

**PS 219**  
**Political Culture and Democracy**

**Department of Political Science**  
**University of California, Irvine**

**Fall Quarter 2004**  
**Tuesday 2:00**

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Political culture is one of the central research themes in contemporary political science, but political scientists remain divided on its meaning. Almond and Verba say that “political culture is the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations toward politics among the members of a political system. It is the subjective realm that underlies and gives meaning to political actions.” Since the *Civic Culture* the concept of political culture and quantitative cultural studies have been a recurring source of debate, and a recurring source of new research initiatives. Recently there have been claims we are experiencing a renaissance of political culture research as new evidence emerges that “culture matters”.

This seminar examines the development of the political culture literature and its relationship to democratic development. What are the cultural prerequisites of democracy, what aspects of political culture facilitate democratic politics and governmental performance, and what forms and reforms a political culture? In addition, we will discuss questions about how to define political culture and how it can be studied.

Beyond the readings and seminar discussions, the major research project for the class will be to develop a cross-national, empirical analysis of one aspect of political culture and its correlates. To assist in this, I will distribute a CD-ROM with a copy of the new wave of the World Values Survey—a coordinate international study of public opinion in nearly seventy nations—as a resource for research. A significant part of the seminar discussions will discuss student research projects as they develop over the quarter. Half of the course grade will be based on seminar participation, and half will be based on the research paper (including a preliminary presentation of your research to the seminar).

Most of the readings come from books that have been placed on reserve at the Langston Library reserve desk. There are no books to purchase for the course, although you may wish to purchase some of the “classics” of political culture for your personal library.

## Week 1 Introduction and Organization of the Seminar

(Orientation to class, and “What do we mean by culture?” The following are some introductions to the topic of political culture)

Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, ch. 1

Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics: System, Process, and Policy, ch. 2.

Riesinger, Renaissance of a rubric: Political culture as concept and theory, International Journal of Public Opinion Research (1995) 7: 328-352 (NOL).

Diamond, Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries, ch. 1.

## Week 2 The Civic Culture Model

Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture (hardback unabridged edition), chs. 1, 12, 13

Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture Revisited, chs. 1, 10 and one country chapter

Almond, The Civic Culture: Prehistory, Retrospect, and Prospect. CSD Working Paper.  
<http://www.democ.uci.edu/democ/papers/almond.htm>

### Additional Readings:

Baker, Dalton and Hildebrandt, Germany Transformed: Political Culture and the New Politics.

Barry, Sociologists, Economists, and Democracy.

Barnes, Politics and culture. In F. Weil et al., eds. Research on Democracy and Society: Democratization in Eastern and Western Europe.

Dalton, Citizen Attitudes and Political Behavior, Comparative Political Studies 33 (August/ September 2000): 912-940.

Dittmer, Political culture and political symbolism: Toward a theoretical synthesis, World Politics (1977) 29: 552-583.

Eckstein, Political culture as cultural science, rational choice as metaphysics. In Thompson and Ellis, eds. Culture Matters.

Eckstein, Regarding Politics: Essays on Political Theory, Stability, and Change

Hua, Chinese Political Culture.

Inglehart, Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Societies

Laitin, Political culture and political preferences, American Political Science Review (1988) 88: 589-593.

Nathan and Shi. Cultural requisites for democracy in China. Daedalus (1993) 122: 95-124.

Patrick, Political culture, In G. Sartori, Social Science Concepts.

Plasser and Pribersky, eds. Political Culture in East Central Europe.

Pye and Verba, Political Culture and Political Development.

Pye, The Mandarin and the Cadre : China's Political Cultures.

Rogowski, Rational Legitimacy: A Theory of Political Support.

Ross, Culture and identity in comparative political analysis. In Lichbach and Zuckerman, eds. Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure

Shapiro, Can the rational choice framework cope with culture? PS (1998) 31: 40-43.

## THE SOURCES OF POLITICAL CULTURE

### Week 3 Congruence, Authority Relations and Political Culture

Eckstein, A theory of stable democracy, in Regarding Politics  
Eckstein et al., Can Democracy Take Root in Post-Soviet Russia?: Explorations in State-society Relations, chs. 1, 2 and 12  
Pye, Asian Power and Politics: The Cultural Dimension, ch.3 and 7.  
Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, ch. 9-11.

#### Additional Readings

Adorno, Authoritarian Personality.  
Chilton, Defining Political Development, chs. 2-4.  
Dalton and Ong, Authority orientations and political values in East Asia: A test of the 'Asian Values' hypothesis. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2003.  
Eckstein, Division and Cohesion in Democracy  
Flanagan and Lee, Value change and democratic reform in Japan and Korea. Comparative Political Studies (2000) 33: 626-659.  
Fukuyama, Confucianism and democracy. Journal of Democracy (1995).  
Inkeles and Smith, Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries, ch. 9-17.

### Week 4 Social Modernization and Cultural Development

Inkeles and Smith. Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries, ch. 2, 21  
Welzel, Inglehart and Klingemann, The theory of human development: A cross-cultural analysis. European Journal of Political Research (2003) 42: 341-379..  
Inglehart, Modernization and Postmodernization, ch. 3.

#### Additional Readings

Berg-Schlosser, Comment on Welzel, Inglehart and Klingemann's theory of human development, European Journal of Political Research (2003) 42: 381-386.  
Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing The Middle East.  
Lipset, Political Man.  
Nevitte. The Decline of Deference: Canadian Value Change in Cross-national Perspective.  
Pye and Verba, eds. Political Culture and Political Development  
Rueschemeyer et al., Capitalist Development and Democracy.

### Week 5 The Clash of Civilizations

Huntington, Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order, chs. 1-6.  
Tessler, Islam and democracy in the Middle East - The impact of religious orientations on attitudes toward democracy in four Arab countries. Comparative Politics (2002) 34: 337-354,378

Inglehart and Long, 'Clash of Civilizations' or trauma of modernization? Support for democracy in Islamic societies. Paper presented at the 2002 annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Additional Readings

Barber, Jihad vs. McWorld.

Hua, Chinese Political Culture, 1989-2000.

Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations?: The Debate.

Inglehart and Baker, Modernization, cultural change, and the persistence of traditional values. American Sociological Review (2000) 65:19-51.

Kim, Asian-style democracy: A critique from East Asia. Asian Survey (1997) 37.

Rose, Haerpfer, and Mishler. Testing the Churchill Hypothesis: Democracy and its Alternatives in Post-communist Societies.

Pye, Asian Power and Politics

**Week 6 Subcultures and Political Identities**

Horowitz, Democracy in divided societies. Journal of Democracy (1993) 4(4): 18-38 (NOL)

Elkins and Sides, In search of the unified nation-state: National attachment among distinctive citizens. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the MPSA, 2004.

Brian Silver and Kathleen Dowley. Measuring political culture in multiethnic societies: Reaggregating the World Values Survey. Comparative Political Studies (2000) 33: 517-550 (NOL).

Sears, David O., Jack Citrin, Sharmaine V. Cheleden, and Colette van Laar. Cultural diversity and multicultural politics: Is ethnic balkanization psychologically inevitable?" In Deborah Prentice and Dale Miller, eds., Cultural Divides: Understanding and Overcoming Group Conflict. 1999.

Additional readings

de la Garza, Rodolfo O., Angelo Falcon, and F. Chris Garcia. 1996. Will the real Americans please stand up: Anglo and Mexican-American support of core American political values. American Journal of Political Science 40 (2): 335-351.

Diamond and Plattner, eds. Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Democracy.

Huntington, Who Are We? The Challenges to America's Identity.

Horowitz, Ethnic Groups in Conflict.

Elkins and Side, In Search of the Unified Nation-State: National Attachment among Distinctive Citizens. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the MPSA, 2003.

Laitin,

Laitin, Identity In Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations In The Near Abroad.

Lijphart, The Power Sharing Approach. In Joseph Montville, ed. Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Press, 1991: 490-510.

Lijphart, Patterns of Democracy.

### **Week 8 Do (can) Cultures Change?**

Eckstein, A culturalist theory of political change, American Political Science Review (1988) 82: 789-804.

Rochon, Culture Moves, chs. 1-3, 8.

Rohrschneider, Learning Democracy: Democratic and Economic Values in Unified Germany, ch.2 and 3.

Putnam, Making Democracy Work, ch. 2.

#### Additional Readings (and examples of cultural change)

Almond and Verba, eds. The Civic Culture Revisited

Baker, Dalton and Hildebrandt, Germany Transformed

Inglehart, Culture Shift.

Lerner, Daniel. The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East.

McDonough, et al. The Cultural Dynamics of Democratization in Spain.

Shin, Mass Politics and Culture in Democratizing Korea.

## **THE CONSEQUENCES OF POLITICAL CULTURE**

### **Week 7 Culture, Civil Society and Association**

Putnam, Making Democracy Work, chs. 5-6.

Warren, Democracy and Association, chs. 4-6.

Rueschemeyer et al. Participation and Democracy, chs. 1-2, 11 and 1 country chapter.

#### Additional Readings

Berman, Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic, World Politics (1997) 49: 401-29.

Goran Hyden, Civil Society, Social Capital, and Development: Dissection of a Complex Discourse, Studies in Comparative International Development (1997) 32: 3-30

Diamond, Toward Democratic Consolidation, Journal of Democracy 5: 4-17

Edwards, Foley, and Diani, eds. Beyond Tocqueville: Civil Society and the Social Capital Debate in Comparative Perspective

Putnam, Bowling Alone.

Rosenblum and Post, eds., Civil Society and Government.

van Deth, ed. Private Groups and Public Life.

Van Deth, Jan et al., eds. Social Capital and European Democracy.

Wessels, Organizing capacity of societies and modernity. In J. van Deth, ed. Private Groups and Public Life.

### **Week 9 Culture and Governmental Performance**

Putnam, Making Democracy Work, ch. 3, 4 and 6.

Putnam, Bowling Alone, ch. 16-20

Lovrich and Pierce, Social capital and government performance, research paper, University of Colorado at Colorado Springs.

Granato, Inglehart and Lablang, Culture values, stable democracy and economic development, American Journal of Political Science (1996) 40: 680-696.

Additional Readings

Elkins and Simeon, A cause in search of its effects, or what does political culture explain. Comparative Politics (1979) 11: 127-145.

Fukuyama, The End of History

Harrison and Huntington, eds. Culture Matters.

Thompson and Ellis, eds. Cultural Theory.

Inglehart, The renaissance of political culture. American Political Science Review (1988) 82: 1203-1230

Jackman and Miller, A renaissance of political culture? American Journal of Political Science (1996) 40: 632-659; also read Inglehart reply in Modernization and Postmodernization, ch. 6.

**Week 10 The Reversal of the Civic Culture?**

Pharr, Putnam and Dalton, What's troubling the trilateral democracies, Journal of Democracy (2000): 1-30

Dalton, Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices, chs 2, 8, 9.

Norris, Critical Citizens, chs. 1 and 2.

Chung-Si Ahn and Won-Taek Kang, Trust and confidence in government in transitional democracies: South Korea in comparative perspective, Journal of Korean Politics, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Seoul National University, 2002, pp. 3-40)(NOL)

Additional Readings

Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture

Diamond, Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries.

Jackman and Miller, The poverty of political culture, American Journal of Political Science (1996) 40: 697-716.

Klingemann and Fuchs, Citizens and the State.

Nye, et al. Why People Don't Trust Government.

Putnam and Pharr, Disaffected Democracies,

Putnam, Democracies in Flux.

Putnam, Bowling Alone.

Rose, Haerpfer, and Mishler. Testing the Churchill Hypothesis: Democracy and its Alternatives in Post-communist Societies.

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### Reserve Book List

- Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture, JA74 A4
- Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture Revisited, JA75.7 C57 1989
- Russell Dalton, Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices. JC423 .D358 2004
- Larry Diamond, Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries.JF60 D48 1993
- Harry Eckstein, Regarding Politics. JA38 .E24 1991
- Harry Eckstein et al., Can Democracy Take Root in Post-Soviet Russia?: Explorations in State-society Relations. JN6699.A15 C36 1998
- Ellis and Thompson, Culture Matters. JA 75.7 C87 1997
- Harrison and Samuel Huntington, Culture Matters.HM681 C85 2000
- Samuel Huntington, Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order D860 H86 1996
- Ronald Inglehart, Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Societies. HM73 .I54 1990
- Ronald Inglehart, Modernization and Postmodernization, HM101 .I554 1997
- Ronald Inglehart et al, Human Beliefs and Values.
- Alex Inkeles and David Smith. Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries, HN 980 I54
- Pippa Norris, Critical Citizens. JC421 .C79 1999
- Robert Putnam, Making Democracy Work, JN5477.R35 P866 1993
- Robert Putnam, Bowling Alone, HN65 .P878 2000
- Robert Putnam, Democracies in Flux, HM708 .D46 2002
- Susan Pharr and Robert Putnam, Disaffected Democracies, JC421 .D57 2000
- Lucian Pye, Asian Power and Politics: The Cultural Dimension JQ36 .P94 1985
- Thomas Rochon, Culture Moves HM101 .R56 1998
- Robert Rohrschneider, Learning Democracy: Democratic and Economic Values in Unified Germany, JN3971.A91 R655 1999
- Dietrich Rueschenmeyer et al. Participation and Democracy JC421 .P356 1998
- Mark Warren, Democracy and Association. JC423 .W326 2001

## **Political Culture and Democracy -- Discussion Themes**

### **The Civic Culture**

The spread of democracy in the past decade has led to a renaissance in political culture studies asking about the cultural foundations of democracy. The beginning of systematic, empirical study of political culture model is presented in Almond and Verba's The Civic Culture. First, focus on how Almond and Verba describe political culture in general terms: what characteristics are important in defining a political culture. (There are both civic and uncivic cultures in their model, that reflect different combinations of characteristics.) And more specifically, what are the hypothesized elements of a civic culture that presumably underlies a stable democracy? How do the nations of The Civic Culture illustrate different cultural models?

Our second objective is to consider how our understanding of political culture may have changed based on the next wave of research. How does The Civic Culture Revisited change the model or hypotheses developed in the original Civic Culture study? In addition, a few years ago Almond discussed his views about the civic culture tradition (while on a visit to UC Irvine). What did he see as the lessons from this evolving body of research?

Finally, if we step back and predict how a new democracy might strengthen its political culture to facilitate democratization, what aspects of culture would we look for based on Almond and Verba's analyses, and how would one create such a culture? These expectations should be interwoven into the themes we discuss in subsequent weeks of this seminar.