

Index

Africa fate of dictators from, 131 Allende, Salvador, 222-24 Allesandri, Jorge, 221 Amin, Idi, 131 Ansell, Ben, 20 Arab Spring, 19, 50, 96, 131 Argentina, 20, 90, 95 economic shock and popular democratic transition in, 105-06 exchange rates in, 119-20 Aristotle, 4 Asian Tigers, 50 Australia as successful democracy, 99 authoritarian elites, 30, See also economic elites; political elites authoritarian political elites, 31-32 consolidated dictatorships and, 36-37 elite-biased democracies and, 36 fear of popular democracy by, 42 autocratic constitutions. See elite-biased constitutions

Bahrain, 19
Barrientos, Colonel René (Bolivia), 15
Belgium, 96, 107
constitutional amendments in, 154
bicameralism, 155
elite-biased constitutions and, 84–90, 91–92
in Sweden, 186–87
binomial electoral systems
in Chile, 92

Bolivia, 15, 96 elite-biased constitution and, 155 Brazil, 20, 90, 95 Bulgaria, 92, 284 constitutional reforms in, 145

Canada and colonial legacies, 253 British role in Canadian independence, 254-56 Canadian gaining of constitutional control in 1982, 257 differences between Canadian and American societies and, 254 voting rights and, 257 Capital in the Twenty-First Century (Piketty), 11 capitalism, 10 case selection, 10, See also Chile; Sweden Ceaușescu, Nicolae, 131 Central African Republic constitutional reforms in, 154 centralized wage bargaining, 199 Chile, 5, 9, 10, 36, 44, 45, 96, 106, 284 agricultural policies under elite-biased democracy, 241 binomial electoral system in, 92 conservative fiscal and monetary policies under elite-biased democracy, 238-41 constitutional amendments and experiments with popular democracy, 154,214-15 constitutional reforms in 1989, 234-36 constitutional reforms under elite-biased democracy, 242-44

303



304 Index

Chile (cont.) decrease in income inequality under popular democracy, 224 fate of former Pinochet regime officials under elite-biased democracy, 237-38 Great Depression and, 217-19 historical trajectory of taxation in, 222-23 history of financial system of, 213-14 income inequality in, 210 income inequality under elite-biased democracy, 241-42 land reform in, 221-22, 229-30 legacy and economic policy from Pinochet era, 224-30 manufacturing sector rise and fall, 216 military as partisan actor in, 211, 214-15 1980 Constitution under Pinochet, 230-34 over-representation of conservatives in elite-biased democracy of, 236-37 popular democracy and economics under Allende, 222-24 popular democracy under Allesandri administration (1958-1963), 221 possible start of popular democracy in, 219-21 as republican oligarchy in 19th century, 212-14 rise of manufacturing during WWI, 216-17 suffrage for women in 1948, 220 under Pinochet, 224-30 unions in, 220 China, 16, 20, 50 Chun Doo-hwan (South Korean dictator), 132-33 Colombia constitutional reform in, 143 colonial and occupier legacies, 67, 247-49, See also Canada and colonial legacies; Philippines and American colonial legacies classification of, 249-51 conventional wisdom on, 251-53 elite-biased constitutions and, 73-74 Ukraine and Soviet legacies, 263-68 Color Revolutions, 19 consolidated dictatorships, 26, 36-37, 45 distributional outcomes under, 61-62 political outcomes under, 36 transitions between volatile and, 43-44 constitutions, 8, 10, See also elite-biased constitutions; elite-biased constitutional amendments and annulments; governance

and material outcomes under democracies with amended autocratic constitutions as elite deal-making, 66, 67-68 measuring autocratic or democratic constitutions inherited by transition type, 72-73 popular democratic transitions and, 74 scholarship on importance of, 12, 13 as social contract that underpins democracy, 12 Sweden's constitution of 1809, 184-86, 204 unforeseen circumstances and mistakes in, 29 Continental Divide (Lipset), 254 contractarian view of democracy, 20 crime and violence, 3 crony capitalism, 10, 17, 61 Cuba, 16 Czech Republic, 247 Czechoslovakia, 247 De Geer, Louis, 186 decentralization development of in Sweden, 191 democracies. See also elite-biased democracies; popular democracies contractarian view of, 20 countries with successful, 99 democracy defined, 72 democratic breakdown, 273-79 dictatorships as birthplace of, 12 differences between life in dictatorship and, 1 economic elites preference for if rights are protected, 16 flaws in, 2-3, 6-7, 8, 99, 283-88 flaws in South African, 18 flaws in Swedish, 208 growth of as main form of governance internationally, 1 health and education outcomes in vs. dictatorships, 6 illiberal institutions in, 9 income inequality under, 6-7, 11-12 number of in world, 75 political elites preference for if protected from prosecution, 16 political elites under, 31 rarity of Dahlian ideal type democracy, 9 suggestions for reforming deficiencies of, 12, 283-88 Democratic Republic of Congo, 131



Index 305

democratic transitions. See also elitelegislature under dictatorships; volatile biased democratic transitions; popular dictatorships democratic transitions assumptions on elites and the poor from above, 17 preferences about, 15-16 in Bolivia, 15 as birthplace of democracy, 12 constitutions and, 10 differences between life in democracy and, 1 economic growth and, 50 elites under, 8, 9, 12 from 1800–2006, 76–80 health and education outcomes in vs. elite displacement during, 17 democracies, 6 elite-biased constitutions and, 247 redistribution of land and, 20 as elite driven, 12 transitions between consolidated and global and historical vs. regional or time volatile, 43-44 period approach, 12 Duterte, Rodrigo, 263 income inequality and, 56, 57 masses role in, 19 earthquakes, 112-14, See also natural disasters measurement of as variable in democratic modernization theory and, 56 in Myanmar, 64, 66 transitions, 108 natural resource reliance and, 110 Eastern Europe as non-random and non-exogenous constitutional reforms in, 145, 154 economic elites, 30, See also incumbent outsider economic elites role in, 19, 20-21 economic elites; outsider economic elites constitutions and self-interest of, 13, 29 per capita income and, 110 percent of revolutions under dictatorships fear of popular democracy by, 42 resulting in, 19 precipitating factors for exiting authoritarian regime, 47-48 preemptive transitions, 17 protection and continuance of elite interests preference for democracy if rights are after, 11, 65-66, 270 protected, 16 redistribution and, 4-5 protection of rights and interests of, 28 social and political factors in Sweden's under dictatorship, 12 development from elite-biased to popular economic growth, 50 democracy, 175-77 economic openness, 160 statistical results of determinants of elite shift in as proximate factor in constitutional biased vs. popular, 112-16 reforms, 158, 164 statistical strategy for estimating, 110-11 economic shock and collapse theoretical predictions of, 100-01 in Chile under Allende, 222-24 Denmark, 96, 107 Great Depression in Chile and, 217-19 dictators measurement of as variable in popular data on prior to democratic transitions, 80 democratic transitions, 109 death of and constitutional reform, popular democratic transition in Argentina 156-57, 162-64 and, 105-06 elite-biased constitutions and empirical as proximate factor in constitutional results of dictator punishment, 135-38 reforms, 157-58, 163, 164 elite-biased constitutions and measurement as proximate factor in popular democratic of dictator punishment, 133-35 transitions, 102, 116 elite-biased constitutions and punishment Sweden's transition from elite-biased to of, 80-90, 93, 131-33 popular democracy and, 196 fate of, 131-33 education fate of former Pinochet regime in Chile under popular democracy, 224 officials, 237–38 in democracies vs. dictatorships, 6 dictatorships. See also consolidated Egypt, 20, 29, 50, 276, 287 elite-biased constitutions and, 96 dictatorships; elite-biased constitutions; elite-biased democratic transitions; military as partisan actor in, 65



306 Index

El Salvador, 92 elections democratic, 25 electoral systems, 156 in Chile, 236-37 elite-biased constitutions and, 80-90, 92-93 elite-biased constitutional amendments and annulments, 141-43, See also constitutions; elite-biased constitutions; governance and material outcomes under democracies with amended autocratic constitutions in Belgium, 154 in Central African Republic, 154 in Chile, 154, 214-15 in Chile under elite-biased democracy, 242-44 in Colombia, 143 constitutional reforms in Chile in 1989, 234-36 coordination of outsider economic elites and the masses as cause of, 155-58 death of dictators and key insiders and, 156-57, 162-64 under democracy between 1800 and 2006, 144-54 in Eastern Europe, 145, 154 economic collapse and shocks as proximate factor in, 157-58, 163, 164 economic openness shift as proximate factor in, 158, 164 empirical predictions for new or holdover autocratic constitutions, 158-59 empirical strategy and results of determinants in new or holdover autocratic constitutions, 161-64 in Fiji, 154 further entrenchment of elite bias and, 155 in Ghana, 145 in Indonesia, 143 measurement for coordination potential between outsider economic elites and the masses, 159-61 measurement of, 159 in Myanmar, 143-44 in the Netherlands, 154 process and politics of, 143-44 in Spain, 143 in Sweden, 154, 204 in Turkey, 154 elite-biased constitutions, 173, 270, See also constitutions; elite-biased constitutional

amendments and annulments; governance and material outcomes under democracies with amended autocratic constitutions banning of leftwing parties and, 80-90, 93 bicameralism and, 84-90, 91-92 Chile's 1980 constitution under Pinochet, 230-34 colonial legacies and, 73-74 constitutional impediments to popular rule associated with, 80-90 data on dictators and for holdover constitutions inherited by democracies from autocracies, 80 democracies inheriting authoritarian constitutions since 1800, 80-90 in democratic transitions, 247 electoral systems and proportional representation and, 80-90, 92-93 as elite deal-making, 63-64 elites protection of interests in, 13, 68-70 elites protection of interests in Egypt, 96 elites protection of interests in Europe, 96 elites protection of interests in Latin America, 95-96 empirical results of dictator punishment and, 135-38 enforcing under democracy of, 71-72 fate and punishment of dictators and, 131-33 federalism and, 80-91 fiscal and monetary outcomes in post-WWII era and, 128-31 forestalling popular initiation of legislation and, 80-90, 94 inheritance of and annulments of since 1800, 76-80 measurement of dictator punishment and, 133-35 popular democratic transitions and, 74 Portugal and, 73 prohibiting retroactive criminal punishment and, 80-90, 93 proportion of democracies with since 1800, 75-76 protection of property rights and, 80-90, 94 statistical strategy for estimating dictator punishment and, 135 trends in since 1800, 74-75 elite-biased democracies, 3, 8, 10, 26, 27-28, 36, See also Chile; Myanmar; South Africa: Sweden adult suffrage in, 124



Index 307

statistical results on the determinants authoritarian elites and, 36 democratic breakdown in, 273-79 of, 112-16 transitional justice for outgoing political democratic transitions from 1800-2006, 76-80 incumbent elites and, 60 effect of proximate factors and structural elites. See also authoritarian elites; economic underpinnings on elites and the masses elites; elite-biased democracy; elite-biased democratic transitions; elite-biased and, 51-53 elites and the masses preferences for, 39-41 constitutions; incumbent economic as less inclusive, pluralistic, and egalitarian elites; outsider economic elites; than popular democracies, 9, 142 political elites progressive taxation and, 118-20 assumptions about preference for proportion of with autocratic constitutions dictatorships, 15-16 since 1800, 75-76 defined, 11 redistribution in, 118 protection of interests and rights after shifts to from popular democracy, 279-83 democratic transition, 11, 65-66 under dictatorships, 12 social and political factors in Sweden's development from elite-biased to popular elite-biased constitutions and, 96 democracy, 175-77 as sustainable regime type, 41-42 exchange rates, 119-20 transitions to popular democracy from, 44 trends in since 1800, 74-75 federalism as variable in governance and material elite-biased constitutions and, 80-91 outcomes in democracy, 120-21 Figueiredo, João, 132 elite-biased democratic transitions, 19 data on dictators and, 80 constitutional reforms in, 154 defined, 106 fiscal and monetary outcomes distributional outcomes under, 61-62 after democratic transitions, 58-60 elite displacement transitions, 17 in democracies with amended governance outcomes, 57-58 autocratic constitutions post-World income inequality and, 56 War II, 170-73 legislature under dictatorship and, formal institutions, 29 102, 112-16 France, 107 legislature under dictatorship in Mexico Frei, Eduardo, 221 and, 103-04 legislatures and, 46-47, 107 Gaddafi, Muammar, 131 measurement of key variables in, 106 Georgia, 19 modernization theory and, 56 Ghana natural disaster in Mexico and, 104 constitutional amendments in, 145 natural disaster in Myanmar and, 104 globalization, 5, 6, 11, 165 natural disasters and, 48-49, 102, 108, governance and material outcomes under 112-14 democracies with amended autocratic oligarchic regimes and, 127 constitutions, 165, See also constitutions; outsider economic elites as threat and, elite-biased constitutions; elite-biased 17-18, 47-48 constitutional amendments and annulments pervasiveness of, 21 empirical results by regime type, 167-70 precipitating factors behind, 47-48 redistribution after, 58-60 empirical strategies explaining outcomes by scholarship on, 12 regime type, 166-67 state capacity and, 45, 102, 107 fiscal and monetary outcomes post-World state capacity in South Africa and, War II, 170-73 measurement strategies explaining outcomes 102-03 state capacity in Venezuela and, 103 by regime type, 165-66



308 Index

governance and material outcomes under in Sweden under dictatorship, 177-80 democracy, 57-58 volatile dictatorships and, 37-39 egalitarian democracy variable, 117 Indonesia, 20, 50 equal distribution of resources variable, 117 constitutional reform in, 143 percentage of population with suffrage industrialization, 109 variable, 117 informal institutions, 29 range of consultation variable, 117 Iran, 50 redistribution measures, 118-20 iron law of oligarchy, 66 representation of disadvantaged groups Italy, 90 variable, 117, 118 statistical strategy for explaining by regime Kaufman, Robert, 17 type, 122-24 Kenva Great Britain, 7 elite-biased constitution of as furthering Great Depression elite bias, 155 in Chile, 217-19 Kirchner, Christina and Nelson, 119-20 Guatemala Kyrgyzstan, 19 revolution and popular democratic land reform and redistribution, 2, 20, 105 transition in, 105 in Chile, 221-22, 229-30 Haggard, Stephan, 17 in Philippines, 263 Latin America, 5 health in Chile under popular democracy, 224 elite-biased constitutions and, 95-96 in democracies vs. dictatorships, 6 leftwing party bans elite-biased constitutions and, 80-90, 93 of dictators, 61 Hitler, Adolf, 131 legislature under dictatorship Hungary, 107 elite-biased democratic transitions and, 102, TT2-T6 illiberal institutions, 9 elite-biased democratic transition in Mexico income inequality. See also redistribution and, 103-04 forestalling popular initiation of legislation in Chile, 210, 224 in Chile under elite-biased and, 80-90 democracy, 241-42 popular democratic transitions and, 102, under democracy, 2–3, 6–7, 11–12 112-16 democratic transitions and, 56, 57 legislatures, 49, 61, See also bicameralism elite-biased transitions and, 46-47 elite-biased transitions and, 56 in Spain under democracy, 15 measurement of as variable in democratic in Sweden during the 1900 to 1910 transitions, 107 period, 175 Libya, 286 in Sweden during the 1950s to 1960s period, 203 Malaysia, 20 Swedish policies reducing, 199-200 Mandela, Nelson, 285 in the U.S., 283 Marcos, Ferdinand, 262-63 Marx, Karl, 4 incumbent economic elites, 32-33, See also economic elites; outsider economic elites masses, the effect of proximate factors and structural assumptions on preference for underpinnings on and political regime democracy, 15-16 outcomes, 51-53 consolidated dictatorships and, 36-37 Great Depression in Chile and, 217 constitutional amendments and annulments vs. outsider economic elites, 33-35 and, 155-58 reaction to liberalization in governance outcomes for in democratic Sweden, 182-84 transitions, 58



Index 309

measuring coordination potential between oligarchic regimes, and democratic outsider economic elites and, 159-61 transitions, 127 outsider economic elites, 20, 33-35, 270, popular democracy and, 42-43 popular democratic transitions See also economic elites; incumbent and, 35-36 economic elites in Sweden's transition to popular consolidated dictatorships and, 36-37 democracy, 205 constitutional amendments and annulments volatile dictatorships, 37-39 and, 155-58 democratic transitions and, 17-18, 20-21, median voter popular democracy and, 36 44, 47-48 redistribution and, 4-5 endogenous sources of change and, 109 measuring coordination potential between Mexico, 16, 20 the masses and, 159-61 legislature under dictatorship and popular democracy and, 42-43 elite-biased democratic transition revolutions and, 19, 108 rise of in Sweden, 180-82 natural disasters and elite-biased democratic volatile dictatorships and, 37-39 transition in, 104 military as partisan actor, 10, 13-14 in Chile, 211, 214-15 Pakistan, 20, 90 measurement of military size in democratic pension reform transitions, 110 in Sweden, 193 in Myanmar, 18, 64, 66 per capita income in Turkish and Egyptian democratic democratic transitions and, 110 transitions, 65 Pérez Jiménez, Marcos, 103 in Venezuela, 103 Peru, 277 Mobutu, Sese Seko, 131 Philippines and American colonial legacies, modernization theory, 56 248, 258-59 Myanmar, 64, 66, 284 Ferdinand Marcos and, 262-63 constitutional amendments in, 143-44 Philippine constitution and, 262-63 military as partisan actor in, 18 Philippine independence and, 259-62 natural disasters and elite-biased democratic U.S. military bases and, 263 transition in, 104 Piketty, Thomas, 11 Pinochet, General Augusto, 224-30 natural disasters. See also earthquakes Poland, 90 elite-biased democratic transitions and, constitutional reforms in, 145 48-49, 102 political elites elite-biased democratic transition in Mexico consolidated dictatorships and, 36-37 and, TO4 constitutions and self-interest of, 13, 29 elite-biased democratic transition in under democracy, 30 Myanmar and, 104 precipitating factors for exiting measurement of as variable in democratic authoritarian regime, 47-48 transitions, 108 preference for democracy if protected from natural resources, 257 prosecution, 16 democratic transitions and, 110 protection of their rights and interests, 28 Netherlands, 90 transitional justice for during democratic constitutional amendments in, 154 transitions, 60 New Zealand popular democracies, 10, 26, 27, See as successful democracy, 99 also Sweden adult suffrage in, 124 Nigeria, 90, 275 authoritarian elites fear of, 42 North Korea, 16 challenges of in Sweden, 205-06 North Vietnam, 20



310 Index

popular democracies (cont.) current state of in Sweden, 207-08 effect of proximate factors and structural underpinnings on elites and the masses and, 51-53 effects of in Sweden, 205-06 governance outcomes under, 57-58 impact of on governance and material outcomes, 120-21 impediments to popular rule from elitebiased constitutions, 80-90 median voter and, 36 as more inclusive, pluralistic, and egalitarian than elite-biased democracies, 142 outsider economic elites and the masses and, 42-43 in Philippines, 263 progressive taxation and, 118-20 question of start of in Chile, 219-21 shifts from to elite-biased democracy, 279-83 social and political factors in Sweden's development from elite-biased to popular democracy, 175-77 transitions to from elite-biased transitions, 44 popular democratic transitions, 42-43 constitutions and, 74 defined, 106 distributional outcomes following, 61-62 earthquakes and, 112-14 economic inequality and, 57 economic shock and collapse as proximate factor in, 50-51, 102, 116 economic shock and collapse in Argentina and, 105-06 elite-biased constitutions and, 74 endogenous sources of change in, 109 legislature under dictatorship and, 102, the masses as actors in, 35-36 modernization theory and, 56 redistribution after, 58-60 revolution in Guatemala and, 105 revolutions and, 49-50, 102, 114-15 statistical results of determinants of, 112-16 statistical strategy for estimating, 110-11 transitional justice for outgoing political incumbent elites and, 60 Portugal, 19, 284 elite-biased constitution of, 73

poverty, 3
power resources theory, 6
progressive taxation, 118–20
property rights
protection of under elite-biased
constitutions, 80–90, 94
proportional representation, 154, 155
elite-biased constitutions and, 80–90,
92–93
in Sweden, 188–91, 201–02
Przeworski, Adam, 72
redistribution, 10, See also income inequality
in elite-biased democracies, 118

in elite-biased democracies, 118
fixed exchange rate measure, 119–20
forms of, 118
of land under dictatorships, 20
as measure in governance and material
outcomes under democracy, 118–20
outcomes after democratic transitions, 4–5,
58–60
progressive spending measure, 118
progressive taxation measure, 118
revolutions, 29, 286–87
defined, 109
economic growth in historically
underdeveloped nations and, 20

defined, 109
economic growth in historically
underdeveloped nations and, 20
measurement of as variable in popular
democratic transitions, 109
outsider economic elites and, 19, 108
percent of under dictatorships resulting in
democracy, 19
popular democratic transition in Guatemala
and, 105
popular democratic transitions and, 49–50,
102, 114–15
reasons for rarity of democratic transitions
after, 19–20
Sweden's transition from elite-biased to
popular democracy and, 197
Romania, 90
constitutional reforms in, 145

Salazar, António (Portuguese President), 73 Samuels, David, 20 Scandinavia and successful democracies, 99 Sein, Thein (President of Myanmar), 64 Senegal, 90

Russia, 20



Index 311

Singapore, 20, 50	growth of social democracy and progressive policy between WWI and
Slovakia, 247	WWII, 197–200
South Africa, 18, 29, 36	
federalism and, 91	incumbent economic elites reaction to
flaws in democracy of, 18	liberalization, 182–84
state capacity and elite-biased democratic	incumbent economic elites under
transition in, 102-03	dictatorship in, 177–80
South Korea, 20, 50	initial reforms of elite-biased democracy in,
fate of Chun Doo-hwan (South Korean	195–97
dictator), 132–33	outsider economic elites rise in, 180–82
Spain, 7, 15, 90	pension reform in, 193
constitutional reform in, 143	policies reducing income inequality post-
inequality in under democracy, 15	WWII in, 199–200
state capacity, 61	political distortions to popular democracy
elite-biased democratic transitions and, 45,	remaining after WWII, 201–02
102	proportional representation in, 92, 188–91,
measurement of as variable in democratic	201-02
transitions, 107	proximate reasons for 1970s
South African elite-biased democratic	reforms, 204-05
transition and, 102–03	social and political changes associated with
Venezuela and, 103	transition from elite-biased to popular
Suárez, Adolfo (Spanish prime minister), 15	democracy in, 175-77
Sudan, 131	suffrage rights trajectory in, 187
suffrage, 154	transition from elite-biased to popular
in Canada, 257	democracy in, 197
in Chile, 220	unicameralism as culminating the transition
in Jim Crow era, 124	to popular democracy in, 203-04
percentage of in elite-biased vs. popular	unions in, 199, 202, 206
democracies, 124	Syria, 50, 287
in Sweden, 187	,,
Swar al Dahab, Abel Rahman, 132	Taiwan, 20, 50
Sweden, 9, 10, 36, 67, 106, 107, 191–92	Thailand, 276
annulment of the 1809 Constitution in 1974	elite-biased constitution of as furthering
as transition to popular democracy, 204	elite dominance, 155
bicameral legislature of, 186–87	trade openness
centralized wage bargaining in, 199	decline of in Chile, 219
challenges of popular democracy in,	transitional justice
205-06	for incumbent political elites in democratic
constitution of 1809 of, 184-86	transitions, 60
constitutional amendments in, 154	Tunisia
current state of welfare state in, 207-08	constitutions as elite deal-making
decentralization in, 191	in, 67–68
economic shocks and collapse in transition	Turkey, 15, 94
from elite-biased to popular democracy	constitutional amendments in, 154
in, 196	military as partisan actor in, 65
effect of WWI on elite-biased institutions,	, ֈ
193-97	Uganda, 131
effects of popular democracy in, 205–06	Ukraine, 19
factors in exceptionalism and egalitarianism	Soviet legacies in, 263–68
of, 174–75, 208	unemployment rates, 7
flaws in democracy of, 208	unicameralism, 203–04
naws in democracy or, 200	umeameranom, 203-04



312 Index

unions, 6, 119
in Chile, 220
in Sweden, 176, 199, 202, 206
United States, 7, 9, 90, See also Philippines and
American colonial legacies
income inequality in, 283
political capture of institutions and
economic regulation by powerful financial
interests in, 280–83
suffrage in U.S. South during the Jim Crow
era, 124
Uruguay, 20

Venezuela, 90, 103 volatile dictatorships, 26, 36, 37–39, 42 distributional outcomes under, 61–62 transitions between consolidated and, 43–44

World War I effect of on elite-biased institutions in Sweden, 193–97 manufacturing in Chile during, 216–17

Zimbabwe, 20