



THE SHADOW OF THE KREMLIN: THE EFFECT OF COMMUNIST LEGACY ON POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION



THEORY

Patrimonial Communist (PCC)	Clientilist - Personalistic	No Dissent
Bureaucratic Authoritarian Communist (BAC)	Corporatist	No Dissent
National Consensus Communist (NCC)	Clientilist	Some Dissent

The three communist regime types (Kitschelt 1995) each handled their ethnically-diverse populations differently, and experienced different transitions into the post-communist era, which has affected their discriminatory policies toward ethnic groups in modern politics. **Patrimonial communism** was the most clientilist or reward-based regime type in Central and Eastern Europe, which had a highly personalistic structure. Thus, I argue that these governments' clientilism continued to breed discrimination against minority ethnic groups. **National consensus communism** relied heavily on a compact in which the governments were willing to trade certain freedoms, such as limited expression of dissent, in order to win their overall support against Soviet hegemony. In previously-national-consensus-communist regimes, dissent was not as great a threat as it was for patrimonial regimes, so the need for explicitly discriminatory policies was reduced. **Bureaucratic-authoritarian communist** regimes nullified personal freedoms of expression. Bureaucratic authoritarian regimes were more corporatist than clientilist. I therefore argue that this type of government's lack of ties with the select few led the liberal-democratic opposition to lead the people into the post-communist era with less discrimination.

HYPOTHESES

HYPOTHESIS 1: Patrimonial communist (PCC) regimes are likely to result in higher levels of political discrimination against minority ethnic groups than national consensus or bureaucratic authoritarian legacy regimes.

HYPOTHESIS 2: Bureaucratic authoritarian communist (BAC) regimes are likely to result in lower levels of political discrimination against minority ethnic groups than patrimonial or national consensus communist regimes.

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ABSTRACT

This project tests the relationship between communist legacy regimes and post-communist (1990 – 2006) political discrimination against ethnic minorities in Central and Eastern Europe. I argue that patrimonial communist (PCC) legacy regimes are more likely to result in higher levels of political discrimination against minority ethnic groups than bureaucratic authoritarian (BAC) or national consensus (NCC) communist regimes, due to the highly personalistic nature of most PCC regimes. I also argue that bureaucratic authoritarian communist (BAC) legacy regimes are more likely to result in lower levels of political discrimination against minority ethnic groups than NCC and PCC legacy regimes. Using Kitschelt's (1995) analysis of communist regime types and the Minorities at Risk discrimination dataset, and testing via a multilevel logit model, this project finds no significant relationship between communist legacy and present-day political discrimination. However, significant positive relationships were found between difference in languages, judicial independence, and political discrimination against minority ethnic groups.

RESULTS

VARIABLES	PCC	BAC
Constant	0.0108 (0.0345)	0.00190* (0.00614)
Legacy Regime Type	0.201 (0.632)	15.06 (70.00)
Contiguous to an EU Member	0.369 (0.306)	0.381 (0.314)
EU Member	0.0427** (0.0577)	0.0409** (0.0557)
GDP Growth Rate	1.003 (0.0292)	1.003 (0.0291)
Post-USSR State	0.0330 (0.100)	0.0489 (0.157)
Difference in Belief	1.256 (0.568)	1.267 (0.575)
Difference in Custom	5.325* (5.146)	5.147* (4.985)
Difference in Language	18.92*** (20.93)	19.60*** (21.73)
Judicial Independence	16.16*** (13.44)	16.30*** (13.51)
Observations	563	563
Number of groups	23	23
Odds ratios shown; standard error of odds ratios in parentheses		
***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.1		



RESULTS

While this project finds no significant relationship between either patrimonial, or bureaucratic-authoritarian communist legacy and present-day political discrimination, a significant positive relationship was found between difference in languages (1) and judicial independence (2) in the post-communist regime, and political discrimination against minority ethnic groups. A significant negative relationship was found between membership in the European Union (3) and discrimination.

Finding (1) may imply that the difference in language makes it difficult to interact with the government or polls and other means of expression of one's interests, or that the language gap makes it easier for the government to deliberately exclude and discriminate against minorities. Finding (2) could be that greater judicial independence is linked to higher levels of discrimination against minority ethnic groups because an independent judiciary does not guarantee a more democratic or less corrupt system. It is possible, however, that as Sorens (2010) found that greater executive constraints decrease the likelihood of any change in discriminatory policy, a judicial branch that is independent from the executive branch carries an inherent difficulty in repealing existing discriminatory policies, which may be what the results reflect. Finding (3) suggests that in order to gain membership in the EU, states must meet certain conditions, including installation of anti-discriminatory policies, so the decreased likelihood of political discrimination against ethnic minority groups naturally follows. Whether petition for EU membership yields the same changes in political discrimination is a subject for future research. It should also be noted that this project only studies Central and Eastern European post-communist states, and any expansion to include other post-communist states must come with future research.

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