Impact of the pandemic on governance and democracy – from potential abuse of emergency powers and surveillance, to impact on marginalized communities and minorities, elections and political competition, information integrity. Monitoring critical

With support from the European Union, IDEA has developed the Covid-19 Democracy and Human Rights Global Monitor

- “One-stop shop,” online monitoring tool of COVID-19 measures adopted by country, region, and globally, for policy-makers, civil society, and journalists

- Country profiles: 162 countries with information on the democracy and human rights implications of COVID19-related measures, according to the 29 aspects of democracy in the Global State of Democracy Framework

- A three-level monitoring tool that will identify measures and actions taken that are concerning and potentially concerning from a democracy and human rights perspective
The Global State of Democracy Indices provide key components in which democracy might be affected.
- Clean Elections
- Civil Liberties
- Media Integrity and Freedom of Expression
- Basic Welfare
- Predictable enforcement
- Effective Parliament

Measures and actions by governments become a concern from a democracy and human rights perspective when they are:
- Not democratically taken
- Non proportional
- Non temporal or with a lasting effect beyond the pandemic
- Not needed
- Not legal
Regime type: This information will be taken from the GSoD Indices 2019 and will remain the same throughout.

State of Emergency: Declared (yes/no), by whom (parliament, governments), and start and end date, as well as eventual dates of extension. It will include the hyperlink to the law.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Armenia</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Regime Type</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Covid-19 Democracy and Human Rights impact summary</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>GSoD Dimension</td>
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### Symbol Explanation

**Potentially concerning developments (measures or actions) related to curbing Covid-19 to watch from a democracy and human rights perspective.**

Concerning developments from a democracy and human rights perspective with measures or actions to curb Covid-19 deemed as undemocratic because they are disproportionate, unnecessary, illegal or indefinite.

No evidence that measures taken are undemocratic, being disproportionate, unnecessary, illegal or indefinite.
# Representative Government

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free Political Parties 0.45</td>
<td>• Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Integer a tellus id ex consequat hendrerit. Morbi pharetra feugiat est eu mollis. Donec nec aliquam nulla, et accumsan velit. In et lorem lobortis, gravida elit gravida, hendrerit tortor. Nulla facilisis semper orci, eget fringilla dolor commodo ac.</td>
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**Bangladesh (COVID-19)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regime Type</th>
<th>Backslid from weak democracy to a hybrid regime in 2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State of emergency</td>
<td>No state of emergency has been declared</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**STATES OF EMERGENCY**

- **60%** of democracies have declared states of emergency
- **36%** of hybrid regimes
- **13%** of non-democracies (only four countries)
- In general, countries have followed constitutional provisions to impose and renew states of emergency.
117 countries have seen their elections affected by COVID-19. These elections range from primary elections (e.g. US), local elections (e.g. Paraguay), to national-level elections (Israel, South Korea, Guinea, Sri Lanka, Mongolia).

66% of countries have postponed the election

36% of countries have held elections during the pandemic
Elections during COVID-19

- Held
- Postponed
- on-time
- Partially Postponed
ELECTIONS

Some governments resisted calls for postponement, failing to secure political consensus – often to benefit of incumbent

- Serbia: elections boycotted by opposition; ruling party secured 80% of vote.

- Guinea: elections and constitutional referendum held in March, state of emergency imposed five days after election results, banning protests. Resulted in widespread violence.

- Burundi: calls for postponement ignored, no health precautions taken during campaign, no international observers allowed, landslide victory for incumbent.
CIVIL LIBERTIES

- All countries have limited freedom of movement and assembly in some form.

- In most cases, restrictions on movement and assembly have been done proportionally, democratically, temporally, and legally.

- This is especially true for democracies given checks and oversight bodies.

- Some countries have created special exceptions for “Freedom of Religion” – Georgia and Mauritania - to maintain the support of dominant religious groups.

How can governments take measures restricting civil liberties without affecting the quality of democracy?
MEDIA AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

30% of countries (49 countries) have imposed measures that reduce freedom of expression.

Restrictions to freedom of expression are more common in hybrid and authoritarian regimes.

22% of democracies have also imposed restrictions on freedom of expression to curb disinformation on Covid-19.

Restrictions to freedom of expression are complemented with attacks on media integrity, present in around 65% of countries, especially in Asia and Africa.
MEDIA AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

- Freedom of expression restriction usually linked to the spread of disinformation.
  - In countries like Egypt, Botswana, and India only official governmental statements about the pandemic can be published to avoid the spread of false information.
  - South Africa, Indonesia, and Algeria impose severe prison sentences to those spreading disinformation.
  - Ukraine and Japan have tried to control the content of their public news services in relation with the pandemic. The emergency law was repealed in the case of Japan.
The economic effects of the pandemic are and will be extreme.

Already 54% of countries have experienced violent protests related to the measures taken to curb COVID-19 and loss of livelihoods (Niger, Nepal).

Several countries have passed legislation to protect the most vulnerable (Spain, Denmark).

Low and middle income countries have been most affected by protest (around 70% of protests).
Many parliaments have seen their activities reduced or disrupted.

27% percent of parliaments have concerning or potentially concerning developments from a democracy and human rights perspective.

These include:
- Parliament not being able to summon the executive (Romania)
- Declaring the state of emergency without convening parliament (Serbia)
- Declaration of state of emergency for long periods without parliament approval (Sierra Leone)
- Being adjourn sine die (Zambia)
- Parliament dissolved even though elections have been postponed (Sri Lanka)
Equally important to the question of the impact of the pandemic on governance processes and institutions, is how governance practices impacted pandemic response. What the pandemic has revealed about the quality of governance prior to the crisis.

- In many places it has exposed the erosion of the social contract between citizens and state, the failure of democracy to deliver inclusive, equitable growth and well being.
- It has also revealed the importance of agile, effective governance and state capacity, competent leadership, information integrity, and strong oversight. States that have those qualities have fared better than those who don’t.
- Trust – subtext of it all – Trust in governing institutions.

Pandemic responses have varied widely because the underlying capacity, transparency, and strength of social contract between citizens and state vary so widely.
IDEA REGRESSION: HOW ASPECTS OF DEMOCRACY AFFECT GOVERNMENTAL MANAGEMENT OF THE PANDEMIC

- Question: Are autocracies better than democracies in containing the Covid-19 pandemic?

- IDEA’s approach: autocracies differ in their crisis management capacities, as do democracies → What aspects of democracy make a difference?

- Global State of Democracy Indices: differentiated assessment framework

- Free, competitive elections + fundamental rights + checks on government + impartial administration + participatory engagement

- Possible causal effects:
  - Electoral / parliamentary accountability
  - State capacity (impartial administration)
  - Governmental crisis management
  - Civil society implementation support
Academic partners: Profs Kelly McMann and Daniel Tisch, Case Western Reserve University

OLS regression, 157 countries > 1 mn population: impact of GSoDI aspects on policy outputs and outcomes:

- Response speed (days between first confirmed infection and first containment measure)
- Composite indicator of stringent government response policies
- Average confirmed C-19 deaths per mn population and per day since first infection, as of 3 June 2020
- Fatality rates of past epidemics from EM-DAT dataset

Controls: SARS/MERS experience; health system capacity; GDP per capita; state control over territory; country size; urbanization; population age; individualist values; world region membership
PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

Democracy aspects do not affect fatality rates significantly if controls are included. No clear positive or negative effect on policy outcome in full sample.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CIVIL LIBERTIES AND POLICY STRINGENCY
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EFFECTIVE PARLIAMENTS AND POLICY STRINGENCY
GOING FORWARD

- Invest in state capacity: economic recovery through impartial effective public administration
- Support legislatures, parties, election process to rebuild social contract
- Bolster trust by protecting space for public participation, marginalized communities; build resilient, durable communities
- Oversight and judicial independence to protect and ensure democratic decision making in the recovery
- Protect information integrity and media freedom
Resources

https://www.idea.int/gsod-indices/covid19globalmonitor

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Global Monitor help desk: globalmonitor@idea.int