

A Cognitive Background of Liberal Democracy: Logicality and Individualism

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Article

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- I . Introduction
- II . Preceding Studies and Research Objectives
- III . Simultaneous Presence of Logicity and Individualist Orientations
 - 1 . Modernization: Rationality and Individualism
 - 2 . Cultural Particularity: The West and Individualism
 - 3 . Logical Cognition and Individualism
- IV . Another Simultaneity: Liberal Democracy
 - 1 . Modernization: The Rise of Liberal Democracy
 - 2 . Cultural Particularity: The West and Liberal Democracy
 - 3 . Liberal Democracy: Logicity and Individualism - Transcending
Modernization and Cultural Particularity
- V . A Cognitive Background of Liberal Democracy
 - 1 . The Abstract Individual as a Basis of Individualism
 - 2 . Equality and Individual Rights
 - 3 . The Rule of Law
 - 4 . Freedom
 - 5 . Logicity, Individualism and Liberal Democracy
- VI . Conclusion

I . Introduction

Liberal democracy is a democratic system which guarantees individual rights through the rule of law. This is fundamentally compatible with underlying values which primarily appreciate the freedom of the individual. Such attitudes are based on the perception that every individual is independent, and therefore freedom is inherently desirable or rather essential.

There seems to be simultaneity between liberal democracy and individualism. Whereas liberal democracy originates from the nations of Western civilization, there is certain plausibility that economic development nurtures democratization and liberal democracy. In parallel, it is argued that there has been the rising tide of 'self-expression values' in response to the process of economic development. Some findings suggest that the 'self-expression values' are closely associated with individualism and the level of democracy (Inglehart and Oyserman, 2004; Inglehart and Welzel, 2005). Other perspectives assume that individualism or an emphasis on individual autonomy is primarily the cultural asset of Western traditions (Huntington, 1996; Pye, 1985) while liberal democracy is related to such a Western heritage (Bell and Jayasuriya, 1995; Parekh, 1993). In any case, liberal democracy and individualism seem to peculiarly coincide. Moreover, there is another element that resides with these two factors, which is a popular cognitive orientation that adheres to 'logicality'. It is possible that a certain kind of individualism is connected with a logical cognitive tendency. Furthermore, logicality and individualism possibly constitute a cognitive background that facilitates the core attributes of liberal democracy.

The purpose of this monograph is to highlight a cognitive orientation to 'logicality' as a crucial but overlooked element that underlies association between individualism and liberal democracy. This is demonstrated by incorporating insights from Cultural/Social Psychology. Another aim of this study is to fill a gap between a classic Political Culture approach and a Modernization approach in the

area of Comparative Politics. It is also envisaged to add a new perspective to the theory of changing values expounded by Inglehart and Welzel.

The argument is threefold. First of all, the parallel presence of popular adherence to logicity and individualism is considered with examples in various areas. These denote a connection between the two qualities, implying that a logical cognitive orientation is a crucial element that is conducive to an individualistic disposition. The second part indicates the tendency that liberal democracy simultaneously exists alongside the popular emphasis on logicity and individualism, which manifests in both modernization processes and Western cultural traditions. The third part presents rationales for the connection between logicity and individualism as well as their association with liberal democracy.

II . Preceding Studies and Research Objectives

There are perspectives which suggest a linkage between liberal democracy and individualism (or an emphasis on freedom) (Bell and Jayasuriya, 1995; Huntington, 1996; Parekh, 1993). Nonetheless, in the field of Comparative Politics, it is rare to find a study that explicitly points to a 'logical' cognitive orientation behind such a linkage while delving into the realm of human psychology. This monograph addresses such a cutting-edge issue, which adds a new perspective to the area of Comparative Politics. In order to fulfil the task, insights from Cultural/Social Psychology are incorporated so as to elucidate structural contexts where the cognitive emphasis on logicity is interrelated with individualism. These elements are assumed to facilitate the core components of liberal democracy. Thus, this research has interdisciplinary implications to connect Comparative Politics and Cultural/Social Psychology.

Among the disciplines of Comparative Politics, the classic approach of Political Culture tends to ascribe political phenomena in a given country to its particular cultural pattern (Almond and Verba, 1963; Lipset, 1996; Pye, 1985; White, 1979). On

the other hand, there are discourses of Modernization, which emphasize the effects of economic development in favour of the advancement or sustenance of democracy (Burkhart and Lewis-Beck, 1994; Epstein et al., 2006; Lipset 1959; Lipset, 1960). The former approach perceives cultural particularity as the source of political consequences, which connotes the lasting effects of inherited culture with a ‘static’ perspective. The latter approach includes the perspective of ‘changes’ in response to economic growth. The two camps present contrasting worldviews, which constitute opposite academic standpoints. The task of this monograph is to fill the gap between the two rival approaches, by pointing out elements that commonly exist in *both* the typical cases of cultural particularity *and* those of modernization.

Meanwhile, Inglehart and Welzel integrated both Political Culture and Modernization approaches in their theory of values transformation. According to this view, economic development is likely to generate cultural changes, which eventually facilitates political behaviour and governance that enhance democracy (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005). Whereas their disciplinary field is in the category of Political Culture (Welzel and Inglehart, 2019; Welzel and Inglehart, 2020), they presented ‘a revised theory of modernization’ (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005). As a major component of the cultural transformation, ‘self-expression values’ are apt to spread among the populace in the latter phase of modernization processes, namely, the post-industrial phase. This study aims at providing another viewpoint by indicating the presence of a cognitive element, which is interrelated with rising individualism comparable to ‘self-expression values’.

III. Simultaneous Presence of Logicality and Individualist Orientations

1. Modernization: Rationality and Individualism

The theories of changing values explain that, through industrial and post-industrial processes, peoples’ values are likely to transform, which can have a

consequence of growing self-expression values (including a Postmaterialist orientation) in a latter phase (Inglehart, 1997; Inglehart and Oyserman, 2004; Inglehart and Welzel, 2005). In relation to this, scholarly arguments suggest that one aspect of this transformation is the rising tide of individualism. Putnam argues that individuals in the contemporary US have been increasingly isolated and disengaged from civic social ties (Putnam, 2000; Putnam, 2001). Flanagan and Lee mention the growth of libertarian attitudes among the populace in advanced industrial Western nations (Flanagan and Lee, 2003). Inglehart and Welzel, on the other hand, observe the trend of such transformation in values with a rather positive interpretation (Inglehart and Welzel 2005). Welzel's examination of self-expression values suggests an empirical support for a view that the rising individualism possesses civic qualities (Welzel, 2010). After all, there seems to be an overall agreement in that people increasingly emphasize the worth of the individual. The values of personal autonomy, self-esteem, self-expression and self-actualization are more likely to predominate in highly modernized societies especially when accompanied by developed economy and long-standing affluence.

Meanwhile, there is another trend that underlies this phenomenon, which is increasing 'rationalization' in various aspects of society. Rationality is an essential element that underpins crucial attributes of modernization such as the advancement of science and technology, the institutionalization of economy, politics and society, and industrialization which integrates various resources in regulated manners. Numerous dimensions of society are systematized, whereby predictable outcomes tend to be produced. Moreover, as a major dimension of modernization, the higher level of economic development is likely to facilitate the affluent distribution of intellectual resources among population. 'Cognitive mobilization' becomes a growing trend of a society (Inglehart, 1977; Inglehart, 1990; Inglehart, 1997, pp. 166-171). The people consume vast amount of information in daily life. They are exposed to an environment where they constantly receive, select and process numerous pieces of knowledge, which demands the greater use of intellect at a

historically unprecedented level. In practice, the cognitive function that effectively deals with such information is rationality or logical-analytical capacity. For a rational or logical reasoning helps ones to screen and sort out appropriate pieces of information for individual choices. It also enables ones to analyse and organize them in order to attain individual goals. This abundant use of analytical or rational qualities increasingly fosters capability of logicity as well as habitual adherence to it among popular mindsets. Accumulated knowledge and rising environment of cognitive life gradually constitute what might be described as intellectual capital of society. People are faced with needs for strengthening ability to manipulate abstract concepts in complex manners. They are increasingly living in the realm of idea, which is in effect filled with linguistically coded knowledge.

Thus, the rise of both individualism and a logical orientation among the masses seem to be phenomena that are simultaneously taking place in a modernization process. This trend appears to become especially visible in its latter phase, a post-industrial period. In fact, the result of the World Values Survey (fifth wave) indicates that, at a national level, several variables concerned with cognitive mobilization are substantially correlated with the relative emphasis on individual autonomy.

2. Cultural Particularity: The West and Individualism

In a seemingly different dimension, which focuses on cultural variety rather than modernization, individualism and logicity are also observed simultaneously. Among researchers, it is typically argued that individualism is opposite to collectivism in connection with contrasting difference between Western and East Asian cultures (Inglehart and Oyserman, 2004, p. 75; Oyserman, Coon and Kemmelmeier, 2002, p. 3). It is discussed that a strong emphasis on freedom including individual autonomy constitutes the core of Western values (Bell and Jayasuriya, 1995). Huntington points out individualism as one of key features of Western civilization (Huntington, 1996, pp. 71-72). Hofstede's individualism index

indicates that Western nations tend to show higher scores among various nations (Hofstede, 2001). In more political terms, Bova (2003) mentions the emphasis on individuals, civil liberty, contestation and participation as Western features in comparison with Russian political culture. Likewise, Parekh (1993) argues for the cultural particularity of *liberal* democracy in the West, while noticing liberalism and individualism as its key components. In contrast, East Asian cultures are often regarded as holding opposite qualities, which de-emphasize individualism. Pye (1985) suggests the values of dependency in Asian cultural contexts. He notices that there is differing perceptions of individuality between the West and Asia, while acknowledging individualism in Western societies. Meanwhile, scholars of cultural psychology differentiate interdependent and independent modes of self or self-construal (Haberstroh et al., 2002; Kitayama, Duffy and Uchida, 2007; Uchida, Norasakkunkit and Kitayama, 2004). The interdependent self is often represented by an East Asian cultural frame, which is compatible with collectivism or conformism. The independent mode of it tends to be associated with Western counterparts, whereas it can be equated with individualism in more general terms.

This dichotomous categorization of the West and East Asia coincides with a contrasting differentiation in other aspect, which is concerned with the degrees of an emphasis on logicity. In Cultural Psychology, it is pointed out that an independent mode of self tends to possess an orientation to 'analytic cognition', as represented by North Americans (especially of West European descent) or Westerners. On the other hand, an interdependent mode of being is likely to have 'holistic cognition', which is represented by East Asian counterpart (Kitayama, Duffy and Uchida, 2007; Nisbett et al., 2001). The analytic cognition denotes the use of a logical reasoning, whereas holistic one implies less persistence in such a cognitive quality. Nisbett and his associates find that East Asians' holistic cognition makes 'relatively little use of categories and formal logic' whereas Westerners' analytical cognition pays 'attention primarily to the object and the categories to which it belongs and using rules, including formal logic' (Nisbett et al., 2001, p. 291).

Other psychological research suggests that those who possess East Asian cultural background are more oriented to intuitive reasoning than logical reasoning in comparison with those with Western (European) cultural background (Buchtel and Norenzayan, 2008). Similarly, European Americans are more likely to 'set aside intuition in favor of formal reasoning' than East Asians (Chinese and Koreans) (Norenzayan et al., 2002). Similarly, Sato notices cultural difference between England and Japan in her psychological study of pre-school children. She mentions that there is a cultural emphasis on both individual autonomy and logical reasoning in England, whereas there is a stronger orientation to collectivism and sentiment/emotion in Japan (Sato, 2001). An independent mode of self and thus individualism seem to coincide with a logical cognitive tendency. In fact, it is suggested that those with an independent mode of being are apt to have an emphasis on 'logical approaches' to problem solving in contrast with those with an interdependent mode who more employ dialectical ones (Kitayama, Duffy and Uchida, 2007, p. 156).

In a similar term, the USA and Japan have been often quoted as holding opposite poles of cultural traits. Americans are primarily oriented to individualism, whereas Japanese are prone to conformism or collectivism (Lipset, 1996; Sato, 2001). Hofstede's individualism index indicates the highest score for American case among fifty nations and three regions. Japanese score is less than most of Western nations except for Portugal and Greece (Hofstede, 2001, p. 215). Libertarianism, which places an extraordinary emphasis on individual autonomy, has some popularity in the United States. In parallel with the individualist tradition, logicity again somewhat coincides. There seems to be a popular inclination to the use and efficacy of 'language' and 'logic' in American cultural contexts. This is contrary to Japanese counterpart where consensus and empathy traditionally tend to be main communicative means. According to the World Values Survey, comparatively higher support for 'free speech' is observed for Western societies. Especially, there is persistent support for free speech in American case across differing age cohorts

from the first to the fourth waves of the Survey (Furusawa, 2008). The 'free speech', on the one hand, is related to individualism due to its emphasis on individual freedom. On the other hand, it is associated with 'language', since 'speech' is primarily a linguistic action. Open linguistic exchanges seem to constitute a crucial element in American society, where individualist traditions predominate. It is pointed out that argument/debate and persuasion constitute a major pattern of behaviour in relating to others for those with an independent mode of being as typically represented by North Americans (Kitayama, Duffy and Uchida, 2007, pp. 145-147). Such behaviour involves the use of language to justify oneself and one's opinion. In a society where verbal exchanges are predominant (rather than implicative or implicit communication), how one can effectively persuade others or justify oneself in discussions becomes the centre of concern. Practically, a major tool for such a social life is 'logic'. How one can excel in the successful application of logic and make sense in one's opinion is advantageous in this cultural scenario.

Consequently, an emphasis on logicity can be connected with an individualist orientation, whereas an emphasis on empathetic elements is related to a conformist/collectivist orientation. Although in this section the differentiation has been presented in the context of Western-Eastern cultural settings, this point can be extracted beyond a cultural context for a more general interpretation in the sense of the simultaneous presence of logicity and individualism.

3. Logical Cognition and Individualism

Apart from the above-mentioned areas of disciplines, there are examples as regards the association between logicity and individualism. It has been suggested that a logical analytic function tends to reside in the left hemisphere of a brain, whereas the right hemisphere is more concerned with the function of emotional qualities (Sardamov, 2007, p. 415). Meanwhile, Sardamov suggestively links the localization of brain functions with the issue of independent versus interdependent self-construal. In the context of individualization in social modernization, he poses a

hypothetical question: 'Could individualization be reinforced by patterns of left-hemisphere predominance (the left hemisphere being associated with a sense of individual agency while the right hemisphere seems more involved in a feeling of communal belonging)?' (Sardamov, 2007, p. 415). Thus, there seems to be the coincidence of a logical orientation and a stronger sense of individuality (or agency) in relation to brain localization.

According to the fifth wave of the World Values Survey, Sweden, Finland, Netherlands, Switzerland and Germany constitute a national group at a distinctively higher position in subjective emphasis on individual autonomy. At the same time, the people of these nations seem to hold stronger rational orientations. Their group on the whole is located at a high level in both 'secular-rational' values and 'self-expression' values according to values maps by Inglehart and co-authors (Inglehart, 2000, p. 85; Inglehart and Baker, 2000, p. 29; Inglehart and Welzel, 2005, p. 63).

In the study of civic literacy, Milner presented a comparison of selected Western societies in terms of functional literacy. The functional literacy is concerned with cognitive proficiency in contrast with the literacy of factual (political) knowledge. For one of its indicators, Milner employed the data of the IALS (International Adult Literacy Survey), which presents three categories of literacy: prose literacy, document literacy and quantitative literacy (Milner, 2002, pp. 194-199). In one way, these are translated as the measures of logical analytic quality. Milner pointed out that '[t]he outstanding countries turn out to be those of Scandinavia, followed by the Netherlands and Germany' (Milner, 2002, pp. 60-61). Similarly, by employing the results of the TIMSS (1998), Milner observed that, among examined Western societies, Scandinavian societies and the Netherlands (but not Germany) hold comparatively high scores on average in math and science literacy for students in the final year of secondary education (Milner, 2002, pp. 61-62). It should be noted that these nations hold higher emphasis on individual autonomy as mentioned above. Milner also pointed out positive relationship between functional literacy and

participation in voluntary associations (Milner, 2002, pp. 60, 194-195). Voluntary activities imply participation based on free will, which in turn suggests the autonomous behaviour of the individual. Consequently, if we follow Milner's results, individual autonomy is related to functional literacy as well as scientific literacy, which denote logical analytic quality.

The linkage between individualism and logicity (or rationality) is found in a cultural domain with a Protestant tradition. It is pointed out that there is a certain connection between individualism and Protestantism (Uchida, Norasakkunkit and Kitayama, 2004, p. 227). On the other hand, Weber suggested a connection between Protestantism and rationality (Weber, 2001). Lipset (1996) points out the presence of Protestant element as well as a strong sense of individualism in American society. The above-mentioned group of nations that constitutes the top stratum of 'secular-rational' values, 'self-expression' values and the emphasis on individual autonomy is in fact categorized as Protestant Europe. In these cases, individualism and rationality (including the element of logicity) somehow coincide by way of the Protestant tradition.

Nisbett (2004) indicates that ancient Greeks possessed a strong emphasis on 'personal agency', which is interpreted as individual autonomy. This was accompanied by 'a tradition of debate', which commonly took place in their general lives from the marketplace to political arenas. '[P]ublic rhetorical combat' was often more prevalent than authoritarian practices (Nisbett, 2004, pp. 2-4). This again suggests the simultaneous presence of an individualist element and an emphasis on 'logicity'. For logic is a major tool for such a life where open linguistic exchanges and rhetorical skills matter. An analogous emphasis on both 'debate' and 'personal agency' is typically found in an American social practice and, more broadly, in that of post-industrial Western nations.

It is suggested that an individualistic orientation is correlated with the level of education (Flanagan and Lee, 2003, p. 247). Generally, a major effect of education is to foster intellectual capability, which often involves analytical ability that uses

logical reasoning. The correlation with the level of education therefore possibly implies the connection between logicity and individualism. Additionally, Schwartz and associates suggest that West Europeans tend to hold an emphasis on *intellectual* autonomy of the individual in comparison with those in other cultural zones (Schwartz and Ros, 1995; Schwartz and Bardi, 1997). This denotes association between the emphasis on intellectual and probably logical quality and individualism of some kind, which prevails in Western Europe.

Thus, the above examples boil down to two corresponding elements: individualism and logicity. Various instances indicate association between these two elements.

IV. Another Simultaneity: Liberal Democracy

1. Modernization: The Rise of Liberal Democracy

The element of logicity and individualism somehow coincides with modernization and liberal democracy. The issue of relationship between modernization and democracy, especially the former's influence on the latter, has attracted scholarly debates for decades. Despite various critiques, the validity of the core argument has survived to date. While directing attention to 'social requisites of democracy', Lipset examined association between economic development and democracy along with the proposition: 'the more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy' (Lipset, 1959, p. 75). By reviewing this theme, Marks and Diamond state: 'Lipset's assertion of a direct relationship between economic development and democracy has been subjected to extensive empirical examination, both quantitative and qualitative, in the past 30 years. And the evidence shows, with striking clarity and consistency, a strong causal relationship between economic development and democracy' (Marks and Diamond, 1992, p. 357).

By facing the end of the Cold War, Fukuyama argued that liberal democracy is the final form of polity in the ideological evolution of mankind (Fukuyama, 1989;

Fukuyama, 1992). As various critical reviews have been directed to the thesis, careful consideration should be made on this perspective. Nonetheless, there is some empirical indication on the spread of liberal democracy. According to the graph of 'Global Trends in Governance, 1800-2017' by the Polity Project, the number of democracies clearly increased from the early 1800's toward the beginning of 2000's with a dramatic rise around 1990. The number of autocracies, despite its culmination in 1970's toward 1980's, unequivocally declined subsequently (Center for Systemic Peace, 2018). According to the data of 'Country and Territory Ratings and Statuses, 1973-2023' provided by the Freedom House, the percentage of nations rated as 'free' increased, on the whole, from early 1970's toward 2000's in the world. However, the trend wavered thereafter with some decline in later years (See also, Freedom House, 2023, p. 16). As the Freedom House indicator consists of two key dimensions: 'political rights' and 'civil liberties', it may well be regarded as the measure of liberal democracy. Zakaria (1997) conceptually separated the notion of liberal democracy into two elements, namely, 'democracy' and 'constitutional liberalism'. He suggested that the Freedom House's two dimensions 'correspond roughly with democracy and constitutional liberalism, respectively' (Zakaria, 1997, p. 23). Whereas countries are evaluated as either 'free', 'partly free' or 'not free' on the basis of the 'political rights' and 'civil liberties' measures, Diamond (1999, p. 12) stated: "The "free" rating in the Freedom House survey is the best available empirical indicator of liberal democracy."

Considering these, there was the rising tide of liberal democracies in the latter period of the twentieth century. Meanwhile, such an increase took place, following the international trend of economic development after the World War II. Markoff and Burridge (2019) categorized nations across the world into four groups by gross national income per capita, and compared them in terms of the level of democracy based on the Polity IV Project. The 'high income' group was consistently at the highest level of democracy among them from 1972 to 2004. The 'upper middle income' group held the second highest scores whereas the 'lower middle income'

group stayed at the third level, being followed by the 'low income' group holding the lowest scores on the level of democracy. While this rank order continued throughout this period, the scores of all the groups gradually rose as the years progressed.

Among the elements that are generated through economic development and promote democracy can be 'democratic values' along with a rising middle class and other factors (Marks and Diamond, 1992). Inglehart and Welzel (2005) present empirical outcomes that demonstrate the influence of growing 'self-expression values' on the emergence and enhancement of democracy. According to their studies, the 'self-expression values' are likely to spread in societies with developed economy and sustained affluence along with 'post-materialist values'. Since the essence of the 'self-expression values' is compatible with the emphasis on self-actualization, individual autonomy and self-esteem, some form of individualism is conducive to democratization and liberal democracy.

Meanwhile, it should be recalled that the enhancement of a logical cognitive orientation among populace is the key feature of modernization (which entails economic development) as argued above. This is interpreted as an underlying context behind the rising tide of the individualist values. Moreover, this process took place alongside the growing number of liberal democracies in response to the international expansion of economic development. The process also had direct correspondence with the state of the values transformation as expounded by Inglehart and Welzel. Thus, individualism and logicity possibly underlie the rise of liberal democracy in the process of modernization.

2. Cultural Particularity: The West and Liberal Democracy

There is a perspective that associates liberal democracy with Western cultural traditions. Bell and Jayasuriya (1995), for instance, referred to liberal democracy in relation to a Western heritage. Markoff and BurrIDGE (2019) demonstrated that, between 1972 and 2004, the national group of 'North America, Western Europe, and

Oceania' remained top-ranked on the level of democracy with saliently high scores among other regional groups. In more cultural terms, they showed that the cluster of countries with Protestant traditions was at the highest place on democratic level among other cultural groups such as Eastern orthodox, Muslim and so forth, while consistently holding outstanding degrees over the period. That of Catholic traditions incrementally increased its score and acquired the second highest position in the latter half of 1990's.

The simultaneous presence of liberal democracy *vis-à-vis* logicity and individualism is also found in cultural discourses on Western traditions. As noted, Parekh claims the cultural particularity of liberal democracy in the West. Moreover, he suggests that liberalism is the premise and foundation of liberal democracy, whereas individualism resides in the centre of liberal thought (Parekh, 1993). As demonstrated earlier, individualism (at least, of a certain kind) is interrelated with logicity. It is possible that such a cognitive orientation possesses some intrinsic connection with liberal democracy.

Huntington identifies the 'central characteristics' of the Western civilization, 'which distinguish it from other civilizations' in a succinct manner. Among them are 'individualism', 'representative bodies' and the 'rule of law' (Huntington, 1996, pp. 69-72). These elements are compatible with the essence of liberal democracy. Liberal democracy is a *representative* form of polity, whereas its fundamental quality is concerned with the protection of *individual rights* by *the rule of law* that restricts the arbitrary power of political authorities.

Along with the rule of law, constitutionalism is an essential element that underpins liberal democracy, which was acquired through the historical processes of the Western nations. The processes were accompanied by epoch-making events such as the formations of the Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the United States Declaration of Independence, and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, which eventually led to modern constitutions. Furthermore, what was in common among these historical achievements in the West was the fact that they

were essentially 'logical constructs' which even affect political power.

Hence, the presence of liberal democracy alongside logicity and individualism is found in the context of the Western traditions.

3. Liberal Democracy: Logicity and Individualism – Transcending Modernization and Cultural Particularity

As argued so far, modernization seems to have overall facilitating effects on the rise of liberal democracy, whereas Western cultural traditions have substantial compatibility with and thus supportive effects on liberal democracy. At least, the elements of both modernization and Western culture somehow coincide with the presence of liberal democracy in connection with logicity and individualism. In theory, the perspective of modernization and that of cultural effects represent opposite standpoints. However, it is plausible to adopt an eclectic view to accommodate both perspectives rather than exclusively endorsing either side of them. Moreover, their overlap suggests that there are common qualities underlying them. The emphases on logicity and individualism constitute factors that are observed in both modernization and Western cultural traditions. Therefore, focusing on logicity and individualism *per se* provides a solution to understand this issue. This has universal implications that transcend both sides of explanations.

Let us reorganize the argument. Virtually, the group of major liberal democracies roughly comprises nations where logicity and individualism have prevailed to a certain degree. With a substantial overlap, both Western and post-industrial nations predominantly constitute a liberal democratic zone in the contemporary world. Especially, in the countries of Protestant Europe or the northern area of Western Europe such as Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, Netherlands and Germany, there are relatively salient popular emphases on individual autonomy and logical cognition. Simultaneously, these nations hold highly developed liberal democratic systems. Whereas the public in the United States are generally apt to adhere to individualism and logicity, America is typically asserted as the country of freedom and

democracy.

Moreover, the people in the above-mentioned nations possess higher attitudinal inclination to values associated with liberal democracy. Inglehart and co-authors presented values maps on the basis of the national scores on the self-expression values, where these nations show generally higher scores (Inglehart, 2000, p. 85; Inglehart and Baker, 2000, p. 29; Inglehart and Welzel, 2005, p. 63). The indicator of the self-expression values holds highly strong statistical correlation with the indices of democracy which contain the Freedom House ratings as their constituents. In view of this, Inglehart and Welzel present the results of empirical investigation about the influence of the former on the latter. The components of the self-expression values measurement include items representing the qualities of free speech, participation, tolerance and interpersonal trust (Inglehart and Welzel 2003; Inglehart and Welzel 2005). The self-expression values therefore are compatible with and may support and/or facilitate liberal democracy. In the meantime, individualism is also observed in this context. The people of West European societies tend to emphasize the ‘intellectual autonomy’ of the individual (Schwartz and Ros, 1995). Their values have more proclivity to conform to ‘democratic community’ (Fuchs and Klingemann, 2002; Fuchs and Klingemann, 2006) and free speech, participation and civic protest with liberal democratic attitudes (Furusawa, 2006).

V . A Cognitive Background of Liberal Democracy

In view of discussions so far, we may well assume connections between logicity, individualism and liberal democracy. The following parts consider rationales behind such connections.

1 . The Abstract Individual as a Basis of Individualism

Cognitive Borders of Self

In the realm of perception, first of all, logicity enhances one's cognitive tendency to see oneself as an independent unit with clear boundaries separating the self from others and the environment. When we apply logical reasoning to perceive objects or matters, it requires to cognize and define them *respectively*. This is necessary in order for the objects or matters to be conceptually allocated on the appropriate places of logical contexts in one's thought. For a logical manipulation, definition is crucial, whereas ambiguity reduces its efficacy. Nisbett and his associates' finding denotes that analytical cognition, as represented by Westerners, is primarily concerned with the identification of objects and categories (Nisbett et al., 2001, p. 291). Defining and categorizing objects entails perceiving them individually, implying that they are separately cognized. This habitual nature of logical cognition can be also applied when people perceive self and others. The more they persist in logicity, the more inclined they become to see self and others separately in their perception. Subjectively, there are clearer cognitive borders between self and others. As a consequence, one acquires a stronger sense of self as an isolated or independent entity, that is, 'the individual'. Thus, logicity enables one to have a clear territorial cognition of self. Likewise, others are also perceived as individuals who possess respective units of own territories with clear borders. Hence, logicity nurtures a cognitive basis of individualism.

Abstraction

Second, a logical cognition is related to a cognitive function of 'abstraction'. This is conducive to a perception to regard oneself and others as equal respective beings, which in turn is compatible with individualism. Logicity has a nature to focus on a specific concept or idea by isolating it from other information. In order to be logical, one needs to be consistent in the process of thought. This requires directing

particular attention to the manipulation of relevant logic and concepts while casting aside other details. One needs to be 'parsimonious' in perception (which is analogous to 'parsimony' in scientific terms). This is described as a cognitive function of 'abstraction', which a logical-minded person is habituated with.

The cognition of abstraction seems to underlie individualism. In psychological terms, an independent mode of self or self-construal can be equated with some dimensions of individualism. It is suggested that those with an independent mode of self are more likely to cognitively focus and isolate focal objects from contexts/backgrounds than those with an interdependent mode of self. This is the case with perceptual difference between Americans and Japanese (Masuda and Nisbett, 2001; Nisbett and Miyamoto, 2005). Meanwhile, it is suggested that another property of an independent mode of self is analytic or linear cognition as represented by North Americans or Westerners (Kitayama, Duffy and Uchida, 2007; Nisbett et al., 2001). The combination of these two elements amounts to the cognition of abstraction. Analytic or linear cognition implies logical manipulation of concepts. Therefore, those with independent self-construal are able to focus on a specific concept (in a similar way that is done towards focal objects) while cognitively discarding other details. This constitutes the process of abstraction. Oyserman, Coon and Kimmelmeier (2002) refer to one of the qualities of 'self-concept' in relation to individualism. By citing the work of Fiske et al. (1998), they indicate that 'abstract traits (as opposed to social, situational descriptors) are central to self-definition' (Oyserman, Coon and Kimmelmeier, 2002, p. 5). In fact, in post-industrial Western societies, where individualism is relatively prevalent, it appears that individuals are often perceived in *abstract* manners.

2. Equality and Individual Rights

The perception of 'the abstract individual' can be a basis of a view that individuals are equal respective beings. When one's attention is directed to an abstract concept such as 'the individual' or 'human being', she/he is likely to see oneself and others as

equivalent transcending difference. For they are the same and equal in that each of them is an 'individual' or 'human being' *regardless of* various attributes such as ethnicities, nationalities, genders, economic statuses, social backgrounds and appearances. Incidentally, Schwartz and Ros mention connection between intellectual autonomy of individuals and egalitarianism in relation to their values indices (Schwartz and Ros, 1995, p. 98). In the fifth wave of the World Values Survey, the national means of the emphasis on individual autonomy and equality on genders and immigrants are clearly correlated. Since individualism emphasizes individual autonomy, the egalitarian notion can be intrinsically underpinned by individualism with abstract nature.

The perception of 'the abstract individual' can be a powerful basis underlying a liberal democratic outlook. For instance, egalitarian attitudes are reinforced by such individualism especially when one stands against authority. No matter whether individuals are at an upper or lower status of hierarchy, any of them is 'the individual', so that it is considered unjust for one to exercise arbitrary power over another. In this case, one's attention is focused on the concept of 'the individual', whereas hierarchical difference is cognitively discarded as a redundant attribute that even goes against the principle of a central issue which she/he regards as crucial. Such individualism with the abstract perception can be a background which reinforces the rigorous protection of individual rights against political authorities, which is an essential quality of liberal democracy.

A sense of individual rights can be strengthened by logical cognition. When individual rights are legally guaranteed or commonly recognized as essential, the rights are regarded as having comparable or even higher importance *vis-à-vis* the power of the state or other authorities. What underlies this rationale is a highly developed sense of abstraction. One's attention is focused on the *logic* of the law to protect one's rights or *an abstract principle* that the rights are essential and deserve proper and just treatment. In that sense, no matter how large or powerful a state body is, individuals with such rights are perceived as comparable to the state and

therefore able to challenge for justice. Conversely, if one lacks such an orientation or possesses little sense of it, compliance to the power of the authorities is a likely outcome, which is more compatible with authoritarianism.

It is plausible that the gradual extension of political and civil rights in historical processes has been underpinned by such views. In contemporary democratic societies, for instance, the people enjoy universal suffrage. The rights to vote have been expanded by degrees from limited circles of society to more general layers of population. Likewise, historically, various rights have been progressively extended from monarchs to aristocrats, bourgeoisie, adult male citizens, labourers, female citizens, children, ethnic and social minorities, and so forth. What underlies these processes can be abstract concept and idea that everyone is equal as 'the individual' or 'human being' transcending differences, and therefore deserves equal treatment.

As a consequence, logicity, accompanied by the individualism with the abstract perception, seems to be connected with a sense of equality through the tendency to perceive individuals as equivalent respective beings. This in turn constitutes a basis for egalitarian and anti-authoritarian worldviews as well as the robust consciousness of individual rights.

3. The Rule of Law

Liberal democracy is a political regime which involves *constitutionalism* to protect *individual rights* through *the rule of law*. Such elements of the polity share qualitative common grounds with logicity and individualism. Firstly, public credence and allegiance to constitutionalism and the rule of law can be in tune with popular cognitive orientations to logicity. Constitutions and laws are essentially 'logical constructs'. Their significance lies in the fact that the 'logical constructs' go so far as to harness the power of political authorities. This is enabled by widespread recognition to support such governance among the populace. From another perspective, it is in line with the Max Weber's notion of 'rational-legal authority' (Weber, 1978). What underlies such a state of legitimacy is popular endorsement for

logically coherent institutional or legal procedures that regulate the operation of political power. The endorsement is made possible and robust if logical cognitive orientations are extensively shared by the masses. Hence, the people's adherence to logical cognition can enhance their support for the rule of law and liberal democracy.

Secondly, the law and individualism inherently share a common quality. Individualism in this context includes the recognition of self and others as equal and respective beings, transcending various attributes and backgrounds. The law, especially in democratic societies, is concerned with *an impartial standard on fair ground*. In order to be impartial and fair, people need to be identified as equivalent 'individuals' no matter what attributes they possess. This individualism with the abstract perception seems to reside in the nature of the law. Moreover, their association is found in relation to 'individual rights'. 'Rights' are concepts in legal contexts and therefore hold nature to be processed in logical manners. In one aspect, 'individual rights' are the concrete expressions and entitlement of individual liberty and its protection, which is accompanied by the clear recognition of individual agency. Thus, individualism and logicity hold intrinsic compatibility with the rule of law. Some form of individualism and logicity can be underlying factors for the ideas of the rule of law, which is an essential component of liberal democracy.

4. Freedom

Liberal democracy can be underpinned by liberal ideas and, fundamentally, individual attitudes that long for freedom. Parekh (1993) suggests that liberalism is the premise and foundation of liberal democracy, whereas individualism resides in the centre of liberal thought. Plattner (1998) argues as regards association between democracy and liberalism. Inglehart and Welzel (2005) demonstrate that the self-expression values constitute a viable element that is conducive to the emergence and enhancement of democracy by using the Freedom House ratings.

How are such qualities nurtured in relation to logicity? A person with a logical orientation tends to develop a relatively coherent belief system. Her/his behaviour is apt to be consistent with such personal belief and norms. Sato (2001) mentions *a consistent characteristic* that transcends situations in an English cultural context, which emphasizes *logical reasoning* and *individualism*. In contrast, she points out a situation-oriented characteristic in Japanese counterpart, which attaches more importance to sentiment and conformism. Those with logical mind-sets are less affected by external circumstances, since they hold proclivity to maintain their personal consistency with internal principles. They tend to be autonomous, so that a logical orientation facilitates individualism which adheres to freedom. Moreover, its nature conflicts with collectivism and authoritarianism. Since collective norms and authority are regarded as external factors, compliance with these is a compromise to suppress or discard internal principles (unless the principles ideologically agree with them). A logical person tends to regard them as disturbances or challenges against personal principles and therefore intrinsically undesirable. Hence, if a large proportion of the population consists of logicalized individuals in a society, the attitudinal trend is more likely to be evasiveness or aversion to collectivism and authoritarianism. Individualism with such a solid sense of individual autonomy fosters strong attachment to individual rights, which opposes the infringements of human rights and freedom. Such mass attitudes in turn provide substance to the protective system of individual rights as a major attribute of liberal democracy.

5. Logicity, Individualism and Liberal Democracy

Consequently, one's cognitive adherence to logical reasoning strengthens a solid sense of 'the abstract individual' as a cognitive foundation of individualism in this context. Meanwhile, liberal democracy is a representative political system, which protects individual rights by way of the rule of law. The individualism with an abstract perception facilitates egalitarian and anti-authoritarian attitudes as well as an emphasis on the equality of rights. Moreover, a logical orientation reinforces

one's consistent characteristic, which accelerates her/his inclination to individual autonomy and freedom. This enhances an individualist disposition that emphasizes individual rights along with attitudes to oppose their violations. These cognitive and attitudinal qualities have supportive effects for the function to protect individual rights from political authorities, which is the essential component of liberal democracy. On the other hand, as argued above, logicity and individualism hold substantial compatibility with laws and individual rights, which in turn serves popular endorsement for the rule of law while reinforcing its operation to safeguard human rights. After all, logicity and individualism constitute crucial factors that support and enhance the essential qualities of liberal democracy.

VI. Conclusion

In this monograph, the primary objective is to show that a cognitive emphasis on logicity is an important factor that resides in the linkage between individualism and liberal democracy. In order to fulfil this task, it is pointed out that liberal democracy coincides with logical cognitive orientations and individualism along with modernization processes and Western cultural contexts. It is argued that the emphasis on logicity and individualism constitute crucial factors that enhance the core components of liberal democracy, which seems to be prominent in post-industrial Western nations. While employing the insight of Cultural/Social Psychology, the association between logicity and individualism as well as their relationship with the core attributes of liberal democracy are structurally examined.

The second aim of this study is to fill the gap between the classic Political Culture approach and the Modernization approach. This study indicates that there is the overall simultaneity of logical cognitive orientations, individualism and liberal democracy in *both* the Western cultural zone *and* modernization processes. Since these three elements and their association are observed in both domains, the

association can be generalized, which transcends the dichotomy of cultural particularity and modernization. Hence, this research outcome contributes to an attempt to fill the disciplinary gap between classic Political Culture and Modernization in the field of Comparative Politics.

The third task is to provide a new angle to the theory of values transformation by Inglehart and Welzel. The rise of 'self-expression values' in the post-industrial phase is interpreted as a growing individualist orientation. It is indicated that, alongside this trend, there is an increase in popular attachment to logical analytical cognition. The link between the former and the latter is demonstrated, which adds another perspective to the thesis of changing values.

Liberal democracy is a democratic polity which guarantees individual rights through the rule of law. Without such a characteristic, there is no liberal democracy. Throughout this monograph, particular attention has been directed to this *specific* but *essential* quality of liberal democracy.

In general terms, however, liberal democracy can be a multifaceted notion. Which aspect is emphasized may vary depending on interpretations and approaches. There may be other perspectives that point to different dimensions of liberal democracy such as popular identity which supports the polity. As mentioned above, people with logical and individualist orientations tend to support liberal democratic principles including freedom, equality, individual rights and the rule of law. If such principles are widely shared among the populace, they may serve as a source of identity and solidarity to support liberal democracy. On the other hand, there may be other elements that interact with liberal democracy. For instance, emotion, empathy and a sense of community may be qualities opposite to logicity and individualism. The former may function in different manners from the way in which the latter do in relating to liberal democracy.

Among differing elements and perspectives, it is demonstrated that logical cognitive orientations and individualism are conducive to the core components of liberal democracy. Although a cognitive realm is invisible, human behaviour

emanates from such a sphere, and so do political phenomena. The examination of such a realm can further our understanding of complex political reality.

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