
The Values and Tolerance of Civil Liberties

VLADIMIR VUJČIĆ

Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb

Summary

The relationship between values and political tolerance is complex and important for systematic research. Some researchers (P. Sniderman, 1988; J. F. Fletcher, 1990) have shown that attitudes supporting civil freedoms are rooted in the interaction of fundamental values. Our research in Croatia has shown that the support of civil freedoms (citizens' rights) depends upon increased political participation, and especially through the freedom value. While the Canadian research of J. Fletcher showed that the support for the powers of the state come from respect for the value of the community, our results showed that our sample (high school and university students) expresses that support through respect for authority. That is an important difference that is discussed in greater length in the article.

Introduction

Throughout the world there exists varied research on the composition and determinants of political tolerance. The attitude towards civil liberties (the right to assemble, public speech, etc.) can present an important measure of the political tolerance of citizens; values such as freedom, authority (respect for authority), conformism (striving for or accommodating the consensus), and community (respect for the community and communal interests) are all important determinants of the attitude towards civil liberties with respect to political tolerance. The research conducted in Canada by P. Sniderman et al (1988) showed that the attitude supporting civil liberties were deeply rooted in the interaction of the above-named values.

Earlier research, such as that conducted by Stouffer (1955) showed that education is the main factor of differentiation between attitudes towards civil liberties. A more detailed analysis of the role of education in this process should have been conducted. A question arised: how much does political participation influence attitude towards civil liberties, since participatory democracies depend upon this for direction towards civil freedoms, and political tolerance itself. Research, then, should have been aimed at the influence of education and political participation separately and simultaneously upon attitudes towards civil liberties; the research should also have tried to determine whether there exist indirect influences upon these variables through the mentioned values (freedom, authority, conformity, community) upon the formation of civil liberties of citizens. The task was

demanding and implied the application of gradual and complex methodological and statistical approaches.

J. Fletcher (1990) undertook one such project in Canada. Other works (The determinants and consequences of political tolerance) mention this project, and in this article Fletcher's work will be discussed only as much as is necessary for this theme; that is, the relationship between values and civil freedoms. Civil freedom in this research was defined by two indexes - one based upon the attitudes towards rights (the right to assemble, public presentation of one's views, etc.); while the other was based upon the attitudes towards the powers of the state over the freedoms of individuals. The task at hand was to determine how and how much education and political participation contribute to the attitudes supporting civil freedoms, and how these two variables indirectly create the four mentioned values that individuals respect and accept. The direct and indirect influences of these variables upon attitudes supporting civil freedoms had to be determined. Fletcher used step-variance analysis and regression analysis to achieve this objective.

His results showed that education and political participation have a direct effect upon acceptance of attitudes supporting civil freedoms, and also an indirect effect upon acceptance of the mentioned values associated with freedoms. The more educated subjects had a greater respect for the values, which results in a greater respect for the civil rights of citizens. The percentage of explained variance in the attitudes of support for the civil liberties rose with greater education, and this was most influenced by the greater respect for values more educated subjects showed than did the less educated. Political participation had the same effect. Namely, it had a direct effect upon attitudes towards civil liberties, but also an indirect effect through the attitudes of the subjects towards freedom as a universal value. Meanwhile, when the two variables are simultaneously evaluated with respect to respect for freedom and attitudes towards civil liberties, the analysis shows that the effect of political participation is very specific. It became apparent that education has an independent effect from participation upon the acceptance of freedoms and upon attitudes supporting civil liberties. However, political participation has an independent effect upon civil liberties only for those subjects with higher education. This can be seen from the results presented in the following Table (*Table 1*).

From Table 1, it is obvious by looking at the linear growth in rows of mean scores for civil liberties, that education has an influence upon the attitudes supporting civil liberties (citizens' rights) independent of the level of political participation. However, a vertical comparison (in columns) of the data shows that there is no significant change in the categories except at the highest level of education. In this category, the mean scores rise parallel to the rise in political participation. The higher the political participation, the greater the support of civil freedoms for those with high education (Fletcher, 1990: 439-461). From this one could assume that only

those with high education use political participation for the development and advancement of positive attitudes towards civil liberties. Thus high education and political participation form what the author refers to as “ideal conditions” for positive evaluation of freedom as a universal value, and also support of civil freedoms in democratic organisation of society. Political participation then, has the additional “educational effect” towards civil liberties of citizens. There is ample evidence then to say that these two variables have an indirect, as opposed to direct, effect upon positive attitudes towards freedom values and civil liberties.

Table 1: Mean scores for the citizens’ right index (CRI) according to the level of political participation and education

Level of Political Participation:	Education level		
	Low	Medium	High
Low	9.68	11.08	11.54
Medium	9.48	10.74	13.23
High	9.88	10.52	14.02
	F-Value		F-significance
Main effects:			
Education	36.06		.000
Political Participation	.74		.477
Interaction Effects:			
Edu. by Polit. Part.	3.86		.14

Values and Political Tolerance of Civil Liberties in Croatia (Student Sample)

In our research of political tolerance of civil liberties in the youth population, we used the same means of measurement used in the mentioned Canadian research, but the data was analysed according to different methods. The goal of our research was not to identify the “educational effect” of political participation upon political tolerance of civil liberties (CL), but rather to uncover the contribution of values (freedom, authority, conformity, and community) to political tolerance of civil liberties amongst young people. Certainly, the necessary steps were taken to control the roles of political participation and education in the dependent variable (civil liberties).

The sample contained 746 subjects (high school students from the Zagreb area, and students from the various faculties of Zagreb University).

In the sample, 380 high school students were from various high schools and 366 students from various faculties. The sample contained 343 males and 403 female subjects, and was conducted in the latter part of 1992 through early 1993. This time frame is relevant as this is only two years after the first democratic elections in the Republic of Croatia. Thus this data may form a reference and documentation value for future research in this same vein.

Analysis of the 'Value Index'

Firstly, we will analyse the application of common factor analysis of the so-called index of the values: freedom, authority, community and conformity. Every index will, of course be analysed separately, but a common factor analysis reveals that the theoretically expected attitudes towards these freedoms can be categorised as single indices of attitudes. If it is determined that there exists a relatively high niveau of correlation between the attitudes of youth towards individually postulated measurements of attitude towards these values, then we are warned that this is an indication of the index of common attitudes (stronger or weaker than the structured opinion), and not some heterogenic (diffused) opinion. The index reveals whether the opinions are consistent with values, or conversely, whether the attitudes have not yet resulted in that which we refer to as values. Subsequently, the common (unique) indices of the mentioned values can be used as special variables for interactive analysis and roles of these indices in the formation of attitudes towards civil liberties with respect to indicators of political tolerance. Now, let's consider the definition of the highlighted indices on specific values.

From Table 2, it is obvious that less than a third of the subjects support the value of freedom values in conflict situations in which they are asked to tolerate different (extremist) or morally wrong ideas. On average, 80% of the subjects preferred some other value than freedom. They would, then, sacrifice freedom for some other value (social order and peace, morally "correct" ideas, etc.). The factor loadings reveal that there is a well structured attitude index towards freedom as a value. These three variables explain about 49% of the common (original) variance in the index on freedom for our subjects (students). We emphasise that this was a harsh "test", as the subject was asked to chose freedom above other values such as social peace and order, generally accept morality, etc. But the "test" was such because of the intention to separate those who prefer freedom to other acceptable values.

Table 2: Index of freedom values (accepted) (IF)

Items:	% supporting freedom	Factor loading
1. Social order of freedom	13	.67
2. Tolerance for morally wrong ideas	16	.70
3. Freedom of speech for extremist groups	38	.72

Note: The questions were defined in conflict to see if the subject supports freedom or not. For example, "Freedom of speech is worthless if we must tolerate various extremist views in society". The tables presents the percentage of subjects that unequivocally prefers freedom values. Here the answers are presented only as headings, and not in their full and original definition. Total N = 746 subjects.

Table 3: Index of the Attitude Towards Authority (IA)

Items	% supporting authority	Factor loading
1. Respect for authority	87	.80
2. Following God's will	75	.58
3. Educational respect for authority	83	.81

Note: The presented results reflect those who somewhat or strongly support authority. Thus, the answers left out are those that definitely do not support respect for authority.

It is obvious from Table 3 that most of the subjects either "strongly" or "somewhat" support the value of respect for authority. Factor loadings are quite high, which tells us that there is a well structured index as a consistent attitude respecting authority. This index (IA) explains approximately 55% of the common variance with respect to the individual questions posed.

The index of conformity is a measure of the adaptability or desire for acceptance by others, agreement with others, or a vision of society functioning smoothly towards a common goal. In Table 4, the presented percentages are for those answers that unequivocally support conformity as here defined. There exists a significant oscillation in this attitude. The factor loadings also reveal that there is no well defined index of conformity, or common value, as the yearning for acceptance from others is much more dominant than the desire for agreement with others. However, as these three variables account for about 44% of the common variance,

it can be concluded that there exists, in fact, a satisfactory index of attitude that measures conformity amongst our subjects.

Table 4: Index of Conformity (IC)

Items:	% supporting conformity	Factor loading
1. Acceptance by others	97	.50
2. Agreement with others	27	.27
3. Social homogeny	55	.39

Table 5: Index on Community (IC2)

Items:	% supporting community	Factor loading
1. Standardizing behavior	39	.60
2. Respect for institutions	6	.64
3. Social interest	20	.73

The value index for community presents a measure of the role of law in standardising behaviour in society, respect for institutions, and the value of the common good above the individual's freedom. The accent, then, is upon community (society) with respect to individual values. The low percentage of positive answers in Table 5 warns of the relatively low percentage of subjects who support community values on any question, while there is a well-structured index of community (as suggested by the high factor loadings, which account for over 43% of the common variance).

At the conclusion of this analysis, or definition of value indices, we undertook an analysis of the variance of the indices according to age (or rather, the education level) of the subjects, and their sex. It is interesting to note that there was no statistically meaningful difference based upon sex or age within any index except the Index of Freedom (IF). For this reason we will present only the results of this variance analysis in Table 6.

The data in Table 6 shows that there exist statistically meaningful differences in the freedom index (IF) according to the education of the subject and according to the sex of the subject. This difference is more pronounced between the sexes than between education levels. University students are somewhat above average, while high school students are somewhat below average on the freedom value index; on the same index, males are above average and the females are below. Educational differences are perhaps less pronounced because of the fact that the high school students are in their third year (and likely to complete their edu-

cation), and the university students sampled are in their second year. Thus the actual difference between them is slight, but by no means irrelevant.

Table 6: Analysis of the variance in the Index of Freedom (IF) according to age and sex of the subjects.

Education Level	N	X	SD	F	p
1. High School	380	-.12	.96		
2. University	366	.12	1.01	11.42	.00
Sex					
1. Male	341	.18	1.00		
2. Female	403	-.16	.96	22.52	.00

Note: Column N is the number of subjects; column X is the arithmetic mean (mean scores) for the freedom index defined by the factor analysis; column SD is the standard deviation of the arithmetic mean; column F is the F-measure from the variance analysis; column p is significance at .01.

Analysis of the Political Participation Index (IPP)

The index of political participation is not homogenous as is obvious in Table 7. There are great differences in the type of political participation shown by our subjects. While a large percentage devotes a certain attention to politics (61%), only 4% indicated that they are members of any given political party. Even if the political participation index is not particularly homogenous, there is a relatively homogenous dimension to political participation that explains about 35% of the common variance.

Table 7: Political Participation Index

Items	% that participate	Factor loading
1. political interest	61	.46
2. political influence upon others	32	.39
3. attending political meetings	34	.56
4. community activity	68	.07
5. membership in political party	4	.25

Note: The percentages represent those who somewhat or strongly agree with the posed question on participation.

Analysis of the Civil Liberties Index

As mentioned earlier, the attitudes towards civil liberties are divided into two indices - one defines the attitudes towards the rights of citizens (Index on Citizens' Rights - ICR), while the other defines attitudes with respect to the state's power of individual freedoms (ISP). For this reason, these indices will be examined separately.

Table 8: Index of attitudes supporting Citizens' Rights (ICR)

Items	% supporting civ. rights	Factor loading
1. freedom to show pornography	68	.47
2. freedom for extremist groups to hold rallies	47	.80
3. freedom for unacceptable groups to assemble	76	.59
4. freedom of speech for extremist groups	43	.72

Note: the percentages represents those who agree or strongly agree with the posed questions.

From Table 8, it is apparent that there exist various levels of support for the presented scenarios with respect to the rights of citizens. The subjects significantly differ in their support for the right to assemble for extremist groups or political parties, and their support for the right of unpopular or unacceptable groups to assemble. More would support public assemblies for groups that are least-liked than would support extremist or radical groups. This implies the hypothesis that a majority of the subjects do not prefer radical (right) views and parties, and would curtail the rights of such groups. It is a fact that this index is well-structured even if it is not particularly homogenous. The 4 given variables account for 43% of the common variance. This is enough to classify this index as an index of the rights of citizens (ICR).

It is obvious that on about 50% of the students support the state's right to control and restrict citizens' activities (Table 9) if this is for some "common good" (for example, the capture of accused fugitives, uncovering drug rings, etc), even if this is a violation of citizens' rights. These subjects support police activity aimed at preventing street crime, even if this violates the rights of suspects. It is, then, important to prevent crime without regard to people's rights. This index on the state's power is the contrary index to that of citizens rights. This does not mean, however, that some subjects cannot support both the rights of individuals and powers of the state if these powers are in the interest of preventing violence,

crime, and so on. However, this is usually in conflict with basic people's rights (secrecy of postal communications, respect for due process of the law, etc). There is understanding for the state's powers if through these means the problems of violence and crime can be reduced. It is an entirely different issue if the people's rights and freedoms are endangered. This is a conflictory question, and each subject resolves this in keeping with their developed attitudes and their level of political culture. This index also explains about 38% of the common variance in attitudes supporting the state's powers in our sample.

Table 9: Index of Attitudes supporting the State's Power (ISP)

Items	% supporting state's power	Factor loading
1. authority of the state to open mail	35	.57
2. physical search of travellers	49	.62
3. ban on public assemblies	56	.58
4. illegal methods of suppressing crime	52	.70

Note: It is important to note that the questions were defined so that the rights of the state were presented as "common interest or good", even measure of support for the state's powers is accurate.

The analysis of variance reveals that there are statistically meaningful differences between the index of citizens' rights according to age (education) and also according to sex of the subjects. The index for the state's powers showed no significant differences based upon education, but did show a statistically meaningful, but slight, difference based upon the sex of the subjects.

Relationships between Values, Political Participation, and attitudes on Civil Liberties (ICR and ISP)

While J. F. Fletcher (in his research of the relationships between political participation, education, values, and attitudes supporting civil liberties) used two-way analysis of variance and regression analysis of the mentioned variables, we opted for the use of factor analysis (principal components). It was not our intention to precisely define the "educational effect" of political participation in an arranged interaction of all the variables, but to see the general structure of relationships between the mentioned variables. We feel that this way better specifies the interactive effect of the mentioned variables instead of the analyses being conducted individually according to education and/or participation, separately from the

mentioned values. It is precisely that interactive effect we wish to “capture” between values, participation, and attitudes towards civil rights. It is important to “capture” the whole, and not just segments. This can only be achieved through factor analysis.

We conducted two factor analyses of the main components. In the first, we analysed all the variables together - that is, the variables concerning values, participation and attitudes towards civil rights. This is a first row factor analysis of the manifest variables in all mentioned measurements. This way, we would see how the attitudes were structured according to all the measurable variables, and determine whether they form a single dimension or whether they form more. In the second factor analysis, we attempted to determine the structure of relationships amongst the defined indices for values, political participation and civil freedoms. While in the first factor analysis every question is a basis for this analysis, the second uses the index for each variable (freedom values, authority, etc. up to index for civil freedoms). The first factor analysis is conducted within the confines of the questions, while the second is conducted within the defined indices of the variables we are analysing. Both analyses are based upon oblique solutions between variables and factors and present correlation factors and manifest variables.

Using the so-called PB-criterion instead of the GK-criteria, the first factor analysis yielded from all the manifest variables only two significant factors, instead of the seven we would have gotten using the other method. Thus the PB-criteria is more strict, even though it reduces the explained variance. The two relevant factors cumulatively explained 24% of the common variance, while the GK-criteria would have yielded seven relevant factors that explain 47% of the common variance. Our choice of the more stringent criteria yields a more precise explanation of the two relevant factors in this analysis (Table 10).

Using the PB-criteria, we have two factors that sufficiently explain the relationships between the measured variables. The first factor explains 15% of the common variance, while the second about 9%. What do these factors tell us? If the purpose of the factor analysis is to form an index that measures the degree to which the subjects agree with that which is being measured, then the first factor shows us that there exists the highest correlation between those subjects that regard highly authority, conformity, community and support power of the state. To this we can add a minimal, but positive degree of political participation of the subjects. The attitudes measured by the index of freedom value and index on citizens' rights are in negative correlation with this factor. The factor then, is bipolar - the more one values authority, conformity and community, and supports the powers of the state with respect to individual rights, the less he/she will value freedom and respect for citizens' rights and freedoms.

Table 10: Factor analysis of the relationships between values, political participation, and attitudes towards civil freedoms in terms of the manifest variables.

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2
1.	-.46	.40
2. Freedom	-.39	.33
3.	-.33	.50
4.	.54	-.16
5. Authority	.51	-.09
6.	.59	-.09
7.	.44	-.22
8. Conformity	.26	-.04
9.	.55	-.12
10.	.36	-.15
11. Community	.29	.07
12.	.37	-.12
13.	-.30	.33
14. Citizens' Rights	-.33	.63
15.	-.25	.42
16.	-.22	.53
17.	.43	-.21
18. Power of the State	.42	-.15
19.	.31	-.28
20.	.40	-.25
21.	.06	.55
22. Political	.06	.46
23. Participation	.15	.57
24.	.23	.08
25.	.19	.30

Note: The factor coefficients are shown according to the variable groups in which they are measured.

The research of J. F. Fletcher (1990) in Canada on a sample of the population showed that, according to the data on regression analysis of citizens' rights and the four mentioned value, that community values best explain (highest explained variance) attitudes supporting powers of the state. That is, those who most value community tend towards a greater support of the powers of the state in respect to individual rights and freedoms (Fletcher 1990: 444, 448). In our research it is clear that this role is fulfilled by authority value, since the questions measuring this value achieve the highest correlation with the first factor, which is, the index on powers of the state. Thus, in our research, respect for authority as a value contributes most to explaining attitudes supporting state powers,

while in Canada, it is value associated with the community that achieve this. These results are not entirely comparable, as the sample groups are different in their composition (our sample consisted of students, while the Canadian sample was a cross section of the general population), but are certainly indicative and interesting. Certainly, in our research the value of the community has an important role in explaining respect for state's powers, but not the same type of role that the authority value has.

The second factor is precisely the opposite of the first. Namely, it demonstrates that attitudes supporting the rights of citizens go together with a preference for freedom value, and parallel with higher indicators of political participation. Thus, relatively high attitudes supporting civil liberties in the form of rights go together with higher political participation and indicators of higher freedom value. Only the freedom value, then, highly correlate with the second factor (which correlates highly with political participation and support for citizens' rights also). *The higher the level of political participation and attitudes supporting citizens' rights, the more positive is the relationship towards freedom value.* This was also shown to be true by Fletcher using different methods, and a different sample. That which must be emphasised is that a high political participation and relatively strong attitude supporting freedoms go together with strong support for citizens' freedoms expressed in the form of rights (the right to assemble, express one's views, etc.).

It is interesting to observe the behaviour of the political participation variable in the structure of the two factors. In the first factor, which is difficult to summarily explain and reflects a conservative political culture, political participation has a certain positive role. This is ambiguous, however, as there exists a significant difference in the correlation of variables representing political participation with this factor. Individual variables of political participation (ie. membership in a political party), have a significant link with the factor. However, in the second factor, which reflects a liberal political culture, political participation has a definite positive role in defining that (liberal) orientation of youth. It has here a definite educational effect. It is clear, as demonstrated also by J. F. Fletcher, that high political participation acts through freedom value upon the attitudes supporting civil freedoms with respect to tolerance of citizens' rights. Its action, thus, is indirect as well as direct.

How does the variable of *education* relate to these factors in our sample? The sample namely, was divided into two groups - third year high school students, and second year university students. An analysis of the variance of these two factors with respect to the education of the students is not statistically meaningful. An analysis of the variance reveals that the first factor (conservative political orientation) is not significantly different for each of the two groups of students. Education, then, does not differentiate between conservative political orientation; that is, support for the powers of the state, rooted in the values of conformity and com-

munity. J. F. Fletcher's research showed different results - namely, that the level of education of the subjects had a differentiating role in their attitudes supporting power of the state. Those with a higher education showed a greater resistance to the state's powers than those with less education. But this difference was most pronounced between those with little education and the rest (Fletcher, 1990: 453); that is those with secondary and postsecondary educations. Our research measured only these latter two categories of education, which is probably the reason no significant differences appeared in our data.

However, analysis of the variance for the second defined factor, which reflects a liberal political orientation and higher tolerance for civil freedoms, showed that here education has a differential effect. The difference was statistically meaningful between high school and university students for this factor, as high school students had an arithmetic mean of $-.15$, while university students $+.16$. On a $.01$ level, this gave an F-measure of 16.63 . This difference is not strong but is certainly statistically meaningful. Thus, *it could be determined that a higher political participation and higher education have a greater contribution to acceptance of freedom value, and this together yields a greater respect for citizen's freedoms with respect to their rights.*

It is interesting that the differences for sex in these two factors are identical to the differences in education. For the first factor, the difference according to sexes is not statistically meaningful, while for the second factor it is definitely statistically meaningful. Males were significantly above the average ($+.33$) on the second factor, while females were significantly under the average ($-.28$). This yields a F-measure of 73.88 which is statistically meaningful at a $.01$. Thus, males express significantly more support for civil freedoms in the form of basic citizen's rights than did the females in the sample group.

Finally, we will show the *factor analysis of indices* for the mentioned values, political participation and civil freedoms. Thus, this time we are doing a factor analysis of particular index variables (freedom, authority, community, conformity, etc.) that are defined through factor analysis themselves. This is an analysis of indices as defined factors, and not an analysis of individual variables of these indices. This is not second row factor analysis but a factor analysis of indices as factors. Firstly, we must show a factor analysis of indices (defined factors) using the GK-criteria, and then using the stricter criteria (PB) for extracting significant factors.

From Table 11, it is an analysis of the relationship between values, political participation and civil freedoms on a basis of indices defined through factor analysis. This analysis enables a stronger synthetic conclusion than the previous one, but not contradictory to it. Again, two factors can be extracted, so that the first (using GK-criteria) explains 34% of the common variance, and the second about 17% , for a cumulative total of 51% of the common variance.

Table 11: Factor analysis of indices of values, political participation, and civil freedoms.

Indices (Factors)	Factor1	Factor2
IF (Index of Freedom)	-.50	.68
IA (Index of Authority)	.70	-.25
IC1 (Index of Conformity)	.69	-.27
IC2 (Index of Community)	.58	-.15
IPP (Political Participation)	.25	.65
ISP (State Power)	.60	-.46
ICR (Citizens' Rights)	-.32	.77

The first factor in these factor indices indicates that the attitudes supporting the index of power of the state (ISP) are deeply rooted in the interaction of all the other indices, and especially in the indices of values (authority, conformity, and community). The freedom index and citizens' rights index stand in negative correlation with this factor, minimally. Thus it contributes to this factor, but very slightly. Accordingly, a given level of political participation hits upon the implementation of support for traditional, conservative values, which contribute to attitudes supporting power of the state for solving problems such as crime - even if this is to the detriment of citizen's rights (individual freedom). This first factor, based upon respect for traditional values and support for the state, could be classified as the factor of *conservative political orientation*.

The second factor, although as bipolar as the first, presents a very well-structured attitude supporting civil freedoms in the form of citizens' rights (ICR) based upon high levels of political participation and respect for freedom as a value. Thus this can, in contrast to the first, be labelled the factor of *liberal political orientation*. While the first defines conservative political orientation, the second very precisely defines liberal. It shows that there are two conditions that determine the formation of attitudes supporting civil liberties as citizens' rights - a high regard for freedom and a high level of political participation. These are ideal conditions, as J. F. Fletcher has shown in his Canadian research, for the development of political tolerance of civil freedoms as citizens' rights. Considering that this same result is repeated in our research here, although based upon a different sample group and different methodology of analysis, it could be said that this is a foreseeable natural law in the structure of political culture.

An analysis of the variance showed, again, that there exists no statistically meaningful differences based upon education or sex for the first factor, while the reverse is true for the second, where sex shows as a greater difference than education. Males and university students were above the average in the factor of liberal political orientation. The arithmetic mean for males was +.32, while for females it was -.27, which is

statistically meaningful difference. The difference based upon education was also significant but not nearly as pronounced as based upon sex.

As there exists a relatively high, albeit negative, correlation between the factors ($r=-.33$), it produces the possibility of further factorisation of the mentioned indices. We decided upon a different approach. Instead of using the GK-criteria for extracting factors, we used the PB-criteria to extract a single common factor. The result was a single common factor, and a single common dimension of attitudes towards values, political participation, and civil freedoms. This is presented in the following Table (Table 12).

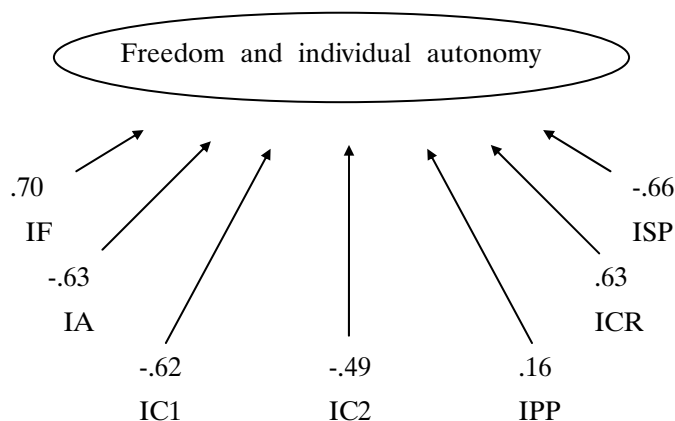
Table 12: Factor analysis of indices of values, political participation, and civil freedoms (PB-criteria)

Indices	Factor coefficients
IF (Index of Freedom)	.70
IA (Index of Authority)	-.63
IC1 (Index of Conformity)	-.62
IC2 (Index of Community)	-.49
IPP (Political Participation)	.16
ISP (State Power)	-.66
ICR (Citizens' Rights)	.63

Using the PB-criteria for defining factors based upon the indices presented in Table 12, we get only one factor. Naturally, the factor is bipolar. The more liberal the political orientation, the stronger the respect for freedom value and citizens' rights, and conversely show less respect for authority, community, conformity, and the state's power over individual freedoms. Thus it could be said that this factor defines liberal political orientation of the subjects with respect to autonomy and freedom of the individual. Political participation gives a positive, albeit a small contribution to explaining the common variance in this factor. An analysis of the variance shows that the subjects display differences in this factor based upon both education and upon sex. Males and university students are above average, while females and high school students are below. The same factor can be graphically presented (Figure 1).

It is obvious, then, that on a basis of these interactions of defined indices, that the common factor (factor attitude) that marks a liberal political orientation in the sense of individual freedom and autonomy. The greatest contribution to its determination is the freedom index IF, while the weakest is the index of political participation, IPP. Three indices (IF, ICR, and IPP) positively correlate to this factor, while the rest are negative. Political participation contributes to freedom attitudes (orientation), but the main contribution comes from a high regard for freedom values.

Figure 1: Interrelation of the seven Indices



The roles of education, sex, and political participation in civil freedoms

The roles of education, sex, and political participation in civil freedoms was tracked in the previous analyses, but not separately from the attitudes of the four key values. Thus it was decided to determine the relative contribution of these variables (education, sex and political participation) in the formation of attitudes supporting civil freedoms of citizens.

From Table 13, it is apparent that in explaining the first index on state's powers, sex has a significant role while the other two variables play no differentiable role in explaining the attitudes supporting the state's powers. These three variables explained only 1.6% of the common variance in ISP. Meanwhile, when the second index, ICR, is considered, the situation changes considerably. In this case, the explained variance is 10%, suggesting the importance of the roles of sex, followed by political participation, and only then, education.

J. F. Fletcher confirmed in his Canadian research that education, with respect to political participation, has a significant role in the formation of attitudes supporting civil rights of citizens, but the interactive effect of education and political participation is greater than the effect of education alone. From this he concluded that there exists an "educational effect" of political participation on attitudes supporting citizen's rights (Fletcher, 1990: 452). Education in his research had a greater effect than in ours because

we didn't examine the effect of low education; we restricted the sample to high school and university level. Our research reveals that higher education and political participation, especially in males, contributes to the attitudes supporting citizens' rights.

Table 13: Regression of Indices of State's Powers (ISP) and Citizens' Rights (ICR) on three variables.

Variables:	ISP		ICR	
	r	Beta	r	Beta
Education	.00	.00	.06	.10
Sex	.13	.13	.25	.23
Political particip.	.02	.00	.21	.15
	R=.13 (1.6%)		R=.31 (10%)	

From Table 13, it is important to note that political participation has both a direct and indirect effect upon the ICR. The direct effect is .21, and education is .06, while the *beta* value shows that the effect of education rises (to .10) and political participation falls (to .15). This warns that a portion of the effect of political participation is achieved through education. Namely, as demonstrated by Fletcher, *higher education and greater political participation present ideal conditions for development of attitudes supporting citizens' rights*. This is especially true for those who value freedom. We can, then, conclude that more education, higher political participation, especially in males, present significant conditions for development of attitudes supporting political freedom with respect to political tolerance of citizens' rights. These conditions significantly enhance the basic value of freedom.

Conclusions

The basic conclusions from the total analysis with respect to values, political participation, sex, education, and civil freedoms are as follows:

1. Attitudes supporting civil freedoms, that is, political tolerance of civil freedoms in the form of citizens' rights, and attitudes supporting the power of the state are deeply rooted in the interaction of the researched values (freedom, authority, conformity, and community) and political participation. The attitudes supporting the rights of citizens go beyond increased political participation and a high respect for freedom value. Attitudes supporting powers of the state go beyond respect for authority, and to a lesser degree, through political participation. *While the Canadian research of J. F. Fletcher used a sample of the entire population and revealed that support for the power of the state was dependent upon the respect for community value, our research upon high school and university*

students revealed that this support is dependent upon respect for authority. This is a significant difference in the “mechanism” through which respect for the state is achieved. However, both sets of results show that respect for citizens’ rights are dependent upon . a high respect for value of freedom.

2. Education, sex and political participation showed little or no significant effect upon the attitudes supporting powers of the state, but a statistically meaningful role in attitudes supporting citizens’ rights (civil freedoms). Namely, males and university students were above average on the index of citizens’ rights, while females and high school students were below. Thus, a high political participation and higher education, especially in males, present favourable conditions for development of political tolerance of civil freedoms. This is probably because these conditions contribute to a high respect for freedom value, as the main “mechanism” in the development of respect of civil freedoms presented as citizens’ rights.

It is important to note the fact that the percentage of those who highly regard freedom value is significantly less than those who respect civil freedoms as citizens’ rights. If respect for freedom value is the main mechanism through which education and political participation act, then the question “From where does the difference in proportion come?” can be posed. On average, only 22% highly regard freedom value, while 60% support the rights of citizens. The only way to explain this, is that freedom value is not the only requirement for respect of citizens’ rights, but it is a very significant condition. It is possible, and this is shown, to highly regard civil freedoms, but not freedom value in respect to some other values (such as social order, morality, etc.), but it appears that all or almost all who respect freedom value also respect civil freedoms as democratic rights of citizens.

Regression analysis showed that the political participation index is statistically functional in respect to the educational and sex indices. These three variables explain about 10% of the common variance in the index of support for citizens’ rights. Multiple regression correlation showed .31 between these variables as predictors and indices of the rights of citizens. It is not much, but is also not insignificant. Political participation in our research, compared to the Canadian research, is a variable only based upon education. This is probably because we controlled only high school and university levels of education *in* our subjects; at this level there are little differences. It was evident, however, that political participation has a significant direct effect upon the index of civil freedoms (citizens’ rights), but this is a part of the effect that can be explained only by education. Education helps political participation “be used” for development of positive attitudes towards democratic rights of citizens. Thus, high political participation and high education are vital conditions for inducing attitudes supporting civil freedoms.

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