Ideologies

4. 11. 2024

Definition problem...

What is an ideology?

Ideologies

- „Mental models that ensure interpretation of our environment and ideas about how this environment should be structured " (Denzaou and North 1994)

- „A set of ideas about the appropriate order of society and how this order should be achieved " (Erikson and Tedin 2003)

- Heywood (2019):

From a social-scientific viewpoint, an ideology is a more or less

coherent set of ideas that provides a basis for organized political action, whether this is intended to preserve, modify or overthrow

the existing system of power relationships.

All ideologies therefore

(1) offer an account of the existing order, usually in the form of a 'world-view',

(2) provide a model of a desired future, a vision of the Good Society, and

(3) outline how political change can and should be brought about.

Ideologies

- Descriptive and normative aspect
- How the world works
- How it should work
- How to achieve it
-
- How do we perceive ideologies?
- Like some irrational distortion
- We call non-congruent opinions ideological
- (But not our own's ☺)

Grand ideologies

- Liberalism
- Conservatism
- Socialism
-
- What's next?

Ideologies in political science

- Simplification of politics
- Effective
- Clear alternatives
- Structuring of the party system
- Neutral
- System of organization and structuring of attitudes
- Interpretative Frameworks

What does ideology often look like (in political science, in the media, in people's minds)?

Top-left panel:

Q.22 „Kam byste se sám zařadil na této stupnici?"

ODMÍTL ODPOVĚDĚT = 97
NESLYŠEL O LEVO-PRAVÉ ŠKÁLE = 95

LEVICE									PRAVICE	NEVÍ	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 10	99	

Top-right panel:

j) Přísaha – občanské hnutí Roberta Šlachty,

POKYN: PODEJTE DOTÁZANÉMU KARTU Q.21

Q.21 „V politice lidé někdy hovoří o levici a pravici. Kam byste na stupnici od 0 do 10, kde 0 znamená levice a 10 pravice, umístil …
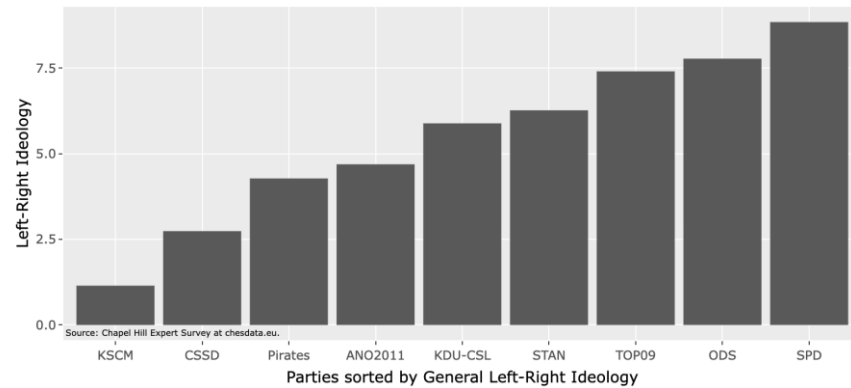
ODMÍTL ODPOVĚDĚT = 97
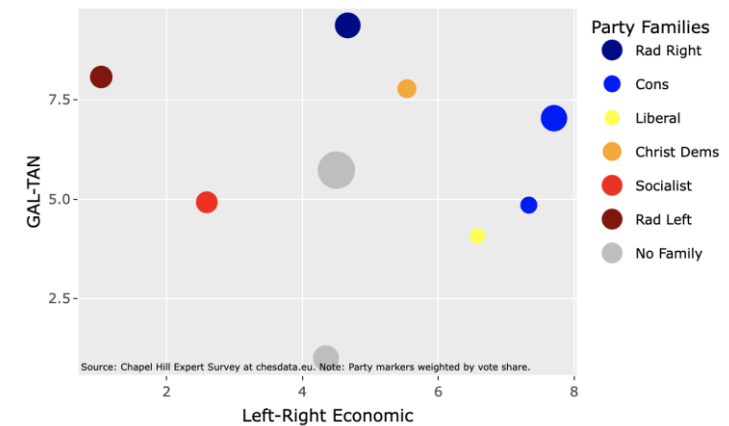*NESLYŠEL O LEVO-PRAVÉ ŠKÁLE = 95*
NESLYŠEL O STRANĚ = 96

LEVICE									PRAVICE	NEVÍ	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 10	99	
a) ANO,								0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	99 97 96 95	
b) ČSSD,								0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	99 97 96 95	
c) KDU-ČSL,								0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	99 97 96 95	
d) KSČM,								0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	99 97 96 95	
e) ODS,								0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	99 97 96 95	
f) Piráti,								0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	99 97 96 95	
g) STAN – Starostové a nezávislí,								0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	99 97 96 95	
h) TOP 09,								0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	99 97 96 95	
i) Svoboda a přímá demokracie - Tomio Okamura,								0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	99 97 96 95	
j) Přísaha – občanské hnutí Roberta Šlachty."								0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	99 97 96 95	

Bottom-left panel:

Left-Right Ideology in Czech Republic 2019

Source: Chapel Hill Expert Survey at chesdata.eu.

Parties sorted by General Left-Right Ideology

(Left-Right Ideology axis: 0.0, 2.5, 5.0, 7.5; Parties: KSCM, CSSD, Pirates, ANO2011, KDU-CSL, STAN, TOP09, ODS, SPD)

Bottom-right panel:

Left-Right Economic vs GAL-TAN in Czech Republic 2019

Party Families
- Rad Right
- Cons
- Liberal
- Christ Dems
- Socialist
- Rad Left
- No Family

GAL-TAN

Left-Right Economic

Source: Chapel Hill Expert Survey at chesdata.eu. Note: Party markers weighted by vote share.

- Left – Right (Europe)
- Liberal – Conservative (USA)

Basic political dimension

- French Revolution

- John Jost:

- Left = promoting change and aversion to inequalities

- Right = resistance to change and acceptance and defense of hierarchy/inequality

- To make it easier to navigate the political space (Downs 1957)

- Integrates many topics into one dimension

- An important axis since the Industrial Revolution

- Communism and Fascism as Extreme Ends of the Axis

- Left/liberalism vs. right/conservatism (how does that make sense?)

- Party competition and the placement of voters in space

Spatial approach to politics

- Politics as a space
- The actors move in space
- Hotelling 1929, traffic on the street
- "How much government intervention in the economy should there be?" (Downs 1957, 116)
- Ability to rank parties
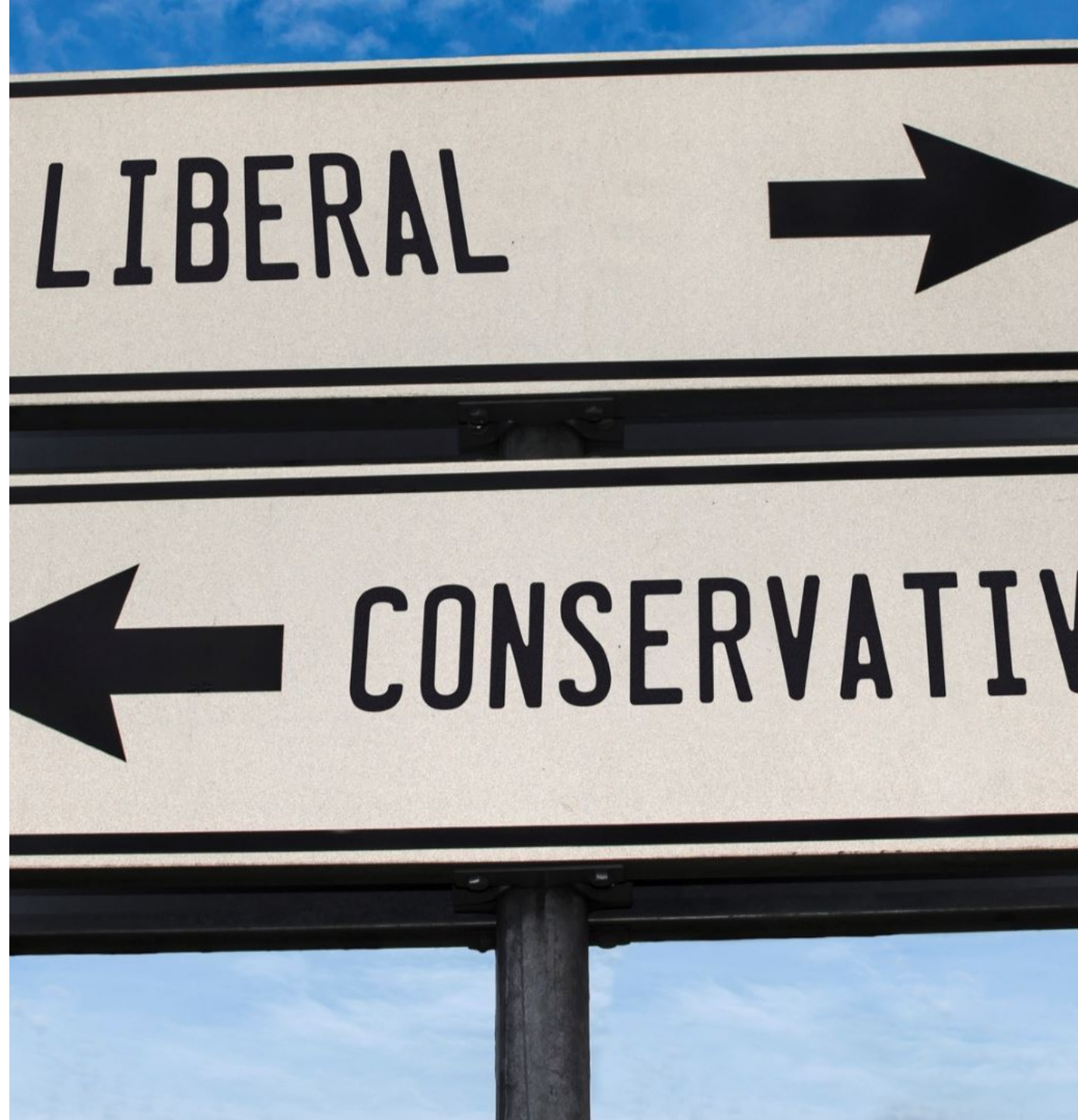- Universally applicable
- "plastic" dimension

Table 11.1 Proportion of respondents unable or unwilling to place themselves on a left–right scale, 2002–2004		
	2002–2003	**2004**
Austria	14.0	14.8
Belgium	14.0	9.5
Denmark	7.1	6.5
Finland	5.4	4.6
France	6.8	na
Germany	7.5	10.4
Greece	23.2	18.9
Ireland	17.5	na
Italy	22.4	na
Luxembourg	23.5	17.6
The Netherlands	4.4	na
Norway	2.3	2.2
Portugal	19.5	34.1
Spain	19.1	14.9
Sweden	5.4	4.9
Switzerland	8.2	8.2
United Kingdom	10.2	10.4
Czech Republic	10.2	18.4
Estonia	na	24.3
Hungary	17.1	na
Poland	17.3	20.1
Slovenia	21.3	28.3
Western Europe (mean)	12.4	12.1
Eastern Europe (mean)	16.5	22.8

Source: European Social Survey I and II.

What could be problematic?

- New actors in the 1960s
- It does not entirely correspond to the logic of the "old" left and right
- The space on the left is fragmenting (non-class left)
- Right = everything that is not left
- Weakening the differences between the right and the left, the problem of the left since the 1990s
- Globalization, Europeanization
- The Problem of Right and Left in CEE (Post-Communist Space)
- The Rise of Radical Right-Wing Populism – A Shift in Themes
- Dominance of a different political dimension????

Post-communist context

- The Left resists change
- The right advocates change
- Difference in values, different predicts the right
- Acceptance of inequality (non-communist countries) vs. openness to change (post-communist) (Thorisdottir et al. 2007)
- "conservation" predicts right-wing inclusion in non-communist countries (Barni et al. 2016)
- Tradition is important for him/her. He/She tries to follow the customs handed down by his/her religion or his/her family

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When Left Is Right: Party Ideology and Policy in Post-Communist Europe

MARGIT TAVITS   *Washington University in St. Louis*
NATALIA LETKI   *University of Warsaw*

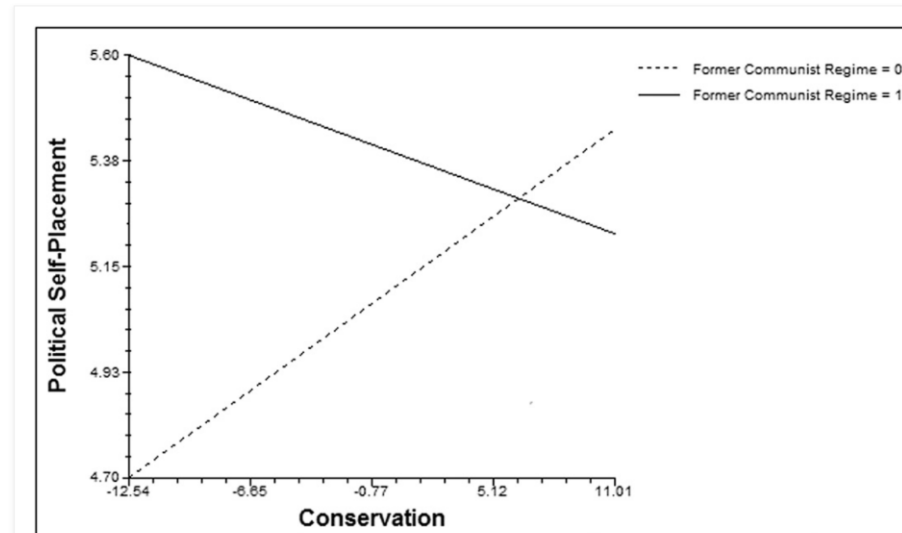*ccording to the classic partisan theory of spending, leftist parties are expected to increase gov*

Figure 1 Effect exerted on a rightist self–placement by the cross–level interaction between conservative values (individual level) and political culture (country level).
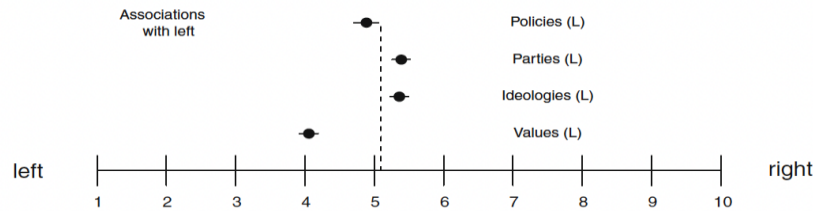
What does right and left mean?

CrossMa

ORIGINAL PAPER

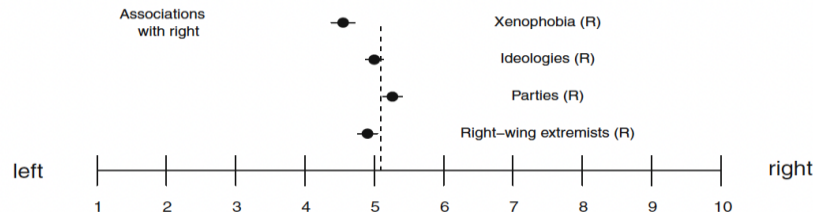# Is the Left-Right Scale a Valid Measure of Ideology?

Individual-Level Variation in Associations with "Left" and "Right" and Left-Right Self-Placement

Paul C. Bauer[1] · **Pablo Barberá**[2] · **Kathrin Ackermann**[3] ·
Aaron Venetz[4]

Fig. 5 Number of respondents in four different topics (split for "left" and "right" associations)

Fig. 6 Left-right scale means for different subsamples of associations with left (*dashed line* = sample mean, *bars* = 95 % CIs)

Fig. 7 Left-right scale means for different subsamples of associations with right (*dashed line* = sample mean, *bars* = 5 % CIs)

Table 1 Top scoring words associated with each topic, and English translations)

Left topic 1: parties (proportion = .26, average lr-scale value = 5.38)

linke, spd, partei, linken, pds, politik, kommunisten, parteien, grünen, punks

the left, spd, party, the left, pds, politics, communists, parties, greens, punks

Left topic 2: ideologies (proportion = .26, average lr-scale value = 5.36)

Kommunismus, links, sozialismus, lafontaine, rechts, aber, gysi, linkspartei, richtung, gleichmacherei

Communism, left, socialism, lafontaine, right, but, gysi, left party, direction, levelling

Left topic 3: values (proportion = .24, average lr-scale value = 4.06)

Soziale, gerechtigkeit, demokratie, soziales, bürger, gleichheit, gleiche, freiheit, rechte, gleichberechtigung

Social, justice, democracy, social, citizen, equality, equal, freedom, rights, equal rights

Left topic 4: policies (proportion = .24, average lr-scale value =4.89)

sozial, menschen, leute, ddr, verbinde, kleinen, einstellung, umverteilung, sozialen, vertreten

social, humans, people, ddr, associate, the little, attitude, redistribution, social, represent

Right topic 1: ideologies (proportion = .27, average lr-scale value = 5.00)

konservativ, nationalsozialismus, rechtsradikal, radikal, ordnung, politik, nazi, recht, menschen, konservative

conservative, national socialism, right-wing radicalism, radical, order, politics, nazi, right, people, conservatives

Right topic 2: parties (proportion = .25, average lr-scale value = 5.26)

npd, rechts, cdu, csu, rechten, parteien, leute, aber, verbinde, rechtsradikalen

npd, right, cdu, csu, the right, parties, people, but, associate, right-wing radicalists

Right topic 3: xenophobia (proportion = .25, average lr-scale value = 4.55)

ausländerfeindlichkeit, gewalt, ausländer, demokratie, nationalismus, rechtsradikalismus, diktatur, national, intoleranz, faschismus

xenophobia, violence, foreigners, democracy, nationalism, right-wing radicalism, dictatorship, national, intolerance, fascism

Right topic 4: right-wing extremists (proportion = .23, average lr-scale value = 4.90)

nazis, neonazis, rechtsradikale, rechte, radikale, radikalismus, partei, ausländerfeindlich, reich, nationale

nazis, neonazis, right-wing radicalists, rightists, radicals, radicalism, party, xenophobia, rich, national

"proportion" indicates the average estimated probability that any given response is assigned to a topic. "average lr-scale value" is the mean position on the left-right scale (from 0 to 10) of individuals whose highest probability belongs to that particular topic

What does this mean?

- Ideology as abstract concepts
- Different people treat them differently
- Caution in interpretations

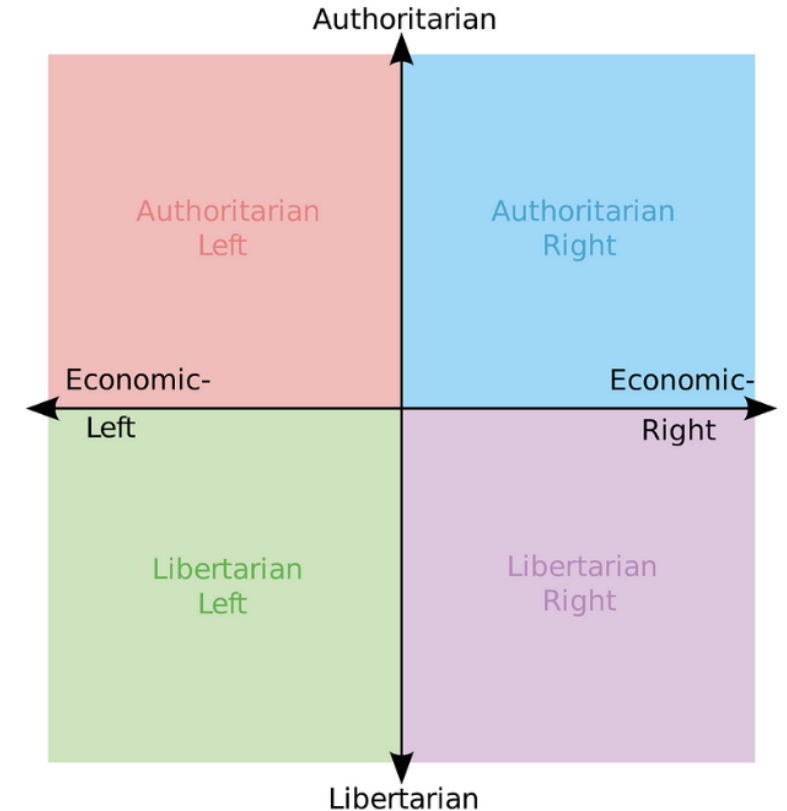# How much do people know how to work with these concepts?

- Phillipe Converse (1964): The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Public
- Very few people in society know what abstract ideas mean
- A weak association of abstract ideology and issue positions
- 10 % (Converse 1964) 20-30 % (Kalmoe 2020)

Ideology as an identity or a set of attitudes?

- Symbolic vs operational ideology
- Symbolic ideology: identity, self-classification on a scale
- Operational Ideology: Attitudes
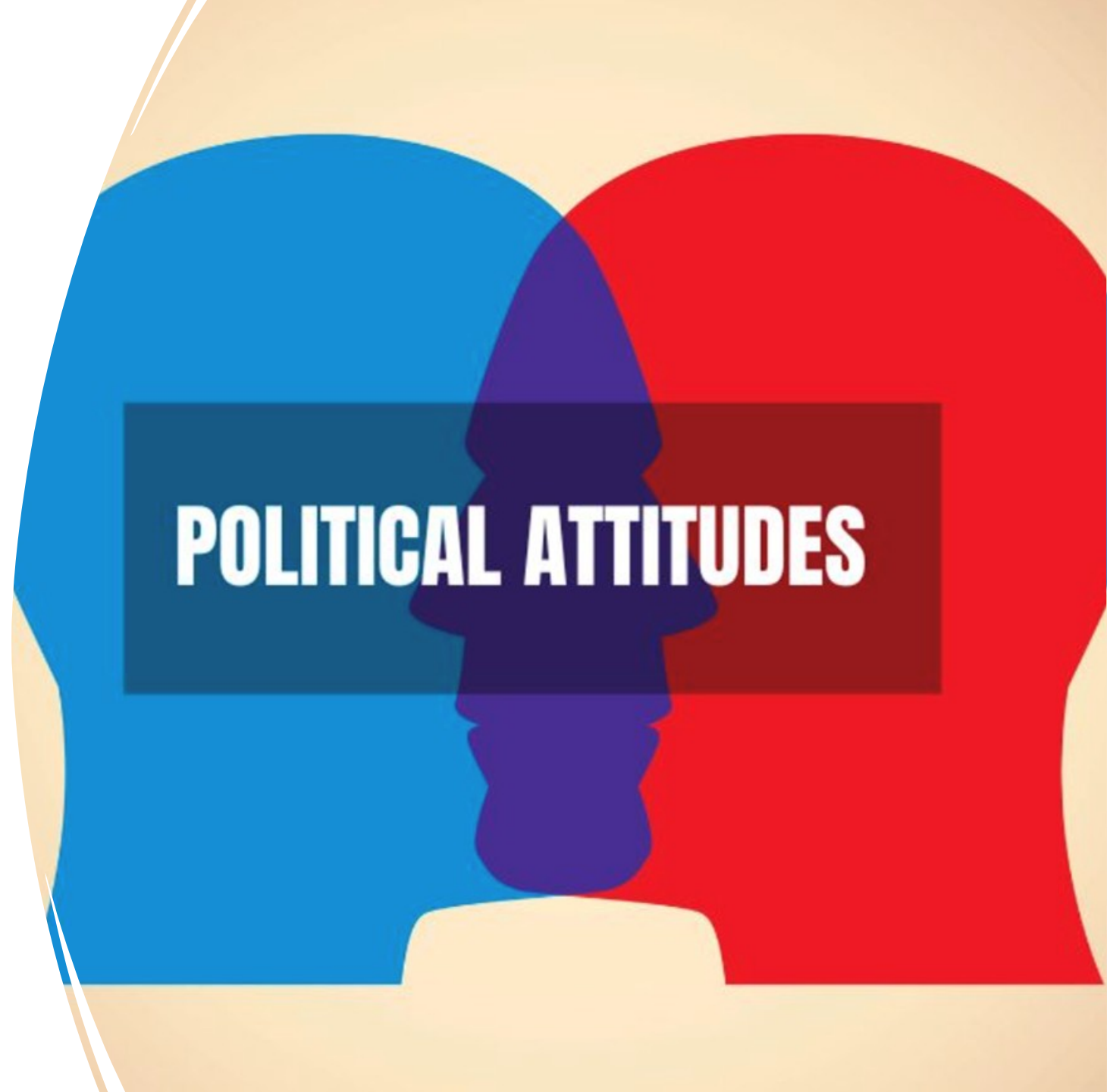
The actual content of attitude systems

- Multidimensional political space
- Right-left is not enough (attitudes do not c
- Different meanings across contexts
- New parties
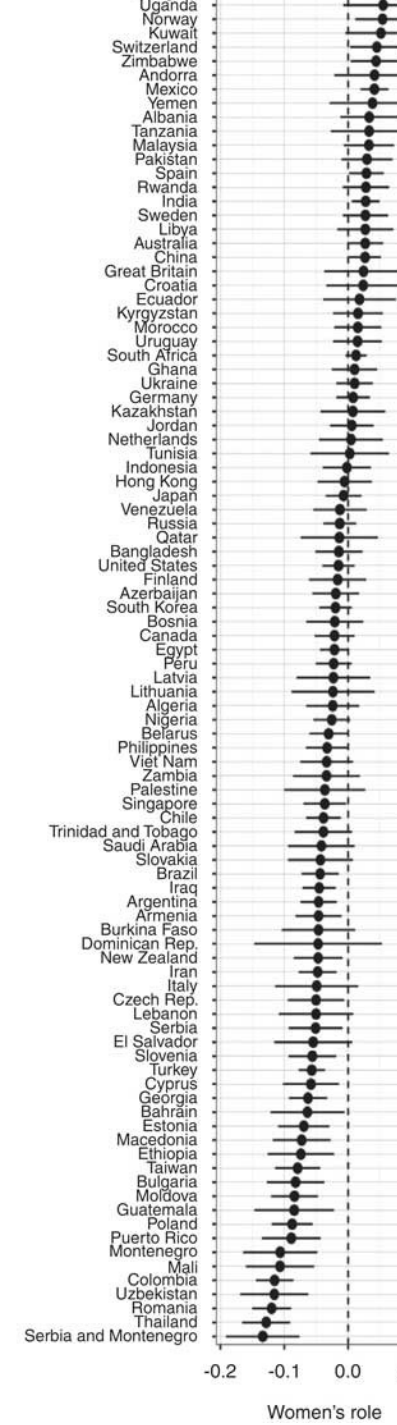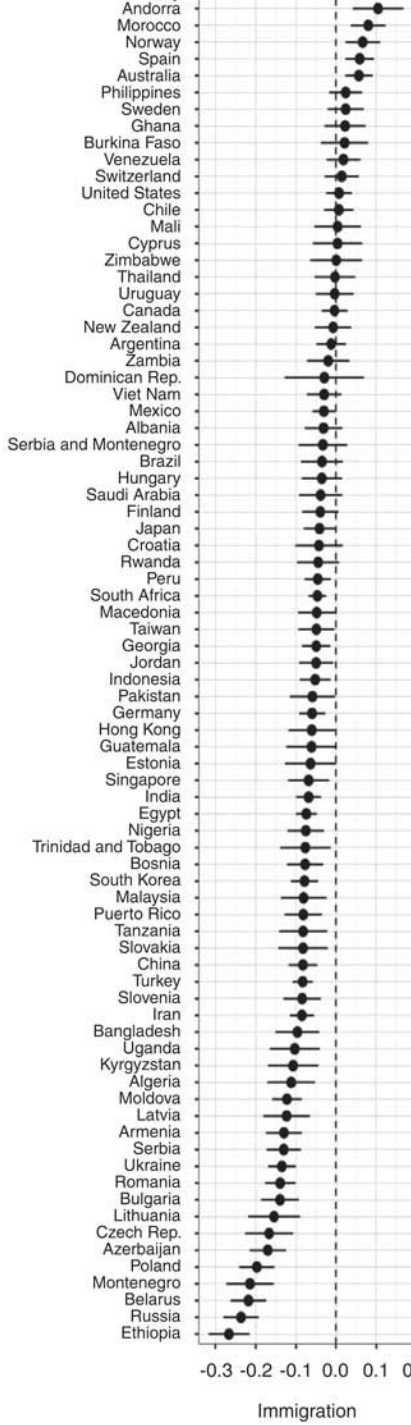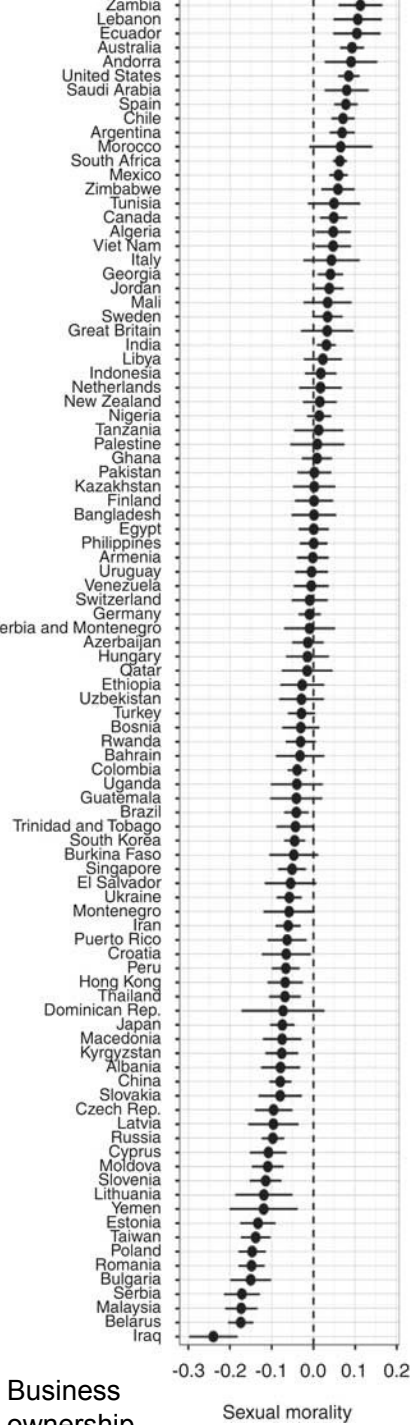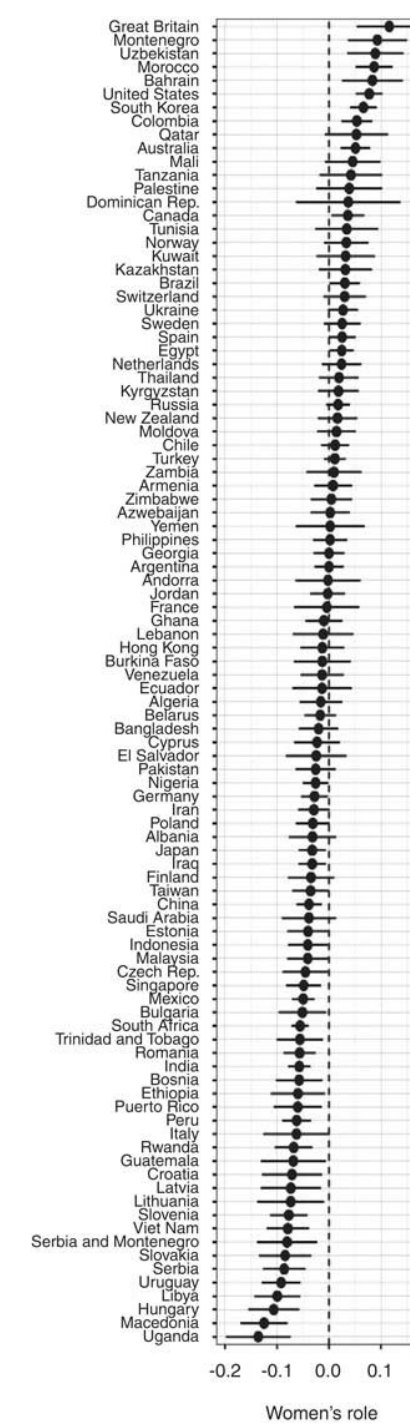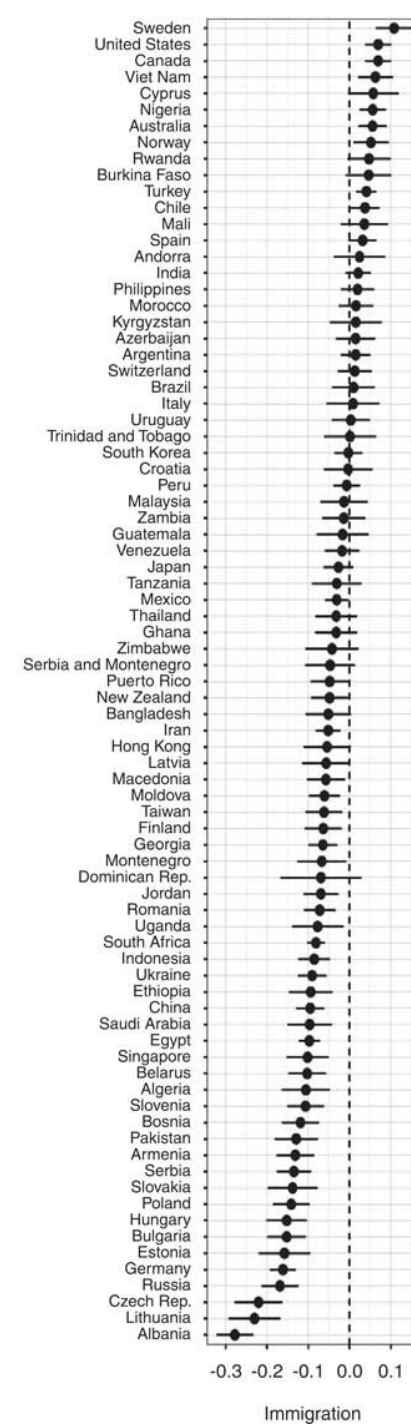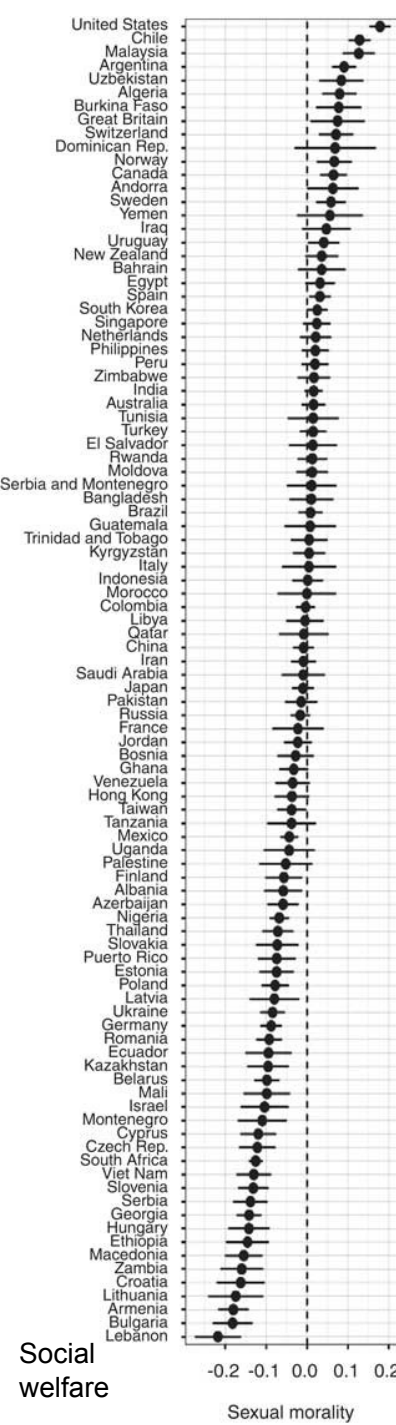- A new dimension useful
- Kitchelt: libertarian-authoritarian dimensio

Organization of political attitudes

- Studies show multiple dimensions (different levels of correlation)
- Political views in two dimensions (some say more)

Social welfare

Are Cultural and Economic Conservatism Positively Correlated? A Large-Scale Cross-National Test

Ariel Malka, Yphtach Lelkes and Christopher J. Soto

Correlations between social and economic conservatism are negative mainly in post-communist countries

This is true even for countries with a high degree of traditionalism

Individuals with low political involvement
WVS Data 1984-2014

Cultural measure	Economic measure	Nation type	N (nations)	Mean	SD	% significantly positive	% significantly negative
Sexual Morality	Social Welfare	Post-Com.	27	−0.088	0.067	3.7	77.8
		All Others	71	−0.004	0.070	19.7	22.5
Sexual Morality	Ownership Business	Post-Com.	27	−0.078	0.058	3.7	66.7
		All Others	69	−0.001	0.070	27.5	23.2
Immigration	Social Welfare	Post-Com.	25	−0.109	0.074	0.0	80.0
		All Others	56	−0.018	0.059	16.1	32.1
Immigration	Business Ownership	Post-Com.	25	−0.118	0.063	0.0	84.0
		All Others	56	−0.031	0.062	10.7	46.4
Women's Role	Social Welfare	Post-Com.	27	−0.030	0.055	7.4	51.9
		All Others	71	−0.007	0.047	14.1	31.0
Women's Role	Business Ownership	Post-Com.	27	−0.043	0.051	3.7	55.6
		All Others	70	−0.015	0.043	10.0	25.7

**Understanding the Determinants of Political Ideology:
Implications of Structural Complexity**

Stanley Feldman
Stony Brook University

Christopher Johnston
Duke University
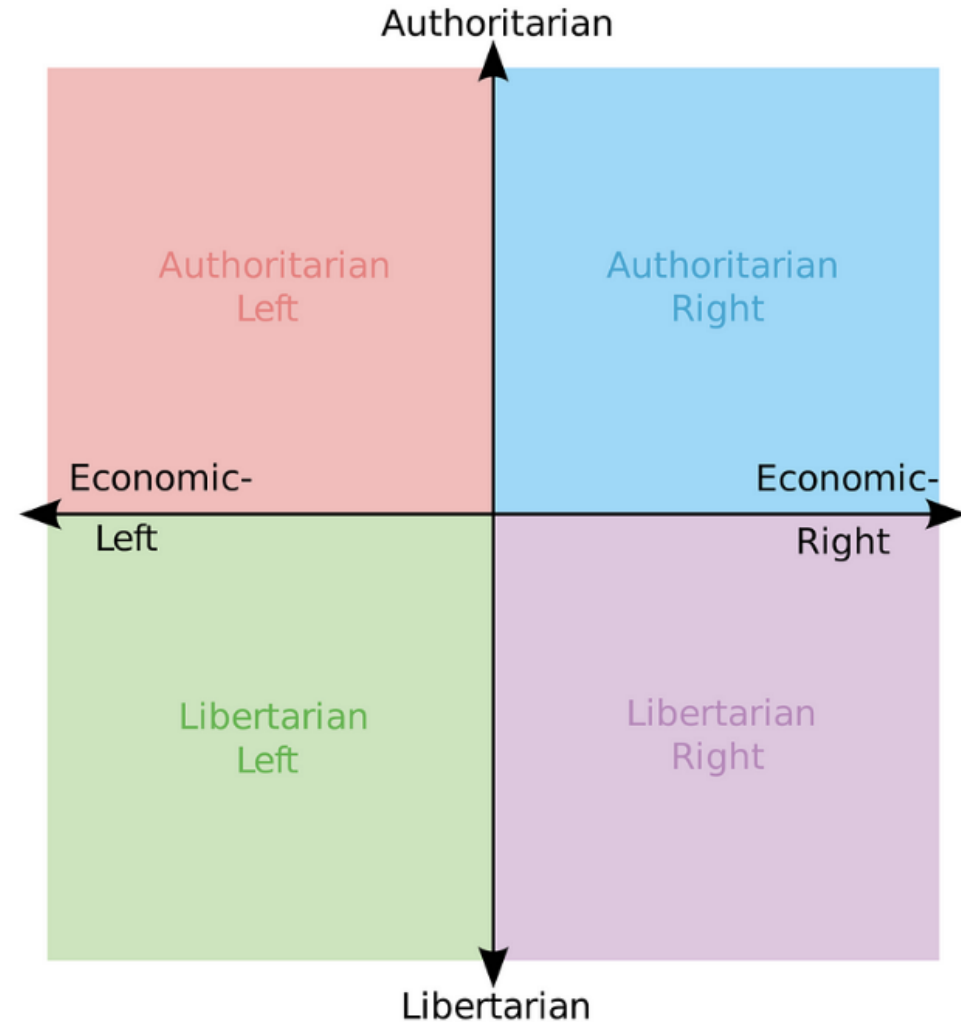
Table 6. Latent Class Analysis of Issue Preferences

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 6
Gov't Spending:						
Liberal	.86	.84	.25	.17	.25	.17
Moderate	.12	.06	.76	.79	.27	.25
Conservative	.03	.10	.00	.04	.49	.58
Health Insurance:						
Liberal	.79	.83	.19	.19	.13	.13
Moderate	.04	.10	.72	.70	.19	.13
Conservative	.17	.07	.09	.11	.68	.74
Jobs/Std of Living						
Liberal	.46	.62	.08	.07	.00	.07
Moderate	.13	.16	.67	.67	.09	.07
Conservative	.42	.23	.24	.27	.91	.86
Abortion:						
Always legal	.65	.07	.77	.25	.56	.11
Only need	.15	.05	.13	.13	.24	.18
Only conditions	.17	.34	.07	.45	.18	.53
Always illegal	.03	.54	.02	.17	.02	.18
Gay Adoption:						
Favor	.69	.08	.97	.21	.69	.03
Oppose	.31	.92	.04	.79	.31	.97
Ideology:						
Liberal	.58	.24	.73	.17	.24	.04
Moderate	.12	.33	.07	.11	.06	.01
Conservative	.30	.43	.21	.73	.70	.96
Class proportion:	.23	.08	.13	.24	.15	.17
% conservative	.12	.07	.05	.31	.19	.27
% liberal	.41	.07	.29	.13	.11	.02

Note. Entries for each issue (and ideology) are the estimated probability of each response for members of that latent class.

Study of Party Politics

- Changes in the 60s-70s on the left (Green Party in Germany 1983..)
- Changes in the 90s and 2000s on the right (National Front, FPÖ, Danish People's Party etc.)
- Other new parties (technocratic, regional, radical left)
- "New Left" vs. "New Right"
- Cultural dimension
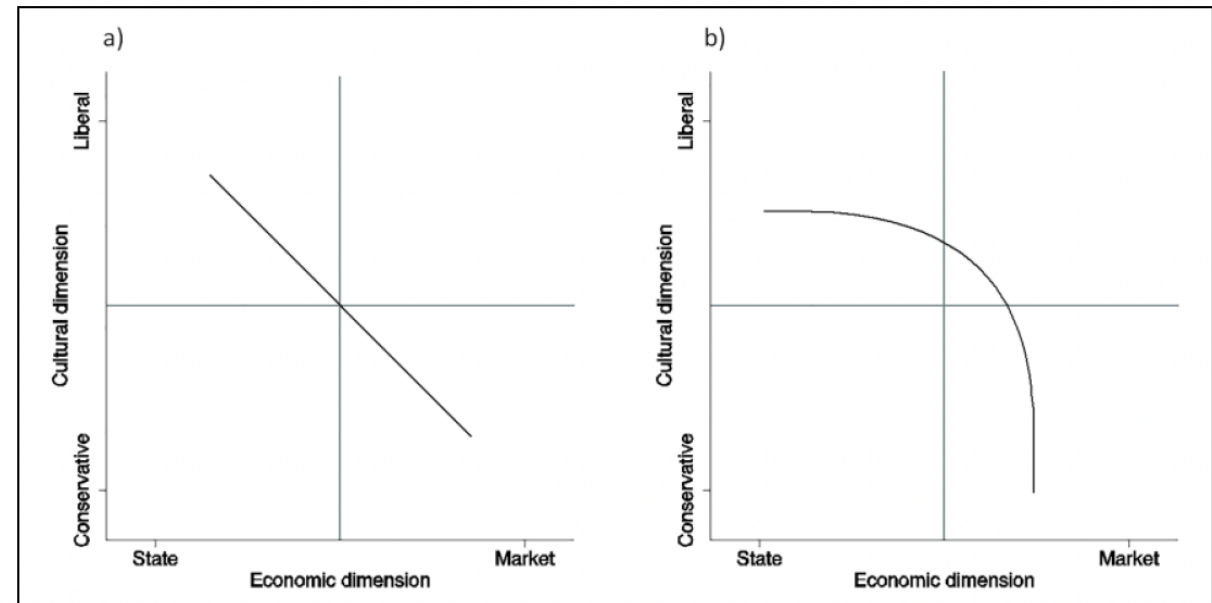
It manifests itself in a new so-called cleavage

- Different names and conceptualizations

- Libertarian-Authoritarian (Kitchelt 1994)

- GAL-TAN (Green Alternative Libertarian vs. Traditional, Authoritatrian, Nationalis) (Hooghe,Marks, and Wilson 2002)

- Integration-Demarcation (Kriesi et al. 2006, 2008)

- Transnational cleavage (Hooghe and Marks 2018)

How do people deal with these dimensions?

Romain Lachat
Sciences Po, France

- The idea of political right and left dominates

- But in reality, there are more like two dimensions.

- What to do about it?

- The economic dimension is more important for left-wing voters

- The cultural dimension is more important for right-wing voters

Figure 1. Two models of the relations between issues and the left–right scale: (a) left–right scale as a straight line; and (b) curved left–right scale.
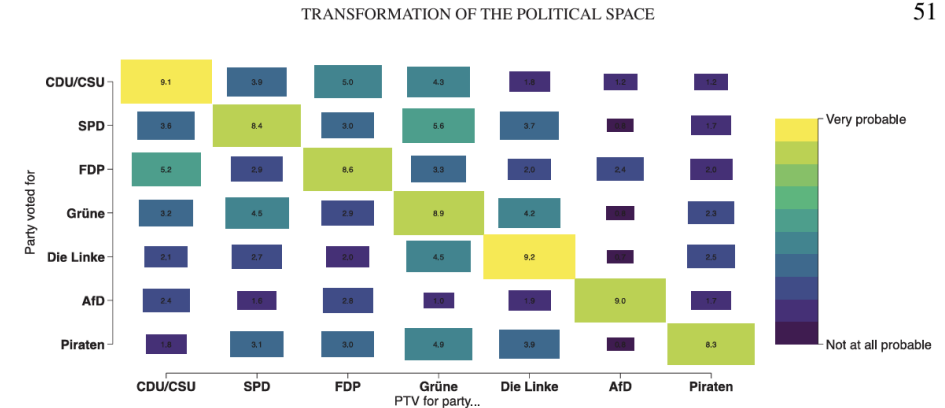
The "second dimension" is gaining importance (in Western Europe)

- The importance of the GAL/TAN dimension has increased
- E.g. in electoral decision-making
- EES data (1999-2019)
- The distance on the GAL/TAN axis reduces the probability of choosing a political party
- Economic dimension stable

TRANSFORMATION OF THE POLITICAL SPACE

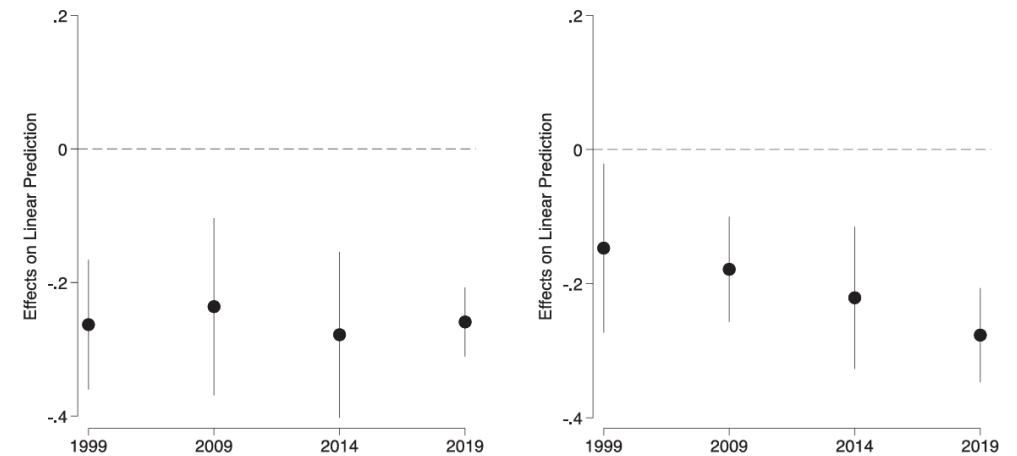(A) *Economic LR distance*   (B) *GAL-TAN distance*

Figure 2. Average marginal effect of distance on PTVs, change over time.
Note: EES 1999, 2009, 2014 and 2019 survey data for 14 countries. Estimates indicate the average marginal effect of a one unit change in distance on the PTV for a party. Estimates from OLS models that include interactions between survey-year and the distance variables. Spikes indicate 95 per cent confidence intervals. Supporting Information Appendix H reports detailed estimates.

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Transformation of the political space: A citizens' perspective

RUTH DASSONNEVILLE,[1,3] LIESBET HOOGHE[2,3] & GARY MARKS[2,3]
[1]*Département de science politique, Université de Montréal, Canada;* [2]*Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA;* [3]*Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Italy*

Populism?

- Political style?
- Rhetoric?
- Ideology?
- The idea that a nation is divided into a good people and a bad elite
- Moralism, people-orientation, anti-elitism
- It does not work on its own
- Programmatic limits
- Linked to a visiting ideology
- Populism of the Radical Right (RRP)