Notion that culture affects democracy has a long and hoary tradition
- Plato: devotes enormous attention to training and education, as did others
- Aristotle’s definition of a city-state’s constitution included both formal rules and informal norms; seen as intertwined

Machiavelli continues in this tradition, but makes an effort to separate laws (institutions) from culture (corruption)
- Argues for primacy of political culture
- His goal/focus: show how civic republicanism can be preserved and nurtured
- What does he argue?
- How might you solve the problem?

But the real poster child for cultural claims is Alexis de Tocqueville
- *Democracy in America*
- Three major causes of democracy in America:
  1. geographical situation
  2. laws and institutions
  3. values, culture and what he called *mores* — “the whole moral and intellectual state of a people”
- Protestantism; religious fragmentation
- Since the laws and geographical situation are the same, Tocqueville argues, the answer is mores.

2 side notes on Tocqueville:
- Typical graduate student manipulating his grant
- Volunteer fire departments

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture*
- First really serious cross-national survey research
- Subject vs. participant
- Democracy required a mix

Where does political culture come from?
- Putnam: very old historical legacies dating back to period of enervating authoritarian rule
- Particular crises or leaders

**Dimensions of political culture**
- Mass beliefs
- Elite beliefs (elites are, of course, just one subculture)

**How does culture change?**
- Generational change and cohort replacement
- Crises
- Institutions
- Exposure to foreign models
- Leaders
And that’s the state of the discipline when Putnam’s book *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* hits the scene
- Systematic, in-depth research on single country
- Explicitly anchors his study in Tocquevillean notions

He talks about how Italy has strong regional and local identities
- Talked about how France made peasants into Frenchmen with universal education and draft
- State created the society, not the other way around
- “Having made Italy, we must now make Italians” (northern monarchy)

Reform has lots of effects
- Contributes to depolarization of politics among elites
- 1948, Communists were pointing to lampposts (what happens to PCI, p. 32)
- Moderation in views, greater tolerance of each other (p. 33)
- Why might institutional reform contribute to this?

Now, the part of the book that you didn’t read: about how culture changes
- Some professors think this is the most important part
- Argument is that institutional change (specifically decentralization) can really affect how government works
- Good finding for all those countries that took the World Bank at its word
  - Transformismo
  - Extremists lose
  - What happens to local notables?
  - What happens at national level?
  - Alternative explanations for change at regional level
    - Not a matter of cohort replacement
    - Not a matter of what mass public feels