

# The Coexistence Paradox:

Why Does Mass Support for  
Democracy Coexist So Easily  
with Deficient Democracy?



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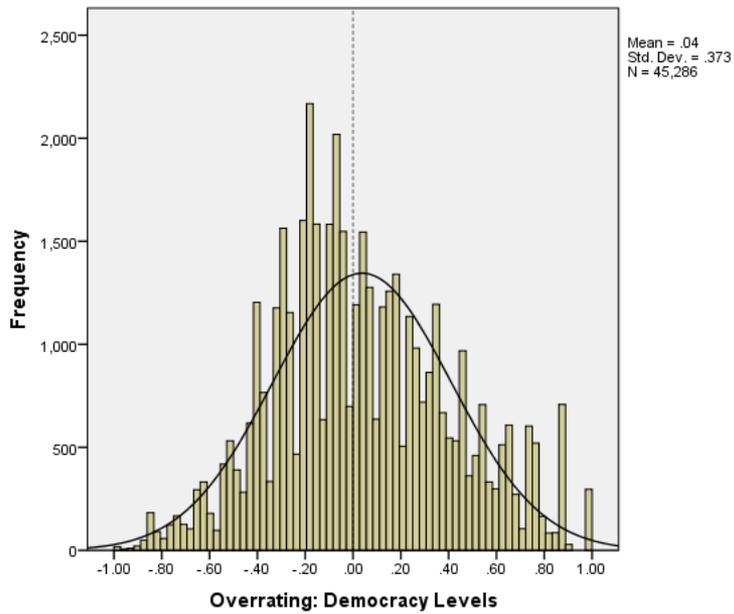
# FREEDOM RISING

Human Empowerment and the  
Quest for Emancipation

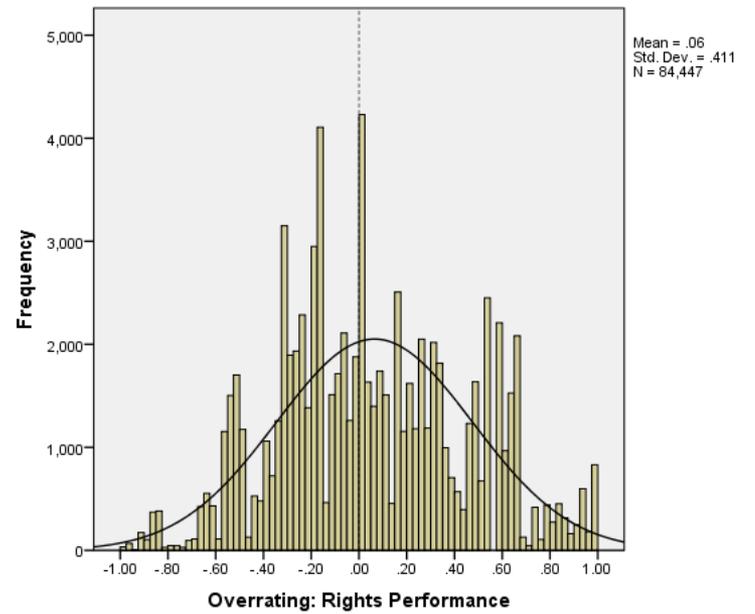
CHRISTIAN WELZEL



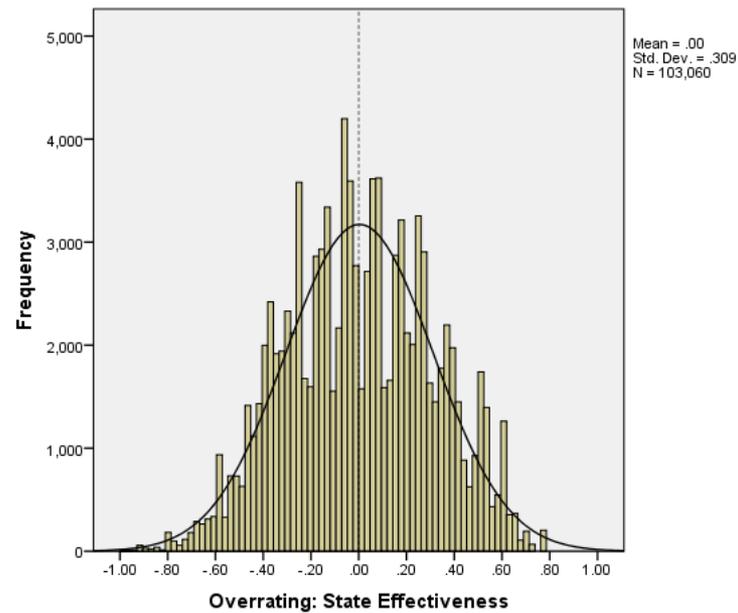
CAMBRIDGE



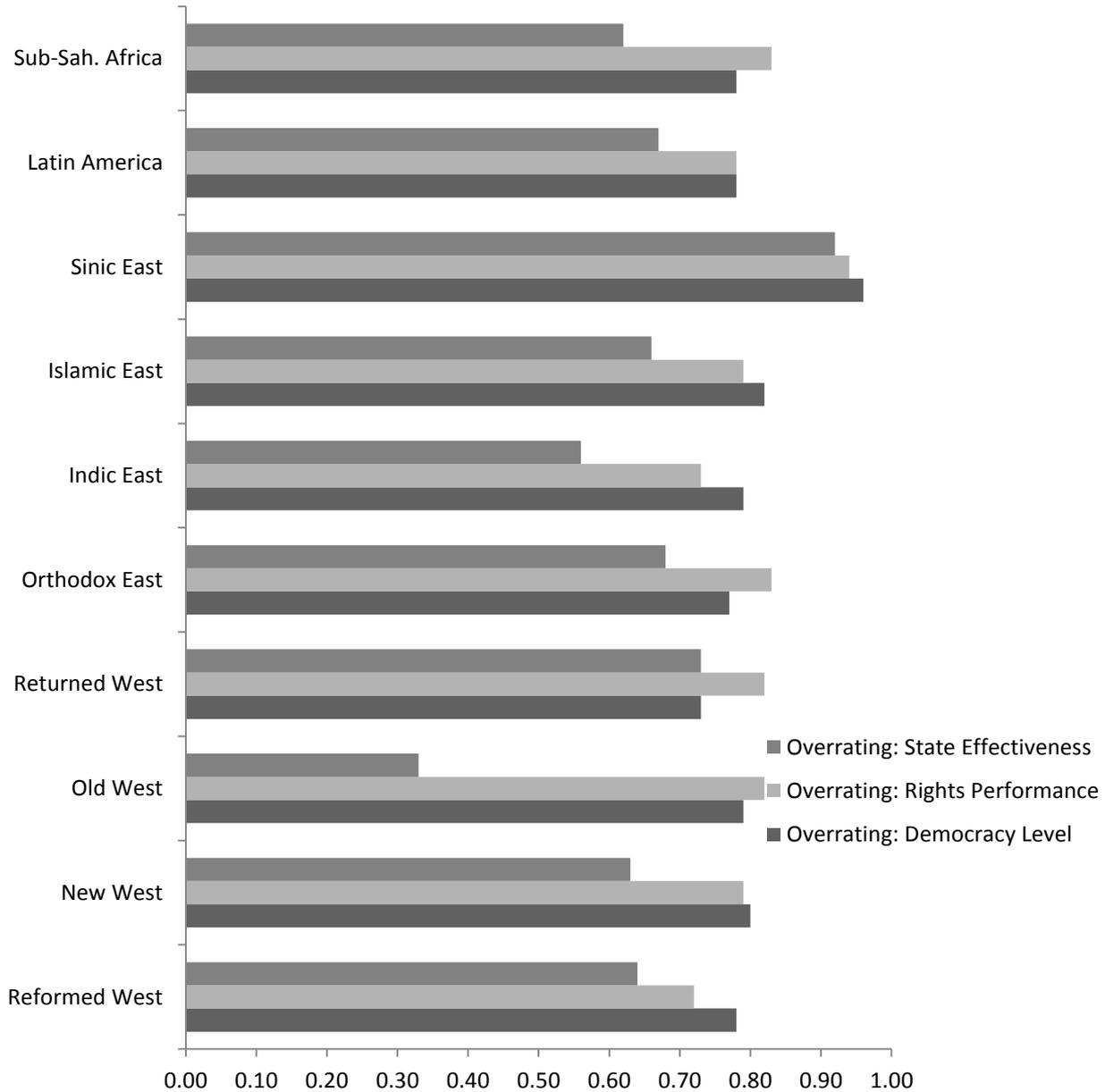
Cases weighted by Equilibrated weight-1000 [with split ups]



Cases weighted by Equilibrated weight-1000 [with split ups]



Cases weighted by Equilibrated weight-1000 [with split ups]



**Factor Loadings on Sole Underlying Dimension**

## Component Matrix<sup>a</sup>

Component

1

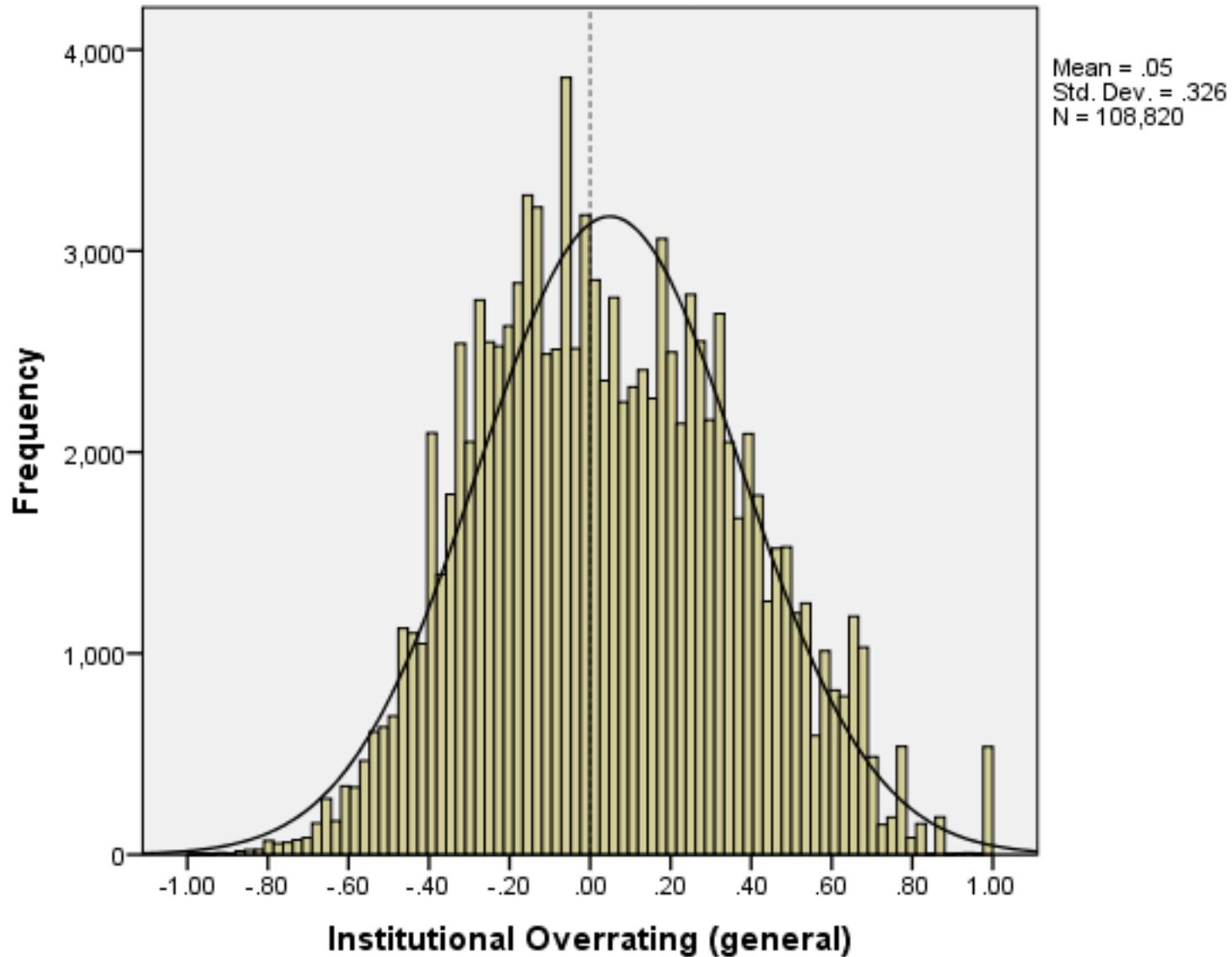
OVERRATING: Democracy Level	.982
OVERRATING: Rights Performance	.970
OVERRATING: State Effectiveness	.937
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.	

a. 1 components extracted.

## Reliability Statistics

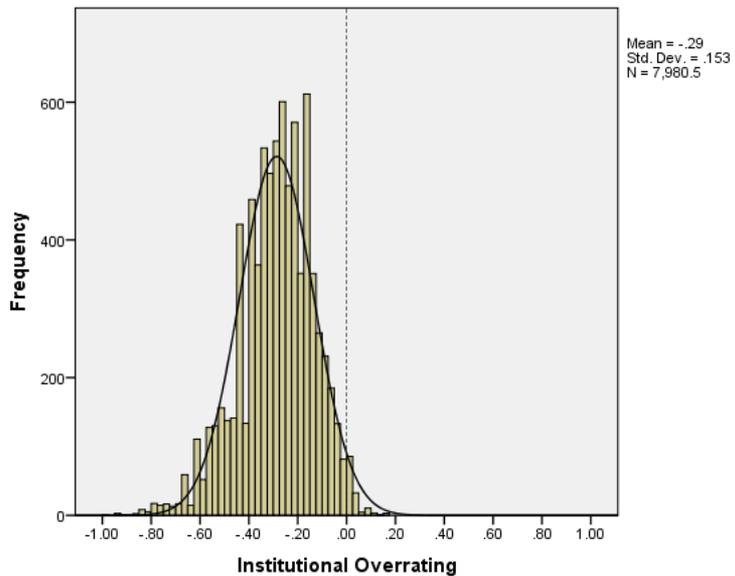
Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.957	3

# Histogram



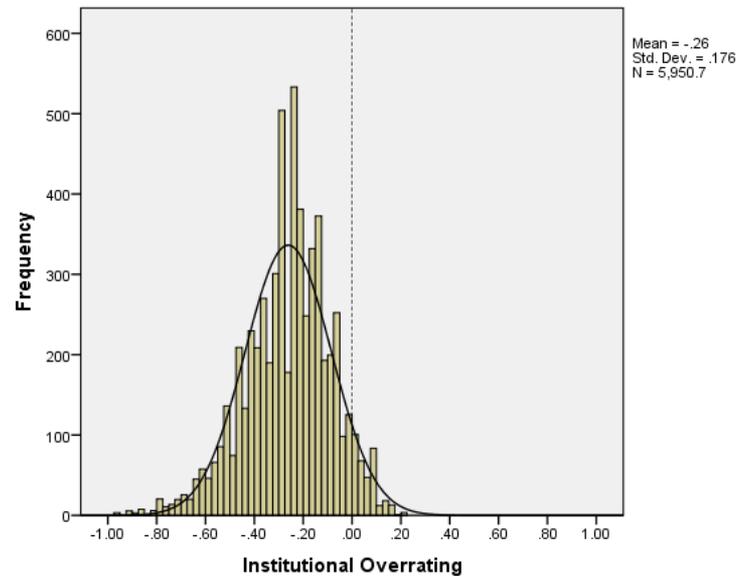
Cases weighted by Equilibrated weight-1000 [with split ups]

**cz10: Reformed West**



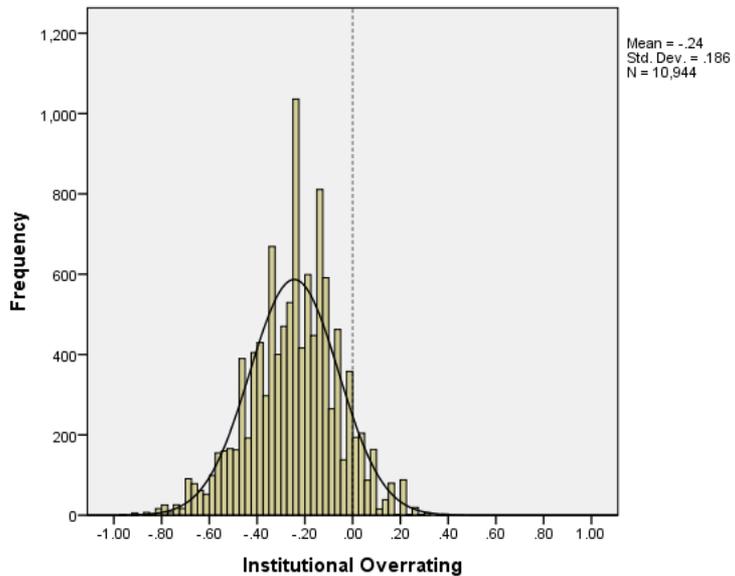
Cases weighted by Equilibrated weight-1000 [with split ups]

**cz10: New West**



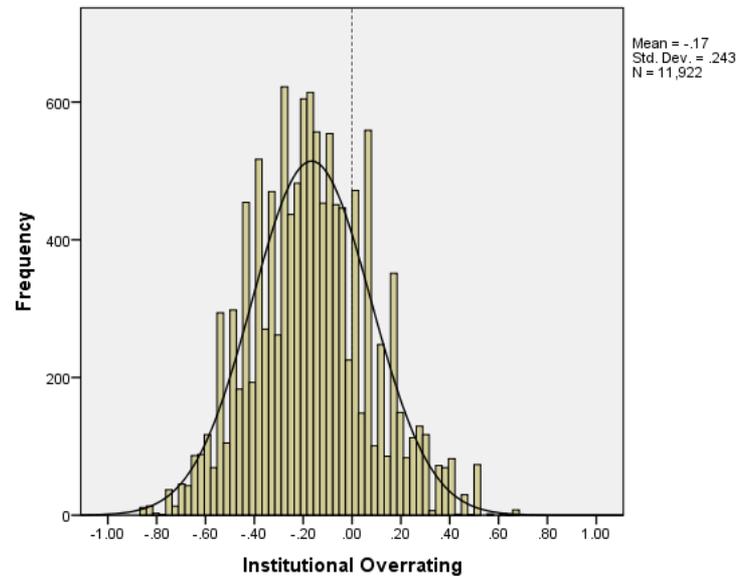
Cases weighted by Equilibrated weight-1000 [with split ups]

**cz10: Old West**



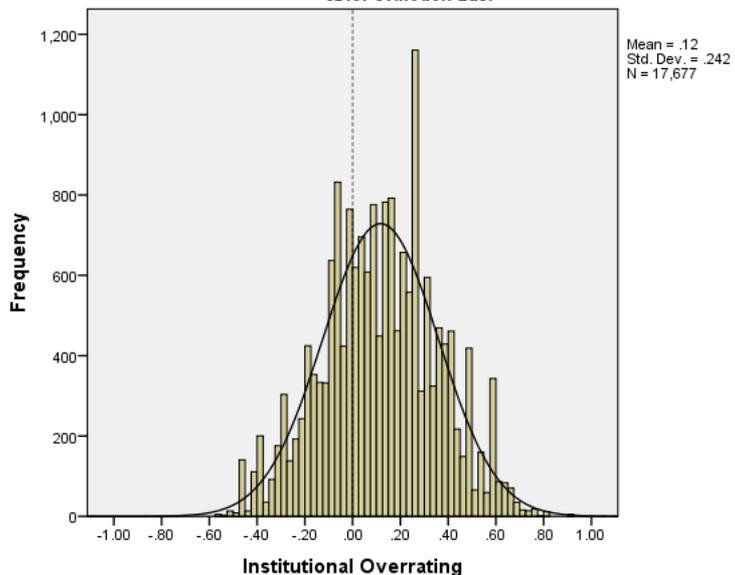
Cases weighted by Equilibrated weight-1000 [with split ups]

**cz10: Returned West**



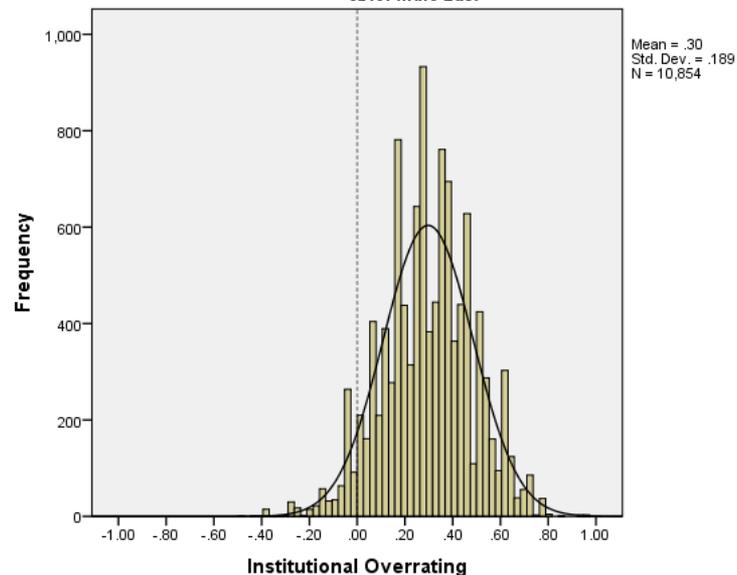
Cases weighted by Equilibrated weight-1000 [with split ups]

**cz10: Orthodox East**



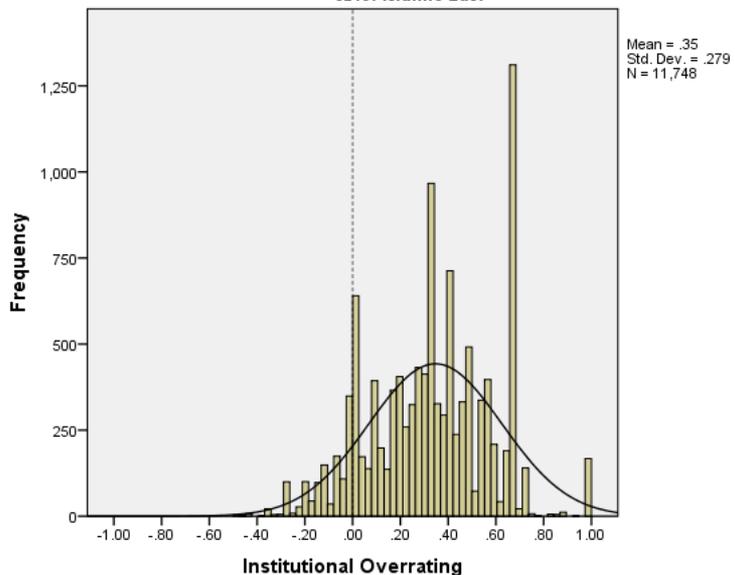
Cases weighted by Equilibrated weight-1000 [with split ups]

**cz10: Indic East**



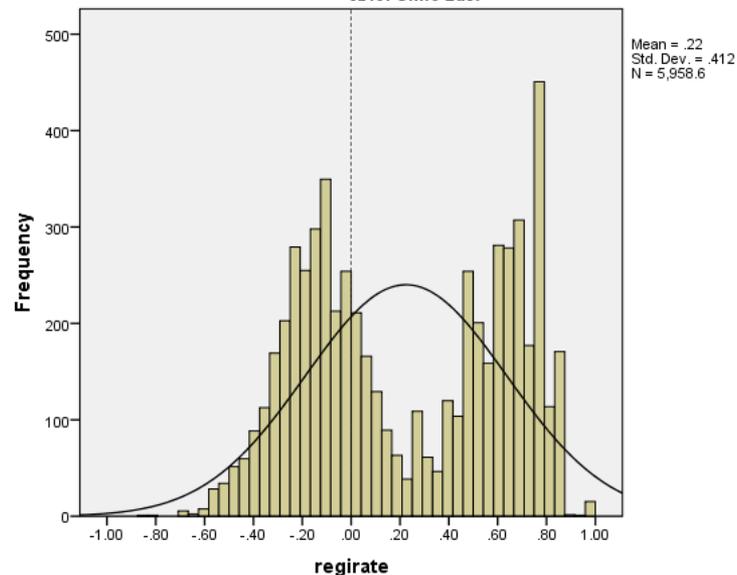
Cases weighted by Equilibrated weight-1000 [with split ups]

**cz10: Islamic East**



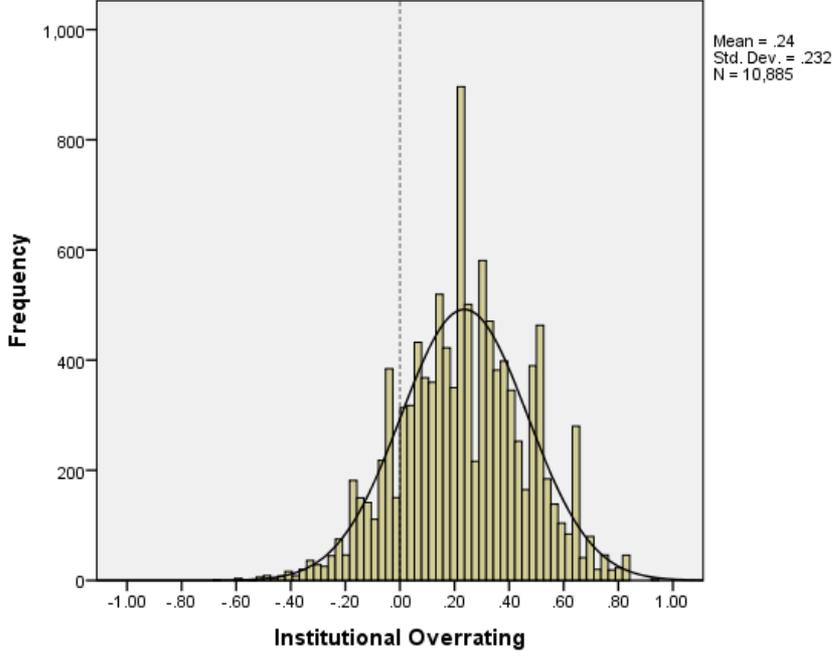
Cases weighted by Equilibrated weight-1000 [with split ups]

**cz10: Sinic East**



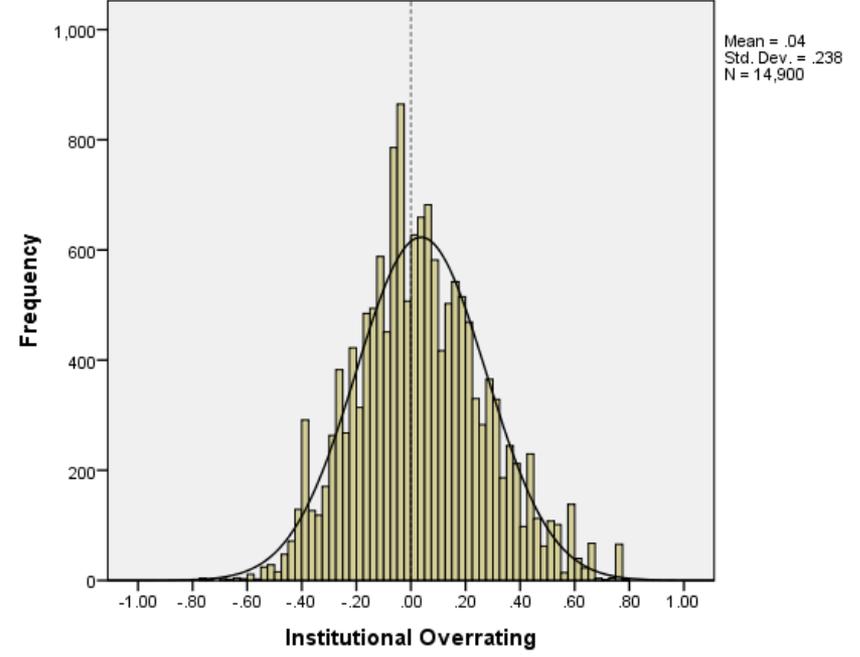
Cases weighted by Equilibrated weight-1000 [with split ups]

cz10: Sub-Saharan Africa

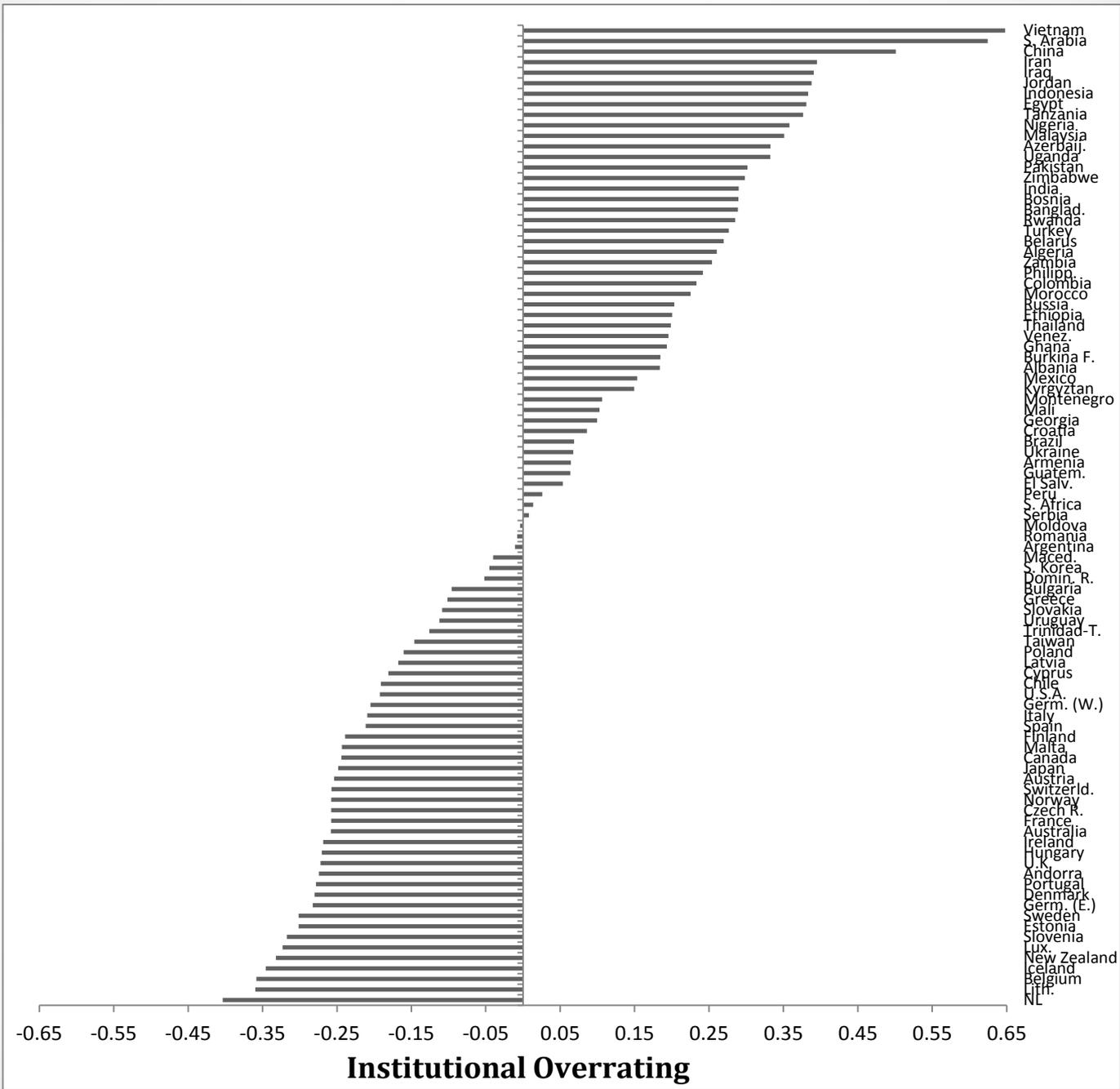


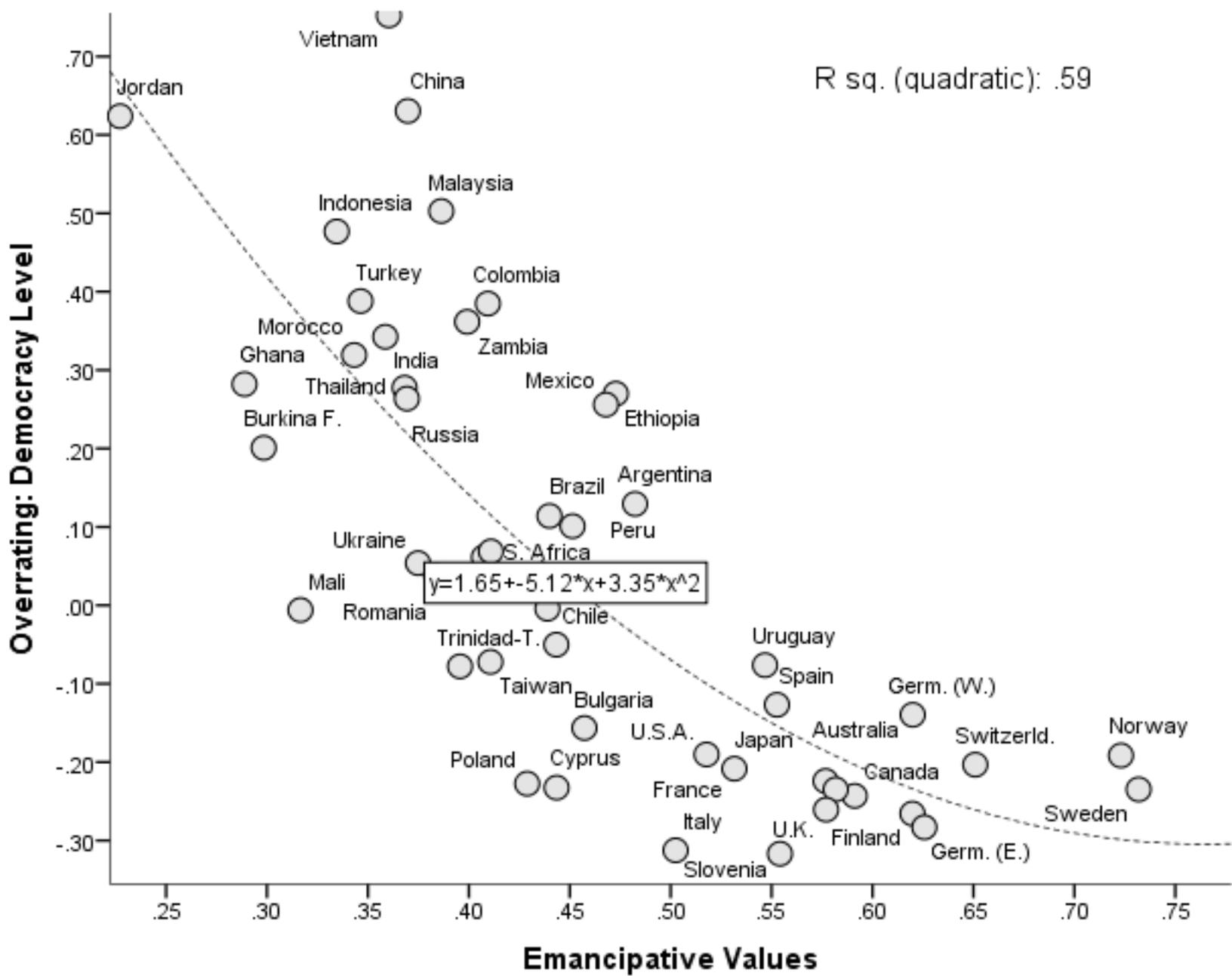
Cases weighted by Equilibrated weight-1000 [with split ups]

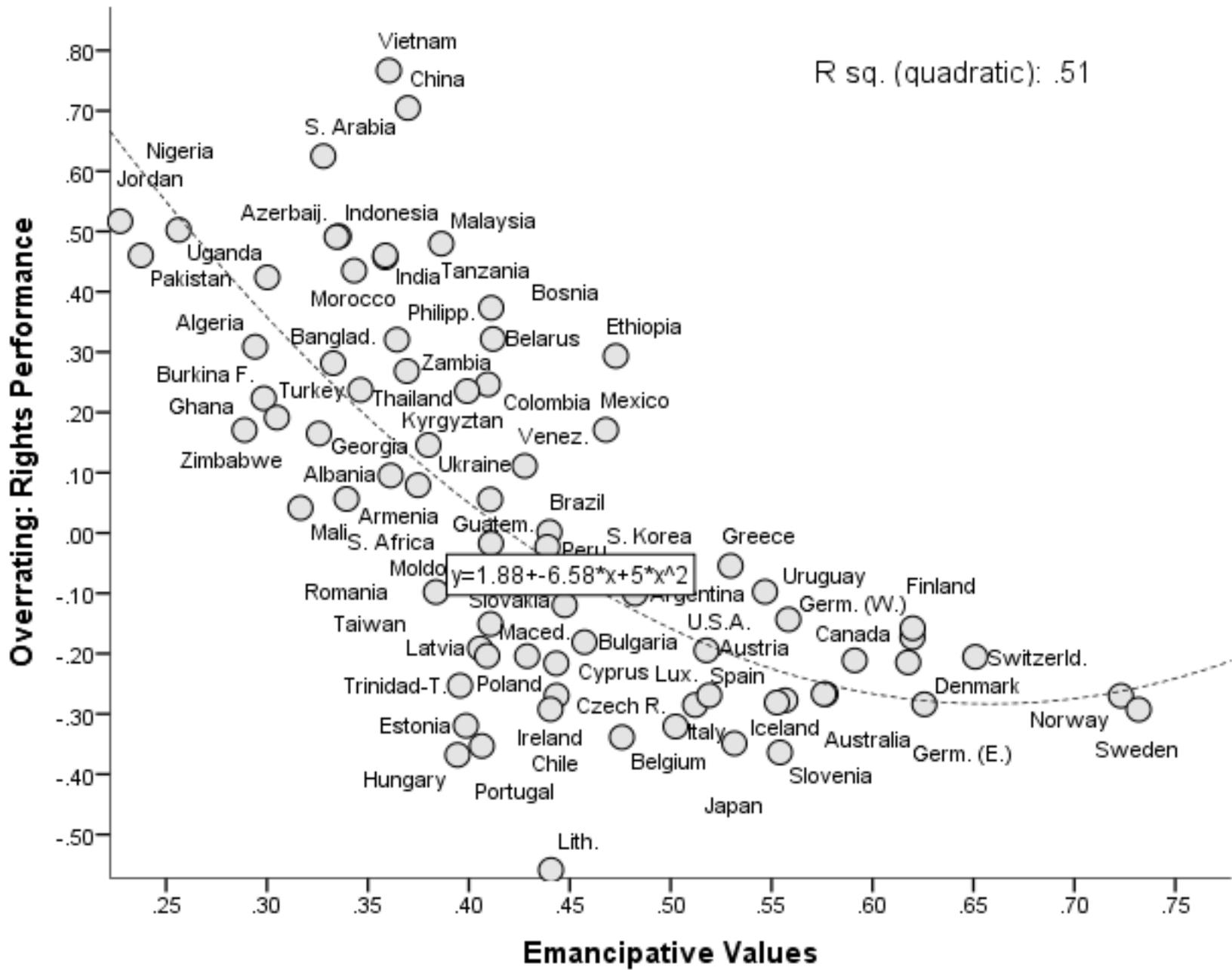
cz10: Latin America

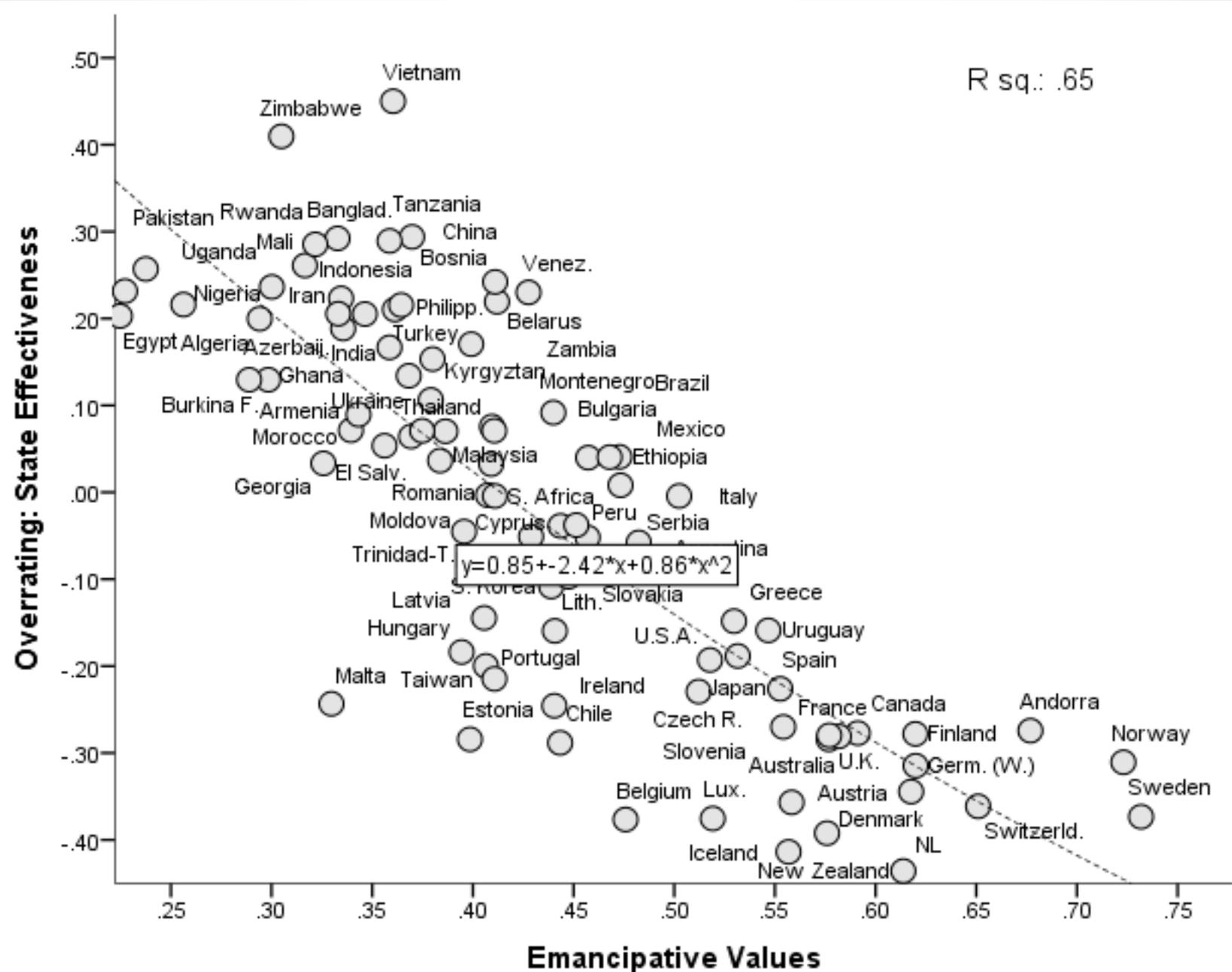


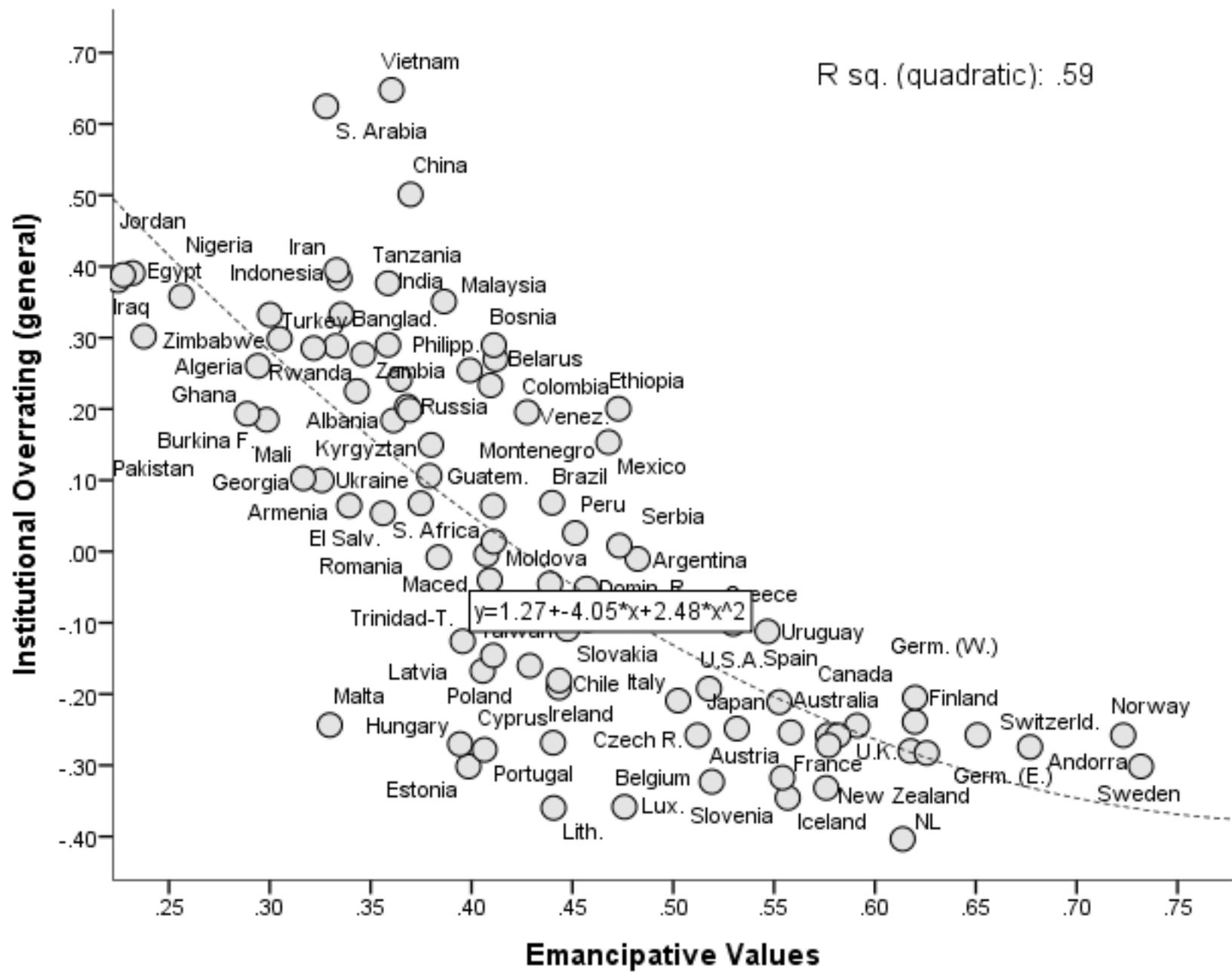
Cases weighted by Equilibrated weight-1000 [with split ups]

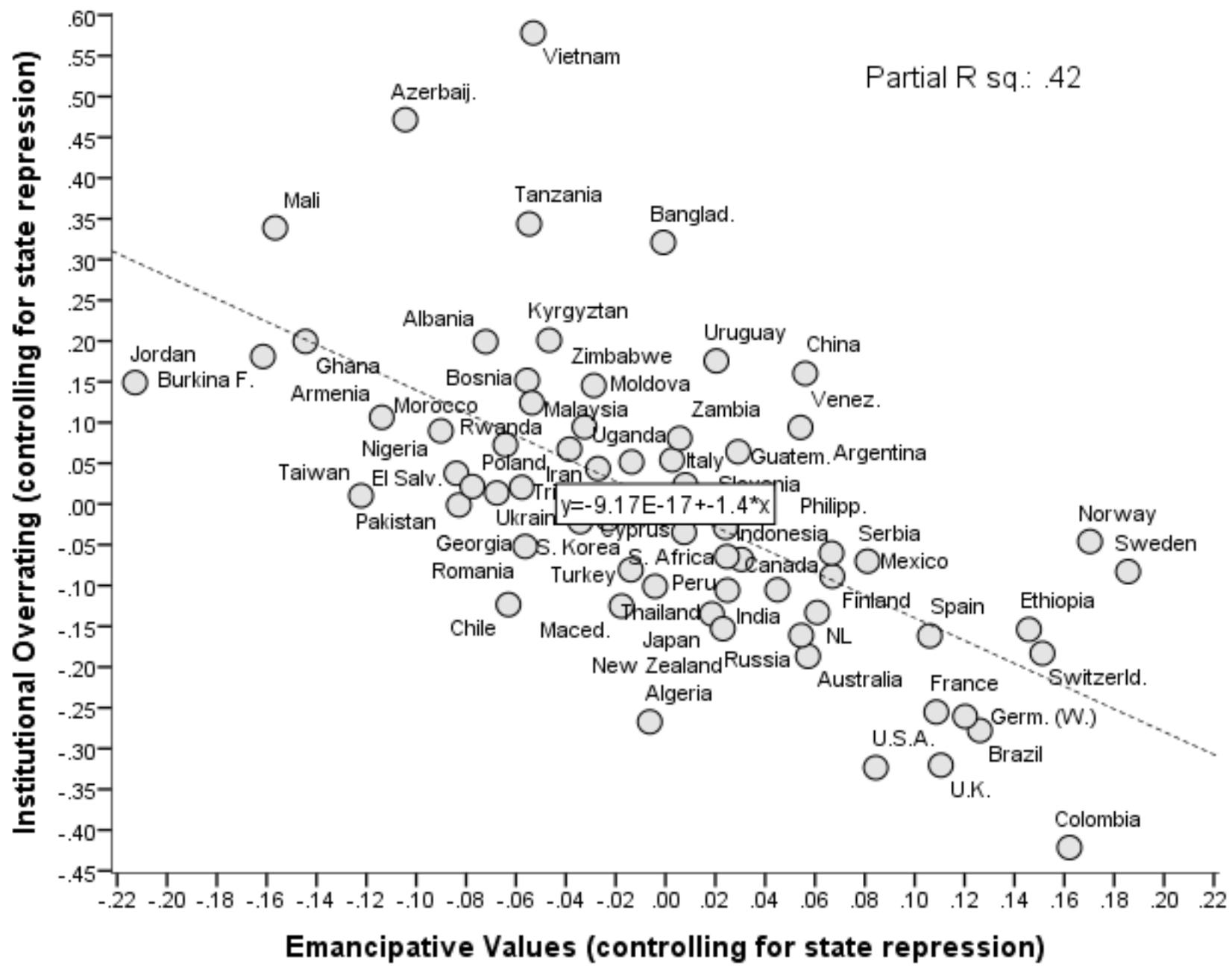












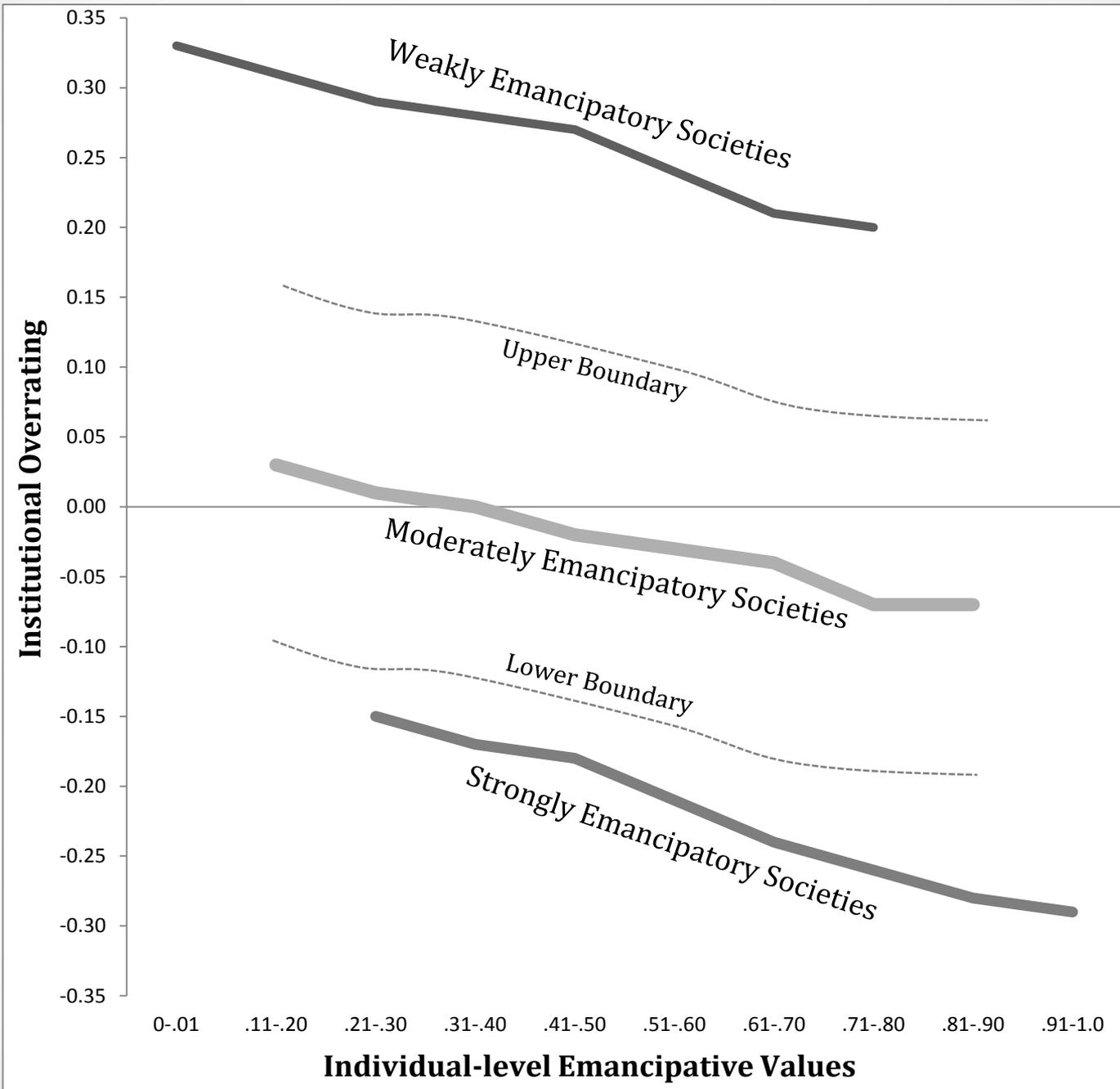
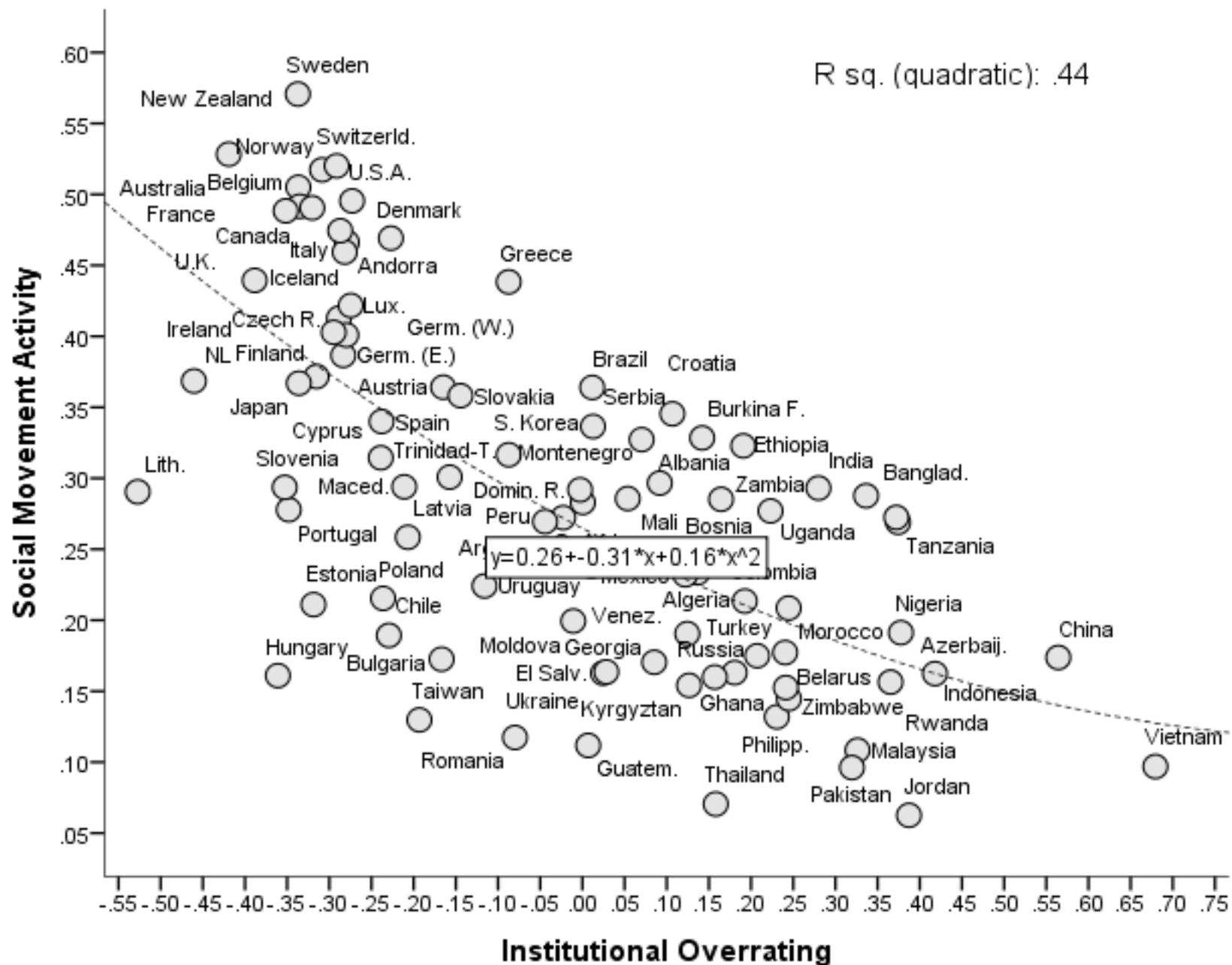
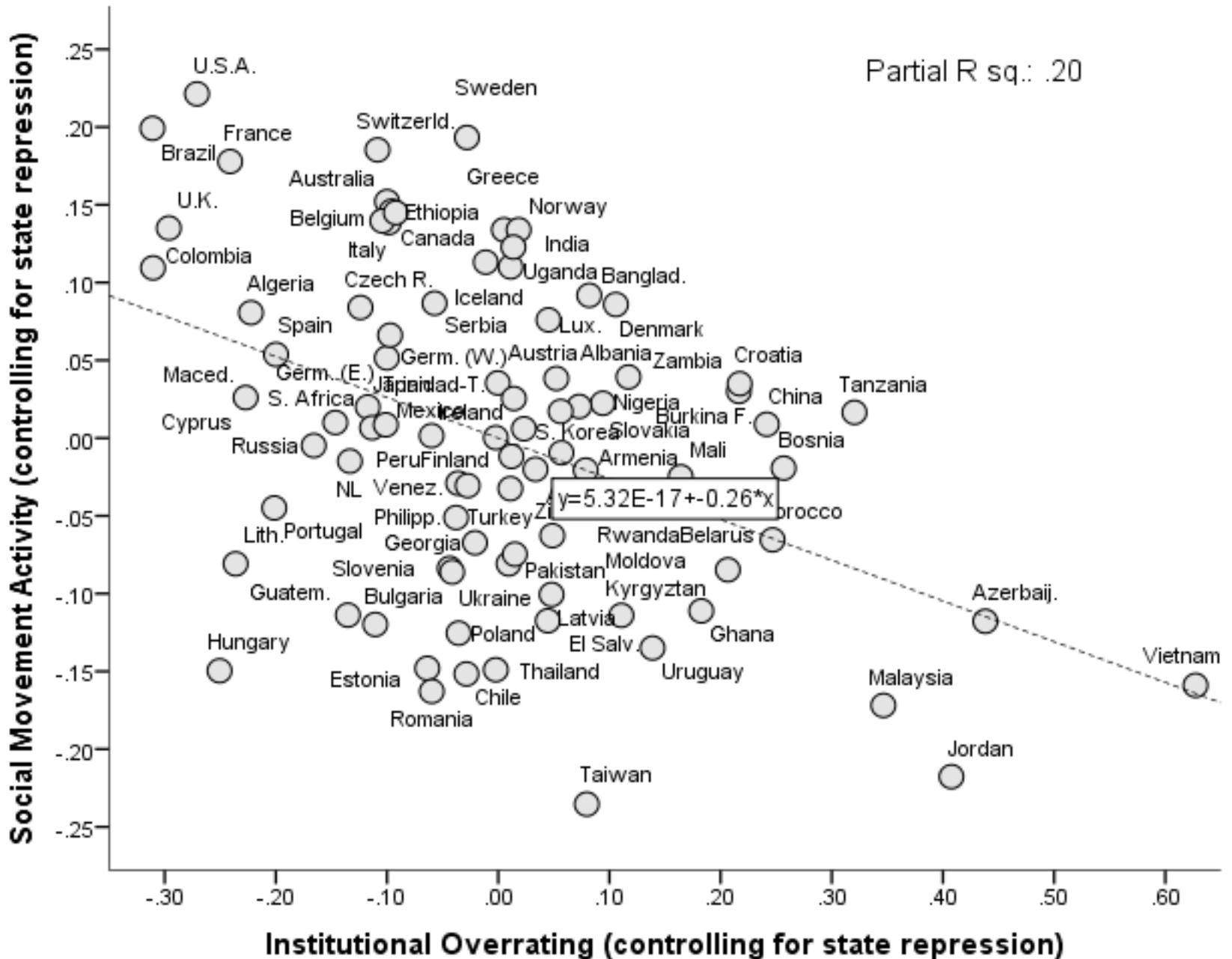


Table 1-1: Multi-level Model

PREDICTORS:	DEPENDENT VARIABLE: Institutional Overrating
Constant	N.S.
<i>Societal-level Effects (SL):</i>	
Enduring Democracy	- .14**
State Repression	.56***
Emancipative Values	-.70***
<i>Individual-level Effects:</i>	
Female Gender	.01*
Birth Year (indexed)	-.02*
Formal Education	-.02*
Political Interest	.08***
Emancipative Values	-.10***
<i>Cross-level Interactions:</i>	
Political Interest (IL) * Enduring Democracy (SL)	N.S.
Political Interest (IL) * State Repression (SL)	.05*
Political Interest (IL) * Emancipative Values (SL)	N.S.
Emancipative Values (IL) * Enduring Democracy (SL)	N.S.
Emancipative Values (IL) * State Repression (SL)	N.S.
Emancipative Values (IL) * Emancipative Values (SL)	N.S.
Explained Individual-level Variance	3%
Explained Societal-level Variance	74%
N (Observations)	135,260 Individuals in 89 Societies

*Notes:* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients (based on robust standard errors). Models calculated with HLM 6.02. Samples weighted to equal size, using the latest survey from each society (2000-2008). Explained variance calculated from proportional error reduction based on change in random variance component relative to the empty model. All individual-level variables (except female sex) are country-mean centered; societal-level variables are global-mean centered. 27% of the variation in Institutional Overrating is at the individual level, 63% at the societal level (i.e., intra-class correlation: .79). Significance levels: \*  $p < .050$ ; \*\*  $p < .010$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; N.S. - not significant ( $p > .050$ ).





# The Escalator of Enlightenment

Cognitive  
Mobilization

Emancipative  
Values

Evaluative  
Criticality

Social  
Movements

Effective  
Democracy



# Why Does Mass Support for Democracy Coexist So Easily with Deficient Democracy?



## Two Answers:

- (1) Most people's evaluation standards are rather uncritical, so they don't confront their institutions with expectations: no social pressure.
- (2) This in turn is true because many societies have not (yet) experienced cognitive mobilization and other enlightenment processes that give rise to emancipative values.



That's all, for now 😊 -  
Thanks for your  
Attention!

