Democracy

Adam Przeworski

Historical perspective

Democracy as a method

When it does not?

Defending democracy

Democracy

Adam Przeworski

September 11, 2024

When it does

Defending democrac

Democracy rare and fragile

• Portugal 50 years but also Chile 51 years to a day.

Historical perspective

a method

When it does not?

Defending democracy

Democracy rare and fragile

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- Choosing governments by elections is a speck in human history.

Historical perspective

Democracy a method

When it does

Defending democrac

Democracy rare and fragile

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- Even post WWII, power changed hands as a consequence of 555 elections but also 320 coups.

When it doe not?

Defending democrac

Democracy rare and fragile

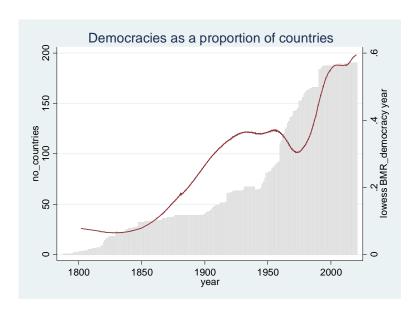
- Portugal 50 years but also Chile 51 years to a day.
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- Still 68 countries, China and Russia

Historical perspective

Democracy as

When it does not?

Defending democrac

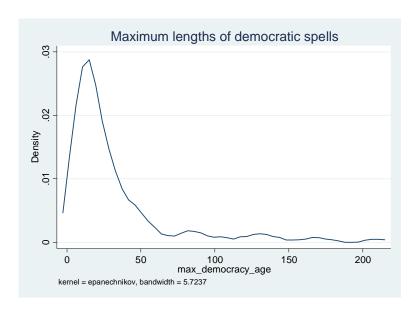


Historical perspective

Democracy a a method

When it does not?

Defending democrac



Democracy a method

When it does not?

Defending democrac

• Not historical but analytical

a method

When it does not?

Defending democrac

- Not historical but analytical
- How democracy works?

a method

When it doe not?

Defending democrac

- Not historical but analytical
- How democracy works?
- How it fails or deteriorates?

Democracy as a method

When it doe not?

Defending democrac • Democracy is a method (Schumpeter 1942).

When it does

Defending democracy

- Democracy is a method (Schumpeter 1942).
- Methods are difficult to defend without reference to ends.

Historical perspective

Democracy as a method

When it does not?

Defending democracy

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When it does not?

Defending democracy

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when it doe

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- How does it work?

Conflicts

• The point of departure in any analysis of politics must be conflicts.

When it does

Defending democrac

Conflicts

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 - allocation of scarce goods such as land, income, university places, or access to public services

When it does not?

Defending democrac

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Defending democrac

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Defending democrac

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When it doe not?

Defending democrac

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- Even minute issues can evoke passions
- How, then, do we manage to process conflicts in peace without curtailing political freedom?

When it doe not?

Defending democracy

Processing mechanisms

 In democracies, the most important mechanism by which conflicts are processed are elections, which decide who will govern for some specified period of time.

When it doe not?

Defending democrac

Processing mechanisms

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- Not the only.

Historical perspective

Democracy as a method

When it doe not?

Defending democrac

Processing mechanisms

- In democracies, the most important mechanism by which conflicts are processed are elections, which decide who will govern for some specified period of time.
- Not the only.
- But elections are the only conflict processing mechanism which is open to all citizens.

Democracy as a method

When it doe not?

Defending democracy

Structure of conflict

• Elections generate winners and losers.

Historical perspective

Democracy as a method

When it doe not?

Defending democrac

Structure of conflict

- Elections generate winners and losers.
- Winning is better than losing.

Historical perspective

Democracy as a method

When it doe not?

Defending democrac

Structure of conflict

- Elections generate winners and losers.
- Winning is better than losing.
- Losers decide whether to peacefully accept their defeat or to engage in costly conflicts, in the extreme try to grab power by force.

Democracy as a method

When it doe not?

Defending democracy

• Losers:

Democracy as a method

When it does not?

Defending democracy

Losers:

• Do not lose too much

Democracy as a method

When it does not?

Defending democracy

Losers:

- Do not lose too much
 - "Too much" depends on opportunity costs of not accepting the defeat

In peace if

Losers:

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Democracy as a method

When it doe not?

Defending democrac

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- Democratic Equilibrium:

Democracy as a method

When it does not?

Defending democrac

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Democracy as a method

When it does not?

Defending democrac

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 - Winners do not extend their discretion in policy making beyond some bounds and they do not try to advance their electoral advantage beyond some level.
 - Losers accept temporary loss

Historical perspective

Democracy a a method

When it does not?

Defending democrac

How democracy fails: discrete

• Incumbents impose themselves by force or the opposition resists by force.

Historical perspective

Democracy a method

When it does not?

Defending democrac

How democracy fails: discrete

- Incumbents impose themselves by force or the opposition resists by force.
- Discrete, directly observable events: September 11, 1973.

Historical perspective

Democracy a method

When it does not?

Defending democracy

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Historical perspective

Democracy a method

When it does not?

Defending democrac

How democracy fails: discrete

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- Discrete, directly observable events: September 11, 1973.
- Regimes dichotomous: democracy vs autocracy (dictatorship).
- Regime transitions: enormous literature.

Historical perspective

Democracy as

When it does not?

Defending democrac

When do democracies survive?

 Never break down in wealthy countries: Argentina in 1976, Thailand in 2014

Historical perspective

a method

When it does not?

Defending democrac

- Never break down in wealthy countries: Argentina in 1976, Thailand in 2014
 - If the marginal utility of income decreases in income, the same difference in economic policy matter less in wealthy countries

Historical perspective

a method

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Defending democrac

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When it does

When it does not?

Defending democrac

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When it does not?

Defending democrac

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- Inequality?

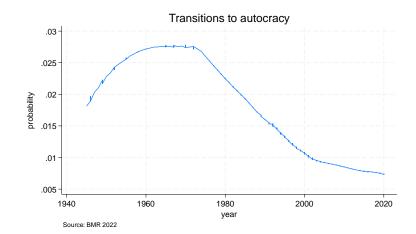
Historical perspective

Democracy as

When it does

Defending democracy

Breakdowns now rare



Historical perspective

Democracy a method

When it does not?

Defending democrac

How democracy fails: Backsliding

 Gradual accumulation of incumbency advantage and of discretion in policy making Democracy a

When it does

Defending democrac

How democracy fails: Backsliding

- Gradual accumulation of incumbency advantage and of discretion in policy making
 - Many examples: Venezuela, Hungary, India, Turkey, Bolivia, Uganda,

When it does not?

Defending democrac

How democracy fails: Backsliding

- Gradual accumulation of incumbency advantage and of discretion in policy making
 - Many examples: Venezuela, Hungary, India, Turkey, Bolivia, Uganda,
- Incumbents monopolize power for ever and to do whatever they want while in power.

Historical perspective

Democracy a method

When it does not?

Defending democrac

Mechanisms

• Theoretically, two vulnerabilities to backsliding

Historical perspective

Democracy a a method

When it does not?

Defending democrac

Mechanisms

- Theoretically, two vulnerabilities to backsliding
 - Supporters of the government knowingly consent to monopolization of power by the incumbent because they like him, whether for material or ideological reasons, and the incumbent monopolizes power because it can (Svolik)

Democracy a a method

When it does not?

Defending democrac

Mechanisms

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When it does not?

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 - the incumbent grabs partisan advantage beyond the level that would be tolerated by the majority, which then opposes the incumbent even when it does not find the challengers better, just to stop the power grab, and the incumbent backslides because otherwise it will lose and does not admit defeat if loses. ("Stealth", Varol 2015)

Historical perspective

Democracy a method

When it does not?

Defending democracy • No coups, breakdowns by force

When it does not?

- No coups, breakdowns by force
 - No one even studies the military any more.

When it does

not?

Defending democrac

- No coups, breakdowns by force
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Historical perspective

Democracy a method

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Defending democrac

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a method

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Democracy a method

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Defending democrac

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 - Erdogan, documentation at the polls, political financing (US, India)

Democracy as

When it does not?

Defending democracy

Democracy Unchained?

 Adolfo Suarez: "The future is not written because only the people can write it." Democracy a method

When it does not?

Defending democracy

- Adolfo Suarez: "The future is not written because only the people can write it."
 - Proliferation of parties (in Western Europe, 3 effective parties in 1960, 4 in 2020; also in LA)

Historical perspective

a method

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Defending democrac

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Historical perspective

Democracy a method

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Historical perspective

a method

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Historical perspective

a method

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Defending democrac

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- Hard to measure: Meng and Little (2023) versus V-Dem.

Historical perspective

a method

When it does

Defending democracy

Defending democracy

 Massive rejection of traditional representative institutions: justified. Democracy a

When it does

Defending democracy

Defending democracy

- Massive rejection of traditional representative institutions: justified.
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Historical perspective

a method

not?

Defending democracy

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Democracy as

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Defending democracy

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Democracy as a method

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 - Defending democracy requires a positive, future-oriented, program to reform it.

Democracy a

When it does

Defending democracy

As a method!

• This is not an easy task: Being *against* something unites, while being *for* something divides.

Defending democracy

As a method!

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When it does

Defending democracy

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When it does

Defending democracy

As a method!

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- The rejection of backsliding may be majoritarian but particular proposals for reform still minoritarian.
- Oppositions to backsliding governments can unite only if they agree to rely on the democratic method to process conflicts over their other values.
- When different groups opposing violations of democratic norms attach different values to democracy, democracy can be defended only as a method for processing conflicts.

Historical

Democracy as

When it does not?

Defending democracy

 Parties offer programs and candidates, people vote, someone is declared the winner according to pre-established rules, the winner assumes the office of government, and the loser sits on back benches, free to criticize the government and to campaign to become the government the next time around. Democracy as a method

When it does not?

- Parties offer programs and candidates, people vote, someone is declared the winner according to pre-established rules, the winner assumes the office of government, and the loser sits on back benches, free to criticize the government and to campaign to become the government the next time around.
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Democracy as a method

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a method

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Democracy as a method

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- Many people are disappointed:
 - winners rarely win more than a bare majority of votes, so about a half of voters are disappointed,
 - never completely fulfill their promises, so that even those who voted for the winner are rarely perfectly satisfied.
- But each time, the current losers hope to win the next time around and that governments would fulfill their hopes.

Democracy

Adam Przeworski

Historical perspective

Democracy as a method

When it does not?

Democracy

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Historical perspective

Democracy as a method

When it does not?