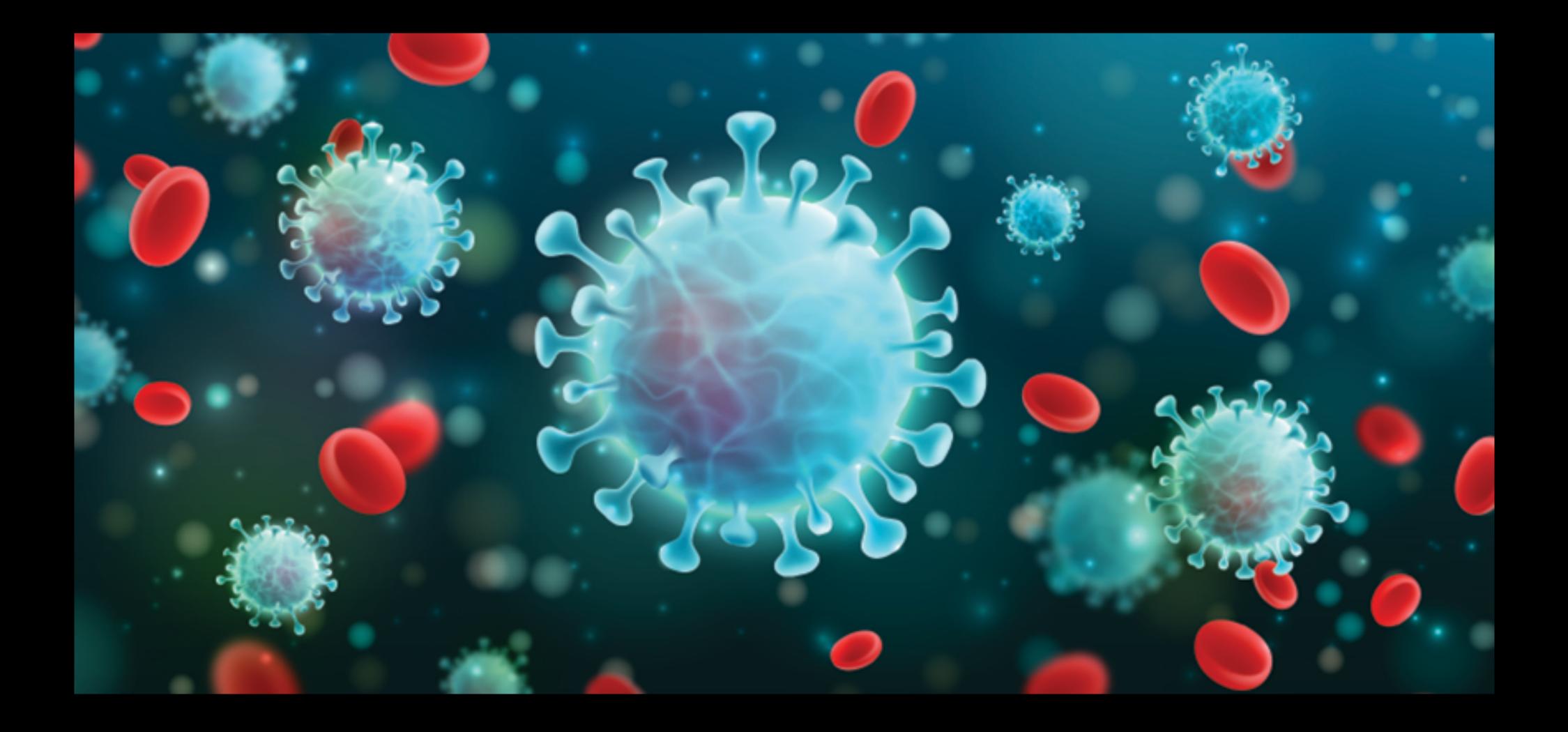
Fragility	Consequences	Toward Democracy
Truth Rules of the game Common good	Illegitimate politics Political violence Inability to solve existential problems	Good information sphere Common socio- political spaces Beyond two parties Equal & responsive politics

Can We Preserve America's Democracy? Wiener Conference Call Harvard Kennedy School

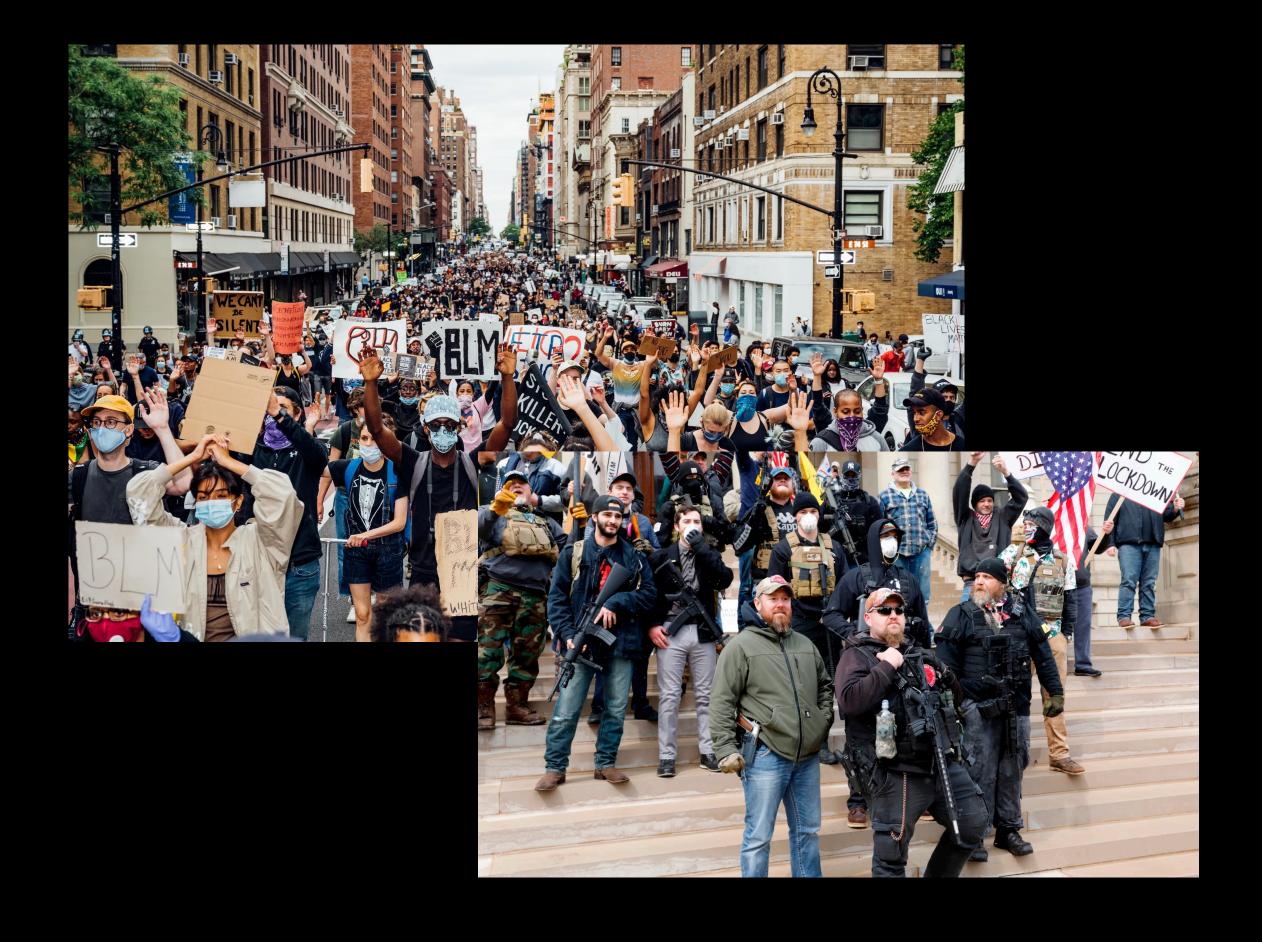
Archon Fung Winthrop Laflin McCormack Professor of Citizenship & Self-Government September 15, 2021



Democracy in COVID Times



Socio-Political Division in COVID times



Socio-Political Division in COVID times



January 6 Capitol Insurrection



Fragility Consequences **Nore Democracy**

Fragility Consequences Democracy

Fragility & Democratic Norms

First Norm: Truth

Big Lies (advance self interest)

The 2020 election was stolen from Donald Trump

Noble lies? (advance policy agenda)

Saddam Hussein has weapons of mass destruction

Masks won't help you with COVID (CDC / WHO)

Dis- / Mis- information

COVID cures

many, many others

First Norm: Seek Truth

Big Lies (advance self interest)

The 2020 election was stolen from Donald Trump

Noble lies? (advance policy agenda)

Saddam Hussein has weapons of mass destruction

Masks won't help you with COVID (CDC / WHO)

Dis- / Mis- information

COVID cures

many, many others

Stronger incentives / weaker checks

- * Weakened journalism
- * Polarization & confirmation bias
- * Social media
 - * Discursive polarization
 - * Filter bubbles / algorithms
 - * Business models

Second Norm: Play Within Institutional Rules of the Game

Right

Election security Voting accessibility / regulation Redistricting: legislative gerrymandering Election oversight: admin -> legislature

Second Norm: Play Within Institutions & Rules of the Game

Left

Filibuster reform Everyone votes Redistricting: legislatures -> commissions Electoral college reform Supreme Court reform Make Senate majoritarian

Right

Election security Voting accessibility / regulation Redistricting: legislative gerrymandering Election oversight: admin -> legislature

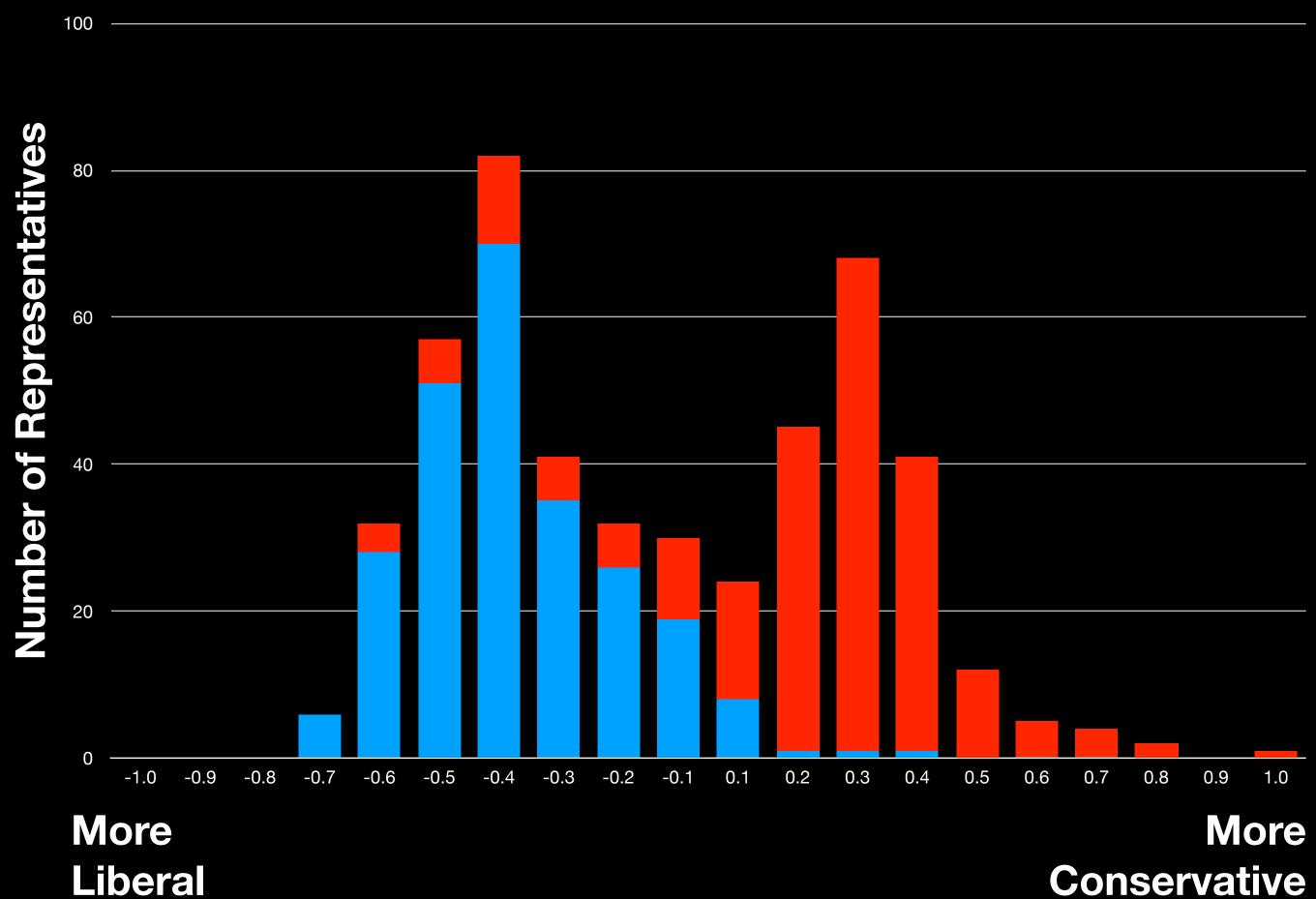
Third Norm: Appeal to Common Good & Interests

Common Good Politics: Argue About What's Good for <u>Us</u>, Where <u>Our</u> Society Should Go, "economy of disagreement"

Third Norm: Appeal to Common Good & Interests

Tribal Politics: Argue About What's Good for <u>My People</u>, Bad for <u>Your People</u>, maximize disagreement

Polarization in Congress

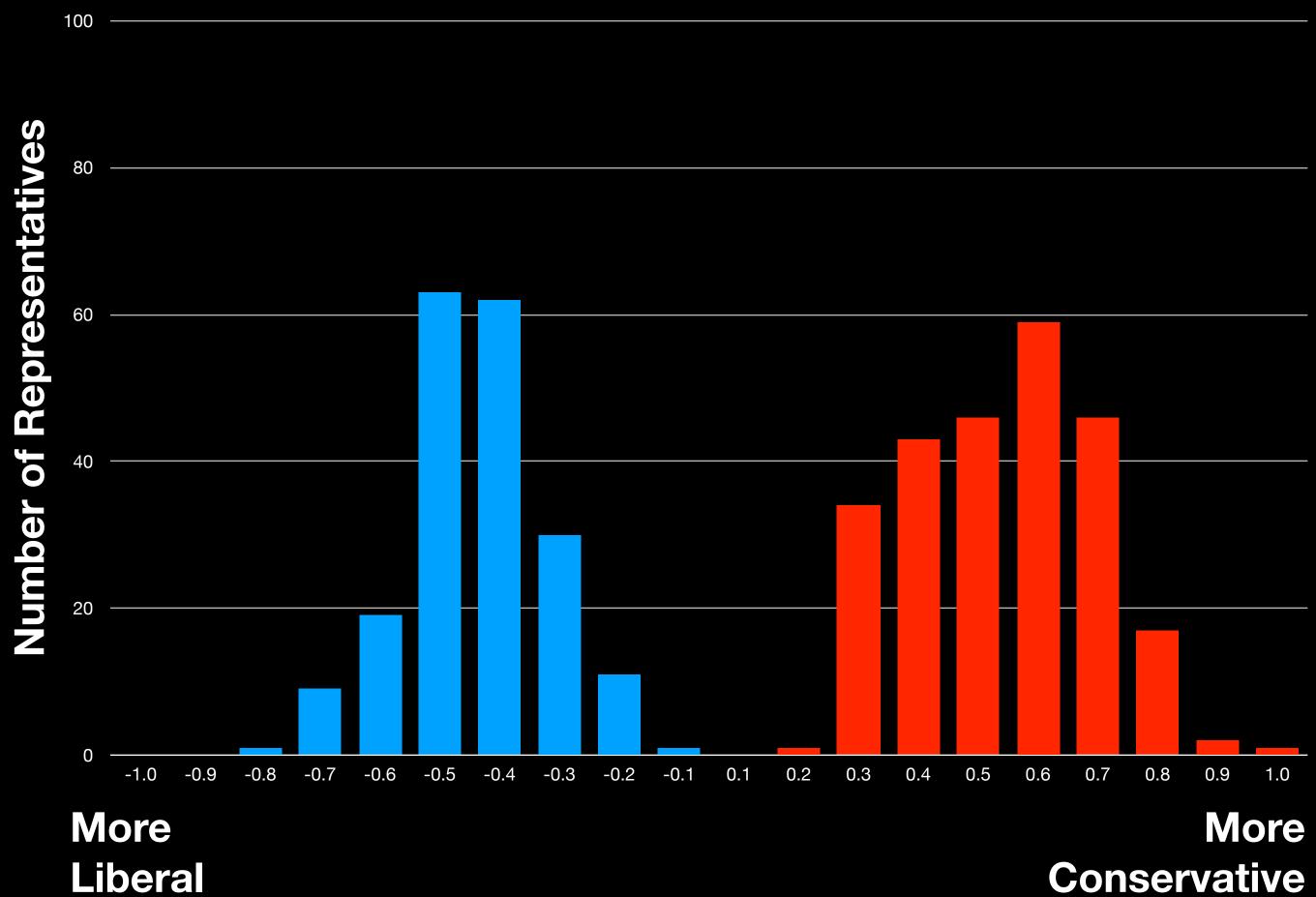


Sources: Pew Research (2014), VoteView.com

93rd Congress, 1973-1975

Conservative

Polarization in Congress



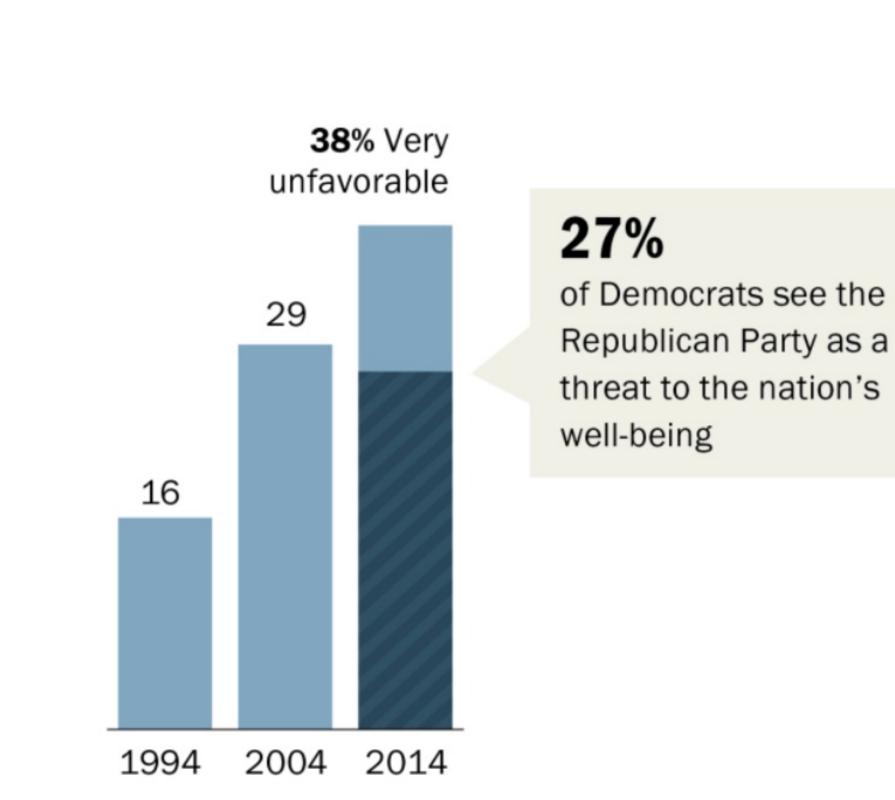
Sources: Pew Research (2014), VoteView.com

115th Congress, 2017-2019

Conservative

Beyond Dislike: Viewing the Other Party as a 'Threat to the Nation's Well-Being'

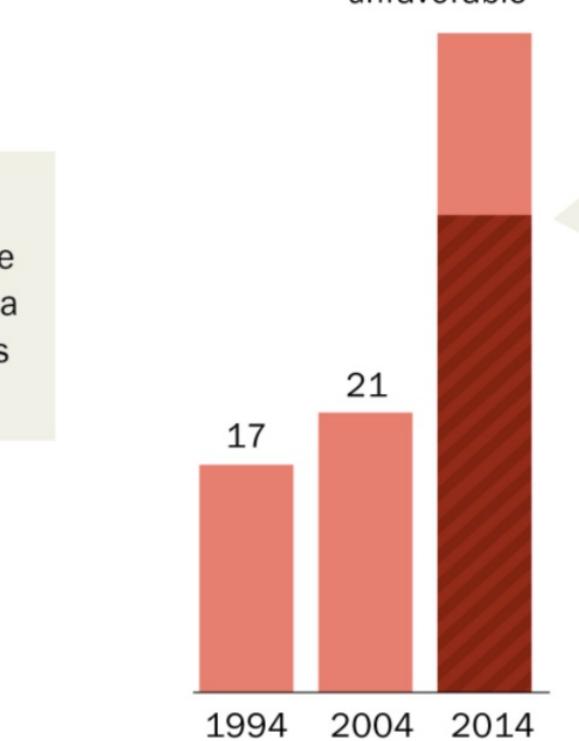
Democratic attitudes about the **Republican Party**



Source: 2014 Political Polarization in the American Public Notes: Questions about whether the Republican and Democratic Parties are a threat to the nation's well being asked only in 2014. Republicans include Republican-leaning independents; Democrats include Democratic-leaning independents (see Appendix B).

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

arty Republican attitudes about the Democratic Party



43% Very unfavorable

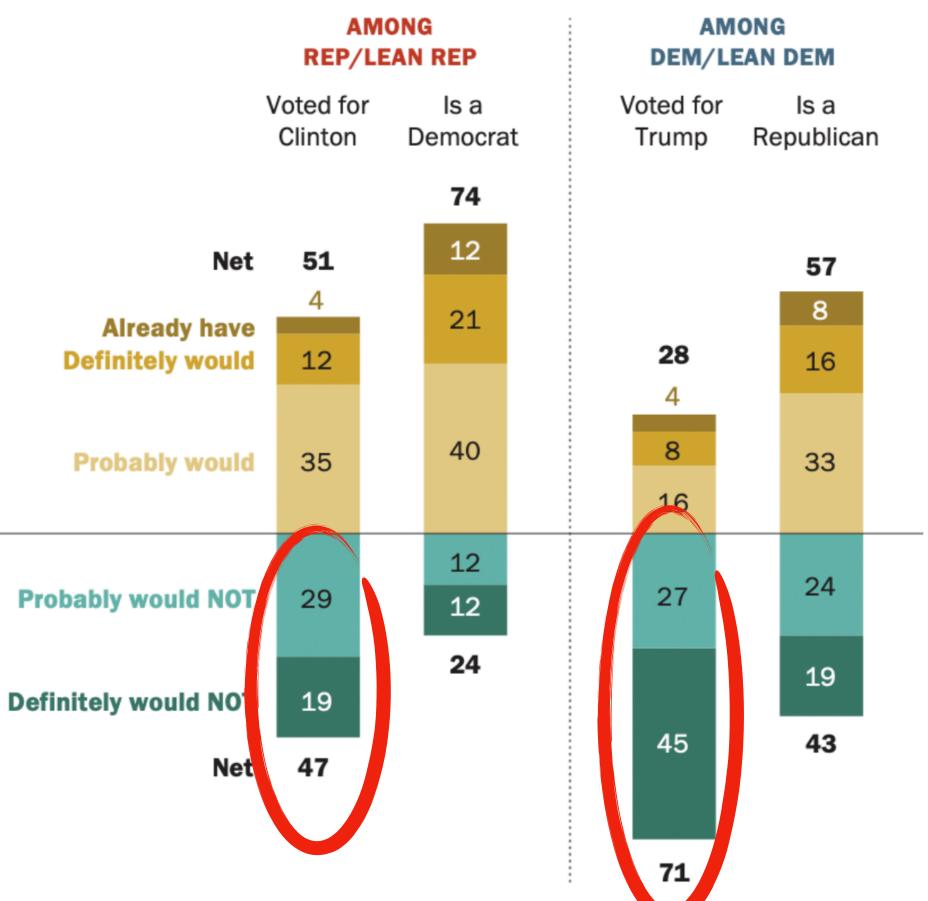
36%

of Republicans see the Democratic Party as a threat to the nation's well-being

About seven-in-ten Democratic daters would not consider being in a relationship with a Trump voter

% of single-and-looking **Republicans/Democrats** who say they would/would NOT consider being in a committed relationship with someone who ...

Clinton

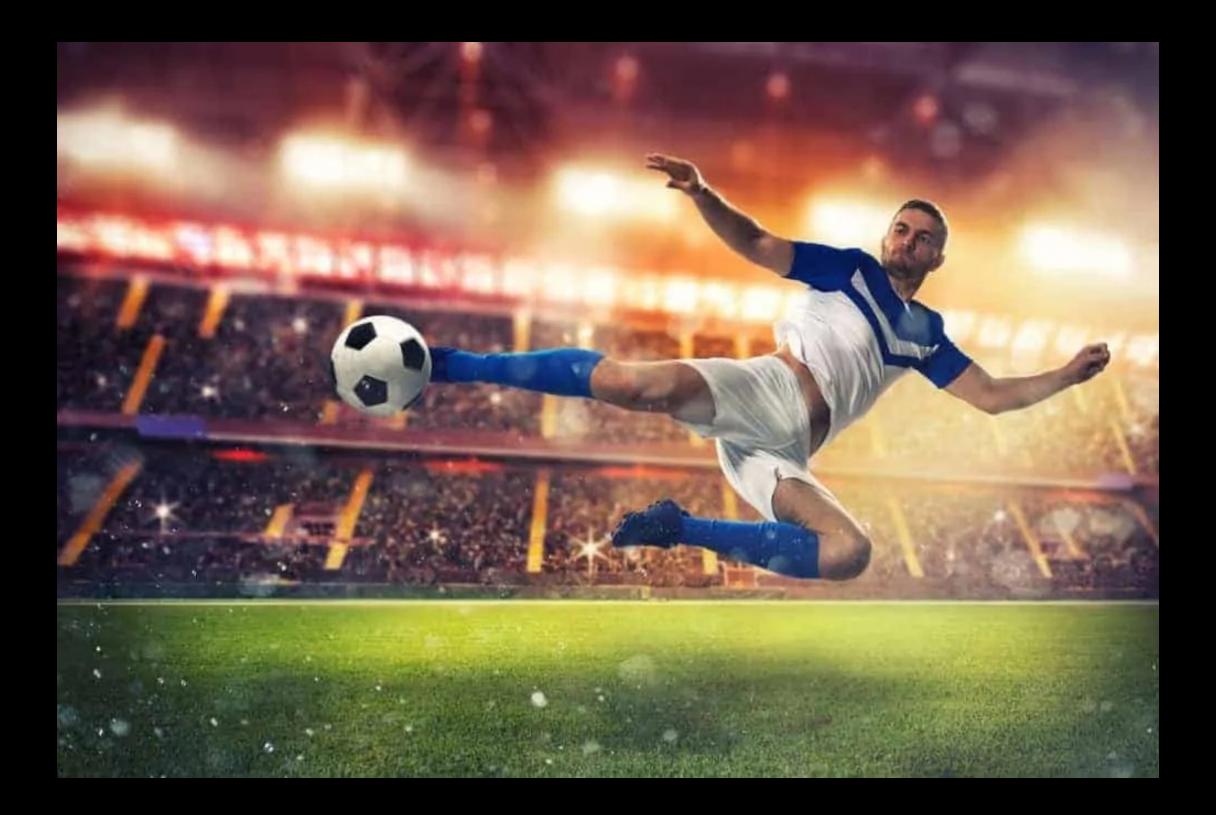


Note: "Single-and-looking" refers to those who are not in a committee romantic relationship but are looking for one. Figures may not add to subtotals due to rounding. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Oct. 16-28, 2019.

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Fragility Consequences Democracy

First consequence: Illegitimate politics





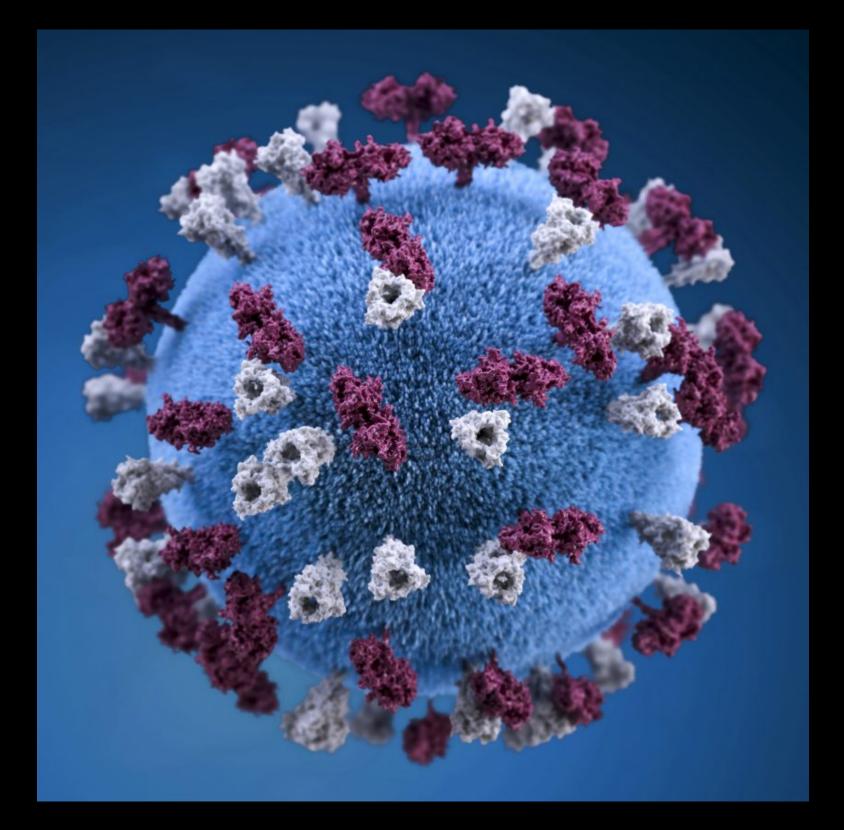


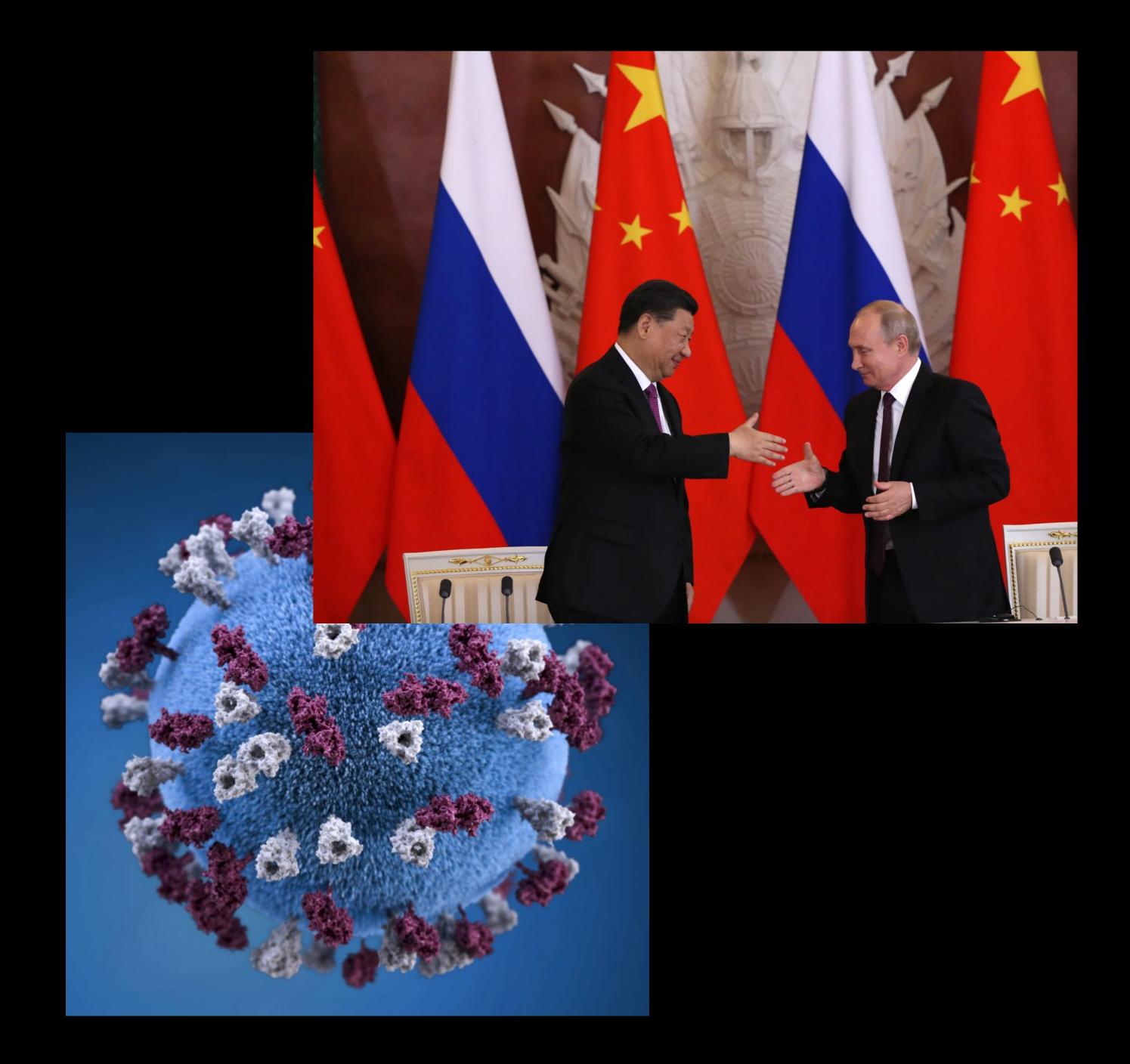
Second consequence: Bullets, not ballots??





Third Consequence: Can't solve existential social challenges











Shared Facts

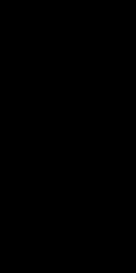
Ideology A: Values, Frames, Solutions, Predictions

> Ideology B: Values...

> Ideology C: Values...

democratic political process

political winner (for a time...)





Shared Facts

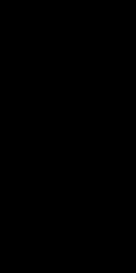
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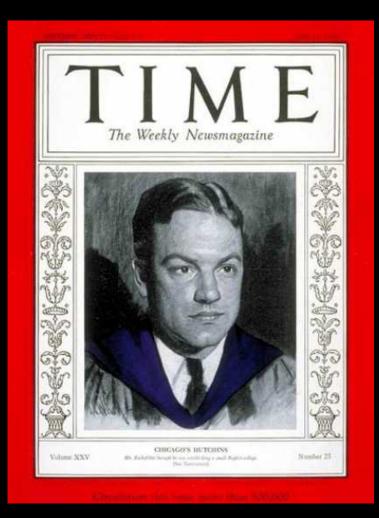
Fragility Consequences Democracy

An Agenda, not Solutions

Restore or Reinvent?

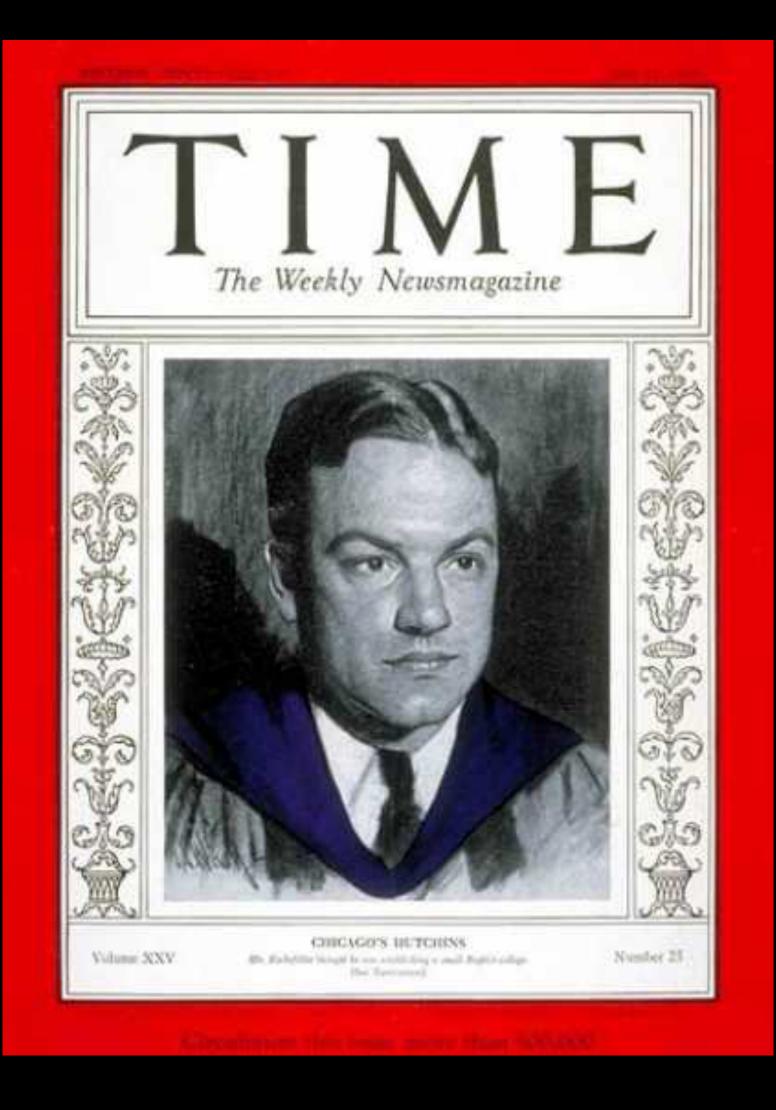


1. Good information sphere



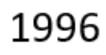


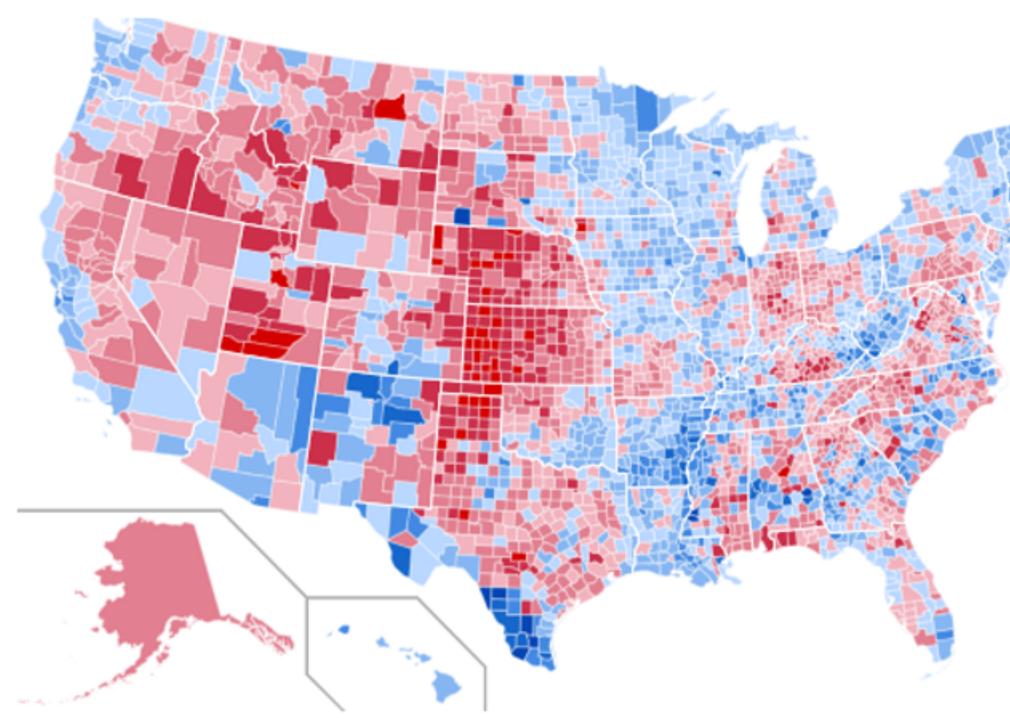




Hutchins Commission

2. Common socio-political spaces

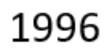


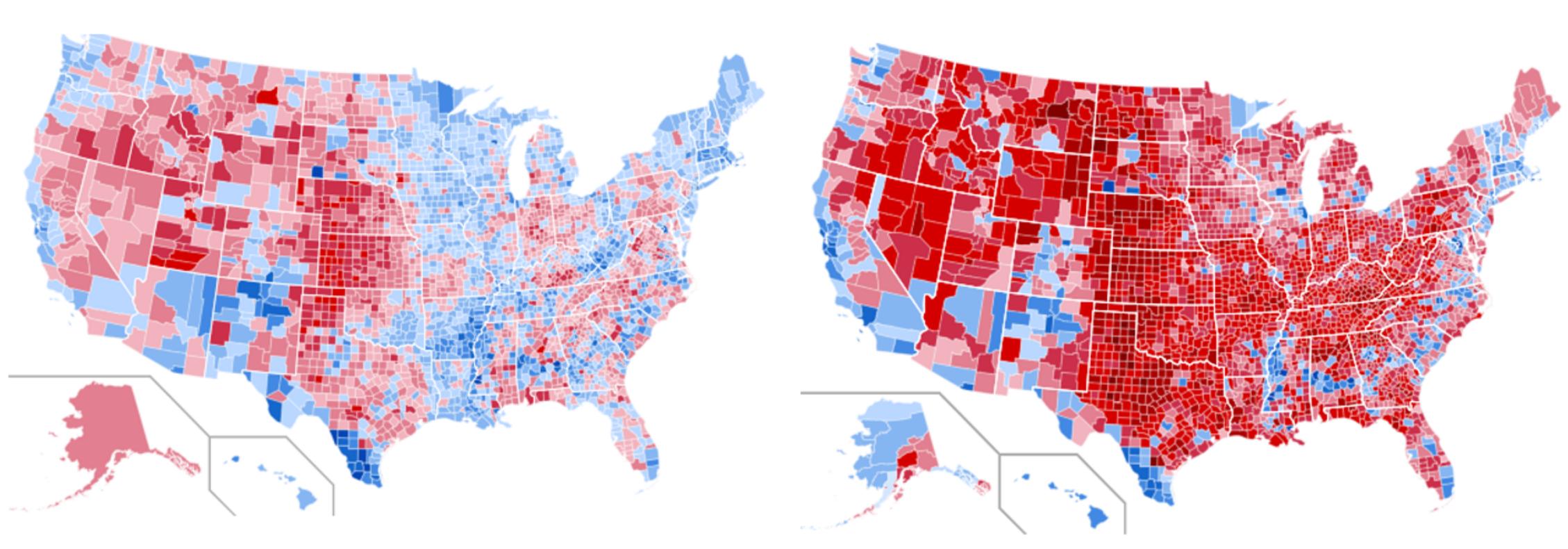


Spatial Polarization



Spatial Polarization





2016

Institutional Polarization

<u>American</u> Institutions

Universities Military Press Religion

Institutional Polarization

Left Tilt Institutions

Universities Press

Right Tilt Institutions

Military Religion

3. Beyond two parties

1976-2016 US Politics

Republican Party

Democratic Party



2020+ Politics?

Never Trump Republicans

2020+ Politics?

"Establishment Democrats"

2020+ Politics?

"Establishment"

Post-Trump Right

Markets for Families & Communities Discipline / break up big tech US first in world, not globalism

2020+ Politics?

Establishment

Markets **Globalism & global integration** Big companies good US powerful in the world

Democratic Socialism

Powerful unions and popular orgs Much more social protection Big companies: break up & regulate "cooperative security" (ala Europe)

Post-Trump Right

Markets for Families & Communities Discipline / break up big tech US first in world, not globalism

Donald

Ron (DeSantis)/ Ted (Cruz)??

2020+ Politics?

Establishment

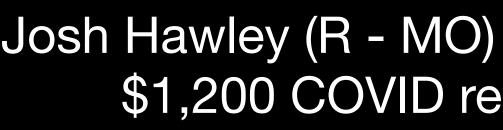
Markets **Globalism & global integration** Big companies good US powerful in the world

Joe Kamala? Pete?

Democratic Socialism

Powerful unions and popular orgs Much more social protection Big companies: break up & regulate "cooperative security" (ala Europe)

Bernie & Liz AOC?





Josh Hawley (R - MO) + Bernie Sanders (D - VT) for \$1,200 COVID relief, December 10, 2020

Markets **Globalism & global integration** Big companies good US powerful in the world

Post-Trump Right

Markets for Families & Communities Discipline / break up big tech US first in world, not globalism

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Multi-viewpoint Democracy

- Ranked-Choice Voting
- Cumulative Voting
- Party Fusion
- Multi-member districts
- Srd, 4th Parties
- Top-Two Primaries
- Intra-party democracy

		"Effe	ctive" nur	mber of pa	arties		
2	3	4	۲ E	5 6	6 7	7 8	
	t pas	st the pos	st				
Hungary φ United Kingdom ●	Firs	t nast the	nost				
Japan o		i pasi ine	, post				
Canada ●		t nast the	nost				
New Zealand		c past the	, pose				
Polan							
South Kore							
Portuga	al o						
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Austr	alia	5					
Mex	kico 🕻	o					
С	hile	o					
Gre	ece	•					
	Ita	aly o					
	Aus	stria o					
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		Spain	0				
			tonia O				
		Czech Re	epublic o				
		Swit	zerland o				
			Ireland O				
			Norway	Þ			
			Sweden	Þ			
			Latvia	0			
				hany o			
				vakia O			
				nmark o			
			F	inland o			
				Icel	and o		
					Israel O		
						elgium o	
					Net	herlands C)

Multi-viewpoint Democracy

- Ranked-Choice Voting
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- Srd, 4th Parties
- Top-Two Primaries
- Intra-party democracy

"Effective" number of parties 2 United States • First past the pos Hungary **O** United Kingdom

First past the post Japan o Canada ● First past the post New Zealand O Poland **O** South Korea o Portugal **o** France **O** Australial**o** Mexico o Chile o Greece o Italy O Austria O Luxembourg o Slovenia Spain O Estonia O Czech Republic o Switzerland O reland **O** Norway **O** Sweden Latvia O Germany O Slovakia O Denmark o Finland **O** Iceland O Israel O Belgium **O** Netherlands **O**

4. Political equality & responsiveness





Martin Gilens

1976-2016 US Politics

Republican Party

Democratic Party

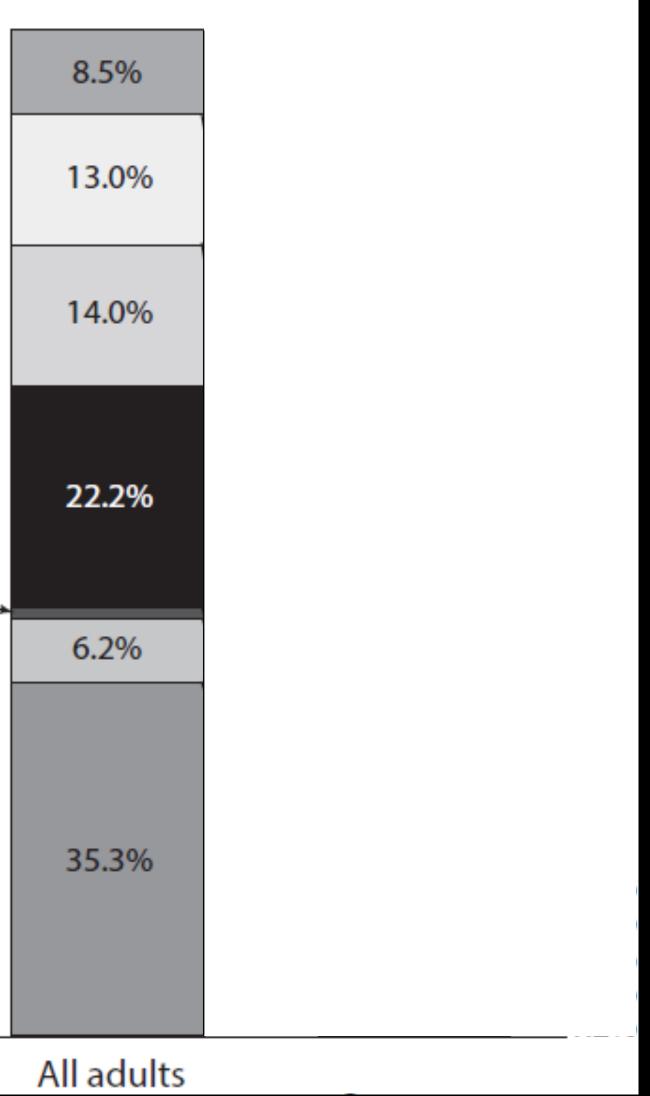
1976-2016 US Politics

Republican Party

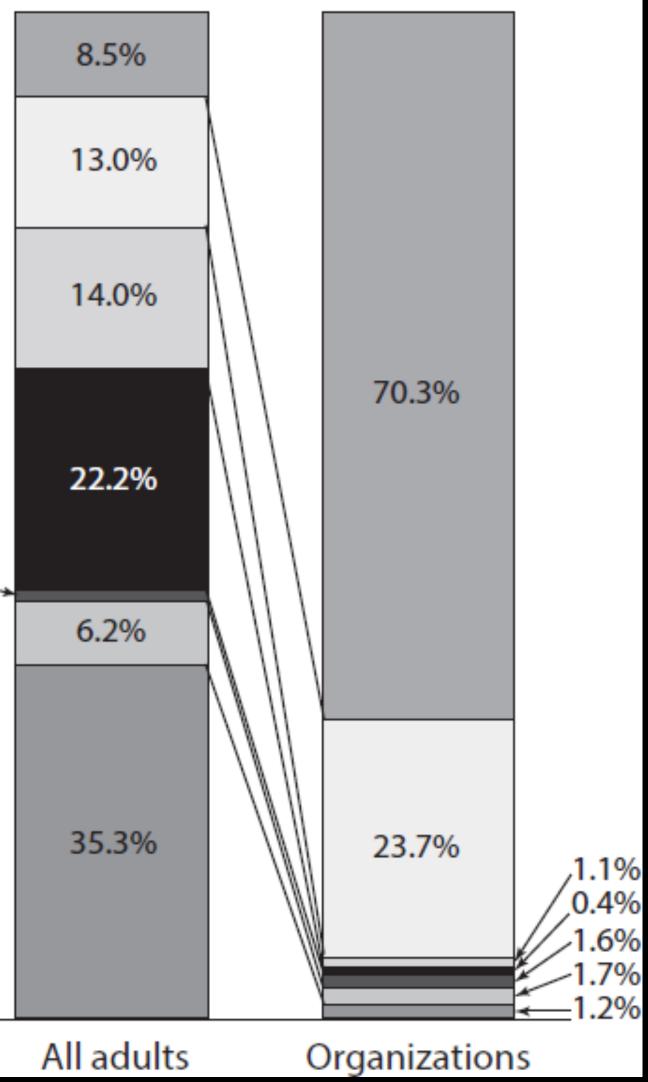
But this was democracy for the top 10%, according to Affluence and Influence.

Democratic Party

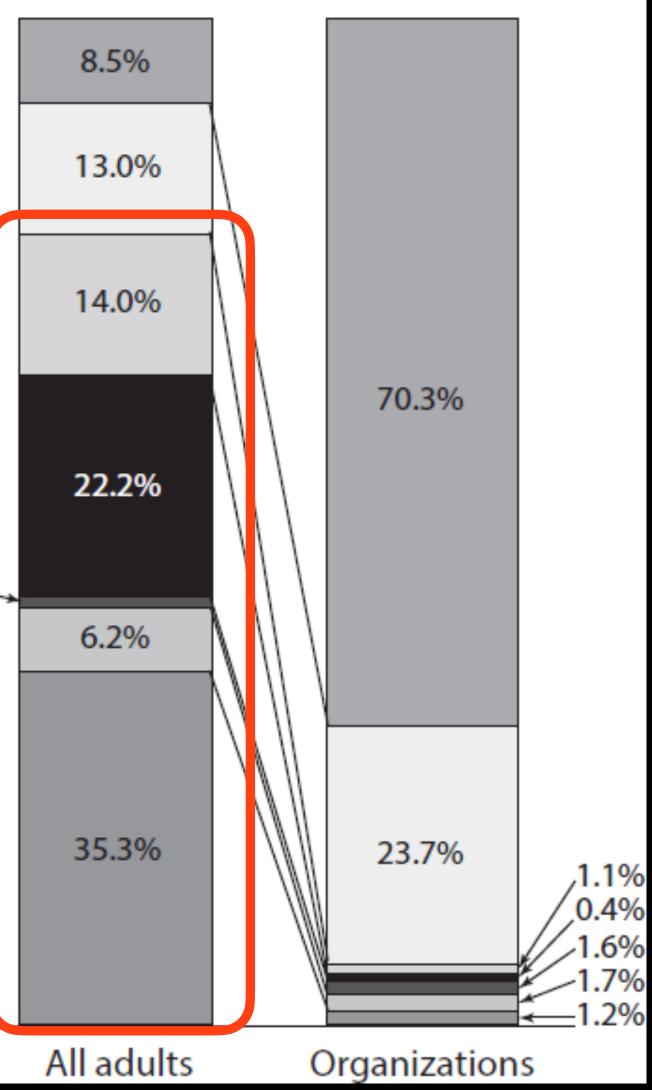
Percenta	ge	
100 -	Executives	
90 -	Professionals	
80 -		
70 -	White collar workers	
60 -		
50 -	Blue collar workers	
	Farm workers 0.9%	
40 -	Unemployed	
30 -		
20 –	Not in workforce	
10-		
0-		



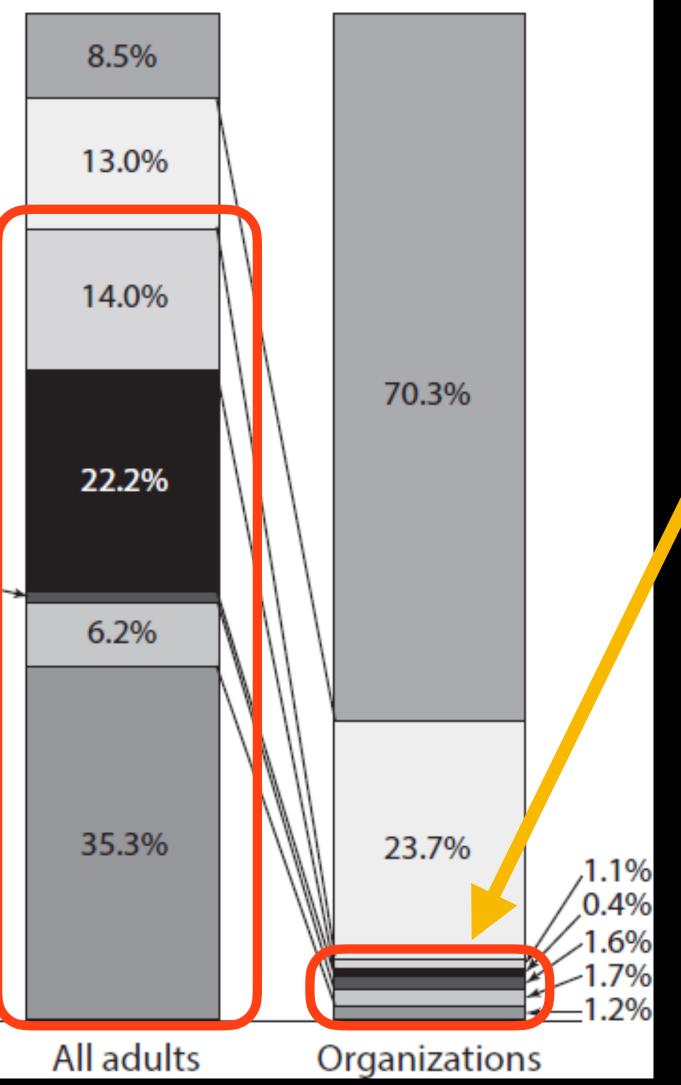
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Get 6% of Groups (!)

An Agenda for American Democracy

- 1. Good information sphere
- 2. Common socio-political spaces
- 3. Beyond two parties
- 4. Political equality & responsiveness

Fragility	Consequences	Toward Democracy
Truth Rules of the game Common good	Illegitimate politics Political violence Inability to solve existential problems	Good information sphere Common socio- political spaces Beyond two parties Equal & responsive politics