

Democratization in Times of Crises

Asian Democratic Leaders' Alliance, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

Danny Quah

Sat 26 Nov 2022

Is democracy a luxury good?

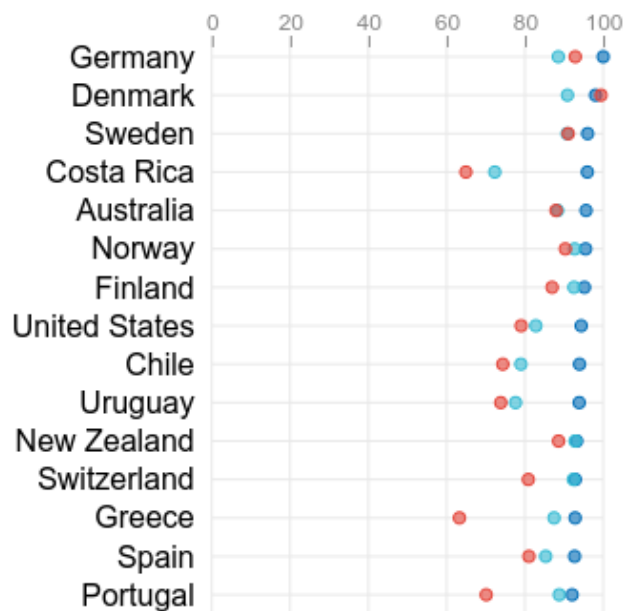
- **Quality of Life:** The level at which the government provides public goods to citizens. Public goods are goods available to all, like health, education, and a clean environment.
- **Quality of Democracy:** The ability of citizens to check governmental power and demand justifications for the state's actions through electoral, institutional, and societal means.
- **Quality of Government:** The ability of the government to achieve its primary goals, such as generating revenue, organizing collective action, and delivering on its policies.

Rankings sorted by

Quality of Democracy ▾

for

2019 ▾



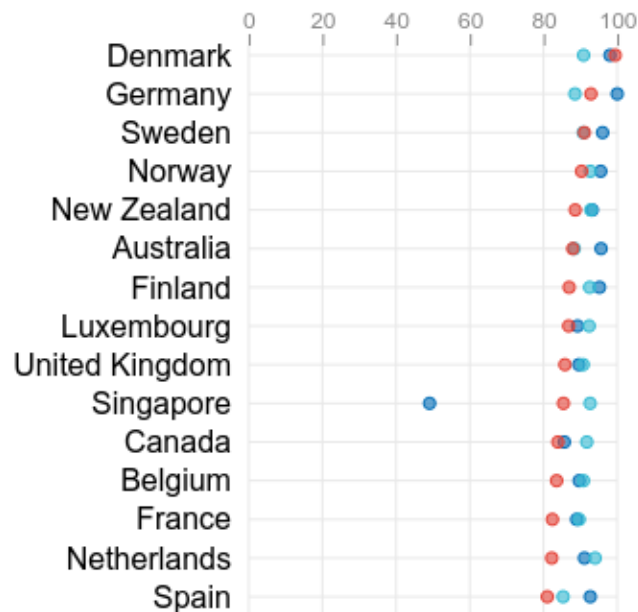
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Rankings sorted by

Quality of Government ▾

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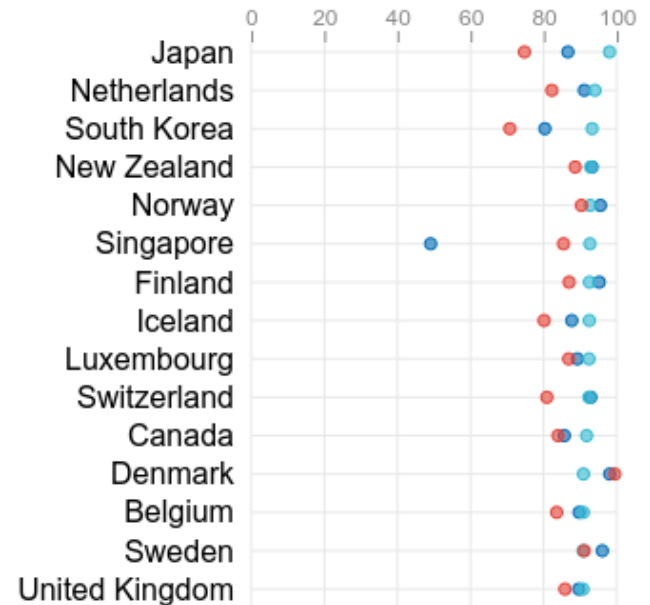
2019 ▾



Three components of the Berggruen Governance Index

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Rankings sorted by **Quality of Life** for **2019**



Democracy's Appeal

Consent of the
Governed

Political
Egalitarianism

Republicanism

Freedom and democracy vs tyranny and totalitarianism

“Democracies are peaceful. Non-democracies are evil”

“Authoritarian and Leninist, state and party controlling personal lives. Disdain for human rights, free speech, democracy, rule of law. Set against our liberal values and basic human decencies”

“a revisionist power that will undermine the international system and reshape it in their authoritarian image”

“using predatory economics to intimidate and to exercise veto power over the economic and security decisions of others”

**Percent change by region
2006-2021**

Freedom House

Liberal Democracy

Electoral Democracy

EIU

EUR/ANG

-2.7

-2.9

-2.2

-3.3

CEE

-2.6

-14.6

-12.0

-6.0

LAC

-8.7

-9.2

-9.6

-9.0

South Asia

-9.0

14.0

1.9

-8.7

SSA

-14.8

-7.2

-7.4

-8.7

FSU

-15.6

18.9

11.8

-8.7

MENA

-19.1

-4.0

-7.8

-1.7

The Authoritarian Power Surge (Larry Diamond)



Creeping Autocracy Strangles Democracies (Larry Diamond)



Bangladesh PM Sheikh Hasina, leader of Awami League

Are These Democracies in Danger? (Larry Diamond)



Mongolian Pres. Battulga Khatmaa
(Longtime President of Mongolian
Judo Association)



Indian PM Narendra Modi, recently reelected in
a landslide after a Hindu chauvinist campaign



Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro

The most ancient of causes

“No cause is left but the most ancient of all, the one, in fact, that from the beginning of our history has determined the very existence of politics, the cause of freedom versus tyranny.”

(Hannah Arendt)

Varieties of Competition

Economic
Competition

Security
Competition

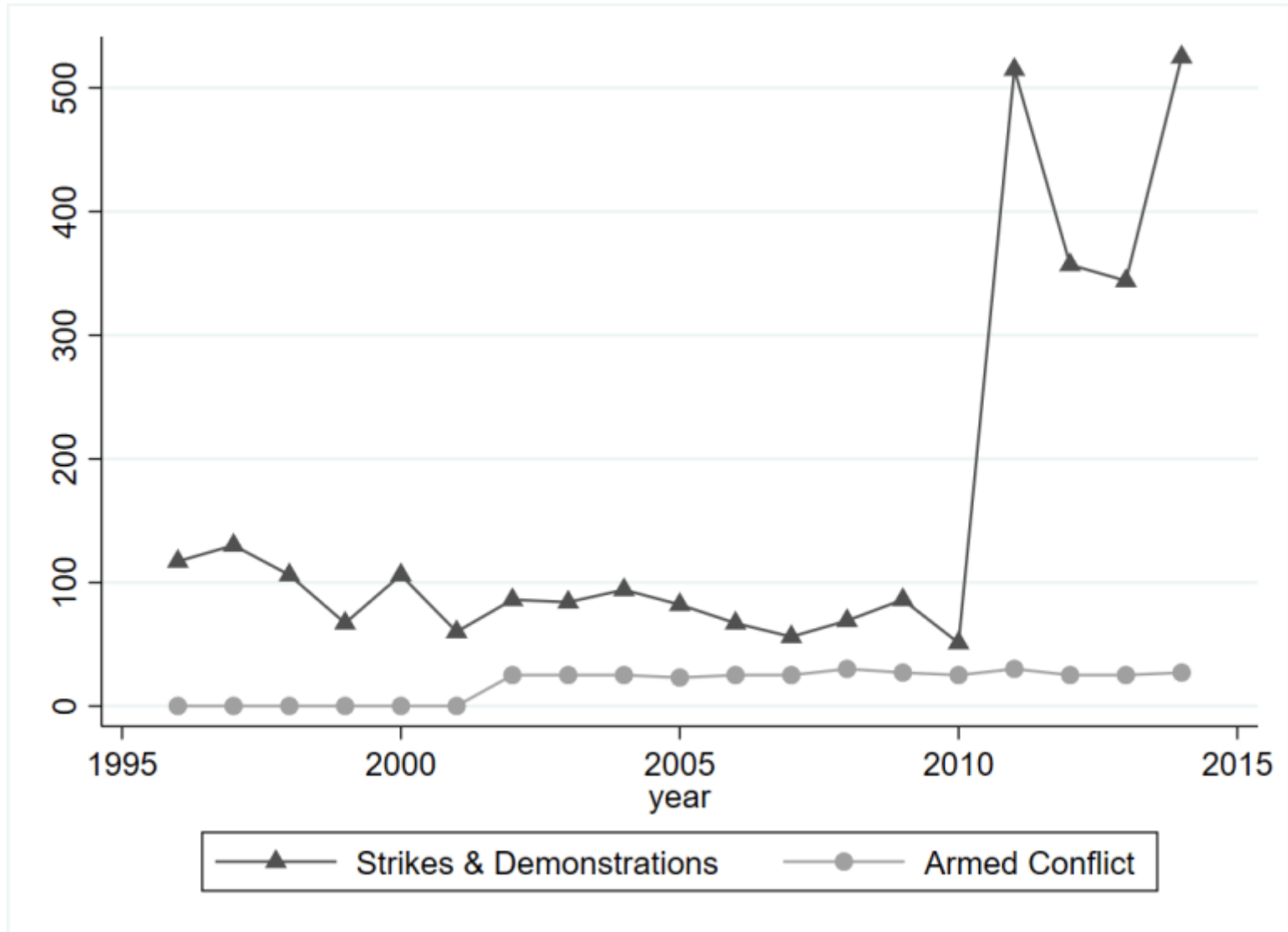
Perhaps the world is not binary 0-1

Polyarchy: Power in a small group of individuals

Anocracy:
Between democracy and authoritarianism

Epistocracy: Rule of the knowledgeable

“Crises? What crises?!”



Source: C. Witte et al (2020)





Last Updated at (M/D/YYYY)
13/11/2022, 14:21

Total Cases
634,984,179

Total Deaths
6,609,698

Total Vaccine Doses Administered
12,856,500,298

28-Day Cases
19,891,377

28-Day Deaths
78,114

28-Day Vaccine Doses Administered
224,418,433,804

Cases | Deaths by
Country/Region/Sovereignty

Germany

28-Day: **1,424,558** | 4,168
Totals: **36,033,395** | 155,588

Japan

28-Day: **1,378,319** | 1,689
Totals: **23,134,961** | 47,618

Korea, South

28-Day: **1,073,764** | 825
Totals: **26,194,229** | 29,665

US

28-Day: **1,057,632** | 9,329
Totals: **97,995,353** | 1,074,484

France

28-Day: **907,225** | 1,855
Totals: **37,288,432** | 158,711

Taiwan*

28-Day: **873,280** | 1,658
Totals: **8,015,698** | 13,501

Italy

28-Day: **753,447** | 2,029
Totals: **23,823,192** | 179,985

China

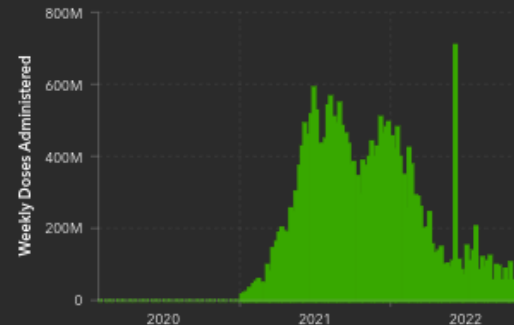
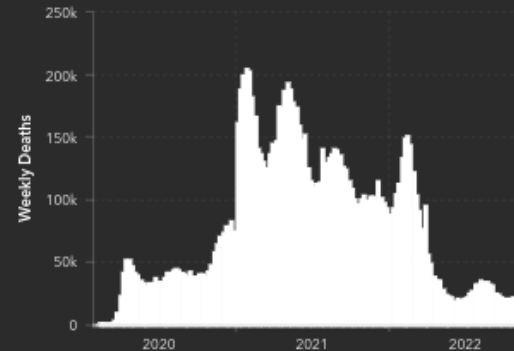
28-Day: **254,653** | 249
Totals: **3,100,159** | 15,749

Greece

28-Day: **223,794** | 575
Totals: **5,250,288** | 33,888

Russia

28-Day: **200,501** | 2,125
Totals: **21,189,139** | 383,075



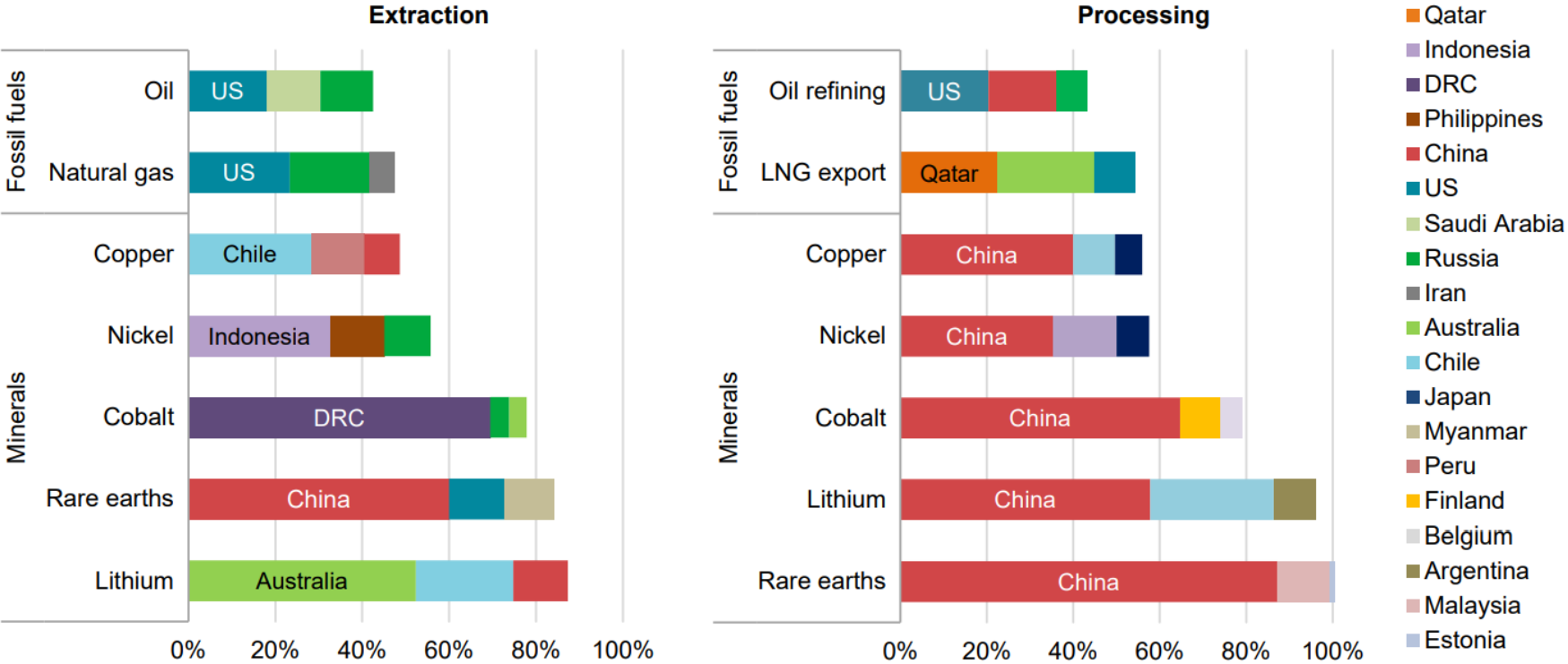


Climate change: No 'credible pathway' to 1.5C limit, UNEP warns



Unsplash/Shane Stagner | Kelp, a type of seaweed, can be fed to animals and could help to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

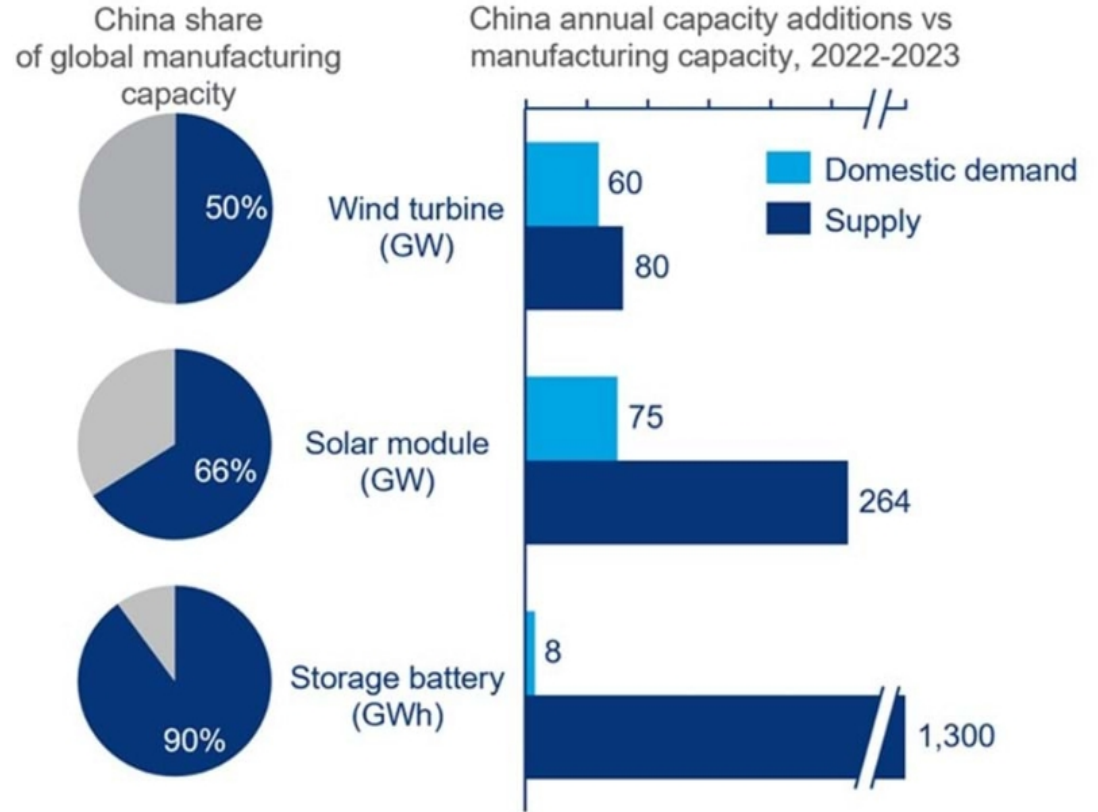
Climate-critical minerals are more geopolitically concentrated than oil and gas.



Source: World Bank 2022, [IEA \(2022\)](#)

China's energy-transition manufacturing and its global impact:

1. Half the world's **wind turbines**
2. Two-thirds the world's **solar panels**
3. Nine-tenths the world's Li-ion **battery storage**

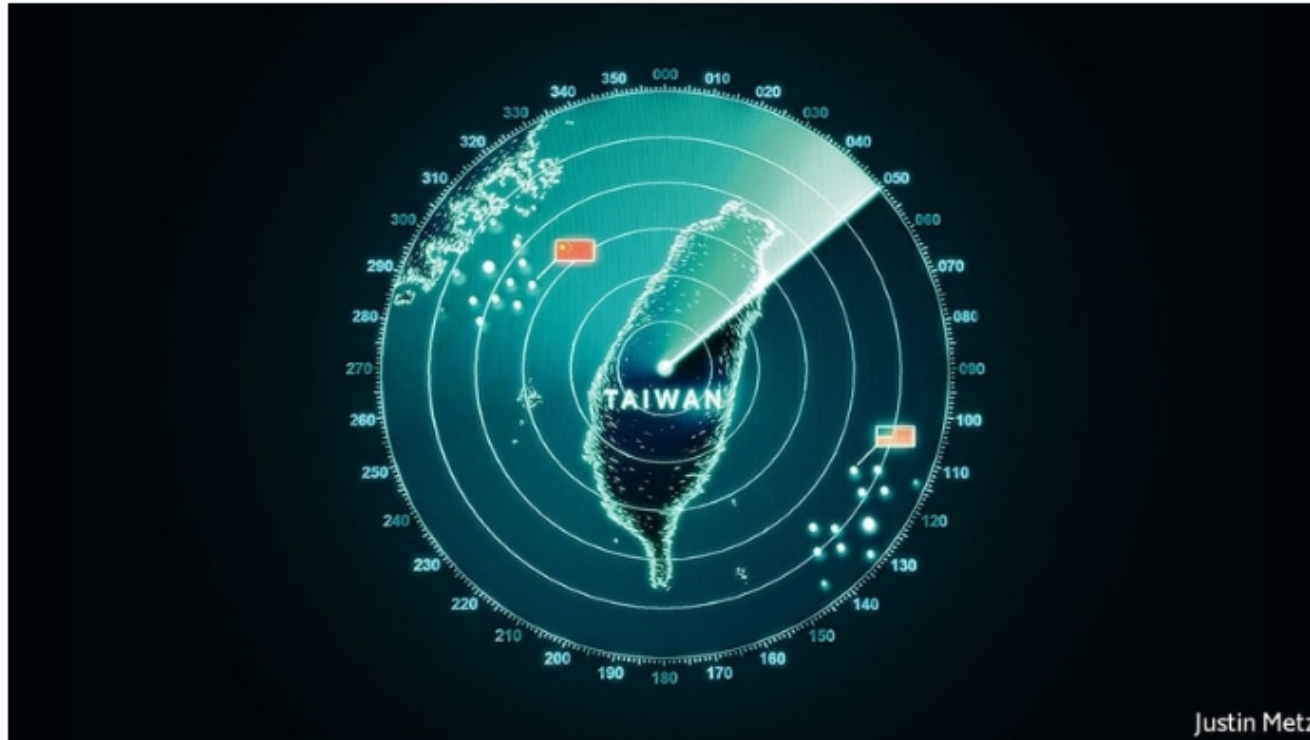


Source: World Bank 2022, [Wood MacKenzie \(2022\)](#)



The most dangerous place on Earth

America and China must work harder to avoid war over the future of Taiwan



Powerful Earthquake Strikes Taiwan, Killing at Least 1

A southeastern county was shaken by a strong temblor for the second day in a row.



A 6.8 magnitude earthquake in Taiwan killed at least one person and collapsed at least one building in the town of Yuli in Hualien County. Ritchie B Tongo/EPA, via Shutterstock

 By Austin Ramzy

Published Sept. 18, 2022. Updated Sept. 19, 2022.

China wants to change, or break, a world order set by others

It may yet succeed, says David Rennie



“China is evil”

“Authoritarian and Leninist, state and party controlling personal lives. Disdain for human rights, free speech, democracy, rule of law. Set against our liberal values and basic human decencies”

“a revisionist power that will undermine the international system and reshape it in their authoritarian image”

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National Exceptionalism

“Authoritarian and Leninist, state and party controlling personal lives. Disdain for human rights, free speech, democracy, rule of law. Set against our liberal values and basic human decencies”

“using predatory economics to intimidate and to exercise veto power over the economic and security decisions of others”

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“Containment to deny our and others’ full potential”

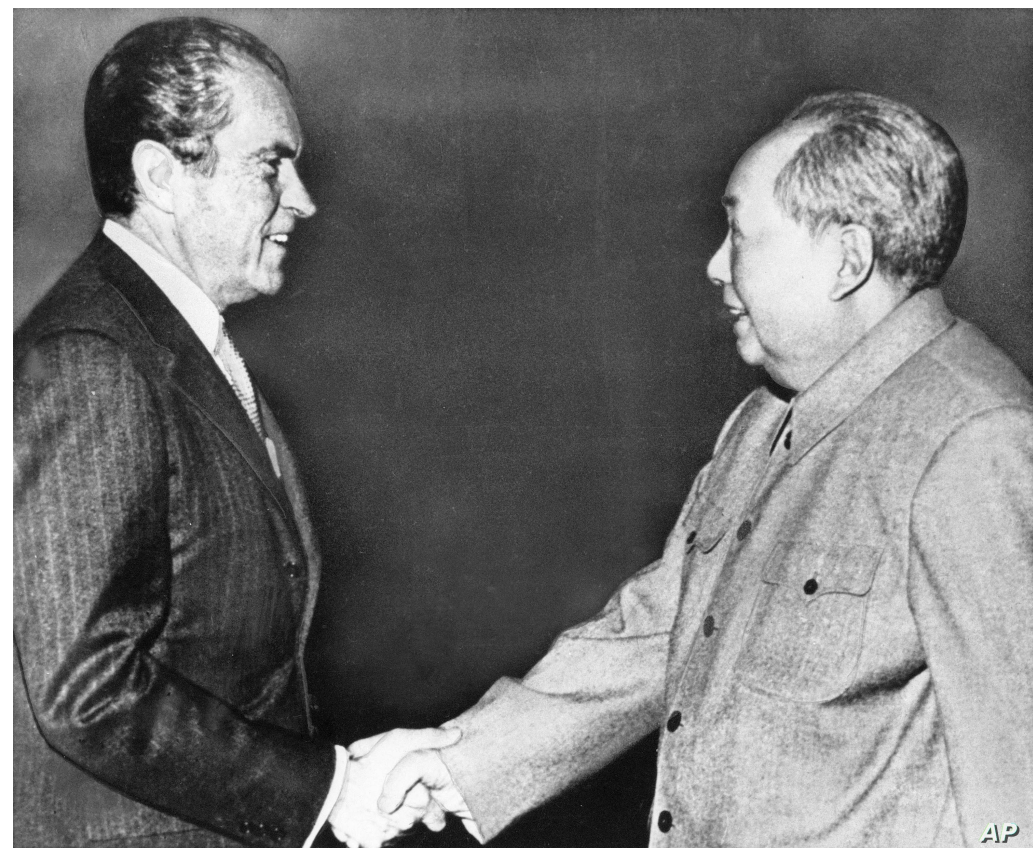
“National sovereignty”

“Peace gene”

China seeks a world order that defers to states and their rulers

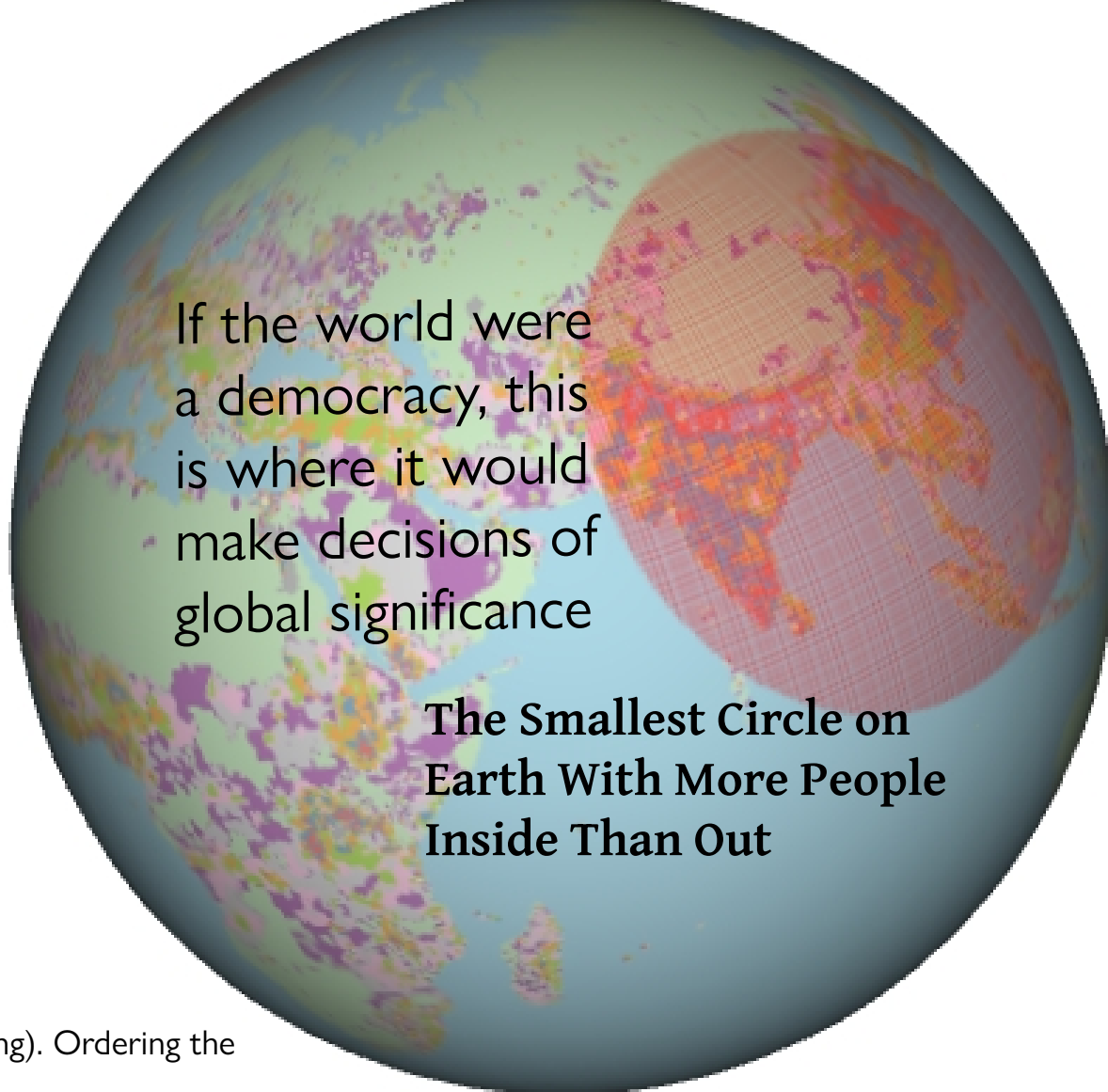
Xi Jinping wants less global interventionism





“We simply cannot afford to leave China forever outside the family of nations, there to nurture its fantasies, cherish its hates, and threaten its neighbors. There is no place on this small planet for a billion of its potentially most able people to live in angry isolation.”

(Nixon 1967)



If the world were a democracy, this is where it would make decisions of global significance

The Smallest Circle on Earth With More People Inside Than Out

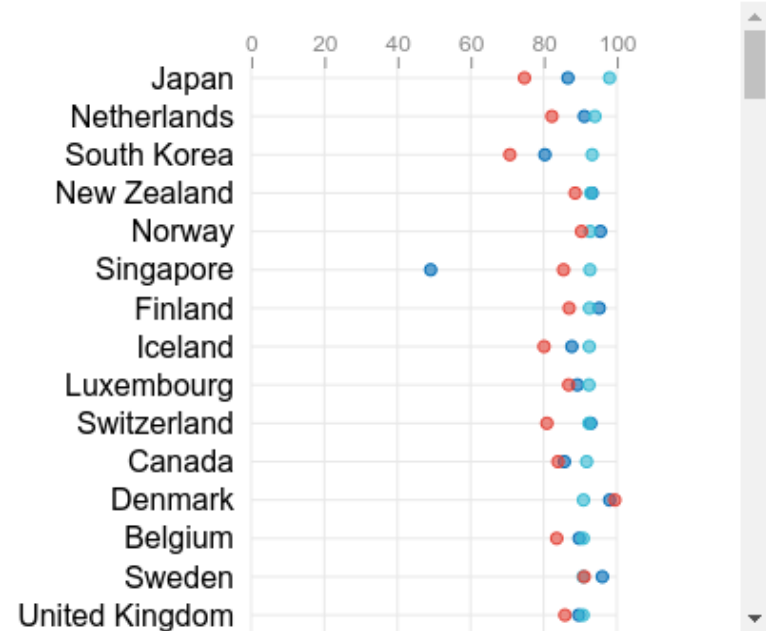
Source: Quah (forthcoming). Ordering the World

“Tell me you’re a democracy
without telling me you’re a
democracy”

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Architecture and Aspiration

“Architecture is a bridge between reality and aspiration”

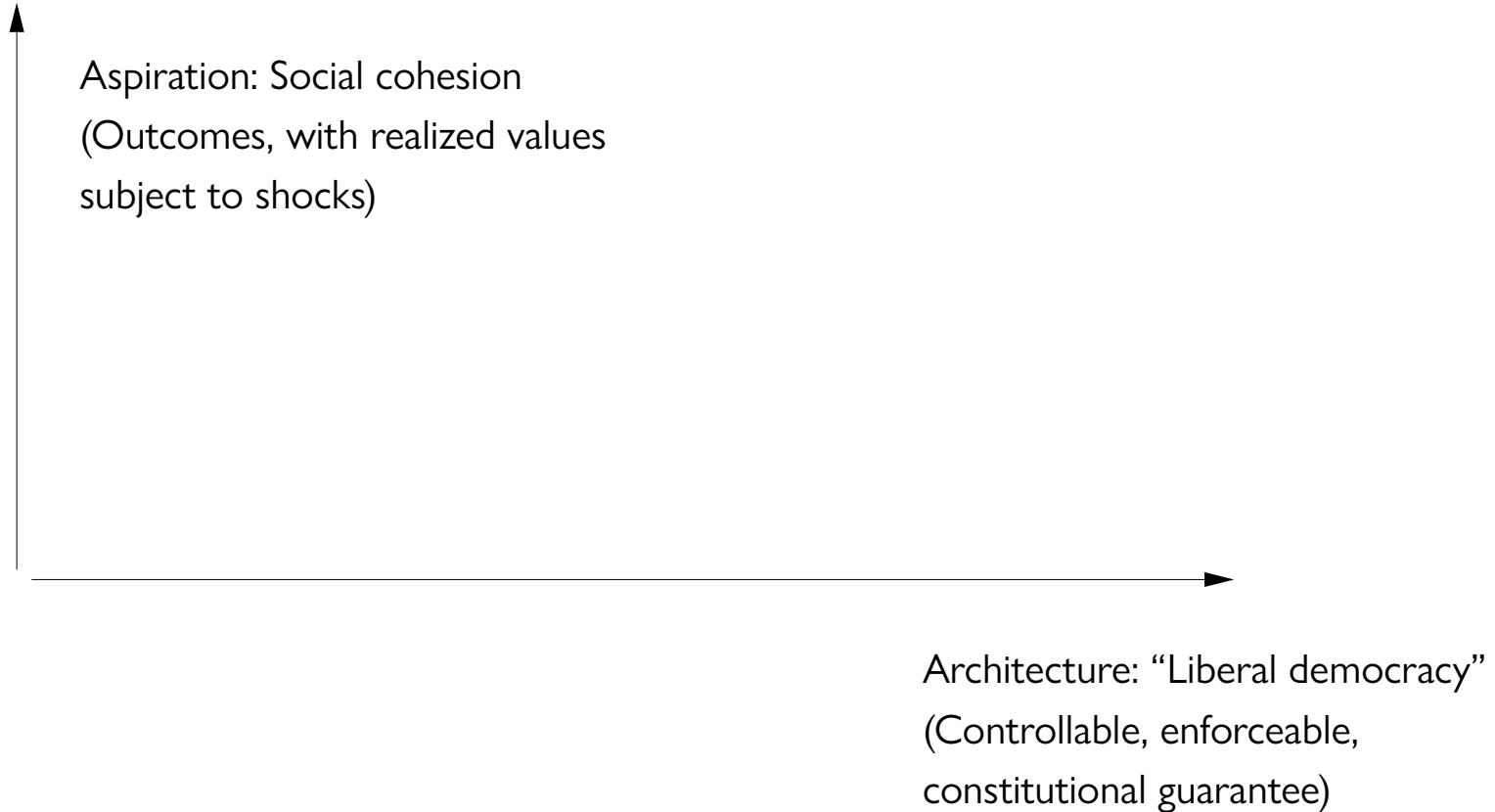
R: Rules, e.g., progressive redistribution

S: Outcomes, e.g., social cohesion

Examples

- **R:** equality of opportunity; **S:** equality of outcomes
- (Macroeconomics) **R:** instruments; **S:** results (target + shocks)
- **R:** education spending; **S:** general level of education

Architecture and Aspiration: MIMIC model



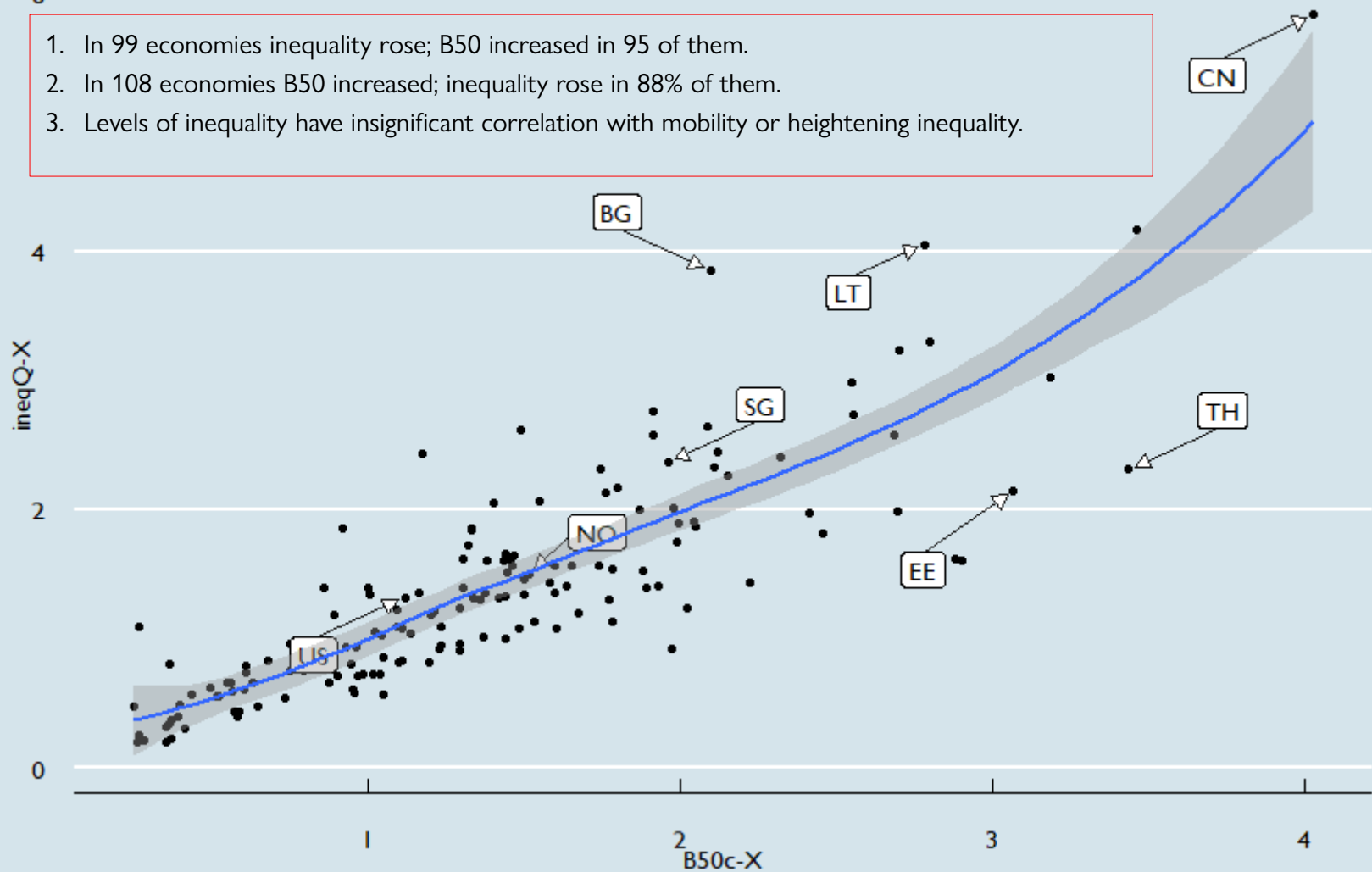
Architecture	Ideal democracy	Polyarchy, anocracy, republicanist, epistocracy	Actual democracy
Selection mechanism: Wide suffrage. Ballot-box, “free and fair elections”			
Citizen empowerment: Representative government. Political leadership chosen by masses, not elites. Politically egalitarian			
Public accountability of political leadership to citizens			
Freedom of expression: Media independence; right to assemble and organize.			
Rule of law. Equal treatment under the law; due process; right to fair trial			
Individual rights: Civil liberties. Multiracialism. Rights and protection for minorities. Level playing field. Private property			
Clear process for change			

Aspiration	Ideal democracy	Polyarchy, anocracy, republicanist, epistocracy	Actual democracy
Public goods: Infrastructure: transportation, water, power; healthcare; pandemic resilience			
Governance: Low corruption, trust in government			
Innovation: Creativity. Education of the population. Technology advanced			
Aggregate economic performance: High average income. Low unemployment. Poverty reduction			
Distributional performance: Middle-class strength. Low economic inequality. High social mobility. Reduced poverty.			
Social cohesion: Absence of tribal affiliation and resentment. Shared social purpose.			Distinct from identity politics?
Resilience: Recover from shocks to the system. Pandemic resilience			

2000-2019 When the bottom 50% rise, so too inequality

6

1. In 99 economies inequality rose; B50 increased in 95 of them.
2. In 108 economies B50 increased; inequality rose in 88% of them.
3. Levels of inequality have insignificant correlation with mobility or heightening inequality.



Conclusion

1. Fears on the global decline in democracy and in its appeal
2. The interconnectedness of the world and the dangers of zero-sum competition
3. What way forwards?

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