

Overview

The Global State of Democracy

Exploring Democracy's Resilience



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Foreword

Recent media reports and public opinion polls have warned about the apparent growing threats to democracy. They suggest, with pessimism, that democracy is in decline. There are certainly reasons to be concerned. All countries must address complex challenges that, whether originating within or outside of their borders, have a global reach: from food scarcity to conflict, from climate change to terrorism and organized crime, and from populism to corruption. However, in my opinion, this is an incomplete overview of the problem.

It is easy to lose sight of the long-term gains the world has made in maintaining democracy. By and large, public institutions today are more representative and accountable to the needs and desires of women and men of all ages. Over the past several decades, many states have become democratic and, notwithstanding obstacles and some setbacks, most of them have maintained that status. Today, more countries hold elections than ever before. Crucially, most governments respect their international commitments to uphold fundamental rights, more individuals are able to freely cast their votes, and civil society and its leaders can mobilize and engage in dialogue with political leaders. All in all, democracy has produced a domino effect, growing and spreading across the planet.

Governments should build on this strong foundation in order to reduce the risk of backsliding towards authoritarianism. Regrettably, in too many cases electoral results are not respected or institutions and rules are manipulated to keep leaders in power indefinitely. This prevents citizens from accessing the basic elements of freedom and equality that democracy champions.

International IDEA's new publication, *The Global State of Democracy*, offers a comprehensive global analysis of the challenges facing democracy and the policy options to tackle them. The text contrasts recent democratic reversals with longer-term positive trends, providing a nuanced fact-based perspective and proposing solutions to questions that are often overly politicized. The publication discusses complex, critical and politically sensitive problems facing the world

today, such as how to provide migrants with opportunities to participate politically in their home and destination communities. It also addresses how money improperly influences the political system, the risks that rising inequality levels pose to democracies and their potential impact on future generations, and the strategies to create or strengthen inclusive political instruments after conflict.

In addition, International IDEA provides valuable insights on the important role women play in strengthening political institutions, how young people can be engaged in politics, and how innovations in technology and the media are changing the way politics is done today. The publication contains a rich summary of best practices and case studies from around the world, focusing on the changing political dynamics of democracies traditionally defined as 'consolidated' and 'emerging'.

The publication draws attention to both the positive and negative forces that influence democratic systems, and offers a useful set of policy recommendations and options. While there are no easy solutions, these ideas should help all of us who are involved in building democratic societies to reinvigorate our relations with our fellow citizens. In short, at a time when joining forces to safeguard democracy is more important than ever before, International IDEA provides us with key elements to analyse and suggestions to act on. This makes the publication exceptionally timely.

Michelle Bachelet
President of Chile

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Introduction

This Overview examines the global state of democracy and the challenges to democracies posed by today's political landscape. It is a condensed version of *The Global State of Democracy 2017: Exploring Democracy's Resilience* (International IDEA 2017a), which explores key current challenges to democracy and the enabling conditions for its resilience.

The contemporary political landscape poses complex global challenges to democracies. The landscape is shaped by globalization, geopolitical power shifts, changing roles and structures of (supra)national organizations and institutions, and the rise in modern communications technologies. Transnational phenomena such as migration and climate change influence the dynamics of conflict and development, citizenship and state sovereignty. Rising inequalities, and the social polarization and exclusion they generate, skew political representation and voice, reducing the vital moderate centre of the electorate.

Democracy is increasingly challenged from within, for instance by political leaders unwilling to respect election results or hand over power peacefully. This can lead to democratic backsliding. Voter apathy and distrust of traditional political institutions—particularly political parties and politicians—have led citizens to seek alternative paths of political dialogue and engagement, supported by new technologies. Big money in politics, and its ability to capture the state and facilitate corruption, undermines the integrity of political systems. Countries in democratic transition and those affected by conflict are particularly vulnerable in their efforts to create stable democratic societies.

These dynamics have contributed to a widely contested view that democracy is in decline. Events around the world continue to challenge the notion of democracy's resilience and make democratic systems appear fragile and threatened. Yet democratic values among citizens, and within institutions at the national and international levels, continue to be expressed and defended. In 2017, mass demonstrations against corruption took place in Brazil, the Republic of Korea, Romania, South Africa, the USA and Venezuela. In many countries, citizens have taken to the streets to reclaim democracy.

Another common thread is populism; appeals by demagogic political elites who claim to stand for the 'people' advocate illiberal—against fundamental rights—perspectives that offer romantic and often unattainable visions of society. Populist movements are complex, and may have positive implications for democracy by giving voice to those aggrieved at elites and the establishment, but they contain a dark side when populists seize control of governments and implement unworkable social policies.

For decades, a prevailing assumption has been that, in most instances, once democracy is 'consolidated', it will persist (Alexander 2002). However, progress towards democracy during a transition is not linear or inevitable (Carothers 2002), and countries that have been commonly regarded as consolidated democracies can experience democratic erosion or backsliding (Lust and Waldner 2015).

Democracy faces challenges in Western Europe; polarization undermines the social cohesion necessary for democracy to function well (Grimm 2016). In the UK, the June 2016 'Brexit' vote to leave the European Union (EU) raised concerns about the ability of a razor-thin majority to make decisions that deeply affect the lives of all citizens.

Echoing global concerns about restrictions on civil society, Central and Eastern European countries such as Azerbaijan, Czechia, Hungary, Poland, Russia and Slovakia have experienced a rollback of civil society, free media and freedom of opposition. Hungary and Poland have both elected strongly ideological governments, raising concerns about democratic consolidation (Rovni 2014). In January 2017, protestors in Romania took to the streets to express anger over a government decree that would have weakened accountability laws for government officials (Lyman and Gillet 2017).

In Africa, democratization is evolving rapidly. The generation of leaders associated with independence will likely soon be replaced. In Angola, South Africa and Zimbabwe the strength of multiparty democracy will be tested in ruling regimes for the first time since independence. In 2016 and 2017 crises erupted in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Gabon and Zimbabwe over executive manipulations to retain power beyond constitutional term limits. Power plays by presidents often lead to violent protests and cycles of repression, as in Burundi, where an intractable ‘third-term’ claim by President Pierre Nkurunziza precipitated near ‘state failure’ in the country (ICG 2016).

In Asia and the Pacific, countries such as China and Viet Nam enjoy continued economic progress under one-party systems; in 2016, Viet Nam transitioned to new leadership through an election by delegates of the ruling Communist Party. The Philippines—which transitioned to democracy following its ‘People Power’ revolution of 1983–86—has been subjected to a rollback of rights and freedoms justified by a populist war on drugs. Opposition parties in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Cambodia, Malaysia, Maldives, Pakistan and Thailand have called into question the validity of electoral processes and boycotted or refused to accept the results; this pattern indicates the weakness of democracy in the region (UNDP-DPA 2015).

Patterns in Latin America and the Caribbean suggest that democracy has nearly become the norm in this region, which is enjoying its most in-depth democratic consolidation to date. The region has seen an expansion of sexual identity rights and rights for indigenous groups. Yet democracy remains challenged by pervasive corruption in Brazil, Peru and Venezuela, and by the persistence of economic inequality. El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico and Venezuela have experienced armed violence stemming from organized crime and other forms of human insecurity, such as gender-based violence, which restrict democracy (Santamaría 2014). In such insecure environments, criminal organizations and illicit networks have targeted civil society, independent media, judges and prosecutors, and local government officials.

The first edition of *The Global State of Democracy* explores key current challenges to democracy and the enabling conditions for its resilience. **Resilience** is defined as the ability of social systems to cope with, survive, innovate and recover from complex challenges and crises that present stress or pressure that can lead to systemic failure. This

edition explores the impact of the process of democratic backsliding on the quality of democracy as well as key challenges such as: the changing nature of political parties and representation; money, influence, corruption and state capture; inequality and social exclusion; migration, social polarization, citizenship and multiculturalism; and democracy and peacebuilding in post-conflict transitions.

Based on newly developed Global State of Democracy (GSoD) indices, the full publication presents global and regional assessments of the state of democracy from 1975—to at the beginning of the third wave of democratization—to 2015, complemented by a qualitative analysis of challenges to democracy up to 2017. The GSoD indices data sets start in 1975 to ensure a high reliability and quality of secondary data sources (International IDEA 2017b).

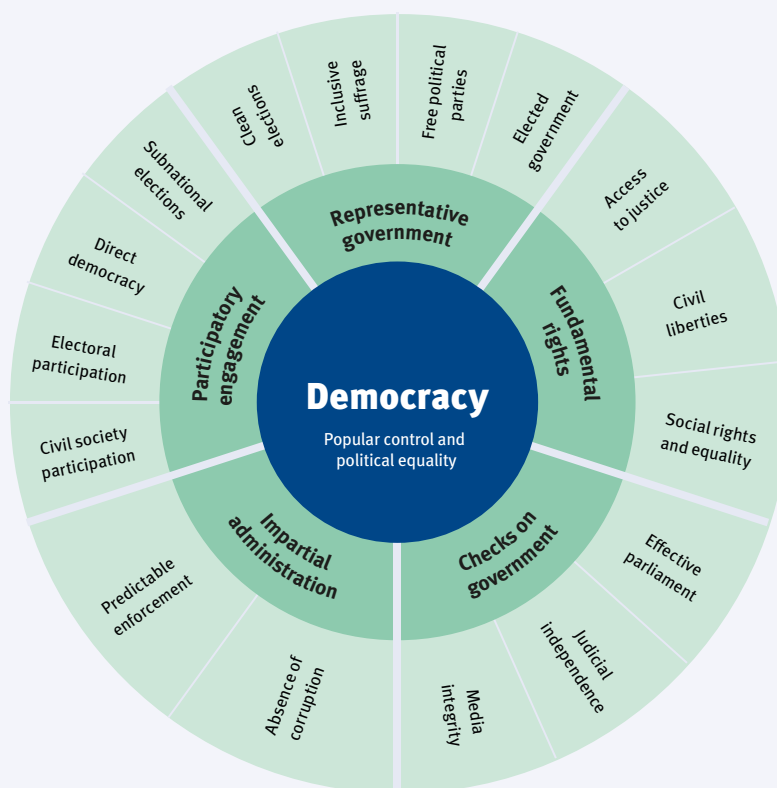
The publication strives to bridge the gap between academic research, policy development and democracy assistance initiatives, and is primarily intended to inform policy- and decision-makers, civil society organizations and democracy activists, policy influencers and research organizations, democracy support providers and practitioners. It seeks to provide actionable policy options and recommendations to key political institutions and actors in their efforts to support and advance democracy. A detailed outline of International IDEA’s geographical division of regions and countries can be found in the background paper ‘Geographic Definitions of Regions in *The Global State of Democracy*’ (International IDEA 2017c).

Has the global state of democracy declined over the past 10 years? What are the major global trends in different aspects of democracy since the beginning of the third wave of democratization? What should democracies do to prevent democratic backsliding? How can challenges to democracy be tackled to create the conditions for resilient democracies?

International IDEA’s definition of democracy

International IDEA, an intergovernmental organization that supports sustainable democracy worldwide, defines **democracy** as ‘popular control over decision-makers and political equality of those who exercise that control’. More particularly, the democratic ideal ‘seeks to guarantee equality and basic freedoms; to empower ordinary people; to resolve disagreements through peaceful dialogue; to respect difference; and to bring about political and social

Conceptual framework: The Global State of Democracy



renewal without conflict' (Landman 2008: 17). Hence, democracy is understood in broader terms than just free elections. It is a concept with multiple dimensions, including civil and political rights, social and economic rights, democratic governance and the rule of law.

International IDEA's understanding of democracy overlaps with features of democratic thought such as electoral democracy, liberal democracy, social democracy and participatory democracy. Its concept of democracy reflects a core value enshrined in article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that the 'will of the people' is the basis for the legitimacy and authority of sovereign states. It incorporates a common and universal desire for peace, security and justice. Democracy reflects the fundamental ethical bases of human equality and the dignity of persons, and is thus inseparable from human rights.

The democratic principles of popular control and political equality are compatible with different political institutions in the form of electoral systems (proportional–majoritarian), government systems (presidential–parliamentary) and state structure (federalist–unitary) at the national, local and

supranational levels. These principles are thus open to a context-sensitive implementation of universal standards of democratic governance. In short, a democratic system can be organized in a variety of ways, and countries can build their democracy in different ways, and therefore may fulfil these principles to varying degrees. International IDEA's broad understanding of democracy is measured by the new GSoD indices (Box I.1) based on five dimensions or 'attributes' of democracy: Representative Government, Fundamental Rights, Checks on Government, Impartial Administration and Participatory Engagement.

1. *Representative Government* covers the extent to which access to political power is free and equal as signified by competitive, inclusive and regular elections. This dimension, related to the concept of electoral democracy, has four subdimensions: clean elections, inclusive suffrage, free political parties and elected government.
2. *Fundamental Rights* captures the degree to which civil liberties are respected, and whether people have access to basic resources that enable their active participation in the political process. This dimension, which

significantly overlaps with the international covenants on human rights, has three subdimensions. Two of them are related to the concept of liberal democracy (access to justice and civil liberties) and one to the concept of social democracy (social rights and equality).

3. *Checks on Government* measures the effective control of executive power. It has three subdimensions related to the concept of liberal democracy: judicial independence, effective parliament and media integrity.
4. *Impartial Administration* concerns how fairly and predictably political decisions are implemented, and thus

reflects key aspects of the rule of law. This dimension is related to the concept of liberal democracy, which prescribes that the exercise of power must be rule abiding and predictable. This dimension has two subdimensions: absence of corruption and predictable enforcement.

5. *Participatory Engagement* concerns the extent to which instruments of political involvement are available and the degree to which citizens use them. It is related to the concept of participatory democracy and has four subdimensions: civil society participation, electoral participation, direct democracy and subnational elections.

BOX 1.1.

International IDEA's Global State of Democracy indices

International IDEA's new GSoD indices measure different aspects of democracy during the period 1975–2015 in 155 countries around the world.

Definition: Democracy is defined as popular control over public decision-making and decision-makers, and political equality between citizens in the exercise of that control.

Attributes of democracy: The indices measure 5 main attributes of democracy, which contain a total of 16 subattributes. They tap into 5 features emphasized by various traditions of democratic thought that are associated with the concepts of electoral democracy, liberal democracy, social democracy and participatory democracy:

Attribute 1: Representative Government

Subattributes: Clean Elections, Inclusive Suffrage, Free Political Parties, Elected Government

Attribute 2: Fundamental Rights

Subattributes: Access to Justice, Civil Liberties, Social Rights and Equality

Attribute 3: Checks on Government

Subattributes: Effective Parliament, Judicial Independence, Media Integrity

Attribute 4: Impartial Administration

Subattributes: Absence of Corruption, Predictable Enforcement

Attribute 5: Participatory Engagement

Subattributes: Civil Society Participation, Electoral Participation, Direct Democracy, Subnational Elections

Sources: The data rely on a range of sources, including expert surveys, standards-based coding by research groups and analysts, observational data and composite measures on more than 100 indicators.

Units of observation: The GSoD data set includes country–year data for 155 countries that have at least 1 million inhabitants. In the calculations of regional and global averages, the scores are not weighted by population size.

Scales: All indices range from 0 (lowest democratic achievement) to 1 (highest democratic achievement); 0 generally refers to the worst performance in the whole sample of country–years (covered by a particular index), while 1 refers to the best country–year performance in the sample.

Aggregation: The construction of indices relies mainly on item response theory modelling and Bayesian factor analysis. In a few cases, the aggregation is calculated by taking the mean or multiplying various indicators.

Further details about the GSoD data set and associated indices can be found in Skaaning, S-E., *The Global State of Democracy Indices Methodology: Conceptualization and Measurement Framework* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2017), <<http://www.idea.int/gsod>>.

Chapter 1. The global state of democracy, 1975–2015

What is the global state of democracy? Some observers (e.g. Levitsky and Way 2015; Lührmann et al. 2017; Møller and Skaaning 2013b) contend that several decades of remarkable improvement in the state of democracy since the mid-1970s were followed by a slowdown or halt of democratic progress. Others (e.g. Diamond 2016) claim that there has even been a significant decline in democracy on the global level for more than a decade, and see clear signs of a reverse wave of democratization. Negative perceptions of the state of democracy are often based on unbalanced accounts with a biased focus on recent negative examples, or rely on data sets that lack transparency and are constructed using scientifically questionable procedures (Coppedge et al. 2011). Moreover, although such worries about a general democratic decline have become more frequent and prominent in recent years, they are not new (see Merkel 2010).

International IDEA's 'health check' of democracy, based on the analysis of global and regional trends between 1975 and 2015 deriving from the GSoD indices, shows that democracy faces many challenges, and that its resilience cannot be taken for granted. There is much room for improvement in virtually all dimensions of democracy. However, the situation is better than suggested by increasingly pessimistic views regarding the prevalence and resilience of contemporary democracy. The trends since 1975 suggest that most aspects of democracy have improved, and that most democracies have been resilient over time. Moreover, current democratic regressions are generally short lived and followed by recovery when internal democracy-friendly forces cooperate and resist leaders with authoritarian tendencies.

By taking a narrow (exclusively electoral), crisp understanding of democracy (i.e. classifying countries as either democratic or not), the number and proportion of countries that are considered electoral democracies has grown during the period 1975–2016. In 1975, competitive elections determined government power in as few as 46 countries (30 per cent), and this number had grown to 132 (68 per cent) by 2016.

One-third of all countries are still under autocratic rule, including major regional powers with large populations such as China, Egypt, Russia and Saudi Arabia. Moreover, there have been 24 democratic reversals since 2005 in countries

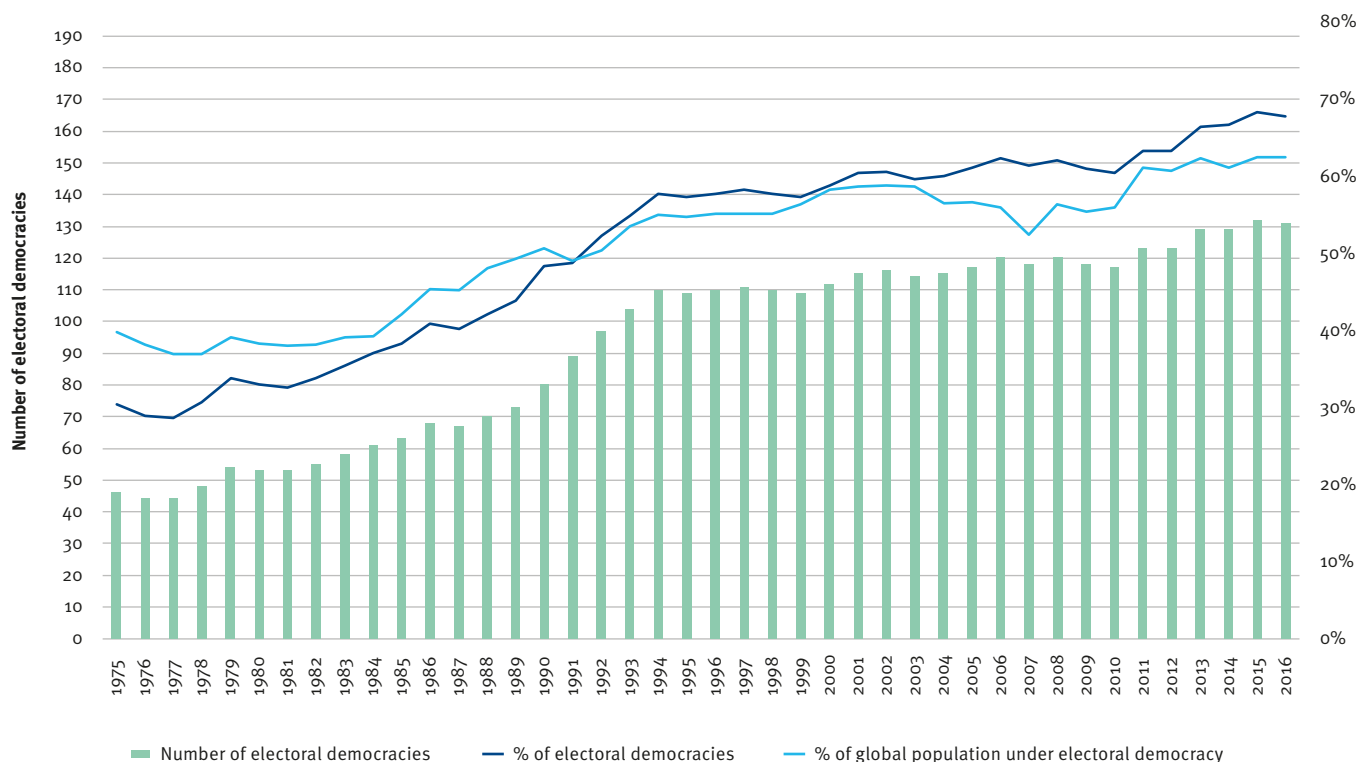
such as Mali, Niger and Thailand. This strongly indicates that some new democracies are not resilient. However, the majority of electoral democracies established after 1975 still exist, and almost no long-standing electoral democracies have experienced reversals.

While some countries have recently become electoral democracies for the first time, most of the recent transitions towards democracy happened in countries with previous democratic experience. Based on these developments, it is important to consider that democratization has always involved a mixture of gains and losses (Møller and Skaaning 2013: Ch. 5).

Figure 1.1 is based on the updated competitive elections indicator from the Electoral Democracy Index. This indicator is an attempt to operationalize Schumpeter's prominent definition of democracy as 'that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote' (1974: 269). The measure captures whether an electoral regime is on track (elections take place on a regular basis and are not interrupted, for instance, by a coup) and whether multiparty elections are sufficiently free to allow the opposition to win government power, as judged by country-specific sources such as election reports and studies by recognized country experts.

FIGURE 1.1

Global number and percentage of electoral democracies and share of world population living in electoral democracies, 1975–2016



Note: The figure shows the number and proportion of countries considered electoral democracies in the period 1975–2016. The percentage of electoral democracies is affected by the fact that more independent countries emerged during the period. The figures for population size used to calculate the share of the global population living in electoral democracies are taken from the World Development Indicators and Gapminder.

Source: Skaaning, S.-E., Gerring, J. and Bartusevicius, H., 'A lexical index of electoral democracy [Competitive Elections Indicator]', *Comparative Political Studies*, 48/12 (2015), pp. 1491–1525.

A closer look at the last 10 years reveals that there is little support for the proposition of a substantial, global decline in democracy based on a narrow understanding of this system of government. Instead, the number of electoral democracies has increased. The question is whether this still stands when applying a broad and continuous perspective on the global state of democracy.

When using International IDEA's comprehensive definition of democracy, the GSoD indices data suggest that substantial global progress was made in four (Representative Government, Fundamental Rights, Checks on Government and Participatory Engagement) out of five dimensions in 1975–2015, while the global level of Impartial Administration has changed little during that time.

Representative Government

Positive trends in the Representative Government dimension are found in all subdimensions (Clean Elections, Inclusive Suffrage, Free Political Parties, and Elected Government) and all regions. Since 1975, elections have become more common as well as cleaner (i.e. less fraud, manipulation and irregularities), and political parties are facing fewer barriers to organizing and participating in elections. However, stark regional differences remain. On average, North America, Europe, and Latin America and the Caribbean have governments that are more representative than countries in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, and the Middle East and Iran. In many countries, formal democratic institutions combined with substantial deficiencies in democratic practices characterize political rule. Many countries can still improve the quality of elections and the treatment of opposition parties.

Countries in Europe, North America, and Latin America and the Caribbean generally fulfil the criteria for representative government to a higher degree than those in the Middle East, Africa and Asia and the Pacific. While quite a few countries in the Middle East are monarchies without multiparty elections, Africa and Asia and the Pacific have many hybrid regimes. In such regimes, the formal criteria for representative government are fulfilled in the form of multiparty elections, but there are substantial problems regarding electoral integrity, the working conditions of media and opposition parties, or checks on government (see e.g. Cheeseman 2015; Norris 2015).

Some countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, such as Venezuela, face similar problems. Nonetheless, this region has experienced the largest positive change since 1975. Universal suffrage has become the official norm in all countries in the region, and almost all have multiparty elections, with Cuba being a consistent exception. Electoral malpractices have decreased, and political party freedoms have increased. However, improvements came to a halt in the mid-1990s, and there is a notable distance between the regional average and the best-performing countries in the region, such as Chile and Uruguay.

The countries showing the largest declines in representative government since 2005 are Bangladesh, Burundi, Syria, Thailand and Turkey. Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Guinea, Haiti, Kyrgyzstan, Myanmar, Nepal, Nigeria, Sudan and Tunisia have experienced the most substantial improvements. However, none of the cases with substantial increases since 2005 are close to the level of the best-performing cases, such as France and Uruguay. Tellingly, Myanmar has recently experienced significant liberalization and a democratic opening, but there are still problems with voter registration and violence. In Angola, where election quality is even lower, improvements should be interpreted in the context of the onset of civil war in 1992 and elections that were postponed until 2008.

Fundamental Rights

The Fundamental Rights dimension has witnessed global progress since 1975 in all its subdimensions (Access to Justice, Civil Liberties, and Social Rights and Equality; see Figure 1.2). Developments in Social Rights and Equality follow a positive, linear trend, while the trend for Access to Justice and Civil Liberties has gone from gradual improvement, to steep progress around 1990, to another period of gradual improvement, to relative stability after

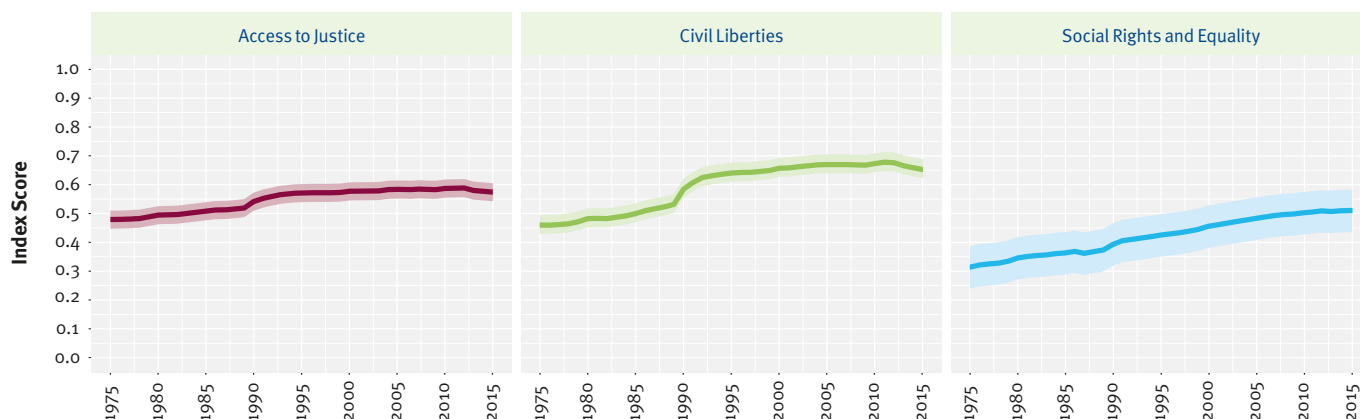
2005. However, policymakers should be aware of the global dip in civil liberties between 2010 and 2015.

Over time, North America and Europe have generally performed better than Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean, while the Middle East and Iran show the fewest gains in this dimension. However, most regions have been characterized by positive trends since 1975, with Latin America and the Caribbean demonstrating the greatest positive change. Economic growth and redistribution policies in several Latin American and Caribbean countries have positively affected the fulfilment of social rights and equality (Osueke and Tsounta 2014). The end of civil wars in Central America (in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua) and the Andean region (in Colombia and Peru) have also had a positive impact on access to justice and civil liberties. Unfortunately, other types of violence related to drug trafficking and urban crime are frequent in this region (UN 2014).

Several countries have seen substantial regression in the Fundamental Rights dimension since 2005, including Burundi, Mauritania, Thailand, Turkey, Ukraine and Yemen. These countries have experienced fierce political struggles in the form of coup attempts, harassment of opposition members and civil wars. Among the cases with major gains are Libya, Myanmar, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Tunisia. However, even though the fall of Muammar Gaddafi's regime in 2010 led to an improvement in respect for civil liberties, the civil war in Libya is currently pulling the country in the opposite direction (HRW 2017). It has become increasingly common for governments to use more selective, targeted, and less violent and comprehensive repression (Bermeo 2016; Schedler 2013). This includes legislation that is presented as legitimate, harmless and in the interest of the common good, but which is used to gradually silence critical voices and undermine the opposition, as has happened in Russia, Turkey and Viet Nam, for example (Treisman 2017). Some countries, such as Cuba, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Eritrea, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Turkmenistan, engage in severe violations of virtually all democratic rights.

In other parts of the world, problems with fundamental rights relate to social inequality and a lack of resources. In many developing countries, large portions of the population lack access to basic education, health care and social security. Various forms of discrimination and disparity in the distribution of economic and other types of resources are linked to 'low-intensity citizenship' (where a state is unable

FIGURE 1.2

Access to Justice, Civil Liberties, and Social Rights and Equality: global trends, 1975–2015

Note: The light-shaded bands around the lines demarcate the 68 per cent confidence bounds of the estimates.

Source: GSoD indices 2017 (Access to Justice Index, Civil Liberties Index, and Social Rights and Equality Index).

to enforce its laws and policies among selected social groups, distinguished by identity, class or gender).

Since 1975, gender equality has gradually increased in all regions, but has done so at different speeds and starting at different levels. North America and Europe have seen positive trends, however obstacles to gender equality remain, particularly those related to equal pay and representation in leadership positions in both the private and public sectors. The GSoD indices suggest that the gap in the degree of gender equality is most stark in the Middle East and Iran, while gender equality in the other two regions that show gaps also have room for improvement: Africa and Asia and the Pacific.

Two of the indicators used to construct the GSoD gender equality index capture female representation in parliaments and cabinets, respectively. The global average of female representatives in parliament has increased from around 7 per cent in 1975 to 15 per cent in 2015, whereas the share of women in cabinets has gone up from 5 per cent in the late 1980s to 14 per cent in 2015. Hence progress has been made in relative terms, but in absolute terms, women are far from enjoying equal representation in parliaments and cabinets.

Checks on Government

The Checks on Government dimension, including its three sub-dimensions (Effective Parliaments, Judicial

Independence and Media Integrity), has shown substantial improvement since 1975. However, progress seems to have come to a halt as most countries had similar levels of checks on government in 2005 and 2015. There are notable differences in the extent to which such checks are exercised in various regions, largely following patterns similar to those for representative government.

Subtle attempts to undermine democracy by constraining the powers and autonomy of courts, the media and parliament are widespread in all regions. Efficiency and national interest as well as perceived threats are often used as an excuse to increase the powers of the executive at the expense of parliaments. Frequently used means to concentrate power and silence critique include the abuse of libel and tax laws, excessive restrictions on public access to administrative and political documents, and biased appointments of judges, members of media boards and public officials (Huq and Ginsburg 2017; Ottaway 2003).

In Africa, media integrity has experienced the largest positive change, followed by more effective parliaments. The data indicate that the level of judicial independence has hardly changed. Nonetheless, although parliaments, and particularly the media, provide more checks on African governments today than in the past, the average performance on these features is relatively low compared to more established democracies in Canada, Denmark and the UK.

To illustrate regional differences, checks on government are currently stronger in Sweden than in Russia, in Costa Rica than in Venezuela, in Ghana than in Ethiopia, and in Japan than in China. Burundi, Ecuador, Macedonia, Nicaragua, Thailand and Turkey have experienced significant losses in this dimension since 2005, while Kyrgyzstan, Libya, Myanmar, Nepal, Togo and Tunisia have demonstrated progress.

Impartial Administration

The global average of the Impartial Administration dimension (covering Absence of Corruption and Predictable Enforcement) demonstrates no significant changes between 1975 and 2015. In other words, corruption and predictable enforcement are as big a problem today as they were in 1975. This indicates that access to political power and respect for different kinds of liberties are easier to change formally depending on the design of the constitutional system, at least in the short term, than implementing the rule of law in public administration (see Mazzuca 2010; Møller and Skaaning 2013). This could partially explain the dissatisfaction with democracy observed in many electoral democracies emerging after 1975.

Since 1975, only Latin America and the Caribbean experienced significant improvements in impartial administration until the 1990s as countries moved away from authoritarian regimes. Europe even experienced a decline after the collapse of communist regimes. This finding is linked to nepotism and the increase in corruption during transitions from planned to market economies (Holmes 2006). Studies (e.g. Holmberg, Rothstein and Nasiritousi 2009) have shown that there is considerable global variation in the impartiality of public administrations, and that ineffective and corrupt institutions tend to persist.

Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Guinea, Latvia, Kyrgyzstan, Nigeria, Sri Lanka and Tunisia have experienced substantial progress in fighting corruption and ensuring more transparent and predictable enforcement since 2005. In Guinea, the Condé administration (2010–present) has made serious attempts to fight decades of mismanagement, and Latvia benefits from recent anti-corruption reforms (OECD 2015a). Several countries, such as Hungary, Madagascar, Mauritania, Syria, Turkey and Venezuela, have suffered substantial declines. The negative cases are often affected by violent conflict or government attempts to centralize power undemocratically.

Participatory Engagement

Opportunities for (and the realization of) Participatory Engagement have generally gained ground, as reflected in each of the four subdimensions of citizen involvement (Civil Society Participation, Electoral Participation, Direct Democracy, and Subnational Elections). A global increase in civil society actors' ability to participate reflects the fact that restrictions on the rights of civil society to organize have been lifted. Autonomous groups now generally have better working conditions than before, although some countries still uphold (or even increase) restrictions on civil society organizations. A global increase in electoral participation in national elections mainly reflects the replacement of non-electoral regimes with electoral regimes. At the same time, a decline in electoral turnout rates has taken place in several countries with longer traditions of regular, competitive elections. There has been a slight increase in the availability and use of mechanisms of direct democracy. However, they are not implemented fully in any region. Opportunities to participate in free and fair subnational elections have increased substantially, but levels vary between regions.

In centralized, non-electoral or one-party autocracies, citizens generally face more obstruction and fewer opportunities for participation than in the more open multiparty regimes that have become the norm in most parts of the world. However, some countries, such as Algeria, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Egypt, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Russia and Turkey, have experienced a 'shrinking of civil society space' over the last 10 years (CIVICUS 2016).

Trends in civil society engagement since 1975 show that all regions experienced sequential improvements: first Latin America and the Caribbean, then Asia and the Pacific, and then Europe and Africa after the end of the Cold War. While more traditional, institutionalized civil society participation continues to play a critical role, citizens around the world are also using other forms of participatory engagement, which are often loosely based on informal networks and civil resistance movements, facilitated by new social media platforms (Shirky 2011).

Since 2005, civil society participation has increased significantly in several states in Africa and Asia and the Pacific, including Côte D'Ivoire, Liberia, Myanmar, Nepal and Tunisia. Other countries, such as Albania, Azerbaijan, Serbia, Turkey and Thailand, have experienced the opposite.

Since 1975, electoral turnout in national elections has followed similar patterns in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, and Latin America and the Caribbean; the increases are mostly due to replacing non-electoral regimes with electoral regimes. Since not all electoral regimes are electoral democracies, changes in electoral turnout do not necessarily signify democratic upturns or downturns. In Europe, the turnout rates in national elections have declined. The downward trend is partly driven by established democracies, including France, Switzerland and the UK, where electoral participation in national elections has decreased over the last 40 years. The third-wave electoral democracies in East-Central Europe have experienced even more rapid declines in turnout levels. However, electoral participation has remained at high levels in the Scandinavian countries.

The most obvious negative trend is the relatively large drop in electoral turnout since 2005 in countries such as Bangladesh, Cyprus, Greece, Guinea and the USA.

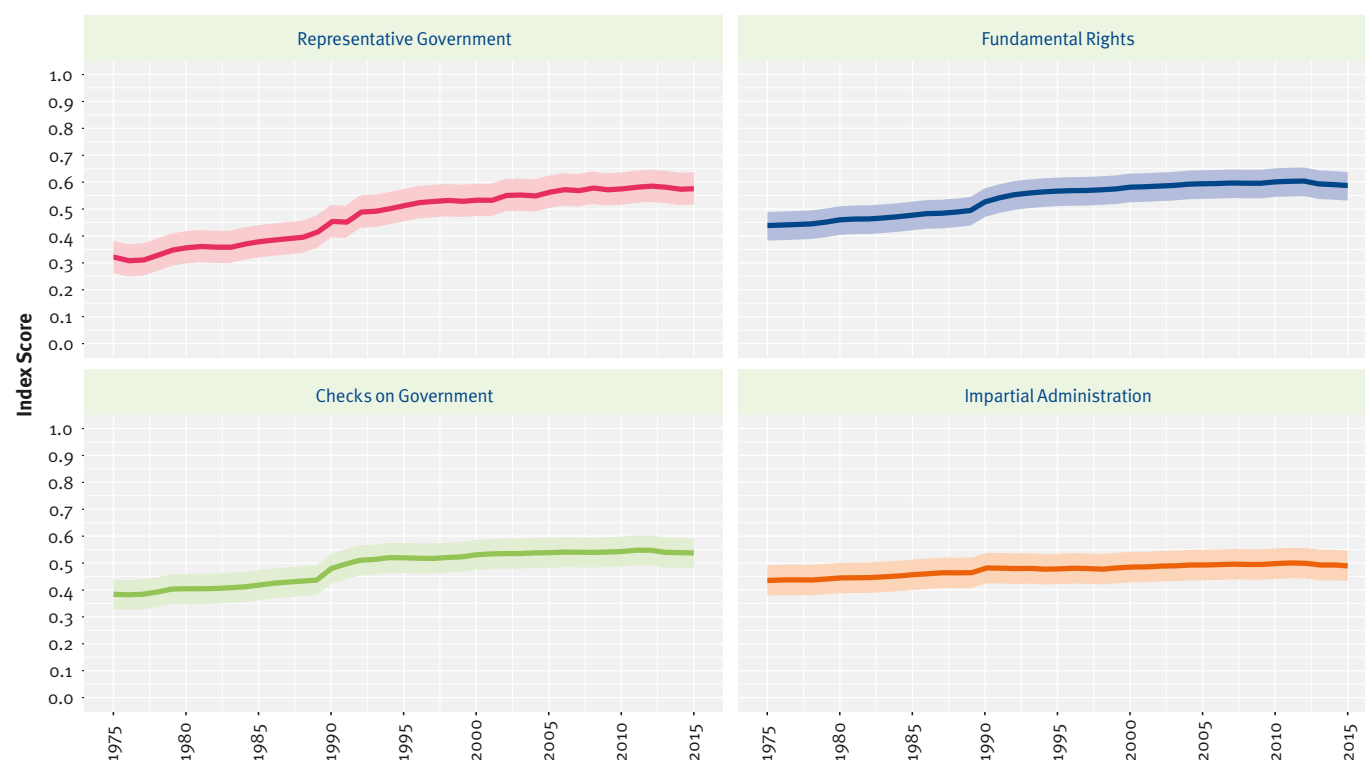
Yet these downturns are balanced out by major upturns elsewhere, which are often related to the introduction or reintroduction of elections, such as in Angola, Myanmar and Nepal.

Since 1975, the availability (and use) of direct democracy mechanisms such as referendums and plebiscites has increased slightly in all regions. Yet they started from very low levels, and are still not a prominent feature of democracy in any region. Asia represents the lowest regional average and Europe the highest (see Altman 2016). Some countries are exceptions: Lithuania, New Zealand, Romania, Slovenia, Switzerland, Uruguay and Venezuela to a comparatively large degree provide and use such mechanisms relatively often.

The opportunity for citizens to participate in free and fair subnational elections has increased substantially in Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean. Progress has been slower and less substantial in Asia and the Pacific, as well

FIGURE 1.3

Representative Government, Fundamental Rights, Checks on Government and Impartial Administration: global trends, 1975–2015



Note: The light-shaded bands around the lines demarcate the 68 per cent confidence bounds of the estimates.

Source: GSoD indices 2017 (Representative Government Index; Fundamental Rights Index, Checks on Government Index and Impartial Administration Index).

as in Africa and the Middle East and Iran. However, there are some exceptions where subnational elections either do not take place, or are substantially less free and fair than national elections, such as in Argentina, Brazil, India, Mexico and South Africa (see e.g. Behrend and Whitehead 2016). The reasons for this include geographical challenges related to organizing subnational elections, the degree of ethnic diversity of country populations, and variations in subnational autonomy among federal states.

Over the past 40 years most aspects of democracy have advanced, and democracy today is healthier than many contend. Positive trends in relation to International IDEA's broad democracy dimensions are found in all major world regions, and over the past 10 years, democracy has been quite resilient. For some aspects of democracy, more gains than losses have been achieved at the country level. For others, instances of decline have largely been balanced by cases of improvement.

These findings challenge the pessimistic view that democracy is extremely fragile and generally in decline. Nevertheless, overall progress has slowed for many aspects of democracy since the mid-1990s. This suggests that the current global state of democracy is one of trendless fluctuations—upturns and downturns in individual countries, but with no broad tendencies of decline or progress in democracy. Trendless fluctuations represent a trend in themselves: the continuity of democracy at the highest level in world history. Considering the current challenges to democracy, this continuity indicates that in the most basic competition between democracy and dictatorship, the former tends to have the upper hand. Nevertheless, as current challenges to democracy indicate, this system of government should not be taken for granted. Ordinary citizens, civil society organizations and political elites need to continue their work to advocate, safeguard and advance democracy.

Chapter 2. Democracy's resilience in a changing world

In addition to its intrinsic value, democracy has enduring instrumental utility for development and peace (Sen 1999a, 1999b). It provides for the equality of citizens' voices, and thus promotes the expression of interests and preferences and the free flow of information, both of which are essential elements of development. The sustainability of the social contract within countries is assured through inclusion; participation in governance is undergirded by the protection of fundamental rights. Policy practice in international organizations has evolved to recognize that goals such as development and growth, prevention of conflict, and broadening participation, dignity, equity and sustainability must be pursued simultaneously. Democratic governance provides the normative framework through which policies to address these issues are 'formed and executed' (Asher et al. 2016: 80).

Democracy offers conditions for non-violent conflict management that can reconcile divisions and contention within society and form the basis of sustainable peace. While authoritarian governments may be 'resilient' and assure long periods of stability, they do so at the cost of human rights. For years, scholars have argued that democracy generally contributes to international peace—the 'democratic peace theory' holds that democracies rarely, if ever, go to war with other democracies—and can enable an internal 'democratic peace': democracies are less likely to experience civil war (Gleditsch and Hegre 1997; Russett and Oneal 2001).

UN Sustainable Development Goal 16 (SDG16) builds on the premise that 'governance matters': it states that peaceful and inclusive societies are central to achieving all other development goals. SDG16's promotion of 'peaceful and inclusive societies' and 'effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions' reflects a commonly accepted understanding that 'democracy, peace and development outcomes are inherently intertwined, and that "fragility" in societies emanates from the absence of inclusive governance'. Democracy is seen as an institutional and enduring means of resolving and preventing social conflict, and thus democratic governance contributes to peace, which in turn facilitates development (Brown 2003).

As mentioned above, resilience is defined as a social system's ability to cope, survive and recover from complex challenges and crises. Resilient social systems are flexible (able to

absorb stress or pressure), able to overcome challenges or crises, adaptable (able to change in response to a stress to the system) and innovative (able to change in a way that more efficiently or effectively addresses the challenge or crisis).

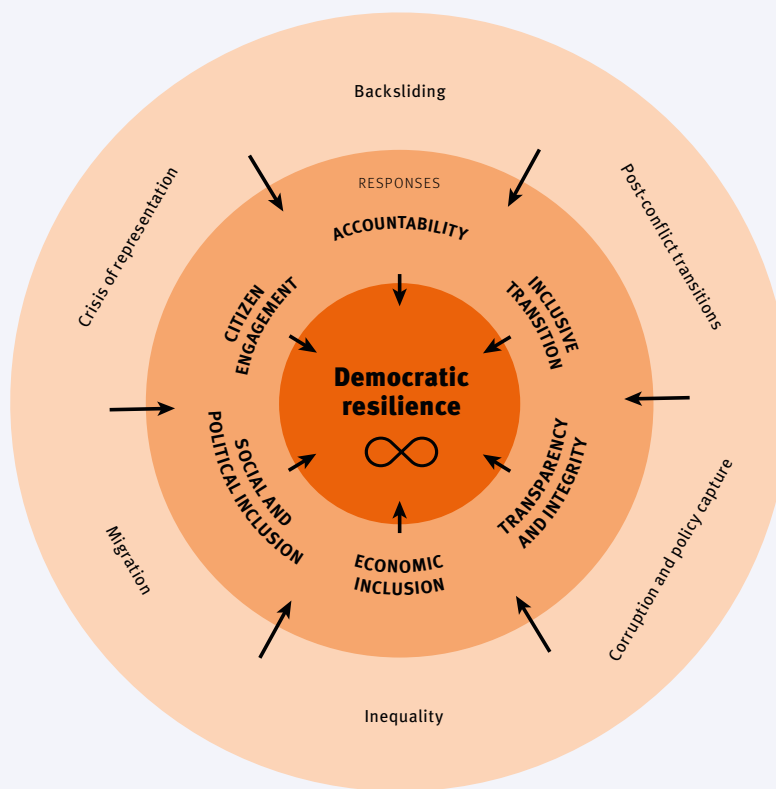
What makes democracy resilient?

Resilient citizens: confronting problems and perils of representation

Citizen engagement and the presence of a strong civil society are critical to democracy's resilience. In many places, popular civil resistance, working with civil society and the media, 'protects' democracy through investigation, information transparency and advocacy (Fox and Halloran 2016). Where citizens and civil society are active and able to organize—and bridge major divisions within society, including religious or ethnic divides—debilitating social violence is less likely to erupt. A vigorous civil society helps create underlying trust and social cohesion that, in turn, fosters the contestation and contention that allows a democracy to remain strong under pressure (Cheema and Popovski 2010).

If citizens are strongly committed to democracy, it will persist as a permanent, essential ideal (Norris 2011). Improving democracy's resilience begins with establishing or restoring citizen trust in the efficacy of democratic politics and defending it, including against authoritarian nationalism.

Democracy under pressure: Resilient responses



Citizens' rights to mobilize, protest, assemble and associate, blog and resist need to be protected, including by judicial authorities charged with ensuring that rights defined in constitutions, charters and manifestos are defended in practice. Rights are won when citizens can claim and protect them: they must first know their rights before they can act on them; open information, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and the ability to organize peacefully must be defended. State efforts to restrict rights or prevent the exercise of freedom of association must be monitored by civil society and denounced at the international level.

Renewing civil society remains critical for long-term democratic resilience. Preventing backsliding in democracy requires a resilient civil society, functioning institutions, resolve and, at times, bravery of action. A resilient democracy requires citizen commitment to balancing ostensibly powerful institutions. Safeguarding democracy requires reinvigorating civil society participation, so that citizens acting alongside the powerful can ensure the popular control of governance.

Protecting minority rights and advancing the position of marginalized groups are essential for democracy's long-term success. Minority rights are protected by global norms and instruments of fundamental human rights. The International Labour Organization, for instance, has norms and best practices regarding resources and indigenous rights, which should be newly affirmed. Amid increasingly strident nationalist rhetoric, mechanisms for monitoring and protecting minority rights are urgently needed.

Resilient institutions

Greater institutionalization, and the prevalence of multiple checks and balances, decreases the likelihood that any branch of government or actor can fully capture a democracy. Autonomous, capable, independent institutions such as parliaments, judiciaries and prosecutors can provide checks and balances to prevent capture and to investigate, prosecute and punish corrupt, 'rent-seeking' political elites who often work with unethical corporations or economic elites.

The rule of law, access to justice and a strong, independent, capable and efficient judicial system are critical elements of a resilient democracy. An important factor is democratic

control of the armed forces and security sectors, and their professionalization under the civilian control of democratically elected authorities.

Electoral processes can help adapt and strengthen democracy over time. Independent, autonomous and professional electoral management bodies are critical, since their mandate is to protect the procedural credibility of democratic processes.

Resilient democracies address economic and social inequalities that give rise to frustration, violence and ethnic mobilization. To reduce inequality, a renewed focus on delivering essential services such as clean water and sanitation, health care, education and access to justice is needed at the local level. There must be clear electoral and political incentives, and increased local governance capacities to deliver these essential services, in order to reduce the structural risks for democracy linked to inequality.

Combating the influence of money in politics requires holistic, integrity-oriented approaches that shift the culture of politics from personal enrichment and rent seeking to public service and trust; holistic approaches and networks are needed for cultural shifts and strengthening the autonomy of institutional checks and balances. Such approaches and networks should work domestically and globally to understand, share, uncover and confront illicit networks through regional information sharing, close engagement between state actors and community-based organizations, and market-based assessments of the local conditions through which illicit networks infiltrate government.

Designing resilience

Scholars of institutions have argued that it is possible to design a set of rules—or institutions—to engineer specific desirable outcomes in democracies such as inclusivity, meaningful representation or accountability. The ‘constitutional engineering’ approach assumes that considerations such as presidential system design, electoral system design, or the delimitation of internal boundaries and decentralized governance (such as in federal systems) can promote specific desirable outcomes in democratic systems (stability, inclusion or ethnic politics).

Perhaps the most extensive application of this perspective is found in the electoral system design literature, which argues that a country's electoral system must be chosen based on a close context assessment of goals such as accountability,

inclusivity and gender equality (Norris 2004). There is widespread debate in the scholarly literature over what types of institutions lead to resilient democracies.

Continued strengthening of electoral integrity and election-related security is paramount. Increased efforts are needed to further improve all aspects of the electoral cycle, from ensuring a clear and fair legal framework to providing security at polling stations and protecting the security of election technologies and communications. Renewed support for education, training and capacity development in election management bodies and civil society is required to build strong national and local capacities for ensuring electoral integrity. These efforts are part of the resilience-oriented global democracy-building agenda.

Constitution-making processes have been used to revisit the ground rules of democracy and build more inclusive, resilient institutions. Institutional design in these contexts involves making decisions about the most fundamental structures of a political system in a manner that ensures inclusivity, proportionality, and the influence of minorities and marginalized groups in politics. Building resilience in multicultural contexts, whether for migrants or across ethnic and other identity-based divides, requires thinking beyond traditional democratic institutions and processes of adaptation and reform (Wolff 2011a).

New, innovative avenues of voice, representation and participation are needed to open up political systems and institutions to allow these communities to be heard. Approaches to engaging with migrants, minority groups and their communities are also pertinent when addressing exclusion, discrimination and marginalization in ‘post-globalization’ societies.

Innovative approaches to engaging non-citizen communities (such as immigrants) are urgently needed. Social integration programmes need to be established to prevent the alienation and radicalization of non-citizens and minority groups. These measures can be supplemented by limited or local voting rights and structured community-level dialogue to give marginalized communities representation and voice. The effective social integration of migrants requires ensuring their economic security, dignity, worth and rights within their host country.

Supporting resilience: regional and international responses

Maintaining democratic resilience requires international and national actors to respond promptly to threats to democracy. Equally, outsiders seeking to help safeguard democracy internally need a long-term vision: if democratic resilience is primarily an internal (or endogenous) quality, it must develop organically from within, often with support from regional organizations. In the near term, safeguarding resilient democracy requires measures to adapt democratic practices to rapidly changing social realities.

Regional and subregional organizations have played a variety of roles in helping to safeguard and protect democracy. Participation in such organizations and initiatives provides critical avenues for inculcating democratic norms within countries and across regional organizations (Kemp et al. 2013).

At the forefront of practices to safeguard democracy are the evolving 'automatic' regional reactions to unconstitutional changes of government, as seen in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) response to the Gambia's crisis in 2017. Electoral mediation is also a critical area of overall international (and often regional) engagement to safeguard democracy

(Kane and Haysom 2016). Regional and subregional organizations in Africa, for example, increasingly partner with local civil society electoral mediators to promote subregional and continental norms that unconstitutional seizures of power should be replaced with multiparty elections (Shale and Gerenge 2017).

The Organization of American States (OAS) Santiago Commitment of 1991 was a pioneering regional approach to safeguarding democracy. It called on the organization to initiate immediate action if there is an 'interruption' to democracy in any member state (Pevehouse 2005: 130). The 2001 OAS Inter-American Democratic Charter was a landmark to safeguard democracy through such ostensibly automatic regional responses; it identifies the conditions under which the OAS would intervene to protect democracy in the region.

Regional organizations have proven especially valuable in safeguarding democracy during crises. Therefore their capacities for monitoring and observation should be expanded and further professionalized. In addition, they must continue to engage extensively in electoral processes to help prevent election-related conflicts from escalating into debilitating crises.

Chapter 3. Threats from within: democracy's resilience to backsliding

Authoritarian leaders and elected despots increasingly seek to use the law rather than violate or ignore it to increase their power within the boundaries of the constitution (Przeworski 2014). While classic coup makers overthrew governments, modern 'backsliders' seek to weaken the democratic system by manipulating rather than abolishing it (Bermeo 2016). For example, backsliders often abolish or extend executive term limits, or seek to unilaterally change the electoral rules in their favour by redrawing electoral boundaries or increasing their veto powers (Bulmer 2015), or changing the electoral system to manufacture artificially strong majorities. Common consequences of democratic backsliding include expanding the executive's decree power, reducing legislative oversight, curtailing the independence of the judiciary and the media, abusing the state of emergency, and passing legislation that restricts constitutionally guaranteed rights in order to reduce political opposition and dissent.

Examples of democratic backsliding abound in 2016–17. In Venezuela, the government has rewritten the constitution to give the president sweeping powers and undermine watchdog institutions; in Turkey, thousands of academics, journalists and members of the opposition have been jailed; and in Hungary, media outlets critical of the government were forced to shut down. The number of cases of democratic backsliding seems to be rising (Bermeo 2016: 8), including in countries described as democratic transition success stories such as Poland and Malaysia. In established democracies such as the USA, there are worrying signs that the Trump presidency is challenging the constitutional and democratic order.

For a democracy to resist backsliding, the checks and balances of the political system must be able to counteract the manipulation, abolition, or weakening of existing rules and institutions. This requires citizens to have the capacity to adapt and respond to changing political scenarios, as well as opposition from the judiciary, the legislature, the media and political parties. Constitutional rules provide constraints on those in power; their existence assumes that executive leaders may seek to usurp public power for personal or partisan

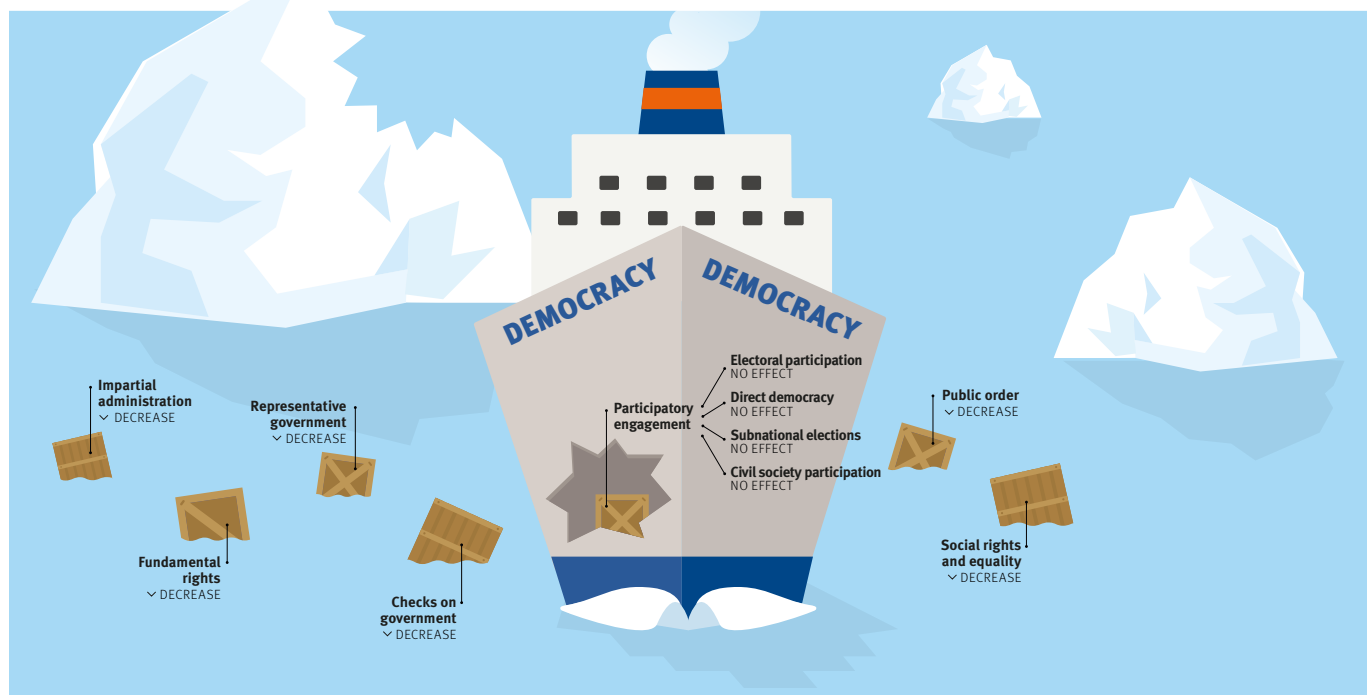
gain. Electoral rules, which are a subset of constitutional rules, provide the means for individuals and groups to compete for access to power through the currency of public support. A democratic system can recover if it can react to these dysfunctions.

Implications for the quality of democracy

When analysing modern democratic backsliding, International IDEA considers its implications for the legitimacy of democracy as a political system, and why it threatens democratic values as well as human rights and the rule of law, rather than the causes or drivers (Lust and Waldner 2015). This analysis complements the assessment of the global state of democracy since 1975 by focusing on a selected number of democratic backsliding events up to 2016.

Based on International IDEA's Global State of Democracy (GSoD) indices data and a selection of 15 countries, International IDEA explored whether democratic backsliding events affect other dimensions of a country's democracy. This analysis was conducted based on the GSoD indices' attributes of Representative Government, Fundamental Rights, Checks on Government, Impartial Administration and Participatory Engagement.

What are the effects of democratic backsliding?



The sample countries were chosen from among those for which data were available, seeking to maintain a regional balance, and considering cases in which leaders modified term limits to extend their mandate as identified by Ginsburg, Melton and Elkins (2011: 1869), or because the country was affected by democratic backsliding more generally as identified by Bermeo (2016: 5–19). Table 3.1 provides the complete list of countries in the sample that experienced backsliding. Despite the differences among these countries and events, they are comparable because the analysis does not focus on the country or event itself, but on the change that was triggered in relation to the quality of democracy dimension and subdimensions, as well as perceptions of democracy.

The analysis compares the sample group of countries to a control group of countries (with comparable human development and historical connections) in which backsliding events did not occur, although some experienced democratic setbacks during those periods (see Table 3.2). The starting point for the data analysis corresponds to the years of data availability in the survey sources. The same years were used for the analysis of

the GSoD indices data and the perception surveys to ensure homogeneity.

The analysis suggests that, on average, the four dimensions of democracy (Representative Government, Fundamental Rights, Checks on Government and Impartial Administration) comparatively stagnated or declined in the aftermath of the democratic backsliding events.

In contrast, the attribute of Participatory Engagement, measured through the subattributes of civil society participation, electoral turnout, direct democracy and subnational elections, did not suffer a significant comparative change after countries experienced democratic backsliding. This indicates that, while many aspects of democracy suffer during and after events of democratic backsliding, they do not seem to disengage the population even in the face of attempts to silence civil society (HRW 2017). Resilient democracies are also apparently able to resist setbacks fuelled by democratic backsliding events in relation to curbing corruption, as backsliding, on average, seems to have had no significant effect on corruption levels.

TABLE 3.1

Selected countries and events for data analysis

Country (region)	Democratic backsliding event year	Type of democratic backsliding event	Analysis period (GSoD indices)	Analysis period (perception surveys)
Argentina (Latin America and the Caribbean)	1995	President Carlos Menem overstay—amendment	1975–1995–2015	1996–2016
Brazil (Latin America and the Caribbean)	1998	President Fernando Henrique Cardoso overstay	1975–1998–2015	2000–2015
Colombia (Latin America and the Caribbean)	2006	President Álvaro Uribe Vélez overstay	1975–2006–2015	2007–2015
Ecuador (Latin America and the Caribbean)	2007	President Rafael Correa election and Constitutional amendments	1975–2007–2015	2008–2015
Lesotho (Africa)	1994	Coup	1975–1994–2015	1999–2014
Madagascar (Africa)	2009	Coup	1975–2009–2015	2013–2015
Namibia (Africa)	2000	President Samuel Nujoma overstay	1995–2000–2015	2002–2014
Niger (Africa)	2009	President Mamadou Tandja overstay—coup/emergency	1975–2009–2015	2013–2015
Pakistan (Asia and the Pacific)	1999	Coup	1975–1999–2015	2001–2012
Peru (Latin America and the Caribbean)	1995	President Alberto Fujimori overstay	1975–1995–2015	1995–2015
Thailand (Asia and the Pacific)	2007	Coup	1975–2007–2015	2007–2013
Russia (Europe)	2012	President Vladimir Putin re-assumes office	1991–2012–2015	2006–2011
Turkey (Europe)	2002	President Recep Tayyip Erdogan election	1975–2002–2015	2007–2011
Ukraine (Europe)	2010	President Viktor Yanukovich takes office	1991–2010–2015	2006–2011
Venezuela (Latin America and the Caribbean)	2004	President Hugo Chávez overstay—replacement	1975–2004–2015	2005–2015

Notes: The starting year for the analysis period (perception surveys) is the year prior to the event year for which data are available in the perceptions survey; the final year is the most recent one for which data are available in the perceptions survey.

Sources: Bermeo, N., 'On democratic backsliding', *Journal of Democracy*, 27/1 (2016), pp. 5–19; Ginsburg, T., Melton, J. and Elkins, Z., 'On the evasion of term limits', *William & Mary Law Review*, 52 (2011), pp. 1807–69, <<https://ssrn.com/abstract=1683594>>.

A concerning by-product of democratic backsliding is the devastating effects it has on people's daily lives and perceptions of security. The analysed data illustrate relationships between democratic backsliding and the deterioration of public order (defined as a combination of internal conflict and major episodes of political violence). On average, democratic backsliding events were followed by a comparative deterioration of public order. Violence in these contexts becomes a 'catch-22': as the concentration of power increases, people's dissatisfaction escalates, sparking violent reactions. In turn, those seeking to remain in power use this violence to justify their decisions and restrictions on liberty.

In addition, there may be a relationship between democratic backsliding and development. The GSoD indices data suggest that incidents of backsliding depressed countries'

performance in social rights and equality (the extent to which basic welfare and social and political equality are realized) by nearly half, on average, compared to before the incidents and to control countries.

Is democratic backsliding correlated with declining popular support for democracy? Does the modern backsliding of democratically elected leaders indicate a popular acceptance of soft despotism—that is, do citizens who have diminished support for democratic values elect backsliders? This question is important, as individual attitudes matter. While elite-related and institutional factors may drive democratic stability or guard against backsliding, citizens have a key role to play. The fuel that ignites collective and institutional action against state abuses, in this case democratic backsliding, starts with the citizen.

TABLE 3.2

Control countries

Country (region)	Analysis period (GSoD indices)	Analysis period, (perception surveys)
Botswana (Africa)	1999–2015	1999–2014
Chile (Latin America and the Caribbean)	1995–2015	1995–2015
Costa Rica (Latin America and the Caribbean)	1995–2015	1996–2015
Ghana (Africa)	1999–2015	1999–2014
India (Asia and the Pacific)	1995–2015	1995–2012
Republic of Korea (Asia and the Pacific)	1995–2015	1996–2010
Romania (Europe)	1991–2015	1995–2012
South Africa (Africa)	1999–2015	1999–2014
Slovenia (Europe)	1991–2015	1995–2011
Uruguay (Latin America and the Caribbean)	1995–2015	1995–2015

Notes: Regarding the analysis period for the GSoD indices, all countries within each region have the same starting year. These periods also cover the entire span in the sample countries for each region starting with the first event. Regarding the analysis period for the perception surveys, the measurement aggregates scores from the source surveys for their questions 'is democracy your preferred system of government?' and 'is it good having a democratic political system?'

Sources: World Values Survey, 'Wave 6: 2010–2014', <<http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp>>; Afrobarometer 2016; Latinobarometro 2016.

International IDEA's GSoD indices data suggest that in countries experiencing democratic backsliding, people's positive perceptions of democracy as a system of government increased (on average by more than 8 per cent), while in control countries there was an average decline in support for democracy.

Democratic backsliding would seem to make citizens realize that democracy is preferable to other types of government; in places where democracy has suffered less, people might take it for granted. While drawing causal explanations is beyond the scope of this survey, the critical finding for democracy assistance providers is that, in nearly all cases, democratic backsliding does not indicate a decline in popular support for democracy, but the opposite.

Resisting democratic backsliding

Courts have been crucial in limiting attempts by executive authorities to increase their power by manipulating the constitution. For example, even though in 2005 Colombian President Álvaro Uribe's supporters succeeded in changing the Constitution to allow him to run for a second consecutive term, in 2010 the Constitutional Court stopped his attempt to change the Constitution again to allow him to run for a third term.

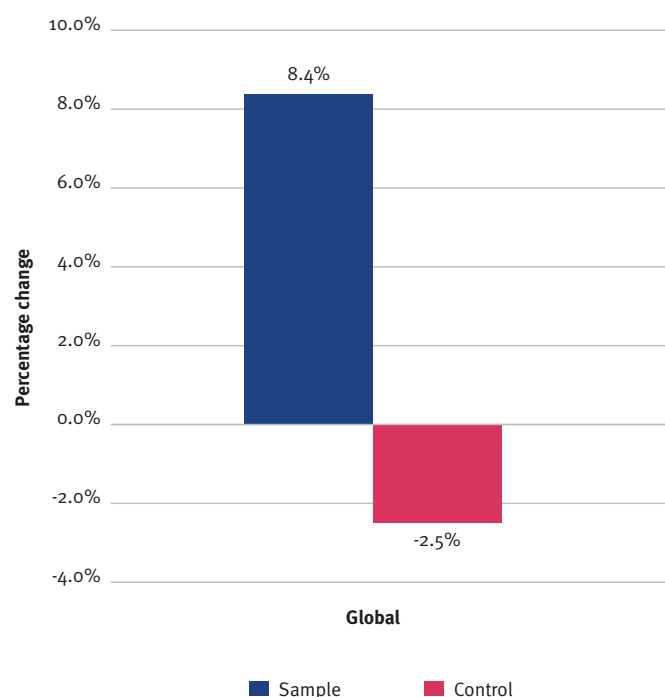
Parliaments can also curtail attempts to excessively expand executive power (Fish 2006). In 2001, a proposed bill in Zambia that would have extended term limits was removed given the prospect of its defeat in Parliament. In Malawi the same happened in 2002 when the bill failed to receive sufficient endorsement by Parliament; in Nigeria this took place in 2006 (Zamfir 2016: 5).

The media is also an important catalyst for limiting or counteracting democratic backsliding. For example, in Peru during President Alberto Fujimori's term, media circulation of a video of his adviser bribing a congressman resulted in the president's downfall. The same day the tape was broadcast, the president called for elections and announced he was not going to run again (La República 2016). Similarly, social media has the potential to enable activists and protesters to voice their discontent against an increasingly eroding democratic landscape.

Compared to their predecessors, modern backsliders are less likely to abolish political parties, which leaves some avenues open to contest ideas and resist executive aggrandizement. Citizens stand a better chance of

FIGURE 3.1

People's change in their positive perception of democracy



Note: This measurement aggregates scores from the source surveys for their questions 'is democracy your preferred system of government?' and 'is it good having a democratic political system?'. While these measures carry some inherent biases and limitations (see Schwertheim 2017), they were mitigated not by comparing specific scores in the selected countries, but by looking at the change in those perceptions in each country before and after the backsliding events and in relation to the change among the control countries. The country selection for the sample and control countries, as well as the starting years of analysis for each, are detailed in Tables 3.1 and 3.2. The dark blue bar in Figure 3.1 indicates the percentage change in the sample countries before the events, and the red bar indicates the percentage change in the control countries after the events. The lower side of the scale illustrates negative percentages (i.e. decline); the upper side positive percentages (i.e. gains). The height of the bars indicates the percentage change between the event years and 2015.

Sources: World Values Survey 2016; Afrobarometer 2016; Latinobarometro 2016.

mobilizing popular resistance when there is space for elites to contest each other (Brownlee 2007).

Regional organizations have sought to protect democracy; some have adapted tools that were originally designed to deal with traditional coups to address threats to constitutional democracy from within (Choudhry and Bisarya 2014). The EU, African Union and the OAS, as well as subregional organizations such as ECOWAS, have mechanisms to sanction member states for violating shared values promoting constitutional democracy and the rule of law, which modern backsliding actions may fall foul of. In this way, democracy's resilience may be bolstered not as an inherent characteristic of democratic governance, but because it is an important shared international value.

Recommendations to confront and resist backsliding

Democracy assistance providers

- Avoid conflating democratic backsliding with a decrease in support for democracy, and maintain international community support for countries that are at risk of, or at the onset of, backsliding.
- Look beyond democratic transitions, and focus on democratic consolidation as well as democratic success stories through prevention, sustainability and long-term approaches.

Opposition political parties and civil society organizations

- Rapidly organize and mobilize when there are early signs of shrinking civic space.
- Find ways to explain technical changes in government to the public in order to raise awareness. Pay particular attention to appointment mechanisms for courts and changes in electoral legislation.
- Remain organized and seek dialogue with moderate elements of the governing power during backsliding.

Policymakers

- Safeguard constitutional protections for political minorities and the opposition, as well as the more traditional mechanisms of separation of the branches of government and independent accountability institutions.
- Invest in building a professional, independent and competent electoral management body with a robust mandate to administer elections that are transparent and merit public confidence.

Regional organizations

- Build on existing systems of sanctions to develop accompanying formal monitoring systems relating to unconstitutional transfers of power through regular monitoring of constitutional governance and transfers of power and more information exchange.
- Invest in regular monitoring of constitutional governance.
- Foster intra-regional dialogue among member states on good practices to safeguard constitutional democracy.

Chapter 4. The changing nature of political parties and representation

Traditional political representation is under increased pressure: across continents, most people have little trust in political parties. Many European countries and the USA have recently experienced elections and referendums with unexpected results that have caused a political earthquake among traditional elites. While political parties still offer a central conduit for democratic representation, old and new political parties alike must adjust how they operate to re-establish trust within the electorate.

Political parties and party systems can stay relevant by adapting and innovating their role and function in society. Resilient parties strike a careful balance between giving citizens a central role in their internal processes and making citizens the goal of their policy actions. Resilient parties address complex crises and policy challenges by pursuing coherent political visions, and have decisive, strategic and electable leaders to communicate these visions. Political parties can help increase public trust in democratic institutions by taking inclusive measures, renewing their leadership (in particular with women and young people) and applying new approaches to citizen engagement.

The challenge of results: crises and policy control

Since the global financial crisis of 2007–08, both third-wave and established democracies have struggled to provide clear-cut solutions and policies to curtail multiple problems that are international in nature but challenge the status quo. Just as financial crises in Latin America and the Caribbean, and Asia and the Pacific, in the 1990s played a part in shaking up politics and party systems, the financial crisis is currently putting similar pressure on European parties to adapt and change. In Europe, as mounting debt increased the pressure on eurozone economies, governments had to deal with the rising influx of refugees and migrants, as well as security threats. An international consensus on how to tackle the global financial crisis emerged, and supranational bodies overruled national governments such as Greece when they disagreed. Technocrats and civil servants made many of these decisions. By giving power to unelected officials, the

politics of decision-making on financial issues has moved beyond the reach of national democratic accountability. As a result, politicians around the world are accused of being ‘out of policy control’ (Leterme and van der Staak 2016) because they cannot influence policies as much as their voters would like, and cannot respond to voters beyond the extent that their influence allows.

The challenge of trust and inclusion

Citizens expect their governments to do more to deliver better results, yet have less trust that their representatives are able to deal with the pressing issues of the day. Technological advancements have also increased the amount of information available to the public to scrutinize politicians’ words and deeds, which has increased their vulnerability to corruption scandals and has the potential to enhance integrity and transparency. Citizens’ lack of trust in parties is exacerbated by the exclusion of women and young people from decision-making positions and party hierarchies.

Declining confidence in parties

A wide variety of societal barometers from around the world indicates that political parties are among the least trusted institutions in society. Figure 4.1 shows that the level of trust in political parties in all regions at least until 2014, except for Asia and the Pacific and Europe, has stagnated or declined since 1994. While the base level of trust in political parties in Asia and the Pacific is higher than in other regions, trust in parties is lower there compared to other institutions. More recent surveys by the Latinobarometer seem to confirm the long-standing low level of trust in

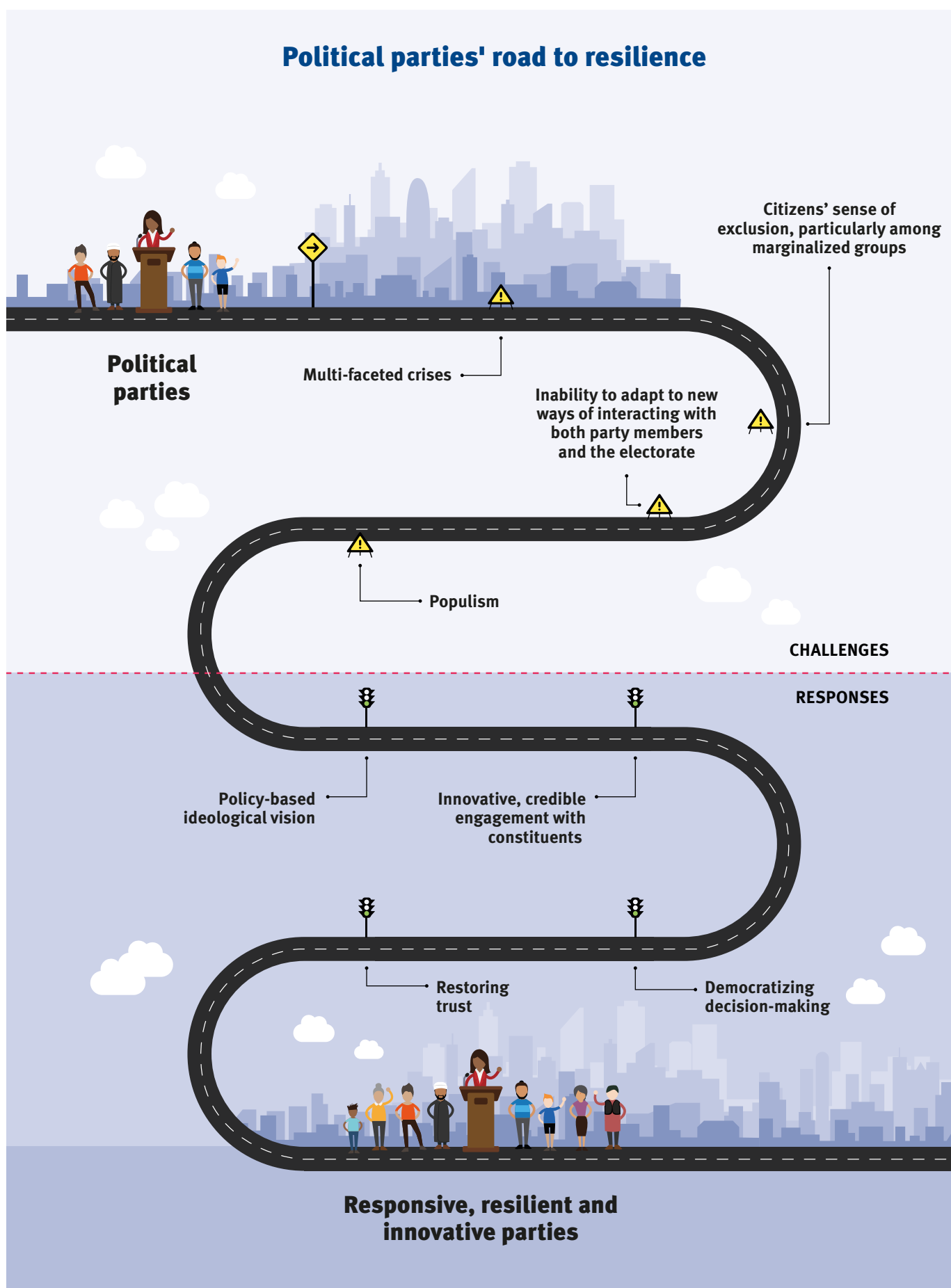
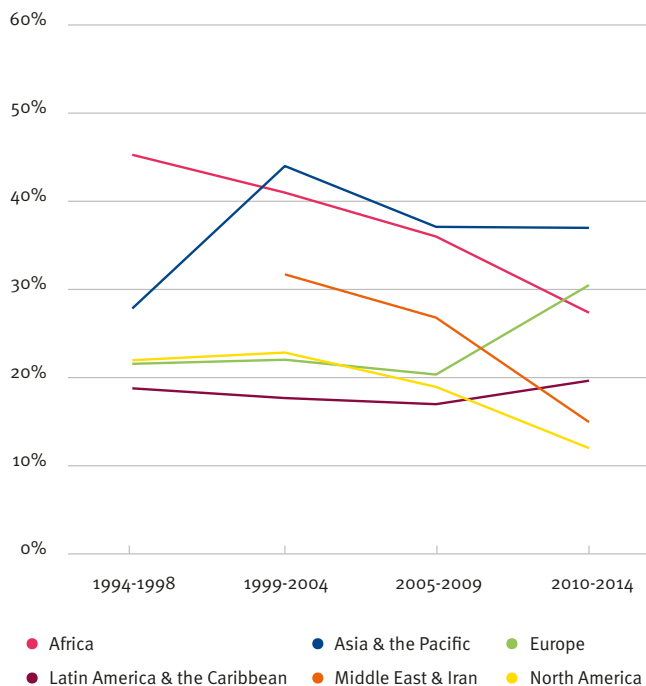


FIGURE 4.1

Percentage of citizens with ‘A great deal’ or ‘Quite a lot’ of confidence in political parties compared to other institutions



Note: All figures showing regional averages of World Values Survey data are based on all the countries included in the sample for a particular wave. Thus, 1994–98 is based on 52 countries, 1999–2004 on 37 countries, 2005–09 on 57 countries, and 2010–14 on 58 countries.

Source: World Values Survey Waves 1–6, 1994–2014.

Latin America—20 per cent in 1995 and 16 per cent in 2016 declared having high or some trust in political parties (Latinobarómetro 2016).

Trust in parties erodes with the emergence of anti-establishment rhetoric, when there is evidence of corruption, a failure in the delivery of services, or a lack of inclusion and responsiveness to citizens' demands. It can also reflect a more sophisticated and critical way of thinking among citizens, and thus represent a positive incentive to reform.

Citizen trust is broken when politicians make lofty campaign promises or 'fact-free' statements that are spun by a biased media in polarized public debates. This took place in Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, and in the 2016 Brexit referendum in the UK and in the 2016 US presidential campaign. The democratic premise that citizens can make informed choices has been called into question in the era of 'post-truth politics' (Davies 2016;

Hochschild and Einstein 2015; The Economist 2016). The decline in trust can also be linked to corruption.

Marginalization of women and youth

A healthy, resilient democracy is based on inclusiveness, which political parties and representative institutions are in a key position to safeguard. Yet parties are finding this hard to implement, particularly as women and youth are largely excluded from representative institutions. Although women's representation in legislatures has more than doubled over the last 22 years—from 11 per cent in 1995 to 22 per cent in 2015, and 23.4 per cent in 2017 (IPU 2015, 2017)—at this pace it will take another 40 years to reach equal numbers of men and women in legislatures.

Younger generations are under-represented in party membership, leadership and legislatures. Their marginalization from (and decreasing trust in) traditional party politics is of particular concern, as they can make or break future models of representation. Party membership saw a modest but important increase in Germany, the Netherlands and the UK in 2016–17, especially among young people. A 2014–15 IPU survey of 126 parliaments shows unsurprising levels of youth representation in legislatures: 65 per cent of legislatures have eligibility ages higher than the minimum voting age (IPU 2016). Almost one in three unicameral or lower parliamentary chambers and 80 per cent of upper parliamentary chambers have no members under the age of 30.

The challenge of new parties and populism

When parties are perceived as being out of policy control and run out of trust, and party systems fail to adequately represent different groups in society, electoral support will tilt towards new parties and leaders. Electoral challengers to the party establishment have been ubiquitous across Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and North America, Europe, and the southeast and east of Asia, in third-wave and longer-established democracies alike. These challengers have often successfully given political expression to real or perceived economic, social or cultural grievances.

Populism is neither new nor exclusive to democracies. In South America, president Evo Morales, as well as former presidents Hugo Chávez, Alberto Fujimori, and the Kirchners, used populist tactics, while President Rodrigo Duterte gained support in the 2016 Philippines presidential election by blaming the country's condition on the leadership of the mainstream political parties. Elements of populism have also been integral to African politics, although

their shape and form have been constantly shifting. Most countries on the continent adopted multiparty politics in the 1990s, which were marked by the emergence of populist mobilization by political actors seeking to carve out a niche for themselves against better-established competitors. The mobilization of ethno-regional and religious identities accompanied the introduction of populist positions on issues such as redistribution, socio-economic rights and justice into politics. Three features characterize the Western European and US variants: 'anti-establishmentism', 'authoritarianism' and 'nativism' (Inglehart and Norris 2016: 5).

In Europe populist parties and movements have been on the rise since the 1970s. The National Front (Front National, FN) in France and the Coalition of the Radical Left (Synaspismós Rizospastikís Aristerás, Syriza) in Greece have experienced rapid growth. The FN increased its vote share from 10.4 per cent in 2007 to 21.3 per cent in the first round of the 2017 French presidential elections (Ministère de l'Intérieur n.d.). Similarly, Syriza's vote share grew from 4.6 per cent in the 2009 parliamentary elections to 16.8 per cent in 2012, and 35.6 per cent in 2015 (Greek Ministry of Interior 2015). By 2016, populist parties had entered coalitions in 11 European countries (Inglehart and Norris 2016). Most importantly, they showed that reshaping politics did not require the winning of parliamentary seats.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, a surge of new parties and leaders has emerged since the early 1990s in response to popular frustration with corruption and the mishandling of the economy and the subsequent economic crises that deepened the poverty and inequality of wealth in their countries. In dealing with these crises, governments faced the challenge of acting with responsibility and responsiveness, but too often delivered on just one at the expense of the other (either plain austerity or spending largesse), or neither. Their failure paved the way for the rise of new parties and leaders that triggered the collapse of the party system in countries such as Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela. Similar frustrations have prompted the renewal of the political party landscape in more stable party systems such as in Colombia, Mexico and, most recently, Chile.

Political movements that grow out of citizen protest and are characterized by anti-establishment rhetoric are another rising phenomenon. Over the past 10 years, these movements have most often transformed into political entities when their political goals required a hold on legislative power.

Although some of these new formations to a large extent operate in the same manner (and face the same challenges) as traditional parties, they seem to be more innovative. For instance they blur the difference between members and non-members, and lower the (financial) bar to joining. These new political movements (many shun the term 'party') rely more on direct citizen engagement, for example through social media and other digital tools, than on traditional party gatherings. They are effective at mobilizing citizen participation and rewarding members with a strong sense of political representation (Stokes 2015).

Challenges of citizen engagement

Party membership numbers reflect how citizens relate to traditional party politics. Overall, party membership has steadily declined since 1994 in Asia and the Pacific, Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean, and in Africa since 2005. In the Middle East and Iran, as well as in North America, party membership appears to be on the rise (World Values Survey, Waves 1–6, 1994–2014).

However, not all parties have lost members, and some efforts to attract new members have been successful. Membership of the Conservative Party, the Labour Party and the Liberal Democrats in the UK increased from 0.8 per cent of the electorate in 2013 to 1.6 per cent in 2016 (Keen and Apostolova 2017). The two traditional parties in France opened up their candidate nomination processes to all supporters, rather than just members. The Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste) first opened its party primaries to non-members in 2011; the French Republican Party (Parti Républicain) did so during the 2016 primaries. French President Emmanuel Macron's 'La République En Marche!' has adherents rather than members.

Innovative political parties are updating their internal cultural and operational structures to match the increase in online and street-based interactions and decision-making. Digital technologies enable citizens to voice their opinions much more directly than before, which is creating horizontal rather than vertical spheres, with equals and no hierarchies: everyone decides, and no one rules. Furthermore, politicians' whereabouts, behaviour and decisions have become more quickly visible to the greater public—and can be influenced more directly.

Digitalization, however, poses both opportunities and threats to citizen participation and representation. Those left outside of traditional representation because of their youth,

disability, sex or minority status can benefit from these new avenues of meaningful engagement and exert influence from outside traditional party structures. Citizens who are less connected to the digital age—including older, poorer or less-educated individuals—may feel excluded from (and less represented by) parties that increasingly engage in online decision-making. Since online participation can be manipulated, parties must embrace ethical forms of online participation while maintaining offline contact.

Deliberative decision-making

As detailed in International IDEA's Digital Parties Portal, political parties in both established and emerging democracies are adopting new technologies to reach out to members and non-members for help in undertaking traditional party tasks such as online policy formulation, voting and fundraising (International IDEA n.d.). Democracy software, such as Agora Voting or DemocracyOS, allows large groups of citizens to table proposals, and discuss and vote on them online.

There are, however, serious risks involved in political parties' use of communications technology. In the 2016 US and 2017 French presidential elections, senior politicians' email accounts were hacked and leaked to the media. Since the cybersecurity of political parties and candidates often falls outside the mandate of electoral authorities, these actors are often perceived as the weakest link in safeguarding elections against hacking. Second, social and other digital media are increasingly used to spread misinformation. In 2016, the US presidential elections and the Brexit referendum were influenced by misinformation that originated from—or was endorsed by—political parties and candidates.

Political parties should use technology to facilitate their existing functioning, not to replace substantive debate and face-to-face interactions. They should pay equal attention to offline innovations that stimulate citizen engagement in order to avoid a growing digital divide.

Direct democracy instruments

Leaders have recently deferred some decisions to citizens. There has been a slight increase in the global use of direct democracy instruments since 1975 (GSoD indices 2017: 5.3). Between 2015 and 2017 countries as diverse as Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Sudan, Switzerland, the UK, Tajikistan, Turkey, Venezuela and Zambia used referendums to make decisions. Referendum questions were on a range of issues including

financial reform, independence, EU membership (or an aspect of integration), international trade, immigration, taxation, civil and political rights, peace treaties, and political and electoral reform.

Referendums can lead to citizen disillusionment because many direct democracy instruments are too often lumped together under the catch-all term 'referendum'. In practice, some are citizen initiatives, while others are government-initiated referendums. Some are optional, and others are mandatory. Some are advisory, while others are binding; some have high and others low thresholds. All of these design factors affect how politicians interpret and adhere to a referendum outcome. There is a general need to strengthen public understanding of the exact mandate of a referendum to avoid disillusionment with its outcomes. Many referendums also have unintended outcomes. In 2016, prime ministers in Italy and the UK tied their political futures directly to referendums on other matters. Lastly, elected politicians can use referendums strategically to further their political agendas. For instance, parties can initiate optional referendums to take contentious issues out of an election campaign, or to demonstrate popular support for a government position.

What future do referendums have in established democracies? Many new political movements, and even some established parties, are now openly campaigning to introduce mandatory referendums in an attempt to regain citizens' trust. Switzerland offers a good example of how representative and direct democracy support each other. To avoid citizen disillusionment with referendum outcomes, politicians should be clearer about the decision-making authority that is devolved to citizens directly, and the authority that remains with elected politicians. In practice, they should avoid treating advisory referendums as *de facto* binding, or adopting a policy based on a referendum with a turnout below the threshold out of political opportunism. Finally, politicians should realize that the tactical use of referendums can delegitimize representative democracy and be politically risky.

An increase in protests challenges the accountability of representative institutions. Several protests in recent years have grabbed global headlines. Their names refer to the squares they occupy (Tahrir in Cairo, Taksim in Istanbul, Euromaidan in Ukraine) or the colours and symbols that help bind them (yellow umbrellas in the 2014 Hong Kong protests, pink hats in the 2017 Women's March).

Protest has become an increasingly popular and legitimate form of expressing political opinions, particularly as democracies evolve.

While 59 large protests took place globally in 2006, 112 occurred in the first half of 2013 (Ortiz et al. 2013). Significant protest movements took place in an estimated 56.4 per cent of countries from 2009 to 2014 (EIU 2015). The Global Database of Events, Language, and Tone Project registered an increase in the intensity of protest between 2012 and 2015 to levels similar to those of the late 1980s (World Economic Forum 2016). Comparing data from International IDEA's GSoD indices with data on citizen participation through petitions, boycotts, demonstrations, strikes and other forms of protest from the 2010–14 wave of the World Values Survey shows that countries with higher levels of social rights and equality also have a citizenry that more actively protests.

Resilient party responses

In order to stay relevant, political parties must demonstrate a renewed emphasis on citizen engagement. Citizens are not only the object of political persuasion (i.e. to get the necessary votes to win political office); they are the ultimate target. Resilient parties strike a careful balance between giving citizens a central role in internal party activities and decisions, on the one hand, and making the citizen the goal of their policy actions, on the other hand.

Delivering results requires more than technocratic decisions. Parties that pursue coherent political goals are more likely to be able to deal with complex government crises. Equally important, successful parties have distinctive programmatic platforms and are able to credibly communicate with the electorate through decisive, savvy and electable leaders. Successful leaders are able to explain complex issues and policies to voters and take responsibility for their implementation. They can also build broad coalitions of support with groups in society by tapping into their constituencies and agendas, and attract like-minded members through democratizing the party's internal decision-making processes (Valladares, Sample and van der Staak 2014).

Populist parties thrive in policy vacuums, when traditional parties allow them to offer one-sided (populist) narratives. By engaging with citizens, traditional parties can disrupt the policy vacuum and offer compelling alternatives. Some established political parties are adopting the traits and

practices of their successful populist rivals. Traditional parties are most effective when they can combine their strengths in formulating public policies and recruit new political leaders with the capacity to mobilize citizens and articulate their interests in clear-cut and bold terms. To maintain citizens' support in the long run, parties will have to balance their traditional ways with innovative approaches to interacting with and representing a new breed of active citizens.

Political parties are better able to retain citizen trust by communicating a comprehensive integrity agenda. Focusing only on the funding of political parties and campaign finance has failed to protect politics from corruption due to the complex networks and roles of money in politics (OECD 2016). Holistic, integrity-enhanced systems—that coordinate frameworks across different policy areas such as procurement, conflict of interest and party finance—increase resilience, which protects public policies and the state from narrow economic interests. Trustworthy leaders can demonstrate a clean track record and credibly commit to implementing integrity-oriented rules and practices that apply within their parties and in government.

Increasing a party's inclusiveness—particularly of women and young people—can also restore trust. To remain competitive, party leaders should reach out to both groups and ensure they are equally included in the party's internal democracy and decision-making processes. Parties should also have women's and young people's chapters and caucuses, promote the use of digital engagement tools, improve the gender balance in the leadership and use all-women shortlists.

Policy options and recommendations to tackle the changing nature of political participation

Political parties

- Communicate a strong and bold political vision.
- Create alternative forms of citizen engagement through alternative forms of membership.
- Remain responsive to the electorate between elections by rethinking parties' communication strategies, and update parties' internal culture and operational structures to match the increase in online and street-based interactions and decision-making.
- Encourage an atmosphere of pluralism and inclusiveness within the party by engaging and establishing links with a wide range of ideologically compatible social organizations, social movements and interest groups.

- Address public distrust by pledging full transparency of party finances, strictly regulating conflicts of interest, and implementing anti-corruption policies and internal party democracy mechanisms.
- Ensure that leaders and democratically elected representatives reflect the demographics of the society by mentoring and recruiting more women and young people into key roles that lead to leadership positions.
- Carefully consider the use of direct democracy instruments such as referendums, and strengthen public understanding of the exact mandate of the referendum.
- Expand citizen engagement at all levels by using digital tools such as interactive websites and apps. This includes reaching out to members and non-members for help in undertaking traditional party tasks such as online policy formulation, voting and fundraising.
- Increase transparency about elected representatives, including providing access to financial data about political campaigns as well as the financial interests of party representatives.
- Ensure that broader segments of society are franchised and engaged, with a particular focus on women and young people. Consider strengthening civic education and lowering the voting age.

Civil society

- Engage with political parties to translate public pressure into policies, and engage with the legislative and executive branches of government through political parties.
- Call for more transparency and constructive democratic debate.

Chapter 5. Money, influence, corruption and capture: can democracy be protected?

Corruption scandals affect perceptions of democratic politics. They jeopardize citizens' trust in political parties, politicians and institutions, and inspire protests or deep indignation. People often associate politics with corruption and self-enrichment (Edelman Insights 2013). Even when money is poured legally into politics, the disproportionate influence that large donors have over public decision-making exacerbates the already eroded perception of politics. That money is an important resource for communicating to constituents, running successful election campaigns, making stronger political organizations, supporting policy research or training party members is forgotten or undermined as political scandals overwhelm the public.

The presence of big money in politics poses risks to all politicians. It is one of the most critical threats to the resilience of representative institutions, particularly political parties. There are three interconnected challenges: unequal access to funding that undermines equal opportunities in political competition, political finance that often serves as a conduit for corruption and policy capture, and money in politics that affects public trust in (and the legitimacy of) politics and politicians.

Undermining a level playing field

Money enables political participation, as it helps candidates reach constituents, spread ideas and organize supporters. This is particularly important for new parties or those competing against incumbents. Yet it can also serve as a disabler by impeding fair participation by those with limited access to financing. When the costs to compete in politics are high, access to the required funds severely restricts who can compete. For example, the average national spending for parliamentary candidates in India's 2014 elections was 50 times the gross domestic product (GDP) per capita. This problem is particularly acute for women, youth and minority groups, who often belong to fewer fundraising networks. Studies from Colombia, Kenya and Tunisia have confirmed the trend: when candidates were expected to fund their own campaigns, women had less access to funding networks, received less financial support from their parties and had fewer economic assets of their own to invest in campaigning.

Illicit actors can also buy votes and use money to sustain patronage and clientelistic systems (Briscoe and Goff 2016a: 42; World Bank 2017: 78). Patronage systems reward supporters with jobs or government benefits because of their affiliations or connections, regardless of their qualifications. In clientelistic systems, voters are encouraged to exchange their political support for favours (Falguera, Jones and Ohman 2014). This undermines merit-based civil service, and holds government officials hostage to these networks' interests. Money thus disempowers the majority by giving greater opportunities to a few well-funded actors.

Both robust and fragile democracies debate whether (and how) to regulate money in politics. Some countries justify reducing regulations with the argument that they undermine basic rights such as freedom of speech and the right of political participation. This approach ultimately leads to relaxing political finance regulations (Will 2014). Others advocate an increase in regulations and financing limits, which includes setting ceilings on political party spending, implementing transparency measures, and providing public funding to candidates and parties.

One of the most common political finance regulations is the provision of public funding (Norris, van Es and Fennis 2015); 120 countries provide direct public funding to political parties either for campaigns or on a regular basis (Skaaning 2017). In all OECD countries except

Switzerland, political parties receive direct public funding (OECD 2016). There are also matching systems, such as Germany, where state funds are disbursed based on the parties' capacity to attract small private donations (Casas-Zamora and Zovatto 2016: 31–32).

Public funding can help level the playing field, for example by reducing dependency on private funding and making funds available to opposition parties. State resources to parties can be earmarked to promote greater gender balance in political participation or to support youth mobilization. However, funds are often provided based on previous electoral results, which favours established parties over newcomers or small parties. If parties are perceived as wasting taxpayers' money, the public may lose further trust in them. If public funding is provided but private funding is unlimited, the overall amount spent may rise, and wealthy donors will maintain influence over politicians (Casal Bértoa et al. 2014: 355–75). The levels of public funding must also be high enough to be meaningful. Thus a balance must be reached between public and private funding in efforts to limit the perverse effects of money in politics (Council of Europe 2001).

Furthermore, it is important to limit expectations of what public funding can achieve. While it may be an important way to encourage the political participation of women and marginalized groups, it may have a limited impact on overall efforts to curb corruption.

Corruption and policy capture

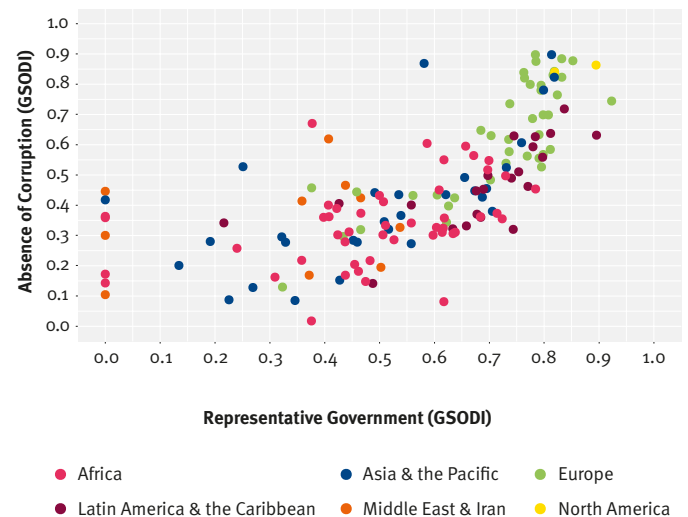
There are a myriad of ways in which power and financial resources can be misused in politics, which affect both robust and fragile democracies (Stiglitz 2013). Corruption and policy capture—when private rather than public interests determine policy (Warren 2003)—are prevalent risks.

Generally, more democratic governments do better at curbing corruption. While the introduction of elections alone may fuel corruption, corruption declines when their quality improves, and when other checks in society and the state take root, such as freedom of expression and association, and judicial control (McMann et al. 2017; Rothstein and Holmberg 2014: 33). The relationship between representative government and the absence of corruption seems to corroborate that positive correlation (see Figure 5.1).

The flow of large donations can also foster policy capture. Less-affluent politicians might need to seek financing from

FIGURE 5.1

Representative Government correlated by Absence of Corruption, 2015



Note: This graph shows the relationship between representative government and the absence of corruption. Both the representative government attribute and the absence of corruption sub-attribute are scaled from 0 to 1; higher scores indicate a higher level of representative government and a higher absence of corruption, respectively. Pearson's correlation coefficient results: $n = 153$, $r = .671$, $p\text{-value} < .005$.

Source: GSOD indices 2017 (Absence of Corruption Index and Representative Government Index).

external donors, sometimes illicit ones, including organized criminals (Briscoe, Perdomo and Uribe Burcher 2014; Briscoe and Goff 2016b). These actors can hold them hostage to their donors' own interests and agendas. If they cannot find additional funding, a politician is unlikely to be able to stand as a viable candidate. This exposure fuels a common sentiment that democracy is weakened because high-income individuals can wield much greater influence over the choice of politicians and policies through donations and lobbying, which ultimately damages efficient state delivery and accountability for the majority (Reitano and Hunter 2016). Policy capture may even lead to violence where those in power attempt to retain it by forcefully pressuring opponents (Perdomo and Uribe Burcher 2016).

Globalization has facilitated the movement of international banking transactions and strengthened international corporations, which have blurred ownership structures and interests in influencing national and local politics. Subsidiaries of multinationals often place deep roots in communities, providing jobs and, in some cases, even delivering social programmes for long periods of time. This

creates a complex network of relationships and interests, and blurs the lines between foreign and national control.

Limits or bans on foreign donations to political parties and candidates are common regulations to curb the influence of foreign interests in politics; countries often enact such measures to protect their sovereignty. Indeed, 63.3 per cent of countries ban donations from foreign interests to political parties, and 48.9 per cent prohibit foreign donations to candidates (Skaaning 2017).

While bans or limits on contributions are common in political finance regulations, many schemes are used to circumvent such restrictions (OECD 2016). The Panama Papers, for example, have shown that money from a wide range of sources influences politics in many corners of the globe (The Guardian 2016).

Political donations, corruption and policy capture appear to be particularly intertwined in the extractive industries (especially oil, gas and forestry exploitation), and in government activities such as public procurement and service delivery (e.g. water and education) (OECD 2016). Countries that rely on natural resource rents as an important contribution to their GDP tend to feature higher levels of corruption (International IDEA 2017b; World Bank 2016). Multinational companies often pressure the authorities in countries rich in natural resources to adopt lax regulations for extractive industries (Moore and Velasquez 2012).

Investigative journalists play a critical role in unveiling scandals, which is important for curbing corruption and policy capture. According to GSoD indices data, the current global situation regarding the freedom of expression and media integrity is worrying. Although there were gains around the world in media integrity from the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s, this trend stagnated until 2012. Since then the situation has worsened, especially in relation to the freedom of expression in Europe, the Middle East and Iran, and North America.

Lack of trust in politics and politicians

Corruption and policy capture generally affect people's level of trust in politicians, which in turn negatively influences political participation more broadly (Arkhedé Olsson 2014). International IDEA's GSoD indices data indicate that these two tend to be particularly linked in Latin America and the Caribbean and, to a lesser degree,

in Africa. This trend is also present in Europe, but mostly in countries with low levels of corruption. In Asia and the Pacific, however, trust in politicians does not seem to be driven by perceptions of corruption.

The loss of trust in politicians is particularly acute among youth; in almost 60 per cent of countries surveyed in 2010–14, young people have less confidence than older people in political parties (OECD 2015b). These sentiments are particularly harmful to democracy, as they may shape long-term social attitudes towards these institutions.

Inadequacy of narrow political finance legal frameworks

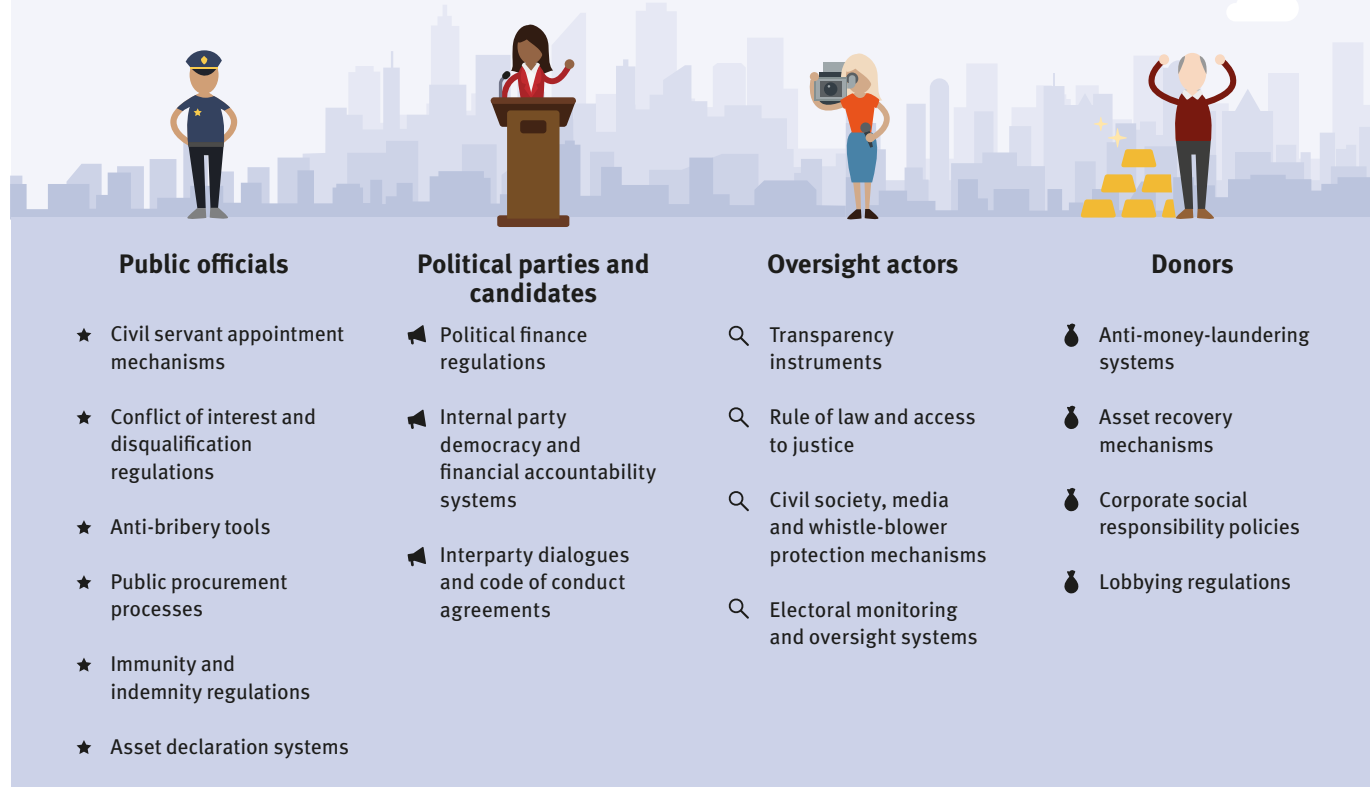
There are many political finance regulations that attempt to limit the effects of money in politics. Public funding is one of the most common, and often aims to reduce dependency on private funding, make funds available to opposition parties, and promote greater gender balance in political participation or support youth mobilization. Limits or bans on donations to political parties and candidates are also common, particularly those that restrict foreign contributions.

Unfortunately, these and other political finance regulations have some inherent weaknesses. For example, there is often an expectation that political finance regulations could have a more visible and broad effect in curbing corruption and policy capture. Measures such as the disclosure of campaign donations and public funding have had only a minor positive effect on restricting corruption.

Many political finance regulations have loopholes. In some instances oversight agencies collect data on asset disclosure from public officials in the executive branch, but then fail to audit or review its accuracy. In other cases, reporting requirements are limited to the official campaign period, excluding money spent before this time. Another problem is that political finance regulations often focus on national-level politics, even though much of the corruption takes place locally. In many cases regulations, such as bans and limits on donations, can be circumvented by disguising them as membership fees or loans, or by transferring them through third parties, as is done in the USA via Political Action Committees.

Political finance regulations can have weaknesses depending on the type of accountability mechanism they use. Sanctions are the main tool used to hold political actors accountable; little emphasis has been placed on reward and learning

Money in politics: Integrity-enhanced systems



mechanisms. Fines, forfeiture of money or property, and prison are the most common punishments, and less common sanctions include the loss of public funding, suspension of political party registration and restrictions on future election participation. Most sanctions are directed at individuals, placing little responsibility for enforcement on parties, and fines tend to be low in relation to the benefits that corruption generates.

A holistic, fairness-oriented and integrity-enhanced response

Political finance regulations alone cannot limit the access of private interests to political power. Regular efforts should encompass the whole political cycle, most notably through integrity-enhanced mechanisms for political competition. These mechanisms include innovative instruments to fight corruption, promote transparency, and protect and promote oversight of the state and politics. These should focus on the areas most vulnerable to corruption, such as conflicts of interest, lobbying activities, bank and tax secrecy rules, parliamentary immunity norms, protections for whistle-blowers and freedom of the press. Moreover, these mechanisms should involve a variety of actors, such

as public officials, political parties and candidates, oversight actors and private donors.

There are four main areas of action to curtail the negative role of money in politics as part of the broader fight against corruption and policy capture. These include integrity-enhanced systems that countries could adopt through legislation, regulations or codes of conduct.

Policy options and recommendations to address the challenge of money in politics

All actors

- Adopt systems that promote the integrity of politics, policymaking and state delivery through coordination between legislators and public and private institutions to fight corruption, promote civic education and awareness of integrity of politics, protect and support oversight of the state and politics, and prevent policy capture.
- Target the international mechanisms that facilitate political corruption and the transnational flow of illicit money through (and into) politics.

- Promote and support independent oversight mechanisms to implement anti-corruption and political finance regulations, including the right to access information.
- Enable oversight agencies to fulfil their roles independently, with adequate resources, legal means and control powers, and ensure that whistle-blower protection measures are in place.
- Explore new technologies and interconnectivity to monitor the transparency of politicians and business actors, such as crowdsourcing platforms that facilitate small donations and social media tools for reporting and oversight.
- Implement transparency mechanisms that go beyond political finance law requirements by publishing detailed financial data, making party representatives' assets public, and implementing accountability activities that interact with constituents and civil society organizations.

Governments

- Implement policies and norms that prevent and detect money laundering, particularly in connection to politically exposed people and the confiscation of assets.
- Enable oversight agencies in charge of controlling public contracting, conflicts of interest, disqualification systems, political finance and general anti-corruption norms to collaborate and share information with financial institutions and other authorities.
- Adapt legislation to prevent policy capture and corruption and avoid special regimes and exceptions to the rule.
- Adopt sanctions, rewards, and learning and preventive mechanisms to promote party accountability.
- Enhance and promote regulations that aim to level the playing field between men and women, such as linking provisions for public funding and other financial advantages to gender equality among candidates.
- Facilitate, promote and protect the work of journalists in the fight against corruption.
- Demand coordinated and holistic approaches to fighting corruption and state capture that promote integrity in politics. Media owners, professional associations and trade unions should lobby governments and parliaments to adopt—and comply with—international and regional norms on the right to access information, freedom of expression and opinion building, in adherence with the 2030 Agenda on Sustainable Development, particularly Goal 16 that includes targets on reducing corruption and ensuring public access to information.
- Work with other media outlets on sensitive topics, sharing information and publishing stories simultaneously, to diffuse the risk to any individual journalist while enabling reporters to cover hazardous topics. These outlets should also provide staff and freelancers with preventive security training and post-assignment debriefings.

Political parties

- Adopt codes of conduct that promote better control and accountability of political party representatives focused on their decision-making and internal party democracy procedures.
- Codes of conduct should include anti-corruption mechanisms such as the declaration of assets from party representatives and conflict of interest norms.

Civil society and the media

- Monitor the negative role of money in politics by addressing all the possible ways in which money can be disguised, focusing on tracking public contracting, the appointment of public officials, conflicts of interest, independency of oversight agencies and gender inequalities in accessing political financing.
- Demand coordinated and holistic approaches to fighting corruption and state capture that promote integrity in politics. Media owners, professional associations and trade unions should lobby governments and parliaments to adopt—and comply with—international and regional norms on the right to access information, freedom of expression and opinion building, in adherence with the 2030 Agenda on Sustainable Development, particularly Goal 16 that includes targets on reducing corruption and ensuring public access to information.
- Work with other media outlets on sensitive topics, sharing information and publishing stories simultaneously, to diffuse the risk to any individual journalist while enabling reporters to cover hazardous topics. These outlets should also provide staff and freelancers with preventive security training and post-assignment debriefings.

Regional organizations

- Consider introducing peer review systems that include monitoring political finance regulations and their implementation.
- Take inspiration from good practices such as the Group of States against Corruption (GRECO) in an effort to improve regulatory processes, increase awareness and promote the implementation of existing regulations.

Chapter 6. Mind the gap: can democracy counter inequality?

Since 1990, almost 1.1 billion people have been lifted out of extreme poverty (World Bank 2016). Globally, significant strides have been made in areas including maternal deaths, deaths from curable diseases such as polio and malaria, child survival and primary school enrolment (Gates and Gates 2016). The basic welfare subcomponent of International IDEA's GSoD indices (which takes into account infant mortality rate, life expectancy, supply of kilocalories, literacy rate and average years of schooling as well as expert evaluations on equality of access to basic schooling and health care) reflects similar progress. As Figure 6.1 shows, there has been a steady increase in basic welfare across all regions of the world since 1975.

Yet the concentration of wealth has become especially acute. Between 1988 and 2008, the bottom 5 per cent of the global income distribution made no progress at all, while the top 5 per cent (and indeed the top 1 per cent) has done spectacularly well (Paz Arauco et al. 2014). There are growing pockets of people who are poor and marginalized, who are consistently 'left behind' (Oxfam 2017; UN 2015) and have been excluded or overlooked by ongoing progress—even in countries such as China and India, which have enjoyed sustained periods of economic growth. Rising inequality has become a defining challenge of the century; it has profound implications for the health and resilience of democracies. Inequality and exclusion profoundly undermine young people's opportunities to engage economically, socially and politically, and to exercise (or even secure) full citizenship. Inequality also severely limits social mobility—the prospect that over the course of a lifetime, a young person will be able to work his or her way into a better economic situation. These disadvantages can be perpetuated across generations.

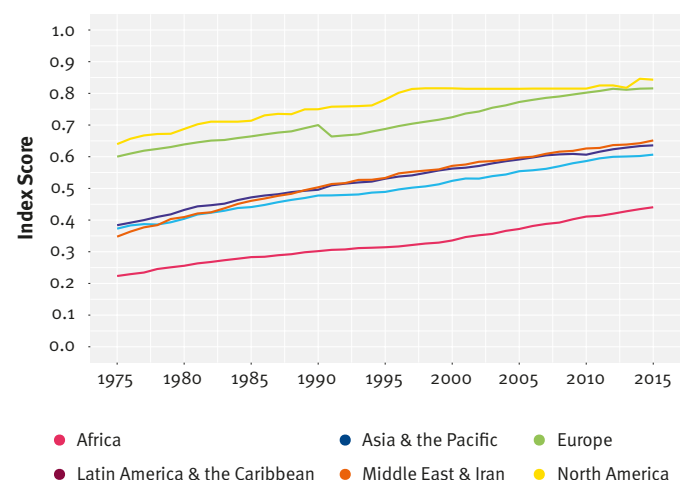
Defining inequality

Inequality is an individual as well as a collective phenomenon: it exists between individuals and households, but also between social groups. It is thus economic, political, social and cultural in nature, and is shaped through a dynamic process of interaction and contestation between the state and society over the distribution of power and resources. Patterns of inequality and social exclusion are entrenched

in the underlying institutional arrangements and 'rules of the game' that underpin a given social and political system. The relationship between inequality and democracy is a subject of debate. Evidence from the existing literature suggests that inequality has no clear effect on regime

FIGURE 6.1

Basic Welfare: regional trends, 1975–2015



Note: This graph shows the development of basic welfare subcomponent scores (y-axis) for the different regions of the world over time (x-axis). The y-axis ranges from 0 to 1; higher scores indicate a higher provision of basic welfare.

Source: GSoD indices 2017 (Basic Welfare Index).

change: an authoritarian regime will not break down and democratize due to inequality alone, and similarly a highly unequal democracy will not collapse because of inequality (Knutson 2015). Yet how wealth, power and privilege are distributed across the population fundamentally affects the quality of democratic governance and undermines the sturdiness and resilience of a democracy (Houle 2009).

Democracies face distinct challenges when seeking to address inequality. However, a variety of factors has enabled different states to make some progress on this front within a democratic setting. These include sound and innovative policies that address the intersectional nature of inequality, as well as the required state capacity, elite commitment, effective political parties, reform coalitions, mobilization and ideas from below, and the framing of shared national visions and destinies. How these factors interact with international drivers and dynamics is also important.

Inequality, social provision and service delivery

A government's ability to perform key functions and provide essential services is crucial to democratic resilience. Citizens assess the quality of democracy based on the state's ability to deliver public goods and to foster development and prosperity. Services, including clean water and sanitation, health care, education, welfare safety nets, job generation, and security and access to justice, represent visible and tangible connections between the state and the population. The failure to provide such services undermines both the legitimacy of state institutions and support for democratic governance.

Inequality, and the kind of multi-dimensional exclusion it generates, skews social provision to those who benefit from the services provided. It creates an enormous social distance between different groups, despite their (often close) proximity in shared geographic spaces, which undermines the prospects for substantive interactions and common experiences. This results in fragmented systems of social provision and justice that only deliver good-quality services to those who are able to pay for them (Paz Arauco et al. 2014). Elites often opt out of public services: they build their own schools and hospitals, and live in walled neighbourhoods (Karl 2000). Those who are poor and marginalized often lack access to basic services, social protection and justice. The ability of democratic regimes to perform—both economically and socially—remains mixed at best.

Inequality and social cohesion

While transitions to democracy have taken place in a variety of settings irrespective of levels of economic development, there is a growing consensus that a certain level of prosperity may be needed to ensure the sustainability and resilience of democracy (Carothers 2002; Houle 2009; Karl 2000; Rocha Menocal 2012). However, it may not be the level of prosperity that matters, but the way in which wealth and prosperity are shared among the population that has a greater influence on fostering the appropriate conditions for democratic resilience.

Inequality feeds social polarization and shrinks the vital moderate centre of societies. It also skews political voice and representation towards those who have resources and power. This generates and perpetuates a situation in which elites have vast influence on policy and decision-making processes, which in turn determines a country's prospects for development and how progressive and equitable its policies are, including in the vital areas of state performance and social services provision. Over the long term, inequality can create imbalances in voice, representation, opportunity and access that disenfranchise segments of the population, and undermine trust in (and support for) democracy.

Democracies are more resilient and function better when ties of trust and reciprocity bind citizens to each other and to the state (World Bank 2011). Such ties should be multiple, overlapping and cross-cutting, rather than based on narrower identities that link people together along a single key dimension such as kinship, family, religion or class (Varshney 2001). This is particularly true where relations between citizens are fractured by conflict and violence.

Inequality, political voice and representation

Societies characterized by entrenched and overlapping inequalities can become fragmented and polarized, which makes it difficult to achieve political consensus for social and redistributive policies and guarantee recourse to justice. In countries as diverse as Colombia, the Philippines, South Africa and the USA, inequality and differences in access, opportunity and power have enabled elites to exert disproportionate influence over government. Through capture, corruption and the unchecked infusion of money in politics, some wealthy people in these countries have been able to leverage their resources to bend laws to their bidding, enfeeble courts, violate rights, buy off politicians and political parties, intimidate or control the media, and run roughshod over constitutions and contracts

(Levin-Waldman 2016). This further undermines the state's interest in (and capacity to provide) quality education, health, security and other essential services.

Deepening inequality, exacerbated by the shock and dislocation brought about by the financial crisis of 2007–08, has contributed to widespread disillusionment with the workings of political systems in more established democracies. As movements across the political spectrum—ranging from the US Tea Party and the 'Occupy' movements in various countries to the anti-European populists in France, the Netherlands and the UK—illustrate, there is profound dissatisfaction with the quality of representation. These sentiments are anchored in concerns that not all voices are equal, and that the economic and political establishment perpetuates the control of elites who have lost touch with the people (Gershman 2016; Caryl 2016).

Inequality and legitimacy of political institutions

High levels of inequality can put governance under considerable stress in a democracy by undermining the

legitimacy of state institutions (Stewart 2010). This legitimacy can be threatened if state policies are biased and exclusionary; if state authorities do not respect, protect and fulfil human rights or uphold the rule of law equally across the board; or if significant segments of the population are excluded from power and decision-making processes. A lack of legitimacy robs institutions of the 'immune system' needed to prove resilient over time and to channel challenges and conflict peacefully (World Bank 2011).

Research shows that higher levels of inequality consistently reduce citizen support for democracy across the board (Bergh et al. 2014; Krieckhaus et al. 2014). Despite considerable democratic progress, especially in the area of elections, inequality generates a sense of collective public frustration about what democracy can deliver and what can be achieved through formal political institutions and processes. Young people around the world feel disillusioned with mainstream politics and disadvantaged by public policy (UN 2016a). The millennial generation is much less likely than older cohorts to be interested in electoral politics and to vote in national elections.

How rising inequality undermines democracy



How?

- ⌞ Undermines the well-being of marginalized people
- ⌞ Increases the power of the wealthy and privileged

What are the consequences?

- ⌞ Excludes groups of society from political processes
- ⌞ Biases the provision of education, health and other services
- ⌞ Exacerbates distrust
- ⌞ Creates a feeling of alienation
- ⌞ Threatens the legitimacy of government
- ⌞ Can increase polarization and resentment
- ⌞ Can lead to populism
- ⌞ Can increase violent extremism
- ⌞ Can trigger conflict and war

Youth are not necessarily apathetic. Protests and demonstrations have become important avenues for political expression. Young people have been at the forefront of many emerging political movements, many of which have focused on inequality. From the Occupy movements to the Indignados in Spain to the #Yo Soy 132 in Mexico, they have delivered piercing critiques of the political establishment (Oxfam 2016).

The rise or resurgence of populism, nationalist and anti-immigrant discourse in many emerging and established democracies (e.g. the Philippines, Turkey, France, the UK and the USA, respectively) is driven by the fact that even where economic growth has increased, it has not benefited those living in poverty (Plattner 2012; Caryl 2016). While many factors contribute to the rise of populism, including xenophobia and the 'fear of difference and social change' (Beauchamp 2017), there also seems to be an important overlap of class politics and identity politics.

Inequality, violence and armed conflict

Inequality can be a leading driver of social polarization and violent conflict. Social exclusion, and the entrenched patterns of political, economic and social forms of inequality that sustain it, are crucial factors associated with violence (DFID 2005; Stewart 2010). Political instability and violence are more likely to emerge, and are more difficult to eradicate, in societies where economic growth and social policies have reduced poverty without addressing objective or perceived interpersonal and regional differences (World Bank 2016). Widening inequality within developing countries—often characterized by profiteering from domestic and international actors, including major global corporations—threatens social stability (UNDP 2013).

Inequality can generate violence and conflict because it breeds resentment and exacerbates other 'root' causes of conflict, and undermines cross-cutting social, political and economic capacities that are needed to inhibit the escalation of (violent) conflict. This is especially the case when inequality is group or identity based.

Political settlements that are grounded in an inclusive nation-building project—or an 'imagined community' that can transcend more narrowly defined identities—tend to be more stable and resilient over time (Anderson 1983).

Democracy and inequality: no automatic relationship

Can democracy reduce inequality? The positive correlation across wealth, democracy and equality is one of the strongest and most enduring relationships in the social sciences (Acemoglu and Robinson 2011; Haggard and Kaufman 2009). Well-established and wealthy democracies tend to be better governed (Acemoglu and Robinson 2011).

There are compelling reasons to assume that democracy, by its very nature, should reduce inequality. After all, it is intended to be a political system that provides popular control over decision-making based on political equality. On average, a majority of voters should be in favour of redistribution from the rich, as the rich are likely to be in the minority. In principle, democracy's redistributive nature constitutes its main threat to elites. The reality, however, is much more complex: formal political equality before the law in itself does not lead to equality in other realms, and democracy does not automatically reduce inequality.

Under a democratic regime, public authorities should engage with a wider range of actors when deciding on and implementing policy (World Bank 2008). Citizens tend to assess a state's legitimacy based on its performance and the governments' ability to deliver on key needs and expectations, rather than on democratic rights and processes such as elections (Chang, Chu and Welsh 2013). A crucial implication is that, all else equal, putting in place participatory and representative democratic institutions will not automatically result in popular support for a political system if it does not deliver expected goods and services, especially among young people.

As the fate of many democracies that have emerged since the 1980s demonstrates, formal institutions of participation, representation and inclusion have generally remained hollow and ineffective, while many regimes have been unable or unwilling to deliver on some of the crucial needs and expectations of their populations. In other words, political systems have not become more inclusive either in terms of process beyond perfunctory forms or in terms of outcomes (Rocha Menocal 2015a).

Challenges to redistributive reform and policies

Policymaking is technical as well as political in nature. The entry barriers and the distribution of power among actors—including policymakers, bureaucrats, civil society groups, the private sector and individual citizens—determine who

gets to participate in the policy arena, and whose voices are heard. A key challenge in all countries, including democracies, is how to harness collective action among elites, as well as between elites and broader social groups, to promote inclusive development.

Proponents of reforms to promote greater equity and inclusive development thus face a hard task: for policies to be formulated and implemented, reformers need to sway all relevant decision-making institutions and players who have the power to derail such efforts. Those who oppose more redistributive reforms only need to gain support from a limited number of these institutions and players to block change (Weyland 1996; Keefer 2011).

This points to a great democracy challenge: inequality undermines democracy's sustainability and resilience. Yet democracy does not automatically reduce inequality; historically, some of the most successful attempts to reduce inequality (e.g. land reform) have taken place in a non-democratic framework (Plattner 2012). However, a variety of countries have managed to promote more inclusive forms of development and reduce inequality within a democratic context. The nature and pace of change may also be more gradual, iterative and cumulative. In due course, formal democratic frameworks and institutions may provide crucial entry points to push for further reforms that can, in time, enhance the quality of democracy and help it become more resilient (Stokke and Törnquist 2013).

Sound policymaking has been an important part of combating poverty and inequality. Policies and initiatives targeted at vulnerable or marginalized groups have helped reduce inequality, especially those that focus on intersecting inequalities over time (Paz Arauco et al. 2014). Emerging research suggests that the context-specific factors that drive marginalization need to be factored into social protection programme objectives, design and implementation, and that linkages between social protection and other sectors are crucial. For example, programmes that use an integrated approach to address women's social and economic vulnerabilities through raising awareness of their rights and cash transfers can support women's economic empowerment and start to dismantle discriminatory social norms (Stuart et al. 2016). Some countries have implemented affirmative action policies and measures to redress intersecting inequalities, such as quotas for women and other marginalized groups.

The state has the mandate, capacity and legitimacy to redistribute wealth and resources, which gives it the leading role in promoting and securing inclusive development outcomes (Leftwich 2008; Törnquist and Harriss 2016). State capacity, understood as capable and impartial administration that is protected from state capture for private, personal or patronage gains, is essential to democratic resilience. However, one of the most important lessons that has emerged in development policy circles over the past two decades is that the politics of policies—rather than the policies themselves—are fundamental in shaping their implementation and effectiveness, and in determining what kinds of policies are feasible in the first place (Booth 2012; Putzel and Di John 2012; Levy 2014; Hickey, Sen and Bukenya 2014; Rocha Menocal 2017; World Bank 2017). While many countries that have successfully promoted inclusive development and reduced inequality across the developing world have been authoritarian, Botswana, Brazil, Ghana, India and South Africa are more complex examples of the push and pull of progress and setbacks in both democracy and inequality.

Elites within both the state and society who are committed to combating inequality have proven instrumental to organizing or mobilizing people and resources in pursuit of particular ends or goals, and to overall efforts to promote progressive change. Social mobilization and sustained bottom-up pressures can also help achieve substantive transformations towards greater inclusion and shared prosperity.

Political parties serve as important links between the state and society, and are therefore instrumental vehicles for collective action and organization. They have also played a key role in driving political settlements as well as shaping government incentives to adopt more inclusive policies (Putzel and Di John 2012).

Building coalitions—at both the domestic and international levels—can be essential for enacting needed reforms. It can prove positive, and even decisive, where it evolves into a process of bargaining around issues of broader public interest and where there are opportunities for a wide range of state and non-state stakeholders at different levels—subnational, national, regional, global—to participate.

Within international development assistance circles, relatively little attention has been paid to the importance, or even power, of ideas in shaping development trajectories (Hudson and Leftwich 2014). Yet ideas are a key ingredient

of politics, and are important in shaping thinking, behaviour and outcomes about inclusion and exclusion, and about how much inequality ought to be tolerable. Ideas and norms also influence the nature and quality of interactions between different elites and their followers, and across different groups in state and society (Hudson and Leftwich 2014). In addition to helping shape conceptions of state legitimacy, the power of ideas is also central to discussions of who is included in (and excluded from) state- and nation-building processes.

While institutional transformation is clearly driven from within, international factors also matter. Regional and global drivers and dynamics can play important roles in informing (or helping to shape) internal reform processes and influencing the incentives and dynamics of domestic actors to support democratic resilience and the quality of democratic governance (inequality is an important component of this process). For example, transnational networks promoting human rights, women's empowerment, and transparency and accountability have harnessed collective action at the international and global levels, which in turn has influenced domestic politics and debates (Keck and Sikkink 1999). Other global governance and transnational networks in the areas of global health and education have also been important in setting expectations and generating more incentives for government to deliver, especially in aid-dependent countries. International donor efforts to use democracy- or development-related incentives and conditionality to encourage a greater focus on education and health outcomes in partner countries have also had an impact, although such approaches may not always work. Thus the question is not whether donors influence internal political and power dynamics, but rather how they should design their engagement and interventions, based on a sound assessment of the multiple dilemmas and trade-offs involved (Yanguas 2017).

Policy options and recommendations for countering inequality

All actors

- Take advantage of the current political climate to prioritize and harness collective action against inequality.
- Develop an in-depth understanding of the political context and underlying power dynamics in which inequalities exist to determine which policies are sound and politically feasible.
- Invest in research to develop and share knowledge in order to better understand what works and what does not, and to track progress by improving data collection and data monitoring.

National and local policymakers

- Use social and economic policies to rectify intersecting social, political and economic inequalities and soften the sharp edges of economic inequality and social exclusion. These may include tax policy, education, health, unemployment, conditional cash transfers, micro-credit and affirmative action. The focus should be on young people in order to help break vicious cycles of intergenerational inequalities.
- Identify and address the technical—and especially the political—constraints on effective policy implementation by reforming laws and other formal institutions necessary to deal with inequalities and seeking to influence the incentives, behaviours, practices and values of key strategic actors and stakeholders. Pay particular attention to how the formal and informal spheres interact, and whether they complement each other or pull in different directions.
- Harness redistributive coalitions that can capitalize on domestic and international pressures to address inequality as a policy priority.
- Be mindful of the potential side effects and unintended consequences of social policies intended to redress inequality, and find a balance between competing aims.

International community

- Focus on inequality as an intersectional phenomenon, and prioritize its reduction, rather than focusing solely on poverty reduction and income levels.
- Be mindful of the political context, and adapt approaches and interventions to tackle inequalities to contextual realities. Develop a sharper understanding of how interventions in one area (e.g. democracy support) may affect those in another (e.g. state-building), and recognize the tensions, trade-offs and dilemmas involved. This may require thinking and working on a range of issues—from service delivery, citizen participation and governance reforms, to economic development and promoting inclusion—in different ways, focusing not on 'best practice' but rather on 'best fit'.
- Focus on revitalizing and reinventing links between states and societies to give democracies renewed vigour and resilience.
- Support international cooperation to fight tax avoidance and capital flight by requiring country-by-country reporting, promoting transparency and information exchange, and imposing unitary taxes on capital.

Chapter 7. Migration, social polarization, citizenship and multiculturalism

Around the world, migration is often at the centre of public debate, especially during election campaigns. In some countries, party platforms increasingly promise to expel migrants or to restrict their entry. In others, a perceived government failure to address concerns over migration has led to xenophobic violence and civil unrest. Yet many countries acknowledge the economic benefits of migration and the increasing need for skilled migrants to support their economies.

The Syrian crisis has driven an unprecedented number of refugees to countries such as Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey as well as the EU, sparking global and regional debates about fair burden sharing and how countries can cope with increasing migration flows. Other countries, such as Botswana, Ethiopia, Kenya, Namibia and South Africa, have been long-term hosts to economic migrants as well as refugees fleeing war and conflict in Africa.

By late 2015, migrants accounted for over 3 per cent of the world's population. Over the last 45 years, the number of people living outside their country of origin has almost tripled from 76 million to 244 million (IOM 2015a). However, it is important to note that despite their dramatic increase in absolute numbers, the proportion of migrants as a share of the world's population has remained relatively stable since 1990 (UN 2016b).

As of 2015, women made up 48 per cent of the global migrant population (UN 2016b). Female migrants face different challenges than their male counterparts. Migrants can face multiple forms of discrimination, including on the grounds of gender, ethnicity, nationality, class and other bias, in addition to their status as migrants. This can significantly undermine their human rights as well as their ability to participate effectively in the host country's social, economic and political life.

Due to its transnational nature, migration is a controversial topic that poses difficult dilemmas for policymakers in

democratic institutions. In many destination countries, public concerns and attitudes toward migration significantly influence government policies, party agendas and electoral campaigns. Negative reactions of native populations to immigrants are expressed in anti-immigrant protests, vigilante groups and the adoption of restrictive policies. Threats to the smooth functioning of democratic institutions and processes arise out of political and social polarization, securitization, exclusion, and marginalization or discrimination through a narrow definition of the nation. Media coverage of migration influences national and local voting behaviour. Concerns over migration have reinvigorated far-right populist parties and leaders. Economic concerns over immigration often focus on immigrants taking scarce jobs or requiring public support. The rise of terrorist organizations claiming to be motivated by Islamic beliefs has contributed to Islamophobia in many countries, where migrants and refugees, particularly Muslims, often become an easy target of public scapegoating.

Migration can also affect democratic institutions and processes in countries of origin, as citizens abroad seek to influence politics at home. Migrants are increasingly becoming political actors who can influence the quality of democracy in both destination and origin countries. The upsurge in migration flows has strained the capacities of democratic institutions to effectively integrate migrants into society, and highlighted the need to examine how governments can enable and encourage migrants' political

participation. Migration affects governments' ability to deliver public services, which poses challenges to democratic accountability and highlights the need for a combined local, national and global governance response.

Inclusion—how well societies politically integrate immigrants—is a key factor when assessing how migration affects democracies, and the conditions under which democratic systems can respond to these challenges in a resilient manner.

Immigrants and the pathway to citizenship

Citizenship is an important incentive for integration and removes barriers for immigrants to participate in political life. It provides full civic and political rights and protection against discrimination, which can increase their sense of belonging and willingness to participate.

Citizenship can be acquired automatically (mainly at birth) or upon application. Naturalization is defined here as the non-automatic acquisition of citizenship by an individual born in another country, which requires an application by the immigrant and an act of granting by the host country (OECD 2011).

The rules governing the acquisition of citizenship vary widely around the world; countries have the exclusive authority to regulate the terms under which immigrants can obtain citizenship. Citizenship rules regulate eligibility criteria such as residence requirements and whether citizenship is acquired upon birth based on parental heritage or 'blood' (*ius sanqunis*) or the country of birth (*ius soli*). They also regulate the conditions under which citizenship is granted, including language proficiency, citizenship or integration tests, gender, economic and criminal record requirements, costs, as well as legal guarantees and discretionary decision-making powers. Lastly, these rules regulate whether countries allow dual citizenship.

Immigrants are more likely to become citizens in countries with inclusive citizenship policies than in those with restrictive policies. In Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the USA—all countries with high naturalization rates—immigrants obtain residence permits upon entry and are encouraged to naturalize at the end of an initial settlement period. This policy approach encourages immigrants to identify themselves as 'future citizens' from the outset, compared to the (European) policy approach that emphasizes 'proof of integration' before naturalization will

be considered. Immigrants from developing countries are more likely to naturalize, and are more affected by restrictive immigration policies. Similarly, refugees, women and immigrants with high levels of education are more likely to naturalize.

Naturalization can be a useful (political) integration tool for immigrants. One approach to encourage migrants to participate in political life on a par with natives and to increase their sense of belonging is to promote inclusive naturalization policies that allow dual nationality. Naturalization trends tend to follow migration flows with a time lag, which means that countries should focus on long-term residents if they wish to encourage naturalization.

Immigrants and voting rights

Globalization has challenged the requirements of citizenship and residence: citizens may be disenfranchised due to migration. Today many host societies permit immigrants to participate in elections to varying degrees. In the last 50 years more than 50 countries have held parliamentary debates about extending voting rights to migrants after a certain period of residence. More than 30 countries have reformed their electoral laws and constitutions to enable non-citizen residents to vote (Pedroza 2015). Non-citizen voting rights exist, or are provided for in constitutions without having been applied or implemented, in 64 democracies (Blais et al. 2001; Earnest 2004). The Nordic countries and Ireland grant the most inclusive local-level voting rights in Europe, while outside the EU, New Zealand grants the most democratically inclusive national-level voting rights (Huddleston et al. 2015).

Granting voting rights to immigrants is controversial, given that voting is traditionally seen as a feature of citizenship. Whether citizenship is defined as the compilation of civil, social and political rights or as a status of full membership in a polity, there is a trend in an increasing number of countries to link immigrant voting rights on the local level to residency, while national voting rights are rarely granted to immigrants before naturalization (Bauböck 2005). In some regions, such as Latin America and the Caribbean, democratization has been linked to the extension of voting rights to non-citizens, although it remains a politically sensitive issue. In Myanmar, non-citizens, such as Rohingya Muslims, were 'white card holders' with the right to vote until the November 2015 elections, when that right was withdrawn, preventing them from taking part in the

country's first democratic elections. In Japan, foreigners are allowed to participate in some local referendums, but are not granted local voting rights (Huddleston et al. 2015).

Electoral systems and the socio-political context influence the implementation of more inclusive voting rights. Policies that extend voting rights universally, even if limited to the local level, offer non-citizen residents the chance to integrate into politics based on equality while giving them the opportunity to recognize a new sense of belonging.

Immigrants and the influence of voter turnout—willingness to politically engage?

Voter turnout is an indicator of civic engagement. Thus whether immigrant citizens vote is an important consideration for political party and government strategies to engage with immigrants and the native population. Immigrants with voting rights do not necessarily vote, and recent studies show that immigrant turnout in national elections is generally lower than in local elections. Even in local elections, immigrants have a lower voter turnout compared to natives. The exception is Canada (Bird, Saalfeld and Wüst 2016). This is true regardless of whether a country is politically inclusive of immigrants, has an open citizenship regime or allows immigrants to vote in local elections. Different factors influence immigrant voter turnout, including the political socialization of immigrants, their socio-economic status and their willingness to politically engage in their host societies. Political parties and government strategies thus need to address general voter scepticism regardless of whether a voter is a migrant or a native.

Political integration of immigrants

A key prerequisite for immigrant inclusion and their ability to engage in the political life of their host countries is the openness of a country's legislative and political system to immigrant political integration. Based on the GSoD indices and Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) data, political systems that are open or inclusive in terms of the political integration of immigrants tend to score high in the quality of their democracy (International IDEA 2017b; Huddleston et al. 2015). This means that these countries are both politically inclusive of immigrants and enable naturalization, and have high scores on key attributes of their democracy.

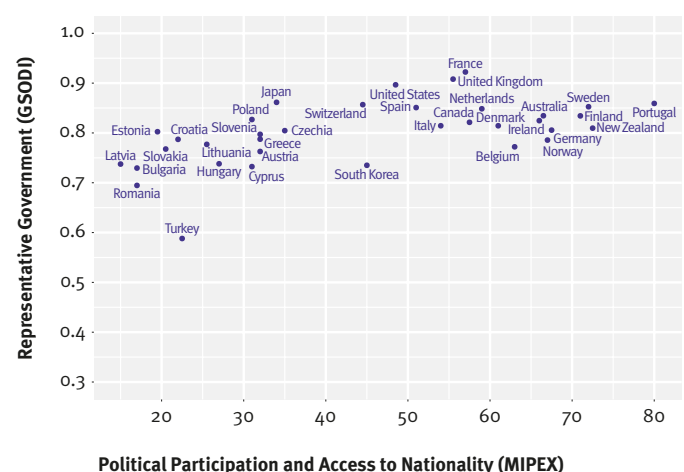
An example is the GSoD indices score on Representative Government, which measures the extent to which a country

has clean elections, inclusive suffrage, free political parties and an elected government measured against the MIPEX political participation and access to nationality indicators (which measure countries' migration policies in relation to electoral rights, political liberties, consultative bodies and implementation policies as well as eligibility criteria for naturalization, conditions for acquisition of citizenship status, security of citizenship status and the acceptance of dual nationality). All EU member states are included, as well as Australia, Canada, Iceland, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, the Republic of Korea, Switzerland, Turkey and the USA against 167 indicators over the time period 2004–14.

In Europe, the GSoD indices/MIPEX high scores for immigrant-friendly countries such as Finland, Norway, Portugal and Sweden reflect policies that focus on ensuring that immigrants have equal legal rights to those of citizens and a high level of integration support. In contrast, the low MIPEX political participation/access to nationality scores and medium GSoD indices scores for immigration-restrictive countries such as Bulgaria, Czechia, Hungary, Poland and Romania reflect the fact that these countries

FIGURE 7.1

Political Participation and Access to Nationality by Representative Government, 2014



Note: This graph shows the relationship between the GSoD indices representative government attribute (y-axis) and the averages of the MIPEX political participation and access to nationality indicators (x-axis). The higher a country scores on both axes, the more politically inclusive it is for immigrants and the higher the quality of its representative government. Pearson's correlation coefficient: $n = 35$, $r = .567$, $p\text{-value} < .005$.

Source: GSoD indices 2017 (Representative Government Index); Huddleston et al. 2015 (MIPEX Political Participation and Access to Nationality).

offer only basic opportunities for integration, with limited migrant political participation and difficult pathways to citizenship (Huddleston et al. 2015).

While the GSoD indices quality of democracy scores are high for Canada, Spain, Switzerland and the USA, they have mid-range scores for MIPEX political participation/access to nationality indicators, reflecting their restrictive policies on voting rights for immigrants and a lack of consultative bodies (in the case of Canada) and pathways to citizenship (in the US case). Other countries, such as Japan, score high on the GSoD indices quality of democracy scores but low on the MIPEX political participation/access to nationality indicators, reflecting restrictive policies on immigrant voting rights and political participation. Despite recent reforms in refugee and asylum policies, Turkey has a low score on both the GSoD indices quality of democracy index and the MIPEX political participation/access to nationality indicators, reflecting an unfavourable legal framework for the integration and political participation of immigrants as well as a difficult path to citizenship or even legal residence. Inclusive immigrant political integration policies thus benefit democratic societies and help create the conditions for qualitative democracies.

Immigrant representation in key political institutions and consultative bodies

Political parties and parliaments as well as local councils face the challenge of integrating the interests of an increasingly diverse population due to the effects of migration. As the main representatives of the people in political decision-making processes, parties should strive to reflect the interests of all citizens (Kemp et al. 2013).

While data are lacking on whether political parties reflect the diversity of their populations, minority groups are usually under-represented (Bloemraad 2013). Immigrants remain under-represented at the local level, even though there tend to be more councillors with an immigrant background at the municipal level and in cities, and parties nominate a substantial number of minority candidates in local elections.

Adding to the representation deficit is the challenge immigrants face in joining political parties. Parties have applied different strategies to increase minority representation, including bolstering their profiles within ethnic communities, implementing recruitment drives to encourage ethnic minority representatives to stand for election, and adopting

numerical targets for minority candidates. In a very few cases, political parties have established ethnic candidate lists. Other parties have used targets, intraparty minority networks and quotas to increase minority representation. Many political parties allow immigrants to hold positions within their party structure, including on candidate lists (Htun 2004), and some have created incentives for immigrants to politically engage with them through special forums or campaigns. Many of these structures are informal and weak, and depend on individual interactions rather than institutional structures. Overall, political parties could be more effective at attracting people from immigrant backgrounds (Dähnke et al. 2014).

Electoral systems and a party's agenda and views on migration—regardless of where it stands on the political spectrum—influence whether immigrants are represented in political party structures, whether they can stand for election as candidates and whether they have a realistic chance of winning due to their position on a party's candidate list. The level of support that a party provides to immigrants affects their representation. Political parties that have migrant-friendly policies can thus consider making party statutes, electoral platforms and candidate lists more inclusive, and engage migrants with a view to strengthening their representative base.

Countries may include immigrants in decision-making processes through consultative bodies, even if they do not grant them formal voting rights or facilitate their inclusion in political parties. In addition, civil society-led and community-based initiatives focused on immigrant inclusion should be fostered to facilitate their integration. The constructive involvement of immigrant and host communities, particularly less-skilled and less-educated migrants, in the planning and implementation of government policies can engage citizens, for example through dialogue platforms and participatory policymaking. This approach can help build social cohesion and trust among immigrant and host communities, as they are both offered the space to interact and understand each other's views and concerns.

The challenge of anti-immigrant parties

Concerns over immigration have reinvigorated right-wing populist parties and leaders in countries such as Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden as well as Australia and the USA. Many parties across the political spectrum increasingly use the media to communicate the narrative of an out-of-touch political elite vs. the people, and an 'us vs. them' mentality based

on ethnocentric identities and xenophobia (Greven 2016). In addition, mainstream parties increasingly accommodate the rhetoric of anti-immigrant parties during election campaigns, adding fuel to anti-immigrant public attitudes and affecting political party platforms.

Citizens' views on migration, and their resulting voting behaviour, are challenging the core values of democratic projects such as the EU, as demonstrated by the UK's Brexit referendum, which was influenced by the issue of migration in the context of freedom of movement within the EU.

Migration fuelled by globalization thus affects democracy by increasing public support for (particularly right-wing) populist parties and their anti-immigrant agendas. Whether it is the size of the foreign population in a country or the size and speed of migration flows that triggers a rise in populist parties remains controversial. There are positive examples of the public voting for pro-immigrant political parties or leaders who advocate inclusive and fair migration policies, such as the election of Sadiq Khan as mayor of London in 2016.

According to a 2010 European study, public concern about immigration is one cause of citizens' lack of trust in political institutions and politicians, and not simply the result of far-right rhetoric or pessimism, or migration levels (McLaren 2010). Specifically, if citizens' perceptions of the effects of immigration are negative, they are less trusting of the political system. Those with less negative views of immigrants were less distrustful of their political systems and politicians than those who were very concerned about immigration. This relationship between concern about immigration and political distrust exists regardless of the presence of far-right parties. Essentially, reducing the disconnect between citizens and political institutions and governments, and increasing trust between them, can help public attitudes towards immigration produce better governance (McLaren 2010).

A key policy implication for governments—in addition to considering state capacities in relation to migration policymaking—is that countries with high immigration rates and immigrant-friendly or multicultural policies must work to reduce the potential backlash from citizens who have negative perceptions of immigration. This is particularly true in Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the USA, which have experienced a rise in populist leaders and parties as a result of voter dissatisfaction, often linked to

anti-immigrant sentiments. This seems to be corroborated by recent explanations that the rise of authoritarian populists in Western societies has caused a strong cultural backlash against long-term social change and liberal values (Norris 2016).

Emigrants as agents of democracy— how can democracies gain from emigration?

Origin countries can enjoy a democratic dividend from emigration: migrants can serve as agents of democracy who help diffuse democratic norms. Diaspora communities transfer information, innovative ideas, intellectual capacities, new technological skills, business and trade practices, and democratic political habits and practices. Thus returnees may increase demands for government accountability, which may enhance electoral and political participation and encourage the formation of new political parties.

Home countries can greatly benefit from reintegrating emigrants, especially those who were forced to leave but can return post-conflict. While abroad, if host societies allowed them the opportunity, migrants may have increased their skills, wealth, and political interest and capacities. They may have been able to stand as candidates in municipal elections and have gained significant political experience that they can apply to their home country. The diaspora may have formed civic associations or even political groups preparing to (re)introduce democracy in the event that their home country begins a democratic transition. In some cases, the diaspora plays a key role in raising awareness about the political situation in their home countries, and mobilizing foreign governments and the international community to advocate democratic reforms there (Koinova 2009; Egreteau 2012).

Citizenship and emigrants

An important consideration for many emigrants is whether they can retain their original citizenship when they naturalize as immigrants in their host countries. Many countries accept dual nationality, especially if giving up their origin country nationality has negative consequences for emigrants who have maintained ties to their origin countries (OECD 2011). Dual nationality can facilitate the political engagement of emigrants in their origin countries, and thus contributes to (and can influence) the quality of democracy in these countries.

Dual nationality can either be granted from birth or be acquired. Countries generally accept the former, often with

an obligation to choose upon reaching the age of majority, whereas acquiring another nationality later in life usually requires choosing between nationalities or the automatic loss of one.

Since 1975 every region of the world has experienced a substantial increase in the share of countries offering dual citizenship; it is now the norm (MACIMEDE Global Expatriate Dual Citizenship Database 2015). As of 2015, dual citizenship was most commonly accepted in countries in Latin America and the Caribbean (91 per cent), North America (100 per cent), Europe (76 per cent), the Middle East and Iran (90 per cent), and Africa (63 per cent), but even in the region with the lowest rate, Asia and the Pacific, a majority (57 per cent) of countries offer dual citizenship. Whether countries should grant or permit dual citizenship sparks controversies, which involve legal issues such as military conscription and tax liability that may arise out of administrative conflicts, as well as socio-political debates about granting multiple voting rights to migrants in both host and origin countries.

Expanding external voting rights for emigrants?

Does granting voting rights to emigrants strengthen democracies in origin countries? As with voting rights for immigrants, allowing emigrants to vote is controversial, as it lets citizens influence politics in their origin countries without necessarily being affected by the election results or government policies (Lopez-Guerra 2005). Some argue that allowing dual citizens to vote in two countries weakens the 'one person one vote' principle. Others contend that globalization has led to overlapping jurisdictions, and that expatriate voters have a sufficient stake in their home country to justify the right to participate politically (Spiro 2006).

Granting emigrants the right to vote is a discretionary act by a country, as international law creates no legal obligation for states to maintain voting rights for emigrants. Many countries extend voting rights to non-resident citizens, although technical and administrative constraints can pose barriers to voting from abroad. Laws in 146 out of 206 democracies allow non-resident citizens to vote from abroad (International IDEA Voting from Abroad Database 2015). Of these, 48 apply expatriate voting to only one type of election, while most allow it for two or more types. The most common practice—in 43 countries—is to allow external voting for three or more types of elections; these countries allow external voting in presidential and legislative elections (International IDEA Voting from Abroad Database 2015).

Refugees have traditionally been among the last marginalized groups to become enfranchised. There is no standard international practice on promoting refugees' political rights; there are regional variations in resource allocation, practice and institutional leadership.

Nevertheless, there is no clear correlation between external voting provisions and countries' political or socio-economic features. While the third wave of democratization has generally spread expatriate suffrage since the 1990s, the evidence is mixed. New democracies in South America enfranchised emigrants, while African countries did not, often because expatriates supported opposition parties. Countries that have granted voting rights to expatriates include well-established democracies as well as emerging or restored ones, and even countries that cannot be classified as democratic (Navarro, Morales and Gratschew 2007). The effects of voting rights on democracies depend on many factors, including the socio-political context and the electoral systems through which these rights are implemented, as well as the proportion of citizens among expatriates, and accessibility and participation rates.

Voter turnout of emigrants

When emigrants are granted voting rights, they have the potential to influence closely fought elections. In the 2017 French presidential election, 2.6 per cent of French nationals living overseas were registered to vote. In the first round of the polls, Emmanuel Macron won 24 per cent of the vote, while Marine Le Pen received 21.3 per cent of the vote. Macron won the first round by about 1 million votes, giving the 1.3 million French nationals eligible to vote overseas the potential to decide the election (Lui 2017).

Nevertheless, where emigrant voting is permitted, rates of registration and turnout are usually lower than they are within the origin country, such as in Italy, the Philippines, Senegal, Spain and Sweden. Yet in some countries, despite declining numbers of persons voting from abroad, the percentage of emigrants that votes remains high. The reasons for low turnout vary among external voters, just as they do among in-country voters, but some factors are particular to external voting. Emigration voting is costly and reduces the benefits of the act of voting, and the ease with which emigration voting can take place influences turnout (Kostelka 2017).

Although emigrant voting rates are normally lower than those of natives due to the costs involved, the size of the diaspora affects emigrant voter turnout, as large

diasporas can motivate political parties to mobilize emigrants. Thus, if the size of the diaspora increases, the emigrant voting rate is likely to rise. At the same time, the overall origin-country voter turnout is likely to decrease (Kostelka 2017). To support democracy, origin-country policymakers need to consider the potential of emigrant political participation in their home countries given general trends of declining voter turnout.

Political representation of emigrants in key political institutions and consultative bodies

Most countries (67 per cent) allow and facilitate emigrant voting in national elections by assigning votes to an electoral district to which an emigrant has ties, such as a previous residence (Navarro, Morales and Gratschew 2007). Only 13 countries have reserved seats or ‘special representation’ for non-resident citizens in their parliaments: Algeria, Angola, Cabo Verde, Colombia, Croatia, Ecuador, France, Italy, Mozambique, Panama, Portugal, Romania and Tunisia. Angola and Panama, however, do not implement this legislation (Sundberg 2007; EUDO Citizenship National Elections Database n.d.).

There is evidence that migration to countries with higher levels of female political empowerment increases the share of women in parliaments in origin countries (Lodigiani and Salomone 2012). Women’s diaspora organizations and activists have played a significant role in capacity building and furthering female political empowerment to increase women’s political participation in their home countries. Examples include the successful advocacy efforts of the South Sudan Women’s Empowerment Network created by US-based Sudanese migrants and the Liberian peace activist Leymah Roberta Gbowee.

Some countries do not allow emigrants to vote in mayoral or local council elections. Exceptions include Australia, Austria, Canada, Cyprus, Italy, Malta, Mexico, New Zealand and Uruguay, although local non-resident citizen voting rights are among those tied to additional residence requirements, requirements to return to the home country to cast the vote or to civil servant status (EUDO Citizenship Database n. d.).

Many origin countries wish to retain ties to their citizens abroad, since they can be a valuable source of remittances or political influence in the destination country (Itzigsohn 2000; Bauböck 2003). At the same time, many origin countries seek to retain some political control over the

diaspora. There are 15 African countries—including Ethiopia, Ghana, Mali, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Tanzania and Uganda—that have set up diaspora-related institutions and ministries.

In addition to considering granting voting rights to expatriates, origin countries should empower returning migrants to engage politically in their countries. They should consult with their diaspora communities on migration issues to encourage them to act as goodwill ambassadors in destination countries and to invest in the development of their home countries, potentially contributing to social cohesion and promoting cultural understanding.

Policy implications: approaches to tackling migration challenges

There is an increasing global backlash against multiculturalism in public opinion, political discourse, immigration policy and political theory. Many countries that used to have a strong policy emphasis on multiculturalism, such as Australia, the Netherlands and Sweden, have shifted to requiring more ‘adaptation’, ‘sharing of values’ and ‘integration’ from immigrants, often under pressure from rising far-right or populist parties.

Democratic institutions should learn from local initiatives that have successfully included migrants in political life, and link these lessons to international and regional governance frameworks. Some cities in Europe (such as Athens, Berlin, Bilbao and Dublin) and Asia and the Pacific (Fuzhou in China, Singapore and a network of cities in Japan) are forming institutional structures with the support of national authorities to harness the diverse interests of migrants and further inclusive cooperation. Berlin, Dublin and Lille are establishing partnerships with migrant associations to promote citizenship and political participation among migrant groups. Participatory budgeting (i.e. community members directly deciding how to spend part of a public budget) is being used to finance municipal inclusion policies in over 1,700 local governments in more than 40 countries, especially low-income countries where municipal budgets remain low despite decentralization (IOM 2015b).

Pursuing an ‘interactive multiculturalist policy’ with a civic component that allows people to meet and interact in common spaces—such as workplaces, political parties, schools, neighbourhood facilities and public transport systems—can help create a collective national identity while respecting the diversity of group identities. With

the exception of citizenship, migrant inclusion—language acquisition, education, civic awareness, health service access and public safety measures—is usually facilitated locally.

Overall, democratic institutions should consider policies that aim to empower migrants to decide how they participate in public life, rather than those based on citizenship-as-nationality or franchise-without-nationality models. To strengthen democracy, policymakers should consider granting voting rights—particularly at the local level—as a pathway to citizenship. This would better promote respect for individuals' choices than an approach to policymaking that focuses on groups or ethnic nations.

Democratic institutions should approach migration challenges to democracy through policies that do not solely rely on traditional formal political structures and the notion of the nation state. The key principle for migration policy must be inclusiveness to create resilience in the democratic system by allowing different voices to be heard, and harnessing different ways to manage discontent and the need for change.

Policy options and recommendations to address the challenge of migration

National and local governments

- Invest in data collection and research on the nexus between migration and democracy, including migration flows and the factors that influence the positive and negative impacts of migration, in order to maximize the benefits.
- Design migration policies to focus on changing public perceptions of migration and encouraging political accountability.
- Taking each country's circumstances into account, facilitate the naturalization of immigrants and consider granting local voting rights as a pathway to integration and easier citizenship for immigrants.
- Engage civil society actors to help integrate immigrants at the national and local levels by harnessing civil society expertise and advocacy skills to increase migrants' political participation and promote cultural understanding, particularly in local communities.
- Consider the potential of emigrant voting rights and facilitate their political participation in origin countries by learning from successful diaspora civil society initiatives, ensuring good access to information for emigrant voters, facilitating voter registration and

engaging in dialogue with host countries to avoid political controversy.

- Empower returning migrants to engage politically and in dialogue and consultation on migration issues with their diaspora communities. Encourage them to act as goodwill ambassadors in destination countries and invest in the development of their home countries.

Political parties

- Engage in fact-based democratic dialogue on migration to promote tolerance towards migrants and counter inaccurate public beliefs, knowledge and behaviour about migration.
- Political party statutes, electoral platforms and candidate lists should be inclusive and engage migrants to strengthen their representative base, including by creating equal conditions for migrants within their internal structures.
- Take a long-term view when defining party strategies to strengthen parties' credibility among voters.

Global and regional governance systems

- Regional organizations, national and local governments, and civil society organizations should cooperate to meet the goals, targets and indicators of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, particularly Goal 16, to 'promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development'.
- Cooperate in regional and international organizations to define policies that equitably share the responsibilities for migration and refugee protection, and uphold related international law such as the Global Compact on Migrants and Refugees.
- Enhance the governance of international migration through greater regional consultation and cooperation focused on key policy issues such as the linkages between migration and democracy, development, security, human rights and trade.
- Expand cooperation mechanisms to reinforce migrants' mutual benefits to improve cultural understanding, promote tolerance and integration, and facilitate their political participation in both origin and destination countries.
- International and regional consultative processes on migration should strengthen their engagement with civil society, particularly migrant associations, to promote migrant integration and participation rather than control. These processes should also engage with academia, foundations and the private sector.

Chapter 8. Inclusive peacebuilding in conflict-affected states: designing for democracy's resilience

Countries emerging from armed conflict face a long and arduous road, characterized by multiple obstacles as well as many opportunities. Steps taken in the immediate post-conflict period have a tremendous impact on the country's future, including government stability and the ability to secure peace to build stable democracies. Transitional, post-conflict periods present opportunities and challenges to build democratic institutions that can help prevent future conflict. If transition processes are inclusive, nationally owned, open and democratic, the resulting democratic system will be resilient. It is important to foster a broad sense of ownership of the decisions made during transitional periods. If people feel they have a stake in the decisions, they are more likely to respect the rules and stay politically engaged in the long term.

How political elites manage the development of the new state and integrate the principles of inclusion into the design of new political institutions in the aftermath of violent conflict is a key determinant of whether the state transitions towards a resilient democracy. Active and targeted inclusion promotes stability and the resilience of the state's new democratic institutions by prioritizing communication between political elites and citizens as well as by giving voice to the most marginalized parts of society.

Active and targeted inclusion mechanisms in constitution-building as well as in the political settlement and the design of electoral systems serve as the foundation for the rules of the new state; they determine who can participate in the state and design the levers of that participation. Together they form some of the core elements of democratic resilience. Inclusive constitution-building processes ensure that the constitutional settlement enjoys public and elite legitimacy and promotes elite–constituent interaction. Allowing former rebels to reimagine and redefine themselves as politicians helps broaden the base of public support for state legitimacy. Inclusive electoral systems that encourage elites to seek electoral support outside of their 'safe' zones provide

incentives for consensus-building rather than winner-take-all politics. Moreover, electoral systems that provide more elected representatives with access to the highest levels of decision-making power are more conducive to resilience than those that view inclusion as little more than simple numerical representation. Truly inclusive electoral systems must provide access to decision-making and power holders and foster the growth of new, local stakeholders who are interested in the democratic process.

Active and targeted inclusion operationalizes the UN Secretary-General's definition of inclusion, which is 'the extent and manner in which the views and needs of parties to conflict and other stakeholders are represented, heard and integrated into a peace process' (UN 2012: 11).

Trends in peacebuilding and democratization

To understand the extent to which inclusion has been considered and integrated into peacebuilding theory and practice, it is critical to first look at the dominant model of peacebuilding. The post-Cold War era ushered in a flood of peacekeeping missions, many of which were undertaken by the UN. Between 1989 and 1994, the UN Security Council authorized 20 new peacekeeping



missions, increasing the number of peacekeepers around the world from 11,000 to 75,000 (UN Peacekeeping 2016). These missions were tasked with a wide variety of responsibilities, ranging from the implementation of peace agreements to reorganizing military and security forces, and overseeing elections. The post-Cold War peacekeeping model, and implementers' tendencies to impose a one-size-fits-all framework (especially one focused on national stakeholders), clearly cannot produce the necessary conditions for durable peace.

Figure 8.1 shows how countries with major peacekeeping missions (those deployed for six months or more with at least 500 military troops) fared over time with regard to representative government, which is used here as a conventional indicator of democracy. The results are mixed. Cambodia, Central African Republic, Haiti and Liberia experienced periods of dramatic drops in representative government, while Bosnia and Herzegovina, Timor-Leste, Macedonia, Namibia and Tajikistan have maintained relative stability over time. Still others have experienced periods of clear growth. Only Croatia has maintained a clear upward trajectory in representative government over

time. Of course, a host of factors other than peacebuilding missions have affected trends in representative government in these countries.

Inclusion and resilient states

As policymakers continue to confront the challenges associated with rebuilding conflict-ravaged states, they must think about how to modify the prevailing liberal peacebuilding model to make targeted and active inclusion a more central priority.

Including former rebels in the political settlement of the transitional process has proven to be critical to both long-term peace and democratic resilience. The consensus is that if former combatants are given a voice in their political, economic and social destiny, it lowers the chances of a recurrence of violence (Toft 2010: 10), and thus allows more time for democratic institutions to stabilize and gain public trust. Some evidence suggests that including former combatants in new political institutions increases the likelihood that a democratic process will lead to the creation and strengthening of democratic institutions (Hoddie and Hartzell 2003). Including ex-combatants through broad

participation and shared or diffused responsibility has been effective in Colombia, El Salvador and Guatemala (see e.g. Travesi and Rivera 2016; Herbert 2013).

It is also important to bridge other divides and integrate representatives who can offer subnational, minority, class, gender and age perspectives (ZIF 2015; UN 2015). UN Security Council Resolution 1325 reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peacebuilding, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and in post-conflict reconstruction. It emphasizes women's unique strengths and abilities to effect change, and stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts to maintain and promote peace and security (UNSC 2000). Inclusion does more than bring diverse groups into decision-making processes. It can also help promote broadmindedness in society and increase

social tolerance. Inclusive, consensual systems promote mutual respect and tolerance, and help facilitate deliberation (Kirchner, Freitag and Rapp 2011: 210).

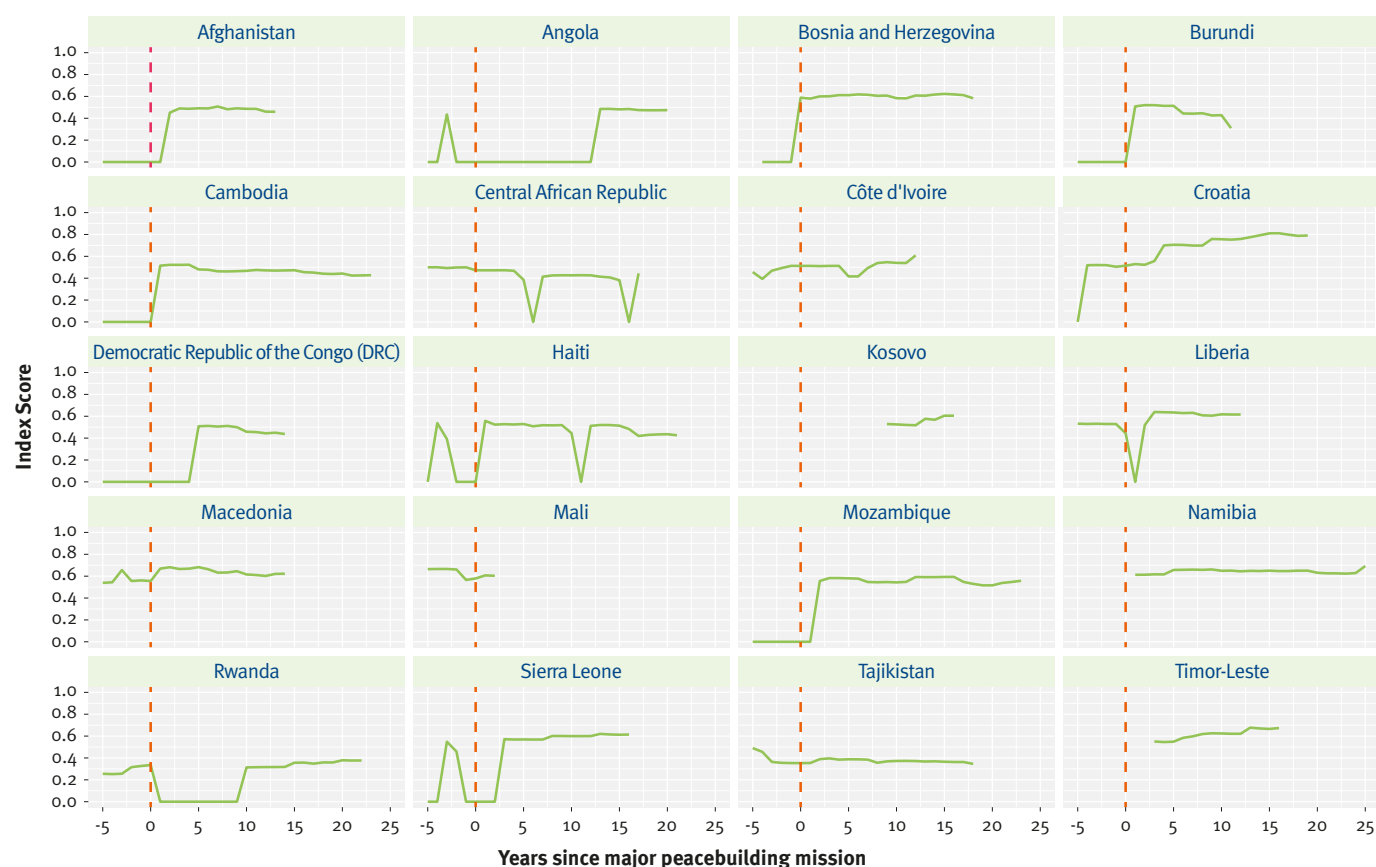
Limits of inclusion

Since it is impossible to include every constituency in decision-making processes, the World Bank emphasizes context-dependent, 'inclusive enough' coalitions. These coalitions should prioritize groups that bring political legitimacy, and financial and technical resources, and that will continue to press for deep institutional reforms, such as business, labour, and women's groups and other elements of civil society (World Bank 2011: 124).

Some groups may be legitimately excluded from peace negotiations, for example if the population believe the group has sacrificed its right to participate because of

FIGURE 8.1

GSOD indices: the evolution of Representative Government in 20 post-conflict countries



Note: The y-axis shows the score for representative government and the x-axis shows the years before and after a major peacebuilding mission. The orange dashed line marks the beginning of the peacekeeping operation (year 0 in the axis). Scores in the y-axis range from 0 to 1. Higher scores indicate a higher performance in representative government.

Source: GSOD indices 2017 (Representative Government Index).

past abuses. Inclusivity can also decrease efficiency: when broad inclusivity involves many ministries or organizations, decision-making and progress might be slow or costly (World Bank 2011: 124; ZIF 2015).

Post-conflict constitutions—inclusion in practice

Post-conflict constitutions are endowed with a great responsibility. Not only do they fulfil their usual function as a framework for government, but they also embody the peace deal—including the settlement of disputes related to identity, ideology, autonomy, and access to public power and resources. With so much at stake, post-conflict constitution-building processes take place in fiercely contested political arenas, with each group staking claims for its interests. Inclusive constitution-building processes are more likely to produce a resilient constitution, both in terms of increasing the endurance of the constitutional settlement (Elkins, Blount and Ginsberg 2009) and decreasing the likelihood of a return to conflict (Widner 2005).

Defining 'we the people'

Thomas Paine described a constitution as 'not the act of its government, but of the People constituting its government' (Paine [1791] 1999). But the people cannot decide, until someone decides who are 'the people'. (Jennings 1956). In many ways it is also the most critical decision, as it can affect the *substantive output* of the constitution-making process (i.e. the text) as well as the procedural legitimacy of the process, and thus the sense of broad ownership of the resulting constitution (Hart 2003).

While all citizens may, in some cases, be given the chance to ratify a constitution through referendum, the task of framing the constitution is delegated to a constitution-making body such as a Constituent Assembly. Thus important initial decisions include defining 'the people', who is included in (and excluded from) the constitution-making body, how they are included and who they represent.

Inclusion through representation

Inclusion through representation presents opportunities for inclusivity along two dimensions: (a) horizontal (targeted) inclusion, which seeks to give voice to as many of the principal societal groups as possible, including non-mainstream, contentious groups and (b) vertical (active) inclusion, which aims to involve the broader citizenry beyond the elites selected to conduct negotiations. Both dimensions should be considered when designing post-conflict constitution-building processes.

To satisfy the demands of subnational societies, targeted inclusion in constitution-building processes must be based on a concept of 'we the peoples', participating as equal partners, even if the communities have unequal numbers and even if some of the subnational identities are contentious. The legitimacy of the constitution-making body is to be based on its reflection of the collective self-perceptions of the broader society; special measures may be required to ensure the inclusion of groups that would otherwise be under-represented, such as women.

Some have suggested that the optimal process of designing a Constituent Assembly should be hourglass shaped: broad inclusion at the outset, in a national debate during elections to the assembly, and broad inclusion at the end, in the form of a popular referendum. Yet this analysis is based mainly on the French National Constituent Assembly of 1789 and the US Constitutional Convention of 1787. While this thinking applies to many current constitution-building processes, modern norms of democratic representation and the divided-society implications of post-conflict transitions require a more nuanced approach to process design and inclusion. The predominant mechanism for inclusion in constitution-building processes is active in the sense that it seeks regular, consistent input from the people, largely through public consultations. However, many doubt the value of such public participation. This is because secret, elite negotiations are an essential element of constitution-making and can be jeopardized by too much openness and transparency, and public consultations are likely to be at best superficial, and at worst potentially damaging by generating unrealistic expectations of how the public's views might be incorporated into the text.

Inclusion beyond elections and referendums has become a widespread norm. The question for designers of constitution-building processes is therefore not whether to include public consultations, but how to ensure they can be an effective means of meeting citizens' evolving expectations. Including different groups in the constitution-building process gives a wide range of actors a stake in the constitutional settlement that is reached, making it more likely that different groups will abide by the constraints of the new constitutional order and seek to protect it from potential violations. A stable constitutional order, in turn, contributes to long-term democratic resilience by channelling conflict through rules agreed to by all sides, providing certainty and predictability in terms of how power is to be allocated, and constraining majoritarian impulses.

Peacebuilding through elections and political parties

Former rebel groups play an important role in post-conflict transitional periods, and their decisions about whether (and how) to participate in electoral politics can have far-reaching consequences for the resilience of both the new state and the democratic system. In many cases, these rebels form the political parties that represent the interests of the formerly aggrieved parts of the population. Evidence shows that, all else equal, including former rebels in the peacebuilding process makes a recurrence of conflict less likely, in both the short and long term (Marshall and Ishiyama 2016: 1020; Call 2012: 4).

Rebel groups face considerable challenges and risks by becoming political parties. Meaningful transformation requires significant attitudinal and behavioural change, which takes time (De Zeeuw 2007: 11–19; Ishiyama and Batta 2011; Lyons 2005; Manning 1998). Contesting elections can also change and destabilize internal party hierarchies and organization. It is important to note that including former rebels in the power structures comes with risks to democratic legitimacy. When aspects of the conflict remain incompletely resolved, inclusion may inadvertently demonstrate to splinter groups that they will also eventually be included if they take up arms again.

Including rebels in post-conflict transitions can help build a more resilient state in several ways. Rebels-turned-politicians often realize that participating in electoral politics can be more worthwhile than returning to the battlefield. Politicians who win legislative, municipal or council seats gain access to a regular salary, visibility and a possible platform for further political advancement. These individuals may therefore develop a stake in continued participation in democratic processes and institutions, and policies of targeted inclusion will seek to help them understand and believe in the benefits of the new system. In the long run, the participation of these new politicians creates more resilient (and legitimate) institutions.

Electoral institutions

Political institutions are especially critical in post-conflict environments (Wolff 2011b: 1778), when former adversaries are assessing the potential shape and character of the new state, evaluating the roles they could play in that state, and deciding how much faith they have in the ability of the new rules of the game to address their grievances. Thus it is critical to choose the most appropriate electoral system (Sisk and Reynolds 1998). The three main types of electoral

systems are plurality/majority, proportional representation (PR) and mixed (Reynolds, Reilly and Ellis 2005).

The choice of electoral systems

The choice of electoral system is critical because it can affect the country's long-term stability and bolster its ability to deal with shocks and crises in two main ways. First, electoral systems influence politicians' behaviour and strategy. Some majoritarian systems reward moderation, for instance, and can have significantly different outcomes from those that provide a stage for more extremist views (Reilly 2002: 156). Second, electoral systems have the power to either ease or exacerbate conflict (Horowitz 1985; Benoit 2004: 369). Supporters of consociationalism, a governance model based on power sharing between elites from different social groups, argue that PR is the best option for deeply divided societies because it produces proportional outcomes, facilitates minority representation and treats all groups equally (Lijphart 2004: 100).

Proportional versus majoritarian systems

PR systems are not a panacea for divided societies. Critics point out that PR systems replicate societal divisions within the national legislature. They offer no incentives to broaden policy platforms or appeal to non-traditional supporters. PR elections often result in 'coalitions of convenience' that are not based on a common ideology or longer-term goals (Horowitz 2012: 26). While majoritarian systems tend to favour groups that are numerically dominant, some of them also provide incentives for candidates to moderate their policies and stances in order to win support from outside their traditional bases. Some majoritarian systems incentivize political moderation and are more likely to produce consensus between rivals (Horowitz 2012: 26).

The evidence on the ability of PR to create lasting peace is also mixed. While PR is correlated with peace in some studies (Bogaards 2013: 80), in others it is linked to political violence (Selway and Templeman 2012: 1558). It has been shown to have no significant effect on decreasing violence in the most diverse societies, and to decrease violence in homogenous societies (Selway and Templeman 2012: 1560).

Therefore, in the long term, legislative seats may not guarantee lasting peace or democratic resilience. Societal groups that feel marginalized (or at risk of marginalization) want to be able to influence and access higher-level decision-making processes, particularly at the executive level. Broad

inclusion (i.e. occupying opposition seats in the legislature) only goes so far towards contributing to long-term resilience. In order to influence long-term change, inclusion must be more meaningful.

Therefore, targeted inclusion may be necessary—for example, including marginalized groups at specific levels of power. Examples of slightly modified PR systems that facilitate access to executive power include South Africa, where all parties with at least 5 per cent of legislative seats have the right to be represented in the cabinet, and Lebanon, which permanently earmarks the presidency for one group and the prime ministership for another (Lijphart 2004: 99).

With increased global movement and migration, democracies may want to move away from encouraging narrow group identities that conflict with other narrowly defined groups. Instead, they may increasingly choose to build and foster political institutions that reward consensus and seek the benefits of diversity. If this is the case, PR may not meet the needs of future democracies.

After over 30 years of international peacebuilding, experts now recognize that a fundamental flaw of the dominant model of peacebuilding is its lack of emphasis on inclusion. Inclusion, however, must go beyond quotas; it must be meaningful and targeted. Provisions to facilitate true inclusion do more than ensure numerical representation; they provide access to decision-making and foster the growth of new, local stakeholders who are interested in the democratic process.

Policy options and recommendations to address the challenge of democracy and peacebuilding

All peace/transition negotiators

- Develop and use a more comprehensive definition of inclusion that takes into account more than the number of individuals and groups at the table.
- Integrate active and targeted inclusion strategies into the design of all institutions, so that these designs are the product

of regular communication with the public and are open to groups that challenge mainstream conceptions of the democratic state.

- Find innovative ways to follow the lead of local stakeholders, including at the subnational level.
- Include issue-based civil society organizations in decision-making processes during the transitional period.

Authorities in charge of elections and international election assistance providers

- Provide ongoing support for political party development that targets various party subgroups likely to be empowered by participation in electoral politics. These include the party's representatives in the national legislature, cabinet, local office, candidates for these offices, and regional party leaders from areas of the country that may have interests distinct from those of party leaders in the capital.
- Help prepare party representatives to effectively perform their duties by working with legislative representatives to develop stronger links with their constituencies and provide training in how to analyse and prepare legislation.
- Promote the inclusion of new parties' leaders in programming in ways that give them a stake in the system by inviting members of the party hierarchy to participate in training and support programmes for legislators and local officials, and ensuring transparency and inclusion in their activities.

Electoral system designers

- Think beyond power-sharing arrangements at the executive level by designing new ways to provide credible, broad-based security guarantees for post-rebel parties without excluding competing 'unarmed' opposition parties.
- Focus on electoral systems that balance inclusivity with access to government decision-making, and that seek to achieve inclusivity via broad-based popular support.
- Include provisions that allow for veto power and which do not relegate certain parties to the opposition benches.

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About International IDEA

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) is an intergovernmental organization that supports sustainable democracy institutions and processes worldwide. International IDEA acts as a catalyst for democracy-building by providing knowledge resources and policy proposals, and supporting democratic reforms in response to specific national requests. It works with policymakers, governments, international organizations and agencies, as well as regional organizations engaged in the field of democracy-building.

What does International IDEA do?

The Institute's work is organized at the global, regional and country levels, focusing on the citizen as the driver of change. International IDEA produces comparative knowledge in its key areas of expertise: electoral processes, constitution-building, and political participation and representation, as well as democracy as it relates to gender, diversity, and conflict and security.

International IDEA brings this knowledge to national and local representatives who are working for democratic reform, and facilitates dialogue in support of democratic change.

In its work, International IDEA aims for:

- increased capacity, legitimacy and credibility of democracy;
- more inclusive participation and accountable representation; and
- more effective and legitimate democracy cooperation.

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Today's political landscape poses complex global challenges to democracies.

The landscape is shaped by globalization, geopolitical power shifts, changing roles and structures of (supra)national organizations and institutions, and the rise in modern communications technologies. Transnational phenomena such as migration and climate change influence the dynamics of conflict and development, citizenship and state sovereignty. Rising inequalities, and the social polarization and exclusion they generate, skew political representation and voice, reducing the vital moderate centre of the electorate.

These dynamics have contributed to a widely contested view that democracy is in decline. Events around the world continue to challenge the notion of democracy's resilience and make democratic systems appear fragile and threatened. Yet democratic values among citizens, and within institutions at the national and international levels, continue to be expressed and defended.

This Overview of International IDEA's *The Global State of Democracy 2017: Exploring Democracy's Resilience* outlines the key current challenges to democracy and the enabling conditions for its resilience. Based on newly developed Global State of Democracy indices as a key evidence base to inform policy interventions and identify problem-solving approaches, the publication presents global and regional assessments of the state of democracy from 1975—at the beginning of the third wave of democratization—to 2015, complemented by a qualitative analysis of challenges to democracy up to 2017.