws the attention of many problems of the concept of democracy itself from the view of an epistemic lack (or even a crisis) in the field. The difference between the initial concept – current concept – actual reality is both historical and semantic – through the extension of the referential. The approaches of democratic systems are concerned both with the genesis, evolution and working of this type of system, as well as with its possible evolutions in the future; at the same time, the intensity and constancy of debates cannot exclude common historical aspects or the specific elements of democratic systems. “What we understand by democracy is not what an Athenian from Pericles' time used to understand– says R. Dahl. Greek, Roman, Medieval, and Renaissance notions combine from more recent centuries, to produce a mixture of theory and methods which is sometimes unconscious”¹³. This is why, a consistent definition of democracy is difficult, but political science today takes into consideration Schumpeter's definition more and more: „... democratic method is that institutional order for reaching to political decisions, orders where people get the right to decide, after a concurrent confrontation for getting popular vote”¹⁴. This definition has credits – illustrating the concurrent and edifying character of elections, including the principle of predicted reactions (Friedrich), but at the same time it is also too procedural, which makes the concept content too unilateral. We can establish that democracy – understood as method, as institutional order for reaching political decisions, is explained through the middle rank (in Kant's meaning, through relative purposes, corresponding to hypothetical imperatives). But democracy is a product (political system) and process through which reality (social ontis⁰ includes the desiderate gradually (understood here as a possible virtual). Originating in the political system (as any political system), democratic system is the essential way for the politics to transform into desiderate hypotheses and real hypotheses. In fact, government exercised by “the many” and the ideal of exercising the government by as many as possible. It is at the same time, an inclusive and exclusive process, a political system and a form of government (of life). It involves at the same time, potentia and potestas, puissance and pouvoir. It is mainly a system of the political power, but a measurement for the degree in

¹¹ Adrian Gorun, *Political Power and Political Systems*, Bibliotheca Publisher, 2006, p. 128.

¹²Ibidem, p. 129-130.

¹³Robert Dahl, *Democracy and its Critics*, Iași, European Institute, p. 10.

¹⁴ J.A.Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, New York, Harper & Row, 1942.

which this system (as self-government desiderate) complies with the human condition in such a type of community, and this measure – as result of individual self-evaluation (as a statistic mean of these self-assessments), involves the immanence of political culture and consequently a degree of knowledge. Man's self-conscience shall include systematic elements (not just spontaneous), to the extent to which it is fundamented in cognitive and axiological structures into different degrees and ranks. In accordance with the level of these degrees and ranks, the consequences of democracy shall be received more spontaneously and more elaborately. The processing degree (individual's ability) of the gross democratic act shall lead to opinions (subjectively credible) or knowledge (with real and grounded attributes). This is the field (within this interval) of differentiation between the "phantom reception" of democracy, "the phantom theory" and a scientific theory, between the credibly subjectual opinion, the objective opinion (public opinion) and the scientific knowledge of democracy. But taking into consideration that democracy is the system of exercising the power by the many, with a desirable tendency, by as many, it is certain that public opinion becomes the standard of reporting in elaborating the answer to the question: how good is the democratic system? And even under the circumstance of globalization and the society of knowledge, the reconstruction of lived democratic experiments, accepting the democratic government as an axiom, accepting the extension of the political participation sphere and the idea of vote universality, pluralism and compromise, positive contamination within the international plan are not enough arguments to indicate the justification and legitimacy of democratic systems in comparison to non-democratic ones. Moreover, normative judgements cannot replace objective judgements. The answer to these challenges cannot be formulates unless discussing the problems of formal democracy and substantial democracy.

2. FORMAL DEMOCRACY AND SUBSTANTIAL DEMOCRACY

It is known that Ancient people did not treat politics as an "object" claiming a specific "method" represented by nature sciences, but looked at it as a system (politeia) offering the society its central meanings, "putting its institutions and rules in order, modelling the needs and lifestyle of its members"¹⁵.

In the Ancient people's view, politics was at the same time:

- A way of organizing the town;
- A way of life for people inside the town

¹⁵See Jean Baudouin, Introduction in Political Sociology, Macord Publisher, Timișoara, 1999, p. 89-90.

This originates the distinction between formal democracy and substantial democracy, but their coexistence also. Therefore, if democracy is reduced to developing the forms of organizing the Town, then it is formal; if, on the contrary, politics approaches at the same time as a form of organizing the Town and way of life for people inside the Town, democracy is formal and substantial.

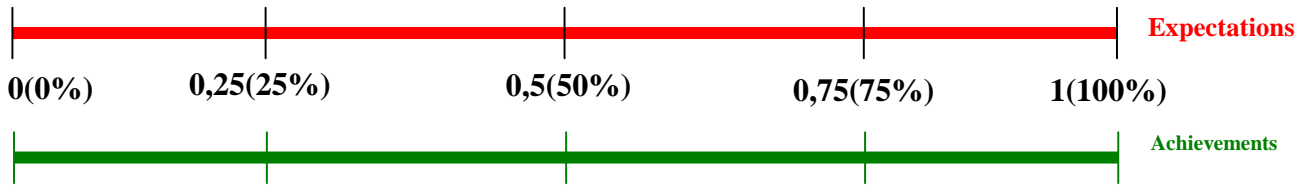
Democratic systems, like any type of political system, include immanent tensions, appeared especially in the plan of institutional modernization trials, due to complaints about the existent system (the limitations of the democratic system) reported to the desired way of organizing the Town. These limitations prove the persistence of the tensions between formal democracy, based on elaboration and compliance with the rules and procedures (including on institutional construction) and substantial democracy which has the finality of formal procedures results regarding citizens' welfare.

Formal democracy is the sine qua non condition (but not enough) for substantial democracy as in actu democracy (way of life); the first one is the way to reach and achieve the desired and expected human condition, and the second one expresses the extent to which the elaborated, built and enforced institutional and normative background transforms human condition, meaning the way of life for people in the Town. And, knowing the fact that formalized democratic societies are plural by nature (including even plural communities), they implicitly and implacably create not just poliarchies but hierarchies also (natural – objective, and more seriously, oligarchic type ones). Expectations, desires are structured in their turn into:

- a) subjectual – credible opinions (accepted / rejected / contested individual lifestyle);
- b) perceptions of groups, objectived communities – public opinion (accepted / contested lifestyle);
- c) elaborated forms of conscience (theories, doctrines, ideologies), regarding the capacity of formal democracy to transform human condition from a community (objective assessment of progress/ stagnation/ regress of lifestyle in accordance with formal democracy). From this point of view, conduct may be justifying / contesting.

All its three forms of structuring the expectations are comparative (either on time periods, either, when democratic systems succeed to non-democratic systems, comparisons are made through the view of human condition), and indicators used focus on the lifestyle as it is perceived (individually or at the level of some groups) as resulting from scientifically grounded analyses. The impact of being aware of the results of expectations reporting to achievements is underlined in behaviours (to vote, support or contestation actions – active behaviours – refrain, passivity, absence – passive behaviours).

POSSIBILITIES (ACHIEVEMENTS – EXPECTATIONS BAROMETER)



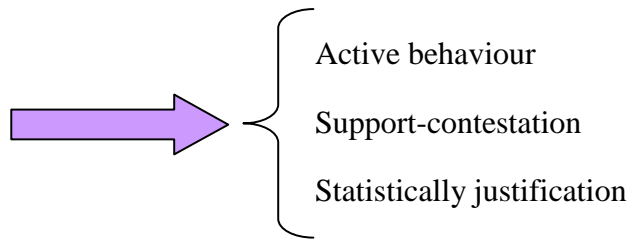
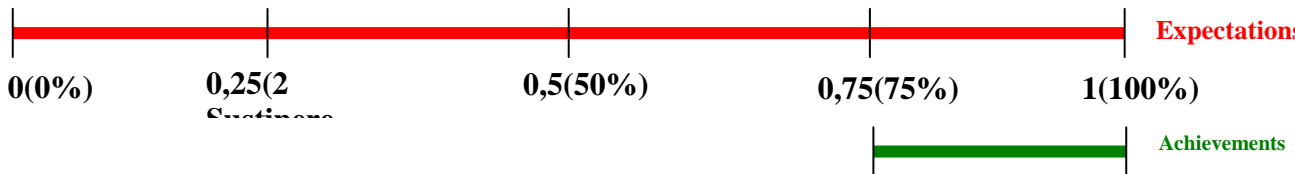
Case I. Achievable cases

0 expectations

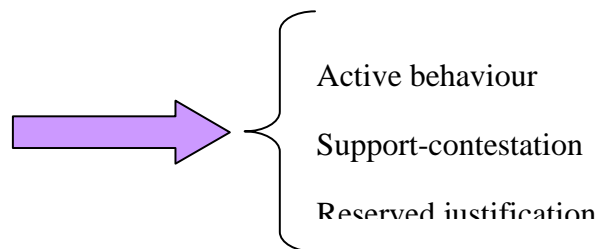
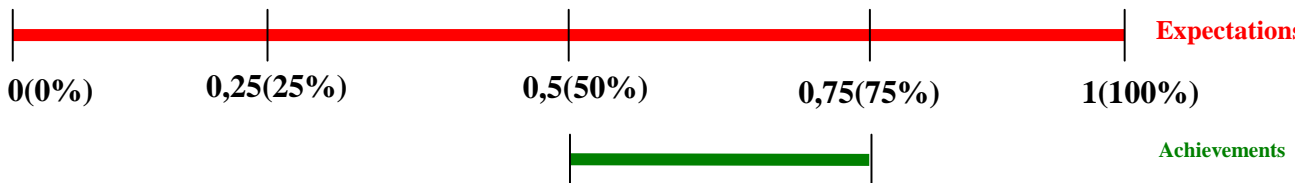
1 expectations and 1 achievements (0 % lack of achievements), ideal case

Case II. Achievable cases for 1 expectations

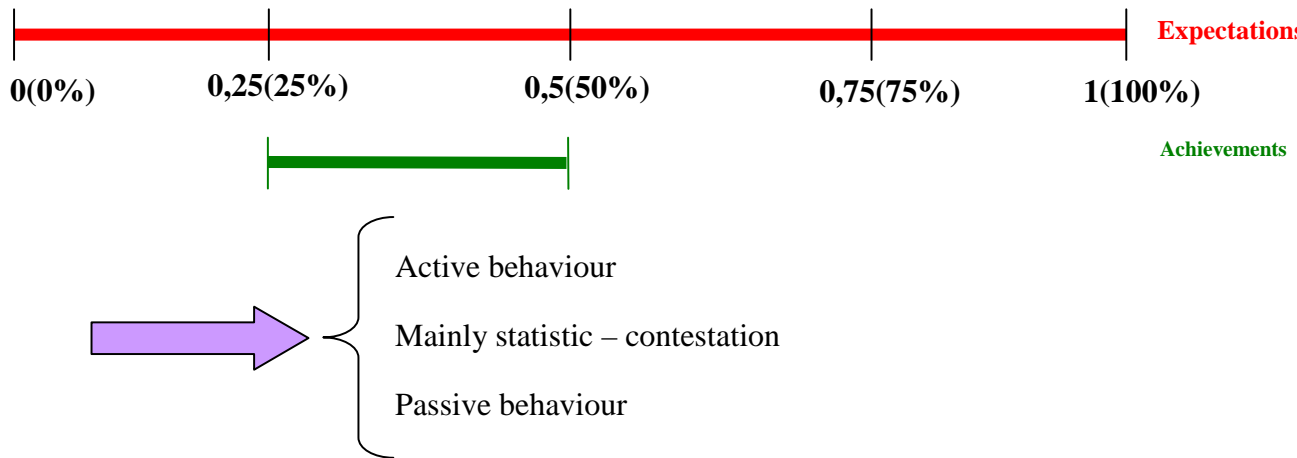
2.1. Achievements with values: $(0,75 \div 1)$ (0,25 lack of achievements)



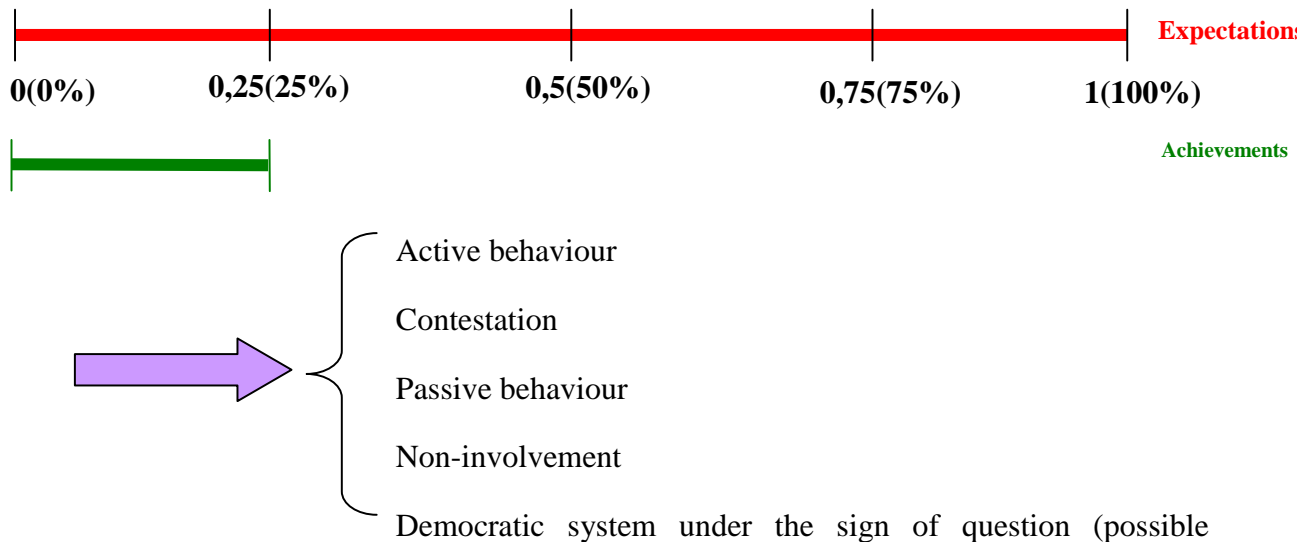
2.2. Achievements with values: $(0,5 \div 0,75)$ (0,5 lack of achievements)



2.3. Achievements with values: $(0,25 \div 0,5)$ (0,75 lack of achievements)



2.4. Achievements with values: $(0 \div 0,25)$ (1 lack of achievements)



3. KNOWLEDGE AND PROGRESS OF DEMOCRACY (DEMOCRACY AS PRODUCT AND PROCESS)

„By adopting this assumption (identifying the natural framework of democracy in nation – state - n.n.) says R. Dahl, which is not admitted very often, is how profoundly the passing from town-state to nation-state has affected the limitations and possibilities of democracy. The transformation is so profound that, if an Athenian citizen from the 5th century appeared among us suddenly (as an Athenian, he must be a man), he would probably think that we think as democracy is something completely strange, unattractive and non-democratic. An Athenian from Pericles' times would think of our democracy as far from democracy, firstly because of the consequences upon the political life and political institutions, of passing from a town-state, more intimate and participating, to the gigantic forms of government, more impersonal and more indirect.” – R. Dahl, *Democracy and its Critics*, Iași, European Institute, 2002.

Giving the attribute of democratic to a system depends on certain conditions, among which the determining role is held by: the non-restrictive character of electoral participation, the citizens' ability to freely exercise their activities considered fundamental for the vote organization; the possibility to exercise the rights considered indispensable for democratic life (meetings, exhibition, press). These conditions are completed by those formulated by R. Dahl:

I. Formulating preferences; II. Expressing preferences; III. Seeing its own preferences equally weighed within the government act¹⁶.

The following appear:

The historical coordinate of democracy (democratization)

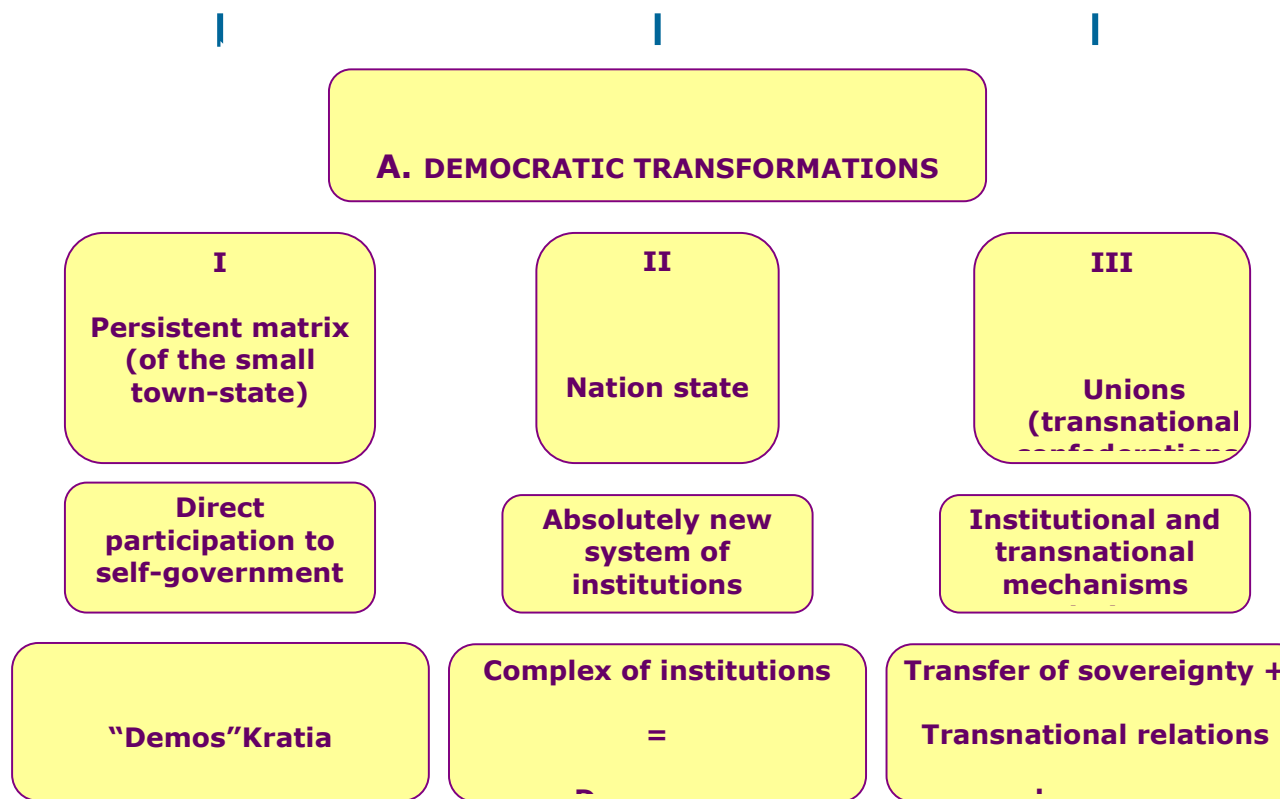
The two sides of democratization

The side of contesting in the relation with the authorities

The size of influent participation

¹⁶See Adrian Gorun, op. cit., p. 134-135

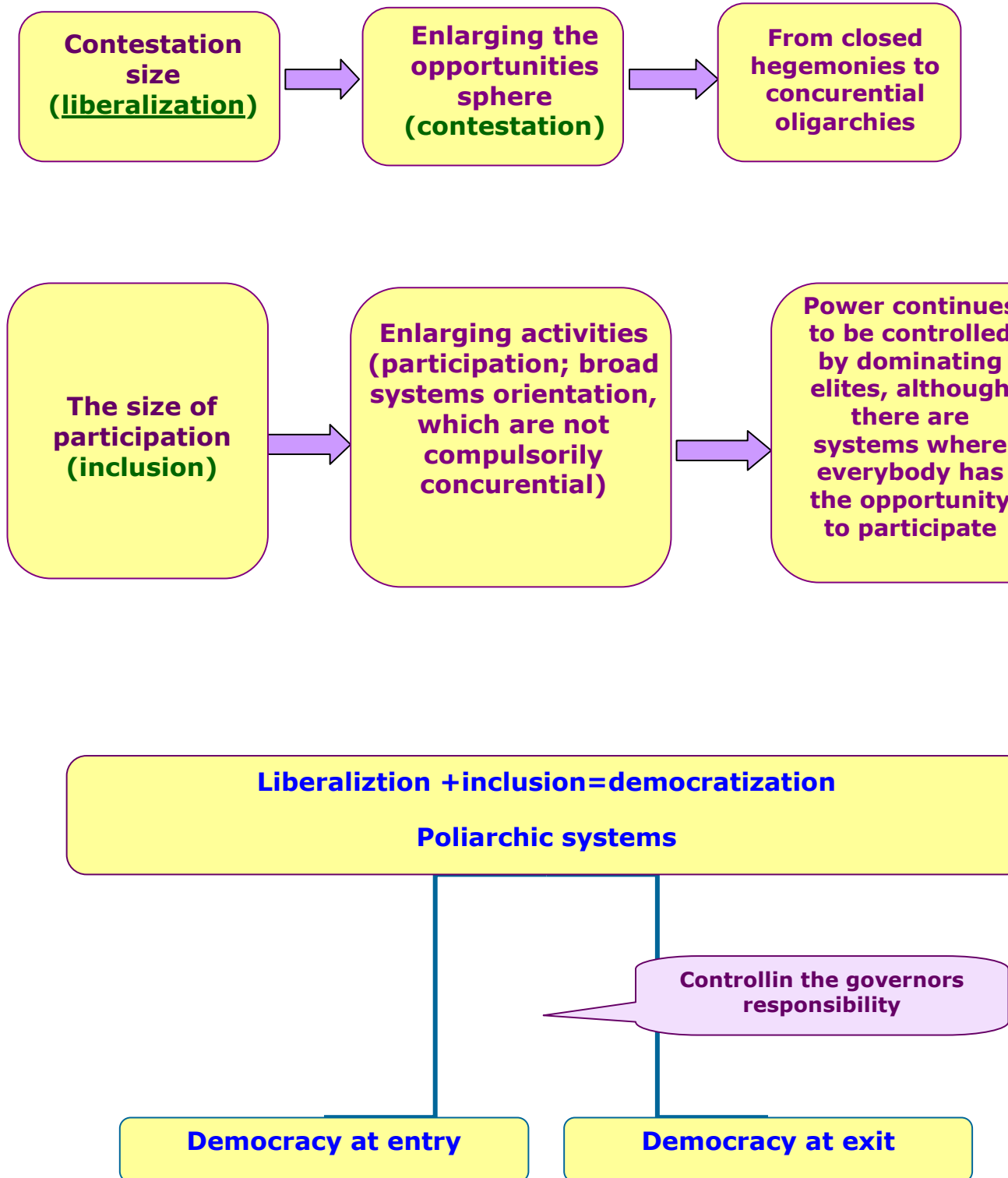
A. The historical side of democracy (democratization)



NOTE:

1. Transformations (democratic) → adaptations (conceptual) → connotations (new),
2. Enlarging the pattern sphere (from participating democracy) → democracy (representative) → transfer of legitimacy upon international organisms,
3. Inclusive and exclusive character of participation,
4. Profitable contamination (positive or negative) of democratization (especially in globalization age).

Sizes of democratization (at the level of nation-state)



NOTE: The process is not irreversible. Explanations are supported by the democratization phases.

The evolution from non-democratic systems to democratic systems (Dankwart Rustow).

a) Preliminary condition: participants' general consent regarding their belonging to the political community



fight between groups of elites

b) The fight between groups of elites is not finished through the “decisive” victory of a group upon the others, but through a compromise. Compromise is at the same refusal (marking the elites of group interest) and acceptance (reciprocal tolerance within living together which allows to initiate competition, but also the approval for entering to competition).

c) **HABITATION**

(contextual factors are taken into consideration: historical memory of abandoned democracies, positive or negative contamination, existence or absence of competition market

**GETTING FAMILIAR WITH
DEMOCRATIC RULES,
REGULATIONS AND
PROCEDURES**

(there may be risks, causing crisis that may lead to the fall of

The three waves of democratization (Huntington)

NOTE:1) The three waves of democratization illustrate the flow and backflow of democratic systems¹⁷.

2) The irreversible (or reversible) character of democratization depends on factors characterizing formal democracy (institutional construction, authority and legitimacy of democracy institutions, developed pluralism, real and functional pluripartidism, political culture, sustainable certification,

¹⁷See A. Gorun, op. Cit. p 148-150

stable internal and international political order, focusing on the domino effect of democratization processes) and especially substantially democracy (finishing poverty, the rhythm of economic and political reforms, individual social status, the power of example of the democratic pattern, weakening and limiting the pressure of backflow by limiting the consequences of authoritative systems).

Entropic factors

Seymour Martin Lipset's thesis: economic systems that manage to create and maintain a democratic system are the most developed ones. (indicators: income/inhabitant; training degree; urbanization percentage; level of industrialization; access to media; civilisation degree).

According to the thesis, a wrong conclusion that would lead to the following sociologic thesis:

All the social and economic systems that go beyond certain industrialization steps, alphabetization, and income/inhabitant will give birth to democratic systems.

This assumption is contradicted by the factual-historical reality.

This thesis has to be reformulated, taking into consideration the following aspects:

- in affirming democracy, aggregate features of the social and economic system are not priority, but the absence of significant unbalances and inequalities between different social groups; the appearance of a democratic system is achieved when inequalities are kept under control and unbalances are reduced;

- the social and economic development level is not of priority, but the ways in which it has been achieved; this especially to the extent in which attempts of achievement may lead to authoritative methods and unbalance the system. It is important to underline, Huntington's distinction between modernity and modernization (taking into consideration the differences between the slow progress and high, forced level of modernization).

Conclusion: efforts made for supporting a high level of modernization for a long time, implacably lead to the instability of political power and democratic system, making it possible for them to collapse. The high level of modernization, supported for long periods, undermines substantial democracy¹⁸.

¹⁸See detailed analysis in A. Gorun, op. Cit. p. 152-162

A general conclusion is also required: the concept of democracy, as elaborated and grounded the “phantom theory” of democracy is proved today – in the context of knowledge society” inconsistent and inefficient. Passing from “the phantom theory” to the scientific theory of democracy is not achieved without taking into consideration answers of the type:

- What are the people?
- Who are the people made of?
- Which are the sizes of democracy?
- Why does the utopia character of democratic ideal increase?
- Why does “democracy” means:
 - A distinct group of institutions and political practices;
 - A system of rights;
 - A social and economic order;
 - A system providing certain desirable results;
 - An unique process of taking compulsory collegial decisions etc.