Chapter 5 : The Synthetic Individual

The Synthetic Individual is a third way of understanding cultural theory. It is based on the idea of learning across cultural borders. In this version of cultural theory cohesion is found in the sphere of cultural biases, which exist as logical constructions (or perhaps as ideal types) in the society, but not in the individual. The individual builds her own cultural bias by synthesizing bits and pieces from the four cultural biases.[1] The individual shows consistency of values and preferences over time and in different contexts. She meets varying degrees of strain according to the fit between her personal synthesis and the social relations in a given context. The individual responds to this strain either by adapting to the the context, or by avoiding the contexts where strain occurs.

I have found some references in *Cultural Theory* to this type of cultural biases. After describing what I have called the Coherent and the Sequential Individual Approaches, the authors write:

[1] One should notice that this requires either that the individual does not have a problem with combining contradictory elements, and that the lack of logical cohesion does not create problems for the individual. First, it is unclear to which degree these cultural biases, when divided into parts, are logically contradictory. Second, the authors of *Cultural Theory* state that lack of cohesion can in certain situations be viewed positively.

[...] most of us most of the time are somewhere between seeing every object through a single bias and each object equally through five biases (*CT*, p.266).[2]

I interpret the quotation above as referring to the individual's ability to have a synthesis of cultural biases and as being in contrast to the Sequential Individual Approach. The individual has the ability to use and recognize the different cultural biases. This kind of situation can be described by the synthetic individual, who has a relation to several cultural biases. An individual supports some cultural biases and rejects others.

Where a sequential individual's learning is limited to each context, a synthetic, individuals' learning is not dependent of context. The synthetic individual is able to transfer new knowledge over contextual borders and apply it in new situations in a more active way than either coherent or sequential individuals can.[3] The synthetic individual can utilize all cultural biases she supports, while a sequential individual will perceive or be forced to use only the one that fits the social relations in a given situation. This is perhaps the most important difference between the Sequential and the Synthetic Individual Approaches.

Ability to reflect over situations and cultural biases makes learning feasible by means other than surprise. According to Giddens modern individuals have the ability to

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2 Following this line of logic, if the Sequential Individual version of the theory is correct the Coherent Individual version must be wrong.

3 By knowledge I here mean both the categorization of the world in our minds and the learned patterns of values and attitudes, i.e., what is this, how does it work, and is it good or bad? Cultural biases can be viewed as an efficient way to reduce the complexity in the world (as with schemas), thus cultural biases can be shortcuts to solutions in a given situation. (*CT,* p.58)

reflect upon their actions and their relation to the rules of the society.[4] The authors of *Cultural Theory* also acknowledge this:

> The extent to which the individuals are aware of providing support to their way of life depends on the level of cultural consciousness (*CT*, p.2).

What else can this cultural consciousness be, other than awareness of several cultural biases and how they each support their own way of life? Both the Coherent Individual and the Sequential Individual Approaches allow for a relation to the other cultures through opposition, or otherness; the other cultures are rejected, not viewed as new windows available for the individual if needed for a perspective. This kind of rejection makes learning difficult if not impossible. What reason would an individual have to try something she knows will not succeed? So, given the assumptions for each of the different approaches, I believe that only the synthetic individual is able to utilize her knowledge of other areas of life, and thus cross the contextual and cultural boundaries.

A sequential individual might look out from several windows (cultural biases) without understanding that the landscape she views is the same one. A synthetic individual would be able to learn from these different views, and combine them into a single map. But everything has its price; the synthetic individual must make her own map from all the fragments available, where as both the coherent and the sequential individual get their maps ready-made. The making of the map is likely to be confusing

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4 Giddens *Modernity and Self-Identity*, pp.32-34, quoted from Cassell 1993:303

work, but afterwards the individual should find it relatively easy to navigate, and add new sections to the map every time new territory is found.

In the following discussion, I will first present a way of operationalizating the cultural biases in a manner that fits the Synthetic Individual Approach. Then I shall discuss the effects that are typical for synthetic cultural bias, and study how age and education are related to the cultural biases. Analysis of party preferences form the core of the analysis; I will study coalitions between parties to show that cultural theory can be used on agregate level. Then, with the help of a cluster analysis, I will show that the synthesis has effects on individual level. Last, I will predict individuals' party preferences from their cultural biases with the help of a logit analysis.

5.1 Measuring Synthetic Cultural Bias

The operationalization of the synthetic cultural bias is straightforward. Since the individual can possess elements of all the four cultural biases, I shall use four simultaneous measurements of cultural bias, with each cultural bias represented by its own continuous variable. Thus the individual's synthetic cultural bias (SCB) is represented by values on four cultural biases. These values are based on the means of the same standardized questions measuring cultural bias as were used in the previous chapters. I will weigh the positive and negative attitudes towards a cultural bias equally. As an example, respondent X might have 1.4 on Egalitarianism, 0.6 on Individualism, 0.05 on Hierarchy, and -0.9 on Fatalism. I would interpret this as an individual who

supports Egalitarianism strongly, Individualism some what, does not have a strong opinion about Hierarchy and rejects Fatalism as a solution.

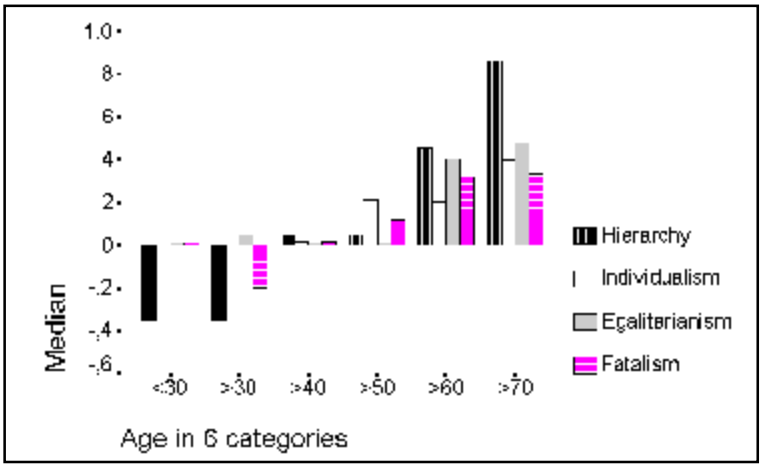
5.2 The Effects of Synthetic Cultural Bias

There is one particular aspect of the synthetic cultural bias that should be possible to detect through statistical methods. All cultures present in the individual have an **additive effect**. So, an individual who supports Egalitarianism strongly and rejects all the other cultures has a much stronger and clearer support for egalitarian issues than an individual with the same score on Egalitarianism and moderate support for the other cultures. In other words, the presence of support for several cultural biases does moderate all the cultural biases, whereas the presence of support for only one cultural bias and simultaneous rejection of all the others enhances the differences and clarifies both the support and rejection. This effect can be demonstrated with party preference. Parties with extreme profiles should have a preponderance of supporters that support only one and reject all the other cultural biases. Parties with a moderate profile should have many supporters who support several cultural biases. Also, if a party has a profile which combines Egalitarianism and Hierarchy, then respondents supporting both these cultures should be more positive to this party than respondents supporting only one of these cultures. Some parties might have profiles that involve rejection of a culture. This rejection should correlate with the voters rejection of the culture in question in the same way as support in the examples above.

5.3 Synthetic Individual's Social Background

5.3.1 Age and Cultural Combinations

Age has an effect which is very similar to the effects found in the previous chapters. Here it does not make any sense to talk about the number of cultures; the focus should instead be on the content of the individuals' cultural bias combinations. In Figure 5.1 we can see how the different age groups' typical synthetic cultural biases differ from each other. The combinations shown are based on the median values for each age group. This gives a better picture of the typical respondent in each of the age groups than using the mean[5]. One should be aware of that even if these combinations are presented together, the medians are calculated separately; thus, it is theoretically possible that there are no respondents with the exact combination presented, but it should still give a useful description of the relation.



The youngest age group typically rejects Hierarchy and is somewhat negative to Individualism, and close to the mean on the other cultures. The 30-40 years old group

[5] Extreme values can effect the mean. When one is interested in a *typical* respondent, it is much safer to use the median, which give the value for the respondent who is located in the middle of the sample after the respondents are ranked. (Wonnacott & Wonnacott 1990)

Figure 5.1 : Median Support for Cultural Biases in 6 Age groups

has, in addition, a weak support for Egalitarianism and reject Fatalism. The next age group is remarkably close to the average on all cultures, and the tendency towards rejections is gone. The age group 50 to 60 years shows also only support towards Individualism and Egalitarianism. The next age group has developed a strong support for Hierarchy and Egalitarianism, and only a little weaker on Fatalism. Individualism is also supported not as strongly as the other cultures. The oldest age group typically has Hierarchy as the dominant culture and support levels for the three other cultures are fairly similar. The difference from the previous groups is mainly the increased support for Hierarchy and Individualism.

Some of the general tendencies found in the earlier chapters are also present here. We can see how older people become more supportive towards cultures. There is a usually a tendency in the surveys that the youth are more extreme on most attitudinal variables, whether they are for or against. Here this tendency is not present in its usual form, but the young have negative attitudes towards several cultures, and the elderly have more and more positive attitudes towards all cultures, and Hierarchy in special. Cultural theory would explain this tendency for the youth to be more extreme by saying that they prefer only one culture, and reject the other three. This assumes that the individual has very strong beliefs, and makes compromises look difficult.

It is equally interesting to look at the effects of age on an individual level. To simplify the presentation I have chosen to use the sum of cultural biases, which gives a good picture of how much the respondent supports the four cultures in total.[6] This will not separate between support for different cultural biases, nor indicate the levels of support. Further, since rejections have negative values, in the sum of biases they will balance out supports of equal strength.

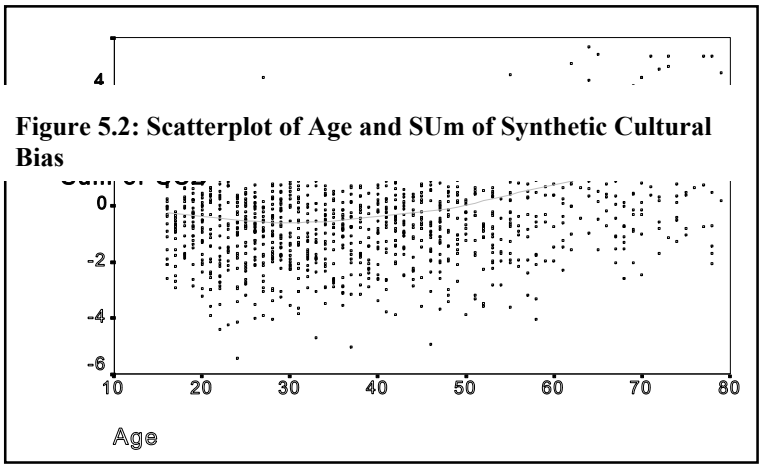


Figure 5.2: Scatterplot of Age and SUm of Synthetic Cultural Bias

In Figure 5.2 we can see the effect of age on support and rejection of cultural biases in general. The Lowess smoothed line in the scatterplot shows us how the sign of the relation between age and the sum of cultural biases changes[7]

The effect is not linear, either; first, there is a slight decline in the sum of cultural biases; around 30 the sum is increasing slowly; from 50 years and beyond it increases

[6] Sum of cultural biases = value on Hierarchy + value on Individualism + value on Egalitarianism + value on Fatalism. The values of the different biases are the averages of the standardized values from the questionare. The unit of Sum of Cultural Biases can be interpreted as a standard deviation on all questions measuring cultural bias. If all four cultures deviate in the positive direction by a half standard deviation the sum will deviate by two standard deviations. If the biases deviate in opposite directions, they will cancel each other out, and the final sum will be close to zero.

[7] Lowess smoothing builds a locally-weighted regression line using an iterative-weighted least squares method. For all my Lowess smoothed figures I use the following options: fit to 50% of respondents and 3 iterations. Lowess smoothed line is good for visualizing a nonliner effect.

significantly. What does this tell us about cultural theory? The magnitude of the change among people below 50 is so small that I believe we can ignore it. In contrast to this, there is a clear indication on the individual level that older people becom more supportive of cultures as they increase in age. We should remember, though, that the support for Hierarchy increases the most (see Figure 5.1). In general, there is tendency for all cultural biases to acquire more support among the older age groups. Of course, it is impossible to separate generational effects from the effect of age, but I cannot see any reason to expect a generational effect (with the exception of higher support for Hierarchy among the older respondents) that could lead to similar results. I believe that Figure 5.2 tells us that multiple cultural biases are learned through experience, and the longer one has lived the more understanding one has of cultural biases and of the accomodation between them (See my discussion in Chapter 4).

5.3.2 Education

There is no reason to expect that the effect of education is different from the Sequential Individual, but since the cultural biases are defined in a different way, a new enquiry is needed. Additionally, talking about the number

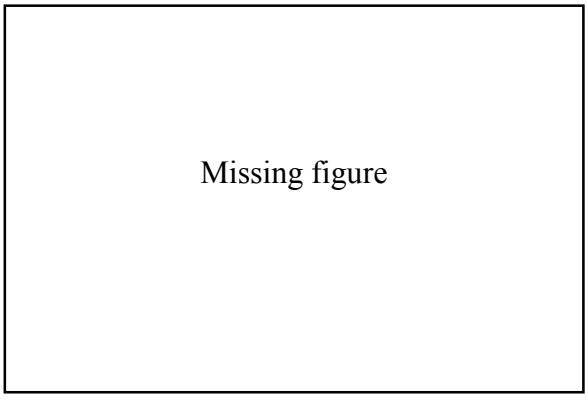


Figure 5.3: Typical Synthetic Cultural Bias for 6 Educational Groups

of cultural biases (as in the Sequential Individual chapter) is irrelevant, since the biases are a synthesis. In Figure 5.3 we can see how the different groups, based on length of education, differ in their median cultural biases. It is clear that the differences are considerable, and that there is a pattern. The group with the least education (nine years or less) has a positive median on all cultural biases. The group with less than 12 years has medians that are close to zero on all cultural biases. There is a clear change when we move to the higher levels of education; both Hierarchy and Fatalism are rejected on a level that seems to be quite consistent for all the groups with more than 12 years of education. The groups having less than 18 and less than 23 years of education are very similar, a typical respondents would support Individualism and reject all the other biases.[8]

Increasing education leads to a more negative attitude towards Individualism. Egalitarianism has a median that is slightly on the positive side for all groups; the group with nine years or less is most positive to Egalitarianism, and the other groups show only incremental support; the group with 15 years or less has the lowest value on Egalitarianism.

Other surveys have repeatedly confirmed that more educated people have opinions that are more coherent across different issues, and more consistent on one issue[9]. There are a couple

[8] This is of course only on the group level. Information about the SCB's is aggregated to the group level, and it is not possible to determine the combinations on the individual level from this figure.

[9] The classic work on this issue is Converce (1964), with accompanying long debate about what this means for democracy in United States. Recent works that show results with similar conclusions are Schuman & Presser (1980), Jackman & Muha (1984) and Bobo (1989).

interesting points that can be made from Figure 5.3. First, the respondents with more education display larger differences between their most and least preferred cultural bias, which should lead to a situation in which there is more internal consistency[10]. Second, the more educated often reject cultural biases; this should lead to a situation where the rejected biases create a unifying effect on opinions, which should increase the cohesion and consistency of opinions. So, to the degree that cultural biases are a source of opinions, they show patterns that can help to explain phenomena found in other surveys.[11]

[10] If there is a mix of cultural biases, it is harder to have a set of opinions that look consistent to an outsider. In one sense one could say that according the Synthetic Individual Approach all individuals' opinions are coherent, but it is impossible, or at least very difficult, for an outside observer to describe these kinds of opinions with a superficial method like a survey. What would be needed instead is something like thick description (Geertz 1969).

[11] It is of course also possible that because I have utilized questions regarding attitudes in the first place to measure cultural bias the "advantages" from higher educational level are already visible in the measurement. It would have been interesting to test how the cultural bias combinations influence the coherency of opinions. If the biases have an effect in the manner I described above, there should then also be a link between social relations and issue consistency; the clearer social relations the clearer opinions.

In Figure 5.4 we can see how the individual's sum of synthetic cultural biases changes with education.[12] The sum of SCB is positive when the respondent's support for cultures is stronger than its rejection of cultures. There is a distinct decline in the support for cultural biases with increasing length of education. The respondents with least education show a general support for SCB on a level close to two. The decline continues until 16 years of education and then flattens out, with a value close to -1. The difference in the sum of biases across the range of education is close to three standard deviations, which is quite remarkable (see footnote 6). A difference of this magnitude requires explanation.

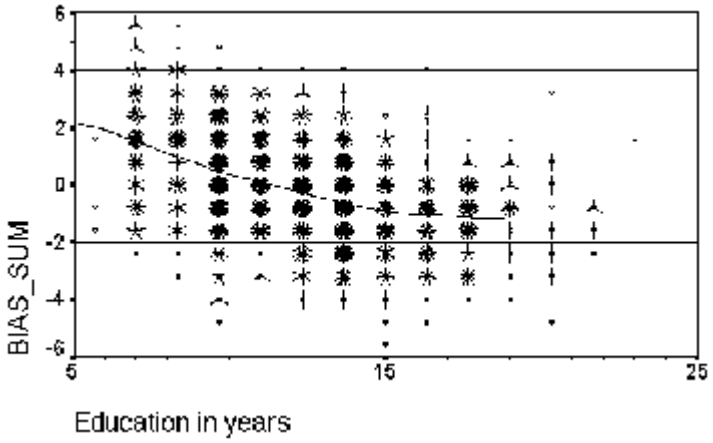


Figure 5.4: A Sunflowerplot of Sum of Synthetic Cultural Bias and Years of Education

5.3.3 Age and Education

[12] The scatterplot is shown with a sunflower pattern (each petal represents one respondent) to make the change in the distribution as clear as possible. In a regular scatterplot where several respondents have the same position they look like only one respondent. The sunflower pattern also reveals changes in the areas with high consentration of respondents.

Age and education have a moderate correlation with each other (r=-0.30), so it is natural to study these two characteristics together. I shall treat the synthetic cultural bias positions as combinations on the individual level by taking clusters of individuals.[13] Each cluster can be interpreted as a empirically defined combination of biases. I have chosen to cluster the respondents into 16 clusters after their cultural biases.[14] This meas that individuals are grouped after the pattern of support and rejection for cultural biases.

Clusters centers can be seen in Table 5.1. I have used italics when defining clusters, to separate them from other ways of combining cultural biases, as well as from the party H. A capital letter shows support for a cultural bias and a small letter shows rejection of a cultural bias.[15]

1	*e*	_.28	_.30	_1.80	_.20
2	*hiEf*	_.81	_.91	.66	_1.05
3	*none*	_.18	_.46	.43	.07
4	*hE*	_1.06	.12	.52	_.33
5	*f*	_.00	_.08	_.44	_.78
6	*HEF*	.78	_.14	.62	1.02
7	*He*	.78	_.00	_.64	.20
8	*hIe*	_.72	.63	_.69	_.19
9	*IEF*	_.43	.54	.64	.62
10	*HiE*	.72	_.69	.53	_.40
11	*hie*	_1.05	_.56	_.53	_.11
12	*HIE*	.54	.60	.54	_.26
13	*hiE*	_.91	_1.50	.73	.16
14	*Ief*	.12	.91	_1.91	_.60
15	*F*	.18	.42	_.40	.75
16	*HIEF*	1.23	.81	.66	.91

Naming of the clusters is based on Ragin and a cut point of 0.5 in absolute value.

Table 5.1: Cluster Centers from The Cultural Bias Combinations

[13] Techiques like regression are variable oriented, and do not ensure that the observed processes are on the individual level. (Tufte 1974)

[14] The clusters are formed by the Quick Cluster procedure in SPSS, which is well suited for files with over 200 cases.

[15] As a cut-off-point I have used an absolute value of 0.5.

Thus, the first cluster can be interpreted as containing individuals who reject Egalitarianism and are indifferent about the other cultures. The clusters resemble the combinations analyzed in the previous chapter, but differ in several ways. First, these combinations are based on an empirical analysis; they are not a complete set of all theoretically possible combinations, but rather one set of them which can be found in the data. Second, the negative attitudes towards a cultural bias have just as much of a chance as the positive attitudes to influence the grouping[16].

Missing Figure:

Figure 5.5: SCB Clusters ordered by mean Education length and Ageissing figure

Is there a pattern in the way age and education are distributed among the different SCB clusters? In Figure 5.5 we can see what kind of average age and education level the different clusters have in average.[17]

The only pattern in the graph I have been able to recognize is that the older the average age for the cluster the lower is its average education. There is no clear pattern in the clusters' content (i.e., how rejection and support for cultural biases are combined), but there are a couple of details one should observe; there are more clusters that are supportive to cultural biases the more one advances in age, and all three clusters that are

[16] The making of these clusters is based on maximizing the Euclidian distances between the groups and minimizing these distances within the groups. Thus, rejections and support weigh equally in the formation of the centers and placement of the respondents in to the clusters.

[17] The cluster labels should be in italics, but I have not found a way to change their appearance in this scatterplot.

against Hierarchy and Individualism are in the below-forty age groups. For cultural theory it is positive that there is no clear pattern in the content, since the theory treat cultural biases as independent of age and education.

To study the general tendency of a combination of growing support for cultural biases and increasing age on the individual level, I have made a scatterplot where each educational group is drawn in separately[18]. A Lowess smoothed line for each educational group shows how age influences the sum of cultural biases.[19]

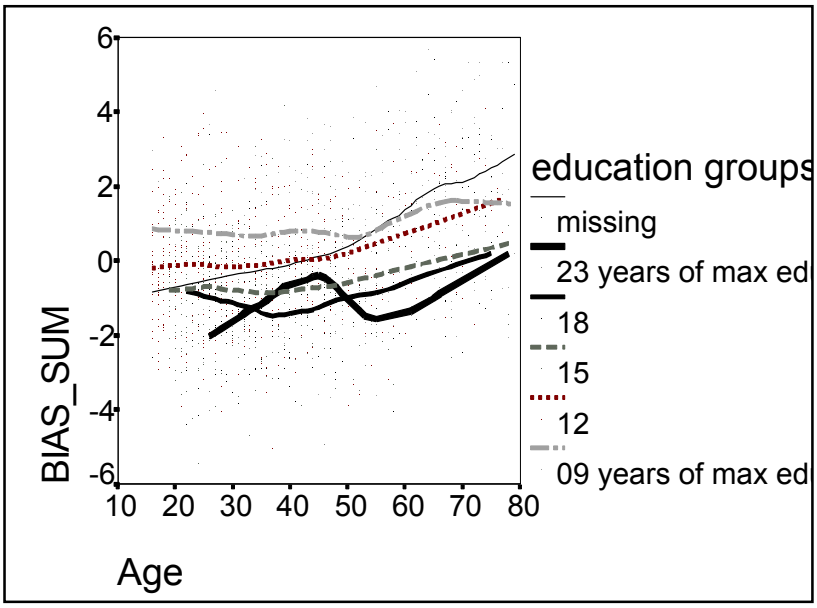


Figure 5.6: Sum of SCB for Educational Groups, a scatterplot with lowess smoothed line

In Figure 5.6 we see how age has a fairly similar effect for almost all respondents. As long as respondents are below 50 their bias sum does not change much with age. For respondents who are over 50 years, the general support for cultural biases increases with

[18] Basically this is the same as having a scatterplot for each educational group, calculating the Lowess smoothed line for each of them, and then placing all these scatterplots in the same figure. It is impossible to separate the scatterplots from each other, but the Lowess smoothed lines which depict each educational group should be different enough. Lowess smoothing is a technique from time series analysis, but I use it only to visualize the relation between age and cultural biases.

[19] The sum of cultural biases is calculated in the same way as for Figures 5.2 and 5.4.

age. For the respondents with more education (16-23 years) there are some interesting deviations from this general pattern. For the respondents with 16 to 18 years of education there is a decrease in support for cultural biases until they are around 35, and then the support levels start increasing. For the respondents who have over 18 years of education the relation between age and education is far from linear. First they show a strong increase with age, and then around 45 years of age the effect of age changes. The sum of cultural biases begins to steeply decrease with age until it again starts to increase for these respondents around 55 years. I cannot give any good explanation as to why the respondents between 45 and 55 years with postgraduate level education (more than 18 years) would differ so much from the rest of the sample[20].

5.4 Party Preference and Cultural Bias

As in the two previous chapters I will present the cultural biases' effect on party preferences. Showing how the theoretical and statistical apparatus operates on a well-understood issue, party preferences, adds confidence both to cultural theory as an approach and to its operationalization. The Synthetic Individual Approach claims that the effects of biases are additive at the individual level. I hope to be able to show that the

[20] It is possible that there is a generational effect from the 60's and 70's, when these respondents were young adults in universities. Students were the central force of the "flower power" generation; perhaps there is a permanent effect from this time in these respondents' cultural biases. This is only an ad hoc explanation, which explains one deviation, but opens for several new ones. If the generational effects are so clear, one should also be able to find traits in SCB from other eras, like the Second World War. The "flower power" generation is special, though, because its effect was mainly on one age group during a limited time period.

synthesis happens at the individual level, that cultural biases effects are additive, and that Synthetic Individual Approach can be used for prediction of party preferences.

I will perform four analyses. First, I will look what kind of coalitions are likely to emerge between the parties. Supporters' cultural biases should have consequenses on parties' choice of coalition partners. Second, I will try to show that the synthesis happens at the individual level by using cluster analysis.[21] Third, the Synthetic Individual Approach postulates additive effects, therefore I will test how important the additive effects are. Finally, I will show how **party preference can be predicted** from cultural biases with the help of Logit analysis.

5.4.1 Parties Choice of Coalition Partners

I shall try to deduce what kind of coalitions parties can form from cultural theory. I assume that parties have to respect their supporters attitudes and values, and more specifically, I assume that party A can establish a long-term coalition with party B, only if party A's supporters do not reject a cultural bias that party B supports. In other words, one cannot establish coalitions with the 'enemy'. Thus, I need to find out all parties'

21

Methods like regression, analysis of variance and so forth, all operate on the sample level. They are variable oriented techniques of analysis, and their results should be interpreted as describing effects in the sample, not individuals. They cannot be used to establish that the mechanism creating the patterns found in the data are on an individual level, because the same results can almost always be caused by processes on the sample level. Clusters are formed of individuals who have combinations of cultural biases that resemble each other. It can therefore be used as an individual-oriented technique.

Label	Hierarchy Mean	Hierarchy Std Dev	Individual Mean	Individual Std Dev	Egalitar Mean	Egalitar Std Dev	Fatalism Mean	Fatalism Std Dev
RV	_,91	,52	_1,18	,88	,63	,57	,16	,40
SV	_,37	,84	_,45	,77	,41	,69	_,07	,65
DNA	,10	,85	_,06	,72	,23	,66	_,03	,73
Sp	,17	,70	_,01	,69	,02	,76	,18	,76
V	_,23	,84	_,17	,66	,12	,75	_,37	,78
Krf	,28	,84	_,05	,69	,12	,74	_,04	,71
H	_,02	,75	,31	,59	-,55	,93	_,24	,62
Frp	,20	,82	,46	,70	-,72	1,10	,03	,88
Other	_,11	1,13	,19	,92	,02	,94	,73	,75
DontKnow	_,01	,77	,05	,63	,03	,74	,08	,63
Wontvote	_,01	,86	,07	,61	,11	,62	,36	,67
Between Groups	_,01	,80	,00	,68	_,00	,77	_,00	,69
F	7,9		20,36		26,1		8,6	
Sig.	,0000		,0000		,0000		,0000	
Eta	,24		,37		,41		,25	
Eta2	,06		,13		,17		,06	

Table 5.2: Party Preferences and Cultural Biases

supporters' average cultural bias, and compare these to find which coalitions are possible and which are not.

If cultural biases have some explanatory power regarding party preference, one must be able to assume that different parties' supporters' average cultural biases differ, i.e., that certain cultural bias combinations will lead to a tendency towards particular party preferences. As long as there are no interaction effects between the cultural biases, and their effects are additive, I can use analysis of variance (ANOVA) to explore this.

Analysis of variances in Table 5.2 confirms that it is not likely that the means for different parties' supporters are equal.

In order to see how the cultural biases relate to the party preferences, we need to examine the cultural bias averages for supporters of each party.[22] As in all previous analyses, the cultural bias variables are standardized; the average for all respondents is

[22] Because ANOVA does not contain any assumptions about causality, it can be used "backwards", as here, where the dependent variable is categorical and the independent variables are continuous. The variances are fairly similar for each party preference, thus I can assume with confidence that I do have homoscedasticity. The n of the party supporters varies a great deal, and three of the 11 groups are small in size. ANOVA is still robust under these conditions.

zero and the standard deviation is one. Most parties' supporters' cultural bias averages tend to be close to zero, but there are many deviations, too. A value close to zero means that that party's supporters are close to the total mean, but this tells us nothing about salience.[23] The cultural bias can be important for the party or it might be unimportant. I will here treat these close to zero cases as non-salient dimensions; the non-salience can explain why the supporters for the party in question do not differ from the sample average.

Party	Synthetic Cultural Bias ordered by strength
RV	ihE
SV	iEh
DNA	E
Sp	
V	fh
Krf	H
H	eIf
Frp	eIH
Other	F
Don't Know	
Won't Vote	F

Table 5.3: A Boolean Presentation of Party Supporters Mean Positions

The means in Table 5.2 show the tendency for a party (to the degree as a party reflects its average supporters' attitudes) to rely on a certain type of cultural bias combination. I present in Table 5.3 the same results with a Boolean notation introduced by Charles Ragin[24], in a modified form. **H** stands for Hierarchy, **I** for Individualism, **E** for Egalitarianism and **F** for Fatalism. A **capitalized** letter represents **support** for a cultural bias (a positive mean), a **small letter** represents **rejection** of a cultural bias (a negative mean) and the absence of

[23] Not all issues and dimensions are important for all parties. It is possible that "a middle position is expressing neutrality or lack of interest" (Saglie 1994:61, my translation).

[24] In his *The Comparative Method - Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies* (1987).

a letter shows indifference (close to zero mean). As a cut-off-point for absence or non-salience, I have chosen to use a mean which is less than 0.2 standard deviations from zero, because it gives me a suitable combination of absence and presence of a cultural bias.[25]

I believe that one of the most important characteristics one can read in Table 5.3 is the relation between the cultural biases and willingness to cooperate and compromise. I assume that a respondent's support for a party is dependent on that the party will not form coalitions with cultural biases the respondent rejects. I also assume that a coalition must be built from support for cultural biases, not rejections. Lastly, I assume that Fatalism cannot be used as basis for political coalitions. So, if a party is supportive of several cultural biases, I would expect them to cooperate with other parties that support one or several of the same cultural biases.

By looking at both Tables 5.2 and 5.3, we can see that SV and RV differ first and foremost in degree[26]. Their supporters' synthetic cultural biases (SCB) are similar, with

[25] Earlier I used a cut-off-point of 0.5 several times, but that has been for individuals. On an agreggate level smaller deviations become both interesting and significant. Therefore, I consider 0.2 to be a sufficient deviation for a party average.

[26] There are very few RV voters in the sample, so the same phenomena can also be caused by chance. The few voters might not be representative for all RV voters. But usually the process of chance would lead to a greater SD, not one that is smaller than average, when there are only few respondents. A mean that is close to an end of a scale will also tend to produce a small SD, because the variation is limited on the side of the scale that is close to the end point.

the exception of the ordering of cultural biases after their strengths. **RV voters[27] are against Individualism and Hierarchy** as an organizing principle, and **positive only to Egalitarianism.** The standard deviations of the means on Hierarchy and Fatalism are small, which is a sign of a high degree of unity among RV voters on these two dimensions. **The average SV voter is first and foremost against Individualism and only secondly promoting Egalitarianism.** This is contrary to the normal way of thinking about politics, in which parties concentrate on supporting something. My way of measuring cultural bias also allows for measurements of rejection. I find it both interesting and significant that RV and SV are both **more against** Individualism than they are for Egalitarianism, and that the main difference between the average voters of these parties is the ordering of the second and third most salient issues.

The average **DNA** voter **mainly** supports **Egalitarianism**. One should note, however, that the next strongest cultural bias is supporting Hierarchy. Because all other three cultural biases are non-salient, the average DNA voter will not find it problematic to support its own party when it forms large coalitions, if they can be legitimized by some gain for the egalitarian issue.

According to this analysis, the average **Sp** voter has **no strong opinions**. The two strongest cultural biases are Hierarchy and Fatalism. Since Fatalism cannot be used in

[27] I use the term voter here to refer to individuals in the survey who answered that they support the party in question.

concrete political programs, this leaves them with Hierarchy, and an openness to cooperation with the two other cultural biases.

The average **V** voter is defined by its **rejection of Fatalism and Hierarchy**. They differ from RV and SV by not having Egalitarianism and rejection of Individualism as salient dimensions. This is difficult to interpret. It makes no sense that for V only rejections of cultural biases are salient. Perhaps the Egalitarianism is salient, but has a value that is close to the average for all parties, reflecting more V voters' placement in the middle on this dimension than a lack of salience. This would lead to a very limited selection of partners for cooperation since supporters of Hierarchy and Individualism would be rejected.

The average **Krf** voter is defined by **support for Hierarchy** - the only dimension they support, but the lack of rejection of the other dimensions allows them the possibility to cooperate with anybody who is not rejecting Hierarchy (I take into account here, as in other part of the discussion, only results in table 5.2 and 5.3.).

The average **H** voter is **rejecting Egalitarianism, supporting Individualism and rejecting Fatalism.** This makes it possible for them to cooperate with people who support either Hierarchy or Individualism. It is also easy to see where the conflict between H and DNA lies; in their opposing attitudes towards Egalitarianism.

The average **Frp** voter is **rejecting Egalitarianism** and **supporting Individualism** and Hierarchy. And since Fatalism is ruled out as basis for cooperation, they can only cooperate with parties that they agree with in the first place.

The voters of Other parties have the strongest mean support for Fatalism. This might tell us something about the voters who choose to vote for parties who have very small chances to become represented. It is possible that the fatalists have low political resources and fail to recognize parties' chances to be represented, or perhaps fatalists are indifferent towards politics.

The respondents who say they **do not know whom to vote for** are usually found in **the middle position on all four cultural biases**, with a slight tendency towards supporting Fatalism. This combination gives them a possibility to vote for anybody or nobody, it just does not make any difference. Since all biases are supported, there is no reason to prefer one party to another. The people who **will not vote** usually have a **high score on Fatalism**. Their SCB position resembles the voters of Other parties[28], with the exception that non-voters show weaker support for Egalitarianism.

E	EH	IH
RV-SV-DNA-V-Sp	DNA-Krf-Sp	Sp-Krf-H-Frp

The content of this table is deduced from table 2 using boolean logic. The Supported cultural bias in common for all the participants is on top of each column.

Table 5.4: Possible Coalitions based on Cultural Biases

Table 5.4 show us all possible combinations for potential cooperation between the parties, as determined by their cultural bias positions. Only maximum coalitions based on some common cultural bias are reported. So RV-SV-DNA tells us that SV and DNA could form a coalition, with or

[28] This could be an indication of the Communist Party being included in the Other parties. The forthcoming discussion around the clusters might shed some light on the issue.

without the presence of RV. Many of the listed coalitions commonly exist among the parties[29]. This presentation does not take into account the magnitude of the differences between the parties, and in reality both RV and Frp will have difficulties in making anything but temporary coalitions. Frp and RV would probably be excluded from several of the coalitions because of their general distance from the other parties.

This discussion has shown us how the distribution of cultural biases among supporters of the parties can be used to predict coalitions between the parties. In my opinion these three basic coalitions correspond with patterns seen in Norwegian politics. Rejection of a cultural bias was as important as support for a bias in this analysis. The logic of the analysis was actually dependent of rejection of a bias defining the parties one cannot make coalitions with. This analysis has shown that it is possible to deduce empirical applications for cultural theory from the Synthetic Individual Approach.

5.4.2 Cultural Biases and Individual Level Effects - a Cluster Analysis

The Synthetic Individual Approach has its starting point in the simultaneous presence and effect of multiple cultural biases in the individual. To understand how cultural biases and parties covariate together, it is not enough to show that there are some general correlations on an aggregate level, as in the previous discussion. It is possible that there is a general covariation between each of the cultural biases and the parties which is not present on the individual level, as claimed by the Synthetic Individual Approach.

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[29] Party coalitions are treated in Bilstad (1994).

To check if the Synthetic Individual assumption holds I need to show that the combinations on an individual level have additive character and that the negative responses are just as significant as the positive responses. If we now examine how these clusters influence party preference, we are getting much closer to showing how certain combinations influence an individual's party preference.

We can see in Table 5.5 how the respondents belonging to different clusters differ in their party preferences.[30] I will present the discussion cluster by cluster instead of party by party, because this will force the focus in the discussion onto the individual with a certain cultural bias combination, and the choices she makes. It will also make it possible to see what happens when support for or rejection of one bias is either added or taken

CULTQC16 Cultural Biases in 16 Clusters by PARTYPRF Vote if today

Adj Res -RV / CULTQC16	SV	DNA	Sp	V	Krf	H	Frp	Other	DontKnow	Wontvote	Row Total	
e	_,6	_,9	2,5	,0	_,9	_1,1	**3,1**	**2,5**	,9	,2	_,9	3,3%	42
hiEf	_,7	**6,0**	,0	_1,2	**4,1**	,1	2,9	_1,9	_,8	_,9	_1,3	4,6%	59
none	,8	1,7	,2	,6	_1,0	,8	2,5	_1,8	_1,3	,3	1,7	10,8%	139
hE	,3	1,9	,5	_,4	,5	_,7	,3	2,3	,1	_,7	,1	6,7%	86
f	_,9	_1,0	,1	_1,0	,3	_1,7	**3,0**	,4	_1,0	,7	_1,5	7,2%	93
HEF	_,8	,3	,0	,8	_1,1	**2,0**	_1,8	_,9	,4	_,2	1,3	5,1%	65
He	_1,0	_2,1	_1,2	**2,3**	,1	**2,1**	,2	,9	_,1	_,1	_,5	8,5%	109
hIe	_,8	3,0	_1,7	_,9	_,3	_,9	**5,6**	1,4	_,9	_,6	,8	6,1%	78
IEF	_,8	1,1	_,9	,0	1,9	_1,6	_1,1	,3	,5	1,2	,2	5,0%	64
HiE	_,8	_,4	**2,6**	1,8	1,7	**2,2**	2,1	_1,0	_,9	_1,5	_1,6	5,6%	72
hie	,4	,5	,8	_1,4	_,3	_,5	_1,9	_1,2	1,4	1,7	1,2	6,3%	81
HIE	_1,1	_1,7	**3,7**	_1,8	_1,5	,1	_,9	_,7	_1,2	1,8	_,8	9,5%	122
hiE	**9,7**	**7,1**	_1,5	_,6	_1,0	_,9	3,2	_1,3	,6	_1,1	_1,9	4,4%	56
Ief	_,7	2,8	2,9	_1,2	,0	_1,0	**7,6**	**6,3**	_,8	2,6	_1,9	4,6%	59
F	_,9	3,0	2,0	**2,6**	_,3	_1,0	,3	1,3	1,4	,9	**2,3**	6,1%	79
HIEF	_,9	2,2	**2,9**	,1	_1,2	1,3	2,6	_,3	**2,5**	_,2	1,7	6,4%	83
Column Total	11 ,9%	181 14,1%	259 20,1%	121 9,4%	22 1,7%	82 6,4%	226 17,6%	71 5,5%	13 1,0%	229 17,8%	72 5,6%	1287 100,0%	

Statistic	Value	ASE1	Val/ASE0	Approximate Significance
Cramer's V	,20943			,00000 *1
Lambda :				
symmetric	,08180	,01122	7,06159	
with CULTQC16 dependent	,05052	,01369	3,61523	
with PARTYPRF dependent	,11673	,01676	6,65834	
Goodman & Kruskal Tau :				
with CULTQC16 dependent	,02545	,00270		,00000 *2
with PARTYPRF dependent	,05221	,00556		,00000 *2

Table 5.5: SCB Clusters and Party Preference in Adj. Res.

away from the combination.

There are several clear tendencies present. The first cluster *e* is composed of the respondents who reject Egalitarianism, we can also see that they tend to vote for H and Frp and not DNA. We can compare this with the cluster *hIe*, where respondents tend to prefer H and reject DNA. This seems to indicate that adding support for Individualism does enhance the possibility of supporting H and reduce Frp. The *Ief* cluster shows a clear tendency to support H and Frp. This is the cluster which has the strongest tendency towards Frp. This could indicate that Frp and H have support for Individualism and rejection of Egalitarianism in common, but H is also attracting voters who reject Hierarchy.

If we look at the strengths of the clusters supporting H, we can see how *e* (3.1) is weaker than *hIe* (5.6) In *hIe* we add the support for Individualism which is a typical right-wing characteristic, and the tendency to support H increases. Further, *f* (3.0) is less than *Ief* (7.6). In *Ief* we combine Individualism, *e* and *f*, and we get the strongest tendency to support H. These differences in the strengts indicate that it is possible that the cultural biases' effects are additive.

There are several clusters that show support for Egalitarianism. Cluster *hiEf* should be the most radical cluster in the sample, since it supports only one and rejects all other cultures. We can see that it shows high support for both SV and V. It is particularly surprising that *hiEf* is the most important source of support for V; this seems to indicate

[30] I have emphasized values over 2 adjusted residuals, and underlined values below 2.

that V is a radical egalitarian party. Either the effect of the cluster *hiEf* or then supporters of V are different from my expectations. This does fit to a certain degree with *Cultural Theory*, since V is a party which promotes non-hierarchical structures, local government, decentralization and other topics typical for egalitarians. The rejection of Individualism is surprising; I expected liberalism to be a combination of Egalitarianism and Individualism. One should also notice the rejection of Fatalism: it is possible for the individual to make a difference!

So, where does this leave the traditional socialist parties? The cluster *hiE* show a very high tendency for supporting RV and a strong one for SV. This is also the only cluster showing support for RV over 0.8 adj.res., and seven of the 11 RV voters are from this cluster. The main difference between this cluster and the previous one is that this cluster does not have a strong opinion on Fatalism. Perhaps radical socialism and communism's notion of the capitalistic system and the oppression of the working class gives the respondents opinions resembling Fatalism. The questions used, seem now to have this kind of effect. It is hard to say if this is a defect in the questions used or a true characteristic of the radical leftist wing in Norwegian politics. Thus it seems to be that respondents preferring RV, SV and V all reject Hierarchy and Individualism and support Egalitarianism, and that V and some SV voters differ from them by additionally rejecting Fatalism.[31] If we look at the strengths of SV support among *hiEf* (6,0), *hiE* (7,1), and *f* (-

[31] Grendstad and Selle have shown how the left-right scale has a close resemblance on a combination of increasing Individualism and decreasing Egalitarianism. Based on that RV, SV, and V would be close to each other on the left-right scale. RV votes score lowest, though. This

1,0), we can see how adding or rejecting Fatalism has a slight negative effect on the tendency to support SV. This indicates that the cultural biases effects can be additive.

I will now turn to social-democratic DNA. Their main cultural bias source of support is also among the clusters supporting Egalitarianism; *HiE, HIE,* and *HIEF*. These three clusters have support for Hierarchy and Egalitarianism in common, just as *Cultural Theory* has described the social-democratic regime. Because Individualism is a culture which gives preference to action[32], it seems natural that the presence of clusters supporting and rejecting Individualism would lead to conflict within the party. These could correspond to the traditionally more socialistic segments within the party, and to the more market oriented segment. *HiE* also shows a clear tendency to support Krf.

In the clusters supporting Hierarchy and Egalitarianism, *HEF* is the only combination of Hierarchy and Egalitarianism that does not lead to a clear support for DNA. The cluster *F* also shows a decrease in support for DNA. This seems to indicate that adding Fatalism moves respondents away from DNA. Interestingly enough, *HIEF*, as mentioned earlier, shows a tendency to support DNA, but the tendency is weaker than the tendency shown by *HIE*. This seems to indicate that it is possible that the relation between the cultural biases is additive.

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could be an example of how left-right scale fails to grasp some interesting nuances between the parties' supporters, or how cultural theory, in my use of it, is on the wrong path.

[32] This is in contrast to Fatalism, that I view as a bias that leads to passivity.

There is one more cluster that supports Hierarchy, *He*, which shows a tendency towards Sp and Krf. Sp is also supported by *F*. These are the two only clusters showing a clear preference for Sp, which leads to an odd situation where the two different segments of the party do not have much in common. Promoting Hierarchy and rejecting Egalitarianism seems to be a very traditional cultural preference; it reminds me of supporting traditional society, and does seem to fit well both to Sp and Krf. In a previous chapter I did find high support for Fatalism among Sp voters, and considered it to be a general trait with Sp. Here fatalits are clearly shown to be a special group within Sp. The question, though, still remains unsolved. Why do fatalists prefer Sp? They also tend not to vote, which was expected, and to reject SV and DNA. Krf has been mentioned several times. The clusters showing support for Krf are *HEF, He,* and *HiE*. This seems to indicate that the cultural core for Krf lies in support for Hierarchy.

During the discussion of clusters and party preference (in Table 5.5) I have shown in several instances that the relation between the effects of the cultural biases can be additive. This additive effect is present in practically all cases where it is possible to evaluate its existence.[33] Rejection of a cultural bias has clear effects, and should hardly be ignored when trying to determine an individual's party preference with the help of cultural biases. Cluster analysis is a method that focuses on combinations of values in

[33] The evaluation requires that several cultural biases have either a strong positive or negative relation to a party. These strengths can then be combined. Clusters involving several cultural biases should have a stronger preference; this contradicts the idea of having decision-making problems when several cultures are supported. Perhaps these two processes are at work simultaneously.

cases instead of commonalities in variables across the cases (as regression). Therefore, It seems plausible that the additivity is on the individual level.

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