

NAVIGATING POLITICAL TRANSFORMATIONS: POLITICAL REPRESENTATION CRISIS

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- **Two big eras**

1

Post-cold war: Euphoria with economic and political globalisation (open economies and democracy)

- Globalisation, interdependence, political and economic freedom and economic growth.

2

Era of discontent: Lack of social advancement/frustration/anxiety/crisis of political representation.

All bets are off. Previous “anchors” are questioned.

- 3 Ps (Naim)
 - Populism
 - Polarisation
 - Post-truth
- “Freedom in the world” By Freedom House. 2021 report: “Democracy Under Siege”
- Tyranny of the *bouffons* (Christian Salmon)

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- **Three features**

1

We did not create prosperity for all (inclusion)

2

Digital revolution/internet/social media

3

**Political representation/political accountability are in crisis
(democratic disenchantment)**

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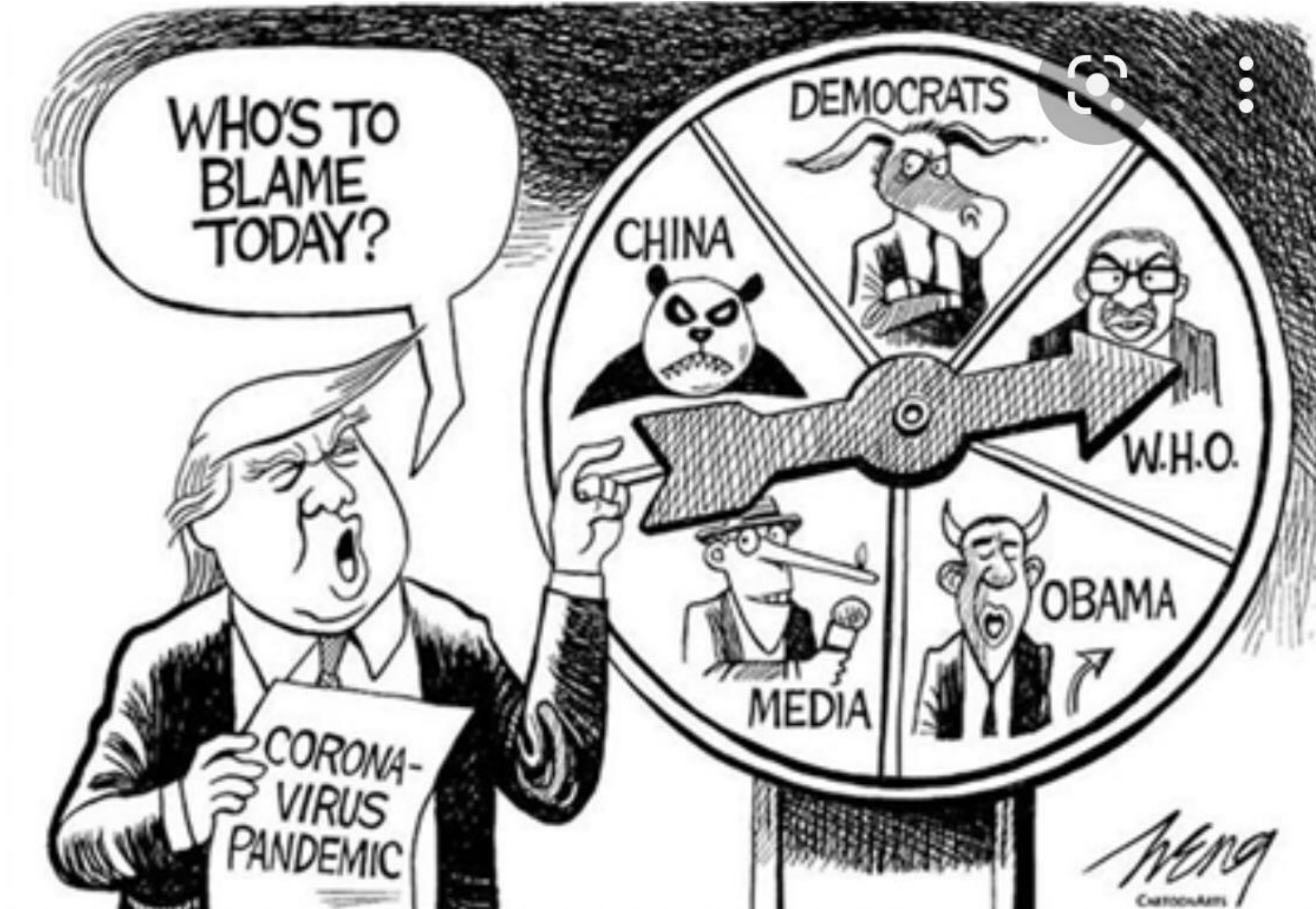
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"Damn, it feels good to be fully represented."

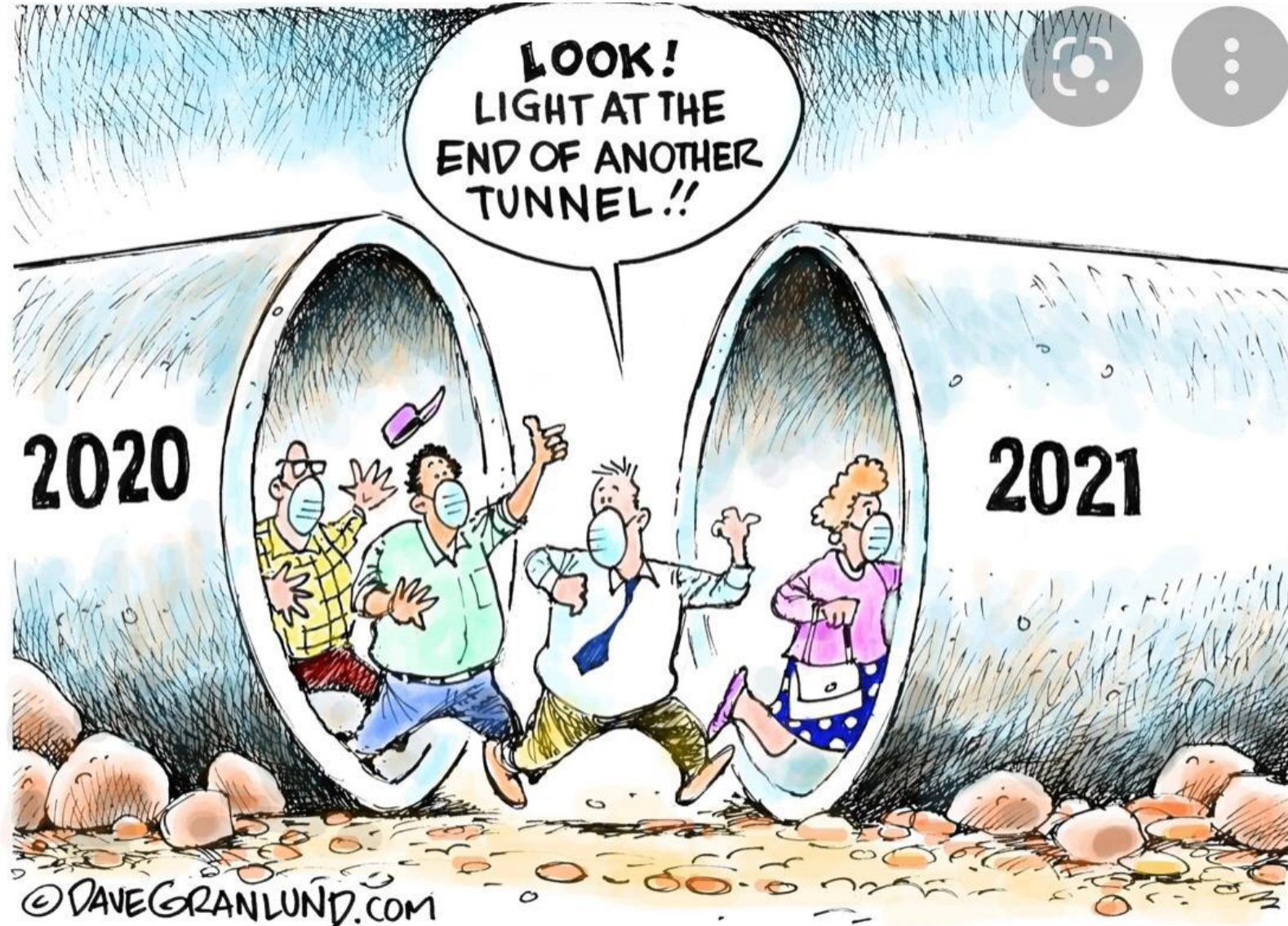
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GLOBAL CONTEXT

Moises Naim, *The Revenge of Power: How autocrats are reinventing politics for the 21st Century* (2022)

"Would-be autocrats converge on the same techniques to gain power democratically and then undermine the democratic systems that elected them ... These techniques can be summed up in populism, polarisation and post-truth." This concludes in a pseudo-democracy based on pseudo-elections, pseudo-laws and pseudo-press.

Francis Fukuyama, "A Country of their Own: Liberalism needs a nation", *Foreign Affairs* (2022)

Democratic recession or depression and the rise of illiberalism. "Illiberal leaders denounce their opponents as elites out of touch with reality, decadent cosmopolitans and globalists. They claim to be the authentic representatives of the people and their true guardians (...) They describe their liberal rivals not simply as political adversaries but as something more sinister: enemies of the people."

David Brooks, "Globalization is over. The Global Culture Wars Have Begun", *NYT* (2022)

"The global politics of recent decades has functioned as a machine of massive social inequality (...) We put too much emphasis on the material power of forces like economics and technology to manage human events and unite us. Human beings are powerfully moved by the need to be seen, respected and appreciated. If you give people the impression that they are not seen, they are not respected and they are not appreciated, they are going to become angry, resentful and vindictive people."

GLOBAL CONTEXT

Yascha Mounk, *“The People vs Democracy” (2018)*

"Then there are those short years in which everything changes all at once. Political newcomers storm the stage. Voters clamor for policies that were unthinkable until yesterday. Social tensions that had long simmered under the surface erupt into terrifying explosions. A system of government that had seemed immutable looks as though it might come apart. This is the kind of moment in which we now find ourselves."

We are part of a moment or a global era: disillusion, uncertainty, disruption, divergence, polycrisis.

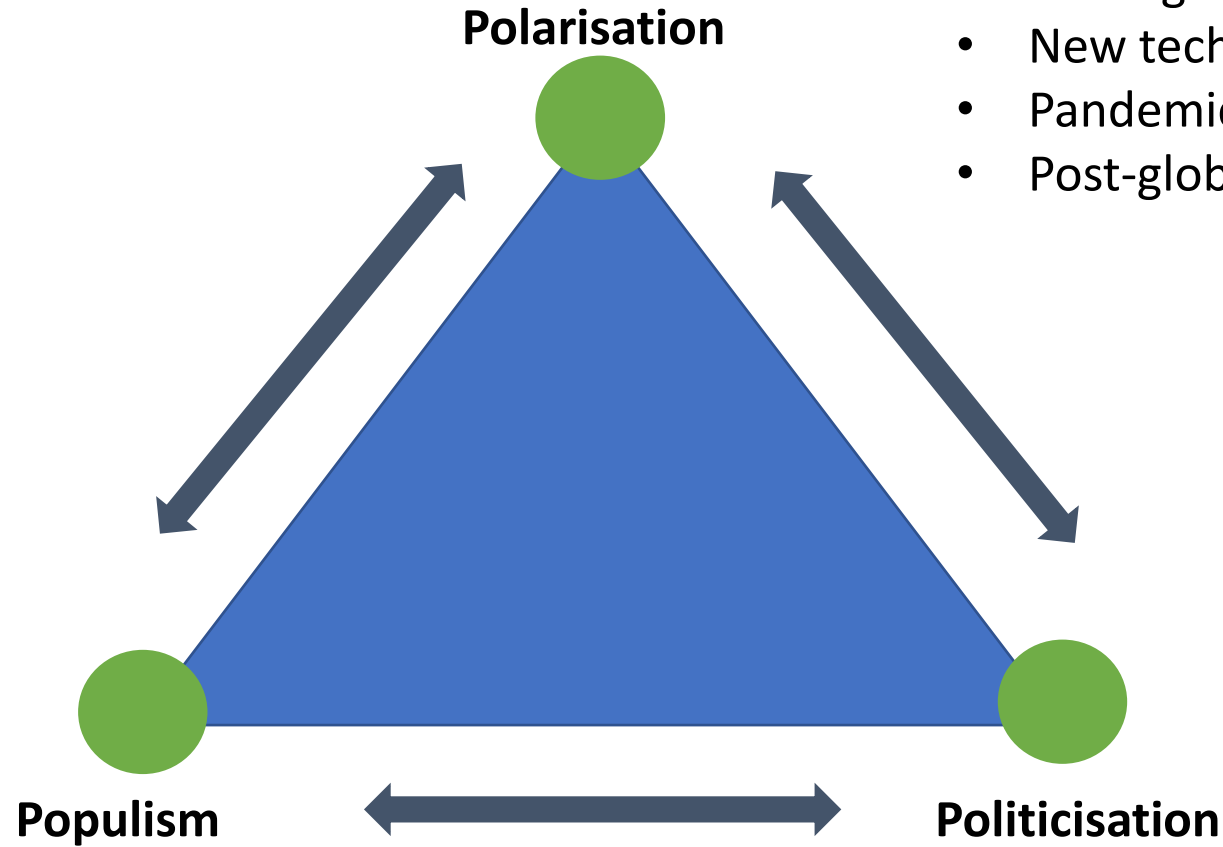
"There are decades where nothing happens; and there are weeks where decades happen" (Lenin?) and decades where centuries happen.

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION CRISIS

- Principle: political actors representing citizens in politics and public policy, acting in their best interest.
- Political actors: leadership, parties, institutions, government, economic interests.
- Corruption, lack of transparency/accountability, misleading/fake (acting on behalf of own interests), preserving culture of privilege (not working in favour of best causes), ineffective, incapable.
- Models: delegate, trustee, hybrid, mandate, resemblance.
- Effects: out of the box/untraditional leaderships, pendular politics (ineffective and unsustainable policies), apathy/abstentionism, frustration/resentment, social unrest.

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TRAPPED IN A TRIANGLE



DETERMINANTS

- Privilege vs rights
- New technologies-social media
- Pandemic
- Post-global world order

POLARISATION

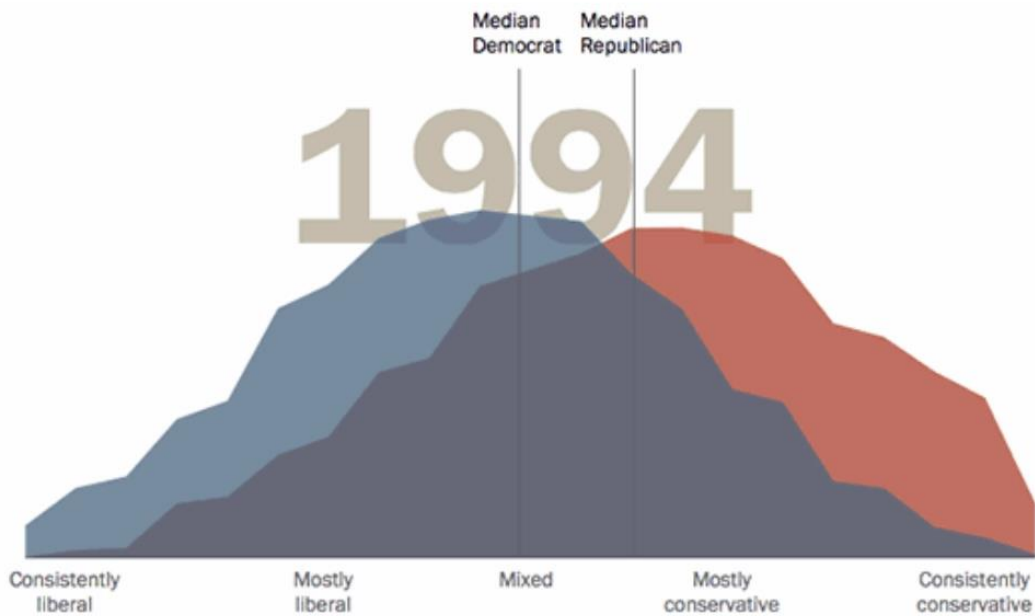
Ezra Klein, *“Why We’re Polarized”* (2020)

“There is less ideological overlap, less we are in the middle and there is more tension at the poles (...) The instinct to view our own and others favorably with hostility (...) strong supporters and weak parties”.

- Nuances
- Black-white vs different shades of gray.
- Bridges, dialogue, understanding of the other, of otherness (we must recognise the legitimacy of those who think differently).
- It is not only state or market, growing or not growing, wealth or misery, insensitive technocracy or ineffective populism.
- You can't understand polarization without social media.
- Echo-chambers: A closed ecosystem in which preconceptions, biases and beliefs are strained and amplified causing polarisation, radicalisation and violence.

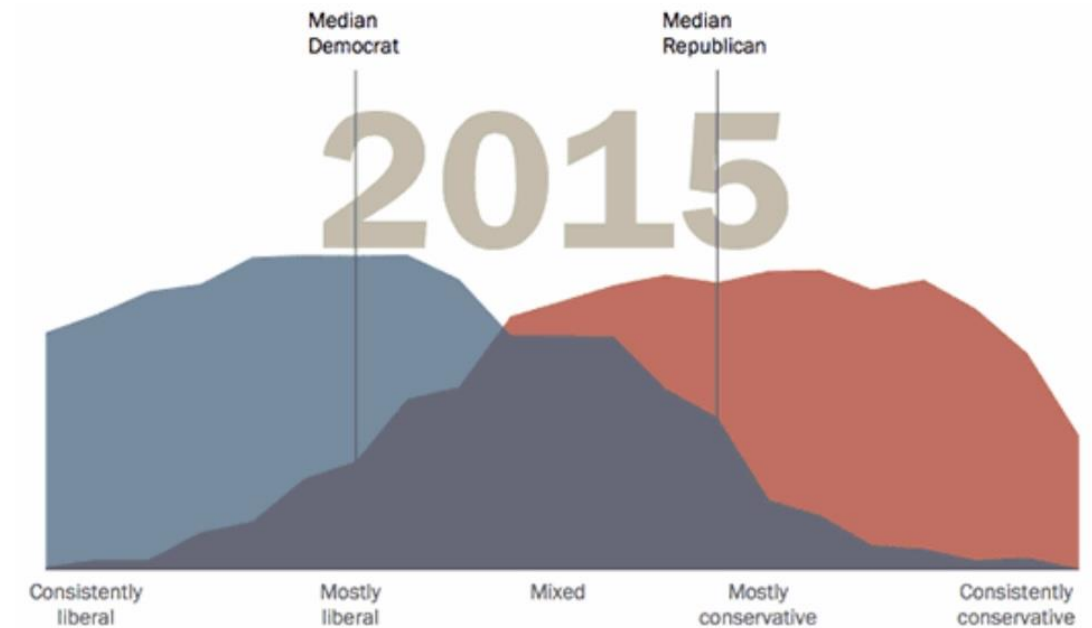
POLARISATION

Political polarization in the American public, 1994 - 2015



Surveys conducted 1994, 1999, 2004, 2011, 2014, and 2015 PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Political polarization in the American public, 1994 - 2015



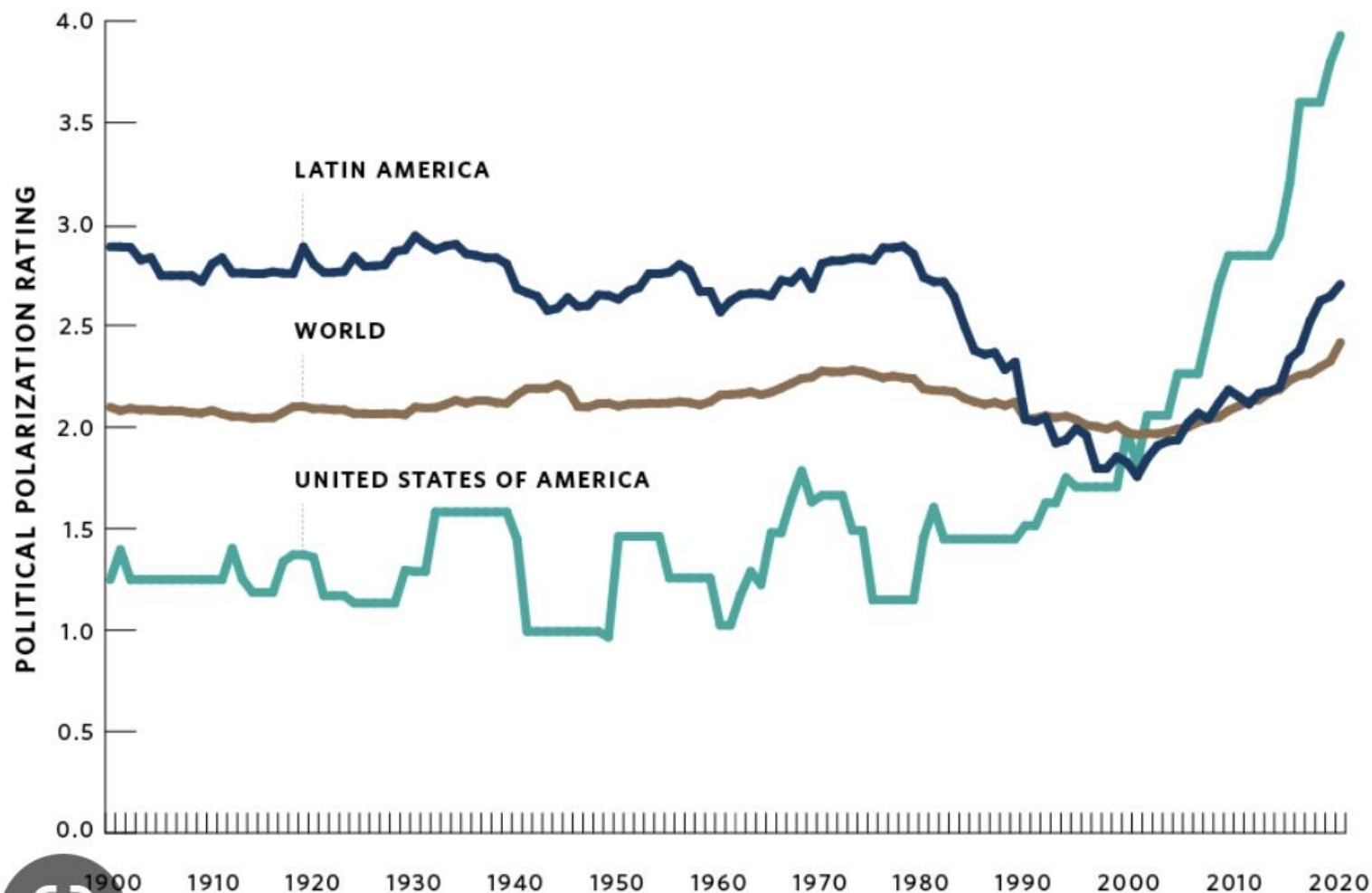
Surveys conducted 1994, 1999, 2004, 2011, 2014, and 2015 PEW RESEARCH CENTER

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POLARISATION

Polarization in Latin America and the United States Since 1900

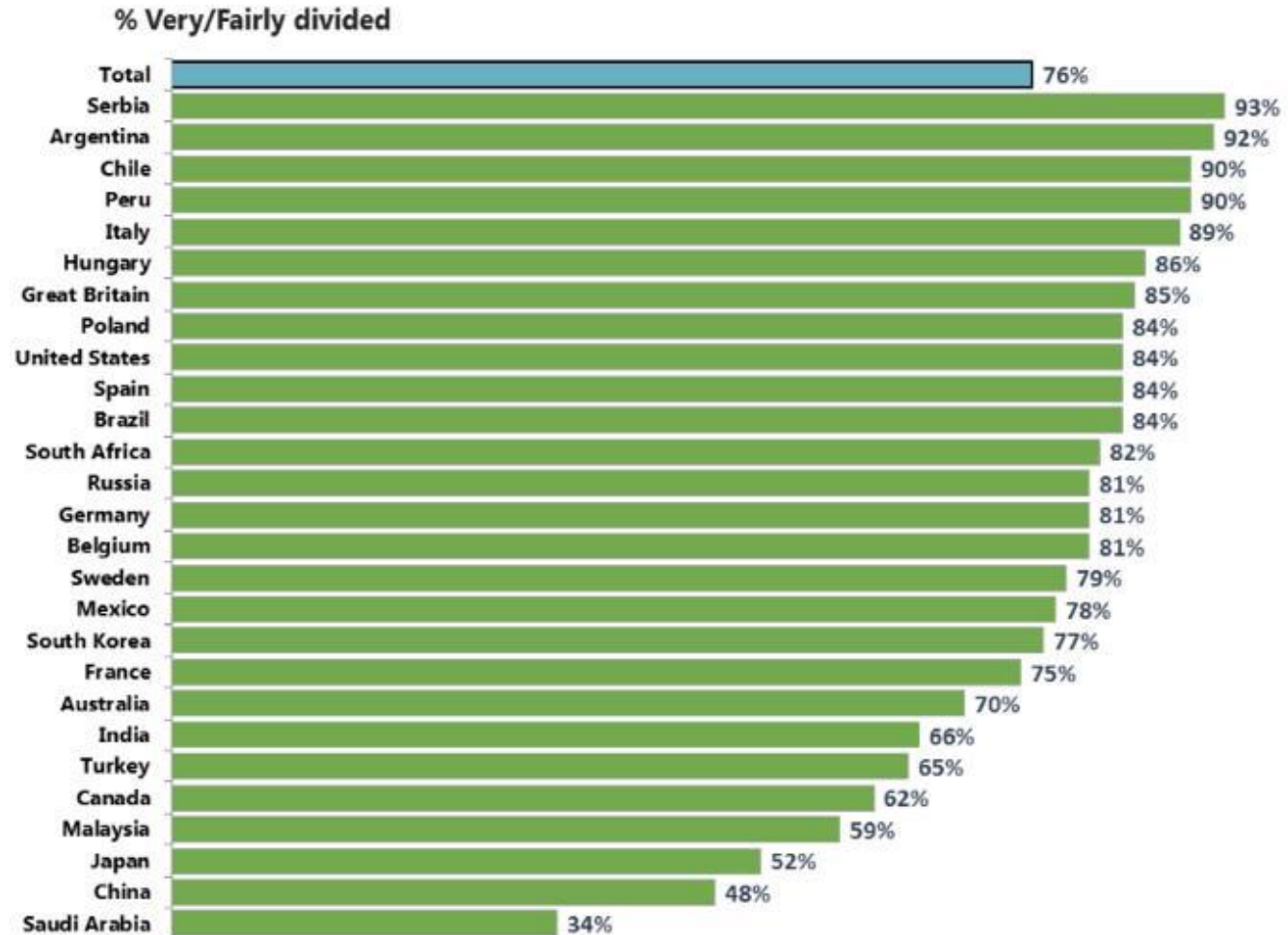


SOURCE: Coppedge, Gerring, Knutsen, Lindberg, and Teorell et al., "V-Dem Dataset Version 11.1."

POLARISATION

Three in four people globally think that their country is divided - Serbia seen as most divided, Saudi Arabia least divided

Q. Overall, how divided do you think your country is these days?

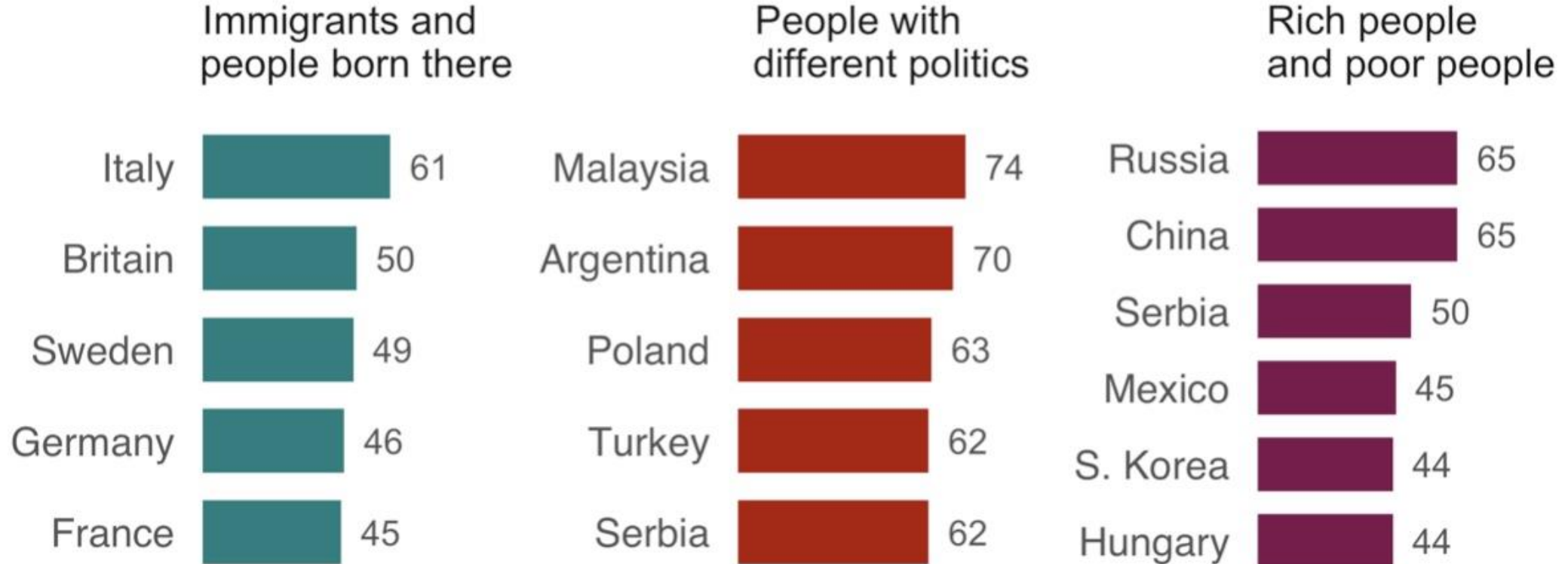


Ipsos study carried out in 27 countries for the BBC, 2018.

Base: 19,428 online adults aged 16-64 across 27 countries, 26 Jan-9th Feb 2018

How perceptions of division vary around the world

Percentage who say most tension in their country is between...

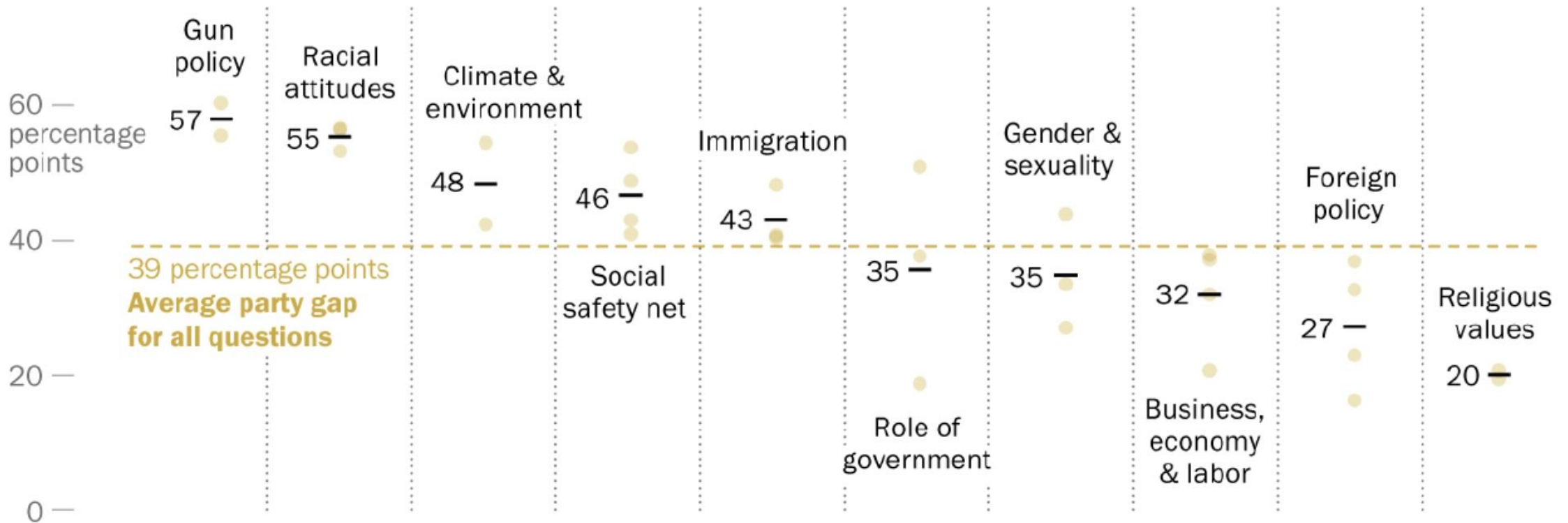


Pew Research Center, 2019

Wide partisan gaps on political values across a number of areas, but the largest differences are on guns and race

Difference between Republicans and Democrats on 30 political values items

- Average party gap for all questions within the topic
- Party gap on one question within the given topic



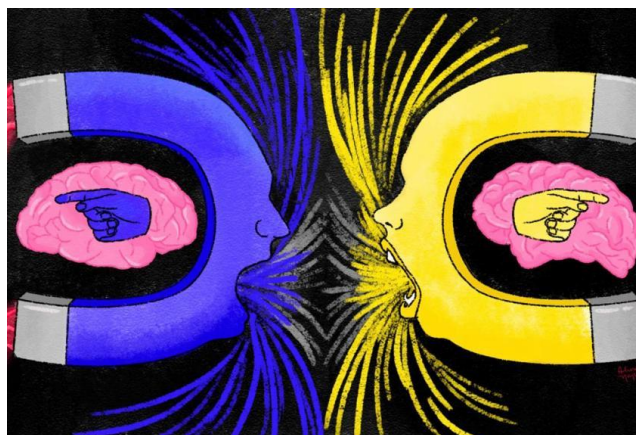
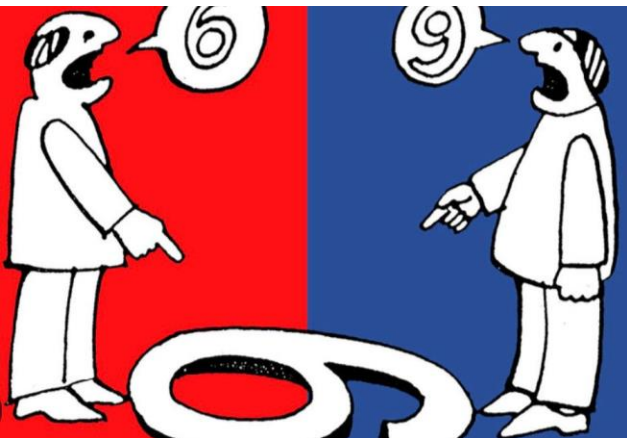
EXCERCISE: POSITIVE CHANGE-MAKING

GROUP 1	GROUP 2
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Understanding context 2. Information (science-based, information-based vs post-truth) 3. Stakeholders/the other (who are they? And effective engagement) 4. Political representation: Legitimising the authority in the eyes of the individual (What is moral? just? legal?). Citizens willing to submit spaces of their <u>freedom</u> to the <u>authority</u> for a <u>greater good</u>. 5. People “need to be seen, respected, appreciated (...) if unseen, disrespected and unappreciated, they will become enraged, resentful and vengefull” (Brooks) 6. Collective use of data and information (vaccines) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Technology 2. Hybrid work 3. Taking responsibility for what you read, share, believe and disbelieve 4. Rationality (Pinker) 5. Simplism is not the alternative 6. Politicians are not there to entretain us

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GROUP 3	GROUP 4
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. They don't understand that they don't understand 2. Listening 3. Empathy 4. Dialogue, agreement, common ground 5. The otherness 6. De-polarise (Mudde: "An ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, the pure people vs the corrupt elite"). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Shades of grey 2. Dignity (rights) 3. Human rights 4. Prosperity (opportunities) 5. Freedom 6. Self determination





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POPULISM

What is populism?

- An ideology
 - Thick (Cas Mudde)
 - Thin (Ernesto Laclau)
- Populist ideology. Illiberal ideology vs rhetoric that draws on thick ideologies such as socialism or national socialism.
- A way/means of exercising power/political strategy ("a toolbox for winning and wielding power that can be combined with virtually any ideology" Moises Naim).
- Narrative, rhetoric, discourse.
- Post-ideological

POPULISM

- Nostalgia for the past
- Demagoguery
- Against corrupt elites
- Simplistic explanations/reductionism (denial of complexity)
- Antipluralists (the people as a unitary entity)
- Them vs us (exacerbated tribalism)
- Hostile to intermediaries (monopoly of representation of “the people”/denial of diversity)
- Disinformation/misinformation
- Common enemies (resentment, nationalism)
- Institutional capture
- Populism having a positive effect as part of the system, not as THE regime

Effects of Populism

(-)	(+)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democratic regression • Cancelling pluralism • Monopoly of history • Polarisation • Monopoly of representation (the causes of the people/I am the people) • Weakening of institutions • Manipulation (rhetoric, propaganda) • Violation of the basic laws of reason and rationality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identifies and denounces shortcomings/malfunctions of the system • Gives voice to the unheard • Populism as a voice, as consciousness not as a regime (Kalt Wasser: “the democratising effect of populism”)

POPULISM

- "Populism is not an ideology or a regime. It is a sponge that absorbs the most varied demands through a common enemy. An enemy that defines itself as the origin and cause of all misfortunes" (J. Silva-Herzog Márquez).
- It's a trap. Democracy is not perfect, it is change and contradiction. It is not to destroy it, it is to improve it (for it not to serve political interests but the majority, improve well-being, effectively address problems, challenges and risks).
- We are being manipulated by demagoguery, falsehoods, post-truth, control of the narrative.

POPULISM

- **Michael J. Sandel** *“The Tyranny of Merit: What’s Become of the Common Good?” (2020).*

We failed to acknowledge our role in provoking the resentment that gave rise to the populist backlash. At the heart of this flaw is the way in which the traditional parties conceived and implemented the globalisation project over the past four decades; technocracy and meritocracy. Technocracy understood political division as open and closed economies, prioritising technical expertise beyond the reach of the common citizen, disempowering them. This incited resentment against elites and led to frustration as a result of a lack of recognition and social esteem. And meritocracy exacerbated this situation with the illusion of "you can if you try, if you feel like it" and if you can't, it's because you don't have talent or you didn't try hard enough. This became the "politics of humiliation" which added fuel to the anger and resentment that strengthen and sustain populism.

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POPULISM

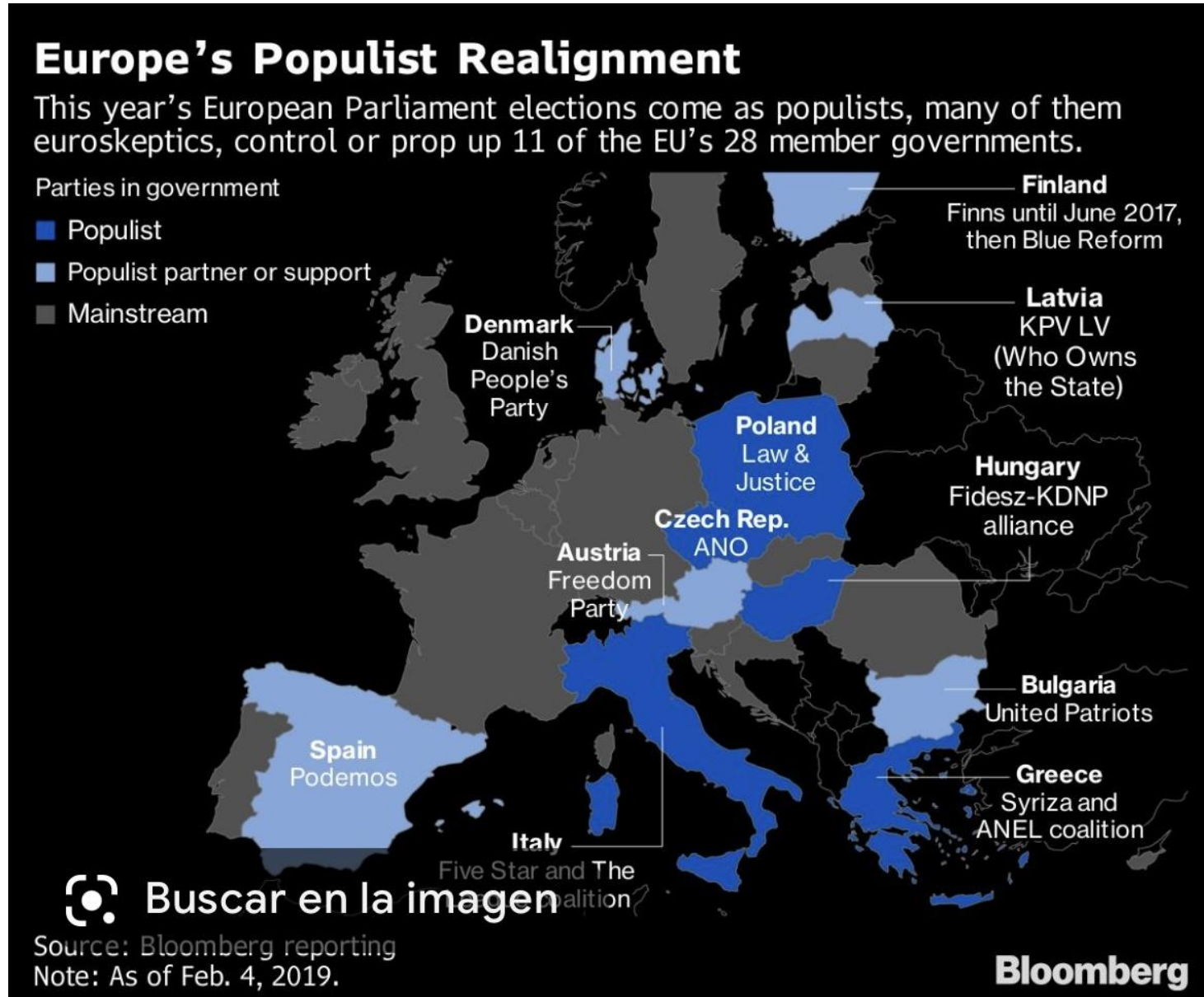
Countries governed by populists in the last 20 years

Fuente: Team Populism y The Guardian (1998-2018) / Gráfico elaboración politizados/LB.



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POPULISM



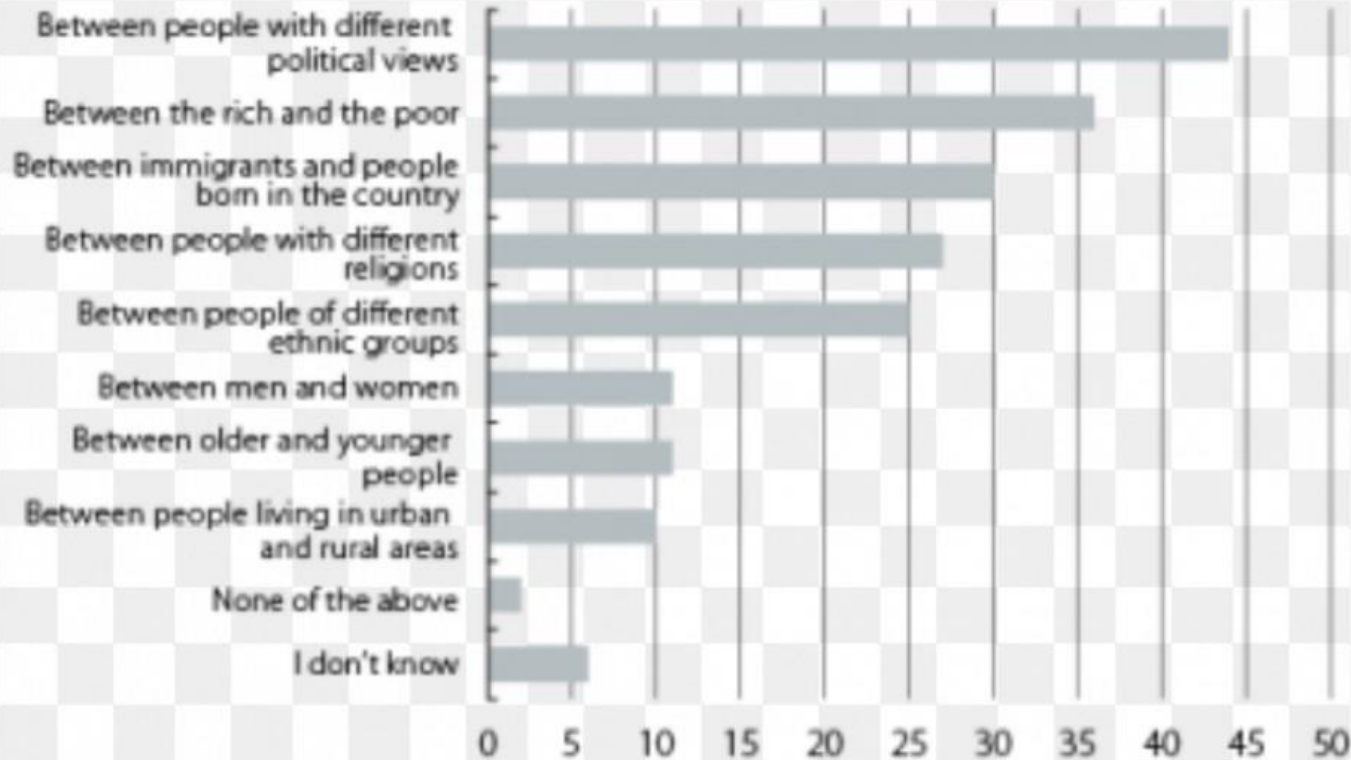
POLITICISATION

- Binary politicisation (love, hate or disaffection).
- Tribes/identities define positions on politics and policies (genders, sexual preferences, environmental issues, justice-injustice, race, economic growth, well-being, and employment).
- Governance (government, opposition, civil society, institutions).
- Politics as loot. Transactional. Political agreements for interest, not for principles/public good.
- Lack of identification with representatives and politicians.
- Reductionist visions of complex political issues: economic growth, happiness, poverty, social programs, militarisation, security, democratic and institutional checks and balances, authoritarianism, freedom of the press, minority rights, vulnerable groups, corruption, role of the in the economy.
- Ineffectiveness of public policy/incapacity.
- Politics as THE problem, not as the solution to problems.
- Depoliticisation (loss of legitimacy/capacity of representation of political parties and leaders).

<https://player.vimeo.com/video/230681283>

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Political polarisation at the heart of the debate
Between which of the following groups do you believe there is more tension in your country? (%)



Note: Survey conducted in 2018 across 27 countries, including major advanced and emerging economies, with a total of 19,428 interviews.

Source: CaixaBank Research, based on data from IPSOS.

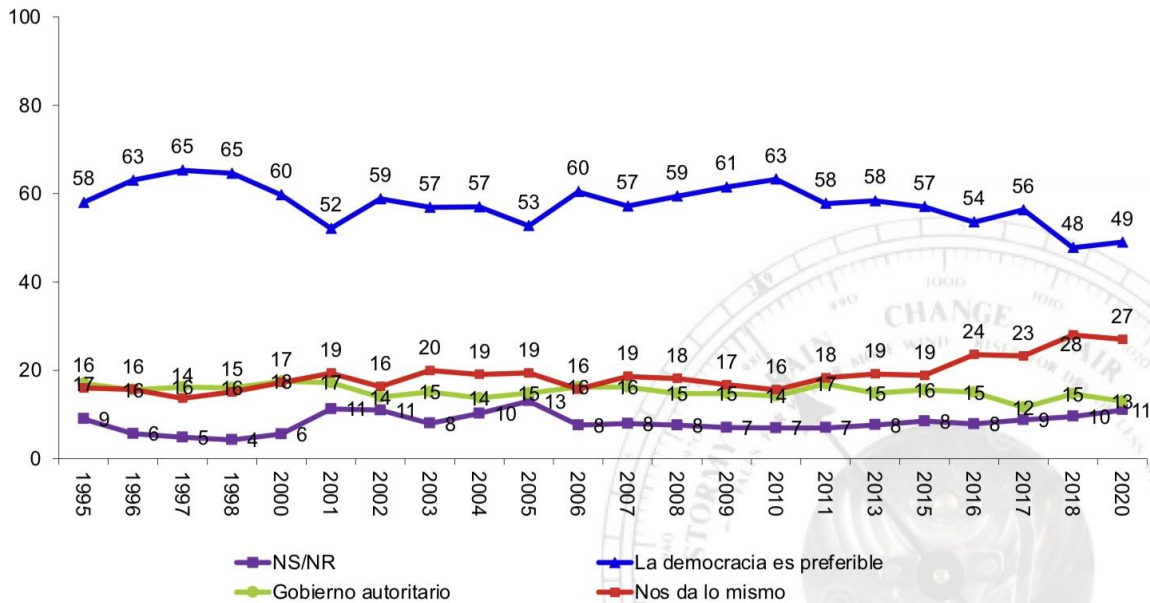
POLITICISATION

SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY

APOYO A LA DEMOCRACIA TOTAL LATINOAMÉRICA 1995 – 2020



P. ¿Con cuál de las siguientes frases está Ud. más de acuerdo? “La democracia es preferible a cualquier otra forma de gobierno”. “En algunas circunstancias, un gobierno autoritario puede ser preferible a uno democrático”. “A la gente como uno, nos da lo mismo un régimen democrático que uno no democrático”.

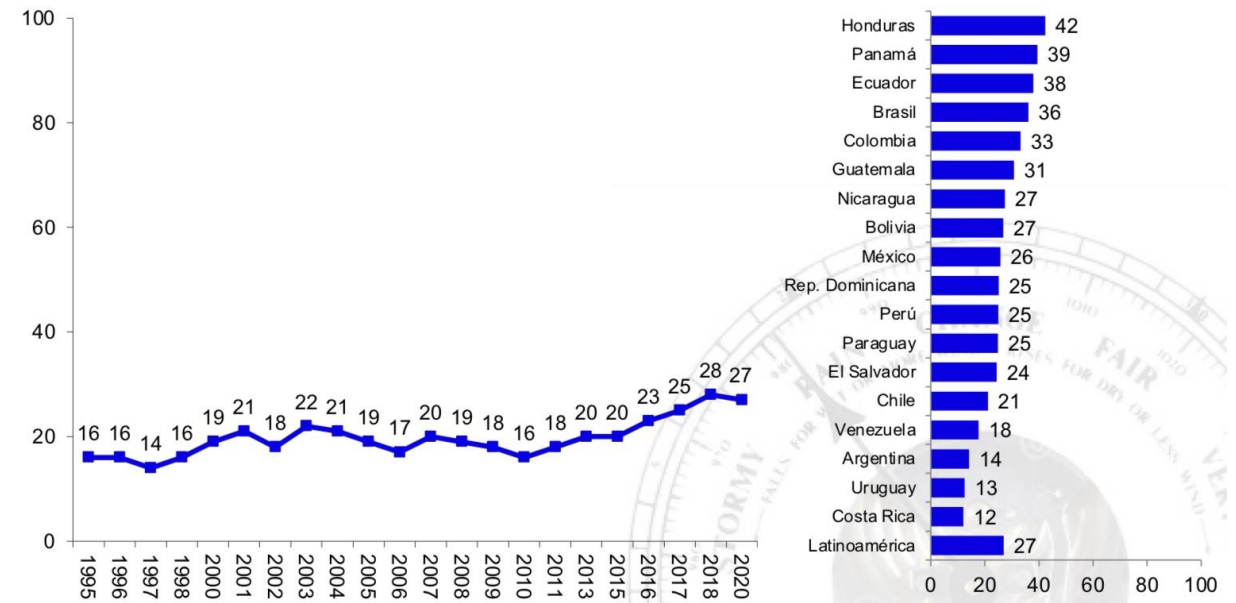


Fuente: Latinobarómetro 2020.

APOYO A LA DEMOCRACIA: DA LO MISMO UN RÉGIMEN DEMOCRÁTICO QUE UNO NO DEMOCRÁTICO TOTAL LATINOAMÉRICA 1995 – 2020 - TOTALES POR PAÍS 2020



P. ¿Con cuál de las siguientes frases está Ud. más de acuerdo? Aquí: “A la gente como uno, nos da lo mismo un régimen democrático que uno no democrático”.



Fuente: Latinobarómetro 2020.

MEXICO: THE NEW FOUNDATIONS

- Understanding, creating consciousness and eradicating inequality and the culture of privilege.
- *Mea-culpa* and reconciliation/our ontology (discrimination).
- The road should not be all technocracy or all populist rhetoric.
- Pacific coexistence, common minima (values, principles and objectives).
- Democracy is inherently conflictive, contradictory.
- How to construct public policies that are fair and more efficient.
- New market-democracy governance which doesn't mean institutional destruction. Reconciling its opposite nature: national vs international. (Martin Wolf, "In Defence of Democratic Capitalism", FT).
- Not the past or the present (process of catharsis), but the future (centre, agreement, renovation)
- Dealing with populism in an effective manner requires: 1) understanding/listening 2) self-criticism 3) uniting 4) moving from criticism and detachment convenient to involvement. (Elections are only the beginning. We need to participate beyond social media) 5) purposeful 6) new leadership (inspiring) and 7) changing the parameters (innovation).

Social Development: Changes in deprivations, CONEVAL

Deprivation	% and number of people						
	2000 (A)	2010 (B)	2012 (C)	2014 (D)	2016 (E)	2018 (F)	2020 (G)
1) Health services	58.6% (57.2 million)	29.2% (33.5 million)	21.5% (25.3 million)	18.2% (21.8 million)	15.5% (19.1 million)	16.2% (20.2 million)	28.2% (35.7 million)
Deprivation	% and number of people						
	2000 (A)	2010 (B)	2012 (C)	2014 (D)	2016 (E)	2018 (F)	2020 (G)
2) Basic housing services		22.9% (26.3 million)	21.2% (24.9 million)	21.2% (25.4 million)	19.3% (23.7 million)	19.8% (24.7 million)	17.9% (22.7 million)
Sewage	40% (32.8 million)	10.7% (12.2 million)	9.1% (10.7 million)	8.1% (9.7 million)	6.8% (8.3 million)	6.3% (7.8 million)	5.1% (6.5 million)
Water	24% (19.7 million)	9.2% (10.5 million)	8.8% (10.3 million)	8.2% (9.7 million)	7.6% (9.3 million)	7.2% (9.1 million)	6.7% (8.5 million)
Electricity	13% (10.7 million)	0.9% (0.9 million)	0.7% (0.8 million)	0.6% (0.8 million)	0.4% (0.5 million)	0.4% (0.5 million)	0.2% (0.3 million)
3) Quality of spaces and housing		15.2% (17.4 million)	13.6% (15.9 million)	12.3% (14.8 million)	12.0% (14.8 million)	11.1% (13.8 million)	9.3% (11.8 million)
Overcrowding (>2.5 people)	29% (23.3 million)	10.5% (12.0 million)	9.7% (11.4 million)	8.5% (10.2 million)	8.4% (10.2 million)	7.7% (9.6 million)	6.2% (7.8 million)
Floors	21% (16.9 million)	4.8% (5.4 million)	3.6% (4.2 million)	3.3% (3.9 million)	3.3% (4.0 million)	3.1% (3.9 million)	2.7% (3.4 million)
Roofs	12% (10.1 million)	2.5% (2.8 million)	2.0% (2.3 million)	1.7% (2.0 million)	1.3% (1.5 million)	1.1% (1.4 million)	0.8% (1.1 million)
Walls	7% (6 million)	1.9% (2.1 million)	1.6% (1.9 million)	1.7% (2.0 million)	1.6% (2.0 million)	1.3% (1.6 million)	1.2% (1.55 million)
4) Education	27% (21.6 million)	20.7% (23.7 million)	19.2% (22.6 million)	18.7% (22.4million)	17.4% (21.3 million)	16.9% (21.1 million)	19.2% (24.4 million)
Deprivation	% and number of people						
	2008(A)	2010 (B)	2012 (C)	2014 (D)	2016 (E)	2018 (F)	2020 (G)
5) Social security	65% (72.5 million)	60.7% (69.6 million)	61.2% (71.8 million)	58.5% (70.1 million)	55.8% (68.4 million)	57.3% (71.7 million)	52% (66 million)
6) Food/Nutrition	22% (24.3 million)	24.8% (28.4 million)	23.3% (27.4 million)	23.4% (28.0 million)	20.1% (24.6 million)	20.4% (25.5 million)	22.5% (28.6 million)

CONCLUSION

- Changing the conversation.
- Moving away from the trap.
- Information, understanding, productive interaction, innovation.
- New leaderships.
- Move from big issues to small issues (subsidiarity).
- Recognise the legitimate right of “otherness”.
- “Everybody has a right to their own opinion, not to their own facts” Silva-Herzog.
- Be strategic.
- Engage the silent majority.
- Influence your environments/ecosystems.
- Productively disagree/compromise/converge.
- Healthier democracies are possible.

- Jesús Silva-Herzog Márquez, *“La Casa de la Contradicción”* (2021)

“The unstable compound of democracy always looks in opposite directions. It is confidence and suspicion; It is a mechanic and an ethic, a procedure and a civilization. It is the debate and the decree. It is the election that collects the voice of the majority and the court that defends the weakest. It is the space where everything is questionable and nothing can be imposed as sacred. It is a mirror, a forum, a battle, a whip, a number. More than a complex regime, a contradictory one. A guarantee of disappointment”.

