AN INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR EDUCATION IN DEMOCRACY

DRAFT
for review purposes only

September, 2002

Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program

of the

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Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program is funded through a grant from the United States Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement in cooperation with the United States Department of State
Civitas: An International Framework for Education in Democracy

Guidelines for Reviewers

1. **Purpose of framework.** The purpose of this Framework is to provide a generic statement that any country wishing to educate citizens for democracy can use as a resource in developing curricular programs in civics and government.

   The Framework:
   - attempts to articulate a frame of reference for the creation of curricular programs—the ideas, concepts, principles, and values on which democracy rests—as a domain independent of other areas of inquiry.
   - provides a basis for analysis, comparison, and evaluation as well as the fundamentals that underlie democracy.
   - in order to provide a broad perspective useful in the examination of democracy, encompasses and integrates ideas from many disciplines.
   - provides the basis for arguments favorable to democracy, but it also acknowledges arguments against democracy.
   - provides a comprehensive and sophisticated view of the field that curriculum developers and policy makers need to have in order to decide what elements of that field should be taught. To achieve this goal, the document contains more than the average person needs to know.
   - is organized under topical questions to highlight the importance of inquiry and debate to democracy that is suggestive of the teaching methodology consistent with democratic values.

2. **What the framework is not intended to be.** The framework is NOT
   - intended to be a "final answer." Though prescriptive in character, it addresses democracy's problematics. Its objective is to promote robust debate and discussion.
   - a complete program; particular countries need to add material specific to themselves to the material in the Framework.
a curriculum or textbook; it is a resource to be used to develop curricula and textbooks.

intended to set forth a position on the "best" form of democracy; it acknowledges that a number of forms may be desirable.

3. **Target audiences.** The primary audiences of the Framework are policy makers, curriculum developers, teacher trainers, textbook writers, documentary and other media producers, teachers, and evaluators. Other audiences include parents, civic groups, professional organizations, and governmental agencies.

4. **Primary uses of the framework include:**

   - Creating and evaluating civic education programs
   - Developing textbooks and other educational materials
   - Teaching about democracy
   - Discussion and debate about democracy

5. **Foci of critiques.** Please write an overall evaluation of the present text's strengths and weaknesses according to the purposes outlined above. In doing so, please

   - make proposals for changes, additions, and deletions.
   - write specific comments on the text itself.
   - place additions in the text or write them separately, as appropriate.
   - include quotations about the subjects of the Framework that you think would be appropriate to publish in the margins. (Note: Quotations will be included in the margins of the final edition. We have not included them in this draft because they make it difficult to download the manuscript.)
   - suggest the names, and if possible means of contacting, other reviewers.

   **Note:** When you make suggestions for changes please refer to the page and line numbers on the manuscript where you think the changes should be made.

6. **Credits.** The final publication will include an appendix that will give credit to all of the people who have assisted in its development. If you and others taking part in this review would like to be listed, please give us your full name, title, and organizational affiliation. If you have been responsible for getting other people to help review the manuscript, please give us the same information for them.
PREFACE

An International Framework for Education in Democracy is an attempt to develop a cross-cultural consensus on the central meanings and character of the ideas, values, and institutions of democracy. Its further purpose is to identify common elements of this knowledge that should be included in the curriculum of any nation wishing to promote an understanding of democratic citizenship and its practice. Begun in 1996, the project's previous drafts have been commented upon by reviewers in every inhabited continent.

The Framework is being developed in the belief that there is a need among educators in democratic nations for a resource that attempts to survey the field of education for democratic citizenship and to set forth comprehensively its principal content.

It is important to note that the Framework is intended as a starting point for discussion, rather than an attempt to pronounce a set of authoritative dogmas. Thus, like democracy itself, the Framework is to be viewed as perpetually unfinished, subject to continuing debate and emendation.

The intended audience for the Framework ranges from teachers and educational policy makers responsible for civic education programs to curriculum developers, and teacher education and credentialing institutions responsible for training competent classroom teachers. The Framework can also be used as a resource by any group or individual interested in democracy. The Framework is not intended, however, as a student text.

Two versions of the first draft of the Framework—a Five-Part and a Seven-Part version—were presented to reviewers, who were asked to give a preference. Since each format had its supporters, it was decided to publish both. The Five-Part version presents a logical development of ideas, while the Seven-Part version is more open ended, allowing parts to be added or deleted without violating some logical order. The present version is the Seven-Part format. There will, however, be a considerable overlap of material with the Five-Part format.

The Framework begins with the most basic questions. What is democracy? What kinds of democracy may be possible? Who are the governing members of a democracy? It continues by asking, How can democracy be justified? What arguments have been leveled against democracy? What characteristics of society enhance and what characteristics inhibit or detract from the successful development of democracy?

The Framework then enquires how democracy emerges and develops from non-democratic settings and how, once established, it can survive and improve. Finally, the Framework discusses how democracy is changing our world today—and how contemporary social and economic processes are affecting the character of democracy.

We ask readers in any part of the world to comment freely and critically on this draft. All comments will be carefully read and considered in the revision process. All participants will be acknowledged in the final text, unless they prefer otherwise. Critical commentary is essential to improving the draft, making it a useful resource anywhere that education for democratic citizenship is pursued, and is therefore greatly appreciated.
## An International Framework for Education in Democracy

### A Seven-Part Framework

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I. What is democracy?

A. What does “democracy” mean?

B. What are major forms of political systems other than democracy?

C. What are power and authority and what is their place in a democracy?

D. How do civic life, politics, and government provide spheres for the practices of democracy?

E. What is the relationship of constitutionalism to democracy?

F. What is the relationship between law, constitutionalism, and democracy?

G. What is the relationship between democracy and human rights?

H. What are the essential characteristics of democracy?
I. What is democracy?

Democracy is not a simple idea. Therefore, it cannot be encompassed in a simple definition. The seven parts of this framework, taken together, provide an explanation of democracy as an idea and a portrayal of the various ways in which this idea is implemented in the world. The framework begins with a basic explanation of some of the elemental attributes of democracy and each succeeding part builds upon and extends this initial understanding of the concept of democracy.

A. What does “democracy” mean? Understanding democracy as a form of political system requires a knowledge of the basic concept of democracy and of the common misuses and abuses of the term, liberal and non-liberal types of democracy, and the kinds of democracy that are observable as systems of workable government.

1. Basic concept of democracy and common misuses and abuses of the term

   a. Basic concept of democracy. The word democracy is derived from the Greek words _demos_ or “people” and _kratia_ meaning “authority” or “rule.” Thus “democracy” may be defined simply as “rule of the people.”

   Classically the term _demos_ referred to the lower classes which constituted most of the population of a society. Over time the “people” has come to mean the entire population or the citizenry of a country.

   However, the concept of “democracy” is more complex than the definition of a word. Building on the earliest origins of the word, the concept of democracy as “popular government” rests on the principle that the people as a whole are considered as the foundation of political life. They are the ultimate source of authority and their interests and welfare are the principal ends of government.

   In a democracy, political power is legitimized (becomes authorized) only when it arises from the people. It can arise from the free decisions of the people as a whole only when each person has the liberty to make fundamental political choices. Thus, liberty is the fundamental precondition for the very concept of self-government. This liberty embraces both individual and collective aspects of self-rule or “autonomy”—a word derived from the Greek _auto_ (self) and _nomos_ (law or binding custom).

   There are two ways in which this legitimization must take place. First, the people never give up their inherent authority to make and remake their form of government. Second, the people continuously authorize the use of political power in their name by officials and institutions that remain accountable to them. Thus, in a democracy the people

   • authorize (“author”) the fundamental plan of the political system at its beginning and approve the subsequent design of its institutions and

   • consent (agree to) to the conduct of the offices of government established as part of that system, including the actions and policies of those institutions.

   Therefore, the concept of democracy is centered on the principle of the _sovereignty of the people_ or “popular sovereignty.” In democratic theory, the people cannot give up their sovereign power nor can they give up their liberty to give and withhold their consent to government. In effect, they have inalienable ownership of their government. Even in a representative
democracy the people do not surrender their power; rather they delegate power to representatives, who serve as the people’s trustees.

Thus, according to the principle of popular sovereignty, authority flows upward from people to those in positions of political power, not downward from rulers to the people. Essential to the operation of democracy are free, fair, and regular elections with universal adult suffrage, but free elections alone are not sufficient for a political system to be democratic. A democratic system must be characterized by the free and open exchange of ideas and opinions. At its best, a democracy achieves domestic peace in the context of persistent conflict of interests and views.

The concept of democracy, in its most basic sense, includes majority rule and respect for those in the minority because they are a part of the people as a whole. Therefore, in its status as a part of the people, a minority can never be treated unfairly. To the degree that any part of the people of a political community (whether individuals or groups) is excluded from full participation in political life or is unfairly targeted for negative treatment, a country is less democratic. Thus, elements of individual liberty are inherent in the practice of any democracy.

However, this basic concept of democracy does not include the protection of a full range of individual rights or the right of minorities to be treated differently from everyone else (liberalism). Nor does it include the principle of a full range of limits on government (constitutionalism).

Because this basic concept of democracy is formulated as an ideal, no existing or historical political order realizes it fully. But the concept can be used as a standard by which knowledgeable persons can evaluate a country as being more or less democratic.

b. Common misuses and abuses of the term “democracy.” Many countries claiming to be democracies do not meet the criteria of the basic concept outlined above. Such claims may arise from a misunderstanding of the concept or from the intentional misuse of it. To understand the concept of democracy, it is important to understand how the terms “democracy” and “democratic” have been corrupted and misused. These terms have been invoked to

- cloak despotic regimes which manipulate and appeal to popular sentiment but which trample upon fundamental rights of the people, e.g., demagoguery.
- disguise a despotism in which political participation and elections are mere showpieces rigged by government to accomplish predetermined outcomes, e.g., sham democracies.
- incorporate only some elements of democracy in a distorted fashion, e.g., majority rule that becomes a tyranny of the majority, electoral dictatorships or autocracy.
- invoke the rhetoric of the “people’s will” without using democratic procedures to determine that will, e.g., mob rule, “dictatorship of the proletariat”.
- misrepresent a partial interest which may have substantial public support as if it were the equivalent of the common good.
2. **Basic theoretical types of democracy.** Any political system must structure the relationship between the individual and the community. But democracy must attempt to organize this relationship in such a way so that the integrity of the individual and the well-being of the community are protected or realized. Nonetheless because practical political arrangements require choices of emphasis on the behalf of the individual or the community, functioning democratic political systems will distinguish themselves on the basis of the emphasis they place on one or the other. Even when they do reflect one emphasis, awareness and recognition of the alternative emphasis continues to provide a necessary balance. For where either emphasis is taken to an extreme, democracy loses the moderation necessary for its durability and stability. To deny the importance of the integrity of the individual or the well-being of the community is to attack the foundation of a democratic political order.

While acknowledging the need to accommodate the integrity of the person as an individual and the unity of the people as a whole, the fundamental commitments or animating spirit of any functioning democracy will be oriented more toward the individual or toward the community. Further, a given political system may reflect different choices of emphasis at different times.

Democratic political systems reflecting these different orientations may be categorized as **individual-centered** or **community-centered**. These two categories reflect a distinction between what has been called “private liberty” and “public liberty.” Private liberty refers to the capacity of the individual, as an independent agent, to act autonomously. Public liberty refers to the capacity of the people, as an independent polity, to govern themselves. The more modern understanding of the concepts of “personal liberties” and “political liberties” has its origins in this distinction.

Any particular democracy that can exist in practice will be a mixture of these two theoretical emphases. These emphases are in fundamental tension, which cannot be completely resolved in a democracy without undermining the liberty of the individual or the sovereignty of the people as a whole, both of which are essential to democracy. Democracy must be committed to the self-determination of the person as well as to the self-determination of the whole people. Inevitably, one of these commitments will predominate, but it must not do so to the exclusion of the other. Therefore, any particular type of democracy that can exist in practice must be a mixture of individual-centered and community-centered theories. Thus, there will be a particular configuration of attributes from individual and community-centered theories that reflects the ethos of a society and its institutions. (For example, a particular democracy might emphasize individual freedom over social equality.) Even within a given democracy, in the course of its history, the emphasis on the status of the individual or the community might change.

To the extent that the status and liberty of the individual predominates in a democracy, it may be categorized as “liberal” type of democracy. To the extent that the status of the community predominates, it may be categorized as “non-liberal” type of democracy, or in more extreme cases an “ill-liberal” type of democracy.

a. **Individual-centered theory.** This theory holds that all political authority should be derived from the free individual acting in concert with other free individuals. When a political association is based upon the priority of the individual, the resulting political system is characterized as “liberal.” The term “liberal” is derived from the Latin word “liber,” meaning “free.” Liberalism refers to a political theory that the principal purpose of
government and politics is the protection of the autonomy and rights of the
individual beginning with the individual’s right to life itself. In a liberal
political system, the common good would be understood as the aggregation
of individual goods and interests rather than having an independent
collective character. Authority is based upon the need to establish
governmental power primarily to protect the life and liberty of individuals.

In a liberal type of democracy the individual is primary, and the essential
rights of the individual are emphasized. Rights are considered essential
when they are necessary to the person’s life, liberty, and property. Such
rights of the individual may even take precedence over the interests of the
people as a whole or the community (CB example?). More typically,
however, when the interest of the community as a whole is acknowledged,
it is conceived in terms of the collectivity of individual interests and those
social values which make individual rights secure. Thus, in a liberal type of
democracy, the rights of individuals are considered an integral part of the
common good. Community goods like common defense, systems of
criminal law, security of contracts, and economic prosperity may be seen as
culminations of a liberal democracy’s commitment to the interests and
welfare of individuals.

Therefore, the institutions and processes of liberal democracy must be
designed to protect the political, economic, civil, and personal rights of the
individual as fundamental to the very nature of the political system (e.g.,
freedom of conscience and religion, freedom of personal as well as political
expression, a right to property, and a right to privacy—the right to be let
alone). The activities in the private sphere of a liberal democracy are
protected from interference by government unless government can provide
compelling, overriding reasons. In particular, however, the essential rights
of the individual and the autonomy of the private sphere must be protected
against intrusion by majority will.

b. Community-centered theory. This theory holds that all political authority
should originate in the collective acts of the people as a whole or the acts of
founders serving on their behalf. These founding acts must be validated by
the community. When a political body is organized around the priority of
the community and the pursuit of a collective way of life, the resulting
political system may be characterized as “non-liberal” and in some cases
“social.” In systems like this, the primary purpose of government is to serve
the collective interest of the community or the general welfare of the
society. The well-being of the people as a whole is foremost and may take
precedence over certain rights and interests of particular individuals.

In a non-liberal type of democracy, the public rights and interests of persons
to participate in the decision-making processes and political life of the
community are recognized and protected as fundamental to the very nature
of the political system (e.g., right to vote, right to associate for political
purposes, freedom of the press, freedom of political assembly, the right to
seek and hold public office). A non-liberal democracy, however, might not
recognize certain rights regarded as fundamental by liberal democracies
such as freedom of conscience and religion, personal expression, and the
right to a private sphere.
Thus, non-liberal democracy is designed to serve the interests of the community or the rights of the people as a whole. The emphasis in this type of democracy includes the right to establish and enforce community values over the protests of individuals and in conflict with their interests. The scope of the public domain may preempt the right to privacy.

Within non-liberal democracy in practice there may be a wider range of examples and greater divergence among instances of political systems than in liberal democracy. The category of non-liberal democracies includes:

- classical republics*, in which there were democratic elements such as popular participation and representation but where civic virtue* and an emphasis on the common good were primary

- social democracies, in which providing for the welfare of the constituent groups of the society (e.g., children, workers, the aged) is paramount as opposed to maximizing individual liberty

- “communal commonwealths,” in which the political system is understood as the common property of all of its citizens and the status of the citizen is derived entirely from membership in the common association. Thus, the identity and standing of the person is subsumed in the common mores of the community.

- modern “electoral democracies,” in which a single component of democracy—elections assessed to be essentially free—is held to be sufficient to qualify a political system as democratic. So long as officials have been chosen by the electorate, the daily practices of government do not need to meet standards derived from democratic values or principles.

c. Combining individual- and community-centered theories of democracy.

- Range of instances of democracy within liberal and non-liberal types of democracy. Mixtures of liberal and non-liberal types of democracy. Neither real liberty nor true authority can exist in extreme conditions of unalloyed individualism or collectivism. Unless a political system reflects a hybrid of individual-centered and community-centered theories it will not meet the criteria of the concept of democracy, because by definition democracy is committed to both individual and collective self-determination. Unless a political system reflects a well-composed mixture of liberal and non-liberal types, it will not be a stable democracy because it will not have moderated extreme individualism and collectivism, neither of which is compatible with democratic self-governance. Therefore, democracies cannot be pure versions of individual or collective theories. They must be mixtures of these theories, and they must combine elements of both liberal and non-liberal types of democracy.

- Gradations within liberal and non-liberal types of democracy. Even within the two analytical types of democracy, there are elements of political practices and institutions that reflect values that would be consistent to a greater or lesser degree with the animating spirit of individual- or community-centered theories.

  - Any political system will have political practices, laws, and institutions that reflect individual-centered or community-centered
theories. For example, parliamentary systems may be seen as reflecting community-centered theory in that without a sufficient consensus in both the community and parliament, the existing governmental administration falls. In contrast, coordinate-powers systems may be seen as reflecting individual-centered theory in that they are designed to accommodate conflict among individuals and among group interests, within society and among governmental institutions and political leaders, without requiring consensus for the government to continue to operate.

- Any democratic political system will contain elements from both individual- and community-centered theories. The number and preponderance of the elements reflecting each theory may vary from system to system. And, each element within a political system may display greater or lesser consistency with each theory. For example, within an individual-centered theory, freedom of expression will be understood as the right of the individual to communicate his or her distinctive identity or point of view. This may be extended to forms of expression that are novel or even repugnant to prevailing social sentiment. By contrast, within a community-centered theory, freedom of expression might be restricted to freedom of speech on matters of official governmental policy. Or this freedom might extend to expression on all aspects of the public domain including the advocacy of ideas that threaten the foundations of the political order.

- A democratic political system may also contain one or more elements that each reflects both theories. For example, economic rights may sustain the individual’s security while at the same time contributing to the community’s prosperity. Nevertheless, the particular way an element, such as economic rights, is manifest in a political system reflects the influence of either individual- or community-centered theories. Thus, in the first theory, economic rights might be geared more to individual initiative; in the second theory, they may be geared more to egalitarian distribution.

- The combination of individual- and community-centered elements existing in any democratic political system imparts a distinctive character to that system. The various elements will be configured so that they reinforce, counter-balance, compensate for, and even conflict with each other, e.g., a democracy that operates by majority rule, counter-balanced by the power of the judiciary to protect the rights of individuals; the right to self-determination of the individual who, for religious reasons, chooses to avoid inoculation against contagious disease versus the right of the community to promote public health.

3. Observable kinds of democracy.

The basic concept of democracy sets forth certain characteristics of a political system. Liberal or non-liberal systems are “types” of democracies. But this concept and these types do not include all of the choices of elements needed to create a workable political system, e.g., the choice of direct or representative democracy. Depending upon which elements are chosen, different “kinds” of democracy will emerge historically or be established deliberately.
In any political system, power must be organized and channeled. In a democratic system, the power of the people may be organized and channeled in a number of fundamentally different ways, but the sovereign people always retain the ultimate authority even if they do not always exercise it directly.

The following are alternative kinds of democracy which represent different political configurations of the people’s delegation of their authority. (In practice, elements of the following kinds of democracy are mixed and their combination may vary over time within a country.)

a. **Direct or representative democracy**
   - **direct democracy** - citizens rule directly, usually through popular assemblies.
   - **representative democracy** - citizens choose individuals to rule in their place or on their behalf, and delegate power to one or more legislative bodies.

b. **Majoritarian or consociational democracy**
   - **majoritarian** - most or all laws are passed by simple majority vote either by the people or by legislative assemblies.
   - **consociational or supermajoritarian** - laws cannot be passed without the approval either of a legislative supermajority (such as two-thirds or three-quarters) or of defined communal groups, e.g., ethnic groups. In some cases these arrangements amount to power-sharing by two or more ethnic or cultural groups.

c. **Competitive or consensual democracies**
   - **competitive** - the processes of deciding political issues are designed to accommodate a struggle among divergent interests and goals in which there may be winners and losers.
   - **consensual** - the processes of deciding political issues are designed to harmonize divergent interests and goals into a mutually acceptable agreement.

d. **Centralized or decentralized democracies**
   - **centralized** - a single government is paramount and can overrule its subservient local or regional components or can dispense with them and rule localities directly.
   - **decentralized** - each of two or more governments (or levels of government) has sufficient power for some ends, but neither is paramount in all spheres. In some cases they must share responsibilities (e.g., a federal system).

B. **What are major forms of political systems other than democracy?** Before elaborating on the concept of democracy, it is helpful to examine fundamental conceptual alternatives. In addition to knowledge of the basic choices that shape particular democracies, one must examine basic choices and justifications underlying other political systems.

1. **The foundations and justifications of alternatives to democracy.**
1. The identity of the rulers. Political systems may be ruled by the one, the few, or the many.

2. Membership in the political system can be based upon:
   a. ethnicity or “blood”
   b. civic identity predicated on an attachment to certain common political values and principles
   c. a “cosmopolitan” idea in which membership is potentially open to anyone

3. The relationship between the rulers and the ruled may be based on forms of
   a. paternalism (including natural/familial forms)
   b. domination (including conquest or subjugation)
   c. consent or agreement (including covenantal forms)

4. The justification for a political system—whether authority is exercised by one, few, or many persons—may be based upon:
   a. claims that individuals have liberty in nature that must be recognized and preserved by any legitimate political authority
   b. claims to power derived from inheritance, including the authority of tradition
   c. the “right of conquest”
   d. claims to power based on one’s stake in society, e.g., wealth and social standing, property
   e. “divine right” bestowed upon an individual, family, clan, or religious people
   f. special knowledge or virtue, such as knowledge of “God’s will” or “the laws of history”
   g. the consent of the governed

2. Classification of forms of political systems other than democracy. A number of political systems exist, or have existed, which rely upon the foundations and justifications (described above) or upon combinations of them. Aspects of these forms of political systems may also appear in existing functioning democratic systems. In some cases, this mixture may strengthen or moderate the democratic form of government and other cases they may contradict and undermine its foundation. These systems include:

a. Monarchy (“rule of the one”) is usually represented by a single individual (called king, queen, czar, emperor, chief, emir or other title, implying hierarchical preeminence). Monarchy is based upon the principle that the people have a unity and commonality that can be personified by a single ruler. That ruler is obligated to have the best interests of the community at heart. One of the attributes of monarchy, especially hereditary monarchy, is
that the monarch represents the community over time. Several types of
monarchy have existed historically.

- **Traditional monarchy** is a system in which power is held by a ruler
  whose legitimacy is usually based upon inheritance. There have been
  instances, however, of elective monarchy, and such monarchies may
  trace their authority back to an original election. In traditional
  monarchy, the ruler is considered to be sovereign but is constrained by
  the power and influence of an aristocracy as well as by custom.

- **Absolute monarchy** is a system in which the ruler’s power is
  unrestrained, e.g., by an aristocracy or custom. One type of absolute
  monarchy is **enlightened despotism** in which a ruler claims to use
  absolute power for the good of society, on the basis of superior
  knowledge, wisdom, and personal virtue.

b. **Constitutional “monarchy”** is a system in which authority is either
  symbolically embodied in or focused upon a monarch. But political power,
  with few exceptions, is exercised by other institutions, especially legislative
  bodies, or by an aristocracy. In a constitutional monarchy the monarch does
  not exercise power directly, but only through other institutions which may
  be representative of the society. Most contemporary instances of
  constitutional monarchy exhibit aspects of liberal democracy such as
  protection of individual rights and free elections.

c. **Aristocracy** is the rule of the few who are understood to have the wisdom,
  knowledge, and character to act on behalf of the fundamental interests of a
  society as a whole. Historically, the authority of the aristocrat has been
  based on merit arising from the cultivation of intellect and character which
  develops a deep seated concern for the well-being of the community and a
  capacity to ascertain it and act on the behalf of the common good. In this
  regard, the aristocracy may devote a particular solicitude for the weakest
  members of the society. Classically conceived, an aristocracy is composed
  of the “best” members of society or the “elect” who rule for the public
  good, and not just in their own interest.

d. **“Liberal” regimes** are political systems that are built upon the principles of
  liberalism. They are structured to protect the autonomy of the person
  conceived of as a rational being capable of exercising liberty. The nature of
  community is considered solely as the accumulation of discrete individuals.
  The idea of a community as having a collective interest separate from and
  superior to the interests of the individuals that make it up is denied. To the
  extent that majority rule endangers individual liberty, liberal systems are
  anti-majoritarian in their political processes. Thus they provide for free and
  fair elections but they do not include all of the people in the electorate for
  fear that all persons are not sufficiently qualified to make judgments
  affecting the liberty and welfare of others. As a consequence of limited
  participation and commitment to individual liberty, there is a narrowed
  domain in which government can legitimately make policy.

e. **Oligarchy** is rule by a small number of persons who rule in the interests of
  themselves or their class rather than for the common good. They may claim
  that the interests of their class are equivalent to the interests of the country.
  In times of crisis, in the absence of an effective, duly constituted authority,
  a small group may assume power claiming a capacity to restore and
  maintain order. They may uses crises as devices for seeking their own
advantage and attempt to maintain their power in order to preserve their
advantage.

One form of oligarchy is “plutocracy,” the rule of the wealthy in a system
where protecting the interests of those with money may be purported to
protect the long-term interests of the country. It may be claimed that if one
has the capacity to acquire and keep wealth, one has the right and the
capacity to rule.

f. **Authoritarian systems** tend to be paternalistic in which those in power are
seen as capable of making decisions that ordinary persons are incapable of
making. In these cases authority, the legitimate use of power, gives way to a
system which is focused on command, decisiveness, and obedience where
those in power do not have to provide reasons for their actions or to be held
accountable to anyone. In authoritarian governments, political power is
concentrated in one person or a small group, and all other individuals and
groups are entirely excluded from the exercise of political power.
Nevertheless, a range of activity in non-political affairs is permissible.
Authoritarian governments may even be welcomed when people are
frustrated because of disorder, intractable problems, and inefficiency of
government.

Authoritarian political systems include dictatorships by a single individual
or by groups, especially military governments. Such dictatorships may use
the form of the “one-party state” as a mask for the absence of free political
choice.

g. **Tyranny** is rule by unaccountable force wielded personally by a leader who
governs by dominating the population. This form of rule is marked by
arbitrary and unlimited exercise of power, often for the personal or factional
advantage or glory of the leader. It is sometimes the consequence of
demagoguery or the result of mob rule. But it may arise as a result of a
leader’s amassing force in the form of a military or paramilitary, the police,
an internal security apparatus, or a body of armed supporters that make up
the equivalent of a private army. This form of rule is usually an ad hoc
arrangement, sometimes justified by circumstances portrayed as crises.
This form of rule may arise through a coup d’etat and typically has no
provision for its regular institutionalization or succession.

h. **Totalitarian systems** (not found before the twentieth century) are
conceived as systems in which the entire range of human activity is subject
to government direction and control. Society is conceived of ideally as a
complete unity where individuality and deviation from a comprehensive
ideology must be suppressed as a way of defending against threats to social
order. The entire resources of the society, including the thoughts of its
members, are mobilized to preserve the security of the system. Thus
totalitarian systems are absolute dictatorships identified by features such as:

- unlimited scope of political domination and direction over society and
  the individual, including all forms of culture.

- complete suppression of *civil society* through prohibition of all forms
  of independent associational life and individual action.

- use of terror by secret police as a means of control, including extensive
  imprisonment and/or large-scale executions.
• extensive use of modern technology as an instrument of control.
• all-encompassing ideology from which the regime tolerates no dissent and which is reinforced by the educational system and mass media.
• mandated overt expressions of loyalty by the population, such as voting in sham elections, and participating in demonstrations, community service, and political rallies.

C. What are power and authority and what is their place in a democracy? Like all political systems, democracies include arrangements of power and authority that respond to the need of human societies for governance. An understanding of democracy cannot be achieved without an understanding of the concepts of power and authority that are fundamental building blocks of politics and government.

1. Power may be defined as the capacity to effect outcomes by controlling, directing, or exerting influence, whether or not there is a right to do so. Power can be exercised by such means as persuasion, force or threat of force, coercion, or manipulation. The possession or use of power in and of itself does not justify such power. To be justified, power must be derived from a source that is widely seen as legitimate and it must be used in accordance with the purposes for which it was created.

2. Authority may be defined as justified power or the legitimate right to act on behalf of someone or something else. Political authority is therefore the legitimized and institutionalized right of officials to exercise power in the name of, for example, a divine being, the state, the constitution, or the people. The exercise of authority carries with it an expectation of deference, that is, an implicit acceptance of the right to exercise it. Such authority, however, is always constrained by the principles that make it legitimate. Actions of those in authority that violate such constraints constitute a misuse or abuse of authority and are consequently not legitimate.

The idea of authority does not mean that the ends sought by the authority or the means used to attain them are morally sound. Authority may be granted to use immoral means and/or seek immoral ends, e.g., an unjust war.

3. Characteristics of political authority include:
   a. Legitimacy: the belief that those in positions of authority have the right to claim and exercise power.
   b. Stability: the idea of authority usually implies that it continues over an extended period of time. Although authority may need to be confirmed by the people from time to time, it tends to disintegrate when those who exercise it are changed with great frequency.
   c. Deference: assent and respect habitually given to the exercise of power seen as legitimate.
   d. Conditionality: the use of authority must remain true to the purposes that make it legitimate.

4. Sources of political authority. Historically, typical sources of political authority include:
a. **A Supreme Being** - Rulers may claim that their right to rule derives from a Supreme Being. Such rulers may include prophets and other religious figures as well as monarchs claiming a divine mandate for their authority. Democracy may claim that the will of God is reflected in the voice of the people.

b. **Birth** - Rulers have claimed authority as a right of birth, sometimes rooted in an original divine mandate, passed on through generations by inheritance and sanctioned by tradition. Such rulers include monarchs and aristocrats.

c. **Conquest or superior force** - Rulers have claimed authority over a people after they have conquered them (“right of conquest”).

d. **Inherent or natural strength** - Rulers or dominant groups have claimed authority over other groups with the justification that they have superior moral, racial, or cultural traits and abilities.

e. **Moral obligation** - Rulers have claimed that because of the status and attributes bestowed upon them by birth (e.g., class, religion, family, gender), they have a duty to aid those less fortunate by using their superior gifts to govern on their behalf.

f. **Virtue** - Rulers have claimed authority as a consequence of their own virtue. The idea is that this goodness enables the virtuous to transcend human foibles and rise above personal conflicts.

g. **Knowledge** - Rulers have claimed authority based in superior knowledge that legitimized their rule. Sometimes this was philosophical or ethical knowledge or knowledge of the “laws of history.”

h. **Wisdom** - Rulers have claimed authority on the basis of wisdom that includes deep understanding of, and superior judgment in, dealing with human affairs.

i. **Consent or covenant** - Rulers have claimed that their authority is legitimized by the consent of those they rule or as a result of a compact of individuals to make common cause. In democracies, the power of government is delegated by the people who consent to its use to serve the purposes for which the government was established.

5. **Power and authority in a democracy.** Democracy and power are not antithetical. But democratic government can use power only when it has been transformed into authority. Like any form of government, democracy requires authority in order to accomplish the purposes of the body politic. Democracy also enhances authority by providing a widespread and stable source of its legitimacy and by focusing its use on specific purposes.

Because democracy recognizes the ultimate power of the whole people in the conduct of public affairs, it necessitates a separation of political authority from any authority that has a source different from human beings.

a. **Generation of power.** Democracy is a means of generating and sustaining power. By harnessing the dispersed power of individuals in a society, democracy concentrates this power so it can be used, as authority, on behalf of society.

b. **Transformation of power into authority.** Authority in a democracy is derived from the people as a whole who are intended to be the focus of the
beneficial use of that authority. Thus the source of authority in a democracy establishes the ends for which authority is to be used. So long as authority is used to achieve these established ends it will be considered legitimate by those it governs.

c. **Purposes for which democracies generate and use authority.** Democracies have a large capacity for generating power. But, the justification for generating such power and transforming it into authority must limit its reach or extent. Purposes for which democracies use authority include:

- establishing and maintaining order and security
- peacefully accommodating conflict
- focusing diverse interests and resources to achieve a unified objective
- protecting fundamental rights and freedoms
- determining the distribution of burdens and benefits

d. **Division of human and divine authority.** The very possibility of human governance based on the will of the people requires that political power be separate from and not controlled or superceded by religious authority. This does not mean that political authority controls the religious realm in the conduct of religious affairs, nor does it mean that religious beliefs and values have no place in political deliberation or in public life.

**D. How do civic life, politics, and government provide spheres for the practices of democracy?** A commitment to democracy potentially affects and transforms all aspects of human life, especially those that pertain to the relationships of persons in any community. These may include the workplace, the arts, and even the mentality of a people. Democratic practices take place in a number of spheres ranging from the most extensive sphere (civic life), to the narrower sphere (politics), and to the most intensively focused sphere (government). Both politics and government are contained within the sphere of civic life and government is contained within the sphere of politics. Distinguishing among these three spheres clarifies the domains in which democratic practices can take place.

1. **Civic life.** Civic life is the public life of citizens concerned with the common affairs and mutual interests of the community and nation. Civic life is distinguished from private life, the personal life of the individual devoted to the pursuit of particular interests.

2. **Politics.** Politics is found in all human societies. Politics enables people to accomplish goals they could not achieve as individuals. Politics is chosen as a means for reaching decisions by a group of persons in order to prevent or avoid violence. In this view, violence constitutes a breakdown of politics and results in its negation. Therefore, politics may be understood as a process by which persons or groups, whose opinions or interests may be divergent or in conflict:

   a. reach collective decisions, through non-violent struggle and/or accommodation, generally regarded as binding and enforced as common policy or rules
   
   b. seek the power to make decisions about such matters as the distribution of scarce resources, allocation of benefits and burdens, management of conflicts, and the aspirations of the community as a whole
c. engage in competitive struggle to determine who gets what from scarce resources.

3. **Government.** The term government refers to the authoritative and institutionalized direction or control exercised over the people of a community, its territory, and its resources. This control is exercised through the making, implementing, enforcing, and adjudicating of rules and policies.

4. **Necessity and desirability of politics and government.** Politics and government are a necessity in any society. The conduct of politics and the establishment of government also may reflect the aspirations of people in their desire to live together. Among the arguments supporting this proposition are the following:

   a. The development of a political association is a natural process evolving from more rudimentary forms of association such as the family. Furthermore, human beings cannot fulfill their potential without politics and government. (Aristotle)

   b. Human beings are incomplete, sinful, or depraved by nature and would therefore be insecure or endangered without government. (Christianity, Islam, Judaism, other religions, some ancient Chinese philosophers, and modern skeptics.)

   c. Because some individuals threaten the lives and welfare of others, people feel compelled to protect themselves by forming a common association (civitas or commonwealth) for their security and common defense. (Thomas Hobbes)

   d. Politics necessarily arises whenever groups of people live together, since they must always reach collective decisions of one kind or another; in addition, organized political life enables people to accomplish goals they could not realize alone. (John Locke)

5. **The purposes of politics and government.** Differing ideas about the purposes of government have profound consequences for individuals and society.

   a. **Purpose.** Among competing purposes of politics and government that have existed historically are:

      - providing for a people’s security
      - improving the moral character of citizens
      - furthering the interests of a particular class or ethnic group
      - realizing a set of religious prescriptions or aspirations
      - glorifying the state
      - promoting individual security and public order
      - integrating diversity into a unified enterprise
      - enhancing economic prosperity
      - protecting individual rights
• promoting the common good

• achieving social equality

b. Consequences. The primary objectives sought by a government affect relationships between the individual and government and between government and society as a whole. For example:

• Promoting a religious or secular vision of what society should be like may require a government to restrict individual thought, expression, actions, and behavior, as well as place strict controls on the whole of society.

• Limiting the activities of government to protecting the security and property of the citizens may require restricting the power of government to intrude into their private or personal lives.

E. What is the relationship of government “founded on the people” to idea of a “constitution”?

The idea of constitution may refer to three levels — the elemental coherence of a people, the design of a polity, and the framework of a government. At each level the idea of a constitution provides human beings with the means to take possession of their lives and destiny.

A defined population is not in and of itself a civically united people with the potential to become “a political people” or “a body politic.” To become such a civically united people—i.e., a “civic people”—a population must be held together by relationships of mutuality or toleration sufficient to make a common life possible. This coherence of the population as a civic body may be conceived as an elemental “constitution” of the people in which they could recognize each other as potential fellow countrymen.

Such a coherence of the population constitutes the possibility for the development of a political people as a sovereign whole. This elemental constitution also provides the groundwork for the creation of an autonomous political unit or polity that may take any of several forms.

The values of the elemental constitution of the people are implicit in their relationships; they are not usually formulated explicitly. Further, all of these values may not even be susceptible to being fully articulated because many of them operate at a level of unstated or unconscious presumption. The more explicit constitution of any political system must be matched to this elemental constitution of a people. In more fully evolved systems, the explicit constitution of a polity formally articulates certain core values of the elemental constitution of the people as the foundation for political institutions.

The elemental constitution of a people, therefore, provides the foundation for the more formal constitution or makeup of a political system in which the people can create institutional arrangements appropriate for governing themselves. Thus a more formal constitution serves as the political embodiment of the spirit that animates the common life of a people. If this more formal constitution of the polity and the animating spirit of the people are not well fitted to each other, the political system has an unstable foundation incapable of sustaining the people’s self-governance. Thus the idea of three levels of “constitution,” as underlying a political order founded on the commonality of its people, reflects a primordially democratic characteristic.
Once the design of a particular political order for a people has been established (e.g., a particular variant of republic or a monarchy), another aspect of the idea of constitution is the provision of a “charter of government” – a framework for governmental institutions which serves as fundamental or basic law. This charter usually takes the form of a written constitution. To be well founded, the provisions of the charter of government must reflect principles which are essential to the purposes of the people and which conform with their character. At the same time, the provisions of the charter of government must remain true to the defining traits of the polity, whether or not that polity is a democracy.

Because there are distinguishing variations among civic peoples, there is no universally applicable form of polity or political constitution that can be used everywhere. Nor is there a predefined set of governmental institutions that will successfully carry on the work of popular self-governance in every country. Thus, a well-founded constitution for a people must arise from the people themselves and cannot be given as a finished product by experts from outside.

1. **Concept of a “formal constitution.”** A formal constitution—written, partially written, or unwritten—may set forth or reflect the fundamental values and public character of a people as a political community. The concept of constitution may be a plan for a political system set forth in advance of its establishment, or it may be a derivation of principles that are embedded in an existing political system. A formal constitution embodies or sets forth the purposes and organization of political power and government for a society.

   The concept of a formal constitution has at least the following variants: a “covenant” or “social compact” in which individuals agree among themselves to be a political people; a “contract” between a political people and their government; and a “basic law” that forms the foundation for a system of a rule of law. The term “constitution” may refer to a

   a. description of a form of government
   b. document or collection of documents that set forth basic law
   c. written document or series of documents, possibly with procedures for amendment, augmented over time by custom, legislation, and court decisions
   d. set of settled understandings accepted as convention
   e. higher, fundamental, or basic law that limits the powers of government, provides a standard to which all legislation and other activities of government must adhere, and sets the formal aspirations of a society
   f. set of principles, values, and traits that characterize a political people

2. **Purposes and uses of formal constitutions in democracies.** Constitutions may be used to

   a. create the powers of a political system and the functions of a government
   b. prescribe the power and authority of the government as granted by the people
   c. set forth a framework for the structure of government, empower the government, specify the offices of government and how they are to be
filled, and establish the relationship between the people and their government
d. limit government’s power in order to protect individual rights and promote the common good
e. creates space for the autonomous functioning of civil society and personal privacy
f. establishes the preconditions and the basic rules for an economic system
g. allocate power among components of the polity, such as constituent provinces or states
h. establish the rule of law and set the rules for the resolution of disputes in a peaceful manner
i. embody the core values and principles of a political system, as well as the aspirations of a society and directions for the future
j. serve as vehicles for change and for resolving social issues
k. provide a reference point or standard by which citizens can evaluate the actions of their government

What is “constitutionalism” and what is its relationship to “constitution”?

Constitutionalism is the political theory of limited government. This political theory is independent of a theory of liberalism or a theory of democracy, although its values are compatible with the principles of liberalism and democracy. Liberalism, historically, has served as the major vehicle for the limitation of government on behalf of the liberty of individuals. Modern democracies share the commitment of constitutionalism to limiting the powers of government to serving the common good as opposed to serving factional interests.

Constitutionalism historically arose from the view that there is a higher authority than human authority. According to this view, one’s obligations to that higher authority transcend one’s obligations to government. Therefore, the rightful demands of government for obedience are necessarily limited. These limitations are grounded in a concept of a higher law that derives from a Supreme Being that rules earthly rulers.

Endeavors throughout history to create good government have revealed that the establishment of a formal “constitution” (usually written down) is the best device for realizing the substantive principles of the political theory of constitutionalism, such as the liberal principle of protecting liberty and the democratic principle of making political power responsible to its people.

Constitutionalism as the theory of limited government arises from the transformation of power into authority. Under this theory, the only legitimate political power is constrained power and all authority is limited by the terms according to which it is delegated. Authority operates only by “commission”—that is it is power that is used on behalf of others who “authorize” it for specified purposes and under defined conditions. All authority also exists under an obligation to serve the best interests of those on whose behalf it is exercised. Authority therefore operates as a “trust” that emanates from a more fundamental source, and its use is conditioned continuously by the purposes for which it was originally established. These purposes not only sustain authority but constrain it as well.
As foundations of political systems, some formal constitutions reflect this theory of government limited by commission and trusteeship, and some do not. When a political system operates by commission and trusteeship, its constitution derives its authority from a higher source on whose behalf the power of government is both exercised and limited. This higher source (such as the People or God) is conceived of as sovereign. In cases of unlimited governments, constitutions may be used for purposes of deception, as cloaks to misrule, disguising the unconstrained behavior of those in power.

A political system, whether it has a formal constitution or not, will reflect the principles of constitutionalism only when its powers and institutions are limited to the terms of the constitution which reflect the foundational principles of commission and trusteeship. In this regard the constitution takes on the role of “higher law.”

Thus there is a distinction between a polity (or government) with a constitution and constitutionalism (or constitutional government). Every political system has a “constitution,” whether it is a “constitutional” system or not. In this sense the “constitution” is no more than a description of the makeup or composition of a political system. It portrays the way a polity is constituted—that is, how its foundation is set forth, its first principles articulated, its character shaped, and its government organized and operated. The fact that a political system has a such a constitution—even if it is a formal written document—does not mean it meets the standard of constitutionalism. Under the standard of constitutionalism, governments must themselves be bound by rules. To implement this standard, a “constitution” that reflects the principles of constitutionalism will serve as a “higher law.” This higher law establishes and limits government in order to protect individual rights as well as to promote the common good.

1. **Constitutionalism.** Under the theory of constitutionalism, a political system takes on a defined form and character that obligate it to operate in a manner consistent with a set of established purposes and limits.

   The form and character of a political system may be set forth deliberately in fundamental documents that both describe and prescribe the shape and limitations of its power. Constitutionalism is both descriptive and normative; it thus lays out what can be done, what ought to be done, as well as what may not be done.

   In establishing the form and character of a political system, constitution-making can be a profoundly democratic act. The process of public deliberation which leads to the endorsement of a constitution by the people has become an instrument for the creation of democracy. The very process of this deliberation seems to anticipate substantial participation of the people in the resulting political system.

m. **Principles of constitutionalism.** According to constitutionalism:

   - power must be exercised in accordance with established standards
   - governments must be limited in the ends they may seek and in the means they may use to pursue legitimate ends
   - ordinary laws must be made to comport with the “rule of law” by being evaluated according to a set of fundamental standards
   - the sovereign people of a democracy, in consenting to a constitutional system, agree to limit not only their government but also themselves,
e.g., they are bound by the provisions of their constitution until they are formally changed.

- the rights of individuals may be protected not only by limitations on the power of government, but also by guarantees of specific rights beyond the control of government, or by specific grants of powers to governmental institutions to protect rights

- there are some aspects of life that are not the proper business of politics and government and are accordingly placed beyond the reach of its authority.

n. Constitutional government. A constitutional government is one in which the constitution sets forth the extent of a government’s powers. The constitution also provides effective means for limiting those powers and a means of moving towards a correspondence between the principles and values set forth in the constitution and the reality of political life. A constitutional government is one in which those in power must and do obey the limitations placed upon them by the constitution.

o. “Sham constitutions.” In the guise of honoring constitutions or constitutionalism, some governments set forth misleading or “sham constitutions.” These so-called “constitutions” bear little relationship to actual institutions and practices nor do they reflect a commitment to the limitations of constitutional government. In contrast to constitutional governments, unlimited governments are those in which there are no regularized and effective means of restraining power.

3. The relationship between constitutionalism and the concept of “rule of law.” The concept of a rule of law includes the ideas that rules are set forth in advance and are widely known, that they are of general application, and that they are applied impartially. Rule of law applies both to governmental officials and to all other persons in a country. The rule of law, therefore, means more than simply having laws or passing legislation. This principle contrasts with capricious rule based on arbitrary will and inclination, when persons who rule impose their own personal preferences that are invented for the occasion, applied with favoritism, and/or not made clear to those who are subject to them.

The rule of law can be used to restrict the actions of citizens and governmental officials alike in order to protect the rights of individuals and to promote the common good. The rule of law is one of the most effective ways to establish limited government. Because it is conducive to a regular and predictable political system, rule of law can enhance political power through a capacity to coordinate the expectations of large numbers of individuals and organizations.

Constitutionalism realizes in practice the abstract character of the “rule of law” by translating its precepts into a more explicit set of rules and provisions that can be interpreted and applied by institutions of government and by the people in public discussion and debate.

4. Political, economic, and personal freedom as means of limiting government. There is a reinforcing relationship between constitutionalism and political, economic, and personal freedom. Political and economic freedoms serve as a way of limiting government. In turn, limited government is essential to the protection of political, economic, and personal freedom.

a. Political freedom involves people’s right to control and influence governance. Its existence inhibits governmental encroachment upon the
spheres in which people exercise this freedom including their right to express their opinions about public affairs. In exercising their political freedom the people assert their sovereignty over government.

b. **Economic freedom** refers to a sphere of enterprise, organization, and activity independent of direct control by government. It involves the acquisition, use, enhancement, transfer, and disposal of property. Because economic freedom involves people’s right to conduct certain fundamental aspects of their lives and activities independently of unreasonable governmental supervision and intrusion, its existence creates independent centers of power that compete with and limit the scope of governmental power.

c. **Personal freedom** refers to an autonomous zone where individuals or groups of individuals pursue ways of life and courses of action that do not require the sanction of political or governmental authority. It may involve, for example,

d. the creation of families and friendships, the practice of religion, participation in associational activities, and the pursuit of artistic endeavors. These activities exemplify the self-determination of the individual and represent a source of independence and choice separating the person from direct control by government.

**F. What is the relationship between law, constitutionalism, and democracy?** In any society there is an ultimate source of the authority to make law. Law is a principal way that the decisions and actions of any political system are revealed and communicated. In a democracy, the people are the source of government’s authority to make decisions for the public benefit. Law is the means by which these decisions are formulated as rules and implemented as public policy. Law can thus be seen as the language of public policy. Public policies can be implemented because they have been formulated in law.

Law provides an essential link between constitutionalism and democracy by translating fundamental principles into rules which government is obliged to enforce.

While law may be conceived of as channeling and limiting human activity, it also supplies the chief medium for furthering the interests and purposes of a community. The more deliberative a society, the more it will rely on law and its interpretation to guide the activities of its governmental institutions and public scrutiny of them. Because a society’s decisions have been reflected in law, widespread knowledge of the content of law may lead to holding government accountable for its fidelity to law. To the extent that law facilitates both deliberation and accountability, it promotes democracy.

1. **Constituent character of law.** Law provides the primary means for structuring organizations and establishing relationships in a society. In this sense law sets forth those basic arrangements and connections that give order to human life. In addition, because formally enacted law can be read and scrutinized, it need not be conceived of as immutable but as subject to reconsideration and change.

2. **Public policy.** If the essence of the political process is making public policy, that is the making of public decisions and choices, law is the instrument through which these decisions are expressed, implemented, enforced, and adjudicated.

3. **Continuity.** Law is the primary means of providing order, predictability, security, and survival for society. To the extent that law relies on precedent or a
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tradition of experience for its meaning, law enables a community to achieve self-consistency and reliability over time.

4. Aspirations. Law is a primary means by which society expresses and codifies its values, goals, and mores. In this regard, law may serve to shape as well as to reflect the aspirations of society. Law can also bridge social divisions and compensate for a lack of personal trust by creating formal obligations that can be enforced among parties who otherwise may be wary or suspicious of one another.

G. What is the relationship between democracy and human rights?

1. Defining and explaining the rights of human beings. A right is a justifiable claim to have or obtain something, not to be interfered with, or to act or be treated in a certain way. The rights of human beings may be conceptualized in three ways: natural rights, positive rights, and constitutional rights.

   a. Natural rights are understood as belonging to all humans simply owing to the essence of their being. They are conceived as existing regardless of a person’s status or membership in any society or nation. The legitimacy of natural rights is thus thought to be independent of positive endorsement or approval by governments. Thus natural rights are fundamentally distinct from rights that are created by human action. In this view, governments cannot create these rights but can only recognize already existing rights.

   If natural rights are understood in this way as arising from what is innate to the human being, they must be considered inherent; these rights are not bestowed as privileges by a constitution, a political system, or by government but pre-exist the creation of society itself. As a result, human beings cannot give up these rights even if they choose or appear to choose to do so. Thus a person’s “agreement” to give up natural rights is not valid or binding.

   Further, these rights cannot be taken away by any person or government. Because they are “natural” rights, even when they are violated by government action, they remain “rights,” and the government action is wrong. In this respect they are “inalienable” and indestructible. Therefore all legitimate forms of government are obligated to protect them.

   Natural rights are said to derive from two possible sources. The first is from nature itself understood as the all-encompassing “natural order of things.” The second is from the more specific nature of the human being. In either case, a commitment to natural rights may include a belief that such rights are derived from a divine Creator of human beings who made the natural order.

   Entailed in the concept of natural rights is the idea that each human personality has independent moral value to be cherished and protected above all else. This proposition of the moral integrity of the human being has led to the belief that all individuals are of equal essential worth.

   Because these rights are conceived as part the unified order of nature, they exhibit a coherence among themselves whose mutual reinforcement contributes to the enhancement of human life. Thus the rights to life, liberty, and property, for instance, can be considered as essentially a unitary right.
because each right implicates the others and all work together to protect and promote the quality of the human condition. In contrast to being a random selection of desirable ends, natural rights are connected into a pattern that reflects the larger needs and purposes of human existence.

From the perspective of a natural rights philosophy, all human beings can apprehend natural rights through their native moral sense, and they can comprehend them by using their innate capacity for reasoning. This proposition is itself a latent democratic idea because it asserts that the common person has instinctual ethical awareness and can make reasoned judgments about fundamental aspects of human existence and mutual relationships. Therefore, every person has the potential to be trusted with making decisions about the governance of himself or herself and of each other.

b. **Positive rights** are rights that are enacted as law. They are rights given sanction because they are articulated by an authoritative body. They not only set prohibitions on what government may do; they impose obligations for what it must do. They usually take written form and are published and promulgated. Positive rights provide a basis for security of expectations. In this sense, citizens in a system of positive rights can know and reason about what their rights are.

c. Even for those who hold that rights have a natural and inherent status, articulating these rights as positive enactments provides a more secure basis for their protection. From this perspective, positive rights provide citizens a set of standards for judging government and looking after their own interests. The ability of citizens to know their rights and use this knowledge as a means of controlling government is a crucial attribute of democracy. The ability of citizens to control the enactment of rights and to limit governmental intrusions on those rights is a crucial attribute of constitutionalism.

d. **Constitutional rights** are rights specifically established by common consent or stipulation as the explicit basis on which persons agree to be governed. In this sense, constitutional rights provide the foundational conditions for the existence of government and serve as fundamental or higher law in much the same way as natural law. Constitutional rights are at the same time a form of positive rights. They are typically more general than statutory enactments. And in this regard, even though they take positive form, they reflect the more abstract character of natural rights. Constitutional rights may be understood as articulations or extensions of preexisting natural rights or as newly created rights that come into being through authoritative enactments by human beings.

Whereas positive rights rely on an articulation in law by the legislative power of a county, constitutional rights arise from sovereign enactment or endorsement by a people in the exercise of their right to establish the conditions for their self-government. In this sense constitutional rights take on the character of higher law controlling the acts of government, irrespective of governmental will, in the same way that natural rights are thought to constrain whether government has recognized them or not. Constitutional rights, therefore, occupy a middle position between natural rights and positive rights in that they take the form of positive rights and have the effect of inherent rights.
2. **Defining “human rights.”** The idea of a **human right** is that each person holds the right as an attribute of his or her humanity. The term “human rights” has come to refer broadly to those rights that are inherent in human nature, essential to human need, or fundamental to human purpose—whether these rights arise from natural, positive, or constitutional sources.

From one perspective human rights and natural rights are one and the same thing in that human rights are inherent in all persons in virtue of their nature. From another perspective, human rights and natural rights overlap only partially. Some human rights may be identical with natural rights, some may contain attributes of natural rights, and some may be entirely independent. Thus some of what are called “human rights” may be interpretations of natural rights, some may be extensions of natural rights, and some may be newly invented by human ingenuity. Regardless of whether human rights are equivalent to natural rights, human rights are similar to natural rights in that they belong to every person as a consequence of membership in the “community of mankind.”

Transposition of human rights into positive rights takes place when the legislative power of a country enacts a provision protecting a right that is denominated a human right. A country may also incorporate or ratify some or all of those rights contained in international enunciations of rights such as the Universal Declaration of Rights.

Translation of human rights into constitutional rights occurs when the sovereign power of a country authorizes a right that is conceived of as a human right. The sovereign power may also incorporate or ratify some or all of those rights contained in international enunciations of rights such as the Universal Declaration of Rights. In this fashion human rights are incorporated into a country’s constitution.

a. **Human rights as a regime of obligations.** The idea of rights entails the question of obligations to respect or fulfill them. Positions differ on what obligations, if any, arise from the concept of human rights. From the most conventional point of view, a set of human rights is not solely a list of desirable ends. It is a regime of obligations. It imposes duties upon human associations and individuals. Otherwise the statement that a value is a right is nothing more than an exhortation and it loses the compelling character of a claim of right. Thus human rights provide a systematic ordering of rights and obligations that supercedes the formal institutions of government and adhere to the individual irrespective of membership in any community.

b. **Human rights as a set of desired ends.** From another point of view, human rights present a set of desired ends or values that every country should strive to achieve. But because human rights are not self-enforcing, when they have not been consented to, there is no basis for claiming that a country is obligated to fulfill them. Accordingly, human rights operate only as an external standard of judgment for a community’s consideration and not as an independent constraint. Otherwise the sovereignty of even a democratic people would be diminished.

c. **Movement for human rights.** Regardless of which of these points of view is accepted, the movement for human rights has been a force of increasing potency for transforming the world for more than three centuries. It has provided a basis for demands that governments respect rights fundamental
to political and personal liberty and to fair and humane treatment. It has also
legitimized such demands. There is no universal agreement, however, on
the existence and status of human rights, i.e., whether they are natural,
positive, or constitutional.

d. **Controversies over philosophical foundations.** Even for those who accept
the concept of human rights as crucial to the transformation of political
orders, the philosophical foundation for human rights is controversial.

- This controversy includes questions about whether human rights are
  obligatory on political systems, whether these political systems accept
  them or not. One position is that they are directly binding as a force of
  nature; another is that they must be “translated” into constitutional
  provisions or legal requirements before they can be authoritatively
  applied.

- Another aspect of the controversy questions the origin or source of
  human rights. From one perspective, “human” rights arise from
  international agreements as a sort of universal legislation that is either
  legally or morally binding on all civilized nations. This may take the
  form of treaties, declarations, covenants, and conventions. The
  alternative position is that “human” rights are the same as “natural”
  rights. From this perspective, the idea of “human rights” has evolved
  from the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century concept of “natural
  rights.” This concept arises from the idea of rights inhering in nature
  and, in particular, rights that are attributes of human nature.

In this sense, human rights cannot be fundamentally distinguished from
rights arising solely from enactment by a legal system—that is
“positive rights,” such as a right to a particular minimum wage. Even
when human rights are conceived of as requiring positive enactment
they may still be regarded as having a higher or more fundamental
status than other positive rights.

3. **Elaborating human rights.** The broad concept of human rights (as universally
essential to the human personality) has inspired attempts to elaborate sets of
particular and concrete rights that implement and extend natural rights. Essential
human rights can only be actualized by translating them into more particular
rights that entail rules and procedures that make them operational. For example,
the three essential rights to life, liberty, and property, because of their
encompassing generality, must be elaborated and protected by an array of
specific rights, including those providing for procedural justice and due process
of law. Not only must essential human rights be translated into more
particularly applicable rights, but also these more specific rights must be
protected and promoted by institutions designed for this purpose. In addition,
some human rights must be purposively “coined”—by an act of deliberate
creation, such as many of the rights of the Universal Declaration of Human
Rights. For example the right to periodic holidays with pay or the right to
intellectual property.

a. **Formal classifications of human rights.** In the past century, three
categories of human rights have come into common usage. These
categories are

- **Personal, civil, and political rights.** This category includes rights
  considered essential to liberty and self-governance. They include the
  rights of the individual to freedom of conscience, thought, speech, and
religious expression; and the right to freedom of association and to participate. Other rights sometimes included in this category include the right to be treated fairly by government, the right to access to an independent tribunal for the protection of human rights, the right to citizenship or “nationality.”

- Economic and social rights. This category includes rights considered essential to human life and human dignity. They include the rights to property, to social equality, and to a basic standard of living adequate to protect health, security, and well-being. Other rights sometimes included in this category include the right to work and to free choice of employment; to just and favorable working conditions and protection against unemployment; the right to equal pay for equal work; the right to form and join trade unions; the right to acquire, use, and transfer property; and the right to rest and leisure.

- Cultural and solidarity rights. This category includes rights considered essential to respecting the values and traditions of groups of people throughout the world. They include rights to collective self-determination and rights to language, religion, and culture. Other rights sometimes included are the right of parents to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children; and the right of the family to be protected by government.

Within and among these categories, there may be differences of opinion whether particular rights are inherent in human nature, essential to human need, or fundamental to human purposes and therefore should be considered as “human rights.” There also may be differences of opinion over whether these rights are all of the same importance especially if they seem inconsistent with each other.

Some deny that human rights are universal. According to this view, rights are considered valid only because they are integral to a particular form of political order (such as the political rights essential to a democracy or the economic rights essential to a social democracy). This view may deny the validity of one or more of the categories of human rights or particular rights within these categories. Moreover one may claim that one or more of these categories of rights must be affirmatively expressed in constitutions or positively enacted by government in order to exist as rights at all.

In this latter sense, claims of human rights must be regarded as social aspirations or universal needs, or they may be considered as desires only. In any case, the array of rights reflected in these categories may produce entitlements or expectations that are mutually incompatible. Moreover, some particular rights in these categories may be achievable only at the cost of subordinating individual liberty to commitments arising from an understanding of other human needs. And in some cases a program to implement some of these rights may be used in a pernicious attempt to suppress other human rights, e.g., trading economic rights for political liberty, trading the promise of future social prosperity for personal rights.

4. Human rights as implying standards for government and politics. The values associated with human rights imply standards for the way government is to be formed, the purposes it is to serve, and the manner in which it conducts its activities. Thus the ends of government and the means used to attain them are constrained by the necessity not to violate basic human rights but to support and protect them.
5. **Democracy and human rights.** If human rights derive from a broad-based understanding of the nature and purpose of human beings, (i.e., what qualities all human beings share in common), it may follow that the form of government most likely to effectively honor these rights is one in which political power is broadly based. Thus the concept of human rights finds its political parallel in democracy; and the connection between rights and democracy promotes the evolution of both.

Regardless of the source of rights, governments chosen and controlled by democratic majorities are more likely to respect rights that are held in common by the population. Those whose rights and interests are at stake can be expected to judge best whether they are well protected.

Although democracy may be conceived as congruent with human rights, there are some qualities of human rights that appear to be especially complementary to democracy and some that are especially problematic for it.

a. **Human rights as complementary to democracy.** Human rights, seen as embodying the essential purposes of legitimate government, serve to provide a foundation for democracy and its authoritative use of power. A practical concern for the realization of human rights tends to focus the energy of a political system on the achievement of goals that benefit the entire population and contribute to the enhancement of a civilized way of life. Thus human rights flesh out the character of democratic governance beyond a preoccupation with the representation of interests and the popular will.

Democracy is reinforced when citizens are knowledgeable about their rights and can use this knowledge as a recourse against government power because they have the idea that it is legitimate for them to make strong claims against government power on behalf of their own fundamental interests or rights. At the same time, constitutionalism is enhanced when governmental power is bounded by its obligation to observe and protect the rights of persons.

Thus human rights may establish the basis for prohibitions on the use of governmental power by providing a countervailing force beyond limitations on the powers of government arising from its constitutional authorization.

Also, articulating, elaborating, and publicizing human rights—for the purpose of making them part of common discourse—enable citizens to make claims against governments, organizations, and individuals.

The need to establish institutions that have the purpose of promoting and protecting human rights contributes to worthiness of democratic governance.

b. **Human rights as problematic for democracy.** Enthusiasm for identifying and elaborating rights has led to expanding the list of rights and an increasing number of more specific rights. One part of this logic is that if a few rights are good, more rights are better. Another part of this logic is that if something is good and valuable, it should be enshrined as a right.

- **Problems of proliferation.** With the proliferation of rights classified as “human rights,” the rights specifically elaborated to carry into practical effect the essential natural rights may lose their connection with those essential rights. What starts out as a strategy to make general human rights operational moves into a program to add new rights to the classic set of natural rights. With the multiplication of human rights, the
fundamental and compelling character of the essential rights may be
eclipsed and the instrumental rights may be considered equal or
superior to the essential rights. Human rights in general may be
devalued when relatively trivial rights are indiscriminately mingled
with fundamental rights. In extreme cases the focus on less important
rights replaces honoring the more important rights or is used as an
excuse to suppress the more fundamental rights.

- **Problems of trivialization.** As these new rights increase in number
they may tend to undermine the original rights because they lose the
coherence of a mutually reinforcing relationship with each other.
Instead lists of rights may appear to be composed randomly and to
include everything that some people consider desirable. There may also
be a tendency to equate essential rights with their instrumental rights
and to consider all human rights of the same priority. The consequence
is that not only are human rights devalued, but the very concept of a
right itself becomes little more than the expression of a wish. The
attributes which meet the criteria for classifying a value as a right may
be altogether absent so that claims of rights become merely hortatory
and not obligatory.

- **Problems of absolutism.** The style of human rights discourse may
undermine the very process of democratic politics. When human rights
are asserted as absolutes, they may preempt political decision making
altogether. If human rights claims are considered to supercede
deliberations about policy, they preclude the give and take of
democratic decision making which results in compromise; thus these
claims themselves are removed from public deliberation. In addition, a
limitless proliferation of human rights and a preoccupation with issues
regarding them may lead to the exclusion of consideration of important
public policy issues because human rights discourse dominates the
public agenda. Finally, when the answers to public policy issues are
presented as predetermined by human rights arguments, they eliminate
the possibility of democratic choice and delegitimize the very process
of public deliberation.

- **Distrust of politics.** The proliferation of human rights may arise from a
deep-seated distrust of politics itself where institutions of government
cannot be trusted to look to the welfare and interests of the people. By
putting a large number of decisions beyond the reach of debate—
whether by institutions, majorities, or individuals—the protection of
rights is mandated and insulated from the political process. The
problem is that this may leave little room for democratic decision
making or delegitimize democratic choices that are inconsistent with
the instrumental elaborations of human rights.

- **Unattainable expectations.** The proliferation of human rights may be
so extensive that people’s expectations are raised to an unattainable
level. It may become impossible for government or other institutions to
fulfill them all (because of such factors as time, resources, or
competing priorities.) In these circumstances the competence of
government is called into question and there may be a generalized
popular sense of resentment at promises unfulfilled, an erosion of
confidence in government, and a feeling that politics is meaningless.

6. **Determining the compatibility of human rights with democracy.** Because
human rights can be conceived as both compatible and incompatible with
democracy, citizens must be able to make judgments about approaches to human rights. Persistent questions include:

- Are some human rights more essential than others? Are some absolute and others not?
- Are human rights obligatory on nation states regardless of their agreement?
- Can human rights be compromised on behalf of compelling public needs or interests?
- Do some human rights preclude public debate about policies that might affect them?
- Is it wise to limit the number human rights to a few very general rights or to embrace a large number of specific rights?
- How do human rights become obligatory for democratic countries?
- What is the relationship between rights and obligations?
- What is the relationship between government’s obligation not to infringe upon human rights and a mandate to protect and promote them?
- Is it legitimate for a country or an international organization to enforce the protection of human rights in nations that appear to violate them? (CB want to keep here.)
- Is there a human right to a political order in which life is secure and liberty is protected?
- Is there a universal human right to democracy?

H. What are the essential characteristics of democracy? Based on the concept of democracy and its implications along with the attributes shared by individual- and community-centered theories, there are certain indicators that may be used to determine the degree to which a political system is democratic. In any democratic system, these indicators may be evident to a greater or lesser degree and some may be more salient than others. Additional indicators may be used to determine the degree to which a political system emphasizes liberal or non-liberal traits.

1. Democratic indices. In its way of life and institutions, democracy embodies certain fundamental values and principles. These include:

   a. Popular sovereignty: all legitimate power ultimately resides in the people and the consent of the people is necessary for powers of government to be just. Thus, authority flows upward from people to rulers, not downward from a deity or monarch to the people.

   b. The common good: the promotion of what is good for the polity as a whole and not the interests of a portion of the polity to the exclusion and at the expense of the rest of society.

   c. Constitutionalism: the empowerment and limitation of government by an enforceable written or unwritten constitution. Constitutionalism includes the
idea of the rule of law. Many constitutional governments respect the
principle that laws are void if they are in conflict with the constitution.

d. **Equality**: the right to be treated equally to every other person in society as
embodied in such rights as equal justice and the equality of individuals
under law notwithstanding their gender, ethnicity, race, religion.

e. **Majority rule/minority rights**: the right of the majority to rule, constrained
by the right of individuals in the minority to enjoy the same benefits and
share the same burdens as the majority; the majority must live by the same
laws as the minority. Nor may a majority strip a minority of its political
rights.

f. **Justice and fairness**: governmental decisions about burdens and benefits
should be based on impartial criteria, derived through procedures that
reflect “fair play,” or basic ideas of fairness

g. **Political rights for citizens**: the power of participation and control of
government embodied in certain political rights, for example, freedom of
speech and the press and the right to vote in open, free, fair, regular
elections.

h. **Independent judiciary and juries**: the judicial system (including juries)
makes decisions on an impartial basis in accordance with the law as the
supreme criterion of judgment. As such, the judicial system must operate
independently of any other agency of government, social organization, or
corrupting influence.

i. **Civilian control of the military** and police: the military and police should
be subject to the control of civilian authority and the military’s supreme
commander should be a civilian because military commanders are not
elected by the people and must therefore be under the control of those who
are.

j. **Supremacy of secular over religious authority**: purely secular law and
authority, which are subject to the consent of the people, take precedence in
secular matters over religious law and authority, which are not subject to
popular decision-making and revision.

k. **Education of the public**: A widespread system of common education
including schools and other avenues of instruction that prepare citizens to
exercise their rights and fulfill their responsibilities.

2. **Liberal indices**. Liberal types of democracy place paramount value on the
fundamental rights of the individual, and their institutions are designed to
achieve this goal. There are certain indicators that distinguish the liberal type of
democracy. Although these individual-centered indicators may exist in the non-
liberal type of democracy, to the extent that they predominate in a political
system, it may be characterized as liberal.

a. **Private rights for all individuals**: an emphasis on protecting an
autonomous sphere which, within reason, is none of the state’s business,
including freedom of religion, expression, and association for all
individuals.

b. **Honoring individuality**: an emphasis on the right to be different insofar as
one’s actions do not interfere with a similar and equal right of others, even
to the extent that this difference runs contrary to the values of the rest of
society, e.g., the right to alternative lifestyles.

c. Constitutionality extended: emphasis on the affirmative protection of
individual liberty through the guarantee of rights beyond the limitations on
the power of government inherent in constitutionalism itself. Also, there
must be institutions capable of securing these limitations (e.g., an
independent judiciary and/or ombudsman responsible for protecting the
rights of individuals).

d. Judicial protections: an emphasis on using the judicial system to enforce
the values inherent in the concept of limited government. Thus it will focus
not only on the democratic rights of the people to be represented in their
government, but also upon the individual rights of persons against
governmental intrusion. These rights of individuals may conflict with the
rights of the people to rule themselves through majorities, e.g., the right of
the community to set standards of behavior versus the right of individuals to
express themselves as they please.

e. Separation of state and religion: an emphasis on freedom of belief and
religious association and expression so that the political authority and
government are prohibited from prescribing or supporting a religious
orthodoxy.

f. Accommodation of individual differences: an emphasis on respecting the
legitimacy of individual differences and on responding to them
appropriately by making exceptions to general rules; e.g., accrediting
religious beliefs as a justification for differential treatment.

g. Market-based economy (economic rights/freedom): an emphasis on
providing for a large degree of non-governmental economic ownership,
market freedom, and decentralization of economic decision-making that
provides an economic basis for political and personal freedom and legal
protection for property rights of individuals.

3. Non-liberal indices. Non-liberal types of democracy place paramount value on
the fundamental rights of the community, and their institutions are designed to
achieve this goal. There are certain indicators that distinguish the non-liberal
type of democracy. Although these community-centered indicators may exist in
the liberal type of democracy, to the extent that they predominate in a political
system, it may be characterized as non-liberal.

a. Social solidarity: a sense of a common identity, cohesion, harmony, and
shared purpose among members of a community; the absence of
fundamental social conflicts; and widespread conformity and inclusiveness.

b. Public morality: an emphasis on adherence to pervasive social norms that
government inculcates and may enforce and which are extended to become
the standard for private virtue.

c. Economic equality and market regulation: an emphasis upon the
regulation of the market in order to achieve economic equality. This may be
extended to include government ownership of economic resources.

d. Protecting the commons: an emphasis on the necessity of preserving the
common inheritance of the physical environment, the earth and its
resources.
e. **Security of social well-being**: an emphasis on insuring public health and safety.

f. **Regulation of the private sphere for the benefit of the community as a whole**: an emphasis on directing or controlling individual behavior that may be seen as undermining the welfare of the public.

g. **Emphasis on civility and temperance**: an emphasis on moderating individual actions and attitudes to promote adherence to commonly accepted standards of civil behavior; and the avoidance of conspicuous and excessive acquisition and consumption.

h. **Constitutionalism extended to social welfare**: an emphasis on constitutional provisions that mandate the widespread enjoyment of entitlements such as employment, housing, health and retirement benefits, income security, education, and leisure.

i. **Perpetuation of tradition**: an emphasis on reverence for inherited values, institutions, and practices.
II. Who belongs and who governs in a democracy?

A. What is a political people?

B. What is a nation-state?

C. What is the status of the individual in various forms of political systems?

D. What is the role of the citizen in a democracy?

E. What are some competing ideas about the relationship between democratic values and standards for achieving citizenship?

F. What are the rights and responsibilities of citizens in a democracy?

G. What opportunities do individuals in a democracy have to take part in civic life and to influence government?

H. What are various dimensions or sets of relationships of democratic citizenship?

I. What kinds of loyalties should be accommodated in a democracy?
II. Who belongs and who governs in a democracy?

A state or polity requires a people separated and distinguished from the rest of humanity. It also requires the creation and organization of political power. Once power is organized, political institutions and offices must be established and people selected to serve in them.

The existence of a people and the organization of power raise the question of who belongs and who governs. In a democracy, the concept of citizenship links belonging and governing: the two are synonymous because in a democracy all citizens are equal members of the polity and have the right to hold office and to choose office holders. Moreover, they are the ultimate source of the authority of their government.

A. What is a political people?

1. A “people” refers to a body of individuals who have a sense of solidarity or identification with each other. This identification is based on common traits such as customs, beliefs, traditions, sense of kinship, language, and other aspects of culture.

   By separating and distinguishing themselves from others, whether geographically, linguistically, or culturally, collections of persons establish their “national identity” or “nationality.”

2. A body of persons becomes a political people, united by mutual obligations and public purposes (such as maintaining order and insuring its defense and prosperity), when it is bound by a system of common rule. When individuals share such mutual obligations and public purposes, they belong to a political people.

   A political people may be composed predominantly of a single people or nationality (e.g., Japan) or a number of peoples or nationalities, a “multinational” state (e.g., Russian Federation, former Soviet Union, Belgium, India, Nigeria) or “cosmopolitan” state (e.g., Australia or the United States).

B. What is a nation-state?

1. A political people organizes a state or polity in order to establish a common rule and conduct its public affairs.

   a. States may be composed of one or more peoples or nationalities.

   b. Through the state, a political people claims sovereignty over a defined territory and its inhabitants.

2. Nation-states differ in the foundational ideas upon which they are based. These ideas include

   a. ideology (secular or religious)

   b. common culture

   c. shared values and principles

   d. a sense of a shared future

3. A nation-state may be composed of a single nationality (or ethnic group) or it may be a multinational (multi-ethnic) or a cosmopolitan state.
a. A multinational state contains at least two population groups that identify themselves geographically and/or culturally as distinct. The identification and loyalty of these population groups are significantly oriented to themselves rather than to the nation-state as a whole.

b. A cosmopolitan state is composed of diverse population groups whose primary identification and allegiance is to the nation-state as a whole. These groups may retain their ethnic or other basis of identity or they may assimilate into a majority culture or a newly forged collective identity.

c. Tension between nationality and state. Issues arise within nation-states regarding multiple national or ethnic identifications within their borders, in cases where borders divide nationalities, or in cases where ethnic groups are dispersed or live in a diaspora. For example,

- some individuals or groups may not accept membership or common identity with the political people
- some groups may have characteristics that are considered so different that they cannot be assimilated

4. Status of the person. The person in a nation-state may be

a. included in or excluded from the political people
b. ranked within a hierarchy
c. considered one among equals

5. Legal status of citizenship. Citizenship in a nation state may be achieved through

a. birth
b. residence
c. ethnic origin (where persons of a specified ethnicity have a right to return as citizens to their country of origin)
d. naturalization (a process through those who are not natural-born citizens of a country may become citizens of that country)

C. What is the status of the individual in various forms of political systems?

1. The political status of the individual varies in different political systems. This variation arises from differing understandings of the value of the individual and/or differing understandings of the relationship between individuals and the larger community. For example, an individual may have the status of

a. Communal member, e.g., under familial, ethnic, religious, or tribal governance
b. Subject, e.g., under monarchical, theocratic, autocratic, or dictatorial rule
c. Citizen, e.g., under self-government in a republic and/or a democracy.

2. Different political systems are predicated on specific relationships of the person to the political system. Thus there is a substantive conception of “citizenship” that underlies the way in which a political system regards its members. This
understanding of citizenship goes well beyond the legal status of a person entitled to be issued official documentation, e.g., a passport. The nature of a political system is revealed by the unstated assumptions and the expectations it holds in regard to the character of its constituents, their worth, and their behavior. The following dichotomies provide a basis for portraying the status of the person in different political systems:

a. passive v. active  
b. subservient v. autonomous  
c. dependent v. independent  
d. powerless v. empowered  
e. child v. adult (or paternalistic v. nonpaternalistic)  
f. persons as usable/disposable objects v. persons as having intrinsic value  
g. persons as the means for attaining governmental ends v. persons as the ends for which government is established

3. The individual’s status in relationship to government may be one in which the individual has

a. duties or obligations arising from such sources as imposition, custom, agreement, or moral requirements to sustain the welfare of the community  
b. inherent rights (sometimes called “natural” or “human rights”) that precede and are independent of the existence of government  
c. only those rights that are derived from membership in the political community. These defined rights do not precede government and they depend upon the decisions of the political system.

4. In democratic systems, it is generally believed that participating in the political process by exercising the rights of citizenship signifies consent to the system of governance and creates an obligation to the political system.

D. **What is the role of the citizen in a democracy?** The public life of a democracy is centered in the citizen. Citizenship may be conceived as an office of government, like any other, possessing its own rights and responsibilities. Under the principle of popular sovereignty, citizens collectively occupy the supreme office of democracy and hold its ultimate authority. This ultimate authority includes not only final decision-making power over who holds political office, but also the power to make and reconsider constitutions.

To be a citizen is to be a full and equal member of the body politic or sovereign people. An essential idea of democracy is that there are no classes of citizenship, no “second class” citizens.

Citizenship in a democracy is more than a legal status, it is a character or spirit, an ethos that guides relationships among persons and animates individual commitment to fundamental principles of democracy. Citizenship may also be seen as an “office,” more fundamental than any other in a democratic political system. This office carries with it a set of affirmative expectations including the duty to act on behalf of the whole.
E. What are some competing ideas about the relationship between democratic values and standards for achieving citizenship? There are differing views about who should decide standards of citizenship and what standards for citizenship are compatible with democratic values and principles. For example:

1. **Standards.** Alternative positions on criteria for citizenship compatible with democratic values and principles include the following.

   a. Because the body politic belongs collectively to the sovereign people, the people may adopt any standards they wish for admission to citizenship.

   b. Some standards for citizenship are incompatible with certain interpretations of democratic values and principles, e.g.,
      - arbitrary exclusions based solely on highly visible characteristics such as race, religion, or language
      - inclusion or exclusion of selected population groups in order to shift the balance of power

2. **Appropriate decision-makers.** There are alternative positions about who should decide standards of citizenship. These positions reflect different and possibly conflicting interpretations of democratic principles.

   a. The people should decide directly as they decide upon provisions of their constitution.

   b. Institutions of government should decide through legislative, administrative, or judicial action.

   c. International conventions and actions by international agencies through the establishment of norms should be followed.

F. What are the rights and responsibilities of citizens in a democracy? The rights and responsibilities of citizens in a democracy differ from those of other regimes.

1. **The rights of citizens of a democracy.** Some rights are essential to the functioning of any democracy. Others are distinctive to liberal democracy.

   a. **Rights of all citizens of a democracy.** The principal rights of citizens of all democracies are those that allow them to participate in the political process. For example, they must have the right to vote in free, fair, regular elections; to examine the conduct of public officials; to hold office; to equal membership in the body politic; to petition; and to exercise freedom of political speech, press, political association, and assembly; and a right to an education that prepares them to participate in the democratic process.

   b. **Additional rights of citizens of liberal democracies.** In addition to the rights of all citizens of a democracy, citizens of liberal democracies enjoy rights that extend beyond participatory rights. These include rights of privacy and property; freedom of religion, expression (literary, artistic, and similar freedoms in a private realm), and of private association; the right of due process of law and fair procedures, the right to serve on juries; and other civil liberties.

2. **The responsibilities of citizens of a democracy.** Some responsibilities are essential to the functioning of any democracy. Others are distinctive to liberal democracy.
a. **Responsibilities of all citizens of a democracy.** Citizenship in a democracy entails responsibilities in the exercise of the powers of citizenship. Among these responsibilities is that the powers of citizenship be used in ways that are consistent with fundamental democratic principles.

In a democracy, citizens “own” the political system. Therefore, they ought to fulfill the responsibilities of that ownership, e.g., using their political system wisely and passing it on intact to future generations.

b. **Additional responsibilities of citizens of liberal democracies.** Because of the importance of individual rights in a liberal democracy, some people claim that the most significant additional responsibilities are to preserve one’s rights, protect the rights of others, and to secure these rights for future generations.

3. **Ideas about the relationship between rights and responsibilities.** The relationship between rights and responsibilities is often complex and it differs in different types of situations. For example:

a. **Rights and responsibilities as inherently reciprocal.** With certain exceptions, rights and responsibilities are two sides of a coin. The enjoyment of rights obligates the holder of the rights to fulfill corresponding responsibilities.

The existence of certain rights entails an obligation on the part of other persons or the community to refrain from interfering with those rights and/or to provide the rights holder the capacity to exercise those rights.

b. **Political obligations as based upon consent.** By claiming or exercising rights in a political system one expresses consent to fulfill responsibilities related to the use of those rights or a duty to sustain the system that supports them.

c. **Rights and responsibilities as independently justified.** Rights are not contingent upon an exchange in which one simultaneously gains responsibilities. Rather, the validity of rights is independently based. Responsibilities essential to the functioning of a democratic system are inherently obligatory to citizens.

4. **Comparing rights and responsibilities of citizens and resident noncitizens in democracies.** Resident noncitizens (“aliens”) do not have all the rights and responsibilities of citizens, because they are not considered to be members of the sovereign people who govern the body politic.

a. **Rights.** Democracies may differ in respect to whether they accord certain rights to noncitizens. For example, resident aliens

• usually do not have the right to vote. There may be instances, however, in which democracies allow noncitizens to vote in specific elections.
Noncitizens may also be allowed to participate in the political process by other means such as by petitioning or taking part in political campaigns.

• may not have the right to receive public benefits, e.g., attend public schools; receive income support or health services.

b. **Responsibilities.** Like citizens, noncitizen residents of democracies must obey the law, respect the rights of others, and adhere to similar norms.
However, they do not have all of the civic responsibilities of citizens, e.g., voting, serving on juries or in the armed forces. Democracies sometimes differ in the degree to which resident noncitizens are exempted from these responsibilities. In some cases, noncitizen residents have been subject to involuntary military service.

5. **Comparing the political rights of democratic citizens and members of other governmental systems.**

   a. In a democracy, the citizens are said to govern. Therefore, democratic citizenship must incorporate the rights that enable the citizenry to govern itself. These include the rights to choose and/or hold accountable those who make and apply law, as well as the right to oversee the creation, implementation, and adjudication of law.

   b. In nondemocratic political systems, those in power can determine the extent to which persons have a right to participate in government. They also have the power to override the will of the people.

G. What opportunities do individuals in a democracy have to take part in civic life and to influence government?

1. **Avenues or arenas for citizens to participate in civic life and influence government.** Democracies provide a wide range of means by which citizens can participate in civic life and attempt to influence the actions of government at local, regional, and national levels. These include:

   a. **formal political action**, such as voting in elections, petitioning government officials, and seeking and holding public office

   b. **informal political action**, such as face-to-face citizen meetings with public officials; pamphleteering; letters to newspapers; e-mail, fax, telephone campaigns; marches; and protests

   c. **associational activity**, such as participation through organizations like interest or pressure groups, political parties, social movements, trade unions and religious organizations

2. **Avenues or arenas available for citizens to participate in civic life.** The term “civic life” refers to the participation of citizens both in politics narrowly conceived and in the broader realm of civil society. Thus in addition to influencing government, democratic citizens can in other ways act directly on their own within civil society to address community problems. Opportunities may be available within civil society through established associations or by the creation of new associations. Such associations may be informal groups and networks or formal organizations.

H. **What are various relationships of democratic citizenship?** A simple portrayal of citizenship characterized exclusively by the relationship between the person and the government is insufficient for a full understanding of democracy. In fact, democratic citizenship consists of multiple relationships that reinforce the connection between the individual and the community. Citizens’ awareness of these relationships can enhance their sense of belonging and their capacity to rule.

1. A citizen’s relationship to **him- or herself**, e.g., self-confidence, self-reliance, and self-discipline—the belief of individual citizens in their capacity to make
discriminating judgments relevant to their lives as individuals; and a feeling of empowerment—belief in one’s capacity to have an impact on civic life.

2. A citizen’s relationship to other citizens, e.g., civility and tolerance, respect for the rights of others, fulfillment of responsibilities, mutual deliberation, trust and cooperation, reasoned skepticism and wariness, holding each other accountable, competitiveness; sense of conviction and the confidence to express it, and reciprocity in giving reasons and expecting others to give reasons for the way he or she seeks to direct the use of public power.

3. A citizen’s relationship to the immediate community, e.g., consciousness of community membership, attentiveness to community affairs, consciousness of importance of participation, involvement in community affairs, promotion of social development.

4. A citizen’s relationship to governmental institutions, e.g., various forms of political participation, monitoring and influencing use of governmental authority, assessing performance of government, evaluating proposals for institutional reform, expressing opposition to the unconstitutional exercise of government power, achieving a sense of influence and of efficacy.

5. A citizen’s relationship to the political system, e.g., patriotism or a sentiment of positive attachment to the country, loyalty to fundamental constitutional values and principles, action to improve effectiveness of democratic institutions, attentiveness to public affairs, social trust and truth telling, capacity to withdraw consent from constitutional arrangements.

6. A citizen’s relationship to the sovereign people, e.g., an individual’s consciousness of membership in the body politic, contribution to the society, having a stake in sovereignty; civic pride; the right to leave or renounce citizenship; common attachments to other citizens, such as shared values and principles of government; common experience; common attachment to shared history, institutions, and way of life; and solidarity with the people as a whole.

7. A citizen’s relationship to the world, e.g., observance of human rights, capacity for global understanding, membership in international organizations, concern for the well-being of the earth.

1. What kinds of allegiances and loyalties should be accommodated in a democracy? All democracies must accommodate multiple loyalties. At the least, this accommodation must include acceptance of different political parties and political points of view. A multiplicity of political loyalties counteracts or prevents sterile social conformism and stimulates creativity and innovation. Controversy arising from tensions among these loyalties and the ideas they generate injects vitality into democracy. If such loyalties were not permitted, society would cease to be free.

Liberal democracy goes further in accommodating a wide range of allegiances and loyalties in a private realm. It not only accommodates diversity because of the positive consequences of diversity; liberal democracy respects the rights of the individual preceding the state that inevitably lead to diversity. Thus liberal democracy accommodates a wide range of public and private allegiances and loyalties. In this context, certain loyalties incompatible with democracy itself may, within limits, need to be protected.

1. Loyalties conducive to democratic vitality. The advantages of certain loyalties that make them conducive to democratic vitality include the following:
a. Membership in numerous groups provides the individual a wide range of social experience and the opportunity to make choices among competing loyalties.

b. Membership in groups such as religious, professional, or philanthropic groups, enhances the liberty of individuals to choose the kind of life they wish to lead.

c. A variety of attachments by individual citizens lessens the hold of each loyalty and reduces the likelihood of excessive or fanatical attachments that imprison the individual.

d. A large number of independent associations/organizations reduces the possibility that any one of them may have excessive or dominating power or influence in society.

2. **Conflicting loyalties that can be accommodated in a democracy.** Loyalty to individuals, groups, and causes sometimes comes into conflict with loyalty to the democratic polity. Such loyalties can be accommodated if they do not attempt to overthrow democracy and if they allow other individuals their own loyalties.

   a. Some religious beliefs conflict with loyalty to the state and its requirements of citizen allegiance. In some cases, religious beliefs are incompatible with military service. Such loyalties must often, however, be accommodated by democracy and especially by liberal democracy.

   b. There are alternative views about whether the concept of democracy is compatible with a demand by a political order for the “ultimate” loyalty of its citizens which supersedes all other commitments. It is clear that the liberal type of democracy would disallow such a demand. Other views include

   - the concept of democracy is not in itself incompatible with the demand for the ultimate loyalty of citizens because the authority of the people to make decisions and protect their state is absolute.

   - the concept of democracy is incompatible with a demand for the ultimate loyalty of citizens because the democratic rule of the people is inherently limited and a diversity of fundamental commitments protects the vitality of the democratic process.

   This incompatibility is especially evident in liberal democracy where the state is inherently limited in what it may demand of the citizen. For example, liberal democracy’s respect for freedom of conscience and freedom of belief is incompatible with a demand for ultimate loyalty. Moral and religious principles may provide a kind of “higher authority” than the authority of the state. Thus, no one in a liberal democracy may be required to submit to a religious test for citizenship. Citizens are free to accept or reject whatever religious, moral, or philosophical principles, concepts or creeds they wish, provided they do not interfere with the rights and liberties of fellow citizens.

3. **Loyalties incompatible with democracy.** The concept of democracy does not require allowing every form of loyalty.

   a. Democracies may refuse to tolerate groups that act against fundamental democratic principles or act to eliminate the rights of others.
b. Multiple loyalties at the level of attachment to the nation-state itself (e.g., dual citizenship) may be incompatible with principles of democratic self-governance because individuals with such divided loyalties may not be equally committed to the interests of both of the communities.

c. Any political system that is predicated on the rule of the people would not have an obligation to tolerate its violent overthrow. Therefore, it is not obligated to tolerate violent or unconstitutional actions intended to undermine or replace its system of government.
III. Why choose democracy?

A. What are some justifications of democracy?

B. What purposes and values are best served by democracy?

C. What are arguments against democracy?

D. Under what conditions might it be reasonable to suspend elements of a democratic system or to choose a political system other than a democracy?
III. Why choose democracy?

A choice is only a free choice if it is made in the knowledge of what is being chosen and what considerations might lead to the choice of alternatives. Thus in deciding whether or not to choose democracy individuals should be aware of both its benefits and its weaknesses, of arguments against as well as for it, and of circumstances where it cannot reasonably be expected to work effectively.

A. What arguments justify democracy? To justify a choice is to defend it as well-founded. A justification sets forth the reasons for a choice, position, or judgment. A choice on behalf of democracy may be grounded on its “intrinsic” and/or “instrumental” merits.

1. Intrinsic justifications for democracy. “Intrinsic” justifications deal with the qualities and outcomes of democracy that are inherent in the concept and good in themselves. For example, it may be argued that democracy best provides for:

   a. Self-realization of the individual. Human beings can best pursue the fulfillment of their potential in a society where the capacity for self-determination is fostered.

   b. Self-determination of a people. The people have a right to govern themselves, and they are also the best judges and guardians of their interests.

   c. Collective wisdom. The people are qualified to govern themselves because they collectively have more wisdom than an elite, e.g., a social aristocracy or small group of experts.

   d. Popular capability and trustworthiness. The people themselves are most capable of defining their common interests and they are the most trustworthy depository of the powers for the protection of their interests.

   e. Equality. Each person is born politically equal in that there is no intrinsic or inherited right to command others or obligation to obey others. Therefore each person has a right to an equal share in governance.

2. Instrumental justifications for democracy. “Instrumental” justifications set forth the importance of democracy as a means or instrument for the achievement of desirable ends or outcomes. For example, it may be argued that democracy best provides for:

   a. Liberty. Liberty is more likely to be protected in a system of popular self-government because the people are less likely to promote or tolerate encroachments on their own freedoms. Liberty will be more secure when power is checked by means such as free elections.

   b. Justice. Human beings have a natural sense of fairness and a desire to be treated fairly. Participation in self-government may enlighten and extend their inherent capacity to identify and understand issues of fairness and thereby promote their commitment to its realization.

   Distributive justice, for example, is more likely to be served where power is diffused and shared because there is a public process of give and take in which interests are moderated and balanced.
c. **Rights.** Rights are more secure in a democracy than in other systems because they constitute its foundation; to undermine them is to undermine democracy itself. Therefore democracies must provide means of protecting fundamental rights and of redressing their violation. Because of the emphasis upon the transparency of the workings of governmental institutions, the opportunities for citizens to monitor and influence decisions that may affect their rights are maximized.

d. **Accountability.** In a democracy, all power is derived from the people who delegate authority. Officials therefore are held accountable for using their authority on behalf of the well-being of the people. Democracy is designed to ensure that government serves the interests of the governed.

e. **Intellectual development and self-respect.** The necessity for citizens to understand, reflect upon, and deliberate about public affairs stimulates and extends the intellectual development and enhances self-respect of the individual.

f. **Respect for the individual.** By entrusting citizens with the powers of political decision-making, democracy regards them as capable of mature judgment and choice and confirms respect for the individual.

g. **Personal responsibility.** The fact that political involvement requires the citizen to act, not just to deliberate, cultivates and affirms personal responsibility. Having the power to act places one in the position of being held accountable for one’s actions.

h. **Peaceful change.** Since the ultimate source of political power remains with the people, those in positions of authority serve only with the people’s approval. The withdrawal of their mandate to govern through the electoral process makes for peaceful change and eliminates the need for revolution.

i. **Orderly accommodation of conflict.** Liberty generates conflict of interests and ideas, and democracy derives energy from this conflict. Democracy cannot be preserved if this conflict is suppressed. Rather, democracy channels conflict into non-destructive avenues to take advantage of its productive potential and to avoid its damaging tendencies. Channeling conflict into the confines of accepted institutions provides for orderly change and stability.

j. **Self-reformation.** The complexity of governmental and social structures in modern democracies provides for alternative centers of expertise, influence, and power that can modulate each other and counter extremism, irrationality, and partiality. Because democracy emphasizes self-awareness about the practice and performance of government through open discussion, association, and advocacy, it is capable of correcting distortions that arise from irrational and partial social components. It may do so when the people, in their own political judgments, acknowledge the wisdom of thoughtful advocates and public-spirited institutions.

k. **Legitimacy.** In principle all citizens in a democracy are consulted in matters of public policy through the political process, especially the electoral process. Since all are consulted, democracy stands a greater chance of being considered legitimate than do political systems which habitually consult only a portion (in many instances a small fraction) of the citizenry.

l. **Innovation and commitment to progress.** Because democracy is committed to self-criticism, there is ongoing debate about how to refine and
improve the political system and its policies. The resulting conflict of ideas
and interests may prompt innovative and responsive solutions to public
problems.

m. **Choice.** Democracy encourages different points of view to be expressed and
different interests to be advocated, thereby providing alternatives and
increasing the range of choice.

n. **Independence.** Citizens in a democracy are aware that they are free to think
as they please and are confronted with a wide range of competing political
views. They are also aware that all citizens in a democracy are political
equals and that there are no subordinate political classes or castes. They are
thus more likely to form and voice independent political views than those
living under political systems where subordination of those deemed to be
inferior encourages deference.

o. **Stability.** A system of government based upon the entire body of citizens,
many of whom are actively involved in forming and judging public policy,
is more likely to be supported by those citizens than a society in which they
have little or no voice. It will accordingly be more likely to achieve stability
than alternatives that are based on more narrow segments of society.

p. **Quality of life.** In a democracy the people are best suited to determining
society’s interests and goals regarding their needs and their quality of life.
Therefore, the decisions the people make for themselves are more likely to be
accepted as a means of attaining desired ends.

B. **What purposes and values are best served by democracy?** Democracies promote
many of the same purposes as many other kinds of government. Some of these
purposes, however, may be more cherished and given a higher priority in
democracies. Other purposes are distinctive to democracy; and additional purposes
are unique to liberal democracy.

1. **Purposes and values of democracies in common with most kinds of
government.** Democracies have a number of purposes and values in common
with other kinds of government. One argument for democracy is that it more
fully achieves some basic purposes and values than other kinds of political
systems. For example:

a. **Protection of life.** First among the purposes of most governments is
protection of the lives of all those under it. Any politically organized society
must provide for security and peacekeeping. Historical evidence indicates
democratic governments typically cherish life more than other forms of
government do.

b. **Territorial integrity.** Allied to the protection of life is the purpose of
protecting the safety and integrity of the territory of a country and its
political system from external threat. It is not clear that democracies protect
their territories better than other systems, but they may secure their territory
through more humane means than competing political systems do.

c. **Justice and the common good.** In common with other legitimate forms of
government, democracies must provide for justice and promote the common
good. Widespread participation and the need for government to account for
its actions on behalf of the common welfare increase the probability that
justice and the common good will be served better in democracies than in
competing political systems.
2. **Purposes and values distinctive to democracies.** Not only might democracies serve some common purposes and values better than other forms of government, certain purposes and values are distinctive to democracies. For example:

   a. **Protection of rights and liberties.** Democratic political systems place a priority on protecting equal rights and liberties of citizens.

   b. **Widespread dispersal of decision-making.** Democracy promotes widespread participation in the making of decisions regarding public affairs. The greater the number of people involved in this process, the greater the likelihood that those decisions will be well-considered.

   c. **Free flow of information.** Because information about public matters is essential for informed and effective political participation in civic life, democracies vigorously protect the generation, exchange, and expression of political information and ideas.

   d. **Transparency.** The right of the people to assess the performance of their government requires that the activities and decisions related to the people’s business be open to public scrutiny.

   e. **Prevention of abuse or misuse of power.** Because the people retain the ultimate power in a democracy, institutional means must be provided for insuring that those exercising delegated powers do not exceed or abuse them.

   f. **Dynamism.** Innovation and creativity arise from such characteristics of modern democracy as the competition of ideas and interests, the dispersal of decision-making, a tendency not to take things for granted, and a belief in the possibility of change and improvement.

3. **Attributes characteristic of liberal democracies.** Liberal democracies emphasis purposes and values which give them their distinguishing characteristics. These include:

   a. **Commitment to the worth and dignity of each individual.** Because liberal democracy is founded on the individual, it must respect the worth and dignity of each person. Thus individual differences are often seen as good in themselves and mutual toleration is valued highly.

   b. **Protection of individual rights.** Because of the primacy of the individual, liberal democracies must protect a wide range of individual rights as fundamental to individual liberty. Such rights include freedom of conscience, freedom of religion, freedom of expression, the right to property, and a private sphere which, in the absence of compelling overriding reasons, is none of the state’s business.

   c. **Development of the individual’s potential.** Liberal democracy is concerned with providing the conditions conducive to the full flowering of the individual’s potential, including full development of individual faculties and talents. Rewarding industriousness according to personal merit is a priority of the society’s understanding of justice.

   d. **Civil society.** Civil society consists of individuals and their voluntary associations that are self-organized and self-governing within the legal
framework of the state. The extent of freedom and the recognition of a private sphere in a liberal democracy results in a more developed and extensive civil society than in other systems. In addition, liberal democracy depends upon the existence of a non-governmental sphere as a principal site for the exercise of individual rights and a location for the achievement of the common good.

e. Market-based economy. Political liberty is enhanced by a market-based economy where economic decision-making is decentralized. Individual liberty is sustained by the capacity to initiate economic enterprise and to be rewarded for success or penalized for failure. Market-based economies tend to promote diversity and pluralism beyond the economic sphere. They disperse economic resources and decision-making. Moreover, the diversity and pluralism thus created enrich both civil society and the political process.

f. Tension between individual rights and the common good. Individual rights and the common good are both primary values in a liberal democracy. There is, however, an inherent tension between individuality and common good. This tension may produce conflict, but even in dealing with the conflict the tension cannot be destroyed without undermining the fundamental values of liberal democracy.

Attentiveness to both individual rights and the common good is necessary to the preservation of liberal democracy. Individual rights without attention to the common good can lead to anarchy. Attention to the common good to the exclusion of individual rights destroys individual liberty. These values must be continuously balanced while avoiding a fixed resolution that would endanger individual rights or jeopardize the common good.

g. The open society. The idea of the “open society” as summation of liberal society’s attributes includes such features as freedom of expression; freedom of movement, including freedom for citizens to travel abroad and return unimpeded and for foreigners to visit; freedom of political and civil association and for the full expression of “civil society”; possibility of change based on rational criticism, including openness to free scientific research and discussion; the rule of law; and widespread possibility for upward social mobility based on merit.

4. Attributes characteristic of non-liberal democracies. Non-liberal democracies emphasize purposes and values that give them their distinguishing characteristics. These include:

a. Stability. Throughout history there has been a tendency for societies and their governments to become estranged from one another because they diverge in their goals, interests, and modes of behavior. Since non-liberal democracy extols cohesion, harmony, and shared purposes among members of a community, when this community controls its government democratically, it tends to promote stability in the relationship between society and its government. Therefore, the people will see an enduring and organic fit between themselves and their political system that leads to a resistance to fundamental change.

b. Sense of social place. Members of a community-oriented political system tend to develop a feeling of being connected to the whole of their society across time and space. Because of the reverence for inherited values, institutions, and practices, a society will foster a sense of continuity,
predictability, and reliability by instilling in its members a feeling that they belong to something larger than themselves.

c. **Rootedness.** From the perspective of a non-liberal democracy, the person is not seen as a modular unit to be picked up and moved about in the interests of expediency, especially economic expediency. An importance is placed upon being “at home” in the geographic and cultural environment of one’s origins. This sense of “rootedness” enhances security and a sense of well-being on the part of citizens.

d. **Veneration and preservation of the homeland.** The people feel a deep attachment to their land and an identification with it. There is a sense that the people and the land are destined for and belong to each other. They feel a strong commitment to protecting and caring for their homeland.

e. **Mutuality.** A strong sense of community strengthens ties of moral obligation of members of the community to one another.

f. **Promotion of an egalitarian society.** Because extreme disparities of social and economic condition tend to disrupt the harmony of a community, non-liberal democracies are more concerned with promoting egalitarianism. Homogeneity among members of the community may be viewed as an important condition for the achievement of social unity.

g. **Moral character.** Instilling a rigorous public and private morality is seen by non-liberal democracies as essential to the welfare of the community. In fact, there is little or no distinction to be made between public and private character. The people can only have a government that is as good as themselves. Therefore, the stability and welfare of the community depend upon a public morality that is suffused throughout the society. Moreover, public officials are seen as bearing a special responsibility. They can be entrusted with power only to the extent that their character exemplifies the values of this public morality.

h. **Accentuating consensus.** Although conflict is inherent in any society, non-liberal democracy tends to mute conflict rather than thriving on and institutionalizing it. The community is understood as having an interest of its own, sometimes even independently of its individual members. Therefore, there is a need for members to develop a consensus upon the interest of the community in contrast to promoting their own individual interests and then compromising the differences.

C. **What arguments oppose democracy?** A long-standing intellectual legacy, historical experience, and continuing problems of contemporary democracies have produced noteworthy arguments against democracy. To the extent that these arguments are valid criticisms of democracy, they may indicate potential “pathologies” that democracies must face in order to maintain and improve themselves. In fact, recognition of these potential pathologies of democracy and the desire to avoid them or mitigate their effects have often guided the conscious design of democratic institutions. Criticisms of democracy include:
1. **Democracy produces a tyranny of the lower classes.** In the classical conception, democracy is a form of government that gives authority to the “people” or demos. But the demos was understood to be the large population of the poor in a society. Thus “democracy” was thought to result inevitably in mob rule because the poor, who were childlike and uneducated, were subject to the tyranny of their emotions and therefore easily manipulated by demagogues*. Without the inclusion of other more “reasonable” classes in governance as a counterbalance to the irrationality of the demos, “democracy” threatened to project this tyranny of the emotions on the public domain. In addition, because of the partiality of the lower classes, democracy was considered to be a “perverted” form of government because it allowed one segment of the population to rule the whole society in its own interest as opposed to the common good.

A residue of this thought persists. In the modern context, because democracy relies on majority rule and the largest numbers of voters may be found in the lower classes or a dominant nationalistic group, this form of government may produce policies that serve the exclusive interests of these classes or national groups to the detriment of other segments of society and to the common good. Moreover, because mass media can influence the people by clever appeals to popular emotion or by other kinds of manipulation, democracy is vulnerable to irrationality projected onto the public domain.

Because the people may desire a sense of certainty and security, leaders may increase their own power by exploiting their susceptibility to paternalistic promises to take care of them. Without the moderating and constraining influence of the rational and educated elements of society in public affairs, democracy may become a monstrosity with great power and little judgment. In such circumstances, given the capacity of technology for destructiveness and communications media for manipulation, democracy is a dangerous form of government.

2. **Democracy obscures the exercise of real power.** Even when democratic institutions appear to be functioning well, the real power relationships in a society can operate independently and out of public view. In fact, by diverting public attention away from the real centers of power, democratic processes may serve primarily to obscure and justify these latent powers which exist in any society whatever its form of government. Democracy, however, obscures the real exercises of power more effectively than other forms of government because other forms of government do not claim to be transparent and to allocate decision making power to the people. Precisely because democracy defines itself as a system based on public control and public accountability, the people are deluded into thinking they are determining policies of central concern when, in fact, decisions on the most important matters are made in centers of power beyond their control or the control of their government.

So-called democratic government constitutes an elaborate charade. In modern democracies, independent centers of economic power and social influence carry out the most consequential work of governance. This understanding of the underlying or essential function of democracy may allow governmental institutions only a trivial range of choices among options that have been predetermined by the real centers of power. Or it may allow government only a role of implementation for decisions made elsewhere.
3. **Democracy denies or defies human nature.** Democracy is based on an unrealistic view of human nature. Persons are not equal in their physical or intellectual capacities. They may not be equal even in their political capacities. Democracy does not sufficiently acknowledge the consequences of this inequality in the design of its political processes. Thus, democracy may deny or suppress natural individual talent including those people most capable of political leadership. It may also overestimate the capacity of some individuals.

Moreover, a realistic view of human beings must acknowledge that many people are more interested in and preoccupied by their own private needs and interests than in devoting their time and energy to promoting the common good.

Another view is that it is natural for some people to want a beneficent parental figure to take care of them rather than to face the uncertainties and risks of freedom and caring for themselves.

4. **Democracy threatens order.** The people are a potentially turbulent and unreliable force with the capacity to be unpredictable, fickle, unaccountable, and susceptible to their passions and prejudices. This potential for disorder may make reliance on the people as the ultimate source of political authority and on their participation in decision-making a threat to social and political stability.

5. **Democracy undermines tradition.** By being preoccupied with the present, the people in a democracy may fail to take into account or deny the accumulated wisdom of the past. With the possibility of radical social change, democracy may renounce tradition and reject the continuity upon which an enduring civilization rests.

6. **Democracy destabilizes authority.** By distrusting persons in authority and refusing deference to them, and by constantly scrutinizing and challenging settled arrangements, the people may undermine regularity, certainty, leadership, and decisiveness. By debating moral positions and avoiding final determination of what is right, democracy also undermines certitude and the authority of moral absolutes.

7. **Democracy endangers justice.** Democracies, especially liberal democracies, place a high value on the individual and individual rights. This is often coupled with an erroneous presumption that individuals have equal capacities to exercise and protect their rights and interests.

Democracy’s emphasis on rights, particularly property rights, and a lack of adequate regulation of the exercise of these rights can lead to an inequitable distribution of power and resources. Democracy may not provide a disinterested protector of the rights of victims of inequitable or unjust treatment or circumstances.

8. **Democracy erodes competence.** The emphasis on egalitarianism and exaltation of the “common man” leads to a denial of the value of expertise. A belief that everyone is essentially equal to everyone else results in the view that everyone has the same capacity for sound political judgment. Individuals are more likely to “follow the herd,” trust sentiment rather than reason, be diverted by trivial matters, subject to charismatic manipulation, and incapable of acting upon knowledge and fundamental principles. These tendencies deny the value of an elite of virtue, merit, or expertise.

9. **Democracy impedes efficiency.** Democracy’s inclusion of a wide range of constituencies and institutions delays decision-making or may block it entirely.
In an age of complex problems requiring timely responses, the cumbersomeness of democracy may lead to inefficiency or to default on its obligations.

10. **Democracy is too costly.** The economic and social resources required to establish and maintain democratic institutions may be so high that it leads to inadequate resources available for fundamental human needs for significant segments of the society. On the other hand, if a predominance of resources is dedicated to subsistence, then resources for economic and political infrastructure are not available thus maintaining a cycle of poverty and autocratic rule.

11. **Democracy undervalues merit.** A simplistic understanding of equality in a democracy may make it synonymous with sameness, requiring the elimination of any kind of ranking. The emphasis on this idea of equality leads to a “leveling” or “dumbing down” of standards to a common denominator. In its extreme form, this way of thinking leads to lowered expectations, ridicule of excellence, anti-intellectualism, celebration of mediocrity, and avoidance of standing out in order to be accepted as one of the group. Thus, merit is undervalued.

12. **Democracy jeopardizes liberty.** Liberty may be threatened by the force of public opinion, an overemphasis on equality, the tyranny of a majority, or dominance by powerful minorities.

   a. **Public opinion.** The importance of public opinion as the basis of political decisions in democracy may result in a tyranny of opinion so dominant that individuals are incapable of thinking independently and thereby of exercising their liberty.

   b. **Majority rule.** When political majorities look only to their own interests, they can deprive individuals and minorities of their rights. By contrast, the extent of the freedom allowed in some democracies to factional minorities (those devoted solely to their own interests) can place them in a position where their intense and selective preoccupation with their own values and interests enables them to deny the will of the majority.

   c. **Equality.** If equality is understood as “sameness,” it may deny the significance of individuality and promote conformism at the expense of liberty and creativity.

   d. **Dehumanization.** The view of “the people” as being composed of indistinguishable units may lead to treating the people as nothing more than a homogeneous mass. The effect is not only loss of the individuality of the person, but also treating “the people” as having an interest and value totally separate from the individuals who compose it. This denigrates individuality and converts “the people” into an assemblage with a mob mentality that threatens the liberty of the individual.

13. **Democracy stifles creativity.** Mass culture associated with democracy channels tastes and production into commonly accepted formulas and patterns. Deviation from the norm is discouraged.

14. **Democracy inhibits innovation.**

   a. Democracy’s emphasis on utilitarian or pragmatic values limits innovation, seeking an immediate and measurable payoff for human endeavor.
b. The belief that democracy is the final stage in political development
generates self-satisfaction that discourages political creativity and the
imagination of alternatives or a consideration of democracy’s flaws.

D. Under what conditions might it be reasonable to suspend elements of a
democratic system or to choose a political system other than a democracy?

However desirable democracy’s virtues may be, there may be circumstances in
which people may think the choice of democracy would not be wise. They might
calculate that it is desirable to tolerate nondemocratic institutions or practices, or to
make allowances for nondemocratic features within democratic institutions. There
may also be reasons to suspend democracy or to delay its establishment.
1. **Reasons for tolerating nondemocratic institutions within a democracy.**

   a. Institutions essential for securing the safety and territorial integrity of the state, such as an army, militia, or police might not be effective if they are democratically administered.

   b. Institutions essential for maintaining the economic health and viability of the economy, such as central banks removed from the direct influence of politics, might not be able to perform their functions if run democratically.

   c. In order to ensure its impartiality, the judiciary may need to be insulated from public opinion and the political process.

   d. Religious institutions may be ruled hierarchically in order to maintain their doctrinal certainty and organizational strength.

   e. A respect for liberty, social diversity, and, in liberal democracies, the private sphere may require democracy to tolerate non-democratic organizations within civil society, but not necessarily anti-democratic organizations bent on destroying democracy.

2. **Reasons for allowing non-democratic features within democratic institutions.**

   a. Organizations whose service depends upon expertise such as hospitals, schools, or universities, while they may be accountable to the community, may be organized on a hierarchical or non-participatory basis.

   b. Organizations whose success depends upon efficiency such as certain business corporations or public utilities, though indirectly regulated by democratic institutions, may be managed authoritatively.

3. **Reasons for suspending or delaying democratic systems.**

   a. Emergencies such as natural disasters, crises in economic systems, widespread insurrections, and medical epidemics, may justify the temporary suspension of democratic procedures and the imposition of emergency powers.

   b. Threats from outside a nation’s borders may make non-democratic forms of rule appear more practical in order to provide an effective defense.

   c. The full implementation of a democratic system may be delayed due to the lack of adequate political, educational, economic, or social conditions to support democracy. The implementation of democracy may require society to undergo transitional stages of development that are less than democratic.
IV. What conditions support democracy?

A. What forces shape any political system?

B. What social conditions enable, inhibit, and shape democracy?

C. What institutional characteristics enable, inhibit, and shape democracy?

D. In what ways may a democratic political system embody a mixture of democratic and non-democratic features?

E. How might democracy promote conditions that erode its foundations?

F. What characteristics of democratic political systems inhibit and counteract conditions that may erode its foundations?

G. Where does responsibility lie for maintaining democracy?
IV. What conditions support democracy?

Political systems cannot be constructed independently from the historical, natural, and cultural context in which they are to operate. Even when they are deliberately designed to establish democratic practices and processes, their institutions are shaped by fundamental aspects of their internal and external environment.

As a consequence of the different contexts in which political systems are established, the characteristics of specific institutions in one country may differ from those in another even though both are designed to achieve democratic governance. Moreover, the particular kind of democracy that is sought in one context may differ from that in another in order to take into account constraints and possibilities arising from their larger environment.

A. What basic factors shape any political system? An understanding of any political system requires an examination of its history, environment, and culture, as well as the deliberate choices that have shaped its character. This understanding, along with a systematic knowledge of alternative political forms, enables a society to shape its political life in a more informal manner.

1. History. Political systems are shaped by historical experience. In some instances the historical development of a political system has been a gradual maturation with only minor interruptions. In other instances, political systems have changed suddenly as a result of internal forces or external imposition (e.g., French, Russian, Chinese and Indonesian revolutions; post-World War II Japan and Germany).

Whatever historical legacy a political system may have, there may still be occasions when a people can deliberate and choose to modify its political system or to create an entirely new one. Even in such contexts historical experience may affect the choices available and the resulting political order.

2. Natural environment. The physical characteristics and geopolitical situation of a society provide both opportunities and constraints in the development of its political system. The natural environment includes geographical territory and location, topographical features, natural resources and climate, and relative size and compatibility with its neighbors. Although these factors may influence the evolution, choice, or design of a political system, they do not necessarily determine it. Such factors may be accommodated, transformed, or overcome (e.g. federal systems used to cope with large areas).

3. Culture. The ethos, customs, education, and social structure of a people are reflected in whatever political system the people inherits. They are also reflected in the range of choices of kinds of political systems it might establish (e.g., constitutional monarchy used for basically democratic governments that have evolved from monarchical roots.)

B. What social conditions enable, inhibit, and shape democracy? Some social characteristics are conducive to democracy while others are detrimental to it. To say that some conditions are conducive to democracy is not to say that they are preconditions for the very existence of democracy.

While each of the characteristics in the following lists may be important in itself, the workability of a given democracy does not depend upon the presence of any specific one. Different democracies also exhibit these characteristics in varying degrees. The values of these conditions to democracy will be the result of the way those present in any particular country reinforce each other.
And while both conducive and detrimental characteristics shape any democracy, they are not necessarily permanent or static. As democratic institutions develop, they may modify the force of these characteristics or even transform or eliminate them.
1. **Characteristics of society as a whole.** Attributes of a society, such as political attitudes and beliefs as well as social composition, distribution of wealth, and technological capacity have a significant bearing on the success or failure of its democracy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics of society conducive to democracy.</th>
<th>Characteristics of society detrimental to democracy.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There are overarching and pervasive qualities of a society that are conducive to democracy and condition the character of its democracy. Examples are:</td>
<td>Certain qualities of a society, when they are sufficiently widespread, may undermine the possibility of democracy or contribute to its fragility. Examples are:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Political and social values** that promote the peaceful competition of ideas and political programs within limited moral and institutional boundaries:
- shared constitutional principles
- a broad commitment to using institutional means of making decisions and solving problems
- ideological pluralism
- equality of citizens in political status
- respect for and access to education and learning

**Political and social values** that undermine mutual trust among citizens and shared forums for peaceful discussion and debate and foster dogmatism and obscurantism:
- absence of shared political or constitutional values
- hostility to political institutions and to participation in the political process
- denial or limitation of education for some segments of society or disdain for learning in general
- deep ideological cleavages

**Social structure** that fosters democratic civic skills, political moderation, and social mobility:
- a large, developed middle class
- an active and developed civil society
- absence of extensive extremes of wealth and poverty
- broad access to technological knowledge and resources
- absence of rigid classes
- competition among groups
- social pluralism/diversity
- a diverse array of elites with fluid membership

**Social structure** that gives rise to chronic polarization among groups and the absence of shared common ground and obstructs social mobility:
- a social structure consisting solely or mainly of rich and poor
- rigid and extreme disparities in the distribution of wealth
- formal and entrenched social stratification (class, caste, or gender)
- rigid and antagonistic social factions
- inequitable access to technological knowledge and resources
- a “ruling elite,” a dominant and select group that is closed, obscure, and self-interested
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social attitudes conducive to the formation of “social capital” allowing effective functioning of the democratic process:</th>
<th>Social attitudes that oppose the development of a peaceful, constitutional political process which exhibits some degree of popular consensus and active engagement in the political process:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• widespread social trust</td>
<td>• alienation of large segments of the population owing to widespread poverty and other factors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• absence of mutual hostility among socially fragmented groups</td>
<td>• social mistrust that inhibits individual or collective initiative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• social egalitarianism</td>
<td>• toleration of lawlessness and corruption and the belief that they are inevitable in any political system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• attitudes and behaviors of superiority and inferiority among social groups pervading public life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• existence of underlying animosities and persistent hatreds that can be manipulated by rulers to pit one segment of society against another in order to sustain autocratic rule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• the selective use of historical legacies by leaders to divide their opposition, so they can use the machinery of government to maintain minority rule through an electoral process</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. **Characteristics of individual members of a society.** A variety of civically relevant individual attributes, including aspects of personal character and attitudes, have a significant bearing on whether or not democracy is successful.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civic dispositions or traits of public and private character conducive to democracy. A “disposition” is a propensity to think and act in certain ways. The character of democracy will be conditioned by how widespread these dispositions are among individuals, their distribution among segments of a society, and their strength. These dispositions include:</th>
<th>Dispositions or traits of public and private character detrimental to democracy. Certain dispositions may be adverse to democracy and may negatively affect its quality. These dispositions include:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Qualities of personal character</strong> that promote habits of effective participation in civic life:</td>
<td><strong>Qualities of personal character</strong> that make effective civic cooperation unlikely to be sustained:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• trustworthiness</td>
<td>• individual self-importance and self-centeredness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• civility</td>
<td>• fatalism which produces a sense of helplessness or hopelessness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• skepticism</td>
<td>• apathy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• optimism—belief in the possibility of social improvement</td>
<td>• isolation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• compassion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• assertiveness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• willingness to take the initiative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• disposition to cooperate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• sense of civic identity that transcends other identities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attitudes towards oneself</strong> promoting an individual’s active involvement in the civic arena:</td>
<td><strong>Attitudes towards oneself</strong> that either block entrance to the civic arena or make sustained effort unlikely:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• sense of personal efficacy</td>
<td>• feelings of inefficacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• confidence and assertiveness</td>
<td>• lack of confidence in one’s ability to protect one’s interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• self-discipline and self-governance</td>
<td>• lack of confidence in one’s ability to effect change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• overestimation of one’s capacity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Attitudes towards others likely to promote effective civic action in a democratic context:

- respect for the rights of others
- tolerance for groups and individuals different from oneself
- the ability to put oneself in the place of others
- solidarity with fellow citizens
- cooperativeness
- willingness to compromise

### Attitudes toward others destructive of democratic debate, deliberation, and decision-making:

- unwillingness to tolerate or even to listen to opposing views
- absolutism which makes compromise with others impossible
- inability to trust others
- malice and bigotry
- intolerance which leads to the deprivation of fundamental rights upon the basis of such factors as gender, race, ethnicity, religion

### Attitudes towards public affairs that promote a sense of public agency and a willingness to look beyond immediate self-interest to the public good:

- civic mindedness, including: concern for the public good, reasonable expectations of government, willingness to educate oneself on the issues of the day
- mistrust of power
- faith in democracy
- belief that one can make a difference in public affairs
- willingness to be a protector of and contributor to democracy rather than just a consumer of its benefits
- identification with and loyalty to constitutional values and principles

### Attitudes towards public affairs that corrode public life:

- unwillingness to compromise which may produce political stalemate and failure to fulfill essential governmental responsibilities
- factionalism and self-interested demands that intensify political competition beyond the capacity of the political system to accommodate
- unrealistic expectations of government
- inattention to public affairs
- withdrawal from the public sphere

Note—The accommodation of such dispositions as the above may have a positive effect on democracy, e.g., establishing fair procedures for accommodating competing selfish interests of power seekers, channeling a spirit of self-aggrandizement into service for the public good.
3. Characteristics of social groups and associations. Attributes of groups and associations, including their relationships to other groups and the character of their beliefs and internal processes, may have a significant bearing on whether or not democracy is successful. As a democratic system becomes more mature, individuals are likely to affiliate with larger numbers of groups that may have competing values and they may feel more comfortable identifying with political parties that encompass social diversity. These cross-cutting memberships tend to produce more moderate or nuanced political views as well as a tendency towards increased tolerance and a willingness to compromise. And they may encourage the use of more broadly representative groups to achieve political purposes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics of social groups and associations conducive to democracy. Groups and associations, apart from individuals, have their own characteristics that may contribute to the quality and well-being of democracy. Examples include:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Willingness of groups to form coalitions with other groups to increase their influence and broaden their perspectives on public matters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction that helps refine and articulate interests and positions as well as generate creative responses to problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teamwork that cultivates leadership and collegiality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willingness of groups to allow multiple allegiances among their members and choice among affiliations, thus enlarging personal identity and enhancing engagement in civic life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preservation of group heritage and solidarity, to the extent that they embody democratic values and practices or provide a mechanism for promoting the values of a common civic culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-restraint in pursuing group interests in deference to the public good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance of opposing groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoidance of the use of arbitrary criteria in acceptance of members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance of the idea that if one can “lose today but win tomorrow” then one can accept the decision and persevere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rejection of “winner take all” strategies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics of social groups and associations detrimental to democracy. Certain characteristics of groups and associations may be adverse to democracy and may affect its quality. Nevertheless, the accommodation of such groups may have a positive effect on democracy—e.g., providing for freedom of belief, expression, and association and the peaceful accommodation of conflict. Examples include:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition of dissent because dissent is viewed as disloyalty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abandonment of personal responsibility and conscience in conformity to the group (“herd instinct”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group-orientation that suppresses individuality and demands unquestioned acceptance of group thinking (“group-think”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusivity that promotes solidarity but which may also promote fragmentation, alienation, and inequality of opportunity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insistence on non-negotiable demands which polarizes the community and precludes compromise as a result of give-and-take in public deliberation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief that all political disputes must be framed in terms of a “zero-sum” game where whatever one side wins, the other side loses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief in the absolute superiority of one’s own racial, ethnic, or religious group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groups that do not recognize the humanity of others thus sustaining cleavages in society that preclude the notion that others inhabit the same moral universe as oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assertion that one’s racial, ethnic, religious, or political group is the embodiment or sole redeemer of the country, thus usurping the identity of the sovereign people as a whole and taking their place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Splintering of the political system into groups of mutually hostile political parties based on social factions such as ethnic groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disavowal of a common civic identity among different groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief in the legitimacy of “winner take all” outcomes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Characteristics of political leaders and public officials. Attributes of individual leaders in a political system, such as their attitudes toward and use of power and authority, may have a significant bearing on whether or not democracy is successful.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitudes, behaviors, and practices beneficial to democracy</th>
<th>Attitudes, behaviors, and practices harmful to democracy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political leaders and officials bear special responsibility and are authorized to wield significant powers. Therefore, their attitudes, behaviors, and practices are of particular importance. Characteristics of political leaders and public officials beneficial to democracy include:</td>
<td>Certain characteristics of political leaders undermine the functioning of democratic institutions and the confidence of the citizens in their political system. Such characteristics also may deter more qualified persons from engaging in civic life. These include:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• respect for the country’s laws, including the letter and spirit of its constitution and its values and fundamental principles</td>
<td>• an appetite for ever-expanding power or the exercise of power exceeding the limits of office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• willingness to give up office when they lose elections</td>
<td>• hesitancy to use legitimate authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• attentiveness to the public will allied with concern for the common good</td>
<td>• corruption, including bribe-taking and nepotism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• possession of the relevant knowledge and competence required to carry out the duties of office</td>
<td>• favoritism in public appointments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• willingness to compromise and cooperate with members of one’s party and as well as with those of other parties</td>
<td>• demagoguery in the manipulation of people by exploiting and appealing to primitive emotions and ignorance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• concern for one’s reputation in history or historical legacy</td>
<td>• inaccessibility to the public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• unwillingness to compromise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• contempt for citizens and for the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• unwillingness or inability to acquire the knowledge requisite for efficient and effective rule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• desire for fame and celebrity to the exclusion of public spiritedness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. What institutional characteristics enable, inhibit, and shape democracy? Some characteristics of institutions enhance the possibility of democracy or facilitate its functioning. Others are detrimental to its establishment or functioning. Both sorts of characteristics shape the character of any democracy.

1. Characteristics of governmental institutions. Attributes of a country’s governmental institutions, such as the extent of their power and reach and their overall quality, may have a significant bearing on whether or not its democracy is successful.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics of governmental institutions conducive to democracy.</th>
<th>Characteristics of governmental institutions detrimental to democracy. Examples are:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Limits to institutional ends or purposes.</strong> Political institutions must be limited to promoting the ends or purposes for which they were established. Such limits are often set forth in a democracy’s constitution. Limits also may be expressed in values and principles left partially or wholly unstated by law but included in the mores of a society. Limiting governments to serving the ends or purposes for which they were established flows from the idea that government is the servant not the master of the people and that the fundamental rights of citizens cannot legitimately be abridged.</td>
<td><strong>Indifference of governmental institutions to the people based on claims of official superiority of knowledge and competence</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Limits to the means used to pursue legitimate ends.</strong> The means used in pursuit of legitimate ends arise from the principle that rights must be respected and that the fundamental values and principles of democracy must be reflected in the way government acts.</td>
<td><strong>Intrusion of political power into all aspects of society and individual life (incompatible with liberal democracy)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Responsiveness.</strong> The government is attentive to the problems of the society and governmental institutions are routinely accessible and regularly accountable to citizens. Institutions must demonstrate the flexibility needed to meet sudden emergencies or a country’s needs that may emerge gradually.</td>
<td><strong>Diffusion of governmental authority to the extent that accountability cannot be assigned</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Good governance.</strong> Governments must meet the general characteristics of “good governance.” Principal characteristics of good governance include:</td>
<td><strong>Checkpoints where veto power can be exercised are so numerous that stalemate is pervasive</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• efficiency (accomplishing the ends of government without unreasonable cost, waste, and delay)</td>
<td><strong>Domination by a complex, unrestrained, or unresponsive bureaucracy</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• integrity (government without corruption and with fidelity to principle)</td>
<td><strong>lack of a civil service characterized by professionalism that ensures continuity and bases its decisions on established policy and in accordance with the merits of each case</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• efficacy (effective responses to citizen demands and needs)</td>
<td><strong>intrusion of the military into areas beyond its sphere of competence and authority</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• wisdom (resourcefulness and depth of thought in problem solving); and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• vision (broad perspective and concern for posterity).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fairness.</strong> Fair procedures and institutional arrangements for the protection of individuals and minorities, e.g., procedural protections against arbitrary arrest, trials, and imprisonment; institutional arrangements such as a system of review and appeal.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Characteristics of a country’s legal system. Attributes of a country’s legal system, such as its degree of transparency and accessibility to citizens, may have a significant bearing on whether or not its democracy is successful.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics of a country’s legal system conducive to democracy include:</th>
<th>Characteristics of a country’s legal system detrimental to democracy include:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• The legal system meets criteria essential for the existence of a rule of law, e.g., widespread promulgation of the law, formality, coherence, generality, intelligibility, predictability, impartiality.</td>
<td>• Excessive complexity and inconsistency, leading to confusion and arbitrary application of the law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Laws are understandable and available to the public.</td>
<td>• Partiality and caprice in application, leading to unfairness as well as to popular disaffection and disrespect for law and the legal system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• People have a basic knowledge of the legal system and its operations are open to public scrutiny.</td>
<td>• Frequent or haphazard changes in laws, leading to unpredictability and instability in the system of law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• People have a sense that the judicial system works fairly overall, promoting justice</td>
<td>• Inaccessibility of the law and the operations of the legal system; legal processes inaccessible to public view; or law that is so complex that clear, simple statements of it cannot be rendered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Citizens have the opportunity to participate in the formulation, application, adjudication, and enforcement of laws.</td>
<td>• Refusal or inability to provide justification for laws and legal decisions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The authority and scope of law is limited to ends justified by its purposes, which are seen as reasonable and legitimate.</td>
<td>• Concealment of the true purposes of laws.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The law is subject to review, reconsideration, and change in accordance with the fundamental purposes and principles of the society.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Characteristics of a country’s economy and standard of living. Attributes of a country’s economic circumstances, such as the degree of openness of its economic system to participation and its capacity to generate wealth, may have a significant bearing on whether or not its democracy is successful.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics of an economy and standard of living conducive to democracy include:</th>
<th>Characteristics of an economy and standard of living detrimental to democracy include:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Recognition and protection of <strong>private property</strong> and widespread ownership as a means of insuring personal independence and security and as a counterweight to the reach and influence of government. The proliferation of economic interests arising from dispersed ownership contributes to political diversity and multiple centers of power and influence.</td>
<td>• Concentration of wealth and economic power in government or in the hands of a few or in a narrow segment of a society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Recognition of the need for a <strong>market-based economy</strong>.</td>
<td>• Excessive disparity of wealth that translates into a disparity of political power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Market-based economies diffuse economic decision making, encourage economic enterprise, and mitigate the concentration of social and political power.</td>
<td>• Costs and complexity of participation in the market that inhibit entrepreneurship, stifle initiative, and result in rigidity and stagnation. Such circumstances counter values and interests intrinsic to democracy, e.g., equality of opportunity, innovation, progress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Such economies must be substantially free of direct government management but rely upon government regulation to facilitate their functioning and in certain cases to channel their activities to protect the public interest.</td>
<td>• Extremes of wealth and poverty; extreme inequality in the distribution of essential goods and services may produce deprivation and misery incompatible in principle with the goals and values of democracy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Regulation by government is needed to prevent or correct market abuses, including the creation of monopolies.</td>
<td>• Unbridled competition may result in inadequate compensation of workers and inhumane working conditions. The resulting impoverishment and dehumanization pose a public burden and effectively remove workers from the status of citizen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Maintenance of <strong>openness</strong> and <strong>fairness</strong> in the process by which the benefits and burdens of the economy are distributed. The process must be seen to provide prospects for individual change and improvement. The process also must be seen to respect the dignity of the individual and to promote a widespread distribution of the goods of the society.</td>
<td>• Monopolistic conditions inhibit economic self-correction. An economy which is prevented from adjusting to changing circumstances ultimately atrophies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Achievement of a level of economic development and maintenance of a standard of living which allow for free and independent participation in public life and which provide or foster an individual’s sense of having a stake in the well-being of the society.</td>
<td>• A society with entrenched classes that perpetuate extremes of wealth and poverty. Such an economy aggrandizes the power and resources of a narrow segment of the society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Transparency and accountability in the structure and operation of commerce</td>
<td>• Command of the economy where the state is the only employer and source of income. Power is consolidated in governmental bureaucracies and away from the autonomous organizations and individuals of civil society, which then do not have the resources to counterbalance or oppose governmental power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Existence of an infrastructure that supports, enhances, and regulates commerce, e.g., legal codes, regulatory bodies, financial institutions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Characteristics of a country’s educational system. Attributes of a country’s educational system, such as the degree of its development, democratic orientation, and accessibility, may have a significant bearing on whether or not its democracy is successful.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics of a country’s educational system conducive to democracy include:</th>
<th>Characteristics of a country’s educational system detrimental to democracy include:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Education of each generation to ensure the continuation and improvement of democracy</td>
<td>• Education that induces passivity and automatic acceptance of a regime and its ideology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Goal of enlightenment and critical inquiry as opposed to indoctrination and orthodoxy</td>
<td>• Exclusion of some segments of society from access to education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Provision of universal access to literacy and the opportunity to develop knowledge and skills for carrying on one’s life</td>
<td>• Failure to devote adequate financial resources to education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Establishment and maintenance of high academic standards</td>
<td>• Failure to establish, assess, and enforce appropriate standards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Openness of educational institutions to public scrutiny, accountability, and control</td>
<td>• Low status accorded teaching as a profession and as a priority of a society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Universal availability of education</td>
<td>• Failure to attract, train, and retain competent teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Requirement of basic education for all</td>
<td>• Failure to allow for the intellectual and creative independence of teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Congruence of the educational system with the ethos, needs, and purposes of a democratic society</td>
<td>• Use of authoritarian methods of instruction that inhibit creative inquiry, skepticism, and other democratic values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Education specifically designed at every level to promote civic competence and civic responsibility and to foster a reasoned commitment to the fundamental values and principles of democracy</td>
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D. In what ways may a democratic political system embody a mixture of democratic and non-democratic features? Any democracy may have institutions or practices that are not democratic in character. Some of these practices may be required for the continued existence of democracy as a political order. Some must be accommodated because to prohibit them would be incompatible with the values of a free society.

1. Institutions that may be non-democratic in character but are considered necessary or acceptable in a democracy include:

   a. **Military, militia, and police.** Some public organizations such as the military, militias, and police may not be able to function effectively if they adhere fully to democratic processes.

   b. **Religious organizations.** Because religious belief is considered beyond the province of government, the institutions that embody various faiths enjoy a freedom to govern themselves even if they do so undemocratically.

   c. **Business corporations and other organizations of civil society.** Democracies (especially liberal democracies) allow organizations in civil society wide latitude in their internal systems of governance.

   d. **Families.** Because much of family life takes place in private, within limits democracies respect the discretion of families in the establishment of rules and the exercise of their authority.

   e. **Schools.** The youth and inexperience of students as well as the purposes of schooling justify governance that may not meet all of the criteria of democracy.

   f. **Government regulatory agencies.** Some governmental agencies or “authorities” are established to provide for the use of special expertise focused on the administration of highly defined areas of social need, e.g., central banking and currency control, utilities, transportation, and environment. These agencies may be relatively autonomous. They also may be isolated from electoral participation and removed from direct accountability to the people as a whole for their policies and practices. However, such agencies are accountable to the democratic institutions that created them and which retain the right to abolish them.

   g. **Independent judiciary.** A judicial system can exercise independent judgment and maintain legal integrity only insofar as it has substantial institutional autonomy. Even so, a judicial system may incorporate democratic features, such as the election of judges, the direct or indirect electoral confirmation or review of judicial appointments.

2. Practices that may be intrinsically non-democratic but may serve democratic ends and thus be considered acceptable or necessary in a democracy:

   a. Required party registration and/or financial support

   b. Compulsory voting
c. Conscriptive military or national service

d. Required jury service

e. Political patronage

f. Disciplinary commissions or tribunals that can remove office holders

g. Certain closed meetings and hearings

h. Use of emergency powers

E. How might democracy promote conditions that erode its foundations? Even when a political system is founded on sound democratic principles and it works effectively, democracy may be eroded by certain resulting conditions and trends in the polity and the society. These include

1. The need to make decisions by voting tends to produce factions, divisiveness, and a winner-take-all attitude.

2. The success of democracy in providing good government can produce complacency with the status quo or collective self-satisfaction and individual self-preoccupation leading to an exaltation of the private over the public. Success of a market-based system within a democracy can lead to inequalities in wealth that promote class divisions that can undermine social cohesiveness.

3. If democracy is so highly valued as a means of arriving at decisions, it may lead a presumption that all matters in public affairs should be decided by the people rather than through institutions. Thus democracy is carried to the extreme of “hyperdemocracy” where public decision is continuous, minute, and destabilizing. Or, when one element of democracy is so overvalued that it becomes a substitute for the entire democratic political system, the use of this element may be extended to such extremes that system as a whole is distorted, e.g., when referendums displace legislative deliberation, when majoritarianism determines the fundamental rights of the people.

4. An adulation of democracy can produce the conclusion that society has reached its best and final stage which leads to rigidity, a resistance to criticism, and the transformation of democratic principles into a lifeless incantation or dogma.

5. Democracies enable individuals to accumulate and exercise political power. Corruption arises when persons accumulate power and illegitimately use it to serve their particular interests at the expense of the welfare of the whole society.

6. Among any people, there may be a tendency to take the fundamental principles that make the political system work for granted, to fail to understand them, or to forget them. When these principles are not used to inform political discourse and decision making, the foundations of the political system may be eroded.

7. The success of democratic institutions in effectively addressing public problems may lead the people to be inattentive to political life altogether. This may result in abdication of the responsibilities of citizenship through a willingness to have others do all of their governing for them. This produces, in effect, the loss of democracy itself.
F. What characteristics of democratic political systems inhibit and counteract conditions that may erode its foundations? Just as democratic principles may provide for a healthy political system, those principles also retain the capacity to protect democracy from destructive conditions and trends. For example:

1. Because democracy is established on a set of first principles, there is a natural tendency to invoke these principles in public reflection and deliberation. This frequent recurrence to first principles provides a means of keeping public affairs true to those principles. In a democracy, for leadership to be visionary, it must call the people back to their founding values.

2. In democratic political institutions there are ongoing arguments concerning the meaning and application of founding principles. These arguments keep these principles in the people’s consciousness and may lead the people to a fuller understanding and a greater attachment to them.

3. In a democratic political system, institutional and informal means are available to challenge practices and habits that are not consistent with democratic values. Such means include constitutional review, legal action, political activism, a robust party system, public advocacy, and formal as well as informal education.

4. Because democracy depends upon the public awareness of its people, democratic political systems depend upon transparency in their governance and broad publicity about their society. Both transparency and publicity draw attention to policies, actions, and trends that may endanger democracy. Habitual self-criticism made possible by open processes facilitates exposure and warning when the polity and the people may be in danger of losing their democratic identity.

5. Because a democratic political system, to the extent that it contains liberal democratic elements, may not attempt to control all aspects of human life, sources outside of government are available to challenge perceived abuses and restore the integrity of the institutions. Moreover, when citizens understand that they may be the only source of correction for political problems arising from personal relations or from the society itself, this may foster a sense of responsibility, that only the people themselves are the ultimate protectors of democracy.

6. The openness of democratic society to exploring possibilities and embracing change or mobility may inoculate it against long term complacency.

7. An understanding among the people that democracy is inherently vulnerable may bring home to them their responsibility to take care of democracy.

G. Where does responsibility lie for maintaining democracy? Responsibility for the future of a democracy lies among those for whom it is established to serve—its citizens.

1. Extent of responsibility in a democracy. The more widely political power is shared in society, the wider is the responsibility for maintaining the existence and well-being of the political order. In democracy, responsibility for maintaining the effectiveness of the political system and its constitution rests with the entire body of citizens and with each citizen individually.
2. Living democracy. Citizens who embody the ethos of democracy live out its ideas in their daily lives and support its institutions. As agents of democracy and its animating spirit, they are the principal means of ensuring its endurance.
V. How does democracy work?

A. How does democracy use and channel conflict?

B. What are institutions?

C. Why does democracy require institutions of government in order to function?

D. What alternative arrangements of governmental institutions serve the purposes of democracy?

E. How is the people’s business carried out through the institutions of democratic government?

F. How do law and its specialized institutions contribute to the work of democracy?
   (to be added)

G. What is the relationship between democratic governmental institutions and political parties?

H. How do elections contribute to the working of democracy?

I. How does civil society contribute to the performance of political and governmental institutions in a democracy?
V. How does democracy work?

Democracy as a way of life and as a political system does not arise spontaneously as a natural state of mankind. It occurs only through the establishment of authority and government with the institutions that make it possible for the people to carry out their political will. Because democracy is considered to be more than a political system and its institutions, it encompasses the whole of the public domain of a community. The public domain can be seen as encompassing all aspects of the public life of the citizen. In a democracy, the people own their government; it is their property. Therefore, the purpose of institutions of democracy throughout the public domain is to reflect and act for the people in conducting their business.

When human beings live together, conflict among them is inevitable. In the public domain the stakes are heightened not only because conflicts may engage large numbers of people but also because they have consequences for the entire society. Democracy recognizes the inevitability of conflict in human society. Democracy takes advantage of the potential of conflict as a resource for vitality, diversity, and progress. Conflict creates alternatives and the possibility of choice. Therefore it makes liberty possible and promotes democracy. But violent conflict may destroy both liberty and democracy. Democratic political systems respond to conflict in distinctive ways by providing peaceful means for accommodating and harnessing it through institutions designed to fulfill the purposes and principles of democracy.

Democracy relies, however, upon institutions that extend beyond the conventional political and governmental institutions to include all those institutions within the public domain that provide means for people to organize themselves to further their values and interests. Thus, it includes the institutions of civil society as well as those of politics and government.

A. **How does democracy use and channel conflict?** Some forms of government attempt to suppress or repress conflict or attempt to eliminate its causes. To do so they must deny human nature and suppress liberty. Democracy, in contrast, harnesses conflict to provide energy and resources to serve its purposes.

Nonetheless, if democracy is to survive, government cannot tolerate all kinds of discord. While democracy encourages some kinds of conflict as essential or beneficial to its nature and purposes, it must also provide peaceful means by which conflict can be expressed and managed and discourage some conflict that is detrimental to its values.

1. **Conflict that enhances democracy.** The conflict of ideas and interests among institutions and organizations, competition among policy options, conflict over the meaning and application of fundamental principles and values are all inherent in the healthy functioning of a democracy.

2. **Conflict that impedes the establishment and threatens maintenance of democracy.** Democracy is jeopardized by life-or-death struggles among powerful individuals, such as political and military leaders; widespread schisms among rigidly defined, exclusive or uncompromising factions, such as ethnic, religious, socio-economic, and linguistic groups; and warring components of government.
3. **Conflict resolution and conflict management in a democracy.** The means used to deal with conflict in a democracy must be consistent with democratic values and principles. For democracies to be stable, citizens must realize the importance of maintaining a proper balance between conflict and harmony in political life.

   a. **Conflict management and conflict resolution** differ in that conflict management refers to continuing conflict situations that resist solution, for example, ethnic rivalry. Conflict resolution, by contrast, refers to situations in which conflict can be successfully ended, such as a labor dispute.

   b. **Means of conflict resolution and conflict management** consistent with democratic values and principles include free and fair elections, due process, arbitration, conciliation, proper use of police, and ground rules for deliberation.

B. **What are institutions?** Institutions deal with multiple and conflicting demands and interests and make decisions regarding them. All forms of government require institutions to carry on their work. Institutions are arrangements and settled practices that have evolved or have been established to serve purposes and perform functions on behalf of society or groups within it. They provide means for channeling conflict into productive effects for the society or for suppressing violent conflict.

   1. **Characteristics of institutions.**

      a. **Regularity and predictability.** Institutions tend to exist for long periods of time and to work in accord with established procedures. This durability and order may facilitate reliability and predictability. It may also result in dysfunctional stagnation and rigidity.

      b. **Continuity and endurance.** Unlike persons, institutions have an indefinite life span. Although their incumbents may come and go, institutions may last for long periods of time and link generations. Thus, institutions may give society a sense of permanence and durability. They may also result in obsolescence and stultification, or they may lose sight of their original purposes.

      c. **Memory and expertise.** Over the course of time, institutions develop their own internal “institutional memory” through traditions, histories, records, and the long service of individuals. This institutional memory provides a means for the transmission of acquired knowledge, expertise, and wisdom. Institutions may also be dominated by the past and resist change.

      d. **Centers of power.** Established institutions, by their very nature, may provide a beneficial check on spontaneous aggregations of power that may be arbitrary and dangerous, e.g., courts of law v. mob rule. They may also result in stalemate and gridlock.

      e. **Balance.** Institutions also may compete with one another and thus promote a balance of power which facilitates diversity and liberty, countering domination by any single power or combination of interests. They may also aggrandize themselves, overpowering individuals and other organizations perpetuating themselves beyond their utility.
2. **Varieties of institutions.** The following are varieties of institutions that may facilitate the functioning of democracy.

   a. **Formal structures or organizations as institutions**—religious and charitable organizations; schools and universities; military services; branches of government, including, for example, legislatures, executive cabinets, and court systems

   b. **Regular processes as institutions**—rule by majority decision, as in most legislative votes and general elections; trial by jury

   c. **Established relationships as institutions**—marriage, friendship, doctor-patient, enduring political alliances, including international alliances, and coalitions

   d. **Recognized patterns of behavior as institutions**—relying on the advice of cabinet ministers, resigning after a vote of no confidence

C. **Why does democracy require institutions of government in order to function?**

   Institutions are essential to the functioning of any democracy because they carry out the day-to-day work of public affairs and respond to opportunities and crises that may arise. Without institutions there is no practical means of carrying out popular self-government with binding consequences. Governmental institutions are bodies empowered by fundamental law, constitutions, or settled custom and convention to make, interpret, and apply policies through rules and laws.

   This fulfillment of purposes and principles can be accomplished by a wide range of institutional designs. Whatever institutional arrangements are created, these institutions must pursue democratic ends. They must enshrine deliberation, debate, and respect for dissent; accommodate a wide variety of viewpoints; and deal with conflict peacefully. Finally, democratic institutions and their procedures must always be subject to reconsideration and revision by the sovereign people.

   The complexity, specialization, and scale of modern democratic societies require that many decisions regarding public affairs be made by governmental institutions on behalf of the people rather than directly by the people themselves.

   Once decision-making is allocated to formal governmental institutions instead of direct decision-making on policy matters by the people themselves, public policy may be ordered and scrutinized more objectively. This enhances democratic control and accountability.

1. **Basic purposes of governmental institutions include:**

   a. providing security

   b. promoting social peace by managing or resolving conflict

   c. securing liberty

   d. promoting progress and prosperity

   e. regulating the production, distribution, and use of resources

   f. preserving and enforcing rights and obligations
g. providing for the education of citizens, thereby promoting the values of democratic government

h. representing the polity internationally

2. **Setting the public agenda to address public problems.** Governmental institutions are a principal means by which democratic societies deal with public problems. These problems must be identified, defined, and prioritized before they can be acted upon. The process of doing so is often called “setting the public agenda.” In a democracy, both governmental and non-governmental institutions play a role in setting the public agenda.

3. **Acting on the public agenda.** Once a public agenda has been set, action is required by governmental institutions to deal with the problems identified and prioritized on the agenda. This action may include creating, implementing, enforcing, or adjudicating rules and laws. The course of action adopted by governmental institutions to deal with a specific item on the public agenda is a “public policy.” All of the stages of identifying issues, problems, and opportunities, as well as responding to them, constitute the public policy process.

4. **Evaluation of alternative policy options.** In the framework of popular government, choices made in the public policy process of dealing with public problems are evaluated through such means as public debate, media discussion, expert opinion, or through more formal mechanisms like popular vote, or oversight by administrative, legislative, judicial institutions, and by specially created commissions.

D. **What alternative arrangements of governmental institutions serve the purposes of democracy?**

1. **Standards for determining whether particular arrangements serve democratic values and principles.** There are a number of arrangements of governmental institutions that serve democratic values and principles. Two sets of standards are useful in evaluating these arrangements. These two sets reinforce each other and both are essential for evaluating democratic institutions.

a. **Standards related to the realization of principles and values.**

   • public access and openness
   • facilitating accountability to the people
   • encouraging and accommodating competing viewpoints
   • provision for deliberation
   • procedural fairness
   • limits and checks on the use of power
   • stability and predictability
b. **Standards related to the workability and effectiveness of institutions**
   - access to information
   - clearly assigned responsibilities
   - differentiation of functions according to purpose and capacity
   - orchestration of functions so they are brought together to produce outcomes
   - efficiency and timeliness in producing satisfactory outcomes

2. **Alternative institutional arrangements used to serve the values and principles of democracy and its workability.** For democracy to be possible, political power cannot remain undifferentiated or concentrated in the hands of one governmental institution or one person, as in an elective dictatorship. Political power must be divided. It may be divided among various levels of government and/or among institutions differentiated by function. These functions may also be distributed among different levels of government.

   The responsibility for making, interpreting, and applying public policy must be assigned to institutions in any political system. These functions are typically called legislative, judicial, and executive. Each of these functions may be delegated to a specific institution. They also may be combined and shared between or among institutions in various arrangements.

a. **Centralization and decentralization of government power as a whole.**
   - **Unitary systems.** In unitary systems, all governmental functions—making, interpreting, and applying public policy—remain in the hands of a central government, which may delegate part of its power to local governments. The central government also may withdraw such delegated powers.
   - **Federal systems.** In federal systems, power is divided and shared between a central government, having various nationwide responsibilities, and constituent governments. In federal systems it is generally thought that constituent governments cannot secede.
   - **Confederal systems.** Confederation is a form of federalism in which power resides in the constituent governments that delegate a portion of their power to a central government. Constituent governments may withdraw delegations of power and in some cases retain the option to secede.

b. **Alternative ways of organizing the three functions of democratic government**
   - **Parliamentary systems** in which authority is held by a legislature called parliament. Parliaments often consist of an upper and a lower house. The chief executive or head of government is chosen by convention from the ranks of the majority party in the lower house; or,
if there is a coalition government, from one of the parties in the
coalition. Thus leadership of the executive branch is determined by the
composition of the legislative branch.

- **Coordinate powers systems** in which powers are separated and
distributed among branches. Each branch has primary responsibility for
certain functions, but each branch also shares these powers and
functions with the others, e.g., executive, legislature, and judicial
branches. Power in these systems is “shared.” for example, in that
executive decisions such as judicial appointments and foreign treaties
can be nullified by the legislature.

- **Presidential systems** which combine features of parliamentary systems
with a strong president, who is head of state.

  - Presidents are elected for fixed terms. Presidents appoint a prime
  minister or premier and other cabinet ministers, who form the
government. Presidents can dismiss parliament and call new
elections. Parliament may also dismiss the government by a vote of
  no confidence.

  - Presidents have other important powers, such as issuing important
decrees and appointing high civil servants and judges, holding
  referendums and negotiating treaties. They head the armed forces
  and may have exceptional executive powers during a state of
  emergency. With variations, France and Russia are examples of
  these political systems. “Presidential systems” are distinguished
  from “shared powers” systems, such as Brazil and the United
  States.

3. **Alternative structures of legislative, executive, and judicial functions used
to perform the work of democracy.** Governmental institutions must not only
serve the values of rule by the people; they must also perform specific functions
essential to government in order to do the day-to-day work of democracy. These
functions will be allocated to specialized bodies or institutions within the overall
arrangement of government. These specialized bodies will display varying
structures that have evolved or been designed to carry out their functions in
accord with the values of democracy.

a. **Legislative functions.** The legislative function represents the fundamental
power of a people to authorize laws and policies, either directly or through
their delegates, for their safety and happiness. This power must be
organized in a specific body or bodies, e.g., Senate, Parliament, Legislature,
Assembly, Congress, House of Delegates, Duma, Diet.

Legislative bodies carry out their powers by representing the popular will or
common good, aggregating interests, making law, recognizing and
responding to society’s problems and opportunities, providing alternative
sources of political leadership, overseeing the functions of other
governmental bodies, providing a public forum for deliberation and
investigation, and bringing matters of import to public attention. In a
democracy, the legislature is considered to hold the “power of the purse” as
the primary agency for acquiring and allocating funds.
Alternative structures designed to achieve these ends include:

- **Unicameral** legislatures are composed of a single chamber. In such legislatures, this chamber exercises all of the powers generally exercised by legislatures. In democracies, unicameral legislatures are directly elected and are known by various names, such as House of the Nation, Parliament, or National Assembly.

  Unicameral legislatures are considered by some to be more representative in that the voice of the people is claimed to be more clearly heard and more effectively registered in a simple and speedier system. A unicameral legislature might be understood to be more efficient in enacting laws, since there is no second chamber required to agree to proposed laws; to provide greater accountability, since responsibility clearly rests in one place; to be advantageous in that citizens have fewer elected officials to monitor; and to be less expensive to maintain than larger, two chamber systems.

- **Bicameral** legislatures are composed of two chambers, or "houses." Relations between these two bodies vary in terms of their respective powers or on the basis on which the people are represented in them.

  Bicameral legislatures may be considered more capable of formally representing diverse constituencies; checking and balancing one another, reducing the risk that public trust will be betrayed by hasty or ill-considered measures; facilitating a deliberative approach to legislation; multiplying opportunities for the people to be represented; and capable of providing enhanced oversight or control of the executive branch.

- **In coordinate powers systems,** these bodies are composed of a lower “house of representatives,” “chamber of deputies,” or other name; and an upper house usually called a “senate,” which is considered an “upper” house in that it is composed of fewer members elected for longer periods than those in the “lower” house.

- **In parliamentary systems,** the “lower” or larger chamber may be known as a “house of commons,” “house of representatives,” “national council”; and the “upper” or smaller chamber may be known as a “house of councilors,” “house of lords,” “senate,” “federal council.”

- The composition of **lower chambers** is usually based upon population, with each member representing approximately the same number of constituents. **Upper chambers** vary considerably in composition and in the manner in which their members are selected. Upper chambers may be selected by inheritance, appointment, and direct and indirect elections. Indirect elections occur when voters elect bodies such as state or provincial legislatures which in turn elect members of the upper chamber. Upper chambers may reflect regional or state divisions.

b. **Executive functions.** The executive function represents the fundamental power of a people to have their will carried into action. In this respect, the power and obligations of the executive is to carry out and enforce the law.
Classically the executive power has been understood as a “dependent” power where the executive serves in a “ministerial” function to carry out the law and policy determined by the legislature. But, in modern times and especially in coordinate-powers systems, some of the powers of the executive may be exercised independently and others in conjunction with other constitutionally established powers, e.g., legislative, judicial, administrative.

Thus, for example, an executive might be empowered to act independently on matters such as executive orders, some appointments, and international relations under a constitution that establishes the scope and limits of executive power. On the other hand, some powers of the executive may be dependent upon the legislature, as when the executive is authorized to make substantive rules within a discretionary range established by law. In addition, some powers of the executive may be dependent on the judiciary as when a court issues a mandate that can only be implemented by executive interpretation and action.

The executive power, whether vested in a single person or a small group, may symbolize the unity of the people and serve to focus the attention and energy of the people on matters of national concern, exhorting them to achieve larger purposes. In this regard the executive power has been understood at times to be an exceptional power (called the prerogative) to take care of the safety of the people in times of crisis or emergency and to bear the responsibility for directing the defense of the country against external threats. The executive may exercise cultural leadership by honoring individuals and groups in order to offer models that exemplify compelling values and achievements thus attempting to shape the aspirations and self-image of the people. More concretely the executive may serve as “head of state,” representing the country in international affairs.

The executive power may also extend to proposing legislation and other courses of action. In some cases an executive may act independently to establish and carry out policy. In this respect, the executive wields the “sword” of enforcement. Executive offices or bodies carry out their power by articulating a view of the common good or the community’s well-being. In doing so, they may seek to unify diverse and contending interests in other institutions or in the political system at large and attempt to set the public agenda. Executives also carry out their responsibilities by assembling those with special expertise on matters of public concern. They also have a primary responsibility for representing the country in international relations.

Executive power must be organized in a specific office or body or it may be distributed among several bodies, e.g., Prime Minister, President, Presidium, Council of State, Cabinet, Premier, Governor, Mayor, Chairperson, Head of State.

Alternative structures of executive power include:

- Coordinate-powers systems and Presidential political systems typically combine the functions of head of government and head of state.
Exceptions include presidential systems in which the head of government is a Prime Minister.

- Parliamentary forms of government separate the office of head of government (called Prime Minister) and the office of head of state (monarch or president). The office of president in a parliamentary system does not have the same functions and executive powers as does the “president” in presidential or coordinate-powers systems.

c. **Judicial functions.** The judicial function represents the fundamental power of a people to have disputes over the interpretation and application of the laws and policies authorized on their behalf managed by fair and impartial processes. The judicial forum provides for the removal of conflict from the place of its occurrence in society to an environment where it can be managed or resolved peacefully in accord with established standards and principles of justice. The judicial system provides a place outside of the normal political process for individuals and minority groups to appeal decisions taken in a majority based system that they believe threaten their fundamental rights.

   In order to maintain their impartiality and objectivity, the institutions within the judicial forum must be independent and insulated from the control of other branches of government and from illegitimate influence by interested groups. The arrangements of these institutions must include different levels and phases to provide for the review and evaluation of judicial actions in order to supply a check against error and the abuse of power.

   The judicial function represents the people’s fundamental power of judgment to evaluate and challenge specific acts of the use of governmental authority to make and apply law. Thus, when the validity of a law is questioned or the mode of enforcement of a rule is at issue, the people have an institutional means to challenge the actions of their government. The use of judicial power also requires deliberation and reflection upon whether the acts of government are in accord with the foundational values and principles of the democratic political system.

   In a democracy, the people have a right to participate in the system when the power of government is applied against members of the community. The institution of the jury is the most common form of this popular participation. In this role the jury represents the people, serving as the “conscience of the community,” checking governmental power, and opposing its abuse. Another means of participation may include the right of members of the community to promote specific causes in judicial forums or to advocate policies that might be established by judicial action.

   Judicial power must be organized in a system of jurisdiction that includes various levels of courts and other bodies which often have specialized functions, e.g., civil, criminal, administrative, maritime, military, appellate, arbitration, mediation, and constitutional. At the highest level of these systems, courts may be called a Constitutional Court, Supreme Court, Privy Council, Court of Cessation, High Court.
In some democratic political systems the legislative and executive branches may exercise certain judicial functions. For example: executive branch functions may include the creation and adjudication of administrative law. Judicial functions of legislative branches may include the power to discipline its members and impeach and remove members of the executive and judicial branches. In some cases, the upper house of a legislature may serve as a court of appeals.

E. How is the people’s business carried out through the institutions of democratic government? Deliberation plays the central role in democracy. Democratic deliberation requires freedom of expression, an open exchange of ideas, and a diversity of positions, as well as the opportunity for associations to form freely for collective action. Even more fundamentally, democratic deliberation is the process of coming to personal or public judgment on issues in the public domain. Deliberation takes place both in the realm of individual thought and in the realm of public debate. At both levels decisions are made about appropriate courses of action. At each level the values and principles of democracy condition the process of deliberation and set standards of judgment concerning that deliberation and its outcomes. Democracy requires that deliberation be more than exchange of opinion and aggregation of views into decisions. In order for democratic deliberation not to undermine democracy itself, the conclusions reached by individuals and the decisions made by institutions should be grounded in and conditioned by democratic values and principles.

1. Personal frame of mind. A democratic frame of mind is a set of basic assumptions and inclinations that presuppose certain values, principles, standards, and ideas that shape the perceptions and judgments of the individual. It also includes a set of expectations about how the processes of public deliberation and decision making are supposed to operate as well as an understanding of how they do operate.

   a. Influence of a democratic frame of mind on agenda-setting. The frame of mind typical of democracy provides a distinctive means of identifying and understanding problems in the political world. A commitment to the common good as more important than the benefit of any particular segment of society, as well as a commitment to individual rights as constraints on power, tends to focus attention upon threats to these commitments and the possibility of enhancing these values.

   b. Influence of a democratic frame of mind on the choice of ends and means. A democratic frame of mind constrains and/or prescribes the range of choices of political ends and the means for achieving them. All deliberation requires that a range of ends and means be considered in terms of their desirability and efficiency. But, the values and principles of democracy limit the range of acceptable ends and means even if the ends might be desirable and the means efficient.

   Sometimes there is, however, no distinction between ends and means. Thus, for instance, individual autonomy and broad public participation are both ends and means in a democracy. In addition, a democratic end will not necessarily legitimate an undemocratic means, and democratic means do not legitimate undemocratic ends.
Sometimes for individuals there are standards other than democracy which they may hold as paramount in the choices they make. In these cases such individuals may believe that the values and principles of democracy are not sufficient to judge the worthiness of ends and means and that the standard of liberty itself may trump any policy that a majority may establish on subjects pertaining to religion, for example.

2. **Forms of public deliberation.** Deliberation takes place in various formal and informal public settings as well as in governmental institutions. Deliberation requires free access to information—the currency of democracy—that enables the free and robust expression of ideas and opinions. Ideally, the deliberative process is transparent or open to public view and results in a wide range of choices being placed before the public for consideration and action. The forms of deliberation appropriate in a democracy are many and varied. They can be divided into public and nonpublic forms.

a. **Public forms.** Democratic deliberation is characterized by its “publicness”—it takes place in the open, before public view. Examples of public forms of deliberation include discussion and debate in:

- official bodies such as legislatures, courts, agencies, tribunals, regulatory agencies, political conventions, town meetings
- print and electronic media
- conversations of citizens about how to judge alternative public policies and how to vote in elections
- discussion of public issues conducted by a wide variety of civic organizations and educational institutions

b. **Nonpublic forms.** Because in a democracy the people have a “right to know,” a high priority is placed on conducting the public’s business in the public’s view.

However, there are times when deliberation on public matters legitimately takes place out of public view. These situations include those in which democratic values themselves, such as privacy and due process, may be jeopardized; or national security may be at risk. They may also include situations in which the free and candid discussion of some choices essential to making wise decisions may be curtailed if it is left open to public view.

Regardless of the legitimacy of such non-public deliberations, means must be provided to ensure public accountability. Such means may include exposure by the media, “whistle blowers,” elections, possibility of impeachment, public hearings, “watchdog” groups, the use of judicial procedures, and formal accountability to a representative body. Despite such safeguards there may be cases of inadequate public accountability and oversight. Examples of nonpublic forms of deliberation include discussion and debate on certain matters by:

- legislative bodies or their committees
- chief executives and their chief advisors
3. **Role of elites in carrying out the business of democracy.** In every large group of persons there is a smaller group that emerges to focus more intently upon the collective aims of the larger group. In this role, to the extent that they exhibit diligence in the performance and effectiveness in the guidance of public affairs, they accrue greater power over the making of decisions. In a democracy, however, such a group of the “elite” (which some may conceive of as the “elect”) inspires suspicion among members of a self-governing people. In order to function, however, democracy requires groups of persons with political skills, dedication, and expertise that can be brought to bear on the solving of public problems.

The existence of elites does not in itself constitute “elitism.” Elitism refers to a system in which a small group of people dominates a political system whether or not it holds official positions, determines and perpetuates its own membership, and operates according to its own rules.

In order to attain legitimacy, elites must demonstrate their worthiness to represent the interests and welfare of the people as a whole. They must therefore demonstrate their accountability to the rest of the people, their workings must be transparent to the public, and their ranks must be fluid enough to facilitate access in and out of their ranks on the basis of merit or representativeness. The dynamism of modern democratic society generates numerous and diverse elites, and democracy can benefit from their competition for power and authority when it prevents a concentration of political and economic power and/or produces new ideas, better practices, and increased public awareness of alternatives. The functions of elites that contribute to the working of democracy include:

a. providing a pool of competence for recruitment to public office.
b. serving as public figures that inform and help mold public opinion.
c. leading in institutions outside of government which have an impact on public affairs, e.g., religious, social, educational, and economic institutions
d. formulating innovative concepts and approaches that enlarge awareness of possibilities for public choice
e. indirectly influencing public affairs by training and informing more public actors
f. providing a source of stability in times of change and uncertainty
g. providing centers for the development of new ideas and plans which can take a long term perspective when the institutions of government are focused on the immediate

4. **Opportunities for deliberation, choice, and participation for the citizenry at large.** It is of the essence of democratic political arrangements that they provide all citizens multiple and meaningful opportunities for choice and participation in public affairs. These opportunities encompass a wide range of activities at local, regional, and national levels including:

a. voting in free and fair elections
b. inaugurating or joining independent organizations that influence legislatures and executives

c. contacting public officials directly and indirectly

d. engaging in a variety of civic writing and publications including contacting media

e. seeking and holding public office

f. participating in political parties and working in election campaigns

g. monitoring and influencing legislative deliberations

h. attending and speaking in public meetings

i. participating in marches, demonstrations, petitions

j. contributing money to political parties or causes

k. mobilizing groups and communities for political action

5. **Standards for judging public policy in a democracy.** Standards to be used in judging public policy should include those related to their compatibility with fundamental values of democracy itself and those related to the substantive wisdom and desirability of the policy. Some of these standards are applicable to any democracy; some are applicable to liberal democracy.

a. **Standards related to fundamental values.** Public policies should be judged in terms of whether they:

   • **protect individual rights**—such as those to freedom of belief and expression, equality of opportunity, privacy, property, procedural justice, and distributive justice

   • **promote the common good**—such as providing public order, national prosperity, protection of the environment, and distributive justice

   • **promote other important values, principles, and interests** - such as personal independence, limited government

b. **Standards related to the substantive wisdom and desirability of public policy.** Alternative means of judging the advisability of public policy include

   • **cost-benefit analysis**—in which costs of alternative polices are weighed against their likely benefits

   • **comparison of changes over time**—in which indices are used to measure statistical relevant changes on such matters as inflation, employment, economic growth, health and longevity, education, corruption, and social pathologies such as crime and drug use

   • **short-term versus long-term benefits**—in which decisions are made whether to forego short-term benefits for long-term benefits
6. **Recourse when citizens are dissatisfied with outcomes.** Democracies provide a number of alternatives for recourse for citizens who are not satisfied with specific policy outcomes or the general direction that government itself is taking. These include the opportunity to

a. vote to remove office holders

b. propose policies initiated and/or ratified by citizens
d. seek assistance from an ombudsman or other intermediary
f. sue in the courts to vindicate legal rights, to obtain injunctions, or to challenge the legitimacy of policy
g. form new political parties, become active in interest groups or other political organizations
h. change the constitution through the amendment process
i. appeal to international organizations for aid or redress of grievances
j. leave the country temporarily or permanently

F. **How do specialized institutions of law contribute to the work of democracy?**

Law represents the formalization of human purposes, relationships, and procedures. Law seen as either enabling or regulating or both. By restricting and permitting, the processes of law are in fact an institution through which a community organizes and mobilizes itself so that it can act.

Because democracy encompasses the full public domain of a community, institutions of law are more extensive than the formal institutions of government. In a practical sense, specific legal institutions organize and operate activity in two “zones” of the community at large: the diffuse zone of civil society and the more defined zone of governmental institutions. In each zone there are institutions that have evolved or have been designed to specialize in the creation, implementation, interpretation, and application of rules and procedures. These institutions not only perform specific work of democracy, they also embody the values and principles of democratic modes of interaction by engaging citizens in governing themselves.

1. **Legal institutions within civil society.** Law is used to organize the zone of civil society and to facilitate activity and choice in this zone. Here law enables persons to achieve liberty by making their own arrangements directly among themselves with the expectation that these commitments can be fulfilled or enforced. Law understood in this way contributes to the processes of self-rule because citizens are giving their own law to themselves. For example, individuals may design and enter into contractual obligations with each other that both create new relationships and make the accomplishment of mutual goals possible. In addition, groups (including business corporations and non-governmental organizations) may construct their own “constitutional” arrangements through the creation of “by-laws” (internally generated rules)
which define the purposes, membership, responsibilities, and powers of a formal organization, and which regulate the structure and process of their work.

2. Legal institutions within government. Within the zone of political and governmental institutions, the processes of law provide for the formal articulation and application of a community’s authoritative rules and enacted policies. In this zone, law enables citizens to initiate, construct, criticize, and approve a community’s program of action in order to realize its well-being and collective purposes. This action takes place at the level of the total polity such as the city, province, region, country or other comprehensive jurisdiction. In this way, law enables citizens to engage in making and controlling the rules that serve their interests, regulate their conduct, and realizing their values. For example, citizens may participate in the legal profession, adjudication, arbitration, mediation, advocacy, and the formulation of legislation.

G. What is the relationship between democratic governmental institutions and political parties? The responsibility of government itself is the well-being of the society as a whole. There are inevitably different opinions regarding how to define social well-being and how to achieve it. These differences give rise to the development of political parties.

1. Functions of political parties. Interest groups tend to focus upon particular items on the public agenda. Political parties focus upon the whole domain of public policy and present a systematic plan for the general direction of society. Political parties typically develop their plans to appeal to large sections of the public. Political parties help to organize the operations of the government or branches within it.

Especially in multi-party parliamentary systems, coalitions of parties assemble sufficient authority to control governmental institutions with legitimacy derived from their representation of disparate elements of society. Not only do parties organize ruling coalitions, they also organize opposition to the party or parties in power. Opposition parties may also prepare an alternative government to replace the one in power if it falls.

In systems with only two dominant parties, each party must appeal to a diverse constituency. Proponents of conflicting views are accordingly required to compromise with each other in order to obtain power, tending to diminish extremism.

In some countries, political parties serve to bring together and represent numerous interests. In others, they may serve to promote particular ideologies and programs. In either case, political parties provide a means of linking individuals and groups and their government. They also provide a means for the continuous representation of their constituents in the ongoing operations of government. Political parties serve to formally identify and recruit governmental leaders.

Political parties are also a means for reflecting the pluralism of interests, values, and opinions that exist in a society. Different systems of the arrangement of
parties accomplish the representation of these interests in more or less effective ways. The relationship between such effective representation of the interests of society and potential effectiveness of government that accommodate this representation is problematic. This raises a question of the stability of government that rests on the accommodation of interests of political parties.

2. **Political parties and the government.** If democratic governance is to survive, parties cannot become so intimately intertwined with government institutions that they seem to merge with the state. In a democracy, governing parties cannot be thought of as “owning” the state or being its “leading force.” Without a distinction between political parties and the state, parties cannot be adequately regulated to enable other parties to compete and possibly displace them. In a democracy dedicated to the welfare of the whole people, there will inevitably be disputes over what constitutes the common good. Democracy requires permanent competition and discussion among partisan perspectives and rests on the assumption that no one perspective on the common good can claim a monopoly on truth.

**H. How do elections contribute to the working of democracy?** Elections in a democracy serve to articulate the popular will. Open, free, fair, and regular elections are indispensable to democracy because the essence of this form of government is that the people decide.

Elections may seem to represent an “aristocratic” element in modern democratic processes because they embody the idea that some are more “qualified” than others to represent or to rule. In an aristocracy this qualification is based on a person’s intrinsic meritorious qualities. But in a democracy this “qualification” is derived from the authorization by the people of some persons to hold power in their name. In practice this form of authorization takes the form of elections in which citizens make judgments about the merits of prospective candidates through their exercise of the right to vote.

Elections not only result in the selection of persons to be entrusted with governmental powers. They also provide a means to focus citizens’ attention on the public agenda and the goals and purposes of their community. In addition, they are the primary means whereby the people control their government by holding officials accountable, rewarding those who meet their approval, and penalizing and replacing those who do not.

Frequent elections with predictable regularity create an environment which forces elected officials to reflect on the consistency of their actions with the will of the people, and with an understanding that their continued service is subject to popular approval.

Elections are evidence that in a democracy no course of action is ever permanent; it is always subject to reconsideration. Thus, citizens whose positions win or lose understand that there will be other opportunities for them to express their will and attempt to prevail.

The electoral process stimulates debate and channels conflict among segments of the people. Elections for governmental officials focus disagreements on the competition about who will hold governmental power and serve as representatives. Elections that decide issues focus the people’s power directly on the making of policy.
Elections, as compared with other forms of participation, provide the simplest means for large numbers of citizens to express their preferences and survey the broadest range of popular opinion. As an act of affirmation of their common enterprise by members of the political system, elections represent a moment when public opinion coalesces and the political stage is set for beginning anew with fresh public approval.

Voting is the quintessential democratic act. Voting brings to a culmination the whole range of political activity—setting the public agenda, debate and discussion of issues, the competition among political parties—that is directed to determining how a political system moves forward. There are variations among democratic systems in how frequently and upon what offices and issues the people may vote.

There also are variations in the kinds of elections and electoral systems in which the people’s votes are counted. These differences—in how electoral districts are configured, how votes are aggregated to determine outcomes, and how votes are cumulated—have profound consequences for the way in which people act politically and for the way in which their representation is achieved. For example, the electoral system may induce certain segments of the society to form coalitions; or it may induce them to divide sharply and/or antagonistically. Also, different concepts of representation may produce different expectations of how their chosen representatives should act to serve the people.

1. **Concept of representation.** There are two main schools of thought regarding the proper role and functions of representatives.

   In determining the role and functions of representatives, one must begin by asking: how can the people’s will and interest be ascertained and carried into effect? To answer this question requires asking two further questions: What are the people’s interest and will? What approaches serve best to realize the people’s will and interest?

   • **Actual versus virtual representation.** In regard to the first question, the alternatives are “actual” and “virtual” approaches to ascertaining the people’s will and interest. Actual representation refers to the idea that office holders must be a microcosm or “mirror image” of their constituencies and thus reflect its will and interest. According to this idea, the individual can be represented only by someone who is very much the same as he or she is. Virtual representation refers to the idea that office holders can represent their constituents and the community as a whole without being the same as their constituents, as long as the representatives conscientiously look to the will and interest of the people. Which of these may be more desirable and whether they are possible are subject to dispute.

   • **Trustee versus delegate models of representation.** In regard to the second question, the alternatives are between understanding representation as based on the “trustee” model as distinct from “delegate” model. The trustee model envisages the representative as obligated to look after the common good of those represented, at times independently of what the constituents actually would say they want. The delegate model requires that the representative convey the specific wishes of their constituents into policy, at times without regard to the office holder’s independent judgment of the common good. The trustee model thus envisages a possible contradiction between the
constituency’s expressed will and true interest, whereas, the delegate model assumes that the people know their own best interest.

2. **Kinds of elections.** There are different kinds of elections in which the people’s choice may be determined. These include

- **general elections** provide the authoritative means for citizens to retain or replace their leadership. A general election is typically one in which large numbers of offices are at stake. They are regularly scheduled elections for the principal offices of government, including those of the legislature, the executive and other administrative officials, and sometimes even the judiciary.

- **special elections** provide the people an opportunity to express their will on matters of importance that may arise between general elections, such as filling offices vacated by resignation or death or by voting for legislation or special expenditures.

- **plebiscites** provide a national electorate with the occasion to determine important constitutional questions.

- **referendums** provide legislatures the opportunity to refer an issue to the electorate for their decision or advice. Referendums also may be used to provide the people with the power to ratify or reject decisions made by legislatures.

- **“initiatives”** provide a means for a number of citizens to propose measures that will become law, if approved by the majority of the electorate.

- **recall elections** provide a corrective means of removing from office those who citizens judge unworthy of their trust.

3. **Kinds of electoral systems.** Electoral systems differ in the way they establish electoral districts, and the way in which they aggregate and cumulate (gather and count) votes. These differences have important consequences for the way groups of people are represented and for the impact of the vote of the individual with direct results for the concept of representation itself.

- **Districting.** Electoral districting divides and combines voters by geography or by ethnic, linguistic, or other socio-economic attributes. To the extent that a community is segmented according to these attributes, they will tend to take on greater weight and prominence in governmental decisions. Variations in the size of districts and the number of offices filled from each include **single-member districts** (where only one representative is elected from a section of the whole community), **multi-member districts** (where more than one representative is elected from a section of the whole community), and **at-large elections** (in which office holders are elected to represent the entire community).

  Depending upon which variation is used, the constituency a representative is responsible to is narrowed or extended. The pattern of districting will affect the responsiveness and accountability that an individual voter may expect from each office holder. And this pattern will affect how the general interest or the minority interests of a community will be represented.
**Aggregation.** There are different formulas of aggregating or grouping the wills of individual citizens as expressed through their votes. These formulas are used to determine electoral outcomes. These formulas may be designed to accommodate the relative homogeneity or heterogeneity of interests within a community. These include:

- **plurality.** In plurality systems, the choice with the most votes wins whether or not it receives a majority. This formula may be suitable to the most homogeneous community where a preponderant minority might be expected to govern in the interest of the whole.

- **majority.** In majority systems, a choice can only prevail if it receives one more than half of the votes. This formula also can serve the needs of a relatively homogeneous community where a more than half of the voters would be required for confidence in electoral outcomes, as long as the rights of the minority are respected.

- **proportional.** Proportional systems use a variety of formulas to ensure that outcomes represent the distribution of preferences among constituencies. Constituencies may be defined by party, ethnicity, religion, class, or profession. This formula is most often adapted to a heterogeneous community where interests are difficult to compromise. This approach often replicates the divisions within the community in the operations of government presenting challenges to its stability.

**Cumulation.** There are different formulas used to cumulate or add together votes to reach final electoral outcomes. These formulas may be designed to deal with the distribution and intensity of interests within a community. These include

- **One-person, one-vote.** According to this formula each vote is mathematically equivalent. It underscores a view of each voter as the equal of every other voter. It assumes that adding up the preferences of individuals produces an accurate picture of the will of the community as a whole. This formula treats individual preferences as being of equal worth and the varying intensities of such preferences as being of equal weight.

- **Weighted votes.** According to this formula, elections are designed so that the votes of some persons count more than others. It emphasizes a view that the weight of votes should be adjusted to represent ethnic, geographic, or political subdivisions, or variations in ways of life (e.g., rural versus urban). This formula may also treat variations of intensity of preferences as being worthy of differential weight.

- **Multiple votes.** According to this formula, each person is entitled to more than one vote. This formula may include “cluster voting,” in which citizens may designate more than one vote to a particular choice, approval voting where citizens indicate the full range of choices that would be acceptable to them, and single-transferable voting where citizens rank order those preferences. This formula is intended to provide a more accurate portrayal of the intensity and order of voter preferences.
I. How does civil society contribute to the performance of political and governmental institutions in a democracy? The more dynamic and diverse a civil society, the greater its impact is on the functioning of political and governmental institutions. The liberal type of democracy is distinguished by a more developed and complex civil society. Because civil society is a less prominent feature of non-liberal democracy, it will play a less important role or no role at all in the functioning of governmental institutions.
1. Relationships between civil society and the institutions of politics and
government.

a. Civil society may be defined as the autonomous, self-organized sphere of
voluntary individual, social, and economic relationships and organizations
that, though limited by law, is separate from governmental institutions.

A broad definition of civil society encompasses all of society except
government. Civil society includes family, economic enterprises, interest
groups, and religious entities. In this view, the autonomous organizations of
civil society thus form the foundation for individual liberty.

A narrow definition restricts the concept of civil society to refer to those
segments of society that are organized for public purposes. For example,
this view includes associations organized to promote the interests of the
family, but does not include families themselves as a part of civil society. In
this view, the public character and activities of civil society are its core.

b. Functions of civil society. Associational life within civil society facilitates
the functioning of governmental institutions, spurs governmental action,
provides checks on the power of institutions, and occasionally impedes their
functioning. Civil society provides the potential for:

- **Sustaining the autonomy of the people and a consciousness of**
  popular sovereignty in being able to authorize and control
government. Civil society has the effect of separating the people from a
dependence on governmental institutions for the conduct of all public
affairs, thereby highlighting the status of government as subordinate to
the people.

- **Limiting and competing with the power of government** by
  maintaining numerous alternative centers of thought and action in the
  form of organizations, associations, and individuals acting
  independently. In so doing, civil society ensures that neither
government nor a single dominant group, such as a political party or
religious organization, holds a monopoly on sources of information,
organized political influence, resources, and ideas considered
  legitimate.

- **Promoting cohesiveness of the community** by providing the
  opportunity for the individual to take part in a number of organizations
  and social networks. Such participation may counter individual
  alienation and social fragmentation.

The organizations of civil society can also overcome social
fragmentation by providing associational life that transcends
“ascriptive” group identities based on unchangeable attributes, such as
race, gender, and ethnicity; or changeable ones, such as religion and
social class. Civil society accomplishes social integration when those of
varied group identities associate together for some common purpose or
interest.
• **Liberating the individual** from domination by a single social organization that monopolizes the person’s social relations. The numerous organizations provided by a civil society can make the individual aware of choices in life and counter an exclusive group orientation that impedes self-direction and creativity.

• **Developing the personal and civic potential of citizens** through participation in different kinds of deliberation, by providing practice in governance, and by recruiting political leaders and training all citizens in the skills of political participation. Engagement in associations helps cultivate a citizenry with confidence in its own capacity for self-government and a spirit of activism in solving its own problems.

• **Providing intermediate organizations operating between government and the individual** that promote the sense of belonging and efficacy. These organizations may also enhance the impact of the individual by aggregating the efforts of many individuals thus contributing to a general attitude of cooperativeness and fostering interpersonal trust. These organizations may participate directly in the political process by attempting to influence public policy. They may interact with government officials and institutions on behalf of their members and others. Finally, the influence of these organizations may protect their members and others from the power of government to overwhelm the individual.

• **Enhancing the legitimacy of government** by participating in the political process, thus helping to insure that government does what it is supposed to do. Government responsiveness to this process promotes public confidence in government’s honesty that in turn enhances its legitimacy.

• **Connecting individuals and groups with the public arena** by disseminating information, ideas, and critical analysis through communications media, organizing inquiries and reports, and through associational networks.

• **Articulating and aggregating interests and opinion** thereby supplementing political parties and providing individuals alternative access to the public arena through membership in appropriate groups. These organizations provide like-minded individuals and interest groups a means to work together to refine and communicate their ideas and wishes and work collectively to achieve their goals.

• **Enhancing creativity** in public affairs by serving as a laboratory for experimentation with ideas and practices.

• **Supplementing and/or providing substitutes or alternatives** for government programs designed to serve the needs and interests of the people.

• **Promoting innovation and reform in social and public affairs** by identifying unmet needs, criticizing unexamined conventions, and creating alternatives to the status quo.
c. **The relationship between government and civil society.** Civil society must remain insulated from governmental intrusiveness. Because civil society functions best on behalf of democracy when left to itself, governmental regulation of it is necessarily problematic. Government may regulate civil society but only on behalf of constitutional principles, in accordance with fundamental commitments to democracy and liberty. Without such regulation powerful institutions in civil society may undermine the democratic institutions of government. Although civil society may sometimes function best when it competes with government, if it supplants institutions that are accountable to the people, it will result in the transfer of public into private governance.

2. **The relationship between economic institutions of civil society and political institutions of democracy.** Because one of the fundamental purposes of democratic government is to promote the common good and general prosperity, the objective of enhancing and regulating the economy is a priority of governmental policy-making.

   a. **Necessity of economic regulation.** The economy in a democracy relies upon a system of publicly provided order and resources including:

      - **essential infrastructure** such as currency, legal structure (e.g., charters, contracts), insurance, banking, transportation, education, intellectual and other property rights, patents; and

      - **economic policies** such as monetary and fiscal policy (including taxation), trade policy, research, wage and labor regulation, environmental, health, and safety policies; equal opportunity and anti-discrimination policies; regulation of equity and financial markets and standards for financial accounting practices to ensure transparency in market structures and transactions.

   b. **Economic regulation and the integrity and maintenance of democracy.** The degree and nature of government involvement in economic regulation raises difficult questions for democracy itself. These arise from the tension between differing views concerning the relationship of political freedom and economic freedom.

      - **Priority of economic freedom.** If economic freedom is given priority, it is because it is understood as providing a basis of independence and power that helps sustain the existence of political freedom. Economic freedom is the most efficient means to free human beings from a preoccupation with fulfilling basic needs, thus providing them the option and capacity to engage in various other activities including the political process.

      Economic freedom is an indispensable component of personal liberty because it provides a foundation for personal independence and political empowerment. Moreover, it ensures that government cannot dominate individuals or society.

      The priority and importance of economic freedom to democracy require that government regulation not undermine those functions of the economy that promote individual liberty and political freedom.
• **Priority of political freedom.** If political freedom is given priority, it is because it is understood as protecting the individual from inequities of political power and access that may derive from the accumulation of economic power. Moreover, political freedom ensures that the common good is not held hostage to the private self-interest of economic enterprise.

The priority and importance of political freedom to democracy requires that government not allow basic political rights to be undermined by extreme economic inequality.

c. **Economic regulation, democracy, and individual rights.** Government regulation of the economy in a democracy must accommodate the following fundamentally different views:

- **Democratic presumptuousness regarding social and economic problems.** There may be a tendency to think that if the entire political system is based on popular rule, then governmental institutions should be able to control everything, so long as democratic procedures have been followed and there is political accountability. Such an enthusiasm for democracy may lead to a false and potentially dangerous belief that democratic government can and should solve any and all social and economic problems.

This belief could subvert democracy’s own first principles if public policies undermined an autonomous civil society and a protected private domain, as well as the maintenance of a market-based economy.

On the other hand, democracy’s commitment to the welfare of its citizens has enabled democratic societies to respond effectively to a variety of economic and social ills. Democracies that forthrightly tackle these ills must address them within a framework that preserves the fundamental rights of all sections of the community.

- **Government protection of individual rights.** Governments must regulate the authority of economic organizations on behalf of preserving the well-being, freedom, and rights of individuals, thus avoiding a tyranny of economic power. It is essential to protect those personal and economic rights that justify the freedom of markets in the first place.

A balance must be struck, however, that avoids extension of the economic rights of disadvantaged individuals to the degree that it leads to over-regulation of the market resulting in diminished economic performance which may harm the entire society.

On the other hand, it may be equally essential to avoid an extension of property rights that leads to under-regulation, inadequate protection of labor, and extreme gaps between the rich and poor.

d. **The distribution of economic resources and the integrity and maintenance of democracy.** One of the central purposes of a democratic government is to establish and maintain distributive justice consistent with the principles of a free society. It has long been argued that the well-being
and legitimacy of democracy requires that there not be severe disparities of economic condition. In this view, whatever variation in economic strata there may be between rich and poor should be moderated by a substantial range of middle classes in which multiple degrees of prosperity are apparent. In modern democracies where economic inequality translates directly into political inequality, the democratic value of the political equality of citizens is endangered.

e. **Concentrations of economic resources and the integrity and maintenance of democracy.** Great concentrations of wealth and political power may threaten the capacity of governmental institutions and citizens themselves to control their government. They may thus distort or corrupt the democratic process by overwhelming other voices, dominating the public agenda, and denying the people the right to participate effectively in the political process.

The political influence of concentrated wealth also may enable matters to be hidden from public view so they do not come up for democratic consideration. Such influence also may result in the settling of such matters in private on behalf of particular interests. In other instances the intensity of the conflict among centers of concentrated wealth and political power may dominate the public arena. In this way, wider popular participation and broader representation of both the public good and other interests of the population are precluded.

On the other hand, concentrations of wealth and political power do not necessarily remove issues from the public agenda. These concentrations can also serve as a balance against the power of government. Various concentrations of wealth may also compete with one another. In some instances they may aggregate the interests of the general population by using their resources to keep their issues on the public agenda. In this way a concentration of wealth and power may enhance representation of the people’s interest.

In addition, social expectations that concentrated wealth should contribute to the overall well-being of the community may result in philanthropy that supports the ideas, institutions, and culture of democracy.

3. **The relationship between communications media of civil society and the working of democracy.** Because a democracy requires a knowledgeable and informed people and runs on public opinion, means must be available for communicating a wide range of perceptions of the public domain. In a democratic society the media must provide information to enable the citizen to achieve a picture of the public domain adequate for an identification and an understanding of the problems and possibilities for public action. When media fulfill these functions, they make it possible for citizens to deliberate, make proposals, and to make judgments.

a. **Functions of the media in a democratic political system.** If the media are to contribute adequately to the working of democracy, they must perform the following roles.
• Communicate information about the affairs of the public domain. In order to make accurate assessment of issues in the public domain the people require substantial information about a wide range of subjects, e.g., not only the affairs of government, but also international matters, economics, science, technology, culture. To provide substantial information requires more than an exchange of opinions about these subjects, it is necessary to provide facts, knowledge, and expert commentary on them.

• Serve as a check on power. In the course of gathering and reporting facts on the use of power by government and other elements of the public domain, the media serve a oversight function. They provide a forum for public participation and a conduit for the voice of the people, aggregate and mobilize public opinion, and provide a means for monitoring and influencing the use of power. They may also serve as agents for change and reform.

• Educate concerning the values and processes of democracy. Both through reporting the news and through providing entertainment the media offer models of behavior that may exemplify the values of democracy and demonstrate its operations. They may also portray behaviors and relationships that are incompatible with the values and principles of democracy. They may also serve as a primary source of education about how the political system works.

• Provide a forum for persuasion. Most of modern electoral politics takes place in the “virtual arena” of the media rather than in the traditional “public square.” This development puts a premium on electoral and governmental politics as theatrical performance. The electronic media have also made it possible for more citizens to be informed about public affairs and to express and disseminate their own views more broadly.

• Act as a center of power. By concentrating the means used to provide the information on which the people’s opinions, judgments, and actions are based, the communications media assumes a central role in popular self-governance. But there are few means for free media to be held accountable for their use of this power without violating the principles of democracy. Even so, the role of the communications media as an independent center of power within the political system may compete with and constrain the power of government.

b. Characteristics of the media that contribute to democracy. If the media are to contribute adequately to the working of democracy, they should exhibit the following characteristics:

• Independence. In order for the media to operate as an accurate source of information about public Affairs or as a check on power, they must be insulated from control by the objects of their inquiries whether they are, for example, governmental, economic, or religious.

• Freedom. Censorship corrupts the system of providing information appropriate for a people to govern themselves, whether or not that
censorship is government-sponsored or it arises from any other use of power in the public domain. Even within the news gathering organizations, power can be used in such a way that the effects of censorship occur. Or news organizations may be inducted to perform self-censorship as a result of intimidation or threat of economic penalties. This abuse of power can occur by the choice of what will or will not be reported, as well as by how news is reported.

• **Diversity.** The right of self-government requires not only the choice of what policies to pursue, but also the ability to select which perspectives and ideas seem most valid to individual citizens. For this to occur, there must be a range of options from which to obtain information and opinion regarding the public domain. Thus, the number of sources and outlets of information must be many and varied. They must also present a diversity of perspectives.

• **Quality.** For citizens to be able to decide wisely, the information and knowledge presented to them by media must be of sufficient scope, depth, and accuracy to provide an adequate foundation for their deliberation.

• **Integrity.** The function of the media is to do more than transfer information given to them. Often the information most relevant to public deliberation can be obtained only as a result of persistent and even courageous investigation into the activities of those in power. This role is often undertaken not only by professionals but also, with great effectiveness, by citizens themselves who may refuse to rely on standardized sources of information.

• **Accessibility.** The media cannot be closed to public participation. Citizens must be able to communicate directly with other citizens and to those in power through the media. In addition, publications of the best information will be of little consequence for self-governance if it is not readily available to the people. Unless the people develop the knowledge and skills required to obtain and evaluate public information, their participation in the public domain may be limited in its effectiveness.

c. **Characteristics of media that detract from democracy.** When the media exhibit the following characteristics, they may undermine or subvert democracy.

• **Concentration of ownership.** The ownership and control of the media may be so concentrated either by government or among private corporations that the type and range of information, issues, and perspectives is restricted. Thus the scope of information available to the public is so narrowed that the people cannot become aware of the alternatives available for choice. Even when they are aware of the issues, they may not have sufficient facts and perspectives to make decisions that best serve their own interests.
• **Distortion.** Distortion in the media can take many forms other than the most obvious misrepresentation of the facts. These include:

  • selective inclusion of some facts and the deliberate to the exclusion of others
  
  • the framing of information in such a way that one perspective dominates and obscures other ways of looking at the same facts
  
  • over-generalizing where a few accurate details are given such emphasis that they lead to a false portrayal or substitute for a complete picture
  
  • the use of “loaded” (emotion- or value-laden) language that prompt conclusions not based on careful reasoning
  
  • using and perpetuating stereotypes that prompt people to draw unexamined and possibly unfounded conclusions or unwarranted expectations based on highly visible traits

• **Imbalance.** Even when some issues are worthy of media focus, the media may concentrate so much attention on them that other important issues are eclipsed. Or arguments on one side of an issue may be well presented while opposing arguments may not be presented at all or may be poorly presented. In addition, a predominant focus on personal, local, regional, national, or international issues to the detriment of the other levels creates an imbalance that makes it difficult for a democratic people to attend to all of the levels of governance that affect them.

• **Negative portrayal of human beings.** When the media focus predominantly on human shortcomings and misdeeds such as scandal, corruption, crime, and depravity, they distort people’s perceptions of society and their fellow citizens. This undermines confidence in their institutions, replacing it with mutual distrust and doubtfulness about the human capacity for self-government. When information itself almost exclusively takes the form of entertainment, the media have defaulted on their obligation to keep the public informed. In extreme cases they can become so preoccupied with entertaining a mass audience by providing titillation and evoking strong emotions that may portray human nature as so depraved, violent, or unreasoning that democracy is impossible.

• **Trivialization.** The media may raise insignificant matters to such a high level of public awareness that they preclude or preempt attention to matters of substance and lower the level of public discourse. Moreover by allowing trivial matters to dominate their attention, the media displace public attention away from matters of consequence. And the media can so condition the public by its preoccupation with the insignificant in their portrayal of public affairs that the people are led to conclude that the public arena is not a place where serious problems are
addressed. This may lead people to feel that their real concerns can
only attended to in the private realm.

• **Lack of expertise.** The quality of the media is dependent upon both
professional standards of journalism and expertise in the areas that it
addresses. Performance by its practitioners that fails to meet adequate
professional standards results in inaccurate and unreliable information,
or misleading and ill-considered commentary. Inadequate access to
expertise or a lack of adequate knowledge about its subject matter may
also lead both description and analysis to be of poor quality. Without a
sufficient base of knowledge and adequate exposure to exemplary
reasoning, the citizen is handicapped in making judgments about
public affairs.

• **Inaccessibility.** The media often characterize themselves as standing in
the place of the people. They purport to be “the eyes and ears” of the
public and to fulfill the public’s “right to know.” And yet, although
there may be a great variety of sources of information, many media
organizations deny access for participation or contribution by members
of the public. The people may have little influence on one of the most
important sets of institutions for determining what knowledge and
perspectives are available to them to use in making judgments about
public affairs. Thus important issues may be neglected or differing
perspectives may be selectively excluded from the public domain.
VI. How do democracies emerge, develop, survive, and improve?

A. Patterns of democracy in time.

B. The dynamic of democracy

C. Transitions to democracy

D. Characteristics of developed democracies.

E. Overcoming obstacles to the preservation and improvement of existing democracies
VI. How do democracies emerge, develop, survive, and improve?

Democracies cannot be finished or perfected. Even the most developed democracies are imperfect and continue to evolve. This should not be surprising since democracy can have no expectation of achieving a perfect society. Even if achieving a perfect state were possible, it would be antithetical to democracy because it would stop the process of criticism, innovation, and progress.

Democracy is not utopia, which is by definition perfect. But democracies do work to lessen the gap between democratic ideals and reality. Inherent in every democracy is a commitment to the possibility of improvement, however successful a particular democracy may seem at the moment. Democracies encourage criticism, competition, and change, even celebrating the vitality of diversity and dissonance itself.

Although there may be a prevailing view that a democratic political system is the consequence of an evolution or a sequence of stages, it is difficult to determine what are the essential preconditions or the order of phases necessary to encourage or produce a developed democracy. Even among accounts of what these stages have been or should be, there are conflicting views about what the steps are and their most effective. In addition there are arguments that there is no definitive sequence as well as arguments that different patterns of development work better in varying situations.

A. Patterns of democracy in time. The protection and improvement of democracy may be facilitated by having a model describing how democracy develops over time. Such a model could provide a framework for understanding the course of formative events and the status of a democracy at any given point in its history. Alternative models include the following:

1. Life cycle. Democracies, like other well designed forms of government, may have life-cycles; that is, they are born (given the right circumstances), grow to maturity, and then die. Even under the life cycle theory, it may be possible for democracy to be perpetuated if it is embodied in durable institutions and if its principles are recreated in the minds and hearts of future generations.

2. Ideal type. In contrast to the notion of inevitable cycles, democracy may be conceived as an ideal type of polity that can be approximated but never fully realized.

3. End state. Another image is that the idea of democracy is the end-state in the progress of human history. Once substantially reached or “consolidated,” this form of democracy supplies the resources and means for perpetuating itself.

4. Evolution. As an alternative to picturing democracy as an inevitable cycle, an unreachable teleological destiny, or the ultimate aim and goal of history, democracy as a form of political system may be seen as open-ended, evolving in new and unforeseen ways. As a community learns from its experience with popular self-governance, its political system may more fully realize democratic principles in ways that cannot be anticipated from the time of its inception. In this process democracy itself might evolve into an unforeseen new form of government.
B. The dynamic of democracy.

1. The principles of democracy. To thrive, a democracy must live ultimately in the minds and hearts of the people. Democracy’s fundamental principles should guide the people’s perceptions of public affairs and their behavior. Over time there is a tendency to forget these principles or even to distort them. An understanding of these principles must not only be passed on from one generation to the next but must also be reexamined and reinterpreted in the light of their circumstances and experiences.

Inquiry into the meaning and interpretation of fundamental principles may be guided by one of the following positions regarding them. In each case, fundamental principles should not be understood as fully realized or subject to dogmatic endorsement.

a. Principles as unchangeable. Citizens and political systems must constantly recur to fundamental principles, critically reflect upon their meaning, and recover and adhere to them as understood in their original sense.

b. Principles as subject to refinement. Citizens and political systems must be able to progressively refine democratic principles through active reflection upon their intrinsic meaning and their relationship to experience.

c. Principles as subject to reexamination. Citizens and political systems must be able to reconsider and reevaluate democratic principles in terms of their current application to the political system.

2. Tension among democratic principles. There is not one, but a number of fundamental principles of democracy which lie at the base of this form of political system. These principles are inherently in tension, e.g., freedom and equality, individual rights and the common good, majority rule and minority rights.

a. Balancing fundamental principles. Fundamental principles must be balanced appropriately among themselves both in the overall organization of the political system and in their application to the ordinary affairs of political life, e.g., the need to balance liberty and order or the public’s right to know and privacy.

b. Variations in balancing fundamental principles. There is no single best version of a balance among fundamental principles. Democracy must always respect its these principles, never abolishing one for the sake of others. But democracies vary in the balance they strike among fundamental principles, e.g., democracies that emphasize social welfare versus those that emphasize individual self-reliance.

c. Ongoing conflict among fundamental principles. Fundamental principles are inherently in conflict, e.g., liberty and equality. Establishing a balance among these principles does not eliminate this conflict. This conflict can be focused upon the nature of the fundamental principles themselves, their relative weight and importance, and their application to particular cases or situations.
d. **Preserving a balance of fundamental principles.** In the overall scheme of fundamental principles in any democratic political system, none of these principles can be exalted in a way that substantially damages or excludes others. If imbalance occurs as a result of one or more of these principles being held as absolute, then democracy itself is threatened by the overshadowing of other first principles.

C. **Transitions to democracy.** Democracies do not appear in the world fully developed. There is no one set of antecedent conditions that makes democracy possible. Nor is there a pre-established sequence of stages that culminates in mature democracy. Democratic political systems may arise through a process of transition from ill-defined or poorly formed polities or from other developed forms of government. Transition can be abrupt or gradual. In some instances, societies or their leaders may attempt to superimpose or graft a democratic political system or democratic institutions upon a previously existing political system incompatible with democracy.

Transitions to democracy are often painful passages. Human costs may include loss of life, liberty, and property for advocates as well as opponents of democracy. The people themselves may have to endure economic and other forms of personal deprivation as well as the loss of national stature. Because democracy accentuates popular opinion and involvement, moving toward democracy may offer occasion for demagoguery. It also may lead to a rise in ethnic bigotry and ultra-nationalism. But in some cases these passages may serve formative and informative purposes in the development and maturation of democracy. The political accomplishments of transition periods carry over and shape the character of developing and mature democracies. The lessons learned in this period provide a fund of knowledge and experience about political practices necessary to establish and sustain democratic life.

1. **Antecedent conditions.** Ill-defined or poorly formed polities or other developed forms of government may possess certain factors that may predispose a society to become democratic or enhance the possibility of democratic evolution. These conditions include:

   a. spread of literacy and “mind-opening” education which enables ideas and information to be made widely available and understood as well as to increase awareness of alternatives to the status quo

   b. differentiation of persons as individuals with rights rather than as parts of a social organism

   c. consciousness that one’s future might be affected by one’s abilities and actions, as opposed to fatalistic acceptance of a pre-ordained condition

   d. dissatisfaction with the status quo resulting from increasing awareness of the shortcomings of the existing state of political life

   e. a degree of economic development that enables a substantial portion of the population to survive beyond the subsistence level and allows them to attend to matters beyond themselves and beyond the present, eventually leading to the increase of a middle class
f. dissemination of democratic ideas through the media, education, and other means that make possible challenges to the existing order

g. capacity of persons to gather in associations for their own purposes

2. Forces and processes that may prompt fundamental political change. A variety of internal and external social, economic, and political forces, events, or actions of individuals and groups can foment fundamental political change. Sometimes these changes result in movement toward democracy through:

   a. Forces that may prompt change
      (1) influence of international norms and pressures
      (2) economic development, modernization, and internationalization
      (3) influence of mass media
      (4) migration
      (5) spread of education both geographically and socially
      (6) influence of international civil society, including pressure of international norms and organizations on the emergence and development of democracy
      (7) popular dissatisfaction arising from experience with non-democratic political systems
      (8) the people’s demands for participation, accountability, and improvements in the quality of their lives

   b. Processes that may prompt change
      (1) Revolution
      (2) Regime collapse
      (3) democratic mass movements
      (4) opposition movements focusing upon changing prevailing social norms
      (5) negotiated regime change

3. Factors that contribute to the development of democracy. Certain conditions or factors in a society promote progress towards democracy. These factors include the level of development and direction of the economy, the legal system, civil society, and education. The level of development of these factors influences other aspects of society and may serve as catalysts for the development of democracy.

   a. Economic performance. The level of a country’s economic development plays a key role in establishing the social conditions in which democracy can take root. Society must be lifted from levels of poverty that demand constant attention to survival itself. The economy must also have attained a
degree of complexity and prosperity in which citizens have consciousness of social interdependence and of being stakeholders in the system.

- **Leisure time.** The capacity of the economic system to sustain life beyond the subsistence level provides the opportunity for large numbers of people to devote their attention and energy to public affairs among other activities and to participate effectively in the political process.

- **Interdependence.** Advanced economic development is marked by interdependence among persons or groups, resulting in collaborative efforts toward a common enterprise. Such economic development tends to break down rigid boundaries between economically autonomous localities and promotes cooperation, joint ventures, and wider social interrelationships.

- **Ownership.** Advanced economic development may lead persons to perceive that they have a stake in the community as a whole. Each person may thus claim standing as one of the “owners” of the public realm. People also may see their personal prosperity as intertwined with the economic success of the community. This leads to an interest in the regulation of the results of economic activity through the political process.

b. **Economic v. political development.** Because of the importance of economic performance as a factor in the development of democracy, different views have arisen as to whether economic or political development should be encouraged at the expense or delay of the other. Alternative views are that

- establishment of democratic political institutions must be delayed or even reversed to facilitate the economic development on which democratic practices may depend.

- democratic political institutions provide the social practices and political stability fundamental to economic development and to protecting the accomplishments of the economy. Thus they should take precedence.

- establishment of democratic political and economic institutions may in some cases proceed together when they are mutually reinforcing or their phases of development are interlocking.

c. **System of law.** The evolution of a system of law provides for:

- ordering of social, economic, and political relationships and transactions

- security of arrangements among persons and organizations such as contracts, respect for property rights

- use of objective standards for the making of legal decisions rather than arbitrary and transient decisions by courts
• predictability regarding the application and enforcement of “rules of
  the game” or the basic rules of social interaction

• settled means for the arbitration of disputes among parties
d. **Civil society.** The existence of civil society creates a public space separate from government that allows for:

- a public, non-governmental arena where individuals can endeavor to achieve their own goals
- association of individuals in relationships that allow them to expand their perspectives and that facilitate cooperation, compromise, and creativity to accomplish mutual purposes
- networks of association, communication, competition, and cooperation among groups which energize civic life and create the possibility of competing and cooperating centers of power outside of government
- groups that cut across social and/or ideological cleavages to include members of other divergent groups thus encouraging cooperation and moderating existing divisions
- dissemination and exchange of knowledge and ideas regarding alternatives and solutions to matters of public concern which may culminate in substantive proposals for democratic reform
- individual organizations or coalitions of non-governmental organizations which debate and act on public affairs

e. **Educational system.** Widespread education of all members of the society in the arts and sciences may lead to the full cultivation of the intellect, broadened perspectives, awareness of alternatives, the disposition to question, and a belief that problems can be addressed by thoughtful and informed action. Such an education should be provided not only by schools and universities but also by other institutions, organizations, the media, and civic experience which offer opportunities for the development of civic competence and responsibility. Education should be provided on an equal basis across lines of gender, class, ethnic, and other divisions among the people. In such an enhanced scheme of education, a further focus on civic education may

- cultivate and sustain a sense of civic competence, responsibility, and commitment
- promote the acquisition of a political vocabulary so that citizens understand that the maxims of political discourse have a deeper meaning and can be applied to the practice of politics
- develop conceptual frames of reference such that fundamental concepts, values, and principles guide one’s understanding and actions in regard to the public domain
- distinguish itself from education conducted in an authoritarian manner by avoiding indoctrination and dogmatism and encouraging skills of thoughtful inquiry and deliberation

• develop and rely upon teaching methods that cultivate the
time, skills, and democratic civic dispositions or traits of
public and private character that facilitate democracy

• develop skills in analyzing and evaluating political discourse and
argument

• encourage a common civic identity that transcends particular ethnic,
religious, or other social or cultural identities

f. **Leadership and elites.** A democracy needs leaders. In the early phases
of a transition, leaders may come from pre-existing institutions of other
forms of government or from opposition groups. If these leaders can
cultivate or exhibit skills of compromise, coalition building, and public
persuasion, they can become catalysts for the broader and more stable
development of democratic institutions and practices across a society.
Gradually these leaders may be replaced by new leaders whose
experience in a nascent democracy establishes them as a new elite
possessed of skills more directly related to leading a democratic society.

4. **Indicators of progress towards democracy.** Certain observable signs in a
non-democratic political system provide evidence of its transition to
democracy. Elements of democracy that may evolve in a non-democratic state
include free elections, a free press, non-governmental organizations, a system
of law. Such elements may develop to different levels of sophistication and
may be mutually reinforcing. The achievement of a democratic political
system is not inevitable at any stage; but when there is a critical mass of
mutually reinforcing democratic elements accumulates, there is a momentum
toward democracy.

Indicators of progress toward democracy include the extent of:

a. personal, political, and economic liberty

b. a rising sense that the people are entitled to power over their own
government and that they are capable of conducting public affairs
together

c. inclusion of formerly excluded or marginalized groups on equal terms
with everyone else in the social and political life of the community

d. entrenchment of democratic principles and practices in political
institutions, e.g., repeated exchanges of governmental power among
competing parties and individuals

e. respect for democratic arrangements by the major power centers in the
society including religious, economic, and military power centers

f. removal of constitutional provisions and practices that are anti-
democratic

g. a decisive break from a party system in which one party or coalition
controls the mechanism of elections so that they can perpetuate
themselves in power
h. establishment of a rule of law including procedural protections of the individual and an independent system of justice

i. education for democratic citizenship which fosters reasoned consent to democratic values and principles, as distinguished from indoctrination and propaganda

j. the capacity to counter the ability of powerful forces in the society to undo or revoke democratic practices, e.g., the military, elites

k. popular vigilance over government that exposes signs of the erosion of democracy, e.g., the deprivation of individual rights and other violations of constitutional principles, the prevalence of corruption

5. **Legacies of non-democratic rule.** Societies in transition to democracy face a variety of obstacles including problems inherited from prior political systems they may be displacing. The challenge to countries in transition to democracy is to deal with these problems in ways that are compatible with or that reinforce democracy. These obstacles may include:

a. **Personal patterns of thought and behavior**, such as

   - passivity and absence of personal initiative
   - personal dependence on government
   - lawlessness and predilection to violence as the way of settling disputes
   - law viewed as a weapon of the powerful
   - incompatibility of religious beliefs and practices with democratic norms and practices
   - distrust of authority and of fellow citizens
   - gender stereotypes with implications for restricting participation in public affairs
   - alienation, cynicism, and lack of pride in citizenship
   - lack of political efficacy, civic knowledge, and civic skills

b. **Social, economic, and political obstacles** such as:

   - breakdown of security and order
   - ethnic hatred and fragmentation
   - gender inequities
   - widespread poverty or wide disparities in wealth and income
   - absence of a middle class
   - centralized command economies
• restricted and undeveloped popular press, with limited alternative sources of information

• unwillingness of political parties and leaders to act in accord with the ground rules

• political interference by the military

• governmental records about individuals’ private lives

• propagation of ideological or distorted views of a country’s political history

• doctrinaire educational systems

• lack of democratic traditions and understanding

D. Characteristics of developed democracies. No democracy is static, even if it is considered mature. Even though mature democracies continue to evolve, they possess certain general characteristics that mark them as stable and developed.

These characteristics include:

1. Preservation of popular sovereignty. The sovereign people have an enduring presence and capacity to exercise their authority in political affairs.

2. Adherence to democratic principles. Mature democracies adhere to fundamental principles in their day-to-day operation both through the activities of governance and in the lives of the people.

3. Fidelity to legitimizing purposes. Mature democracies strive to be faithful to the reasons that justify the people’s choice of democracy, e.g., the protection of individual rights and promotion of the common good, responsiveness of government to the will of the people.

4. Coherence of democratic elements. In mature democracies essential democratic elements form a systemic and coherent whole that has enduring stability and acceptance among citizens. This is sometimes called “consolidation.”

5. Functioning institutions. Institutions of mature democracies attempt to work effectively to address changing problems that require attention for the present and future well-being of society.

6. Stability. Even in the context of continuing evolution, a mature democracy exhibits a predictable character and maintains its integrity as a system of governance and way of life.

7. Status among nation-states. Mature democracies govern their own internal affairs and take their place as members of the international community.

E. Overcoming obstacles to the preservation and improvement of existing democracies. Not only is democracy never finished or perfected, it must constantly
be safeguarded against conditions that may threaten it. A variety of responses can be
used to counter these conditions.

1. **Conditions that threaten democracy.** Democracies can regress or fail
altogether. Some conditions in society or among its institutions may threaten
the viability of democracy. These include:

a. **Ineffective government.** Democratic institutions may fail to provide
effective, honest government. Corruption may pervade government,
undermining the people’s trust in their political institutions, breaking the
connection between institutions and popular authority. Extreme conflict
among political parties may fragment government to the extent that it
prevents the adoption of policies that effectively meet the polity’s needs.
Democratic institutions may be unwilling to undertake reforms necessary
for their effectiveness in policy making and for their responsiveness to
the people.

b. **Social and religious fragmentation.** Important segments of society may
come into conflict with each other on religious, ethnic, economic, or
regional grounds. Removal of constraints on the formation and operation
of these groups within society may exacerbate conflict among them into
overt violence. The institutions of democratic governance and civil
society may be unable to mediate these conflicts, leaving democracy
vulnerable.

c. **Economic failure.** The economic system may fail to provide sufficient
stability or growth. Hyperinflation, the result of the excessive printing of
money by government, may undermine social morale and economic
performance. One generation or segment of society may sacrifice others
in order to protect its economic status. A middle class may fail to develop
or survive. Or an impoverished segment of society may become so
frustrated that it becomes alienated from democratic institutions,
separates itself from them, and resorts to anti-democratic options. At the
same time, the open deliberation and debate of democratic institutions
may offer the best means of working through such crises.

d. **Erosion of democratic ethos.** Erosion of faith in democracy and of
belief in its capacity to serve its purposes may take place insidiously. In
some circumstances this may result from a gradual reduction of the
power of the people or their abdication of responsibility. Elected leaders
may then take advantage of opportunities to advance authoritarianism by
degrees, cloaking it in a democratic facade, e.g., calling it “guided
democracy.”

e. **Constitutional crisis.** Democracy may be jeopardized when there is a
comprehensive breakdown of constitutional arrangements where
institutions no longer function effectively or where a systematic disregard
for constitutional principles breaks the trust of the sovereign people in
their government.

f. **Social pathology.** Even in the most advanced democracies, destructive
and seemingly intractable problems may occur. These may include
severe social cleavages, violence among groups, widespread addictions,
intergenerational antagonism, spread of irrationalism and pseudoscientific ideas, extremist political and religious ideas, and extensive criminality. These conditions may be especially threatening if they promote social breakdown, destructive social policy, disrespect for law and the institutions of government, and/or a disinclination of the people to reason together about their common political problems.

g. Lack of confidence in the future. Democracy is predicated on hope—the belief that conditions can be improved, notwithstanding the extent of present difficulties. Thus an environment of cynicism, fatalism, and nihilism threatens democracy. This can be particularly true when unrealistic expectations of economic well-being do not materialize with transition to democracy.

2. Responses to anti-democratic trends. To survive, democracies must identify and deal with anti-democratic trends in their midst. This dangerous task may require subordinating some fundamental principles to others. This task requires the difficult process of public examination and widespread participation in open decision-making.

The people need to judge whether limits should be placed on anti-democratic activities and what these limits might be. For example, to be true to itself, must a democracy yield to an authoritarian movement that succeeds in gaining control through democratic means, e.g., elections? Or must a democracy yield to dictatorships or unconstitutional policies established through the use of democratic procedures?

a. Constraints on the means used by anti-democratic groups in a democracy. Democratic systems have sometimes prohibited groups from using democratic rights and procedures in attempts to destroy democracy. Examples of steps that have been taken include:

- Limitations on expression, e.g., the prohibition of hate speech, of ritualistic mass meetings for anti-democratic ideologies, and of advocacy of change of a democratic form of government by violent means
- Restricting or outlawing political organizations, e.g., the banning of political organizations seen as posing a threat to democracy; governmental intrusion to police the operations of anti-democratic political parties

b. Constraints on outcomes achieved by anti-democratic movements that use democratic means. Does the concept of democracy require allowing the destruction of a democratic system if this destruction is achieved through the use of democratic procedures?

Arguments for an affirmative response to this question include:

- In a democracy the form of government is always under examination and reconsideration. Because democracy is never complete or perfected, other forms of government may appear more desirable.
Because the people are sovereign, they have the ultimate authority to change their government. Therefore, they have the right to change or abolish whatever government they may have. If they do, democratic principles require respect for the result.

Democracy has a fundamental commitment to democratic processes. Therefore whatever results from these processes deserves the democratic imprimatur.

Arguments against an affirmative response to this question include:

No person is obligated to yield to the destruction of basic rights. Even a majority, honoring democratic procedures, may not legitimately abrogate the rights of individuals or minorities.

The concept of democracy includes an ongoing commitment to openness to change. The reason for this openness is democracy’s commitment to a process of public contestation and openness to challenging currently held ideas.

Democracy by its nature is not “totalistic”; that is, loyalty to democracy does not encompass the entire range of a person’s values and commitments. When it becomes evident that a democratic system will produce non-democratic outcomes, the limits of commitment to democracy have been surpassed. At that point supporters of democracy are not obligated to accept the political system’s outcomes.

Democracy does not embrace the right of one generation to make decisions that irrevocably bind future generations. This principle that the past cannot bind the present is often used to justify the right to undo democratic institutions. But this principle is distorted if it is used to justify the present binding of the future in such a way that democratic channels for decision-making are shut down.

3. **The citizen as a key agent in determining democracy’s fate.** Institutions and leaders have an obligation to preserve and protect the principles of democratic governance. However, the role of the citizen in the renewal, self-correction, ultimate survival, and evolution of democracy is even more important. Democracy can exist only if it lives in the minds and hearts of its citizens. Citizens must do more than profess their commitment to democracy. Not only individually but in concert with others, citizens can demonstrate their commitment to democracy by such actions as

a. engaging in critical questioning of the polity’s basic principles and the extent to which the operations of their democracy are consistent with them

b. being alert to the possibility that current practices and policies are deficient with respect to fundamental democratic principles and being open to critical revision of commitments in light of better reasons and evidence
c. reflecting on and participating in public evaluation of the desirability of change in institutions and constitutional arrangements

d. evaluating whether fundamental democratic values and principles are atrophying and acting on that evaluation

e. insuring that their civic actions reaffirm and are grounded in fundamental democratic values

f. opening their minds and devoting their energies and imagination to new possibilities for furthering the values and principles of democratic self-governance

g. acting to accomplish political goals and to address the problems of public affairs with an understanding that together they are to act as agents of the common good
VII. How does democracy shape the world and the world shape democracy?

A. Are democratic values universal?

B. What changes in the world have been spurred by the idea of democracy?

C. What issues for democracy arise from the need for a nation-state and new developments at sub-national and transnational levels?

D. How do world affairs affect democracy?

E. How do the concept and practices of democracy shape interactions among nation-states?

F. What role should democracies play in encouraging democracy in the world?
VII. How does democracy shape the world and the world shape democracy?

Democracy operates in an international context. This international context affects the character and quality of democratic nation-states just as the existence of democracy in various nation-states affects the broader context of world affairs.

It is one thing to set forth justifications why any particular country should try to achieve or maintain democracy. It is a very different matter to claim that ultimately democracy is the proper standard of governance for all countries and for world politics generally. The process of justifying democracy in the world context poses open-ended and problematic questions such as the following.

A. Are democratic values universal? Universality implies that something is applicable across time, place, and culture. Something that is universal may be understood as arising from “the nature of things” or from the observation of humanity and commonalities across civilizations. Even though non-democratic values may have been prevalent for the greater part of human history, democratic values may still be considered to have existed in some form and to be potentially universal.

Democratic values may be considered universal…

1. **...to the extent that democratic values reflect human nature.** To discover if democratic values reflect human nature, one would have to determine, for example, the validity of the following propositions:

a. **Secure existence.** A desire for self-government arises from an innate need for a secure existence.

b. **Self-determination.** Democracy’s commitments to individual and/or collective decision-making reflect a general human need for self-determination. All human beings are equally entitled to aspire to self-direction and to have an equal voice in the affairs of their community.

c. **Shared decision-making.** In the absence of established political structures the sharing of decision-making among members of a group comes naturally.

d. **Opposition to oppressive rule.** Human beings have a natural instinct to be opposed to oppressive rule and an irrepressible inclination to have a voice in determining the affairs that affect their lives.

2. **...to the extent that democratic values are evident in all cultures.** Even if there are doubts that democratic values are a part of “the nature of things,” some claim that values that support democracy are evident wherever human beings achieve civilized society. For example, even in societies that have traditions and established practices that may appear incompatible with democracy, some personal and political relationships and practices can be found which reflect elemental democratic values.

a. **Friendship and family relationships.** These relationships are found in all cultures. To the extent that friendship is not a relationship of dictation...
but of subtle negotiation or that the relationship of family members is one of mutual, not one-sided obligation, the inherent elements of these relationships arguably reflect pre-political aspects of democracy.

b. **Democratic elements in non-democracies.** Even non-democratic political systems sometimes exhibit political practices consonant with democracy. Authoritarian regimes have often resorted to democratic ideas in seeking legitimization, for example by staging “elections.” They also have resorted to democratic procedures to conduct government, for example, consulting with and accommodating important segments of society. One might conclude from such examples that certain democratic values are inherent in the nature of governance.

3. **...to the extent that democratic values have articulated the political aspirations and informed the moral standards of human beings.** The term “democracy” has arguably come to symbolize a hope for a better state of affairs and is widely considered a marker for the right and good in political arrangements. To determine the extent to which this is true one would have to assess, for example, the validity of the following propositions:

a. **Individual aspirations reflect democratic values.** Individuals’ aspirations or goals reflect democratic values, e.g., the wish to be treated fairly, the wish to be able to express one’s thoughts and feelings, the wish to have a voice in decisions that may affect one, the wish to cooperate with others to achieve common purposes.

b. **Individuals’ recognition of the relationship between their natural longings and democratic values.** The aspirations of individuals in their inner life may resonate profoundly with fundamental values most likely to be realized in a democracy, e.g., the desire to be treated with respect, the wish for a peaceful existence, the wish to be free of fear, the desire not to be treated arbitrarily.

c. **Inherent attractiveness.** Democratic values and ideas have an inherent attractiveness, compelling logic, or call to conscience, e.g., political equality, distributive justice.

4. **...to the extent that democratic values and principles are useful for the understanding of political systems.** Like other categories of political analysis (e.g., relationships of political authority, human rights, and justice), democracy may provide guidelines for understanding a particular system of government. Democratic values may thus prompt questions that are effective in understanding any given political system—for example, what the role of the people is and whether those in authority are held accountable to them.

5. **...to the extent that democratic values and principles are useful for evaluating political systems.** Democratic values may serve as standards that can be used to evaluate any existing political system in reference to others. On the other hand, such standards might obscure or distort observations essential to understanding and/or evaluating political systems other than democracy.
6. ...to the extent that democratic values and principles animate international norms and law regarding human rights.

a. The development of international norms. The idea of establishing norms for the behavior of states is of ancient lineage. From Mesopotamian and Greek city-states and ancient China to the present, attempts have been made to establish norms of behavior among nations.

- Norms that originally affected only the relations among nation-states have become increasingly concerned with personal human rights, that is, with how states treat their own citizens or subjects. Further, the concept of human rights has been expanded to include rights foundational to popular self-government.

- In the process of establishing international norms, democratic values and principles have become the dominant standard for identifying and promulgating human rights for all people regardless of political borders. These standards are evident in various fundamental documents of nation-states and in international agreements.

- Democratic principles have not only advanced the cause of human rights, they have enriched the very concept of human rights and expanded the number and kinds of rights encompassed by the concept.

- Democratic values and principles have spurred action, particularly by democracies, which have been in the forefront of spreading the idea of human rights throughout the world and in pressuring governments to comply with international human rights norms.

b. Human rights norms as international law. Because norms may serve as moral imperatives and standards of evaluation, there have been transnational attempts to formulate them as international law and to establish institutions for their enforcement and adjudication. Examples include conventions and agreements regarding:

- War crimes (Hague agreements, 1899-1907)
- Suppression of Slavery (1926)
- Forced Labor (1930)
- Freedom of Association (1948)
- Genocide (1948)
- Human Rights (1948, 1975)
- Rights of Women (1953)
- Rights of the Child (1989)
7. ...to the extent that democratic values appeal to the world. Democracy may have an intrinsic appeal to the human spirit that spurs movements toward fundamental change in political systems. It may result in changes beyond political affairs, such as embracing the idea of an open society.

The ethos, achievements, and style of democratic culture have often found a ready audience among those in non-democratic countries, for example, in music, the arts, and consumer goods. One might therefore inquire whether the ethos of the open society and other distinctive aspects of democratic culture have worldwide appeal. If they do, one might also inquire into the extent to which this appeal promotes political democratization.

8. ...to the extent that democratic values promote a peaceable society.

Democracy may achieve a harmony among disparate interests and ideas within a society through its accommodation and moderation of conflict and discord. This domestic tranquility is essential for the flourishing of individual and community well-being.

B. What changes in the world have been spurred by the idea of democracy? The idea of democracy has promoted profound changes in political conditions, the concept of society, and the world-view of individuals. Even though the idea of democracy is ancient and has had only intermittent historical impact, its effects have accelerated at various times from the eighteenth to the twenty-first centuries, creating their own momentum.

The idea of democracy has changed conditions within given countries and in interactions among them. It has also produced changes in previously accepted ideas about how they should be governed.

1. The nation-state. The concept of a self-governing political community is currently used to justify organizing a people as a nation-state. It has impelled the development of the nation-state beyond its original status as an autocratically directed principality.

a. Democracy and decolonization. The idea of democracy as involving a defined people choosing its own future has played a powerful role in the break-up of colonial empires and the creation of nation-states in their place.

b. Democracy and “nationalism.” The establishment of nation-states with definitive boundaries for self-governing peoples has, however, sometimes resulted in political entities whose internal fragmentation has resulted in political instability. State boundaries and ethnic populations (i.e., “nations”) do not always coincide. Ethnic groups are at times involuntarily divided among countries where they are minorities, thwarting their desire for autonomous self-rule.

2. The status of the individual. Modern liberal democratic values require the perception of each person as a distinct individual among others. Seeing persons as separate individuals, rather than having an identity derived primarily from membership in a group, leads to individual-to-individual relationships and to the re-conception of many groups as associations of
individuals. It also leads to basing the status of the individual on merit and achievement, not on membership in an inherited social class.

a. **Individuality and critical questioning.** Democracy’s promotion of individuality encourages individuals to ask how authority over them can be justified and, where appropriate, challenged. Such questioning subverts traditionalist doctrines that assert an inherent right of one person or group to govern others. Moreover, individuality undercuts traditional patterns of deference in which conventional hierarchy determines governmental relationships.

b. **Dual relationship of democratic citizens.** In democracy, the citizen is viewed as one among political equals. Each citizen

- possesses equal rights with other individuals as an equal member of the political community.
- identifies with the whole political community as a member of that community and accepts obligations to protect and preserve it that arise from that membership.

c. **Democracy and liberalism.** Over time, the democratic view of the person has become closely associated with a separate tradition of political thought which culminates in liberalism. The liberal view

- asserts and emphasizes an understanding of the person as an independent, autonomous, and free-thinking being—as a unique personality.
- sees the individual both as fundamental to the political system and as transcending it. In the liberal view, the inherent value of the individual is not dependent on the political community even though, practically speaking, it may be secured there.

d. **Dual foundation for the value of the individual.** Democracy’s view of the individual coincides in an important way with liberalism’s view of the individual. In both views the value of the individual is a foundation for a system of government. Both liberalism and democracy assume that persons are entitled to act upon their own judgments in individual self-government and to play an equal role in collective self-government.

- Democracy’s view of persons as separate and equal units (“individuality”) reinforces liberalism’s view of persons as inherently independent and valuable (“individualism”).
- These different underlying conceptions of the person may produce tensions, such as the one that occurs between equality and liberty in advanced liberal democracies.

e. **Emerging view of the individual.** The effect of the affinity of democratic and liberal understandings of the individual is an increasing tendency to conceive of persons as having a common identity owing to their status as equal and independent units regardless of their membership in any political community.
• This common identity has led to the proposition that it is possible to have “world citizenship” based on democratic principles.

• The counter position is that democratic world citizenship is not possible because democratic citizenship requires a separate polity. A common human “identity” and political “citizenship” are quite different things. Moreover, this position holds that fundamental rights of individuals can be protected only by the organized political power of nation-states. Without membership in such a nation-state, the rights of individuals lack a practical means of protection. In addition, no means exist to define the character and extent of those rights.

3. The world market. In the political context of a given country, the ideals of liberal democracy embrace the free exchange of political ideas, association, enterprise, and innovation. The expansion of democracy to a transnational context carries with it the extension of these values not only to the international political sphere but also to national economies and to a potentially worldwide economy.

a. Loss of confidence in command economies. Among a number of non-democracies, confidence in “command economies” (economies largely directed by a central authority) was undermined when compared to the performance of the economies of liberal democracies.

b. Demands for market reforms. At the same time, demands for political autonomy among communist states brought with them demands for democratic and market reforms. Publicity about this process significantly extended democratic ideas to the world stage.

c. Political reform and creation of global market. The process of fundamental political and economic change has aided in the continuing process of creating a global market in international trade and finance that transcends individual nation-states.

d. Global markets and the spread of democracy. If it is true that market economies within a particular society reinforce stable democratic governance, a spread of the global market may prompt the spread of democracy worldwide. It may promote the development of market economies within participating countries and thus move them toward democracy.

4. Civil society. Liberal democracy encourages forms of association and cultural activity in which persons organize themselves and work together to achieve goals independent of government. Thus, there is no logical need for individuals, associations, or enterprises to be confined within the boundaries of nation-states states.

a. Spread to international sphere. When individuals, associations, or enterprises see their interests as extending beyond the nation-state, they organize associations or enterprises on a transnational basis. Elements of transnational civic society have been in the forefront on such issues as human rights, transparency in government, and the protection of the environment.
b. Democratic accountability. Transnational organizations may not be democratically accountable and they may compete with some of the functions of political community.

5. Science and technology. Democracy is predicated on open discussion, unimpeded inquiry, experimentalism, and a search for truth based on evidence—as distinguished from dogma and predetermined answers. Therefore, science, technology, and the progress associated with them flourish in a democratic environment where liberal freedoms are respected.

a. Democracy and communications technology. Democratic culture, with its emphasis on both creativity and responsiveness to people’s wants, increases the pace of scientific inquiry and discovery, which depend upon the dissemination of knowledge. This emphasis has spurred the advance of the technology of communication as a means of promoting discussion, unencumbered inquiry, and broad dissemination of ideas. Dissemination of knowledge not confined by national boundaries is required by science as well as by commerce.

b. Possible dangers of technology. Advances in science and technology are not always compatible with democracy. Once technological means are found to restrict communication, information can be limited in both content and accessibility. For example, the privacy of individuals may be threatened by unrestricted access to personal information. Moreover science and technology themselves may generate a cult of expertise that may be incompatible with democratic decision-making.

6. Concept of time. A democratic view of time contrasts with earlier ideas that the past simply repeats itself or that the future involves merely waiting passively for whatever comes next.

a. Democracy’s relationship to the future. Democracy is committed to making a future based on decisions of people acting together to improve their lives and provide for posterity.

b. Democracy and preoccupation with the present. Democracy’s eagerness to shape a better future may foster preoccupation with problems of the present or impatience to reach the future. The perception of time may thus shift from duration to immediacy (or preoccupation with the present), deeply affecting how persons behave and what they expect of their government. For example, they may tend to emphasize short-term accomplishments at the expense of long-term projects. The present generation may be catered to at the expense of future generations.

c. Democracy and preoccupation with the past. Because its dependence on popular sentiment a democracy may become fixated on positive or negative experiences or defining moments from its past. The problem is that present and future choices may be conditioned or constrained by the preoccupation either to recover the positive or transcend the negative past events. These obsessions may so dominate public thought and discussion that they disrupt relationships inside or outside of the country and prevent effective responses to current problems.
7. **International relations.** Democratic values and principles appear with substantial consistency within existing democratic polities. They are recognized as having an integrity and validity that is independent of their origin and existence in a particular political system. The sharing of these values and principles has led to a common identity that has profoundly affected relations in the modern world.

   a. **Solidarity among democracies.** Among modern democracies there is a natural affinity and a sense of solidarity. This solidarity has led to democracies acting in concert in international affairs to promote democratic values and principles as universal and to expand them beyond their own borders. This was one of the most marked developments of the 20th century.

   b. **Democratic imperialism.** There is a tendency to believe that if political principles are universal, they are also uniform and should exist in nearly identical formulations across nation-states. This belief has resulted in arrogance on the part of some nation-states with regard to others. It also has fueled attempts to impose political uniformity in nation-states, notwithstanding differences in their circumstances.

8. **Global standards for practices and institutions.** Traditionally, international standards have been agreed upon as benchmarks to compare diverse local measures and values. These have included the gold standard and the standard meter. However, until recently there have been no analogous standards that can be applied at the international level to the practices and institutions of political systems.

   a. **Democratic ideas as universal standards.** If democracy is committed to such ideas as the equal and independent worth of every human being and the values and principles of popular self-government, then these values and principles can provide standards by which local institutions and practices anywhere may be evaluated.

   b. **Democracy as the “gold standard” of political systems.** At present, because of the widespread acceptance of democratic values and principles as touchstones for what is right and good, the concept of democracy has evolved to become the benchmark to evaluate political practices and institutions throughout much of the world. Thus, democracy has become the “gold standard” of political affairs.

C. **What issues for democracy arise from the need for a nation-state and from new developments at sub-national and transnational levels?** Political entities include any institutionalized form of governance with authority to make, apply, enforce, and interpret rules. These entities also associate persons into a larger whole. Such entities may be non-governmental or formally governmental, but in either case they offer opportunities and venues for political life. They may also be organized at different levels, e.g., nation-state, sub-national, transnational:

   1. **The nation-state.** The sovereignty of the nation-state is universally recognized in international law.
a. **Sovereignty and international law.** Nation-states are conceived of as being “sovereign” according to the “law of nations” that arises from an understanding of the state as an independent actor among other equally independent actors. “Sovereignty” in the context of international relations refers to the autonomy of each nation-state, as opposed to the understanding of the people as sovereign.

- **“State sovereignty” versus the concept of “popular sovereignty.”** The preoccupation in theories of international relations and common usage with the “sovereignty” of nation-states may tend to replace the understanding of the term as referring to the people of a democratic nation-state as being the ultimate source of its authority. This may lead to a belief in international affairs that the state is sovereign over its people. But according to democratic theory, it is the sovereignty of the people in an organized political community that gives rise to the principle of state “sovereignty” in the international context.

- **Forces competing with nation-states.** Governmental and non-governmental organizations focusing upon local, regional, or global matters are increasingly challenging the sovereignty of the nation-state. These organizations compete with the nation-state as the primary focus of political attention by citizens and as primary agents in international politics, e.g., devolution of authority to local or regional governments within a nation-state, multi-national corporations. Moreover, international law created through international agreements concerning a wide range of policy areas has in some cases eroded the autonomy of nation-states to make policy in these areas. Examples include the environment, economic topics, and human rights, all of which are the subjects of international agreements.

- **Limitations on state sovereignty.** Trends towards localism, regionalism, globalism, and substantive international regulation may limit the sovereignty of the people within a political system. At the same time these trends may also transform the independence and autonomy of political entities in their relationship with each other.

b. **Compatibility of democracy and the nation-state.** There has been a powerful historical connection between democratic forms of government and the emergence of nation-states as the primary means of organizing political life in the world. The use of the term “nation” in the phrase “nation-state” should be distinguished from the use of the term nation to refer to a homogeneous population based on ethnicity, religion, or culture.

- **Need for a political “vessel” or container to make democracy operational.** If democracy is to move beyond the level of theoretical ideas to become operational in practice, it must be realized within some vessel. Such a vessel includes a set of political arrangements (typically outlined in written constitutions) specifying a particular group of citizens, institutions, values, and practices. In modern times
the nation-state has been almost exclusively the “vessel” for democracy.

- Separation of each “political people” from humanity as a whole. The existence of a democratically self-governing people entails the separation of a particular community from other communities and from the world at large. The characteristics of such a separate community are that it is bounded, self-sustaining, and stable.

- The nation-state as a platform for democracy. The nation state:
  - includes a particular political people and excludes others as opposed to attempting to incorporate all of humanity. Thus, the citizens may have a sense of attachment to a shared enterprise and a stake in its outcomes.
  - is characterized by a level of self-sufficiency which allows it to secure its identity and maintain its independence. Decisions made by its people control this bounded domain.
  - establishes political relationships distinct from familial or ethnic affinity which are intended to supersede “ascriptive” status, i.e., being a citizen of a nation-state as opposed to being a member of a particular ethnic group in that state.
  - provides for the expression of the will of the people through institutions that have durability, consistency, and responsiveness.

- Potential competitors to nation-states. Some of the functions of nation-states might be performed in whole or in part by other political arrangements, some of which are emerging out of current experimentation and practices. These include demands for devolution such as by regional assemblies and other forms of governance. These arrangements may be transnational or sub-national, or different configurations of nation-states themselves.

c. Discordance of democracy and the nation-state. Democracy and the nation-state have developed historically in mutually reinforcing ways, to the degree that they might be considered necessary for each other. Even so, there has also been discordance among the ideas associated with the two. There are twin dangers to democracy from two different models of the nation-state that are in conflict with democracy. They are:

- Bureaucratic statism. In Europe the nation-state arose in the form of absolutist monarchies set up in opposition to the universal political regime claimed by the Roman Catholic Church and the Holy Roman Empire. Today, notwithstanding the evolution of democracy in contemporary nation-states, in some cases rigid bureaucracies overshadow democratic processes. Here, a residue of monarchical authoritarianism persists as a potential for statism—a concept of the state as absolute and independent of its people.
• **Populistic totalism.** Although the concept of a self-governing people is the essence of democracy, the idea of a people as an undifferentiated, organic mass is incompatible with democracy, especially liberal democracy, when the state is seen as

  • a **homogeneous political unit** with a “totalistic” identity, that is, one that demands that all members conform to a common set of beliefs and behaviors. This “totalism” denies the very idea of individuality. In other words, “peoplehood” trumps “personhood” or collective identity preempts individual identity.

  • an **organic entity** with a life of its own, independent of the individuals that compose it, e.g., the corporatist state. In other words, “collectivity” trumps “commonwealth.”

d. **The independence and autonomy of the nation-state and the sovereignty of the people.** Popular sovereignty requires an internationally autonomous nation-state because, without this autonomy, the people cannot be sovereign.

  • **Necessity for political independence.** If government by the people is to make decisions, those decisions must be conclusive or the sovereignty of the people is compromised.

  • **Danger of intervention in sovereign affairs.** Interventions by other states and transnational organizations have often been made in the internal affairs of nation-states to promote democratic practices and values. Such interventions raise serious questions about the respect that countries owe to the sovereignty of member states of the world community. Even in situations where countries may enter into multilateral agreements to observe democratic values or human rights (e.g., World Court, European Court of Justice), the enforcement of these agreements or of international law may encroach upon the independence of nation-states.

2. **Sub-national and transnational associations.** In addition to the nation-state, there are some forms of political community or relationships of authority that make popular self-government possible. Among these are:

  a. **Sub-national associations.** Within nation-states there may be self-governing sub-divisions of the entire state (e.g., as a result of federalism or decentralization) or special autonomous status accorded to certain groups (e.g., as a result of devolution or the establishment of distinct constitutional entities).

  b. **Trans-national associations.**

    • **Governmental associations.** Some organizations that transcend nation-states have their own political structures and processes, e.g., confederations, regional treaty organizations, international entities based on treaty agreements such as the United Nations, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, European Union, Organization of American States, Organization of African Unity, Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and the Arab League.
• **Non-governmental associations.** Organizations that comprise transnational civil society have a presence in more than one country. These organizations have their own structures and processes of governance that may compete with the governance of nation-states.

Transnational organizations may have political ramifications and effects that connect various individuals, groups, and activities independent of governmental structures and agencies, e.g., multinational corporations, religious denominations, Amnesty International, the Red Crescent, and the International Red Cross.

These organizations may also be governed autocratically or bureaucratically, with procedures that violate democratic principles. Thus they may make decisions contrary to the views of most of their members. Although these organizations may be undemocratic in organization and process, they may nevertheless promote outcomes that serve the public good in terms of the policies they advance.

c. **Specially contrived administrative arrangements.** There are numerous administrative arrangements that differ from conventional means of organizing political life. These administrative arrangements sometimes including limited forms of self-governance. They are created as expedient responses to political exigencies and historical circumstances. These arrangements include provisional governments, governments in exile, protectorates, trust territories, confederations, and “special authorities” such as the Palestinian Authority.

d. **Expatriate constituencies.** Some countries accord extraterritorial privileges of participation and/or protection to expatriate citizens of other nation-states.

D. **How do world affairs affect democracy?**

1. **International economics and finance.** It is difficult for many citizens to understand international economics because of its scale, pace, technical nature, and intangibility. Also, it is difficult for citizens and governments to directly influence decisions made by international public or private sector economic institutions and enterprises that may affect them. This situation makes problematic holding decision-makers accountable to democratic institutions. In addition, the range of public choices may be reduced or controlled directly by international economic decision-makers or by other actors.

a. **External prescription of domestic policy.** Some international economic institutions and enterprises have the capacity to prescribe government policies on internal matters for nation-states.

• These economic institutions and enterprises may skew and limit the policy choices that can be made by governments. For example, multinational financial institutions may require that nation-states adopt certain policies in order to receive funding. Multinational corporations may require nation-states to adopt certain policies before they will invest in them and may withdraw investments if the countries do not comply with their demands.
An increase in the scale of economic enterprise may result in operations beyond the scope of effective control by a nation-state. This situation raises an issue about the extent to which a nation-state can hold accountable individuals or organizations outside of that nation-state for actions which are of public consequence to its constituents.

If multinational organizations require nation-states to establish policies supportive of democracy, they may have democratic effects even though they have been imposed by non-democratic means, e.g., protection of human rights, protection of private property, protection of the rights of labor, respect for contracts, security and order, a rule of law.

b. Domestic benefits of international economics. International investment may promote prosperity, which in turn may promote the development of middle classes—a positive factor for democracy. Economic investment may also carry with it a propensity to search for knowledge and new ideas to enhance efficiency, productivity, and marketability that may be extended into the social and political realm. As a result of international economic competition, societies may be motivated to improve their educational system to make themselves more productive and competitive.

c. International economics and democratic citizenship. International transfer of labor and migration of workers, or transnational distribution of the tasks of production may:

- diminish “social capital” (such as associational networks) because the tasks of production are distributed among different countries, thus diminishing labor’s capacity to organize, achieve unity, and therefore wield influence

- remove matters of consequence from the effective control of the country of one’s citizenship

- remove individuals from the country in which they are citizens when they work and live in other parts of the world

- provide for employment and national income that would otherwise be absent, moving the country toward sufficient prosperity to support democracy

- promote a more cosmopolitan concept of citizenship through exposure of the citizen to greater ethnic or racial diversity

d. Economic reinforcement of political participation. The promotion of economic initiative by international financial organizations may enhance individual capacity to make a difference both economically and politically. This increasing capacity may result from the skills and experience gained through competing in the marketplace.
2. **War, peace, and diplomacy.** Conditions of war and peace and the consequences of diplomacy have significant effects on the operation of democratic polities.

   a. **Effects of war on democracy.** A state of war typically results in certain consequences both damaging and helpful to democracy.

   - **Destructive consequences of war for democracy** include the following:
     - War emphasizes obedience rather than questioning authority, pressure to conform, extension of the domain of authority, shutting down or suspending aspects of a free society (e.g., the free flow of information or news), the extension of economic control, and a state of crisis resulting in social mobilization.
     - During war, even democracies may perceive authoritarian practices as necessary; the emotional appeal of charismatic authoritarian leaders may capture the imagination of publics haunted by insecurity or inflamed by international rivalries rooted in memories of the past, predicated on present interests, or based on fear for the future.
     - Participation in war may lead to periods of apolitical escapism and alienation once war is concluded, e.g., periods of cynicism that followed World War I in Europe and North America.

   - **Productive consequences of war for democracy** include the following:
     - Because war is inherently disruptive it calls into question settled practices and prompts consideration of new possibilities. Even for victorious countries, previously established institutions may be subject to reevaluation. The trauma of war may, therefore, prompt social transformation and have democratizing effects.
     - The transformative experience of military service may foster egalitarianism, cosmopolitanism, a spirit of collective enterprise, self-confidence, efficacy, and identification with democratic values.
     - The war effort may entail a willingness to sacrifice for the welfare of the community and may heighten a sense that one is entitled to the respect of the community in consideration of one’s sacrifices.
     - War may also raise expectations of how citizens should be treated by the community commensurate with the sacrifice required of them. New legislative measures suggested by a sense of justice, in this regard, are more likely to be undertaken in democracies, where those who sacrificed for their country have a greater voice.
b. **Consequences of peace for democracy.** A state of peace or the absence of substantial crisis may have certain consequences both damaging and helpful to democracy.

- **Destructive consequences of peace for democracy** include the following:
  
  - Peace may foster complacency or lassitude with regard to the political system.
  
  - In peacetime social problems may be overlooked because they are deeply embedded in society or taken for granted as inevitable.
  
  - During peacetime, citizens may be inattentive to political life because public issues may not seem to be of great moment.

- **Productive consequences of peace for democracy** include the following: Peace may
  
  - enable resources to be devoted to domestic matters which may improve the standard of life and allow for expansion of an economy.
  
  - sustain stable social conditions which allow calculated risks in social policy to generate innovation and progress.

c. **Diplomacy.** Diplomacy can serve as a model for accommodating seemingly intractable interests.

- **Non-democratic features.** Negotiations may be conducted by executive agencies and commitments may be made, sometimes in secret, without open discussion. Such negotiations may not be able to accommodate the broad range of interests that normally come to the fore in open deliberation about public policy.

- **Features beneficial to democracy.** Diplomacy may be employed in internal political processes as a standard for solving dispute, reinforcing democracy’s commitment to government-by-discussion and resolution by give-and-take.

3. **Critical mass of democracies in the world.** The rapid increase in the number of democratic countries puts pressure on non-democratic countries to reform themselves according to democratic values and principles. As a result, the effects of a critical mass of democratic countries may be the proliferation and implementation of popular self-government on a scale greater than ever before in history. In the absence of attractive competing models of governance, democracy may seem to be “the only game in town.”

a. As popular self-government spreads to countries with different traditions and environments, practices and institutions may be adapted in ways that produce innovations that serve democratic values and enhance the democratic tradition. Instead of a competition between democracy and
non-democracy, the world may shift to competition among variants of democracy.

b. An alternative possibility is that autocracies may attempt to cloak themselves in the appearance of democracy.

E. How do the concept and practices of democracy shape interactions among nation-states? Because they coexist in the world, nation states must necessarily interact with one another. Those interactions follow a process and logic regardless of the forms of government involved. But the principles of democracy may constrain, compel, or conflict with this process.

1. “Reason of state.” The term “reason of state” refers to states’ tendency to seek their own interest, above all, their security interests. All nation-states, irrespective of their type of regime, act in accordance with overriding priorities in their relations with other nation-states and world affairs. Foremost among them is the necessity of any polity to protect itself. There may also be a natural drive to gain superiority or advantage over other states.

   Nation-states’ adherence to the idea of “reason of state” tends to promote a “realist” response to international affairs. The “realist” position emphasizes supposedly realistic appraisals about how nation-states behave empirically—that they seek their own interests above all other considerations.

2. “Reason of democracy.” A democratic country’s values and principles help to shape its international relations even though they may not advance the country’s immediate interests. This adherence to “reason of democracy” tends to promote an “idealist” response to international affairs. The idealist position emphasizes the legitimacy of choices that further values such as respect for human life and dignity, self-determination, and common interests among nations.

3. Conflict and balance between “reason of state” and “reason of democracy.” Understanding international relations in accordance with the ideas of “reason of state” and “reason of democracy” poses questions about how much the conduct of international affairs is or should be animated by “realist” calculations about maintaining and furthering the security and power of the state as opposed to “idealist” goals of promoting democracy.

4. Problems in the creation of foreign policy in democracies.

   a. The deliberative processes characteristic of democracy. In dealing with important issues of foreign affairs, democracies require broad consultation and deliberation among institutions and among citizens. Although deliberation may moderate extremes in foreign policy, it also may impede decisive and timely courses of action when they are appropriate.

   b. Appraisals of comparative opportunity costs. Public deliberation regarding the allocation of resources includes examination of the desirability of alternative uses of those resources. In the course of this deliberation, the costs of foreign policies may be highlighted and unfavorably compared to other options.
c. **The influence of interest groups.** Democracies are obligated to consider the points of view of numerous interest groups. Because these interests vary in intensity and resources, some groups may exert a disproportionate impact on outcomes in foreign policy making. Moreover, divisions within a country may allow other countries to exploit loyalties and animosities.

d. **The influence of public opinion.** Democratic government, sometimes called “government running on public opinion,” must persistently attend to public sentiment, which is susceptible to frequent change and which may be the result of inadequate knowledge and understanding of the issues or options. Government thus may be more concerned with public reaction than with sound policy making.

e. **The voice of democratic conscience.** Democratic values and principles provide moral standards by which pragmatic approaches to foreign affairs are judged. Adherence to such standards may constrain the implementation of policies that are in a country’s interest or crucial to its survival. It may impel the pursuit of policies that are not in its interests. Or, democratic conscience may inspire policies that have little to do with a country’s immediate interest or security.

5. **Relationship of democracy to war and peace.** The “realist” and “idealism” positions figure prominently in debates about the conduct of world affairs on such matters as waging war and maintaining peace.

a. **Democracy as conducive to peace.** Democracies place a high value on the peaceful accommodation of conflict through competition, debate, negotiation, and compromise in internal affairs. They tend to favor such accommodation of conflict in external affairs.

Because democracies place a high value on human life, they may be reluctant to go to war. Democracies have been shown to be less destructive of human life than non-democracies in both their domestic and foreign behavior.

Because of democracies’ aversion to hierarchy and authoritarian ideas of service to the state, militarism does not thrive in democratic societies. Democracies’ devotion to liberty and equality leads to unease with the heroic ethos of the “warrior class.”

b. **Democracy as a rationale for war.** Because the first obligation of a democracy is to advance the security and other interests of its people, democratic governments, like other regimes, may choose war as a prudent means to achieve their objectives or even to maintain the power of current leaders.

Even though a democracy may not benefit from war, it may choose war as a means to promote human rights and/or the right to popular self-government. In some cases, not going to war may be seen as immoral. But in extreme cases democracy, held as a righteous ideology, may provoke aggressive or belligerent crusades to rid the world of repressive regimes or rulers.
F. What role should democracies play in encouraging democracy in the world? If democracy is thought of as universally desirable, then what actions might or should democratic governments take to encourage or protect it? The imposition of democratic principles from outside a political system raises serious questions about the compatibility of such actions with democracy itself. It also may raise questions about the right of a people to political self-determination.

1. Why might democracies care about the internal political arrangements of other nation-states?

a. Non-democratic political regimes as threats to democracy. Citizens of a democracy may feel frustrated or angry if regimes based upon principles antagonistic to democracy appear to flourish. They may then feel that the seeming success of such regimes may be contagious and subvert their own system.

b. Burdens of repressive or dysfunctional regimes on other nation-states. Failures of repressive political systems to respect the human rights of their people and to meet their basic needs may lead to problems caused by such events as the migration of populations, refugees, demands for relief, and the “export” of environmental and health problems.

c. Unpredictability. Although any unstable government may pose a threat to the process of relations among nation-states, unstable non-democracies may pose more serious threats. The absence of democratic legitimacy and constraints tends to foster inconsistency in their leadership and a lack of predictability. The unreliability in their dealings with other countries makes it more difficult for other countries to calculate their own self-interest. In addition, the potential volatility of unstable regimes may prove to be a “powder keg” in international affairs, possibly leading to the outbreak of war.

d. Threat of aggression. Regimes that are unsuccessful in their own internal affairs may resort to aggressive behavior against other countries as a means of diverting attention from their own failures, maintaining their own political power, or creating a pretext to repress their people. The inner dynamics of a repressive regime may require a constant state of belligerence to sustain itself. This is just one reason why non-democratic regimes are more likely than democracies to be aggressive.

e. Identification with fellow human beings. Because of a natural sympathy for others that is not limited to one’s own community, citizens of a democracy may feel strong empathy for individuals who are forced to live under systems of oppression. If individuals in a democracy believe they have a duty to others in their own communities, they may also believe that duty may extend to others beyond their borders. This sympathy may be heightened to the degree that citizens of a democracy feel especially fortunate in the political and economic circumstances they may enjoy. Seeing others in less fortunate circumstances, citizens of a democracy may feel a duty to extend the benefits they enjoy to others.
f. **The democratic conscience.** Democracies may find that the failure of other regimes to protect human rights and serve the needs of their people is morally reprehensible. This may lead to a sense of the rightness of opposing the existence of such political regimes.

g. **Democracy as an exemplar.** There may be an inclination of successful democracies to proselytize on behalf of the principles of popular self-government and human rights. Democracies may express a sense of pride in what is seen as a superior political system and as the inevitable outcome of the evolution of human government.

2. **What strategies are used to further democracy in the world?** Strategies that might be used to further democracy in the world should be judged in terms of two standards. First, they should be appropriate to the norms of conduct of international relations. Second, the strategies should be efficacious in promoting democracy.

a. **Direct imposition.** Democracy may be directly instituted in a nation-state after its military defeat, because the nation-state violated international norms to such a degree that it cannot be tolerated as a member of the community of nations. This strategy may include the restoration of a previously democratic constitution or the imposition of an entirely new political structure devised from the outside or subject to external approval. It might even entail an externally imposed requirement that a country establish its form of government through a direct choice by its people.

b. **Aggressive intervention.** There may be attempts to develop democracy in a nation-state through coercion short of military imposition. These attempts may include military threats, economic sanctions or boycotts, quarantines on participation in international life, as well as the deployment of troops or monitors to enforce peacekeeping or to supervise the political process. They also may include information disseminated from external sources to counteract state-controlled media.

c. **Economic incentives or conditions.** Nation-states or international organizations may condition the approval of economic aid and investments on the institution of democratic reforms, e.g., the protection of human rights.

d. **Political infrastructure and civic culture.** Nation-states or international organizations may adopt or encourage strategies aimed at developing economic, cultural, or educational capacities that they believe will provide an environment conducive to the evolution of democratic political institutions. These may include transfer of expertise; exportation of technology; economic development; communications and media development; educational programs; and exchanges of citizens, scholars, students, and professionals. Direct support of non-governmental organizations by other countries may be designed to develop civic competence and alternative centers of influence that compete with government power.
e. **Non-interference.** Democracies might be committed to the view that it is better to leave other countries alone. This position may be based on the idea that democratic values and institutions need to or ought to arise naturally in the course of a country’s own history and own political experience.

Without embracing this evolutionary idea, democracies may believe that even the best forms of political life should be freely chosen by a people and that only with its consent will democracy have a chance to succeed. Moreover, they may believe that if a people has freely and openly chosen another form of political organization, that choice should be respected.

In the democratic view, every country always has the right to choose its own destiny; in the long run, each country charts its own course.
abuse of power. Use of political power for illegitimate or illegal purposes or use of such power in objectionable ways in pursuit of legitimate purposes. Use of government powers to punish or unfairly obstruct political opponents constitutes abuse, as does use of power to illegitimately threaten others or for personal financial gain (corruption).

administrative law. Rules and regulations of agencies of the executive branch of government which have the force of law.

aggregation. As a function of political parties and voting systems, brings disparate individuals together to facilitate making common decisions on electoral ballot items.

approval voting. Feature of voting systems in which citizens indicate the full range of choices that would be acceptable to them. See also, cluster voting, cumulation, and preference ranking.

ascriptive identity. Attributes with which a person is born, such as race, ethnicity, or gender, which are unchanged and therefore “prewritten” or written before (ascribed). In some societies, attributes which one is born into, such as religious identity, are considered ascriptive characteristics, even though they can, literally, be changed.

authoritarian political systems. Political systems in which an individual or small group exercises political power without institutionalized and effective limitations and means of popular consent and withdrawal of consent to the regime. Nearly all modern authoritarian governments exercise power in a malignant manner, abusing fundamental human rights at will. Authoritarian states emphasize obedience of the people to their ruler. Individual freedoms and rights are subordinated to the power and interests of the state. See also, totalitarian political systems.

authority (political). Legitimized power giving office holders and institutions the right to exercise it. See also, power.

bicameral legislatures. Legislatures with two chambers or “houses,” such as an “assembly” and a “senate.” See also, unicameral legislatures.

citizen. A member of an organized body politic. A citizen is an individual who is a native born or naturalized member of a state, owes allegiance to that state, is obligated to obey its laws, and is entitled to the protection and privileges of its laws. The “citizen” is often contrasted with the “subject,” citizens conceived as having a role in self-government and subjects conceived as only being “subject” to laws in whose creation they play no part. See also, citizenship.

citizenship. The status of being a member or citizen of an organized body politic. Qualifications for citizenship vary among democracies and include factors such as place of birth and parentage as well as naturalization processes through which those not considered “natural born” citizens acquire citizenship. Some democratic political systems may revoke the citizenship of naturalized citizens who gain citizenship through fraud. In modern democracies, citizens by birth generally lose citizenship only if they consent. See also, citizen.

civic dispositions of democracy. Inclinations to behavior exhibiting traits of public and private character, such as moral responsibility, self-discipline, and care for the public weal, that support basic democratic values and principles and contribute to the healthy functioning of the democratic political system.

civic life. The affairs of society that pertain to the citizen. Some of these affairs are political in a narrow sense, in that they relate to formal matters of government and governmental
institutions and to the processes of choosing office holders. In a wider sense, other avenues of civic life are not formally political but pertain to the governance of civil society. Civil society. The autonomous, self-organized portion of a liberal society that is outside formal political and legal institutions, in which the state, beyond enforcement of ordinary law, has no right to interfere. Varying conceptions of civil society include or exclude the family and purely economic endeavors. See also liberalism, liberal democracy.

Cluster voting. Feature of voting systems which allow voter designation of more than one vote to a particular choice; also known as “weighted voting.” Cluster voting is sometimes used to attempt to provide representation for minority groups, since members of such groups can concentrate their support on a single candidate. See also approval voting, cumulation, and preference ranking.

Common good. That which benefits or furthers the interest of society as a whole as opposed to a portion of society. Respect for and pursuit of the common good is generally considered a fundamental democratic principle, though it is not exclusive to democracies. In some interpretations, in liberal democracy a tension exists between the common good and individual interests, since each is, within limits, considered legitimate. See also liberal democracy.

Communal commonwealths. Small, homogeneous polities governed by democratic procedures which demand rigid conformity of their members, such as the Puritan communities in New England in colonial America. Such communal commonwealths are examples of non-liberal democracy. Communitarian democracy. Democratic political systems or public policies that place community interest before rights of individuals in various circumstances. Communitarian democracy is anti-liberal to the degree that it overrides individual rights. Competitive democracy. Democratic political systems in which the processes and outcomes of political issues are a result of competition among conflicting interests and goals. Consensual democracy. Democratic political systems in which the processes and outcomes of political issues are a result of the harmonization of interests and goals achieved through formal and informal means. Consociational democracy. Democratic political systems in which power is shared among defined segments of the body politic through formal institutional arrangements. These arrangements are contrasted to rule by the majority. The aim of consociationalism is to ensure that all major segments of society are represented in government in proportion to their size. Consociational systems are found in societies divided along ethnic, religious, or linguistic lines. Such systems seek to ensure that such social segments are represented in government and treated fairly. Malaysia, Belgium, and Switzerland are examples of consociational democracy. See also, majoritarian democracy.

Constitution. Usually a document or set of documents setting forth the fundamental laws and principles or governing arrangements of a political system. A constitution prescribes the nature, functions, offices, powers, and limits of a government. Constitutions may be written (e.g., the United States and Japan), partly written (e.g., Great Britain), or unwritten, e.g., Israel). Constitutional court. A constitutional court or tribunal is a special body, either within or outside the judicial system of a country, that exercises various degrees of review over the constitutionality of laws and actions of government officials. Some constitutional democracies, such as South Africa and Italy, have such a court, while in others, such as Australia and the United States,
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1. constitutional questions are dealt with in non-specialized courts.
2. constitutional monarchy. System of government that is monarchical in form and may or may not be democratic in content. Executive power is exercised by or in the name of a monarch, whose powers are limited by a written or unwritten constitution. In modern constitutional monarchies, the monarch seldom if ever exercises significant powers and is a figurehead symbolizing national unity.
3. constitutionalism. The theory, principles, and concept of limited government. Political systems with constitutions that limit government are not “constitutional” unless government is limited in practice, not just on paper.
4. convention. In the context of international law, conventions are formal international agreements among countries, devoted to specific subjects. Only countries signing conventions are bound by them in international law.
5. corporatist state. Polity emphasizing social union to the exclusion of individual liberty. A feature of right-wing extremist ideologies in the first half of the twentieth century, corporatism views the state as an organic entity with a life of its own, independent of the individuals that compose it.
6. cumulation. Methods of adding together (“cumulating”) votes to determine electoral outcomes. See also, preference ranking, approval voting, cluster voting, and proportional representation.
7. delegate (v). Conditional lending of power to another person or persons in regimes with representative institutions. Citizens in representative democracies are generally considered to have delegated certain of their decision-making powers to representatives. Such delegation, however, is considered limited to constitutionally permitted purposes.
8. democracy, a system of government in which ultimate political power, or sovereignty, is vested in the people. The term is derived from the Greek words “demos” (people) and “kratos” (authority). See also, under competitive, communitarian, consociational, liberal, nonliberal/illiberal, majoritarian, and social democracy.
9. democracy, competitive. See competitive democracy.
10. democracy, communitarian. See communitarian democracy.
11. democracy, consociational. See consociational democracy.
12. democracy, nonliberal/illiberal. See nonliberal/illiberal democracy.
13. democracy, liberal. See liberal democracy.
14. democracy, majoritarian. See majoritarian democracy.
15. democracy, social. See social democracy.
16. democracy, kinds of. “Kinds” of democracy in this Framework are subsets of types of democracy. Examples include “classical republican” democracy, economic rights. A category of rights regarding individuals’ work and the possession, use, and disposition of tangible or intangible things of monetary value. Examples include rights regarding the ability of individuals to own property, to buy and sell in the marketplace, or in other ways to earn a living. These rights include the right to change employment, to join...
labor unions and other economic organizations, and to establish and operate businesses. “Economic rights” may also refer to welfare state entitlements in particular political systems or to entitlements claimed under some notion of human rights. “electoral democracies.” Polities which hold elections regarded as “free” or “free enough” to be considered democratic but which respect few other basic democratic values and principles. elective monarchy. Monarchies that trace their authority back to an original election. Contrasted with monarchies which base their claim to authority on inheritance and an indeterminate claim to legitimacy from a grant of authority by the people or from God. “enlightened despotism.” Absolute monarchs some of whose claim to legitimacy or to historical repute is founded on claims of knowledge and wisdom. Such claims are sometimes made by the rulers themselves, though more often by their supporters or by historians describing their regimes, the regime of Catherine II (“The Great”) of Russia, of Friedrich the Great of Prussia, and sometimes of The Shah of Iran [add name] are... federal systems. Systems in which power is divided and shared between a central government, having various nationwide responsibilities, and constituent governments. In federal systems it is generally thought that constituent governments cannot secede. human rights. Rights said to be held by all human beings simply in virtue of their humanity. Human rights are conceived as valid or binding regardless of a person’s status or membership in any society or nation-state. Thus human rights are considered equally valid or binding among citizens, non-citizens, and stateless persons. Examples include a variety of civil and political rights, such as rights to life and liberty, and to freedom of religion and conscience as well as freedom from arbitrary discrimination, slavery, torture, and detention. illiberal democracy. See nonliberal/illiberal democracy. institutions. Arrangements and settled practices that have evolved or been established to serve a variety of purposes and perform functions on behalf of society. Examples include formal structures or organizations such as schools, military services, and branches of government; regular processes, such as majority rule and trial by jury; established relationships, such as doctor-patient, friendship, and marriage; and regularized patterns of behavior, such as resignation of cabinets after a vote of no confidence in parliamentary systems. judicial protections. Certain protections of the rights of individuals with respect to police behavior, court proceedings, and other aspects of legal process, such as rights to a fair trial, to legal counsel, and to habeas corpus. Such protections operate by means of the procedural and substantive requirements of law and are intended for enforcement through the judicial system. judicial review. Power of courts in some judicial systems to declare laws or government rules and policies to be null and void because they are contrary to some higher law, either constitutional or unwritten. Such a power is contrary to the idea of legislative supremacy as practiced in many parliamentary systems. justice. Refers generally to fair treatment in all spheres of life. Justice may be divided into several kinds, including distributive justice or allocation of the benefits and burdens of society; corrective justice, including criminal and civil justice; and procedural justice, including procedures in both judicial and non-judicial settings. law. Rules of conduct authoritatively established by a politically organized society. Most forms of law impose
penalties for their violation. Law may derive from a constitution, legislative acts and administrative rules, or, in some legal systems, may develop through custom, as with Anglo-Saxon common law and equity. Law regulates relations among people and between people and their government. See also, rule of law.

legislatures. See under “unicameral” and “bicameral.”

liberal democracy. Political system conforming to basic democratic rules for conducting government and the electoral process which protect certain individual rights distinctive to democratic or non-democratic liberal regimes. Such rights include freedom of religion and conscience, freedom of expression (as opposed to freedom only of political speech), and protection of autonomous civil society, including economic freedoms and a private sphere. See also, non-liberal democracy.

liberalism. Political philosophy championing the maxim liberty of the individual compatible with the existence of ordered society, including freedom of religion, conscience, and expression; a private, autonomous social sphere; and a market based economy. Liberalism stipulates that each person should have all rights compatible with the same rights for others and includes the idea that individuals should be free to choose their own goals and purposes in life, so long as they do not interfere with equal rights for others. Liberalism argues that the common good is composed of the individual goods of all social members. See also, liberal democracy.

majoritarian democracy. Form of democracy in which most or all laws are passed by a simple majority vote, either by the people in the electoral process or by legislative assemblies. Majoritarian democracy is not legitimately majority dictatorship, however, since democracy tolerates no status of second-class citizenship. A majoritarian system that silences or otherwise creates similar legal disabilities among minorities thereby ceases to be a democracy. See also, consociational democracy and minority rights.

market-based economy. Economy characterized by a large degree of non-governmental (private) economic ownership, market freedom, legal protection for property rights of individuals, and decentralization of economic decision-making. Such an economy provides an economic basis for political and personal freedom. See also, liberalism.

minority rights. The rights of a portion of the sovereign people fewer in number than a majority. Since majorities may disregard legitimate rights of minorities, constitutional limitations on democratic majorities seek to protect minorities with a variety of devices, such as judicial review or political accommodation. Protection of essential minority rights are a defining characteristic of all forms of democracy. For example, minorities may in no way be made second class citizens in democracies. See also, judicial review.

multinational corporations. Corporations that do significant portions of their business beyond the national boundaries of a single polity and maintain offices in a number of countries.

multinational state. Polity whose “political people” is composed of two or more groups self-identified as distinct peoples on grounds of cultural and/or geography. See also, nation-state and political people.

nation-state. A state or “polity,” often called a “country.” Nation-states may be composed of one or more ethnically separate “peoples.” A nation-state containing two or more separately identified “peoples” is called a “multi-national state.” Russia and Canada are examples of multinational states.

naturalization. Process by which an alien (non-citizen) becomes a citizen.
Not all polities necessarily allow for naturalization. Political systems that conform to basic democratic rules for conducting government and the electoral process, but which do not have the distinctive attributes of liberal democracy, such as individuals' freedom of religion and expression (non-political speech and other forms of expression, such as literature and the arts), and do not protect an autonomous private sphere. Elections alone in the absence of the other defining democratic characteristics are insufficient to produce a democratic form of government. See also liberal democracy.

obligations. See, responsibilities open society. Characterization of liberal societies, including liberal democracy, open societies feature freedom of expression; freedom of movement, including freedom to travel abroad and for foreigners to visit; freedom of political and civil association and for the full expression of “civil society”; possibility of change based on rational criticism, including openness to free scientific research and discussion; the rule of law; and widespread possibility for upward social mobility based on merit.

Parliamentary systems. Systems of government, usually with upper and lower legislative houses, in which the head of the executive is a member of and is elected by the lower house of the legislature. The government usually holds power for a legally mandated or informally agreed maximum period of time but may be turned out of office (“fall”) if it loses a vote of “no confidence” in the lower house of parliament. Examples include Britain and India. See also, presidential systems and coordinate-powers systems.

“People’s Democracy.” Self-description of one-party authoritarian or totalitarian communist regimes during the Cold War period (1947-1991). “Democracy” was used in an attempt to incorporate the moral authority of democracy in order to legitimize the regime. “political people.” Members of the sovereign body politic of democracies. A “political people” may be composed of more than one ethnic, linguistic, or geographical “people.” political/social fragmentation. Condition of societies composed of multiple ethnic, political, religious, linguistic, or other groups in which group identity is intense and boundaries among groups are strong, so that individuals cannot enter or leave groups at will. Such groups tend to produce conflict among themselves, in some instances including violence.

polity. A politically organized society or political system, also known as a “state” or a “nation-state”; in common usage, a “country.” See also, nation-state. popular sovereignty. Fundamental principle of democracy stipulating that ultimate political authority rests with the whole body of citizens, rather than with one or more individuals or lesser groups. “Popular sovereignty” stipulates that the legitimacy of government rests on its authorization by the people; governments derive their legitimate powers from the consent of the governed. See also, values and principles.

positive rights. Rights under the laws of a functioning political system. Positive law is contrasted to the idea of natural or human rights, which claim validity regardless of whether they are enacted into the standing laws of a political system.

power. The ability to effect outcomes in any context, by controlling, directing, or exerting influence, often through the use of some positive or negative sanction (reward or punishment). Those who exercise power may or may not have the right to do so. See also, authority.
power sharing
preference ranking. Feature of voting systems in which citizens rank order their preferences through a single-transferable vote. See also, approval voting, cumulation, and weighted voting.
presidential systems. Systems of government with a strong president, who is elected independently from the legislature and who holds office for a legally mandated term. Presidents appoint the prime minister from among members of parliament, who represents the government in the legislature. Presidents generally have the power to dismiss and replace prime ministers, and to dismiss parliament and call new elections. Considerable differences in presidential powers exist among such systems. Examples include France, Russia, and South Africa. See also, parliamentary and coordinate-powers systems.
proportional representation. Electoral systems in which candidates are elected in proportion to the percentage of votes cast for the political parties they represent. Various systems of allocating votes are used.
public agenda. Set of issues, including problems and opportunities, calling for action through public policy that is before the public at any particular time.

public deliberation. Process of discussing and debating alternative measures of public policy prior to coming to decision. Forms of public deliberation include civic meetings, print and electronic media, and discussions and debates in legislative settings.

public policy. Course of action adopted by governmental institutions dealing with items on the public agenda. All stages of identifying issues, problems, and opportunities as well as responding to them, constitute the public policy process.

“reason of democracy.” Imperatives of political arrangements or public policy that establish or maintain democratic polities, especially their democratic character and their fundamental values and principles. “Reason of democracy” could apply both within a state and among states; that is, it could be a force in democracies’ foreign policies leading them to mutual assistance or to the creation of new democratic polities.

“reason of state.” Imperatives of power that establish, maintain, or extend the power of the state; the national interest, narrowly conceived. The French term “raison d'etat” is often used.

responsibilities (obligations). Actions or modes of behavior that one ought to undertake or avoid. Minimal political responsibilities of democratic citizens are generally considered to include voting, performing military or alternative service, serving on juries, when required, and attending to civic affairs. How political obligation arises, the objects to which it extends, and its limits are perennially controversial topics.

rights of individuals. Moral or legal claims that individuals have against restrictions on their legitimate freedoms by individuals, groups, or the government. See also, responsibilities.
“rule of law.” The idea that rules are set forth in advance, widely known, of general application, and applied impartially to rulers and ruled alike. Thus the rule of law means more than having laws or passing legislation; it is not simply the use of laws to rule a polity. The “rule of law” is opposed to the arbitrary and capricious “rule of men,” in which individuals decide for themselves what the law is and how and over whom it is to be enforced—in essence, lawlessness.

coordinate-powers systems. Systems of government in which the executive, headed by a president, is not joined with or dependent on the other branches for the constitutional source of their tenure in office but rather serve fixed terms of office independent of the approval of legislature or courts. In coordinate-powers systems, the powers of government are not completely separated but are in some respects shared with other branches of government, each branch retaining primary responsibility in its own sphere. Distinguished from “parliamentary” and “presidential” systems.

single member districts. Electoral units in voting systems in which each electoral district votes for a single representative, as opposed to multiple member districts in which, in some cases are proportional representation systems. See also, proportional representation

social capital. Features of social organization, such as trust, normative rules, and social networks, that are able to improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action.

social democracy. Originally a variant of nineteenth century socialism which separated after 1917 into communist/ Marxist and social democratic branches. Social democracy seeks to extend democracy from the political sphere to the whole of society, including the economy. In practice, social democracy now usually refers to extensive and generous welfare state programs designed to promote social equality and alleviate poverty as well as structural features designed to restrain unbridled capitalism. Such structural features may include institutionalized protections of certain worker rights, such as legally mandated worker representation on the governing bodies of business enterprises. Countries governed by social democracy parties are not different in kind from liberal democracies in protecting the full range of fundamental individual rights such as freedom of religion, speech and expression, association and assembly, and a private sphere.

“social reproduction of democracy.” The necessity in democracies to remake the habits, attitudes, and moral commitments among citizens required for the continuation of a democratic form of government and society. Such “reproduction” is accomplished through formal and informal avenues of civic education, including specifically designed school programs as well as through national commemorations and celebrations that induce a knowledge of and commitment to the values, principles, history, and institutions of a democratic polity.

sovereignty. The supreme power in a politically organized society (polity). In a politically organized society there is no higher institutionally organized authority than the sovereign to which appeal may be made within the established system of rule. See also, popular sovereignty.

subject. Generally conceived as members of non-democratic constitutional regimes—those who are “subject” to law. Democratic citizens are also “subjects,” since they, too, are “subject” to law. The difference between “subjects” and “citizens” centers on the passivity of subjects in the face of authority. Citizens, by contrast, play an active role in creating law or in selecting those who make it. See also, citizen.
totalitarian political systems. Dictatorial political systems which, under the banner of an all-encompassing ideology, use mass terror (usually via secret police) and modern technology to control the whole of social life. Totalitarian systems make no distinction between the personal and the political, thereby attempting to politicize the entire daily life of the individual. Fundamental human rights are violated on a massive scale and civil society does not exist, since no group is autonomous. Examples include Germany under Hitler, the Soviet Union under Stalin and his successors, China under Mao, and Iraq under Saddam Hussein. See also, authoritarian political systems.

unicameral legislatures. Legislatures with one chamber (in Latin, “camera”) or “house.” Unicameral legislatures are arguably more “democratic” in that it is more difficult to block the popular will; but this feature is arguably undesirable if it leads to hasty, ill-considered decisions.

values and principles, fundamental democratic. Examples include popular sovereignty, respect for the common good, limited government (constitutionalism), equal political rights for citizens, justice and fairness, majority rule/minority rights (except as modified in consociational forms), civilian control of the military, supremacy of secular over religious authority, widespread system of public education.

weighted voting. See, cluster voting.