Comparing political culture

Inglehart's Theory of Value Change and Support for Democracy

Class Structure

1. What is 'political culture' and what is Inglehart's theory of value change?

2. What evidence supports the general theory?

3. Potential criticisms of Inglehart?

4. What are the consequences for support for democracy and democratization?

What is political culture?

☐ Components:
  - ☐ Values and priorities
  - ☐ Cognitive beliefs, attitudes, and opinions,
  - ☐ Social norms and practices

☐ Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba's *The Civic Culture* (1963) –
  - ☐ "*Attitudes towards the political system and its various parts, and attitudes towards the role of the self in the system.*"

☐ *Enduring orientation acquired due to the socialization process*

Claim that culture matters..

□ "If the democratic model is to develop in new nations, it will require more than the formal institutions of democracy..[it] requires as well a political culture consistent with it..the norms and values of ordinary citizens"

□ Almond and Verba *The Civic Culture* (1963)

1. Ronald Inglehart's theory

- *The Silent Revolution* (1977)
- *Culture Shift* (1990)
- *Modernization and Post-Modernization* (1997)
- Inglehart & Norris *Rising Tide (2003)*
- Norris and Inglehart *Sacred & Secular (2004)*
- **Inglehart and Welzel *Modernization, cultural change and democracy (2005)***
- *www.worldvaluessurvey.org*

Theory of cultural change

- *"Economic, cultural and political change go together in coherent patterns that are changing the world in predictable ways."*
- Inglehart Ch 1.
- Probabilistic non-linear trajectories, but not precise predictions in all cases

Premises of theory

1. Values = personal or social goals
   - Values > attitudes > beliefs
2. Scarcity hypothesis
3. Socialization hypothesis
4. Maslovian value hierarchy

Maslovian Value Hierarchy

□ Social/ self-actualization needs (Post-Materialist)

□ Aesthetic

□ Intellectual

□ Belonging and esteem
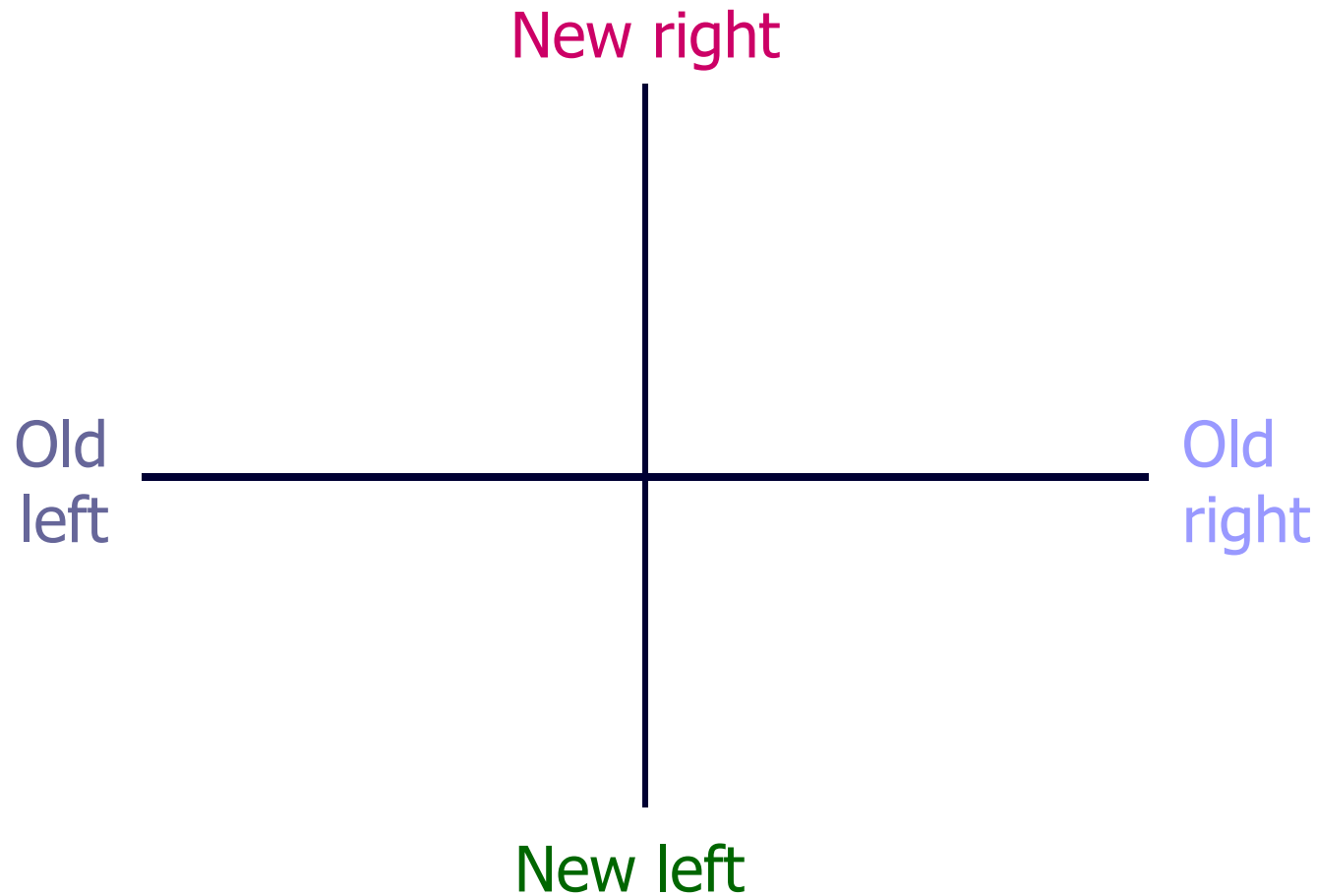
□ Safety

□ Physical needs (Materialist)

□ Sustenance

Predictions

- Value change > social/political change
- Generational patterns (pre+post 1945)
- Decline of 'old' political cleavages
    - Class, region, religion
- Rise of new politics
    - Materialist v. post-materialist new parties eg Greens
    - New social movements eg women, gays, environmentalists
- New public policy agenda
    - New demands for participation beyond elections
    - New 'quality of life' issues
    - New left *and* new right
    - Growing cultural demand for democratic institutions

New political cleavages

New right

Old left ———————————————— Old right

New left

Cultural Shifts

Process of social change

Agrarian to modern
- From agriculture to heavy industry
- Rural to urban
- Division church and state
- Mass education and literacy
- Occupational specialization
- Working class and urban bourgeoisie, decline of peasants and landed estates
- Bureaucratic rational-legal authority, expansion of franchise
- Basic welfare state and social protection, education/health
- From extended to nuclear families
- Entry more women into paid workforce

Modern to Post-modern
- Service sector
- Urban to suburban
- Secularization & scientific authority
- Higher education
- Flexible careers
- From ascribed to achieved status, decline in political salience of class cleavage
- Growth of multilayered governance, rise of new participatory demands
- Market liberalization and contracting out of social protection functions
- Growth non-traditional households
- Growing sex equality in the home and workplace

Qualifications

- ☐ Modernization =/=Westernization
- ☐ Modernization =/= democratization
- ☐ Change is not linear – can be stepped
- ☐ Not deterministic – reciprocal causal linkages or functional evolution

2: Evidence

□ *"There is a lot of talk these days about what the aims of the country should be for the next ten years. On this card are listed some of the goals which different people would give as top priority. Would you please say **which of these you consider the most important**? And which would be **the next most important**?*

  □ Maintaining order in the nation

  □ Giving people more say in important government decisions

  □ Mat Fighting rising prices

  □ PM Protecting freedom of speech"
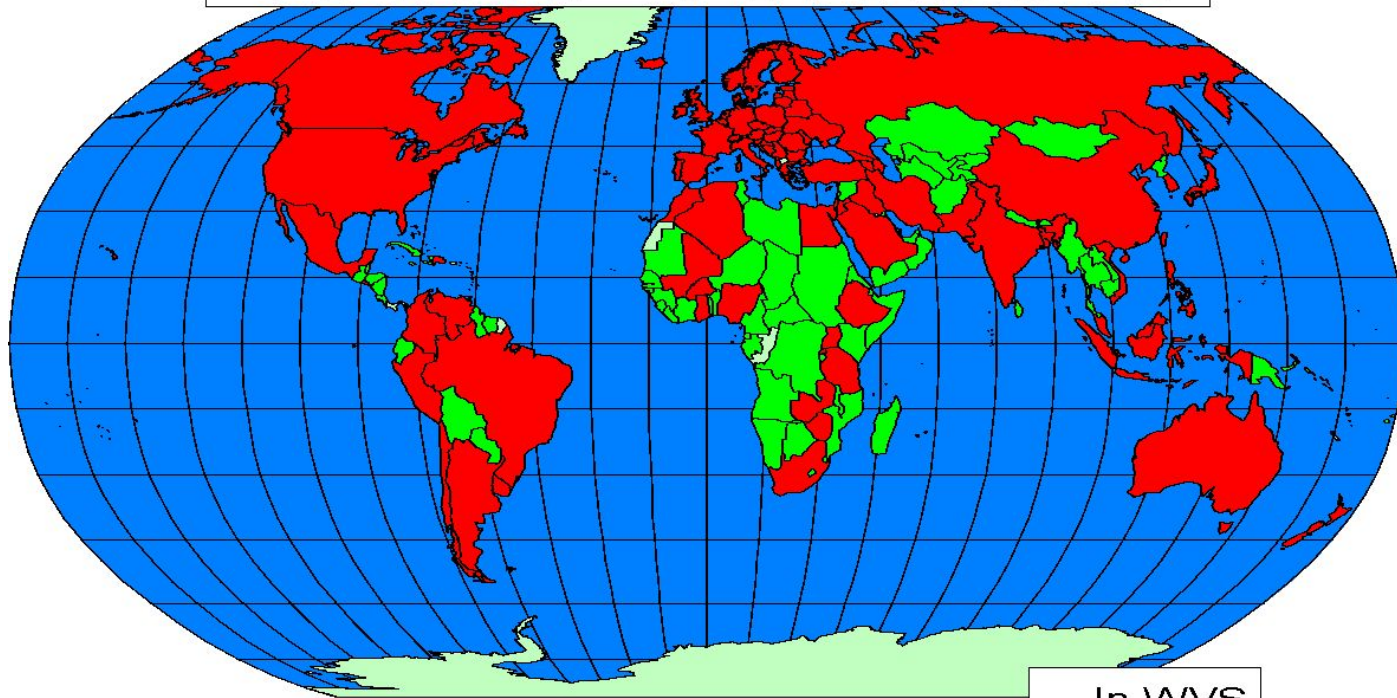
  Mat

  PM

Questions about the evidence

☐ Is economic development linked with cultural values?

☐ Do values cluster in predictable patterns?

☐ How does region and religion influence cultural values?

89 Nations in the WVS 1980-2007
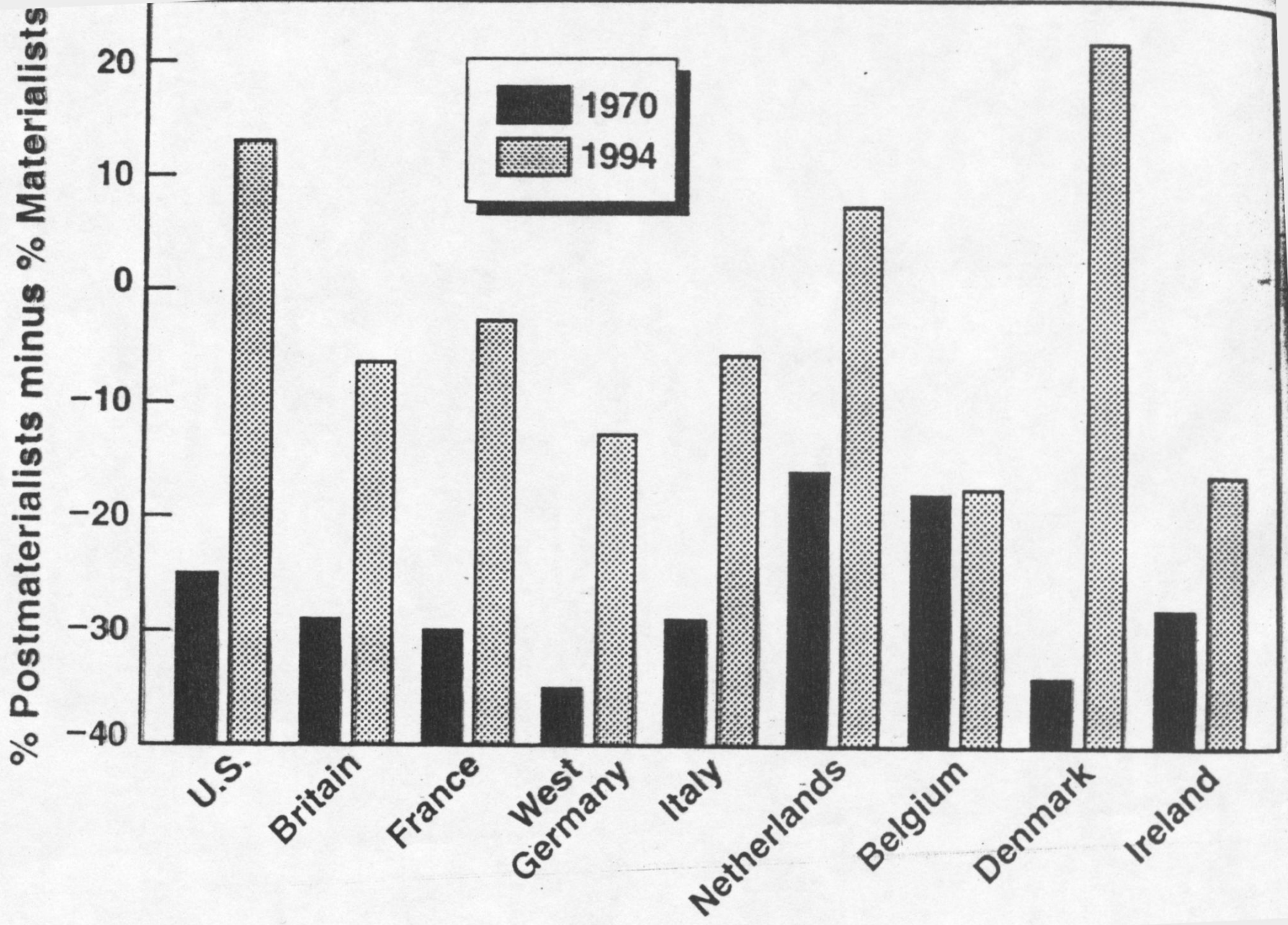

World Values S[u]

In WVS

In WVS (89)
Not (99)
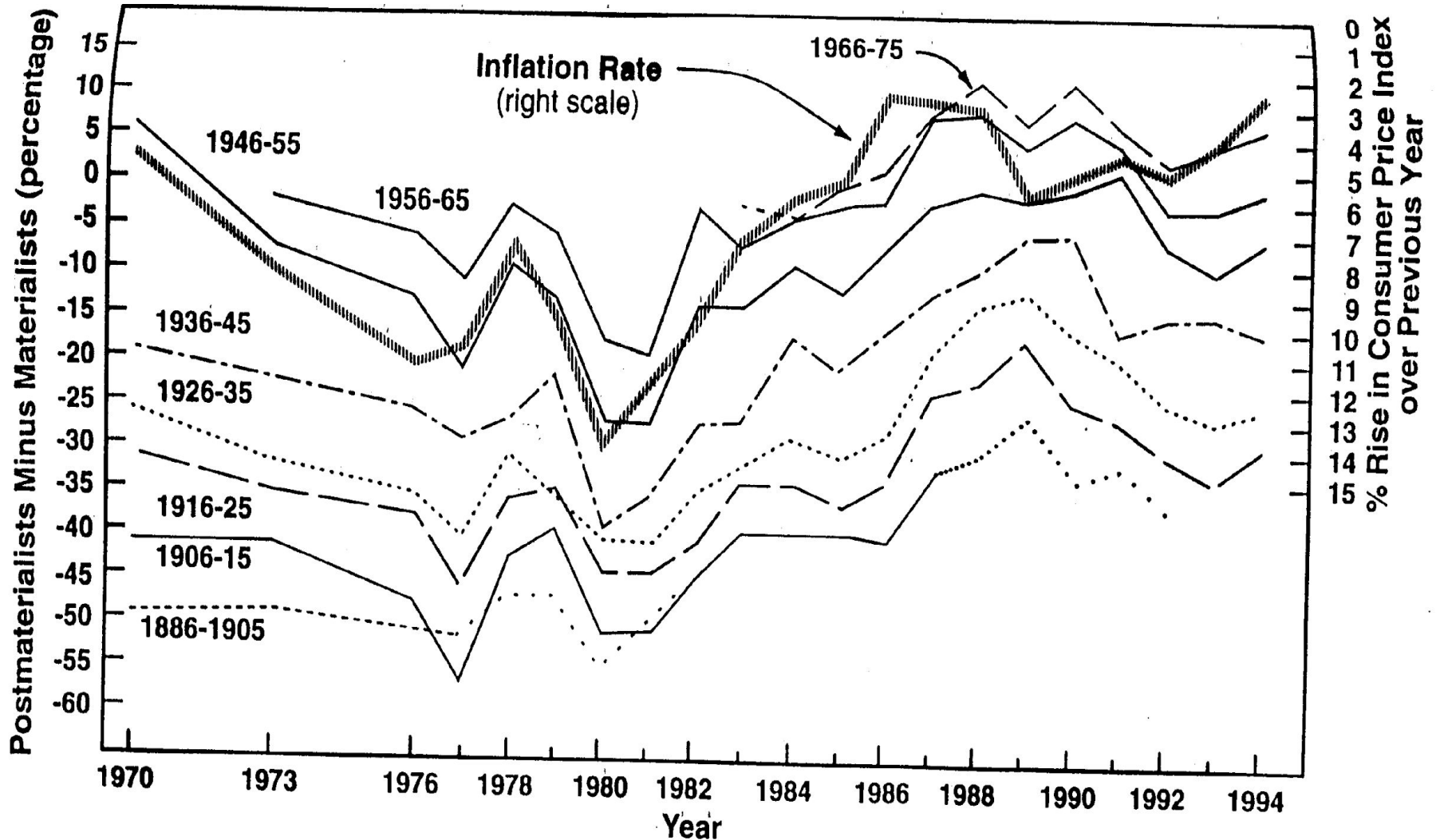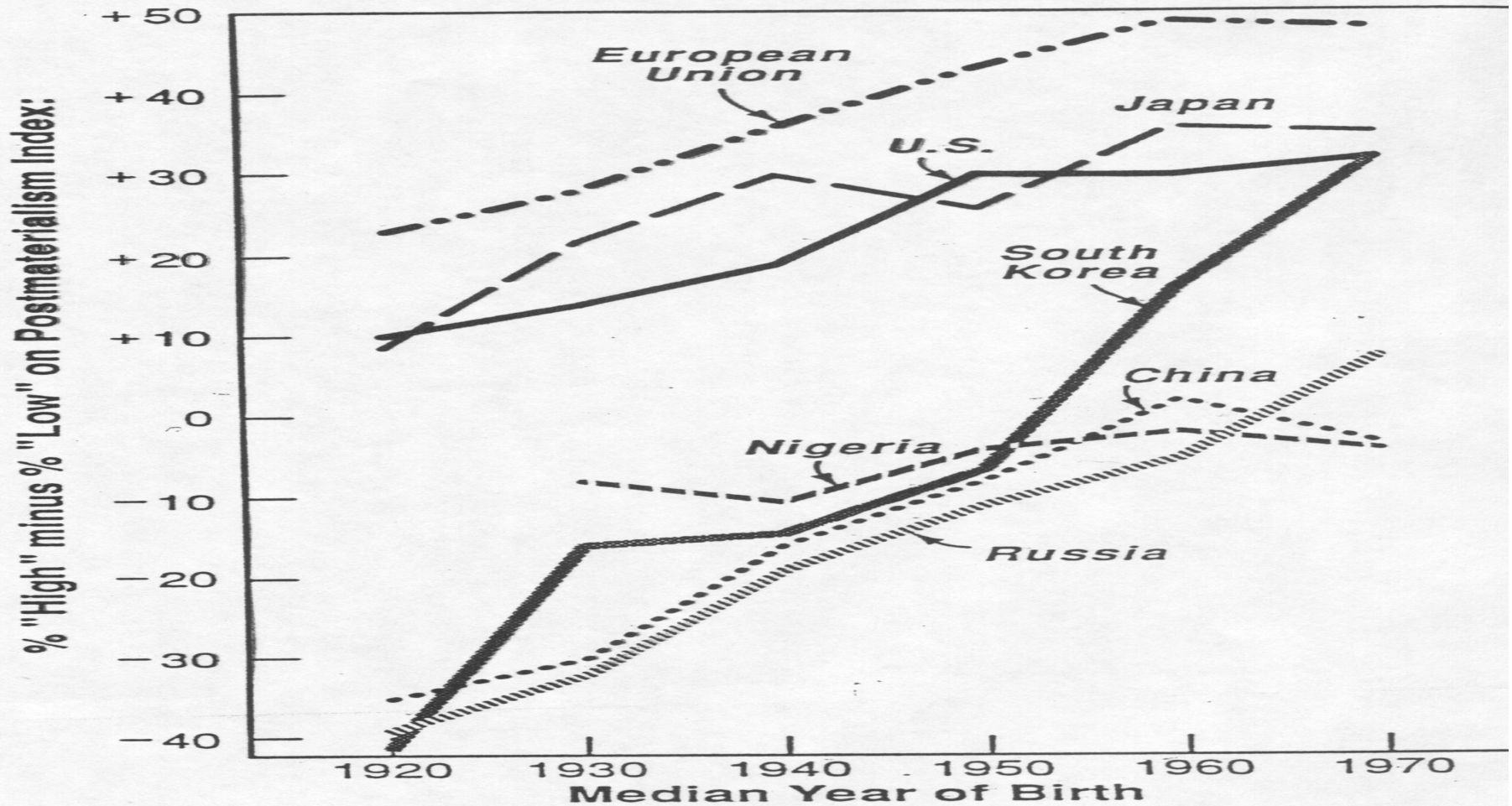
WVS -Waves

- 1980-1984 - 22 nations
- 1990-1993 - 42 nations
- 1995-1997 - 53 nations
- 1999-2002 - 79 nations
- 2006-2007 – 42 nations to date
- Representative surveys per nation 1000
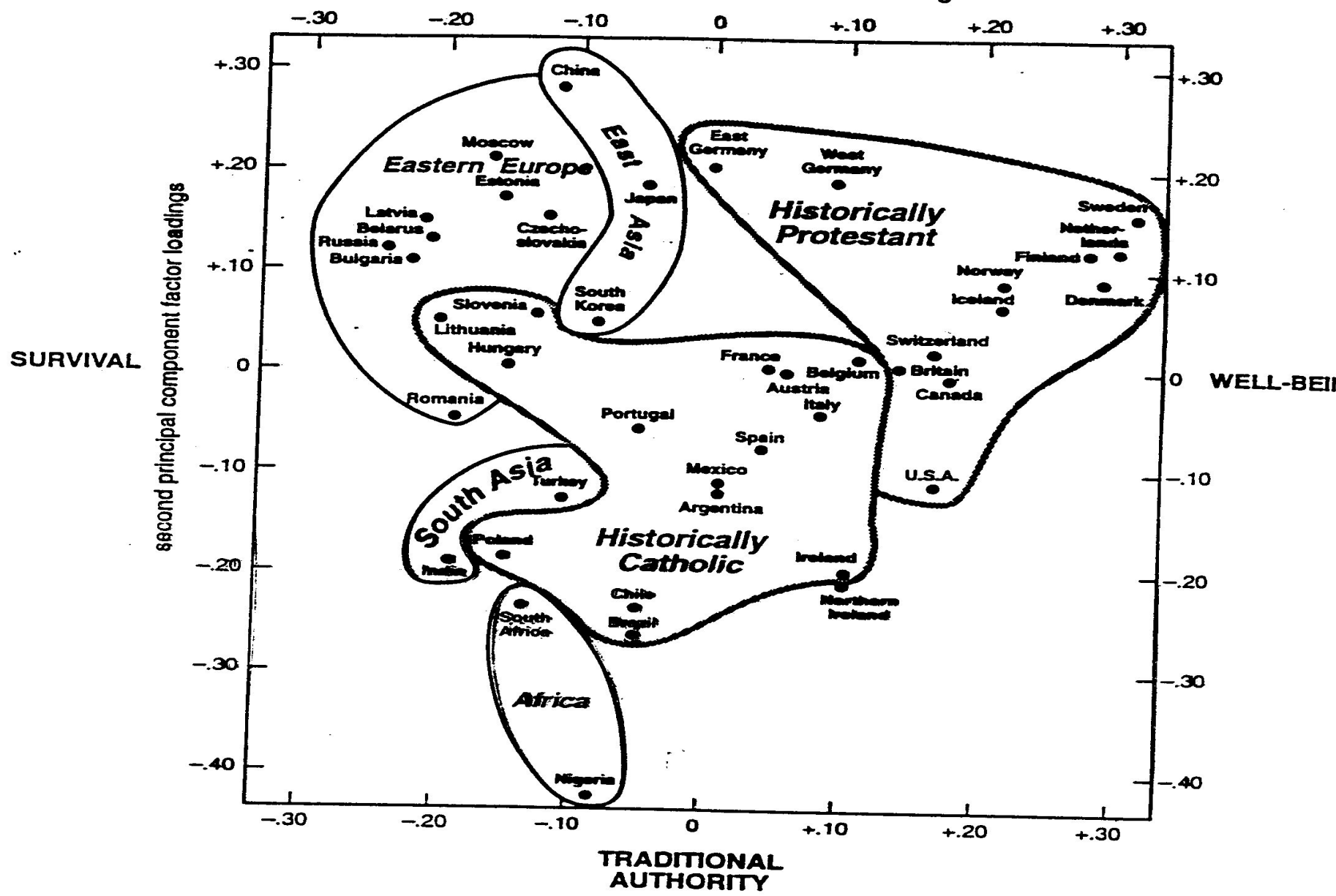- New sources www.globalbarometer.org
  - Africa, Latin America, Asia, C&E Europe

Cohort Analysis: EU

Cohort Analysis

SECULAR-RATIONAL AUTHORITY
first principal component factor loadings

TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY

SURVIVAL

WELL-BEING

second principal component factor loadings

China

Eastern Europe

Moscow

Estonia

Latvia
Belarus
Russia
Bulgaria

Czecho-slovakia

East Asia

Japan

South Korea

East Germany

West Germany

Historically Protestant

Sweden

Nether-lands

Finland

Norway

Iceland

Denmark

Slovenia

Lithuania

Hungary

Switzerland

France

Belgium

Britain

Austria

Canada

Italy

Romania

Portugal

Spain

South Asia

Turkey

Mexico

U.S.A.

Argentina

Historically Catholic

Poland

Ireland

India

Chile

Northern Ireland

South Africa

Brazil

Africa

Nigeria

3. Potential criticisms?

- Measure of post-materialism?

- Diverse patterns across societies

  - e.g. environmental movement, green parties

- Economic-cultural determinism?

- Prospects for democracy in agrarian societies

  - e.g. Can agrarian societies like India be democratic?

4. Implications for democratic support

Inglehart and Welzel's theory

- *Self-expression values* influence subsequent democratic institutions (not vice versa)
- Direct attitudes towards democracy are less important than self-expression values

Why does development strengthen self-expression values?

- Socio-economic development increases:
  - Financial capital and economic resources (income and wealth)
  - Human capital and cognitive resources (access to information and education), and
  - Social capital (diversifying human interaction and networks)
- Reduces constraints (widens objective capacity of people to act according to their own choices)
- Leads towards self-expression values (subjective aspirations for choice)
- In turn, self-expression values lead towards greater demand for entitlement to choice, including civil and political liberties, and demand for democratic institutions

Measuring self-expression values

1. Post-materialist values
   - R gives priority to post-materialist values (4-item index)

2. Life satisfaction and subjective well-being
   - R describes self as 'very' or 'rather' happy

3. Tolerance of other's liberty
   - R agrees that homosexuality is justifiable (10-pt scale)

4. Elite-challenging civil activity
   - R would sign a petition

5. Generalized interpersonal trust:
   - R agrees 'most people can be trusted most of the time'

☐ Is the measure *valid*, *reliable*, and *robust*?

Measuring self-expression values

1. Post-materialist values
   - R gives priority to post-materialist values (4-item index)
2. Life satisfaction and subjective well-being
   - R describes self as 'very' or 'rather' happy
3. Tolerance of other's liberty
   - R agrees that homosexuality is justifiable (10-pt scale)
4. Elite-challenging civil activity
   - R would sign a petition
5. Generalized interpersonal trust:
   - R agrees 'most people can be trusted most of the time'

- Is the measure *valid*, *reliable*, and *robust*?

Factor analysis loadings

R gives priority to post-materialist values (4-item index)   .87

R describes self as 'very' or 'rather' happy   .81

R agrees that homosexuality is justifiable (10-pt scale)   .77

R would sign a petition   .74

R agrees 'most people can be trusted most of the time'   .46

25% cross-national variations in 'survival' v. 'self-expression' values
(Aggregate-level analysis WVS 78 societies 1981-2001)
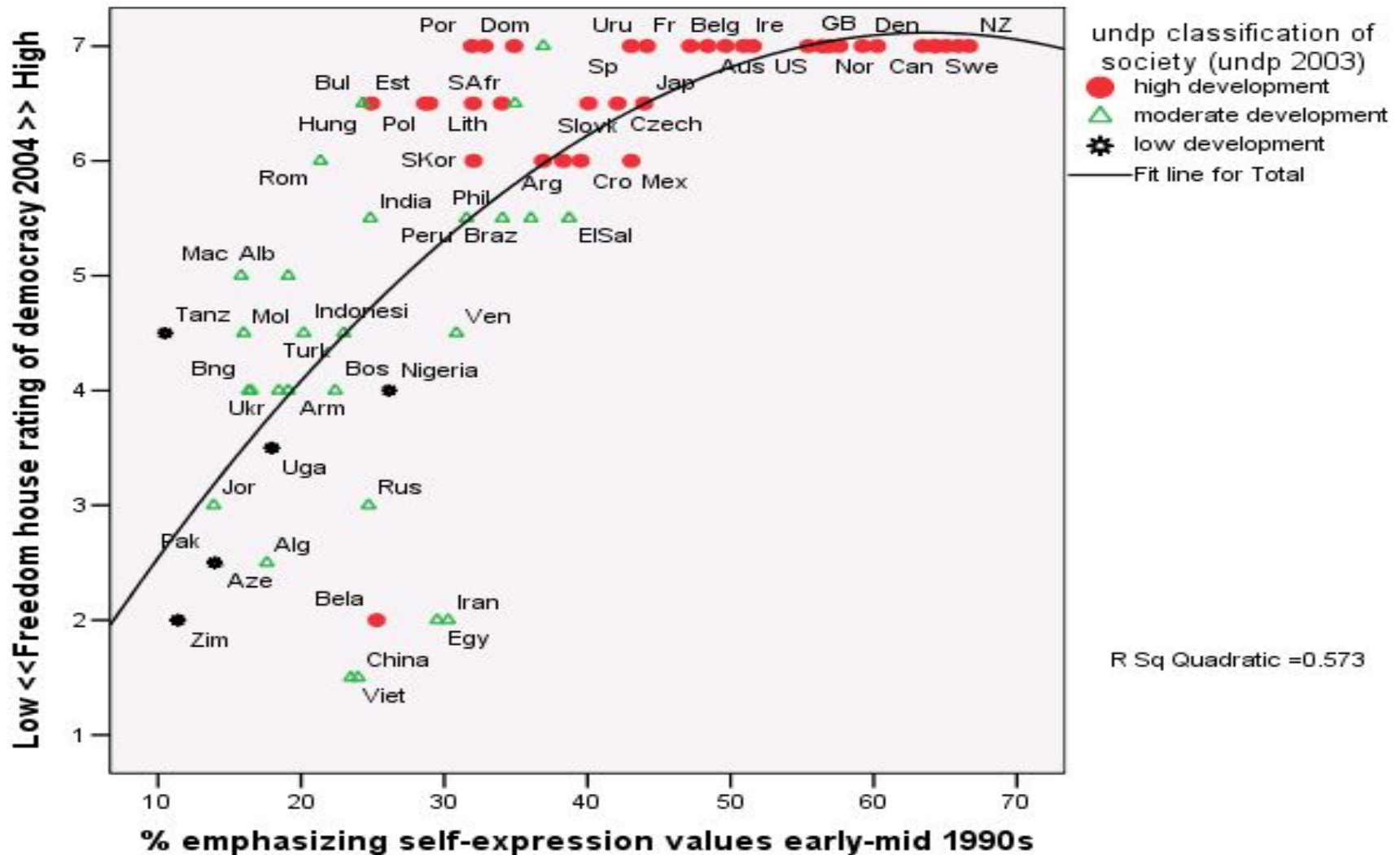
Defining and measuring democracy

1. Constitutional democracy (exec constraints, etc)
   - ☐ Polity IV 20-pt democracy-autocracy scale
2. Electoral democracy
   - ☐ Vanhanen 100-pt scale (Turnout*party competition)
3. Formal democracy
   - ☐ Civil and political liberties
   - ☐ Freedom House 12-pt scale
   - ☐ Regime change = 4+ pt FH scale change per year
   - ☐ Major watershed 1987-1996
4. Effective democracy
   - ☐ How far power-holders follow legal norms
   - ☐ FH scores * WB anticorruption scores
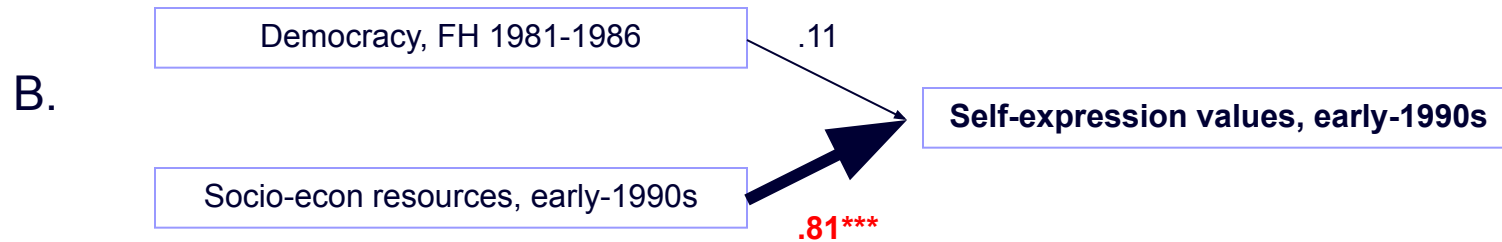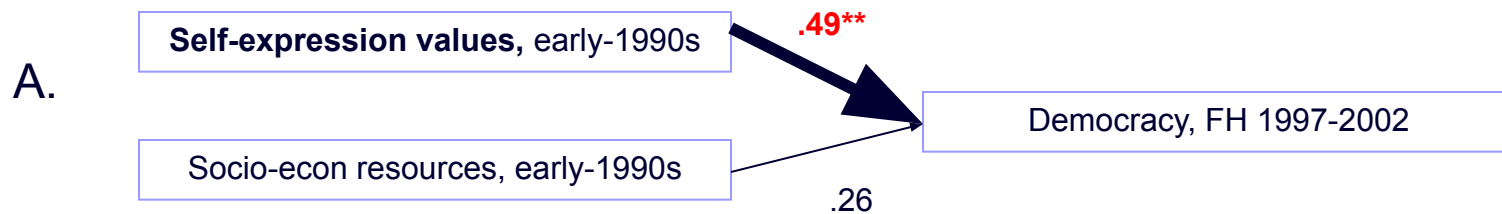
Direction of causality?

- Impact of values (X) on democracy (Y)
- Test for:
  - Temporal order
    - $X\ t_1$ leads to $Y\ t_{2...}$
  - Spuriousness
    - Control for Z (economic development)
  - Autocorrelations
    - Measure of $Y\ t_1$ leads to $Y\ t_2$

Self-expression values & democracy

Models: 61 nations

A.

Self-expression values, early-1990s → .49** → Democracy, FH 1997-2002

Socio-econ resources, early-1990s → Democracy, FH 1997-2002

.26

B.

Democracy, FH 1981-1986 → .11 → Self-expression values, early-1990s

Socio-econ resources, early-1990s → Self-expression values, early-1990s

.81***

Why not reverse causality?

- Living under democracy leads to values?
    - Democratic institutions encourage tolerance, trust, etc?
- Examine historical development in specific cases e.g.
    - post-Communist countries
    - Singapore
    - Germany
    - India
- What of *direct* attitudes towards democratic ideals and practices?

Critique?

Robert W. Jackman and Ross A. Miller *Before Norms: Institutions & Civic Culture* U. Michigan Press 2005

3. Jackman and Miller critique

- *"We believe there is no systematic evidence that links cultural values either to the longer-term viability of democratic institutions or even to shorter-term transitions to democracy."*
- Robert W. Jackman and Ross A. Miller p.129
- Claims driven by one or more enigmatic empirical decisions, without which the argument fails.

Jackman and Miller critique

1. ## What counts as '*culture*'?
   - Post-materialist values
   - Self-expression values?
   - Levels of social trust?
   - Support for democratic ideals or practices?

2. ## Tendency towards ex post explanation
   - Eg Confucianism 'explains' economic growth of the Asian tigers?

3. ## Problems of a few influential cases driving general results

Jackman and Miller critique

- *"These problems taken as a whole generate a set of non-cumulative results and thereby signify an empirical research program grounded on a set of ad hoc assumptions."*
    - Jackman and Miller p.131
- More plausible to treat values as endogenous i.e. a response to the conditions within which people find themselves.
    - Eg national wealth and degree of democracy lead towards self-reported life satisfaction
    - Eg performance of government institutions leads towards political trust and confidence in them
- Political and economic circumstances > values
- *Not* values leading to economic and political outcomes

Next class

Inglehart & Norris: *Rising Tide*: *Gender equality and cultural change*