Chapter 3: Ideas as Structure: Political Culture and Ideology

Learning Objectives

- Define *culture* and *political culture*.
- Discuss how socialization, major events, and long-term processes can shape political culture over time.
- Describe the meaning of *ideology* and distinguish among several major ideological perspectives.
- Compare and contrast the features and the development of the political cultures of the TIC cases.
- Explain the findings from the Research in Context feature in this chapter.
Culture
- Two meanings in social science
  - Culture as a society’s underlying values
  - Culture as a system of meaning

Political Culture
- Components of Political Culture
  - Beliefs about authority
  - Group welfare versus individual interests
  - Liberty versus security
  - Political system legitimacy
  - Political community
## Table 3.1 The Five Major Components of Political Culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Questions</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Beliefs about Authority</td>
<td>1A. Are social elites accepted as legitimate?</td>
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<td>1B. Are social relations vertical or horizontal?</td>
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<td>2. Group versus Individual</td>
<td>2A. Is the collective more important than the individual?</td>
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<td>2B. Is equality more important than personal freedom?</td>
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<td>3. Liberty versus Security</td>
<td>3. Do people value freedom from state action, even if it means less stability and less security?</td>
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<td>4. Political System Legitimacy</td>
<td>4A. Does the existing political regime have the right to rule?</td>
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<td>4B. Can political leaders generally be trusted?</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. The Political Community</td>
<td>5A. With what political unit does the population identify most readily?</td>
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<td>5B. Does the population as a whole have a strong attachment to an overarching national identity?</td>
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Questions

Are these categories exhaustive? Why not rule-based versus relations-based societies? (Eg. India has an individualist but connections-based culture)

How would these beliefs affect different societies’ choices between markets versus government involvement in the economy?

What type of choices would be produced by these beliefs? Give an example for each.

Do you think that political development requires one type of political culture in terms of these five beliefs?
Think and Discuss

Look at the five components of political culture presented in Table 3.1. Which of the five is the most important, and why?
The Sources of Political Culture

- **Events, Experiences, and Socialization**
  - Defining events
  - Repeated experiences
  - Socialization
  - Takes place within social institutions
The Sources of Political Culture

- Domestic sources: voting, education, civic activism, domestic media, tea houses

- External sources: Is globalization an avenue for socialization?
  - Internet
  - Western media and entertainment
  - Advertising by multinational corporations
  - Migration
Think and Discuss

- Can globalization change national political cultures?

- Where does political socialization take place in Turkey? Elsewhere?

- Is education a source of political culture in Turkey?
Ideology: a set of beliefs and guiding principles about the proper functioning of (modern) society
Political Ideologies: From Values and Systems of Meaning to Blueprints

**Ideological Positions on Economics**

- Progressive ideology
- Social democratic ideology
  - Welfare state
- Marxist ideology
- Conservative ideology
- Libertarian ideology
- Reactionary ideology
- Moderate ideology
Think and Discuss

To what extent does Turkey have an official ideology?
A Left-Right Ideological Spectrum Regarding Wealth Distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marxist</th>
<th>Social Democratic</th>
<th>Progressive</th>
<th>Moderate</th>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>Libertarian</th>
<th>Reactionary</th>
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</thead>
</table>

Figure 3-2 p71
Think and Discuss

The Left-Right ideological spectrum regarding income redistribution presented in this chapter lists the following ideological positions: Marxist, social democratic, progressive, moderate, conservative, libertarian, and reactionary. What portion of the Turkey’s population do you believe falls into each of these categories? What does this tell you about Turkish politics?
Political Ideologies: From Values and Systems of Meaning to Blueprints

- Noneconomic Ideologies (Left vs. Right)
  - Social (values question)
  - Identity
  - Religion (e.g. *Islamism*)
The United Kingdom

- **Political Culture:** Less collectivistic than rest of Europe; working class deference; *noblesse oblige*
- Educational system reinforces elitism; limited but visible effects of “7/7” terrorist attacks
- Few sharp ideological divides

Topic in Countries
The United Kingdom

Sources of Political Culture:

- Socialization, Experiences and Events:
  - Ex: Magna Carta (1215), family, media, and educational system

- Ideology:
  - Ex: John Locke, Adam Smith, David Hume, J.S. Mill
    - Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s -> Conservatism + libertarianism
  - Labour Party – Conservative Party
  - Tony Blair – Gordon Brown – David Cameron
Civic Culture Theory

- Almond and Verba published book in 1963
- Argued that the form of political culture affects prospects for democracy

- (1) Participatory
- (2) subject and
- (3) parochial political cultures (define them)
Almond and Verba’s Civic Culture Theory

- Most people are not very knowledgeable about politics even in advanced politics. But they know enough to take action to hold government accountable when necessary.

- A mix of “participatory” and “subject” values work best to make a stable democracy.

- Question: Why?!!
The UK and the Civic Culture

- Did not explain 1960s & 70s instability in the UK
- But, since the British system survived these problems, the theory might help explain British democracy
Topic in Countries

- **Germany**
  - **Political Culture**: Principle of subsidiarity; regional differences in legitimacy
  - WWI, Great Depression, Nazi period and WWII, division, economic boom in West Germany, reunification
  - Extreme ideologies of the past replaced by a reconciliation of conservative and progressive ideologies in the social market economy
Germany

- Social Market Economy (SME)
- The state sets out general guidelines of market activity. The major groups in the economy and society (e.g. Labor unions, banks, employers’ associations regulate their activities in line with these parameters.)
India

**Political Culture:** Cultural heterogeneity, high level of tolerance, low level of social trust, individualism based on the notion of unity in diversity

- Lingering effects of *caste system*; regional variation; emphasis on “unity in diversity”
India

Religious division between Hinduism and Islam, family, national education system

In the aftermath of independence: Socialism

Although the economy included some elements of capitalism, the state was the leader in economic development.
Mexico

**Political Culture:** Acquiescent to elite rule but admiration of revolutionary figures; fairly strong attachment to overarching identity.

Educational system and Catholic Church important for socialization; shift in political values paved way for democracy.

As ruling party, the PRI was more pragmatic than ideological; sharper ideological disputes today.
Mexico

- Government control of history in schools, the Catholic Church, family bonds, the 1910 Revolution

- Pragmatic authoritarianism under the PRI until the democratization and multiplication of political parties
Brazil

- **Political Culture:** Values supportive of nondemocracy; low levels of system legitimacy; *jeito*
- Strong effects of military period on political culture have weakened with time
- Population less centrist than in many countries; large numbers of political parties reflect ideological divisions at mass level
Brazil

  - Within the political turmoil, socialization fell to traditional social forces such as family and religious institutions.
  - Economic crises and corruption scandals.
  - Revalorization of democracy by the Left.

- On a scale of 0 (very Left) to 10 (very Right), the average score is 5.1 for Brazilians, according to late 2000s survey data.
  - 28% consider themselves as Leftist
  - 31% consider themselves as Rightist
Nigeria

**Political Culture:** Regional differences in culture, but general lack of system legitimacy and weak attachment to overarching national identity

Family central in socialization; corrupt institutions pass on values consistent with continuing corruption

Because of importance of corruption, politics is more personalized than ideological
Nigeria

- Government-controlled education system
- Colonial period, the Nigerian Civil War (1967-70), multiple periods of military rule, and attempts at democracy in the post-colonial period.
- Resource curse: Significant petroleum reserves
- Repeated instances of Christian-Muslim violence

- Rather than ideology, politics tends to be personalized with leaders’ characteristics
Russia

- **Political Culture:** Collectivistic and deferential to strong leaders; legitimacy linked to performance
- Legacies of past government-led socialization efforts; numerous events over the past two decades have deepened values of order and security
- Under tsars and Communist Party, ideology was very important; today, a general suspicion of ideological parties
Russia

- Under the Soviets->schools, workplaces, social organizations, media etc contributed to socialization.
  
  - Putin Era->Media were, in some cases, brought under state control; schools, cultural events, social organizations increasingly embraced Russian nationalism and the greatness of Putin.

- Ideology mattered especially during the tsarist and Soviet times, e.g. official Soviet newspapers imposing the Soviet ideology

  - The main legacy of the Soviet times to the Russians after the collapse of the USSR is suspicion of official government ideology.
Topic in Countries

- China
  - **Political Culture:** Legacies of Confucianism; order and security over freedom; values changing with decades of capitalist development
  - Long history limits the impact of single events; capitalism and globalization weakening the effectiveness of government efforts at socialization
  - Communist ideology decreasing in importance; has been replaced by an emphasis on nationalism and economic performance
China

- Before the Communist period, family; during the Communist rule, government-led socialization through controlled education, and mass media.
  - June 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre
  - Marketization of Chinese economy

- With the economic reforms, the importance of ideology has declined.
  - Current official ideology combines nationalism, capitalism, and the propaganda of the Communist Party.
In Theory and Practice
China and Ronald Inglehart’s Postmaterialism Theory

- **Inglehart’s Postmaterialism Theory**
  - Explains emergence of “postmaterialist” values
  - Argues that life experiences during one’s formative years create values that are relatively stable
  - Age cohorts experiencing economic success in their teens and 20s worry less about security and order
China and Postmaterialism?
- Theory has implications for China
- Tiananmen Square may have been first example of a “culture shift” in China
Iran

**Political Culture:** Order and security over freedom (but less so than in other Middle Eastern countries); more individualistic and prodemocratic values among young urban residents

Government-led socialization complemented by religious institutions, but family also very important; 1979 Islamic Revolution remains the defining event

Islamist ideology central to Iranian politics
In Theory and Practice
Iran and Barber’s “Jihad Versus McWorld” Framework

“Jihad Versus McWorld”
- Barber emphasizes the importance of the forces of particularism and globalization
- Term “Jihad” used to capture extremism based on identity; “McWorld” represents globalization
- Barber highlights the tensions—but also the complementary features—of Jihad and McWorld

Iran, Jihad, and McWorld
- Iranian government has tried to isolate its population from the forces of globalization
- But, many of Iran’s citizens demonstrate support for both “Jihad” and “McWorld”
<table>
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<th>TIC Country</th>
<th>Key Features of Political Culture</th>
<th>Key Institutions of Socialization</th>
<th>Defining Events and/or Important Repeated Experiences</th>
<th>Ideologies</th>
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<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>Working class deference; noblesse oblige; more individualistic than much of Europe; ITAP feature on Almond and Verba’s civic culture theory</td>
<td>Family; media; educational system</td>
<td>Evolutionary political history; 7/7 terrorist bombings in 2005</td>
<td>Fewer economic ideological differences since World War II; Thatcher emphasis on conservatism; parties stressing moderate positions do well in last two decades</td>
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<td>Germany</td>
<td>More collectivistic than individualistic; principles like subsidiarity guide government social welfare programs</td>
<td>Family; media; educational system</td>
<td>World War I; Great Depression; World War II; Communist period in East Germany; reunification</td>
<td>Social market economy approach to economics</td>
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<td>India</td>
<td>More individualistic than other Asian cases; fragmented; notion of “unity in diversity”</td>
<td>Family; educational system</td>
<td>Events surrounding independence; the partition; assassinations</td>
<td>Market-led economic development approach widely accepted</td>
</tr>
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<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Tensions in beliefs on authority and social relations; less individualistic than United States</td>
<td>Educational system; Catholic Church; family</td>
<td>Mexican Revolution; presidential elections in 1997 and 2000</td>
<td>Increasingly visible ideological divides over free market economics and free trade approaches</td>
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<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Heterogeneous; evasion of power; <em>jeito</em>; security over freedom</td>
<td>Family; religious institutions</td>
<td>Military dictatorship, 1964–85; economic crisis; corruption scandals</td>
<td>Diverse, ranging from Communist to conservative and religious</td>
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<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>Heterogeneous; acceptance of vertical social relations; collectivism over individualism; security over freedom</td>
<td>Family; educational system</td>
<td>British colonial rule; Nigerian Civil War (1967–70); military rule; latest chapter of democracy</td>
<td>More emphasis on political figures than policies; religious rule versus Western-type rule</td>
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<td>Russia</td>
<td>Collective over individual; security and order at the expense of liberty and freedom; deference to authority figures</td>
<td>Government; media; schools; social organizations</td>
<td>Political developments between 1985 and 2005</td>
<td>Tsarist period: orthodoxy, autocracy, narodnost; Soviet period: Communism, atheism, economic planning; post-Soviet period: suspicion of ideology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Characteristics</td>
<td>Government (through media and schools); family</td>
<td>Exposure to values from other countries (e.g., United States); economic reforms and high growth rates</td>
<td>Appeals to nationalism; merits of capitalism; pragmatism over ideological commitments</td>
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<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>Confucianism-based respect for authority; society over individual; order and security at expense of freedom; ITAP feature on Ronald Inglehart’s postmaterialism theory</td>
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<td>Iran</td>
<td>Respect for authority; vertical social relations; high levels of individualism for a Middle Eastern country, but stability and order at expense of freedom; ITAP feature on Benjamin Barber’s “Jihad versus McWorld” framework</td>
<td>Religious organizations; educational system; family</td>
<td>1979 Islamic Revolution; Iran-Iraq War</td>
<td>Since the 1979 revolution, emphasis on legitimacy of the Iranian theocracy based on Islamic law</td>
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<td>France</td>
<td>Revolutionary principles still important; liberty valued over stability, but comparatively horizontal social relations and collectivist orientation</td>
<td>Government (through schools, museums, and military); family; social organizations, often led by political parties</td>
<td>French Revolution remains defining event; establishment of Fifth Republic renewed the commitment to the ideals of the revolution, while also focusing on stability and order</td>
<td>Fewer ideological divisions between major political parties than in the past; strong secularism that opposes public displays of religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Desire for stability and order; some attachment to traditional values of obedience to authority; ethno-religious collectivism; commitment to democracy is visible, but depth of attachment is unclear</td>
<td>Family; religious organizations; government information efforts and manipulation of the media</td>
<td>Political culture affected in recent decades by repeated experiences of dictatorship, war, and occupation</td>
<td>Official commitment to democracy; differing views about role of religion in politics; economic ideological positions less clear, even among major political parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Cultural diversity; suspicion of political authorities but respect for traditional social structures; corruption; relatively strong sense of legitimacy of democratic system</td>
<td>Family; media; educational system</td>
<td>Apartheid period; struggle for end of apartheid; negotiated transition to democratic system</td>
<td>The African National Congress (ANC) is officially a Leftist political party, but its policies are progressive to moderate; race-based ideological positions and Afrikaner nationalism weaken with the end of apartheid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>