

THE ROLE OF ORDINARY PEOPLE IN DEMOCRATIZATION

Christian Welzel and Ronald Inglehart

Christian Welzel is professor of political science at Jacobs University in Bremen, Germany, and is a member of the World Values Survey Executive Committee. Ronald Inglehart is professor of political science at the University of Michigan. He directs the World Values Surveys and his books include Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy (with Christian Welzel, 2005).

Human empowerment is becoming an increasingly important driving force behind democratization. Although elite bargaining was central when representative democracy first emerged and still plays an important role, the development of “effective democracy” reflects the acquisition by ordinary people of resources and values that enable them effectively to pressure elites. The importance of this process, called “human empowerment,” is generally underestimated.

There is a tension between two different conceptions of democracy. The narrow concept hinges on suffrage and considers any regime that holds competitive, free, fair, and regular elections to be a democracy.¹ In this scenario, elite agreement is key and mass preferences matter little. Advocates of this position argue that certain requisites of democracy such as social mobilization are unimportant. This construct is often labeled “electoral democracy.”²

Critics of this view charge that it accepts even the most elite-manipulated societies as democratic as long as they hold competitive elections, and ignores the principle that genuine democracy is government by the people in which mass preferences shape public policy. Advocates of this broader concept contend that true democracy goes far beyond the right to vote. “Liberal democracy,” as opposed to electoral democracy, is based on mass voice in self-governance.³ The emergence and survival of democracy therefore depends on social preconditions such as the wide distribution of participatory resources and a trusting, tolerant public that prizes free choice.⁴

Which of these contending views is correct? Is democracy simply a product of elite agreements and concessions, or should it reflect the orientations of the general public? If the first, narrow view is correct, then the emergence and survival of democracy are independent of socioeconomic development. If the broader view is correct, however, then the emergence and survival of democracy are indeed linked to development. Both views of course hold true, depending on the definition of democracy being used.

During the “third wave” of democratization, which began in 1974 and peaked in the late 1980s and early 1990s, electoral democracy spread rapidly across large parts of the world. Strategic elite agreements played an important role. Additionally, the international environment, transformed by the end of the Cold War, facilitated democratization—especially in countries where the threat of Soviet military intervention had blocked it, or where Western support had long propped up anticommunist autocracies. A number of these same countries today, however, could not meet the requirements of the broader definition.

Again, when we use the narrow electoral definition of democracy, the correlation between democracy and socioeconomic development is relatively weak, but it becomes much stronger when we apply broader measures. For example, when the Polity Project’s narrowly institutional “autocracy-democracy index”⁵ is used to measure democracy, the UN’s Human Development Index (HDI)—based on measurements of life expectancy, Gross Domestic Product per capita (GDPpc), and literacy—explains only 35 percent of the cross-national variation in levels of democracy (N=114). This is a substantial share of the variance and clearly undermines the view that social requisites are unimportant—but it does leave the door open to the claim that elite actions might explain most of the variance. If we apply Freedom House’s somewhat broader measure of democracy, which takes civil liberties into account, the HDI explains a larger share of the variance (41 percent).⁶ Although this suggests that development is important, it remains compatible with the view that elite agreements are the major force in establishing democracy—that is, if we focus solely on electoral democracy.⁷

The picture changes dramatically when we analyze the preconditions for effective democracy. Many scholars argue that a number of the new democracies are plagued by massive corruption and lack the rule of law that makes democracy effective. A growing literature, therefore, emphasizes the inadequacy of “electoral democracy,” “hybrid democracy,” “authoritarian democracy,” and other forms of sham democracy in which mass preferences, rather than having a decisive influence on government decisions as democratic theory implies, can be largely ignored by political elites. Thus it is crucial to distinguish between effec-

tive democracies on the one hand, and ineffective or pseudodemocracies on the other.⁸

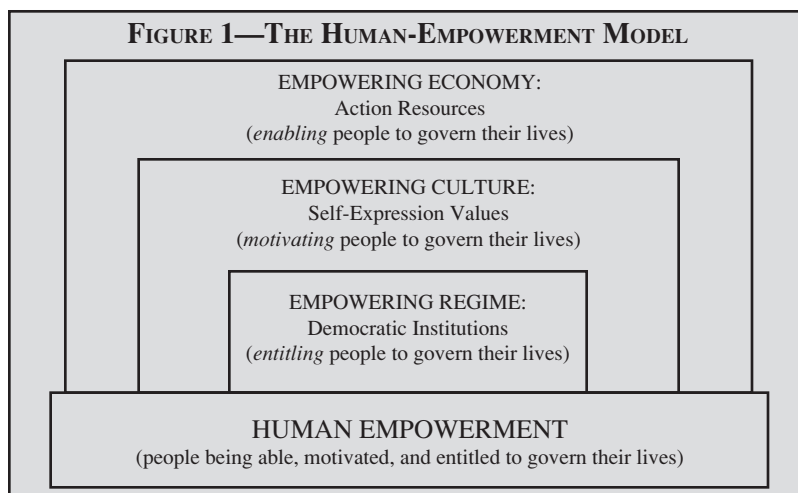
What Is “Effective” Democracy?

The essence of democracy is that it empowers ordinary citizens. But holding elections alone will not accomplish this. It takes more than simply passing laws that formally establish political rights to empower the people; those laws must be implemented.

In order to measure effective democracy, then, we must measure not only the extent to which civil and political rights exist on paper, but also the degree to which officeholders actually respect these rights. Freedom House scores measure the first of these two components. If a country holds free, fair, and competitive elections, Freedom House tends to rate it as Free, giving it scores at or near the top of their scales. Thus the new democracies in Eastern Europe receive scores as high as those of the established democracies of Western Europe, although in-depth analyses indicate that widespread corruption makes these new democracies far less responsive to their citizens’ choices than the Freedom House scores would indicate.⁹ Meanwhile, the World Bank’s “good governance” data, especially its “control of corruption” scores, provide the best available measure of the degree to which those in power abide by the law.¹⁰

To determine the level of effective democracy, we first take the Freedom House combined scale of political rights and civil liberties (with 14 being the worst and 2 being the best), invert its direction, and standardize it into a 0 to 100 scale, with 100 being the most free. We multiply these scores by the World Bank’s anticorruption scores (standardized on a scale from 0 to 1.0, with 1.0 measuring the least corruption) to produce an index of effective democracy. Effective democracy is thus the product of formal democracy and elite integrity.¹¹ The standard for effective democracy is obviously considerably more demanding than the standard for electoral democracy. Using the inverted Freedom House scale alone, the average country score increased from 51 in 1985 to 72 in 2000. But the level of effective democracy, which weights that freedom score for elite integrity, only improved from 37 to 44 during the same period.

Effective democracy is closely linked to a society’s level of development. Thus, the HDI explains fully 60 percent of the variation in effective democracy. In other words, the HDI explains almost twice as much of the variance in effective democracy as it does in electoral democracy. Developmental factors thus clearly play a dominant role in the emergence and survival of effective democracy. By contrast, one can establish electoral democracy almost anywhere, but it may not be deep-rooted or long-lasting if it does not transfer power from the elites to the people. Effective democracy is most likely to exist in states with a relatively



developed societal infrastructure, which includes not only economic resources but also widespread participatory habits and an emphasis on autonomy among the public.

The Human-Empowerment Triad

Democracy can be effective only if power is vested in the people. We have identified a human-empowerment sequence that consists of three elements: action resources, self-expression values, and democratic institutions (see Figure 1). Each of these components empowers people on a different level.

Action resources include both material resources and cognitive resources, such as education and skills, which help people to govern their own lives. Modernization not only increases people's economic resources, it also brings rising educational levels and moves people into occupations that require independent thinking, making them more articulate and better equipped to participate in politics.

Mass values and attitudes also play an important role. Factor analysis of national-level World Values Survey data from scores of societies reveals that two main dimensions account for well over half the cross-national variance across a wide range of values concerning political, economic, and social life.¹² The first dimension reflects the transition from agrarian to industrial society. The second dimension, called "survival versus self-expression values," is linked to the rise of postindustrial society.

Societies that emphasize self-expression values give high priority to self-expression; have participatory orientations toward society and politics; support gender equality; are relatively tolerant of foreigners, homosexuals, and other out-groups; and rank high on interpersonal trust. Societies that emphasize survival values, on the other hand, tend to have

the opposite preferences in each of these areas. A growing emphasis on self-expression values increases the demand for civil and political liberties, gender equality, and responsive government, thereby helping to establish and sustain democratic institutions. These values play an important role in democratization because they give high priority to free choice in leading one's life.¹³

Democratic institutions provide the civil and political rights that allow people to shape public life as well as their private lives. Together these elements make human empowerment possible. Consequently, effective democracy tends to be found in societies with strong self-expression values and abundant action resources. Rising levels of resources increase people's ability to place pressure on elites. Abundant resources also generate a greater emphasis on self-expression values, leading publics to put greater emphasis on free choice in politics—thereby making it increasingly difficult for elites to resist effective democratization.

The human-empowerment sequence is based on two causal linkages. First, economic development increases ordinary people's resources, leading to the emergence of self-expression values. Virtually everyone wants freedom and autonomy, but people's priorities reflect their socioeconomic conditions, and they therefore place the highest subjective value on their most pressing needs. Since material sustenance and physical security are the first requirements for survival, people assign them top priority under conditions of scarcity; with growing prosperity, people become more likely to emphasize autonomy and self-expression values. Moreover, people tend to adjust their aspirations to their capabilities, making democratic freedoms more imperative when people have the resources needed to practice them. Thus a society's level of resources explains 77 percent of the variation in how strongly a country's people emphasize self-expression values.¹⁴

Second, effective democratic institutions emerge in societies that emphasize self-expression values. In response to survey questions about whether democracy is desirable, strong majorities endorse democracy, even in countries where self-expression values are weak—but in such cases, both the priority placed on self-expression and the propensity to engage in political action are relatively weak, leaving the elites safe to ignore mass preferences. This does not necessarily prevent elites from adopting democratic institutions; pressures from external actors might prompt them to do so. But if elites are not under strong domestic pressure to make these institutions effective, they are likely to corrupt them, rendering democracy ineffective. Again, the empirical evidence supports this claim. Although the extent to which a given public endorses democracy explains only 20 percent of the variance in effective democracy, the extent to which a public emphasized self-expression values in the 1990s explains 81 percent of the cross-national variation in effective democracy during the period from 2000 to 2002.¹⁵

Conceivably, the linkage between self-expression values and democratic institutions might be spurious. But in regression analyses controlling for the impact of endorsement of democracy, confidence in state institutions, participation in voluntary institutions, and the length of time a society has lived under democratic institutions, we have found that self-expression values explain far more of the variance in effective democracy than do any of these other variables.¹⁶ Similarly, in regression analyses controlling for the impact of a society's level of economic development, income inequality, educational level, ethnolinguistic factionalization, and religious tradition, a society's level of self-expression values emerges as the strongest predictor by far of effective democracy.¹⁷

The relationship between self-expression values and democratic institutions does not seem to result from democratic institutions causing self-expression values to emerge. The length of time a society has lived under democratic institutions in fact shows no impact on self-expression values when we control for a society's level of economic development. Economic development tends to make self-expression values increasingly widespread, regardless of whether people live in democracies or authoritarian societies.

These findings help to explain why economic development is linked with democracy: Development increases people's resources, giving rise to self-expression values, which give high priority to freedom of choice. Since democratic institutions provide the broadest latitude for free choice, people with self-expression values tend to seek democracy. In regression analysis, a society's level of action resources by itself explains about 75 percent of the variation in effective democracy; but if one includes the strength of self-expression values in the regression, the explanatory power of action resources drops to 35 percent, while self-expression values by themselves account for 45 percent of the variance in effective democracy. Growing resources contribute to effective democracy mainly insofar as they engender self-expression values. Effective democracy does not emerge because elites choose in a vacuum to adopt democracy. As publics become increasingly articulate, well-organized, and motivated to demand democracy, elites have less choice in the matter.

The Role of Self-Expression Values

The literature on political culture has always assumed that certain mass attitudes are conducive to democracy, but until recently this assumption remained an act of faith. Almond and Verba's influential 1963 work *The Civic Culture* study covered only five countries and could not perform statistically reliable tests of whether certain individual-level attitudes were linked with democracy, which exists only at the societal level.¹⁸ Today, the World Values Surveys cover more than eighty countries containing almost 90 percent of the world's population, making it

possible to measure whether countries in which certain attitudes are relatively widespread actually *are* more democratic than other countries. The findings demonstrate that certain mass attitudes are very strongly linked to democracy, but face-validity is an unreliable guide in terms of which attitudes have the greatest impact. A good deal of recent research is based on the assumption that societies in which the public says favorable things about democracy are most likely to be democratic. This presumption seems perfectly plausible—until one discovers that the percentages expressing favorable attitudes toward democracy are higher in Albania and Azerbaijan than they are in Sweden or Switzerland. At this point in history, most people are ready to pay lip service to democracy, and strong majorities in most countries tell opinion pollsters that democracy is the best form of government. But this does not necessarily indicate deep-rooted orientations or strong motivations. In some cases, it simply reflects social-desirability effects.

Globally, explicit mass-level endorsement of democracy shows a fairly strong and statistically significant correlation with the existence of democracy at the societal level. But, surprising as it may seem, self-expression values—which do not directly refer to democracy—are a much stronger predictor of democracy than is explicit support for democracy.¹⁹ Endorsement of democracy is not necessarily accompanied by the interpersonal trust, tolerance of other groups, and political activism that are the core components of self-expression values, and empirical analysis demonstrates that these are far more important to the emergence and survival of democratic institutions than is mere lip service.²⁰ This is true in part because self-expression values are much more conducive to prodemocratic mass actions.²¹ These values give high priority to freedom and autonomy as goods in and of themselves. Explicit endorsement of democracy, on the other hand, may reflect a variety of other motivations. Thus answers to survey questions concerning whether democracy is preferable to authoritarian alternatives are substantially weaker than self-expression values as predictors of whether democratic institutions are actually present at the societal level.

The Emergence of Self-Expression Values

There is a remarkably strong empirical correlation between self-expression values and effective democracy. The evidence indicates that the causal linkage is mainly from self-expression values to democracy rather than the other way around, and that democratic institutions need not be in place for self-expression values to emerge. World Values Surveys data indicate that in the years preceding the most recent wave of democratization, self-expression values had emerged through a process of intergenerational value change not only in Western democracies, but also in authoritarian societies.²²

By 1990, the people of East Germany and Czechoslovakia, who lived under two of the most authoritarian regimes in the world, had developed high levels of self-expression values. The crucial factor was not the political system; it was that these countries were among the most economically advanced in the communist world, with sophisticated educational and social-welfare systems. Thus when the threat of Soviet military intervention was removed, they moved swiftly toward democracy.

Self-expression values emerge when a large share of the population grows up taking survival for granted. As action resources develop, this worldview tends to materialize even under the most repressive political regimes, as people become more economically secure, more intellectually independent, more articulate, and more socially connected. This emancipates people, giving them more choice about how to spend time and money, what to believe, and with whom to connect. Even repressive regimes find it difficult to check these tendencies, for they are intimately linked with modernization, and repressing them tends to block the emergence of an effective knowledge sector.

By increasing people's material means, cognitive skills, and social connections—in other words, their action resources—modernization transforms people's values and widens their action repertoire. And people tend to use this expanding repertoire because free choice and individual autonomy have a profound psychological payoff: They increase people's subjective well-being, in accordance with what seems to be a universal psychological tendency.²³

There is no guarantee, of course, that economic development and modernization will occur. Some countries with authoritarian regimes may develop and others may not. But to the extent that these countries do modernize, they tend to experience the liberating effects of modernization, which their rulers can stamp out only by renouncing development itself. Although fascism and communism remained viable alternatives for much of the twentieth century, the urbanization, mass education, and economic development that accompanied industrialization made representative democracy possible. With the rise of the knowledge-based or postindustrial society, the proliferation of liberal democracies becomes more likely.

In knowledge societies, people grow accustomed to exercising their own initiative and judgment in their daily lives. As a result, they become more likely to question rigid, hierarchical authority. If the idea of democracy were not already known, it would probably be invented wherever self-expression values became widespread, because free choice and autonomy are universal aspirations. They may be subordinated to the needs for subsistence and order when survival is precarious, but they tend to take higher priority as survival becomes more secure. The specific institutional manifestations of democracy that have emerged over the past two-hundred years are largely a product of Western political

history. But the basic impetus for democracy—the human desire for free choice—is the natural product of an environment in which expanding action resources give rise to self-expression values.

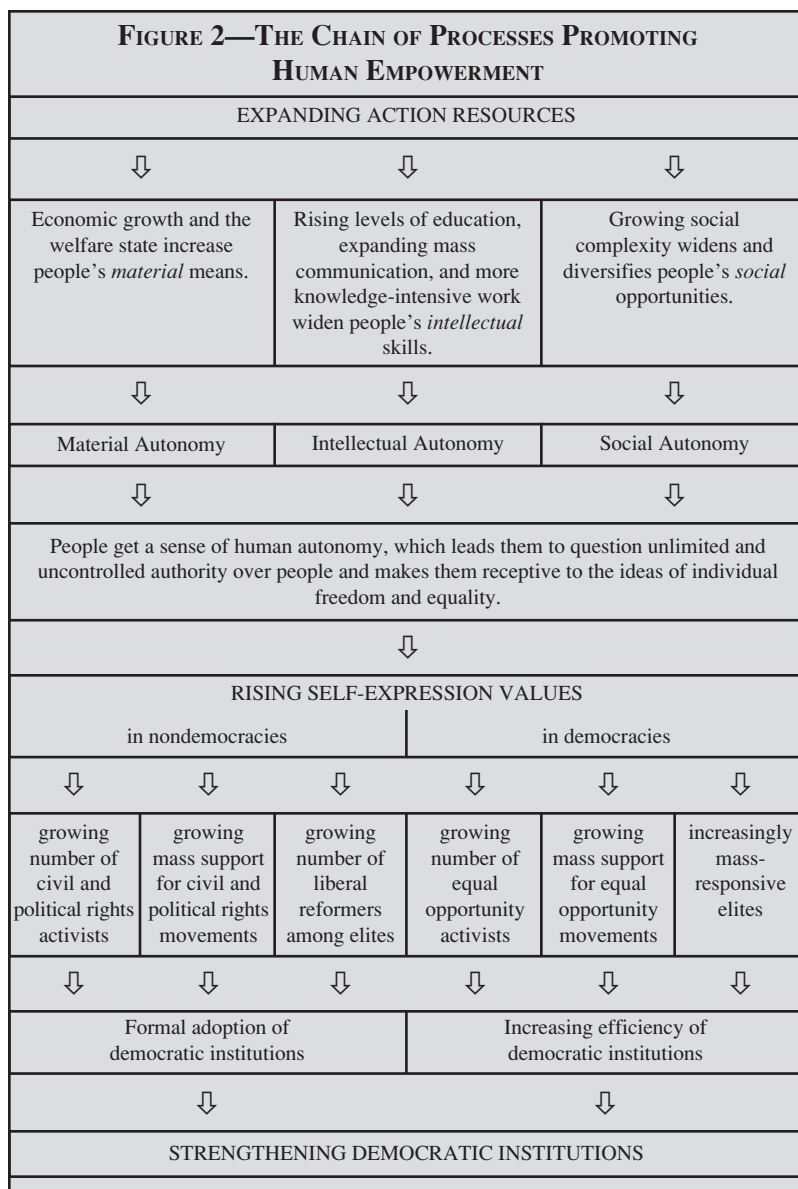
Elites almost always prefer to retain as much power as possible. Accordingly, democratic institutions have generally emerged because people struggled for them, from the liberal revolutions of the eighteenth century to the democratic revolutions of the late-twentieth century. People's motivations and values played an important role in the past and are playing an ever more important role today, since values based on self-expression have been on the rise in most parts of the world. Does this mean that authoritarian systems will inevitably crumble? Not necessarily. While self-expression values tend to erode the legitimacy of authoritarian systems, as long as determined elites control the armies and police services, they may be able to repress prodemocratic forces. Fortunately, people do not struggle for democracy for instrumental reasons alone. If they did, it would be relatively easy to buy off the leaders of democratic movements. The most dedicated activists in the struggle are those who value freedom intrinsically.

Modernization tends to bring both cognitive mobilization and growing emphasis on self-expression values. This in turn motivates ever more people to demand democratic institutions and enables them to be effective in doing so as elites watch the costs of repression mount. Finally, with intergenerational replacement, the elites themselves may become less authoritarian and repressive if their younger cohorts are raised in societies that value self-expression. Social change is not deterministic, but modernization increases the probability that democratic institutions will emerge.

Democracy and the Redistribution of Wealth

Recent influential works by Carles Boix and by Daron Acemoglu and his coauthors interpret democracy as resulting from a struggle between propertied elites and impoverished masses, in which both sides are motivated by conflicting interests as regards economic redistribution.²⁴ The masses want widespread suffrage in order to vote in the redistribution of wealth, while the elites oppose such suffrage precisely because they fear such a result. Consequently, elites will concede widespread suffrage only if they believe that it will not lead to extensive redistribution. These analyses use narrow definitions of democracy; they are analyzing how elections emerge, not how effective democracy emerges. As we have argued, elections and effective democracy are not the same thing.

Boix's version of this model postulates that the elites' fear of redistribution diminishes if income distribution becomes more equal, reducing the number of people who stand to gain a great deal by radical redistribution. Similarly, as capital mobility increases, the elites have



less fear of being dispossessed, since they can move their capital out of reach. This model assumes that the masses are always in favor of democracy; being a constant factor, then, mass demands for democracy do not affect democratization. Likewise, this model ignores the possibility that processes such as social and cognitive mobilization will enhance the general population's ability to intervene effectively in politics; this, too, is implicitly constant. It is solely in the hands of the elites to de-

cide whether to repress mass demands for democracy or to expand the franchise. Modernization influences the likelihood of democracy only insofar as it brings rising income equality and capital mobility, making universal suffrage more acceptable to the elites.

The major effect of modernization is not that it makes democracy more acceptable to elites, but that it increases ordinary people's capabilities and willingness to struggle for democratic institutions.

These assumptions are highly questionable. Empirically, we find tremendous variation in the degree to which certain publics give high priority to obtaining democratic institutions and in their ability to struggle for them, since both action resources and mass emphasis on self-expression values vary greatly from one society to another. The decision to expand political rights remains exclusively an elite choice only while the average person's action resources are meager. But economic development dramatically changes this scenario. Greater material

and cognitive resources enable the people to mount more powerful collective actions and to put effective pressure on elites.

Accordingly, the survival of authoritarian regimes is not simply a question of whether elites choose to repress the masses. Rather, it reflects the balance of forces between the elites and the masses, and this balance changes over time. The most recent wave of democratization was, in large part, a story of effective mass mobilization, motivated by a strong emphasis on self-expression values among people who had become increasingly articulate and good at organizing mass movements. The major effect of modernization is not that it makes democracy more acceptable to elites, but that it increases ordinary people's capabilities and willingness to struggle for democratic institutions.

Boix has developed a parsimonious and well-argued theoretical model that interprets democratization as emerging when relatively high levels of income equality and high levels of capital mobility are present. Under these conditions, the political elites feel relatively safe in granting universal suffrage. His theoretical argument is persuasive, and we have little doubt that such conditions are among the factors that sometimes contribute to democratization.

But Boix's empirical attempt to demonstrate that this *alone* is the whole story is unconvincing. In particular, his indicators of capital mobility are inadequate to prove his thesis. They include the relative size of the agricultural sector, which is a standard indicator of modernization; indeed, the transition from agrarian to industrial production is at the very core of the modernization process. But the transition from agriculture to industry is not a specific indicator of capital mobility and is linked with it only in the general sense that modernization tends to increase capital

mobility along with many other things. Boix also uses a society's average years of schooling as an indicator of capital mobility. Here again, he is using one of the central indicators of modernization, but it could be better used to support the social-mobilization thesis that rising levels of mass education enable people to participate in politics more effectively. Far from being an indicator of how secure the elites feel in their struggle to prevent income redistribution, mass education is actually an indicator of how effective the people are becoming in their struggle for political rights. Boix has simply relabeled standard indicators of modernization as indicators of capital mobility—and in demonstrating that they are linked with the emergence of democracy, his empirical analysis gives more support to various versions of modernization theory than to his own model of the conditions under which elites feel safe in granting political rights.

Acemoglu and his coauthors, meanwhile, explore why wealthy countries are more likely to be democratic than poor ones and in doing so discover some new insights. Using a massive historical data set, Acemoglu and his colleagues probe far back in time to see if increasing wealth preceded increasing democracy. Only when they push their analysis back fully five-hundred years do they find a positive correlation between changes in income and changes in democracy—a correlation that weakens or disappears when they control for fixed country effects. They conclude that both economic development and the rise of democracy are strongly path-dependent and that five centuries ago certain European countries and their colonists embarked on a development path linked with both democracy and high economic growth, while other countries moved on a path that led to political repression and lower economic growth.

Although the authors emphasize elite bargaining, their findings indicate that cultural factors also play a decisive role. While their analysis indicates the importance of nation-specific effects, they do little to clarify the nature of these effects. The nation-specificity and astonishing durability of these effects suggest that they are deeply rooted cultural factors similar to those uncovered by Robert D. Putnam in his analysis of the differences between the political cultures of northern and southern Italy, which he too traced back to patterns that have persisted for centuries.²⁵

Acemoglu and his coauthors are right: Economic development alone does not bring democracy. It does so only in combination with certain cultural factors. But these factors are not necessarily unique to certain European countries and the lands that they colonized. Evidence from the World Values Surveys indicates that in recent years these cultural factors have been spreading throughout much of the world.

Neither the Boix model nor the Acemoglu model treats mass values and skills as having an autonomous impact on democratization. Rather, these values and skills are implicitly held to be constants, and mass protest is simply viewed as something that happens when economic in-

equality is high. These assumptions may fit historical data fairly well, but they cannot adequately explain the most recent wave of democratization. Political motivations have in fact substantially shifted, and the propensity to participate in demonstrations in postindustrial societies has more than doubled since 1974.²⁶ In keeping with this, we see that from 1987 to 1995 historically unprecedented numbers of demonstrators provided the impetus for outbreaks of democratization from Seoul and Manila to Moscow and East Berlin. Moreover, the struggle was not primarily about economic redistribution but about political liberty. Indeed, democratization in the former communist countries was not motivated by mass pressures for greater economic equality; instead it shifted political power away from an elite class that strongly emphasized economic equality and gave more of such power to the wider populace, which emphasized economic equality less.

Democracy does not emerge simply from an interest in universal suffrage and the redistribution of wealth. It emerges from a struggle for democratic freedoms that go far beyond the right to vote. Throughout most of human history, despotism and autocracy have prevailed. This was not simply because elites were able to repress the masses. Rather, until the modern era, the masses lacked the resources and organizational skills needed to seize democratic institutions, and obtaining them was not their top priority. To understand how democracy emerges, it is insufficient to focus solely on elites—increasingly, one must also study mass-level developments.

Although economic development correlates positively with effective democracy, development's impact stems primarily from its tendency to encourage self-expression values. Modernization is a process centered on industrialization, which brings mass education, a modern occupational structure, and higher levels of existential security—all of which eventually lead ordinary people to place increasing emphasis on democracy. Oil-exporting states have accumulated massive wealth without following this trajectory, and to the extent that their people have not shown themselves motivated to seek democracy, such states have not become democratic.

It is not the have-nots who desire democracy most strongly, as some political economists assume. Instead, when people have relatively ample economic and cognitive resources, and move from emphasizing survival values toward emphasizing self-expression values, they strive most strongly for democratic institutions. Self-expression values reflect a synthesis of interpersonal trust, tolerance, and political activism that plays a crucial role in the emergence and survival of democracy.

Democracy can be defined narrowly or broadly, and if we use the minimalist definition of electoral democracy, the characteristics of the people *are* relatively unimportant; elections, after all, can be held almost anywhere. But generally accepted standards of what constitutes democracy

have become more demanding over time. When representative democracy first emerged, property qualifications and the disenfranchisement of women and slaves were considered perfectly compatible with a democratic state; today, virtually no one would accept that definition. Scholars are likewise becoming more critical of narrow electoral definitions of democracy. If we view democratization as a process by which political power moves into the hands of ordinary citizens, then a broader definition of democracy is required, and with such a definition we find that the orientations of ordinary citizens play a central role in democratization.

NOTES

1. Electoral definitions go back to Joseph Schumpeter and are used by Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics* 49 (January 1997):155–83.

2. The notion that democracy emerges as a product of strategic elite agreements is advanced by Guillermo O'Donnell and Phillippe C. Schmitter in *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

3. The liberal notion of democracy, which considers a wide set of civil and political rights to be an integral part of democracy, is proposed by Robert A. Dahl in *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971).

4. The argument that democracy emerges and survives in a setting of widespread participatory resources and self-expression values, supported by empirical evidence from more than seventy societies, is made by Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

5. The Polity Index measures democracy in terms of constitutional limitations on executive power and channels of popular participation.

6. The Freedom House ratings are based on expert ratings of civil liberties and political rights.

7. Since they include a Civil Liberties scale, one might think that Freedom House's freedom ratings would measure liberal democracy rather than mere electoral democracy. But Freedom House's dichotomous distinction between "electoral democracies" and "non-democracies" shows a .88 correlation with its 13-point freedom ratings. As they are actually coded, these ratings do not go much beyond electoral democracy.

8. David Collier and Steven Levitsky emphasize the distinction between effective democracy and deficient democracy in "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research," *World Politics* 49 (April 1997): 430–51; Larry Diamond also emphasizes the importance of this distinction in "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy* 13 (April 2002): 21–35.

9. See Richard Rose, "A Diverging Europe," *Journal of Democracy* 12 (January 2001): 93–106.

10. See Daniel Kaufmann, Aart Kraay, and Massimo Mastruzzi, "Governance Matters III: Governance Indicators for 1996–2002," World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3106.

11. For a detailed discussion of this index of effective democracy, see Inglehart and Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy*, ch. 7.

12. Ronald Inglehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Ronald Inglehart and Wayne Baker, "Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values," *American Sociological Review* 65 (February, 2000): 19–51; Inglehart and Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy*.

13. Inglehart and Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy*; chapter 2 explains how self-expression values are measured.

14. Inglehart and Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy*, 150.

15. Inglehart and Welzel, 155.

16. Inglehart and Welzel, 249–58.

17. Inglehart and Welzel, 196–208.

18. Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1989).

19. Ronald Inglehart, "How Solid Is Mass Support for Democracy—And How Do We Measure It?" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 36 (January 2003): 51–57. This finding is confirmed in Inglehart and Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy*, ch. 11, and draws further support from Christian Welzel, "Are Levels of Democracy Influenced by Mass Attitudes?" *International Political Science Review* 28 (September 2007): 397–424.

20. For further support of this claim, see Christian Welzel, "Democratization as an Emancipative Process," *European Journal of Political Research* 45 (October 2006): 871–896.

21. Welzel, "Are Levels of Democracy Influenced by Mass Attitudes?" 418. A multi-level analysis of World Values Survey data, which includes 250,000 respondents from the full range of societies—from plainly authoritarian to fully democratic, finds that self-expression values do lead people to participate in elite-challenging mass actions, regardless of how undemocratic a given regime may be.

22. Inglehart and Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy*, chs. 8 and 9.

23. The cross-culturally virtually universal impact that a sense of free choice has on life satisfaction is demonstrated in Inglehart and Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy*, 140.

24. Carles Boix, *Democracy and Redistribution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); and Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson and Pierre Yared, "Income and Democracy," NBER Working Paper No. W11205 (2005), http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=689386.

25. Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

26. For evidence, see Inglehart and Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy*, 118–26 and 224–27.