

Democracy and Culture

Political Science 225
North Dakota State University

Cultural and Democracy

Culture, values → democracy

- Primordialist arguments
- Constructivist arguments

Civic Culture

Definition

Civic culture is a set of attitudes that includes things like high interpersonal trust, and high levels of life and political satisfaction

- Almond and Verba
- Inglehart

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- Almond and Verba
 - Individuals influence politics
 - Support for current system
 - Interpersonal trust
 - Gradual societal change
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- Almond and Verba
 - Individuals influence politics
 - Support for current system
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- Inglehart
 - Life satisfaction
 - Interpersonal trust
 - Gradual change
 - Post-materialist values
 - Political discussion
 - Percentage protestant

Culture, Development, Democracy, and Causal Direction

- Weberian story
 - Culture → economic development → democracy
- Values story
 - Economic development → culture → democracy
- Institutional story
 - Economic development → democracy → culture

Measuring Culture

- Surveys
 - Q: Democracy may have problems, but it's better than any other form of government. Could you please tell me if you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?
 - Questions about interpersonal trust, attitudes towards societal change, post-materialist values, etc
- Experiments
 - Ultimatum game
 - Dictator game

Measuring Culture: Surveys

Potential problems?

Measuring Culture: Surveys

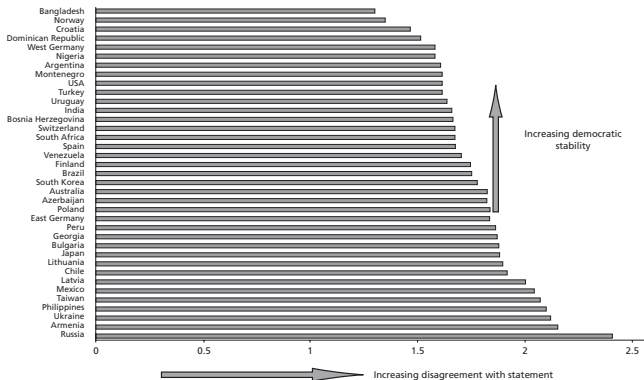
Potential problems?

- Are people telling the truth?
- Do questions mean the same thing to people in different contexts?
- Access problems (we can only survey democracies)

Measuring Culture: Face Validity

FIGURE 7.2

Support for Democracy



Note: Figure indicates mean responses by country from the 1995 World Values Survey to the following question: "Democracy may have problems, but it's better than any other form of government. Could you please tell me if you strongly agree (1), agree (2), disagree (3), or strongly disagree (4)?" Due to issues of over- and undersampling certain categories of people in each country, the horizontal bars do not represent sample means. It was necessary to weight the sample means to accurately reflect the national distribution of responses to this question. The horizontal bars represent these weighted sample means. We used the weight provided in the World Values Survey (V236). East Germany (the states of the former German Democratic Republic) and West Germany (the states of the Federal Republic of Germany prior to unification) were surveyed separately.

Religion and Democracy

- These theories focus on identifying bad and good religions for democracy
- It is thought that given religions are less likely to be democratic and less likely to help democracy survive
- Causal process is shared commonalities in belief or scripture
- Long history
- Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations"

Religion and Democracy: Proposed Causal Mechanisms

- Protestantism
- Catholicism
- Christianity

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- Christianity
 - Weakness of Weberian story, Italian city states
 - Orthodoxy vs orthopraxy

Religion and Democracy: Proposed Causal Mechanisms

- Confucianism
- Islam

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 - Thought bad for democracy
 - Non-individualistic, communalism and consensus.
 - Respect for authority.
 - “Asian Values” Debate in 1990s—authoritarian sponsored
- Islam

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 - Thought to hinder democracy
 - Political violence
 - No separation of religion and state
 - Gender inequality

Why We Should be Skeptical

- Stereotyping heterogenous religions
- All religions have supposedly good and bad attributes
- Ad hoc arguments

TABLE 7.2**Effect of a Muslim, Catholic, or Protestant Majority on the Probability That a Country Will Become Democratic, 1950–2000**

Dependent variable: Probability of being a democracy this year if country was a dictatorship the previous year.

Independent variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	
Muslim majority	-0.28** (0.12)	-0.18 (0.16)	-0.23 (0.17)	-0.25 (0.19)	-0.18 (0.16)	← Coefficient ← Standard error
Protestant majority	-0.56 (0.35)	-0.42 (0.38)	-0.40 (0.38)	-0.45 (0.39)	-0.43 (0.38)	
Catholic majority	0.33*** (0.10)	0.31*** (0.12)	0.26** (0.12)	0.26** (0.13)	0.31** (0.13)	
GDP per capita		0.00004* (0.00002)	0.00003* (0.00002)	0.00003* (0.00002)	0.00004* (0.00002)	
Growth in GDP per capita		-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	
Oil production		-0.15 (0.18)	-0.12 (0.19)	-0.13 (0.19)	-0.15 (0.18)	
Effective number of ethnic groups			-0.02 (0.02)			
Effective number of religious groups				-0.06 (0.09)		
Effective number of cultural groups					0.02 (0.08)	
Constant	-2.06*** (0.07)	-2.05*** (0.10)	-1.94*** (0.13)	-1.91*** (0.23)	-2.06*** (0.19)	
Number of observations	4,379	2,578	2,563	2,578	2,563	
Log-likelihood	-418.75	-318.64	-317.85	-318.46	-318.35	

Source: Data on religious groups and whether a country is a democracy are from Przeworski et al. (2000), updated through 2000; data on GDP per capita and growth in GDP per capita are from the Penn World Tables 6.1 (2004); and data on ethnic and cultural groups are from Fearon (2003).

Notes: Robust standard errors are in parentheses. A country is listed as an oil producer in those years in which fuel exports exceed one-third of a country's export revenue according to the World Bank (Fearon and Laitin 2003).

* = greater than 90% significant.

** = greater than 95% significant.

*** = greater than 99% significant.

TABLE 7.3

Effect of a Muslim, Catholic, or Protestant Majority on the Probability of Democratic Survival, 1950–2000

Dependent variable: Probability of being a democracy this year if country was a democracy last year.

Independent variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Muslim majority	−0.61*** (0.18)	−0.30 (0.26)	−0.46 (0.28)	−0.48 (0.30)	−0.39 (0.27)
Protestant majority†					
Catholic majority	0.02 (0.13)	−0.27* (0.16)	−0.41** (0.20)	−0.43* (0.22)	−0.39** (0.18)
GDP per capita		0.0001*** (0.00003)	0.0001*** (0.00003)	0.0001*** (0.00003)	0.0001*** (0.00003)
Growth in GDP per capita		0.02* (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)
Oil production		0.29 (0.31)	0.43 (0.31)	0.35 (0.29)	0.40 (0.31)
Effective number of ethnic groups			−0.09* (0.05)		
Effective number of religious groups				−0.19 (0.15)	
Effective number of cultural groups					−0.23 (0.12)
Constant	2.06*** (0.10)	1.50*** (0.16)	1.88*** (0.28)	1.92*** (0.37)	1.99*** (0.30)
Number of observations	2,408	1,784	1,784	1,784	1,784
Log-likelihood	−252.28	−163.19	−161.41	−162.33	−161.74

Source: Data on religious groups and whether a country is a democracy are from Przeworski et al. (2000), updated through 2000; data on GDP per capita and growth in GDP per capita are from the Penn World Tables 6.1 (2004); and data on ethnic and cultural groups are from Fearon (2003).

Note: Robust standard errors are in parentheses. A country is listed as an oil producer in those years in which fuel exports exceed one-third of a country's export revenue according to the World Bank (Fearon and Laitin 2003).

† No democracy with a Protestant majority ever failed to survive in this time period. As a result, it is not possible to include this variable.

* = greater than 90% significant.

** = greater than 95% significant.

*** = greater than 99% significant.

Takeaway Points of Table

- Most religions don't matter except Catholicism
- Controlling for income eliminates the impact of Islam.
- Ethnic diversity doesn't matter.

Closing Comments

- Cultural arguments are common, especially in public discourse
- Often shift depending on time period
- Can be ad hoc