

The international dimension of Backlash Against Democracy (BAD)

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«Aid and Governance»

In the next 15 minutes I will address:

- What was democracy assistance all about?
- What is «the BAD» and what is the international dimension of it?
- Why do we see an international backlash against democracy?
- The conflation of governance and democracy
- A call for democracy assistance for the sake of democracy

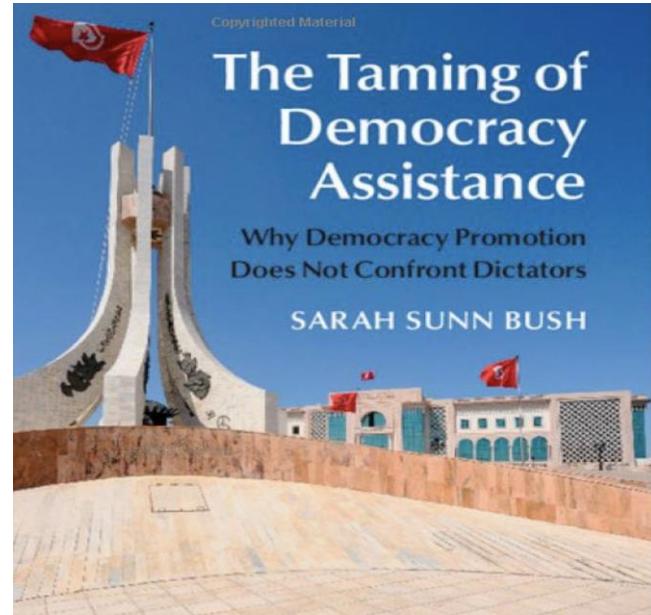
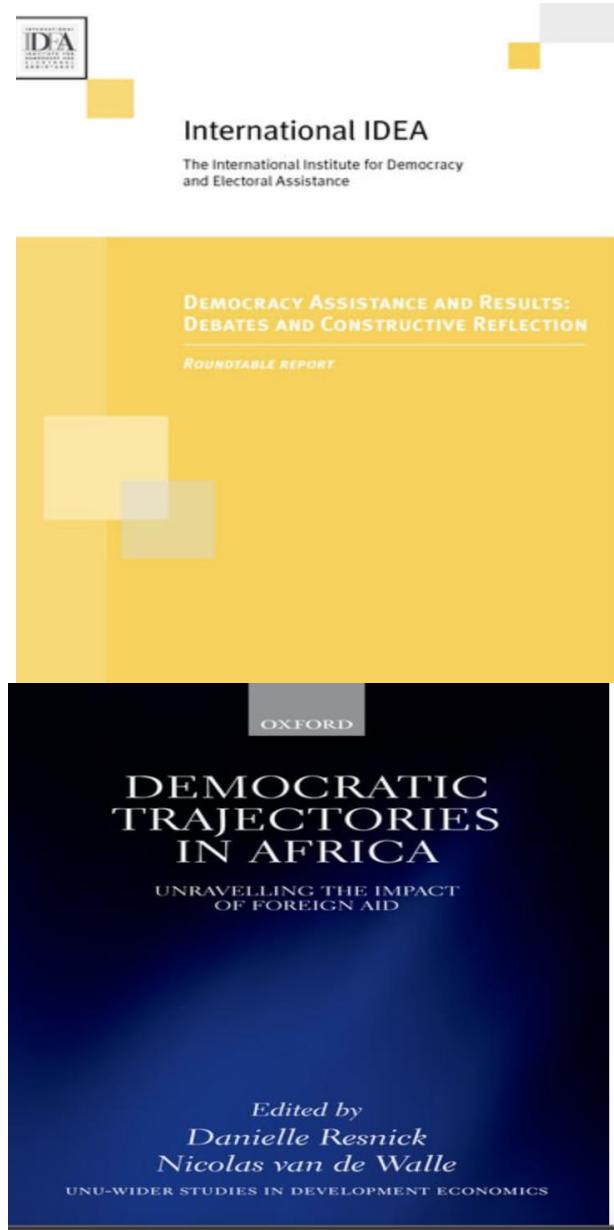
1990-The End of History and the last Man

"What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of post-war history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government." (Francis Fukuyama 1992: 4)



Democracy assistance- what do we know?

1. Quite a bit!
2. It works- when long term, well designed and «owned».
3. It does not «tame dictators»
4. It does not solve corruption
5. It is the «goal that gives» when in conflict with other aims



Democracy: Erosion, Backsliding and a Backlash

Eroding Norms and Democratic Deconsolidation

Author/Editor(s): Paul Howe

Two recent papers in the *Journal of Democracy* highlight a disturbing erosion in public support for core democratic principles in a number of Western democracies over the past twenty years. The common assumption is that this trend reflects growing public dissatisfaction with the operation of the democratic system. This paper (focused on the United States and drawing upon World Values Survey data) rejects this interpretation and argues instead that the rise of antidemocratic opinion is more closely linked to shifting social and cultural values, in particular burgeoning antisocial attitudes. Disregard for democratic norms is part of a larger social transformation that has seen rising disengagement and alienation, particularly among younger generations and lower socioeconomic classes.

On Democratic Backsliding

Author/Editor(s): Nancy Bermeo

Democratic backsliding (meaning the state-led debilitation or elimination of the political institutions sustaining an existing democracy) has changed dramatically since the Cold War. Open-ended coups d'état, executive coups, and blatant election-day vote fraud are declining while promissory coups, executive aggrandizement and strategic electoral manipulation and harassment are increasing.

Contemporary forms of backsliding are especially vexing because they are legitimated by the very institutions democracy promoters prioritize but, overall, backsliding today reflects democracy's advance and not its retreat. The current mix of backsliding is more easily reversible than the past mix and successor dictatorships are shorter-lived and less authoritarian.



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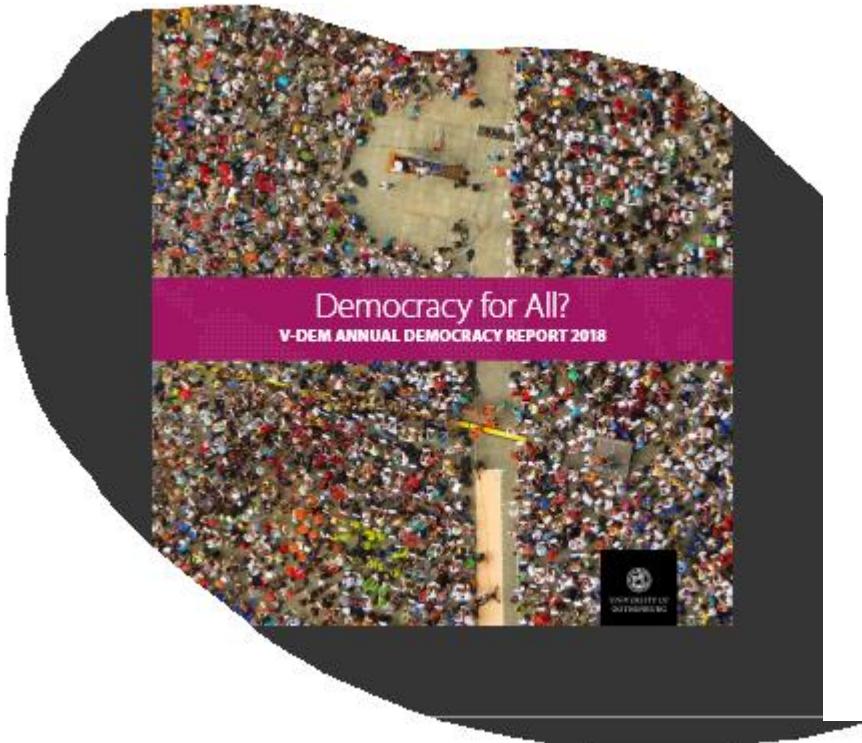
Researching law as an instrument

Breaking BAD: Understanding the Backlash Against Democracy in Africa

Project team: [Lise Rakner](#) (Project leader), [Leonardo Arriola](#), [Siri Gloppen](#), [Kendra Dupuy](#), [Vibeke Wang](#), [Fiona Shen-Bayh](#), [Svein-Erik Helle](#) (post-doctoral fellow) and [Lisa-Marie Måseidvåg Selvik](#) (PhD).

Time frame: 08/01/2017-08/01/2021

What do we know?



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Democracy in Crisis

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ESSAY July/August 2016 Issue

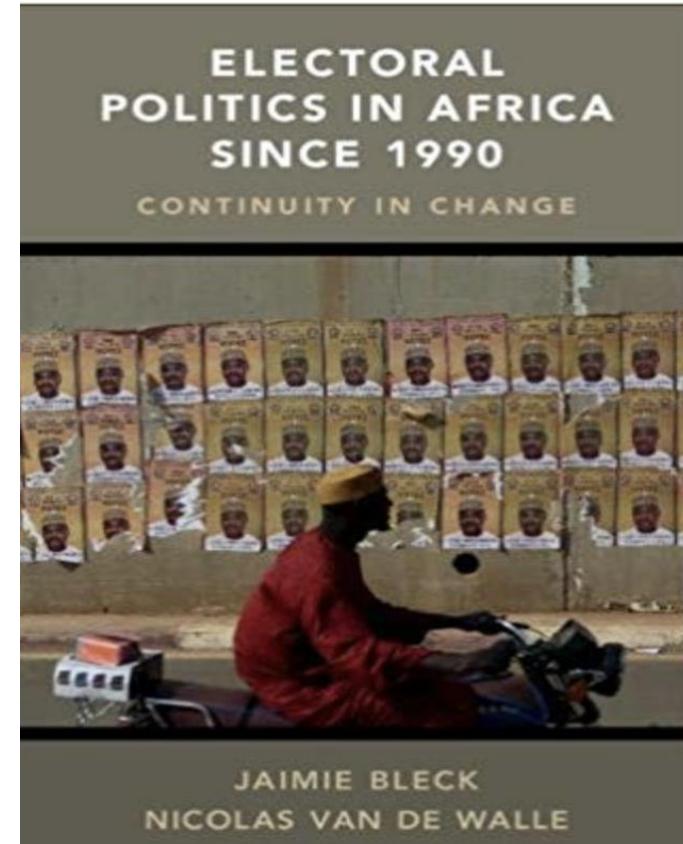
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Democracy in Decline

How Washington Can Reverse the Tide

By Larry Diamond

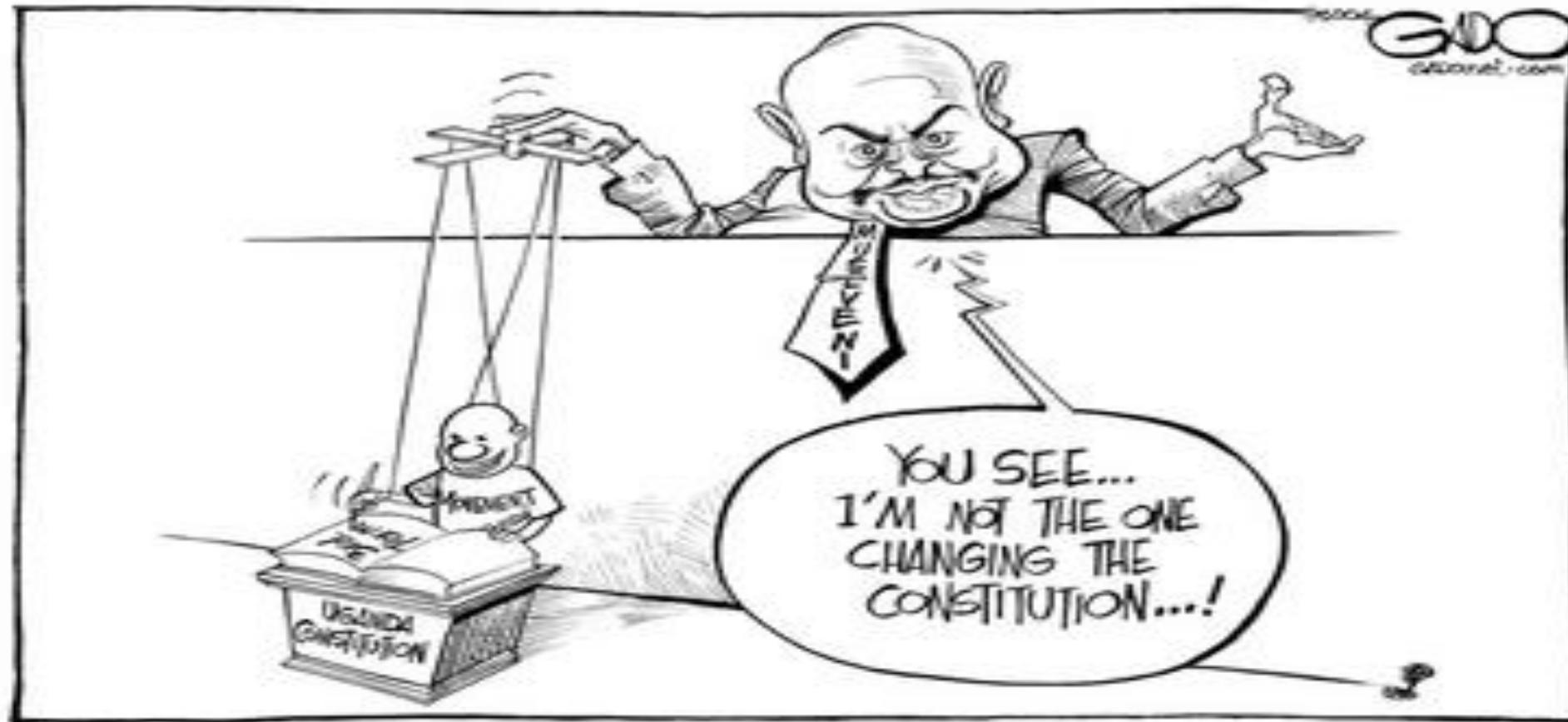
Rights of contestation – institutionalized?



Organizational rights are attacked

- **Ethiopia:** Human Rights organization can only receive 10% of their funds from foreign sources
- **Zimbabwe:** Forbids international support to NGOs providing voter registration support and voter registration
- **Tanzania:** Cyberlaw (2015)- self censorship
- **Zambia:** NGO law links registration and scrutiny to Ministry of Information- restricted
- *NGOs are the target and it works: The adoption of restrictive NGO finance is associated with a 32% decline in bilateral aid flows in subsequent years (Dupuy and Prakash 2017)*

Judicial independence is challenged



The international dimension of the backlash against democracy

- «The African democracy fatigue» (Nic van de Walle, 2017)
- Since MDGs, development effectiveness has replaced political reforms
- From Ethiopia, Rwanda, Uganda, Tanzania to Mozambique – donors have become complicit in fostering «development without democracy»
- Governance aid have become technocratic and unrelated to politics and rights discussions

The conflation of democracy and governance



There is a specter haunting democracy in the world today. It is bad governance—governance that serves only the interests of a narrow ruling elite. Governance that is drenched in corruption, patronage, favoritism, and abuse of power. Governance that is not responding to the massive and long-deferred social agenda of reducing inequality and unemployment and fighting against dehumanizing poverty. Governance that is not delivering broad improvement in people's lives because it is stealing, squandering, or skewing the available resources (Diamond 2007:199)

We need to “Break BAD”



“When universal values and international law are cast aside, global affairs are governed by force.” (Freedom House 2017)