
MAIN TENDENCES OF DEMOCRATIC TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE ARMENIAN SOCIETY WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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Modern theoretic inserts in the field of democracy do not prescribe concrete ways and means for realization of fundamental democratic ideas. The concrete ways and tendencies for their accomplishment differ from society to society. The analysis of the processes intended for the development of the social institutions through the application of the democratic reforms bares relatively concrete character for each case as democracy appears to be a system of freedom and political relativity for which there exist no absolute solution, no way is ordered and no tendency is banned to use. Therefore, the concept of relativity and endurance operates. The question is which technology for realization of democracy for the given society and its institutions is appropriate to use and whether it provides democratic development in the given historical situation.

Our Republic like other post-soviet countries has inherited one general ailment of social consciousness from the totalitarian regime. Under the conditions of totalitarian prohibition there was formed a type of individual suffering from the social apathy that is characterized by the feeling of alienation. This causes to the abrupt decrease of the ability to critically analyze the novelties of the modern world, the place of their own country in the world and their own place in the real social environment. At present the dynamics of the democratic changes has become more complicated due to the fact that those changes are taking place in the condition of world economic crisis that, in its turn, affects the economy of the country and consequently the society on the whole. Society under the condition of crisis is characterized with the strong expression of the social conflict that means deterioration of the social stability, the signs of which are presently tangible. People feel discomfort because of the current decline of the weak economic production, the fluctuation of 'barometer' of the social opinions, the weakening of the management over the society and organizations.

The presence of the already existing institutions is a good basis both to successfully overcome the social-economic crisis and to further the democratic transformations in the newly emerged countries that have paced on the path of democracy. However, the crisis itself hinders the difficult issue of the institutionalization. This is the drama with the countries deprived of the democratic traditions as well as with the old and newly emerged democracies -all of them have to overcome numerous negative causes and effects left behind by the authoritarian past and at the same time they have to give solutions to very complicated economic problems, with which the old democracies practically did not face while emerging.

The depth of the multi-layer integrity process appears to be the measure of the success of the post-communist transformation. It comprises the democracy consolidation¹, the inter-elite consolidation and the society consolidation. The democracy consolidation providing irreversibility of the democratic transformations and having been formed by the development of a number of other processes supposes achievements of the procedural, value and behavioral levels of consensus within the society. The institutional changes are not being strengthened by the achievements of the basis of value consensus in the society in the current period of development in Armenia. Moreover, the dominating strategies of the political behavior do not correspond to the demands of the institutional structure. Thus to reproduce the democratic regime it is essential to achieve the correspondence of institutional, behavioral and value parameters for the functioning of democratic institutions. It can be inferred that the further institutional transformations should be directed to the enlargement of the political infrastructure and the means of influence of the citizens on the political processes, to the devolvement of the institutions designed for the civil society and to develop new forms of their interaction with the State².

In nowadays Armenia there are no influential actors to act for the cancellation of this or that democratic institution and many of them have admitted the importance of preserving the democratic vector of development. On the one hand that circumstance points to the existence of the procedural consensus. On the other hand its achievement is guaranteed firstly by the regime consolidation (around the strong leader) and secondly by imposing of the inner-elite consensus (via the exclusion of non-systemic opposition). Stabilizing the development of the political system, the procedural consensus does not acquire other qualitative condition as the regime consolidation possesses only limited value basis (the basic functional-goal consensus has not been reached) and is also deprived of the behavioral foundations (the level of the political subjectivity of the masses does not correspond to the requirements of the formed institutional structure).

Under the conditions of post-communist transformation the development of the behavioral and value levels of the social consensus necessary for the democracy consolidation is complicated by the irregularity of the process as the perception of new norms and the realization of innovative strategies of behavior become substantially differentiated depending on the belonging to various social levels, the age cohorts and political subcultures. Consequently, the further democratic development of the Armenian society will depend on both the quality of the value system (on the level of homogeneity, correlation of aculturization/ inculturization components, the nature of adaptation/innovation potential) and the determination of problems connected to the formation of political subject of masses (limitedness of social capital with the society, deficit of democratic actors, mismatch of value priorities of various groups, orientation to the strong leader is strongly expressed in the consciousness of masses).

¹ **O' Donnell, Guillerm, Schmitter Phillipe.** Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain democracies. Transitions from Authoritarian Rule, 1986.

² **Charls Tilly** /Democracy, Cambridg University Press, 2007, p. 125-128.

The value system creates boundaries or limits for the transformation of institutional subsystem and that is why it defines, in the majority of cases, the innovative potential of the society. The effectiveness of the transformation process also depends on the character and the intensity of the changes of the society value system that is able to act both as a catalyst accelerating the political processes and as a barrier that may significantly decelerate them. Ignoring of the main properties of the value system involves not only the emergence of various institutional deteriorations but also affects the disfunctioning of the transformation result. From this point of view the development of political system of the society is defined by its capability of combining with both institutional and socio-cultural aspects of its functioning. Thus there exists the co-evolution between the transformation of the political system and the changes of values of the society, i.e. one develops, as a rule, due to the measurements of the development of the other one. There has been created a situation of mismatch between the existing institutional characteristics of political system and the value system of the society in Armenia which hinders the democratization processes. This disruption was the result of reproduction of the mobilization development model by the political system, which is why the institutional reorganizations significantly outstrip the establishment of the political subject.

The consolidation of the democracy will mostly depend on a number of conditions such as realization of the standardized structuring of political system, formation of the political infrastructure, shaping of the articulated and aggregated value priorities for various strata, overcoming the value demarcation between elite group and masses, developing of the civil culture and the culture of the autonomy participation, shaping of the functional-target agreement.

The mentioned measures will favor to strengthening of the democratic institutions, heightening of the political literacy of the community and the consolidating of the society that is undergoing transformation process.³ Thus, the transition from plebiscitary democracy possessing strong executive power to the liberal type of democracy will be possible provided that the procedural consensus is added with amendments to the value system of the society and the political culture of participation is shaped.

Transformation of the political system mainly depends on the condition of ideological-political and other identity array formed in the society, as the lack of them makes the net-exchanges impossible which, in turn, form normative, symbolic and cultural standards and define the level of homogeneity of the value priorities as one of the most important conditions for the democracy institutionalization and consolidation. Stable system of identity assumes unity of the political institutions establishes adequate attitude towards them, creates appropriate behavioral models thus favoring to the transition to the institutional legitimacy (from popularity of the leaders to the credibility to the main institutions). The non-shaped political orientation, the amorphism of idea- political identity in Armenian society hinder the development of both the civil society and the political infrastructure predetermining

³ **Ranney A.** Governing, An Introduction to Political Science. Englewood Cliffs, 1990, p. 7-11.

the mismatching of the political parties and other subject-mediators that provide intercommunication between the citizens and the State⁴.

The success of the institutional changes is due to the strategies of social and political adaptation prevailing in the community. The satisfaction of the basic social-economic needs and the presence of the opportunities to realize the preferences of the new statute come to be the factors of legitimating for the political institutions, they lower the polarization and disintegration of the community, they also favor to establishment of interaction between the masses and elite groups on the basis of partnership and not on the basis of paternalism. Consequently the creation of conditions for wider enlargement of progressive adaptation models will guarantee stable functioning of political system within the society.

Under the influence of the transformation processes there have been formed groups with opposite orientations directed to so called “avoidance” (this strategy is characterized by the high intensity of identity with the initial reference groups, which helps to compensate the general instability as well as the adaptation to the environment) and ‘achievement’ (the representatives of the given group get into solidarity with successful and active groups and tend to adopt and actively reorganize the conditions of life-style). The socio-structural analysis of adaptation strategies, so widely spread among the Armenian society, testifies to the prevalence of involuntary types over the volunteer ones, the regressive types over the progressive ones, passive types over the active ones, and traditionalist types over the modernist ones. The age, education, place of residence, occupations in state/non-state sector, the modernistic/traditionalistic value system are among the factors defining the success of adaptation. Likewise the combination of contradicting orientations and the variety of identities in the consciousness of masses heightens the adaptability of the society thus providing potential opportunities for realization of both active and passive behavioral strategies.

Under the conditions of mobilization development of the society the adaptation results appear to be extremely inconsistent. The growing individualization of the consciousness (orientation towards personal career and psychological resources) gets combined with the preservation of paternalistic mood, needs in social surveillance. To find solution to personal matters the citizens of Armenia try to rely on self-reliant activities, whereas the solutions of valid social problems are placed on authoritative structures of various levels. The level of paternalism rises in the situation when the society agrees with the definite level of social patronage carried out by the State, structures, officials representing the State (the dependence of endurance index rate on the election process testifies to this). On the whole, it is possible to observe the coexistence of contradicting tendencies in the consciousness of the masses such as individualism (negative sense) and communitarian orientation, paternalism and an attempt to get free from the State guardianship⁵.

⁴ <http://www.ipsol.sci.am> Political institutes and processes, 2009, p.5-9

⁵ Tokmajyan E. The Conflict Potency of Arminian Society / Sociological research 2009, final paper.

From my viewpoint mainly the induced adaptation character with the significant part of Armenians, extrinsic ('from above') modernization of the mass consciousness, the socio-cultural shock resulting from the radical transformation in all spheres of life put significant limitation on the potential of the re-socialization and consolidation of the society. The partial stabilization of the identity system and enlargement of the group with medium level of income is only one of the conditions of unification and solidarity of the society for achieving the general goals, which is contradicted by the problem of disassociation of the significant part of the population from giving joint solutions to social problems. The mentioned condition testifies to the following:

- the preservation of miscoordination of the value orientation by mass and elite groups;

- the complicated implementation of the reproduction of the political norms and institutions, which is not supported by the equivalence of institutional and cultural subsystems with the political system of the society. Consequently, the crisis development, the destabilization of the situation, the new electoral cycle may cause to fragmentation of the current political regime. The possible implementation of the scenario may depend on the quality of the political subjects present, their readiness to refuse this or that democratic rule, the level of protest potential and other criteria.

The political transformation is connected to the transformation activity development of various strata, groups and individuals. Each society segment possesses its own threshold of susceptibility to the innovative institutional and socio-cultural environment. But if the institutional and socio-cultural changes are differently directed, prerequisites for the development of crisis are created in the society, the essence of which lies in the communicative rupture between the authorities and the citizens.⁶ The bigger the vector of deviation of institutional and socio-cultural branches affiliated from each other, the less are the innovation-reformative resources of elite (ability effectively realize reorganizations based on the support by the majority) and the adaptation potential of the society (readiness to undertake political innovations and to act under those conditions).

The development of the democratic type political system as well as the strengthening of the democratic institutions is not possible without the support of the civil society structures that provide self-organization and integration of differentiated society elements. In connection with this the institutionalization and consolidation of democracy require transformational activity rather by the mass groups than by the elite groups. In order their activity could favor to the reproduction of the prevalent political order, it should be based on the development of the political culture of participation, focusing on the active conventional participation by the individual in the political process on the basis of mastering the knowledge on the political system, realizing of the experience of political behavior, being involved in the social-political representations.

⁶ <http://www.ipsol.sci.am> Political institutes and processes, 2009, p.12.

ԶԻՆԱԻԴԱ ԹՈՔՄԱԶՅԱՆ – Ժողովրդավարական փոխակերպման հիմնական միտումները հայաստանյան հասարակությունում ինստիտուցիոնալ զարգացման համատեքստում – Քաղաքական տարաբնույթ գործընթացների հետևանքով այսօր Հայաստանում ժողովրդավարության զարգացման տեսանկյունից ստեղծվել է հակասական իրավիճակ: Քաղաքացիական հասարակությունը պառակտված է, չունի համագործակցության և զարգացման միասնական ծրագիր: Միաժամանակ, ժողովրդավարության կայացման գործընթացը դժվարանում է համաշխարհային տնտեսական ճգնաժամի պատճառով, ինչն իր անմիջական ազդեցությունն է թողնում հասարակության վրա՝ խոչընդոտելով ինստիտուցիոնալացման գործընթացները:

Գիտական տեսանկյունից հետաքրքրություն է ներկայացնում հասարակության փոխակերպման հիմնական ցուցանիշների, ինչպես նաև այն գործոնների բացահայտումը, որոնք էական ազդեցություն ունեն դրական փոփոխությունների հնարավորության վրա: Հասարակական կարծիքի ուսումնասիրությունները ցույց են տալիս, որ հետխորհրդային փոխակերպումների հաջողության ցուցանիշ կարող է հանդիսանալ ինտեգրման գործընթացի խորությունը, որը ձևավորվում է ժողովրդավարության, ինչպես նաև էլիտայի ներսում կոնսոլիդացման շնորհիվ: Հասարակական կարծիքի ուսումնասիրությունները ցույց են տալիս, որ փոխակերպման գործընթացի արդյունավետությունը մեծապես պայմանավորված է հասարակության արժեքային համակարգի փոփոխությունների բնույթով և ինտենսիվությամբ: Այս գործոնի անտեսումը հանգեցնում է տարբեր տիպի ինստիտուցիոնալ շեղումների, ինչպես նաև փոխակերպումների արդյունքի ապաֆունկցիոնալացմանը: Ելնելով վերը նշվածից՝ կարելի է պնդել, որ հասարակության քաղաքական համակարգի զարգացումը պայմանավորված է վերջինիս գործառույթյան ինչպես ինստիտուցիոնալ, այնպես էլ սոցիոմշակութային կողմերը:

Սոցիոլոգիական վերլուծությունները հանգեցնում են այն պնդմանը, որ Հայաստանում առկա է անհամապատասխանություն քաղաքական համակարգի ինստիտուցիոնալ բնութագրիչների և հասարակության արժեքային համակարգի միջև, ինչը խոչընդոտում է ժողովրդավարացման գործընթացներին: Ինստիտուցիոնալ և սոցիոմշակութային զարգացումների անհամաձայնեցվածությունը նպաստում է սոցիալական ճգնաժամի նախապայմանների ծավալմանը, որն արտահայտվում է քաղաքացիների և իշխանությունների միջև հաղորդակցական հարաբերությունների խզմամբ: Այս համատեքստում հետագա ինստիտուցիոնալ զարգացումները պետք է ուղղված լինեն քաղաքական ենթակառուցվածքների ընդլայնմանը, ինչպես նաև քաղաքացիների քաղաքական գործընթացի վրա ազդեցության նոր ձևերի խթանմանը, վերջիններիս՝ պետության հետ փոխազդելու, երկխոսության նոր, առավել արդյունավետ ձևերի մշակմանը միավորելու կարողությամբ:

ЗИНАИДА ТОКМАДЖЯН – Основные тенденции демократических трансформаций в армянском обществе в контексте институционального

развития. – В Армении сложилась неблагоприятная с точки зрения развития демократии ситуация. Как показывают социологические исследования, население, занятое поисками средств к существованию, всё больше отстраняется от политики. Демократические перемены затрудняются мировым экономическим кризисом, непосредственно затронувшим армянскую экономику и, следовательно, общество в целом и препятствующим институционализации.

Насколько успешны трансформации посткоммунистического периода, каковы факторы, влияющие на их действенность? Показателем успешности выступает, в частности, глубина многоуровневого процесса, включающего в себя консолидацию как элит, так и общества. Изучение общественного мнения показывает, что нельзя игнорировать ценностную систему армянского общества и её особенности. Это чревато разного рода институциональными искажениями и дисфункциональностью трансформаций. В Армении ныне институциональные характеристики политической системы не соответствуют ценностной системе общества, что препятствует демократизации. Политическая система воспроизводит мобилизационную модель развития, в результате институциональные преобразования значительно опередили становление политического субъекта.

Разнонаправленность институциональных и социокультурных изменений способствует усилению кризиса, сущность которого – в коммуникативном разрыве между властью и гражданами. Элиты всё менее способны к эффективным преобразованиям, и тем меньше готовность общества принять политические нововведения (адаптационный потенциал).

Развитие политической системы демократического типа невозможно без опоры на структуры гражданского общества. Демократия нуждается в активности не столько элиты, сколько масс. Она базируется на политической культуре, в силу которой индивид включается в политический процесс.