

POPE FRANCIS ON DEMOCRACY

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Abstract

This article makes a brief introduction to the history of the development of the social teaching of the Church on democracy. Then it identifies and analyses fifteen relevant statements about democracy in the writings and speeches of Pope Francis between 2014 and 2020. Pope Francis through his writings and speeches reflects and further develops the concept of democracy in the social teaching of the Church. He uses positive terms about democracy as “inclusive and participatory democracy,” “strengthening of political and social democracy” and critical terms. For example, democracies according to him are “under the pressure” of “uniform systems of economic power,” it faces the danger of “subtle dictatorship,” “democracy atrophies,” it can become “democracy of words”; “nominal democracy,” extremism and populism can make “debilitating of the democratic system.” Besides, those statements are examined and put into context with current trends in politics and the theoretical study of democracy. Statements of Pope Francis give the impression that he is a relatively radical critic of the weaknesses of contemporary democracies and a supporter of its more radical forms.

Keywords: Catholic Social Thought; Democracy; Pope Francis; Social Encyclicals; Social Ethics; Social Teaching of the Church

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*“The democratic impulse burst forth in history
as a temporal manifestation of the inspiration of the Gospel.”*

Jacques MARITAIN (1944)

*“Man’s capacity for justice makes democracy possible;
but man’s inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary.”*

Reinhold Niebuhr (1944)

Official Catholic attitude has historically hesitated and matured for a long time before deciding to explicitly support the democratic political system. This historical change gave priority to the dignity of the human person expressed in freedom and participation in the political order. The older idea that the social order has a certain sacred character and that people are not able to govern themselves satisfactorily and that traditional authority should be exercised in the political process in the first place was gradually abandoned.

For the first time, democracy as a political system was explicitly praised in the official teaching of the Church in the Christmas Message of Pope Pius XII in 1944:

Taught by bitter experience, they are more aggressive in opposing the concentration of dictatorial power that cannot be censured or touched, and call for a system of government more in keeping with the dignity and liberty of the citizens. [...] In such a psychological atmosphere, is it to be wondered at if the tendency towards democracy is capturing the peoples and winning a large measure of consent and support from those who hope to play a more efficient part in the destinies of individuals and of society? [...] the interest and solicitude of the Church looks not so much to its external structure and organization—which depend on the special aspirations of each people—as to the individual himself, who, so far from being the object and, as it were, a merely passive element in the social order, is in fact, and must be and continue to be, its subject, its foundation and its end.¹

With this message, Pius XII gave a key impetus to the support of the democratic forms of government and to the post-war development and influence of the Christian Democratic movement, to whose representatives he had a warm affection.

Although the pastoral constitution *Gaudium et Spes* of the Second Vatican Council twenty years later does not explicitly use the term “democracy,” it understands political participation as a human right based in principle on human nature:

¹See Pius XII, “Christmas Message” (1944); <https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/library/1944-christmas-message-8963>.

It is in full conformity with human nature that there should be juridico-political structures providing all citizens in an ever better fashion and without any discrimination the practical possibility of freely and actively taking part in the establishment of the juridical foundations of the political community and in the direction of public affairs, in fixing the terms of reference of the various public bodies and in the election of political leaders.²

Subsequent popes have always explicitly mentioned the democratic order (under certain conditions and assumptions) as a desirable perspective.

Paul VI³ and subsequently Pope John Paul II in *Sollicitudo rei socialis* (1987)⁴ and, especially in *Centesimus annus* (1991):

The Church values the democratic system inasmuch as it ensures the participation of citizens in making political choices, guarantees to the governed the possibility both of electing and holding accountable those who govern them, and of replacing them through peaceful means when appropriate. [...] As history demonstrates, a democracy without values easily turns into open or thinly disguised totalitarianism.⁵

Benedict XVI in the encyclical *Caritas in veritate* (2009) obviously considers the idea of democracy an integral requirement of a desirable political order. He mentions democracy especially in the economic context: speaks of the need for a certain “economic democracy”⁶ and emphasizes that significant differences in the level of development in the context of globalization can “undermine the foundations of democracy.”⁷

Democracy in the Social Encyclical *Laudato si'* of Pope Francis

Pope Francis has no explicit commentary to the democracy in his social encyclical letter *Laudato si'* (2015), the word “democracy” or terms derived from that are not even present in the text. However, in one context, Pope Francis links the expansion of consumer lifestyle with degenerating of democratic processes:

A politics concerned with immediate results, supported by consumerist sectors of the population, is driven to produce short-term growth. In response to electoral interests, governments are reluctant to upset the public with measures which could affect the level of consumption or create risks for foreign investment.⁸

²*Gaudium et spes* (1965), 75.

³Cfr *Octogesima adveniens* (1971), 24.

⁴Cfr *Sollicitudo rei socialis* (1987), 44.

⁵*Centesimus annus* (1991), 46.

⁶Cfr *Caritas in veritate*, 32, 38, 66.

⁷Cfr *Caritas in veritate*, 41.

⁸*Laudato si'*, 178.

The democratic process can—in the case of a distorted link to increasing welfare and consumption requirements—multiply the problematic development that contradicts the key message of the whole encyclical letter. During this observation, the pope inadvertently describes the phenomenon known from economic theory as a problem of so-called “democratic overload.”⁹

The way to preserving the quality of democracies and politics generally is thus restoring certain moral foundations of the systems. The encyclical finds the solution in the gradual value reorientation that will change the “consumerist vision of human beings, encouraged by the mechanisms of today’s globalized economy.”¹⁰ The economic dimension dominates the politics too strongly and this relation needs to be reversed:

Politics must not be subject to the economy, nor should the economy be subject to the dictates of an efficiency-driven paradigm of technocracy. Today, in view of the common good, there is urgent need for politics and economics to enter into a frank dialogue in the service of life, especially human life.¹¹

The Pope notes that politics is under threat and that there is a need for change—both from above and below:

The problem is that we still lack the culture needed to confront this crisis. We lack leadership capable of striking out on new paths and meeting the needs of the present with concern for all and without prejudice towards coming generations. The establishment of a legal framework which can set clear boundaries and ensure the protection of ecosystems has become indispensable; otherwise, the new power structures based on the techno-economic paradigm may overwhelm not only our politics but also freedom and justice.¹²

Positive changes with regard to the local problems cannot be achieved without the active participation of all: “Attempts to resolve all problems through uniform regulations or technical interventions can lead to overlooking the complexities of local problems which demand the active participation of all members of the community.”¹³ Therefore, the document considers the changes from below to be more important: “A change in lifestyle could bring healthy pressure to bear on those who wield political, economic and social power.”¹⁴

⁹Cfr <https://www.britannica.com/topic/democratic-overload>

¹⁰*Laudato si'*, 144.

¹¹*Laudato si'*, 189.

¹²*Laudato si'*, 53.

¹³*Laudato si'*, 144.

¹⁴*Laudato si'*, 206.

Democracy in Other Texts and Expressions

Besides the above statement on democracy, we shall consider other fourteen relevant references to the term of democracy – four before the publication of the *Laudato si'* in 2014, and ten after its publication between the years 2015–2020. We can find a few more statements of course, but they are just about repeating a similar idea. In my opinion, the essence of Pope Francis' contribution to the concept of democracy lies in these fifteen identified statements.

1. In his Address to the Participants of the International Conference on “Religious Freedom and the Global Clash of Values” (20 June 2014) Pope Francis speaks about “healthy democracy,” of which the main feature and source of legitimacy is religious freedom:

Legal systems, therefore, whether state or international, are called upon to recognize, guarantee and protect religious freedom, which is an intrinsic right inherent to human nature, to the dignity of being free, and is also a sign of a *healthy democracy* and one of the principal sources of the legitimacy of the State.¹⁵

2. In his Address to Participants in the Plenary of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace (2 October 2014) Pope Francis speaks about “*inclusive and participatory democracy*,” whose enemies are growth of inequality and poverty:

The growth of inequality and poverty undermines *inclusive and participatory democracy* at risk which always presupposes an economy and an equitable and nonexclusive market. [...] Education, work and access to health care for all are key elements for development and the just distribution of goods, for the attainment of social justice, for membership in society, and for free and responsible participation in political life, meaning the administration of the *res publica*. Views that claim to increase profitability, at the cost of restricting the labour market, thereby creating new exclusions, are not in conformity with an economy at the service of man and of the common good, with an *inclusive and participatory democracy*.¹⁶

3. That same month in his Address to the Participants in the World Meeting of Popular Movements (28 October 2014) the Pope praises the role of the “grassroots movements” and their role in the process

¹⁵Address of Pope Francis to the Participants at the International Conference on “Religious Freedom and the Global Clash of Values,” Consistory Hall Friday, 20 June 2014, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2014/june/documents/papa-francesco_20140620_liberta-religiosa.html

¹⁶Address of Pope Francis to Participants in the Plenary of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, Clementine Hall, 2 October 2014, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2014/october/documents/papa-francesco_20141002_pont-consiglio-justizia-e-pace.html

leading to “*revitalizing our democracies*” and overcoming of mere formal political processes:

Grassroots movements express the urgent need to *revitalize our democracies*, so often hijacked by innumerable factors. It is impossible to imagine a future for society without the active participation of great majorities as protagonists, and such proactive participation overflows the logical procedures of formal democracy. Moving towards a world of lasting peace and justice calls us to go beyond paternalistic forms of assistance; it calls us to create new forms of participation that include popular movements and invigorate local, national and international governing structures with that torrent of moral energy that springs from including the excluded in the building of a common destiny.¹⁷

4. The following month Pope Francis has the Speech in the European Parliament (25 November 2014), which is perhaps the strongest of all his statements on the subject of democracy. He calls for defending European democracies that are in danger of collapsing and are “*under the pressure*” of “*uniform systems of economic power*”:

*Keeping democracies alive is a challenge in the present historic moment. The true strength of our democracies—understood as expressions of the political will of the people—must not be allowed to collapse under the pressure of multinational interests which are not universal, which weaken them and turn them into uniform systems of economic power at the service of unseen empires. This is one of the challenges which history sets before you today.*¹⁸

In addition to partial criticism of the direction of European integration, a key emphasis in the speech is the increased emphasis on the freedom, identity and autonomy of nations coupled with distrust of real transnational forms of organization:

It is no secret that a conception of unity seen as uniformity strikes at the *vitality of the democratic system*, weakening the rich, fruitful and constructive interplay of organizations and political parties. [...] Keeping democracy alive in Europe requires avoiding the many globalizing tendencies to dilute reality: namely, angelic forms of purity, dictatorships of relativism, brands of ahistorical fundamentalism, ethical systems lacking kindness, and intellectual discourse bereft of wisdom.

5. In the year 2015—immediately after the release of *Laudato si'*—the Pope speaks again on democracy, this time in South America, to

¹⁷Address of Pope Francis to the Participants in the World Meeting of Popular Movements, Old Synod Hall, 28 October 2014, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2014/october/documents/papa-francesco_20141028_incontro-mondiale-movimenti-popolari.html

¹⁸Address of Pope Francis to the European Parliament, Strasbourg, 25 November 2014, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2014/november/documents/papa-francesco_20141125_strasburgo-parlamento-europeo.html

the participants of the World Meeting of Popular Movements (9 July 2015). It is probably the most radical speech of the Pope on the contemporary economic situation. Pope Francis even speaks of a “subtle dictatorship” and a wrong global system (“This system runs counter to the plan of Jesus, against the Good News that Jesus brought”), which are the cause of social evil and poverty and must be radically changed for the benefit of man, solidarity and justice. Pope admits that the Church does not have a recipe for a specific “solutions to contemporary issues,” but he sees the way in the activity of popular movements, the “alternative sector,” “communitarian economy,” the expansion of forms of “popular economy and communitarian production.”¹⁹

In this case, he uses the term “*full and participatory democracy*,” which should include economic participation and full assurance of the basic material prerequisites of human existence and dignity:

Governments which make it their responsibility to put the economy at the service of peoples must promote the strengthening, improvement, coordination and expansion of these forms of popular economy and communitarian production. This entails bettering the processes of work, providing adequate infrastructures and guaranteeing workers their full rights in this alternative sector. When the state and social organizations join in working for the three “L’s”,²⁰ the principles of solidarity and subsidiarity come into play; and these allow the common good to be achieved in a *full and participatory democracy*.²¹

6. In 2016 at the next World Meeting of Popular Movements (5 November 2016), Pope speaks about *disruption and alienation of democracy* because of the dominance of the financial and media sectors:

Giving example and advocacy are ways of engaging in political life, and this brings me to the second major topic that you discussed in your meeting: *the relationship between a people and democracy*. This relationship should be natural and fluid, but it risks being deformed to the point of being unrecognizable. *The breach between the peoples and our current forms of democracy is growing ever greater, due to the enormous power of the financial and media sectors that would seem to dominate them*. Popular movements, I know, are not political parties, and I would say that, in great measure, this

¹⁹Address of His Holiness Pope Francis at the Second World Meeting of Popular Movements, Expo Feria Exhibition Centre, Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Bolivia) Thursday, 9 July 2015; https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/july/documents/papa-francesco_20150709_bolivia-movimenti-popolari.html

²⁰These three L’s mentioned in the same speech are land, lodging and labour.

²¹Address of His Holiness Pope Francis at the Second World Meeting of Popular Movements, Expo Feria Exhibition Centre, Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Bolivia).

is what makes them so valuable, since *they express a distinct, dynamic and vital form of social participation in public life.*²²

Alternative forms of political and economic activities should not only be content with the supplementary service of the systems, but should actively protest and put themselves in conflict with established order, to avoid the degeneration of democracy:

You become intolerable because you are casting off the straitjacket and entering the realm of the great decisions that some presume to monopolize in small castes. Thus, *democracy atrophies*, turns into a slogan, a formality; it loses its representative character and becomes disembodied, since it leaves out the people in their daily struggle for dignity, in the building of their future.²³

7. In the same month the Pope speaks to the participants of the conference of UNIAPAC (17 November 2016) about the danger of corruption for democracy: “*Corruption is a fraud against democracy and it opens the doors to other terrible evils such as drugs, prostitution and human trafficking, slavery, organ trafficking, arms trafficking, and so on. Corruption is becoming followers of the devil, the father of falsehood.*”²⁴

8. On his next pastoral trip to South America in 2017 – in Colombia (7 September 2017) – Pope Francis even distinguishes between the political and social dimensions of democracy, emphasising that democracy must be “social” and overcome exclusion and poverty:

... Men and women believers, who are prepared to *contribute to the spread of an authentic human development, the strengthening of political and social democracy, the overturning of structures of endemic poverty and the creation of an inclusive prosperity based on lasting reforms capable of preserving the common good. So too, the overcoming of inequality and the preservation of stability, the shaping of models of sustainable economic development that respect nature and the genuine future of mankind, which unfettered consumerism cannot ensure, and the rejection of violence and the defence of peace.*²⁵

²²Address of His Holiness Pope Francis to Participants in the 3rd World Meeting of Popular Movements, Paul VI Audience Hall, 5 November 2016, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2016/november/documents/papa-francesco_20161105_movimenti-popolari.html

²³Address of His Holiness Pope Francis to Participants in the 3rd World Meeting of Popular Movements.

²⁴Address of His Holiness Pope Francis to Participants in the International Conference of the Christian Union of the Business Executives (UNIAPAC), Sala Regia, 17 November 2016, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2016/november/documents/papa-francesco_20161117_conferenza-uniapac.html

²⁵Apostolic Journey of His Holiness Pope Francis to Colombia (6-11 September 2017), Meeting with the Executive Committee of CELAM, Address of His Holiness

9. The following month in his Address to Participants in the Workshop on Changing Relations among Market, State and Civil Society (20 October 2017), Pope Francis speaks of “plutocratic” tendencies: “If profit becomes the chief aim, *democracy tends to become a plutocracy in which inequalities and the exploitation of the planet increase*. I repeat that this is not inevitable; there are times when, in some countries, inequalities diminish and the environment is better protected.”²⁶

10. A week later in his Address to the EU Bishops (28 October 2017), the Pope speaks about the forces that constrains and obstructs a true experience of democracy. He also explicitly criticizes extremism and populism:

Favouring dialogue, in any form whatsoever, is a fundamental responsibility of politics. Sadly, all too often we see how politics is becoming instead a forum for clashes between opposing forces. *The voice of dialogue* is replaced by shouted claims and demands. One often has the feeling that the primary goal is no longer the common good, and this perception is shared by more and more citizens. *Extremist and populist groups are finding fertile ground in many countries; they make protest the heart of their political message, without offering the alternative of a constructive political project*. Dialogue is replaced either by a futile antagonism that can even threaten civil coexistence, or by the domination of a single political power that *constrains and obstructs a true experience of democracy*. In the one, bridges are burned; in the other, walls are erected. And Europe is experiencing both.²⁷

11. In the Message for the Annual World Day of Peace (1 January 2019), under the sub-heading, “Political Vices,” the Pope speaks of the undermining of an authentic democracy:

Sadly, together with its virtues, politics also has its share of vices, whether due to personal incompetence or to flaws in the system and its institutions. Clearly, these vices detract from the credibility of political life overall, as well as the authority, decisions and actions of those engaged in it. *These vices, which undermine the ideal of an authentic democracy, bring*

Pope Francis, Apostolic Nunciature (Bogotá), 7 September 2017, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2017/september/documents/papa-francesco_20170907_viaggioapostolico-colombia-celam.html

²⁶ Address of His Holiness Pope Francis to Participants in the Workshop on Changing Relations among Market, State and Civil Society, Clementine Hall, 20 October 2017, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2017/october/documents/papa-francesco_20171020_incontro-pass.pdf

²⁷ Address of His Holiness Pope Francis to the Commission of the Bishops’ Conferences of the European Community, Aula del Sinodo, 28 October 2017, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2017/october/documents/papa-francesco_20171028_conferenza-comece.html

disgrace to public life and threaten social harmony. We think of corruption in its varied forms: the misappropriation of public resources, the exploitation of individuals, the denial of rights, the flouting of community rules, dishonest gain, the justification of power by force or the arbitrary appeal to *raison d'état* and the refusal to relinquish power. To which we can add xenophobia, racism, lack of concern for the natural environment, the plundering of natural resources for the sake of quick profit and contempt for those forced into exile.²⁸

12. In his annual Address to the Members of the Diplomatic Corps (7 January 2019), in the context of development in Africa, the Pope links the development of political and economic institutions:

In addition, the implementation of inclusive policies and the progress of democratic processes are proving effective in many regions for combating absolute poverty and promoting social justice. As a result, the support of the international community becomes all the more urgent for favouring the development of infrastructures, the growth of prospects for future generations, and the emancipation of the most vulnerable sectors of society.²⁹

13. In the Intervention at the Pan-American Judges' Summit (4 June 2019), the Pope speaks of the "*debilitating of the democratic system*," "*democracy of words*" and "*nominal democracy*":

"Naturalized social injustice"—that is, as something natural, and therefore invisible—which we recognize only when "some people are making noise on the streets" and are quickly labeled as dangerous and problematic—winds up silencing a history of postponements and neglect. Allow me to say this: this is one of the greatest obstacles faced by the social pact and which *debilitates the democratic system*. In order for a political and economic system to develop healthily, *it needs to guarantee that democracy does not exist in name only*, but that it can also be shaped into concrete actions that safeguard the dignity of all its inhabitants, according to the mind-set of the common good, in an appeal to solidarity and a preferential option for the poor (cf. Encyclical Letter *Laudato Si'*, 158). This requires the efforts of the highest authorities and, naturally, of judicial powers, in order to bridge the gap between legal recognition and its practice. *There is no democracy with hunger, nor justice in inequity.*

²⁸Message of His Holiness Pope Francis for the Celebration of the 52nd World Day of Peace, 1 January 2019, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/messages/peace/documents/papa-francesco_20181208_messaggio-52giornatamondiale-pace2019.html

²⁹Address of His Holiness Pope Francis to the Members of the Diplomatic Corps Accredited to the Holy See for the Traditional Exchange of New Year Greetings, Regia Hall, 7 January 2019, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2020/january/documents/papa-francesco_20200109_corpo-diplomatico.html

How often the nominal equality of many of our statements and actions does nothing but disguise and reproduce real and underlying inequality, revealing that we are faced with a potentially artificial order. *The paper economy, the democracy of words and the concentrated multimedia can create a bubble that influences all views and options from dawn to dusk* (cf. Roberto Andrés Gallardo, *Derechos sociales y doctrina franciscana*, 14). An artificial order that virtually expresses equality but which in practice expands and increases the rationale and structures of exclusion-expulsion because it prevents contact and a real commitment with the other. It prevents concreteness or assuming responsibility for the concrete.³⁰

14. The last mention about democracy I would like to refer to is about the grave risks for democratic societies posed by the “digital age.” Pope Francis recognizes them in the Address to the Participants in the Plenary Assembly of the Pontifical Academy for Life (28 February 2020):

On the personal level, the digital age is changing our perception of space, of time and of the body. It is instilling a sense of unlimited possibilities, even as standardization is becoming more and more the main criterion of aggregation. It has become increasingly difficult to recognize and appreciate differences. On the socio-economic level, users are often reduced to “consumers,” prey to private interests concentrated in the hands of a few. From digital traces scattered on the internet, algorithms now extract data that enable mental and relational habits to be controlled, for commercial or political ends, frequently without our knowledge. This asymmetry, by which a select few know everything about us while we know nothing about them, dulls critical thought and the conscious exercise of freedom. Inequalities expand enormously; *knowledge and wealth accumulate in a few hands with grave risks for democratic societies*. Yet these dangers must not detract from the immense potential that new technologies offer. We find ourselves before a gift from God, a resource that can bear good fruits.³¹

Pope Francis – Proponent of Radical Democracy?

Pope Francis, of course, reflects and further develops the concept of democracy in the social teaching of the Church. It may be slightly

³⁰Intervention of the Holy Father Francis at the Pan-American Judges’ Summit on Social Rights and Franciscan Doctrine, Casina Pio IV – Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences, Vatican City, 4 June 2019, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2019/june/documents/papa-francesco_20190604_giudici-panamericani.html

³¹Meeting with the Participants in the Plenary Assembly of the Pontifical Academy for Life, Address Prepared by Pope Francis, Read by H.E. Archbishop Paglia, President of the Pontifical Academy for Life, Clementine Hall, 28 February 2020, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2020/february/documents/papa-francesco_20200228_accademia-perlavita.html

surprising that he has no explicit comment on democracy in his social encyclical letter *Laudato si'* (2015). But, as already seen, there are many statements on democracy in his other documents and speeches. We have identified fourteen of them, because they seemed the most representative. These statements give the impression that Pope Francis is a relatively radical critic of the weaknesses of contemporary democracies and a supporter of more radical forms of democracy. Let us hear the key positive expressions again: “inclusive and participatory democracy,” “full and participatory democracy,” “strengthening of political and social democracy.” And, the critical remarks: democracies are “under the pressure” of “uniform systems of economic power,”; it faces the danger of “subtle dictatorship”; “the domination of a single political power that constrains and obstructs a true experience of democracy”; “democracy atrophies,”; it can become “democracy of words”; “nominal democracy”; extremism and populism can make “debilitating of the democratic system”; knowledge and wealth accumulating in a few hands is “grave risks for democratic societies.”

Pope admits that the Church does not have a recipe for a specific “solutions to contemporary issues,” but he finds a way out in the popular movements, the “alternative sector”: “the future of humanity does not lie solely in the hands of great leaders, the great powers and the elites. It is fundamentally in the hands of peoples and in their ability to organize. It is in their hands, which can guide with humility and conviction this process of change...”³²

Another shift in the understanding of democracy made by Pope Francis is undoubtedly inspired by “Theology of the People,” which has been increasingly mentioned in recent years. His scepticism about the competencies of established elites, and conversely his strong confidence in popular movements and the potential for change from below, can be considered rather revolutionary or radical.

³² Address of the Holy Father at the Second World Meeting of Popular Movements, Expo Feria Exhibition Centre, Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Bolivia), 9 July 2015, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/july/documents/papa-francesco_20150709_bolivia-movimenti-popolari.html