V-Dem
INSTITUTE

IRELAND

A COUNTRY REPORT BASED ON DATA 1919-2012

by Walt Baker

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Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) is a new approach to the conceptualization and measurement of democracy. It is co-hosted by the University of Gothenburg and University of Notre Dame. With a V-Dem Institute at University of Gothenburg that comprises almost ten staff members, and a project team across the world with four Principal Investigators, fifteen Project Managers, 30+ Regional Managers, 170 Country Coordinators, Research Assistants, and 2,500 Country Experts, the V-Dem project is one of the largest-ever social science research-oriented data collection programs.

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About V-Dem

Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) is a new approach to conceptualizing and measuring democracy. V-Dem's multidimensional and disaggregated approach acknowledges the complexity of the concept of democracy. The V-Dem project distinguishes among five high-level principles of democracy: *electoral, liberal, participatory, deliberative, and egalitarian,* which are disaggregated into lower-level components and specific indicators.

Key features of V-Dem:

- Provides reliable data on five high-level principles and 39 mid-level indices and components of democracy such as regular elections, judicial independence, direct democracy, and gender equality, consisting of 350+ distinct and precise indicators;
- Covers all countries and dependent territories from 1900 to the present and provides an estimate of measurement reliability for each rating;
- Makes all ratings public, free of charge, through a user-friendly interface.

With four Principal Investigators, two Project Coordinators, fifteen Project Managers, more than thirty Regional Managers, 170 Country Coordinators, several Assistant Researchers, and approximately 2,500 Country Experts, the V-Dem project is one of the largest-ever social science data collection projects with a database of over 15 million data points. The database makes highly detailed analysis of virtually all aspects of democracy in a country, while also allowing for summary comparisons between countries based on aggregated indices for different dimensions of democracy. Users from anywhere are able to use the V-Dem online analysis tools which can be found at the project's website. Governments, development agencies, and NGOs can benefit from the nuanced comparative and historical data when informing critical decisions such as selecting country program priorities, informing program designs and monitoring impact of their programs.

Methodology:

Unlike extant data collection projects, which typically use a small group of experts who rate all countries or ask a single expert to code one country, the V-Dem project has recruited over 2,500 local and cross-national experts to provide judgments on various indicators about democracy. The V-Dem dataset is created by combining factual information from existing data sources about constitutional regulations and de jure situation with expert coding for questions that require evaluation. Experts' ratings are aggregated through an advanced statistical model that takes into account the possibilities that experts may make mistakes and have different scales in mind when coding. In addition, bridge-coders - experts who code multiple countries - are recruited to calibrate the scales of estimates cross-nationally[1].

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[1] For further details and information about the V-Dem methodology, see http://v-dem.net.

Introduction

Ireland is one of Western Europe's most advanced democracies, boasting a strong economy, modern infrastructure, and well-respected institutions. However, this has not always been true. Before its independence, Ireland was akin to a third world country amidst its European neighbors, controlled remotely by the British Empire and its absentee English landlords. This country report will delve in to certain key aspects of democratization in Ireland. The V-Dem data set will allow for a detailed picture of the development of democracy in Ireland from 1919, when the country achieved independence, to 2012. Based on V-Dem data, it will focus on the development of six key indices measuring democratization. The report will begin with a brief overview of Irish history, followed by an investigation of the six key V-Dem indices, which are as follows: the *electoral democracy index*, *liberal democracy index*, *deliberative component index*, *egalitarian component index*, *participatory component index* and the *women political empowerment index*. Next, there will be in-depth investigations of women's political empowerment and equality, civil and religious liberties, and participatory democracy in Ireland. Finally, a short conclusion will summarize the findings of this report and identify several key issue areas facing continued democratization.

Historical Overview and General Democratic Development

Ireland Before and After Independence

The Ireland of today stands in stark contrast to the Ireland of just one hundred years ago. 2016 marks the centennial of the Easter Rising of 1916 that ravaged Dublin. In just one hundred years, Ireland has gone from a stifling and starving agricultural economy to one of the wealthiest and most democratic Western nations. An impoverished British colonial holding until 1921, Ireland was rife with religious tensions, standing in the long shadow of a great famine, and losing many of its best and brightest as they fled for opportunities abroad. How Ireland so quickly became a modernized and dynamic democracy is sure to provide fascinating insights into the processes, successes, and failings of democratization in the 20th and 21st centuries.

In order to understand the tensions that have churned through Irish society and democracy, it is necessary to have a cursory knowledge of Ireland before its independence. After centuries of England interfering with Irish affairs, Ireland officially became a part of the United Kingdom with the 1800 Act of Union, which was passed in the Irish Parliament following an extensive effort to bribe, extort, and blackmail recalcitrant MPs (Kinealy 2004). The Irish Catholic majority was prevented from voting and holding office until a concerted movement led by Politician Daniel O'Connell resulted in the Catholic Emancipation of 1829. Despite progress in some sectors, Ireland and England remained in an uneasy union.

Tensions reached a boiling point in 1916, when the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) attempted to stage a rebellion against English rule. A haphazard affair, around 1,600 rebels took key buildings in Dublin and proclaimed an Irish Republic on Easter Monday (Foster 1989). Although the rebellion was easily quashed, it convinced the British government that action had to be taken with regards to Ireland, lest more violent rebellions occur in the midst of the First World War. Negotiations for a settlement in 1920 were marred by the Anglo-Irish War, which pitted the Irish Republican Army (IRA) against British troops in a guerilla war. In response, the British formed the Black and Tans and the Auxiliaries to combat the IRA, matching atrocity for atrocity (Kinealy 2004). The next year, exhausted by war, Irish leaders signed the Anglo-Irish Treaty on December 6, 1921.

Ireland's independence was only a partial victory. Rather than winning the status of a free republic, Ireland was to be ruled as a dominion similar in status to Canada under the new title the "Irish Free State." Although dominion status granted Ireland complete freedom of domestic affairs and considerable latitude in terms of economic and foreign policy, hardline republicans were not satisfied (Foster 1989). Tensions between pro-treaty and anti-treaty factions came to a head in the Irish Civil War, with anti-treaty forces occupying the Four Courts building in Dublin on June 28, 1922, sparking the conflict. One of the few European instances of a civil war immediately in the wake of independence, the British-backed pro-treaty forces prevailed within a year (McMahon 2007). Although the civil war was short-lived, the two sides of the conflict live on as anti-treaty forces coalesced into Fianna Fáil and the pro-treaty into Fine Gael, until recently the two largest and most successful Irish political parties. Due to the violent history behind their founding, animosities lingered between the two political parties in the first years of the Irish Free State and Republic until Civil War veterans aged out of politics in the 1970s.

The Irish Free State's government consisted of upper and lower chambers of parliament, an executive council that served as the de facto head(s) of state and the largely ceremonial position of Governor-General. The Free State's birth led to the partition of Northern Ireland

and what was to become the Republic of Ireland, leading to sporadic violence and unrest by the IRA and other groups agitating for a united Ireland. Dissatisfied with a constitution many Irish people felt was imposed upon them by the British, a plebiscite was held for a new constitution in 1937. This new constitution passed by a plurality and led the Free State to change its name to Éire, Gaelic for Ireland. The government was reshuffled, with a popularly elected President, an executive head of government, the Taoiseach, a weakened upper chamber and a proportionally representative lower chamber or Dáil. The new constitution granted a special position to the Catholic Church as the defender of the faith, and explicitly denounced the idea of working mothers, another in a long string of setbacks for Irish women (Foster 1989). Despite the constitutional changes, Éire remained a dominion of the United Kingdom.

Ireland finally became an autonomous republic in 1948 with the passage of the Republic of Ireland Act of 1948, which included the repeal of the External Relations Act that granted the British monarch latitude in Ireland's international dealings. Ireland officially became its own nation, independent of any British control. The Act granted the President powers traditionally vested in the king or queen of England.

The Church remained a political force in Ireland, with enough influence to alter the Labour Party's platform in the mid-1930s (Foster 1989). Ireland's relationship to the Church slowly changed, with a constitutional amendment passed in 1973 that saw the "special position" of the Catholic Church removed as the nation prepared to join the EU, reflecting a more liberal Ireland. As recently as 2010, however, a Pew poll found that nearly 85% of the Irish population self-identify as Catholic. Ireland's religious and ethnic homogeneity, as well as more recent economic downturns, may explain their recent difficulties with immigrants and xenophobic attitudes (Pew 2016).

Since joining the European Union (EU) in 1973, Ireland has been on the fast track to success, both democratically and in terms of economic development. The EU poured billions into Ireland to restructure a lagging economy. EU funds also guaranteed prices for Ireland's farmers, creating stability in the agricultural sector and causing incomes to rise. The EU's investment in Ireland led to high returns on investment for the European community and enormous growth of the Irish economy (Cullen 2000). More recently, Ireland has gone through phases of incredible growth, including the famed "Celtic Tiger" of 1995-2000, which saw high-tech American and international businesses pour into Ireland, leading to a sustained period of impressive growth (World Bank 2016). This growth has been both a blessing and a curse, as rising incomes and globalization led to liberalization and a strengthening commitment to democracy. However, Ireland's massive recent development meant that it was struck particularly

hard by the global recession. Additionally, as with much of the rest of Europe, issues have existed with xenophobia due to increased immigration. Due to anger over austerity measures, few economic opportunities, and more deep-seated cultural issues, young people are again emigrating in huge numbers. Though problems still exist, Ireland has seen an incredible turnaround in the 20th century, going from an impoverished agricultural colonial holding to a developed liberal democracy.
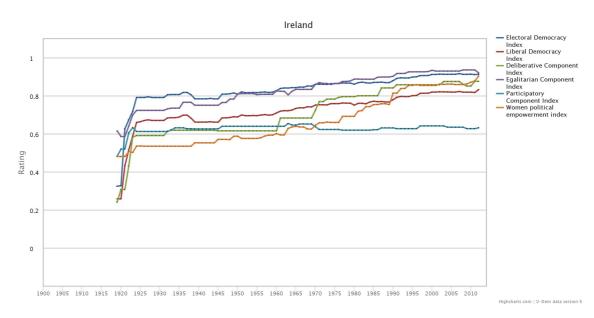
Principles of Democracy

Figure 1. Development of Democracy for Ireland, 1919-2012

The above figure measures six indices throughout Ireland's existence from 1919 to 2012: the *electoral democracy index*, *liberal democracy index*, *deliberative component index*, *egalitarian component index*, *participatory component index* and *women political empowerment index*. Each is measured on a scale from 0 to 1, with 0 representing the lowest score possible, and 1 being an unqualified success in achieving the principle.

Democratic trends in Ireland have been on the whole positive. However, political participation has remained relatively stagnant. While a notable increase occurred in the wake of the declaration of the Irish Free State in 1921, participation rates have remained low, albeit consistent. The low rates of participation are in line with that of other developed democracies such as the United States and the United Kingdom.
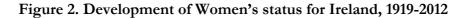
Ireland's independence in 1922 saw notable increases in *electoral democracy*, with scores jumping from .32 in 1919 to .79 just six years later. The nascent Irish Free State demonstrated responsiveness to its citizens and a willingness to conduct free and fair elections, leading to a more engaged populace. The *deliberative component*, *egalitarian component*, and the *liberal democracy index* all saw similar increases in the same time period, pointing towards a more democratic Ireland, a trend that continued as the Free State transitioned into Éire and subsequently the Republic of Ireland.
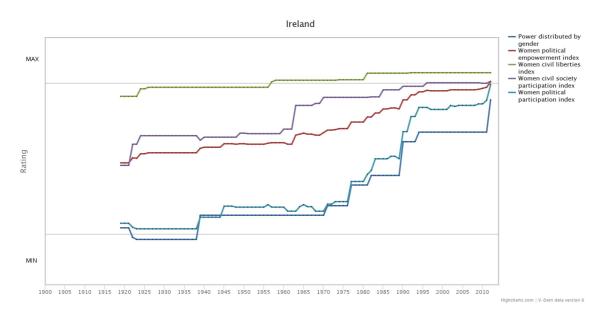
Irish women were unable to share in Ireland's democratic successes until recently. *Women political empowerment*, which began at a middling .48 in 1919, has seen slow progress. This is in large part due to the domestic role assigned to women by the Constitution of 1937, and to the extremely conservative nature of the Irish Catholic Church. The Irish Free State also had a history of jailing female activists, stymieing notable currents of female civil society and activism, particularly with regards to the Gaelic Revival. However, progress was made in the wake of WWII, when the first female representatives were elected to the Dail. The largest jump came with the election of Mary Robinson as president of Ireland in 1990, which saw an increase from .75 in 1989 to .81 in 1990, increasing to .9 in 2012. Although the president is largely a ceremonial position, Robinson's election provided an enormous amount of symbolic representation for Irish women. While progress can still be made, the positive trends of Irish democracy are encouraging.

Critical Components, Notable Successes and Failure

Women's Political Empowerment and Equality

Figure 2 attempts to track the status of women in Irish society and politics over the course of its history. It measures *power distributed by gender*, *women political empowerment*, *women civil society*, *women civil liberties index* and the *women political participation index* on a relative scale.

Figure 2. Development of Women's status for Ireland, 1919-2012

Ireland

Legend:
- Power distributed by gender
- Women political empowerment index
- Women civil liberties index
- Women civil society participation index
- Women political participation index

Highcharts.com | V-Dem data version 6

Irish women have historically enjoyed a suite of civil liberties, allowing them to own property and make important decisions in their lives since 1919, scoring near .85 on a 0 to 1 scale. Although the conservative Free State and Éire constitutions enshrined women's domestic role, the Republic of Ireland has expressed a commitment to women's political rights, with the *women civil liberties* improving to nearly .96 as of 2012. Women have historically been heavily involved in Irish civil society, with groups like the Daughters of Ireland at the forefront of the Gaelic revivalist movements near the turn of the 20th century (Foster 1989). Women's participation in civil society remained around .6 from 1925 to 1962, until changing attitudes as well as the expansion of light industry and educational opportunities allowed women not only to find work but also make their voices heard on a national scale (Kinealy 2008). Joining the EU in 1973 reinvigorated Irish feminist movements, who pushed for pay equality and other significant legislation, often successfully (O'Donnell 2000).

While women have seen unqualified successes in the civil and social arenas, the story of Irish women in politics is considerably less positive. Few women serve in the Irish parliament, and as of 2011, only 91 female deputies had ever been elected. Perhaps due to Ireland's Catholic values, women were expected to remain in the domestic sphere, providing them little space to participate in politics. There have been signs of improvement, with Mary Robinson's election in 1990, and a record number of women, 26 of 166, in the 2013 Dail. Although encouraging, Ireland's female political representation is still shamefully poor even when compared to authoritarian states (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2016). As of 2012, Ireland has implemented gender quotas, threatening to cut 50% of state funding for political parties unless 30% of that

party's candidates are women. These quotas should improve women's representation significantly. While Ireland has made major strides, more must be done for Ireland to become a truly representative democracy.

Civil and Religious Liberties

Figure 3. Development of freedom of religion and educational equality for Ireland, 1919-2012

The above and below figures are an attempt to measure the climate of civil and religious liberty in Ireland. Figure 3 measures *freedom of religion* and *educational equality*, both on a scale of 0 to 4. Figure 4 then examines the *core civil society index*, which asks how robust civil society is in a country and whether or not it is state controlled, *freedom of association* determines the extent to which opposition parties and civil society organizations are allowed to form and participate in elections, and finally, the *women civil society participation index*, which measures women's ability to express themselves and form politically active groups. All three are measured on a scale from 0 to 1.
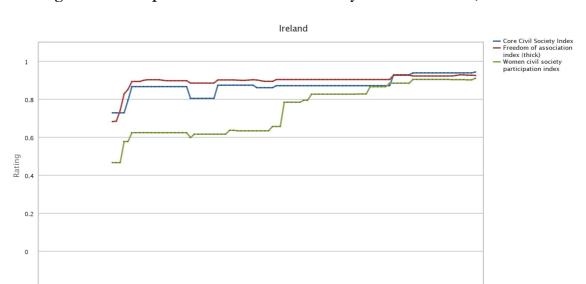
Figure 4. Development of the Core civil society index for Ireland, 1919-2012

Interestingly enough, independence saw *freedom of* religion decline in Ireland. As an intensely Catholic nation with a history of conflict with protestant English occupiers, the Free State privileged the Church, making free expression of religion more difficult in early 20th century Ireland. The Irish Catholic Church had a "special position" enshrined in Ireland's constitution until 1973. Liberalizing attitudes towards religion in the latter half of the century saw increases in religious freedom, thanks as much to religious apathy as acceptance.

Educational equality was historically poor, as the finest schools were available to elites. Most Irish children entered the workforce before finishing secondary school. Even in the 1950s a large proportion of Irish children stopped attending school at age 12, and only about 5,000 of Ireland's most privileged moved on to college annually. Now, that number is closer to 60,000 (Garvin 2000). The Catholic Church is still heavily involved in Irish education, with nearly 90 percent of Ireland's schools operated by the Church, although parents may choose to exempt their children from religious instruction (Freedom House 2016). While the quality of education has improved, concerns remain about the influence of the Catholic Church in Irish public education. The declaration of the Republic of Ireland led to gains in educational equality, but most of the progress came as Ireland prepared to join the EU and due to the policies put in place in the aftermath, from around 1970 on. Increasing educational equality (and quality) in Ireland has created informed, civic-minded citizens as evidenced by Ireland's deepening democracy.
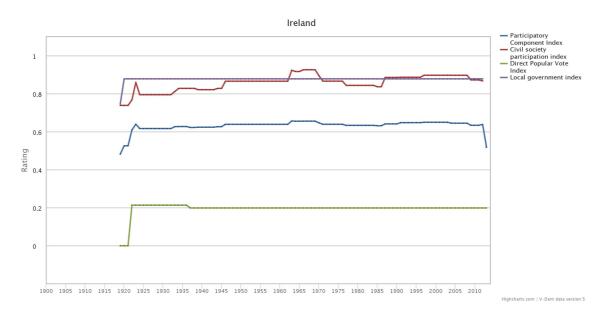
Ireland has long had a strong civil society and a commitment to free association. With the exception of 1939 to 1945, when many Irish men went to war in Europe despite Éire's declared neutrality, the *core civil society index* and *freedom of association index* have seen steady gains

(Kinealy 2004). Improvements in education and work opportunities for women in the 1960s and 1970s led to increased female participation in civil society, as evidenced by the figure. While civil society played an enormous role in Irish politics before Irish independence, the Catholic Emancipation and Home Rule movements being two notable examples, civil society has become notably less capable of effecting change in recent years. Many scholars struggle to find explanations for why the recent recession and harsh austerity measures did not create a massive societal backlash. One explanation has been that parties like Fianna Fáil have created strong ties with trade unions and voluntary organizations, effectively co-opting civil society and making it fundamentally political. In this way, civil society organizations have become ineffective in advocating for political reform, as they are inherently tied to the political status quo (Murphy 2011). Although discouraging, protests as recent as 2015 over water fee hikes indicate the Irish people are perhaps more willing to voice their concerns than previously believed.

Participatory Democracy in Ireland

Figure 5 measures the *participatory component index* and its component indicators, the *civil society participation index*, *direct popular vote index* and the *regional* and *local government* indices; in an attempt to quantify to what extent the participatory principles of democracy are achieved in a given state. All four indices are measured on a 0 to 4 scale.

Figure 5. Development of the Participatory component index and its components for Ireland, 1919-2012

Ireland has long had a commitment to strong local governments, as evidenced by its score of .855 in 1920. Dublin houses nearly a third of Ireland's 4.6 million citizens, making Dublin's Lord Mayor an important symbolic figure in both local and national politics, and formerly a legitimate political power player. Irish independence saw an increase in the *direct popular vote index*, notably a 1937 plebiscite over constitutional changes that led to the creation of Éire. However, direct popular voting appears to have leveled out around .19, indicating that Ireland is much more a representative than a direct democracy. Finally, civil society participation has long been high and increased in the aftermath of independence. There was a large upswing in participation in the 1960s, likely due to concerns over Ireland's poor economy, movements to join the European Community, and the desire to unite the Republic with Northern Ireland, all of which saw Irish citizens voicing their opinions through various civil society organizations. Civil society organizations have increasingly been co-opted by political parties, creating CSOs invested in the political status quo–a discouraging development for CSO's continued ability to voice alternative opinions in Ireland. Overall, the trajectory of participatory democracy has been positive in Ireland, although improvements in Irish citizens involvement in all stages of the political process could only lead to a more representative democracy.

Conclusion

The Republic of Ireland is a young state, but it has deep democratic roots. As Ireland commemorates the centennial of the Easter Rising, it stands at a crossroads. As hundreds of thousands of young, educated Irish people emigrate from a nation they see as anachronistically conservative, the people of Ireland must decide if they will break with their distinctly Catholic past and abandon the austerity measures that have caused so many to feel locked out of the economy and the government. While progress has been made, such as the legalization of gay marriage, strict abortion laws remain in place and the Catholic Church still controls the vast majority of Irish schools, although parents can exempt their children from religious instruction. The trajectory of democratization and modernization in Ireland has been nothing short of astounding, but steps must be taken to preserve both those economic gains and the liberal, egalitarian ideals of Irish democracy.

Appendix

Indicators included in Figure 1

Electoral Democracy Index

Question: To what extent is the ideal of electoral democracy in its fullest sense achieved? *Clarifications:* The electoral principle of democracy seeks to embody the core value of making rulers responsive to citizens, achieved through electoral competition for the electorate's approval under circumstances when suffrage is extensive; political and civil society organizations can operate freely; elections are clean and not marred by fraud or systematic irregularities; and elections affect the composition of the chief executive of the country. In between elections, there is freedom of expression and an independent media capable of presenting alternative views on matters of political relevance. In the V- Dem conceptual scheme, electoral democracy is understood as an essential element of any other conception of (representative) democracy – liberal, participatory, deliberative, egalitarian, or some other.

Liberal Democracy Index

Question: To what extent is the ideal of liberal democracy achieved?

Clarifications: The liberal principle of democracy emphasizes the importance of protecting individual and minority rights against the tyranny of the state and the tyranny of the majority. The liberal model takes a "negative" view of political power insofar as it judges the quality of democracy by the limits placed on government. This is achieved by constitutionally protected civil liberties, strong rule of law, an independent judiciary, and effective checks and balances that, together, limit the exercise of executive power. To make this a measure of liberal *democracy*, the index also takes the level of electoral democracy into account.

Deliberative Democracy Index

Question: To what extent is the ideal of deliberative democracy achieved?

Clarification: The deliberative principle of democracy focuses on the process by which decisions are reached in a polity. A deliberative process is one in which public reasoning focused on the common good motivates political decisions—as contrasted with emotional appeals, solidary

attachments, parochial interests, or coercion. According to this principle, democracy requires more than an aggregation of existing preferences. There should also be respectful dialogue at all levels—from preference formation to final decision—among informed and competent participants who are open to persuasion. To make it a measure of not only the deliberative principle but also of democracy, the index also takes the level of electoral democracy into account.

Egalitarian Component Index

Question: To what extent is the egalitarian principle achieved?

Clarifications: The egalitarian principle of democracy holds that material and immaterial inequalities inhibit the exercise of formal rights and liberties, and diminish the ability of citizens from all social groups to participate. Egalitarian democracy is achieved when 1) rights and freedoms of individuals are protected equally across all social groups; and 2) resources are distributed equally across all social groups. The distribution of resources must be sufficient to ensure that citizens' basic needs are met in a way that enables their meaningful participation. Additionally, an equal distribution of resources ensures the potential for greater equality in the distribution of power.

Participatory Component Index

Question: To what extent is the participatory principle achieved?

Clarification: The participatory principle of democracy emphasizes active participation by citizens in all political processes, electoral and non-electoral. It is motivated by uneasiness about a bedrock practice of electoral democracy: delegating authority to representatives. Thus, direct rule by citizens is preferred, wherever practicable. This model of democracy thus takes suffrage for granted, emphasizing engagement in civil society organizations, direct democracy, and subnational elected bodies.

Women Political Empowerment Index

Question: How politically empowered are women?

Clarifications: Women's political empowerment is defined as a process of increasing capacity for women, leading to greater choice, agency, and participation in societal decision-making. It is understood to incorporate three equally-weighted dimensions:

fundamental civil liberties, women's open discussion of political issues and participation in civil society organizations, and the descriptive representation of women in formal political positions.

Indicators included in Figure 2

Power Distributed by Gender

Question: Is political power distributed according to gender?

Responses:

0: Men have a near-monopoly on political power.

1: Men have a dominant hold on political power. Women have only marginal influence.

2: Men have much more political power but women have some areas of influence.

3: Men have somewhat more political power than women.

4: Men and women have roughly equal political power.

Women Political Empowerment Index

Question: How politically empowered are women?

Clarifications: Women's political empowerment is defined as a process of increasing capacity for women, leading to greater choice, agency, and participation in societal decision-making. It is understood to incorporate three equally-weighted dimensions: fundamental civil liberties, women's open discussion of political issues and participation in civil society organizations, and the descriptive representation of women in formal political positions.

Women Civil Liberties Index

Question: Do women have the ability to make meaningful decisions in key areas of their lives?

Clarifications: Women's civil liberties are understood to include freedom of domestic movement, the right to private property, freedom from forced labor, and access to justice.

Women Civil Society Index

Question: Do women have the ability to express themselves and to form and participate in groups?

Clarifications: Women's civil society participation is understood to include open discussion of political issues, participation in civil society organizations, and representation in the ranks of journalists.

Women Political Participation Index

Question: Are women descriptively represented in formal political positions?

Clarifications: Women's political participation is understood to include women's descriptive representation in the legislature and an equal share in the overall distribution of power.

Indicators included in Figure 3

Freedom of Religion

Question: Is there freedom of religion?

Clarification: This indicator specifies the extent to which individuals and groups have the right to choose a religion, change their religion, and practice that religion in private or in public as well as to proselytize peacefully without being subject to restrictions by public authorities.

Responses:

0: Not respected by public authorities. Hardly any freedom of religion exists. Any kind of religious practice is outlawed or at least controlled by the government to the extent that religious leaders are appointed by and subjected to public authorities, who control the activities of religious communities in some detail.

1: Weakly respected by public authorities. Some elements of autonomous organized religious practices exist and are officially recognized. But significant religious communities are repressed, prohibited, or systematically disabled, voluntary conversions are restricted, and instances of discrimination or intimidation of individuals or groups due to their religion are common.

2: Somewhat respected by public authorities. Autonomous organized religious practices exist and are officially recognized. Yet, minor religious communities are repressed, prohibited, or systematically disabled, and/or instances of discrimination or intimidation of individuals or groups due to their religion occur occasionally.

3: Mostly respected by public authorities. There are minor restrictions on the freedom of religion, predominantly limited to a few isolated cases. Minority religions face denial of registration, hindrance of foreign missionaries from entering the country, restrictions against proselytizing, or hindrance to access to or construction of places of worship.

4: Fully respected by public authorities. The population enjoys the right to practice any religious belief they choose. Religious groups may organize, select, and train personnel; solicit and receive contributions; publish; and engage in consultations without undue interference. If religious communities have to register, public authorities do not abuse the process to discriminate against

a religion and do not constrain the right to worship before registration.

Educational Equality

Question: To what extent is high quality basic education guaranteed to all, sufficient to enable them to exercise their basic rights as adult citizens?

Clarification: Basic education refers to ages typically between 6 and 16 years of age but this varies slightly among countries.

Responses:

0: Extreme. Provision of high quality basic education is extremely unequal and at least 75 percent (%) of children receive such low-quality education that undermines their ability to exercise their basic rights as adult citizens.

1: Unequal. Provision of high quality basic education is extremely unequal and at least 25 percent (%) of children receive such low-quality education that undermines their ability to exercise their basic rights as adult citizens.

2: Somewhat equal. Basic education is relatively equal in quality but ten to 25 percent (%) of children receive such low-quality education that undermines their ability to exercise their basic rights as adult citizens.

3: Relatively equal. Basic education is overall equal in quality but five to ten percent (%) of children receive such low-quality education that probably undermines their ability to exercise their basic rights as adult citizens.

4: Equal. Basic education is equal in quality and less than five percent (%) of children receive such low-quality education that probably undermines their ability to exercise their basic rights as adult citizens.

Indicators included in Figure 4

Core Civil Society Index

Question: How robust is civil society?

Clarifications: The sphere of civil society lies in the public space between the private sphere and the state. Here, citizens organize in groups to pursue their collective interests and ideals. We call these groups civil society organizations (CSOs). CSOs include, but are by no means limited to, interest groups, labor unions, spiritual organizations (if they are engaged in civic or political activities), social movements, professional associations, charities, and other non-governmental organizations. The core civil society index (CCSI) is designed to provide a measure of a robust

civil society, understood as one that enjoys autonomy from the state and in which citizens freely and actively pursue their political and civic goals, however conceived.

Freedom of Association Index (thick)

Question: To what extent are parties, including opposition parties, allowed to form and to participate in elections, and to what extent are civil society organizations able to form and to operate freely?

Women Civil Society Participation Index

Question: Do women have the ability to express themselves and to form and participate in groups?

Clarifications: Women's civil society participation is understood to include open discussion of political issues, participation in civil society organizations, and representation in the ranks of journalists.

Indicators included in Figure 5

Participatory Component Index

Question: To what extent is the participatory principle achieved?

Clarification: The participatory principle of democracy emphasizes active participation by citizens in all political processes, electoral and non-electoral. It is motivated by uneasiness about a bedrock practice of electoral democracy: delegating authority to representatives. Thus, direct rule by citizens is preferred, wherever practicable. This model of democracy thus takes suffrage for granted, emphasizing engagement in civil society organizations, direct democracy, and subnational elected bodies.

Local Government Index

Question: Are there elected local governments, and – if so – to what extent can they operate without interference from unelected bodies at the local level?

Clarification: The lowest score would be reserved for a country that has no elected local governments. A medium score would be accorded a country that has elected local governments but where those governments are subordinate to unelected officials at the local level (perhaps appointed by a higher-level body). A high score would be accorded to a country in which local governments are elected and able to operate without restrictions from unelected actors at the

local level (with the exception of judicial bodies). (Naturally, local governments remain subordinate to the regional and national governments.)

Civil Society Participation Index

Question: Are major CSOs routinely consulted by policymaker; how large is the involvement of people in CSOs; are women prevented from participating; and is legislative candidate nomination within party organization highly decentralized or made through party primaries?

Clarifications: The sphere of civil society lies in the public space between the private sphere and the state. Here, citizens organize in groups to pursue their collective interests and ideals. We call these groups civil society organizations (CSOs). CSOs include, but are by no means limited to, interest groups, labor unions, spiritual organizations (if they are engaged in civic or political activities), social movements, professional associations, charities, and other non-governmental organizations. The core civil society index (CCSI) is designed to provide a measure of a robust civil society, understood as one that enjoys autonomy from the state and in which citizens freely and actively pursue their political and civic goals, however conceived.

Direct Popular Vote Index

Question: To what extent is the direct popular vote utilized?

Clarification: Direct popular voting refers here to an institutionalized process by which citizens of a region or country register their choice or opinion on specific issues through a ballot. It is intended to embrace initiatives, referendums, and plebiscites, as those terms are usually understood. It captures some aspects of the more general concept of direct democracy. The term does *not* encompass recall elections, deliberative assemblies, or settings in which the vote is not secret or the purview is restricted. Likewise, it does not apply to elections for representatives.

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