

# Democratic Erosion Event Dataset and Autocratic Consolidation Event Dataset

Codebook v.4 - September 2020



BROWN

DARTMOUTH



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## **Acknowledgements:**

This codebook is an extension of the original writing of Christopher Hill, Kyle Rueschhoff, Silvio Simonetti Neto, Joanne Teng, and Bryce Watson in the DEED codebook v1. We would also like to thank Kevin Kromash and Sue Stokes at the Chicago Center on Democracy and the Swearer Center at Brown University for supporting the project during summer 2019. Thank you to Russell Muirhead at Dartmouth as well for support over 2020. The DEED codebook v4 incorporates research from the Autocratic Consolidation Event (ACE) dataset, including new event categories sourced from the Patterns of Autocracy capstone project carried out by students at the Texas A&M Bush School of Government and Public Service under the supervision of Professor Jessica Gottlieb.

# Contents

<b>1 Explanatory Notes</b>	<b>6</b>
1.1 What's New in Version 4 of the Dataset?	6
1.2 Variable Information	6
1.3 Suggested Citation	7
1.4 Coders of Data	7
1.5 Inclusion of Countries in the Dataset	7
1.6 Countries	9
1.6.1 DEED Country Sample	9
1.6.2 ACE Country Sample	10
<b>2 Dataset Indicators</b>	<b>12</b>
2.1 Timestamp (Timestamp)	12
2.2 Coder (Coder)	12
2.3 Course Instructor of Case Study Author (Instructor)	12
2.4 Case Study Name (CaseStudyName)	12
2.5 Country (Country)	13
2.6 Year (Year)	13
2.7 Type of Event (Type)	13
2.8 Event Category (Category)	13
2.9 Event Description (EventDescription)	14
2.10 Unconfirmed (Unconfirmed)	14
2.11 Source Type (SourceType)	14
2.12 Source (SourceDescription)	14
2.13 Erosion Rating Provided by Student (StudentRating)	15
2.14 Erosion Rating Provided by Coder (CoderRating)	15
2.15 Entry Identifier (id)	16
<b>3 Precursor Categorization</b>	<b>17</b>
3.1 Threats to Horizontal Accountability	17
3.1.1 Delegitimizing or Weakening the Judiciary	17
3.1.2 Delegitimizing or Weakening the Legislature	17
3.1.3 Delegitimizing or Weakening Subnational Units	18

3.1.4	Manipulation of Civil Service	18
3.1.5	Coup or Regime Collapse	19
3.1.6	Horizontal Corruption	20
3.1.7	Electoral Boycott	21
3.1.8	Opposition Alliance Hedging	21
3.1.9	Rejecting Election Results	22
3.1.10	Elite Infighting	22
3.2	Threats to Vertical Accountability	23
3.2.1	Co-optation of the Opposition	23
3.2.2	Malapportionment	24
3.2.3	Electoral Fraud and Voter Suppression	25
3.2.4	Electoral Violence	26
3.2.5	Increasing Control over Civil Society	26
3.2.6	State-Conducted Violence or Abuse	27
3.2.7	Ethno-Religious Tensions	28
3.2.8	Overstayed Welcome	29
3.2.9	Media Bias	29
3.2.10	Lack of Legitimacy	30
3.2.11	Polarization	31
3.2.12	Extremist/Populist Parties	32
3.2.13	Party Weakness	33
3.2.14	Vertical Corruption	33
3.2.15	Civil War/Revolution	34
3.3	Exogenous Risk Factors	35
3.3.1	Non-state Violence	35
3.3.2	Refugee Crisis	36
3.3.3	External Influence	36
3.3.4	Economic Shocks	37
3.3.5	Regional Unrest Spillover	38
<b>4</b>	<b>Symptom Categorization</b>	<b>39</b>
4.1	Reduction in Horizontal Accountability	39
4.1.1	Reduction in Judicial Independence	39
4.1.2	Reduction in Legislative Oversight	40
4.1.3	Weakened Civil Service or Integrity Institutions	40

4.1.4	Suspension of Laws or the Constitution	41
4.1.5	Relaxation of Term Limits	41
4.1.6	Revision of the Constitution	42
4.1.7	Reducing Autonomy of Subnational Units	42
4.1.8	Creation of Parallel Structures	42
4.1.9	Purging of Elites	43
4.1.10	Candidate Selection	43
4.2	Reduction in Vertical Accountability	44
4.2.1	Repression of the Opposition	44
4.2.2	Systemic Reduction in Election Freedom and Fairness	44
4.2.3	Curtailed Civil Liberties	45
4.2.4	Media Repression	45
4.2.5	No-Confidence Votes or Decreased Voter Turnout	46
4.2.6	Forced/Coerced Exile	46
<b>5</b>	<b>Resistance Categorization</b>	<b>48</b>
5.1	Increase in Horizontal Accountability	48
5.1.1	Check on Executive by Judiciary	48
5.1.2	Check on Executive by Legislature	49
5.1.3	Check on Central Power by Subnational Units	49
5.1.4	Check on Central Power by Civil Service	50
5.1.5	Post-Democratic Transition to New Constitution	50
5.2	Increase in Vertical Accountability	51
5.2.1	Coalitions or Elite Pacts	51
5.2.2	Increase in Electoral Integrity	52
5.2.3	Increase in Civic Capacity	52
5.2.4	Nonviolent Protest	52
5.2.5	Violent Protest	53
5.2.6	Increase in Media Protections/Media Liberalization	54
5.3	Other	54
5.3.1	Pressure from Outside Actor	54
5.3.2	Exit of People or Money	55
5.3.3	State Attempts to Prevent Backsliding	55
	<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>56</b>

# 1 Explanatory Notes

## 1.1 What's New in Version 4 of the Dataset?

Version 4 of the Democratic Erosion Event Database (DEED) includes a revised classification scheme and new sourcing procedure. DEED categories have been further developed with the inclusion of 11 new event categories that have been added from the Autocratic Consolidation Event (ACE) dataset, sourced from the Patterns of Autocracy Capstone Report created by researchers at Texas A&M's Bush School of Government & Public Service. The quality of the data has also been improved through stricter sourcing requirements for coders.

Furthermore, the date range of data entries now captures erosion-related events between 2000 and 2020. More countries are now included, due in part to the expansion of the date range. DEED v4 includes 2740 unique erosion events, building on the 1763 events incorporated in DEED v3 and the 823 events presented in DEED v2.

## 1.2 Variable Information

The following information is available by variable (if applicable) in Part 2, Data Set Indicators.

- **Question:** The question that the variable attempts to measure.
- **Clarification:** Definition of key terms, clarification of scope-conditions, contexts, and any other features needed to understand the question (if any).
- **Responses:** Numeric, Percentage, Text, Date, Countries, or specific response categories.
- **Answer-Types:**
  - *Multiple-choice:* Where a coder can select only one answer.
  - *Multiple-selection:* Where a coder can select more than one answer.

## 1.3 Suggested Citation

**Democratic Erosion Event Dataset:**

Gottlieb, Jessica, Rob Blair, Hannah Baron, Aries Arugay, Cameron Ballard-Rosa, Grant Beatty, Berk Esen, Laura Gamboa, Guy Grossman, Shelby Grossman, Christina Kulich-Vamvakas, Nancy Lapp, Jennifer McCoy, Sal Peralta, Adriana Qubaiova, Amanda Robinson, Steven Rosenzweig, Eric Royer, Cathy Lisa Schneider, Sue Stokes, Jason Todd, and Megan Turnbull. 2020. "Democratic Erosion Event Dataset v4." *Democratic Erosion: A Cross-University Collaboration*.

#### **Democratic Erosion Event Dataset Codebook:**

Bairey, Charlotte, Rob Blair, Hannah Baron, Caleb Benjamin, Alan Chen, Dakota Fenn, Jessica Gottlieb, Uma Gaunt, Isabela Karibjanian, Meryl Seah, and Carter Squires. "Democratic Erosion Event Dataset Codebook v4." *Democratic Erosion: A Cross-University Collaboration*.

## **1.4 Coders of Data**

DEED v4: Caleb Benjamin, Alan Chen, Uma Gaunt, Isaiah Holquist, Tzion Jones, Justin Kramer, Yohan Mutta, Ashley Myers, HyounJung Noh, Laila Rodenbeck, Iris Wang

DEED v3: Charlotte Bairey, Dakota Fenn, Isabela Karibjanian, Meryl Seah, and Carter Squires

DEED v1/v2: Christopher Hill, Kyle Rueschhoff, Silvio Simonetti Neto, Joanne Teng, and Bryce Watson

## **1.5 Inclusion of Countries in the Dataset**

To identify the original list of case studies for the meta-analysis on democratic backsliding, we use the Varieties of Democracy dataset (v8) (Coppedge 2018). The country-year dataset was restricted to describe the 2000-2020 period.

Because we are looking for cases of democratic erosion, we define 'democratic backsliding' as starting in a country-year in which the country is coded as an electoral democracy. To identify all countries-years that qualify as electoral democracies, we use the Regimes in the World index (e\_v2x\_regime). In the original iteration, we require a score of 2 or higher for year t=1. In year t=2, the regime can backslide to a score of 1, which is equivalent to having a score of 2 on the multiparty elections variable. The full coding of this variable is as follows:

- 0: Closed autocracy: No de-facto multiparty elections for the chief executive).
- 1: Electoral autocracy: De-facto multiparty elections for the chief executive, but failing to achieve a minimum level of Dahl's institutional prerequisites of polyarchy as measured by V-Dem's Electoral Democracy Index (v2x\_polyarchy).
- 2: Electoral democracy: Free and fair multiparty elections and a minimum level of Dahl's institutional prerequisites for polyarchy as measured by VDem's Electoral Democracy Index (v2x\_polyarchy), but liberal principles of respect for personal liberties, rule of law, and judicial as well as legislative constraints on the executive unsatisfied as measured by VDem's Liberal Component Index (v2x\_liberal).
- 3: Liberal democracy: Free and fair multiparty elections and a minimum level of Dahl's institutional prerequisites for polyarchy as measured by VDem's Electoral Democracy Index (v2x\_polyarchy), and liberal principles of respect for personal liberties, rule of law, and judicial as well as legislative constraints on the executive satisfied as measured by V- Dem's Liberal Component Index (v2x\_liberal).

To code democratic backsliding for the DEED, we use the liberal democracy index (v2x\_libdem). This measure places special weight on constraints on executive power. We code a country-year  $t$  as backsliding if the country received a lower score on the Liberal Democracy Index in year  $t$  than in year  $t-1$ . Moreover, the country had to receive a score of at least 1 in year  $t$  and a score of at least 2 on the Regimes in the World index (indicating an electoral democracy) in year  $t-1$ . In addition to coding if backsliding occurred in that country-year, we also code the change in backsliding as a percentage (defined by a change in Liberal Democracy Index divided by last year's score).

In order for a country to be coded in the Autocratic Consolidation Events (ACE) dataset, we follow the same procedure as above for identifying backsliding. The only difference is that we focus on periods of backsliding during which the country is an autocracy for both years. In other words, whereas DEED countries must score at least a 2 on the Regimes in the World index in year  $t-1$ , ACE countries must score no greater than a 1 on this index in year  $t-1$ .

Because this coding scheme focuses on pairs of years rather than on the country as a whole, there is some overlap such that a single country case can meet both criteria in different years during the examined time period (there were 32 such overlapping countries in the most recent country assignment). Since the ACE dataset focuses on Authoritarian countries, overlapping countries were placed in the DEED. The way to interpret this is that DEED captures countries that were at least an electoral democracy on the Regimes in the World Index at some point during the observed period.

To prioritize cases, we constrained the list using two criteria.



- We eliminated island or micro-states.
- We eliminated cases in which the mean amount of backsliding was less than 1%.

## 1.6 Countries

### 1.6.1 DEED Country Sample

The following **101 countries** are in our DEED country sample, identified using the methodology described above.

- Albania
- Argentina
- Australia
- Austria
- Bangladesh
- Belgium
- Benin
- Bhutan
- Bolivia
- Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Botswana
- Brazil
- Bulgaria
- Burkina Faso
- Canada
- Chile
- Colombia
- Costa Rica
- Croatia
- Cyprus
- Czech Republic
- Dominican Republic
- Ecuador
- El Salvador
- Estonia
- Finland
- France
- Georgia
- Germany
- Ghana
- Greece
- Guatemala
- Guinea-Bissau
- Guyana
- Honduras
- Hungary
- Iceland
- India
- Indonesia
- Ireland
- Israel
- Italy
- Ivory Coast
- Jamaica
- Japan
- Kosovo
- Latvia
- Lebanon
- Liberia
- Lithuania
- Madagascar
- Malawi
- Mali
- Malta
- Mexico
- Moldova
- Mongolia

- Montenegro
- Mozambique
- Namibia
- Nepal
- Netherlands
- New Zealand
- Nicaragua
- Niger
- Nigeria
- North Macedonia
- Norway
- Palestine/West Bank
- Panama
- Papua New Guinea
- Paraguay
- Peru
- Philippines
- Poland
- Portugal
- Romania
- Senegal
- Serbia
- Sierra Leone
- Slovakia
- Slovenia
- South Africa
- South Korea
- Spain
- Sri Lanka
- Suriname
- Sweden
- Switzerland
- Taiwan
- Tanzania
- Thailand
- Timor-Leste
- Togo
- Tunisia
- Turkey
- Ukraine
- United States of America
- Uruguay
- Venezuela
- Zambia

## 1.6.2 ACE Country Sample

The following **64 countries** are in our ACE country sample, identified using the methodology described above.

- Afghanistan
- Algeria
- Angola
- Armenia
- Azerbaijan
- Bahrain
- Belarus
- Burma/Myanmar
- Burundi
- Cambodia
- Cameroon
- Central African Republic
- Chad
- China
- Comoros
- Cuba
- Democratic Republic of the
- Congo

- Djibouti
- Egypt
- Equatorial Guinea
- Eritrea
- Eswatini
- Ethiopia
- Gabon
- Guinea
- Haiti
- Hong Kong
- Iran
- Iraq
- Jordan
- Kazakhstan
- Kenya
- Kuwait
- Kyrgyzstan
- Laos
- Lesotho
- Libya
- Malaysia
- Mauritania
- Morocco
- North Korea
- Oman
- Pakistan
- Qatar
- Republic of the Congo
- Russia
- Rwanda
- Saudi Arabia
- Singapore
- Somalia
- Somaliland
- South Sudan
- Sudan
- Syria
- Tajikistan
- The Gambia
- Turkmenistan
- Uganda
- United Arab Emirates
- Uzbekistan
- Vietnam
- Yemen
- Zanzibar
- Zimbabwe

## 2 Dataset Indicators

This section lists all variables contained in DEED v4.

### 2.1 Timestamp (Timestamp)

- **Clarification:** This information is noted by the coding form to indicate when the event data was recorded by the coder.
- **Responses:** Date and time.

### 2.2 Coder (Coder)

- **Question:** Who coded the erosion-related event?
- **Clarification:** There were 11 coders categorizing the erosion-related events in DEED v4: Alan, Ashley, Caleb, HyounJung, Iris, Isaiah, Justin, Laila, Tzion, Uma, Yohan.
- **Responses:** Text.
- **Answer-Types:** Multiple-choice.

### 2.3 Course Instructor of Case Study Author (Instructor)

- **Question:** Which instructor taught the course in which the case study author was enrolled?
- **Clarification:** 23 professors have taught versions of the Democratic Erosion course that produced country case studies.
- **Responses:** Text.
- **Answer-Types:** Multiple-choice.

### 2.4 Case Study Name (CaseStudyName)

- **Question:** What is the identifier for the case study?
- **Clarification:** Each case study has a unique identifying label to clarify the source of the case study, i.e. instructor, academic year and semester, and country case.
- **Responses:** Text.

- **Answer-Types:** Multiple-choice.

## 2.5 Country (Country)

- **Question:** In which country did the erosion-related event occur?
- **Clarification:** 92 countries are included in DEED v4.
- **Responses:** Countries.
- **Answer-Types:** Multiple-choice.

## 2.6 Year (Year)

- **Question:** In what year(s) did the event occur?
- **Clarification:** While coders worked to record erosion-related events in the year they occurred, certain events warrant a range of years (e.g., the consistent influence of organized crime in Mexico since 2006, the start of Mexico's War on Drugs).
- **Responses:** Date.
- **Answer-Types:** Multiple-selection.

## 2.7 Type of Event (Type)

- **Question:** Is the captured event evidence of a precursor to, symptom of, or resistance to democratic erosion?
- **Clarification:** We distinguish between events that lead to severe erosion (precursors) and events where erosion is institutionalized (symptoms). Citizens or institutions may also push back against erosion-related events (resistance).
- **Responses:** Text.
- **Answer-Type:** Multiple-choice.

## 2.8 Event Category (Category)

- **Question:** How is this event more specifically categorized?
- **Clarification:** Every event type (e.g. precursor) has multiple categories. More information is provided about these categories in chapters 3, 4, and 5 of this codebook.
- **Responses:** Text.
- **Answer-Type:** Multiple-choice.

## 2.9 Event Description (EventDescription)

- **Question:** How can this event be described qualitatively?
- **Clarification:** This category provides a qualitative description of the erosion event.
- **Responses:** Text.

## 2.10 Unconfirmed (Unconfirmed)

- **Question:** Is there reason to question the veracity of the entry?
- **Clarification:** Despite the new requirements for sources, some events are still classified as "unconfirmed," indicating that a reliable source for the event could not be found. For example, in 2008, journalists filming a documentary in El Salvador were allegedly harassed, yet there were no independent accounts confirming the incident.
- **Responses:** Text.
- **Answer-Types:** Multiple-choice.

## 2.11 Source Type (SourceType)

- **Question:** What type of source was used to verify this event?
- **Clarification:** Our coders sought to verify every event with a source. This variable describes the type of source used (e.g., news article).
- **Responses:** Text.
- **Answer-Types:** Multiple-choice.

## 2.12 Source (SourceDescription)

- **Question:** How can the source be located if a user would like to review it?
- **Clarification:** Identifying information is included for each source (author, title, date of publication, and publisher).
- **Responses:** Text.

## 2.13 Erosion Rating Provided by Student (StudentRating)

- **Question:** What overall erosion or consolidation rating of the case study country did the author provide?
- **Clarification for DEED:** Case study authors were asked to rate the overall erosion of a country's democracy on the following five-point scale:
  - 0: No backsliding, and weak threat of future backsliding.
  - 1: There are precursors to backsliding, e.g. the rise of extremist parties, but erosion of democratic institutions has not yet taken place.
  - 2: There is weak erosion of democratic institutions, perhaps the institutions being eroded are not critical for the functioning of democracy.
  - 3: There is moderate erosion of democratic institutions.
  - 4: There is severe erosion of democratic institutions; it is unclear whether democracy will recover.
- **Clarification for ACE:** Case study authors were asked to rate the overall consolidation of a country's autocracy on the following five-point scale:
  - 1: Autocratic consolidation in the country is moving strongly in a positive direction. The autocracy is securing itself from democratic resistance.
  - 2: Autocratic consolidation in the country is moving slowly in a positive direction. Consolidation is consistent, though resistance to consolidation remains.
  - 3: Autocratic consolidation is moving in neither a positive nor a negative direction.
  - 4: Autocratic consolidation is moving slowly in a negative direction. While slow, resistance to the autocracy is reversing consolidation.
  - 5: Autocratic consolidation is moving rapidly in a negative direction. Resistance to the autocracy is creating a rapid thaw in the autocratic structures of the regime as it moves either towards instability or democracy.
- **Responses:** Numeric.
- **Answer-Types:** Multiple-choice.

## 2.14 Erosion Rating Provided by Coder (CoderRating)

- **Question:** What overall erosion or consolidation rating of the case study country did the coder provide?
- **Clarification for DEED:** Trained coders rated the overall erosion of a country's democracy on the same five-point scale identified above:
  - 0: No backsliding, and weak threat of future backsliding.
  - 1: There are precursors to backsliding, e.g. the rise of extremist parties, but erosion of democratic institutions has not yet taken place.

- 2: There is weak erosion of democratic institutions, perhaps the institutions being eroded are not critical for the functioning of democracy.
- 3: There is moderate erosion of democratic institutions.
- 4: There is severe erosion of democratic institutions; it is unclear whether democracy will recover.
- **Clarification for ACE:** Trained coders rated the overall consolidation of a country's autocracy on the same five-point scale identified above:
  - 1: Autocratic consolidation in the country is moving strongly in a positive direction. The autocracy is securing itself from democratic resistance.
  - 2: Autocratic consolidation in the country is moving slowly in a positive direction. Consolidation is consistent, though resistance to consolidation remains.
  - 3: Autocratic consolidation is moving in neither a positive nor a negative direction.
  - 4: Autocratic consolidation is moving slowly in a negative direction. While slow, resistance to the autocracy is reversing consolidation.
  - 5: Autocratic consolidation is moving rapidly in a negative direction. Resistance to the autocracy is creating a rapid thaw in the autocratic structures of the regime as it moves either towards instability or democracy.
- **Responses:** Numeric.
- **Answer-Types:** Multiple-choice.

## 2.15 Entry Identifier (id)

- **Clarification:** Each event was given a unique identifier based on coder, case study instructor, and event number.
- **Responses:** Text.



# 3 Precursor Categorization

## 3.1 Threats to Horizontal Accountability

### 3.1.1 Delegitimizing or Weakening the Judiciary

Charged with interpreting a country's laws and constitution and ruling accordingly, the judiciary plays a critical role in protecting democracy. The judiciary can help prevent backsliding by ensuring respect for laws, ruling certain threats to democracy as illegal, and convicting those responsible (Gibler and Randazzo 2011). Ideally, the judiciary acts as an independent party in the legal process, free of party loyalty (Shapiro 1981). This autonomy safeguards against power consolidation by other branches of government. Attempts by political parties and individual members to weaken the judiciary's checking ability or disavow its decisions can lead to democratic erosion.

#### Examples

- In 2011, Prime Minister Sali Berisha of Albania argued against the judiciary's decision to detain police accused of killing protesters. The court struggled against his attempts to hide evidence and discredit the prosecution, and were only able to detain the men after severe international backlash against Berisha.
- In 2015, the Polish Civic Platform (PO) party passed a law allowing the government to replace judges with terms ending in 2015, ensuring the seats would be PO-appointed. The judges would have otherwise been chosen by the incoming elected government, who opposed the PO.

### 3.1.2 Delegitimizing or Weakening the Legislature

A robust legislature can check the authority of an executive. By responding to constituents, the legislature can also boost public trust in democratic governance.

Executives who undermine democracies may attack or weaken the legislature in an attempt to expand their own power (Levitsky and Way 2002). A would-be authoritarian benefits from eroding trust and support for the legislature, so that the executive and their office may become the primary or sole legitimate governing institution (Linz 1990). Frequently, as a precursor to erosion, an executive publicly denounces the legislature for

inefficiency or unresponsiveness to the people, especially if an opposition party controls the legislature.

Other instances of delegitimizing or weakening the legislature include attacks on opposition parties or coalitions, the closing of one or more legislative chambers, and the stripping of constitutional powers from the legislature.

### **Examples**

- After the Mauritanian Senate blocked President Aziz's proposed amendment to abolish the Senate and merge the civil and Islamic courts, Aziz passed the amendment in a legally dubious public referendum.
- Macedonian Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski ejected opposition lawmakers and journalists from the parliament chamber, then proceeded to pass the government's budget for the next year without dissent or press coverage.
- President Guterres of Timor-Leste dissolved parliament when the opposition coalition blocked the Fretilin party agenda and prevented budgets from passing.

### **3.1.3 Delegitimizing or Weakening Subnational Units**

In federalist political systems, a certain degree of power and autonomy is allocated to subnational units, namely states or provinces. These powers, such as referenda, subnational judiciaries, or discretion in applying certain laws and regulations, check the central government. When the federal government of a country attempts to delegitimize or weaken the power of these subnational units, it can be a precursor to erosion.

*Note on coding:* Not all cases of a national government attempting to weaken a subnational unit are signs of erosion per se. For example, such actions may be legitimate if a subnational unit is promoting undemocratic agendas or attempting to unduly consolidate power. Some of these cases may be situationally complex or politically contentious. If unsure whether an event constitutes a precursor, make a note of this in the coding of the event.

### **3.1.4 Manipulation of Civil Service**

Broadly, a case of manipulation of the civil service occurs when an executive or incumbent party uses nonpartisan, bureaucratic institutions for political, electoral, or personal gain.

The civil service is sometimes thought to be insulated from political contests, insofar as civil servants are not elected directly by the people. Bureaucracies, however, can and do safeguard democracy. Huq and Ginsburg note that effective civil services restrict state officials from misusing state power for private or electoral gains and can mobilize and represent groups otherwise shut out of politics.

Authoritarian tendencies can manifest in the executive manipulating the civil service to aggrandize power or weaken democracy generally. Sometimes, this appears as suppression of speech or intimidation of bureaucrats. Conversely, the executive may buy support from elites and the public by overpopulating the civil service with their allies (Brancati 2014).

This patronage system undermines electoral institutions, since opposition parties or groups cannot necessarily provide the same rewards. Moreover, filling the civil service with loyalists effectively removes another constraint on executive power.

### **Examples**

- Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban reorganized a number of government agencies, including those responsible for transparency and accountability. He removed incumbent officials from the civil service in the Budget Council, the Media Council, and the Election Commission, among others, and replaced them with party loyalists.
- Argentinian President Cristina Kirchner fired the head of the Central Bank and forced the National Institute for Statistics to report lower inflation figures.
- Zambian President Edgar Lungu enacted an amendment stipulating that all public servants must have at least a high school education, disenfranchising many ordinary Zambians from holding bureaucratic office.

### **3.1.5 Coup or Regime Collapse**

A coup, coup attempt, or other event threatening regime collapse, such as the illegal ousting of officials, can lead to democratic erosion. Successful coups, necessitating an abrupt shift in power, pose particular threats to democracy. When a democratic regime is ousted or collapses, there is often a sudden loss of democracy and reversion to authoritarianism (Huq and Ginsburg 2018). While coup d'états in the typical sense have become less frequent, promissory coups, which instead frame the coup as a temporary but necessary step for an improved version of democracy, have become more frequent (Bermeo 2016). Promissory coups are conducive to backsliding in that they often falsely promise an eventual return to democracy, and may thus be met with complacency.

Even failed coups can lead to the destabilization of a democratic regime. The government's legitimacy can come into question, especially if it struggles to combat the coup. Moreover, coups often become excuses for the government to limit media freedom, expand their power, or even suspend the constitution in the name of preventing further insurrections.

### **Examples**

- When newly-elected President of Mauritania Sidi Ould Cheikh Abdhalli attempted to lessen military influence in government by removing four military leaders from high-level government positions, General Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz launched a coup and overthrew the regime.
- Following a failed coup in Turkey in 2016, the government limited press freedom in the name of preventing terrorism and further revolutionary action.
- In November 2008, following months of tension with the military, President of Guinea-Bissau João Bernardo Vieira was blamed for a bombing on military headquarters (which had killed a military general) and was subsequently assassinated by the military.

### **3.1.6 Horizontal Corruption**

Horizontal corruption occurs between government actors, encompassing abuses of public office for private gain or for the benefit of friends and allies. Generally, horizontal corruption involves less direct interaction with the citizenry.

Horizontal corruption may affect the deliberative process of policymaking. This would include civil servants, executives, and legislators deciding on how an issue affects their own power or resources, rather than the public welfare (Bailey 2009). Horizontal corruption also covers more egregious abuses of authority, including embezzlement, misallocation of funds, cronyism, nepotism, sale of party nominations, and tax evasion.

By distorting policy decisions, horizontal corruption thus decreases a government's responsiveness to its citizens. It can also reduce the ability of democratic institutions or other agencies to function properly, as corrupt executives appoint unqualified or ill-intentioned allies to high ranking posts. Parties may also reward wealthy allies or donors with high-ranking government positions or party nominations.

### **Examples**

- The Mensalao scandal in Brazil involved clandestine payments to ~ legislators by the PT party in return for support of certain policies.
- South African President Jacob Zuma appointed ally Arthur Fraser, formerly a spy in Zuma's intelligence networks, to serve as DirectorGeneral of the State Security Agency (SSA). Fraser then restructured the agency so the bureau heads reported directly to him.
- In Hungary, loyalists of the dominant Fidesz Party were appointed to lead ostensibly independent institutions, including the State Audit Office, the Competition Authority, and the Constitutional Court.

### **3.1.7 Electoral Boycott**

In response to what is perceived as an unfair election process, the opposition to the main political party or ruling regime may completely forgo participation in elections in anticipation of an unfavorable outcome. This boycott can occur through a formal opposition party. The ruling party could potentially use electoral boycotts of this type to consolidate power and erode democracy, since the ruling party would be running unopposed. Additionally, this boycott, especially if accompanied with voter suppression, could present the ruling party with an opportunity to delegitimize the opposition party and diminish its public credibility.

#### **Examples**

- In Bangladesh's 2104 elections, the Bangladesh National Party (BNP) refused to participate in elections and actively attempted to suppress voter turnout. This occurred after the ruling Awami League did not consent to allow a caretaker government to oversee the elections. The BNP boycott and voter suppression movement was intended to force new elections under more favorable circumstances.

### **3.1.8 Opposition Alliance Hedging**

In electoral or non-consolidated autocracies and eroding democracies, the executive can be confronted with multiple, legitimate challenges to their ability to govern, including opposing political parties, trade unions, domestic political institutions (such as hereditary monarchies), and citizen movements. Some executives may choose to regularly shift alliances with opposition groups to accomplish short-term goals at the expense of other opposition groups. Key to this indicator is the ephemeral nature of any alliance, with the autocrat quickly ejecting the newfound ally after the goal has been accomplished.

## **Examples**

- In Cambodia, Hun Sen's Cambodian People's Party has utilized short-term political alliances to weaken the ability of its political rivals to compete. In 2006, the CPP allied with the Sam Rainsy Party, a populist, pro-democracy party, to eliminate the need for a supermajority in parliament. This law change was intended to eliminate the royalist FUNCINPEC from being able to hold influence in coalitions.

### **3.1.9 Rejecting Election Results**

Rejecting, or indicating the likely rejection of, election results allows executives and ruling parties to bypass both the will of the people and checks and balances, and retain more power for themselves. If opposition candidates or the people reject the results, it is often an indicator that there are not strong democratic institutions within the country. Rejection results generally means that there was perceived or actual electoral fraud, both of which are harmful, and erodes the democratic values. In either case, the rejection of election results by either the ruling coalition or the opposition leads to democratic erosion.

## **Examples**

- The rejection of the Bolivian 2019 general election results, which re-elected the incumbent President Evo Morales to office, was met with widespread protests and a rejection of the election results by the opposition.
- The 2016 Gambia election saw the incumbent president Yahya Jammeh reject election results that saw his election and call up another election. This would lead to a major Gambian constitutional crisis, as Jammeh would deploy military forces in the capital, and lead to a long standoff with other West African states and the domestic opposition until his eventual exile.

### **3.1.10 Elite Infighting**

Geddes, Frantz, and Wright (2018) explain that a dictator, or an executive aiming at consolidating autocracy and eroding democracy, and his/her inner circle of elites cooperate to prop up the regime, but also engage in “non-cooperative interactions” to gain a relative advantage over each other. These authors explain that the closest elites are the primary culprits in replacing dictators, and as such, dictators have an incentive to increase power relative to the other elites. Factions among the inner circle moderate these elites' bargaining power in two ways. First, the dictator can negotiate on an individual basis with

groups and pit them against one another. Second, the threshold of credibility in threatening the dictators not to consolidate power is not as easily met. The presence of open infighting demonstrates a potential reversal of democratic erosion, as the ruling coalition fails to maintain their hold on power

### **Examples**

- The sudden arrest and downfall of Bo Xilai, mayor of Chongqing, and a serious contender in the Chinese Communist Party in 2012 to succeed General-Secretary Hu Jintao, was a major political event in the People's Republic of China, bringing to an open the political divisions of the Chinese Politburo into the public eye for the first time in decades.
- The arrest of Mikhail K. Muzraev in June 2019, head of Russia's Investigative Committee (one of the organizations responsible for investigating and persecuting regime opposition), laid open elite infighting among the array of security and intelligence officials who surround President Vladimir Putin.

## **3.2 Threats to Vertical Accountability**

### **3.2.1 Co-optation of the Opposition**

Political competition and meaningful opposition between parties support democratic elections and democracy more broadly. The mere existence of opposition parties is insufficient, as they must be able to meaningfully compete for votes and potentially win power from the incumbent. Cooptation of the opposition allows an incumbent regime to appear democratic while ensuring their own electoral victory (Levitsky and Ziblatt 2018).

Co-optation occurs when the ruling party strategically incorporates members of, or entire, opposing political parties into their own. This consolidation can stop rival coalitions from forming and challenging the regime, silence dissent in exchange for patronage, and the transfer of voters from smaller opposing parties to the incumbent. While overt repression of the opposition is outwardly undemocratic, co-optation allows regimes to continue to hold seemingly free and competitive elections, concurrent to the weakening of opposition parties and the strengthening of the regime.

### **Examples**

- In Namibia, the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) brought on the former head of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), a figure they had

historically criticized, in order to gain local support in a region where the SWAPO had historically performed poorly.

### **3.2.2 Malapportionment**

Robert Dahl's most basic conception of democracy necessitates that all citizens have their preferences weighed equally in the conduct of the government, ensuring equitable government responsiveness (Dahl 1972). In essence, democracies must uphold the principle of 'one person, one vote. Malapportionment entails a discrepancy between shares of seats in a legislature and the populations of districts represented by those seats (Samuels and Synder 2002). This can lead to outcomes where a party or candidate does not receive a majority of votes, yet receives a majority of seats or wins election. This undermines each citizen's ability to have their preferences considered equally by the government.

Bermeo notes that modern democratic backsliding can take the form of strategic electoral manipulation, in which the playing-field is tilted in favor of incumbent or dominant parties. Electoral manipulation differs from fraud because it often occurs through legal means, months or even years before elections take place (Bermeo 2016). This manipulation manifests as malapportionment, as incumbent parties can redraw electoral boundaries which favor the election of their party's candidates. Malapportionment decreases democratic responsiveness by offering incumbents easier re-election and making them less beholden to their constituents (Norris and Gromping 2017).

#### **Examples**

- Moldova added a law which transitioned their proportional-representation electoral system into a mixed system, in which half of legislators would be elected by individual constituencies but the other half via a national vote. By institutionalizing a national winner-take-all system for half of the seats in Parliament, Moldova increased the margins of plurality for the two largest parties in the country, further decreasing the ability of smaller parties and interests to have a say in government.
- The Tanzanian constitution was amended to allow candidates to win by a plurality of votes instead of a majority. Due to the amount of opposition parties in Tanzania diluting the vote, this rule has enabled the dominant party to consistently win the majority of the seats.
- Since 2017, the Mapuche natives in Chile (10% of the population) have held only 1 of 43 Senate seats and 1 of 155 seats in the Chamber of Deputies.



### 3.2.3 Electoral Fraud and Voter Suppression

When opposition groups are electorally threatening, incumbents, especially those with authoritarian ambitions, may be tempted to safeguard electoral victories through electoral manipulation (Schedler 2002).

Electoral fraud entails serious bias in the administration of elections. Such fraud includes: forging voter ID cards, deleting names from voter lists, stuffing or burning ballot boxes, expelling voters from polling stations, and padding the vote totals of favored parties and candidates, among others (Schedler 2002). This voter suppression is often targeted at the opposition, and can create structural barriers that prevent the formation of an observable or effective anti-regime voice at the ballot box.

Electoral fraud is a precursor insofar as it tends to occur in sporadic and decentralized instances—often, it appears as massive irregularities at polling stations on election day. Events in which elections are systemically and systematically made unfree and unfair should instead be coded as “Systemic Reduction in Election Freedom/Fairness,” detailed under the “Symptoms” category. If electoral districts are drawn unfairly or voter preferences are not weighted equally, the event should be coded as “Malapportionment” (Bermeo 2016).

#### Examples

- The 2009 elections in El Salvador the Supreme Electoral Tribunal included 85,000 deceased voters in the registry and released the registry prior to the publication of updated census data.
- During the 2010 parliamentary elections in Kosovo, over 40% of the votes cast had to be recounted, over 500 officials were indicted for committing fraud, and widespread vote buying attempts occurred in ethnic Albanian and Serbian municipalities.
- The 2005 elections in Togo were marred by widespread allegations of fraudulent votes, voter intimidation, and a complete blackout of media and communication on election day.
- In Cuba, state sanctioned Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs) have certain functions that could lend themselves as a tool of voter suppression. CDRs maintain the Registry Book of Addresses which reports which citizens in that jurisdiction are eligible to vote. CDR National Coordinators have served on the Council of State and PCC Central Committee. Additionally, at least under Cuba’s old

electoral law, the Office of Voter Registration fell under the Ministry of the Interior, which is a military institution.

### **3.2.4 Electoral Violence**

A functioning democracy requires that citizens are able to hold the government to account by expressing their preferences in elections. Electoral violence marks a breakdown in the electoral process, creating an environment where would-be authoritarians face fewer constraints on their power.

Electoral violence takes many forms, including: pro-state militias targeting the supporters of opposition parties; states using security forces to repress dissidents and intimidate the electorate; political parties building armed wings; and insurgents attacking voters and candidates, among others (Schedler 2002). Electoral violence does not always manifest as election-day attacks on voters near polling stations (though this is an all-too-common occurrence, especially in sub-Saharan African elections). Schedler notes that sustained or common electoral violence can fundamentally change political practices by stifling the democratic voice among citizens, who lack coercive capability themselves. This trend undermines democratic consolidation and emboldens authoritarians (Schedler 2002).

#### **Examples**

- In 2007, the home of the chairwoman of a municipal electoral committee in Bulgaria was set on fire.
- Religious extremists drastically decreased voter turnout in northern Mali during the presidential election, with 20% of polling stations affected by violent disruptions.
- Following incumbent President Laurent Gbagbo's refusal to step down after his electoral defeat in the Ivory Coast, a civil war broke out between his supporters and those of opposition candidate Alassane Ouattara.

### **3.2.5 Increasing Control over Civil Society**

An open and robust civil society helps citizens defend democracy. Participation in civil society organizations can provide political information, develop civic virtues, serve as a medium for broad political discourse, and equalize representation—all of which enables effective resistance, alternative governance, social coordination, and democratic legitimization (Fung 2003). When civil society comes under threat, so does this litany of benefits.

This category captures the less-institutionalized threats to civil society that tend to impede its full and free operation rather than directly repress it. Events indicating an increased control of civil society include: requiring organizations to report all funding sources (especially foreign sources); mandating registration, certification, or re-certification with the government; and increased regulation of the freedom of association, among other possible events. While these may not portend democratic erosion *per se*, all such actions expand government control over what should ideally be independent organizations.

Instances where a government has banned large civil society organizations or categories thereof, arrested activists, or otherwise directly repressed civil society, are more severe and should instead be coded as “Curtailed Civil Liberties” found under the “Symptoms” category. To note, control over opposition groups, specifically, is a distinct event, coded either as “Cooptation of the Opposition” or “Repression of the Opposition.”

### **Examples**

- The Law and Justice Party (PiS) in Poland changed the ways in which NGOs can receive funding through government channels, supporting NGOs more in line with party values and directly harming those that diverge from those ideals.
- In 2016, the Israeli Knesset passed legislation which created new registration and identification requirements for NGOs who receive foreign funds. The vast majority of NGOs falling under the law’s jurisdiction, 25 of 27 NGOs listed by the Justice Ministry, were left-wing.
- The Indian government used the Foreign Contributions Relations Act to restrict the entry and exit of civil society organizations, and an estimated 20,000 organizations have lost their licenses under the new regime.

### **3.2.6 State-Conducted Violence or Abuse**

This category examines instances where a government’s use of violence puts democracy at risk. Events that should be coded as state-conducted violence or abuse include: violent suppression of protests by police/military, police brutality, extrajudicial killings of suspected or actual criminals, and the use of thugs/gangs/terror groups by state actors.

Dahl writes that a functioning democracy requires citizens to form and express preferences, and later scholars deemed protests a key tool of dissent that checks the government by disrupting daily order (Krajev 2014). When police forces brutally or violently repress protests, it not only hampers that particular protest’s ability to create

change, but also creates a climate of self-censorship in which would-be protesters are less likely to take to the streets.

The executive may circumvent the law through other abuses of violence, including extrajudicial killings and the use of gangs and thugs. When an executive is less beholden to judicial criminal processes, a constraint on executive power is removed (Thompson 2016). The support of violent criminal groups by state actors (executives, legislators, judges, etc.) further places governing officials above the rule of law, undermining core democratic norms.

### **Examples**

- The Spanish central government directed authorities to stop the 2017 independence referendum in Catalonia, leading to the assault of voters and the use of rubber bullets.
- In 2013, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey violently responded to mass protests during the Gezi Park movement, killing five protestors and injuring more than 9,000.
- In Kenya, following the withdrawal of opposition candidate Raila Odinga's name from the ballot and incumbent President Kenyatta's subsequent landslide re-election, immense political violence broke out, with police and government-sponsored gangs targeting protesters in response. Approximately 150 people were killed.

### **3.2.7 Ethno-Religious Tensions**

Ethnic and/or religious tensions can be used by people in power to stoke fear and increase division, giving them both an excuse to expand their powers, and preventing people from effectively mobilizing against them. This scapegoating of ethno-religious minorities also undermines liberal democratic principles.

### **Examples**

- In Uganda, tensions between the government and the Acholi, a people from Northern Uganda who had supported the previous Okello regime, have resulted in the government engaging in a campaign to suppress dissent in the region. This, coupled with the emergence of the millenarian Lord's Resistance Army, has given the National Resistance Army/Ugandan People a justification for military action in the region.

- Various governments of Myanmar conducted concerted campaigns against the primarily Muslim Rohingya since the 1970s, ultimately leading to the 2017 ethnic cleansing and genocide of the Rohingya people from Myanmar. This was done to bolster Myanmar's Buddhist nationalists and confer legitimacy for the various military dictatorships and governments through the redistribution of Rohingya land.

### 3.2.8 Overstayed Welcome

There are cases where norms or promises have signaled to the public that the executive will step down from his positions, but the executive actively disregards these signals to maintain their position in power. This is separate from an unconstitutional overstay in power, but rather a situation where the executive has disregarded an informal understanding that they will not continue. This desire to stay may be covered in rhetoric stating how the executive's continued service is necessary to avoid disorder or violence.

#### Examples

- In Uganda, President Yoweri Museveni famously stated in 1986 that one of the key problems in Africa has been political leaders who have overstayed their welcomes; however, Museveni has now been the president of Uganda for over three decades.
- In Armenia, President Sargsyan led an effort to change the country from a semi-Presidential system to a parliamentary republic, led by a Prime Minister. He stated that he was not planning on running for any other political office after his term as President ended, but became Prime Minister, triggering massive protests.

### 3.2.9 Media Bias

A free press is essential to liberal democracy, increasing the accountability of elected officials and the transparency of the democratic process. Researchers Daniel Hill and Yonatan Lupu found that restrictions on media lead to less competitive elections and a reduction in the ability to check the executive (Hill and Lupu 2017). The reduction of media freedom is conducive to erosion by increasing media bias. Media bias attempts to influence either the content of the media or the perception of the media itself without exercising the direct control implied by media oppression. Media bias can impact the dissemination of information which is essential for the public to hold the government accountable and make informed decisions.

#### Examples

- In 2010, a loyalist to the South Korean government was appointed the network president of MBC, the country's second-largest television network, skewing MBC's coverage in favor of the administration.
- During the 2014 Bolivian Presidential elections, state-run Bolivia TV showed a soccer game instead of a debate between President Morales' opponents.
- The Ghanaian Parliament in 2015 required operators of electronic communications or broadcasting services to get approval from a government media commission for information broadcasts.

### 3.2.10 Lack of Legitimacy

Democracies, more than any other form of government, require broad support for the activation and implementation of policies. This requires public legitimacy, so that the government may effectively make and enforce its decisions. No government will be perfectly legitimate in the eyes of all citizens, but democracy cannot survive unless a substantial number of citizens, politicians, and members of the armed forces believe the government to be legitimate. Notably, even members of the opposition ought to recognize legitimacy (Linz and Stepan 1996). The relative legitimacy of a government can decide its longevity and capacity to endure crises such as economic downturn or military defeat (Lipset 1959).

A lack of legitimacy arises when the current government institutions are not considered those best suited for the society (Lipset 1959). This belief can come from the citizenry, the opposition, or the armed forces. Events which demonstrate a lack of legitimacy may include: polls showing a dramatic decrease in public trust in government; unelected candidates or opposition figures declaring themselves the "rightful" authority; failure of the government to respond to urgent needs; failure to govern the entire territory of the country; existence of breakaway territories or other self-determination movements; and dissent by opposing political actors through political stalemates or electoral boycotts.

All of these events can weaken public trust and dedication to a country's democracy, leading the citizenry to doubt that the status quo (i.e. democratic) institutions are those best-suited for society. This introduces a risk that the public abandons democratic institutions in exchange for support of more authoritarian alternatives.

*Note on coding:* Lack of legitimacy can be a standalone event, but it can also be either a cause or an effect of another precursor or symptom of erosion. For example, a lack of legitimacy may be caused by corruption or an executive attack on the judiciary, or lack of legitimacy may have the effect of low voter turnout or non-state violence. An instance of

corruption causing a lack of legitimacy should thus be coded as two distinct events: the cause (corruption) and the effect (lack of legitimacy). If the causal link is inverted (i.e. lack of legitimacy causing too low voter turnout), code as such, again as two events.

*On polling data:* Polling data can be helpful for identifying a sharp decline in a government's legitimacy (for instance, trust in the government of Ghana fell from 60% to 30% following fraudulent elections). That said, if a sharp decline or other compelling sign of legitimacy decreasing is not evident in polls, then general polling data should not be coded.

### **Examples**

- In the 2017 Kenyan re-elections, opposition-supporting voters boycotted the election after their candidate Raila Odinga withdrew his name from the ballot.
- In Thailand in 2012, Prime Minister Yingluck's rice subsidy program led to billion-dollar losses and large piles of unsold rice, causing resentment and distrust of the government among farmers.
- Viktor Yanukovich, a Russian-supported presidential candidate in Ukraine, won the election, despite opinion polls showing that opposition candidate Yushchenko was by far the most popular. Mass protests ensued, resulting in a new election.

### **3.2.11 Polarization**

Political polarization, typically instigated by political elites and then expressed in the general public, can enable democratic erosion. While some political polarization is normal and perhaps expected, extreme polarization increases the stakes of politics and reduces parties' desire and ability to cooperate. Extreme polarization can also lead to a general disrespect for political pluralism and the abandonment of the notion that other parties have a right to exist, both of which are fundamental to democracy. Polarization can result in a lack of forbearance and extreme political maneuvers to ensure one's opponent stays out of power (Levitsky and Ziblatt 2018). This can then transfer to the public: when one group believes that they are fundamentally at odds with another group, the former will perhaps be more willing to grant power to political leaders so as to circumvent institutional structures, ensuring the competitor loses (Svolik 2019).

Polarization, especially in nascent democracies, often occurs across ethnic, racial, religious, or other cultural lines. While the existence of differences does not, in itself, represent polarization, elites or politicians can stoke fear, distrust, or disunity among a society's disparate groups (Posner 2004). Besides elite attempts to foment divides, other events which should be coded as polarization include: violence along

ethnic/racial/religious lines, failure of political parties to cooperate at the expense of effective governing, the codification of preferences for one group above another, extreme political appeals to ethnic/religious/racial division, among others.

### **Examples**

- In 2018, the Islamabad High Court decided that Pakistani citizens had the right to know the religious affiliations of high-profile government officials, reinforcing already-inflamed social cleavages and sectarian tensions.
- In 2016, the Democratic Socialist Party (DPS) and the Socialist Democratic Party of Montenegro (SDP) split. The SDP boycotted their parliamentary seats in 2018, accusing the DPS of electoral fraud, leading to protests and the stalling of EU membership.
- Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu sought to turn out rightwing voters by asserting that leftist NGOs were busing Arab voters to the polls.

### **3.2.12 Extremist/Populist Parties**

The rise of extremist and populist parties is a pressing concern for democracy globally. Populism is a political logic which separates a “pure” or “true” people, from political elites and outsiders (Mudde '2004). Populist leaders pose themselves as the only ones able to represent the will of these “pure” or “true” people, while painting other politicians as corrupt. This often also includes a rejection of outsiders, such as refugees and immigrants, who are seen as a threat to the purity of a country’s populus. Populism relies on the belief that there is only one group of people who are “true,” and one leader or party who can represent them. This ideology poses a threat to democracy in three particular ways. Firstly, it allows for the accumulation of a large amount of power, the rejection of certain democratic institutions, and authoritarian-leaning actions justified as “the will of the people.” Secondly, it encourages the expression of nationalist sentiment and hatred towards outsiders, often resulting in the oppression of immigrants. Lastly, it rejects political pluralism, an essential aspect of democracy (Muller 2016).

### **Examples**

- Established in 2001, the Law and Justice (PiS) party in Poland has become the largest party in Parliament. Running on nationalistic and anti-immigrant platforms, PiS has been rising in popularity since.



- In October of 2018, Jair Bolsonaro was elected the president of Brazil. With his history of threats to the opposition, the press, indigenous groups, LGBTQ people, and women, Bolsonaro capitalized on many Brazilians' frustration to gain power.
- The New People's Party (NPA) is an increasingly-popular armed wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines. The number of NPA attacks went from 60 in 2016 to 260 in 2017 with the group killing or wounding 281 in 2018.

### **3.2.13 Party Weakness**

In both presidential and parliamentary electoral systems, political parties have the ability to influence who does and does not gain power. Particularly, strong political parties can prevent individuals they see as too extreme or unfit to rule from gaining power within their own party through gatekeeping. This strategy can include expressing a public lack of support, using institutional checks, and leveraging their political clout (Levitsky and Ziblatt 2018). While not entirely successful, U.S. politician Mitt Romney's public condemnation of Donald Trump in 2016 can be seen as an attempt at gatekeeping within the Republican party. When a political party becomes too weak to gatekeep, perhaps due to internal fragmentation, outsiders who may create instability or introduce extreme ideas have a greater opportunity to gain power.

Alternatively, strong opposition parties and coalitions can prevent individuals with authoritarian or anti-democratic leanings from gaining power. When these parties and coalitions weaken, they open the door for one party or individual to take control.

#### **Examples**

- In Serbia, the Democratic Opposition of Serbia was a large alliance of political parties which formed to oust the ruling Socialist Party. By the 2003 presidential election, the coalition had fragmented and the individual parties proved to be too weak, allowing for the election of Tomislav Nikolic of the Serbian Radical party.
- After failing to prevent the appointment of Jussi Halla-aho as the head of the Finns Party in 2017, the coalition of which the Finns Party was a member split due to the belief that Halla-aho was too extreme.

### **3.2.14 Vertical Corruption**

Vertical corruption is corruption in the input procedures in democracy, or procedures and norms which are necessary for citizens to have their interests equally represented in, and responded to, by government actors through democratic channels (Bailey '2009).

Instances of vertical corruption reduce the willingness and ability of policymakers to listen to the preferences of the public and pass them on to decision and policy making bodies (Bratton 2012). When corruption is prevalent, political decisions are made in the pursuit of personal enrichment, rather than the fulfillment of the preferences of the people. If bribery is seen as a normal “cost of doing business,” then corruption, rather than taxation, becomes the economic link between the citizens and their government. This causes elected officials and bureaucrats to be less responsive to the needs and requests of the citizenry without bribery (Bratton 2012).

Vertical corruption may also impact electoral outcomes, as wealthy elites allied with a regime can fraudulently fund campaigns or finance lobbying efforts to circumvent a democracy’s responsiveness to the public. Finally, vertical corruption may occur as a result of a conflict of interest, in which government contracts are sold to firms owned by party or regime loyalists, providing unique and exclusive economic benefits to political allies.

In short, examples of vertical corruption include: bribery of government officials or bureaucrats, extortion/blackmail, influence peddling, sale of government contracts to party loyalists or regime allies, patronage networks, ties to organized crime groups, campaign finance abuse, and illegal lobbying.

### **Examples**

- South Korean President Park Geun Hye and her adviser and friend Choi Soon Sil embezzled state money, which led to Choi amassing a “large, private fortune.” Choi was found to have immense influence over Park, and they were accused of coercing the business community to make donations that support the presidency.
- Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his wife accepted cigars, jewelry, and champagne from Israeli expatriates in return for the extension of a 10-year tax exemption to expatriate Israelis returning to the country.
- In a scandal known as Oilgate, South Africa’s state oil company, PetroSA, paid 15 million Rand in 2004 to a company called Imvume Management as an advance payment for oil condensate, which the company then diverted to the ANC (African National Congress party) to help fund election campaigns.

### **3.2.15 Civil War/Revolution**

The violence and conflict of a civil war, or the popular upheaval caused by a revolution, can be used by the ruling coalition or executive as evidence that more control is necessary to

maintain the status quo. The authorization by the legislature to allow the executive to utilize emergency powers or to suspend existing civil liberties may allow the executive to further consolidate power, a situation that remains even as the emergency passes. Additionally, the environment generates a “common enemy”, potentially allowing the executive to claim that any opposition to his measures is in fact support for the enemy.

### **Examples**

- In Cambodia, the post-Paris Peace Accords status quo led to the Khmer Rouge never disarming, permitting Hun Sen and Prince Ranariddh of FUNCINPEC to label domestic press who opposed actions as pro-Khmer Rouge outlets. Additionally, the imminent threat of the Khmer Rouge gave the CPP the cover to maintain their own security forces, which would later be used to throw FUNCINPEC out of power.

## **3.3 Exogenous Risk Factors**

### **3.3.1 Non-state Violence**

The presence of non-state violence—organized crime, terrorist groups, gangs, and violent cartels, among others—is a precursor to democratic backsliding for two main reasons. First, the endemic existence of violent non-state actors indicates weak rule of law and may undermine citizen perception of regime legitimacy. Second, non-state violence poses a threat insofar as candidates from populist, extremist, or authoritarian parties can rise to power, promising to eradicate the threat by any means necessary, including the erosion of democratic institutions (Norris 2017). The latter has materialized in Europe with the rise of extreme-right parties in France, Germany, Hungary, and Poland, in response to sporadic terrorist attacks on the continent. In the Philippines, Rodrigo Duterte has similarly campaigned on and implemented tough-on-crime policies, often at the expense of civil liberties and judicial processes.

### **Examples**

- In 2001, an armed conflict between ethnic Albanians and Slavic Macedonians killed dozens.
- Following the collapse of the Qaddafi regime, weapons from Libya streamed into Mali and ended up in the hands of Tuareg insurgents, resulting in heightened violence in the Northern regions of the country and the inability of the military to quell it.

### 3.3.2 Refugee Crisis

The influx of refugees into a country does not itself pose a risk to democracy, but it may create conditions which inspire harsh reactionary movements that can threaten democracy. Harsh reactionary movements often lead to other precursors to erosion, as the capacities of host countries come under increased strain (Mudde 2013). Thus, a massive refugee crisis, and in particular a heavy influx of refugees into a single country, can be considered a precursor to democratic erosion.

For instance, since the start of the Syrian Civil War and the subsequent influx of refugees into Europe and Syria's neighbors, several authoritarian right-wing parties have gained traction, primarily campaigning against open borders and the harboring of refugees (Norris and Inglehart 2019). In some cases, these parties have successfully won the highest national offices with anti-immigrant rhetoric, as did Viktor Orbán and his Fidesz party in Hungary. Even when such parties do not win majorities, they often have significant influence on national politics, as demonstrated by the National Front in France, AfD in Germany, and UKIP in the United Kingdom. Many such parties became nationally relevant only once they began campaigning against refugee policies, stoking anger and nationalist sentiments (Norris and Inglehart 2019).

#### Examples

- Beginning in the summer of 2012, the Syrian refugee crisis has spilled into Lebanon, with refugees now comprising approximately  $\frac{1}{4}$  of Lebanon's population. Pre-existing tensions have been exacerbated in a country already beset with a weak economy and complex political situation, and deadly clashes between Sunni Muslims and Alawites in Lebanon's major cities have ensued.
- In 2015, a large number of refugees entered Hungary. After the EU began to mandate quotas for how many asylum applications EU countries must accept, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán refused to participate and criminalized NGO support for asylum seekers.

### 3.3.3 External Influence

External political alignment can take many forms, including membership in international organizations, economic agreements, or military alliances with other countries. International organizations, such as the EU, often have requirements for membership and threaten to revoke membership (and the benefits that come with it) if they are not upheld. International organizations can thus hold member countries to certain base standards,

including standards that safeguard democratic institutions. On the other hand, when a country leaves an international organization, it may lose a level of accountability to uphold certain democratic norms. This same accountability mechanism is seen in alliance structures or certain bilateral agreements, where states can threaten to withhold benefits or break the relationship if another country acts undemocratically. The choice to leave an international organization or end an international agreement can be a sign that a government no longer wants to be held accountable, and can open the door for future actions that may erode democratic institutions.

Alternatively, countries can politically align themselves with international actors (e.g., a larger, more authoritarian neighbor) that reduces local independence or hopes to diminish local democracy. This localized erosion may happen in exchange for financial support or political favors from the more powerful country.

### **Examples**

- In 2013, Ukrainian president Yanukovich made a deal with Russia, following a financial crisis, for 15 billion dollars and a cut to natural gas prices . This was seen as reducing the president's independence from Russian influence.
- Starting in 2010, media groups associated with the Chinese government began to purchase stakes in Taiwanese media outlets and air propaganda, influencing Taiwanese elections.

### **3.3.4 Economic Shocks**

Democracies are often most fragile in the face of economic shocks, crashes, or crises (Przeworski 1996). These shocks may include a dramatic drop in the price of a key export, a monetary crisis, a global recession, among others. Such crises also tend to increase economic inequality, further heightening social tension and making democratic erosion even more likely (Huntington 1991).

If shocks persist, public frustration with the government response can lead to a perceived de-legitimization of democratic governance more broadly. Facing an economic crisis, the public may favor drastic measures that can be imposed only by (more) authoritarian governments (Huntington 1991).

At minimum, economic shocks set the stage for outsider entries into political, especially executive, office. Riding a wave of popular support, would-be authoritarian outsiders can exploit majoritarianism, especially in the absence of robust party and civil society

opposition, and use their political mandate of repairing the economy to justify the removal of horizontal checks, the extension of term limits, the reduction of civil liberties, and the subversion of elections (Haggard and Kaufman 2016). Due to the myriad potential impacts to democracy, economic shocks are thus a precursor to erosion.

### **Examples**

- The 2009 Eurozone Crisis caused an employment shock throughout the EU, though the UK was less affected due to use of the Pound. The UK then began to absorb unemployed individuals from the EU.
- De Beers diamond company lost control over the global diamond supply, causing the volatility of global diamond prices to increase, hurting Botswana's economy. In 2009, Ian Khama's first year as president, Botswana's GDP contracted by 7.8%, and GDP has continued to drop since.
- Brazil experienced an economic crisis when its economy contracted by nearly 7% in 2015-2016.

### **3.3.5 Regional Unrest Spillover**

Regional conflict has been shown to make civil war in neighboring countries more likely, so the governments of neighboring countries are more likely to implement anti-democratic policies as a form of preemptive repression. This repression is more likely when the leader is already threatened by domestic factors, such as a powerful opposition in an election year. Repression most often comes in the form of human rights abuses, such as political imprisonment and extrajudicial killings (Danneman and Ritter 2013). Regional unrest can also lead to more exogenous precursors of democratic backsliding, such as economic shocks and refugee crises (Ades and Chua 1997).

### **Examples**

- After opposition campaigners in Georgia and Ukraine won power through peaceful revolution, the government of Azerbaijan systematically repressed the opposition through human rights abuses such as torture and police beatings as a means to prevent similar democratic gains in their own country.
- As the number of neighboring countries in civil war increased over a decade, Belorussian citizens reported proportionally increased human rights violations.

## 4 Symptom Categorization

- **Question:** If defined as a symptom, how should the erosion-related event be categorized?
- **Clarification:** The symptoms were split into two subcategories: reduction in vertical accountability and a reduction in horizontal accountability. Within each subcategory, there are several labels to describe a particular event.
- **Responses:** Text.
- **Answer-Type:** Multiple-choice.

### 4.1 Reduction in Horizontal Accountability

#### 4.1.1 Reduction in Judicial Independence

A study by Gibler and Kirk found that established, independent judiciaries prevent backsliding to hybrid regimes or competitive authoritarianism. Established judiciaries may prevent the executive from gaining undue power under the guise of a crisis, and can directly check the power of the executive, thus maintaining democracy (Gibler and Randazzo 2011). In authoritarian regimes, governments often try to subjugate the judiciary through various means including impeachment, co-optation, extortion, or bribery (Levitsky and Way 2002). We define judicial independence as when a judiciary operates as a neutral third party that impartially resolves conflict and is insulated from political actors (Shapiro 1981). When a judiciary's failure to be independent is institutionalized or codified, we code this event as a *reduction* in judicial independence, rather than a delegitimizing or weakening of the judiciary. Court packing, circumvention of judicial power, or judicial decisions unduly privileging the executive are all symptoms of a reduction in judicial independence.

#### Examples

- In 2017, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan appointed 14 of 19 Constitutional Court judges, changing the orientation and disposition of the body from secularist to favoring Erdogan's Justice and Development Party.
- In 2016, the Polish Law and Justice party lowered the mandatory retirement age for Supreme Court judges and the National Council of the Judiciary, resulting in the termination of 31 of 83 judges.

## 4.1.2 Reduction in Legislative Oversight

In a functioning democracy, the legislature is capable of serving as a check on the other branches of government. Lust and Waldner argue that the legislature places external restrictions on members of the government, and is therefore an important component of horizontal accountability (Lust and Waldner 2015). A reduction in legislative oversight may manifest as executive actions or constitutional amendments that limit the legislature's formal powers. It may also take the form of a weakened legislature failing to act as an effective check on the executive, seen in "delegative democracies," where the executive rules without meaningful input from the legislative body. Such cases demonstrate that the elimination of formal checks is not always necessary for an institutional reduction in oversight (O'Donnell 1994). In either case, institutional weakening of the legislative branch signifies a clear decrease in horizontal accountability.

### Examples

- In January 2016, President Edgar Lungu of Zambia signed an amendment granting him the ability to dismiss the National Assembly at will.
- In 2017, Venezuela's Supreme Tribunal of Justice dissolved the National Assembly and assumed legislative powers.

## 4.1.3 Weakened Civil Service or Integrity Institutions

Both the civil service and international integrity institutions can check executive power through nonviolent, deliberate resistance (Ingber 2018). The related precursor category describes replacing these officials with party loyalists, manipulation via patronage networks, or intimidation. However, there are also instances where state agencies are placed directly under executive control or are restructured to reduce their influence. As Huq and Ginsberg discuss, when the executive takes control over the bureaucracy, it eliminates a potential check on their actions (Huq and Ginsburg 2018). Similarly, international integrity institutions—such as the International Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG), or third party electoral evaluators in Bangladesh—may serve as a check on executive power. Impeding or removing these international integrity institutions also qualifies as the institutional elimination of potential avenues for resistance.

### Examples



- In 2018, Romania's Social Democratic Party (PSD) fired the chief of the National Anti-corruption Directorate, in what was seen as punishment for attempting to prosecute corrupt elites.
- In 2018, Nepal's President Oli restructured the Nepalese civil service such that the National Investigation Department, the Social Welfare Council, Revenue Investigation and Money Laundering Investigation were placed under his office's control.

#### **4.1.4 Suspension of Laws or the Constitution**

Emergency powers enable executives to gain new powers and circumvent democratic procedures. These moments of exception are often utilized by the executive to fulfill an undemocratic agenda. Under a state of emergency, the executive may establish a curfew or suspend the right to assembly (depending on the specific state). These types of emergency powers are easily manipulated to weaken opposition movements, undermine election processes, or otherwise incapacitate democratic machinery. Huq and Ginsberg describe these cases of quick democratic collapse as “authoritarian reversions” (Huq and Ginsburg 2018). In some cases, the suspension of the rule of law might be a proportional response to a genuine emergency, such as the outbreak of a disease. The abuse of emergency powers, however, is symptomatic of executive aggrandizement, thus institutionalizing the erosion of democracy (Freeman 2003).

#### **4.1.5 Relaxation of Term Limits**

Democratic erosion often occurs through executive aggrandizement, the increased power and liberty of the executive to act as they please. One of the primary signs of executive aggrandizement is the extension, relaxation, or abolition of term limits placed on the executive or members of the executive's coalition (e.g. members of a legislative body). Executive term limits constrain the power of the executive, limit incumbency advantages, and promote competition and alternation in power (Maltz 2007). Successful attempts to extend term limits demonstrate an institutionalized reduction in the quality of democracy. Although often related to the symptom category of Constitutional Revision, the relaxation of term limits remains qualitatively distinct due to its role in executive aggrandizement (Baturu 2014).

#### **Examples**

- In December 2002, President Eyadema of Togo passed an amendment to the constitution that abolished presidential term limits and would allow him to run for an unlimited number of elections.
- In 2017, Bolivia's Supreme Court eliminated term limits, permitting President Evo Morales to stand for reelection in 2019.

#### **4.1.6 Revision of the Constitution**

Not all constitutional amendments should be viewed as democratic erosion events, but revisions that consolidate executive power or undermine checks and balances are symptomatic of democratic erosion. Many executives with authoritarian tendencies have turned to constitutional amendments for executive aggrandizement, a practice termed “abusive constitutionalism” (Landau 2013). When the executive eliminates checks through constitutional revision, it is a clear sign of institutionalized democratic erosion (Huq 2018).

##### **Examples**

- In 2008, Evo Morales passed a new constitution in Bolivia via referendum.
- In 2011, Viktor Orban's Fidesz party rewrote the Constitution and adopted the new Fundamental Law as a replacement.

#### **4.1.7 Reducing Autonomy of Subnational Units**

As noted is the corresponding precursor, some degree of power and autonomy is allocated to subnational units in many federalist systems. This distribution of power allows such units to check the powers of the central government (do Vale 2017).

When the central government of a country reduces the autonomy of these subnational units, it can be symptomatic of erosion, representing an accumulation of power and the elimination of institutionalized limits on the exercise of that power.

#### **4.1.8 Creation of Parallel Structures**

Autocrats can consolidate power by creating parallel institutions that mirror official state organizations and agencies. This could especially be the case in one-party states, where the legislature and cabinet members are selected from the dominant, universal party and are subservient to the decision-making bodies of that party.

## **Examples**

- The Cuban Communist Party (PCC) was established as the preeminent authority within Cuban politics under the 1976 constitution. The party is headed by a 24-member Politburo and 149-member Central Committee. The PCC is the only legally recognized party and dominates the high offices. Although non-members can serve in the National Assembly, these members are likely token pieces, with real power vested in the party-loyal establishment.

### **4.1.9 Purging of Elites**

Geddes, Franz, and Wright state that dictators offer their inner circle just enough power/resources to placate the demands of elites (Geddes Wright and Frantz 2018). Since attempting to remove dictators creates risk of removal for the inner circle, the number of elites that accepts the dictators “offer” exceeds the number that attempts a coup. The bargain favors the dictator when the risk of coup is lower. Drawing from this logic, eliminating rivals or troublemakers could be an effective tool of autocrat consolidation, creating uncertainty in the ranks of the inner circle and encouraging compliance among remaining members.

## **Examples**

- After a coup attempt in 2016, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan charged senior officers with treason and purged tens of thousands of police and officers of the judiciary and civil service.

### **4.1.10 Candidate Selection**

Autocrats have a vested interest in ensuring there are no threats that could emerge within the in-group, whether that be the legislature or other governing bodies, including parallel structures. By carefully weeding out undesirable candidates, the executive is able to ensure dissenting voices are silenced, maintain cohesion in the ranks of the elite, and prevent any opposition bloc from gaining influence. This candidate selection could take a multitude of forms, including preventing non-approved candidates from running at all, creating requirements that candidates must fulfill before being placed on a ballot, or enacting informal restrictions that otherwise preclude equal and fair access to become a nominee.

## **Examples**

- In Cuba, a host of pseudo-governmental “mass organizations” with extensive connections to the Communist Party comprise the Nominating Committee, which practices active candidate selection. Additionally, positions of real power in the Cuban government, including the position of the President and President of the Council of State, are selected by a circle of elites, not by popular election. Anyone who ascends to positions of power have been carefully groomed through the years by the Communist Party.

## **4.2 Reduction in Vertical Accountability**

### **4.2.1 Repression of the Opposition**

According to Schedler, the freedom to “form, join, and support conflicting parties, candidates, and policies” and the freedom to “learn about available alternatives through access to alternative sources of information” are integral to democratic choice (Schedler 2002). We therefore define this category as when the state represses opposition parties through force or harassment or deliberately engineers an uneven playing field for the opposition. An uneven playing field exists when the incumbent abuses state infrastructure to create disparities in access to resources, media, or state institutions, impairing the opposition party’s ability to organize and compete for office (Levitsky and Way 2010). To create these conditions, the state may curtail the opposition’s ability to disseminate information or assemble.

#### **Examples**

- In 2014, South Korean President Park Geun-Hye endorsed the dissolution of the Unified Progressive Party (UPP), an opposition party.
- In 2015, the Polish Law and Justice Party conducted an audit of its main opponent, the Civic Platform (PO) party, six months after the election.

### **4.2.2 Systemic Reduction in Election Freedom and Fairness**

Elections must be “fair and free” to qualify as democratic (Schedler 2002). The difference between electoral democracy and electoral authoritarianism is the “freedom, fairness, inclusiveness, and meaningfulness” of the elections (Diamond 2002). Elections are considered free when there are few barriers to entry into politics, when candidates and supporters of different parties are free to campaign, and when voters do not experience substantial coercion in making choices in elections (Diamond 2002). Accordingly, per

Levitsky and Way, political systems become electoral authoritarianism when there is “an uneven playing field” between the incumbent and the opposition. In most liberal democracies, however, the incumbent has certain structural advantages, such as greater access to the media, better fundraising, and government transportation and staff during the campaign. We therefore define a systemic reduction in election freedom/fairness as the institutionalization of an uneven playing field between the government and the opposition, thereby giving the incumbent an artificial electoral advantage.

### **Examples**

- In 2014, 48 million registered voters were denied the opportunity to vote in the Bangladeshi general election.
- In 2004, South Korean President Roh Moo-Hyun violated the constitutional requirement that the president remain impartial in elections by openly advocating for his party in National Assembly elections.

### **4.2.3 Curtailed Civil Liberties**

Schedler asserts that for elections to be democratic, they must occur in an “open environment where civil and political liberties are not subject to repression” (Schedler 2002). Citizens must have the freedom to join and support conflicting candidates and policies, the right to express their electoral preferences, and access to multiple sources of information. Similarly, according to Dahl, two of the four key attributes of procedural democracy are the protection of civil liberties necessary to free and fair elections, including universal adult suffrage and the freedoms of speech, press, and association (Dahl 1972). When the public is denied these rights by the government, democratic erosion has occurred.

### **Examples**

- In 2016, the Basic Law for the Protection of Public Safety was enacted in Spain, resulting in fines levied for disrespecting the police, speaking critically of the government, and photographing police operations.
- In 2016, several reports came out of Turkey that trials lacked due process, prisoners faced challenges obtaining legal representation, and detainees were subject to physical and sanitary mistreatment.

### **4.2.4 Media Repression**

News media and other independent groups act as public watchdogs and promote government transparency by providing information and commentary critical of officials and their policies (Varol 2015). Restrictions on independent media weaken institutional checks and diminish competition among political parties and factions. While media repression may entail jailing journalists, shutting down news outlets, and outright censorship, some authoritarians may opt for less traditional or direct methods. Such leaders may use libel lawsuits against prominent journalists, compelling self-censorship among news outlets, thereby undermining the public's ability to observe the incumbent's behavior and obtain critical news coverage (Varol 2015).

### **Examples**

- In 2012, the Polish government attacked the largest private television channel, TVN24, demanding \$3 million in unpaid taxes.
- In 2017, in Turkey, an estimated 245 journalists were jailed, while another 140 faced outstanding arrest warrants.

## **4.2.5 No-Confidence Votes or Decreased Voter Turnout**

Once a substantial number of people living in a democratic society believe they do not have a voice in the political process and choose to no longer participate, then that democracy may lose its legitimacy (Moy Pfau 2000). Public confidence is an indication of how well the political system is performing and how responsive it is to the people's concerns. An erosion of confidence in representative democracy is a serious threat to that democracy (Newton Norris 1999). Politicians facing no-confidence votes or a large decrease in voter turnout are indications that there is a lack of confidence in the political system and that democratic erosion has taken place.

### **Examples**

- In 2017 and 2018, South African President Jacob Zuma faced multiple no-confidence votes.
- In 2014, the voter turnout for the Bangladeshi election was just 22%, down from 87% in the prior election cycle.

## **4.2.6 Forced/Coerced Exile**

A strategy similar to state-sponsored violence, forced or coerced exile occurs when the autocrat needs to remove individuals who may serve as a resistance to their consolidation

strategy. Such exile can be done by the exile themselves, with the exile fleeing potential future legal or physical violence, or forcibly imposed, with the exile being detained and then sent to a “neutral” third-party country. Such an arrangement can be temporary, with the individual only being removed for the period of time necessary to consolidate power, or a permanent removal of the individual so they can no longer frustrate the executive’s plans in the future.

### **Examples**

- In 2004, Chea Sim, the president of the Cambodian upper house and longtime CPP senior member, refused to sign an amendment that would permit the CPP-FUNCIPEC coalition to establish a government through a “package vote”. Sim was then forcibly sent to Bangkok, ostensibly for medical treatment, and his deputy signed the amendment, permitting the government to proceed.

# 5 Resistance Categorization

- **Question:** If defined as resistance, how should the erosion-related event be categorized?
- **Clarification:** The resistance categorizations were distinguished by three subcategories: an increase in horizontal accountability, an increase in vertical accountability, and an “other” category. Within each subcategory, there are a number of labels to describe a particular event.
- **Responses:** Text.
- **Answer-Type:** Multiple-choice.

## 5.1 Increase in Horizontal Accountability

### 5.1.1 Check on Executive by Judiciary

In the context of democratic erosion, the judiciary plays an important role in preventing, or allowing, backsliding. Gibler and Randazzo found evidence that independent judiciaries that have existed for at least three years mitigate democratic erosion (Gibler and Randazzo 2011). Constitutional courts, for instance, can declare laws totally or partially unconstitutional, preventing a potential authoritarian from manipulating laws for aggrandized executive power. Constitutional courts can serve as powerful veto players in their own right, dependent on the particular political system and powers of the court (Brouard and Honnige 2017).

Judiciaries that lack independence can also engage in acts of resistance. Helmke argues that under certain conditions of institutional insecurity, a lack of judicial independence can actually motivate strategic defection on the part of judges from the government, drawing from data on the Argentine Supreme Court (Helmke 2002).

#### Examples

- In 2014, the court system of Botswana overturned an attempt by President Ian Khama to elect a vice president via a show of hands vote, rather than by secret ballot.
- In 2008, the Constitutional Court of Kosovo ruled that Fatmir Sejdiu could not serve as both President of Kosovo and president of the political party Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK).



## 5.1.2 Check on Executive by Legislature

Key to many definitions of democracy (Schumpeter 1947, Dahl 1972, Schmitter and Karl 1991, Alvarez et al. 1996) is a competitively-elected legislative branch, which operates alongside an executive and exists to legislate voters' priorities. Though they may vary in composition and exact capabilities, legislatures in democracies can often serve as important checks on executive power through impeachment proceedings, public critique, and votes on legislation or constitutional amendments. Within the legislative branch itself, multiparty coalitions can serve as formal "gatekeepers," preventing executive aggrandizement and the manipulation of existing democratic structures (Levitsky and Ziblatt 2018).

### Examples

- In 2015, the Congress of Guatemala voted to strip President Otto Perez Molina of his immunity in response to corruption allegations, leading to his resignation from office the following day.
- In 2011, the opposition-controlled Congress in Paraguay blocked a constitutional amendment that would have eliminated presidential term limits.

## 5.1.3 Check on Central Power by Subnational Units

In federalist systems, subnational governments such as provinces or states can serve as checks on the power of the central government (do Vale 2017). Subnational institutions can harness powers conferred to them by the central government, such as regulation and discretion in policy implementation, and their own capacity to autonomously legislate to express dissent and curb central government power (Bulman-Pozen and Gerken 2009). Acts of "uncooperative federalism" at the subnational level—or "uncooperative localism" at the municipal level—can contest, and even alter, national policy (Bulman-Pozen and Gerken 2009 and Gerken 2017).

*Note on coding:* Not all instances of uncooperative federalism or localism is a sign of resistance against democratic erosion. In fact, some may be politically contentious to code and should be noted as such. A historical example of this can be found in the United States's Civil Rights movement, during which some states used the rhetoric of "states' rights" to maintain segregation.

### Examples

- Several states in the U.S. resisted implementing portions of the Patriot Act that conflicted with constitutional rights (Montana, Connecticut, and others).
- India's subnational governments have become increasingly involved in matters of international diplomatic relations, decentralizing the country's foreign policy-making process (Jain and Maini 2017).

#### **5.1.4 Check on Central Power by Civil Service**

Central to effective democratic governance is autonomous bureaucratic capacity. Through its insulation from political control at the day-to-day level, an autonomous bureaucratic capacity serves as a barrier to the misuse of state power, prevents rapid change, facilitates lasting decision making, and creates a meritocratic infrastructure of career civil servants, rather than patronage networks (Huq and Ginsburg 2018).

In such instances where government—or executive—agendas are perceived to be illegal, immoral, or against the stated mandate of a bureaucratic agency, civil servants or government employees can resist through deliberate, nonviolent acts of disobedience or defiance (See Nou 2019, Ingber 2018, and Kestenbaum 2017). Depending on the act of resistance itself, and whether it emerges from within the bounds of the functional or formal power of the bureaucracy, it can come with great risks to those choosing to execute it. Examples include withholding information or approval, releasing public statements of dissent, leaking information to the press, limiting the discretion of political appointees, and seeking judicial recourse.

##### **Example**

- United States Foreign Service Officers and other diplomats drafted a dissent memo opposing President Donald Trump's executive order restricting the entry of refugees and immigrants from majority Muslim countries into the U.S.

#### **5.1.5 Post-Democratic Transition to New Constitution**

The creation of a new, democratic constitution can be a sign of the process of democratic consolidation. Linz and Stepan note that one of the three main conditions for democratic consolidation relies on the content of a state's constitution—that all major actors and state organs reflect democratic norms and practices (Linz and Stepan 1996). Acemoglu and Robinson also note that the detailed structures of durable political institutions must be present for consolidation (Acemoglu and Robinson 2006).

The institutions designed and how a constitution is drafted have a greater effect on the prospect of democratic consolidation than the act of creating a constitution itself (Munck 1994). The most democratic and sustainable constitutions forged during transitions arise from wide coalition-building and broad-based citizen input (Eisenstadt et al. 2015).

Transition constitutions must seek to resolve conflict and tensions between the old guard and those advocating for a democratic transition. They must also develop electoral systems that reflect citizen preferences, establish transparent legal procedures, and build durable institutions (Lowenthal and Bitar 2017). Otherwise, constitutions that appear democratic may, in reality, be drafted in such a way as to facilitate a power-grab by a select group. Such instrumentalization depends on the structure of the executive branch, the strength of constitutionally mandated checks, the provision of term limits, and other similar factors (Eisenstadt et al. 2015, Lowenthal and Bitar 2017).

### **Example**

- Following the Arab Spring uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt, both countries drafted new constitutions. Today, Egypt remains a hybrid regime, whereas Tunisia's democracy continues to strengthen, a phenomenon that many point to as a direct result of a more deliberative, inclusive constitution-drafting process in Tunisia.

## **5.2 Increase in Vertical Accountability**

### **5.2.1 Coalitions or Elite Pacts**

Though political scientists debate the importance of power sharing among elites in relation to active participation of the citizenry, many agree that elite pacts can be beneficial to democratic health. North notes that elite pacts are at the heart of a functioning democracy, creating an understanding that if all political actors respect the rules of democracy, each may have the opportunity to win power in the future, thus reinforcing democratic norms (North 1990).

On a related note, Levitsky and Ziblatt emphasize the importance of multiparty coalitions as formal "gatekeepers" to prevent the rise of potentially authoritarian executives or party platforms (Levitsky and Ziblatt 2018). Even if an undemocratic candidate should take office, scholars such as Levitsky and Ziblatt (Levitsky and Ziblatt 2018) and Gandhi and Buckles (Gandhi and Buckles 2016) agree that if coalitions form, they can prevent further harm to the democracy and even unseat an authoritarian.

### **Examples**

- In Ireland, a coalition between the Fine Gael and Fianna Fail parties helped counter extremism and led to the 2017 election of a young, immigrant, and openly homosexual Prime Minister: Leo Varadkar.
- In 2014, the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) and the People's Party (PP) signed an agreement to increase transparency in an attempt to lower corruption.

## **5.2.2 Increase in Electoral Integrity**

When the infrastructure allowing for free and fair elections comes under threat through partisan electoral manipulation or tampering from an outside actor, the integrity of a democracy is put at risk (Schedler 2002). To resist this, states can take proactive steps to reinforce the security of the ballot box by increasing the scale of electoral monitoring and broadening planning requirements for electoral management bodies (Darnolf 2018).

States can expand access to the ballot box, by extending the right to vote to formerly disenfranchised groups (e.g., the restoration of voting rights to certain formerly-incarcerated persons in Florida, the global women's suffrage movement) and increasing opportunities to vote (e.g., implementing vote-by-mail, early voting, or absentee ballot programs). Further, states can overturn former policies that restricted access to the ballot box or ensured particular electoral outcomes (e.g., voter ID laws or redrawing districts after gerrymandering).

## **5.2.3 Increase in Civic Capacity**

Civic capacity, or the capacity of individuals and organizations to create and sustain collective action (Britannica), contributes to citizens' sense of ownership over their democracy and the decisions it makes. By increasing the avenues through which citizens, coalitions, and civil society organizations can meaningfully contribute to the policy-making and implementation processes, the degree of perceived legitimacy and accountability of the democracy can increase (Gilman and Rahman 2017). Often accomplished at the local level, increasing civic capacity can take various forms including soliciting public feedback on policy proposals, engaging a community through participatory budgeting, or expanding the reach and scale of civil society organizations (Gilman and Rahman 2017).

## **5.2.4 Nonviolent Protest**

For a democracy to function, it must protect and promote freedom of speech and assembly for its citizens (Dahl 1972). Without this, citizens are restricted from meaningfully expressing their preferences, and the space for voicing opposing views is limited. By harnessing the freedom of assembly, citizens can participate in nonviolent protest outside the spaces created for traditional political engagement, opposing government policies and institutions they see as threatening the sanctity of the democracy (Krastev 2014) Stephan and Chenoweth find that these nonviolent campaigns are more effective than violent protests in producing loyalty shifts and policy changes, particularly when they gain legitimacy among a wide cross section of a population (Stephan and Chenoweth 2008).

### **Examples**

- In 2014, after the Regiment of Presidential Security (RPS) orchestrated a coup, mass protests forced it to apologize and reinstate the former Government of Burkina Faso.
- In Guatemala, citizens took to the streets to peacefully protest when the La Linea corruption scandal was uncovered by the International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG) and Attorney General Thelma Aldana.
- In 2017, 150 Serbian news outlets and advocacy groups organized a media blackout and warned of media censorship.

## **5.2.5 Violent Protest**

Though Stephan and Chenoweth conclude that nonviolent campaigns are more effective than violent protests in producing loyalty shifts and policy changes (Stephan and Chenoweth 2008), citizen-led protests against a regime may escalate and become violent. Krastev notes that, ideally, nonviolent protests and elections should give citizens an outlet outside of violence through which to voice their opposition or disapproval (Krastev 2014). However, protests resisting acts of democratic erosion may turn violent, whether deliberately or as a declaration of desperation.

*Note on coding:* In coding events, it is important to differentiate between violent acts of resistance *against* a government and violence that erupts between nonviolent protesters and state forces. A terrorist attack against a democratic government, for instance, should not be marked as “violent protest,” nor should police violence against protesters. “Violent protest” should be used exclusively when the protesters themselves initiate or participate in violent acts.

### **Examples**

- In 2009, a peaceful protest demanding the Latvian government's resignation due to a struggling economy turned violent when hundreds of people threw stones at the parliamentary building and looted stores.
- In 2017, protesters in Asuncion, Paraguay entered the Congress building and set it on fire in response to a proposed bill to lift presidential term limits.

## **5.2.6 Increase in Media Protections/Media Liberalization**

Though the scholarship on media liberalization and democratization remains divided about whether independent media leads or follows democratic consolidation (Jebril et al. 2013), deliberate steps by a government to improve protections for independent media or enable further media liberalization can create a landscape open to independent voices, critical opinions, and potential government watchdogs. Implementing laws that reverse criminal libel laws, increase constitutional protections for journalists, privatize formerly state-run media sources, break up media conglomerates, and other state actions can serve to resist media repression.

It is important to note, however, that not all private media outlets are examples of a free and healthy landscape for independent journalism; in Hungary, for instance, the pro-government, but “independent” media conglomerate KESMA reaches 80 percent of the Hungarian audience, while other independent media houses have been closed (Joinken 2019).

## **5.3 Other**

### **5.3.1 Pressure from Outside Actor**

Outside actors, including nongovernmental organizations and international organizations, play a large role in holding states accountable to uphold international democratic norms. The role these peer actors play in naming, shaming, and punishing states for breaching accepted standards of conduct or for lapses in democratic governance, can serve to alter behaviors and strengthen democratic norms. Finnemore and Sikkink write of a “norms cascade” process during which pressure for conformity and a desire for increased legitimacy among actors on the international stage can push states to change their behavior (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998). Ways outside actors can pressure states include releasing statements of public condemnation, publishing critical reports, imposing

economic sanctions, withholding aid, and preventing said state from joining an international organization.

### **Examples**

- In 2018, The United Nations condemned new laws in Hungary which targeted non-governmental organizations and civil society.
- In 2017, the European Union rescinded funding to Poland as a result of its neglect of the Rule of Law framework.

### **5.3.2 Exit of People or Money**

In some contexts, citizens face legal or institutional barriers to voicing their dissatisfaction with government actions through protests or elections, or perceive that their actions will not accomplish any change. In such instances, exit becomes an attractive option, though not without its own barriers. Removing a significant amount of human or physical capital from a particular state can pressure a state to change (Paul 1992) or draw international attention to the conditions at play. For example, more than 7 percent of Venezuela's population has fled the country since 2014 as conditions continue to deteriorate under the Maduro regime. A historical example of the exit of physical capital to pressure policy change favoring democratic reforms is the international divestment movement against apartheid-era South Africa, which contributed to pressuring the South African government into dissolving apartheid.

### **5.3.3 State Attempts to Prevent Backsliding**

Particular actions by the state may have the consequence of preventing democratic backsliding, though that may not be the expressed intent. This category should be used to classify actions taken by the state to deliberately prevent backsliding that do not fall under existing categories. This can include the creation of programs to resolve long standing ethnic, political, or social divides through the reversal of discriminatory statutes (e.g. legally-mandated racial or ethnic segregation, or the legal distinction of citizens by caste) or through truth and reconciliation commissions. State attempts to prevent backsliding can also take the form of reversing previous policies that allowed for executive aggrandizement or weakened the autonomy of particular branches of government. For instance, upon taking office, President of Argentina Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner removed persons from the judiciary that were loyalists to a previous government.

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