Democracy

Democracy identifies the general processes causing democratization and de-democratization at a national level across the world over the last few hundred years. It singles out integration of trust networks into public politics, insulation of public politics from categorical inequality, and suppression of autonomous coercive power centers as crucial processes. Through analytic narratives and comparisons of multiple regimes, mostly since World War II, this book makes the case for recasting current theories of democracy, democratization, and de-democratization.

Charles Tilly (Ph.D. Harvard, 1958) taught at the University of Delaware, Harvard University, the University of Toronto, the University of Michigan, and the New School for Social Research before becoming Joseph L. Buttenwieser Professor of Social Science at Columbia University. A member of the National Academy of Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, he has published 50 books and monographs. His recent books from Cambridge University Press include *Dynamics of Contention* (with Doug McAdam and Sidney Tarrow, 2001), *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics* (with Ronald Aminzade and others, 2001), *The Politics of Collective Violence* (2003), *Contention and Democracy in Europe, 1650–2000* (2004), and *Trust and Rule* (2005).

Democracy

CHARLES TILLY
Columbia University

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press
32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521877718

First published 2007

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Tilly, Charles.
Democracy / Charles Tilly.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-0-521-87771-8
ISBN-13: 978-0-521-70153-2 (pbk.)
1. Democracy. I. Title.
JC423.T5 2007
321.8–dc22 2006031969

ISBN 978-0-521-87771-8 hardback
ISBN 978-0-521-70153-2 paperback

for Sid Tarrow, intellectual democrat

Contents

Boxes and Figures

Boxes

Figures

Preface

I dared not call this book by its true name: *Democracy, Democratization, De-Democratization, and their Interdependence*. That clunky, cranky title would have driven too many readers away from the book's visibly vital topic. But readers who reach the book's end will, I hope, emerge understanding why it makes no sense simply to describe an ideal political system called democracy and then try to specify conditions under which that system could emerge and survive. Democratization is a dynamic process that always remains incomplete and perpetually runs the risk of reversal – of de-democratization. Closely related processes, moving in opposite directions, produce both democratization and de-democratization. Or so, at least, this book argues at length.

Over long years, the study of democracy, democratization, and de-democratization forced itself on me gradually but inexorably. It grew out of a lifelong effort to explain how the means that ordinary people use to make consequential collective claims – their repertoires of contention – vary and change. Anyone who looks closely at this problem in historical perspective eventually recognizes two facts: first, that undemocratic and democratic regimes feature very different repertoires of contention, indeed that prevailing repertoires help identify a given regime as undemocratic or democratic; second, that as democratization or de-democratization occurs, dramatic alterations of repertoires also occur. Civil wars, for example, concentrate in undemocratic regimes, whereas social movements form almost exclusively in democratic regimes. The correlation is imperfect and contingent, hence more challenging and interesting than would be the case if democracy merely entailed one array of claim-making performances and undemocracy another. Popular struggle

affects whether and how democratization comes to pass. This book says how and why.

Perhaps 20 percent of the present text adapts material I have already published in some other form, notably in two previous Cambridge books: *Contention and Democracy in Europe, 1650–2000* (2004), and *Trust and Rule* (2005). Let me defend this wholesale borrowing. In this book the adapted material appears in different contexts that give it substantially new meaning. *Contention and Democracy* used comparative histories of European regimes to demonstrate the interdependence of democratization and popular struggles, whereas *Trust and Rule* analyzed change and variation in connections between interpersonal trust networks and political regimes. Both themes reappear in the present book, now subordinated to a broader question: How, in general, do democratization and de-democratization take place?

This book clarifies and revises some arguments from my earlier publications, especially when it comes to autonomous centers of coercive power and control of public politics over the state as factors in democratization and de-democratization. Although it retains a historical perspective, the book concentrates much more heavily on the recent past and the contemporary world than my previous treatments of democracy. I hope that it will help students of today's struggles over democracy to see the value of historical-comparative analysis in this fraught field. In any case, I regard *Democracy* as the culmination and synthesis of all my work on the subject.

Let me thank five people for their help with this book. I haven't seen my graduate school classmate Raymond Gastil for decades, but he pioneered the Freedom House ratings on which chapter after chapter of the book relies as proxies for the more direct measurement of democratization and de-democratization that my arguments imply. My frequent collaborator Sidney Tarrow did not read the manuscript, but his constant questioning of related ideas in our joint and separate publications has kept me alert to the dangers lurking in concepts such as regime, state capacity, and democracy itself. Viviana Zelizer has once again cast her discerning non-specialist eye over the entire text, drawing my attention forcefully to obscurities and infelicities. Finally, two sympathetic but demanding anonymous readers for Cambridge University Press have required me to clarify and/or defend a number of the book's concepts and arguments, to your benefit and mine.