### Contents

List of Figures	xi
List of Tables	xiii
List of Abbreviations	xvii
Preface	xix
Acknowledgements	xxi
<b>Introduction: Does Culture Matter?</b>	1
The Cultural Approach	2
Culture	2 3 5
Outcomes of Culture	
Globalization	6
The Framework of Analysis	7
The Structure of the Book	9
Conclusion	11
PART I CULTURE AND OUTCOMES	
Introduction	15
1 'Culture' and the Concepts of Culture	17
Introduction	17
The Early Meanings of Culture	18
Connotations of Culture	21
The Ambiguity of Culture	24
New Cultural Theory	27
The Backward Society	27
The Dual Society	27
The Triadic Society	28
The Culture Quartet	28
Political Culture	31
Gertz and Cultural Anthropology: A 'Cul de Sac'?	33
Conclusion	35
2 What Culture Matters For: Outcomes	39
Introduction	39
Culture as an Explanatory Factor	40
Macro-level Outcomes	42

	Political Development	42
	Affluence and Poverty	44
	Social Development: Equality	46
	Gender Equality	47
	Corruption	48
	Dependent Variables and Control Variables	48
	Regional-level Outcomes: Why Does Different Party Support	70
	Vary in Different Regions?	51
	The USA	51
	Russia	52
	Spain	53
	Switzerland	54
	Belgium	55
	India	56
	Summary	57
	Micro-level Data: Individual Values	57
	The Survey Approach to Values	58
	Micro-level Outcomes	60
	Conclusion	66
	Appendix: Countries Included in our Analysis Based on	
	Different Waves of WVS	68
PA	ART II ETHNICITY	
ın	troduction	73
3	Ethnic Groups and Nations	75
	Introduction	75
	Ethnic Groups	76
	Two Types of Ethnic Groups	78
	Ethnogenesis	79 79
	Ethnic Cores and Nation-building	80
	Nation and Ethnic Group	82
	Nationality and Nationalism	83
	Herder	87
	Renan	88
	Beyond Nationalism	89
	Races	91
	Race: Socially Constructed with Immense Political	
	Consequences	94
	Ethnicity and Society	95
	Conclusion	98
4	Outcomes of Ethnicity	101
	Introduction	101

	Contents	vii
	Grand-scale Ethnicity Worldwide	102
	Spoken Languages	103
	Language Families	106
	Outcomes of Language Families	109
	Ethnic Cleavages and Ethnic Structure: Outcomes	114
	Ethnic Cleavages	115
	Ethnic Structure: Regions and Party Support	117
	Ethnicity and Everyday Life	129
	National Pride	130
	Life Satisfaction	131
	Left–Right Orientation	132
	Interest in Politics	132
	Voluntary Organizations and Political Activity: Joining	
	Boycotts	132
	Summary	132
	Conclusion	133
PA	RT III CIVILIZATIONS	
Int	roduction	137
5	Civilizations and the Major Types of Religion	139
J	Introduction	139
	The World Religions	140
	Civilizations	141
	The Weber Approach	146
	Three World Religions: Alternative Classifications	147
	Hinduism and Buddhism	149
	Judaism and Christianity	151
	Islam	152
	Weber's Theory of Religion	155
	Mapping the Major World Religions	159
	Conclusion	164
4	Policion and its Outcomes	167
U	Religion and its Outcomes Introduction	167
		167
	Macro Outcomes: Weber Again Economic Outcomes: Affluence and Economic Growth	169
		172
	Quality of Life, Gender and Income Equality	173
	Democracy and Corruption	175
	Does Religion Matter?	173
	Summary	179
	Religious Fragmentation and Outcomes: Macro Level	
	Religious Structure and Party Support The USA: Religion Matters	182 183

٠	٠

### Culture and Politics

Spain: Anti-clericalism	183
Switzerland: Strong Religious Effects	184
Belgium: Strong Cultural Politics	186
India: Ethnicity More Than Religion	187
Summary	188
The Role of Religion for People	189
Summary	191
Conclusion	192
PART IV LEGACIES	1,72
Introduction	107
	197
7 Historical Legacies and the Colonial Heritage Introduction	199
	199
The Longitudinal Perspective	200
The Iberian Legacy: The Negative Outcomes of a Spanish	
Culture The Prikish Havit	200
The British Heritage	202
Dividing the World According to Colonial Experience	203
The Impact of Different Colonial Regimes	205
Close and Distant Consequences	209
Do Colonial Cultures Matter?	212
Conclusion	214
Appendix: Colonial Legacies in the Third World	217
8 Family Structure and Democracy	219
Introduction	219
The Different Family Cultures	220
Behaviour and Values	223
Classifying Family Cultures	224
The Effects of Family Cultures	227
Conclusion	230
PART V UNIVERSAL VALUES	230
Introduction	
introduction	235
9 Universal Values: Three Main Theories	237
Introduction	237
Value Orientations: Behaviour or Attitudes	237
Values as Behaviour: Civic Community	239
Values as Attitudes: Trust	241
Trust in Italy	241
Postmaterialism Theory	242
·····	∠44

Contents	ix

	What are Postmaterialist Values?	245
	The Existence of a Postmaterialist Dimension	246
	Relevance of Postmaterialist Values	249
	Trust Theory	250
	New Cultural Theory (NCT)	252
	The Consequences of Values: Macro or Micro?	252
	Conclusion	254
10	Value Orientations: How Real Are They?	257
	Introduction	257
	The Problem with Values and Value Research	257
	Value Inquiry	258
	The Relevance of Value Orientations	260
	Central Value Orientations	263
	Macro: The Spread of Universal Values	265
	Summary	270
	The Micro and Macro Relationships Between Values	270
	Do Values Matter?	273
	Values Matter for What?	275
	Specific Value Impacts	276
	Diffuse Value Impacts	276
	The Transfer Mechanism: Election Channel and Policy-making	277
	The Macro-level Consequences of Values	278
	Summary	284
	The Micro-level Consequences of Values	285
	Summary	286
	Conclusion	286
11	(	289
	Introduction	289
	Value Orientations Towards Sex as a Cultural Cleavage	290
	Gender	293
	Gender: The Macro View	293
	Gender Orientations: The Micro View	297
	Homosexuality and Lesbianism	300
	The Micro View	300
	The Macro View	302
	Conclusion	302
12	Conclusion: The Impact of Culture on Outcomes	305
	Introduction	305
	The Findings	306
	The Macro Level	307
	The Regional Level	308
	The Micro Level	308

Comparing the Impact of Cultural Factors	309
Ethnicity	310
Religion	310
Historical Legacies	310
Values	311
How Much Does Culture Matter?	312
Muticulturalism – Its Relevance Today	313
The Critique of Multiculturalism	313
A Multicultural Regime – The Liberal Restrictions upon	
Communities	316
Relevance of Multiculturalism	316
Kymlicka: The Institutions of the Multicultural Society	317
Barry: Moral Universalism Destroying Multiculturalism	320
APPENDICES	
Appendix A: Macro Data Set: Variable List	327
Appendix B: Regional Data Set: Variable List	335
Appendix C: Micro Data Set: Variable List	341
References	345
Index	359

# List of Figures

I.1	Framework for the book: culture, outcomes and contexts	9
1.1	Four types of culture	29
1.2	The typology of New Culture Theory (NCT)	29
1.3	Political cultures	32
3.1	The two types of nationalism	85
3.2	Nationalist movements	86
5.1	Basic Weber orientations in all religions	157
8.1	Basic family institutions according to Todd (1983)	221
8.2	Basic family typology according to Todd (1984)	222
10.1	Value change: micro versus macro	261
10.2	Individualism (NEWIND) and affluence (LnPPP97) (r=.69;	
	N=65)	284
11.1	Opinions on gender equality (GEQ) (percentages)	291
11.2	Opinion on justifiablity of homosexuality (percentages)	292
11.3	Gender development and gender empowerment (r=.725;	
	N=102)	293
11.4	Gender equality and gender empowerment (r=.856; N=47)	294
11.5	GDP and GEM (r=.725; N=103)	295
11.6	GDP and gender equality (r=.651; N=57)	296
11.7	Protestantism and gender equality (GEQ) (r=.597; N=57)	297
11.8	Islam and gender empowerment (GEM) (r=591; N=103)	298
11.9	Gender equality orientations (GEQ) and attitudes to	
	homosexuals (r=.78; N=56)	301
11.10	Human development and attitudes to homosexuality (r=.74;	
	N=76)	302

## List of Tables

1.1	Groups and cultural identity	4
<b>I.2</b>	The key variables at different analytical levels	9
2.1	Absolute distance from the equator (DISEQU) and time	
	since introduction of modernized leadership (MODLEAD)	
	in years by country regions: means	50
2.2	Political interest: macro-regional means (POLINTR)	63
2.3	Political activity: membership of voluntary organizations	
	(VOLORG) – macro-regional percentages – and joining	
	boycotts (JOINBOY) – macro-regional means	64
2.4	Left-right self-placements (LEFTRIG): macro regional means	65
2.5	Life satisfaction (LIFESAT): macro-regional means	67
4.1	Estimates of the number of users of the top ten languages	
	(000s)	104
4.2	Distribution of the world population according to linguistic	
	groups (LINGGRP)	104
4.3	Estimates of English language usage: first (L1) and second	
	(L2) language in the 1990s: by country ranked according to	
	relative size	105
4.4	Distribution of the world population according to language	
	families (LANGFAM)	106
4.5	Distribution of the world population according to linguistic	
	groups (LINGR)	107
4.6	Distribution of the world population according to location	
	(GEO)	108
4.7	Impact of language group on political and socioeconomic	
	variables: bivariate analysis	110
4.8	Impact of language groups on political and socioeconomic	
	variables: bivariate analysis	112
4.9	Overall impact of language groups on political and	
	socioeconomic outcomes: regression analysis	113
4.10	Clusters of ethnic heterogeneous and homogeneous countries	
	(ELF1)	116
4.11	Impact of language on political and socioeconomic variables:	
	correlation analysis	118
4.12	Ethnic fragmentation in the USA in the 1990s: ranking of	
	states	120

4.13	Ethnicity and party strength at state level in the USA: regression analysis	10
4.14		12
7.17	homogeneity/heterogeneity (ELFINDEX)	124
4.15	Impact of ethnicity on party strength at regional level in	122
1.15	Russia: regression analysis	122
4.16	Impact of ethnicity on party strength at the provincial level in	123
1.10	Spain: regression analyses	12
4.17	Ethnicity and party support in Belgium: regression analysis	124
4.18	Ethnicity and party support in India: regression analysis	127
4.19	National pride by regions of the world as aggregated	129
,	percentages	120
4.20	Ethnicity and life satisfaction: regression analysis	130
4.21	Ethnicity and interest in politics: regression analysis	131
4.22	Number of significant regression coefficients estimated from	133
	the impact of ethnicity by country and dependent variables	124
5.1	Major civilizations: population distribution in the twentieth	134
	century as percentages of total population	1 4 6
5.2	World religions: number of countries	145
5.3	Worldwide adherence to the major religions as a percentage	160
0.5	of the total population: 1900–98	1.61
5.4	Worldwide adherence to the major religions by continental	161
J	area as a percentage of the total population: 1900 and 1994	1/2
6.1	Affluence and religion: GDP per capita 1990 and PPP per	163
0.1	capita 1997 in US\$	170
6.2	Affluence and religion: economic growth 1960–73, 1973–85,	170
·· <b>-</b>	1985–94 and 1990–98 – average annual growth by major	
	religion	171
6.3	Religion and social development: the HDI, GDI, GEM and	171
	Gini indicators	172
6.4	Religion and political outcomes: democracy index 1997 and	172
	corruption 1998	174
6.5	Religion and outcomes: correlations	174
6.6	Religion and outcomes: regression analysis	175
6.7	Religious fragmentation 1900–95	178
6.8	Impact of religious fragmentation: regression analysis	180
6.9	Religion and party support at regional level in USA:	182
	regression analysis	101
6.10	Religion and party support at regional level in Spain:	184
	regression analysis	105
5.11	Religion and party support at regional level in Switzerland:	185
-	regression analysis	186
5.12	Religion and party support at regional level in Belgium:	100
_	regression analysis	187
	G <del> </del>	10/

6.13	Religion and party support at regional level in India:	
	regression analysis	189
6.14	Attendance at religious services at least once a week by	
	regions of the world	190
6.15	Religion and membership in voluntary organizations	191
6.16	Religion and joining boycotts	192
6.17	Number of significant regression coefficients estimated from	
	the impact of religion by country and dependent variable	193
7.1	The colonial legacy: population distribution in percentages	
	around 1950 and 1999	205
7.2	Colonial legacies and outcomes: comparing means (total	
	sample N=150 at most)	207
7.3	Colonial influence: comparing means (Third World sample	
	N=103 at most)	208
7.4	Four colonial legacies in the Third World: comparing means	211
7.5	The impact of the colonial legacy on developmental	
	outcomes – number of years since independence	
	(DECOLYR) and number of years of colonial rule	
	(COLRULE): regression analysis	213
7.6	The impact of the colonial legacy – British, French and	
	Spanish legacies: regression analysis	215
8.1	Family systems worldwide: the Todd 1983 typology with	
	empirical examples	225
8.2	Family systems worldwide: the Todd 1984 typology with	226
0.0	empirical examples	226
8.3	Family systems worldwide: the Todd 1983 and 1984 systems	228
8.4	Family systems and civilizations: Pearson's correlation	220
0.6	coefficients	229
8.5	Family structures and democracy: regression analysis	230
9.1	Civic community and interpersonal trust in Italian regions	243
0.2	around 1990	243
9.2	Factor loadings on the postmaterialist items: 12-item	247
9.3	instrument	2 <del>4</del> /
9.3	The meaning of postmaterialism: factor loading items by	248
9.4	world regions	240
7. <del>4</del>	Impact on party choice in Western Europe of the 1990s:	250
10.1	bivariate relationships	266
10.1	Individualism (INDIV): means Achievement orientation (ACHIEVE): percentages scoring	200
10.2		267
10.3	high achievement  Postmatorialism (POSTMAT): percentages being	207
10.3	Postmaterialism (POSTMAT): percentages being postmaterialist	268
10.4	Trust (TRUST): percentages expressing interpersonal trust	269
10.4	Micro level correlation between values (total sample)	271
10.5		272

#### Culture and Politics

10.7	Postmaterialism and developmental outcomes: correlations	279
10.8	The impact of postmaterialism (POSTMAT): regression	
	analysis	281
10.9	The impact of interpersonal trust (TRUST): regression	
	analysis	283
	Number of significant regression coefficients estimated for	
	the impact of macro values by dependent variables	285
10.11	Number of significant regression coefficients estimated for	
	the impact of micro values by country and by dependent	
	variables	287
11.1	Gender equality and cultural factors: Pearson's correlation	296
11.2	Gender orientation and gender, age, education and income:	2,0
	eta correlations	299
11.3	Regression: gender value orientations (GEQ) and value	29)
	orientations, gender, age, education and income (WVS 4th	
	wave 1999–2002)	200
11.4		299
	Attitudes to homosexuals and gender, age, education and income: eta correlations	200
		300
	Regression: attitudes to homosexuals and value orientations,	
	gender, age, education and income (WVS 4th wave	
	1999–2002)	300
11.6	Attitudes to homosexuals and cultural factors: Pearson's	
	correlation	301
	The macro level: impact of culture on political and	
	socioeconomic outcome variables – number of significant	
	regression coefficients	307
12.2	The regional level: impact of culture on party support –	
	number of significant coefficients estimated	308
12.3	The micro level: impact of the independent variables on the	500
	dependent variables – number of significant coefficients	
	when control of other cultural variables has been introduced	309
	The state of the s	ンリフ