

The Relation between Cultural Values and Models of Democracy

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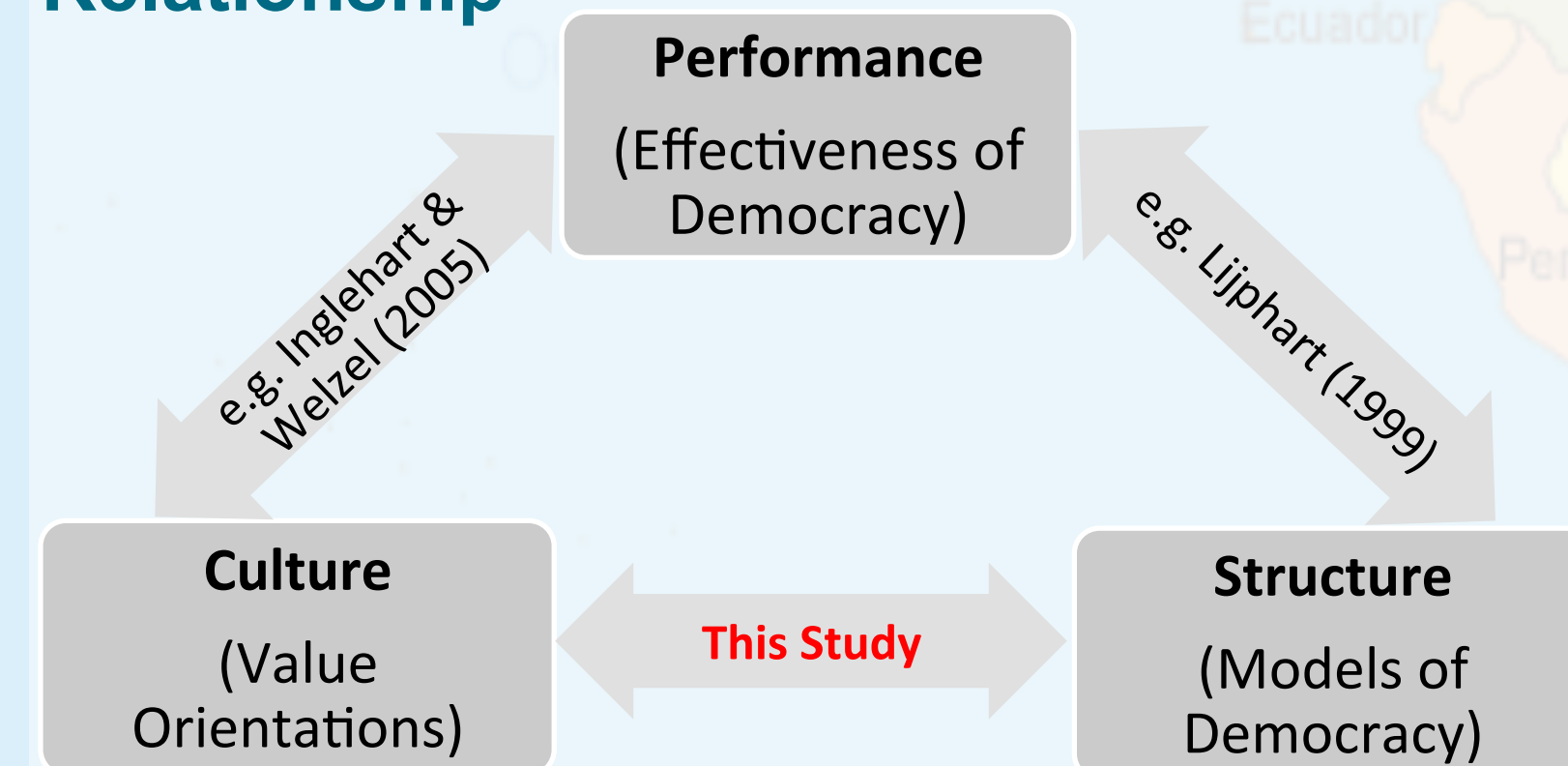
Introduction

The relation between democracy and culture is a long-lasting subject of interest in political science. The mainstream of research has focused on finding a relation between qualities of a democratic system (e.g. effective democracy) and the existence of essential values (e.g. self-expression values). Some empirical efforts were made to unravel the relation between cultural values and the level of democratization. In most of these attempts, a number of cultural values were introduced as important drivers or blockers on the track of democracy.

There is, however, an understudied question as to what the relation between cultural values and models of democracy in different countries exactly is. We know that there are different models or patterns of democracy (e.g. majoritarian vs. consensus and participatory vs. spectator democracy) in various countries. But why does a particular country, or country group, treasure and accept one model of democracy, while suspecting and discrediting another type? Does culture matter in adopting and practicing a specific model of democracy?

In this paper, we explore an alternative - not primarily functionalistic but culturalistic - way of understanding the adoption of different models of democracy in different countries.

Culture and Democracy: A Triangular Relationship



Dimensions of Democracy

Concepts: 1- Contestation and 2- Participation (Dahl, 1971)

Operationalization (Maleki & Hendriks, 2013):

1 - Integrative (vs. Aggregative) Dimension of Democracy (IDD)

- Log of Effective Number of Parliamentary Parties (LENP)
- Log of Number of Parties in Government (LNPG)
- Total Electoral Proportionality (TEP)

$$IDD = (LENP * LNPG * TEP)^{1/3}$$

2 - Participative (vs. Spectative) Dimension of Democracy (PDD)

- General Electoral Participation (GEP) = electoral turnout
- Referendum Electoral Participation (REP) = $\text{Log}(\sum (K_{\text{effect}} * K_{\text{level}} * K_{\text{type}} * N_{\text{type}}) + 1)$
- Non-Electoral Participation (NEP) = % of people who 'have done' signing petition/joining boycott/attend demonstration

$$PDD = (0.60 * GEP + 0.20 * REP + 0.20 * NEP)$$

(IDD and PDD were measured for 85 electoral democracies)

Dimensions of Culture

Culture: shared elements (attitudes, beliefs, values, self-definitions) of a community (Triandis, 1996)

Cultural Dimension: a construct representing a cluster of interdependent values bound by some similarities (Minkov, 2007)

Dimensions of national culture utilized in this study:

- Schwartz (1999)

- *Mastery orientation*: emphasis on competition and excellence
- *Hierarchy orientation*: legitimacy of an unequal distribution of power, roles and resources

- GLOBE (House, 2003)

- *Future orientation*

- Minkov (2008)

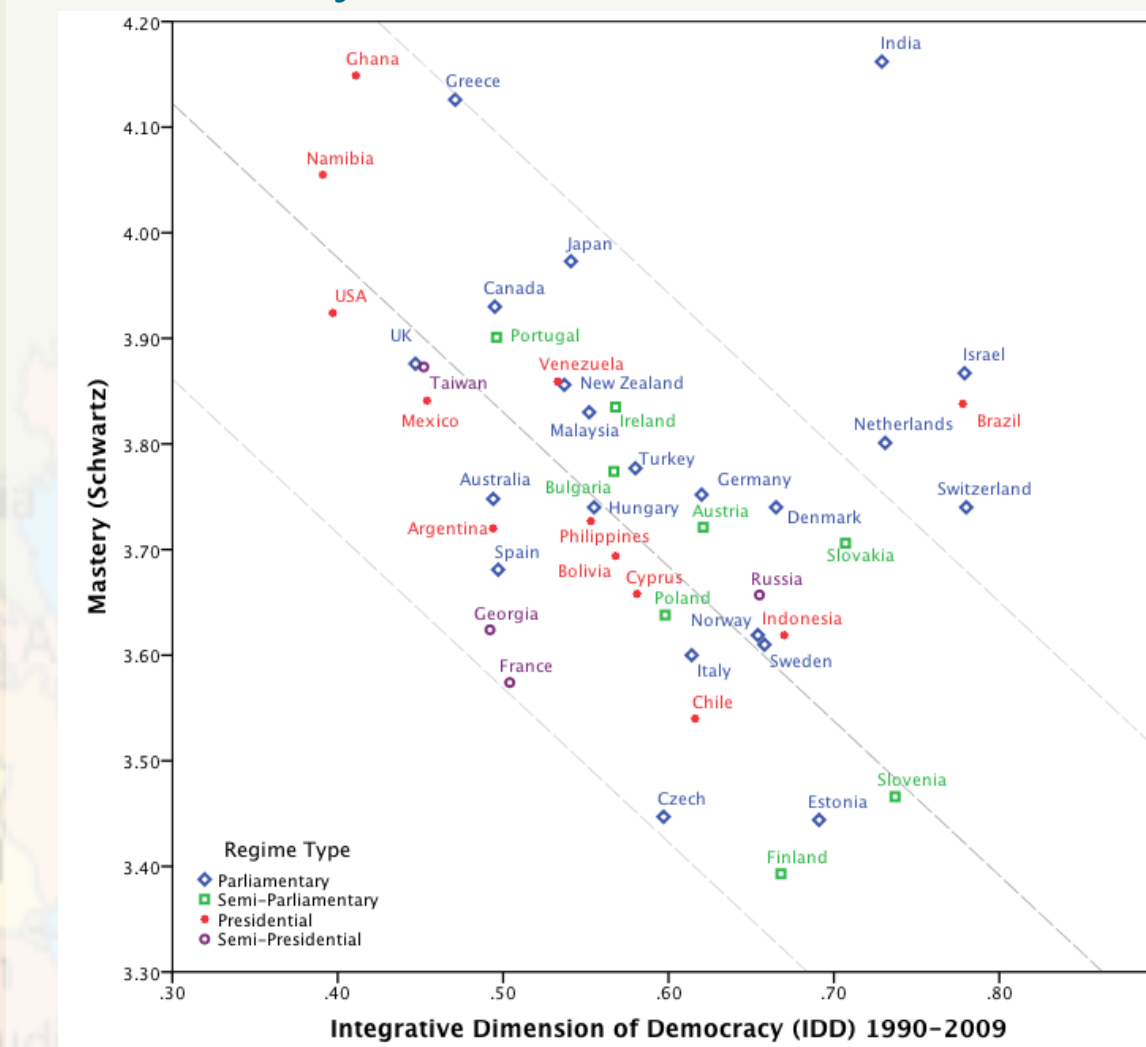
- *Monumentalism*: emphasis on self-regard, pride, status, religiousness

Concluding Remarks

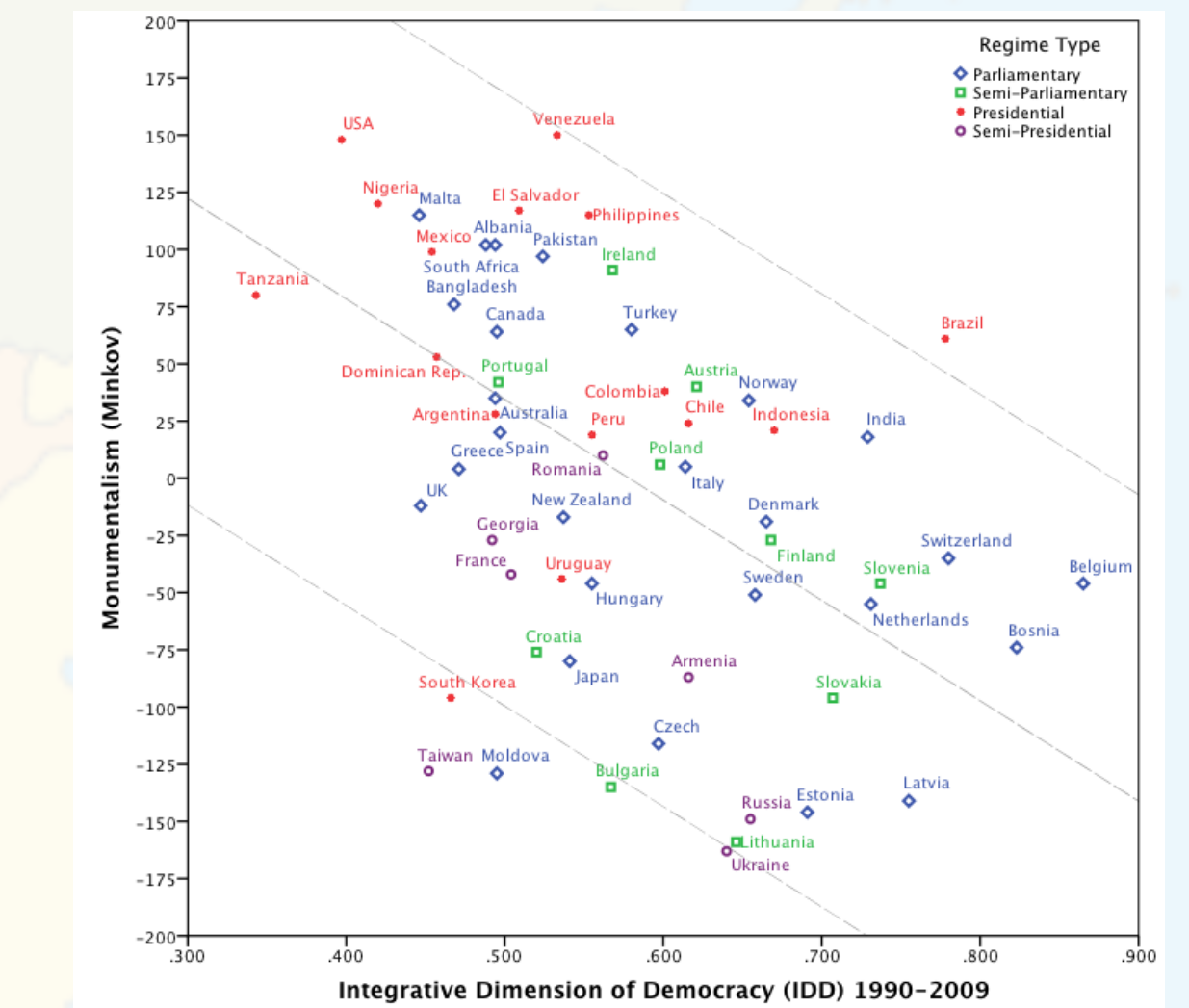
- In practice, models of democracy might be more codetermined by informal institutions (cultural orientations) than by formal institutions (constitutional rules)
- 'Culture Matters' in leaning to, adoption and practice of different democratic models

Hypotheses and Results

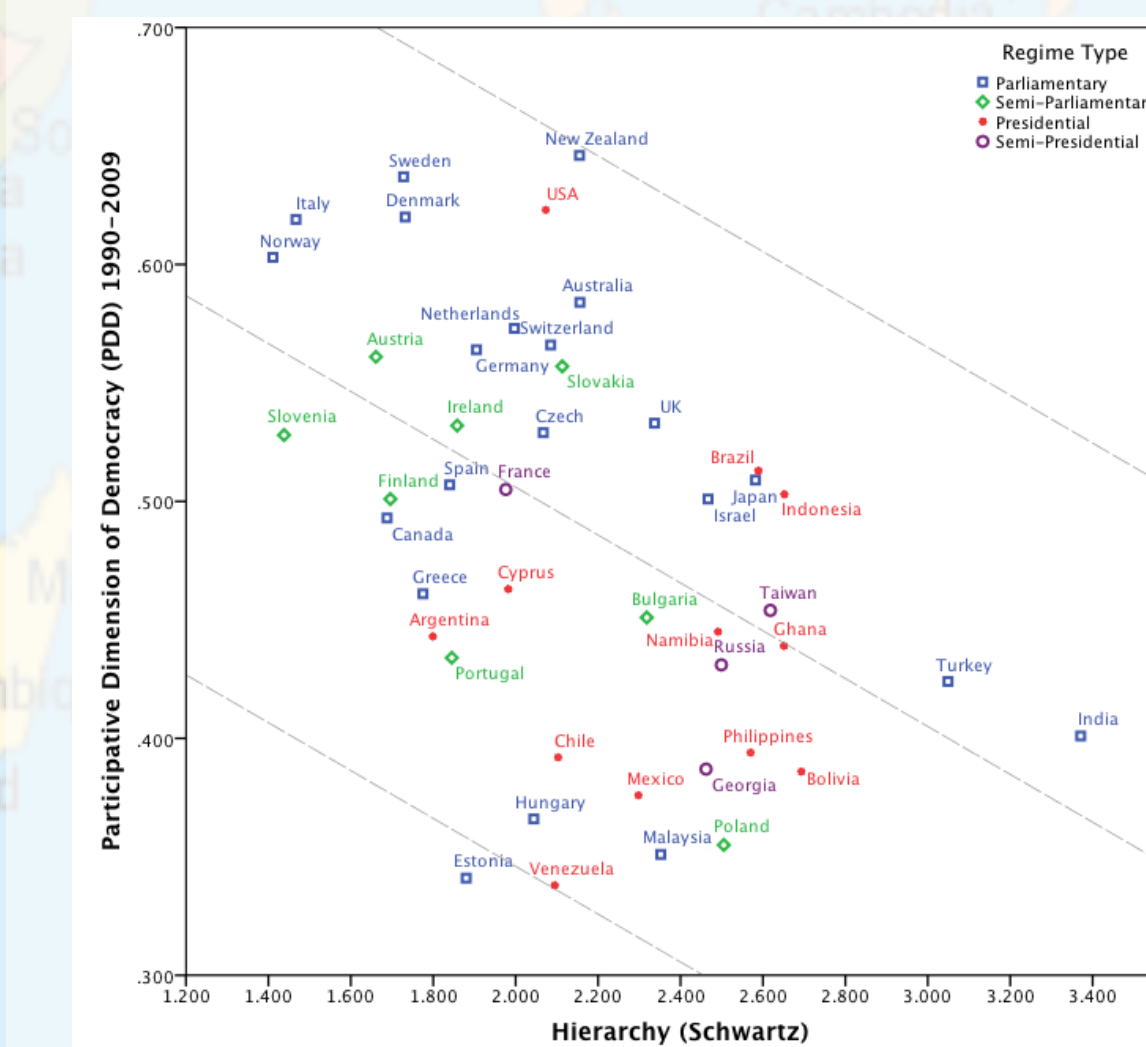
Hypothesis 1: Societies with higher *Mastery orientation* tend towards less integrative (consensual) model of democracy



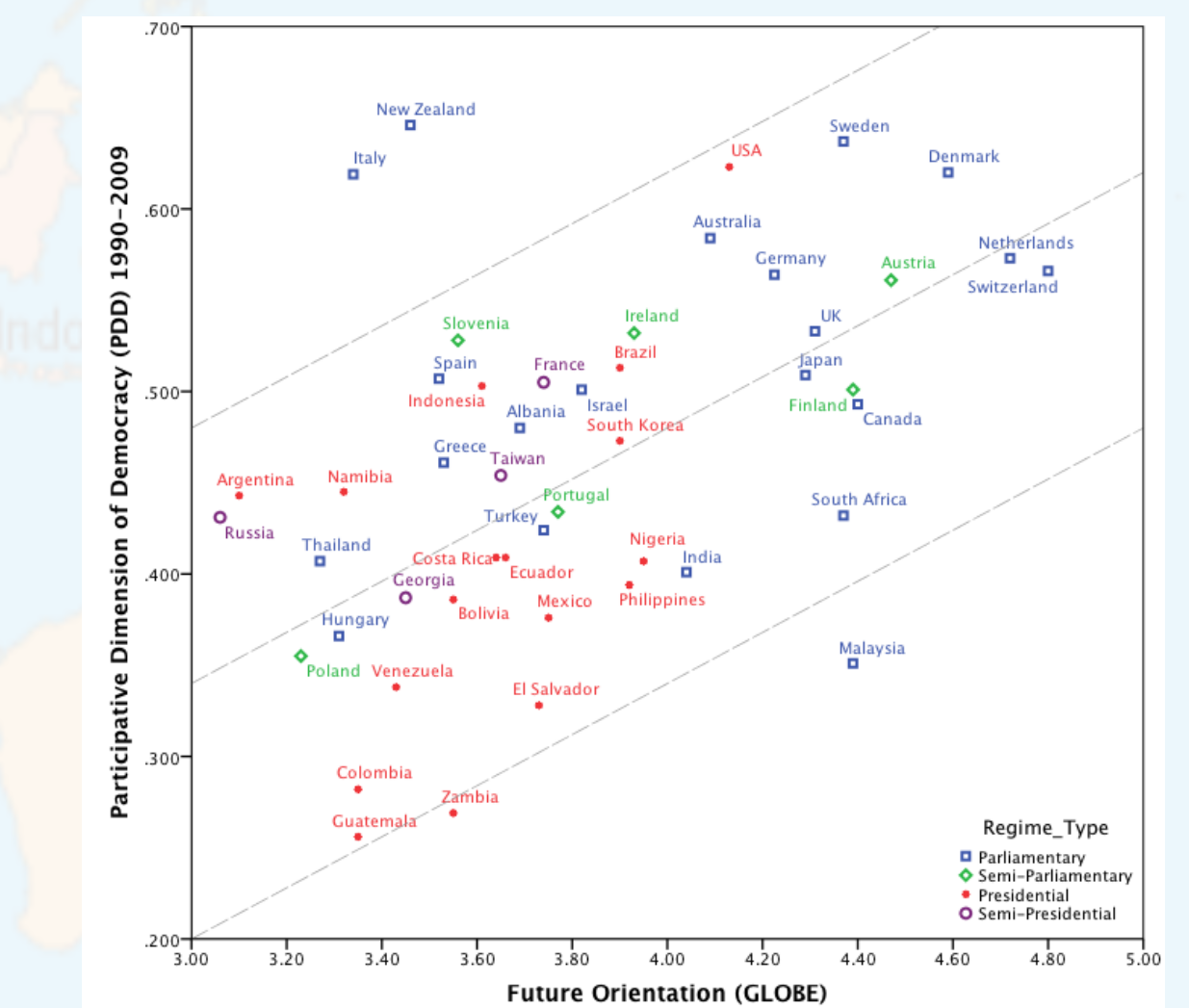
Hypothesis 2: Societies with higher *Monumentalism orientation* tend towards less integrative (consensual) model of democracy.



Hypothesis 3: Societies with higher *Hierarchy orientation* tend towards less participative model of democracy.



Hypothesis 4: Societies with more *Future orientation* tend towards more participative model of democracy



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