2021 광주민주포럼 GWANGJU DEMOCRACY FORUM 2021

민주주의와 글로벌 시민사회 역할

Democracy and Civic Space in the World





GWANGJU DEMOCRACY FORUM 광주민주포럼

Democracy and Civic Space in the World

「민주주의와 글로벌 시민사회 역할」



Program:

Moderator

Anselmo Lee

Asia Civil Society Partnership for Sustainable Development (APSD)

Presentation

Seema Shah / *International IDEA*

Impact of the COVID-19 on Democracy and human rights

Ine Van Severen / Civic Space Cluster

CIVICUS Global Report on Civic Space 2020 – "People Power under attack"

Discussants

Patricia Galdamez / Permanent Secretariat, Community of Democracies
Oli Henman / Action for Sustainable Development (A4SD)
Kaustuv Bandyopadhya / Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA)
Soo Yun Suh / Asia Democracy Network (ADN)
Myunglim Park / Yonsei University, South Korea



INTERNATIONAL IDEA

Supporting democracy worldwide

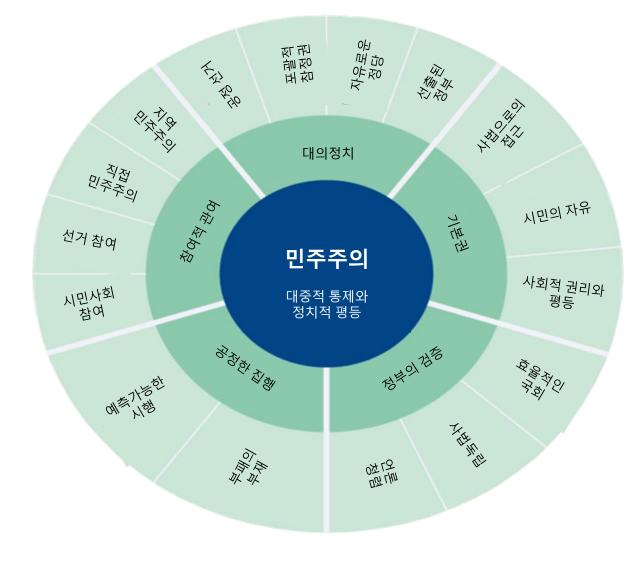
International IDEA

국제 민주주의 선거지원 연구소 시마 샤(Seema Shah), 민주주의 평가단장 2021년 5월



국제적 민주주의 상태 (GSoD) 체제







코로나19가 민주주의와 인권에 미치는 영향에 대한 국제적 관찰(진단)

- '원스톱 샵' (one-stop shop)
- 2주마다 업데이트되는 162개국의 현황
- 데이터와 그래프로 보여지는 세계 및 지역적 개요
- 조기경보시스템이 탑재된 3단계 모니터링



국제적 민주주의 상태 (GSoD) 체제











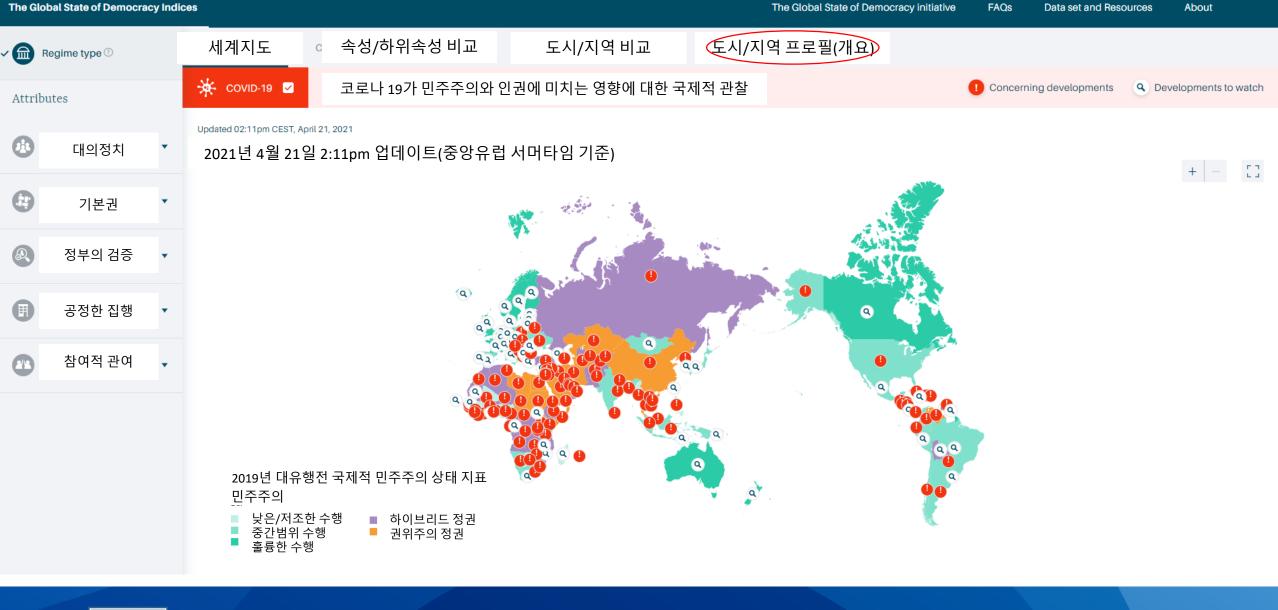




3단계 모니터링

표기	설명(내용)
Q	코로나19 상황 통제를 위한 대책과 조치들이 민주주의와 인권의 관점에서 민주주의 발전이 잠재적으로 우려됨.
	코로나19 상황 통제를 위한 대책과 조치들이 비민주적이고, 불필요하며, 불법적이고 기한이 없기때문에 민주주의와 인권의 관점에서 민주주의발전을 우려할 수 있음.
표기 없음	코로나19 상황 통제를 위한 대책과 조치가 비민주적이며 불균형적이거나 불필요하거나 불법적이거나기한이 없다는 증거가 없음.



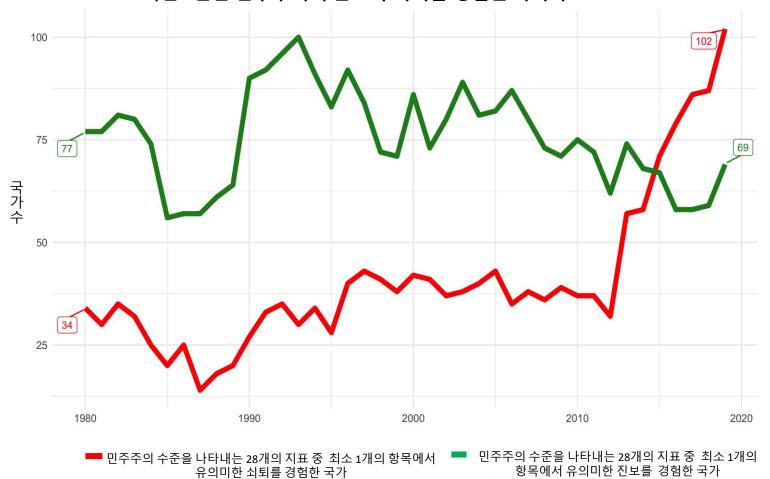




민주주의 쇠퇴 증가

2012년 이후 민주주의 쇠퇴를 겪는 국가의 수는 급격히 증가하였으며, 현재는 진보 민주주의 국가 수를 넘어섬.

지난 5년간 민주주의의 진보와 쇠퇴를 경험한 국가 수



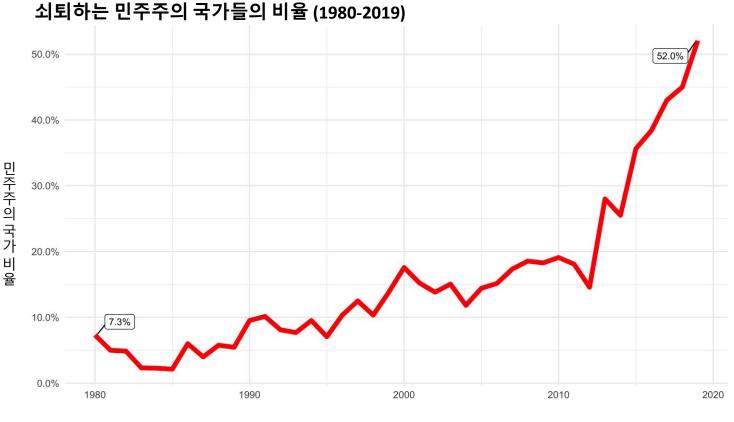
출처: Global State of Democracy 자료





민주주의 약화

민주주의 쇠퇴로 고통받는 민주주의 국가의 수는 지난 10년 동안 두 배로 증가함.



민주주의 수준을 나타내는 28개의 지표 중 최소 1개의 항목에서 유의미한 쇠퇴를 경험한 국가

출처: Global State of Democracy 자료



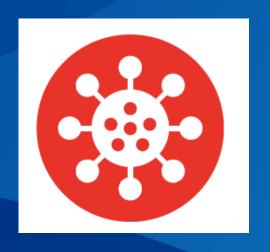


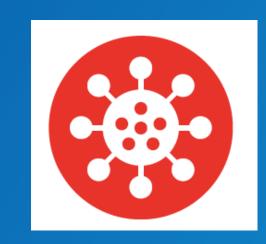
코로나 대유행 이전의 민주주의 직면 과제들

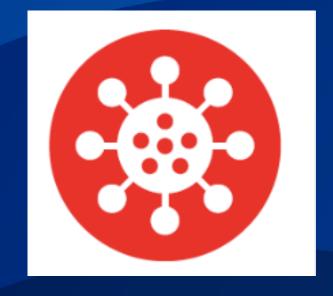
그럼에도 불구하고, 민주주의와 거리가 멀었던 국가들까지 민주주의가 확산됨.











코로나19 대유행은 이러한 추세에 어떤 영향을 끼쳤는가?

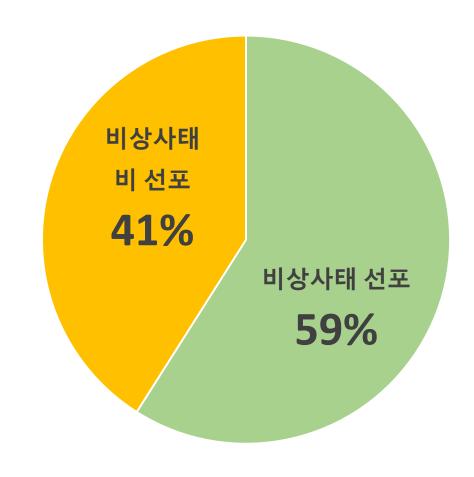


주요 사항

코로나19로 인해 국가 비상 상태를 선포한 국가 비율

비상 사태 (State of Emergency, SoE)

전 세계 96개국은 코로나 대유행 이후 국가 비상 사태를(SoE) 선포했다.

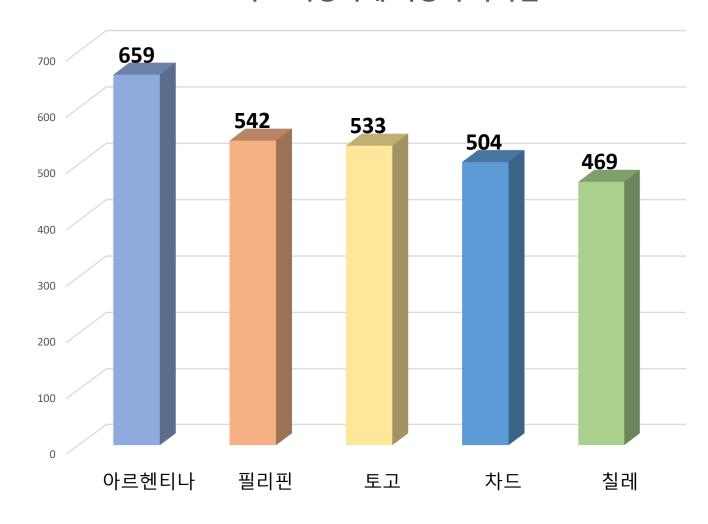




비상 사태(SoE)

코로나19 비상 사태의 평균 일수는 **223**일

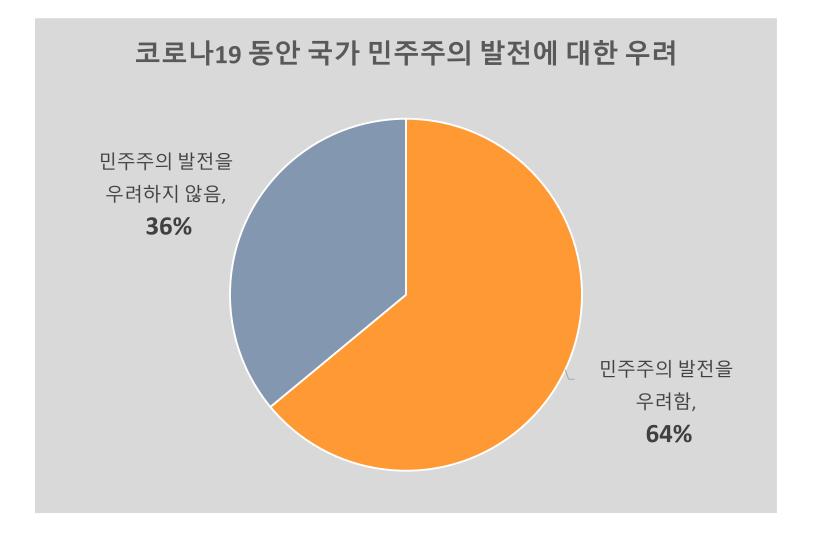
코로나19 비상사태 최장기 국가들





민주주의 발전 우려

세계 절반 이상의 국가들이 코로나19 상황을 통제하기 위한 조치들을 이행했으며, 이는 민주주의와 인권 관점에서 많은 우려를 낳음

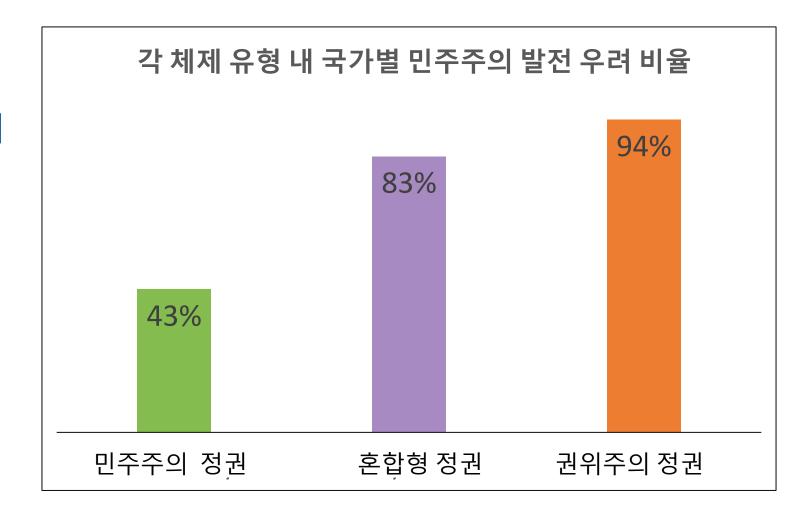






민주주의 발전 우려

권위주의 정권은 민주주의 정권의 2배 이상 빈번하게 민주주의 발전을 우려함



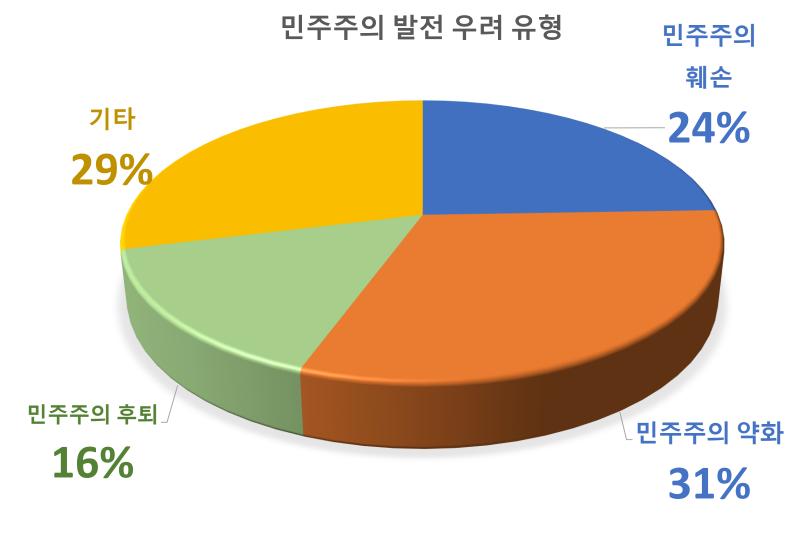




주요사항

민주주의 발전 우려 유형

민주주의 발전에 우려는 대부분 코로나19 대유행 이전에 야기됨

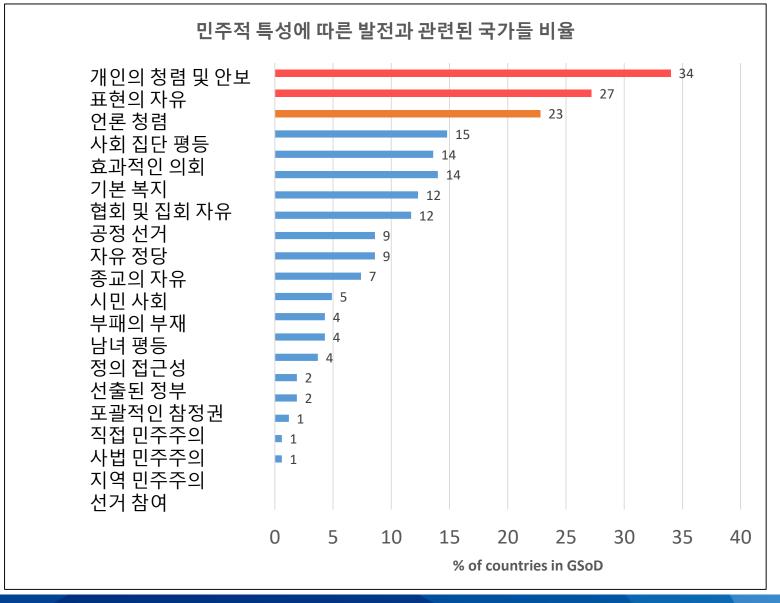




민주주의 발전 우려

- 개인의 청렴 및 안보
- 표현의 자유
- 언론 청렴

민주주의는 코로나19 대유행의 영향을 가장 많이 받는 양상을 보임.



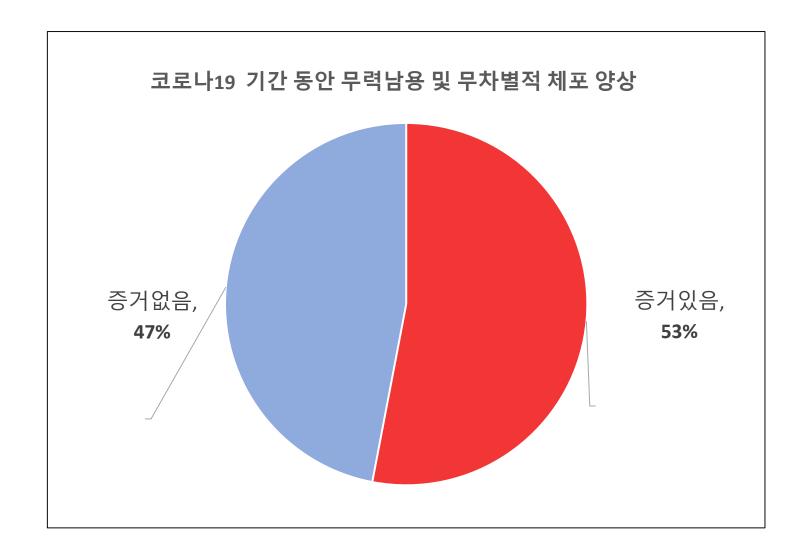




무력 남용 및 무차별적 체포

세계 절반 이상의 나라들이 코로나19 상황 통제를 위해 경찰력을 남용하고 무차별적으로 체포함

코로나19 팬데믹 상황을 통제하는데 군을 동원한 국가는 32개국에 달함

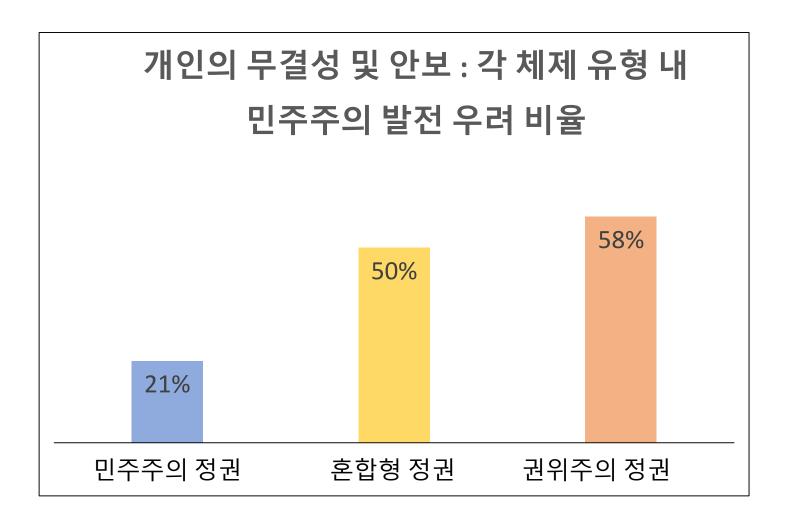






개인의 무결성 및 안보

- 법 집행자로서의 군
- 경찰력 남용
- 법률 제정
- 정치적목적으로 연락처 추적 앱 사용

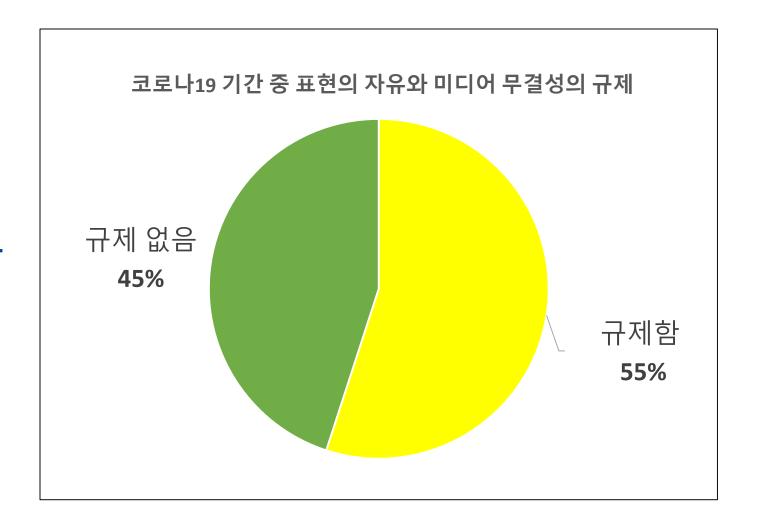






표현의 자유

전세계 절반 이상 국가가 코로나19 대유행 동안 표현의 자유(FoE) 또는 정보 접근을 제한하는 법률을 통과시키거나 의결하였음.





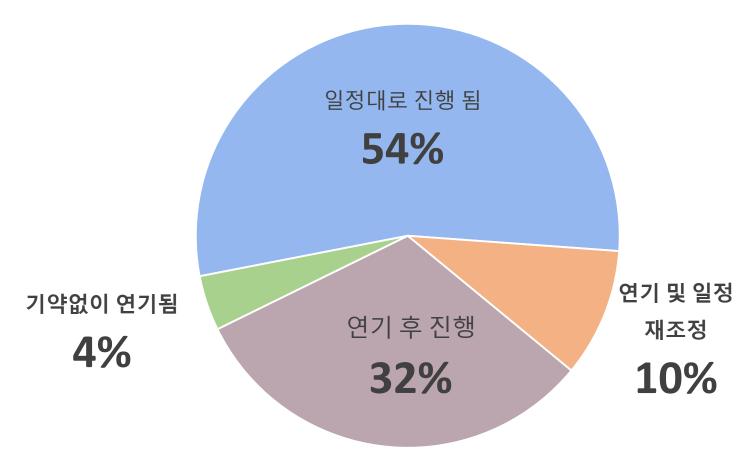


주요사항

선거

2020년 예정되었던 선거의 거의 절반 가까이가 코로나19 대유행으로 인해 연기됨

코로나19 기간 중 선거 개최 여부







민주화 과정 중단 민주화 과정 ___ 갈등 민주화 과정 ___ 퇴보

희망적이었던 민주화 과정들이 중단되거나 퇴보함

에티오피아 티그레이분쟁 & 선거연기 아르메니아 쿠데타시도

말레이시아 6개월간 의회폐쇄

수단 다르푸르 분쟁 말리 쿠데타

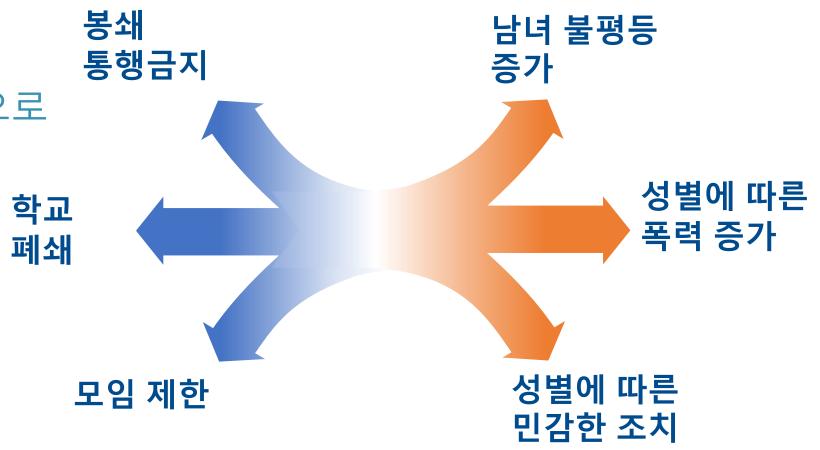
미얀마 쿠데타





양성평등과 코로나19

코로나바이러스 감염 대유행의 결과, 여성들에게 불균형적으로 영향을 미침





코로나19 상황에서 긍정적인 발전

코로나를 민주주의 민주주의에 극복한 디지털화 대한 요구 혁신 민주주의



코로나19 상황에서 긍정적인 발전



코로나를 극복한 민주주의 혁신 디지털화 확장



지금까지의 결론

- 코로나 대유행(팬데믹)은 민주주의에 치명적인 타격을 가함
- 민주주의의 퇴보 과정을 가속화함
- 위기는 진행된 민주주의 확장을 중단시킴
- 경우에 따라, 민주주의를 발전하고 개선시키는 새로운 기회 발생



코로나19가 진정되면 어떤 정치발전이 남게 될 것인가?

- 1. 선거가 바뀔 것이다.
- 2. 선거운동이 바뀔 것이다.
- 3. 일부 정부권력은 남을 것이다.
- 4. 강한 국력이 더욱 강조될 것이다.



지금까지의 결론

- 대유행은 민주주의에 치명적인 타격을 가함
- 민주주의의 퇴보 과정을 가속화함
- 위기는 진행된 민주주의 확장을 중단시킴
- 경우에 따라, 민주주의를 발전하고 개선시키는 새로운 기회 발생
- 앞에 놓인 현실적 위협 경제적 위기로 인한 정치적 낙진



THANK YOU! 감사합니다





MONITOR TRACKING CIVIC SPACE

세계시민단체연합(CIVICUS)의 국가 신규등급 모니터 보고서

<2020 PEOPLE POWER UNDER ATTACK>







A REPORT BASED ON DATA FROM THE CIVICUS MONITOR

등급체계

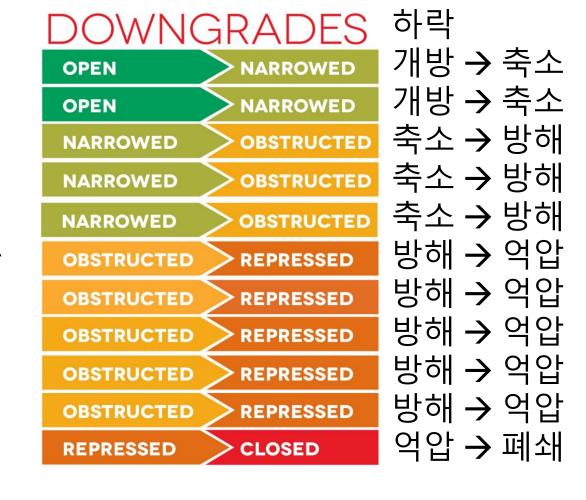


WHERE DO **PEOPLE LIVE?** For better accuracy and comparison over time, this decimal point to the percentages. For the 2019 PPUA percentages are: Closed: 26.7%; Repressed: 39.8%; C Narrowed: 14.2%, and Open: 3.4% 3.4% 개방 18.3% 9.3% 방해 축소 43.4% 억압 25.4% 폐쇄

글로벌 동향

국가별 등급 변화추이

코스타리카 슬로베니아 칠레 에콰도르 미국 코트디부아르 기니 니제르 토고 필리핀 이라크



수단 콩고민주공화국 UPGRADES

CLOSED REPRESSED

CLOSED REPRESSED

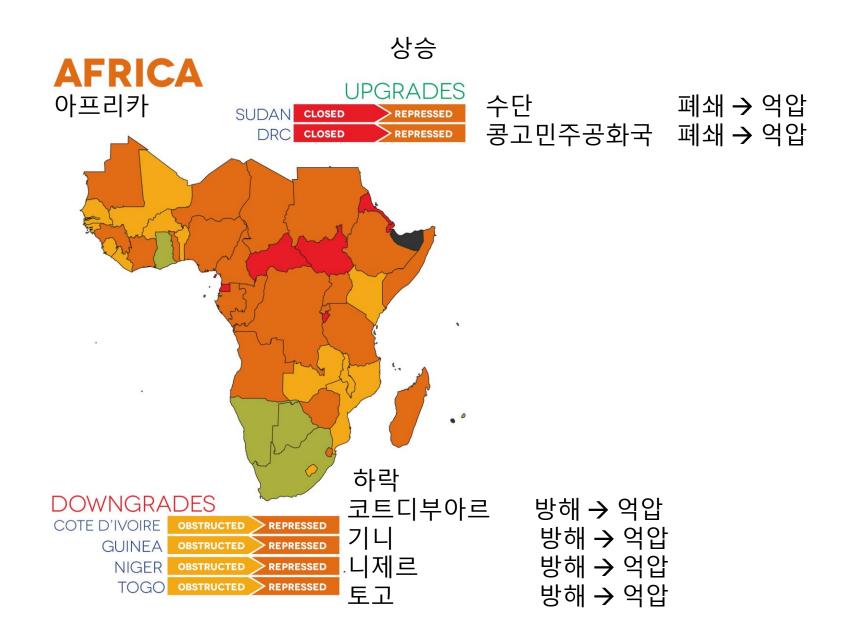
상승 폐쇄**→**억압 폐쇄**→**억압

지역별등급변화추이

칠레 에콰도르 미국 코스타리카

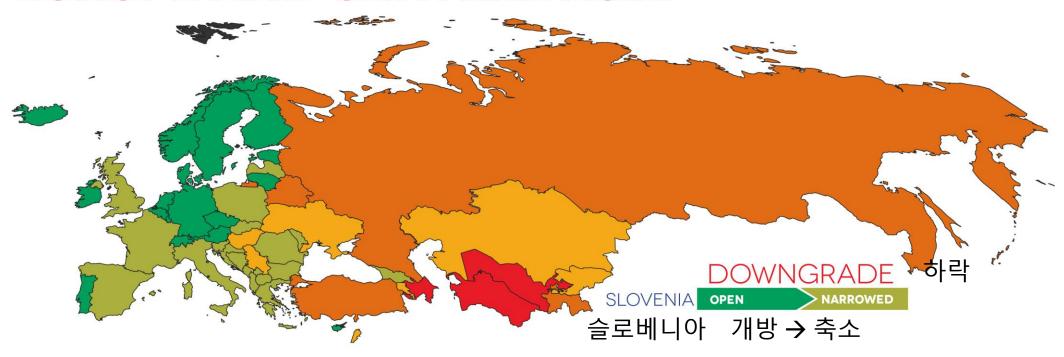
하락 축소 → 방해 축소 → 방해 축소 → 방해 개방 → 축소



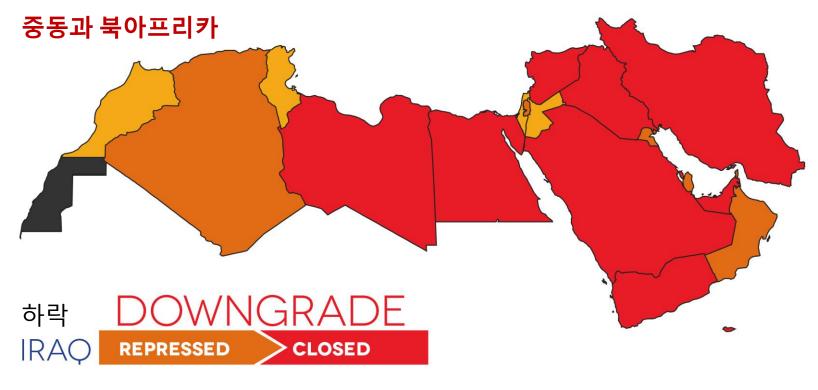




EUROPE AND CENTRAL ASIA 유럽과 중앙아시아



MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA



이라크

억압 → 폐쇄

TOP TEN VIOLATIONS TO CIVIC FREEDOMS

시민 자유 침해 10대 사례



1. PROTESTER(S) DETAINED

1. 시위자(들) 구금















8. JOURNALIST DETAINED

8. 언론인 억류







2021 GWANGJU DEMOCRACY FORUM

민주주의와 글로벌 시민사회 역할

답 변

서수연 (아시아 민주주의 네트워크)

- 2019 년은 지도자가 없는 투쟁이 전세계에서 격렬하게 열렸던 시위의 해였습니다.
 - o 홍콩
 - 0 태국
 - 0 인도
 - 0 마닐라
- 민주적인 절차를 통해 선출된 대중 영합적인 지도자들의 부상과 함께 우리는 이지도자들이 민주적 가치와 원칙을 훼손하고 권위주의적 특성으로 회귀하는 위험한 쇠퇴현상을 목격하고 있습니다.
- 코로나 상황 이전에도 우리는 민주적 제도, 특히 사법부가 독립을 잃고 민주주의와 인권을 박탈하는 무기로 사용되는 추세를 목격했습니다.
 - o 캄보디아- 대법원에서 내려진 야당 해산 판결
 - o 언론인과 활동가를 단속하기 위한 목적의 광범위한 법률 해석

- 필리핀- ABS-CBN(역자 주: 필리핀의 가장 큰 매체)의 폐쇄 -래플러(역자 주: 필리핀의 주요 디지털미디어 회사) - 마리아 레사(역자 주: 필리핀계 미국인 언론인으로 래플러의 창립자이자 대표)
- 코로나는 이러한 경향을 악화시켰고 공중보건의 이름으로 권위주의적 지도자들이 IDEA(역자 주: 국제 민주주의 및 선거 지원 연구소)와 CIVICUS(역자 주: 세계시민단체연합회)가 언급한 것처럼 시민사회의 공간을 더욱 제한하는 구실이 되었습니다.
 - o 기본적인 자유권에 영향을 미치는 긴급법안의 시행
 - 국제비영리법센터에 따르면 아시아태평양 34 개국에서 코로나 상황에 대응하는 175 개의 새로운 조치가 시행됨
 - 이러한 긴급 법안, 명령, 법령, 조치는 법에 대한 광범위한 해석을
 허용하고 보안의 이름으로 권력을 남용하는 기회가 되며 표현의 자유와
 정보의 공유, 언론의 자유와 정보권, 사생활을 제한하면서 시민을 감시 가능하게 함
 - 특히 2020 년 민주화 시위가 진행되는 동안 태국, 캄보디아, 인도네시아,
 인도 등에서 이러한 비상 법령이 시행되는 것을 관찰.
- 아시아 민주주의 네트워크가 기록한 것- 코로나 상황에서 민주주의와 인권에 대한 현장의 목소리를 조명하기 위한 작업에 착수하였고 그 결과 알아낸 사실을 반영하였음. 언론의 자유를 위한 공간이 크게 제한되고 노골적인 단속, 체포 및 언론인에 대한 괴롭힘이 증가. 중요한 것은 코로나를 통해 사회적, 경제적 불평등의 격차가 더 이상 추상적인 것이 아니며 이 불평등이 많은 인구의 삶을

황폐화시키고 있다는 점과 이들이 기본적인 의료, 교육, 적절한 근무조건 속에서 일하고 있는지를 보고 느낄 수 있었음.



INTERNATIONAL IDEA

Supporting democracy worldwide

International IDEA

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

Presentation by Seema Shah, Head of Democracy Assessment, May 2021

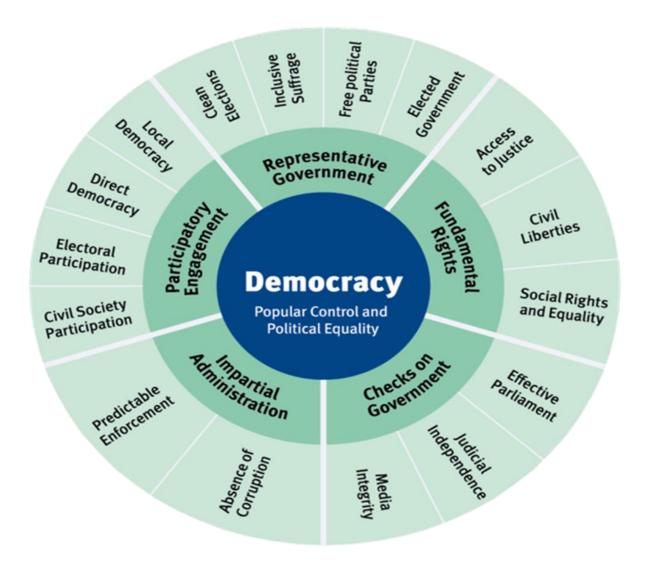
www.idea.int





Global State of Democracy (GSoD) Framework





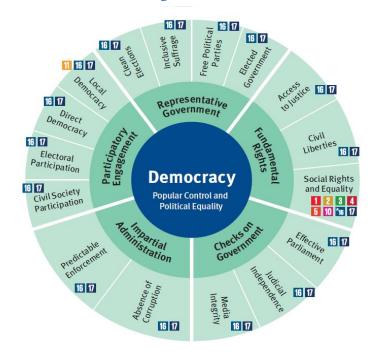


Global Monitor of Covid-19's Impact on Democracy and Human Rights

- "One-stop shop"
- 162 country profiles, updated every 2 weeks
- Global and regional summaries with data and graphs
- Three-level monitoring tool with early warning system



Global State of Democracy Framework











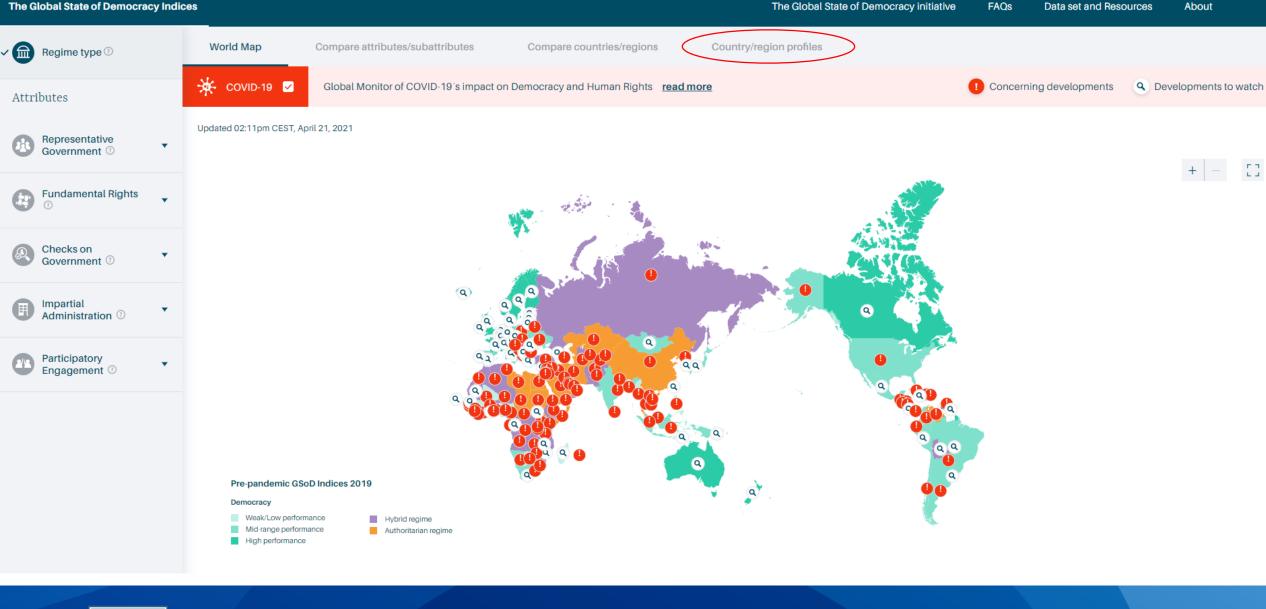






Symbol	Explanation
Q	Potentially concerning developments (measures or actions) related to curbing Covid-19 to watch from a
	democracy and human rights perspective.
<u> </u>	Concerning developments from a democracy and human rights perspective with measures or actions to curb Covid-19 deemed as undemocratic because they are disproportionate, unnecessary, illegal or indefinite.
No symbol	No evidence that measures taken are undemocratic, being disproportionate, unnecessary, illegal or indefinite.

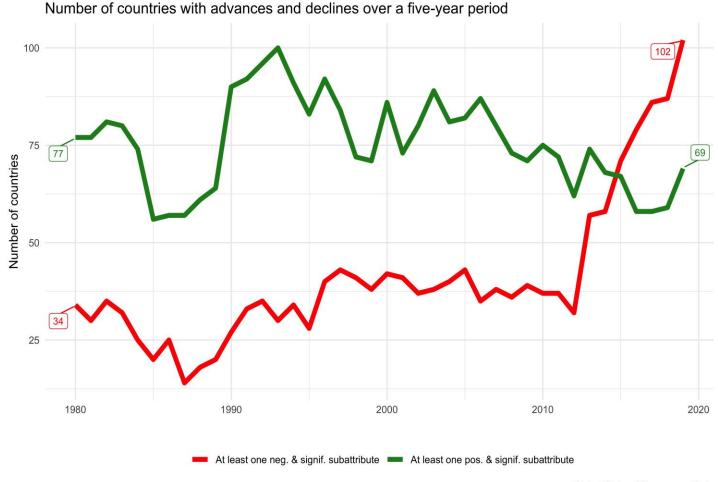






Democratic declines were on the rise

Since 2012, the number of countries experiencing democratic declines has risen sharply and now outnumber countries with advances



source: Global State of Democracy Data

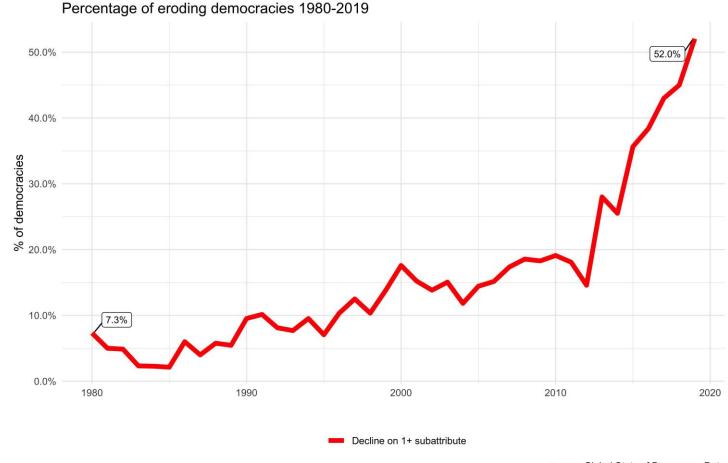




PRE-PANDEMIC CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY

The quality of democracy was deteriorating

The number of democracies suffering from democratic erosion has doubled in the last decade



source: Global State of Democracy Data

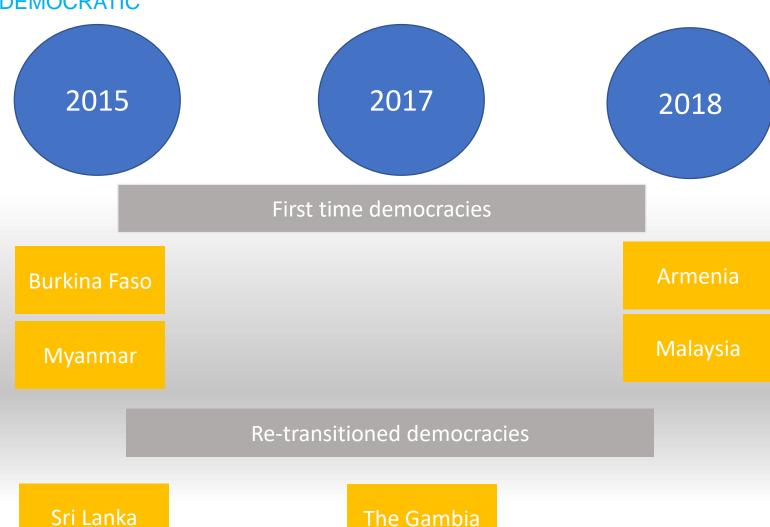




ENCOURAGING PRE-PANDEMIC DEMOCRATIC

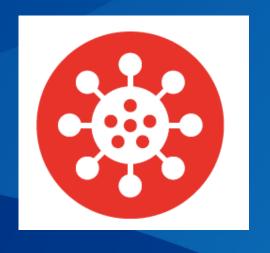
DEVELOPMENTS

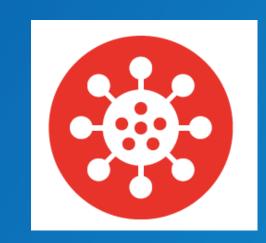
Despite this, democracy continued to spread – even to countries that had never been democracies

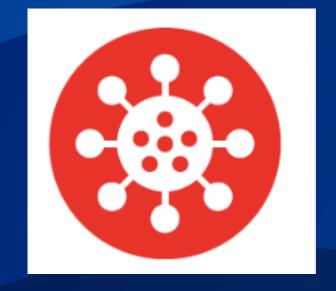












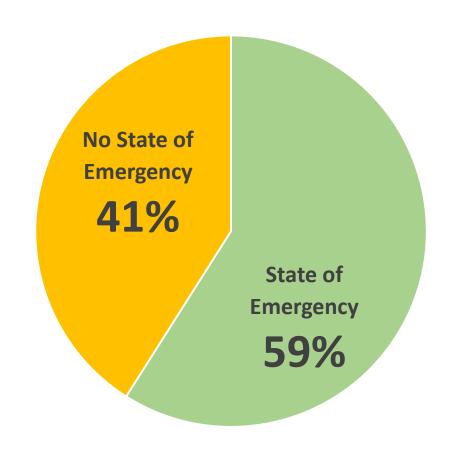
How has the Covid-19 pandemic affected those trends?



% of countries that declared State of Emergency during Covid-19 pandemic

STATES OF EMERGENCY

96 countries in the world declared a national State of Emergency (SoE) since the start of the pandemic

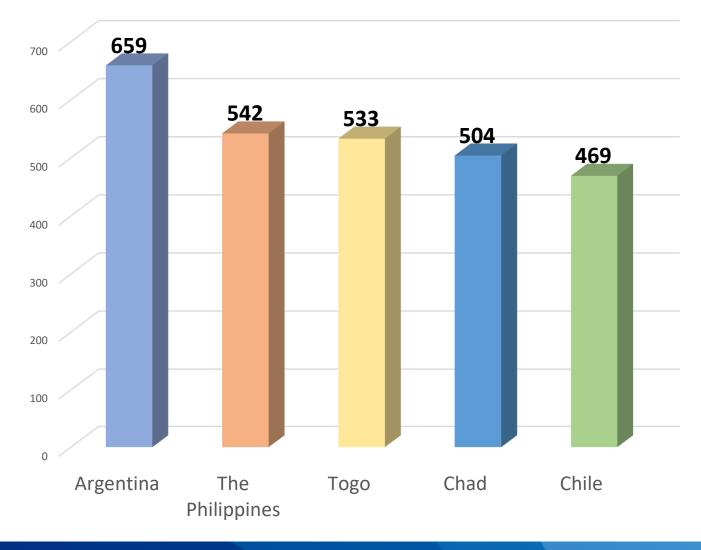




Countries with longest SoE

States of Emergency

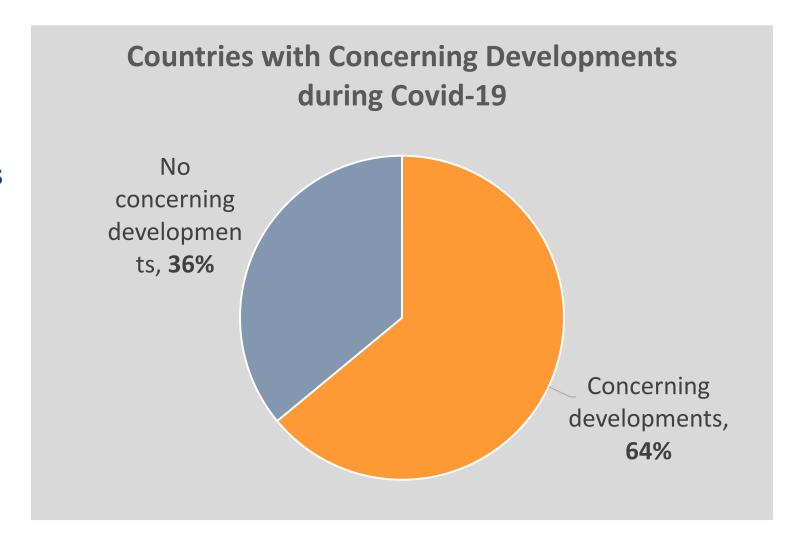
The average length of COVID-19 related SoE is **223** days





CONCERNING DEMOCRACY DEVELOPMENTS

Well over ½ of countries have implemented measures to curb COVID-19 that are of concern from a democracy and human rights perspective

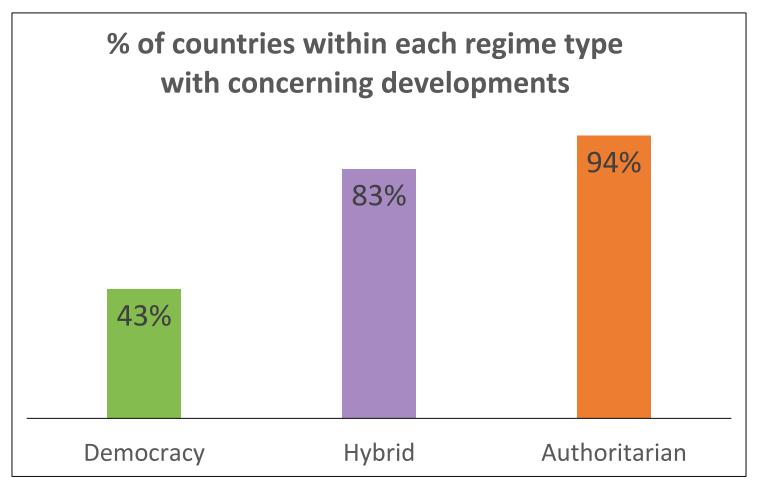






CONCERNING DEMOCRACY DEVELOPMENTS

Concerning developments were more than twice as frequent in authoritarian regimes than in democracies.





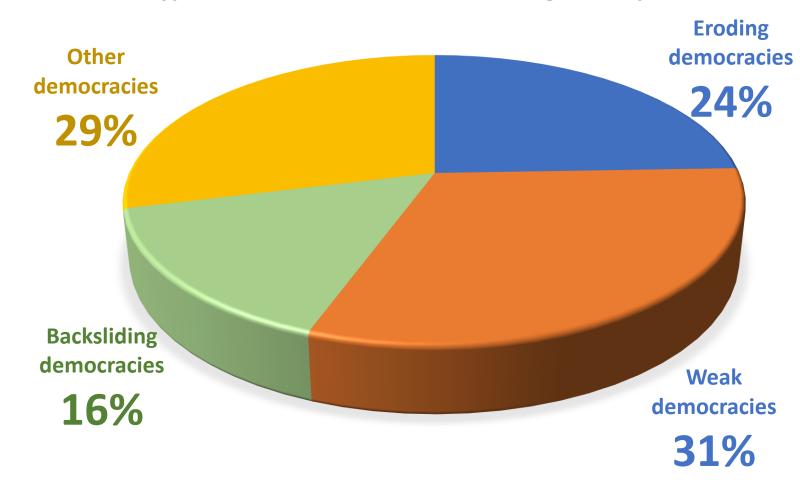


KEY FINDINGS

DEMOCRACIES WITH CONCERNING DEVELOPMENTS

Most of the democracies that present concerning developments, were already ailing before the pandemic

Type of democracies with concerning developments

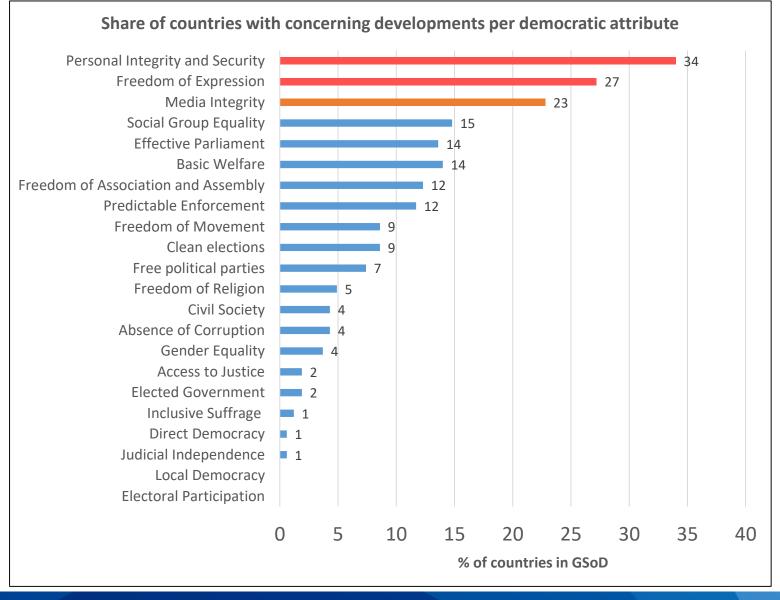




CONCERNING DEMOCRACY DEVELOPMENTS

- Personal Integrity & Security
- Freedom of Expression
- Media Integrity

Democracy aspects most affected by pandemic measures



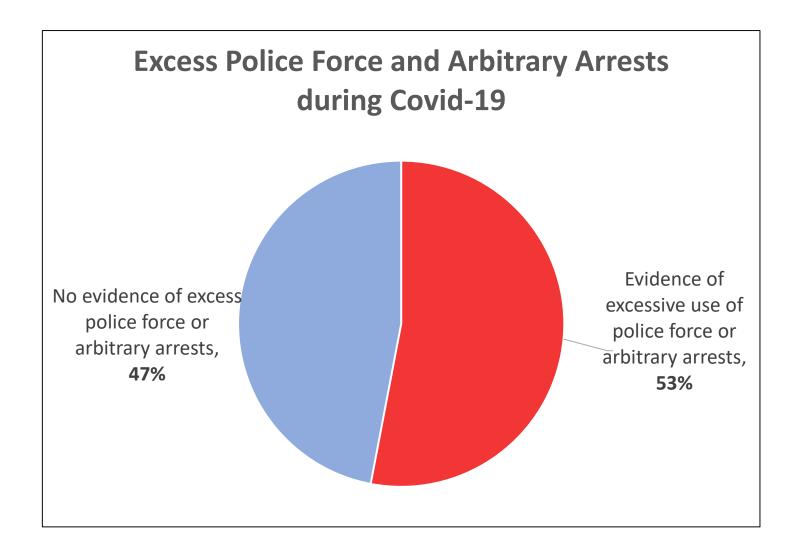




EXCESSIVE USE OF FORCE AND ARBITRARY ARRESTS

Over half the countries in the world have used excessive police force or arbitrary arrests to enforce restrictions

32 countries have called in the military to manage the pandemic

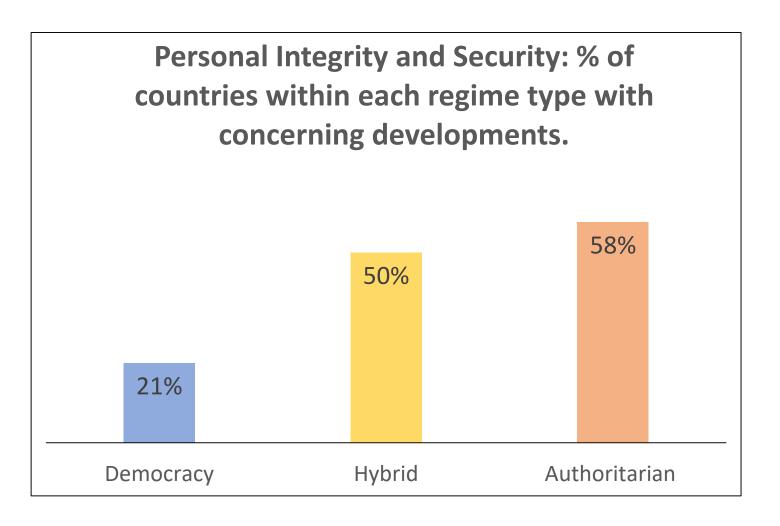






PERSONAL INTEGRITY AND SECURITY

- Military as law enforcers
- Excessive police force
- Criminalization
- Use of contact tracing apps for political purposes

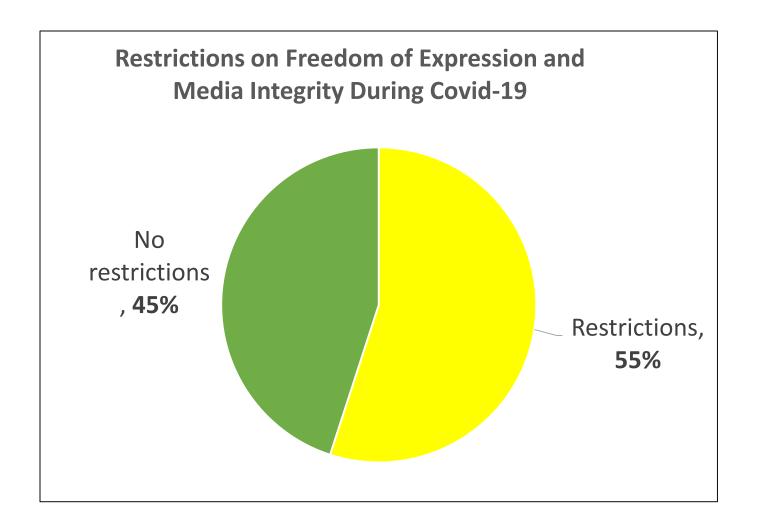






FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Over half of countries in the world have passed laws or taken actions to restrict Freedom of Expression (FoE) or Access to Information during the pandemic





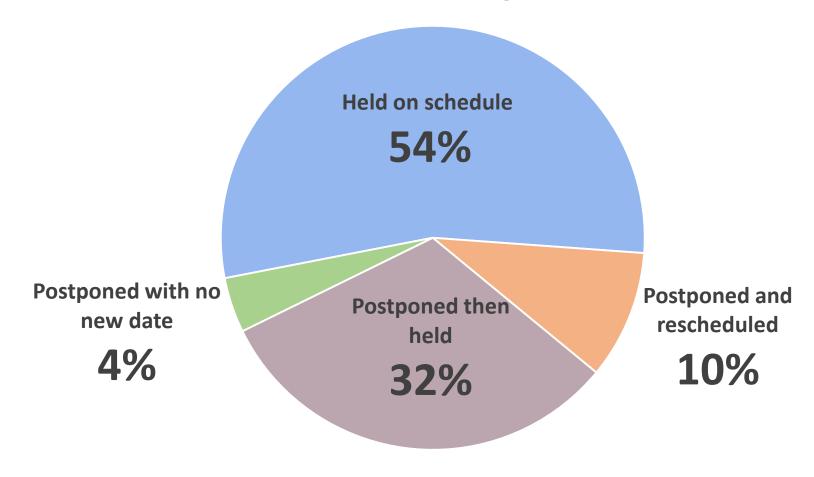


KEY FINDINGS

ELECTIONS

Almost half of all electoral processes scheduled for 2020 were postponed due to the pandemic

Electoral Processes during Covid-19





Promising democratization processes have been halted or reversed

Halted democratization processes

Ethiopia
Tigray conflict &
election
postponed

Strained democratization processes

Armenia coup attempt

Malaysia parliament shut 6 months

Sudan
Darfur conflict

Reversed democratization processes

Mali coup

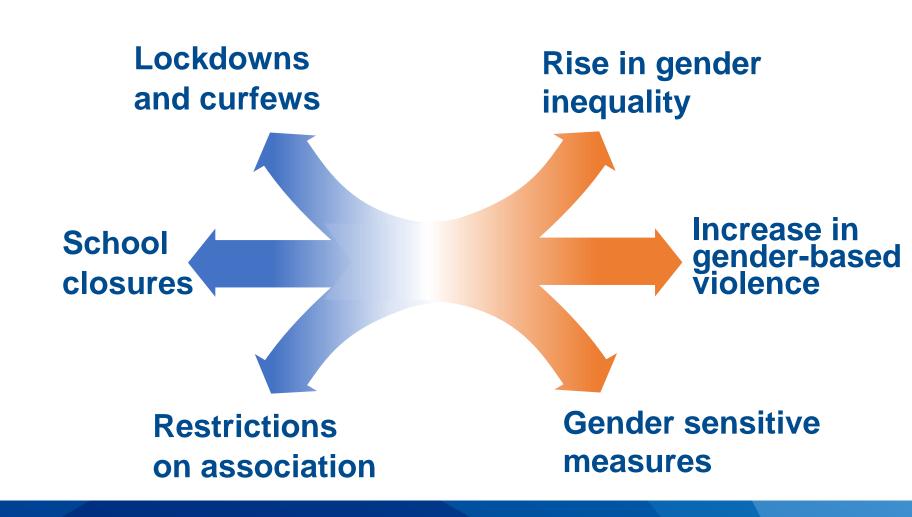
Myanmar coup





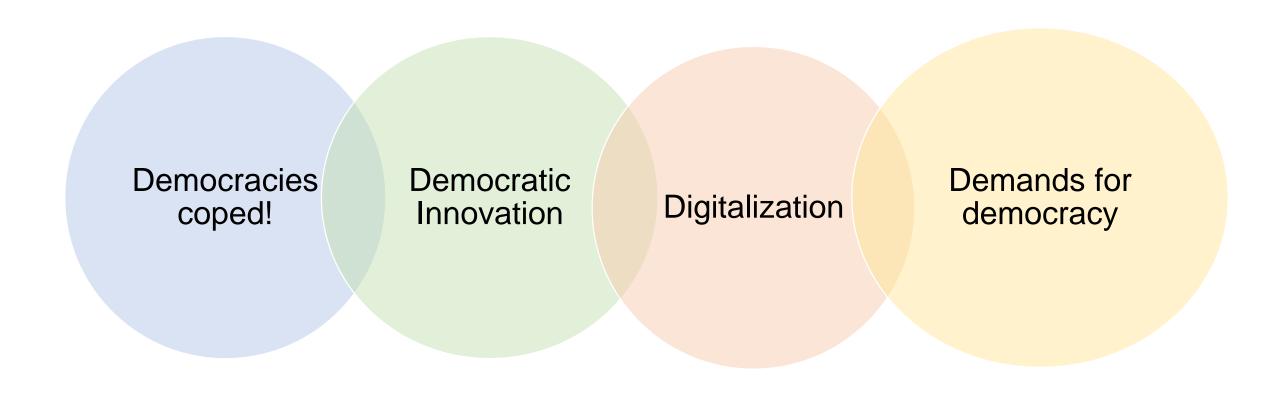
Gender Equality and Covid-19

Women have been disproportionately affected by the consequences of the pandemic.





Positive developments during Covid-19





Positive developments during

Democracies coped!

Democratic Innovation

Digitalization

New democratic openings?



Conclusions...so far

- Pandemic has put democracy under even more serious stress
- It has accelerated democratic deterioration processes
- Crisis has halted democratic openings which were underway
- In some cases, new opportunities to advance and improve democracy emerged



What political developments will remain once the pandemic subsides?

- 1. Elections will change
- 2. Electoral campaigns will change
- 3. Some **executive powers** will remain
- 4. More emphasis on strong state capacity.



Conclusions...so far

- Pandemic has put democracy under even more serious stress than it was.
- It has accelerated democratic deterioration processes.
- Crisis has halted democratic openings which were underway.
- In some cases, new opportunities to advance and improve democracy emerged.
- The real danger lies ahead political fallout from the economic crisis.



THANK YOU!





CIVICUS Monitor New Country Ratings and Report

People Power Under Attack Report



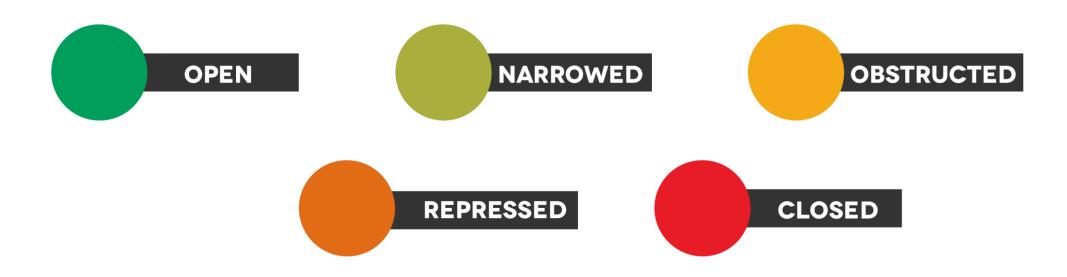


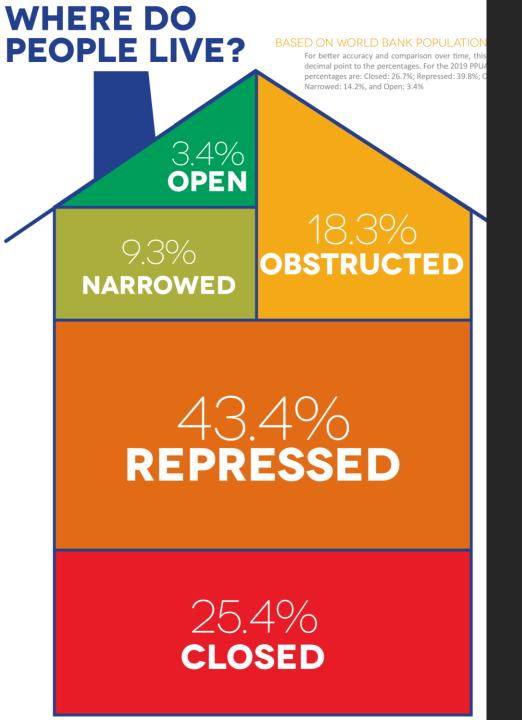


PEOPLE POWER UNDER ATTACK 2020

A DEPORT BASED ON DATA FROM THE CIVICUS MONTO

Ratings System





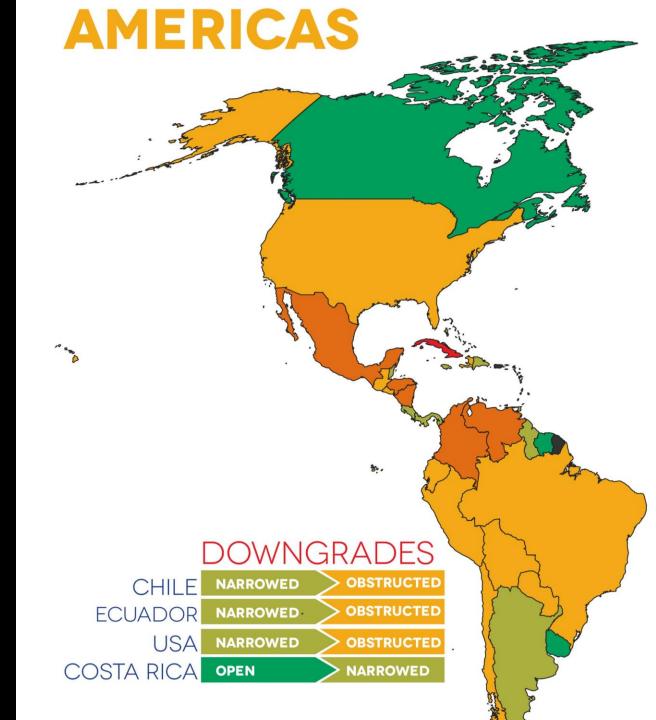
A Global Snapshot

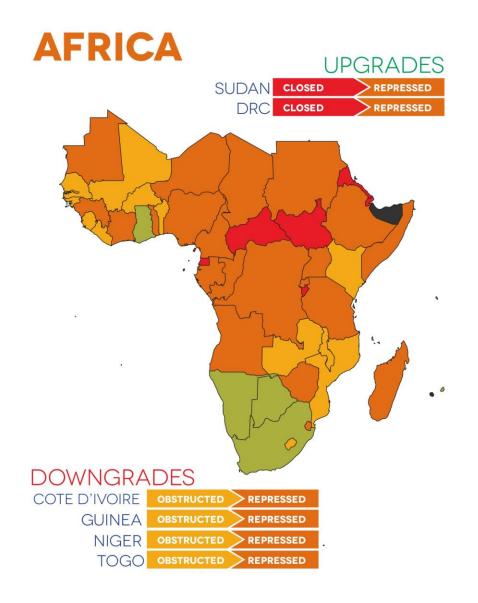
COUNTRY RATING CHANGES





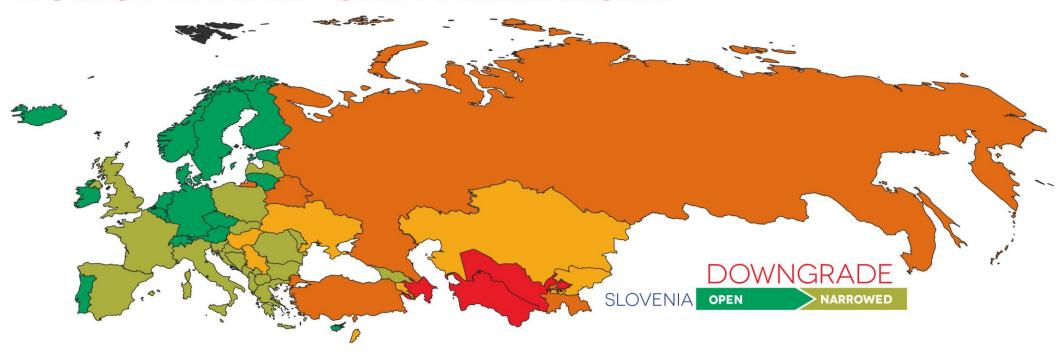
Ratings Changes region



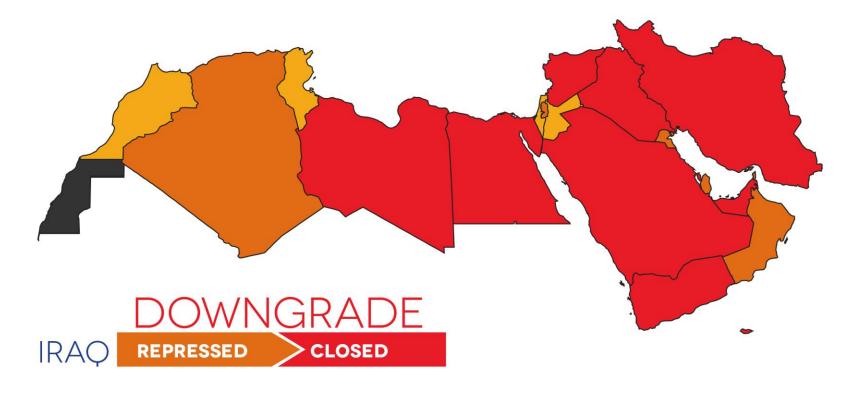


ASIA PACIFIC DOWNGRADE PHILIPPINES

EUROPE AND CENTRAL ASIA



MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA



TOP TEN VIOLATIONS TO CIVIC FREEDOMS



1. PROTESTER(S) DETAINED























5 Ways to Kill Democratic Governance and Civic Space in the Largest Democracy of the World



Global Democracy and Civic Space Gwangju Democracy Forum

4 PM KST (GMT+9) on Thursday 20 May 2021 Virtually in Gwangju, South Korea



Dr. Kaustuv K Bandyopadhyay Director, PRIA, India www.pria.org

GOVERNANCE BY HIDING INFORMATION

- The actual number of COVID-19 infections and deaths could be double
- 200 plus scientists wrote to prime ministers for wider access to clinical data 'hoarded' by ICMR
- Non-transparent vaccine pricing policy "one country, two vaccines, three types of pricing"







GOVERNANCE BY INTIMIDATION

- Appeal for oxygen, beds and medicines by patient's family is treated as spreading 'rumour' and 'fake news'
 a culpable offence
- Central government's repeated 'requests' for taking down tweets critical of government's handling of COVID-19
- 67 journalists arrested, detained, questioned in India in 2020 for their work – charges of "terror", "sedition" & "defamation" are rampant
- Meanwhile, trolling by bigots continue on social media







GOVERNANCE BY CO OPTING INSTITUTIONS

- Allegation against Election Commission of India (ECI) of losing its autonomy and working in favour of the ruling party
- ECI requests the Supreme Court to gag media on Chennai High Court's oral observations on how recent state elections during pandemic was super spreaders
- Widespread use of National Investigation Agency,
 Criminal Bureau of Investigation, and Enforcement
 Directorate against opposition parties, prominent critics,
 and news editors







GOVERNANCE BY **ABSOLVING RESPONSIBILITIES**

- "COVID is behind us" declaring triumph over COVID-19, too early
- Relying on tamed bureaucrats and inner political circle – ignoring the advice of scientists and experts
- Justifying state elections to be conducted over two months – political campaigns continued for over three months
- Allowing "Kumbh Mela" (religious gathering) of seven million devotees over one month
- Pushing the responsibilities to the state governments without giving adequate resources





GOVERNANCE BY SUPPRESSING DISSENTS & CIVIL SOCIETY

- Suppressing the protests against Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) and National Register of Citizens (NCR)
- Maligning the voices of farmers against the Farm Laws, 2020
- Ignoring the voices of Trade Unions, Civil Society and opposition parties in framing Labour Code, 2020
- Choking resources to civil society through FCRA Amendment Act, despite its stellar contribution during COVID-19 pandemic in 2020







2021 GWANGJU DEMOCRACY FORUM

Democracy and Civic Space in the World

Response

Soo Yun Suh (Asia Democracy Network (ADN))

- 2019 was a year of protests a year where a leaderless struggle raged across the world
 - Hong Kong
 - Thailand
 - o India
 - o Manila
- With rising populist leaders that are democratically elected we are seeing a dangerous decline of democratic values and principles and authoritarian characteristics from these leaders
- Even before the pandemic we were seeing a trend of democratic institutions, especially the judiciary losing independence and it being used as a weapon to strip democracy and human rights
 - Cambodia Supreme Court ruling to dissolve the country's main opposition party
 - o Broad interpretations of law to crackdown on media actors and activists
 - Philippines ABS-CBN shut down Rappler Maria Ressa
- Pandemic has exacerbated these trends and in the name of public health opened up space for these authoritarian leaders to further restrict civic space as presented by IDEA and CIVICUS
 - o Emergency Laws were placed in effect to severely fundamental freedoms
 - According to the International Center for Not-For-Profit-Law (ICNL) 175
 new measures responding to Covid in 34 countries across 34 countries in the Asia Pacific
 - These emergency laws, orders, decrees, actions allows for broad interpretations of the law and allows for abuse of power and force in the

- name of security, free expression and disinformation restrictions, press freedom and right to information limited, privacy and surveillance compromised
- Specifically, in amidst the pro-democracy protests in 2020 we saw these emergency decrees being put into place in Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia, India, etc.
- ADN Chronicles Initiative to highlight the on the ground narratives and voices of democracy and human rights during the pandemic, reflect the findings of the presenters, a few to highlight would be the media freedom space has significantly been restricted, blatant crackdowns, arrests and harassment of media actors increased, importantly through the pandemic the large social and economic inequality gap was not abstract anymore we were able to see and feel how inequality devasted a large part of the population and were not able to access basic healthcare, education, and have decent working conditions.