

shortened version

# THE PATH OF **AUTOCRACY**

Current Strategies for Democratic Erosion

LAUT



# REELECTION OF AUTOCRATS

Shortened version of  
**The Path of Autocracy:**  
*Current Strategies for  
Democratic Erosion*

## PRODUCED BY THE



CENTRO DE ANÁLISE  
DA LIBERDADE E  
DO AUTORITARISMO

Center for the Analysis of Liberty and Authoritarianism  
We are an independent and non-partisan  
interdisciplinary research institution committed to  
creating and disseminating knowledge about the quality  
of the rule of law and democracy. Our goal is to monitor  
manifestations of authoritarianism and repression of  
liberties to inform the mobilization of civil society and  
the defense of rights.

## SUPPORT



This publication has been made possible  
due to support from Galo da Manhã.

## LICENSE



The content herein is licensed by  
Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY4.0)

## LAUT MANAGEMENT TEAM:

Conrado Hübner Mendes (Director), Rafael Mafei Rabelo  
Queiroz (Director), Adriane Sanctis (Director and  
Research Manager), and Nathalie Laureano (Strategy and  
Operations Manager).

September 2022

## RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PROJECT

### RESEARCH AND WRITING

Adriane Sanctis de Brito, Fernando Romani Sales, Mariana  
Celano de Souza Amaral and Marina Shhessarenko Barreto.

### EDITOR

Iara Crepaldi

### REVISOR

Rafaela Toledo

### VISUAL IDENTITY

Atonal Studio

### DESIGN AND GRAPHIC ART

Sergio Berkenbrock dos Santos

# CONTENT

|    |   |
|----|---|
| 4  | <b>REELECTION OF AUTOCRATS</b>  |
|    | <i>PART I</i>   |
| 5  | <b>WHAT IS AN AUTOCRATIZATION PROCESS?<br/>WHAT IS THE "THIRD WAVE OF AUTOCRATIZATION"?</b> |
| 6  | WAVES OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND AUTOCRATIZATION  |
| 7  | HOW IS BRAZIL RANKED AMONG<br>THE AUTOCRATIZATION PROCESSES?                                |
| 8  | CONTEMPORARY AUTOCRACIES: THE BRAZILIAN CASE  |
| 8  | UNDERSTANDING BOLSONARO'S AUTHORITARIANISM  |
|    | <i>PART II</i>  |
| 10 | <b>WHAT IS THE STATUS OF AUTOCRATIZATION IN BRAZIL?</b>                                     |
| 10 | EDUCATION   |
| 14 | CIVIC SPACE   |
| 18 | PUBLIC SECURITY   |
| 23 | <b>CONCLUSIONS</b>  |

# REELECTION OF AUTOCRATS

In recent years, the world has faced an accelerated process of autocratization — a substantive decline in the quality of democracy and a deepening of authoritarian practices. International research organizations have pointed to worsening evaluations of civil liberties and respect for the rule of law in several countries, such as India, Hungary, Poland, and Turkey.

By shedding light on patterns in other countries, the report "The Path of Autocracy: Current Strategies for Democratic Erosion" presents a comparative framework to draw attention to processes currently underway in Brazil. The similarities with other examples occurring in the world, besides local specificities, alert to the potential risk of re-electing an autocratic government in the country. The present document summarizes the results of the research.

## PART I WHAT IS AN AUTOCRATIZATION PROCESS? WHAT IS THE "THIRD WAVE OF AUTOCRATIZATION"?

The international research organizations V-Dem, Article 19, and World Justice Project state the following about the quality and autocratization of political regimes around the world:

### V-DEM

#### GLOBAL QUALITY OF POLITICAL REGIMES:

- By 2018, the autocratization of political regimes affected at least 2.5 billion people globally;
- In 2020, for the first time since 2001, autocratic regimes quantitatively surpassed democratic administrations, reaching 92 countries and 54% of the world population;
- By 2022, of the 179 countries assessed by V-Dem, 30 were classified as closed autocracies and 60 as electoral autocracies - the most common regime on the planet.

### ARTICLE 19

#### GLOBAL QUALITY OF EXPRESSION AND INFORMATION ENVIRONMENTS:

- In 2020, 51% of the world's population - approximately 3.9 billion people - lived in environments classified as "in crisis." By 2021, that number jumped to 66%, affecting 4.9 billion people.

### WORLD JUSTICE PROJECT

#### GLOBAL QUALITY OF RESPECT FOR THE RULE OF LAW:

- In 2020, 45 of the 128 countries analyzed (35% of the total) were below the average level of respect for the rule of law. In 2021, this scenario expanded to 82 out of 139 countries evaluated (59% of the total).

## WAVES OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND AUTOCRATIZATION

The current scenario of democratic crisis has been studied by several areas of knowledge, which try to explain the reasons, the means, and the effects of autocratization globally. Scholars understand that contemporary political history has been marked by periods of democratization and autocratization, also called "waves":

# 1830

### 1ST DEMOCRATIZATION WAVE

Voting rights in the US, France, UK, Canada, Australia, Argentina, etc

# 1920

### 1ST AUTOCRATIZATION WAVE

Consolidation of fascist and Nazi regimes in Europe

# 1960

### 2ND AUTOCRATIZATION WAVE

Consolidation of military regimes in Latin America

# 1940

### 2ND DEMOCRATIZATION WAVE

End of World War II and democratic transition from totalitarian regimes

# 1980

### 3RD DEMOCRATIZATION WAVE

Weakening and end of dictatorships in Europe, Latin America, and Asia; end of the USSR

# 2000

### 3RD AUTOCRATIZATION WAVE

Autocratization of democratic regimes around the world; Hungary, Poland, Turkey, and India are the leading examples

In this context, the new "wave" of autocratization would have, according to scholars, as main characteristics:

#### → Lack of sharp ruptures:

While many historical experiences of autocratization occurred through coups and changes from democratic to autocratic rule, the current wave would be marked by more gradual and blurred ruptures.

#### → Internal erosion of political and justice systems:

In recent examples of democratic decay, democratically elected autocrats have made internal changes to the political and justice systems to subvert the functioning of democratic institutions, strengthen the Executive Branch, reduce checks and balances mechanisms, and co-opt other State institutions, Branches, and agencies.

## HOW IS BRAZIL RANKED AMONG THE AUTOCRATIZATION PROCESSES?

The research focuses on four examples to draw possible comparisons with the Brazilian case, given that the political regimes of Hungary, Poland, Turkey, and India have all recently declined in the V-Dem Institute's assessment: <sup>1</sup>

| LIBERAL DEMOCRACY   | ELECTORAL DEMOCRACY  | ELECTORAL AUTOCRACY   | CLOSED AUTOCRACY  |
|---|--|---|---|
| <i>Ex: Australia, Finland</i>   |  |   | <i>Ex: Sudan, Libia, China</i>  |
|   | <b>TURKEY</b>  | ▶ Erdogan's 3rd term  |   |
|   | 2012   | 2013  |   |
|   | <b>POLAND</b>  | ▶ Duda's 1st term   |   |
| 2015  | 2016   |   |   |
|   | <b>HUNGARY</b>   | ▶ Orbán's 3rd term  |   |
|   | 2018   | 2019 <sup>1</sup>   |   |
|   | <b>INDIA</b>   | ▶ Modi's 1st term   |   |
|   | 2018   | 2019  |   |
|   | <b>BRAZIL</b>  |   |   |
|   | 2021   |   |   |
| Free, fair, and multiparty elections; a high level of democratic institutional guarantees, such as freedom of expression and association and universal suffrage; mechanisms for controlling the Executive Branch by other Branches and institutions, such as legislative and judicial oversight; protection of individual liberties, and respect for the rule of law. | Free, fair, multiparty elections; high level of democratic institutional guarantees, such as freedom of expression and association and universal suffrage. | Multiparty elections for the head of the Executive Branch, but below democratic standards due to irregularities and limitations on party competition. | The head of the Executive Branch does not run elections, or they have no significant competition. |

<sup>1</sup> O Democracy Facing Global Challenges indicates that in 2018, the country was on the verge of transitioning to an autocracy but did not do so until the following year.

## CONTEMPORARY AUTOCRACIES: THE BRAZILIAN CASE

Brazil has been pointed out by international organizations as one of the main examples of a country undergoing a process of autocratization, especially after the election of Jair Bolsonaro to the presidency. The impact of his administration has been reflected in declines in the country's evaluation regarding the quality of the democratic regime (V-Dem), respect for civil and political liberties (Freedom House) and adherence to the rule of law (World Justice Project).

### BRAZIL'S TOTAL SCORES IN DEMOCRACY REPORTS (2018-2021)

#### V-DEM

[DEMOCRACY REPORT](#)

TOTAL SCORE IN 2018

0.56 / 1.00

TOTAL SCORE IN 2021

0.51 / 1.00

#### FREEDOM HOUSE

[FREEDOM IN THE WORLD](#)

TOTAL SCORE IN 2018

75 / 100

TOTAL SCORE IN 2021

73 / 100

#### WORLD JUSTICE PROJECT

[WORLD JUSTICE PROJECT](#)

TOTAL SCORE IN 2018

0.54 / 1.00

TOTAL SCORE IN 2021

0.50 / 1.00

## UNDERSTANDING BOLSONARO'S AUTHORITARIANISM

The perceptions highlighted by international organizations are also documented by LAUT, through specific events, on the [Emergency Agenda](#) platform. The tool serves as an archive of the actions and omissions of the federal government over the past three years that have undermined Brazilian democracy, pointing out which mechanisms were used to provoke this erosion. To this end, the Emergency Agenda translates the particularities of political authoritarianism and the reduction of democratic institutionality through a five categories classification system called the Authoritarian Inventory. Between January 2019 and December 2021, for instance, it mapped 1,692 acts.

An explanation of the meaning of the typology categories, which also aims to clarify more precisely how Bolsonaroist authoritarianism operates, can be found in the full report ("[The Path of Autocracy: Current Strategies for Democratic Erosion](#)" – in Portuguese) and our methodology.

## AUTHORITARIAN INVENTORY

NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES BY CATEGORY

---

**424** DECREASE OF CONTROL AND/OR  
CENTRALIZATION OF POWER

---

**198** VIOLATION OF INSTITUTIONAL  
AUTONOMY

---

**620** CONSTRUCTION  
OF ENEMIES

---

**235** ATTACK ON PLURALISM  
AND MINORITIES

---

**215** LEGITIMATION OF VIOLENCE  
AND VIGILANTISM

## PARTE II

### WHAT IS THE STATUS OF AUTOCRATIZATION IN BRAZIL?

In an attempt to better understand the similarities of authoritarian actions among some of the countries pointed out as the leading examples of the current wave of autocratization, three major areas of political life — education, civic space, and public security — were observed, as well as similar strategies and tactics employed by five ruling autocrats (Brazil, Hungary, Poland, Turkey, and India) to weaken their respective democratic environments.

#### EDUCATION

Education is a central public policy for deepening democratic societies, whether for their members' personal and professional training, readiness for the labor market, or citizenship development. In authoritarian regimes or those with authoritarian trends, it is historically common for governments to try to control educational institutions and educational actors — teachers, students, and researchers — to weaken the political opposition and conform their actions to the ruling interests and ideologies.

##### STRATEGY 1 – POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL CONTROL

Attempts to impose political-ideological alignment to regime ideology in the content taught and students' behavior are primarily implemented through changes in primary education systems. This strategy has occurred through three main tactics: **combating leftist indoctrination, delegitimizing gender issues, and extolling nationalism.**

##### STRATEGY 2 – HISTORICAL-SCIENTIFIC REVISIONISM

Incursion to change the approach to historical facts and narratives in school curricula and textbooks, within the scope of primary education, by extolling past governments of authoritarian tendencies with political affinity with current regimes. This strategy has been implemented through two main tactics: **changes in curricula and textbooks and alteration of narratives and historical facts.**

##### STRATEGY 3 – INTERFERENCES IN UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY

University autonomy is usually protected in at least three dimensions: *administrative*, which deals with questions of self-organization of educational institutions, such as the selection of university deans, hiring of professors, and elaboration of statutes; *didactic-scientific*, which refers to the autonomy in the development of pedagogical curricula, research lines, and subject matters; and *financial*, which relates to the budgetary management by the institutions of the transfer of public funds, impacting the infrastructure of universities, payment of salaries, and the granting of student support. In the compared countries, illegitimate interferences have been observed in each of them, constituting three different tactics of interference in university autonomy: **administrative autonomy, didactic-scientific autonomy, and financial autonomy.**

##### STRATEGY 4 – ATTACKS ON INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES OF ACADEMICS

Within the scope of the individual dimension of academic freedom, that is, of the guarantees of individual rights and liberties to educational actors - teachers, students, and researchers — to carry out teaching, research, and expression activities, state repression has surfaced through two main tactics:  **censorship of freedom of expression and delegitimization of the scientific community.**

### AUTOCRATIC PATH – EDUCATION: BRAZIL

#### 2019 ▶

Letter to state and municipal education offices recommending an "indoctrination-free" school environment.

Request for a bill banning gender issues in education.

Establishment of the National Program of Civic-Military Schools, with a curriculum focused on civism and patriotism.

Alteration of the National Textbook Program, excluding commitments to non-violence against women and defense of quilombola culture.

Claims that textbooks should be changed to mirror the "truth" about the military dictatorship, in an attempt to cover up a period of human rights violations.

Attempt to change the narrative of a military coup to a "political movement with popular support".

Attempt to issue a provisional presidential decree to empty university councils' influence in choosing federal university deans, which does not become law and loses effectiveness.

Appointment of at least 18 federal university deans who were not among the top candidates on the triple lists, some of whom weren't even on those lists — contradicting a tradition started in 2002.

Cancellation of events at federal universities and institutes with the participation of political figures — such as the then Minister of Justice Sergio Moro — under the allegation of "politically partisan".

#### ◀ 2020

A provisional presidential decree is issued during the coronavirus state of emergency to appoint temporary deans without consulting the academic community. The provisional measure is then revoked.

Threat of budget cuts to 3 federal universities on the grounds that they were causing "disruption" — referring to events and political demonstrations — and a 30% budget cut to all federal universities under the pretext of applying an "equitable" criterion among the institutions.

Threat of modification of law conferring the title of "Patron of Education" to educator Paulo Freire — whose legacy is a symbol of political opposition to Bolsonaro. He was called an "imbecile" and "idol of the left" by the president.

#### 2021 ▶

Professors from the Federal University of Pelotas are targeted by disciplinary proceedings filed by the CGU (Federal Controller General) due to criticism of Bolsonaro. A professor at the University of São Paulo is a target of civil and criminal claims for criticizing, in a newspaper, the performance of the Federal Attorney General and a justice of the Supreme Court.

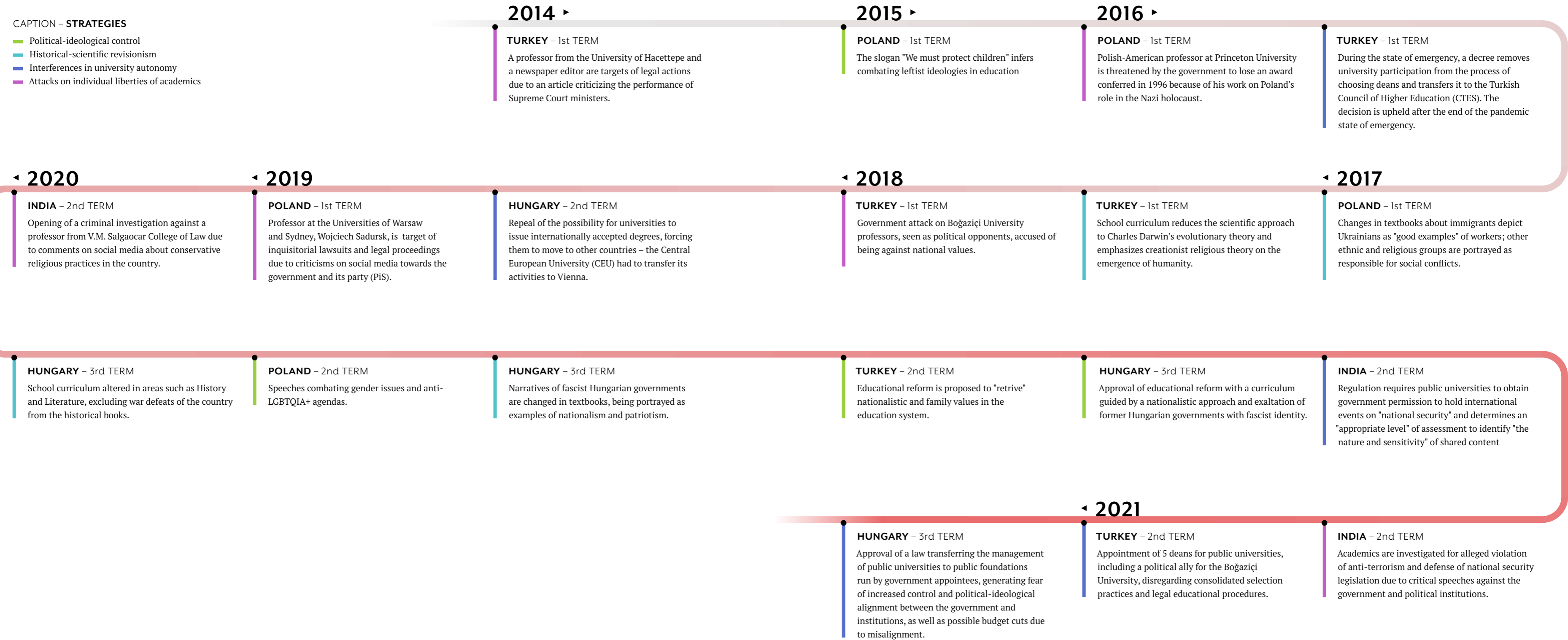
##### CAPTION – STRATEGIES

- Political-ideological control
- Historical-scientific revisionism
- Interferences in university autonomy
- Attacks on individual liberties of academics

# AUTOCRATIC PATH – EDUCATION

## CAPTION – STRATEGIES

- Political-ideological control
- Historical-scientific revisionism
- Interferences in university autonomy
- Attacks on individual liberties of academics

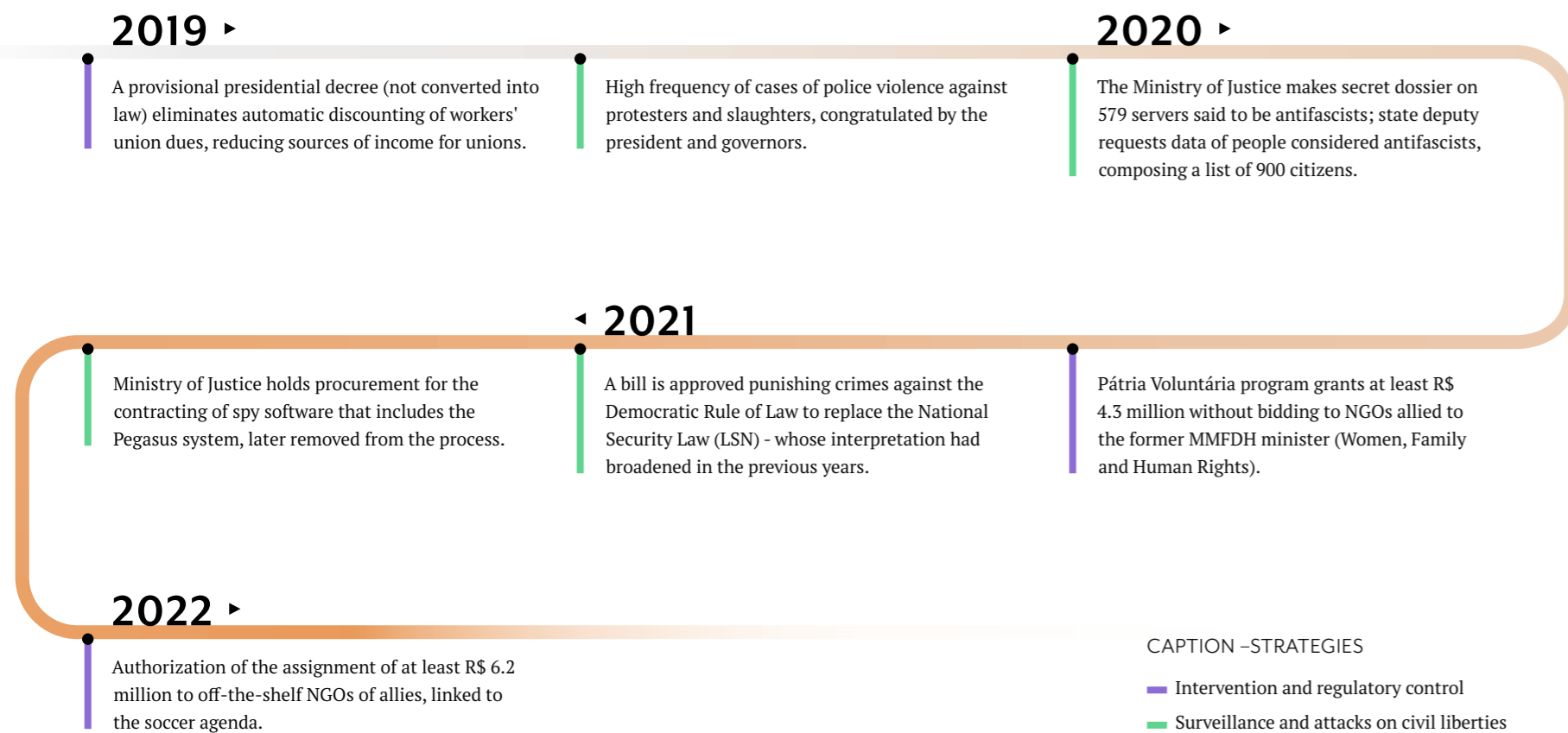


## CIVIC SPACE

Civic space is the environment constructed and used by citizens and civil society organizations (NGOs) for demonstrations and claims. It can be restricted or selectively closed to some actors and expanded to others - who did not have much resonance in the past and have started to acquire protagonism - to control or repress criticism.

Therefore, it is crucial for developing democracy - it is a thermometer of the regime's openness and permeability. According to monitoring that evaluates dimensions of freedom of speech, assembly, and association, civic space in countries like Hungary, Poland, and India has worsened in recent years. In Hungary, the assessment of civic space worsened considerably over Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's second term, with a rapidly declining trend since June 2022. In Poland, it shrank during President Andrzej Duda's second term. A few months after Prime Minister Narendra Modi's reelection, India's situation went from "obstruction" to "repression." In Brazil, there is also a reason for concern: the monitoring of the Igarapé Institute (2020) points out that there are currently "clear signs of an accelerated rollback of the protection and rights of civil society groups."

## AUTOCRATIC PATH – CIVIC SPACE: BRAZIL



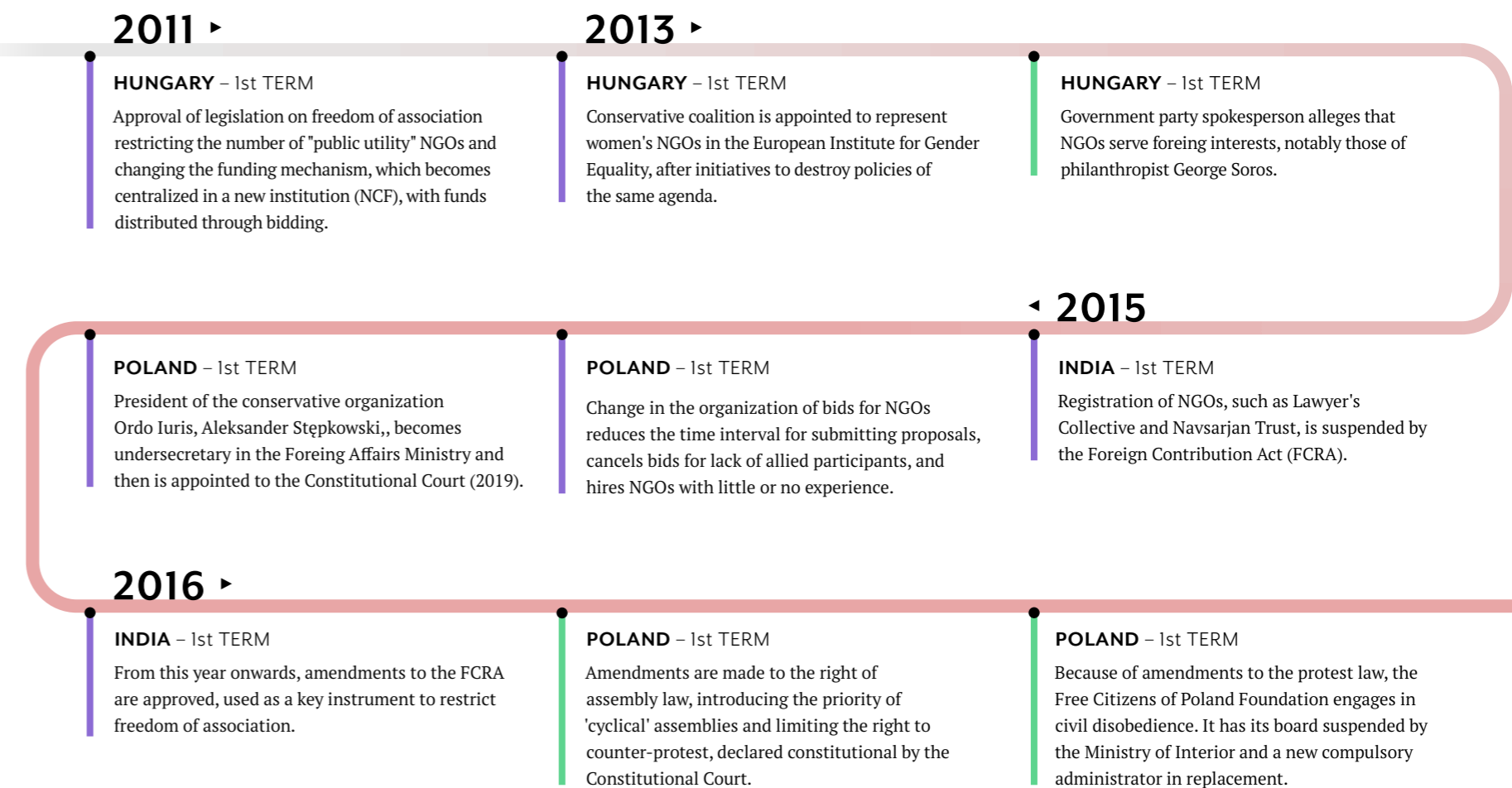
## STRATEGY 1 – INTERVENTION AND REGULATORY CONTROL

It involves enacting laws and regulatory measures that restrict the activities of organizations and create obstacles to their operation, as well as removing spaces for political participation in interactions with the State. As a result, the capacity for mobilizing some civil society sectors is weakened. In contrast, organizations aligned with government agendas can gain space in the sphere of political decisions. **Two tactics** can be employed in this area: **state support** and **favoritism of agendas and financial and bureaucratic obstacles**.

## STRATEGY 2 – SURVEILLANCE AND ATTACKS ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

It involves monitoring civil society organizations and restricting their ability to assemble and associate in the name of various abstract imperatives, such as national security, counter-terrorism, and transparency. As a result, NGOs and citizens become afraid to act and censor themselves (chilling effect). In this area, **four tactics** can be employed: **rhetoric of vilification and conspiracy, use of spy softwares, restriction of rights to protest and assembly, criminalization and extralegal violence**.

## AUTOCRATIC PATH – CIVIC SPACE





## 2016 ▶

**INDIA – 1st TERM**  
Government detains protester Khurram Parvez for 76 days under the Public Safety Act.

## 2017 ▶

**HUNGARY – 2nd TERM**  
NGO Lex approved, requiring transparency of organizations' funding sources — equated to Russia's 2012 law, which classifies NGOs as "foreign agents."

**POLAND – 1st TERM**  
Law creates the National Freedom Institute, to centralize the distribution of funds to NGOs.

**POLAND – 1st TERM**  
Police require documentation from NGOs focused on reproductive rights after a wave of pro-abortion protests.

## 2018 ▶

**HUNGARY – 2nd TERM**  
"Anti-Soros Package" is approved; one of its laws implements a tax for immigration-supporting organizations - such as Open Society, run by philanthropist George Soros.

**HUNGARY – 2nd TERM**  
Police monitor the identity of protesters and use facial recognition as a tactic for control and banning of protests.

## ◀ 2020

**POLAND – 2nd TERM**  
Bill proposes to give more transparency to NGO funding sources.

**INDIA – 2nd TERM**  
Amendment is made to the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA) to broaden the concept of terrorism. The following year, it is used against 3,000 protesters opposing an act that makes religion the basis for citizenship (Citizenship Amendment Act - CAA).

## ◀ 2019

**POLAND – 1st TERM**  
Activist Elżbieta Podlesna is arrested for displaying a poster with a Madonna, a Christian symbol, wearing an LGBTQIA+ flag.

**INDIA – 1st TERM**  
Pejorative terms like "antinational," "urban naxal," "andolanjivis" come into use to discredit critics of the government.

**HUNGARY – 2nd TERM**  
An amendment to the Constitution to restrict the right to assemble on the grounds of private life and family is approved.

**HUNGARY – 2nd TERM**  
Creation of new jurisdiction to judge protest banning is approved.

**POLAND – 2nd TERM**  
Bill similar to Hungary's Lex NGO (2017) is proposed.

**INDIA – 2nd TERM**  
Amendments to the FCRA include banning transfers between domestic NGOs of international funds and reducing the cap on spending on administrative expenses by foreign funding from 50% to 20%.

**INDIA – 2nd TERM**  
Amnesty International leaves India after government operations.

## 2021 ▶

**HUNGARY – 3rd TERM**  
Bill that grants the State Auditor's Office greater control over NGOs accounting is approved, which now has to prepare annual reports on the financial status of NGOs and how they "influence the public".

**POLAND – 2nd TERM**  
Conservative organization Ordo Iuris founds a university at an event with ministers alluding to the institution's significance in times of crisis in academic life.

**HUNGARY – 3rd TERM**  
Press reveals, and officials confirm, that the government spied on at least 300 critics via Pegasus.

## ◀ 2022

**HUNGARY – 3rd TERM**  
Teachers' strike is prohibited, supposedly justified by the pandemic.

**POLAND – 2nd TERM**  
Abortion activist Justyna Wyrzyńska is convicted by the Courts, marking the first case of conviction following the "virtual ban" on abortion in the country since 2021.

**INDIA – 2nd TERM**  
Under the FCRA law, the government accuses international NGO of conspiracy.

**INDIA – 2nd TERM**  
Oxfam, among others, loses registration under the FCRA.

**POLAND – 2nd TERM**  
At least three government opponents are investigated via Pegasus, a fact confirmed by authorities.

**POLAND – 2nd TERM**  
NGOs that help migrants undergo police searches and seizures and smear campaigns for alleged illegal activities.

## PUBLIC SECURITY

Public security policies are especially concerned with the State's use of force and repression. They can be used for undue control and restriction of citizens' rights even in democratic regimes. Still, they become even more severe in autocracies, and can result in the curtailment of freedom of expression, restrictions on citizenship and political participation of certain social groups, and further criminalization and imprisonment.

### STRATEGY 1 – SURVEILLANCE AND PRIVACY VIOLATIONS

It presupposes the use of mechanisms that extend government surveillance, whether online or not. Through mass surveillance technologies or individual monitoring (illegal or legitimized by police investigations), citizens' privacy rights are violated. The strategy has been put into practice through **four** main tactics: **use of spy softwares, increased restrictions on Internet use, increased collection of citizens' personal data, and unified access and expansion of criminalization and police investigation competencies.**

### STRATEGY 2 – PENAL POPULISM AND MORAL PANIC

Penal populism is characterized by the rejection of empirical evidence while often presenting proposals that are more punitive, purportedly representing the interests of the people. Moreover, it seeks to mobilize large audiences, usually for electoral purposes. Moral panic is stereotyping certain social groups portrayed as a risk to society and its values. In the countries observed, it has occurred through **four** main tactics: **speeches and propaganda of constructing an internal enemy, increased policing and militarization, restrictions on citizenship, multiplication of forms of criminalization and stiffening of penalties.**

## AUTOCRATIC PATH – PUBLIC SECURITY

2006 ▶

**TURKEY – 1st TERM**

Anti-terrorism law – with elastic definitions of "terrorism" – allows data collection on individuals and organizations via online monitoring cameras and access to personal electronic devices to investigate journalists, academics, and members of social movements.

2007 ▶

**TURKEY – 1st TERM**

"Internet Law" forces internet providers to monitor content posted online.

2010 ▶

**HUNGARY – 1st TERM**

Since the campaign, Orbán has mobilized nationalist rhetoric against foreigners and the transit of people within the EU

2011 ▶

**HUNGARY – 1st TERM**

The government is accused of using FinFisher software to access digital records on infected computers and monitor opponents.

2013 ▶

**INDIA – 2nd TERM**

Since before he took office, Modi has openly asserted the Hindu religious character of his government and has taken a discriminatory position towards the approximately 190 million Muslims in the country.

## AUTOCRATIC PATH – PUBLIC SECURITY: BRAZIL

2018 ▶

Bolsonaro says he will "shoot PT voters" during the campaign – and the caricaturing of political opponents as internal enemies, especially those on the left, continues throughout his term.

2019 ▶

The Citizen's Base Register is implemented, unifying specific personal data and enabling sharing between federal agencies, without care to implement control mechanisms limiting the use of collected data.

Government frequently uses National Security Law devices – broad and poorly defined – to investigate critics and opponents.

2018 ▶

Bolsonaro says "criminals" should be killed like "cockroaches" by police officers, who should be "protected."

2019 ▶

Bolsonaro authorizes the use of the National Force in operations linked to ICMBio, to expand the competence of the security forces on environmental issues.

2019 ▶

Anti-crime law increases maximum penalty and makes regime progression and parole more difficult, especially for conducts listed in the Heinous Crimes Law.

2020 ▶

Government lists the "right to life from conception" as a guideline of the Federal Development Strategy for Brazil, in opposition to the right to abortion.

2021 ▶

A provisional presidential decree amends the Internet Framework (Marco Civil da Internet). However, criticized for expanding the Executive branch's interference in platforms and interfering with their autonomy, it is not turned into law. Later, Bolsonaro proposed a bill reproducing the exact content of the decree

2022 ▶

Bolsonaro proposes to change the Anti-Terrorism Law with changes that make it easier for social movements to be framed as terrorists.

CAPTION – STRATEGIES — Surveillance and Privacy Violations — Penal Populism and Moral Panic

## 2014 ▶

### HUNGARY – 1st TERM

The Anti-Terrorism Task Force (TEK) is created, which, in cases of alleged violations of national security, can conduct secret house searches and access communications (digital or not) of investigated persons without consent. The European Court of Human Rights condemns the country for creating TEK in 2016.

### TURKEY – 3rd TERM

Amendments to the Internet Law authorize public authorities to access user data from companies (such as social networks) and require the removal of content posted online.

### POLAND – 1st TERM

Since the campaign, the government has positioned itself as fighting "gender ideology," supporting discourses of limiting LGBTQIAP+ and women's reproductive rights.

## 2015 ▶

### TURKEY – 4th TERM

National Security Law adds to the previous one on the country's intelligence services, helping to compose the government's "mosaic of authoritarian surveillance" for protests and opponents.

### HUNGARY – 2nd TERM

Orbán claims in a newspaper that Muslim migrants are a danger to the "Hungarian way of life" because they threaten "Christian values."

### HUNGARY – 2nd TERM

A wall is built on the border with Serbia and Croatia, and there is an increase in policing and investment in security technologies in the region.

### POLAND – 1st TERM

Programs to strengthen the ideal family model restrict women's reproductive rights, offer financial incentives linked to increasing the number of children in the family, and lower women's retirement age to reaffirm their "caregiving potential."

### POLAND – 1st TERM

A vague bill is approved to combat "terrorist activities," but it does not define such a category and allows its indiscriminate use against opponents, affecting more directly immigrants.

### POLAND – 1st TERM

A law allows security forces to access a large amount of citizens' metadata, without effective mechanisms to regulate and control the use of such information, expanding the State's surveillance powers.

### HUNGARY – 2nd TERM

A facial recognition system is implemented for police use, which, along with information already collected from other government databases, begins to cross-reference such data with collected biometrics.

### ÍNDIA – 1st TERM

Unified public identification program based on Aadhar biometric data collection is initiated without a defined legal framework to control data storage and use. The initiative enables increased persecution against political opponents and members of social movements.

### ÍNDIA – 1st TERM

The government uses the Pegasus software to collect data from infected cell phone apps to spy on political opponents and journalists.

## ◀ 2016

## 2018 ▶

### INDIA – 1st TERM

Minister signs a decree that allows, for public security purposes, ten agencies to monitor, via interception and decryption, information transmitted and stored on computers.

### HUNGARY – 2nd TERM

Legal possibilities for asylum or refuge in the country are dismantled, and access to these migratory statuses is obstructed - the president says he considers Muslims not as refugees but as "invaders."

### HUNGARY – 2nd TERM

"Stop Soros" Law criminalizes the actions of NGOs and social movements linked to migration. It creates new crimes related to promoting and supporting illegal migration, such as distributing informational content at the country's borders.

## 2019 ▶

### INDIA – 2nd TERM

Internet regulation law requires platforms and networks to delete content the government identifies as illegal because it endangers the interests of the country's sovereignty, public order, decency, or morality. Also, a law is presented regulating the internet, requiring companies to provide user information when requested by public authorities — in effect since 2021.

### INDIA – 2nd TERM

Additions to the country's anti-terrorism legislation (UAPA) increase the police's power to conduct investigations without respecting citizens' privacy and allow more individuals and civil society organizations to be criminalized as "terrorists."

### HUNGARY – 3rd TERM

Since 2016, the Pegasus software has been used to spy on journalists and government opponents, such as a Central European University (CEU) PhD student arrested at a protest and accused of violence against police officers.

## 2019 ▶

### INDIA – 2nd TERM

The Minister of Home Affairs states that Muslims are "invaders", "termites in the soil of Bengal", and that the government will "catch the invaders one by one and throw them into the Bay of Bengal".

### INDIA – 2nd TERM

Changes to the Citizenship Act (CAA) take religion into account to ease or hinder access to citizenship, removing legal incentives granted to Muslim refugees and immigrants to regularize their status in the country.

### POLAND – 2nd TERM

Legislative change, under the justification of the pandemic, increases the penalty for exposing people to the risk of HIV infection, expanding discrimination against those living with the virus and undermining access to treatment for the disease.

## 2020 ▶

### INDIA – 2nd TERM

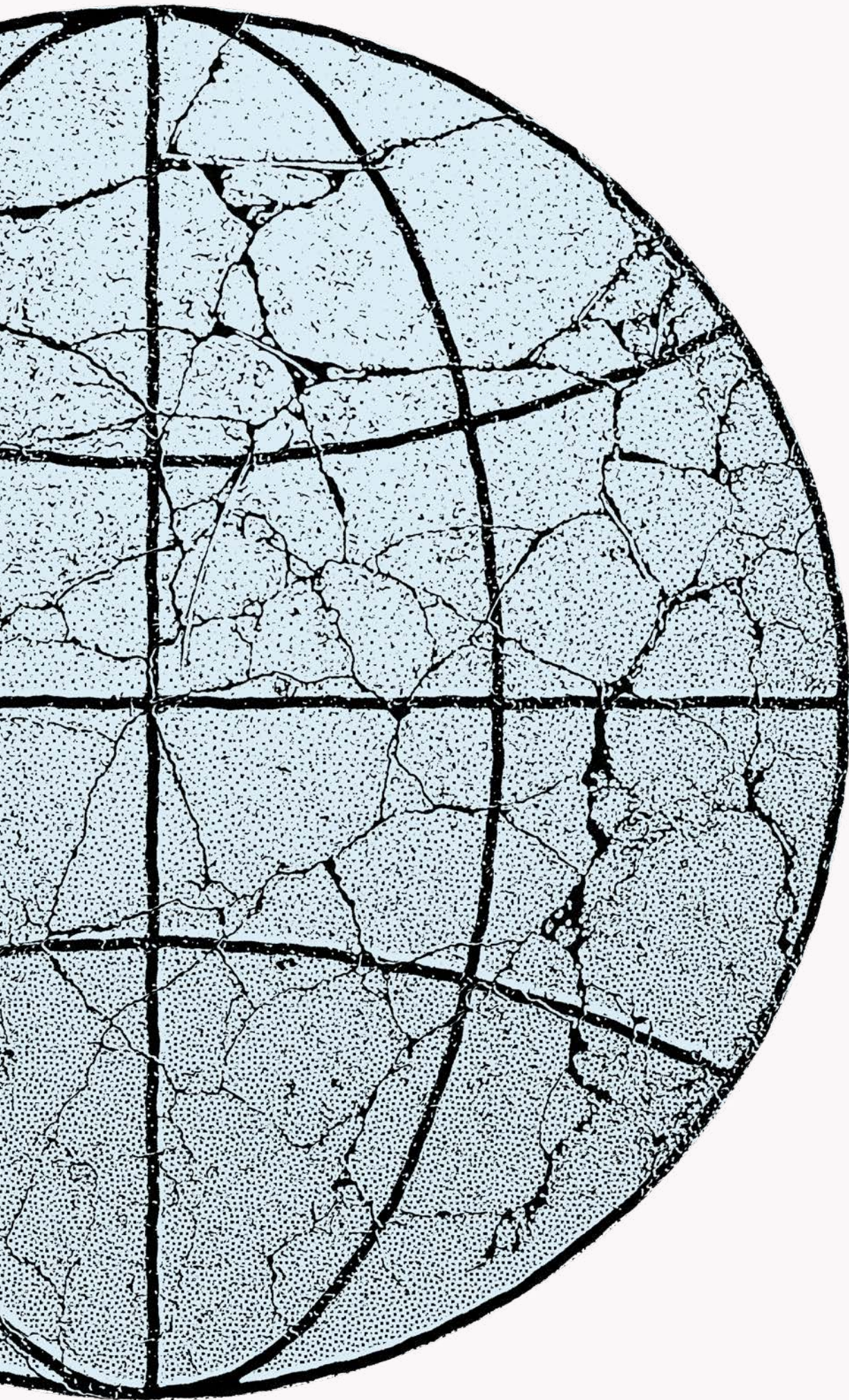
Police violently suppress protests against Citizenship Law, but allow civilians to react in favor of it, who destroy and loot Muslim neighborhoods.

### POLAND – 2nd TERM

Constitutional Court further restricts the right to legal abortion in the country, excluding the practice in cases of embryonic malformation – the change comes into effect in 2021, accompanied by protests harshly suppressed by police.

## CONCLUSIONS

- International evidence points to the accelerating degradation of democracy with the reelection of autocrats. This was the case with Narendra Modi in **India**, Viktor Orbán in **Hungary**, Recep Erdoğan in **Turkey**, and Andrzej Duda in **Poland**. In these countries, the reelection coincided with a worsening of the authoritarian escalation, according to the scale of the V-Dem Institute, which classifies regimes in four degrees: liberal democracy, electoral democracy, electoral autocracy, and closed autocracy.
- In recent years, international organizations have also pointed out Brazil as one of the main examples of the autocratization process, especially after Jair Bolsonaro's election as president. The impact of his administration has been reflected in declines in the country's assessment of the quality of democratic regime (V-Dem), respect for civil and political liberties (Freedom House), and commitment to the rule of law (World Justice Project).
- Between 2019 and 2021, LAUT mapping captured 1,692 authoritarian acts at both state and federal levels expressing themselves in **enemy construction from government critics, reduction of control and/or centralization, attack on pluralism and minorities, and legitimization of violence and vigilantism**.
- The longer-lived strategies of autocrats in **Turkey, Poland, India, and Hungary** already allow us to see how their anti-democratic effects accumulate and strengthen over time. They make it possible to look with some historical distance and make the chain of strategies and tactics prior to a more visible autocratization. Even so, in the three areas analyzed, there are events in Brazil showing strategies and tactics similar to those of autocrats of other nationalities.
- To foresee Brazilian scenarios, it is necessary to consider:
  - There is a **double pattern of action** of autocrats in the analyzed countries. In a complementary way to using the state apparatus to **block and repress rights and liberties**, there is also the **encouragement and promotion of ideological agendas**.
  - Some types of tactics appear as a pattern in all the analyzed areas.. These are the **restrictions on rights through regulatory means, the use of surveillance tools, the rhetoric of enemy construction, and the expansion of the scope of criminalization of conduct**.
  - All the tactics employed use formal (e.g., legislative change, police power, budgetary control) and informal tools (nationalistic discourse, incitement of fear and violence, delegitimization, and vilification).
  - There is no ready recipe for stopping or reversing the process of autocratization. Based on the reported experiences, what is known is that the autocrat's reelection endangers the maintenance of democratic competition, the survival of democracy, and individual and collective freedoms.




PRODUCED BY THE

**LAUT**

 [laut.org.br](http://laut.org.br)

 @Laut\_br

 @laut-org

 @Laut.org

 @Laut\_br

SUPPORT

