
The Third Wave Of Democracy

The Third Wave Of Democracy

Downloaded from evoluir.abar.org.br by
Doyle & Vang

UNDERSTANDING THE THIRD WAVE OF DEMOCRACY: A GLOBAL SHIFT IN POLITICAL POWER

The latter half of the 20th century witnessed one of the most profound political transformations in human history. Between the mid-1970s and the late 1990s, scores of nations moved away from authoritarian rule and embraced democratic governance. This sweeping global phenomenon, first identified and named by political scientist Samuel P. Huntington in his seminal 1991 work, is known as **The Third Wave of Democracy**. For students of political science, historians, and anyone curious about modern global affairs, understanding this era is essential to grasping the political landscape we inhabit today. This article offers a comprehensive exploration of this pivotal period, examining its origins, its key drivers, its geographic spread, and its lasting legacy.

What Exactly Is The Third Wave of Democracy?

Before diving into the historical specifics, it is important to define the concept. Huntington used the metaphor of a "wave" to describe a group of transitions from non-democratic to democratic regimes that occur within a specified period of time and that significantly outnumber transitions in the opposite direction during that same period. He identified three distinct waves in modern history.

The **First Wave** began in the early 19th century with the broadening of suffrage in the United States and parts of Western Europe, lasting until the rise of fascism in the 1920s and 1930s. The **Second Wave** followed the Allied victory in World War II, as West Germany, Italy, Japan, and other nations established democratic institutions. This wave receded as many post-colonial regimes in Asia, Africa, and Latin America slid back into military or one-party rule.

The Third Wave of Democracy is the longest and most geographically extensive of the three. Huntington dated its beginning to the Portuguese *Carnation Revolution* of April 25, 1974, which toppled Europe's longest-standing authoritarian regime. From this starting point, the wave expanded with astonishing speed. By the end of the 1980s, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the fall of the Berlin Wall had opened a new front in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Huntington estimated that the number of democratic states in the world grew from approximately 30 in 1974 to over 60 by the early 1990s.

The Geographic Spread of the Third Wave

The transitions that defined **The Third Wave of Democracy** were not confined to a single region. They occurred across three distinct geographical zones, each with its own unique political and social dynamics.

- **Southern Europe (1970s):** The wave began in the Mediterranean. Following Portugal's *Carnation Revolution*, democracy was restored in Greece in 1974 after the fall of the Regime of the Colonels, and in Spain following the death of Francisco Franco in 1975. These transitions proved crucial as they provided successful and stable models for other nations.
- **Latin America (1980s):** This region became the epicenter of the wave during the 1980s. Military juntas and dictatorships that had dominated countries like Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and Peru gave way to civilian elected governments. Ecuador and Peru returned to democracy in 1978-1980, followed by Bolivia, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay later in the decade. The 1988 plebiscite in Chile that ousted General Augusto Pinochet was a landmark moment.
- **Asia and Africa (1980s-1990s):** In Asia, the Philippines saw the "People Power" revolution oust Ferdinand Marcos in 1986, and South Korea transitioned from military rule to a democratic system through widespread protests and constitutional reform in 1987. In Africa, the wave arrived later, driven by the end of the Cold War. Countries from Benin to South Africa abandoned one-party or apartheid systems in favor of multi-party elections.
- **Eastern Europe and the Soviet Bloc (1989-1991):** The collapse of communism was the most dramatic and consequential expansion of democracy. The revolutions of 1989—in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and Romania—ended four decades of Soviet-imposed rule. The subsequent dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 created 15 new states, most of which at least initially adopted democratic constitutions and electoral systems.

Key Characteristics of This Democratic Transition

The transitions that characterized **The Third Wave of Democracy** were different from those that came before. They were not, for the most part, revolutionary upheavals led by armed masses. Instead, they often followed a pattern of negotiation, compromise, and elite-led pacts.

One of the most significant characteristics was the increase in "electoral democracies." Many nations met the minimum standard of holding free and fair elections for their major offices, while falling short of full liberal democracy. This meant that while elections were held, other aspects of democratic health—such as protection of civil liberties, rule of law, and independent media—were weak or incomplete. This concept is often called "democratic consolidation," and it was a slow and uneven process for many states.

Another important feature was the role of "transitions by transaction." In many cases, moderate factions within the authoritarian regime negotiated with moderate leaders of the democratic opposition. They crafted new constitutions and electoral laws that protected the interests of the old elites (such as amnesty for past crimes or veto powers over certain policies) in exchange for a peaceful handover of power. This was seen

clearly in Spain, Chile, and South Africa.

What Caused The Third Wave of Democracy?

Political scientists have debated the causes of this massive global shift for decades. No single factor explains it, but a combination of forces converged to create the conditions for change.

1. **Legitimacy Crisis of Authoritarianism:** By the 1970s, many authoritarian regimes had lost their *raison d'être*. Military juntas that had seized power promising economic stability and order were often beset by inflation, debt crises, and corruption. Communist parties in the Eastern Bloc could no longer deliver the material prosperity that their citizens saw in the West, thanks to television and increased travel.
2. **The "Snowballing" or Demonstration Effect:** Success bred success. The successful transition to democracy in Portugal, Spain, and Greece inspired pro-democracy activists in Latin America. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 set off a chain reaction across Eastern Europe. Television and global media allowed people to see that change was possible, breaking the atmosphere of fear that sustained dictatorships.
3. **Economic Development and the Middle Class:** Huntington and other scholars argued that economic development creates a larger, more educated middle class. This middle class tends to demand political participation, property rights, and a predictable legal framework. By the 1980s, many authoritarian states had reached a level of economic complexity where rigid, top-down control was inefficient.
4. **The Role of the Catholic Church:** The Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) shifted the Catholic Church's stance towards a greater focus on human rights and social justice. In countries like Poland, Brazil, Chile, and the Philippines, the Church provided a crucial institutional space for opposition to organize, offering sanctuary and moral authority to dissidents.
5. **Changes in the International System:** The end of the Cold War removed the primary geopolitical support for many dictators. The United States and Western European powers, through organizations like the European Union and NATO, began to condition aid and membership on democratic reforms. The Soviet Union under Mikhail Gorbachev refused to use military force to prop up its satellite states, which was a critical factor in the peaceful nature of the 1989 revolutions.

Challenges and Criticisms: The Reverse Wave

The Third Wave of Democracy was not a guaranteed success story. Even as Huntington was writing his book, he warned of a potential "reverse wave," where some newly democratized states would slide back into authoritarianism or hybrid regimes. This concern has proven prescient.

Several problems emerged. Many new democracies struggled with economic instability, leading to public disillusionment. In some Latin American countries and post-Soviet states, leaders used the tools of democracy—elections, legislatures, courts—to

gradually erode checks and balances and concentrate power. This phenomenon is known as "autocratization" or "democratic backsliding."

Furthermore, the focus on "electoralism" meant that democracy was often reduced to the act of voting. Citizens in many countries discovered that while they could choose their leaders, the new governments were often corrupt, unresponsive, or incapable of delivering social justice. This created a "democratic deficit" where the form of democracy existed without its substance.

By the 2000s, scholars began to speak of a global "recession" of democracy. Countries like Russia, Hungary, Turkey, and Venezuela went through periods of significant democratic decay. This has led to a vigorous debate about whether **The Third Wave of Democracy** has definitively ended and whether a "Fourth Wave" of autocratization is now underway.

The Legacy of the Third Wave

Despite these challenges, the legacy of **The Third Wave of Democracy** remains monumental. It reshaped the political map of the world. Before 1974, the world was largely bipolar, divided between a democratic West and an authoritarian East and South. By the end of the 1990s, democracy had become the world's default standard of political legitimacy. There are now very few regimes that openly reject democracy as an ideal; instead, even dictators hold elections and call themselves democracies.

The wave also deeply influenced global governance. International institutions like the United Nations and the World Bank began to incorporate political governance and anti-corruption measures into their programs. The European Union expanded eastward into post-communist Europe, using the promise of membership to drive democratic reforms in countries like Poland, the Czech Republic, and the Baltic states.

Moreover, the wave transformed civil society. The transitions were often driven by mass movements, labor unions, human rights groups, and pro-democracy activists. These groups did not simply disband after democracy was achieved; they became a permanent part of the political landscape in many countries, holding governments accountable between elections.

Conclusion: A Wave That Changed the World

In summary, **The Third Wave of Democracy** was one of the most consequential political events of the late 20th century. Spanning more than two decades and touching every continent, it transformed how hundreds of millions of people were governed. Driven by a complex mix of economic modernization, legitimacy crises, global pressure, and human courage, it spread democracy to regions that had never experienced it before.

While the optimism of the early 1990s has given way to a more sober assessment of the difficulties of democratic consolidation, the core reality remains: the world is far more democratic today than it was in 1974. The wave has receded somewhat, leaving behind a number of "hybrid" regimes and standing democracies that require constant vigilance. Yet, the fundamental lesson of that era endures: democracy, while fragile and imperfect, remains the most resilient and responsive system of governance available. Understanding **The Third Wave of Democracy** is not just a lesson in history; it is a tool for navigating the complex

political currents of the 21st century and safeguarding the progress that has been made.