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A Picture Worth a Thousand Words

The *Disrupting Democracy* series focuses on the impact of technology on political, economic and social ecosystems worldwide. In the first volume, we examined how technological innovations transformed countries at various stages of political and technological development. Our case studies – India, Germany, Israel, Cuba and the United States – demonstrated distinct experiences at the intersection of technology and democracy, but there were common themes that cut across all the countries. Bridging the urban-rural access divide, combatting disinformation and the displacement of traditional media presented policy challenges with which each government had to contend in their own ways.

In *Disrupting Democracy Volume II*, we probed more deeply in our research by conducting our work within the crucible of active election campaigns. Those pages tell the tales of the Democratic Party’s “blue wave” in the US midterm elections, history-making victories for populism in Mexico and Italy, and Russia’s ongoing attempts to influence electoral outcomes in neighboring Latvia. These cases revealed an unbalanced ledger of benefits and consequences of technology on campaigning, elections systems and governance.

For this third edition of the series, we decided to turn everything you’ve come to expect from Disrup-

ting Democracy on its head. Rather than looking at the impact of technology on democracy, this volume will use technology to help us better explain democracy in the 21st century. Through the use of carefully constructed algorithms by our partners at the Institute for Competitiveness, we have collected data points that are the driving forces behind the volatility in democracy today. We’ve taken that raw data and converted it into a compendium of visualizations that provides a degree of depth that will take you well beyond any written analysis.

As the old saying goes, “A picture is worth a thousand words.” If that adage is true, this visual journey to the United Kingdom, India, Brazil and the US will unlock new ways of thinking about the seismic shifts that have recently taken place in each country. It is our hope that this new perspective will serve as a springboard away from questioning what went wrong and towards devising what comes next, regardless of the disruptions that lie ahead.

Irene Braam
Executive Director
Bertelsmann Foundation

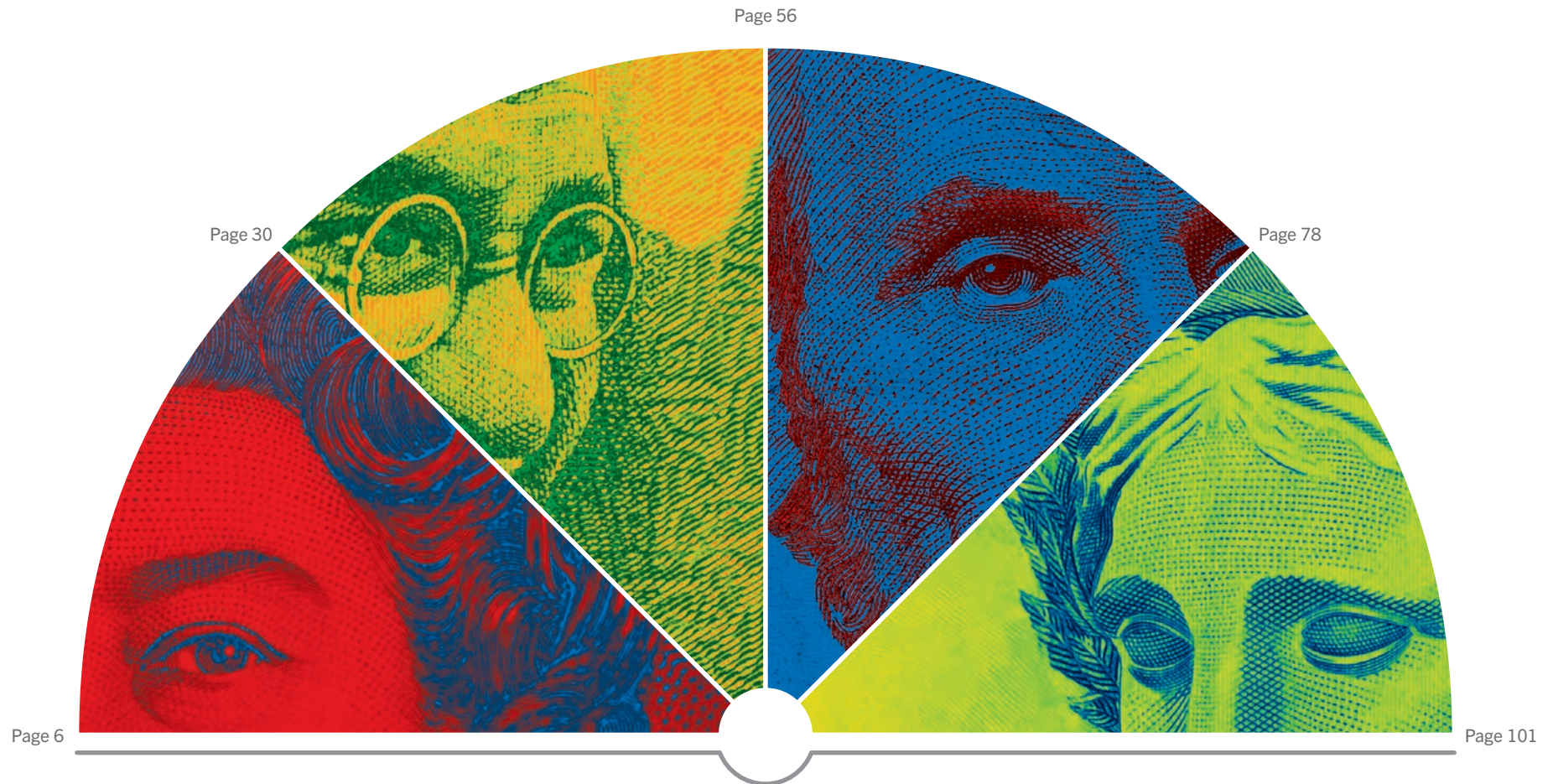
September 2020

Methodology

The data collection procedure starts by determining the research question. While the project is about analysing how democracies are changing across the world by studying four regions - UK, India, USA and Brazil, the focus and the exact problem statement differs across these studies and that impacts the data requirements. For instance, the UK study focuses on the transformative changes that led to Brexit. The existing literature pointed out that immigration, education levels, and rising inequality are the leading causes for the citizens to leave EU. Therefore, datasets providing information on economic and social factors related to UK's regions were located. On the other hand, while studying India the main question was how the average Indian voter makes his democratic choice and what factors play a predominant role in their minds. Therefore, a pool of datasets on the political landscape of the country were identified and studies providing data and results on voter behaviour were located.

Once all the data sources for the four regions were compiled, steps were taken to establish the relevance of the data. The applicability of data for the study was tested by studying original purpose of collecting the data and sampling strategies used (in case of survey data), time period of data collection and data collection protocols.

After evaluating the relevance of datasets and eliminating irrelevant datasets, the credibility of datasets was established. This was done by following three steps. First, using governmental data sources wherever possible. Second, determining the consistency of data by matching some data points from other sources. Third, by examining whether the datasets have been used in any credible research work, especially by the governmental departments.



UK

— United Kingdom —

*The Long
Road to Brexit*

Page 6

India

— Republic of India —

*The Rise of Cultural
Nationalism*

Page 30

US

— United States of America —

*The Descent into
Demagoguery*

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Brazil

— Federative Republic of Brazil —

*The Case for
Cleaning House*

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UK

— United Kingdom —

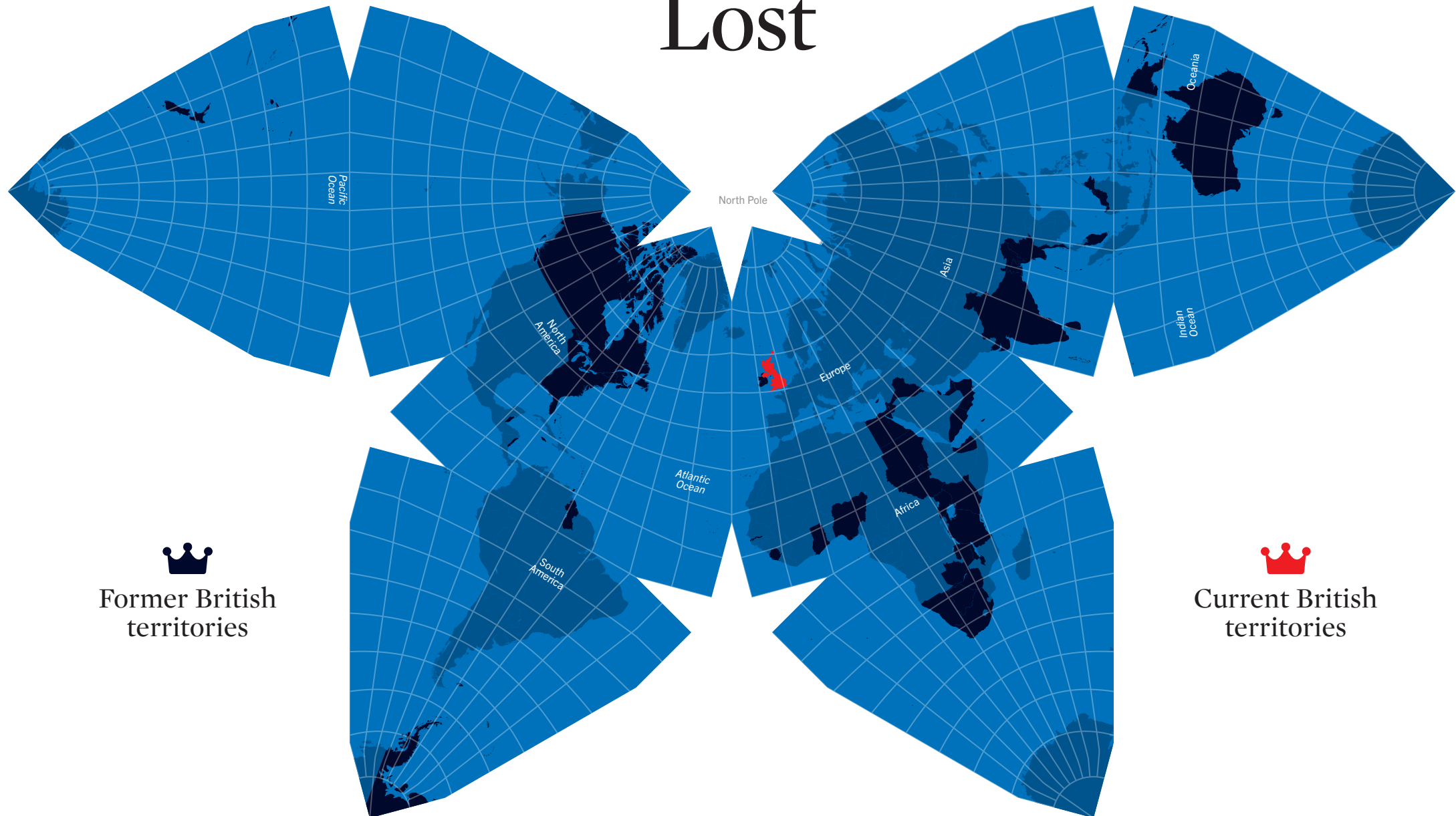
*The Long
Road to Brexit*

The United Kingdom has always had a precarious relationship with the European Union. The country availed itself of the many benefits of membership while opting out of communal obligations when it suited. Perhaps it was no surprise, then, that this one-foot-in, one-foot-out approach to the EU would end in divorce. Attempts to separate had occasionally arisen, but none was more serious than the effort following Prime Minister David Cameron's announcement that the British electorate would decide on its EU membership in a referendum whose outcome became known as Brexit.

The fiercely contested campaign was marred by disinformation, nationalism and polarization. But on June 23, 2016, Britons voted to leave the EU, igniting a multi-year saga to iron out departure terms. The decision sent shockwaves that would disrupt the UK's and the bloc's economic, political and social orders. Where it goes from here is still murky, but this chapter will help cast light on the long road to Brexit.

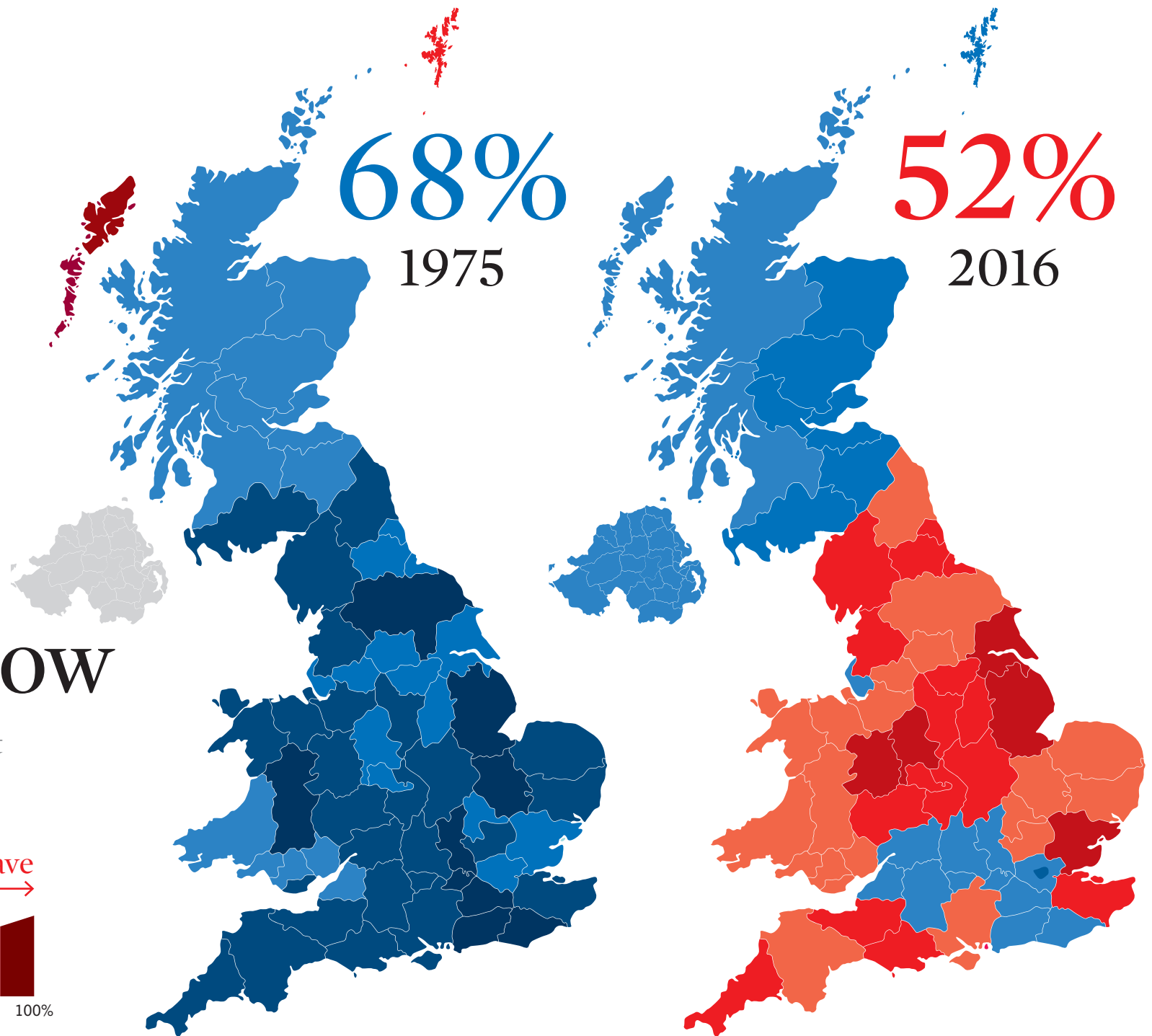
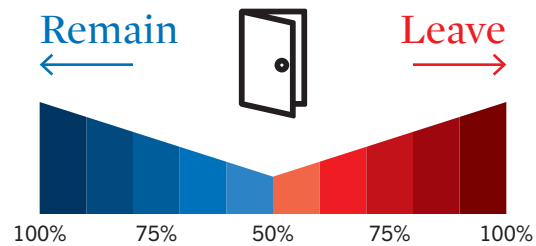


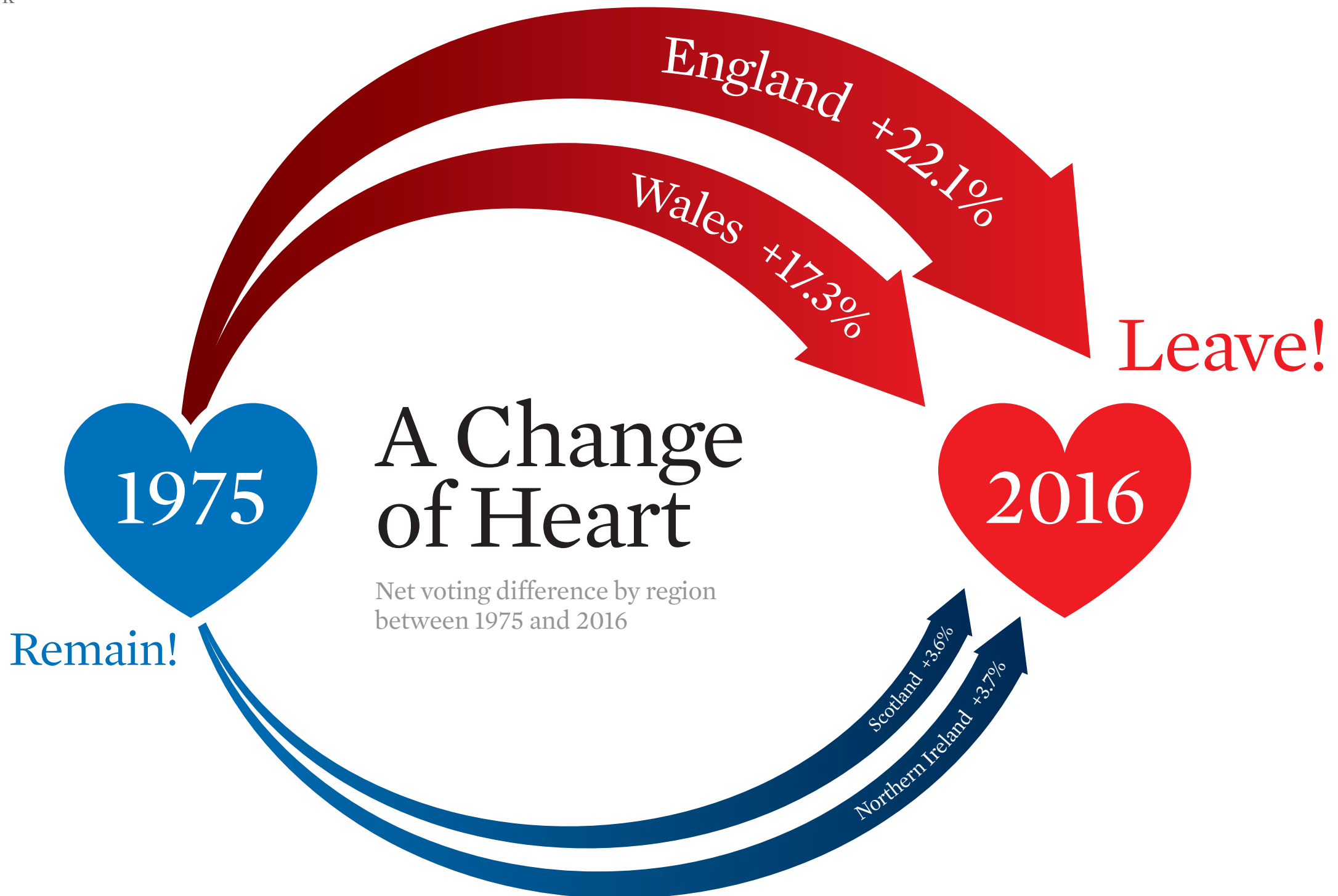
An Empire Lost



Here Today... Gone Tomorrow

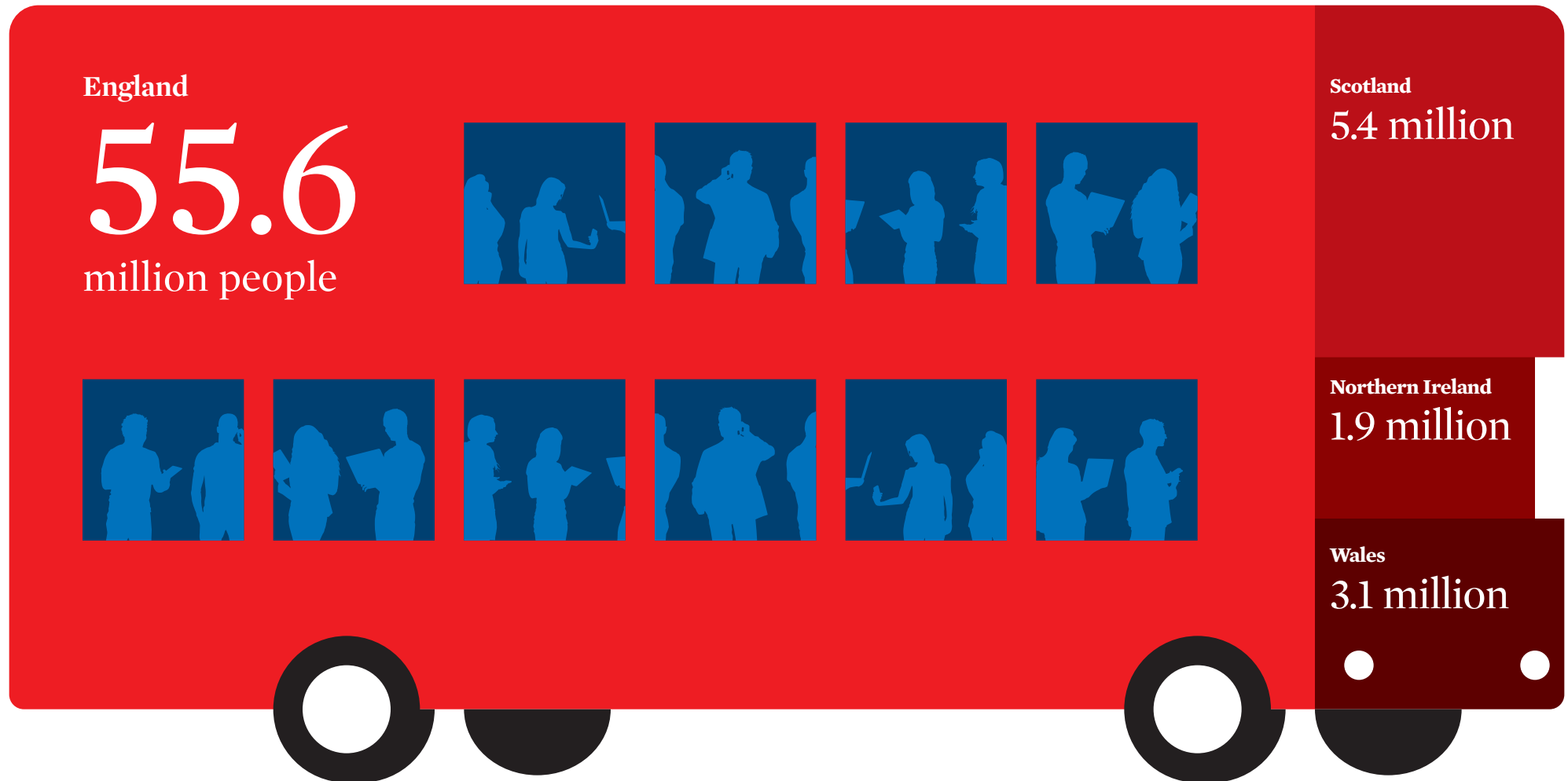
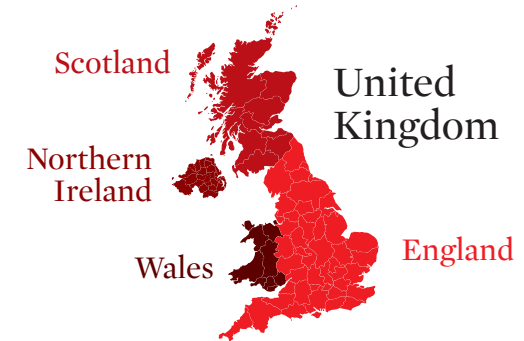
UK's history with Brexit





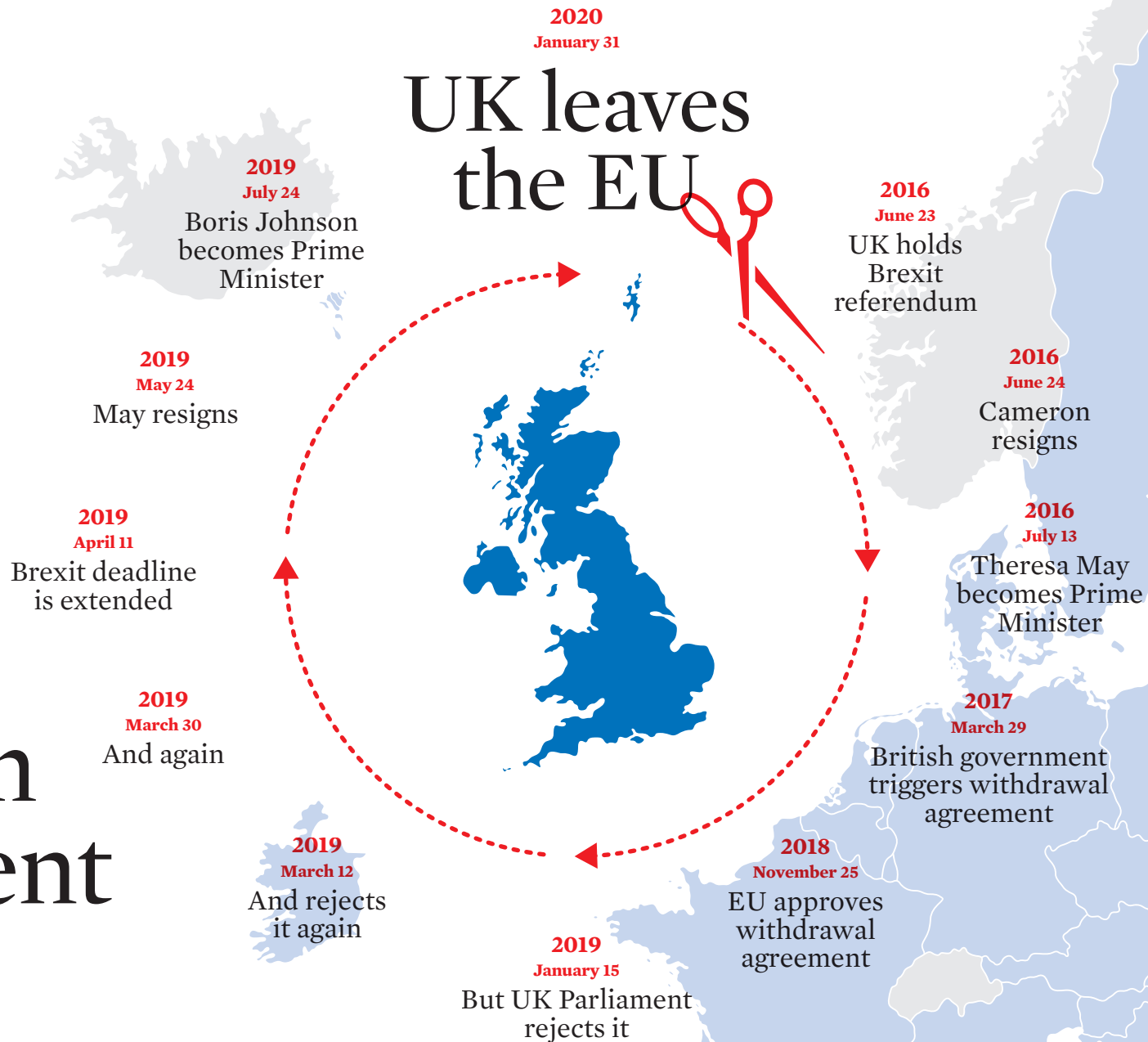
All Aboard the Brexit Bus

UK population at-a-glance (2019)



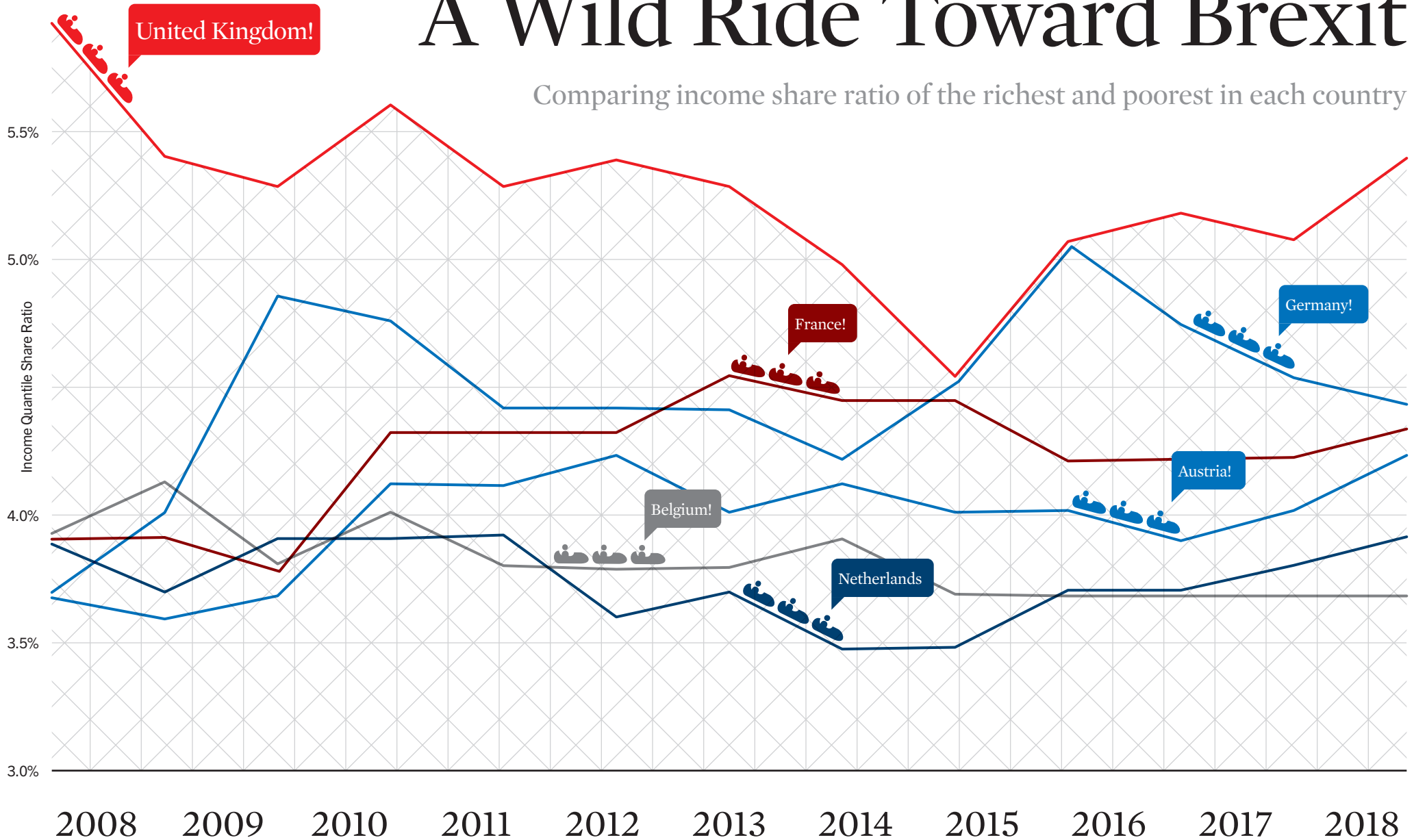
Cut from a Different Cloth

Brexit Timeline
(2016-2020)



A Wild Ride Toward Brexit

Comparing income share ratio of the richest and poorest in each country

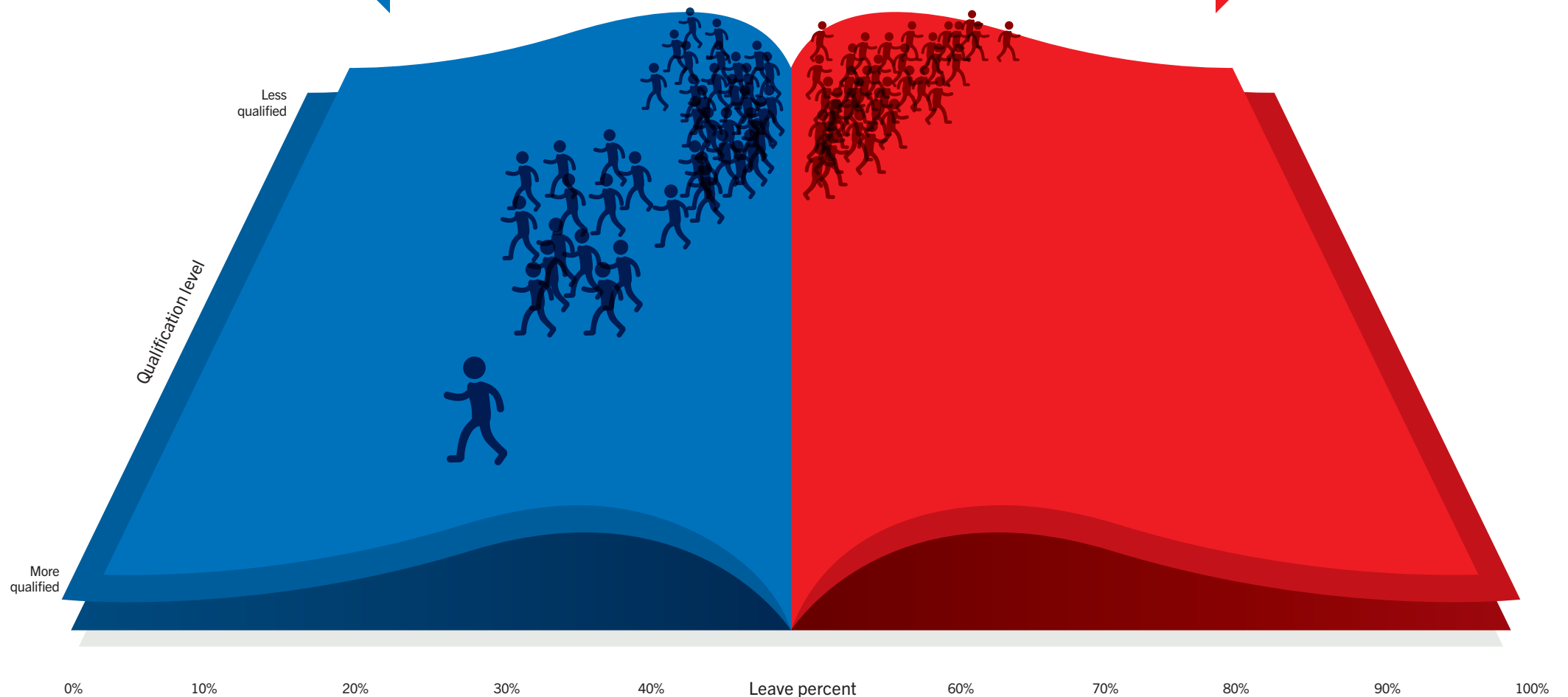


A Tale of Two Britains

The correlation between educational attainment and Euroscepticism

Remain!

Leave!

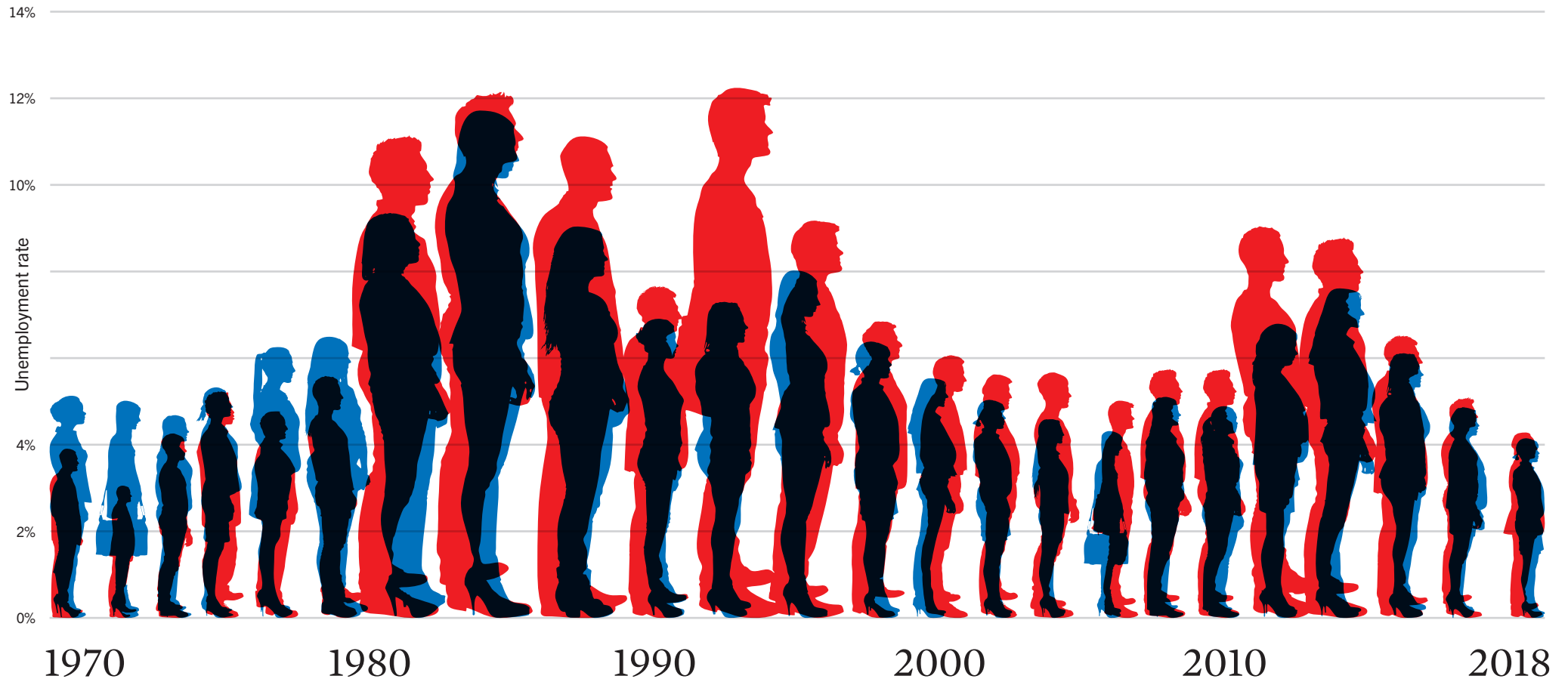


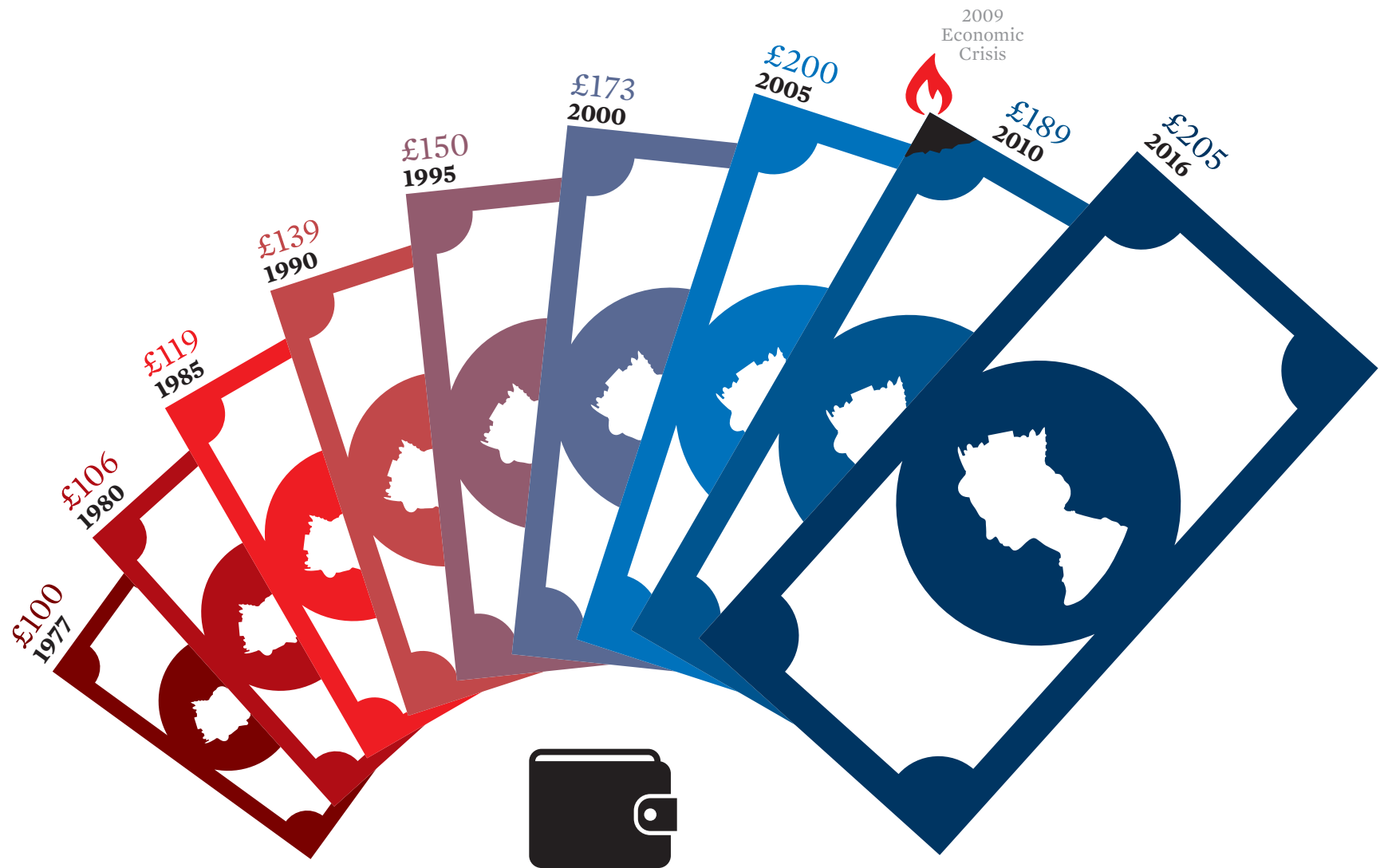
A Workforce in Flux

UK unemployment (aged 16 years and over)

Women

Men





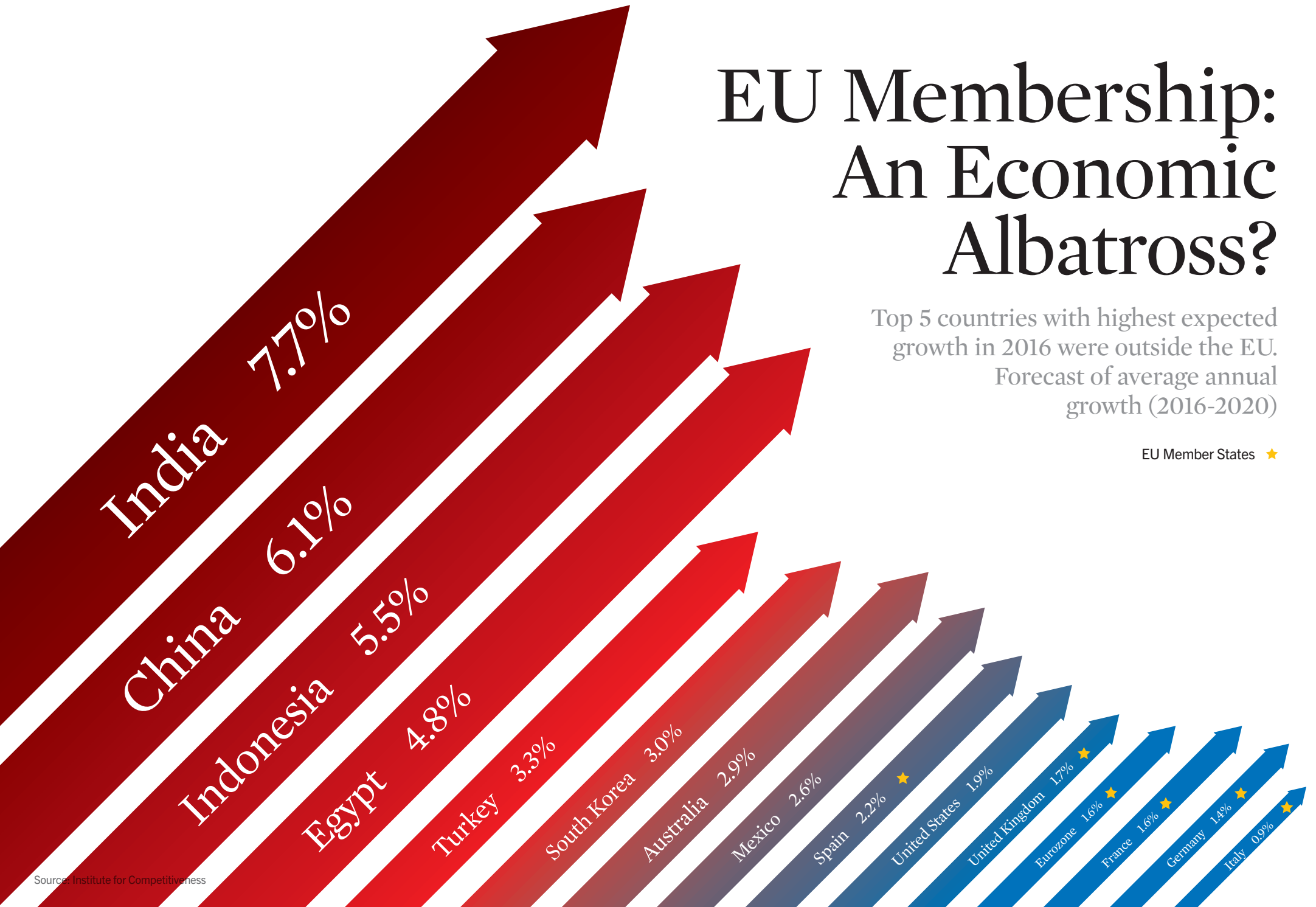
Burning a Hole in Your Pocket

UK income trends; median weekly disposable income per person

EU Membership: An Economic Albatross?

Top 5 countries with highest expected
growth in 2016 were outside the EU.
Forecast of average annual
growth (2016-2020)

EU Member States ★

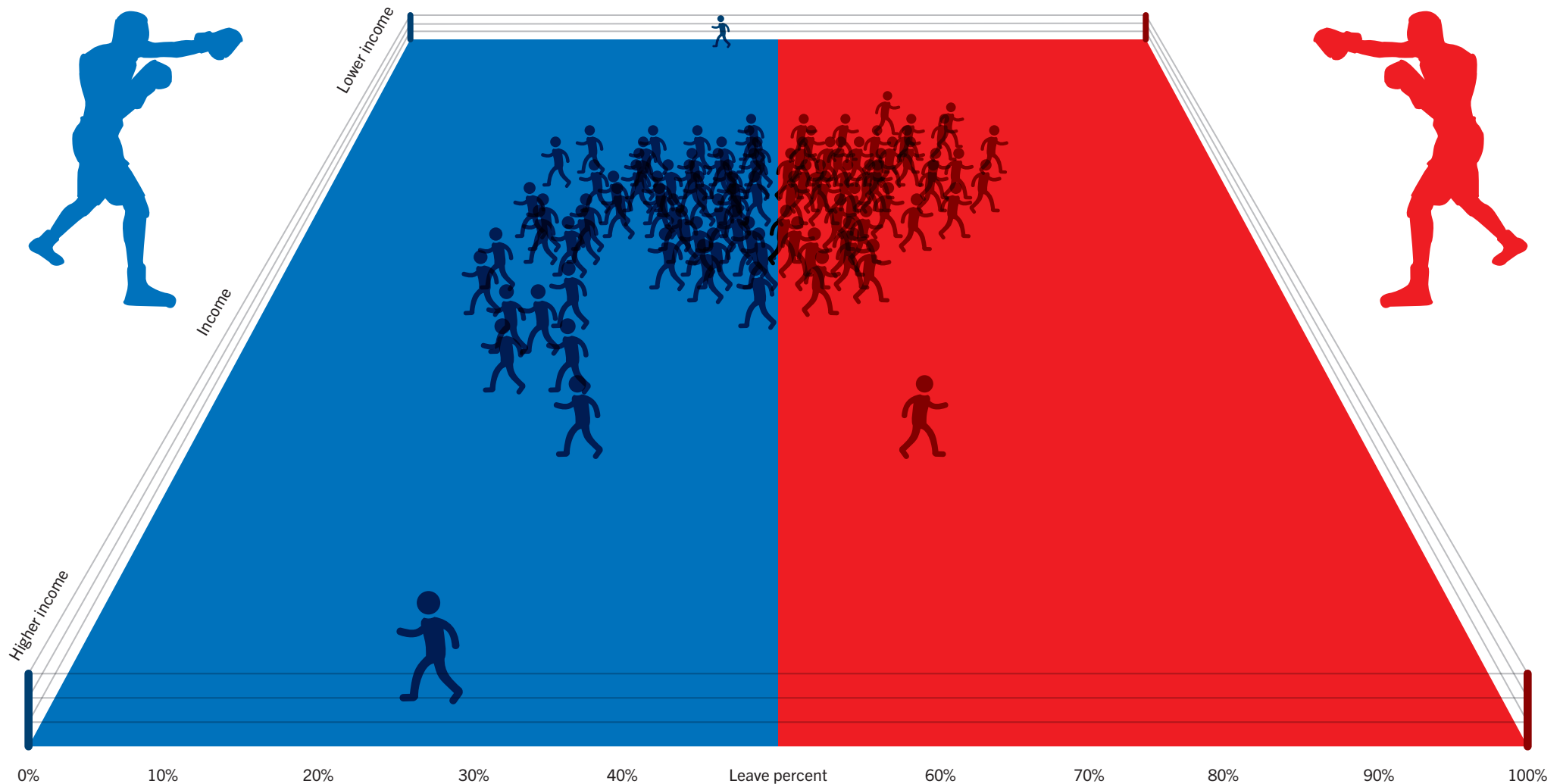


Fighting for the Future

The correlation between income and euroscepticism

Remain!

Leave!

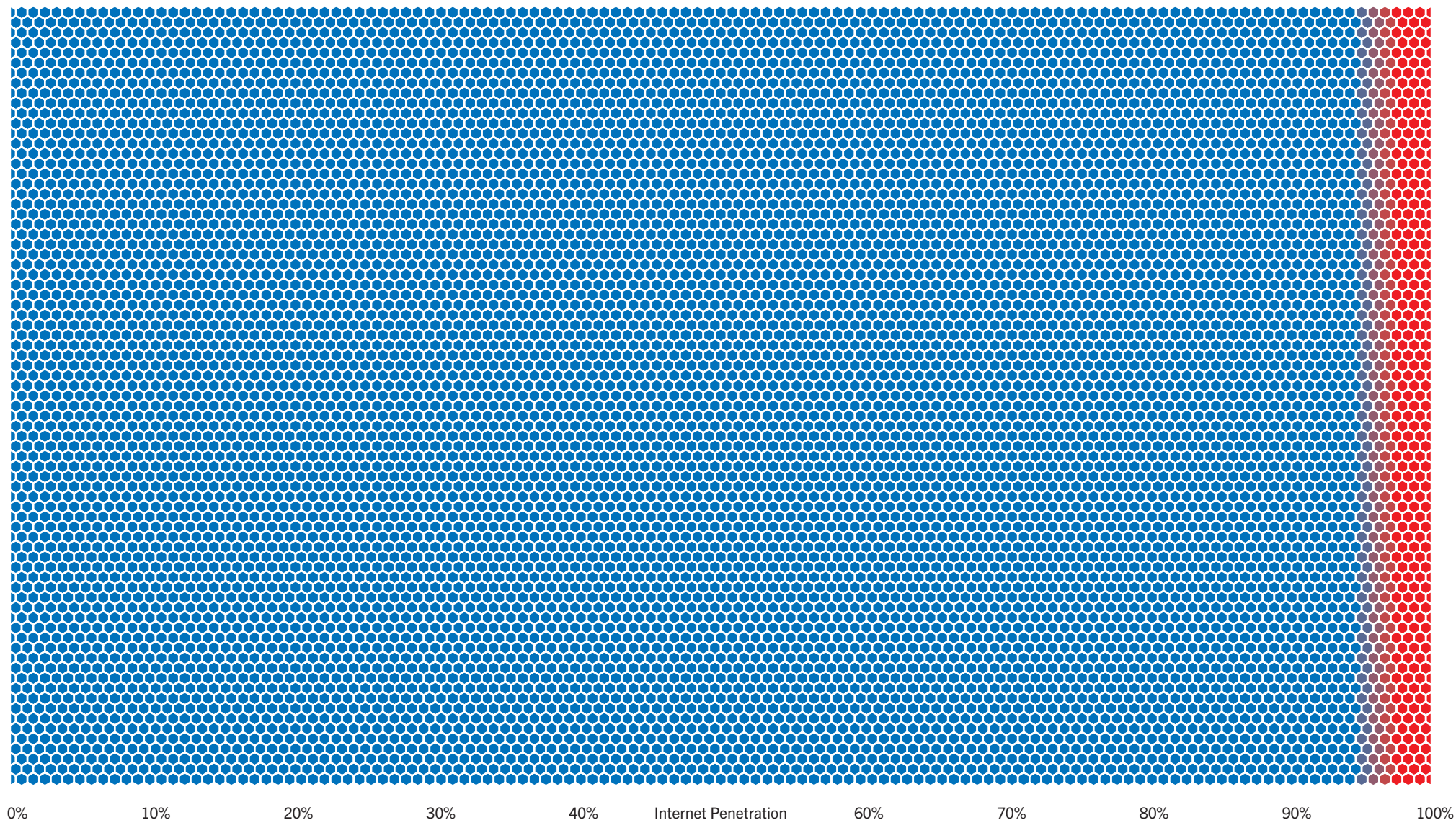


Online Kingdom

95%

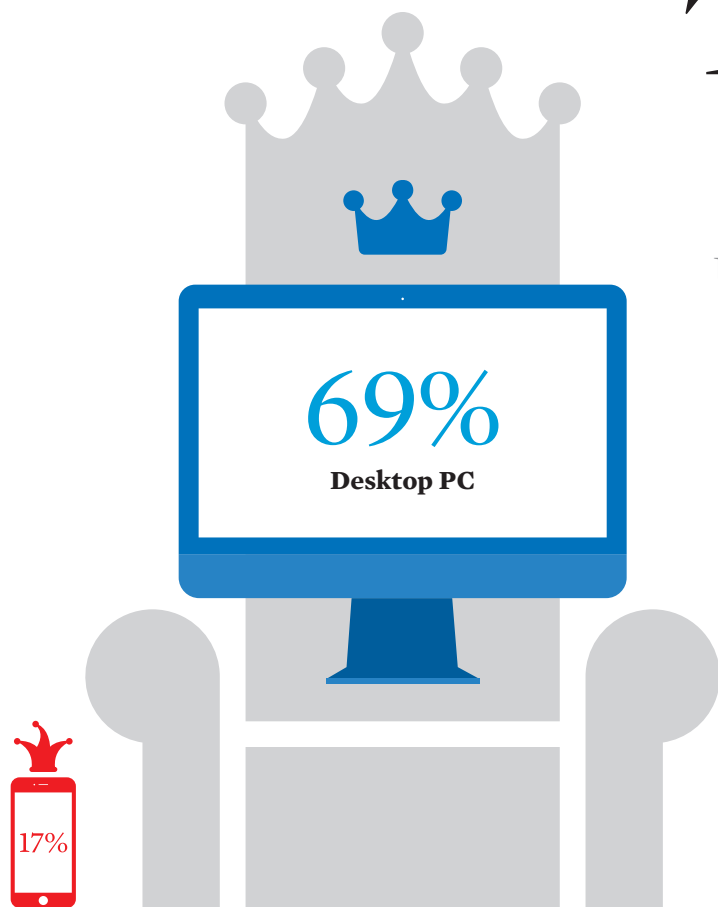
Internet penetration in the UK (2019)

5%

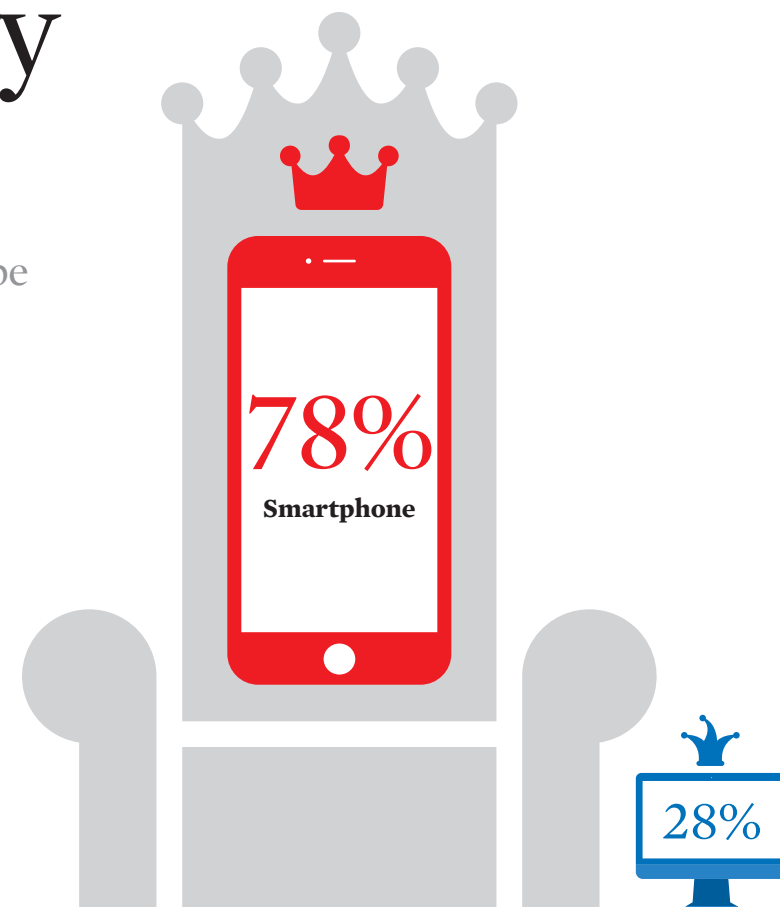


Where Technology is King

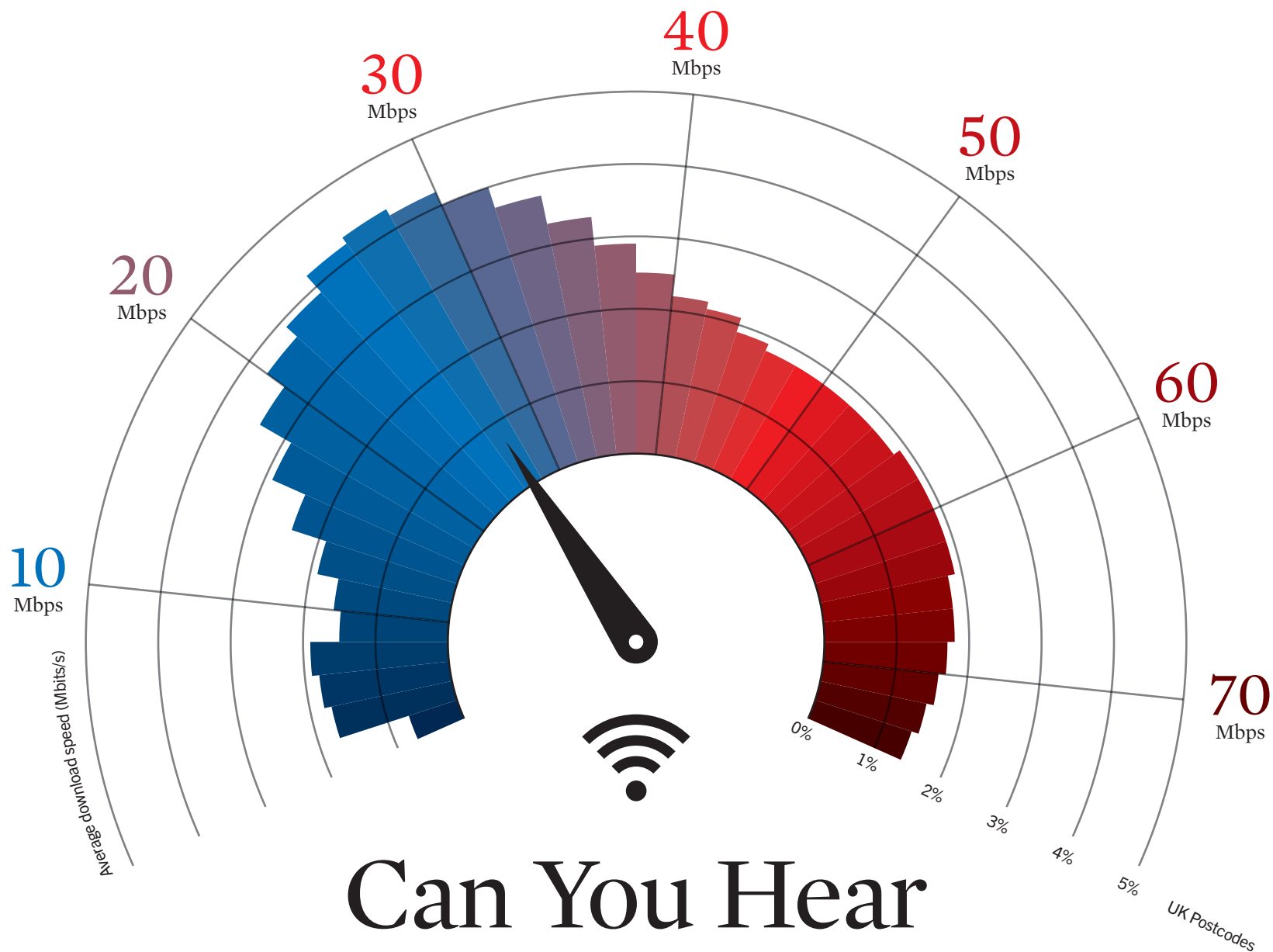
UK's online usage by device type



2008



2018



Can You Hear Me Now?

Average download speed (mbps) by postcode (2017)

Leave!

993,176 impressions (54%)

Number of times these hashtags were used: #brexit, #voteleave, #leaveeu, #takecontrol, #betteroffout, #voteout, #beleave, #brexitthemovie, #euietheproblem, #brexitbustour

Remain!

363,217 impressions (20%)

#brexit, #voteleave, #leaveeu, #takecontrol, #betteroffout, #voteout, #beleave, #brexitthemovie, #euietheproblem, #brexitbustour

#Brexit TweetStorm

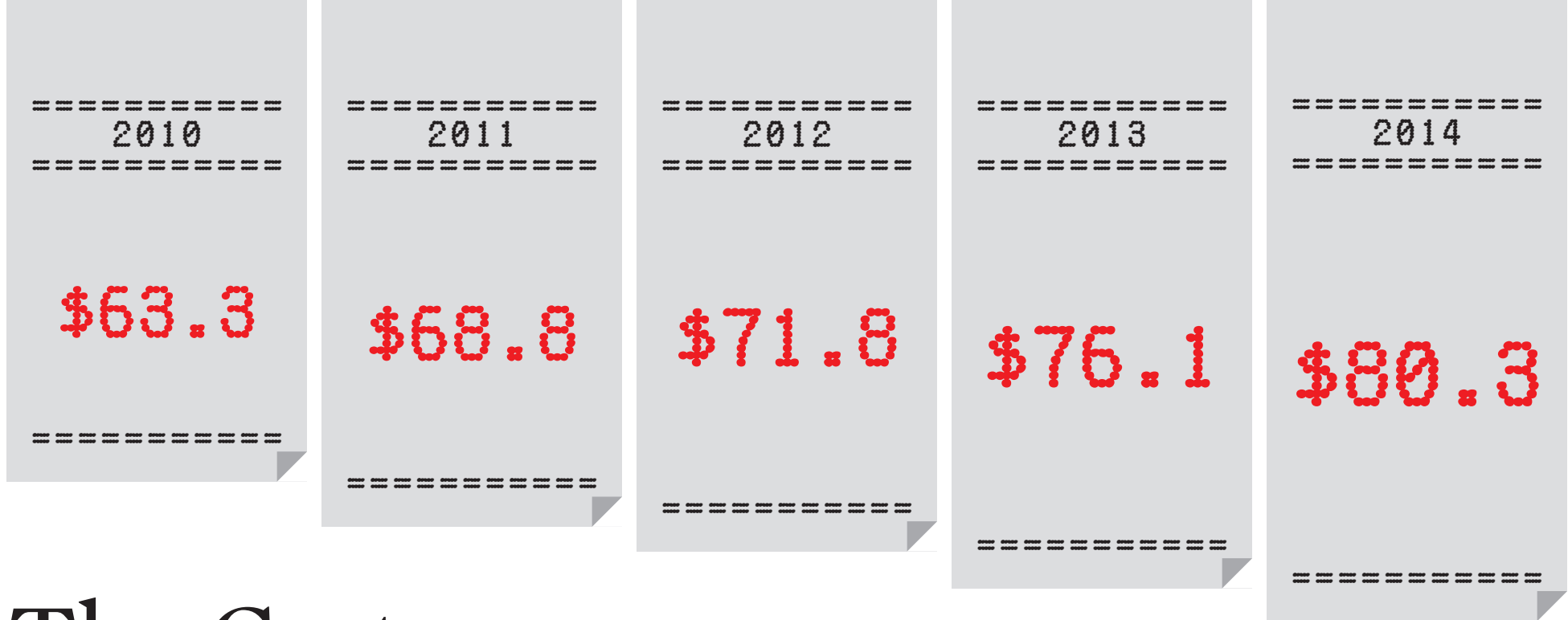
Measuring hashtags and amplification on Twitter



Neutral!

475,233 impressions (26%)

#brexit, #voteleave, #leaveeu, #takecontrol, #betteroffout, #voteout, #beleave, #brexitthemovie, #euietheproblem, #brexitbustour



UNITED STATES

The Cost to Connect

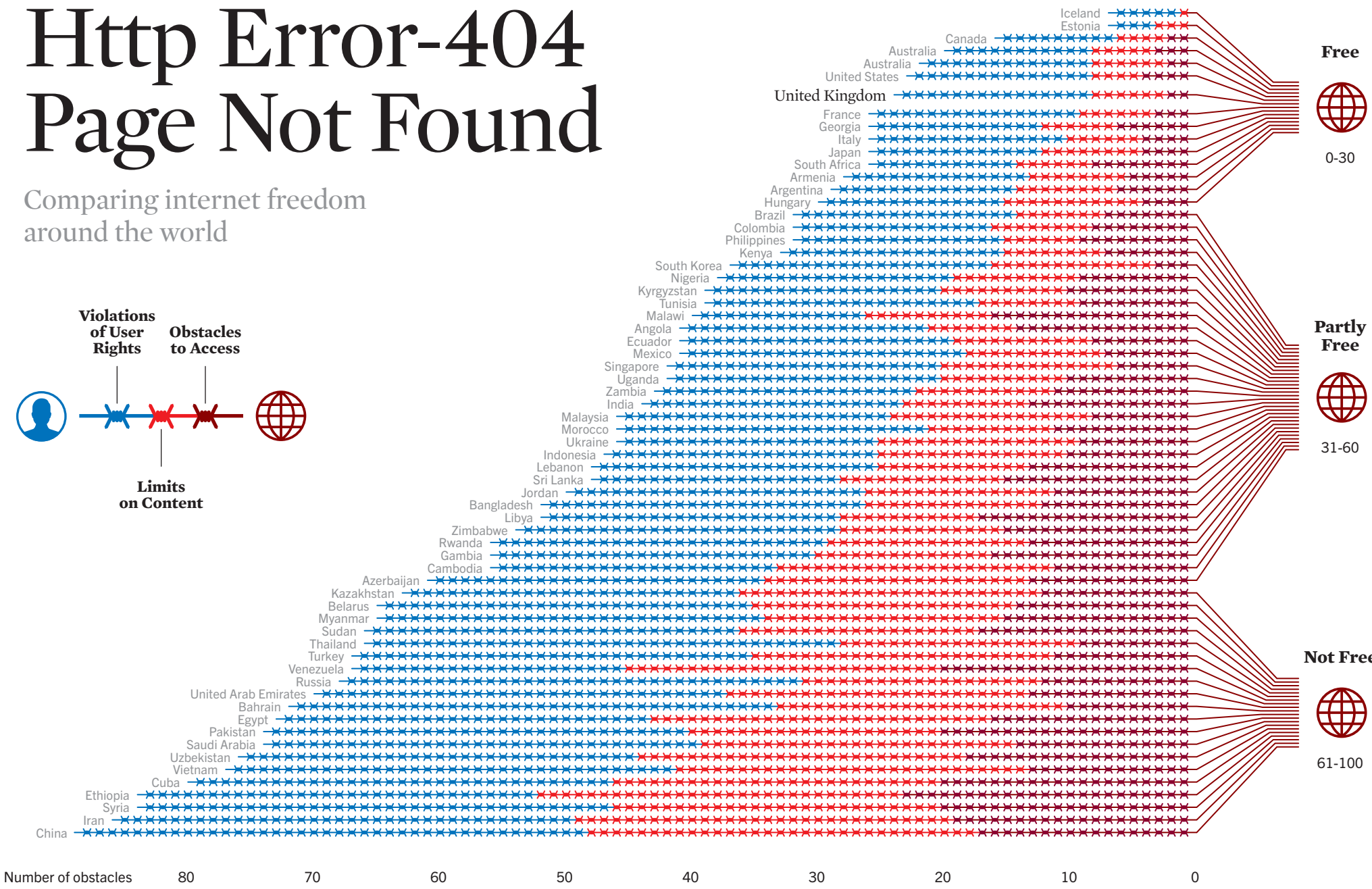
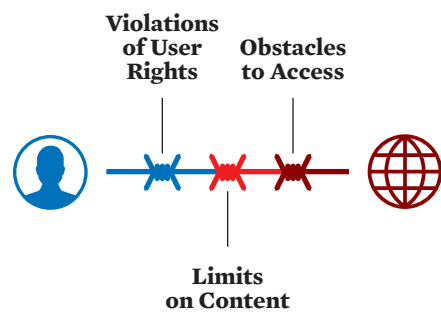
Average monthly mobile phone bill (US vs. UK)

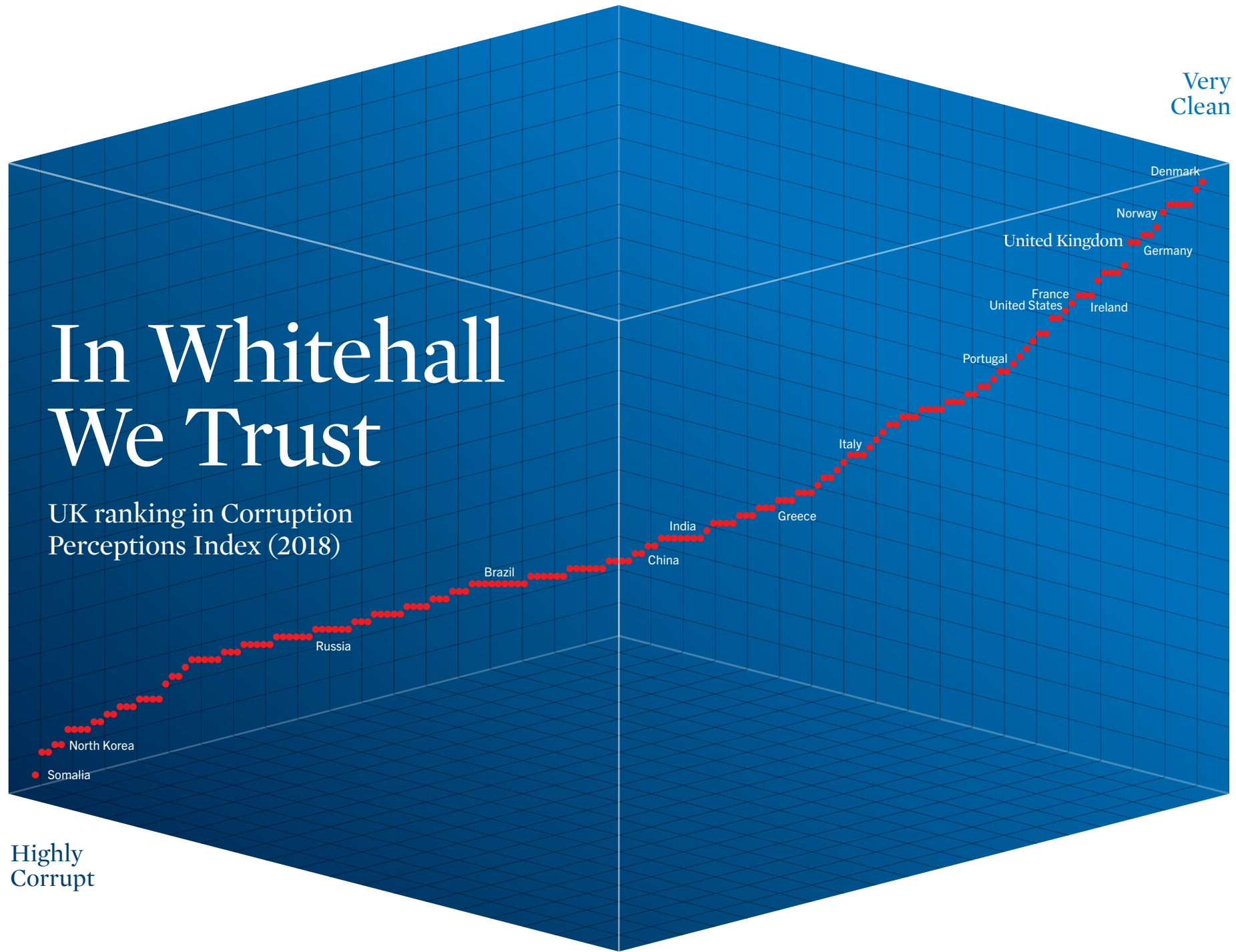


UNITED KINGDOM

Http Error-404 Page Not Found

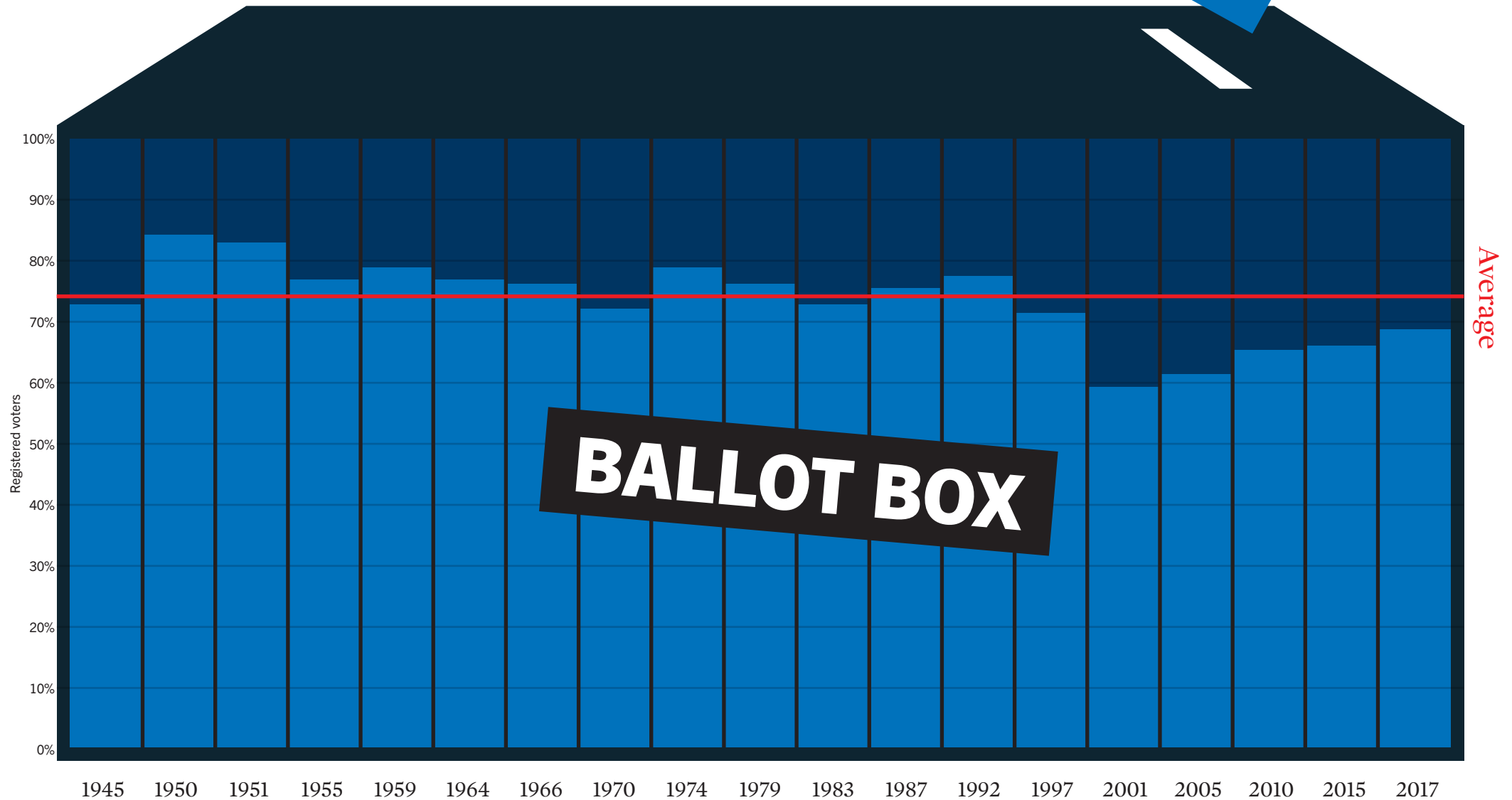
Comparing internet freedom
around the world





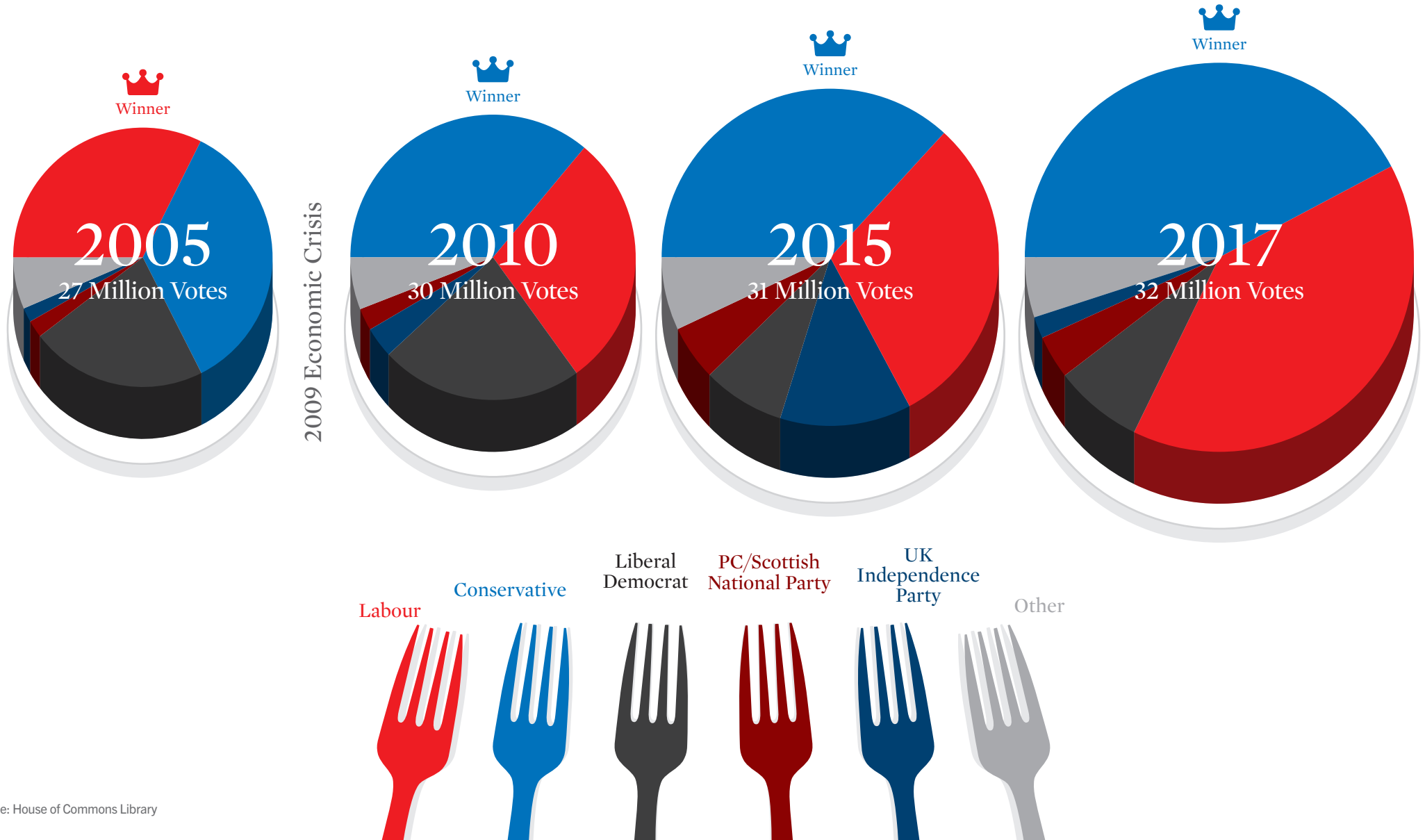
Show Up or Shut Up!

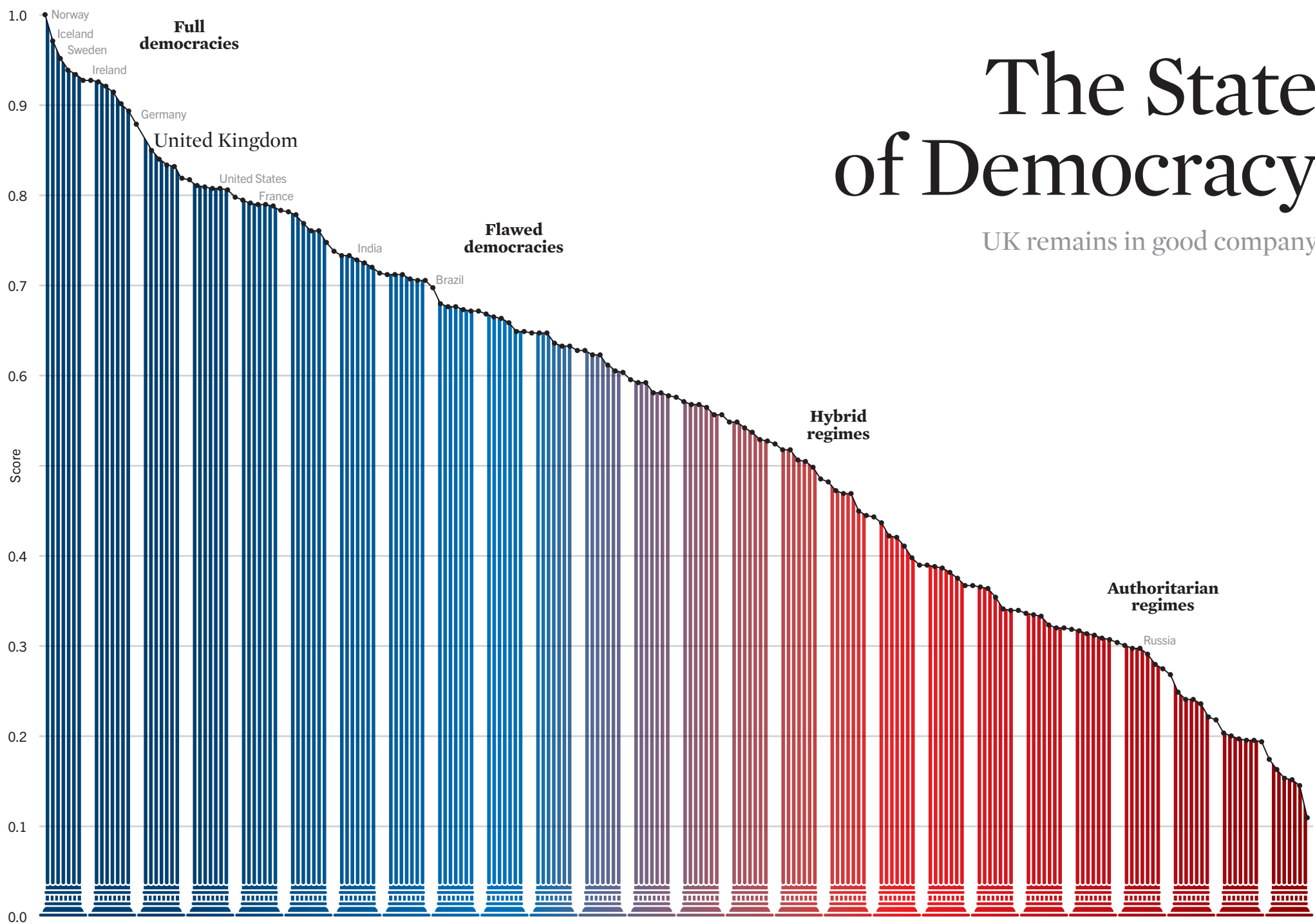
Election turnout from 1945 to 2017

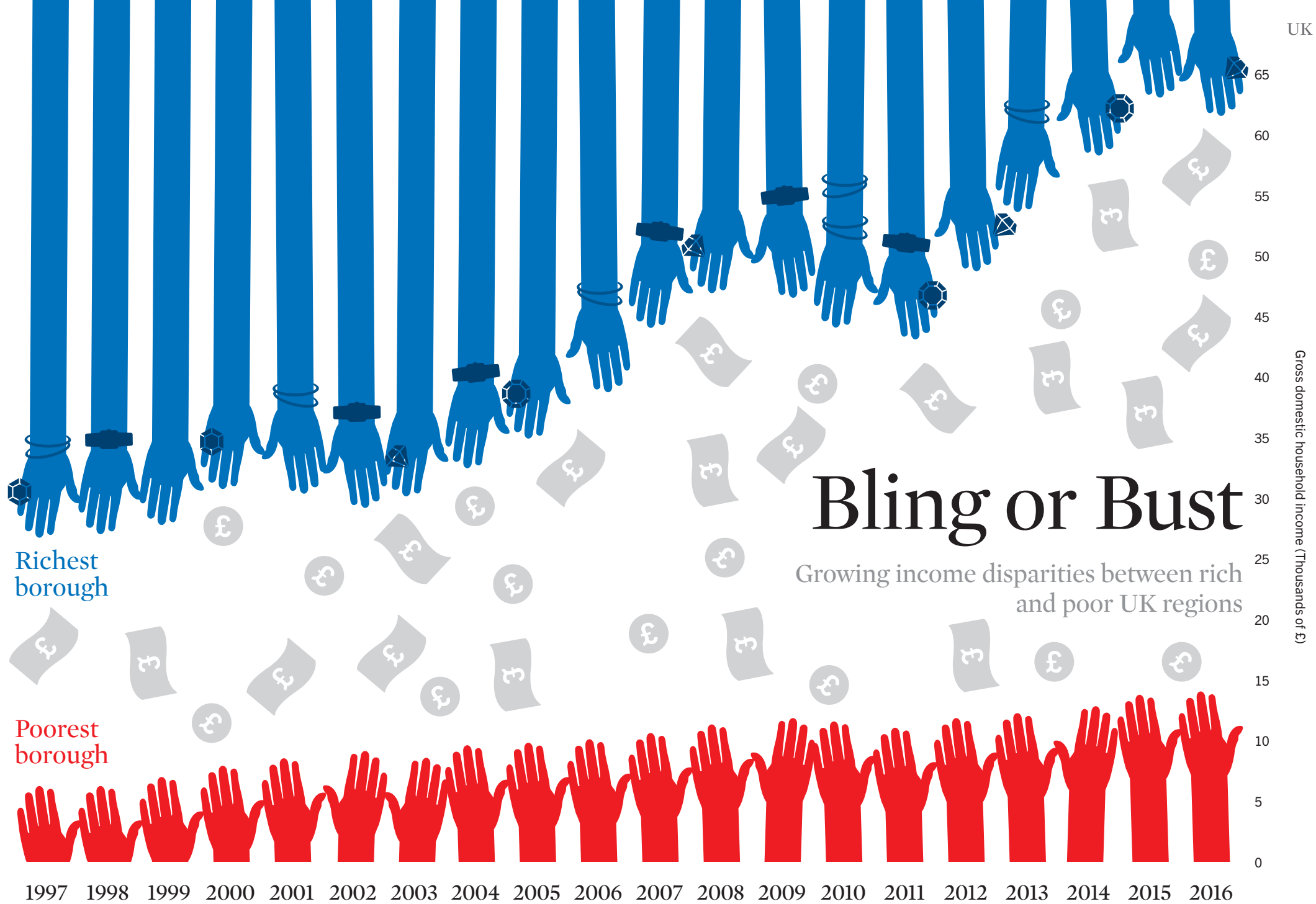


Who Gets the Biggest Piece of Pie?

UK parliamentary election share of the vote by party





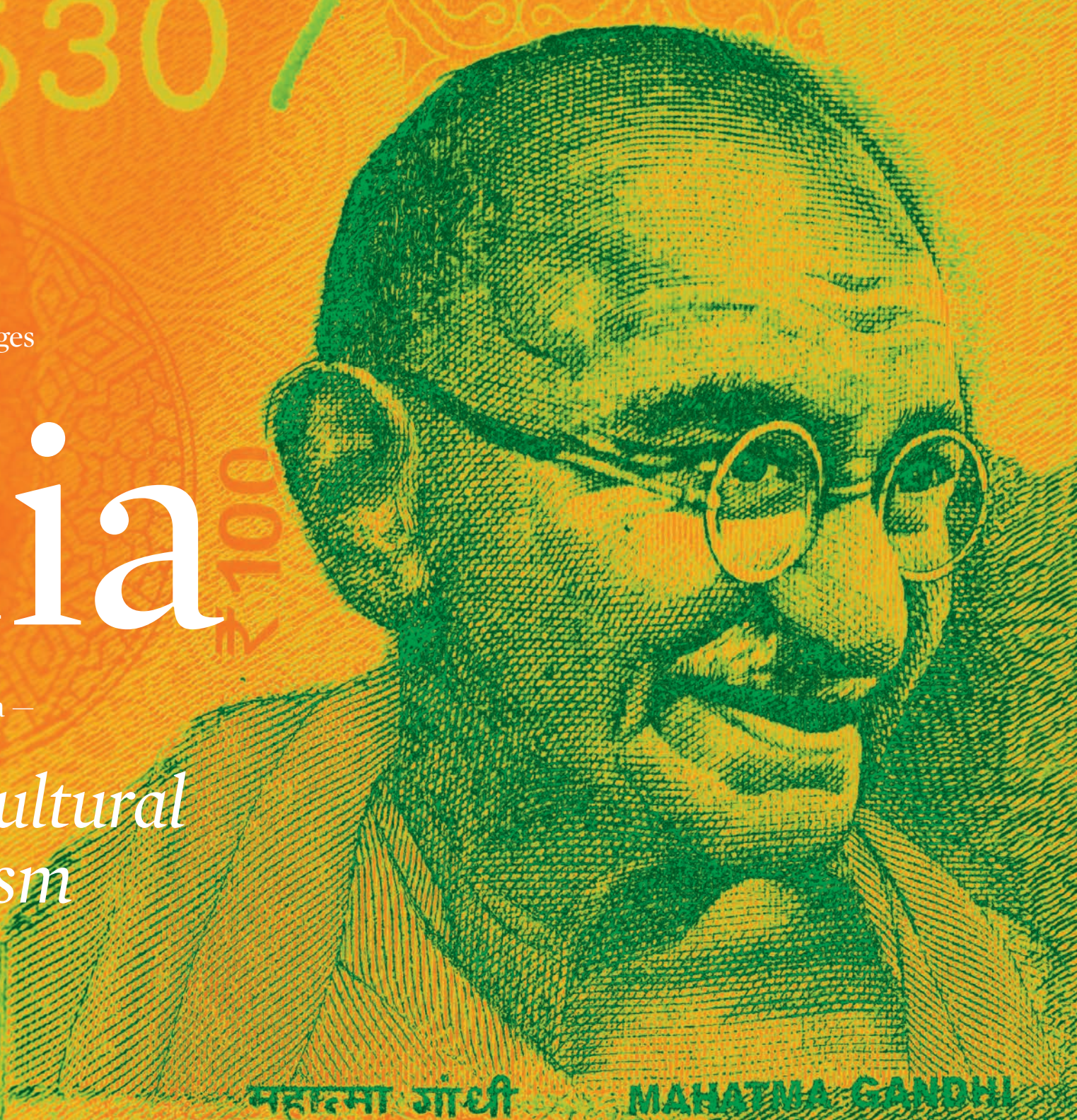


[Info] Graphic Images

India

— Republic of India —

The Rise of Cultural Nationalism



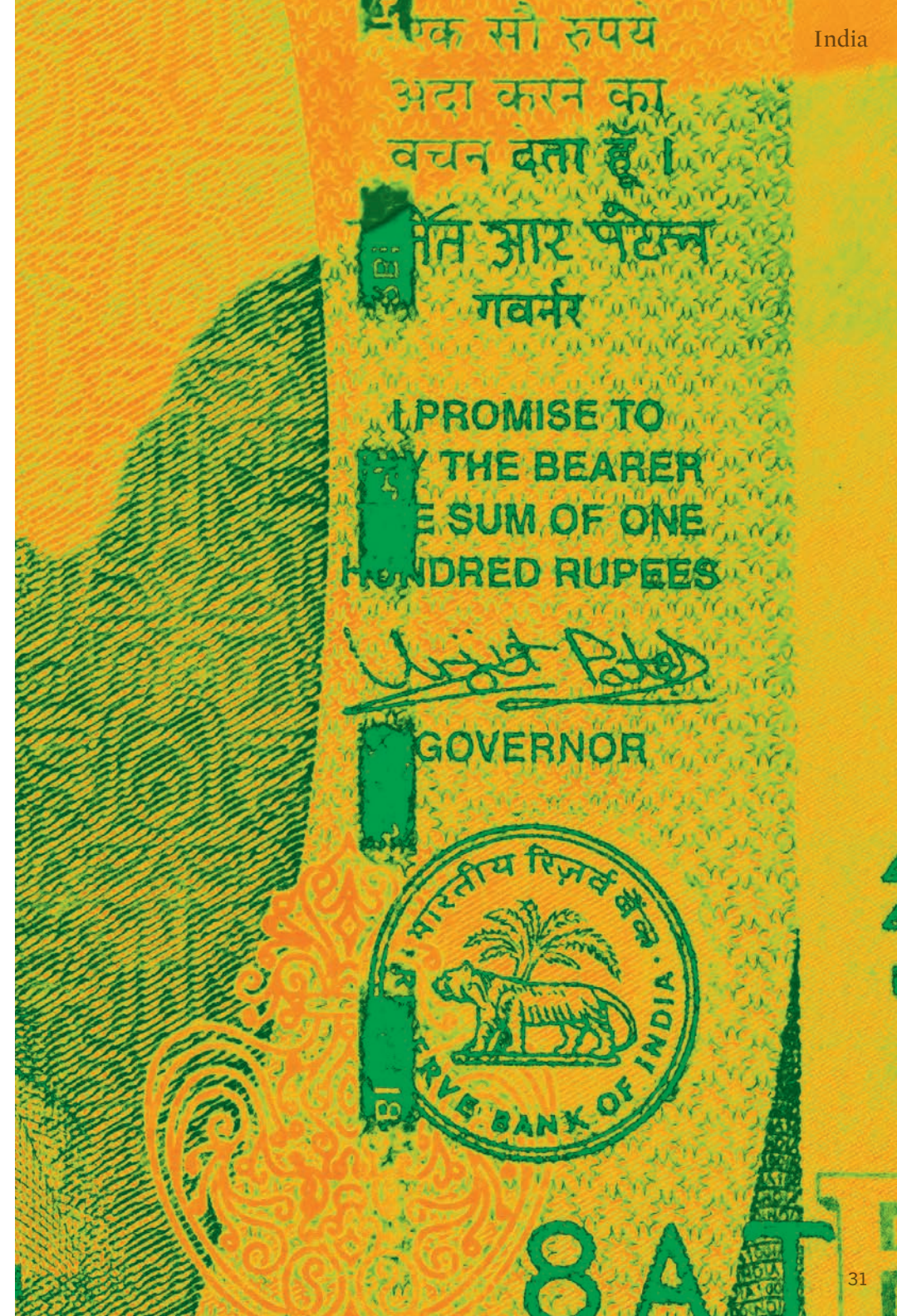
महात्मा गांधी

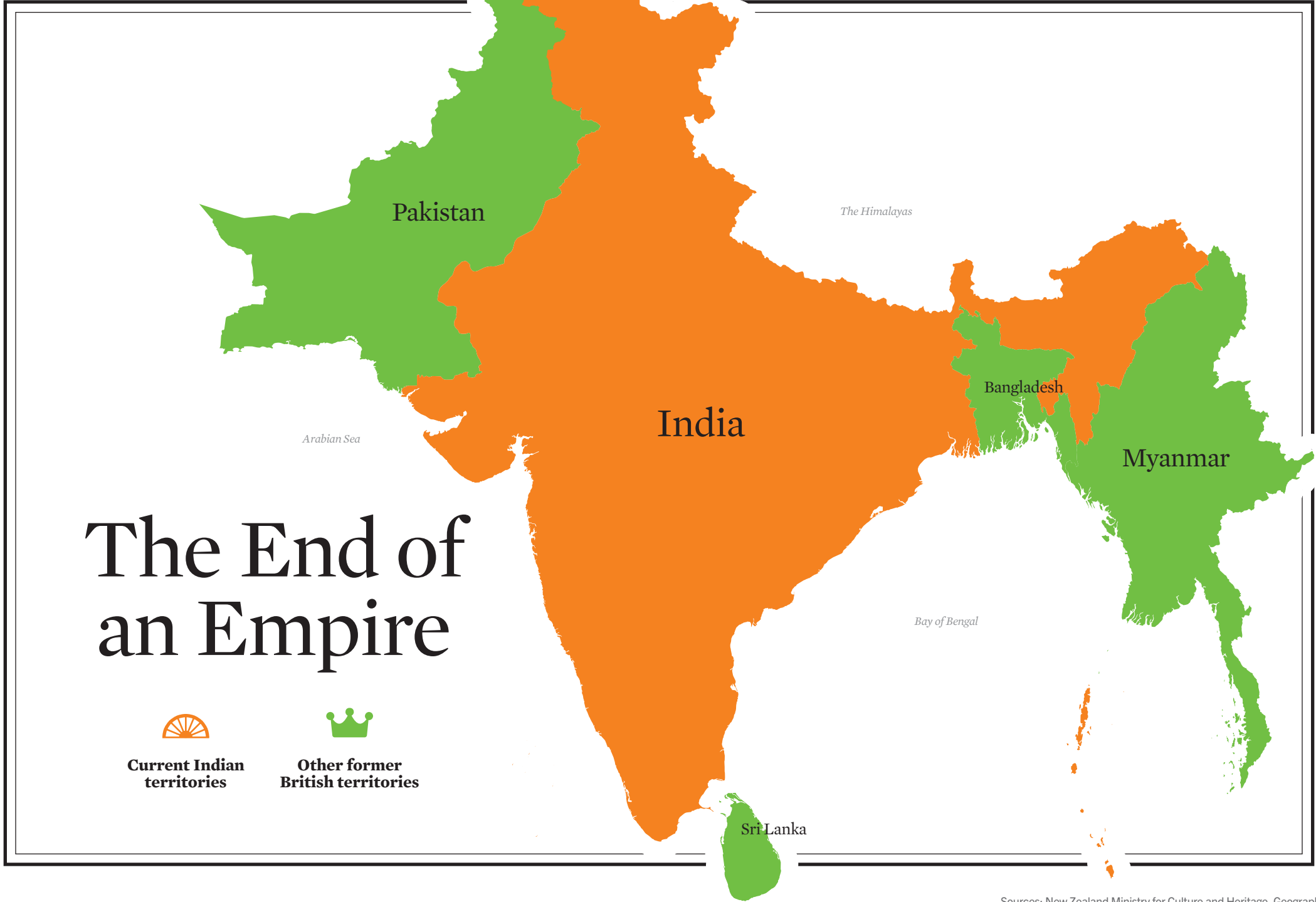
MAHATMA GANDHI

From selling tea out of his father's stall in the Indian state of Gujarat to becoming a two-term Indian prime minister, Narendra Modi's life is an incredible story. But that one-line summary glosses over a history that makes Modi a controversial figure. During his tenure as chief minister of Gujarat in 2002, communal riots left hundreds of Hindus and Muslims dead, and thousands more injured. Modi's role in the episode has been strongly questioned over the years culminating in the Supreme Court of India giving him a clean chit. Irrespective of how critics view Modi, his political career went from strength to strength, and he rode a rising wave of Hindu support straight into the halls of power.

Modi's political triumph is as complicated as India itself. In a country with many languages, religions and castes, and more than one billion people, the factors that dictate who will lead are seemingly infinite. Yet for two consecutive elections, Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has emerged as the unchallenged center of power in the country. And with that dominance, his administration has taken steps to consolidate its position, overwhelm the opposition and promote majority interests, causing consternation among Indian democratic activists.

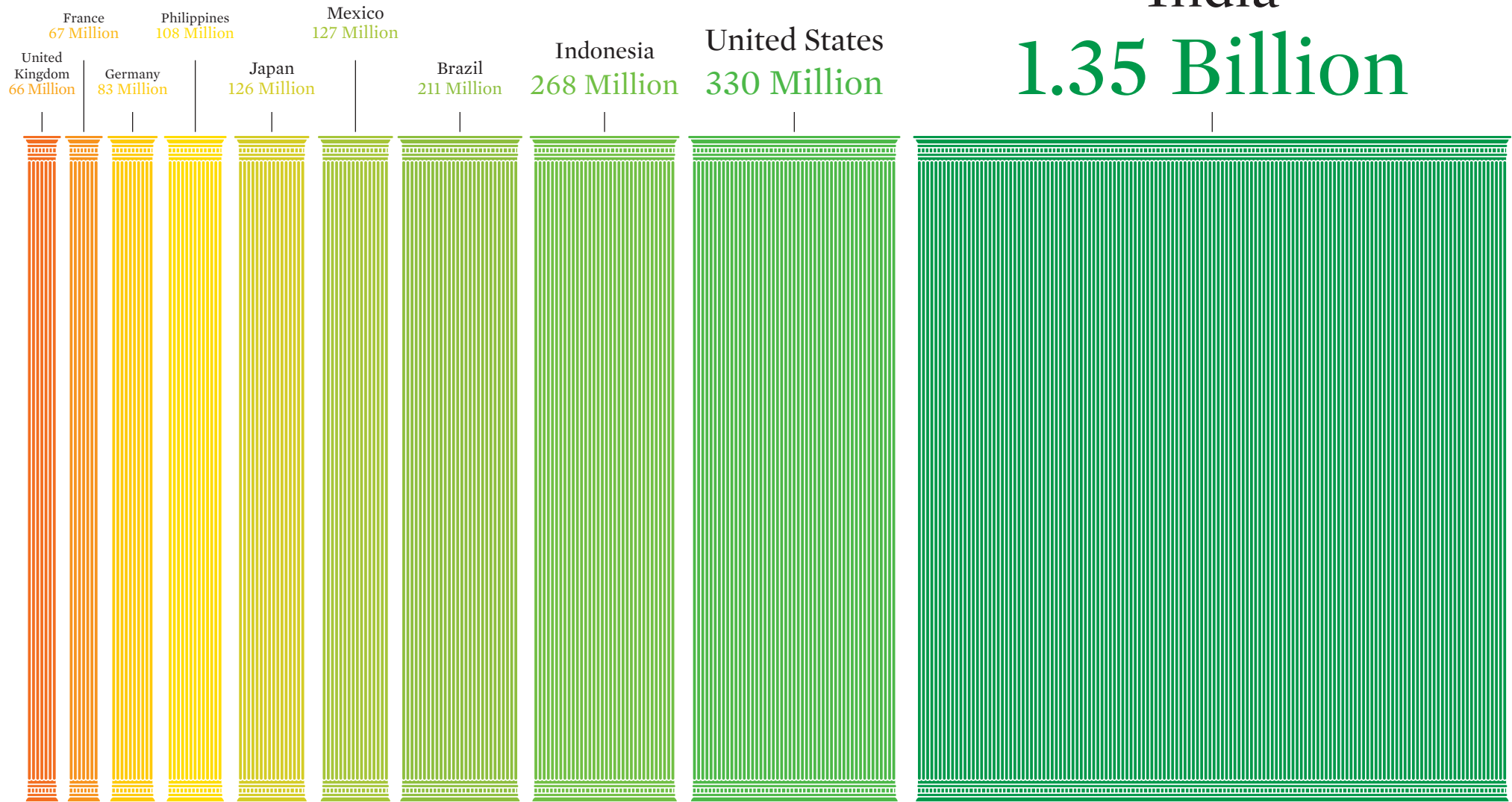
To gain deeper insight into the country's electorate, this chapter goes back to the 2019 parliamentary election that extended Modi's term in office and gave the BJP a governing legislative majority. Chalking up Modi's victory exclusively to the rise of cultural nationalism doesn't provide the full picture. Access to technology, economic transformation and the main opposition party's decline must also be considered. These factors will feature prominently in the pages to follow.



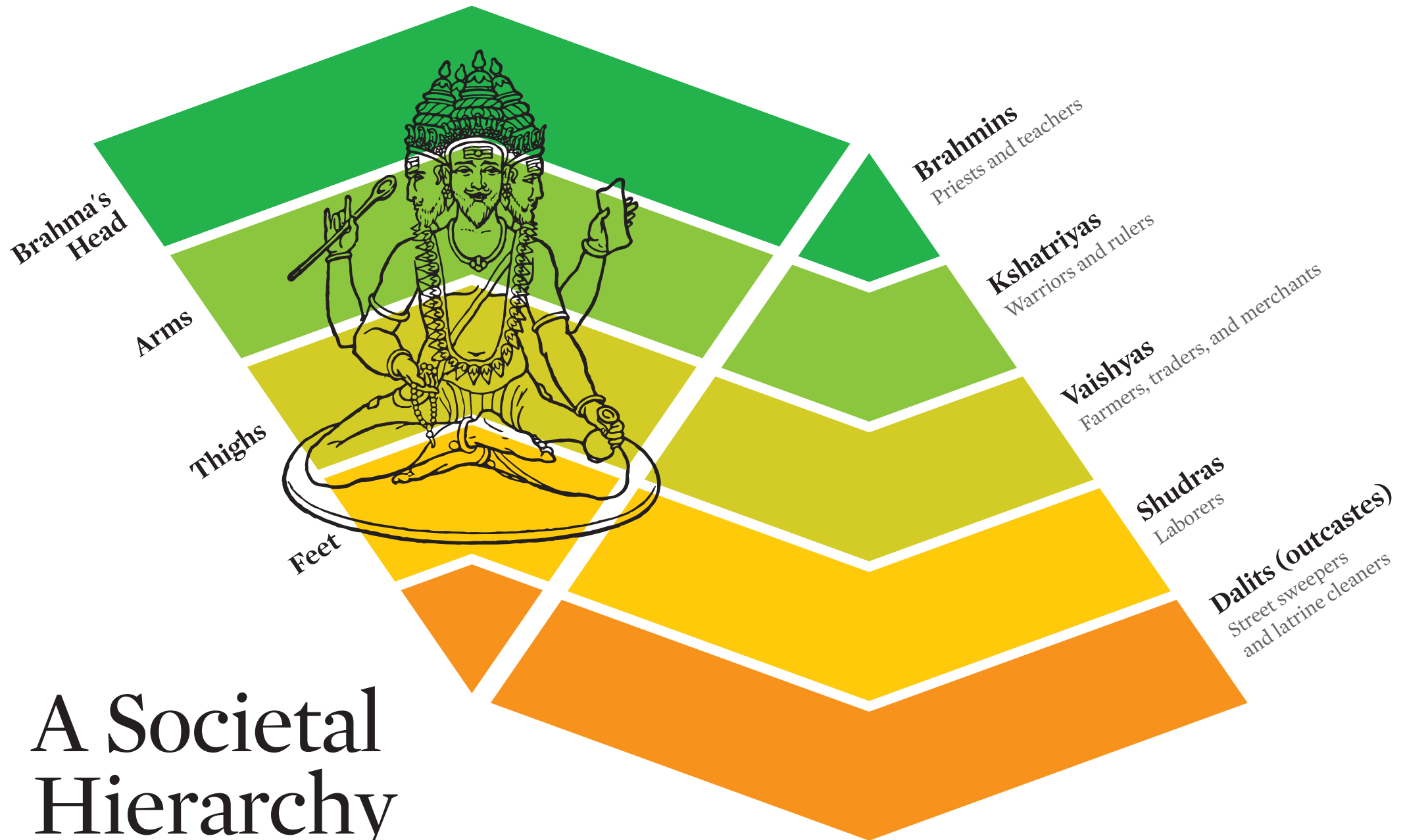


A Pillar of Democracy?

Largest democracies by population







A Societal Hierarchy

India's caste system

The Religious Mix

Percentage of the population
by religion

Hindus
79.8%



Muslims
14.2%

Christians
2.3%

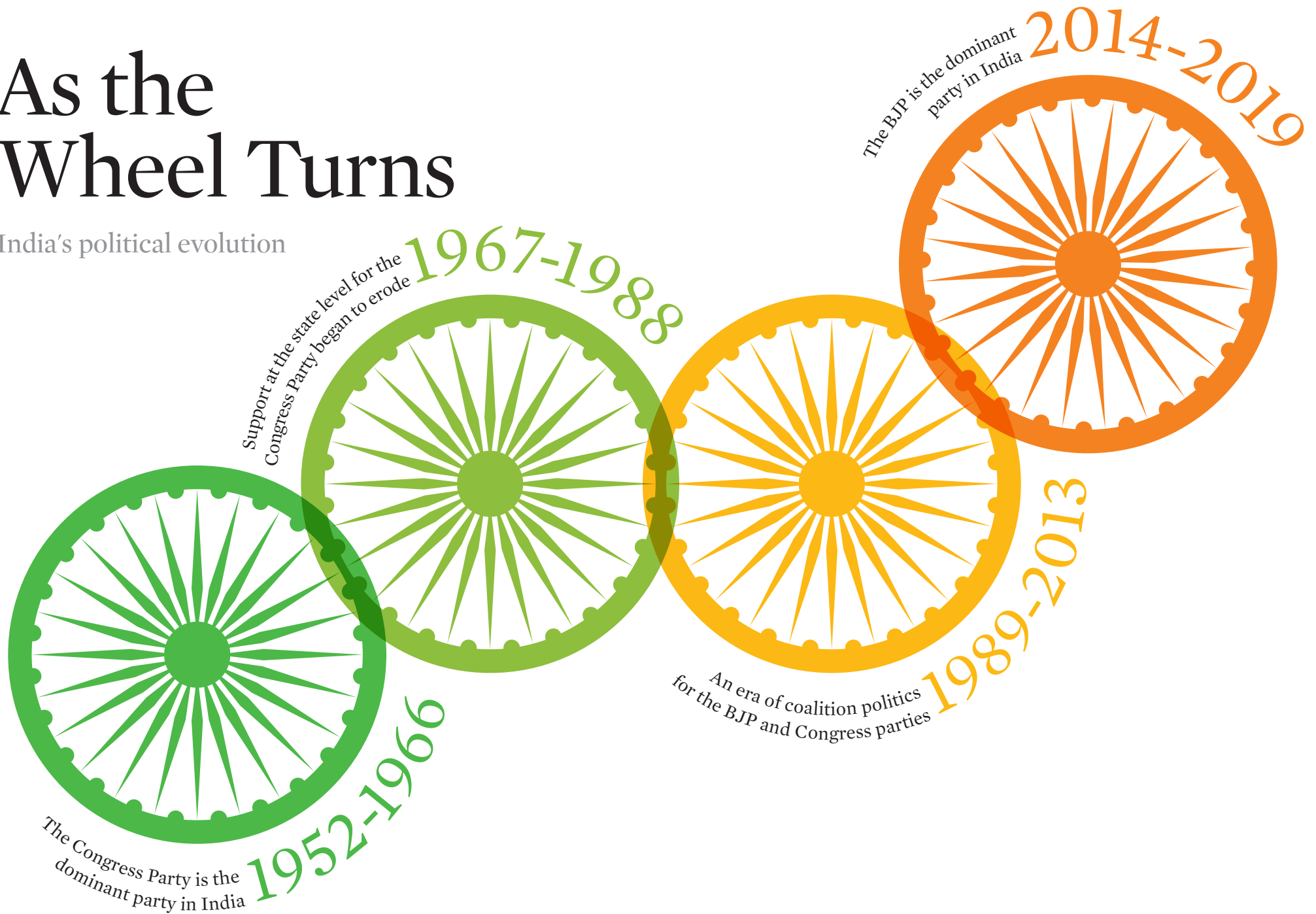
Sikhs
1.7%

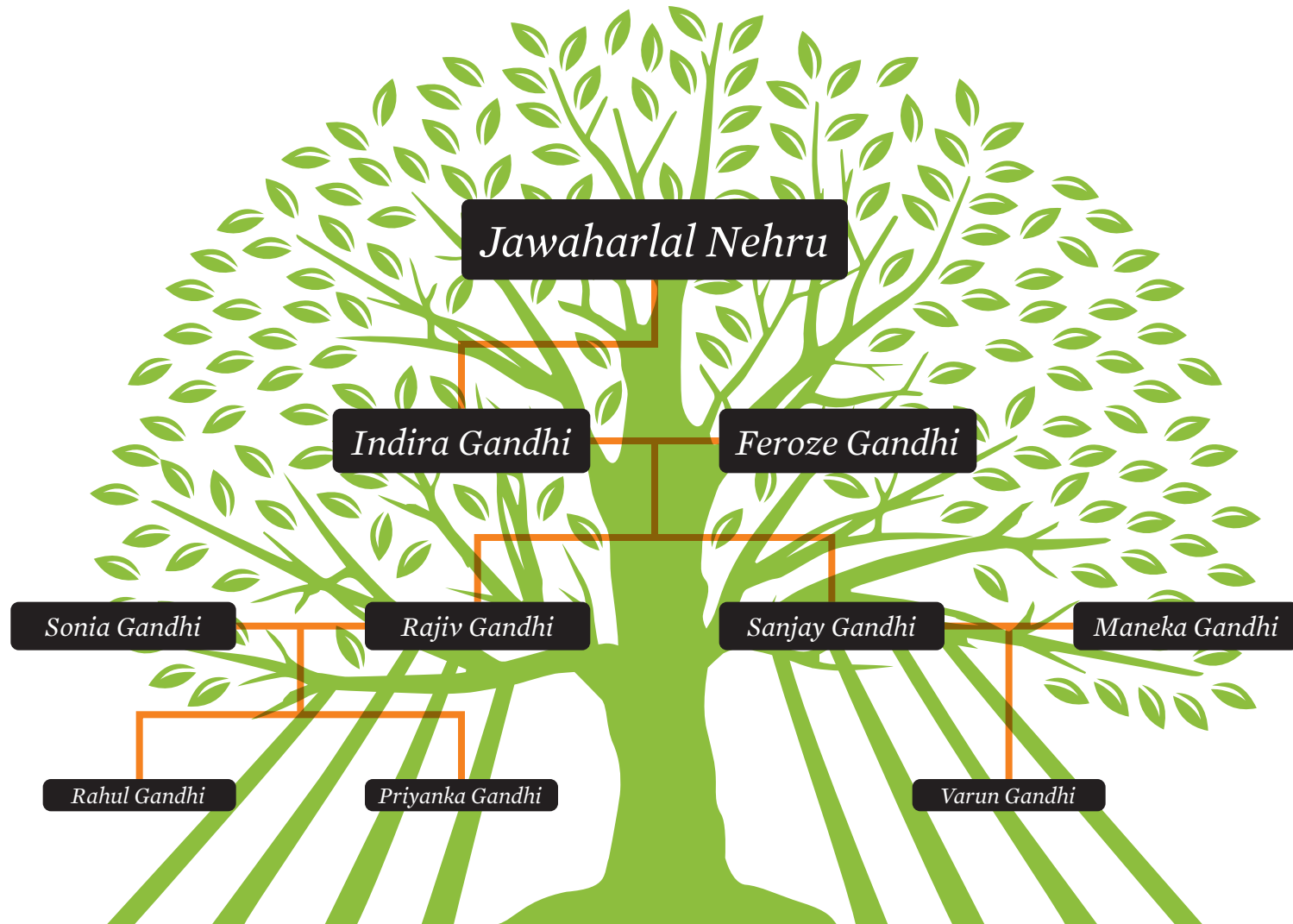
Buddhists
0.7%

Jains
0.4%

As the Wheel Turns

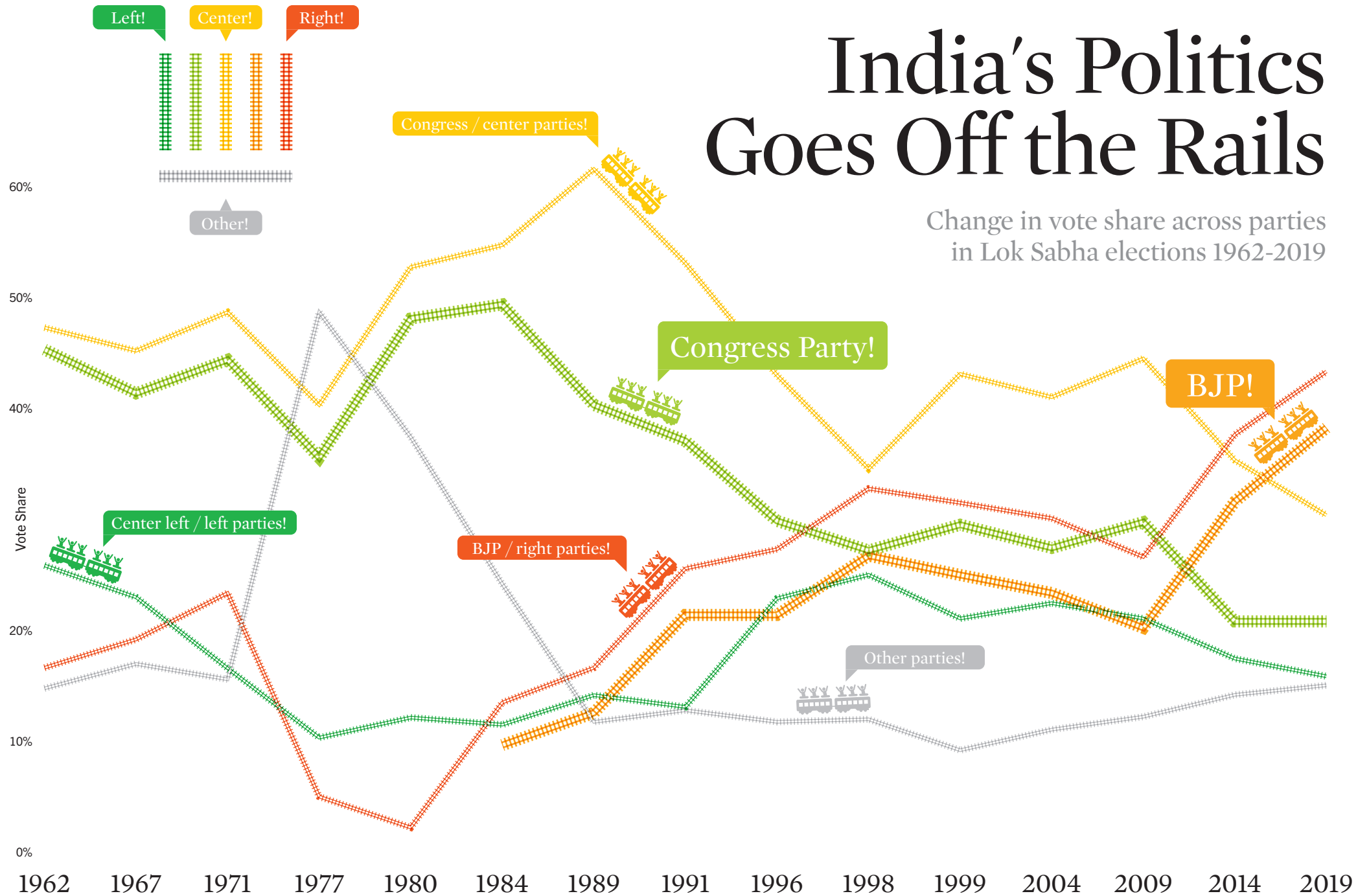
India's political evolution

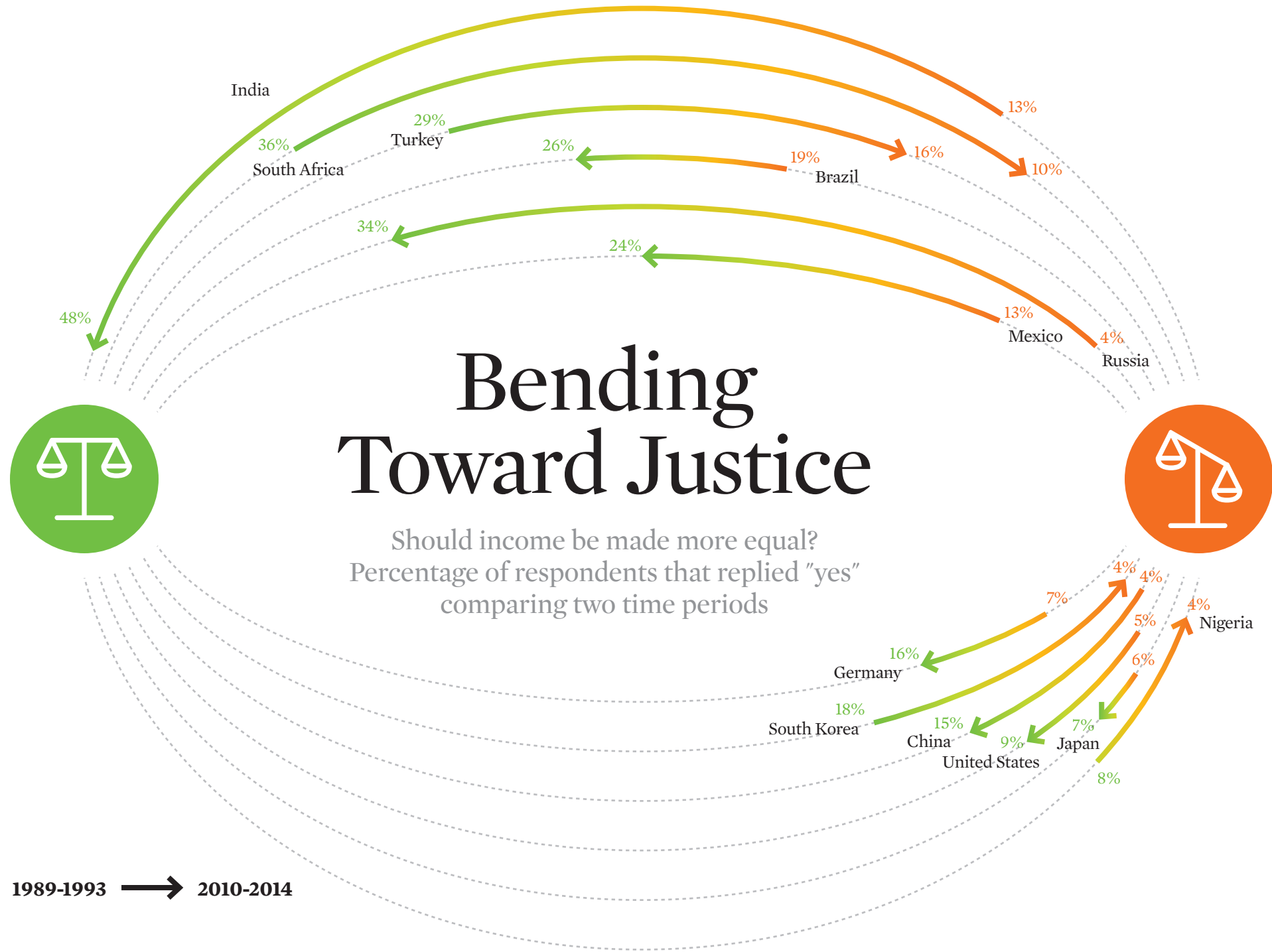


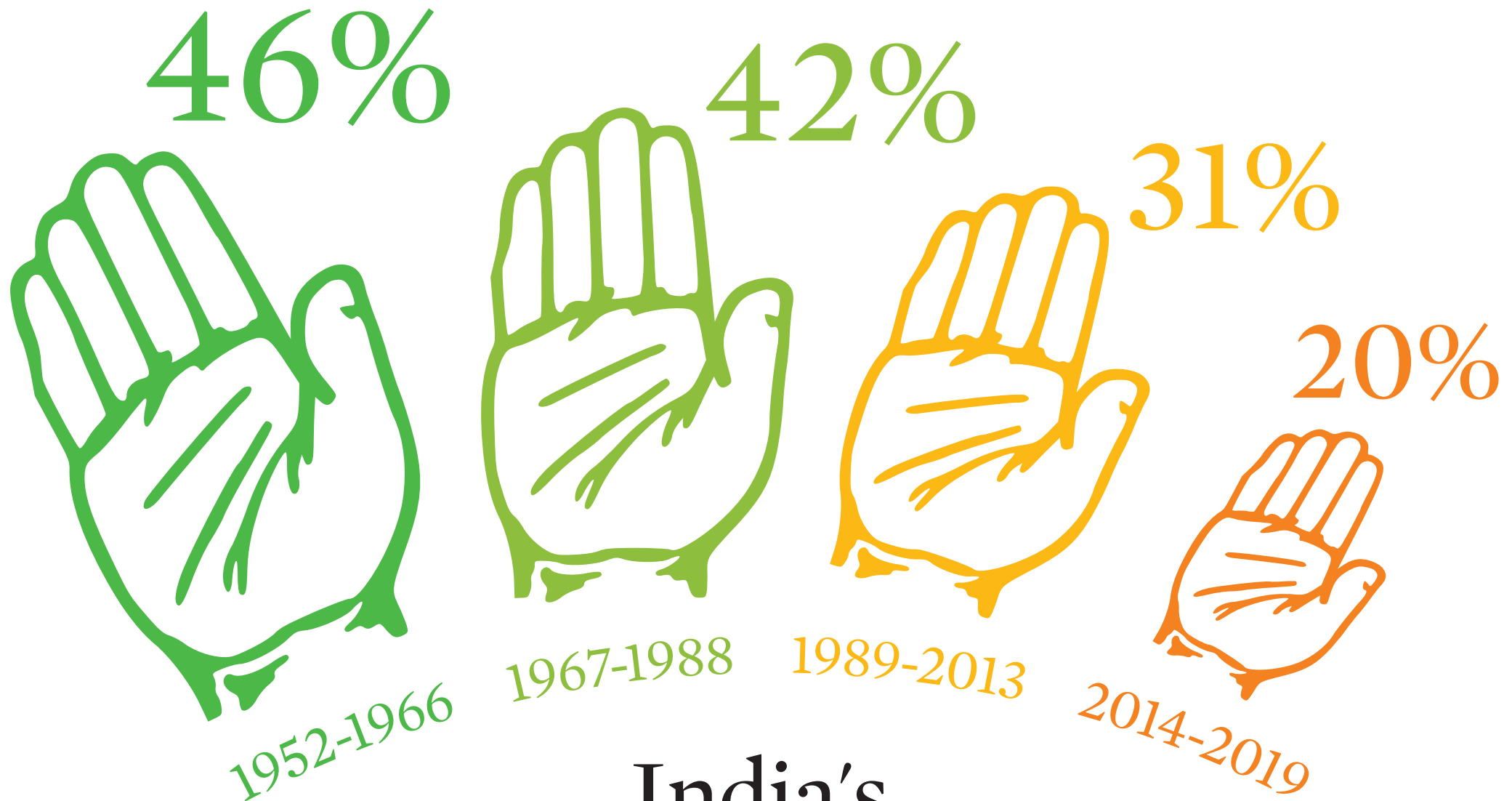


India's Deep Political Roots

The Nehru-Gandhi family tree and the Congress Party





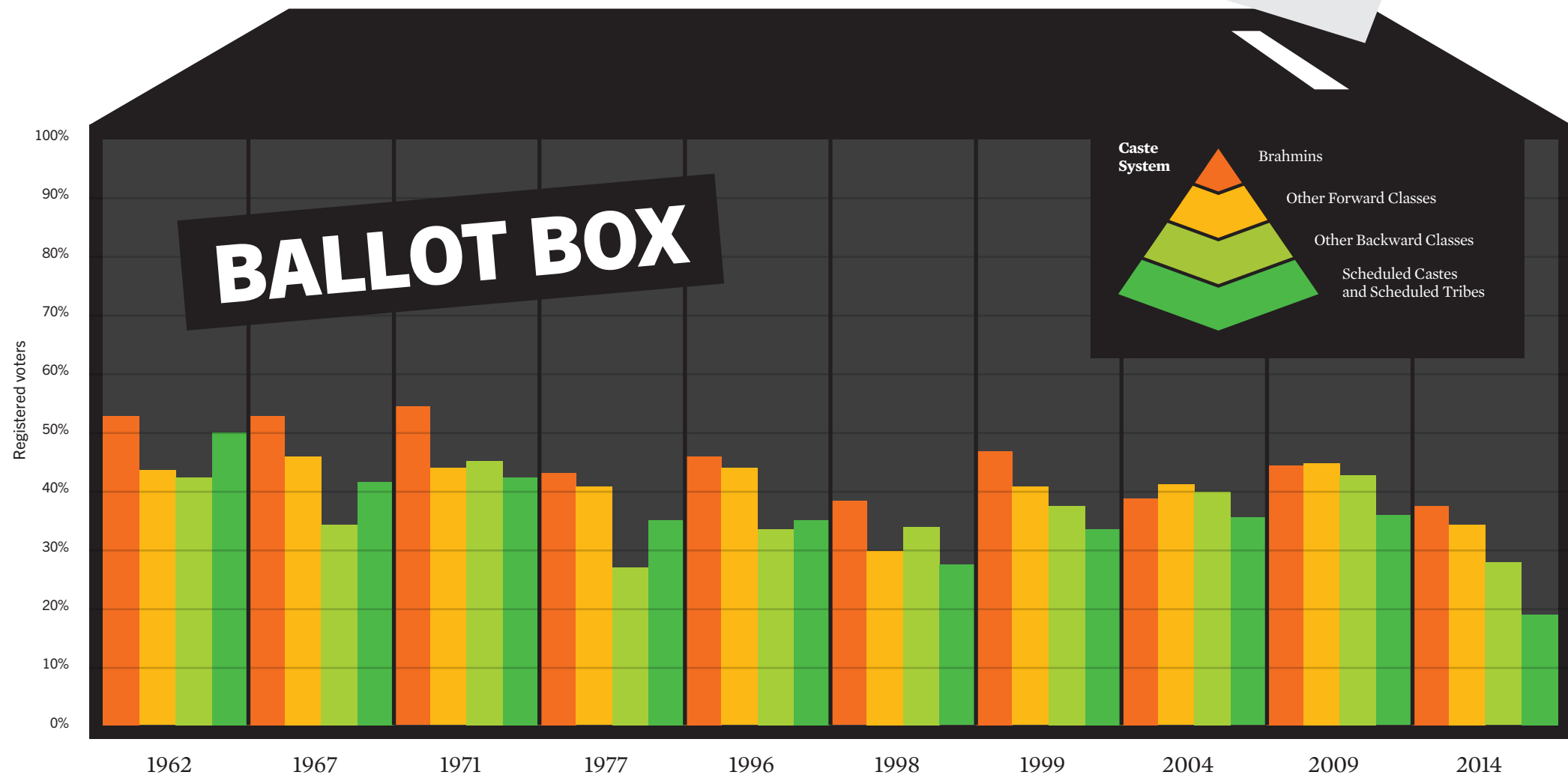


India's Guiding Hand

The Decline of the Congress Party

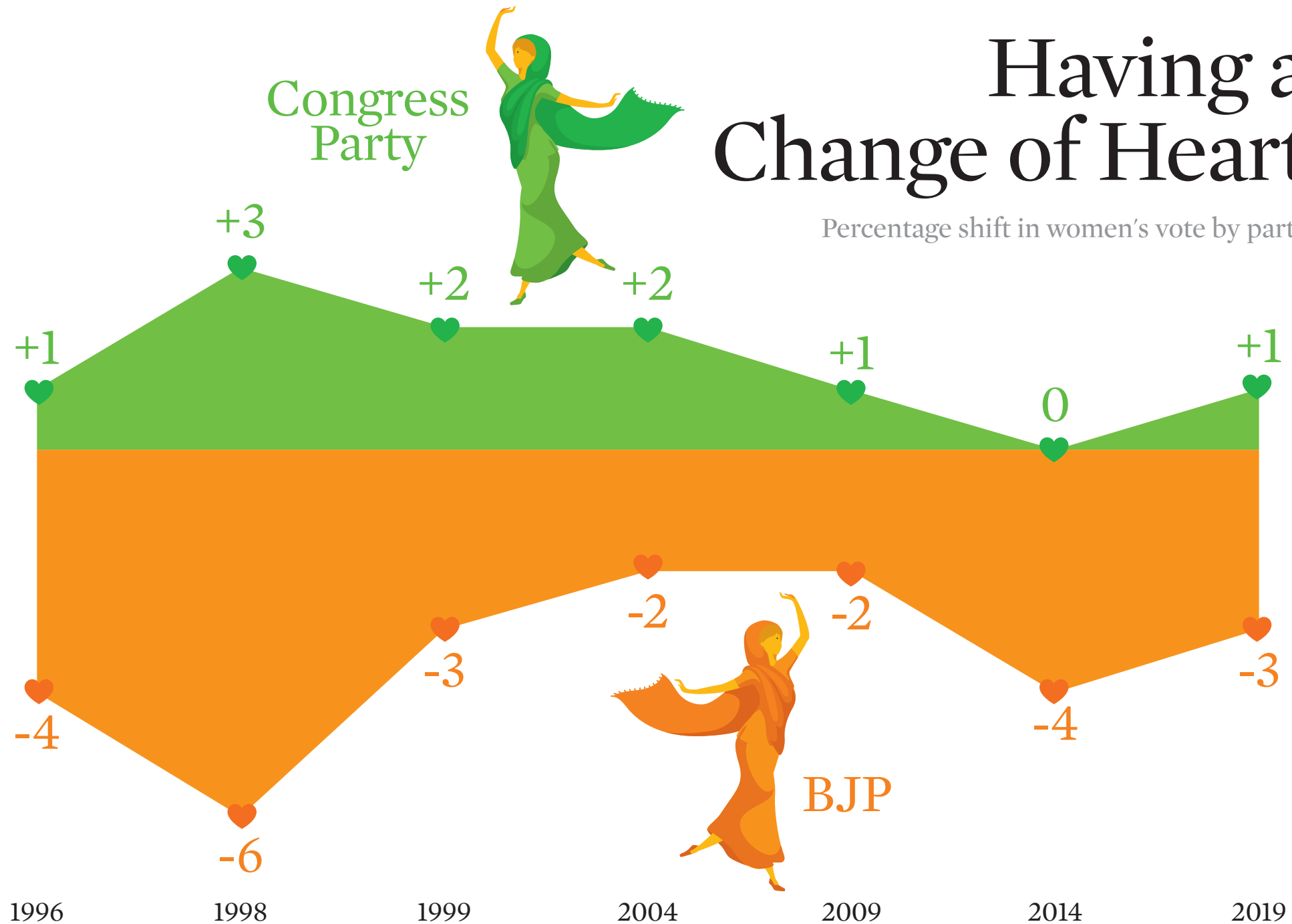
Eroding Support for the Congress Party

Percentage of the vote for the Congress Party by caste



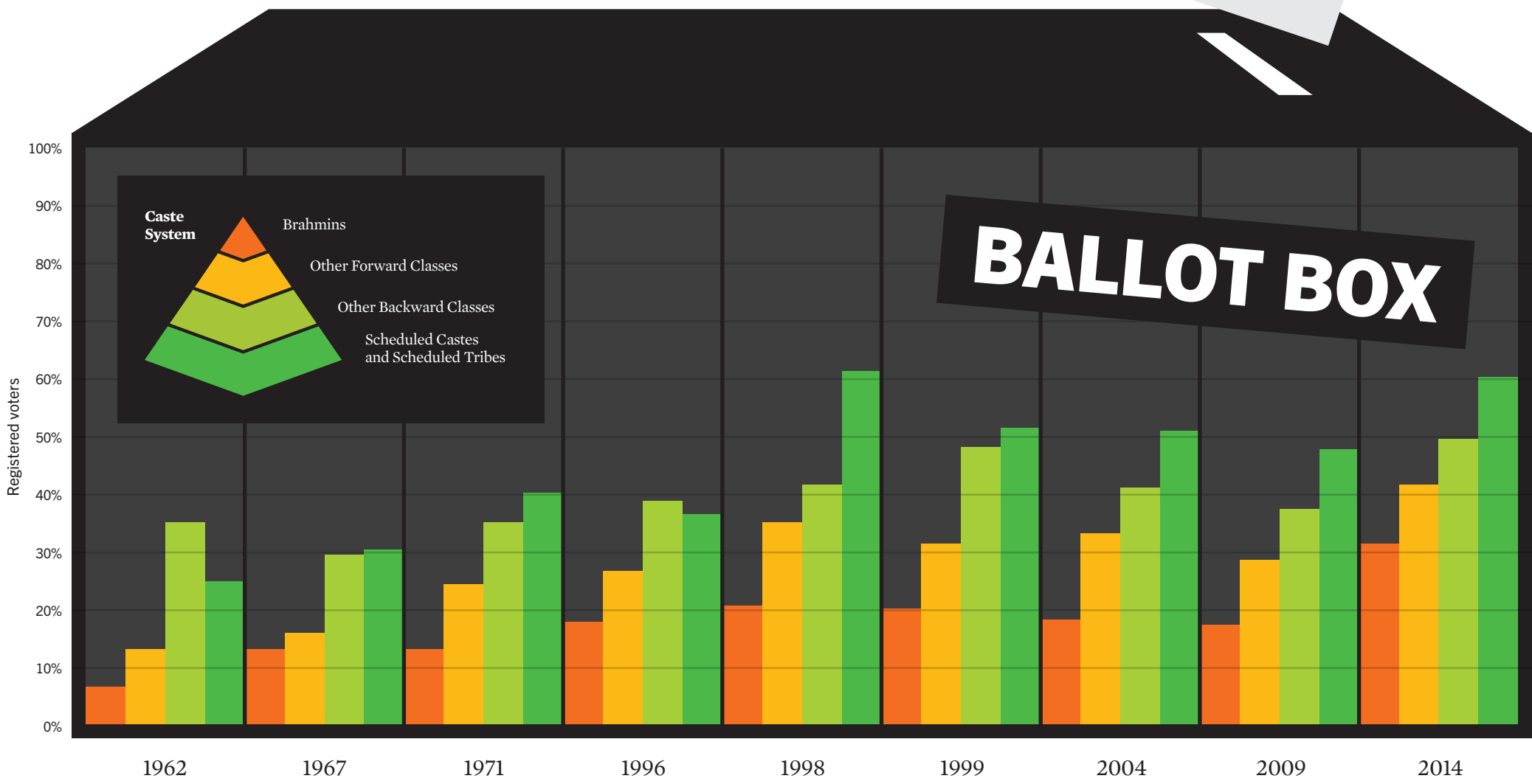
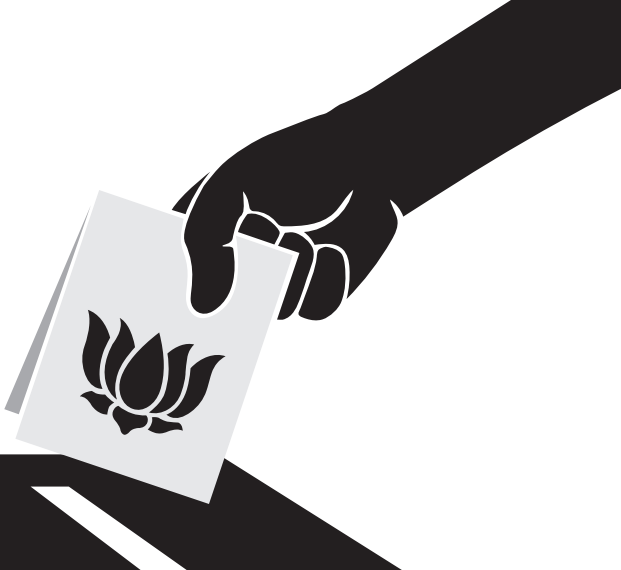
Having a Change of Heart

Percentage shift in women's vote by party



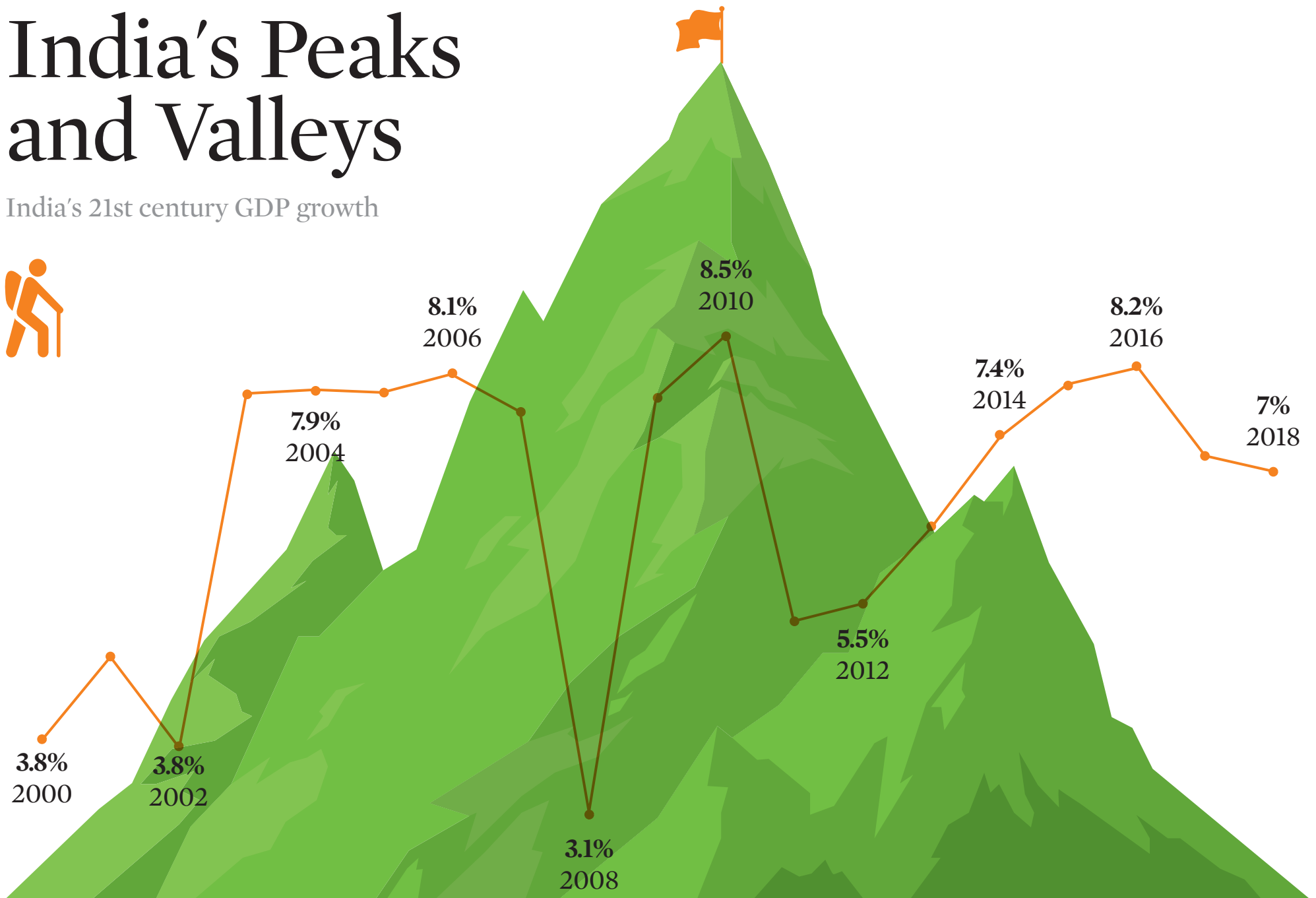
“Caste” your vote for the BJP

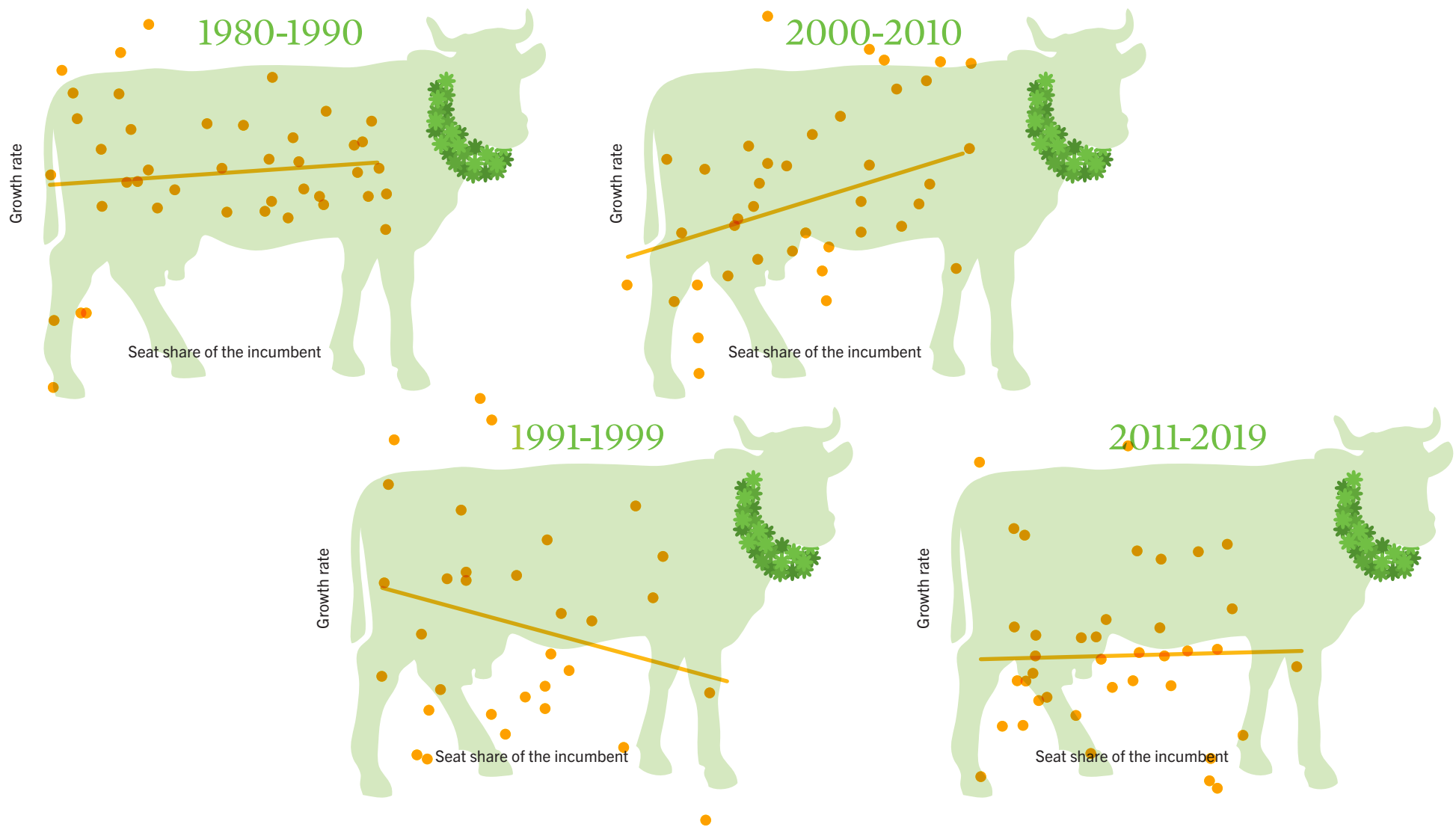
Electoral support for the BJP by caste



India's Peaks and Valleys

India's 21st century GDP growth



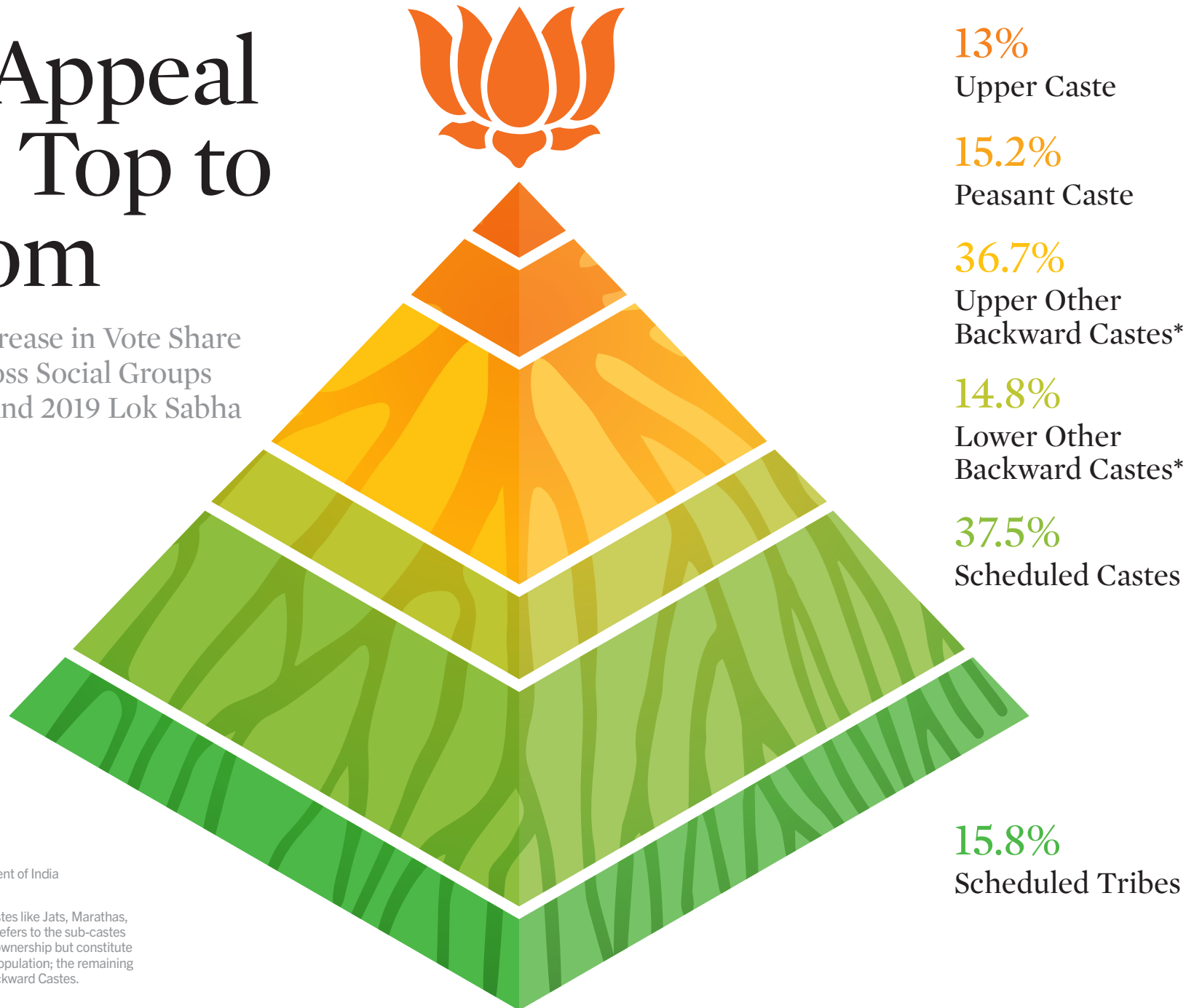


India's Other Sacred Cows

Economic performance is not the primary driver of voter preference

BJP Appeal from Top to Bottom

Percentage Increase in Vote Share of the BJP Across Social Groups between 2014 and 2019 Lok Sabha Elections

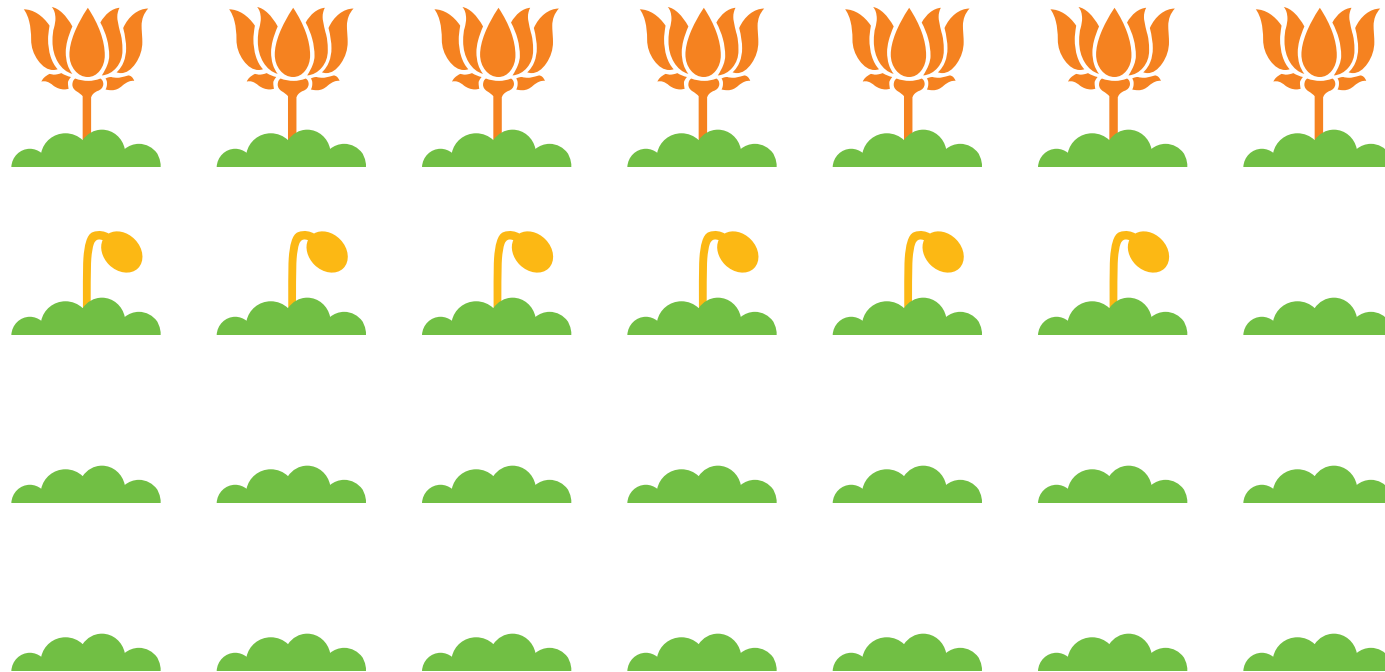


* Terminology used by the Government of India

Note: Peasant castes are middle castes like Jats, Marathas, etc. Upper Other Backward Castes refers to the sub-castes that have significant shares in land ownership but constitute a relatively lower proportion of the population; the remaining ones are labelled as lower Other Backward Castes.

Spreading the Seeds of Power at the State Level

BJP victories at the state level across two election cycles



7
States in 2014

13
in 2019

28
Indian States

Turning Up the Heat

BJP's program to provide clean gas is a vote winner

33%



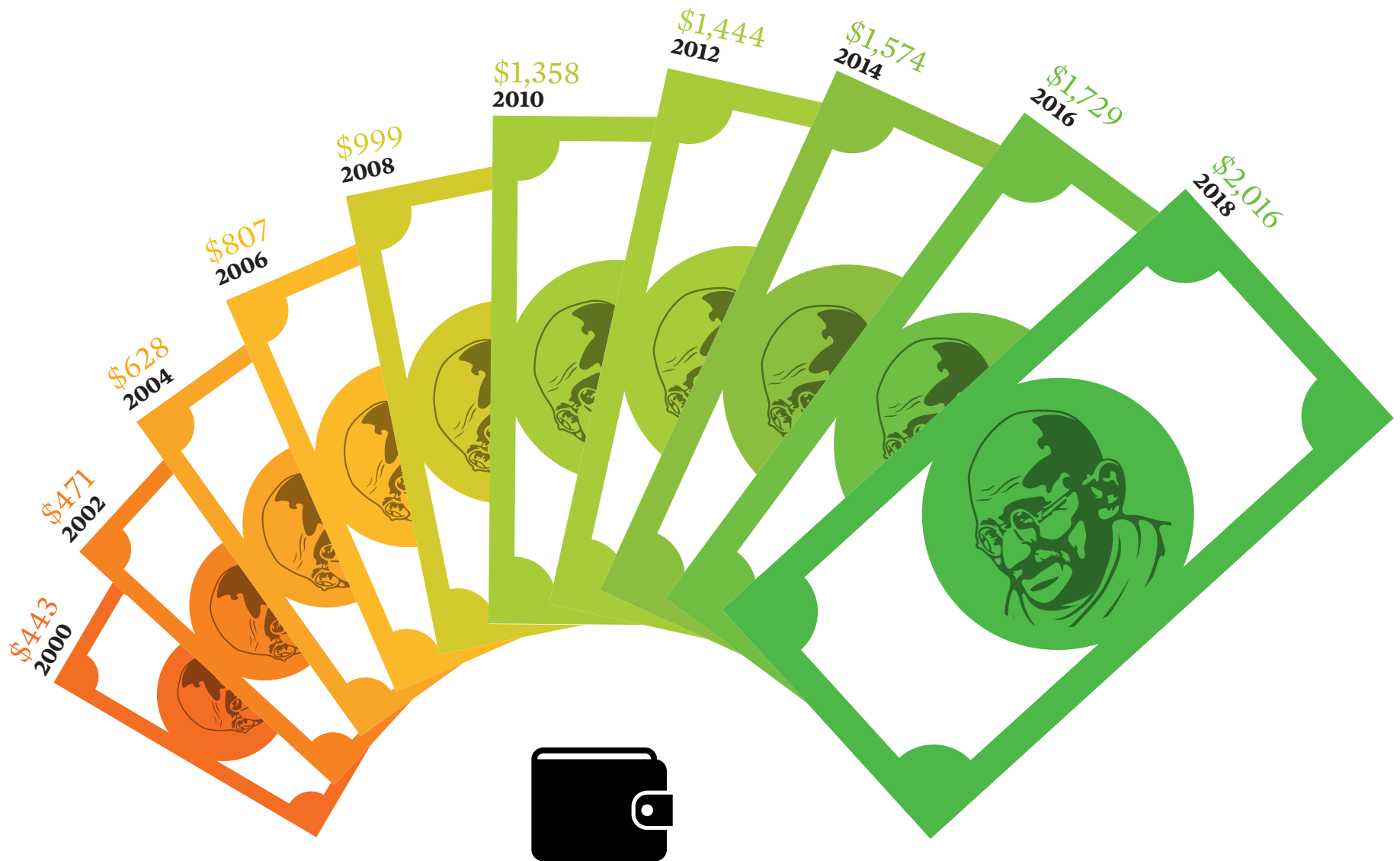
Non-beneficiaries

41%



Beneficiaries

2019
General Election



Replenishing the Rupees

Annual income per capita since 2000 (in US\$)

Most Popular Dish on the Menu

Modi and the BJP's dominance
in parliamentary elections



Winner



2014



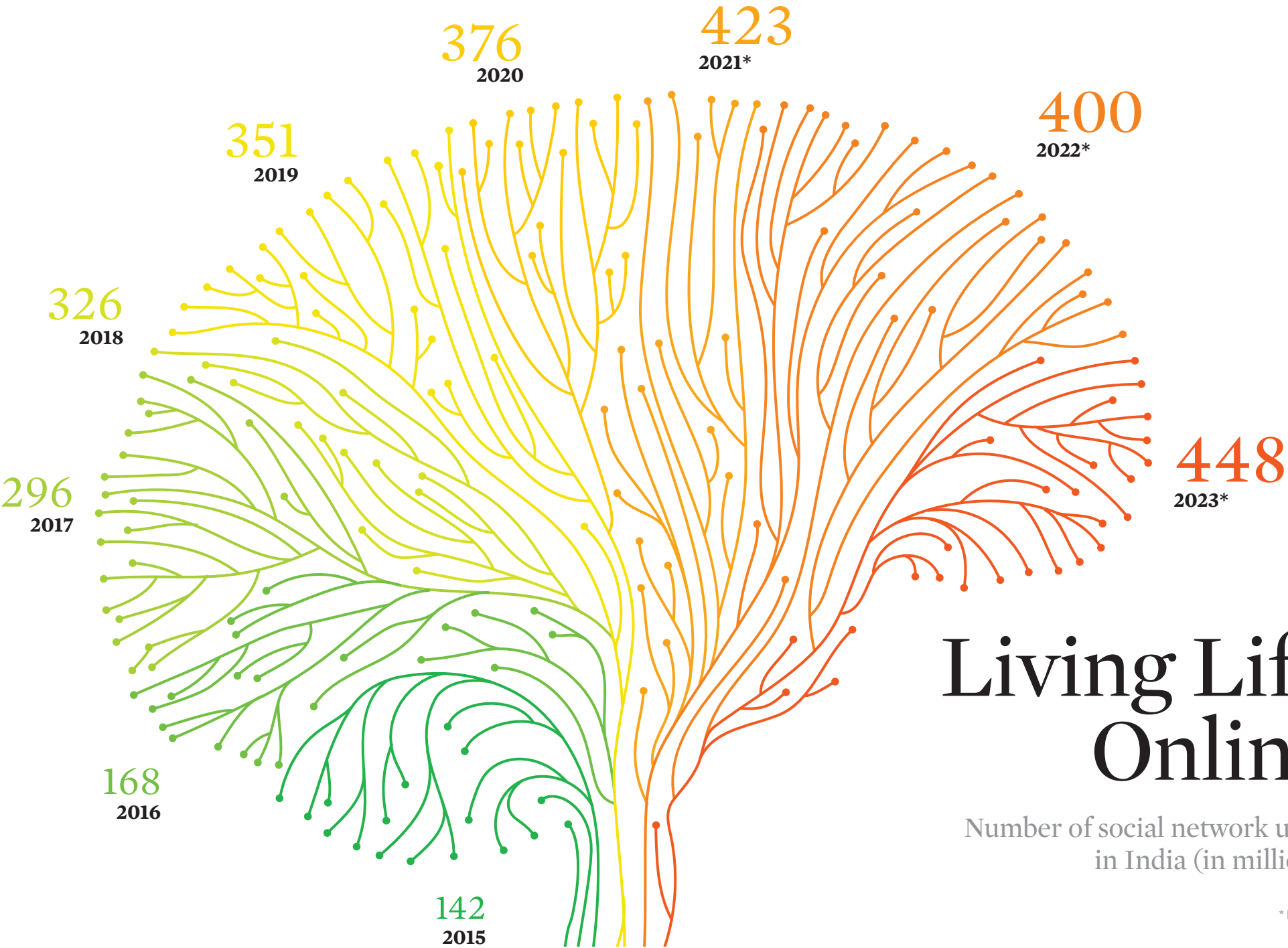
Winner



2019

BJP

Others



Living Life Online

Number of social network users in India (in millions)

* Projected

Never!

🚩 54% ➡ 56% 🗣️ 47%

Rarely!

🚩 15% ➡ 15% 🗣️ 13%

Sometimes!

🚩 19% ➡ 16% 🗣️ 21%

Politics in the Ether

Use of social media for politics

🚩 Express personal views on politics ➡ Share/Forward political material 🗣️ Read news related to politics

Daily!

🚩 5% ➡ 5% 🗣️ 12%

In Social Media We Trust

Daily user habits across two social media platforms

TWITTER
NEWS

FACEBOOK
NEWS



17%
A lot

26%
Some

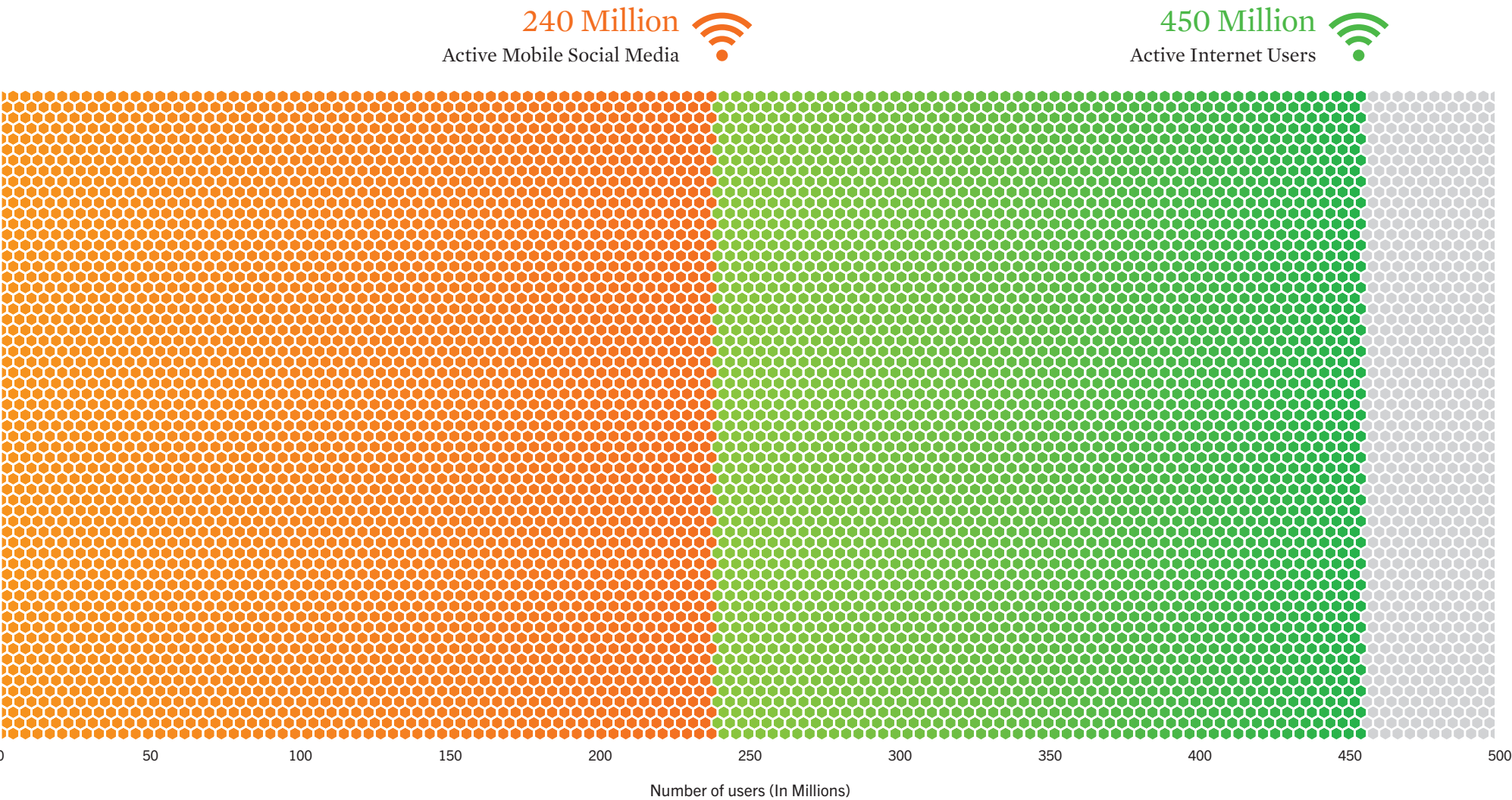
28%
Not much

25%
Not at all

Daily Facebook Users

Powering Up to One Billion Online

Active internet and mobile social media users in India



[Info] Graphic Images

US

— United States of America —

The Descent into Demagoguery

Throughout its history, the United States has faced countless challenges to its democratic institutions and national character. The Civil War, Great Depression, Civil Rights Era and the aftermath of 9/11, for example, presented ample opportunity for Americans to abandon the foundations upon which the country was built. And though it wavered at times, its system of checks and balances withstood the pressures of the moment.

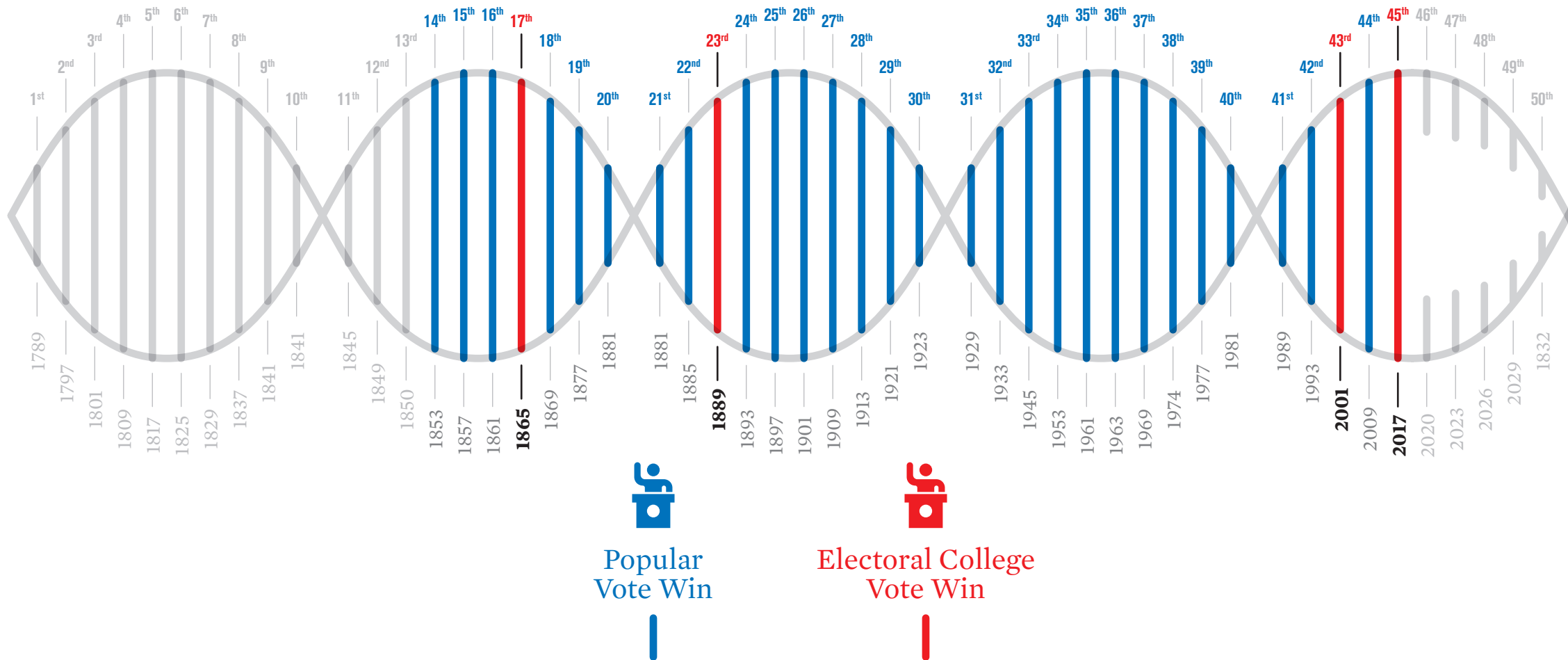
In the 2016 presidential election, the incremental erosion of public trust in government, expertise and American capitalism were among the factors that resulted in victory for Donald Trump, a businessman turned reality TV star turned right-wing populist. In the first two years of his presidency, Trump fanned the embers of discontent that got him elected. This strategy effectively solidified his base, brought Republican party officials to heel and completely polarized the US electorate.

Then came a midterm election in November 2018 full of contradictions. It featured an economy spouting a record high stock market, low unemployment figures and an electoral map favorable to Republicans. And yet, the election resulted in a blue wave as the Democratic Party swept the GOP out of power in the House of Representatives. Did Trump misjudge the country's tolerance for demonizing opponents, stigmatizing minority communities and growing public malfeasance or were other factors at play? This chapter examines the US descent into demagoguery to determine whether Americans will continue to go along for the ride.



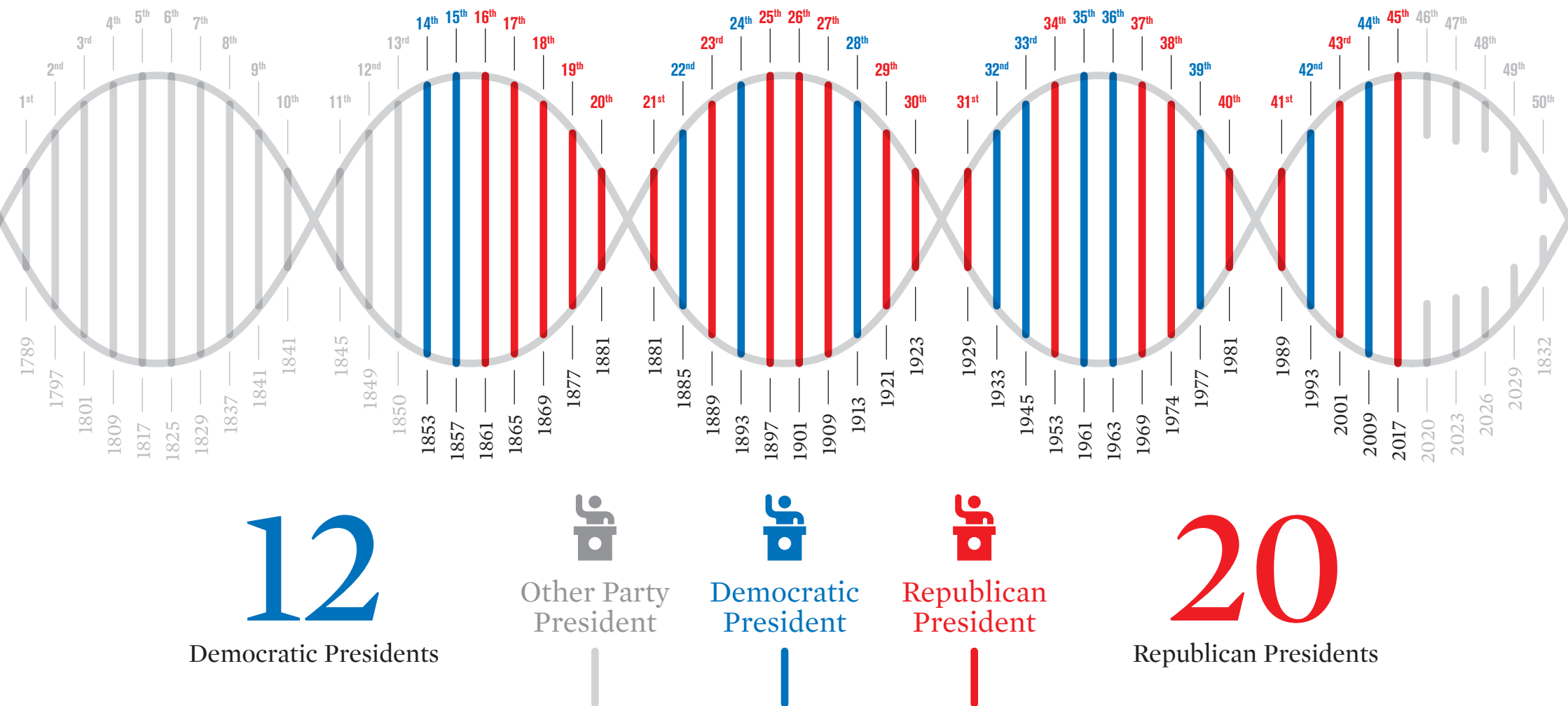
American Electoral DNA

Win an election but lose the presidency



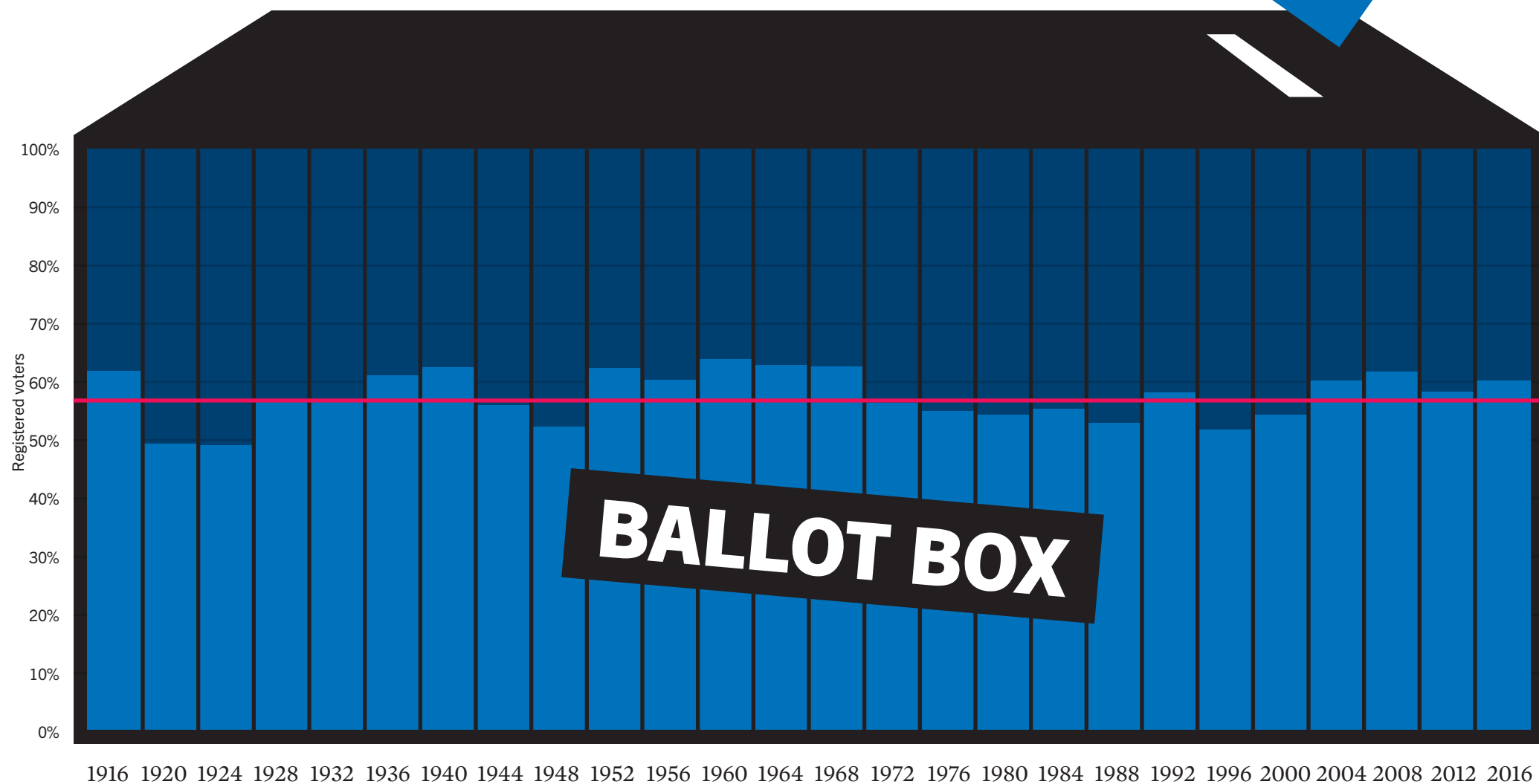
Double Helix in a Two-Party System

Republican and Democratic presidential election outcomes since 1853



Is the Ballot Box Half-Full or Half-Empty?

Voter turnout 1916-2018

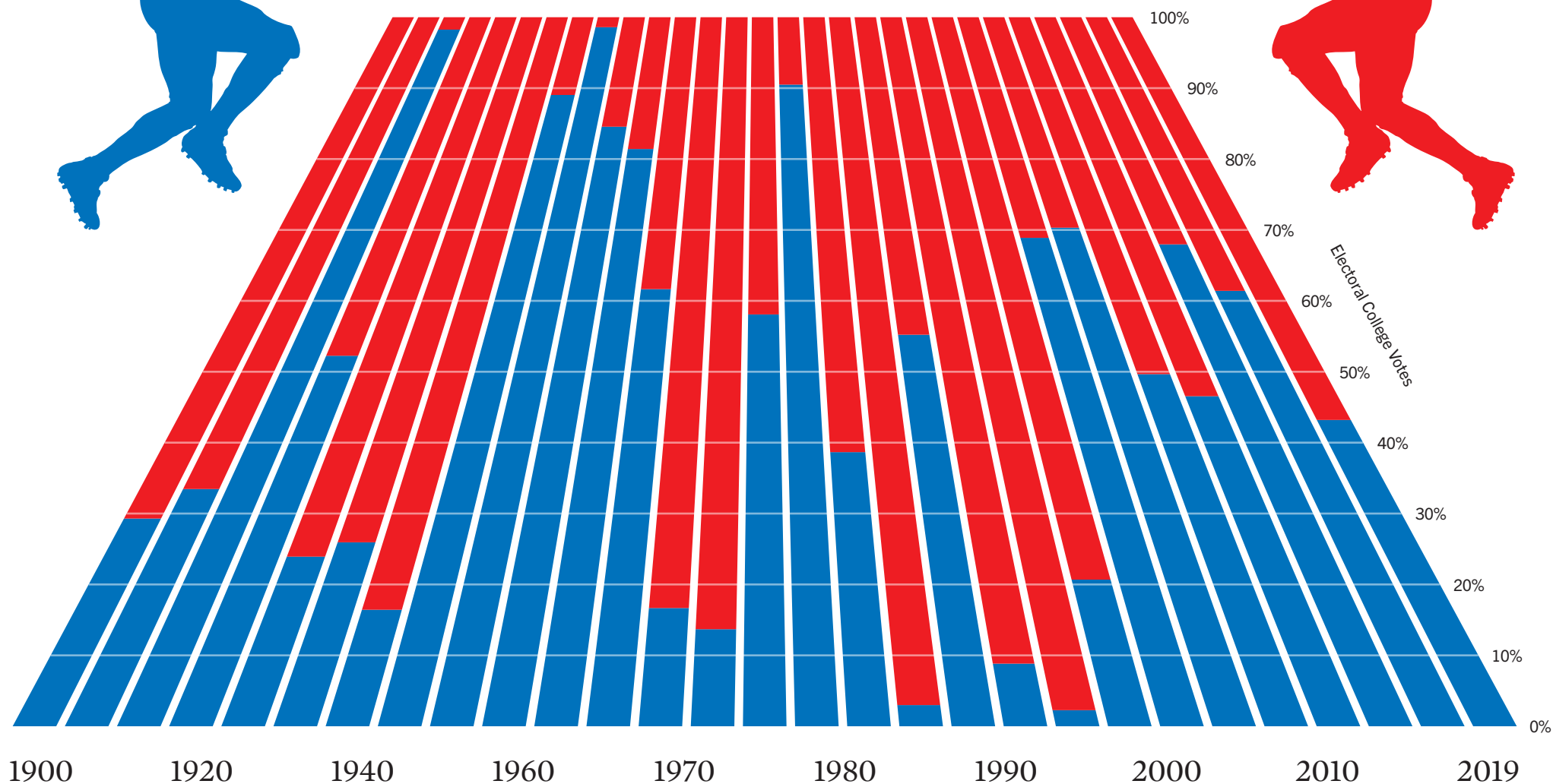


Gaming the System

Electoral college votes by party since 1900

Democratic
Party

Republican
Party

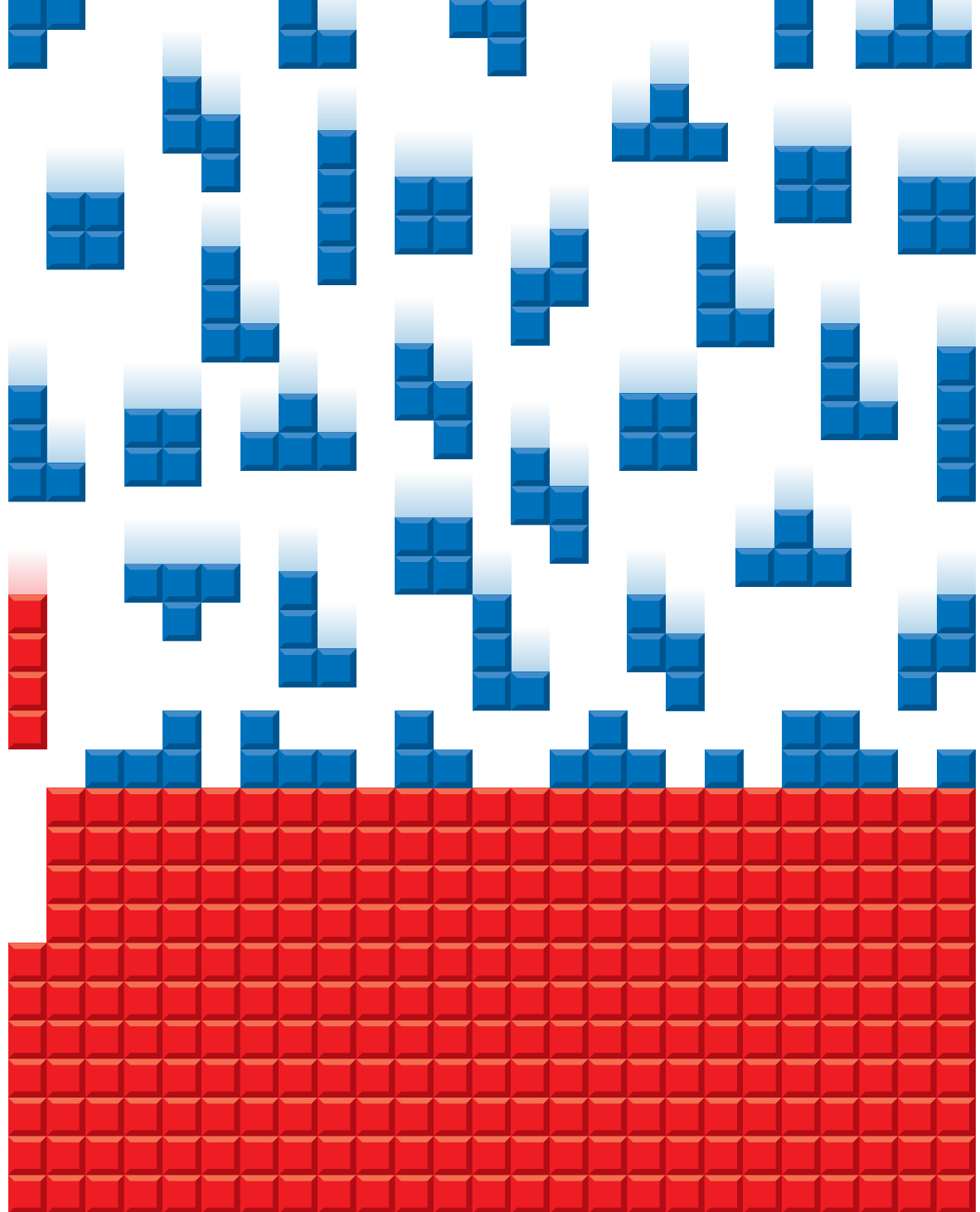


The Only Math that Matters

Electoral college votes needed out of 538

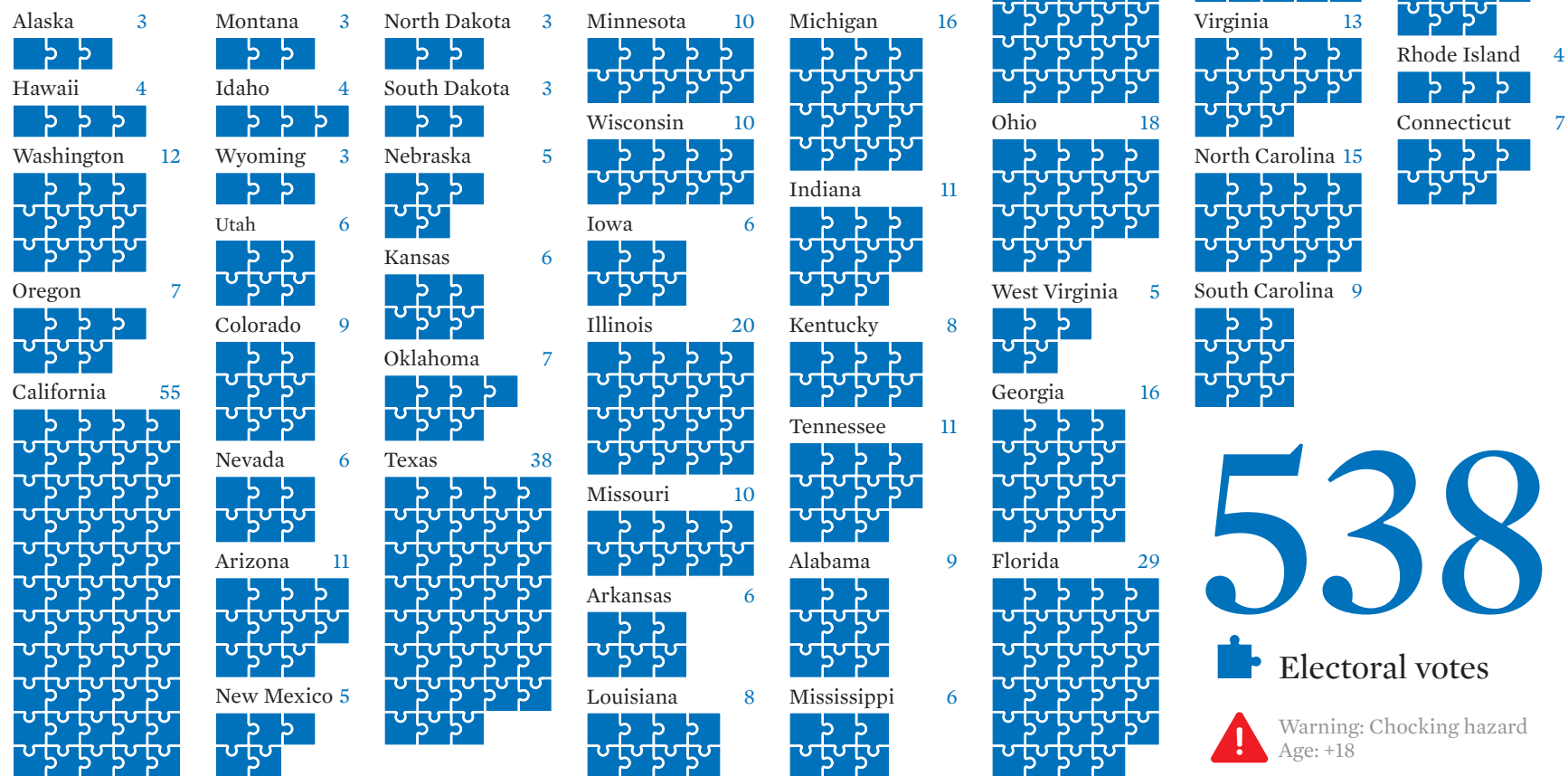
270

electoral votes
needed to win



Pieces of the Electoral Puzzle

Electoral college votes at stake in each state



Hillary!

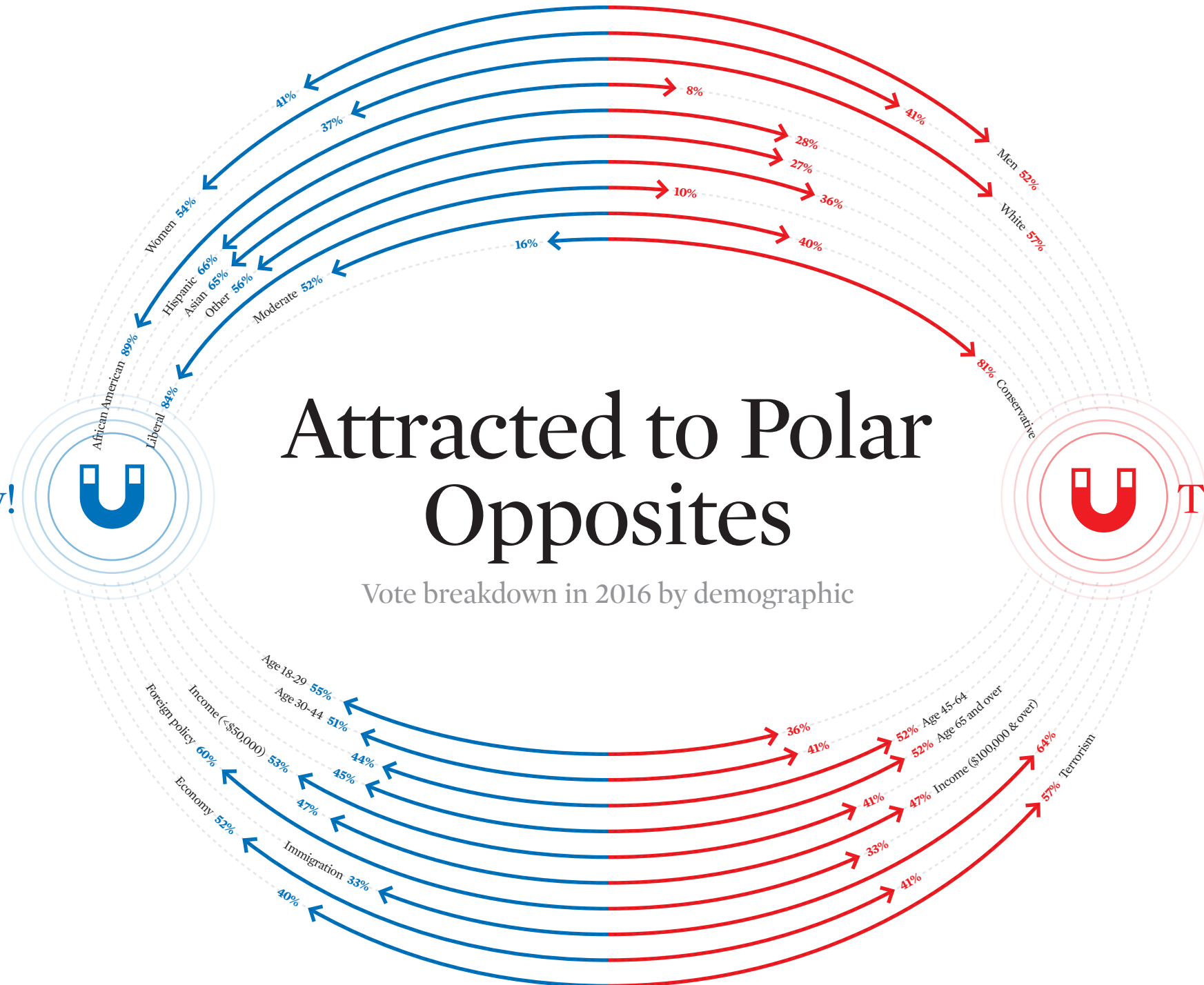


Attracted to Polar Opposites

Vote breakdown in 2016 by demographic

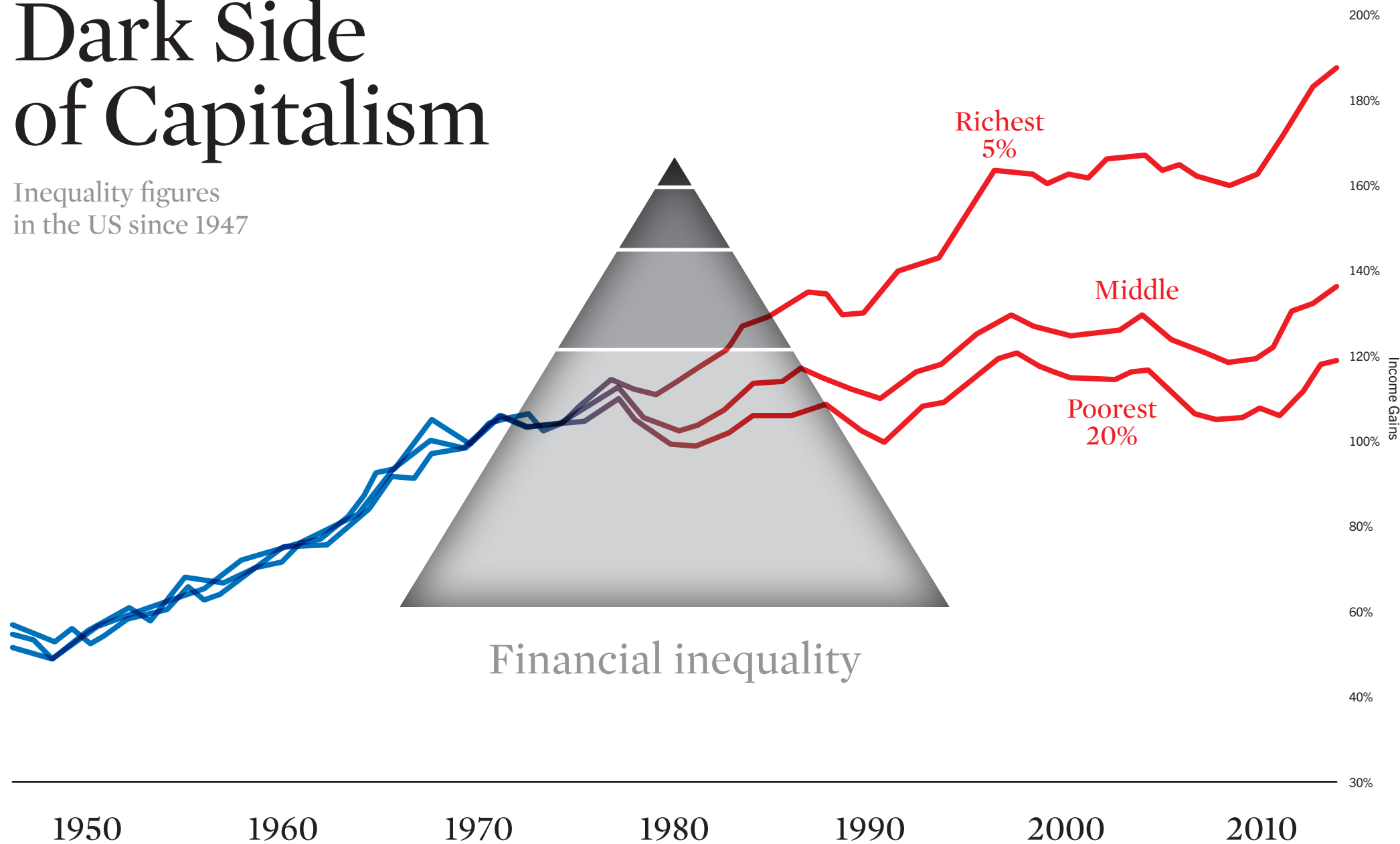


Trump!



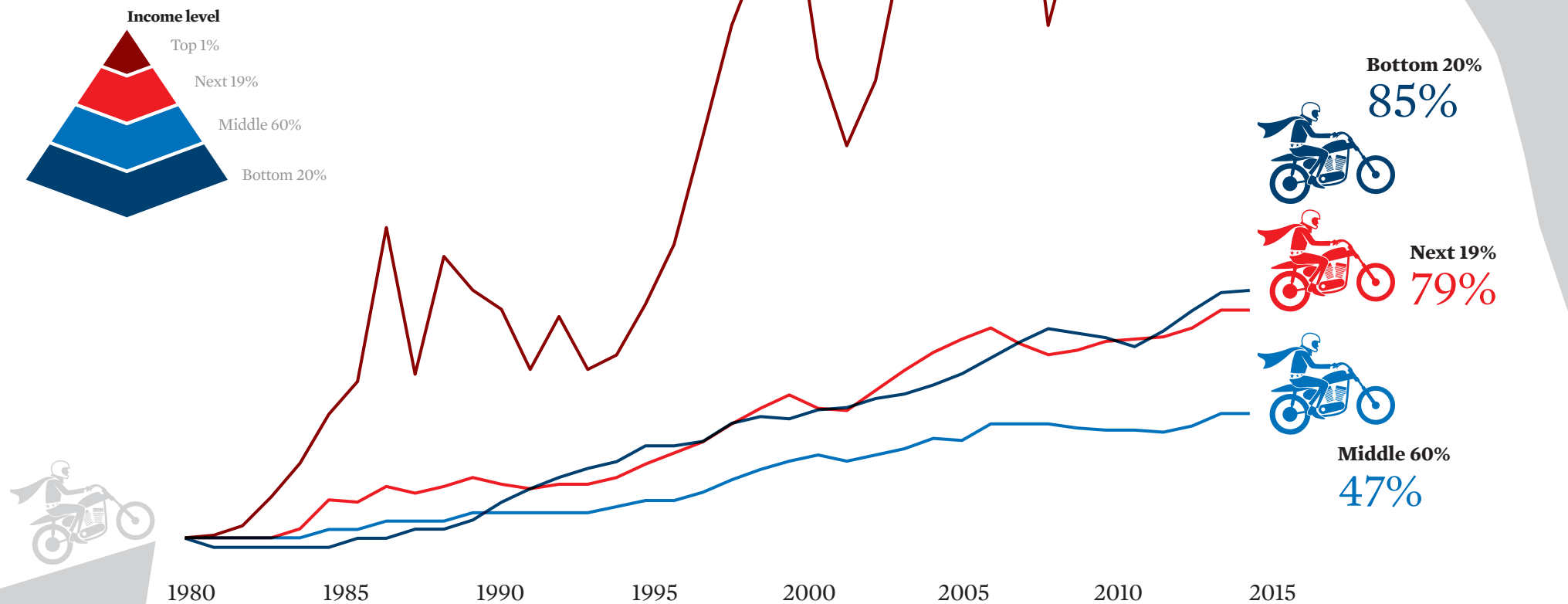
Dark Side of Capitalism

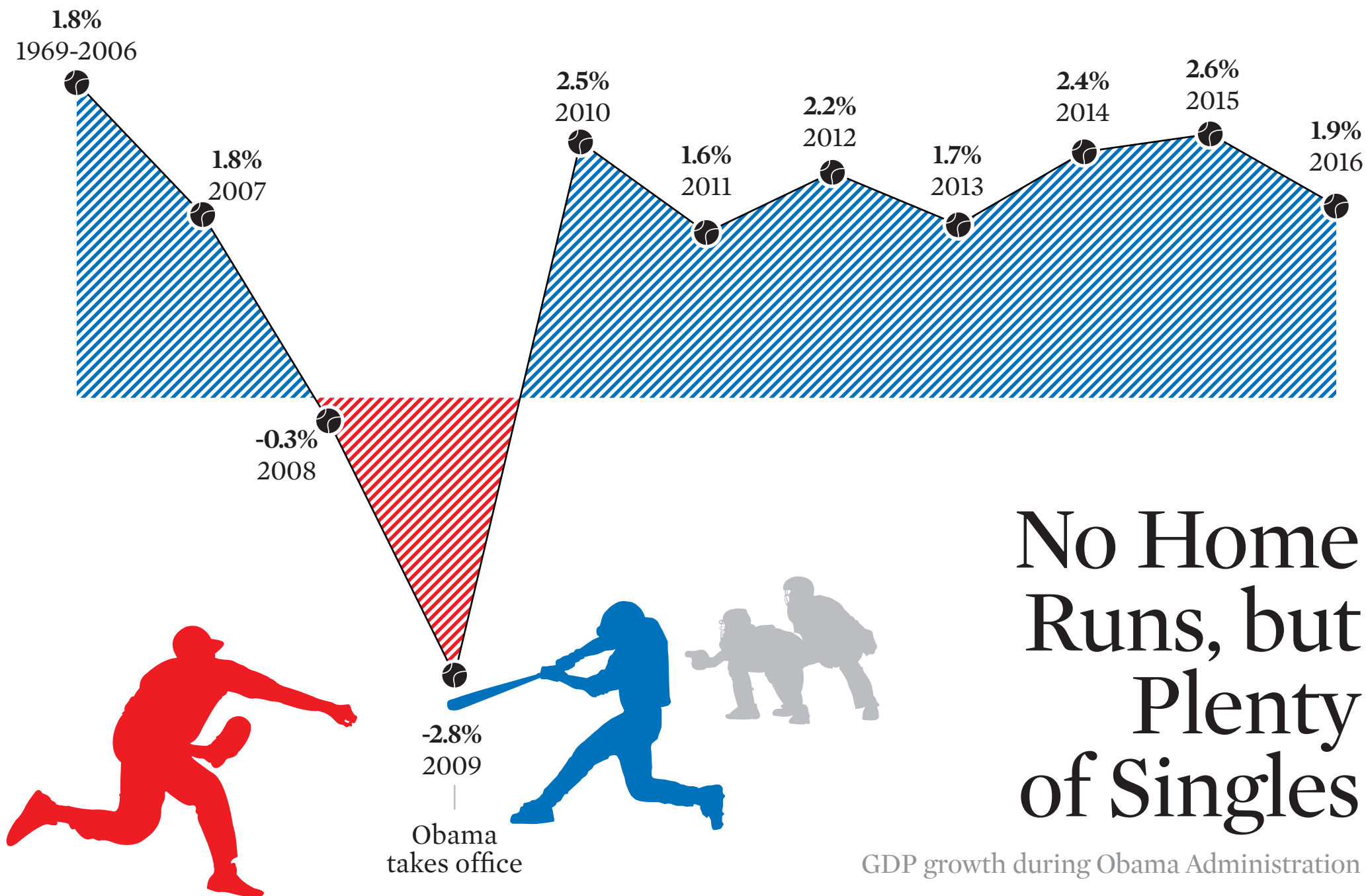
Inequality figures
in the US since 1947



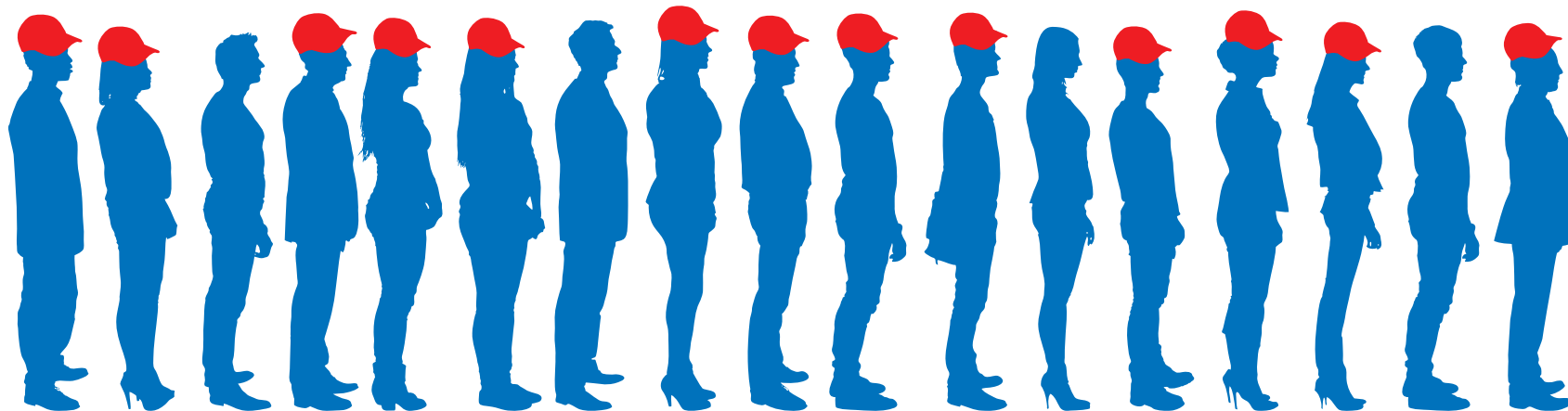
Most Americans Can't Make the Leap

Income gains since 1980



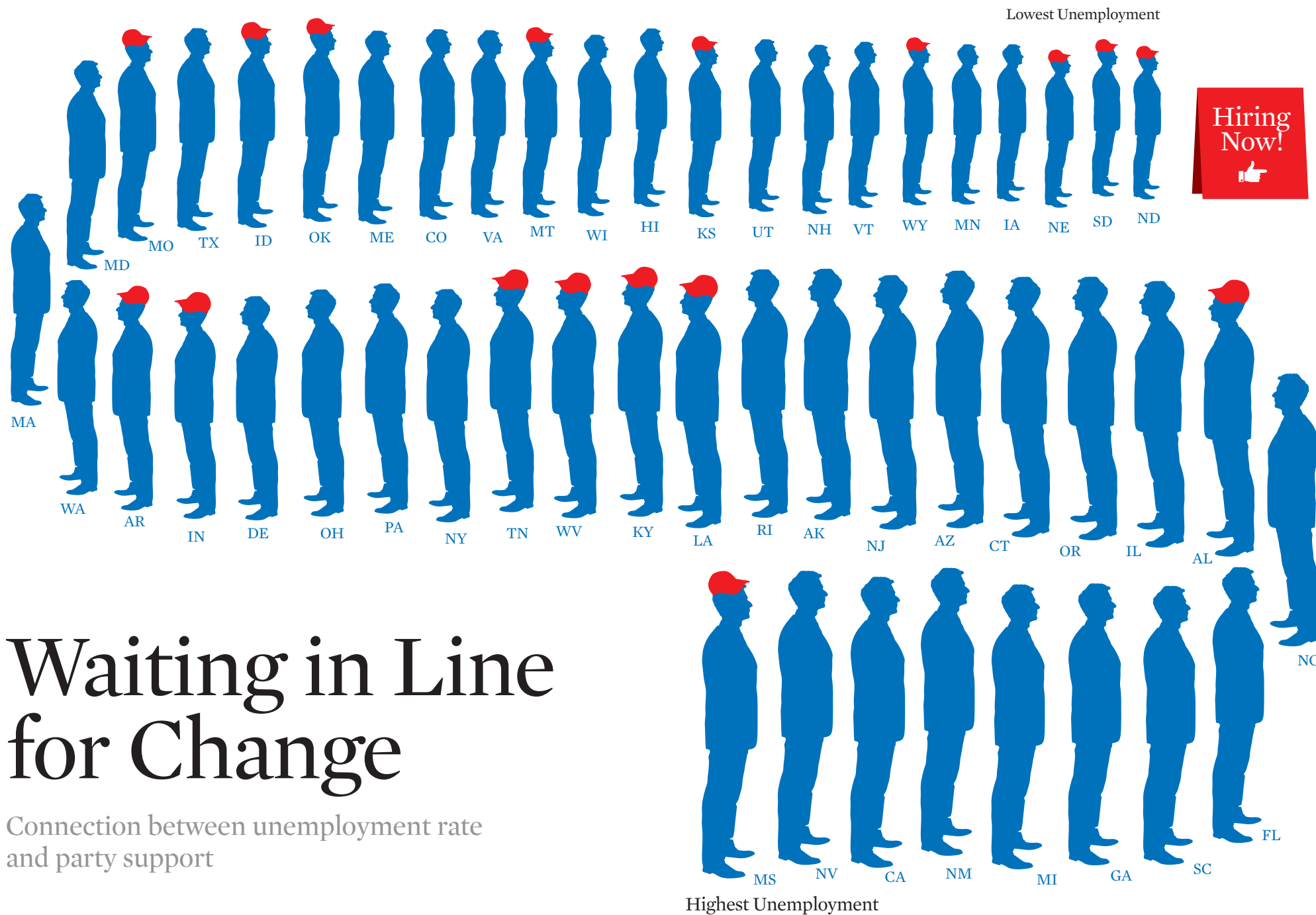


MAGA!



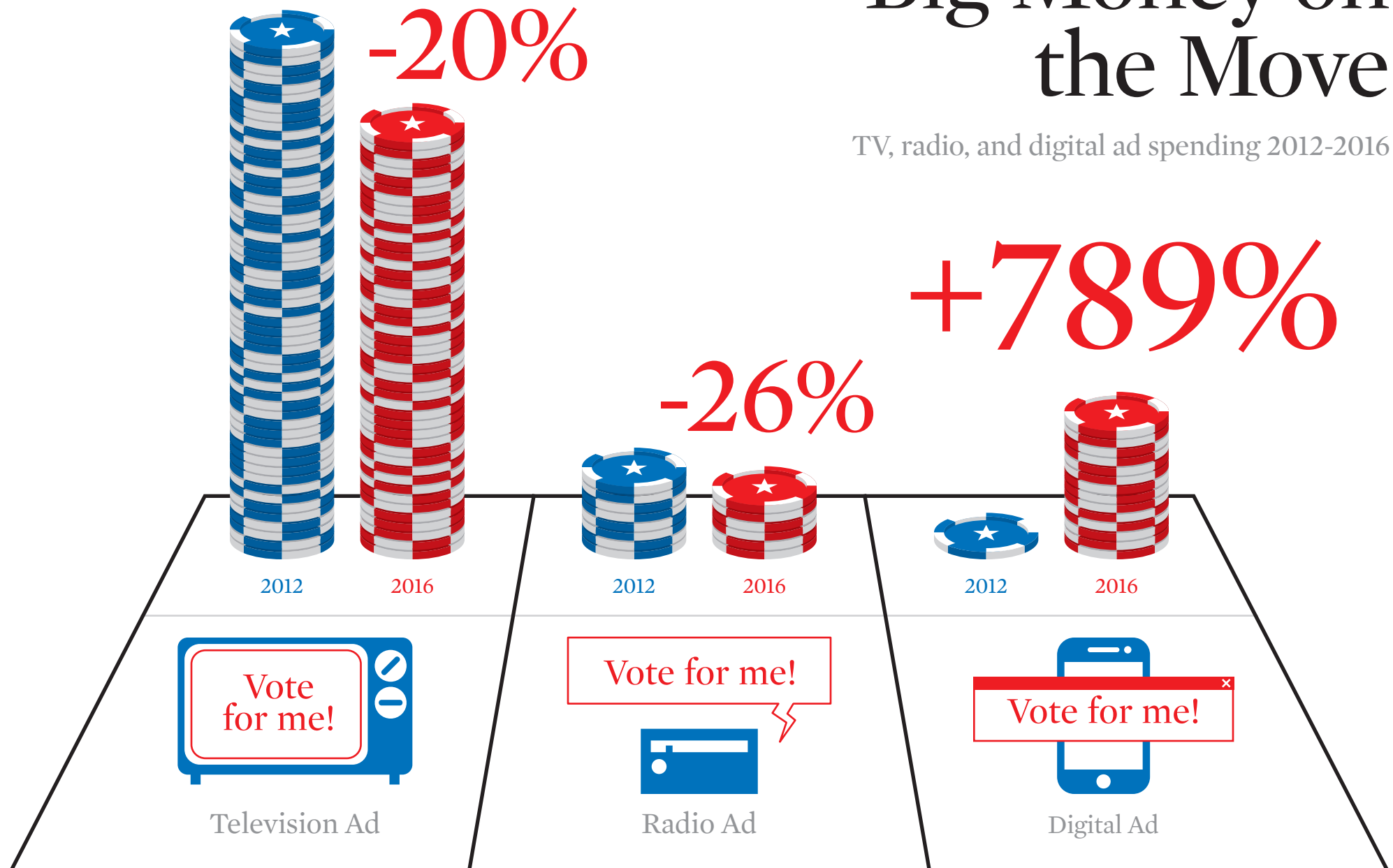
Make America Go Back to Work Again

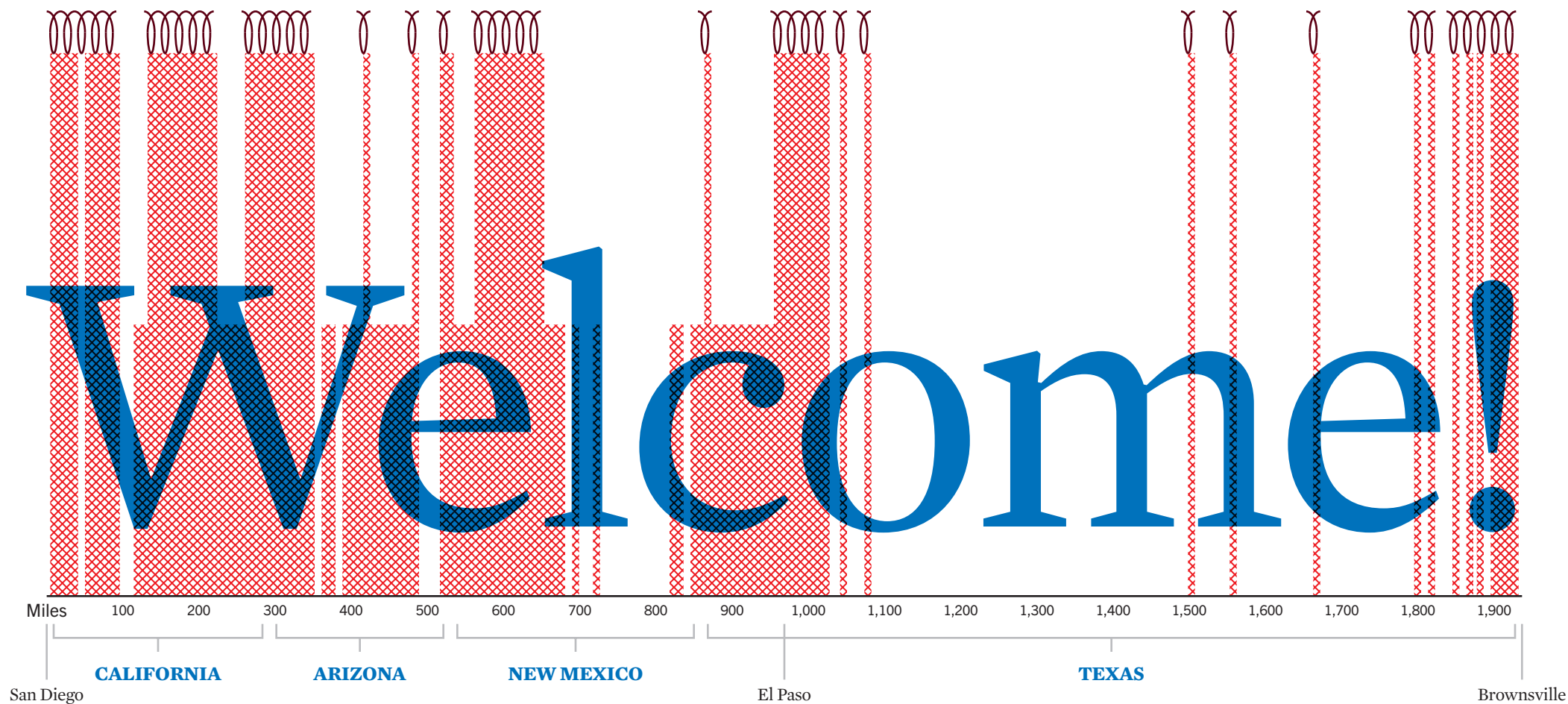
17 states had unemployment rise in 2015. Trump won 13 of them.



Big Money on the Move

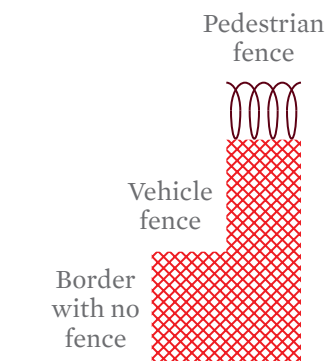
TV, radio, and digital ad spending 2012-2016





A Not-So-Neighborly Greeting

Of the 1,993 miles along the southern US border, 1,229 is unfenced





3,841



Twitter accounts connected
to Russia's Internet
Research Agency



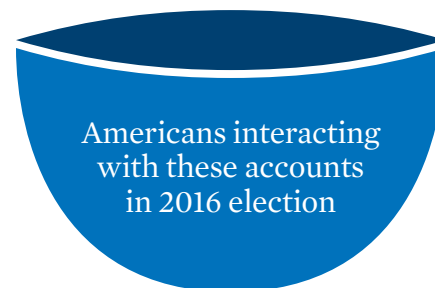
9M+



Number of
Tweets from these
accounts



1.4M



Americans interacting
with these accounts
in 2016 election

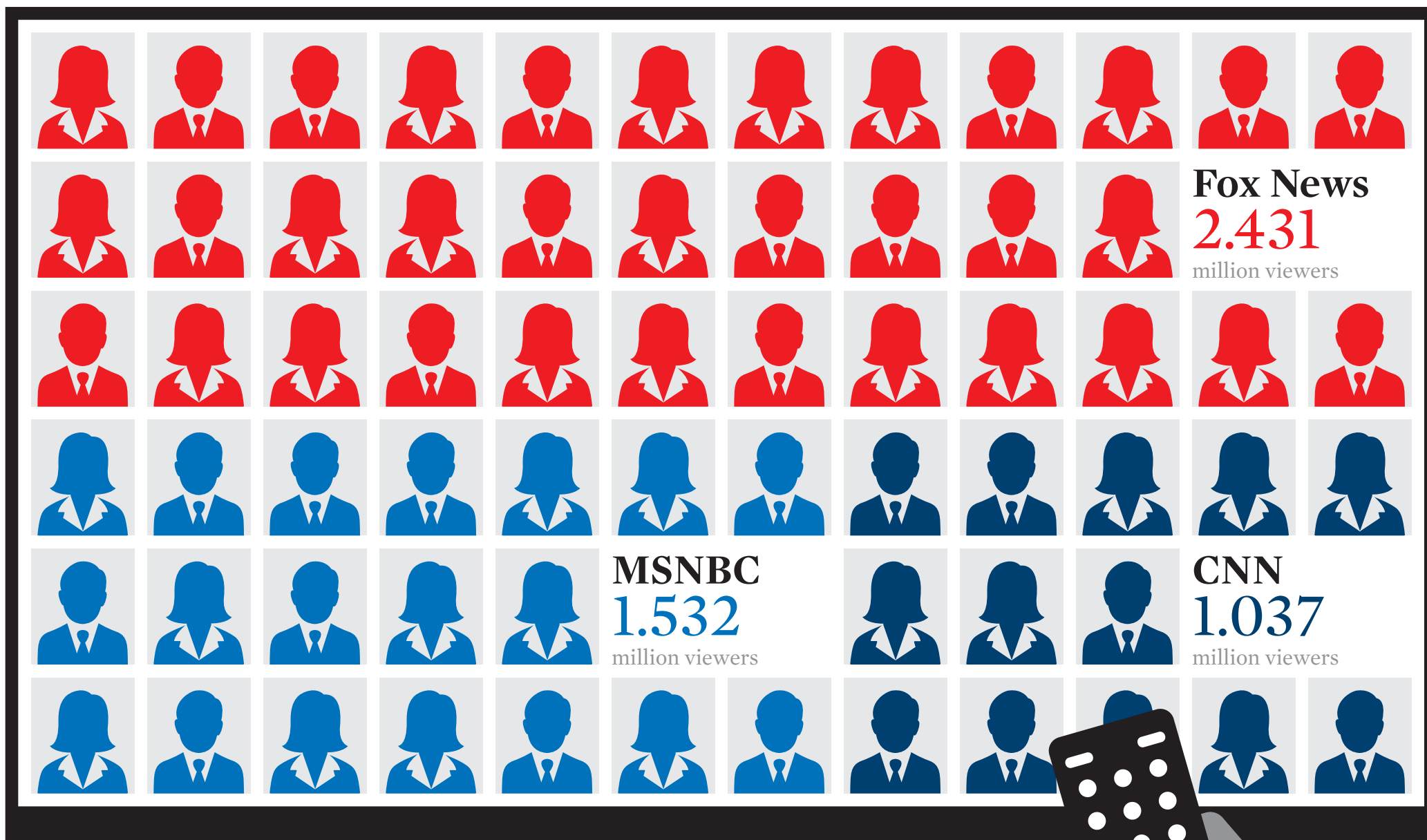
Breitbart.com
Rawstory.com
Dailycaller.com
Americanthinker.com
Truthfeed.com



Most frequent
sites shared by
Russian trolls

The Russian Troll Offensive

Russian accounts and tweets

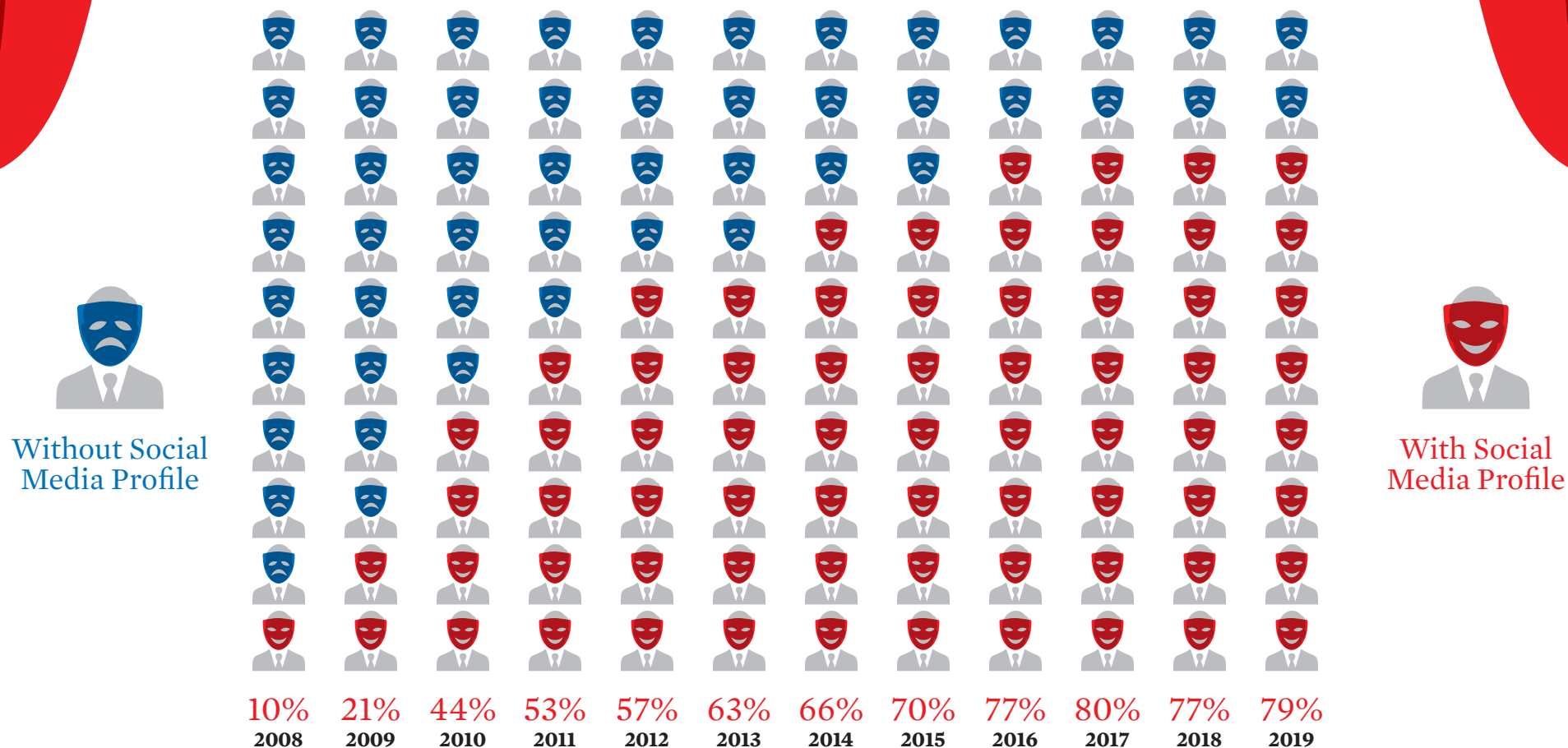


All Eyes on Cable News

Average prime time audience

Political Theater Moves Online

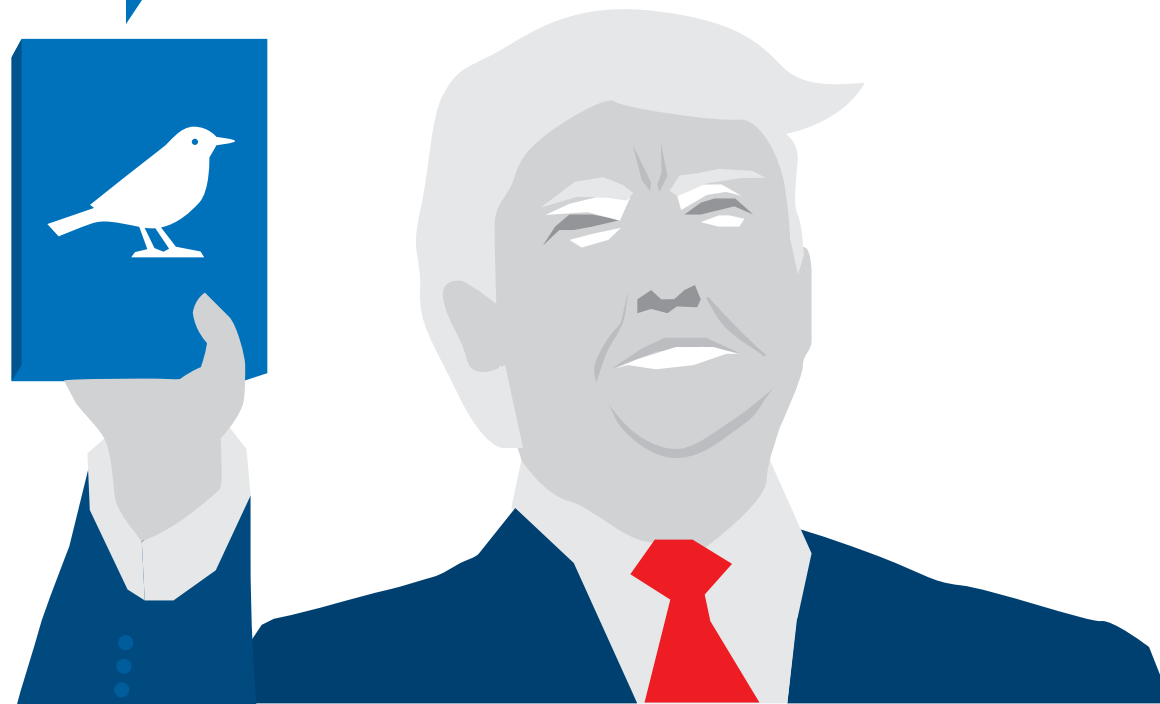
Percentage of US population with a social media profile from 2008 to 2019



84M!

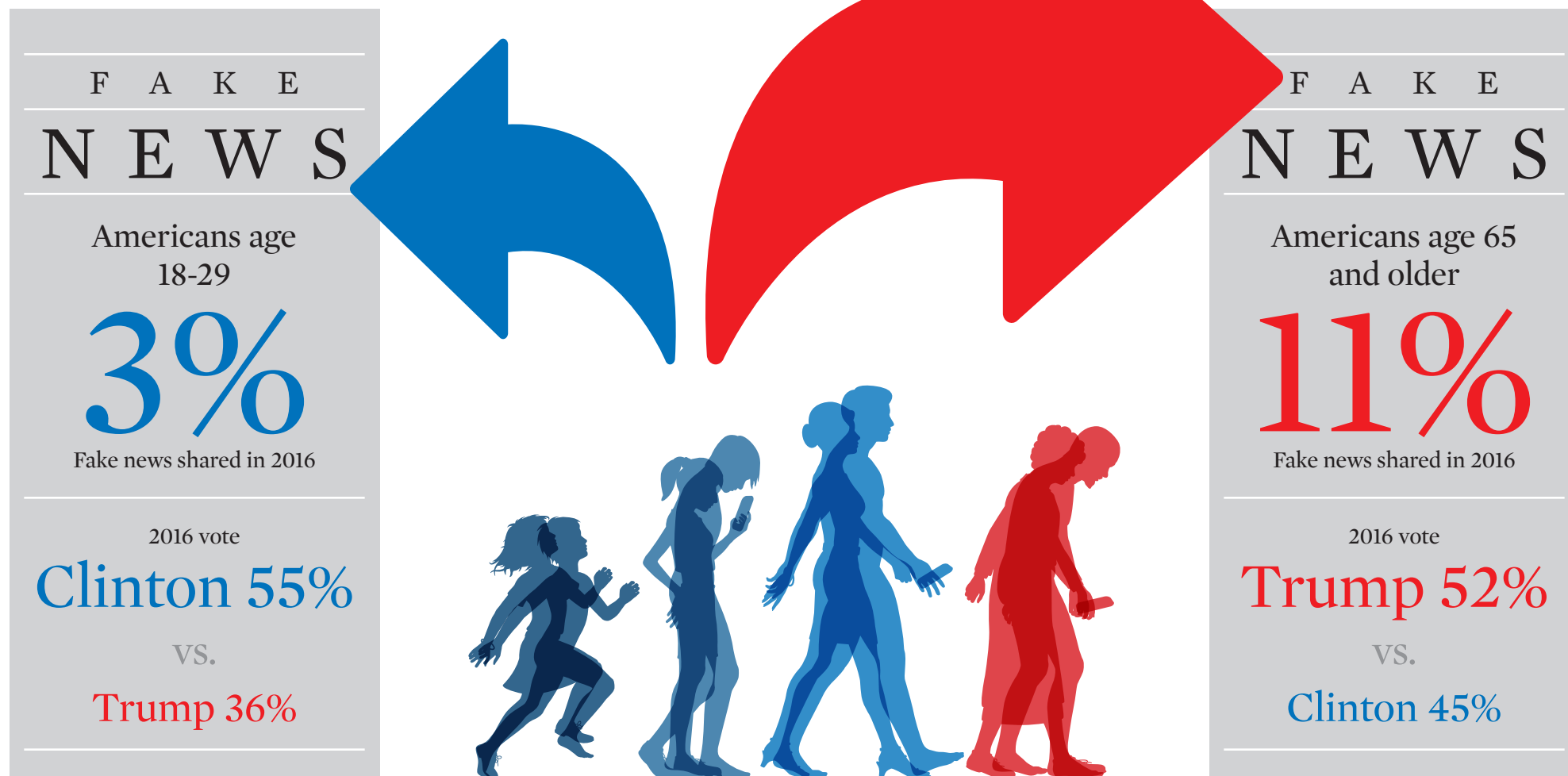
Reaching Out to the Faithful

Trump followers on Twitter



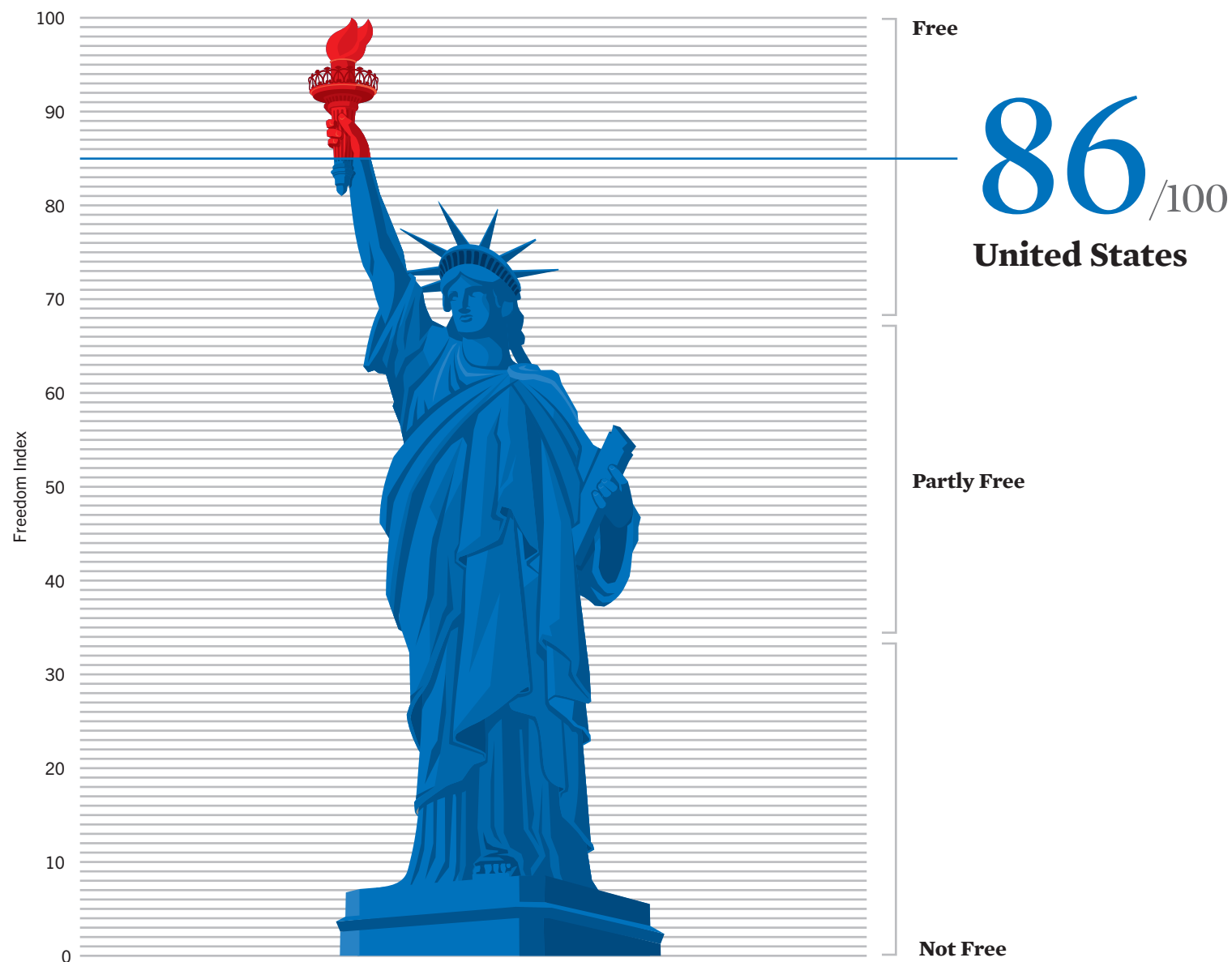
Who Shares Fake News?

Fake news and 2016 vote breakdown by age group



Lady Liberty's Dimming Light

Freedom in the World Report ranking



[Info] Graphic Images

Brazil

— Federative Republic of Brazil —

*The Case for
Cleaning House*

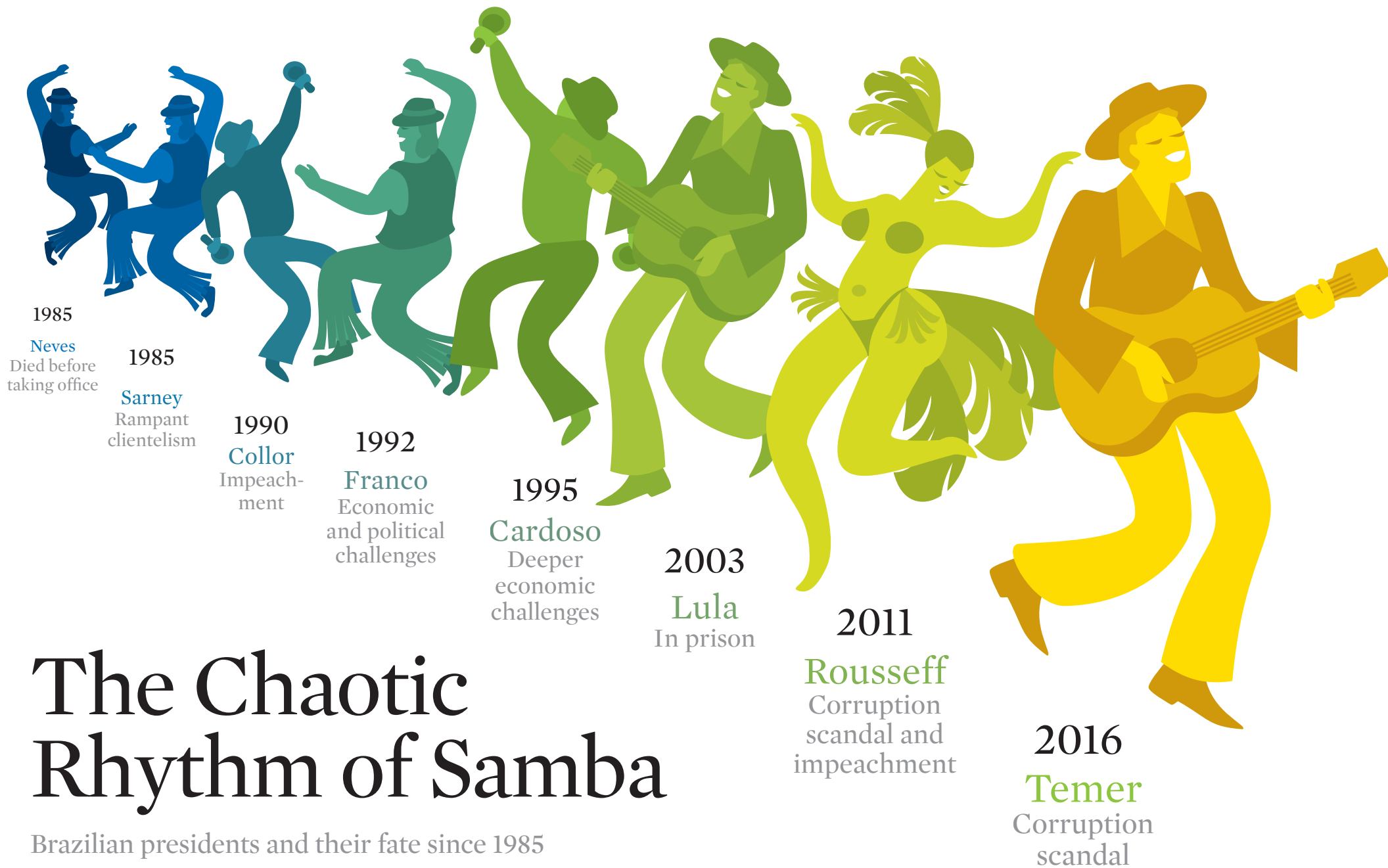
REPUBLICA

For decades, Latin American observers have described Brazil as the country of the future. Then, taking a deep breath, they add “And it always will be.” But there is much truth to this tired joke. A country vast in resources, cultural heritage and magnificent sights is perpetually crippled by economic mismanagement, gross inequality and staggering levels of corruption.

In 1985, democratic rule was restored to Brazil after two decades of dictatorship. But the dividends of political stability failed to be distributed equally across the population. The results were predictable. As in many other parts of the world, when establishment and technocratic leaders fall short, populists are quick to capitalize. In Brazil, the people’s champion came in the form of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, who made notable strides in raising the standard of living of Brazil’s poorest communities. Lula’s successes, however, were overshadowed by corruption scandals that dogged his administration and eventually landed him in prison. His successor, Dilma Rousseff, was impeached for corruption. Operation Car Wash, the source of her downfall, also snared her successor, Michel Temer. He spent most of his tenure under an investigation that also incriminated Lula.

With a political establishment discredited and crime rates soaring, Brazil’s 2018 presidential elections opened the door for Jair Bolsonaro, a populist candidate with authoritarian tendencies. He promised to restore order and clean house in a country desperate for reform and good governance. This chapter looks at the factors that propelled Bolsonaro’s ascent to power. These same factors may keep him there.





Brazilian Economic Miracle

GDP growth
from 1970 to 1973



Leaving the Nest

Brazil spent decades expanding its influence by addressing global challenges



1992
Earth Summit
in Rio de
Janeiro

Late 1990s
Fight against
HIV/AIDS

2000s
Social
programs
and poverty
reduction

2000s
LGBT Rights
and same-sex
marriage

2013
UN resolution
on internet
privacy

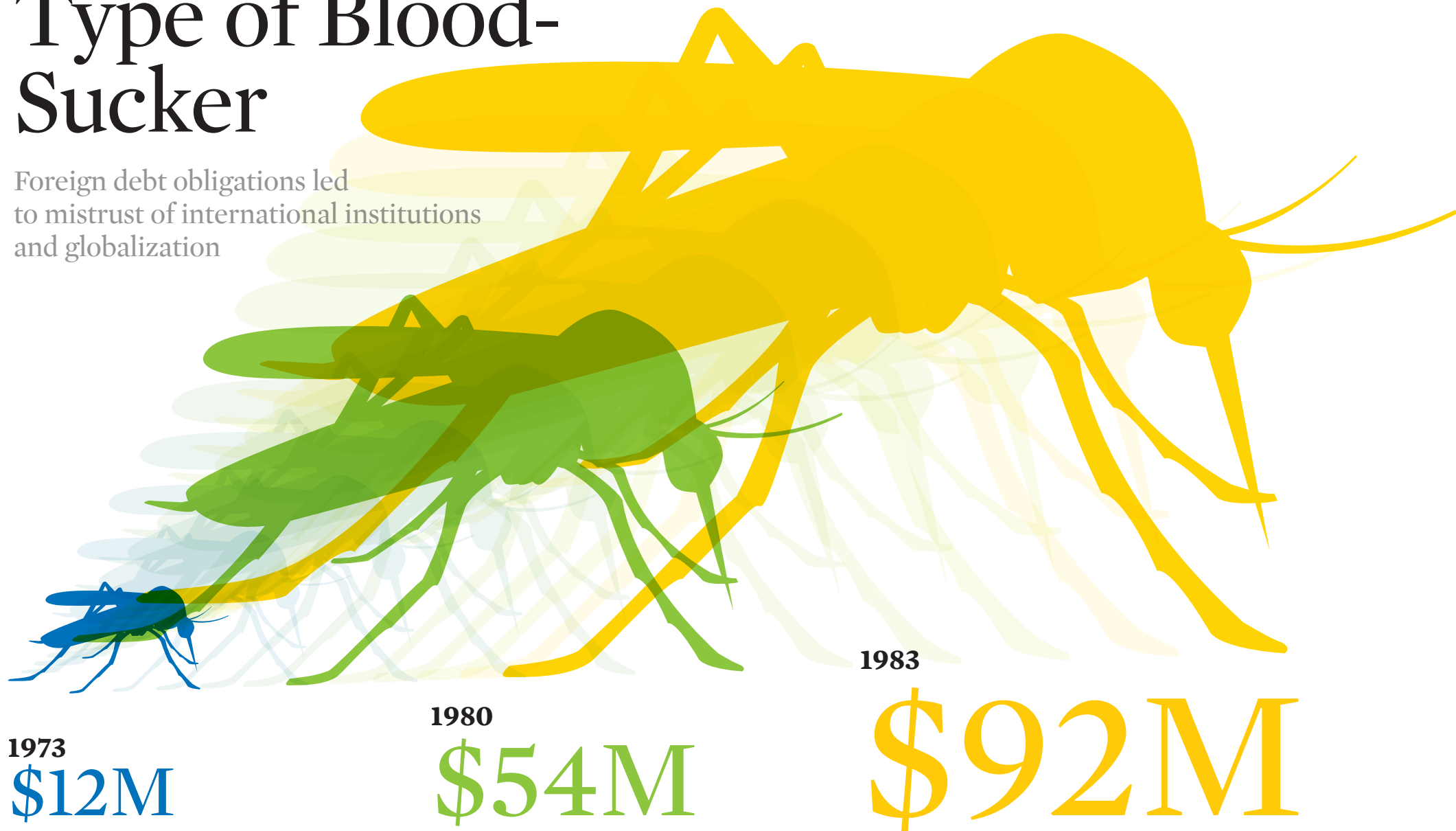
One Trophy Brazil Could Live Without

Rates of inflation in Brazil



A Different Type of Blood-Sucker

Foreign debt obligations led to mistrust of international institutions and globalization

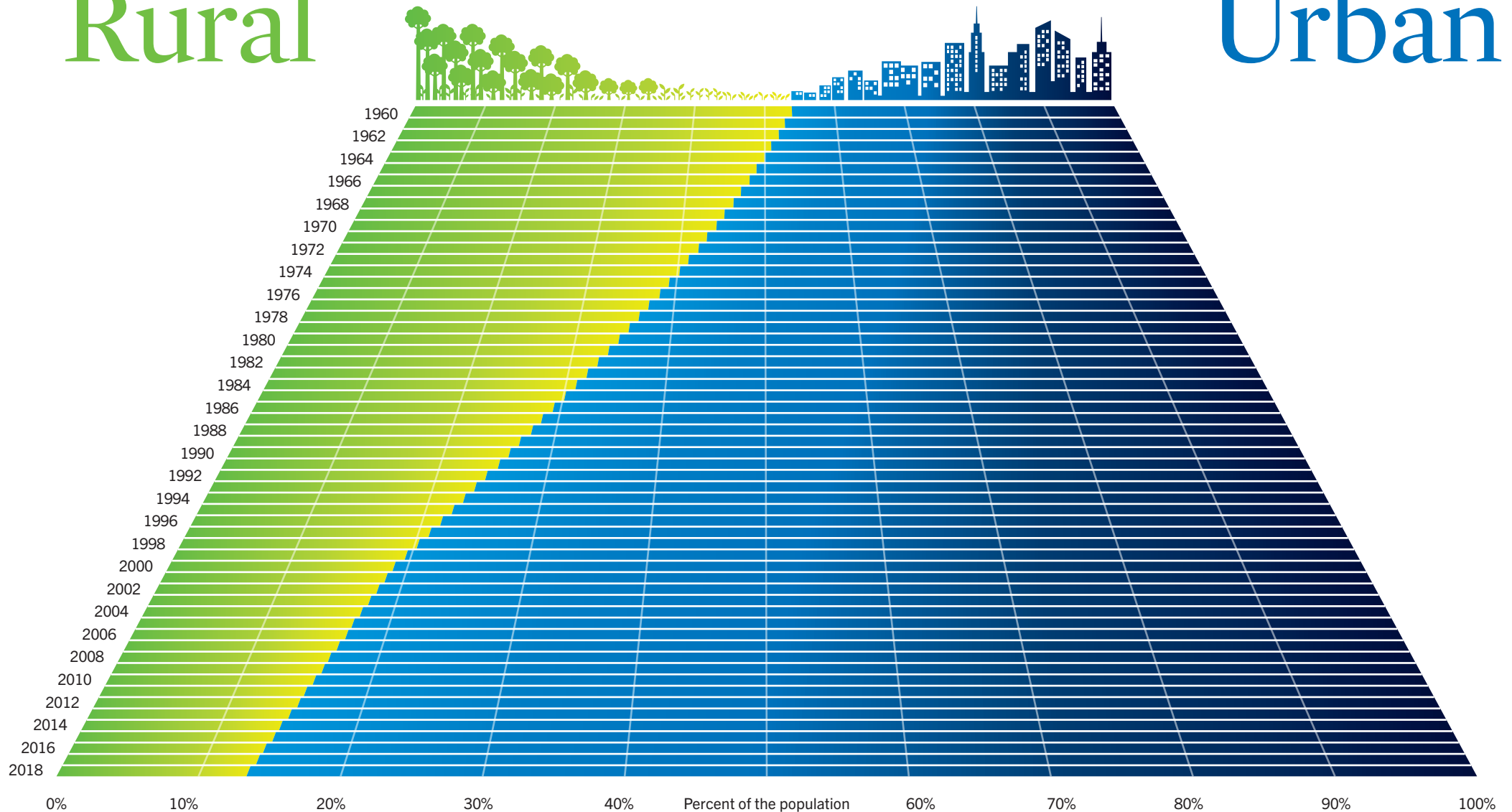


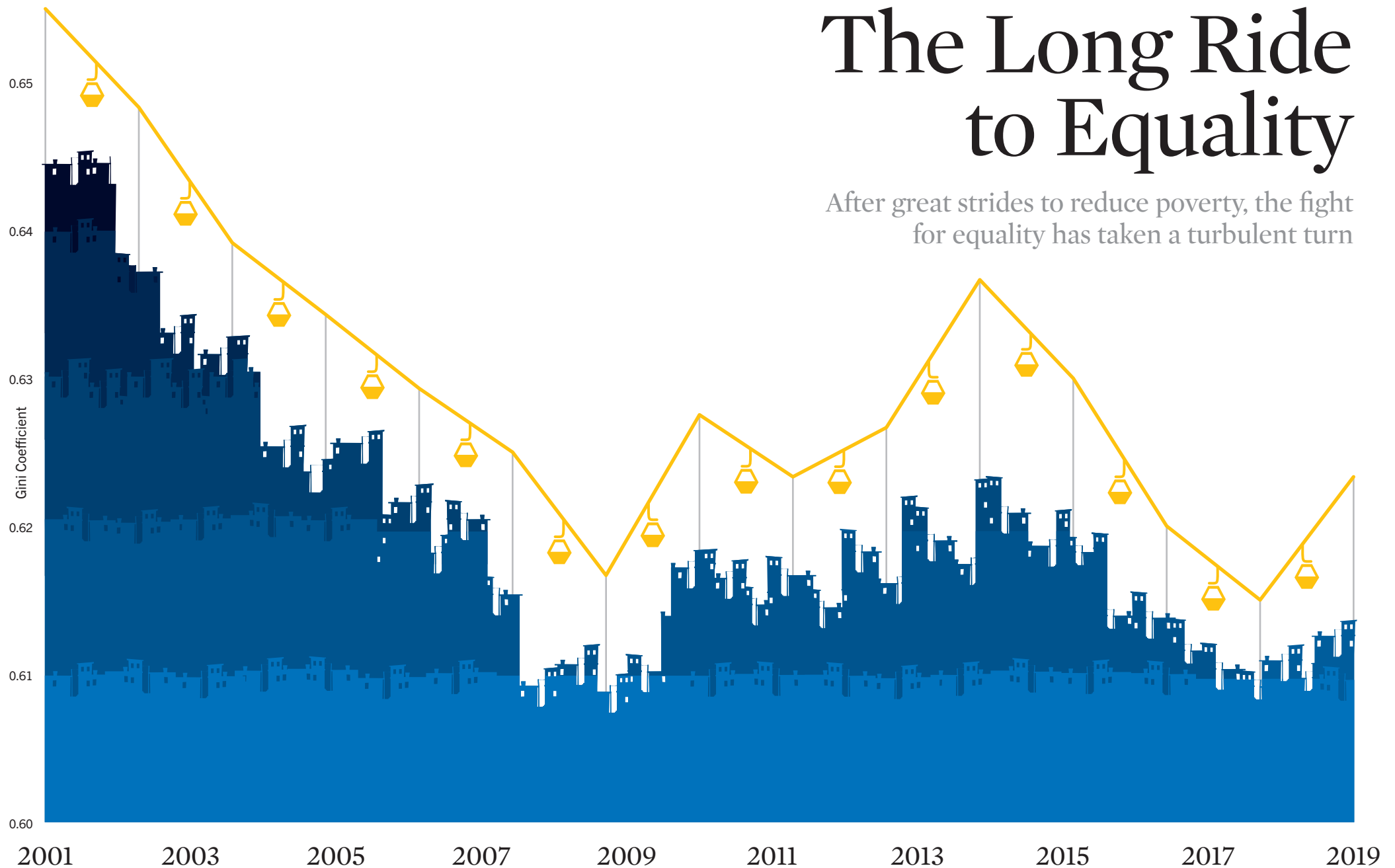
From Farms to Favelas

Migration patterns in Brazil

Rural

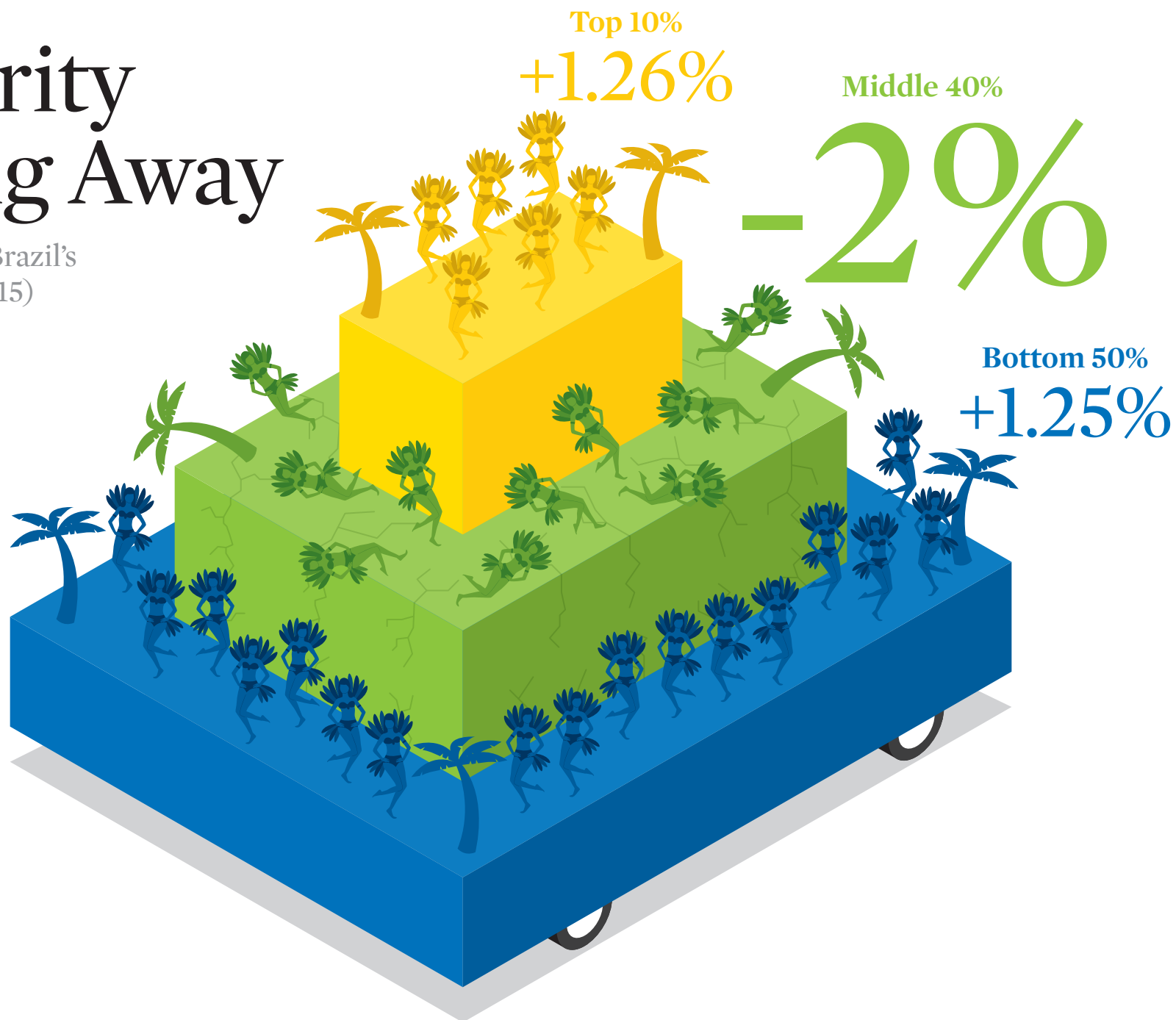
Urban

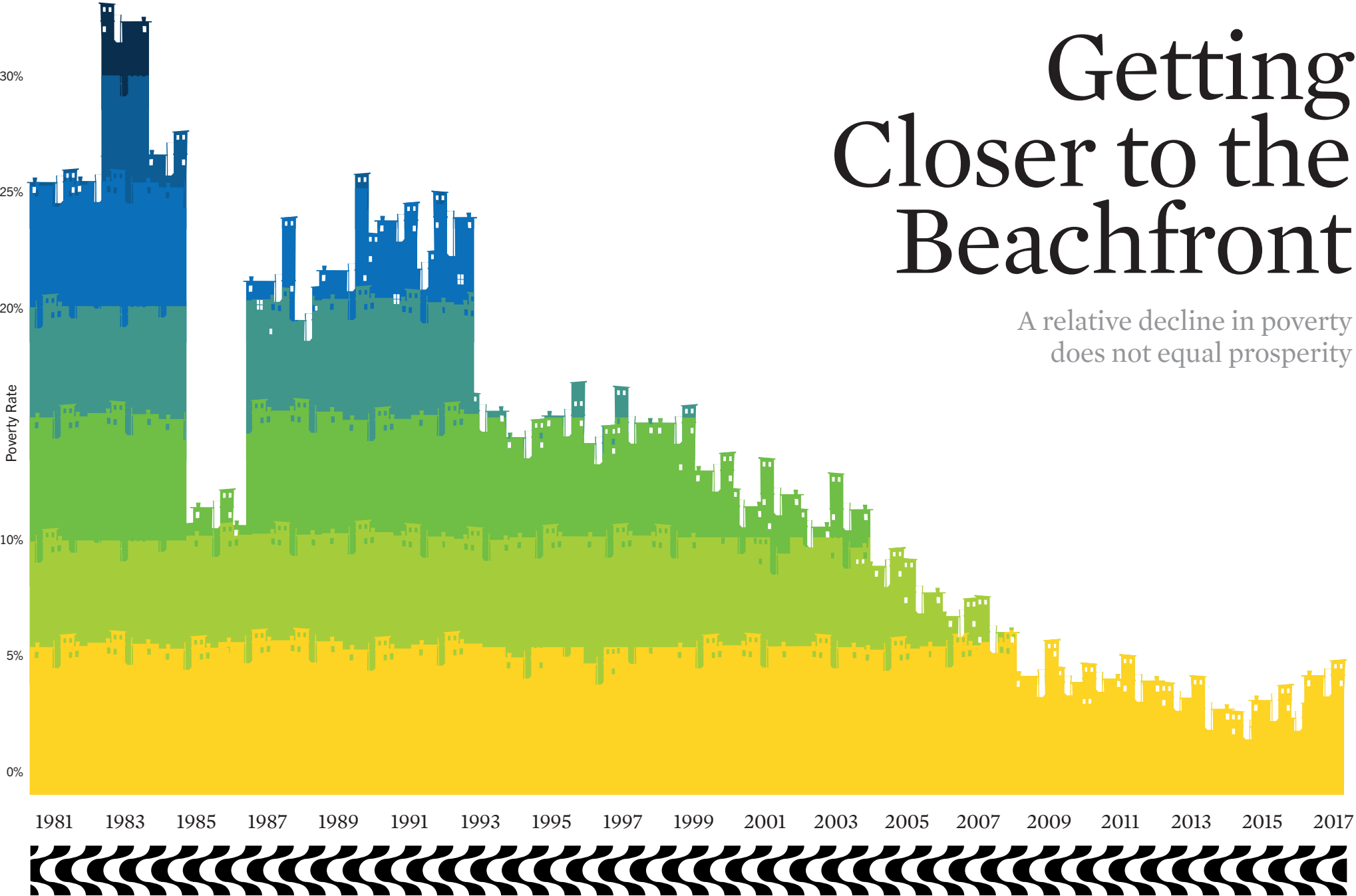




Prosperity Floating Away

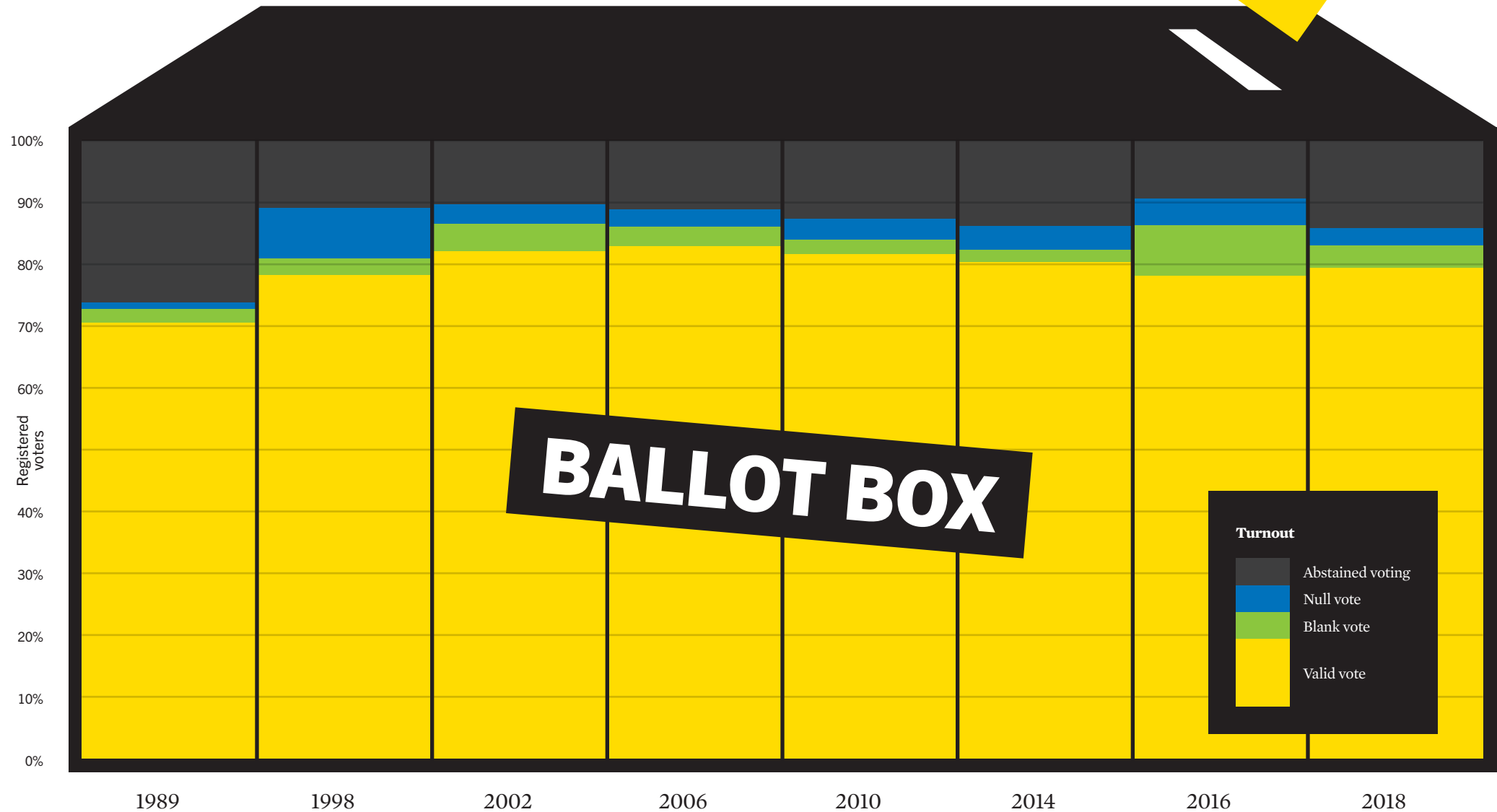
Economic losses for Brazil's middle class (2001-2015)

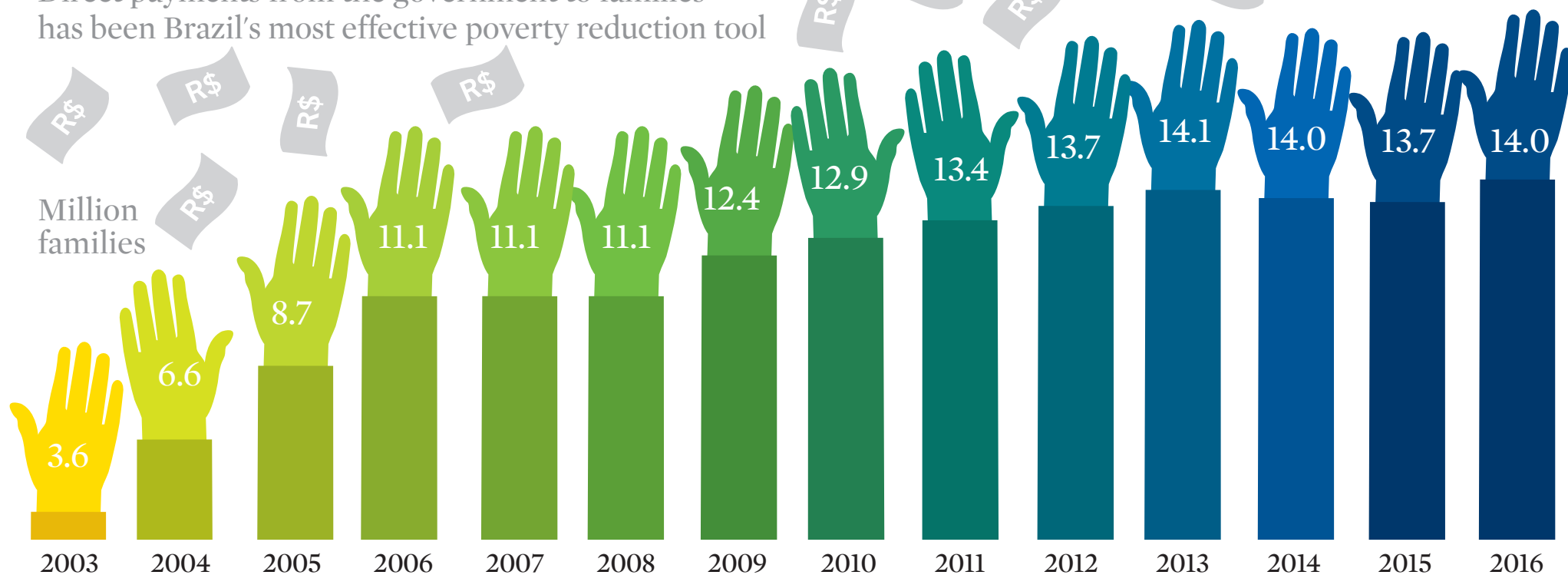




Going to the Polls

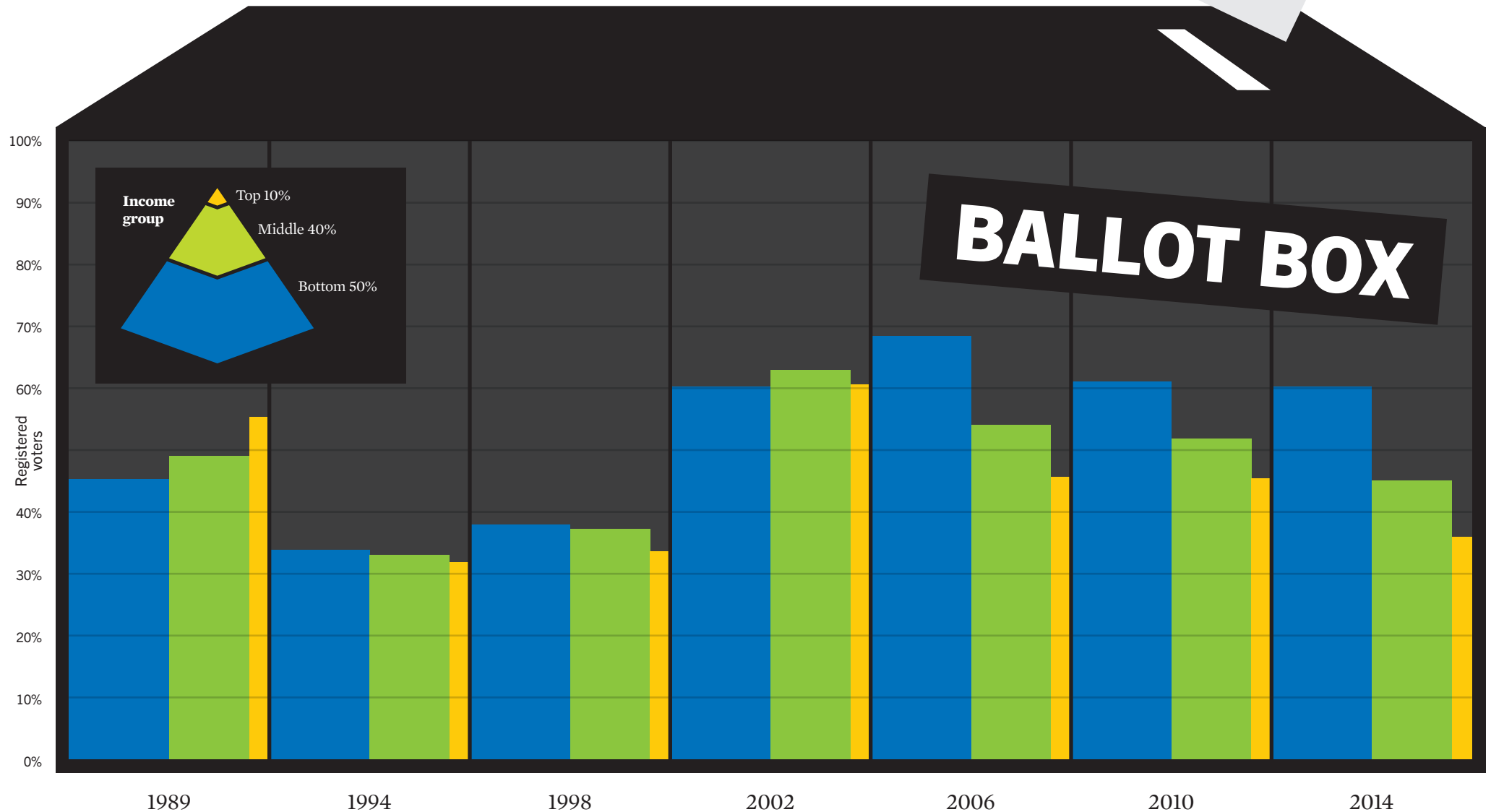
Historical trends in voter turnout

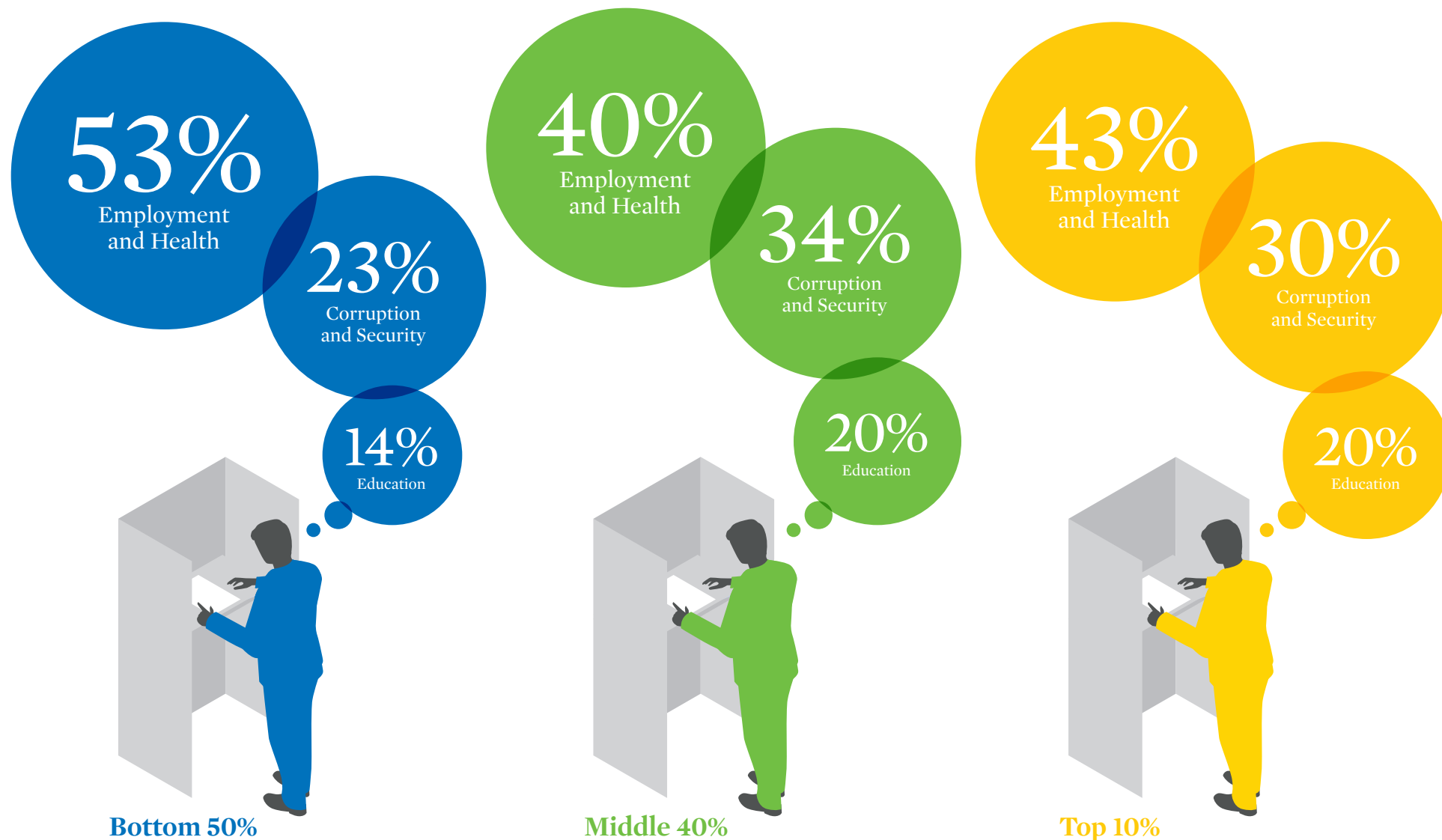




Working the Ballot Box

Vote share for the Workers Party (PT)





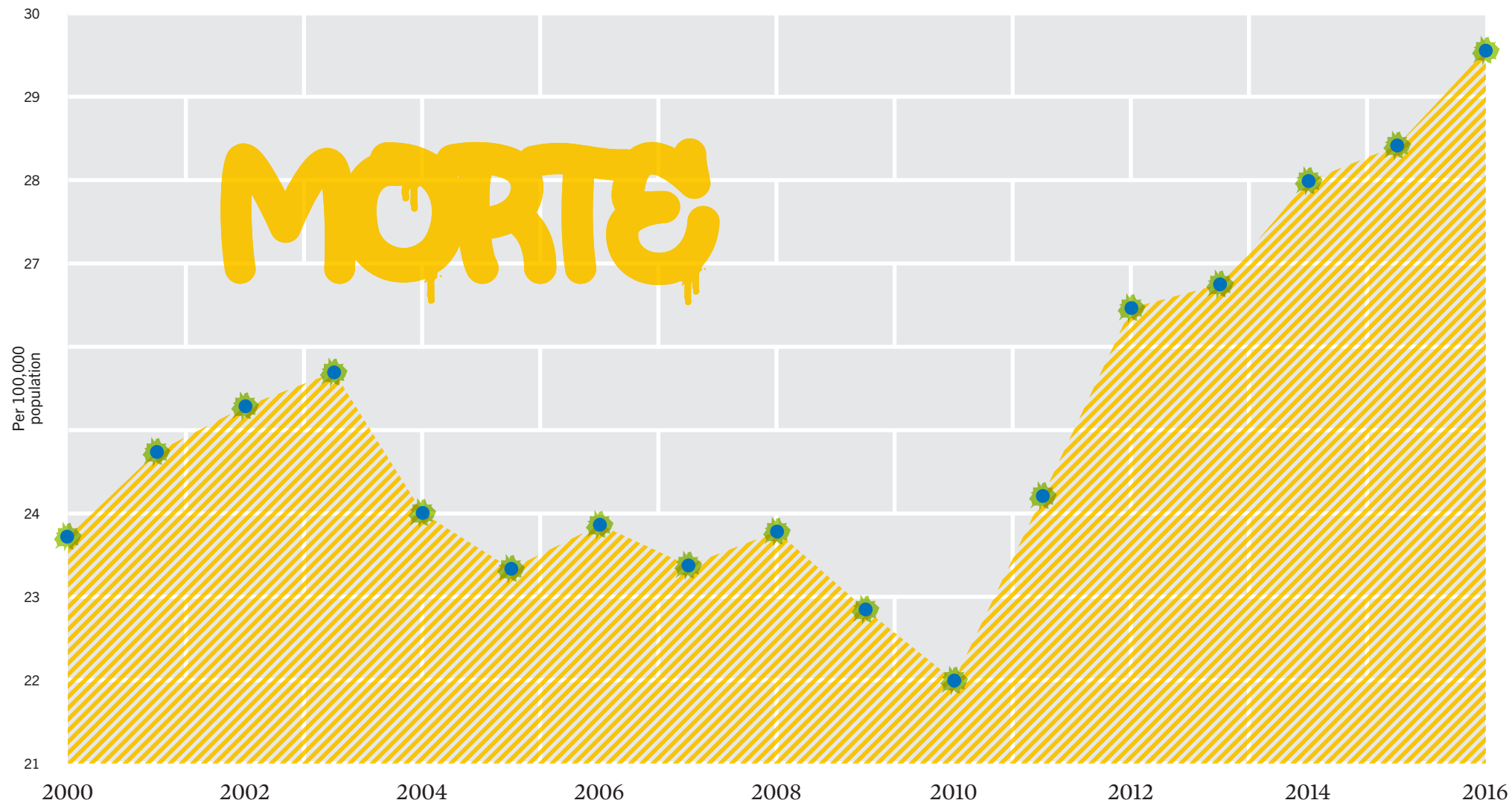
Thought Experiment

What issues matter to voters by income group

Voting with Your Feet

Support for Bolsonaro based on the health, education and well-being of voters (HDI Index)

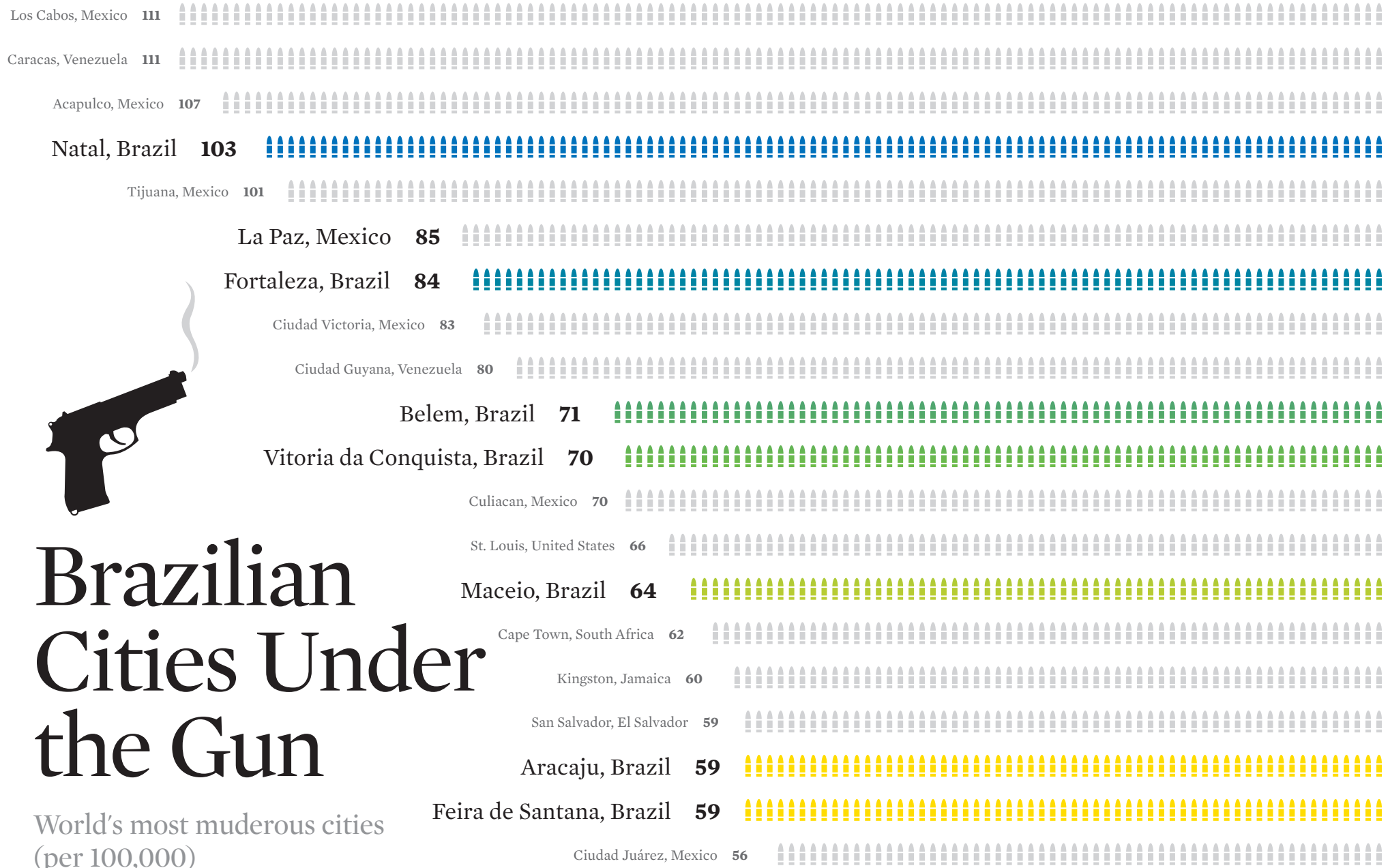




Scene of the Crime

Intentional homicides (Per 100,000)

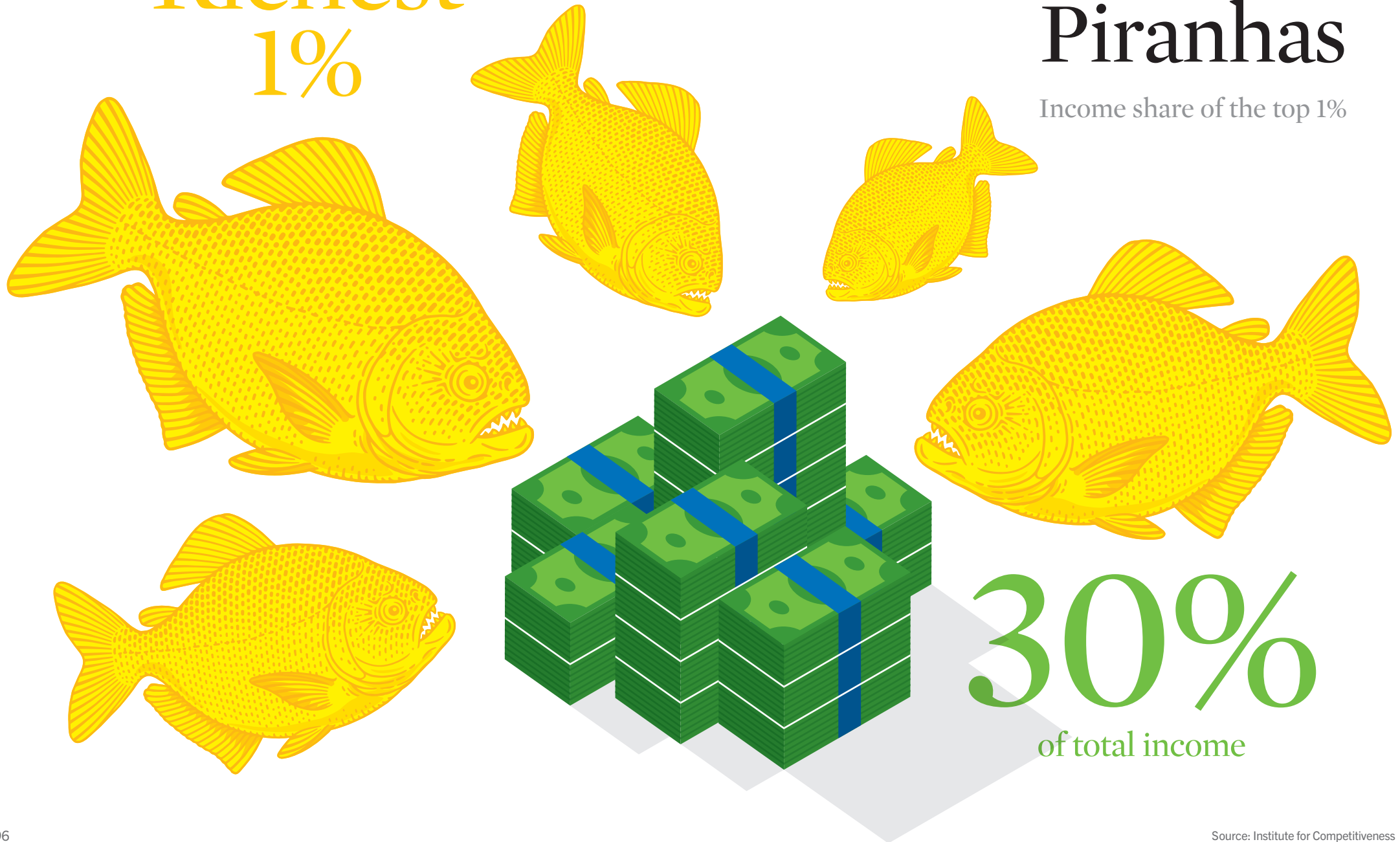




Richest
1%

A Feast for Piranhas

Income share of the top 1%



Corruption at the Car Wash

Explaining the Lava Jato scandal in numbers

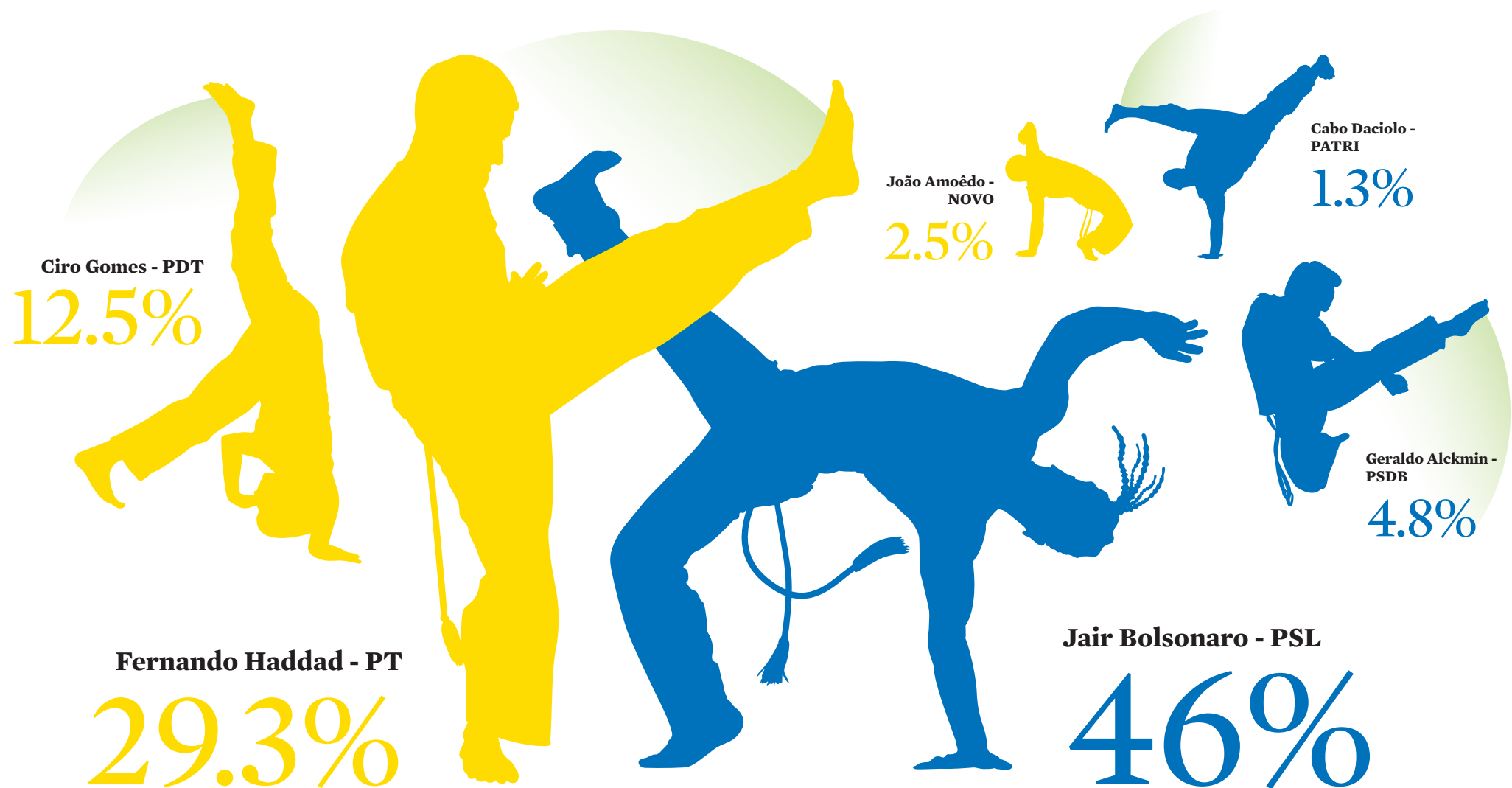
429
indicted
people

500,000
jobs lost



US\$2.5 billion

Misappropriated Petrobras funds



Capoeira and a Contested Election

First round presidential election results

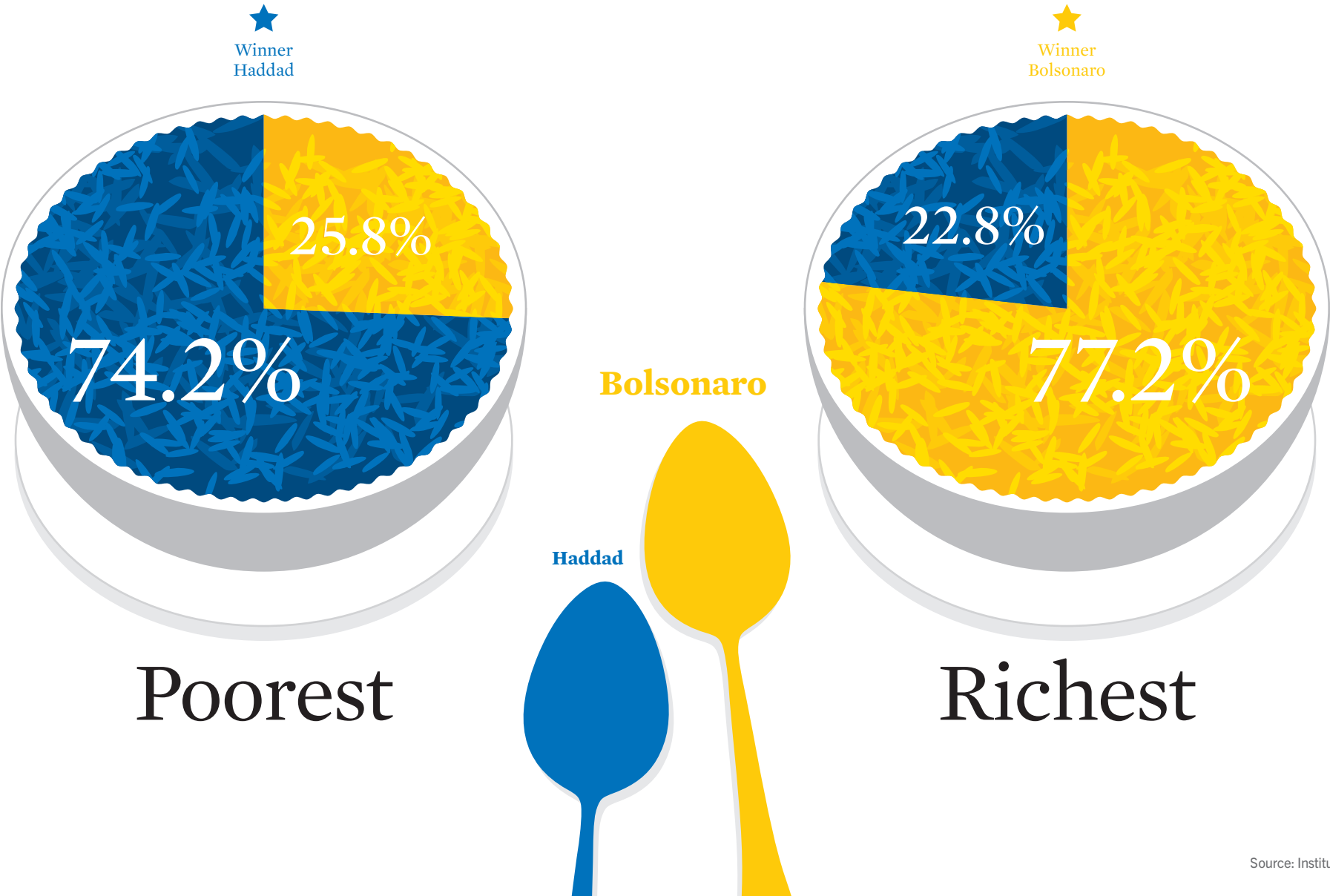


Order, Progress... and Division

Voting patterns in the second round
of the 2018 presidential election

An Unbalanced Diet

Vote distribution by income group



Bolsonaro's Knockout Punch

Second round presidential election results

Jair Bolsonaro - PSL

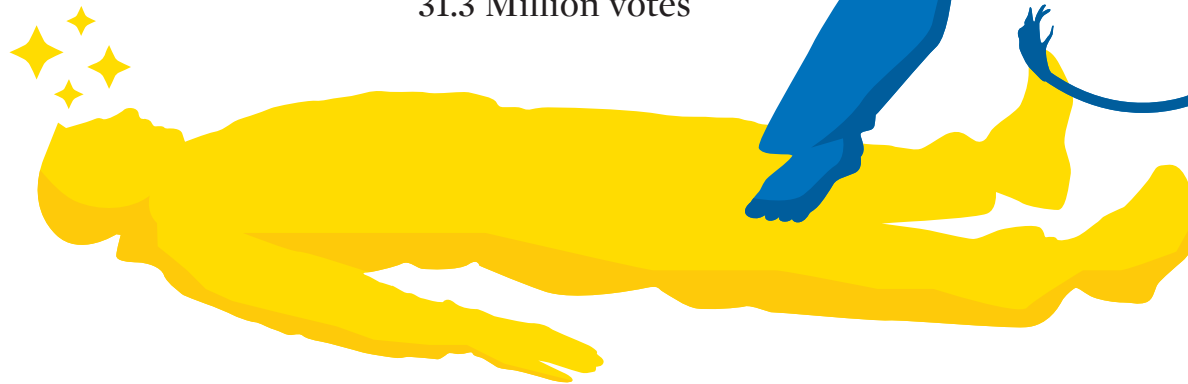
55.1%

49.3 Million votes

Fernando Haddad - PT

44.9%

31.3 Million votes



About the Creators



Dr. Amit Kapoor is the honorary chairman of India's Institute for Competitiveness, and an affiliate faculty for the microeconomics of competitiveness course of the Institute of Strategy and Competitiveness at Harvard Business School. He is also the author of multiple books including his latest titled *The Age of Awakening: The Story of the Indian Economy Since Independence*.



Anthony Silberfeld is the Director of Transatlantic Relations at the Bertelsmann Foundation, and leads our research and multimedia initiatives at the intersection of technology and democracy. To date, Tony has published three volumes in the *Disrupting Democracy* series, and has produced a wide range of documentary films and animated shorts that tell the story of political transformation in a volatile world.



Mateo Zuñiga is the Art Director at Puntoaparte Editores in Bogotá, Colombia. He has been the lead designer on multiple Bertelsmann Foundation publications including the *No Collar Economy* and *Our Digital World*.

Acknowledgements

This third volume in the *Disrupting Democracy* series was an experiment in every sense of the word. We collected data, tested theories and failed repeatedly before creating what we hope is a unique reading experience that highlights factors that have transformed democracies worldwide. While the Bertelsmann Foundation logo is affixed to the book's front cover, this project is the brainchild of our own Anthony Silberfeld. He led a team of dedicated colleagues to fill the colorful pages within.

The project's foundation is the data upon which our infographics are built. Thanks to the hard work and ingenuity of Amit Kapoor and his colleagues at the Delhi-based Institute for Competitiveness, we are able to drill down into each of the democratic transformations presented to uncover nuggets of information that provide deeper insights than conventional wisdom often allows. But numbers without context can still leave an audience unsatisfied. With that in mind, Amit's data is accompanied by narratives that bring each chapter into focus. We are grateful for his wisdom and friendship throughout the course of this project.

Once we had the data in our hands, we turned our attention to bringing the numbers to life. With

the age of pie charts and bar graphs in the rearview mirror, we sought designers with a flair for creating visualizations that dazzle and inform. We found them at Puntoaparte in Bogotá, Colombia. The dynamic duo of Andrés Barragán and Mateo Zúñiga have given us a new lens through which we can examine a volatile world. They injected art, culture and science into every creation found in this book, and they toiled over this project for more than a year with patience, kindness and great humor in equal parts.

Finally, I'd like to thank my colleagues at the Bertelsmann Foundation. In our boutique think tank, every member of our team plays an important role in the success of all our projects. I'd like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Emily Benson, Brandon Bohrn, Jeffrey Brown, Nathan Crist, Samuel George, Faith Gray and Megan Long for their contributions.

With sincere gratitude,

Irene Braam
Executive Director
Bertelsmann Foundation

Graphic Images

Disrupting Democracy

VOLUME III

Bertelsmann
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