Definition of culture
   a. Ideas and beliefs, inside your head, values, norms about how you should behave and beliefs about how you will be judged that guide your actions
   b. Very common in popular press

Examples
   1. Mexico: Interpersonal trust and silver jewelry
   2. Mexico: Cabinet making post-NAFTA
   3. Germany: Law abidingness; Speed limits; tell this to someone in Brazil
   4. Why does Japan not have nuclear weapons? Strong logic that they should; huge domestic opposition to the idea; just a norm at both mass and elite levels
   5. Russia and tolerance: See below
   6. Argentina vs. Uruguay: See below

Some anecdotal evidence:
   • Cuba in 1930s
      o Corruption
      o Gangs
      o Everyone an activist
      o Political culture of the gun and of corruption
      o Failed democracy
   • Argentina vs. Uruguay
      o Argentina
         - legacy primarily of one man (Juan Perón)
         - political atmosphere: everyone hated each other
      o Uruguay
         - Very similar to Argentina (in demographics, economy, history) but political culture nonetheless totally different
         - People in Uruguayan capital talk to each other, get along, cut deals as necessary
      o Argentine politics more volatile and unstable; Uruguay more consolidated democracy, shared norms of political competition
   • Russia
      o Support for democracy hasn’t changed since the collapse of Soviet Union
      o Persistent and pervasive intolerance of disliked/minority groups (not simply result of education or economic/political crises)
      o Seems to affect politics: elites take cues and it influences official treatment of opposition groups or minorities

More recently, a continuation of cross-national statistical research, with increasing rigor
   - World Values Survey and Iglehardt
   - Eurobarometer, Latinobarometer

Bad cultural studies:
   c. National character of Germany & Japan in World War II
d. Huntington: *Clash of Civilizations*

Problems with cultural explanations
- Endogeneity
- How to measure

Measurement
- What would you do?
- How would you design a survey?
- Other methods

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

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

How does culture change?
- Generational change and cohort replacement
- Crises
- Institutions
- Exposure to foreign models
- Leaders

**Putnam’s Second argument**
- 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 or what mass public feels