

# Fighting for a Diverse Democracy

Michael Popović

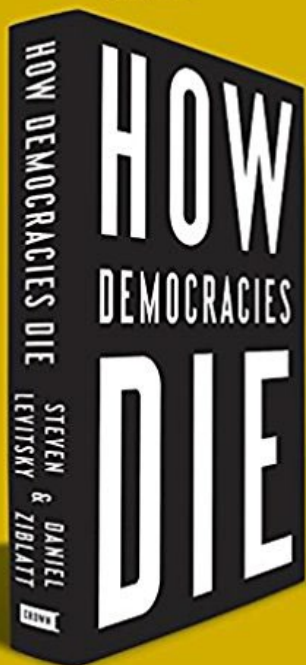
Days of Reflection – Spring 2018

# Democracies in 2018

# Democratic Success

- Free and fair elections
- Transition of power within the constitutional framework
- Strong democratic informal institutions
- Stable democratic formal institutions
- Vibrant civil society
- Economic success
- Rule of Law
- Protection of human rights





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**YASCHA MOUNK**

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**THE PEOPLE VS. DEMOCRACY**

**WHY OUR FREEDOM IS IN DANGER & HOW TO SAVE IT**

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PATRICK J. DENEEN

WHY  
LIBERALISM  
FAILED



**DEMOCRACY FOR REALISTS**

WHY ELECTIONS DO NOT PRODUCE RESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT

**CHRISTOPHER H. ACHEN & LARRY M. BARTELS**

WITH A NEW AFTERWORD BY THE AUTHORS

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**CAN IT HAPPEN HERE?**

Authoritarianism in America



EDITED BY **CASS R. SUNSTEIN**

Author of the *New York Times* bestseller  
**THE WORLD ACCORDING TO STAR WARS**  
and coauthor of **NUDGE**

**ON TYRANNY**

TWENTY LESSONS FROM THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

**TIMOTHY SNYDER**

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TO  
**FIGHT**  
AGAINST  
THIS **AGE**

ON FASCISM AND HUMANISM

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**AGAINST DEMOCRACY**

**JASON BRENNAN**



A NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLER

"A remarkable if depressing book... Something has gone very wrong with America, not just its economy, but its ability to function as a democratic nation. And it's hard to see when or how that wrongness will get fixed."

PAUL KRUGMAN, *New York Review of Books*

# IT'S EVEN WORSE THAN IT LOOKS

# WAS

How the American Constitutional System Collided with the New Politics of Extremism

Thomas E. Mann & Norman J. Ornstein

NEW AND EXPANDED EDITION

"A chilling reminder of the very real threats that the Trump administration poses to American democracy" —*Alex Appelbaum, columnist for the Washington Post and Pulitzer Prize winner*

# THE DESPOT'S APPRENTICE DONALD TRUMP'S ATTACK ON DEMOCRACY

Brian Klaas

Foreword by David Talbot, *New York Times* bestselling author

EDWARD LUCE

Author of *Time to Start Thinking*

# THE RETREAT OF WESTERN LIBERALISM

"Edward Luce provides a terrifying view of the challenges facing the West. We have to hope that his prophecies are self denying—something that is more likely if his penetrating analysis gets the wide attention it richly deserves." —*Lawrence Summers*

# WHAT IS POPULISM?

Jan-Werner Müller

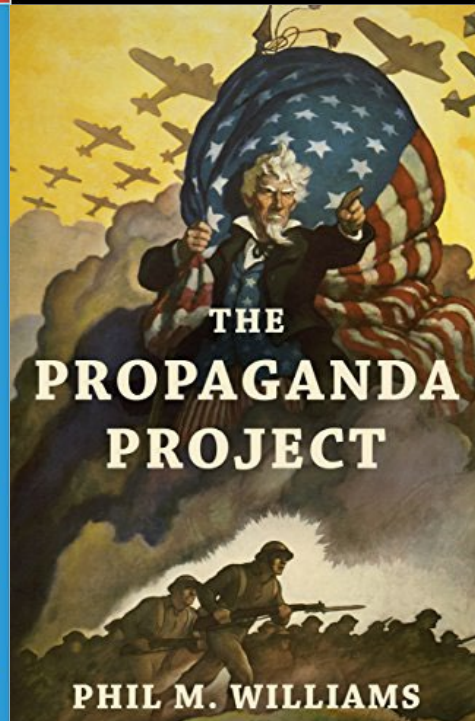
NATIONAL BESTSELLER

SUSAN JACOBY

NEW UPDATED EDITION

# The AGE of AMERICAN UNREASON in a CULTURE of LIES

"There are few subjects more timely than the one tackled by Jacoby... Her book is smart [and] well-researched." —*Michiko Kakutani, The New York Times*



# FIRE AND FURY

INSIDE THE TRUMP WHITE HOUSE



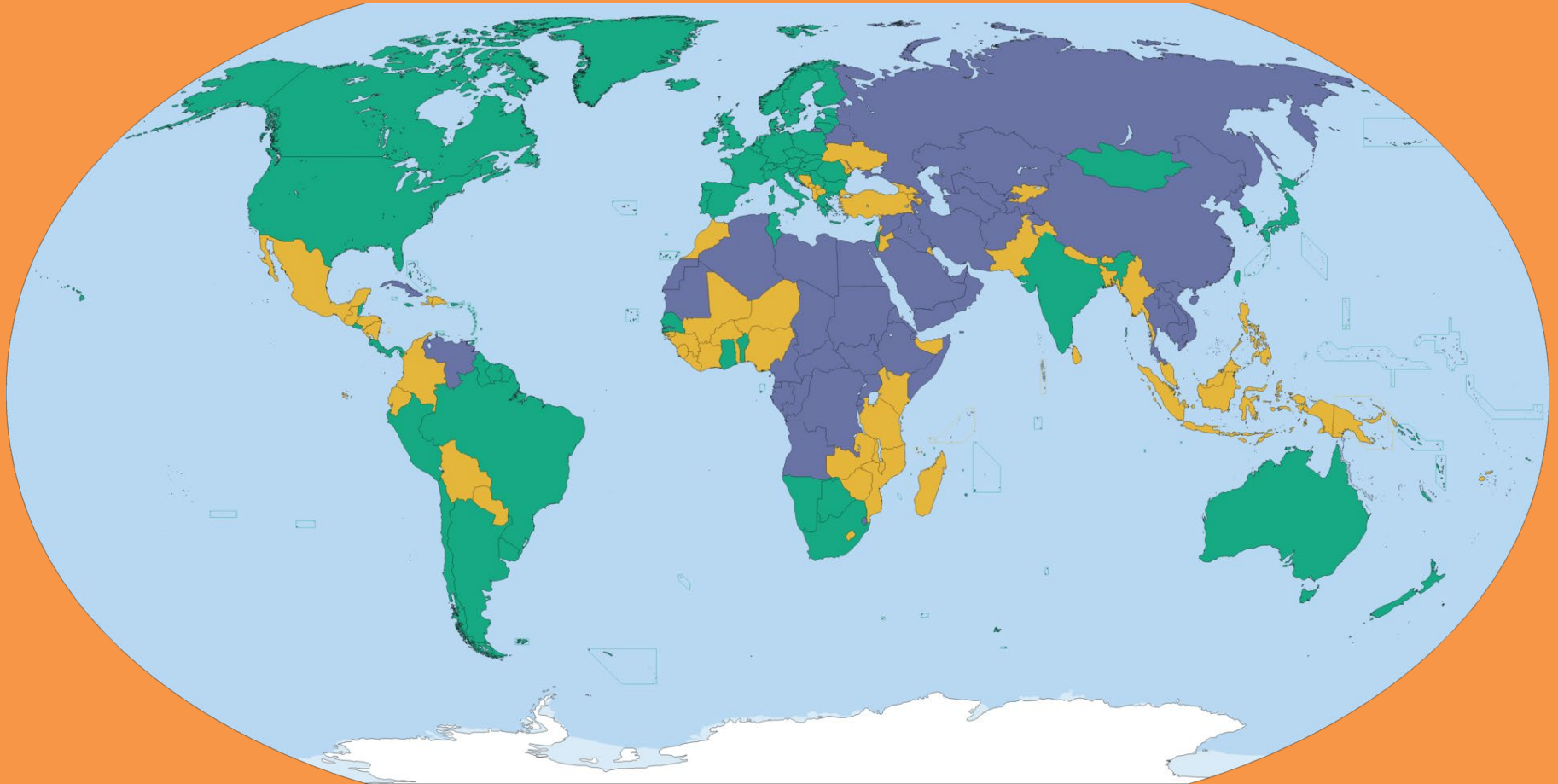
MICHAEL WOLFF

#1 NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLER

# WHAT HAPPENED

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

# Freedom in the World

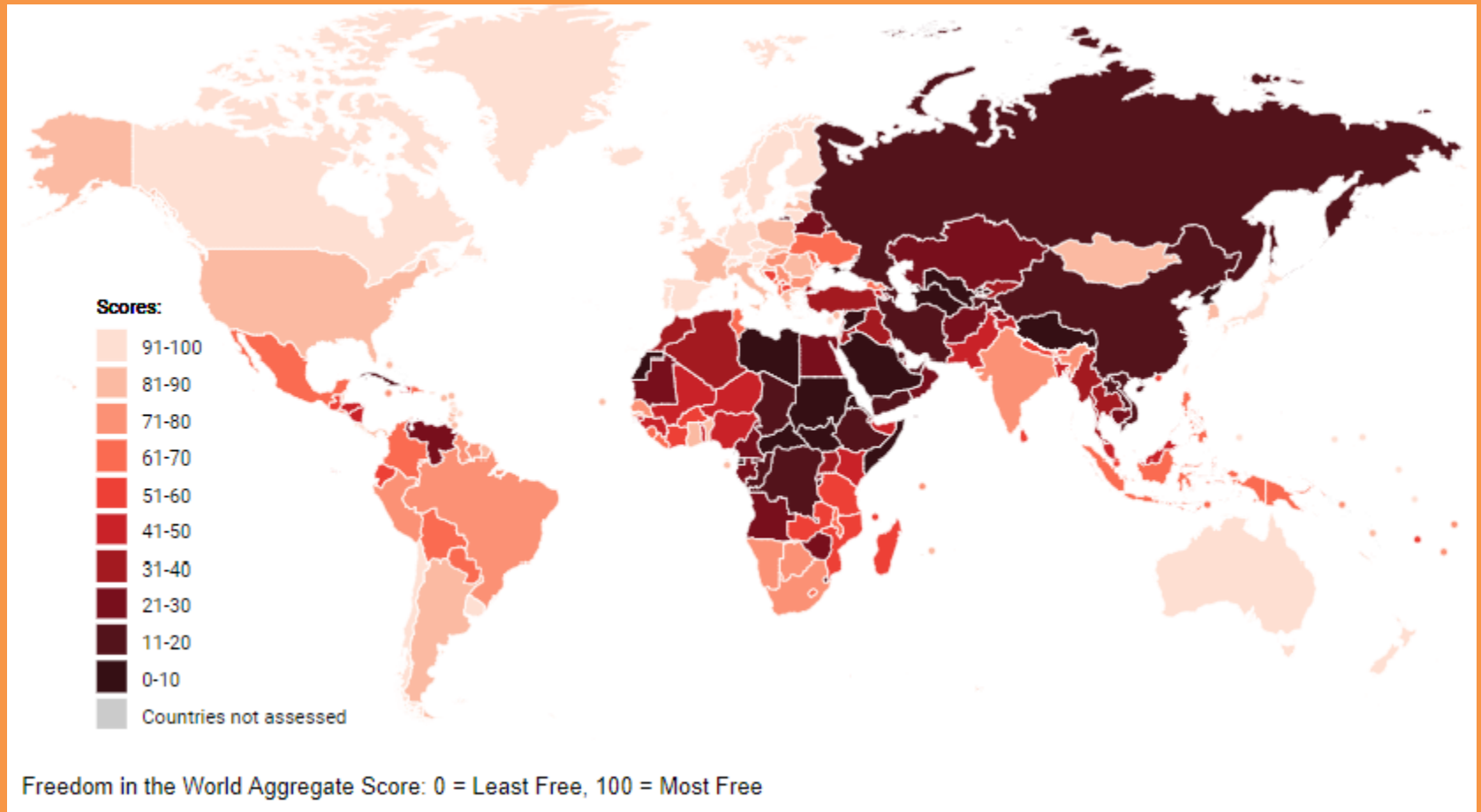


Free

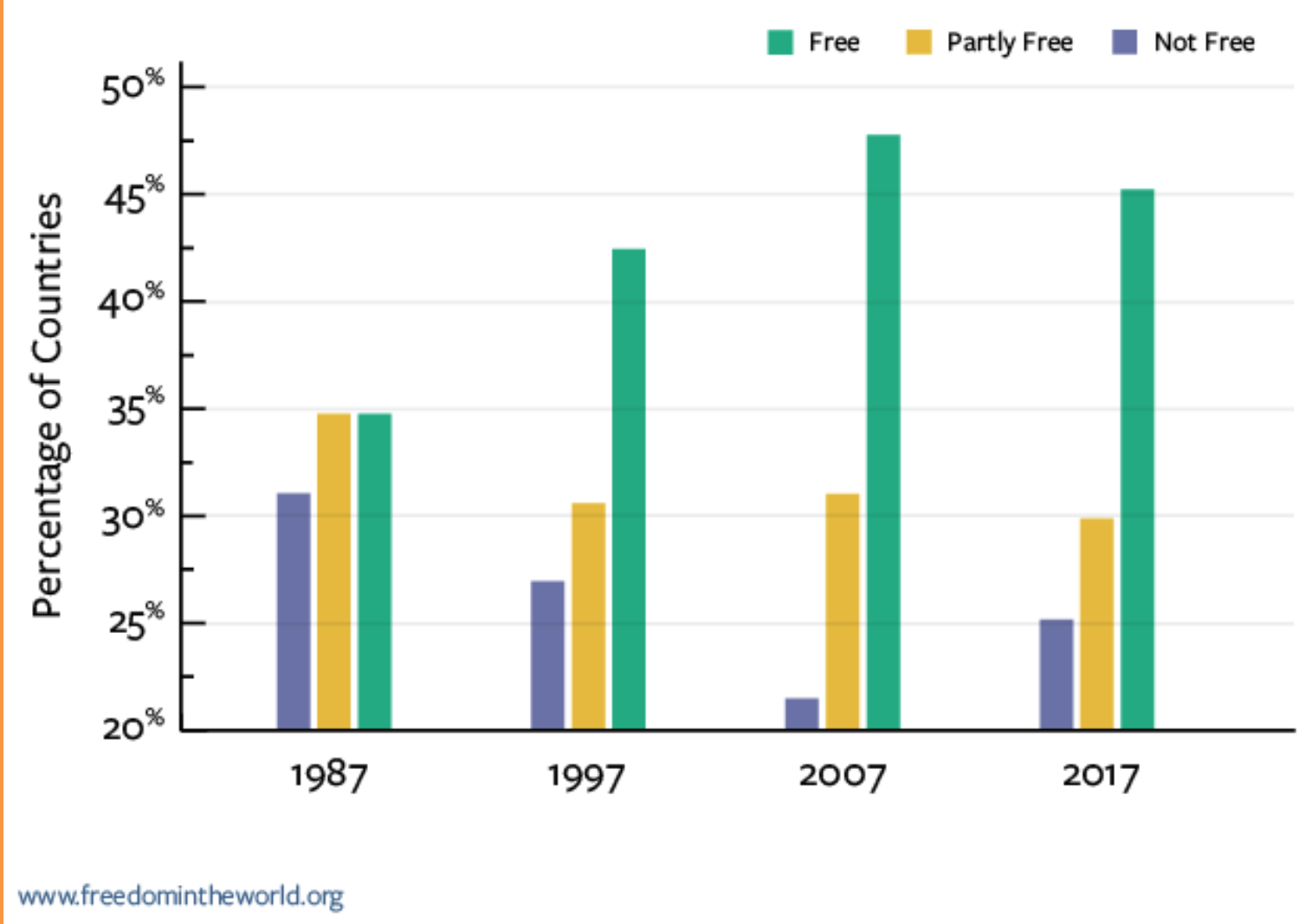
Partly Free

Unfree

# Freedom in the World - Aggregate

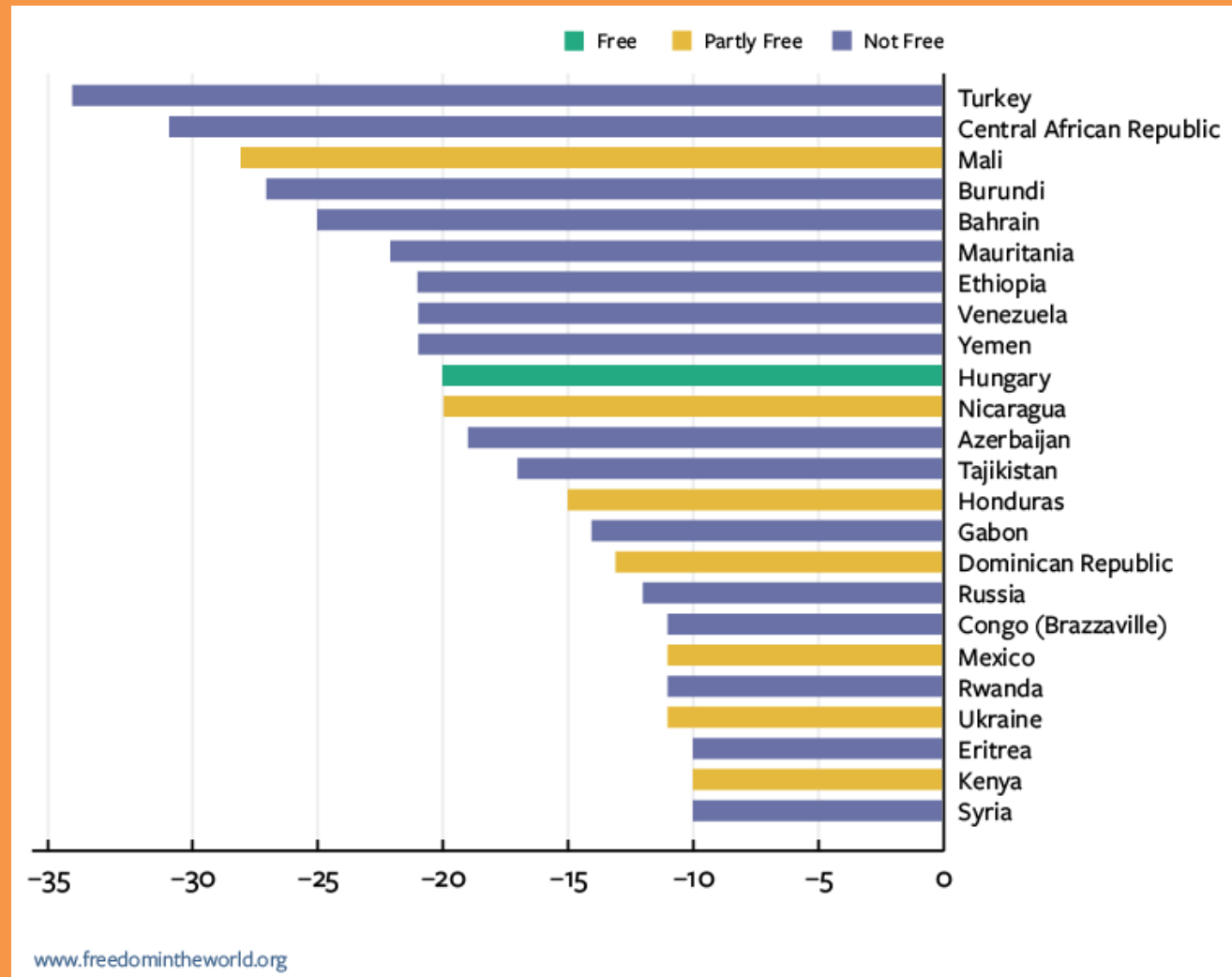


# Decades of Progress Reversing



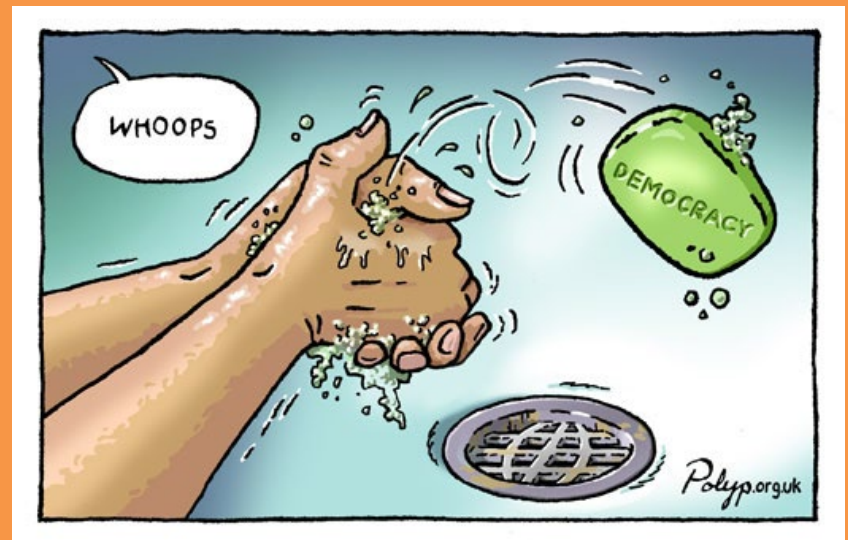


# A Decade of Declines

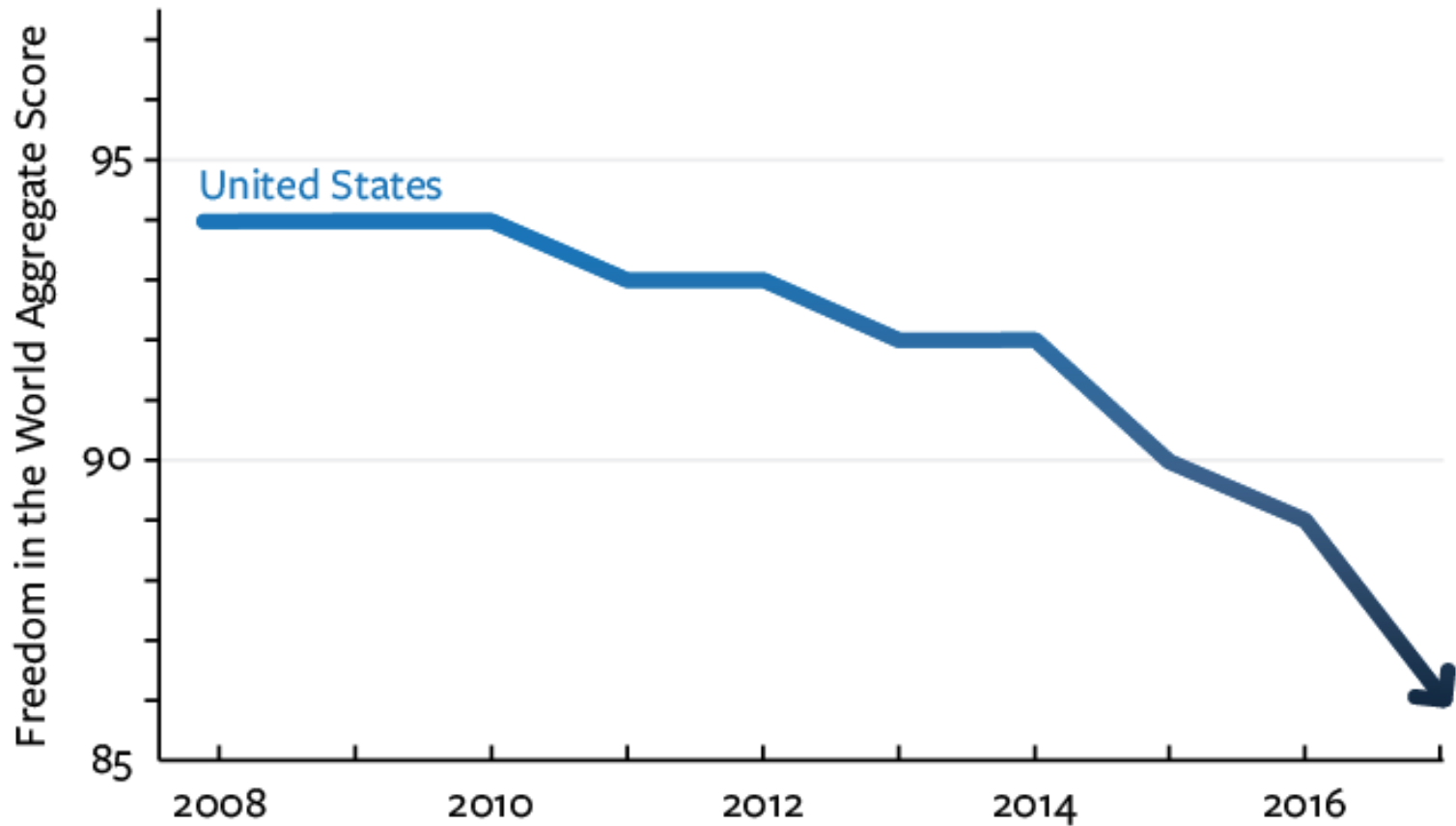


# Democracies in Crisis

- Military/violent coup
  - domestic coup d'état
  - foreign intervention
  - fast and highly visible
- Erosion of democracy
  - formal and informal democratic institutions
  - illiberal democracy
  - liberal non-democracies
  - incremental and usually slow

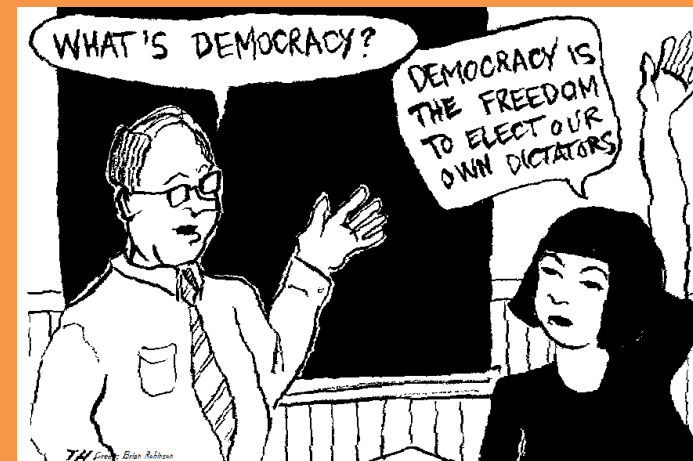


# Trajectory of the US



# Troubling Trends in the US

- Polarization in and gridlock of democratic institutions
- Lack of institutional forbearance
- Expansion of executive powers
- President with authoritarian tendencies
- Questioning of legitimacy of political opponents
- Erosion of democratic norms & declining support
- Polarization of society along political divisions
- Intensification of the religious–secular divide
- Tensions along racial divides
- Money in politics
- Relative deprivation
- Increase in economic inequality
- Undermining of the press





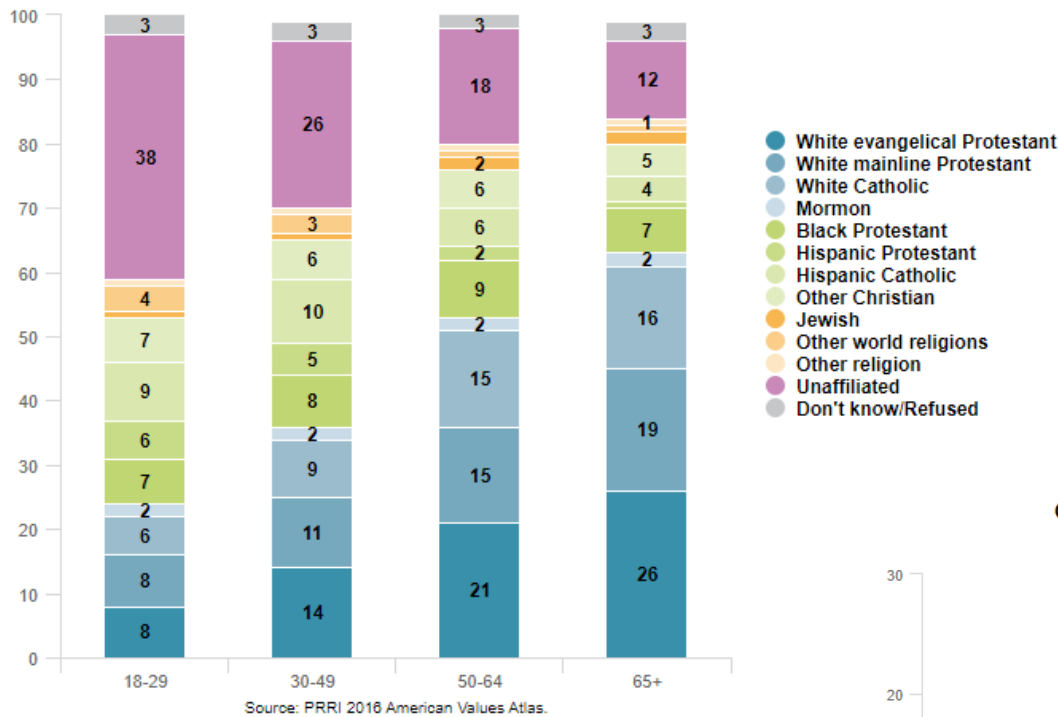
# Divisions in the U.S.

- Religion
- Economy
- Politics
- Race



# Religion

**A Generational Shift in Religious Identity**



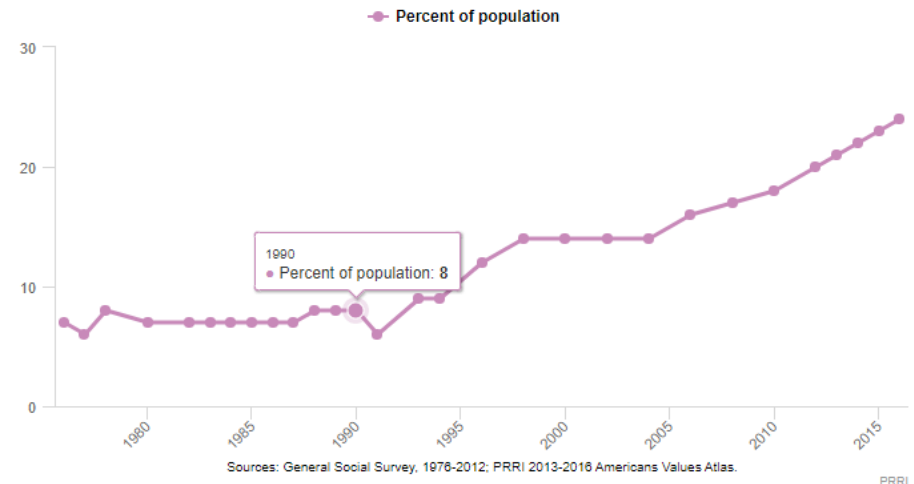
## White Christian Democrats

2017 29%  
2007 50%

## Democrats 18-29 yo

White Christian 14%  
Unaffiliated 40%

**Growth of the Religiously Unaffiliated, 1976-2016**



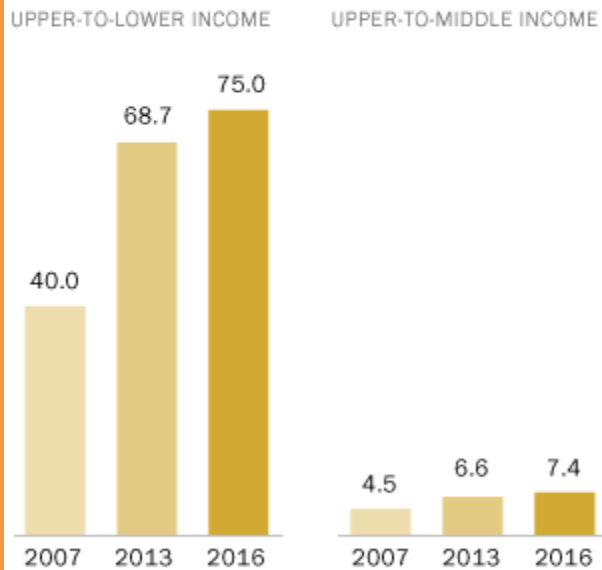
## White Christians in GOP

2017 Overall 73%  
2017 Evangelical Protestant 35%  
2007 Evangelical Protestant 36%

# Wealth Inequality

## Wealth gaps between upper-income families and lower- and middle-income families are at highest levels recorded

Median net worth of upper-income families is \_\_\_ times greater than that of middle- and lower-income families

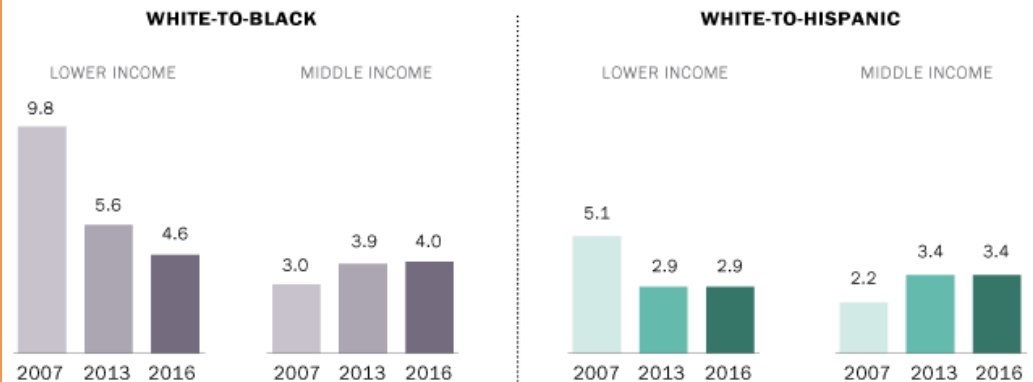


Source: Pew Research Center analysis of Survey of Consumer Finances public-use data.

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## Racial, ethnic wealth gaps decreased among lower-income families but increased among middle-income families

Median net worth of white middle- and lower-income families is \_\_\_ times greater than that of black or Hispanic middle- and lower-income families

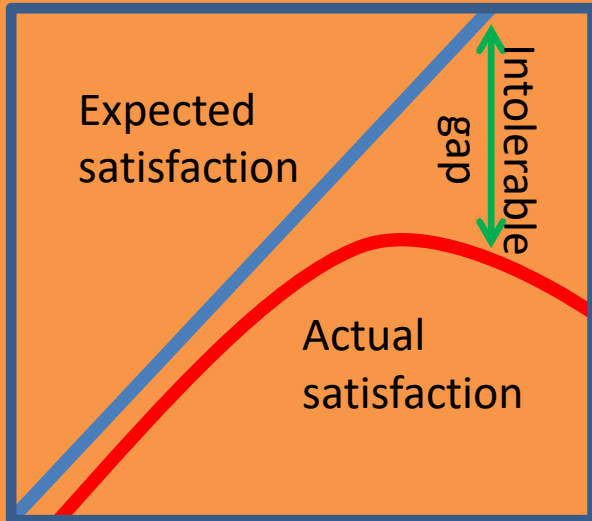


Note: Blacks and whites are single-race only and include only non-Hispanics.

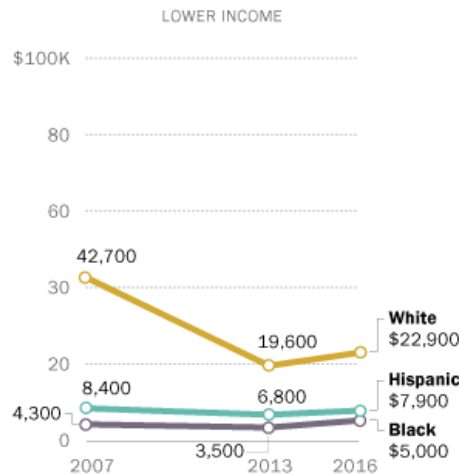
Source: Pew Research Center analysis of Survey of Consumer Finances public-use data.

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# Relative Deprivation

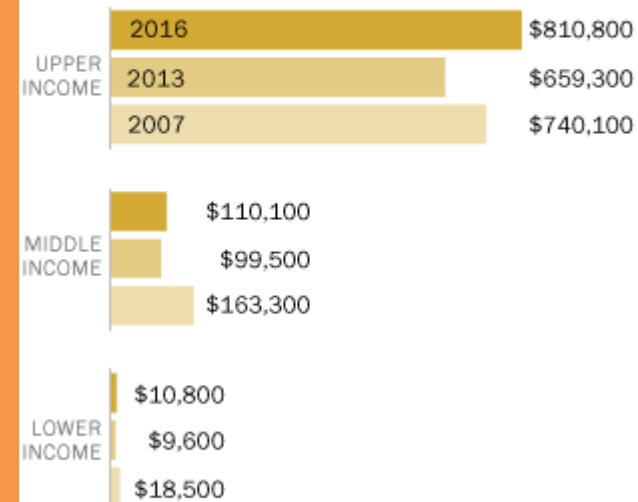


Median net worth of households, in 2016 dollars



## Only upper-income families have median wealth greater than prior to the Great Recession

Median household net worth by income, in 2016 dollars



Source: Pew Research Center analysis of Survey of Consumer Finances public-use data.

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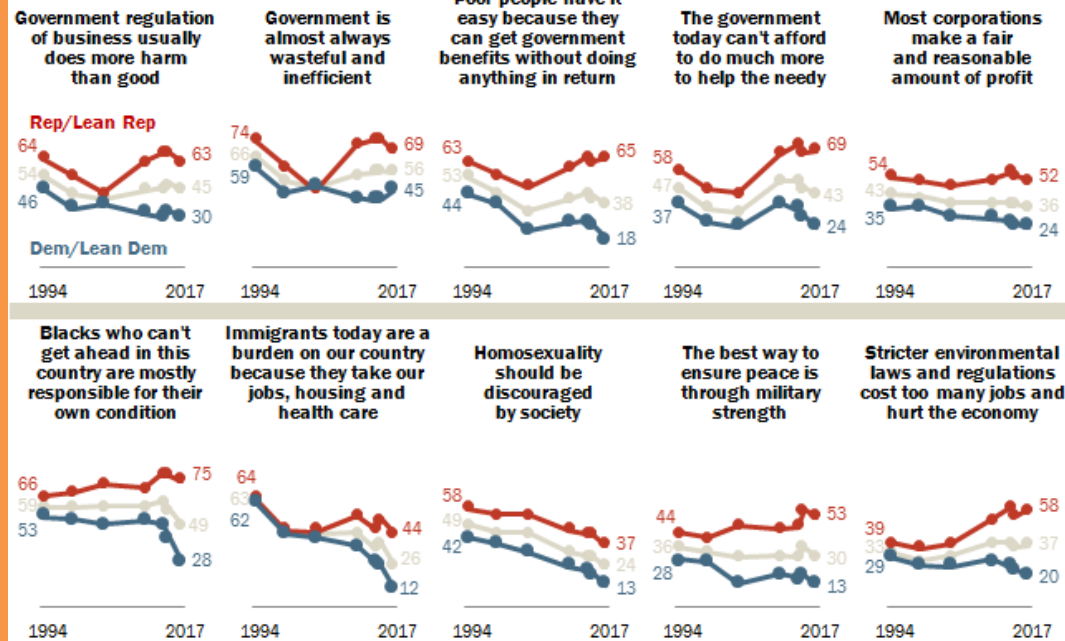




# Political Polarization

## Growing gaps between Republicans and Democrats across domains

% who say ...

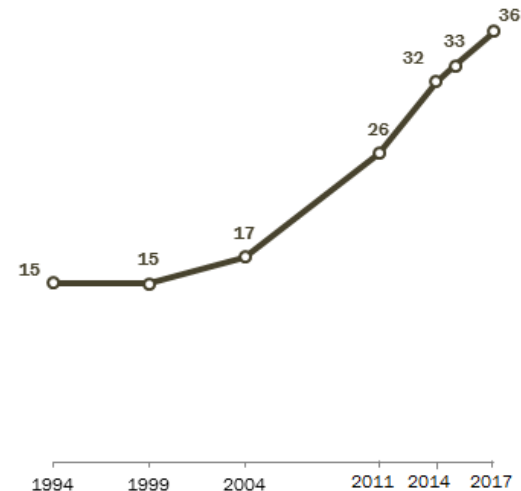


Source: Survey conducted June 8-18 and June 27-July 9, 2017.

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## Partisan gap in political values continues to grow

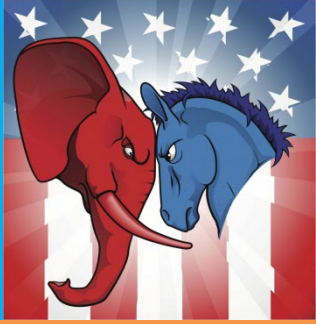
Average partisan gap in the share taking a conservative position across 10 political values



Notes: Indicates gap between the share of Republicans/Republican leaners and the share of Democrats/Democratic leaners who take the conservative position across 10 values items that have a traditional "left/right" association.

Source: Survey conducted June 8-18 and June 27-July 9, 2017.

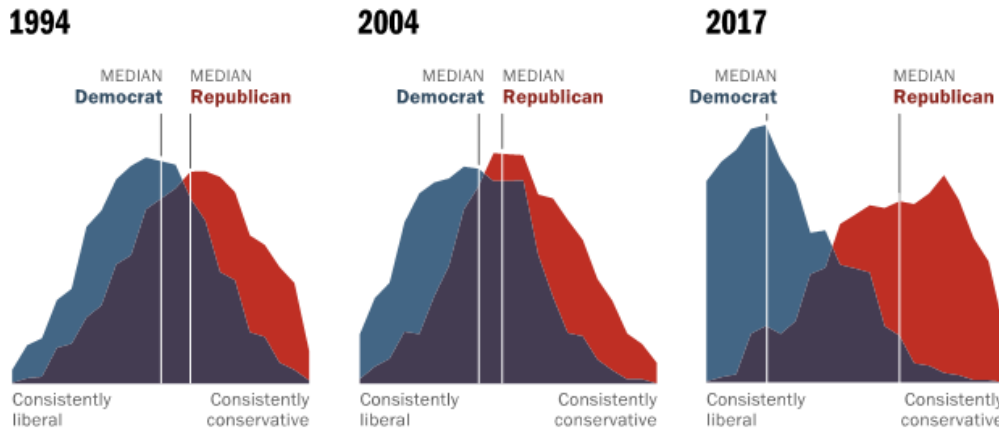
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# Political Polarization

## Democrats and Republicans more ideologically divided than in the past

Distribution of Democrats and Republicans on a 10-item scale of political values



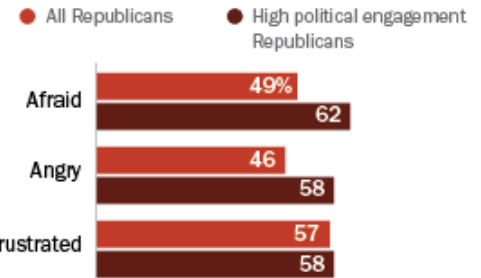
Notes: Ideological consistency based on a scale of 10 political values questions (see methodology). The blue area in this chart represents the ideological distribution of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents; the red area of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents. The overlap of these two distributions is shaded purple.

Source: Survey conducted June 8-18, 2017.

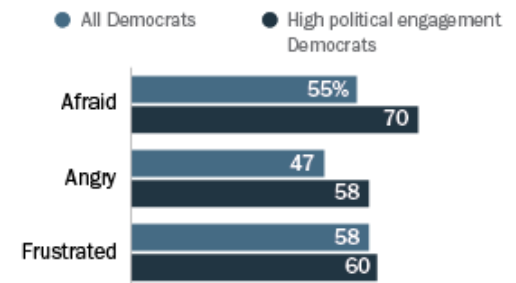
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## Frustration, fear and anger among partisans

% of *Republicans* who say the Democratic Party makes them feel ...



% of *Democrats* who say the *Republican Party* makes them feel ...



Note: Engagement scale based on voting frequency, campaign volunteerism and/or contributions. See Appendix A for details. Source: Survey conducted March 2-28 and April 5-May 2, 2016.

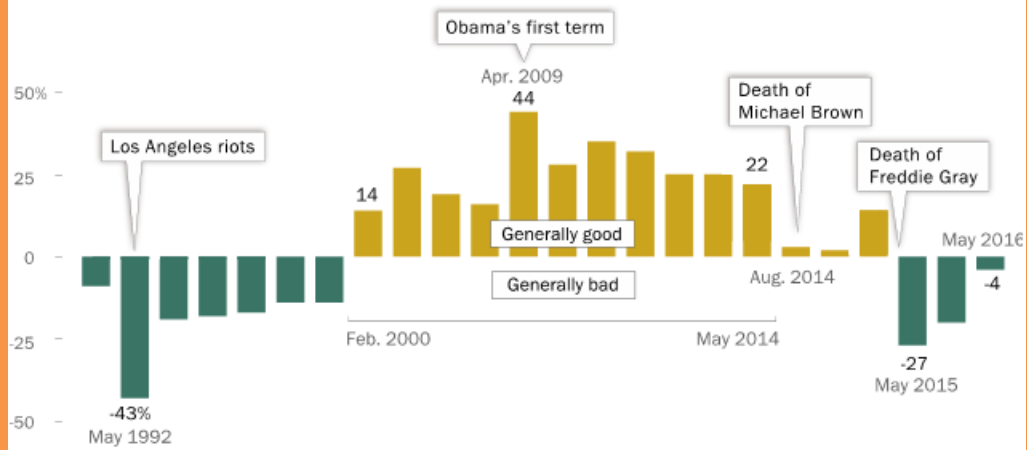
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# Race Relations

## Views of race relations are more negative now than they have been for much of the 2000s

Percentage point difference between all adults saying race relations are "generally good" and those saying "generally bad"

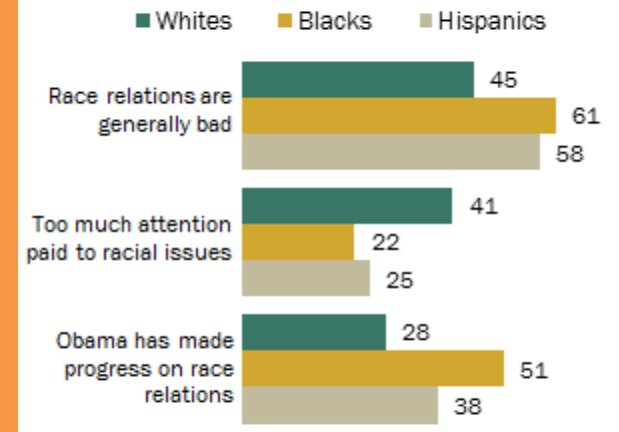


Note: Trend data from CBS News and CBS News/New York Times surveys.  
 Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 29-May 8, 2016. Q5F1.  
 "On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites are Worlds Apart"

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## Black and white Americans differ widely in views on race and race relations

% saying ...



Note: Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 29-May 8, 2016. Q5F1, Q16, Q23.

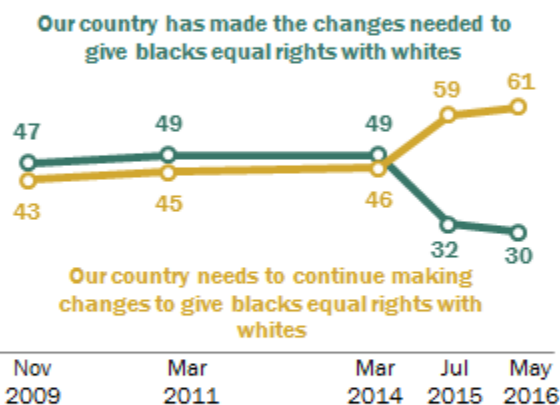
"On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites are Worlds Apart"

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# Change in Racial Equality

## About six-in-ten Americans say more changes needed to achieve racial equality

% saying ...



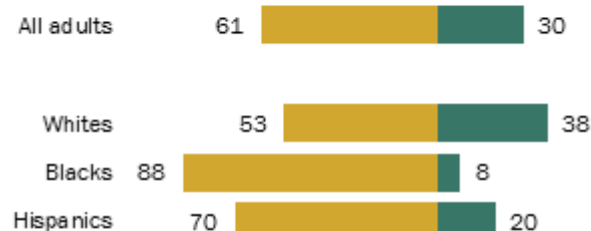
Note: Voluntary responses of "Neither/Both equally" and "Don't know/Refused" not shown.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 29-May 8, 2016. Q6F2.  
"On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites are Worlds Apart"

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## Views of country's progress on racial equality differ by race and ethnicity

% saying \_\_\_ to give blacks equal rights with whites

More changes needed    Enough changes made



Note: "All adults" includes adults of all races. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race. Voluntary responses of "Neither/Both equally" and "Don't know/Refused" not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 29-May 8, 2016. Q6F2.

"On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites are Worlds Apart"

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## About four-in-ten blacks are skeptical that the country will ever achieve racial equality

% saying \_\_\_ to give blacks equal rights with whites

	All adults	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
More changes needed	61	53	88	70
Will eventually make the changes	42	40	42	49
Will not make the changes	16	11	43	17
Don't know/Refused	3	2	4	4
Enough changes made	30	38	8	20
Neither/Both/Don't know/Refused	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100

Note: "All adults" includes adults of all races. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 29-May 8, 2016. Q6F2, Q6aF2.

"On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites are Worlds Apart"

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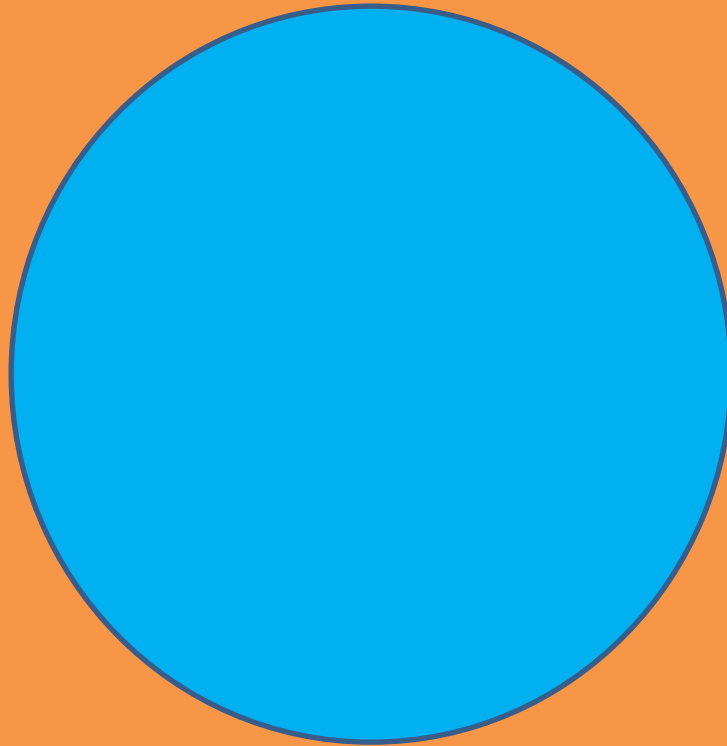


# “ Don’t be a Sucker”

- U.S. Department of War 1947 public service announcement

# Lines of Division

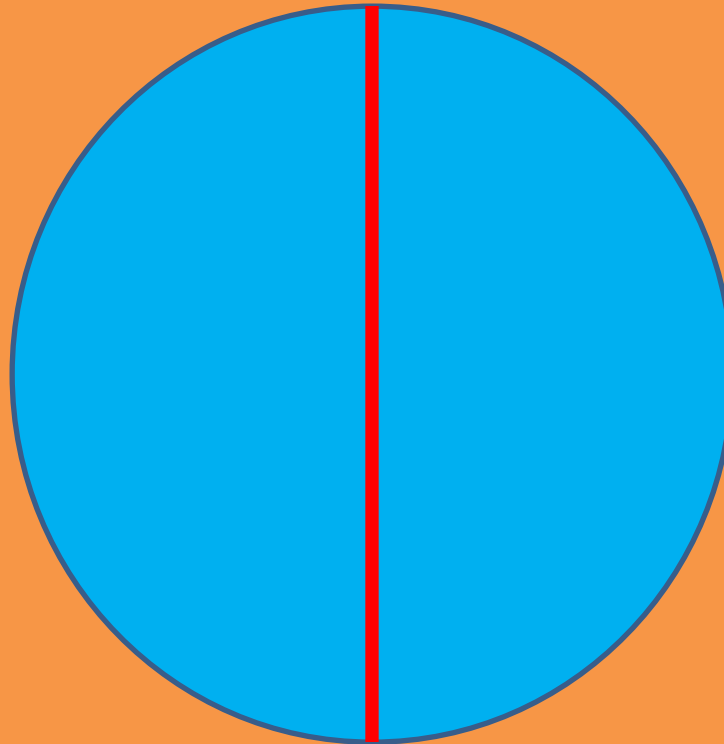
Society



# Lines of Division

Society

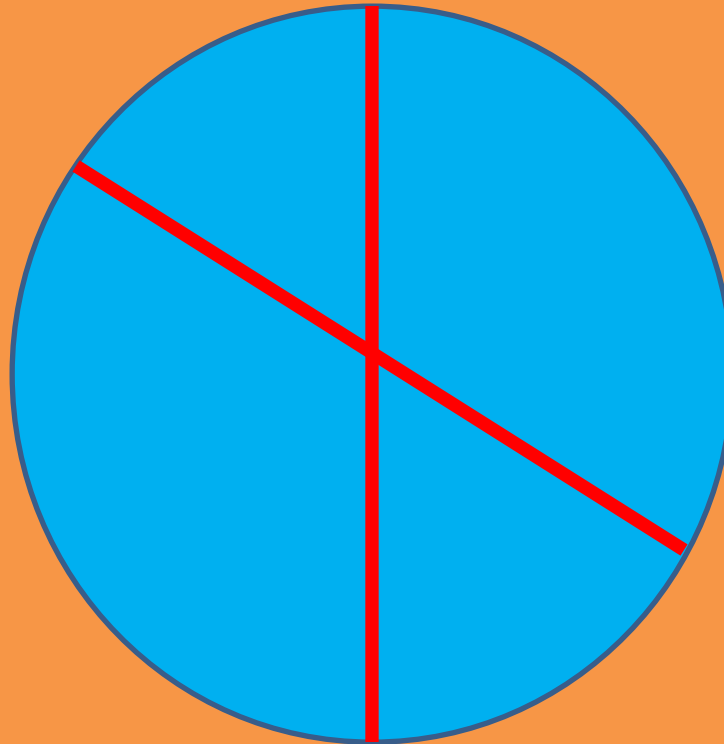
Religion



# Lines of Division

Society

Religion



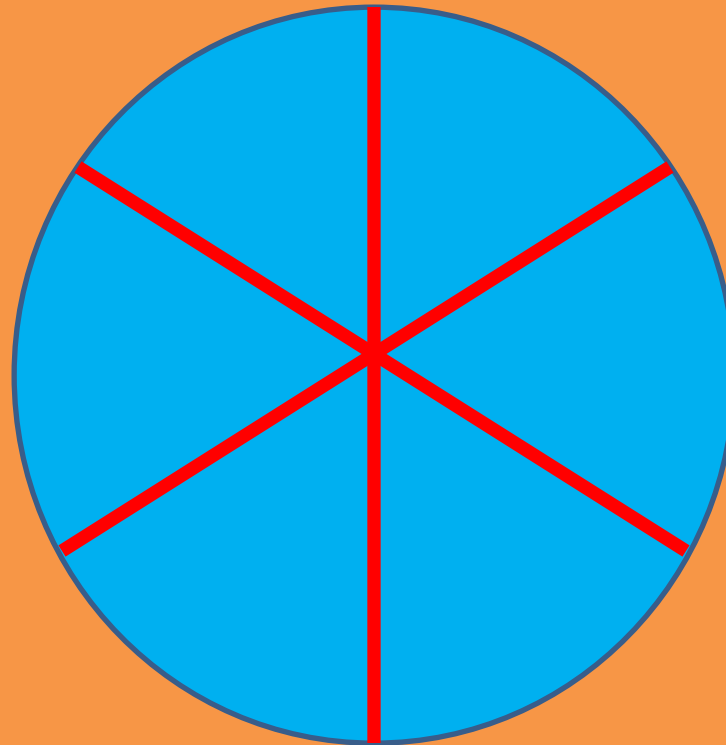
Economy



# Lines of Division

Society

Religion

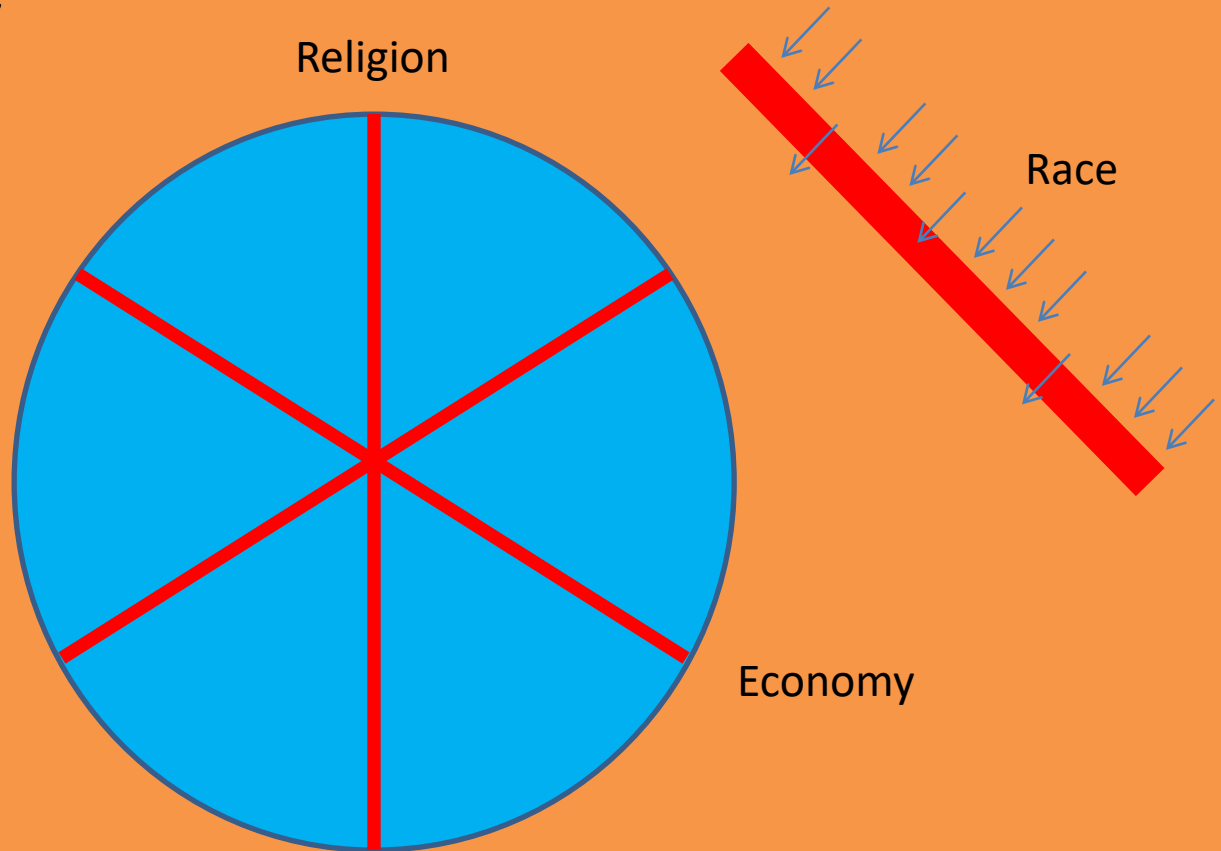


Politics

Economy

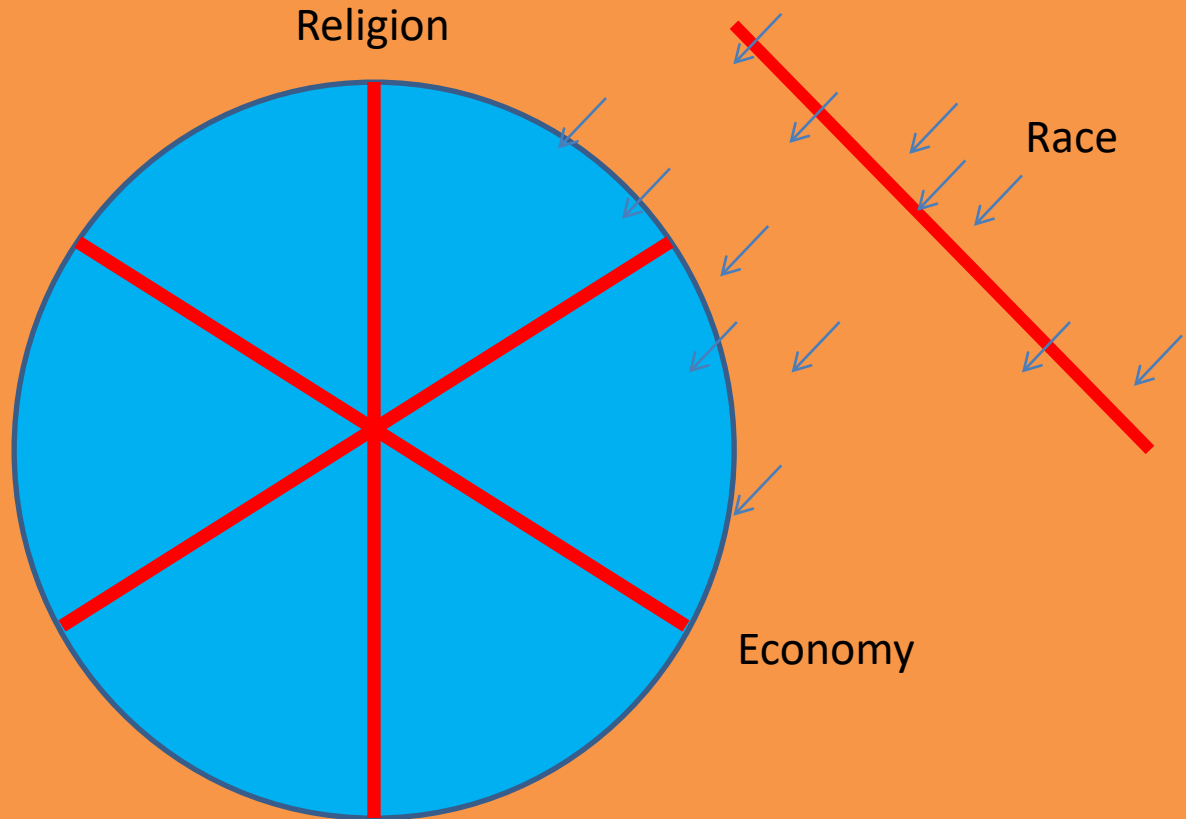
# Lines of Division

Society



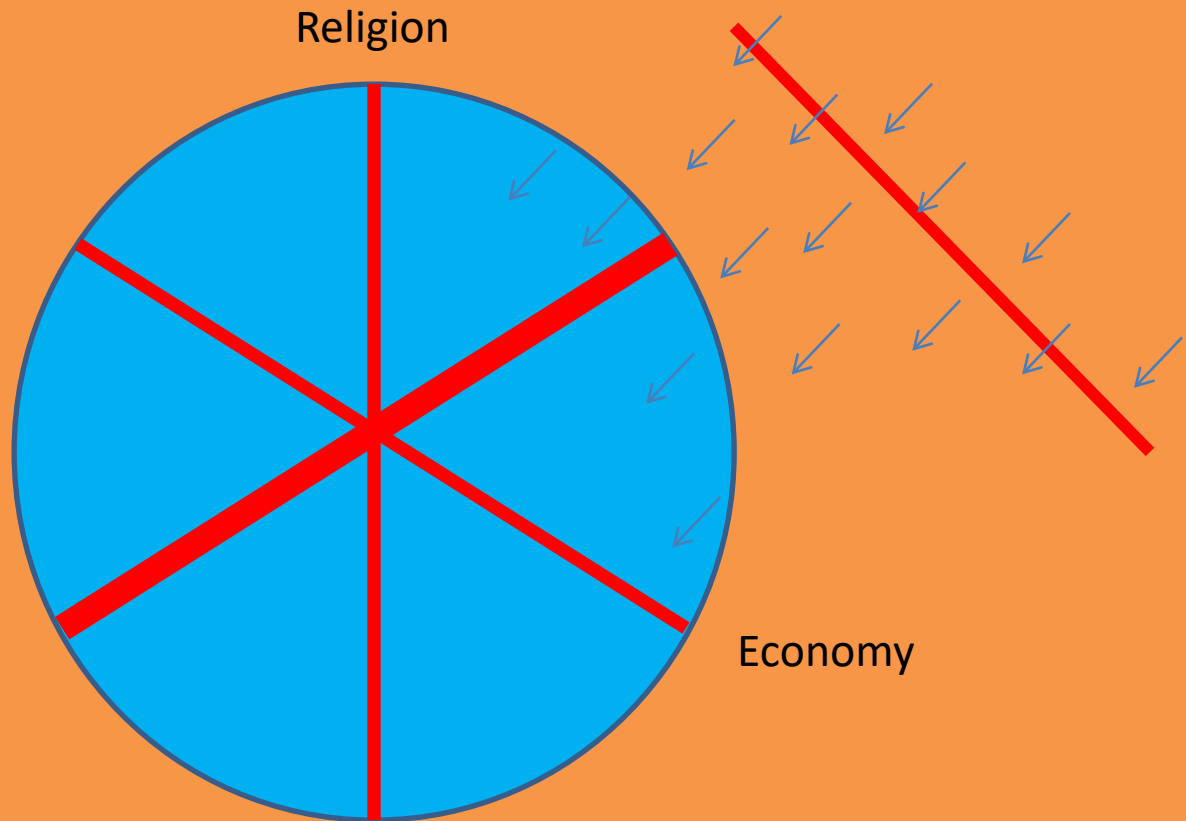
# Lines of Division

Society



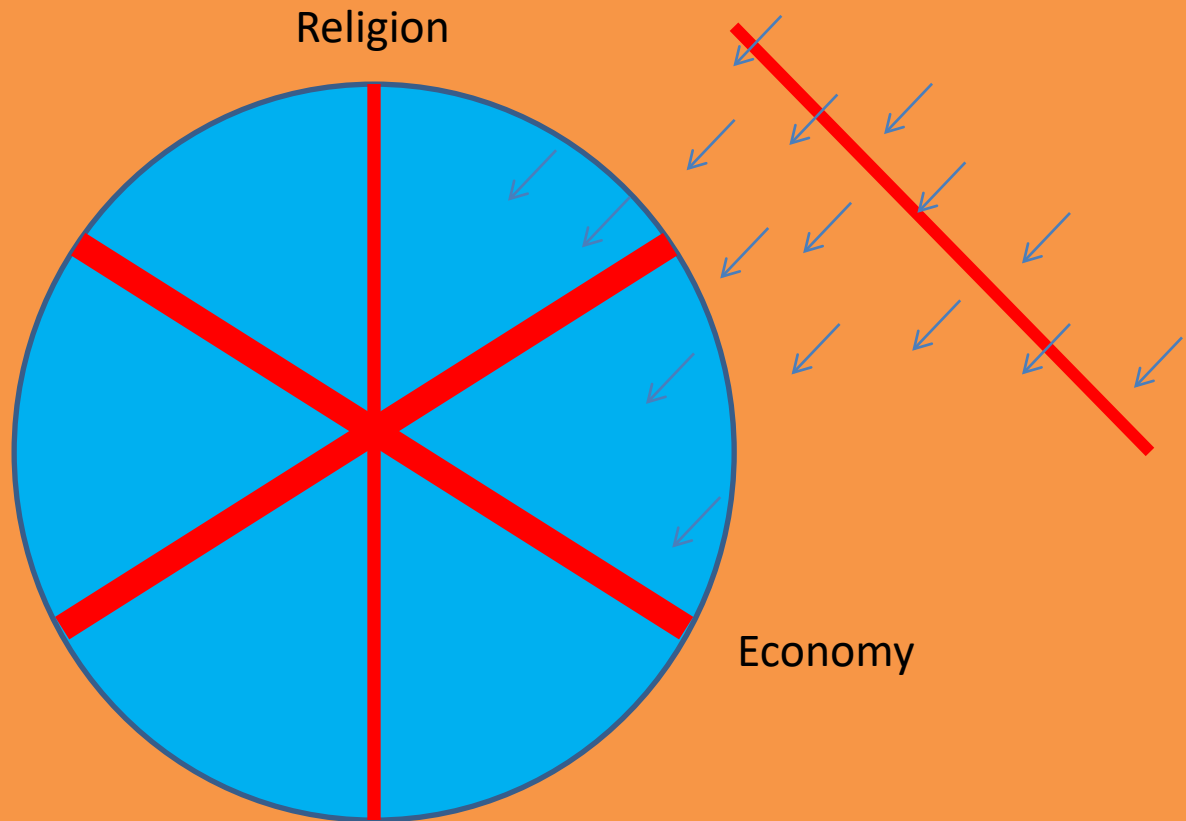
# Lines of Division

Society



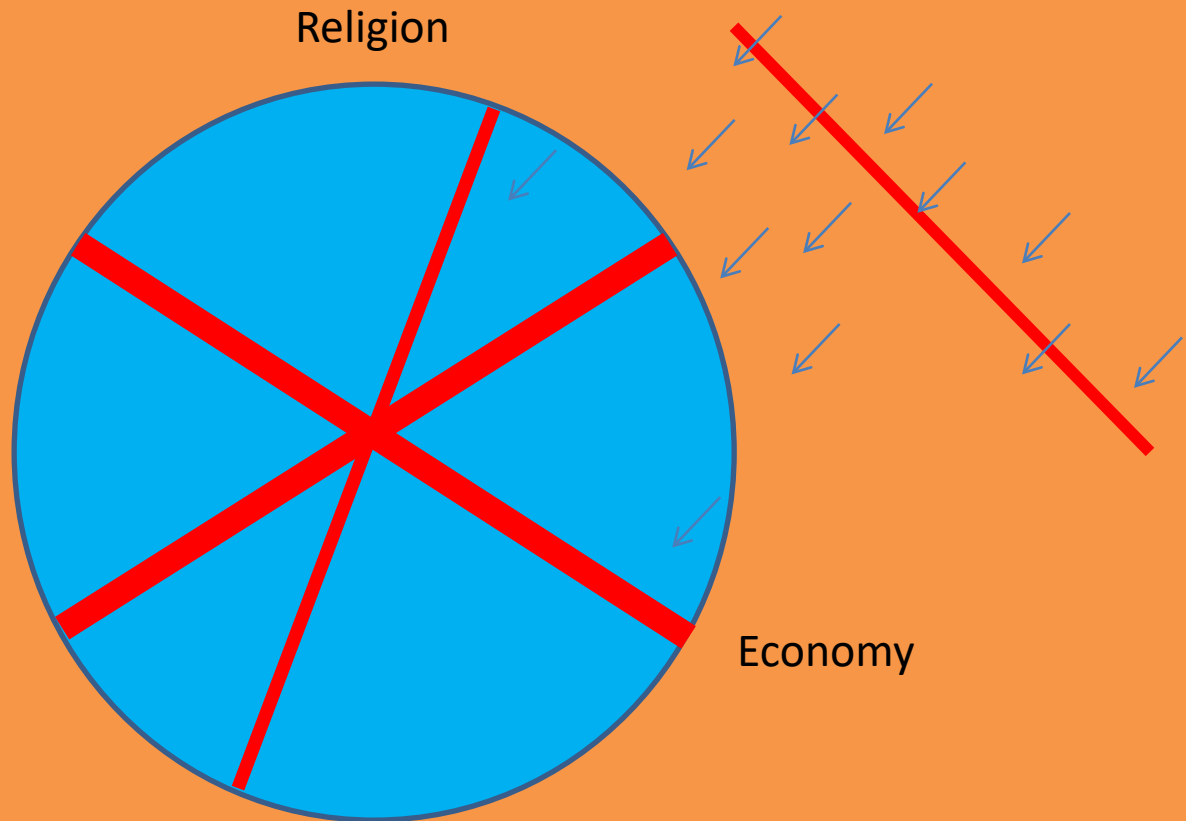
# Lines of Division

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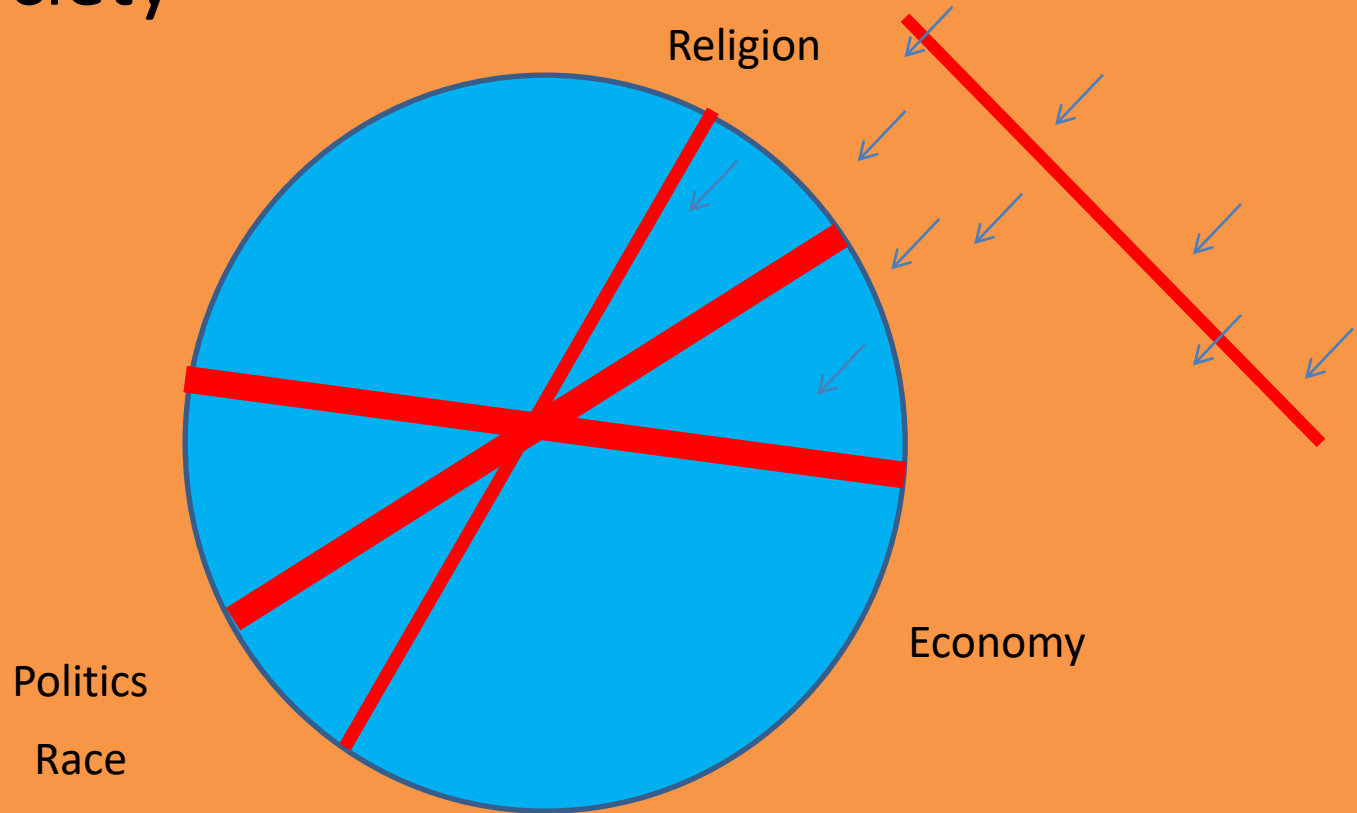
# Lines of Division

Society



# Lines of Division

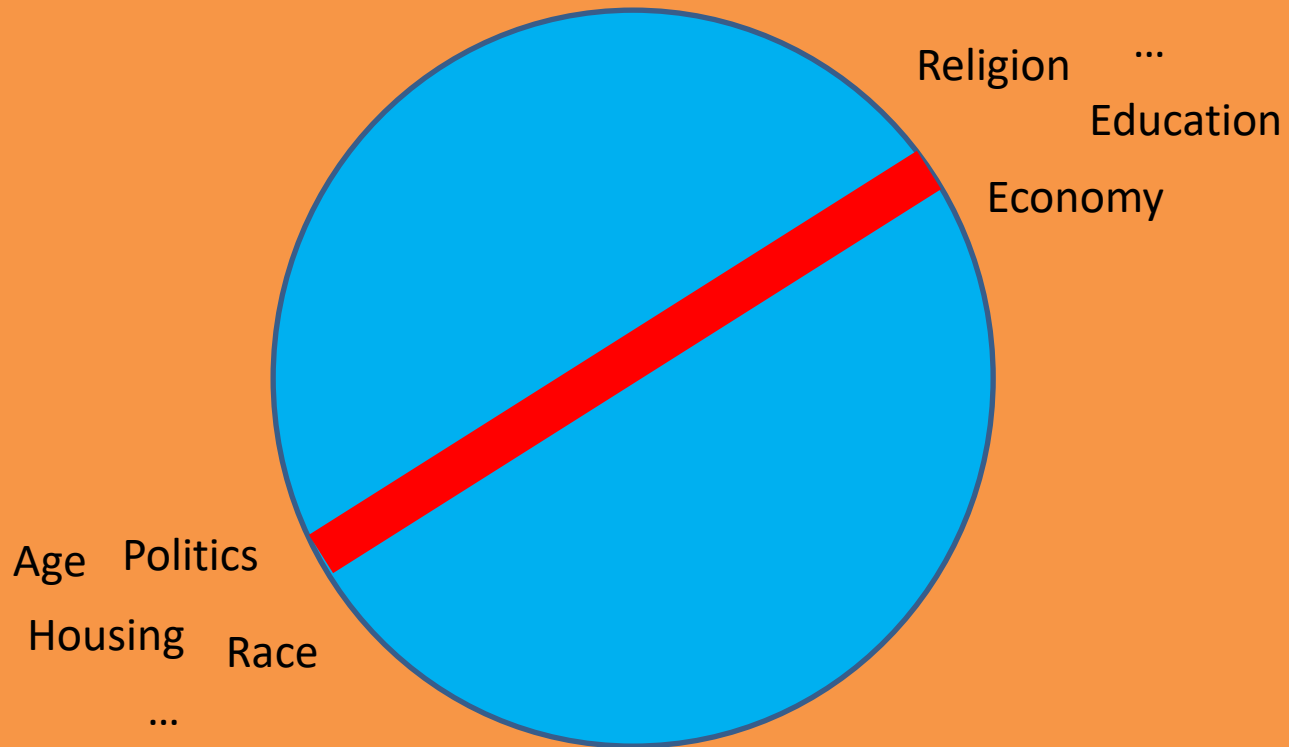
Society





# Lines of Division

Society



# What can you do?



# 20 Lessons from the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

1. Do not obey in advance.
- 2. Defend an institution.**
3. Recall professional ethics.
4. When listening to politicians, distinguish certain words.
5. Be calm when the unthinkable arrives.
- 6. Be kind to your language.**
7. Stand out.
- 8. Believe in truth.**
- 9. Investigate.**
- 10. Practice corporeal politics.**



# 20 Lessons from the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

11. **Make eye contact and small talk.**
12. **Take responsibility for the face of the world.**
13. Hinder the one-party state.
14. Give regularly to good causes, if you can.
15. Establish a private life.
16. **Learn from others in other countries.**
17. Watch out for paramilitaries.
18. Be reflective if you must be armed.
19. **Be as courageous as you can.**
20. Be a patriot.



# ...but what about Marginalized Groups?

- Lack of protection
- Exploitation
- Exclusion
- 2<sup>nd</sup> class citizen
- Significantly negative impact on lives



# Importance of Dialog

- Mutual toleration (Levitsky and Ziblatt)
- Mutual understanding
- Listening
- Different (bad) vision, but not evil
- Reduction of fear
- Finding of commonalities
- Importance of community
- Potential for changing minds







# Sharing and Listening

- How has democracy protected you or the different groups you belong to?
- What can you do to protect and fight for our democracy?

Almost done.....



IT IS THE FIRST  
RESPONSIBILITY  
OF EVERY  
CITIZEN  
TO QUESTION  
AUTHORITY  
- BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

