

Political Support, Old and New

Measurement and Theory of Democratic Attitudes

Outline

Intro

Recap

Support

Renewed interest in support

Simplification

Differentiation

Summary

Class Questions

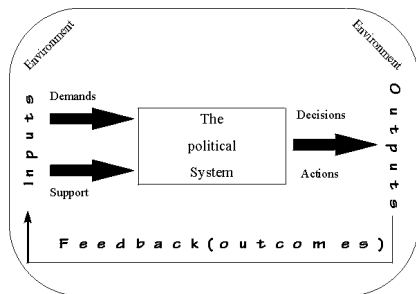
Almond/Verba

- ▶ Iconic study, exemplifies early behavioural research
- ▶ Political Culture \approx distribution of citizens' attitudes
- ▶ Ordinary people's attitudes matter for system stability
- ▶ Mix of attitudes/ideal types best for (democratic) stability

Why support?

- ▶ Apathy might work in many settings
- ▶ In times of crisis, allegiance better → active support
- ▶ Essential for democracy (normative)
- ▶ Almond: borrowed (heavily) from Easton

Easton's model



Easton's concept of support

▶ Objects

1. authorities
2. regime
 - ▶ Goals and values
 - ▶ Norms
 - ▶ Structure of roles
3. political community

▶ Modes

1. specific
 - ▶ conditional on results
 - ▶ process/object specific
2. diffuse (generalised, durable; 'reservoir')
 - ▶ Legitimacy (normative fit: system values/individual beliefs)
 - ▶ Trust (generalised expectation that results will be acceptable)

▶ Conversion: specific → diffuse

Why?

- ▶ 'Third Wave' of Democratisation (CEE)
- ▶ Lack of support for political community (SU, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia)
- ▶ (Perceived) crisis of democracy in many western states
 - ▶ Low trust in politicians, political alienation
 - ▶ Declining turnout
 - ▶ De-alignment
 - ▶ New (anti-system?) parties (Greens, XR)
- ▶ 'Critical Citizens'

Easton ...

- ▶ Provides very elaborate conceptual scheme ...
 - ▶ ... but: operationalisation
 - ▶ ... comparison across time/systems
- ▶ Empirically and conceptually high degree of correlation between
 - ▶ Object (fundamental vs ephemeral)
 - ▶ Mode (diffuse vs specific)
- ▶ Lump dimensions together

Support reloaded

Object	Mode
<i>Authorities</i>	specific
<i>Regime</i>	
Institutions	
Performance	↕
Principles	
<i>Community</i>	diffuse

- ▶ Affective vs instrumental still relevant?

Indicators

Object	Affective	Instrumental
<i>Authorities</i>	feelings towards leaders, party ID	evaluations of politicians
<i>Regime</i>		
Institutions	institutional/output expectations + support for parties	trust in institutions
Performance	participatory norms + political rights	evaluation of rights/satisfaction with democracy
Principles	democratic values	democracy best form of government
<i>Community</i>	national pride/identity	best nation to live in

Findings

- ▶ Declining trust in authorities and institutions
- ▶ Declining party ID
- ▶ Change in norms
- ▶ ... and values
- ▶ ... your turn (principles + community)!

Inglehart: Post-Modernisation

- ▶ What?
 - ▶ Weber: modernisation = shift from religious to rational world-view
 - ▶ Post-Modernisation: individual autonomy and well-being, challenge to authority
 - ▶ The state replaces god (Leviathan)
 - ▶ State as provider and enabler
 - ▶ Citizens don't like/trust authorities and hierarchical institutions
- ▶ Why?
 - ▶ Affluence + education
 - ▶ Generational change

The postmodern voyage



Generational change and education

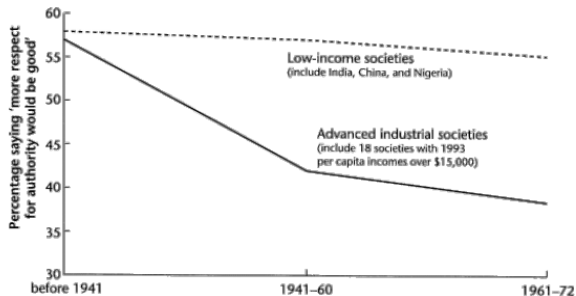


Fig. 12.3. Support for authoritarian values, by birth cohort.

Education

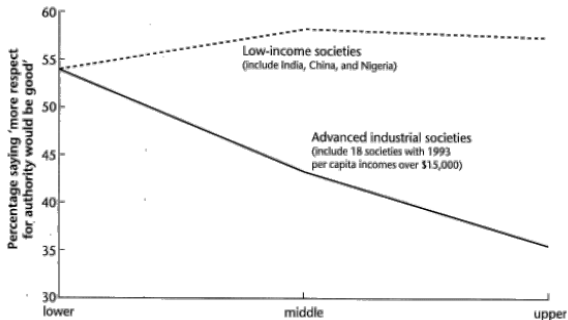


Fig. 12.4. Support for authoritarian values, by educational level.

Summary

- ▶ Political support key element of system stability
- ▶ Different objects/modes/aspects of support
- ▶ Not all of them relevant for democratic stability

Class Questions

- ▶ What does Dalton say about democratic norms/values and support for the community?
- ▶ Is Inglehart's argument . . .
 - ▶ plausible?
 - ▶ too sweeping?
- ▶ If he *is* right, what are the implications for . . .
 - ▶ democracy
 - ▶ research on democratic attitudes?
- ▶ Why are Inglehart + Dalton so much more optimistic than Almond/Verba?