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**Processes of direct democracy as generators of
postconventional moral culture**

**Radicalising Jürgen Habermas' theory of deliberative
democracy with Lawrence Kohlberg's developmental
psychology**

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Table of contents

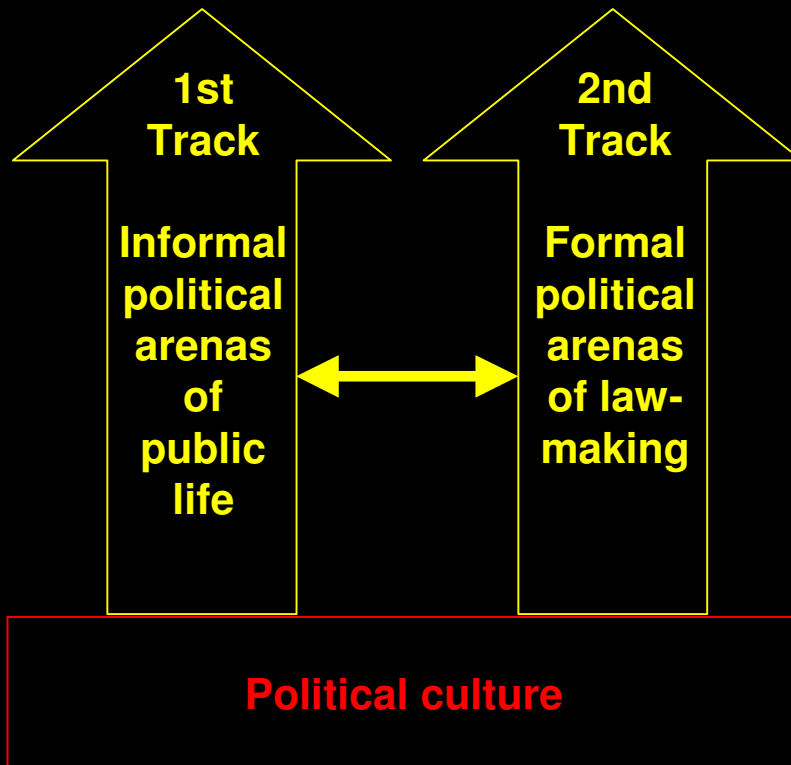
Introduction

1. Political and moral culture in deliberative democracy
2. Six stages of moral culture
3. Moral learning
4. Processes of direct democracy

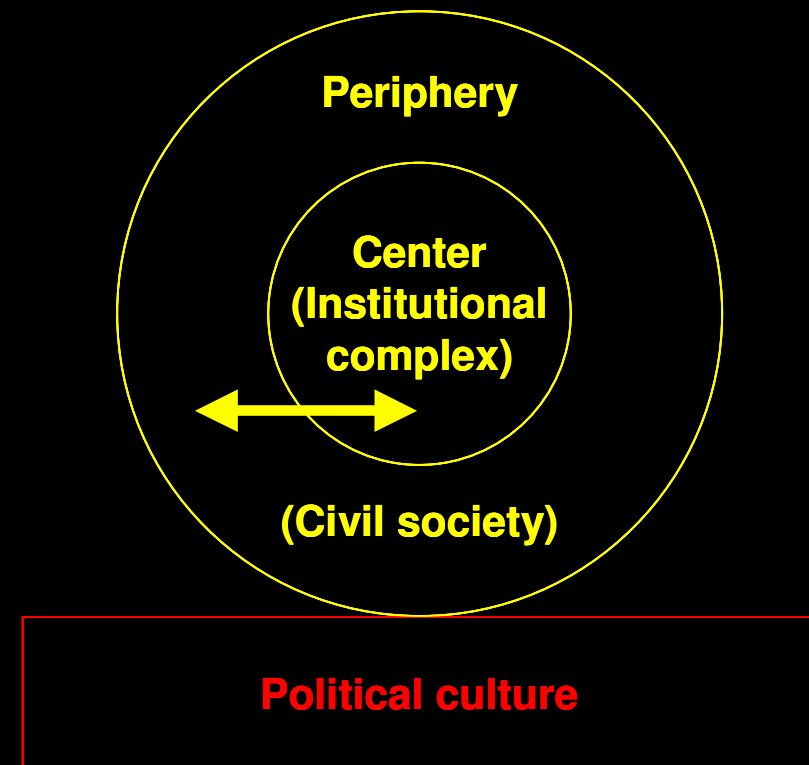
Conclusion

1. Political and moral culture in deliberative democracy (1/2)

Two-track model



Centre-periphery model



Forms of deliberations:



- Elections, debates in parliament
- Processes of direct democracy
- Other forms of non-violent deliberations (e.g. round tables)
- Civil disobedience, revolutions

1. Political and moral culture in deliberative democracy (2/2)

General characterization of political culture

- **Netting of mentalities, silently present in the hearts and heads**
- **Willingness of public use of reason**
- **Readiness for solidarity**
- **Result of cognitive learning, not of (state) coercion**

Aspects of political culture

- **Moral culture: Normative perspective considering equally all persons concerned**
- **Ethical aspect: The idea of good life of a specific person or group**
- **Pragmatic aspect: empirical aspects such as geographical, sociological, economical and technological issues**

2. Six stages of moral culture

**Postconventional
moral culture**

6

**Moral culture of universalization of
cosmopolitan rights**

5

**Moral culture of constitutional state,
human vs. civil rights**

**Conventional
moral culture**

4

**Moral culture of stabilization and
identification**

3

Moral culture of being in good hands

**Preconventional
moral culture**

2

**Moral culture of exchange
relationships**

1

Moral culture of authority

3. Moral learning

- **Development to a higher stage is the result of a learning process**
- **Learning depends on individual factors and external stimuli**
- **Pedagogical instruments can provide external stimuli**
- **Dilemma discussions confront participants with different points of view, but they do not include the transfer from moral reasoning to moral behavior**
- **Just communities show positive effects both on moral reasoning and behavior, but not beyond conventional stages**

In order to develop to postconventional stages, complex external stimuli are required

4. Processes of direct democracy (PDD)

- **PDD are the result and basis for discussions**
- **Due to PDD discussions become complex and real**
- **From a moral point of view, PDD are the only adequate way to address complex issues, since all whom are concerned have their say**
- **PDD have an equalizing effect between citizens and office holders**
- **PDD allow for perspective taking on a societal level; this may ultimately lead to postconventional moral reasoning**
- **PDD have a positive effect on moral development when they take place on a regular basis**
- **Moral impact of different PDD varies**

Processes of direct democracy require and generate postconventional moral culture

Thank you for your attention!

I look forward to your comments and critique!

Paper, speech and slides available at **rolf@rauschenbach.ch**
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