

Democracy Index 2014

Democracy and its discontents

A report from The Economist Intelligence Unit

ELECTION 2015		
1	PAPADOPOULOS	
2	GARCIA	
3	MARTIN	
4	SMITH	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	

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The Economist Intelligence Unit's Index of Democracy 2014

Democracy and its discontents

The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index provides a snapshot of the state of democracy worldwide for 165 independent states and two territories—this covers almost the entire population of the world and the vast majority of the world's states (micro states are excluded). The Democracy Index is based on five categories: *electoral process and pluralism*; *civil liberties*; *the functioning of government*; *political participation*; and *political culture*. Based on their scores on a range of indicators within these categories, each country is then categorised as one of four types of regime: “full democracies”; “flawed democracies”; “hybrid regimes”; and “authoritarian regimes”.

This is the seventh edition of the Democracy Index. It reflects the situation at the end of 2014, a year in which democracy's discontents were on the rise. As has been the pattern in recent years, there was little change in the aggregate global score. The same number of countries (48) recorded an improvement in their score as recorded a deterioration; the remainder (71) retained the same score as in 2013. Three regions experienced a regression (Latin America, the Middle East and North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa) as signified by a decline in their regional average score. Two regions—Asia and eastern Europe—recorded a slight improvement in their average score. There was no change in the average score for North America or western Europe. In those two regions, however, popular discontent with democracy was expressed in the growth of populist and protest parties, which, in Europe, have come to pose an increasing challenge to the established political order, to the extent that several political upsets are on the agenda in 2015.

Setbacks, stagnation, populism

Important recent developments include:

- With the positive exception of Tunisia, the Arab Spring has given way to a wave of reaction and a descent into violent chaos.
- Popular confidence in political institutions and parties continues to decline in many developed countries.
- Poor economic performance, weak political leadership and the growing gap between traditional political parties and the electorate have given rise to populist movements in Europe.
- US democracy has been adversely affected since 2008 by the increasing polarisation of the political scene and political brinkmanship; popular faith in political institutions and elites has collapsed.
- In eastern Europe, where democracy was restored only recently, there is a mood of deep popular disappointment with democracy and the regional score has declined since 2006.
- Rampant crime in some countries—in particular, violence and drug-trafficking—as well as corruption, are having a corrosive impact on democracy in Latin America.

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Longer-term trends

The pace of democratisation accelerated after the start of its so-called third wave in 1974 and especially after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. According to The Economist Intelligence Unit's measure of democracy, one-half of the world's population now lives in a democracy of some sort. However, in recent years, there has been backsliding on previously attained progress and there has also been a burgeoning of popular disappointment with the fruits of democracy. This is the case not only in the new democracies of eastern Europe, but also in some of the oldest democracies in the world, in western Europe. The fallout from the global financial crisis that started in 2008 has led to a heightened mood of popular disenchantment and accentuated some existing negative trends in political development. Indeed, the start of the third wave of democratisation coincided with the beginnings of a political-legitimacy problem in the developed world that has assumed larger dimensions in the decades since.

Table 1

Democracy Index 2014, by regime type

	No. of countries	% of countries	% of world population
Full democracies	24	14.4	12.5
Flawed democracies	52	31.1	35.5
Hybrid regimes	39	23.4	14.4
Authoritarian regimes	52	31.1	37.6

Note. "World" population refers to the total population of the 167 countries covered by the Index. Since this excludes only micro states, this is nearly equal to the entire estimated world population.

Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit.

Recent political malaise

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of communism in 1989 led many to hail the triumph of Western liberal democracy. However, subsequent political malaise in east-central Europe has led to disappointment and widespread questioning of the strength of the region's democratic transition. Eastern Europe's score in the Democracy Index improved marginally in 2014, but, since we created the index in 2006, the region's trajectory overall has been one of regression.

In the developed West, a precipitous decline in political participation, weaknesses in the functioning of government and curbs on civil liberties are having a corrosive effect on some long-established democracies. The US and western Europe have suffered a decline in their average scores since the first edition of the Democracy Index. Voters are displaying worrying levels of anger, disappointment and disengagement, to which traditional parties and politicians are struggling to respond. Latin America's score has stagnated since the Democracy Index was first published, illustrating that region's deep-rooted problems with political culture, political participation and the functioning of government. Even in Brazil, the only country in the region to register an improvement in its score in 2014, popular disillusionment with the state of high politics was evident in the manner

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of Dilma Rousseff's victory in the presidential election in October, which she won by the narrowest of margins.

The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) have recorded a very modest improvement in their regional average scores between 2006 and 2014, but from very low bases indeed, and democracy in both regions weakened between 2013 and 2014. No region in the world has experienced more turbulence in recent years than MENA. It appeared conceivable for a time that the Arab Spring, which began in late 2010, might herald a period of political transformation analogous to that in eastern Europe in the 1990s. However, only Tunisia can claim to have consolidated any democratic gains. Egypt has reverted to authoritarian rule, while numerous countries in the region have descended into violence and instability.

Although almost one-half of the world's countries can be considered to be democracies, in our index the number of "full democracies" is low, at only 24 countries; 52 countries are rated as "flawed democracies". Of the remaining 91 countries in our index, 52 are "authoritarian" and 39 are considered to be "hybrid regimes". As could be expected, the developed OECD countries dominate among "full democracies", although there are two Latin American countries (Costa Rica and Uruguay) and one African country (Mauritius), which suggests that the level of development is not a binding constraint.

Slightly less than one-half of the world's population lives in a democracy of some sort, although only 12.5% reside in "full democracies". Around 2.6bn people, more than one-third of the world's population, still live under authoritarian rule (with a large share being, of course, in China).

"Flawed democracies" are concentrated in Latin America and eastern Europe, and, to a lesser extent, in Asia. Eastern Europe does not have a single "full democracy", as some of the region's most politically developed nations, such as the Czech Republic and Slovenia, have suffered recurrent bouts of political instability and several corruption scandals that have undermined popular faith in democracy. Despite progress in Latin American democratisation in recent decades, many countries in the region have fragile democracies. Levels of political participation are generally low and democratic cultures are weak. There has also been significant backsliding in recent years in some areas, such as media freedoms.

Table 2
Democracy Index 2014

	Rank	Overall score	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
Full democracies							
Norway	1	9.93	10.00	9.64	10.00	10.00	10.00
Sweden	2	9.73	9.58	9.64	9.44	10.00	10.00
Iceland	3	9.58	10.00	9.29	8.89	10.00	9.71
New Zealand	4	9.26	10.00	9.29	8.89	8.13	10.00
Denmark	5	9.11	9.17	9.29	8.33	9.38	9.41

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Switzerland	6	9.09	9.58	9.29	7.78	9.38	9.41
Canada	7	9.08	9.58	9.29	7.78	8.75	10.00
Finland	8	9.03	10.00	8.93	7.78	8.75	9.71
Australia	9	9.01	9.58	8.93	7.78	8.75	10.00
Netherlands	10	8.92	9.58	8.57	8.89	8.13	9.41
Luxembourg	11	8.88	10.00	9.29	6.67	8.75	9.71
Ireland	12	8.72	9.58	7.50	7.78	8.75	10.00
Germany	13	8.64	9.58	8.57	7.78	8.13	9.12
Austria	14	8.54	9.58	7.86	8.33	7.50	9.41
Malta	15	8.39	9.17	8.21	6.11	8.75	9.71
UK	16	8.31	9.58	7.14	6.67	8.75	9.41
Uruguay	=17	8.17	10.00	8.93	4.44	7.50	10.00
Mauritius	=17	8.17	9.17	8.21	5.00	8.75	9.71
US	19	8.11	9.17	7.50	7.22	8.13	8.53
Japan	20	8.08	9.17	8.21	6.11	7.50	9.41
South Korea	21	8.06	9.17	7.86	7.22	7.50	8.53
Spain	22	8.05	9.58	7.14	7.22	6.88	9.41
France	23	8.04	9.58	7.14	7.78	6.88	8.82
Costa Rica	24	8.03	9.58	7.86	6.11	6.88	9.71
Flawed democracies							
Czech Republic	25	7.94	9.58	7.14	6.67	6.88	9.41
Belgium	26	7.93	9.58	8.21	5.56	6.88	9.41
India	27	7.92	9.58	7.14	7.22	6.25	9.41
Botswana	28	7.87	9.17	7.14	6.11	7.50	9.41
Italy	29	7.85	9.58	6.43	7.22	7.50	8.53
South Africa	30	7.82	8.33	8.21	7.78	6.25	8.53
Cape Verde	31	7.81	9.17	7.86	6.67	6.25	9.12
Chile	32	7.80	9.58	8.93	3.89	6.88	9.71
Portugal	33	7.79	9.58	6.43	6.67	6.88	9.41
Estonia	34	7.74	9.58	7.86	5.56	6.88	8.82
Taiwan	35	7.65	9.58	7.50	6.11	5.63	9.41
Israel	36	7.63	8.75	7.14	8.89	7.50	5.88
Slovenia	37	7.57	9.58	7.14	6.67	5.63	8.82

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Lithuania	38	7.54	9.58	6.07	6.11	6.25	9.71
Latvia	39	7.48	9.58	5.71	6.11	6.88	9.12
Poland	40	7.47	9.58	5.71	6.67	6.25	9.12
Greece	41	7.45	9.58	5.36	6.67	6.25	9.41
Cyprus	42	7.40	9.17	6.43	6.67	5.63	9.12
Jamaica	43	7.39	9.17	6.79	5.00	6.88	9.12
Brazil	44	7.38	9.58	7.50	4.44	6.25	9.12
Slovakia	45	7.35	9.58	7.50	5.56	5.00	9.12
Timor-Leste	46	7.24	8.67	7.14	5.56	6.88	7.94
Panama	47	7.08	9.58	6.43	5.56	5.00	8.82
Trinidad and Tobago	48	6.99	9.58	7.14	5.00	5.00	8.24
Indonesia	49	6.95	7.33	7.14	6.67	6.25	7.35
Croatia	50	6.93	9.17	6.07	5.56	5.63	8.24
Hungary	51	6.90	9.17	6.07	4.44	6.88	7.94
Argentina	52	6.84	8.75	5.71	5.56	6.25	7.94
Suriname	=53	6.77	9.17	6.43	5.00	5.00	8.24
Philippines	=53	6.77	8.33	5.36	6.67	4.38	9.12
Bulgaria	55	6.73	9.17	5.71	5.56	5.00	8.24
Serbia	56	6.71	9.17	5.36	6.67	5.00	7.35
Romania	=57	6.68	9.17	5.71	5.00	5.00	8.53
Mexico	=57	6.68	8.33	6.07	6.67	5.00	7.35
Dominican Republic	59	6.67	8.75	5.71	5.00	6.25	7.65
Lesotho	60	6.66	8.25	5.71	6.67	5.63	7.06
Mongolia	61	6.62	9.17	5.71	5.00	5.00	8.24
Colombia	62	6.55	9.17	7.14	3.89	3.75	8.82
Peru	63	6.54	9.17	5.00	5.00	5.00	8.53
El Salvador	64	6.53	9.17	6.07	3.89	5.00	8.53
Malaysia	65	6.49	6.92	7.86	5.56	6.25	5.88
Hong Kong	66	6.46	4.75	5.71	5.56	6.88	9.41
Zambia	67	6.39	7.92	5.36	4.44	6.88	7.35
Ghana	68	6.33	8.33	5.36	5.56	5.63	6.76
Moldova	69	6.32	8.75	5.00	5.56	4.38	7.94
Tunisia	70	6.31	7.00	6.07	7.22	6.25	5.00

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Paraguay	71	6.26	8.33	5.36	5.00	4.38	8.24
Macedonia	72	6.25	7.75	5.36	6.11	4.38	7.65
Namibia	73	6.24	5.67	5.00	6.67	5.63	8.24
Senegal	74	6.15	7.92	5.71	4.44	5.63	7.06
PNG	=75	6.03	6.92	6.07	3.89	5.63	7.65
Singapore	=75	6.03	4.33	7.50	5.00	6.25	7.06
Hybrid regimes							
Montenegro	77	5.94	7.92	5.36	5.00	4.38	7.06
Guyana	78	5.91	7.92	4.64	5.56	4.38	7.06
Ecuador	79	5.87	8.25	4.64	5.00	4.38	7.06
Honduras	80	5.84	8.75	5.71	3.89	4.38	6.47
Georgia	81	5.82	8.67	4.64	5.56	4.38	5.88
Guatemala	82	5.81	7.92	6.07	3.33	4.38	7.35
Bolivia	=83	5.79	7.00	5.00	5.56	3.75	7.65
Mali	=83	5.79	7.83	3.93	4.44	6.25	6.47
Bangladesh	85	5.78	7.42	5.07	5.00	4.38	7.06
Tanzania	86	5.77	7.42	4.64	5.56	5.63	5.59
Sri Lanka	87	5.69	6.17	5.36	4.44	6.88	5.59
Albania	88	5.67	7.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	7.35
Malawi	89	5.66	6.58	4.29	5.00	6.25	6.18
Benin	90	5.65	6.92	5.36	4.44	5.63	5.88
Fiji	91	5.61	4.17	5.71	6.67	5.63	5.88
Ukraine	92	5.42	5.83	3.93	5.56	5.00	6.76
Thailand	93	5.39	5.33	4.29	5.56	5.00	6.76
Nicaragua	94	5.32	6.17	3.29	4.44	5.63	7.06
Kyrgyz Republic	95	5.24	6.58	3.29	6.67	4.38	5.29
Uganda	96	5.22	5.67	3.57	4.44	6.25	6.18
Kenya	97	5.13	4.33	4.29	6.11	5.63	5.29
Turkey	=98	5.12	6.67	5.36	4.44	5.63	3.53
Lebanon	=98	5.12	5.67	2.14	7.22	5.00	5.59
Venezuela	100	5.07	5.25	4.29	5.56	4.38	5.88
Liberia	101	4.95	7.83	0.79	5.56	5.00	5.59
Bhutan	102	4.87	8.33	5.36	2.78	4.38	3.53

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Bosnia and Herzegovina	=103	4.78	6.50	2.93	3.33	4.38	6.76
Cambodia	=103	4.78	4.42	6.43	3.33	5.63	4.12
Nepal	105	4.77	3.92	4.29	4.44	5.63	5.59
Palestine	106	4.72	4.75	2.86	7.78	4.38	3.82
Mozambique	107	4.66	4.42	3.57	5.56	5.63	4.12
Pakistan	108	4.64	6.00	5.36	2.78	3.75	5.29
Sierra Leone	109	4.56	7.00	1.50	2.78	6.25	5.29
Madagascar	110	4.42	4.25	2.50	5.00	5.63	4.71
Iraq	111	4.23	4.33	0.79	7.22	4.38	4.41
Mauritania	112	4.17	3.42	4.29	5.00	3.13	5.00
Armenia	113	4.13	4.33	2.86	4.44	3.13	5.88
Burkina Faso	114	4.09	4.83	2.86	3.33	5.00	4.41
Niger	115	4.02	7.08	1.14	2.78	4.38	4.71
Authoritarian regimes							
Morocco	116	4.00	3.50	4.29	2.78	5.00	4.41
Algeria	117	3.83	3.00	2.21	3.89	5.63	4.41
Haiti	118	3.82	4.75	2.21	2.22	3.13	6.76
Libya	119	3.80	2.25	2.50	3.33	5.63	5.29
Kuwait	120	3.78	3.17	3.93	3.89	4.38	3.53
Jordan	=121	3.76	3.17	3.93	4.44	3.75	3.53
Gabon	=121	3.76	3.00	2.21	4.44	5.00	4.12
Nigeria	=121	3.76	5.67	2.86	3.33	3.13	3.82
Ethiopia	124	3.72	0.00	3.57	5.56	5.63	3.82
Belarus	125	3.69	1.75	3.93	3.89	6.25	2.65
Côte d'Ivoire	126	3.53	0.00	3.21	5.00	5.63	3.82
Cuba	=127	3.52	1.75	4.64	3.89	4.38	2.94
Comoros	=127	3.52	3.92	2.21	3.89	3.75	3.82
Togo	129	3.45	4.00	0.79	3.33	5.00	4.12
Vietnam	=130	3.41	0.00	3.93	3.89	6.88	2.35
Cameroon	=130	3.41	0.75	3.57	3.89	5.00	3.82
Russia	132	3.39	3.08	2.86	5.00	2.50	3.53
Angola	133	3.35	0.92	3.21	5.00	4.38	3.24
Burundi	134	3.33	2.58	2.21	3.89	5.00	2.94

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Rwanda	135	3.25	0.83	5.00	2.22	4.38	3.82
Qatar	136	3.18	0.00	3.93	2.22	5.63	4.12
Kazakhstan	137	3.17	0.50	2.14	4.44	4.38	4.41
Egypt	138	3.16	2.17	2.86	5.00	3.13	2.65
Oman	139	3.15	0.00	3.93	3.33	4.38	4.12
Swaziland	140	3.09	0.92	2.86	2.22	5.63	3.82
Myanmar	=141	3.05	1.92	2.86	2.78	5.63	2.06
Gambia	=141	3.05	1.75	3.93	2.22	5.00	2.35
Guinea	143	3.01	3.50	0.43	4.44	3.75	2.94
China	144	3.00	0.00	4.64	3.89	5.00	1.47
Djibouti	145	2.99	0.83	2.50	3.33	5.63	2.65
Congo (Brazzaville)	146	2.89	1.25	2.86	3.33	3.75	3.24
Bahrain	147	2.87	1.25	3.57	2.78	4.38	2.35
Azerbaijan	148	2.83	0.50	2.14	3.33	3.75	4.41
Yemen	149	2.79	1.33	1.43	5.00	5.00	1.18
Zimbabwe	150	2.78	0.50	1.29	3.89	5.00	3.24
Afghanistan	151	2.77	2.50	1.14	3.89	2.50	3.82
United Arab Emirates	152	2.64	0.00	3.57	1.67	5.00	2.94
Sudan	153	2.54	0.00	1.79	4.44	5.00	1.47
Uzbekistan	154	2.45	0.08	2.57	2.78	6.25	0.59
Eritrea	155	2.44	0.00	2.50	1.67	6.88	1.18
Tajikistan	156	2.37	1.83	0.07	2.22	6.25	1.47
Laos	157	2.21	0.00	3.21	1.67	5.00	1.18
Iran	158	1.98	0.00	2.86	2.78	2.50	1.76
Guinea-Bissau	159	1.93	1.67	0.00	2.78	3.13	2.06
Turkmenistan	160	1.83	0.00	0.79	2.78	5.00	0.59
Saudi Arabia	161	1.82	0.00	2.86	1.67	3.13	1.47
DCR	162	1.75	0.92	0.71	2.22	3.13	1.76
Syria	163	1.74	0.00	0.36	3.33	5.00	0.00
Equatorial Guinea	164	1.66	0.00	0.79	1.67	4.38	1.47
Chad	165	1.50	0.00	0.00	1.11	3.75	2.65
CAR	166	1.49	0.92	0.00	1.67	2.50	2.35
North Korea	167	1.08	0.00	2.50	1.67	1.25	0.00

Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit.

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Democracy and economic crisis

Although economic crises can serve to undermine authoritarianism, as appeared to be the case in the Arab Spring events of 2010–11, there are also a number of ways in which democracy can be adversely affected by economic and financial crisis. Since the onset of the global economic and financial crisis in 2008, many countries, including in Europe, have seen a weakening of governance, political participation and media freedoms, and a deterioration of attitudes associated with, or conducive to, democracy.

Nations with a weak democratic tradition are, by default, vulnerable to setbacks. Many non-consolidated democracies are fragile and socio-economic stress has led to backsliding on democracy in many countries. The underlying shallowness of democratic cultures—as revealed by disturbingly low scores for many countries in our index for *political participation* and *political culture*—has come to the fore.

The impact of the economic and financial crisis on political trends has been most marked in Europe, both eastern and western. Extremist political forces in Europe have not profited from the economic crisis as much as might have been feared, but support for non-mainstream parties has nevertheless been on the rise, motivated by a powerful, albeit inchoate, rejection of the status quo by many voters, rather than by a clear idea of a desired political outcome.

Economic crises can threaten democracy through increased social unrest. So far, social unrest related to the financial and economic crisis has affected a limited number of countries, but empirical historical evidence suggests that social unrest usually occurs when the worst of the economic crisis appears to be over. This has been seen to varying extents in Spain and Ireland, where anti-mainstream sentiment hardened sharply in 2014 after the countries had exited their international bail-out agreements and returned to growth.

Opinion polls show that confidence in public institutions in western Europe—already low before 2008 in many countries—has declined further since the crisis. Less than one-fifth of west Europeans trust political parties and only about one-third trust their governments and parliaments. Levels of public trust are exceptionally low in eastern Europe. Less than 10% of people in this sub-region trust political parties and less than one-fifth trust their governments and their parliaments.

Erosion of democracy in Europe

Global backsliding in democracy had been evident for some time before strengthening in the wake of the 2008–09 global economic crisis. Between 2006 and 2008, democracy stagnated; between 2008 and 2010, it regressed. In 2011 seven countries in western Europe suffered a decline in their democracy scores, largely due to the erosion of sovereignty and democratic accountability associated with the effects of and responses to the euro zone crisis (five of the countries that experienced a decline in their scores are members of the euro zone: Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain and Ireland). Most dramatically, in two countries (Greece and Italy) democratically elected leaders were replaced

1	ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΑΛΟΣ	
2	ΚΑΤΣΑ	
3	ΜΑΤΣΩ	
4	ΣΥΡΙΖΑ	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	

Democracy Index 2014

Democracy and its discontents

by technocrats. In 2012 no countries in western Europe registered a decline, but, a year later, seven countries again fell back as harsh austerity and a new recession tested the resilience of Europe's political institutions. Western Europe's overall score did not change in 2014: five countries experienced a deterioration in their score, but nine improved, including those that exited their bail-out programmes (Cyprus, Ireland, Portugal and Spain). Despite the stabilisation in the region's overall score, however, popular discontent expressed itself in rising support at the polls for populist and protest parties across the region.

Table 3
Democracy Index 2006-14

	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010	2008	2006
US	8.11	8.11	8.11	8.11	8.18	8.22	8.22
Canada	9.08	9.08	9.08	9.08	9.08	9.07	9.07
average	8.59	8.59	8.59	8.59	8.63	8.64	8.64
Austria	8.54	8.48	8.62	8.49	8.49	8.49	8.69
Belgium	7.93	8.05	8.05	8.05	8.05	8.16	8.15
Cyprus	7.40	7.29	7.29	7.29	7.29	7.7	7.6
Denmark	9.11	9.38	9.52	9.52	9.52	9.52	9.52
Finland	9.03	9.03	9.06	9.06	9.19	9.25	9.25
France	8.04	7.92	7.88	7.77	7.77	8.07	8.07
Germany	8.64	8.31	8.34	8.34	8.38	8.82	8.82
Greece	7.45	7.65	7.65	7.65	7.92	8.13	8.13
Iceland	9.58	9.65	9.65	9.65	9.65	9.65	9.71
Ireland	8.72	8.68	8.56	8.56	8.79	9.01	9.01
Italy	7.85	7.85	7.74	7.74	7.83	7.98	7.73
Luxembourg	8.88	8.88	8.88	8.88	8.88	9.1	9.1
Malta	8.39	8.28	8.28	8.28	8.28	8.39	8.39
Netherlands	8.92	8.84	8.99	8.99	8.99	9.53	9.66
Norway	9.93	9.93	9.93	9.8	9.8	9.68	9.55
Portugal	7.79	7.65	7.92	7.81	8.02	8.05	8.16
Spain	8.05	8.02	8.02	8.02	8.16	8.45	8.34
Sweden	9.73	9.73	9.73	9.5	9.5	9.88	9.88
Switzerland	9.09	9.09	9.09	9.09	9.09	9.15	9.02
Turkey	5.12	5.63	5.76	5.73	5.73	5.69	5.70
UK	8.31	8.31	8.21	8.16	8.16	8.15	8.08
average	8.41	8.41	8.44	8.40	8.45	8.61	8.60

1	PARADOPOLIS	
2	GARCIA	
3	MARTIN	
4	SMITH	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	

Democracy Index 2014

Democracy and its discontents

Table 3
Democracy Index 2006-14

	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010	2008	2006
Albania	5.67	5.67	5.67	5.81	5.86	5.91	5.91
Armenia	4.13	4.02	4.09	4.09	4.09	4.09	4.15
Azerbaijan	2.83	3.06	3.15	3.15	3.15	3.19	3.31
Belarus	3.69	3.04	3.04	3.16	3.34	3.34	3.34
Bosnia and Herzegovina	4.78	5.02	5.11	5.24	5.32	5.7	5.78
Bulgaria	6.73	6.83	6.72	6.78	6.84	7.02	7.1
Croatia	6.93	6.93	6.93	6.73	6.81	7.04	7.04
Czech Rep	7.94	8.06	8.19	8.19	8.19	8.19	8.17
Estonia	7.74	7.61	7.61	7.61	7.68	7.68	7.74
Georgia	5.82	5.95	5.53	4.74	4.59	4.62	4.9
Hungary	6.90	6.96	6.96	7.04	7.21	7.44	7.53
Kazakhstan	3.17	3.06	2.95	3.24	3.3	3.45	3.62
Kyrgyz	5.24	4.69	4.69	4.34	4.31	4.05	4.08
Latvia	7.48	7.05	7.05	7.05	7.05	7.23	7.37
Lithuania	7.54	7.54	7.24	7.24	7.24	7.36	7.43
Macedonia	6.25	6.16	6.16	6.16	6.16	6.21	6.33
Moldova	6.32	6.32	6.32	6.32	6.33	6.5	6.5
Montenegro	5.94	5.94	6.05	6.15	6.27	6.43	6.57
Poland	7.47	7.12	7.12	7.12	7.05	7.3	7.3
Romania	6.68	6.54	6.54	6.54	6.6	7.06	7.06
Russia	3.39	3.59	3.74	3.92	4.26	4.48	5.02
Serbia	6.71	6.67	6.33	6.33	6.33	6.49	6.62
Slovakia	7.35	7.35	7.35	7.35	7.35	7.33	7.4
Slovenia	7.57	7.88	7.88	7.76	7.69	7.96	7.96
Tajikistan	2.37	2.51	2.51	2.51	2.51	2.45	2.45
Turkmenistan	1.83	1.72	1.72	1.72	1.72	1.72	1.83
Ukraine	5.42	5.84	5.91	5.94	6.3	6.94	6.94
Uzbekistan	2.45	1.72	1.72	1.74	1.74	1.74	1.85
average	5.58	5.53	5.51	5.5	5.55	5.67	5.76
Argentina	6.84	6.84	6.84	6.84	6.84	6.63	6.63
Bolivia	5.79	5.79	5.84	5.84	5.92	6.15	5.98
Brazil	7.38	7.12	7.12	7.12	7.12	7.38	7.38
Chile	7.80	7.80	7.54	7.54	7.67	7.89	7.89
Colombia	6.55	6.55	6.63	6.63	6.55	6.54	6.4

1	PARADOPOULOS	
2	GARCIA	
3	MARTIN	
4	SMITH	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	

Democracy Index 2014

Democracy and its discontents

Table 3
Democracy Index 2006-14

	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010	2008	2006
Costa Rica	8.03	8.03	8.1	8.1	8.04	8.04	8.04
Cuba	3.52	3.52	3.52	3.52	3.52	3.52	3.52
Dom Rep	6.67	6.74	6.49	6.2	6.2	6.2	6.13
Ecuador	5.87	5.87	5.78	5.72	5.77	5.64	5.64
El Salvador	6.53	6.53	6.47	6.47	6.47	6.4	6.22
Guatemala	5.81	5.81	5.88	5.88	6.05	6.07	6.07
Guyana	5.91	6.05	6.05	6.05	6.05	6.12	6.15
Haiti	3.82	3.94	3.96	4	4	4.19	4.19
Honduras	5.84	5.84	5.84	5.84	5.76	6.18	6.25
Jamaica	7.39	7.39	7.39	7.13	7.21	7.21	7.34
Mexico	6.68	6.91	6.9	6.93	6.93	6.78	6.67
Nicaragua	5.32	5.46	5.56	5.56	5.73	6.07	5.68
Panama	7.08	7.08	7.08	7.08	7.15	7.35	7.35
Paraguay	6.26	6.26	6.26	6.4	6.4	6.4	6.16
Peru	6.54	6.54	6.47	6.59	6.4	6.31	6.11
Suriname	6.77	6.77	6.65	6.65	6.65	6.58	6.52
Trinidad and Tobago	6.99	6.99	6.99	7.16	7.16	7.21	7.18
Uruguay	8.17	8.17	8.17	8.17	8.1	8.08	7.96
Venezuela	5.07	5.07	5.15	5.08	5.18	5.34	5.42
average	6.36	6.38	6.36	6.35	6.37	6.43	6.37
Afghanistan	2.77	2.48	2.48	2.48	2.48	3.02	3.06
Australia	9.01	9.13	9.22	9.22	9.22	9.09	9.09
Bangladesh	5.78	5.86	5.86	5.86	5.87	5.52	6.11
Bhutan	4.87	4.82	4.65	4.57	4.68	4.3	2.62
Cambodia	4.78	4.60	4.96	4.87	4.87	4.87	4.77
China	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.14	3.14	3.04	2.97
Fiji	5.61	3.61	3.67	3.67	3.62	5.11	5.66
Hong Kong	6.46	6.42	6.42	5.92	5.92	5.85	6.03
India	7.92	7.69	7.52	7.3	7.28	7.8	7.68
Indonesia	6.95	6.82	6.76	6.53	6.53	6.34	6.41
Japan	8.08	8.08	8.08	8.08	8.08	8.25	8.15
Laos	2.21	2.21	2.32	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1
Malaysia	6.49	6.49	6.41	6.19	6.19	6.36	5.98
Mongolia	6.62	6.51	6.35	6.23	6.36	6.6	6.6

1	PARADOPOLIS	
2	GARCIA	
3	MARTIN	
4	SMITH	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	

Democracy Index 2014

Democracy and its discontents

Table 3

Democracy Index 2006-14

	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010	2008	2006
Myanmar	3.05	2.76	2.35	1.77	1.77	1.77	1.77
Nepal	4.77	4.77	4.16	4.24	4.24	4.05	3.42
New Zealand	9.26	9.26	9.26	9.26	9.26	9.19	9.01
North Korea	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	1.08	0.86	1.03
Pakistan	4.64	4.64	4.57	4.55	4.55	4.46	3.92
PNG	6.03	6.36	6.32	6.32	6.54	6.54	6.54
Philippines	6.77	6.41	6.30	6.12	6.12	6.12	6.48
Singapore	6.03	5.92	5.88	5.89	5.89	5.89	5.89
South Korea	8.06	8.06	8.13	8.06	8.11	8.01	7.88
Sri Lanka	5.69	5.69	5.75	6.58	6.64	6.61	6.58
Taiwan	7.65	7.57	7.57	7.46	7.52	7.82	7.82
Thailand	5.39	6.25	6.55	6.55	6.55	6.81	5.67
Timor-Leste	7.24	7.24	7.16	7.22	7.22	7.22	6.41
Vietnam	3.41	3.29	2.89	2.96	2.94	2.53	2.75
average	5.70	5.61	5.56	5.51	5.53	5.58	5.44
Algeria	3.83	3.83	3.83	3.44	3.44	3.32	3.17
Bahrain	2.87	2.87	2.53	2.92	3.49	3.38	3.53
Egypt	3.16	3.27	4.56	3.95	3.07	3.89	3.9
Iran	1.98	1.98	1.98	1.98	1.94	2.83	2.93
Iraq	4.23	4.10	4.1	4.03	4	4	4.01
Israel	7.63	7.53	7.53	7.53	7.48	7.48	7.28
Jordan	3.76	3.76	3.76	3.89	3.74	3.93	3.92
Kuwait	3.78	3.78	3.78	3.74	3.88	3.39	3.09
Lebanon	5.12	5.05	5.05	5.32	5.82	5.62	5.82
Libya	3.80	4.82	5.15	3.55	1.94	2	1.84
Morocco	4.00	4.07	4.07	3.83	3.79	3.88	3.9
Oman	3.15	3.26	3.26	3.26	2.86	2.98	2.77
Palestine	4.72	4.80	4.8	4.97	5.44	5.83	6.01
Qatar	3.18	3.18	3.18	3.18	3.09	2.92	2.78
Saudi	1.82	1.82	1.71	1.77	1.84	1.9	1.92
Sudan	2.54	2.54	2.38	2.38	2.42	2.81	2.9
Syria	1.74	1.86	1.63	1.99	2.31	2.18	2.36
Tunisia	6.31	5.76	5.67	5.53	2.79	2.96	3.06
UAE	2.64	2.52	2.58	2.58	2.52	2.6	2.42

1	ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΑΛΟΣ	
2	ΓΑΡΤΣΑ	
3	ΜΑΡΤΩΝ	
4	ΣΩΦΩΝ	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	X

Democracy Index 2014

Democracy and its discontents

Table 3

Democracy Index 2006-14

	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010	2008	2006
Yemen	2.79	2.79	3.12	2.57	2.64	2.95	2.98
average	3.65	3.68	3.73	3.62	3.43	3.54	3.53
Angola	3.35	3.35	3.35	3.32	3.32	3.35	2.41
Benin	5.65	5.87	6	6.06	6.17	6.06	6.16
Botswana	7.87	7.98	7.85	7.63	7.63	7.47	7.6
Burkina Faso	4.09	4.15	3.52	3.59	3.59	3.6	3.72
Burundi	3.33	3.41	3.6	4.01	4.01	4.51	4.51
Cameroon	3.41	3.41	3.44	3.41	3.41	3.46	3.27
Cape Verde	7.81	7.92	7.92	7.92	7.94	7.81	7.43
CAR	1.49	1.49	1.99	1.82	1.82	1.86	1.61
Chad	1.50	1.50	1.62	1.62	1.52	1.52	1.65
Comoros	3.52	3.52	3.52	3.52	3.41	3.58	3.9
Congo (Brazzaville)	2.89	2.89	2.89	2.89	2.89	2.94	3.19
DRC	1.75	1.83	1.92	2.15	2.15	2.28	2.76
Côte d'Ivoire	3.53	3.25	3.25	3.08	3.02	3.27	3.38
Djibouti	2.99	2.96	2.74	2.68	2.2	2.37	2.37
Equatorial Guinea	1.66	1.77	1.83	1.77	1.84	2.19	2.09
Eritrea	2.44	2.40	2.4	2.34	2.31	2.31	2.31
Ethiopia	3.72	3.83	3.72	3.79	3.68	4.52	4.72
Gabon	3.76	3.76	3.56	3.48	3.29	3	2.72
Gambia	3.05	3.31	3.31	3.38	3.38	4.19	4.39
Ghana	6.33	6.33	6.02	6.02	6.02	5.35	5.35
Guinea	3.01	2.84	2.79	2.79	2.79	2.09	2.02
Guinea-Bissau	1.93	1.26	1.43	1.99	1.99	1.99	2
Kenya	5.13	5.13	4.71	4.71	4.71	4.79	5.08
Lesotho	6.66	6.66	6.66	6.33	6.02	6.29	6.48
Liberia	4.95	4.95	4.95	5.07	5.07	5.25	5.22
Madagascar	4.42	4.32	3.93	3.93	3.94	5.57	5.82
Malawi	5.66	6.00	6.08	5.84	5.84	5.13	4.97
Mali	5.79	5.90	5.12	6.36	6.01	5.87	5.99
Mauritania	4.17	4.17	4.17	4.17	3.86	3.91	3.12
Mauritius	8.17	8.17	8.17	8.04	8.04	8.04	8.04
Mozambique	4.66	4.77	4.88	4.9	4.9	5.49	5.28
Namibia	6.24	6.24	6.24	6.24	6.23	6.48	6.54

1	PARADOPOLIS	
2	GARCIA	
3	MARTIN	
4	SMITH	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	

Democracy Index 2014

Democracy and its discontents

Table 3

Democracy Index 2006-14

	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010	2008	2006
Niger	4.02	4.08	4.16	4.16	3.38	3.41	3.54
Nigeria	3.76	3.77	3.77	3.83	3.47	3.53	3.52
Rwanda	3.25	3.38	3.36	3.25	3.25	3.71	3.82
Senegal	6.15	6.15	6.09	5.51	5.27	5.37	5.37
Sierra Leone	4.56	4.64	4.71	4.51	4.51	4.11	3.57
South Africa	7.82	7.90	7.79	7.79	7.79	7.91	7.91
Swaziland	3.09	3.20	3.2	3.26	2.9	3.04	2.93
Tanzania	5.77	5.77	5.88	5.64	5.64	5.28	5.18
Togo	3.45	3.45	3.45	3.45	3.45	2.43	1.75
Uganda	5.22	5.22	5.16	5.13	5.05	5.03	5.14
Zambia	6.39	6.26	6.26	6.19	5.68	5.25	5.25
Zimbabwe	2.78	2.67	2.67	2.68	2.64	2.53	2.62
average	4.34	4.36	4.32	4.32	4.23	4.28	4.24
World average	5.55	5.53	5.52	5.49	5.46	5.55	5.62

Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit.

Decline in media freedoms

A noticeable decline in media freedoms, affecting all regions to some extent, has accelerated since 2008. This has affected mainly electronic media, which are often under state control or heavy state influence—although repression and infringements of freedom of expression have also extended to the print media and, most recently, the Internet.

The reasons for this decline are complex and varied. Underlying negative trends were exacerbated by the 2008–09 global economic crisis. Many governments have felt increasingly vulnerable and threatened and have reacted by intensifying their efforts to control the media and impede free expression. Increasing unemployment and job insecurity have fostered a climate of fear and self-censorship among journalists in many countries. The concentration of media ownership has tended to increase, which has had a negative impact on the diversity of views and freedom of expression. Advanced nations have become more inward-looking and hence less interested and capable of monitoring and pressurising emerging-market governments to ensure freedom of the press. In authoritarian regimes, which have in many cases become stronger and more confident, state control and repression of any independent media is a given and has, if anything, tended to get worse, with an increasing number of attacks on independent journalists.

Future of democracy: confidence is flagging

During the 1970s and 1980s, more than 30 countries shifted from authoritarian to democratic political systems. In recent years, the post-1970s wave of democratisation has slowed or been

1	PAPADOPOULOS	
2	GARCIA	
3	MARTIN	
4	SMITH	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	

Democracy Index 2014

Democracy and its discontents

reversed. In some respects, the trend was made worse by the post-2008 economic crisis. There has been a decline in some aspects of governance, political participation and media freedoms, and a clear deterioration in attitudes associated with, or that are conducive to, democracy in many countries.

We expect that political upheavals will affect other authoritarian regimes in future. These may not all be successful and not all will necessarily take the form of mass popular uprisings. The outlook for democratic transition is, however, uncertain. As in recent years, there are historical examples of major reversals of democratisation. For example, a democratisation wave after the second world war ended with more than 20 countries sliding back to authoritarianism. A rollback on that scale has not occurred recently, but developments in the wake of the Arab Spring have provided a brutal reminder that there can be as strong a push against democracy as for it.

Democracy retains a strong universal appeal. Despite setbacks and overall stagnation, surveys show that most people in most places still want it. Trends such as globalisation, increasing education and expanding middle classes tend to favour the organic development of democracy. However, after a disastrously unsuccessful attempt by the US to “export” democracy to the Middle East in the first decade of this century, coupled with a palpable loss of self-confidence in the West following the global economic crisis, democracy’s proponents have become increasingly circumspect about the prospects of a further wave of democratisation.

Moreover, as the recent experience in eastern Europe illustrates well, democratisation in hitherto authoritarian states does not, of course, mean a transition to fully fledged, consolidated democracies. Democracy means more than holding elections; it requires the development of a range of supportive institutions and attitudes. Such a transformation takes a very long time.

Regional patterns

In 2014 three regions saw their average scores in the Democracy Index decline: Latin America, the Middle East and North Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa. Two regions stood still—North America and western Europe—while the remaining two regions—Asia and eastern Europe—registered a very modest improvement. Overall, the picture from 2014 is one of global democracy in difficulty and under pressure. There were few bright spots, most poignant among them Tunisia, whose achievement in moving from the category of a “hybrid regime” to a “flawed democracy” stands out in a region where others descended into civil war (Libya) and regressed from being “hybrid regimes” to “authoritarian” states (Libya and Morocco). Meanwhile, the carnival of reaction continued in Egypt, where the military regime has distinguished itself by presiding over the most comprehensive rollback of democratic rights and freedoms for decades. Egypt’s score fell to 3.16 from 3.27 in 2013, following a slump from 4.56 in 2012.

On a number of measures, Asia was the best-performing region in 2014. It recorded the largest annual improvement in its average score (from 5.61 to 5.70), the greatest number of countries improving their score (13) and the smallest number of countries registering a decline in their score (4). The reversal in Thailand, which moved from a “flawed democracy” to a “hybrid regime” as a

1	ΠΑΡΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ	
2	ΓΑΡΤΣΑ	
3	ΜΑΥΤΩΝ	
4	ΣΚΩΤΣ	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	

Democracy Index 2014

Democracy and its discontents

result of a sharp deterioration in its score, was a setback for democracy, however. Eastern Europe was the only other region to improve its annual score, albeit very modestly (from 5.53 to 5.58), with 12 countries in the region registering an improvement in their scores. Unlike Asia, however, eastern Europe no longer boasts a single “full democracy”, after the Czech Republic tipped into the “flawed democracy” category.

Table 4
Democracy across the regions

	No. of countries	Democracy index average	Full democracies	Flawed democracies	Hybrid regimes	Authoritarian regimes
North America						
2014	2	8.59	2	0	0	0
2013	2	8.59	2	0	0	0
Western Europe						
2014	21	8.41	15	5	1	0
2013	21	8.41	15	5	1	0
Eastern Europe						
2014	28	5.58	0	14	7	7
2013	28	5.53	1	14	6	7
Latin America & the Caribbean						
2014	24	6.36	2	13	7	2
2013	24	6.38	2	14	6	2
Asia & Australasia						
2014	28	5.70	4	10	8	6
2013	28	5.61	4	10	7	7
Middle East & North Africa						
2014	20	3.65	0	2	3	15
2013	20	3.68	0	1	6	13
Sub-Saharan Africa						
2014	44	4.34	1	8	13	22
2013	44	4.36	1	10	10	23
Total						
2014	167	5.55	24	52	39	52
2013	167	5.53	25	54	36	52

Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit.

The worst-performing region in terms of the decline in its average score was the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), followed by Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and Latin America. The decline in the

1	PAPADOPOULOS	
2	GARCIA	
3	MARTIN	
4	SMITH	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	X

Democracy Index 2014

Democracy and its discontents

MENA score to 3.65 in 2014, from 3.68 in 2013, was small, but followed a more marked decline in the previous year. After Latin America, where only one country (Brazil) recorded an improvement in 2014, MENA was the region with the fewest country-score improvements (5). Tunisia improved its score from 5.76 in 2013 to 6.31 and moved into the “flawed democracy” from the “hybrid regime” category. Six MENA countries experienced a deterioration in their scores in 2014, with Libya registering the biggest decline, from 4.82 to 3.80, as it sank into chaos and civil strife. SSA did not have a good year, with 18 countries registering a deterioration in their scores and only eight recording an improvement.

A tale of two regions

Our 2014 Democracy Index provides a snapshot of the state of democracy globally in 2014. To get a sense of the trajectory of democracy around the world, however, it is worth looking at the direction of change in the period since 2006. This time period is equivalent to only two electoral cycles, but it nevertheless gives some perspective from which to analyse global and regional trends. Even within this short historical timeframe, we can make inter-regional comparisons and ask some questions about democratisation trends in different regions.

Table 5

Democracy Index 2006–14 by region

	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010	2008	2006
Asia & Australasia	5.70	5.61	5.56	5.51	5.53	5.58	5.44
Eastern Europe	5.58	5.53	5.51	5.5	5.55	5.67	5.76
Latin America	6.36	6.38	6.36	6.35	6.37	6.43	6.37
Middle East & North Africa	3.65	3.68	3.73	3.62	3.43	3.54	3.53
North America	8.59	8.59	8.59	8.59	8.63	8.64	8.64
Western Europe	8.41	8.41	8.44	8.40	8.45	8.61	8.60
Sub-Saharan Africa	4.34	4.36	4.32	4.32	4.23	4.28	4.24
World average	5.55	5.53	5.52	5.49	5.46	5.55	5.62

Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit.

Two of the world’s developing regions, Asia and eastern Europe have seen their democratic trajectories diverge over the past decade. In 2006, eastern Europe, had an average regional score of 5.76 in our Democracy Index, comfortably outperforming Asia, on 5.44. By the end of 2014, however eastern Europe’s score had slumped to 5.58 and Asia had leapfrogged ahead, with a score of 5.70. Asia has been the most successful democratising region during the lifetime of our Democracy Index, while eastern Europe’s performance has proved disappointing.

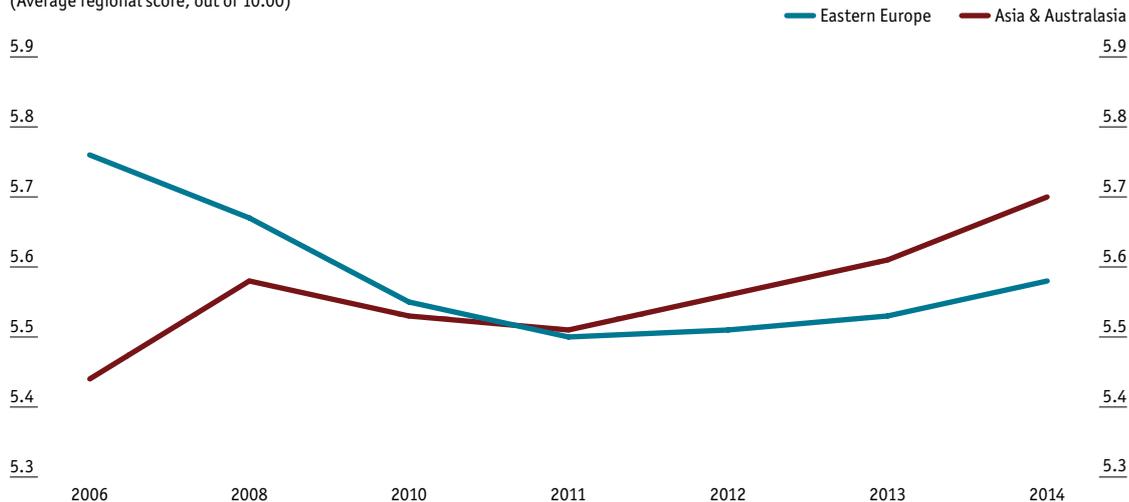
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Democracy Index 2014

Democracy and its discontents

A tale of two regions, 2006-14

(Average regional score, out of 10.00)



Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit.

Latin America's lack of progress between 2006 and 2014 is striking. The average regional score has fallen from the high-water mark of 6.43 in 2008 to 6.36 in 2014, below its starting score of 6.37 in 2006. The region comprises 24 countries, of which two are "full democracies" and 13 are "flawed democracies". The region's disappointing performance over the past decade or so illustrates the difficulties of extending and deepening the process of democratisation and of establishing full democracies. Popular frustration with the lack of political and institutional development has boiled over on several occasions in the region in recent years.

Both MENA and SSA increased their average regional scores in 2006–14, albeit from very low bases, but both fell back year on year in 2014. Given their low starting points, it might have been expected that they would have made faster progress than has been the case.

The differential progress of the seven regions assessed in our Democracy Index raises questions about the importance in shaping democratic development of historical and cultural legacies, state capacity, starting position, development of social classes and economic growth. Below, we look at recent developments, region by region.

Asia and Australasia

Over the years since The Economist Intelligence Unit began producing the Democracy Index in 2006, Asia is the region that has made the most headway in advancing democracy. It still encompasses the widest variation as well—from New Zealand (ranked fourth in 2014, up one spot from 2013), through to North Korea (still last, at 167th place in this latest report). The best- and worst-performing nations have generally put in a steady performance over the period between 2006 and 2014. China's abysmal score, for example, has barely budged over the years, and, although Australia dropped three places this year, from 6th to 9th, that was the result of a very marginal change in its score. Instead,

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Democracy Index 2014

Democracy and its discontents

Asia's overall performance has been lifted by a gradual improvement in levels of democracy in many of the region's middle-ranking countries.

South-east Asia, in particular, has seen incremental improvements that, collectively, have added up to an impressive advance in democratic development. This pattern continued in 2014. In the Philippines, a "flawed democracy", the popularity of the president, Benigno Aquino, has restored some faith in the democratic process. In Cambodia, a deal between the ruling Cambodian People's Party (CPP) and the opposition Cambodia National Rescue Party (CNRP) will give the latter a greater say in government following its strong electoral showing in 2013, which should improve levels of political accountability. The victory of Joko Widodo in Indonesia's presidential election in July 2014 broke the grip on power of a small elite in that country. Even laggard "authoritarian states", such as Vietnam and Myanmar, have made some headway. Myanmar, while still ranked joint 141st in 2014, may move significantly higher next year, depending on the outcome of the elections planned for 2015.

One notable trend in the past 12 months has been a growing level of popular engagement in politics. Hong Kong is perhaps the most obvious example of a territory where people have become more actively engaged as a result of direct action, with students leading a sit-in movement to campaign for full democracy, rather than the vetted option proffered by the mainland Chinese authorities. However, protests have also become more prominent in countries ranging from supposedly apathetic Singapore through to more active democracies, such as India and Taiwan. In Singapore, this shift has been enough to lift the country from the status of "hybrid regime" to "flawed democracy". Movements championing direct action are a mixed blessing; while they can engage young people and invigorate the political scene by forcing governing elites to pay more attention to popular concerns, they can also descend into unproductive disruption. If they fail, they can also leave disillusionment in their wake, undermining public confidence in democratic institutions.

While the overall story within Asia is one of gradually maturing levels of democracy, in some countries political developments can be more dramatic. Thailand has slumped through the rankings in 2014 as a result of the recent military coup, dropping from 72nd to 93rd place. Bangladesh, which matched Thailand's path from coup to democracy in 2006–08, seems to have avoided that fate this time, but its score still slipped in 2014 after the opposition boycott of the January 2014 election turned parliament into a rubber-stamp body. Nonetheless, most countries seem to aspire to strengthen, rather than weaken, their democratic credentials. Fiji returned to the democratic fold this year, in the wake of elections held in September 2014—the first for eight years. With Thailand and Myanmar set to hold elections in the next two years, the club of democracies in Asia will only continue to grow.

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Democracy Index 2014

Democracy and its discontents

Taking it to the streets: Hong Kong's "umbrella" movement

The streets have been cleared and the famous umbrellas put away in Hong Kong's business district. The pro-democracy sit-ins there, which lasted almost three months before fizzling out, have been branded a failure by some, including relieved mainland-government officials. However, history may deliver a very different verdict.

Among the activists who took to the streets in late September, few had high hopes that they could change the government's position on proposed reforms affecting the 2017 elections for the chief executive, Hong Kong's most powerful political post. China's government may be happy to allow the population to choose the next chief executive—but only from among candidates over whom it has been able to exercise a veto. The protesters' attempt to force the current chief executive, Leung Chun-ying, to resign, was similarly quixotic. To judge the demonstrations a failure because they did not achieve these goals is to use the wrong metric.

Existential threat

The movement has succeeded in demonstrating the limits of the one-country-two-systems formula under a mainland government that views political liberalisation as an existential threat to the ruling Chinese Communist Party. It has forced the central government to increase its interference in Hong Kong affairs, undermining the authority of Mr Leung and his administration. It has tarnished the reputation of the territory's police. All of these developments will help to boost the political opposition. The movement has also provided a warning to Beijing that it cannot rely on Hong Kong's people placidly accepting whatever policies are handed down from the centre.

The activists have, through their willingness to threaten political and economic stability, also forced the rest of the population to choose sides. The importance of this should not be underestimated.

The emergence of democracy in Asia has often been associated with direct action and street protest. Taiwan's democratic development, for example, was catalysed by the Kaohsiung Incident in 1979, when opposition leaders were arrested after a human-rights protest. South Korea's took off after the June Democratic Uprising of 1987.

Besides galvanising their supporters, these demonstrations tend to raise the profile of opposition leaders. Taiwan's president of 2000–08, Chen Shui-bian, rose to prominence as a lawyer defending those arrested in the Kaohsiung incident, while South Korea's 1987 protests were led by two future presidents: Kim Young Sam (1993–98) and Kim Dae-Jung (1998–2003). Many of the leaders of Hong Kong's umbrella movement look a little young to assume power in the near future, but their emergence will certainly shake up a political scene that has lacked new blood in recent years.

The downside to street protests is that they are disruptive and, by themselves, are insufficient to bring about systemic change. For some, they have dubious efficacy or democratic legitimacy. Hong Kong may operate under political constraints, but it is far from the sort of dictatorship that characterised Taiwan in the 1970s or South Korea in the 1980s. The government-backed movement to oppose the sit-ins tellingly called itself the "Silent Majority". This might be going too far: most people would probably prefer full democracy, but it is true that many would not be willing to risk economic instability to pursue it.

Ultimately, much will depend on whether or not the umbrella movement can institutionalise itself, forming a reform agenda and uniting the political opposition behind it. It is a task that many other direct-action groups in Asia have struggled with in recent months—Taiwan's Sunflower movement and the anti-corruption Aam Aadmi party in India both sputtered in 2014, after high-profile starts. The original "Occupy" movements in the West also produced little in the way of change. Hong Kong's protesters look united and well organised at present, but only time will tell if they can stay that way.

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Democracy Index 2014

Democracy and its discontents

Eastern Europe

Eastern Europe has performed poorly in our democracy index in recent years. In 2014 the regional score improved marginally, but, after SSA, where 18 countries saw democracy weaken in 2014, eastern Europe was the region with the largest number of country regressions (10). Russia and Ukraine suffered the biggest reversals, as was to be expected after the ousting, following violent street protests, of the pro-Russian ruler of Ukraine, Viktor Yanukovich, in early 2014, and that country's descent into civil war. Previous strong performers such as Slovenia and the Czech Republic also registered declining scores, as did some Balkan countries (Bosnia and Hercegovina and Bulgaria). The Czech Republic's score fell from 8.06 to 7.94, reflecting the recent track record of short-lived governments and declining popular trust in political parties and institutions, meaning that it fell out of the "full democracy" into the "flawed democracy" category, leaving eastern Europe without a single full democracy.

Authoritarian trends have become entrenched in most members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), but setbacks to democracy have by no means been limited to that sub-region. Democracy has also been eroded across east-central Europe. The success of 11 eastern European countries in achieving EU membership since 2004 has created the impression of a smooth political transition towards the Western model of democracy. However, the underlying fragility of east-central European political systems was evident to many observers, even before the 2008–09 global and financial crisis. The crisis has had a prolonged negative economic impact on eastern Europe, which has put those political systems under further strain.

There are a number of possible reasons for this fragility. Most important is that, although formal democracy is in place in the region, much of the substance of democracy, including a political culture based on trust, is absent. This is manifested in low levels of political participation beyond voting (and even turnout at elections is low in many countries), and very low levels of public confidence in institutions. A key underlying factor is that transition has resulted in a large stratum of discontented voters, who feel that they have lost out. The discrediting, and, in some cases, disintegration, of the post-communist state has led to widespread voter cynicism towards state institutions. The end of ideology has led to a lack of political contestation over economic issues and a devaluing of politics. Finally, the EU-accession process and IMF conditionality gave domestic political elites an excuse to avoid domestic political debate about issues of national importance, which had the effect of undermining domestic politics. The result is a fragmented party-political system, reflecting the shallow roots of many parties, and low voter identification with parties.

The 2008–09 global economic crisis had a disproportionately negative impact on eastern Europe compared with other emerging markets, such as developing Asia and Latin America. It reinforced an existing mood of disappointment with the experience and results of the transition to democracy and market economies. A number of post-crisis surveys and reports point to a further decline in life satisfaction, support for markets and democracy and trust in institutions.

Some negative trends have recently worsened. Hungary is perhaps the prime example among the

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Democracy and its discontents

EU's new member states in the region. Since winning a two-thirds parliamentary majority in the 2010 election, the centre-right Fidesz party has systematically taken over the country's previously independent institutions: the presidency, the state audit office, the media council and even the Magyar Nemzeti Bank (the central bank) are now all run by party placemen. Electoral reforms have undermined the opposition and smaller parties. In April 2014, Fidesz and its subordinate partner, the Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP), won re-election. With 133 of the 199 seats in parliament (divided 117:16), Fidesz and the KDNP have again achieved—by one seat—the two-thirds majority needed to amend the constitution and certain cardinal laws. In July 2014 the prime minister, Viktor Orbán, stated that he aimed to build a state and society that are democratic, but not liberal, and he subsequently announced plans to tax Internet usage and to launch government investigations into internationally funded non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in Hungary. However, popular protests against the planned Internet tax in late October 2014 led to a hasty U-turn and dented the government's image of impregnability; Fidesz's popular support may not be as overwhelming as is suggested by the scale of its electoral victories. The anti-Internet tax demonstrations might become a basis for broader popular opposition, from a liberal perspective, than the government has faced so far. However, at party-political level, the left-liberal opposition is in disarray. Fidesz's opinion-poll ratings fell sharply, following the Internet-tax demonstrations, and smaller anti-government protests have continued. However, Fidesz remains easily the leading party, and, as matters stand, it appears to be in a strong position to retain office in 2018.

Although the formal trappings of democracy remain in place, today's Russia is a "managed" (or "stage-managed") democracy (see box below). The Duma is now little more than a rubber-stamp parliament; regional governors are appointed directly; the main media are state-controlled; civil-society organisations have come under pressure; and the state has increased its hold over the economy. The authorities have brought criminal charges against many protesters and opposition leaders and attacked NGOs as "foreign agents".

There are a number of similarities between the authoritarian regimes in the CIS and in MENA. There is rampant corruption, small elites control the bulk of their nations' assets, institutions have been corroded by the effects of minerals-based development (the Belarusian regime depends on Russian subsidies), and governance and social provision are poor. The Arab world has a young and restless population; in the CIS, this applies to some Central Asian countries, especially Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

However, there are also differences. Growth in real GDP per head in the CIS has been far faster over the past decade than in MENA. Although unemployment tends to be under-reported in much of the CIS, rates are generally lower than in the MENA countries suffering from unrest. In most CIS states, the incidence of absolute poverty and the degree of income disparities also tend to be lower.

Many CIS countries are poor, and the median income per head in the CIS is much lower than the median income per head in MENA. However, some energy-rich CIS states have been able to buy off the population and pre-empt potential unrest by using some of their energy revenue to boost state salaries and benefits.

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Democracy Index 2014

Democracy and its discontents

The greatest risk to existing rulers and elite structures may be the issue of succession. Both the Kazakh president, Nursultan Nazarbayev, and the Uzbek president, Islam Karimov, are more than 70 years old and have been in power for more than two decades. No clear successors have been lined up, which increases the potential for intra-elite in-fighting, and public unrest when the incumbent dies or becomes incapacitated.

Russia's Putocracy

Russia's annexation of Crimea and its confrontation with the West over Ukraine have driven an upsurge in nationalist sentiment at home, stoked by an aggressive propaganda campaign across the mass media, which is closely controlled by the authorities. In the short term, this seems to have consolidated support for the leadership, and for the president, Vladimir Putin, in particular (although the reliability of polling data is open to question).

Mr Putin's 2011 decision to return to the presidency (a post that he occupied in 2000–08) marked a key moment in Russia's long-running slide towards outright authoritarianism and made a mockery of the electoral process. The decision was one of the factors that contributed to a wave of protests in late 2011.

The protest movement in Russia, which gathered momentum after the flawed parliamentary poll in December 2011, dissipated in early 2012. However, the bounce in the popularity of Mr Putin and the government following the annexation of Crimea is unlikely to be sustained at the current level if, as seems likely, the Russian economy contracts in 2015. The devaluation of the rouble has weakened household spending power, and incomes will fall in real terms during 2015. Federal and regional spending will also be put under pressure, and further limited protests at cuts in social spending are possible. This raises the risk that the government will continue to pursue policies that provoke international confrontation as a means of domestic legitimisation.

Authoritarian trends

Mr Putin's third presidential term has brought

a shift towards conservative values, along with more overt anti-Westernism and an authoritarian domestic agenda. The stand-off with the West has consolidated pre-existing authoritarian trends in Russia, giving increased licence to hardliners to attack influential liberals and to crack down on independent media and NGOs on the pretext of limiting foreign interference. Recent legislation requires information technology (IT) companies to hold Russian user data in servers based in the country, giving law enforcement greater powers of surveillance over citizens' communications. The authorities have further tightened their control of the media, restructuring state-owned outlets, replacing the management of popular online-news services, and limiting foreign ownership. Alexei Navalny, Russia's most prominent opposition politician, was given a five-year suspended prison sentence for alleged embezzlement in 2013 and placed under house arrest in February 2014. He was handed a second suspended sentence in a separate fraud case in the final days of 2014, and his brother, Oleg, was jailed for three and a half years.

Despite the weaker economic outlook, the potential for major political change appears low. Social controls have been tightened since 2012 and the domestic opposition marginalised. Unemployment will rise next year, but is likely to remain under 10%, limiting the risk of major protests in the medium-sized industrial towns that now constitute the backbone of the government's support. A split within the elite seems unlikely at present, although recession could intensify competition for resources between rival factions. Nevertheless, Mr Putin's position as the ultimate arbiter between elite factions within the regime does not currently seem to be at risk. Indeed, the

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dependence of large parts of the business elite on state support has increased as a result of the economic crisis, particularly as international sanctions restrict access to external financing and investment.

Mr Putin's decision to return to the presidency underlined the transformation of the political system into a highly personalised regime. Mr Putin is legally eligible for two six-year terms, possibly ruling until 2024—almost a quarter of a century after he first

became president, in 2000—at which point he will be 71 years old. In the longer term, institutional weakness, and the personalised and opaque system of governance that has been built around Mr Putin, is likely to lead to instability. The regime faces a long-term legitimacy crisis, and there is no clear or established succession strategy to manage Mr Putin's eventual departure from power. As in 2010–11, presidential and parliamentary elections could, in future, act as focal points for popular protest.

Latin America

For Latin America, the 2014 Democracy Index paints a picture of a region unable to make further progress on democratisation after the substantial gains made in establishing electoral democracy over the past three decades. The region has shaken off the dictatorships that abounded in the 1970s and 1980s, and free and fair elections are now well-established in most countries in Latin America and civil liberties are respected. In both of these areas, Latin America scores well above its peers in the MENA, SSA, Asia and Eastern Europe.

Nevertheless, Latin America's score in the Democracy Index has remained largely unchanged in every year since the Index was first established, in 2006, and only two countries in the region, Uruguay and Costa Rica, have made the leap into the “full democracy” category. What's more, in 2014, only one country (Brazil) improved its score, and five countries in the region saw their scores or rankings fall back. All this signals deep-rooted problems with political culture, political participation and the functioning of government, which are not being addressed.

The lack of progress in the Democracy Index has come despite some big economic improvements in the region over the past decade. Fairly solid GDP growth rates, declining unemployment rates, rising minimum wages, and targeted social policies for the most vulnerable segments of the population have helped to reduce income inequality and lift millions of people out of poverty. If anything, however, the rise of the middle class in Latin America over the past decade has shone a spotlight on the continued failings of governments in the region to provide basic services, failings associated with persistent institutional weaknesses and endemic corruption.

Weak governance has been exacerbated by an upsurge in crime and violence linked with drug-trafficking that has plagued the region (especially Central America and the Caribbean) in recent years. All this, coupled with still-high poverty rates and income and regional disparities—income inequality remains higher in Latin America than anywhere else in the world—is increasingly complicating governability and fuelling public frustration.

This frustration was evident in huge public protests in Brazil in mid-2013, driven by the state's failure to provide adequate basic services, and more recent protests in Mexico against violence and corruption in 2014. But engagement with politics and with political organisations is otherwise

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low, amid weak confidence in government and the perception that public institutions are corrupt and unaccountable. This is a reflection, at least in part, of institutional weaknesses that will take many years to address, and which, in the meantime, continue to work against the strengthening of democratic fundamentals in Latin America.

Mexico: an excess of corruption endangers democracy

Mexico is facing the most severe political crisis in its modern history, and one which has important implications for democracy in the longer run. The crisis was triggered by the kidnapping and presumed murder of 43 students from the Ayotzinapa teachers' training school by the municipal police of Iguala, Guerrero, which subsequently handed them over to a local drug cartel on September 26th 2014.

The event generated a wave of public outrage across the country, fuelled further by the slow response of the government, led by the president, Enrique Peña Nieto of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), and its failure to provide an explanation of what became of the students (the bodies of all but one have yet to be found). The crisis intensified in November 2014, following revelations that the president's wife had received a US\$7m home (the so-called white house) from one of Mexico's media giants, a house that was registered under the name of a construction firm known for its close links to Mr Peña Nieto, even before he reached the presidency. The Ayotzinapa crisis, coupled with the white-house scandal, led to a series of nationwide marches and protests in late November and early-December that have been among the most intense ever witnessed in Mexico.

The events have highlighted the degree to which corruption is entrenched within the political establishment in Mexico. Tellingly, few political figures have ever been convicted of corruption. Conflicts of interests are also seldom disclosed, and there is a notable absence of legal mechanisms to prevent such conflicts from unduly influencing political decision-making. There are huge questions over the independence and effectiveness of the

judiciary, and even relatively well-respected institutions, such as the electoral institute, have come under fire in recent years (the 2012 elections were legally challenged by the opposition over claims of illegal financing and vote-buying on a mass scale by the PRI). Perhaps most worrying is that the few anti-corruption mechanisms that exist are mostly limited to the federal level: under Mexico's federalist constitution, states and municipalities enjoy legal sovereignty and it is at these levels that corruption is rampant. Consequently, the encroachment of drug cartels onto the political sphere is most apparent there, as the case of Iguala has tragically highlighted.

The Peña Nieto government has committed to negotiate a cross-party pact against corruption (after the fashion of the Pacto por Mexico, under whose auspices most of its structural-reform agenda was passed in 2013). The government has also adopted a ten-point plan to improve security in the country. But none of these appears to be a credible strategy to address Mexico's serious institutional flaws and restore the rule of law in a large part of its territory. The opposition does not appear sufficiently organised or willing to take the government to task in setting up an effective anti-corruption system, either. This suggests that social tensions will remain high and, even though unrest has died down from its early December peaks, it could easily re-ignite in the event of a further scandal or tragedy during the next few years.

In the meantime, a combination of corruption across all levels of government, a lack of accountability among top officials, and dubious links between public and private interests (to which must be added the noxious influence of the drug cartels) has dragged down Mexico's Democracy Index score and ranking for 2014. There are few signs that it will recover any time soon.

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The Middle East and North Africa

The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region has once again seen its overall score deteriorate, as the political climate gradually regresses to its pre-2011 authoritarian status quo. With 15 of the 20 countries in the region categorised as authoritarian, and none rated as a full democracy, it is little surprise that we continue to score it as the most repressive region in the world. Several countries have long had autocratic polities, such as Saudi Arabia, Sudan and the UAE, and, consequently, their scores have remained largely stable, while the scores and rankings of others, including notably Syria and Libya, have worsened markedly in the wake of chronic instability and rising violence. Libya slipped 18 places down the Democracy Index rankings between 2013 and 2014, from 101 to 119, while Syria's already abysmal score fell from 1.86 to 1.4 in 2014, pushing it down to 163rd place out of 167 countries.

Arguably the most dramatic example of the regression to authoritarianism has been in Egypt, which has fallen to 138th in this year's rankings (from 135th in 2013, and 109th in 2012). One of the flag-bearers of the Arab Spring, after the toppling of long-standing president, Hosni Mubarak, in February 2011, the country has since seen its first-ever elected president, Mohammed Morsi, removed by the military in July 2013, thousands of opposition politicians, campaigners and journalists imprisoned, and a former army chief, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, elected as president in a wholly one-sided contest in 2014.

However, not all the momentum is backwards. Tunisia, which arguably provided the spur to the Arab Spring, has been upgraded to a "flawed democracy" (from a "hybrid regime"). In the face of outbursts of violence and domestic tensions, the country has continued to proceed along the path towards democracy, with its latest parliamentary election bringing in a new government and a new president. Indeed, despite all the negative headlines of the past year, it is still worth noting that the region's score remains stronger than it was prior to the onset of the Arab Spring.

The Arab Winter

No region in the world has undergone a more wrenching period of political upheaval in recent years than MENA. The Arab Spring, which began in late 2010 in Tunisia, quickly spread to other countries across the region, culminating in the removal of the leaders of Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen (who had been in power for a combined 128 years). At one stage, it appeared that the region was about to witness a period of political transformation and democratisation akin to the fall of the Iron Curtain in eastern Europe, but such hopes proved ephemeral.

The fallout from the failure of the Arab Spring has been violent and painful, with war in Syria, chaos in Libya, violent unrest in Yemen and Lebanon, and the resumption of sectarian warfare in Iraq. Only in Tunisia has the democratic process made genuine progress, and, even there, the situation remains volatile.

This ebbing of the democratic process has, if anything, been encouraged by the failures of the Muslim Brotherhood, which dominated most of the elections that took place after the onset of the Arab Spring. However, the assumption of power proved a major challenge—most notably in Egypt—with the group undermined by its regular intolerance of dissent, its poor stewardship of the economy, and its

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own internal differences.

The pre-war history of the region—rooted in colonialism, externally imposed boundaries, sectarian tensions and, not to be forgotten, oil—was always going to make the task of forging a new, consensual *modus vivendi* exceptionally challenging. Equally, the stifling and repressive political atmosphere that had pervaded these countries over many decades ensured that political parties were either severely under-developed or, in Libya's case, entirely absent, making the formation of a representative democracy extremely difficult.

With the Brotherhood now facing a rapid reversal of fortune, the region's authoritarians are making a comeback—as is especially evident in Egypt—and the region's brief brush with democracy appears to be a fading memory. Yet, we would contend that such an assessment is excessively pessimistic. The ingredients that contributed to the mass outpouring of public dissent remain as combustible as ever.

These can be broken into three broad areas: political, societal and economic. Politically, the traditional sheikhdoms, absolute monarchies and

military and other autocratic regimes that have dominated the region for decades will appear ever more archaic to the region's young and increasingly globally aware populations. Secondly, improved levels of education in recent decades (for both men and women) have added to the growing clamour among the region's populations to be given a greater voice in their country's governance. In this regard, political Islam will remain a constant threat to secular regimes, although the recent experience of the Muslim Brotherhood may weaken its influence and impact (albeit more extreme and violent strains will retain their appeal for a small minority). Finally, with around 30% of the region's population below the age of 30 and the price of oil declining, governments will struggle to provide sufficient job opportunities for their more educated workforces—a situation exacerbated by the maintenance of nepotistic and corrupt practices upon which the Middle East's authoritarian regimes are built. Another popular reckoning with authoritarianism is probably unavoidable.

North America

The state of democracy in North America has been largely unchanged in recent years. Canada and the US continue to perform reasonably well, but lag behind many Western countries, particularly those of northern Europe. The scores for both countries are unchanged over the past year, at 9.08 and 8.11, respectively, but, while the US stays in 19th place in the rankings, Canada moves up one spot, to seventh, because of a deterioration in the score of Australia, which has slipped from sixth to ninth.

The US electoral structure means that participation is, in effect, restricted to a duopoly of parties, the Democrats and the Republicans. Nevertheless, respect for the constitution and democratic values are deeply entrenched by centuries of democratic practice. For urgent and crucial decisions, majorities can normally be obtained, but solutions for long-term problems, such as comprehensive tax reform, often fall victim to deadlock.

The US scores somewhat poorly on the *functioning of government*. The ideological entrenchment of congressional representatives fosters deadlock. Bitter partisanship has developed, in part because many congressional districts have been redrawn in a way that gives one party a built-in advantage. As a result, congressional representatives fear a challenge in their party primaries, which are controlled by the party base, and are consequently incentivised to move to the right (for Republicans) or to the

1	PAPADOPULOS	
2	GARCIA	
3	MARTIN	
4	SMITH	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	✗

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left (for Democrats). The upshot is a stronger emphasis on ideological purity and less appetite for compromise, especially in the House of Representatives (the lower house), where lawmakers face voters every two years. The effect has been particularly marked for Republicans, where a substantial minority of members affiliated with the anti-government Tea Party regard political compromise with contempt.

Despite the improving economy, popular disaffection with government in the aftermath of the 2008–09 financial and economic crisis is still strong. The influence of the Tea Party has moderated and the Occupy Wall Street protest movement has also faded from prominence. That is not to say that the two groups' common critique—that the government's anti-crisis response protected those who helped to cause the downturn—does not still resonate with the electorate. However, for all the popular disenchantment with the functioning of US democracy, which was exacerbated by the crisis, there is unlikely to be any long-term change in the US's political model. In addition, Congressional leaders can be expected to keep a tighter rein on members from the extremist Tea Party wing in 2015–16. This was seen in the passage of a spending bill in December 2014, averting another government shutdown. There has been a discernible shift in mood: the party establishment is using its newfound clout to silence internal critics and is less inclined to appease the Tea Party.

The US score is also held back by curbs on civil liberties related to the state's anti-terrorism efforts and by moderate political participation. Confidence in politicians, and especially in Congress as an institution, is abjectly low. Popular approval for Congress averaged around 15% in 2014 according to Gallup, only just above the record-low average of 14%, which was set in 2013.

With a long history of democratic government, Canada scores highly in the *electoral process* category and for *functioning of government*, although liberal critics could point to Canada's first-past-the-post electoral system as an impediment to the true reflection of popular opinion in parliament's membership. There is scope for improvement in the scores for *political participation* and, to a lesser extent, *political culture*.

Canada scores extremely well in the sub-category of civil liberties. Personal freedom is largely unconstrained by the state, and civil rights are guarded by an independent judiciary. Domestic print and electronic media are unfettered and competitive, access is unrestricted, and the market is not dominated by large state-owned providers. Freedom of expression and religious and cultural tolerance are ingrained in the Canadian state and are particularly important, given its large French-speaking and native minorities. Tensions over federal-provincial relations have eased following the victory of the federalist Parti Libéral in the election for the Quebec legislature in April 2014. The defeat of the separatist Parti Québécois, formed to promote independence of the largely French-speaking province, has all but eliminated concerns over the unity of Canada (the next provincial election in Quebec is not due until 2018).

The only category in which Canada scores comparatively poorly is *political participation*. This is a problem faced by many developed countries and reflects poor voter turnout, low membership of

1	PAPADOPOULOS	
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political parties and lack of interest in political news. At the most recent general election, in May 2011, voter turnout was 61%, only marginally higher than the record low of 59% in the 2008 general election, and well below the post-war peak of nearly 80% in the 1950s. However, Canada's score in this category is not so bad by international comparison and it ranks ahead of the US.

Western Europe

Western Europe remains the most democratically successful region of the world, holding seven of the top ten positions in our 2014 Democracy Index. However, it has also registered the most significant decline in its score of any region since the launch of the rankings in 2006. This reflects the continuing adverse effects of the global economic and financial crisis of 2008–09, which has eroded many countries' democratic cultures and institutions. The political impact of the crisis has been most pronounced in the euro zone, where the perceived loss of sovereignty and control has been greatest. Greece has been particularly badly hit. While the other bail-out countries—Ireland, Portugal, Cyprus and Spain—held or improved their rankings in 2014, Greece fell by another seven places, to 41st, in response to growing scepticism about democracy and worsening voter turnout.

Greece is one of the countries in western Europe that we expect to hold elections in 2015—others include Spain, the UK, Portugal and possibly Italy—kicking off a cycle of national elections that we expect to have an unusually large and lasting impact on democracy across the region. The palpable frustration of electorates with traditional parties, which they feel no longer represent them, and increased appetite for a new generation of leaders or parties, is now a driver of political developments in a growing number of countries. The way in which countries' political systems adapt to the surge in support for anti-establishment parties—such as Syriza in Greece, the Front National (FN) in France, UKIP in the UK or, most dramatically, Podemos in Spain—will be an important determinant of the Democracy Index rankings in the next few years.

At present, the post-crisis gulf between what voters demand and what politicians are delivering shows no sign of narrowing. We have been through one full electoral cycle under these conditions, and there has been little rebuilding of lost trust. If we were to go through a second such electoral cycle, more serious damage could be done, particularly to the attitudes towards democracy of the cohort of citizens that has come of political age during and after the crisis.

Six of the region's 21 countries fail to meet the threshold to be considered a "full democracy". This is the same number as last year, but the composition has changed slightly. France has regained its top-tier ranking, which it lost during the domineering presidency of Nicolas Sarkozy. Although Mr Sarkozy's successor, François Hollande, has plumbed unprecedented depths of unpopularity, a growing trend of social unrest in 2013 gave way in 2014 to increased change and responsiveness across the political spectrum, as parties began to prepare for the 2017 election. In contrast, Belgium has fallen in the rankings to replace France in the "flawed democracy" category. This is largely a result of the increasing strains on social cohesion in the country, where the New Flemish Alliance, which proposes a *de facto* dissolution of the Belgian state, won its second successive national election during 2014.

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Turkey: two steps back

Turkey continues to slide down the rankings. It now stands in joint 98th position and the deterioration in its score last year was outstripped by just two other countries in the world: Libya and Thailand. This reflects the continuing fraying of the social, political and institutional fabric as Turkey becomes steadily more polarised under the increasingly unchecked rule of Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Mr Erdogan's election as president in 2014 poses a new threat to Turkey's democratic institutions. According to the constitution, the president is supposed to be an apolitical and largely ceremonial figure. Mr Erdogan is, decidedly, neither of those things. During his first term, Turkey was within reaching distance of the "flawed democracy" category. That is no longer the case following the downward lurch in its score in 2014. It remains a long way from the "authoritarian regime" category, but the current momentum in that direction is a cause for grave concern.

Turkey's slide down our rankings comes as little surprise. Following a clampdown on mass protests against his rule in 2013, Mr Erdogan, then prime minister, began 2014 with an onslaught against his ally-turned-foe, Fethullah Gulen, an influential cleric, self-exiled in the US. Over the course of the year, Mr Erdogan successfully consolidated his position as Turkey's unrivalled political giant, but, in doing so, he repeatedly weakened the rule of law and fostered a corrosively majoritarian democratic culture.

Polarisation and scare-mongering

There are few better illustrations of this corrosive culture than Mr Erdogan's victory in Turkey's first direct presidential election, in August 2014. There is no questioning the formal legitimacy of Mr Erdogan's victory; he was a comfortable winner in a free and broadly fair contest and the most popular candidate undoubtedly won. However, that fact does not negate the significant concerns raised by the election, of which two stand out. The first of these

was the polarising tone of Mr Erdogan's campaign, which explicitly relied on a rhetoric of "us" (his supporters) and "them" (everyone else), and which more subtly intimated that the latter group was, en masse, opposed not just to Mr Erdogan and to his party, but to democracy itself. To oppose Mr Erdogan was, according to this narrative, to support coups and unaccountable "parallel" powers within the state. This would have been less damaging if it were merely paranoid nonsense, but Turkey's history is one in which coups and unaccountable power have been all too real. To build a campaign based on whipping up fears of an imminent slide back into those darker days has needlessly set back Turkey's prospects of becoming a more normally functioning democracy.

The second concern raised by Mr Erdogan's election as president is the way in which it has driven a wedge between the formal and the actual allocation of powers in Turkey. According to the constitution, the presidency is a largely ceremonial role. However, no-one voted in August believing that the question at stake was whether to move Mr Erdogan from the executive office of the prime minister to a ceremonial term of office in the presidency. The question at stake was universally understood to be whether to move Mr Erdogan to the presidency with his power undimmed, whether or not he subsequently succeeds in his stated aim of amending the constitution to change Turkey's political system to one with an executive presidency. When a political community comes to understand that the power of the state rests with an individual, rather than with the office to which he or she has been elected, then that community is on a slippery slope as far as democratic norms are concerned.

Turkey's troubles go deeper

For all the damage that Mr Erdogan is now doing to Turkey's democratic prospects, suggesting that he is the root of the country's problems is false; Turkey is much more complicated and much more troubled than that. When we first published our Democracy Index, Turkey had made important strides towards

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democratisation, largely due to a process of intensified engagement with the EU, which—on both sides—has atrophied in the years since. Arguably, therefore, the period around 2006 was a high point for Turkey’s democratic progress and aspirations. Yet, it still scored just 5.70 in the Democracy Index, making it then, as now, a “hybrid regime”, rather than a “flawed democracy”. What we are seeing in Turkey is a country failing to consolidate tentative steps towards democracy, not a country that once enjoyed democracy, but is now being gradually stripped of it.

Similarly, if Mr Erdogan’s suggestion that to oppose him is to be a coup-monger is untrue, so too is the suggestion—unfortunately prevalent among international commentators and politicians—that

those he attacks must be forces for good in the country. In December 2014 the detention of a number of senior journalists affiliated with Mr Gulen was widely viewed outside Turkey as an attack on media freedom. Primarily, the detentions were the latest round in a vicious battle within Turkey’s conservative religious movement. Mr Gulen’s many supporters in the media, police and judiciary are not downtrodden defenders of freedom. They were the enthusiastic instruments of Mr Erdogan’s earlier attempts to stifle his more avowedly secularist opponents, notably in the military and the judiciary. The fact that the Gulenists now find themselves under attack does not confirm their democratic credentials, even if it does confirm Mr Erdogan’s increasingly autocratic tendencies.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) has made scant democratic progress since The Economist Intelligence Unit started producing the Democracy Index in 2006. The trappings of democracy have certainly improved: from around 20 per decade in 1960–2000, the number of successful “coups from within” dropped to six in the 2000s, and there have been four so far this decade. (This excludes the ousting in March 2013 of François Bozizé, the then-president of the Central African Republic (CAR). This was undertaken by Seleka, a coalition of predominantly Muslim rebel groups, which launched an insurgency against the CAR government in late 2012, rather than “internal” forces.) Similarly, regular elections are now commonplace in the vast majority of Sub-Saharan states. Taking the broader definition of democracy, however—including political participation and culture, civil liberties and the functioning of government—the region’s performance has barely altered. What is more, SSA has registered one of the biggest deteriorations in its performance in 2014, with no less than 18 states falling back. All told, just one Sub-Saharan country—Mauritius—is deemed to be a “full democracy”, whereas 22 are considered “authoritarian”.

The drivers of democratic weakness in the region’s 44 states vary substantially. Nonetheless, some common factors appear in the area’s poorest performers. For example, the *functioning of government* is often poor. In states such as Central African Republic and Chad—which score zero in this category—this partly reflects severe restrictions on the extent of administrative control in the country, as well as chronic problems with paying public-sector salaries, endemic strikes in protest at salary arrears, and generally poor transparency in key sectors. Even in less dysfunctional states, however, the functioning of government is often constrained by poor policy formulation, or inadequacies in the civil service, whose staff lack either training or administrative independence. Clearly, these problems

1	PAPADOPOULOS	
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do not bolster public confidence in government, nor is it an issue that can be rapidly solved.

Inadequacies in the functioning of government are both a symptom and a cause of high levels of crime and corruption. This does not generally take the form of the blending of the state, military and narco-cartels, which we see in Mexico, for example. Rather, it tends to involve the blurring of the state with the ruling group, and—all too often—the president and close family members. In Angola, for example, critics regularly allege that the president, José Eduardo dos Santos, and his relatives have boosted their wealth through the appropriation of significant stakes in strategic industries. In Zimbabwe, meanwhile, there is a broad perception that the president's wife, "Gucci" Grace, has built up her own faction within the ruling group so as to safeguard her business interests when the president, Robert Mugabe, finally goes.

With some notable exceptions, this does not seem to have led to a substantial rise in popular engagement with opposition political movements. A number of factors are at play here. In countries such as Angola, which suffered a brutal civil war, the population is wary of a return to the violence, chaos and destruction that lasted for nearly 30 years—and the government takes every opportunity to emphasise that engagement with the opposition could lead to such violence. Meanwhile, in countries such as South Africa, the ruling party continues to dominate most levels of government. Opposition parties struggle to make an impact, and many crucial debates take place within the ruling group, rather than in the public arena, discouraging public participation. Some governments also take a repressive approach, depressing their scores for civil liberties, and constraining the development of a vibrant political culture.

All of this has served to constrain the region's democratic development. It has not, however, stopped SSA registering solid economic growth. Since the launch of the Democracy Index in 2006, SSA has registered average annual real GDP growth in excess of 7%—albeit from a very low base, and assisted by some countries with spectacular, resource-driven growth rates. It is apparent, therefore, that a flourishing democracy is not a prerequisite for economic expansion. The problem is that, broadly, the fruits of such growth are not being equitably shared. This does not bode well for future democratic development. Indeed, it could lead to democratic reversals, since experiences of the Arab Spring suggest that the tipping point for violent regime change often proves to be an income distribution that encompasses an aspirant, but frustrated, group of people who are less than affluent, but not absolutely poor.

Burkina Faso: Blaise-ing a trail?

On October 31st 2014 Blaise Compaoré—the president of Burkina Faso for the previous 27 years—resigned, following nationwide protests against the regime's efforts to alter the constitution to permit him to run for another term. The circumstances—a very long-serving president seeking to prolong his

tenure in the face of mounting public anger over the high cost of living and inadequate government services—are certainly not unique to Burkina Faso. His ousting has, therefore, sparked further speculation as to SSA's vulnerability, or otherwise, to Arab Spring-style uprisings.

Certainly, a number of the prerequisites would appear to be present in various regional states.

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These include the existence of an authoritarian state, together with the absence of accountability generally associated with a lack of democracy; a youthful population; rapid urbanisation; only weak entrenchment of the democratic process; and scant evidence that life for the majority is improving. Against that, the region is a late adopter of the digital media that proved crucial for the organisation of street protests, while, in many otherwise vulnerable states, social solidarity remains weak. To date, at least, there have been very few successful street revolts in SSA—so what made Burkina Faso different?

One obvious factor in Mr Compaoré's case was the role of the army: although the military did not instigate the unrest, soldiers from the central military barracks in Ouagadougou joined demonstrators, while army chiefs subsequently announced the dissolution of government and parliament. There had been a mutiny in 2011, underlining the level of dissatisfaction. However, although the army was perhaps ultimately the deciding factor, its intervention was triggered by the mass popular protests. Without them, the army would not have toppled Mr Compaoré.

Part of the explanation, therefore, is also that Burkina has very active and politicised unions, civil-society groups, and student movements; these are partly a legacy of the Sankarist revolutionary days.

They managed to mobilise large crowds. General frustration with widespread corruption, failure to improve living standards (despite a mining boom) and slow job growth fed into protests. People had lost confidence in Mr Compaoré's being able (or interested in) improving their lot. His stubborn efforts to change the constitution and cling on to power became too much.

Large anti-government protests became a common feature in Burkina Faso from mid-2013, meaning that Mr Compaoré's ousting was not a sudden outburst of anti-regime feelings, but, rather, the culmination of a long series of protests. The political opposition also played a crucial role, being united in its rejection of Mr Compaoré's efforts to remain in power. The opposition's strength was bolstered by several key ex-allies of Mr Compaoré defecting to the opposition in early 2014 and the opposition's relatively strong showing in the 2012 polls. In many other countries, the opposition is divided, or weak or both. Burkina Faso's opposition leader, Zéphirin Diabré, is an adept politician and has been successful in channelling people's frustrations into political pressure and peaceful street protests. In the absence of such leaders, long-standing presidents, such as Robert Mugabe and José Eduardo dos Santos, look set to remain in power.

Defining and measuring democracy

There is no consensus on how to measure democracy. Definitions of democracy are contested and there is a lively debate on the subject. The issue is not only of academic interest. For example, although democracy-promotion is high on the list of US foreign-policy priorities, there is no consensus within the US government on what constitutes a democracy. As one observer recently put it, "The world's only superpower is rhetorically and militarily promoting a political system that remains undefined—and it is staking its credibility and treasure on that pursuit," (Horowitz, 2006, p 114).

Although the terms "freedom" and "democracy" are often used interchangeably, the two are not synonymous. Democracy can be seen as a set of practices and principles that institutionalise, and thereby, ultimately, protect freedom. Even if a consensus on precise definitions has proved elusive,

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most observers today would agree that, at a minimum, the fundamental features of a democracy include government based on majority rule and the consent of the governed, the existence of free and fair elections, the protection of minority rights and respect for basic human rights. Democracy presupposes equality before the law, due process and political pluralism. A question arises as to whether reference to these basic features is sufficient for a satisfactory concept of democracy. As discussed below, there is a question as to how far the definition may need to be widened.

Some insist that democracy is necessarily a dichotomous concept: a state is either democratic or not. But most measures now appear to adhere to a continuous concept, with the possibility of varying degrees of democracy. At present, the best-known measure is produced by the US-based Freedom House organisation. The average of its indexes, on a 1 to 7 scale, of *political freedom* (based on 10 indicators) and of *civil liberties* (based on 15 indicators) is often taken to be a measure of democracy.

The index is available for all countries, and stretches back to the early 1970s. It has been used heavily in empirical investigations of the relationship between democracy and various economic and social variables. The so-called Polity Project provides, for a smaller number of countries, measures of democracy and regime types, based on rather minimalist definitions, stretching back to the 19th century. These have also been used in empirical work.

Freedom House also measures a narrower concept, that of “electoral democracy”. Democracies in this minimal sense share at least one common, essential characteristic. Positions of political power are filled through regular, free and fair elections between competing parties, and it is possible for an incumbent government to be turned out of office through elections. Freedom House criteria for an electoral democracy include:

- 1) A competitive, multi-party political system.
- 2) Universal adult suffrage.
- 3) Regularly contested elections conducted on the basis of secret ballots, reasonable ballot security and the absence of massive voter fraud.
- 4) Significant public access of major political parties to the electorate through the media and through generally open political campaigning.

The Freedom House definition of political freedom is somewhat (although not much) more demanding than its criteria for electoral democracy—that is, it classifies more countries as electoral democracies than as “free” (some “partly free” countries are also categorised as “electoral democracies”). At the end of 2007, 121 out of 193 states were classified as “electoral democracies”; of these, on a more stringent criterion, 90 states were classified as “free”. The Freedom House political-freedom measure covers the electoral process and political pluralism and, to a lesser extent, the functioning of government and a few aspects of participation.

A key difference in measures is between “thin”, or minimalist, and “thick”, or wider, concepts of democracy (Coppedge, 2005). The thin concepts correspond closely to an immensely influential academic definition of democracy, that of Dahl’s concept of polyarchy (Dahl, 1970). Polyarchy has

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eight components, or institutional requirements: almost all adult citizens have the right to vote; almost all adult citizens are eligible for public office; political leaders have the right to compete for votes; elections are free and fair; all citizens are free to form and join political parties and other organisations; all citizens are free to express themselves on all political issues; diverse sources of information about politics exist and are protected by law; and government policies depend on votes and other expressions of preference.

The Freedom House electoral democracy measure is a thin concept. Its measure of democracy based on political rights and civil liberties is “thicker” than the measure of “electoral democracy”. Other definitions of democracy have broadened to include aspects of society and political culture in democratic societies.

The Economist Intelligence Unit measure

The Economist Intelligence Unit’s index is based on the view that measures of democracy that reflect the state of political freedoms and civil liberties are not “thick” enough. They do not encompass sufficiently, or, in some cases, at all, some features that determine how substantive democracy is, or its quality. Freedom is an essential component of democracy, but not in itself sufficient. In existing measures, the elements of political participation and functioning of government are taken into account only in a marginal and formal way.

The Economist Intelligence Unit’s Democracy Index is based on five categories: *electoral process and pluralism*; *civil liberties*; *the functioning of government*; *political participation*; and *political culture*. The five categories are inter-related and form a coherent conceptual whole. The condition of holding free and fair competitive elections, and satisfying related aspects of political freedom, is clearly the *sine qua non* of all definitions.

All modern definitions, except the most minimalist, also consider civil liberties to be a vital component of what is often called “liberal democracy”. The principle of the protection of basic human rights is widely accepted. It is embodied in constitutions throughout the world, as well as in the UN Charter and international agreements such as the Helsinki Final Act (the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe). Basic human rights include the freedom of speech, expression and the press; freedom of religion; freedom of assembly and association; and the right to due judicial process. All democracies are systems in which citizens freely make political decisions by majority rule. But rule by the majority is not necessarily democratic. In a democracy, majority rule must be combined with guarantees of individual human rights and the rights of minorities.

Most measures also include aspects of the minimum quality of functioning of government. If democratically based decisions cannot or are not implemented, then the concept of democracy is not very meaningful.

Democracy is more than the sum of its institutions. A democratic political culture is also crucial for the legitimacy, smooth functioning and, ultimately, the sustainability of democracy. A culture of passivity and apathy, an obedient and docile citizenry, are not consistent with democracy. The

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electoral process periodically divides the population into winners and losers. A successful democratic political culture implies that the losing parties and their supporters accept the judgment of the voters, and allow for the peaceful transfer of power.

Participation is also a necessary component, as apathy and abstention are enemies of democracy. Even measures that focus predominantly on the processes of representative, liberal democracy include (although inadequately or insufficiently) some aspects of participation. In a democracy, government is only one element in a social fabric of many and varied institutions, political organisations, and associations. Citizens cannot be required to take part in the political process, and they are free to express their dissatisfaction by not participating. However, a healthy democracy requires the active, freely chosen participation of citizens in public life. Democracies flourish when citizens are willing to participate in public debate, elect representatives and join political parties. Without this broad, sustaining participation, democracy begins to wither and become the preserve of small, select groups.

At the same time, even our “thicker”, more inclusive and wider measure of democracy does not include other aspects—which some authors argue are also crucial components of democracy—such as levels of economic and social wellbeing. Therefore, our Index respects the dominant tradition that holds that a variety of social and economic outcomes can be consistent with political democracy, which is a separate concept.

Methodology

The Economist Intelligence Unit’s index of democracy, on a 0 to 10 scale, is based on the ratings for 60 indicators grouped in five categories: electoral process and pluralism; civil liberties; the functioning of government; political participation; and political culture. Each category has a rating on a 0 to 10 scale, and the overall index of democracy is the simple average of the five category indexes.

The category indexes are based on the sum of the indicator scores in the category, converted to a 0 to 10 scale. Adjustments to the category scores are made if countries do not score a 1 in the following critical areas for democracy:

1. whether national elections are free and fair
2. the security of voters
3. the influence of foreign powers on government
4. the capability of the civil service to implement policies.

If the scores for the first three questions are 0 (or 0.5), one point (0.5 point) is deducted from the index in the relevant category (either the electoral process and pluralism or the functioning of government). If the score for 4 is 0, one point is deducted from the functioning of government category index.

The index values are used to place countries within one of four types of regimes:

1. Full democracies—scores of 8-10

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2. Flawed democracies--score of 6 to 7.9

3. Hybrid regimes--scores of 4 to 5.9

4. Authoritarian regimes--scores below 4

Threshold points for regime types depend on overall scores that are rounded to one decimal point.

Full democracies: Countries in which not only basic political freedoms and civil liberties are respected, but these will also tend to be underpinned by a political culture conducive to the flourishing of democracy. The functioning of government is satisfactory. Media are independent and diverse. There is an effective system of checks and balances. The judiciary is independent and judicial decisions are enforced. There are only limited problems in the functioning of democracies.

Flawed democracies: These countries also have free and fair elections and even if there are problems (such as infringements on media freedom), basic civil liberties will be respected. However, there are significant weaknesses in other aspects of democracy, including problems in governance, an underdeveloped political culture and low levels of political participation.

Hybrid regimes: Elections have substantial irregularities that often prevent them from being both free and fair. Government pressure on opposition parties and candidates may be common. Serious weaknesses are more prevalent than in flawed democracies--in political culture, functioning of government and political participation. Corruption tends to be widespread and the rule of law is weak. Civil society is weak. Typically there is harassment of and pressure on journalists, and the judiciary is not independent.

Authoritarian regimes: In these states state political pluralism is absent or heavily circumscribed. Many countries in this category are outright dictatorships. Some formal institutions of democracy may exist, but these have little substance. Elections, if they do occur, are not free and fair. There is disregard for abuses and infringements of civil liberties. Media are typically state-owned or controlled by groups connected to the ruling regime. There is repression of criticism of the government and pervasive censorship. There is no independent judiciary.

The scoring system

We use a combination of a dichotomous and a three-point scoring system for the 60 indicators. A dichotomous 1-0 scoring system (1 for a yes and 0 for a no answer) is not without problems, but it has several distinct advantages over more refined scoring scales (such as the often-used 1-5 or 1-7). For many indicators, the possibility of a 0.5 score is introduced, to capture 'grey areas' where a simple yes (1) or no (0) is problematic, with guidelines as to when that should be used. Thus for many indicators there is a three-point scoring system, which represents a compromise between simple dichotomous scoring and the use of finer scales.

The problems of 1-5 or 1-7 scoring scales are numerous. For most indicators under such a system, it is extremely difficult to define meaningful and comparable criteria or guidelines for each score. This can lead to arbitrary, spurious and non-comparable scorings. For example, a score of 2 for one country may be scored a 3 in another and so on. Or one expert might score an indicator

1	PARADOPOLIS	
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for a particular country in a different way to another expert. This contravenes a basic principle of measurement, that of so-called *reliability*—the degree to which a measurement procedure produces the same measurements every time, regardless of who is performing it. Two- and three-point systems do not guarantee reliability, but make it more likely.

Second, comparability between indicator scores and aggregation into a multi-dimensional index appears more valid with a two or three-point scale for each indicator (the dimensions being aggregated are similar across indicators). By contrast, with a 1-5 system, the scores are more likely to mean different things across the indicators (for example a 2 for one indicator may be more comparable to a 3 or 4 for another indicator, rather than a 2 for that indicator). The problems of a 1-5 or 1-7 system are magnified when attempting to extend the index to many regions and countries.

Features of the Economist Intelligence Unit index

Public opinion surveys

A crucial, differentiating aspect of our measure is that in addition to experts' assessments we use, where available, public opinion surveys—mainly the World Values Survey. Indicators based on the surveys predominate heavily in the political participation and political culture categories, and a few are used in the civil liberties and functioning of government categories.

In addition to the World Values Survey, other sources that can be leveraged include the Eurobarometer surveys, Gallup polls, Asian Barometer, Latin American Barometer, Afrobarometer and national surveys. In the case of countries for which survey results are missing, survey results for similar countries and expert assessment are used to fill in gaps.

Participation and voter turnout

After increasing for many decades, there has been a trend of decreasing voter turnout in most established democracies since the 1960s. Low turnout may be due to disenchantment, but it can also be a sign of contentment. Many, however, see low turnout as undesirable, and there is much debate over the factors that affect turnout and how to increase it.

A high turnout is generally seen as evidence of the legitimacy of the current system. Contrary to widespread belief, there is in fact a close correlation between turnout and overall measures of democracy—that is, developed, consolidated democracies have, with very few exceptions, higher turnout (generally above 70%) than less established democracies.

The legislative and executive branches

The appropriate balance between these is much-disputed in political theory. In our model the clear predominance of the legislature is rated positively as there is a very strong correlation between legislative dominance and measures of overall democracy.

1	PAPADOPOULOS	
2	CARTEA	
3	MARTON	
4	SMITH	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	

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The model**I Electoral process and pluralism**

1. Are elections for the national legislature and head of government free?

Consider whether elections are competitive in that electors are free to vote and are offered a range of choices.

1: Essentially unrestricted conditions for the presentation of candidates (for example, no bans on major parties)

0.5: There are some restrictions on the electoral process

0: A single-party system or major impediments exist (for example, bans on a major party or candidate)

2. Are elections for the national legislature and head of government fair?

1: No major irregularities in the voting process

0.5: Significant irregularities occur (intimidation, fraud), but do not affect significantly the overall outcome

0: Major irregularities occur and affect the outcome

Score 0 if score for question 1 is 0.

3. Are municipal elections both free and fair?

1: Are free and fair

0.5: Are free but not fair

0: Are neither free nor fair

4. Is there universal suffrage for all adults?

Bar generally accepted exclusions (for example, non-nationals; criminals; members of armed forces in some countries)

1: Yes

0: No

5. Can citizens cast their vote free of significant threats to their security from state or non-state bodies?

1: Yes

0: No

6. Do laws provide for broadly equal campaigning opportunities?

1: Yes

0.5: Yes formally, but in practice opportunities are limited for some candidates

0: No

7. Is the process of financing political parties transparent and generally accepted?

1: Yes

0.5: Not fully transparent

0: No

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5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

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8. Following elections, are the constitutional mechanisms for the orderly transfer of power from one government to another clear, established and accepted?

- 1: All three criteria are fulfilled
- 0.5: Two of the three criteria are fulfilled
- 0: Only one or none of the criteria is satisfied

9. Are citizens free to form political parties that are independent of the government?

- 1: Yes
- 0.5: There are some restrictions
- 0: No

10. Do opposition parties have a realistic prospect of achieving government?

- 1: Yes
- 0.5: There is a dominant two-party system in which other political forces never have any effective chance of taking part in national government
- 0: No

11. Is potential access to public office open to all citizens?

- 1: Yes
- 0.5: Formally unrestricted, but in practice restricted for some groups, or for citizens from some parts of the country
- 0: No

12. Are citizens free to form political and civic organisations, free of state interference and surveillance?

- 1: Yes
- 0.5: Officially free, but subject to some restrictions or interference
- 0: No

II Functioning of government

13. Do freely elected representatives determine government policy?

- 1: Yes
- 0.5: Exercise some meaningful influence
- 0: No

14. Is the legislature the supreme political body, with a clear supremacy over other branches of government?

- 1: Yes
- 0: No

15. Is there an effective system of checks and balances on the exercise of government authority?

- 1: Yes
- 0.5: Yes, but there are some serious flaws
- 0: No

16. Government is free of undue influence by the military or the security services

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5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

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- 1: Yes
0.5: Influence is low, but the defence minister is not a civilian. If the current risk of a military coup is extremely low, but the country has a recent history of military rule or coups
0: No
17. Foreign powers and organisations do not determine important government functions or policies
1: Yes
0.5: Some features of a protectorate
0: No (significant presence of foreign troops; important decisions taken by foreign power; country is a protectorate)
18. Special economic, religious or other powerful domestic groups do not exercise significant political power, parallel to democratic institutions?
1: Yes
0.5: Exercise some meaningful influence
0: No
19. Are sufficient mechanisms and institutions in place for assuring government accountability to the electorate in between elections?
1: Yes
0.5. Yes, but serious flaws exist
0: No
20. Does the government's authority extend over the full territory of the country?
1: Yes
0: No
21. Is the functioning of government open and transparent, with sufficient public access to information?
1: Yes
0.5: Yes, but serious flaws exist
0: No
22. How pervasive is corruption?
1: Corruption is not a major problem
0.5: Corruption is a significant issue
0: Pervasive corruption exists
23. Is the civil service willing and capable of implementing government policy?
1: Yes
0.5. Yes, but serious flaws exist
0: No
24. Popular perceptions of the extent to which they have free choice and control over their lives
1: High
0.5: Moderate

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4	SMITH	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	

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0: Low

If available, from World Values Survey

% of people who think that they have a great deal of choice/control

1 if more than 70%

0.5 if 50-70%

0 if less than 50%

25. Public confidence in government

1: High

0.5: Moderate

0: Low

If available, from World Values Survey, Gallup polls, Eurobarometer, Latinobarometer

% of people who have a "great deal" or "quite a lot" of confidence in government

1 if more than 40%

0.5 if 25-40%

0 if less than 25%

26. Public confidence in political parties

1: High

0.5: Moderate

0: Low

If available, from World Values Survey

% of people who have a "great deal" or "quite a lot" of confidence

1 if more than 40%

0.5 if 25-40%

0 if less than 25%

III Political participation

27. Voter participation/turn-out for national elections.

(average turnout in parliamentary elections since 2000. Turnout as proportion of population of voting age).

1 if consistently above 70%

0.5 if between 50% and 70%

0 if below 50%

If voting is obligatory, score 0. Score 0 if scores for questions 1 or 2 is 0.

28. Do ethnic, religious and other minorities have a reasonable degree of autonomy and voice in the political process?

1: Yes

0.5: Yes, but serious flaws exist

0: No

29. Women in parliament

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4	SMITH	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	

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% of members of parliament who are women

1 if more than 20% of seats

0.5 if 10-20%

0 if less than 10%

30. Extent of political participation. Membership of political parties and political non-governmental organisations.

Score 1 if over 7% of population for either

Score 0.5 if 4% to 7%

Score 0 if under 4%.

If participation is forced, score 0.

31. Citizens' engagement with politics

1: High

0.5: Moderate

0: Low

If available, from World Values Survey

% of people who are very or somewhat interested in politics

1 if over 60%

0.5 if 40% to 60%

0 if less than 40%

32. The preparedness of population to take part in lawful demonstrations.

1: High

0.5: Moderate

0: Low

If available, from World Values Survey

% of people who have taken part in or would consider attending lawful demonstrations

1 if over 40%

0.5 if 30% to 40%

0 if less than 30%

33. Adult literacy

1 if over 90%

0.5 if 70% to 90%

0 if less than 70%

34. Extent to which adult population shows an interest in and follows politics in the news.

1: High

0.5: Moderate

0: Low

If available, from World Values Survey

% of population that follows politics in the news media (print, TV or radio) every day

1 if over 50%

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2	GARCIA	
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4	SMITH	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	✗

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0.5 if 30% to 50%

0 if less than 30%

35. The authorities make a serious effort to promote political participation.

1: Yes

0.5: Some attempts

0: No

Consider the role of the education system, and other promotional efforts Consider measures to facilitate voting by members of the diaspora.

If participation is forced, score 0.

IV Democratic political culture

36. Is there a sufficient degree of societal consensus and cohesion to underpin a stable, functioning democracy?

1: Yes

0.5: Yes, but some serious doubts and risks

0: No

37. Perceptions of leadership; proportion of the population that desires a strong leader who bypasses parliament and elections.

1: Low

0.5: Moderate

0: High

If available, from World Values Survey

% of people who think it would be good or fairly good to have a strong leader who does not bother with parliament and elections

1 if less than 30%

0.5 if 30% to 50%

0 if more than 50%

38. Perceptions of military rule; proportion of the population that would prefer military

1: Low

0.5: Moderate

0: High

If available, from World Values Survey

% of people who think it would be very or fairly good to have army rule

1 if less than 10%

0.5 if 10% to 30%

0 if more than 30%

39. Perceptions of rule by experts or technocratic government; proportion of the population that would prefer rule by experts or technocrats.

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4	SMITH	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	

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1: Low

0.5: Moderate

0: High

If available, from World Values Survey

% of people who think it would be very or fairly good to have experts, not government, make decisions for the country

1 if less than 50%

0.5 if 50% to 70%

0 if more than 70%

40. Perception of democracy and public order; proportion of the population that believes that democracies are not good at maintaining public order.

1: Low

0.5: Moderate

0: High

If available, from World Values Survey

% of people who disagree with the view that democracies are not good at maintaining order

1 if more than 70%

0.5 if 50% to 70%

0 if less than 50%

Alternatively, % of people who think that punishing criminals is an essential characteristic of democracy

1 if more than 80%

0.5 if 60% to 80%

0 if less than 60%

41. Perception of democracy and the economic system; proportion of the population that believes that democracy benefits economic performance

If available, from World Values Survey

% of people who disagree with the view that the economic system runs badly in democracies

1 if more than 80%

0.5 if 60% to 80%

0 if less than 60%

42. Degree of popular support for democracy

1: High

0.5: Moderate

0: Low

If available, from World Values Survey

% of people who agree or strongly agree that democracy is better than any other form of government

1 if more than 90%

1	PAPADOPULOS	
2	GARCIA	
3	MARTIN	
4	SMITH	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

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0.5 if 75% to 90%

0 if less than 75%

43. There is a strong tradition of the separation of church and state

1: Yes

0.5: Some residual influence of church on state

0: No

V Civil liberties

44. Is there a free electronic media?

1: Yes

0.5: Pluralistic, but state-controlled media are heavily favoured. One or two private owners dominate the media

0: No

45. Is there a free print media?

1: Yes

0.5: Pluralistic, but state-controlled media are heavily favoured. There is high degree of concentration of private ownership of national newspapers

0: No

46. Is there freedom of expression and protest (bar only generally accepted restrictions such as banning advocacy of violence)?

1: Yes

0.5: Minority view points are subject to some official harassment. Libel laws restrict heavily scope for free expression

0: No

47. Is media coverage robust? Is there open and free discussion of public issues, with a reasonable diversity of opinions?

1: Yes

0.5: There is formal freedom, but high degree of conformity of opinion, including through self-censorship, or discouragement of minority or marginal views

0: No

48. Are there political restrictions on access to the Internet?

1: No

0.5: Some moderate restrictions

0: Yes

49. Are citizens free to form professional organisations and trade unions?

1: Yes

0.5: Officially free, but subject to some restrictions

1	PAPADOPULOS	
2	GARCIA	
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4	SMITH	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	

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0: No

50. Do institutions provide citizens with the opportunity to successfully petition government to redress grievances?

1: Yes

0.5: Some opportunities

0: No

51. The use of torture by the state

1: Torture is not used

0: Torture is used

52. The degree to which the judiciary is independent of government influence.

Consider the views of international legal and judicial watchdogs. Have the courts ever issued an important judgement against the government, or a senior government official?

1: High

0.5: Moderate

0: Low

53. The degree of religious tolerance and freedom of religious expression.

Are all religions permitted to operate freely, or are some restricted? Is the right to worship permitted both publicly and privately? Do some religious groups feel intimidated by others, even if the law requires equality and protection?

1: High

0.5: Moderate

0: Low

54. The degree to which citizens are treated equally under the law.

Consider whether favoured members of groups are spared prosecution under the law.

1: High

0.5: Moderate

0: Low

55. Do citizens enjoy basic security?

1: Yes

0.5: Crime is so pervasive as to endanger security for large segments

0: No

56. Extent to which private property rights protected and private business is free from undue government influence

1: High

0.5: Moderate

0: Low

57. Extent to which citizens enjoy personal freedoms

Consider gender equality, right to travel, choice of work and study.

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2	GARCIA	
3	MARTIN	
4	SMITH	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	

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1: High

0.5: Moderate

0: Low

58. Popular perceptions on human rights protection; proportion of the population that think that basic human rights are well-protected.

1: High

0.5: Moderate

0: Low

If available, from World Values Survey:

% of people who think that human rights are respected in their country

1 if more than 70%

0.5 if 50% to 70%

0 if less than 50%

59. There is no significant discrimination on the basis of people's race, colour or creed.

1: Yes

0.5: Yes, but some significant exceptions

0: No

60. Extent to which the government invokes new risks and threats as an excuse for curbing civil liberties

1: Low

0.5: Moderate

0: High

1	ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΑΛΟΣ	
2	ΓΑΡΤΣΑ	
3	ΜΑΥΤΩΝ	
4	ΣΑΥΩΝ	
5	NONE OF THE ABOVE	

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Media Enquiries for the Economist Intelligence Unit

Europe, Middle East & Africa

Grayling London

Susie Burnett

+44 (0) 20 7932 1867

+44 (0) 7950 783 428

ei-international@grayling.com

Americas

Grayling New York

Gina Sorice

Tel: +1 646 284 9414

ei-international@grayling.com

Asia Pacific (excluding China)

MHP Communications

Rhonda Taylor

Tel: +852 3114 6335

rhonda.taylor@mhpc.com

China

Grayling Shanghai

Harriet Gaywood

Tel: +86 21 5239 7719 / 7729 ext. 101

ei-international@grayling.com

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LONDON

20 Cabot Square

London

E14 4QW

United Kingdom

Tel: (44.20) 7576 8000

Fax: (44.20) 7576 8500

E-mail: london@eiu.com

NEW YORK

750 Third Avenue

5th Floor

New York, NY 10017

United States

Tel: (1.212) 554 0600

Fax: (1.212) 586 1181/2

E-mail: newyork@eiu.com

HONG KONG

6001, Central Plaza

18 Harbour Road

Wanchai

Hong Kong

Tel: (852) 2585 3888

Fax: (852) 2802 7638

E-mail: hongkong@eiu.com

GENEVA

Rue de l'Athénée 32

1206 Geneva

Switzerland

Tel: (41) 22 566 2470

Fax: (41) 22 346 93 47

E-mail: geneva@eiu.com

DUBAI

Economist Intelligence Unit

PO Box No 450056

Office No. 1301A Thuraya Tower 2

Dubai Media City

Dubai

United Arab Emirates

Tel: + 971 (0) 4 433 4202

Fax: + 971 (0) 4 438 0224