



The Case for Democracy:

Democracies Produce More Transparent and Higher-Quality Data

Scientific Evidence Shows:

- · Democratization leads to an increase in supply of data to the World Bank by 13 percentage points.
- Democratic governments are substantially more transparent with data and their policy making processes than autocratic ones.
- Autocratic countries often manipulate data and overstate their performance across a range of economic development and public health indicators, including COVID-19 deaths.

Democracies Supply More, and More *Transparent* Data than Autocracies

A series of studies now evidence that democracies report and provide more data than autocracies. For example, when a country transitions from autocracy to democracy, the reporting on World Development Indicators increases by 13 percentage points, even taking into account countries' state capacity (Hollyer et al., 2011).

Scientific evidence also shows that data transparency increases with democratic accountability. Rosendorff and Doces (2006) demonstrate in democracies, voters are 70% better informed about policy decisions and the policy making process (e.g. if, and if so why, the government repudiates contracts, or expropriates certain actors) than citizens in autocracies. Taking many factors into account, they show that more democratic institutions explain at least 1/3 of this rather large difference in transparency.

Similarly, Wehner and de Renzio (2013) provide evidence that switching from autocracy to democracy improves fiscal transparency by 18 percentage points. They attribute this difference to one particular aspect of democracy: free, fair and competitive elections.

Lack of data and transparency is a hallmark of authoritarian governance. Modern autocrats strategically use information manipulation and limitations on freedom of expression to maintain control (Lührmann and Lindberg, 2019, Hellmeier et al., 2021). Such tactics are evident today in countries such as Russia under Putin, Hungary under Órban, and Turkey under Erdoğan, among others.

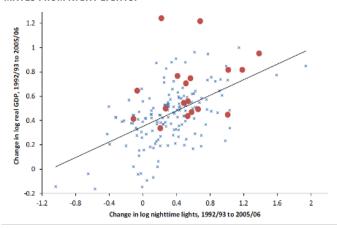
Autocracies Manipulate Data

Scientific studies now demonstrate that democracies also report higher quality data while autocrats manipulate data to appear more competent than they really are (for example, Guriev and Treisman 2019).

Critically, many authoritarian governments exaggerate their economic growth. For instance, a study by Magee and Doces (2015) demonstrates

that autocrats overstate GDP growth figures about 1.5 percentage points (Figure 1). Martínez (2021) finds evidence that autocracies overstate GDP growth by at least 0.7 percentage points. With their authoritarian control over national statistic bureaus, authoritarian leaders have a special capacity to twist realities.

FIGURE 1. COMPARISON BETWEEN OFFICIAL GDP FIGURES AND ESTIMATES FROM NIGHT LIGHTS.



Note: Comparing official GDP statistics reported by authoritarian regimes (red dots, potentially manipulated), to nightlight data (observable). Source: Magee and Doces (2015)

Rigorous evidence also shows that self-censorship leads to false data reporting in autocracies. For example, Tannenberg (2021) demonstrates that self-censored responses to survey questions about support for government and trust in state institutions inflates figures by upward of 20 percentage points. The reasoning behind this is that self-censorship could be influenced by people's fear of repercussions if their true beliefs are reported.

Autocracies Fake Figures on Pandemic Deaths

Autocracies also under-report data on deaths from the COVID-19 pandemic. Some studies suggest that democracies had relatively high COVID-19 deaths. However, recent evidence demonstrates that this is mainly because autocracies falsify reports of COVID-19 deaths (Annaka 2021). Similarly, Kapoor et al. (2020) provide evidence of statistical manipulation of COVID-19 cases and deaths in autocracies¹.

¹ Specifically, relative to democracies, autocratic countries show (1) significantly less variation in the 7 day moving average of COVID-19 cases and deaths and (2) data that does not follow Ben-ford's law, which predicts the random distribution of leading digits

Aside from manipulated death statistics, rigorous evidence in Adiguzel et al.'s study (2020) shows that countries which do not hold free and fair elections, also misreport statistics on both new and cumulative coronavirus infections.

Broader Implications

Autocrats manipulate data to improve their image on economic performance, public health, and other aspects. Transparency, access, and quality are essential for accurately comparing performance across regimes and should be treated accordingly (Jerven 2013). Official statistics from autocracies should be treated with skepticism to avoid false conclusions.

Transparency, access, and quality in reporting is also a public good and essential for good governance. Data access and quality impacts policy decisions, both domestically as well as internationally. Citizens also rely on access to high-quality and transparent data to evaluate their country's performance on a range of policies.

If we could correct fully for statistical manipulation in autocracies, the evidence for democracy's dividends would likely reveal an even stronger case for democracy than the robust body of scientific studies already shows.

REFERENCES

- Adiguzel, Fatih Serkant, Asli Cansunar, and Gozde Corekcioglu. "Truth or Dare? Detecting Systematic Manipulation of COVID-19 Statistics." Journal • of Political Institutions and Political Economic 1(4): 543-557.
- Annaka, Susumu. 2021. "Political Regime, Data Transparency, and COVID-19
 Death Cases." Population Health 15: 1-7.
- Guriev, Sergei and Daniel Treisman. 2019. "Informational Autocrats." Journal of Economic Perspectives 33(4): 100-127.
- Hellmeier, Sebastian, Rowan Cole, Sandra Grahn, Palina Kolvani, Jean
 Lachapelle, Anna Lührmann, Seraphine F. Maerz, Shreeya Pillai, and
 Staffan I. Lindberg. "State of the world 2020: autocratization turns viral."
 Democratization (2021): 1-22.
- Hollyer, James R., B. Peter Rosendorff, and James Raymond Vreeland. 2011.
 "Democracy and Transparency." Journal of Politics 73(4): 1191-1205.
- Jerven, Morten. 2013. "Comparability of GDP Estimates in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Effect of Revisions in Sources and Methods Since Structural
 Adjustment." Review of Income and Wealth 59:16-36.
- Kapoor, Mudit, Anup Malani, Shamika Ravi, and Arnav Agarwal. 2020. "Authoritarian Governments Appear to Manipulate COVID Data." *ArXiv*.

- Lührmann, Anna, and Staffan I. Lindberg. "A third wave of autocratization is here: what is new about it?." *Democratization* 26, no. 7 (2019): 1095-1113.
- Magee, Christopher S. P. and John A. Doces. "Reconsidering Regime Type and Growth: Lies, Dictatorships, and Statistics." 2015. *International Studies Quarterly* 59: 223-237.
- Martínez, Luis R. 2021. "How Much Should We Trust the Dictator's GDP Growth Estimates?" *University of Chicago*, Becker Friedman Institute for Economics Working Paper 2021-78.
- Rosendorff, B. Peter and John Doces. 2006. "Transparency and Unfair Eviction in Democracies and Autocracies." Swiss Political Science Review 12(3): 99-112.
- Tannenberg, Marcus. 2021. "The Autocratic Bias: Self-Censorship of Regime Support." Democratization. 1-20.
- Wallace, Jeremy L. 2014. "Juking the Stats? Authoritarian Information Problems in China." *British Journal of Political Science* 46(1): 11-29.
- Wehner, Joachim and Paolo de Renzio. 2013. "Citizens, Legislators, and Executive Disclosure: The Political Determinants of Fiscal Transparency." World Development 41: 96-108.

To contribute to building a scientific evidence base for democracy, the European Union signed a contract with University of Gothenburg/V-Dem Institute to develop "The Case for Democracy", and make it available to the European Union as well as its collaborating partners. On November 30th to December 1st, 2021, 26 scholars and over 400 policymakers and practitioners participated in a hybrid onsite/virtual conference held in Brussels on the Case for Democracy. Scholars presented scientific evidence on the dividends of democracy across six broad areas. This is one of a series of eight policy briefing papers summarizing the collated evidence.







University of Gothenburg contact@v-dem.net +46 (0) 31 786 30 43 www.v-dem.net www.facebook.com/vdeminstitute www.twitter.com/vdeminstitute www.linkedin.com/company/vdeminstitute

Department of Political Science