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EU external actions in the contested global order –
(in)coherence, (dis)continuity, resilience

Kryzys liberalnej demokracji w Europie na podstawie raportów "Democracy Index" The Economist i "Freedom in the World" Freedom House

prof. UAM dr hab. Szymon OSSOWSKI

szymon.ossowski@amu.edu.pl

Academic Year 2020/2021

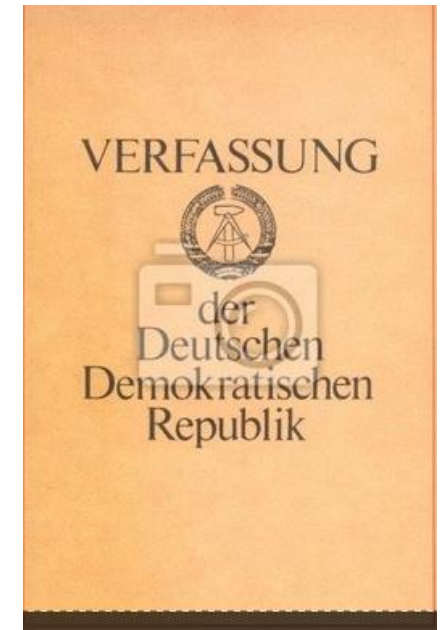
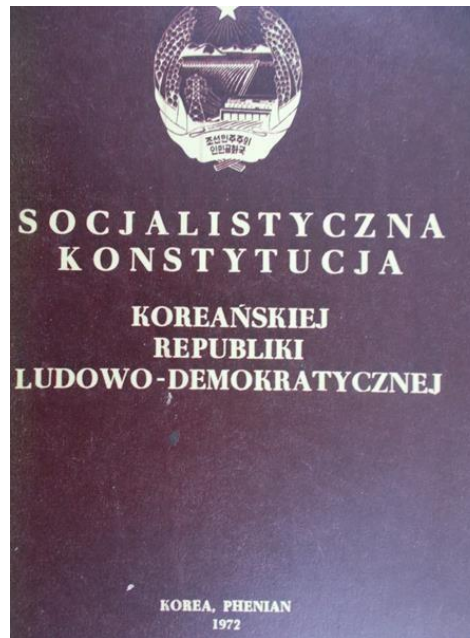
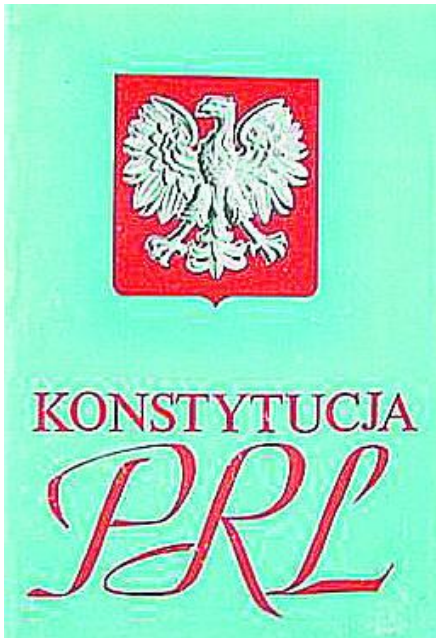


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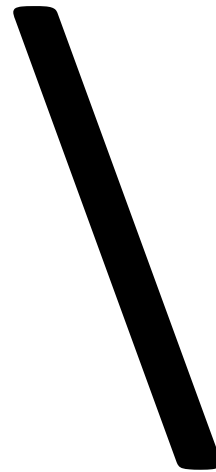
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Jaka jest różnica między demokracją a demokracją socjalistyczną?



Mniej więcej taka, jak między krzesłem a krzesłem elektrycznym!



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Demokracja ma przymiotnik!

Teza: **współczesną formą reżimu demokratycznego jest demokracja liberalna.**

- R. Eatwell i M. Goodwin – „**liberalna demokracja** w formie w pełni rozwiniętej istnieje od koło stu lat” ;
- S. P. Huntington – „świat opowiada się za **liberalną demokracją** przynajmniej w teorii, jeżeli nie zawsze w praktyce”;
- G. Sartori – „**liberalna demokracja** jest znakomitym świadectwem spełnienia pewnego zestawu ideałów”;
- H. Izdebski – „organiczne łączenie ze sobą współczesnej demokracji z zasadą wolności i poszanowania podstawowych praw i wolności. Upoważnia to do twierdzenia o akceptacji transcendentalnej zasady określonej jako **demokracja liberalna**”.



Demokracja ma przymiotnik!

- Z. Kransodębski – „od początku było wiadomo, że chodzi o **demokrację liberalną**”; „dopiero z połączenia wartości demokratycznych i liberalnych powstaje **demokracja liberalna** – ta, która godzi potrzebę respektowania woli większości z wymogami poszanowania wolności jednostki”;
- M. Marczevska-Rytko i P. Śpiewak - oprócz demokracji liberalnej wyróżniają również tzw. **demokrację określaną jako wyborcza lub elektoralna**. Ogranicza się wówczas kryteria demokracji jedynie do wielopartyjnych i regularnie powtarzalnych wyborów;
- **Demokracja wyborcza** to demokracja minimum - zawiera „minimum standards” w kwestiach demokratycznych zasad prawa wyborczego – wolne i uczciwe wybory. **Demokracja liberalna** to „coś więcej” niż wyborcza, to system gwarantujący pewien zbiór wolności obywatelskich.



Fundamentem liberalizmu jest umowa społeczna

- *Co do władzy więc – kiedy oczyma przebiegam*
- *Dzieje całej ludzkości, i cóż w nich spostrzegam?*
- *Oto ród ludzki, dziki, w lasach rozpierzchniony,*
- *Skupia się, zbiera, łączy dla wspólnej obrony,*
- *Obmyśla ją – i to jest najpierwsza obrada.*
- *Potem każdy wolności własnej cząstkę składa*
- *Dla dobra powszechnego: to pierwsza ustawa.*
- *Z której jako ze źródła płyną wszystkie prawa.*
- *Widzimy tędy, że rząd umową się tworzy,*
- *Nie pochodząc, jak mylnie sądzą z woli bożej.*
- *Owóż, rząd na kontrakcie oparty społeczny,*
- *Podział władzy już tylko jest skutkiem koniecznym...*



Umowa społeczna

- **Umowa jest rodzajem kontraktu zawartym pomiędzy autonomicznymi i posiadającymi niezbywalne prawa jednostkami** – indywiduami, który ma zapobiegać konfliktom społecznym;
- Z koncepcji umowy rozwinęło się tak ważne współcześnie pojęcie **konstytucjonalizmu**;
- **Konstytucję** można bowiem zdefiniować jako **artykuły kontraktu**, w wyniku którego powstaje państwo;
- J. Locke – „Gdzie kończy się prawo, zaczyna się tyrania”;
- „Tym, co zapoczątkowuje ukształtowanie społeczeństwa politycznego nie jest nic innego, jak tylko zgoda pewnej grupy wolnych ludzi, zdolnych do utworzenia większości mającej na celu zjednoczenie się i połączenie w takim społeczeństwie. To i tylko to jest tym, co dało lub mogło dać początek istnieniu jakiegokolwiek prawowitego rządu na świecie”.



Demokracja ma przymiotnik!

- Freedom in the World 2020 - „The principles of **liberal democracy** in Europe, historically the best-performing region in *Freedom in the World*, have been under serious pressure in recent years”;
- Freedom in the World 2015 - „President Vladimir Putin made his contempt for the values of **liberal democracy** unmistakably clear”;
- Nations in Transit 2017 - „Populists’ stunning electoral victories in Europe and the United States have shaken the post–Cold War order in Europe and Eurasia, but they could ultimately reinvigorate **liberal democracy**”;
- Democracy Index 2014 - The fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of communism in 1989 led many to hail the triumph of Western **liberal democracy**.



Demokracja ma przymiotnik!

- Freedom in the World 2011 – „Freedom House's term "**electoral democracy**" differs from "**liberal democracy**" in that the latter also implies the presence of a substantial array of civil liberties. In the survey all Free countries qualify as both electoral and liberal democracies. **By contrast, some Partly Free countries qualify as electoral, but not liberal, democracies**”;
- Nations in Transit 2017 – „Countries receiving this score are **electoral democracies** that meet relatively high standards for the selection of national leaders but exhibit weaknesses in their defense of political rights and civil liberties”;
- Freedom in the World 2017 - „The number of **electoral democracies** stood at 123, two fewer than in 2015”.



Freedom House

- **1941 - Freedom House founded** by a group of prominent individuals, including journalists, scholars, political figures, and labor leaders. Eleanor Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie serve as honorary co-chairpersons.
- **1972 - The inaugural publication of the Map of Freedom and the annual survey which becomes *Freedom in the World***, Freedom House's flagship publication on the state of freedom.
- **1979 - First publication of *Freedom of the Press***, a global survey of media independence.
- **1995 - First publication of *Nations in Transit***, an annual publication tracking democratic development in countries of the former Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe
- Freedom House launched an entirely new initiative, a **report** that employed the methods of social science analysis to assess the level of freedom in each country in the world, with a numerical score and ranking as **Free, Partly Free, or Not Free**.



Freedom in the World Country Ratings

Freedom in the World edition +	Year/dates covered *	Total Countries	Free Countries		Partly Free Countries		Not Free Countries	
			Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
2015	2014	195	89	46	55	28	51	26
2014	2013	195	88	45	59	30	48	24
2013	2012	195	90	46	58	30	47	24
2012	2011	195	87	45	60	31	48	24
2011	2010	194	87	45	60	31	47	24
2010	2009	194	89	46	58	30	47	24
2009	2008	193	89	46	62	32	42	22
2008	2007	193	90	47	60	31	43	22
2007	Dec. 1, 2005-Dec. 31, 2006	193	90	47	58	30	45	23
2006	Dec. 1, 2004-Nov. 30, 2005	192	89	46	58	30	45	24
2005	Dec. 1, 2003-Nov. 30, 2004	192	89	46	54	28	49	26
2004	Jan. 1, 2003-Nov. 30, 2003	192	88	46	55	29	49	25
2003	2002	192	89	46	55	29	48	25
2001-2002	2001	192	85	44	59	31	48	25
2000-2001	2000	192	86	45	58	30	48	25
1999-2000	1999	192	85	44	60	31	47	25
1998-1999	1998	191	88	46	53	28	50	26
1997-1998	1997	191	81	42	57	30	53	28
1996-1997	1996	191	79	41	59	31	53	28
1995-1996	1995	191	76	40	62	32	53	28
1994-1995	1994	191	76	40	61	32	54	28
1993-1994	1993	190	72	38	63	33	55	29
1992-1993	1992	186	75	40	73	39	38	21
1991-1992	1991	183	76	42	65	35	42	23
1990-1991	1990	165	65	40	50	30	50	30
1989-1990	Nov. 1988-Dec. 1989	167	61	37	44	26	62	37
1988-1989	Nov. 1987-Nov. 1988	167	60	36	39	23	68	41
1987-1988	Nov. 1986-Nov. 1987	167	58	35	58	35	51	30
1986-1987	Nov. 1985-Nov. 1986	167	57	34	57	34	53	32
1985-1986	Nov. 1984-Nov. 1985	167	56	34	56	34	55	33
1984-1985	Nov. 1983-Nov. 1984	167	53	32	59	35	55	33
1983-1984	Aug. 2, 1982-Nov. 1983	166	52	31	56	34	58	35
1982	Jan. 1, 1981-Aug. 1, 1982	165	54	33	47	28	64	39
1981	1980	162	51	31	51	31	60	37
1980	1979	161	51	32	54	33	56	35
1979	1978	158	47	30	56	35	55	35
1978	1977	155	43	28	48	31	64	41
Jan.-Feb. 1977	1976	159	42	26	49	31	68	43
Jan.-Feb. 1976	1975	158	40	25	53	34	65	41
Jan.-Feb. 1975	1974	152	41	27	48	32	63	41
Jan.-Feb. 1974	1973	151	44	29	42	28	65	43
Jan.-Feb. 1973	1972	151 [150] §	44 [43] §	29	38	25	69	46

* Unless otherwise noted, the year/dates covered by each edition are January 1 through December 31.

+ These years refer to the various editions of *Freedom in the World*, except for the first five years (Jan.-Feb. 1973 through Jan.-Feb. 1977), which are from *Freedom at Issue*, the first *Freedom in the World* book survey is the 1978 edition.



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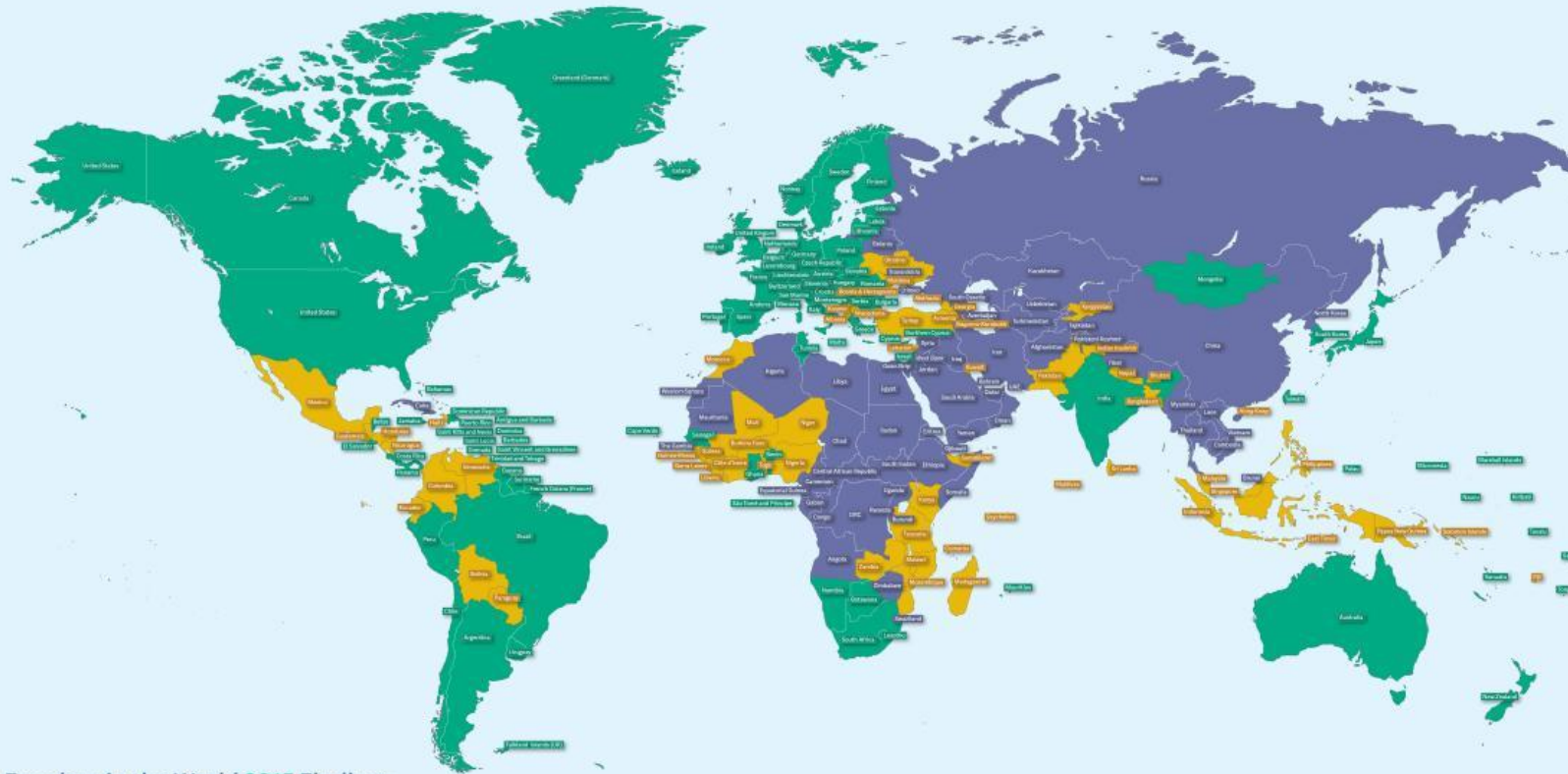
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FREEDOM IN THE WORLD 2015

freedomhouse.org



Freedom in the World 2015 Findings

The Map of Freedom reflects the findings of *Freedom in the World 2015*, which rates the level of political rights and civil liberties in 210 countries and territories during 2014. Based on these ratings, each country or territory is designated as **Free**, **Partly Free**, or **Not Free**.

A Free country has broad scope for open political competition and a climate of respect for civil liberties. Partly Free countries have some restrictions on political rights and civil liberties. In a Not Free country, basic political rights and civil liberties are absent or systematically violated.

Freedom Status	Country Breakdown	Population Breakdown
FREE	88 (45%)	2,826,850,000 (40%)
PARTLY FREE	59 (30%)	1,822,000,000 (25%)
NOT FREE	48 (25%)	2,467,900,000 (35%)
Total	195	7,116,750,000

■ FREE
■ PARTLY FREE
■ NOT FREE

Freedom House is an independent nongovernmental organization that supports the expansion of freedom worldwide.

Territories, as opposed to independent countries, are labeled in italics when rated separately.

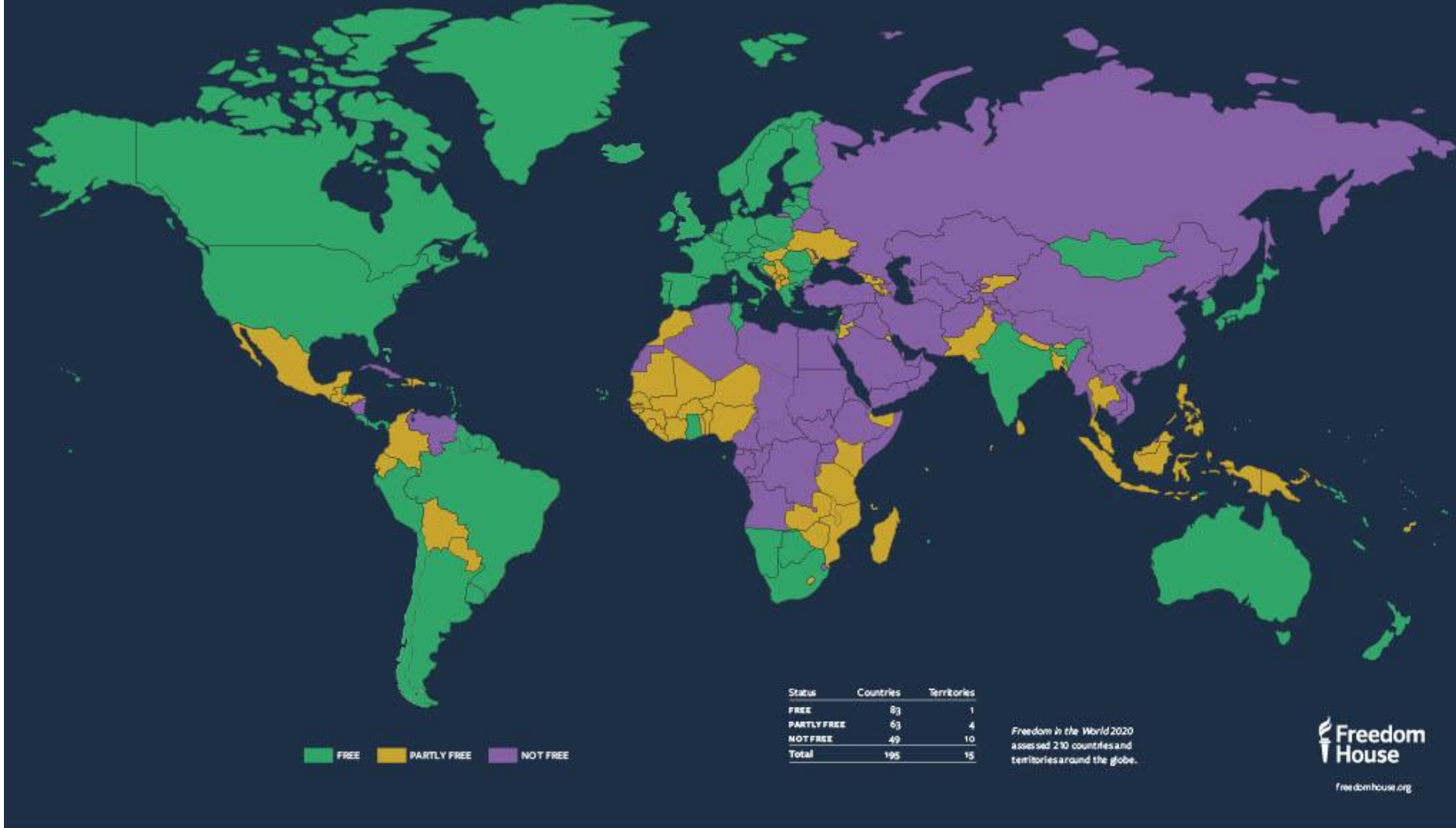


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FREEDOM IN THE WORLD 2020



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Freedom House - Methodology

- **Country or territory is awarded 0 to 4 points for each of 10 political rights indicators and 15 civil liberties indicators**, which take the form of questions; a score of 0 represents the smallest degree of freedom and 4 the greatest degree of freedom.
- **The political rights questions** are grouped into three subcategories: Electoral Process (3 questions), Political Pluralism and Participation (4), and Functioning of Government (3).
- **The civil liberties questions** are grouped into four subcategories: Freedom of Expression and Belief (4 questions), Associational and Organizational Rights (3), Rule of Law (4), and Personal Autonomy and Individual Rights (4)



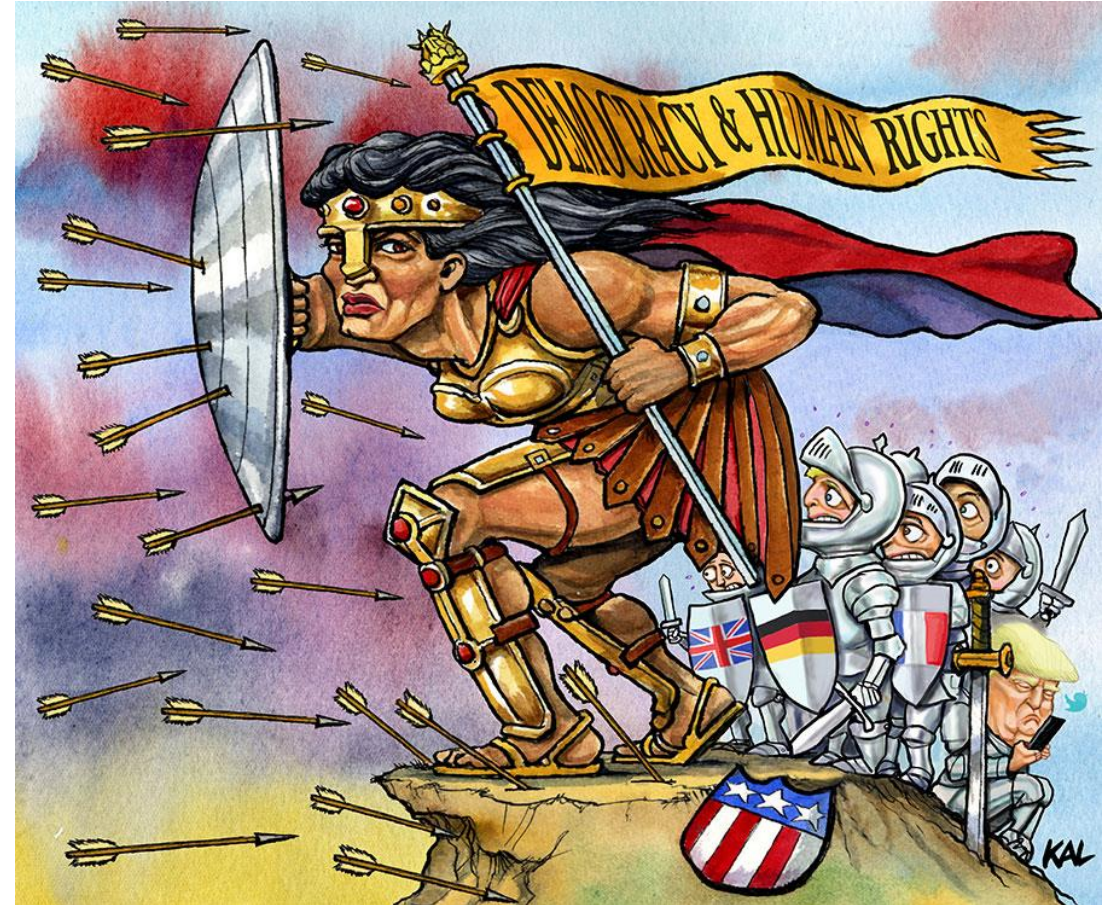
Freedom House - Methodology

A country or territory's *Freedom in the World* status depends on its aggregate **Political Rights score**, on a scale of **0–40**, and its aggregate **Civil Liberties score**, on a scale of **0–60**.

 Status	Political Rights score							
	0-5*	6-11	12-17	18-23	24-29	30-35	36-40	
Civil Liberties score	53-60	PF	PF	PF	F	F	F	F
	44-52	PF	PF	PF	PF	F	F	F
	35-43	PF	PF	PF	PF	PF	F	F
	26-34	NF	PF	PF	PF	PF	PF	F
	17-25	NF	NF	PF	PF	PF	PF	PF
	8-16	NF	NF	NF	PF	PF	PF	PF
	0-7	NF	NF	NF	NF	PF	PF	PF



Freedom House - *Freedom in the World 2018 i 2019*



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Freedom House – *Freedom in the World* (tytuły)

- FIW 2014 - The Democratic Leadership **Gap**
- FIW 2015 - **Discarding** Democracy: Return to the Iron Fist
- FIW 2016 - Anxious Dictators, **Wavering** Democracies: Global Freedom under Pressure
- W 2017 - Populists and Autocrats: The Dual **Threat** to Global Democracy
- FIW 2018 - Democracy in **Crisis**
- FIW 2019 - Democracy in **Retreat**
- FIW 2020 - A Leaderless Struggle for Democracy

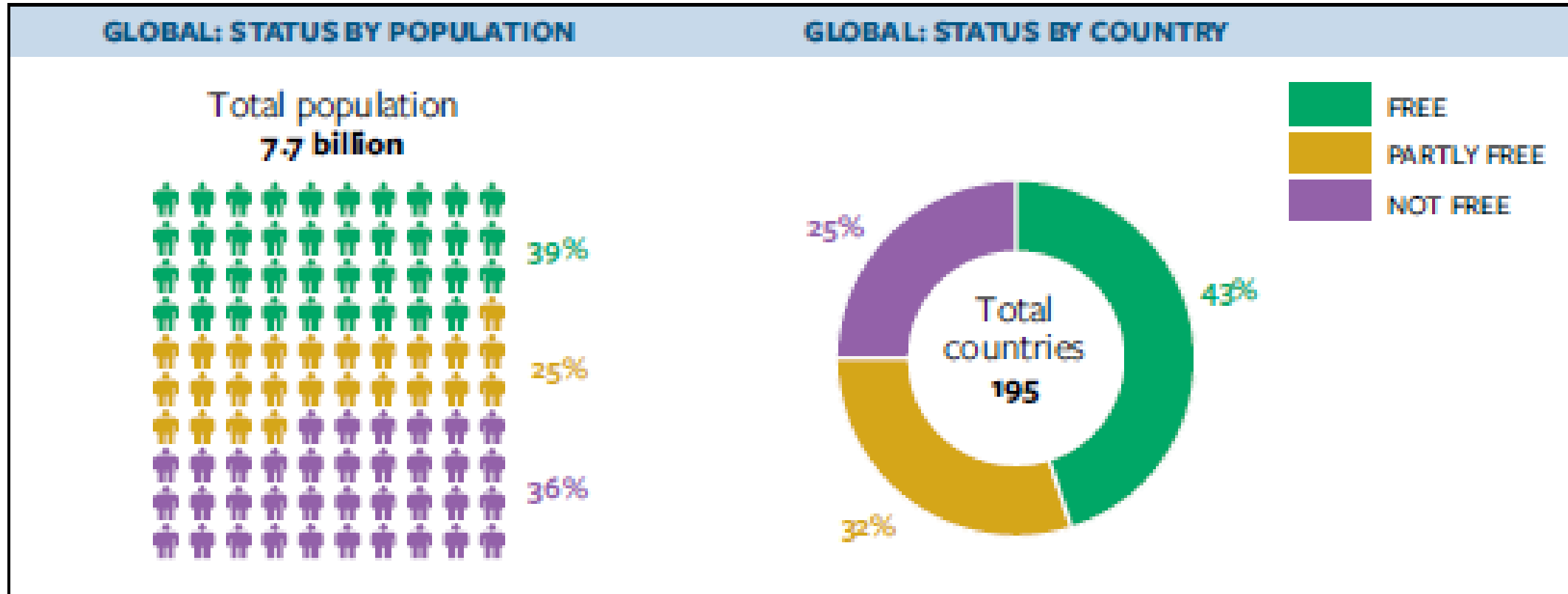


Freedom House – *Nations in Transit* (tytuły)

- NIT 2015 - Eurasia's **Rupture** with Democracy
- NIR 2016 - Europe and Eurasia Brace for **impact**
- NIR 2017 - The **False Promise** of Populism
- NIT 2018 - **Confronting** illiberalism
- NIT 2020 - **Dropping** the Democratic Facade



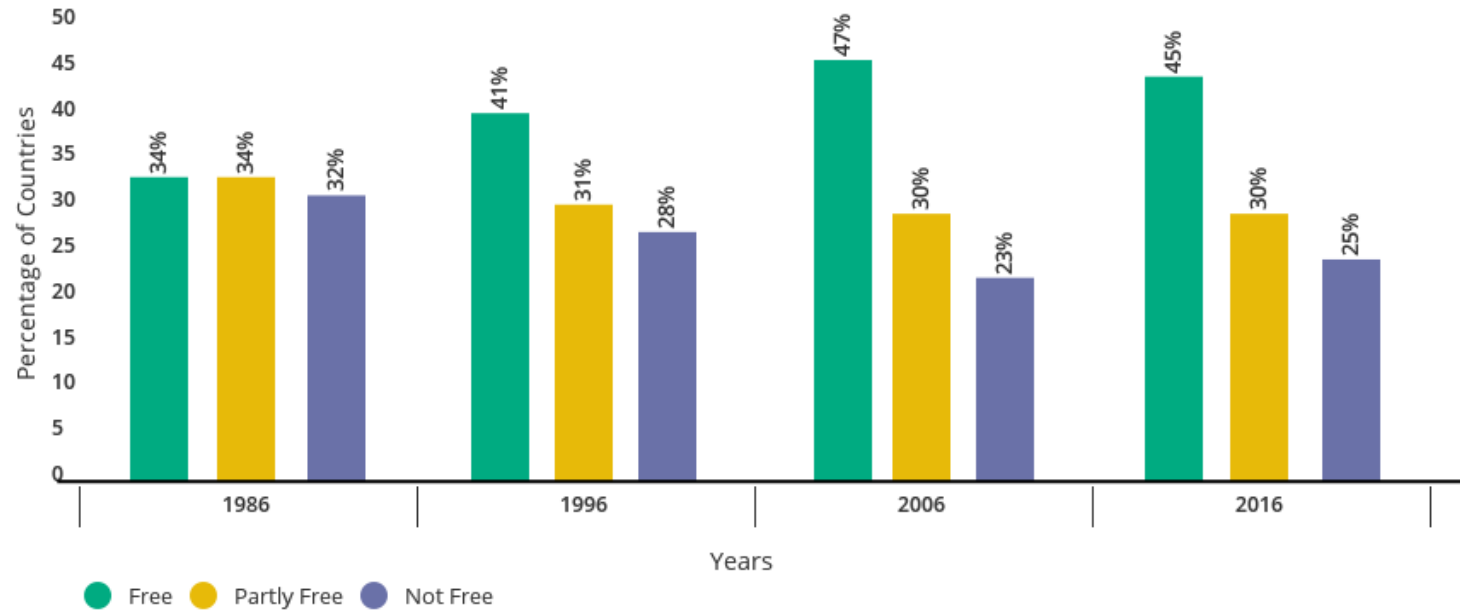
Freedom House - *Freedom in the World 2020*



Freedom House - *Freedom in the World 2020*

Freedom in the World 2017

Freedom in the Balance



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Freedom House - *Freedom in the World 2020*

FREEDOM IN THE BALANCE

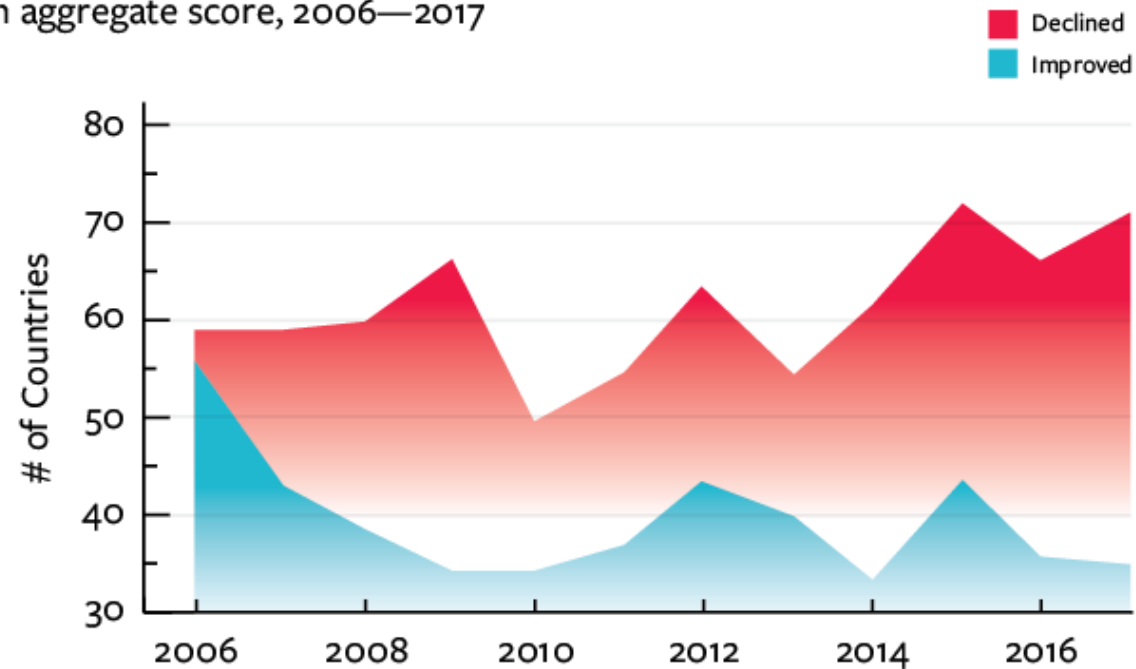
After years of major gains, the share of Free countries has declined over the past decade, while the share of Not Free countries has risen.



Freedom House - *Freedom in the World*

Twelve Years of Decline

Number of countries that declined and improved in aggregate score, 2006—2017



www.freedomintheworld.org



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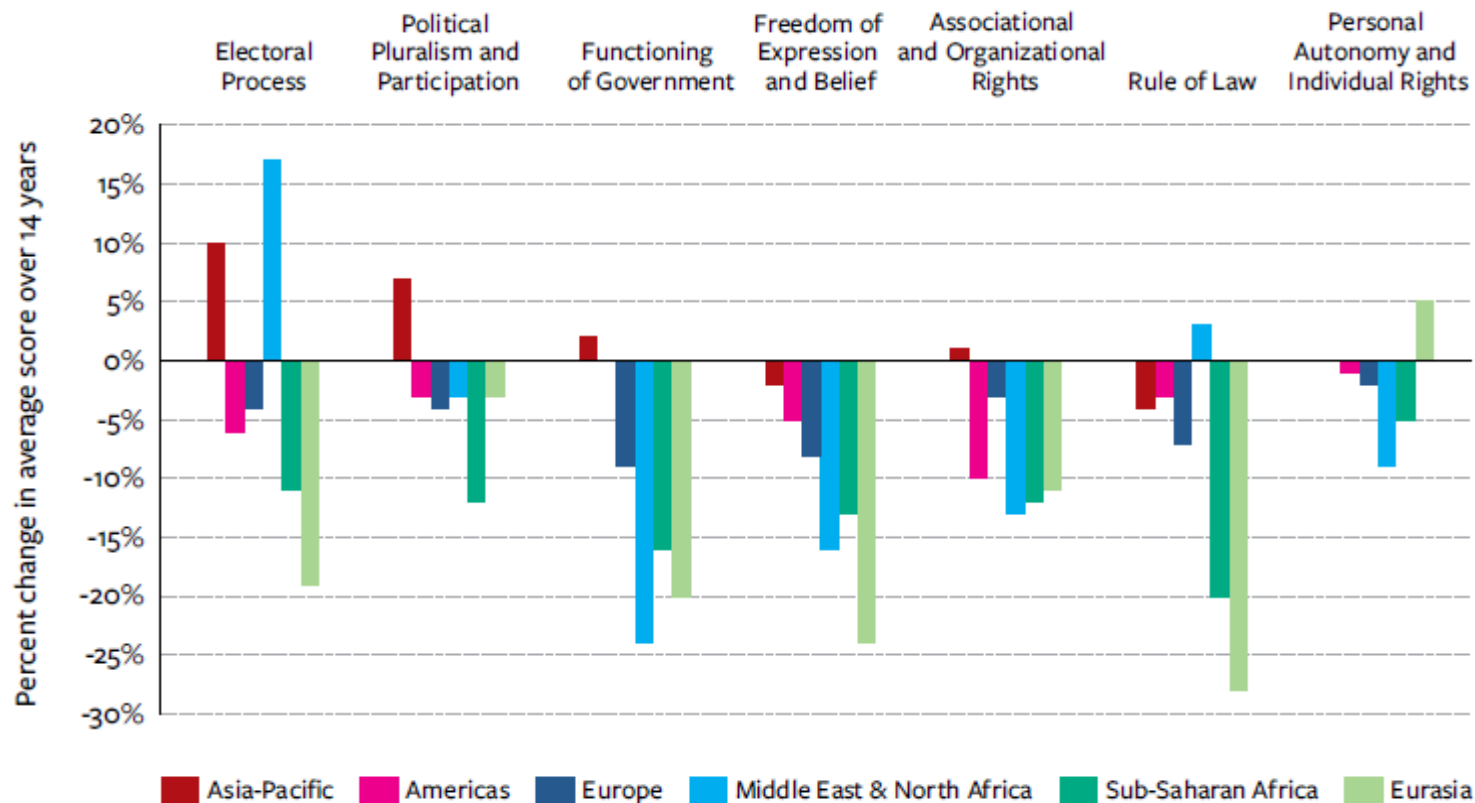
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Freedom House - *Freedom in the World* 2020

DECLINES ACROSS THE BOARD

The 14 years of decline have affected all regions and *Freedom in the World* subcategories.

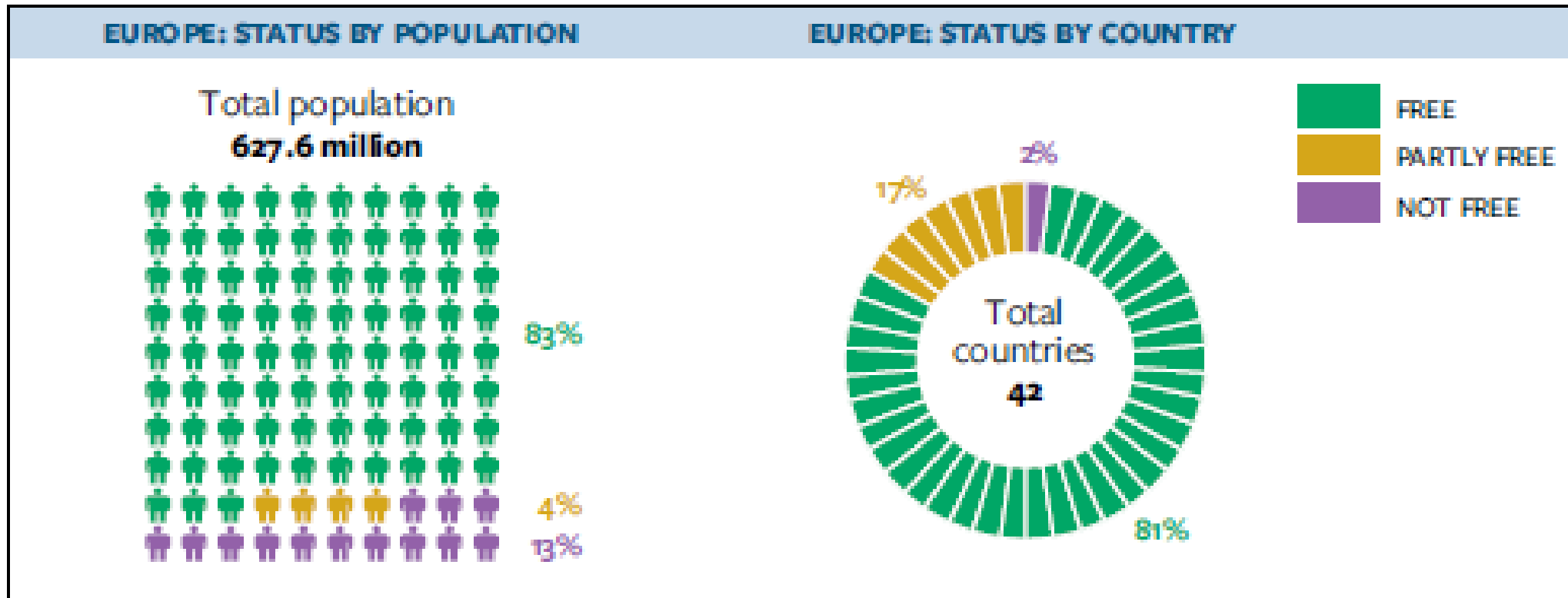


Freedom in the World 2020 - Europe

- The principles of **liberal democracy** in Europe, historically the best-performing region in *Freedom in the World*, have been under serious pressure in recent years.
- In the **Czech Republic**, Prime Minister Andrej Babiš's replacement of the justice minister with a close ally raised concerns that he was attempting to block criminal charges for his alleged misuse of European Union funds, prompting the country's **largest protests since 1989**.
- **Poland's** legislative elections laid bare the extent to which the ruling Law and Justice party had politically captured the state media, whose taxpayer-funded broadcasts leading up to the voting amounted to **partisan propaganda**.

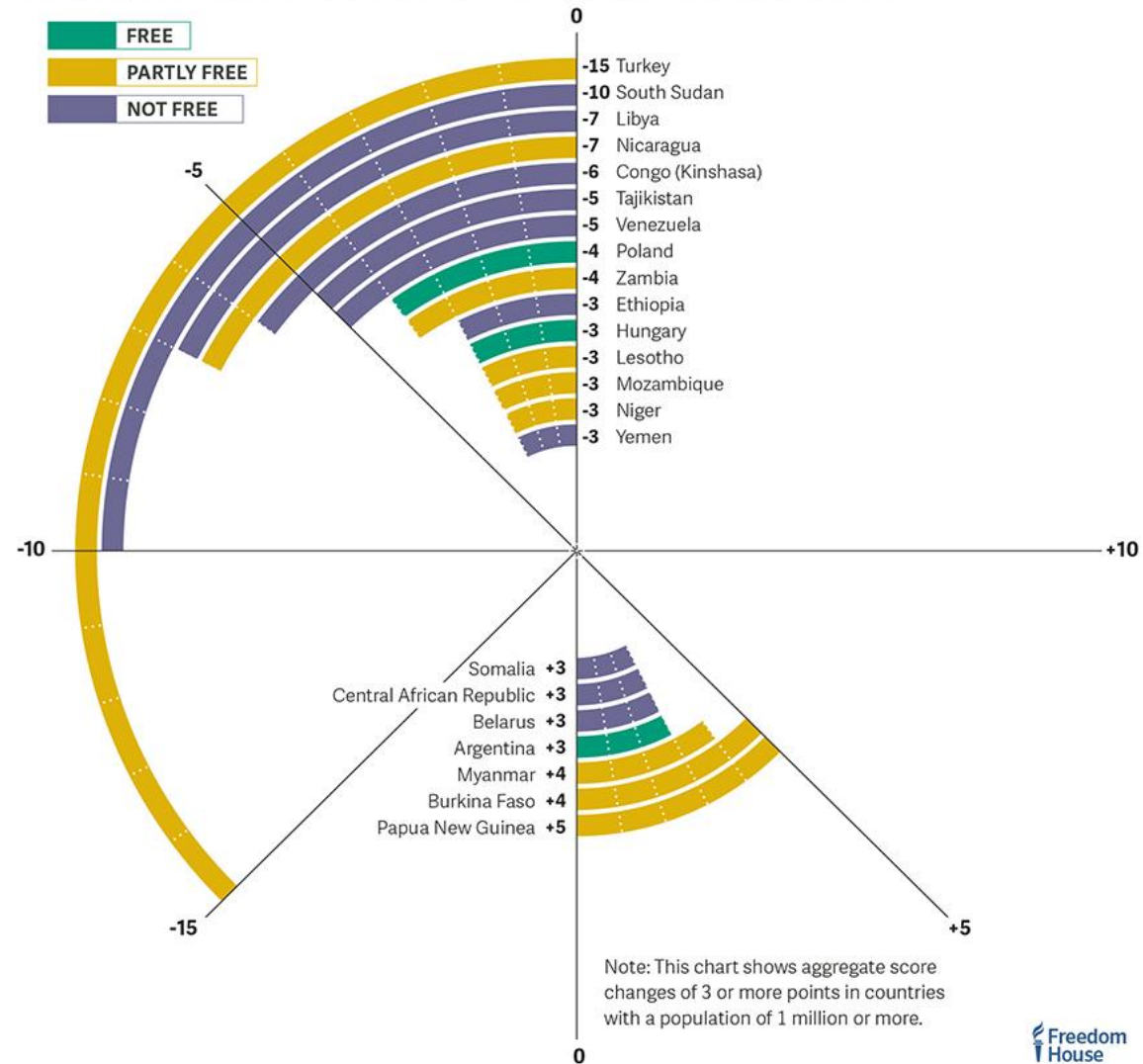


Freedom House - *Freedom in the World 2020*



Largest One-Year Gains and Declines, 2016

Gains in aggregate score reflect improvements in conditions for political rights and civil liberties.



Freedom House



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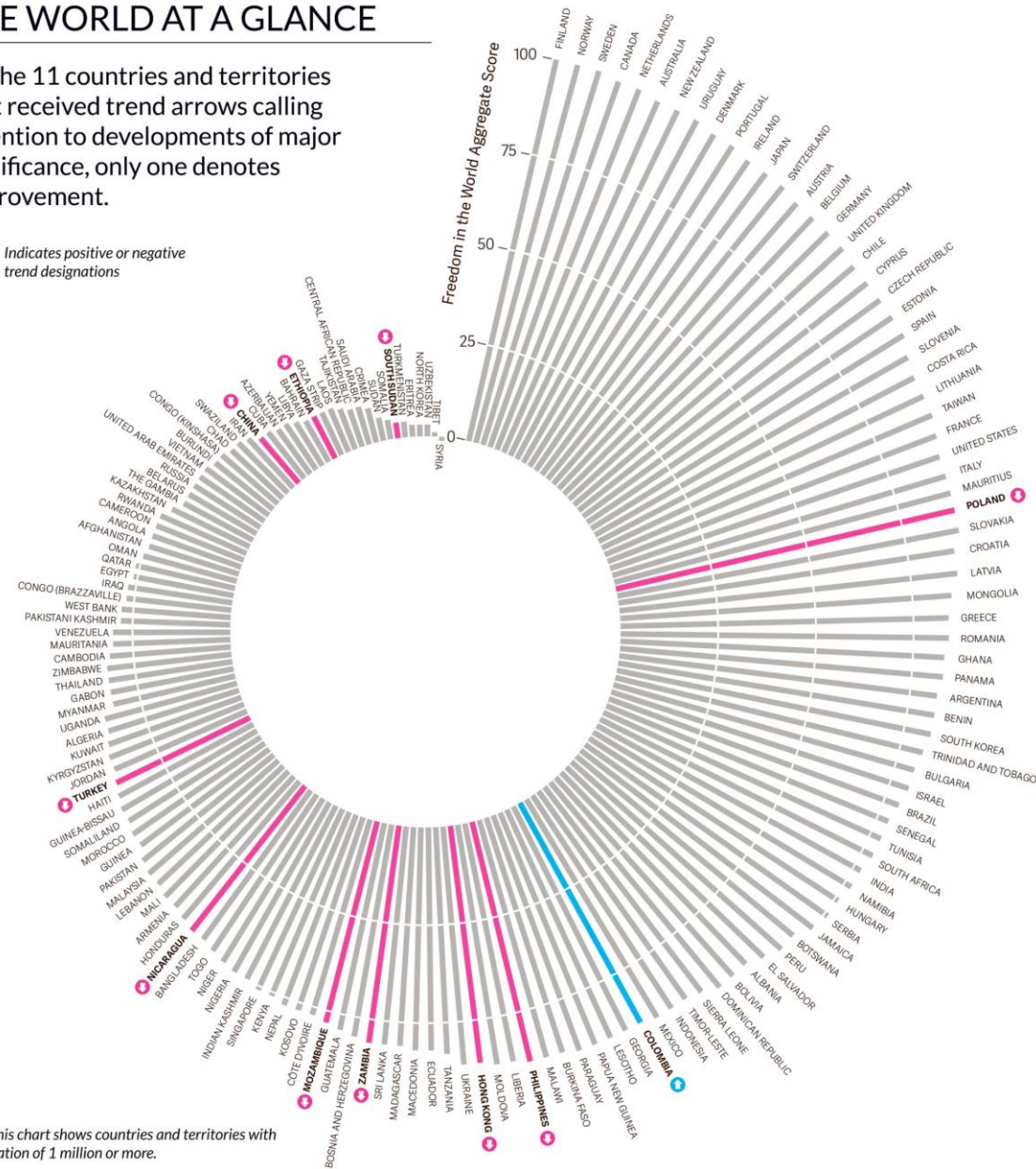
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THE WORLD AT A GLANCE

Of the 11 countries and territories that received trend arrows calling attention to developments of major significance, only one denotes improvement.

⬆️ ⬇️ Indicates positive or negative trend designations

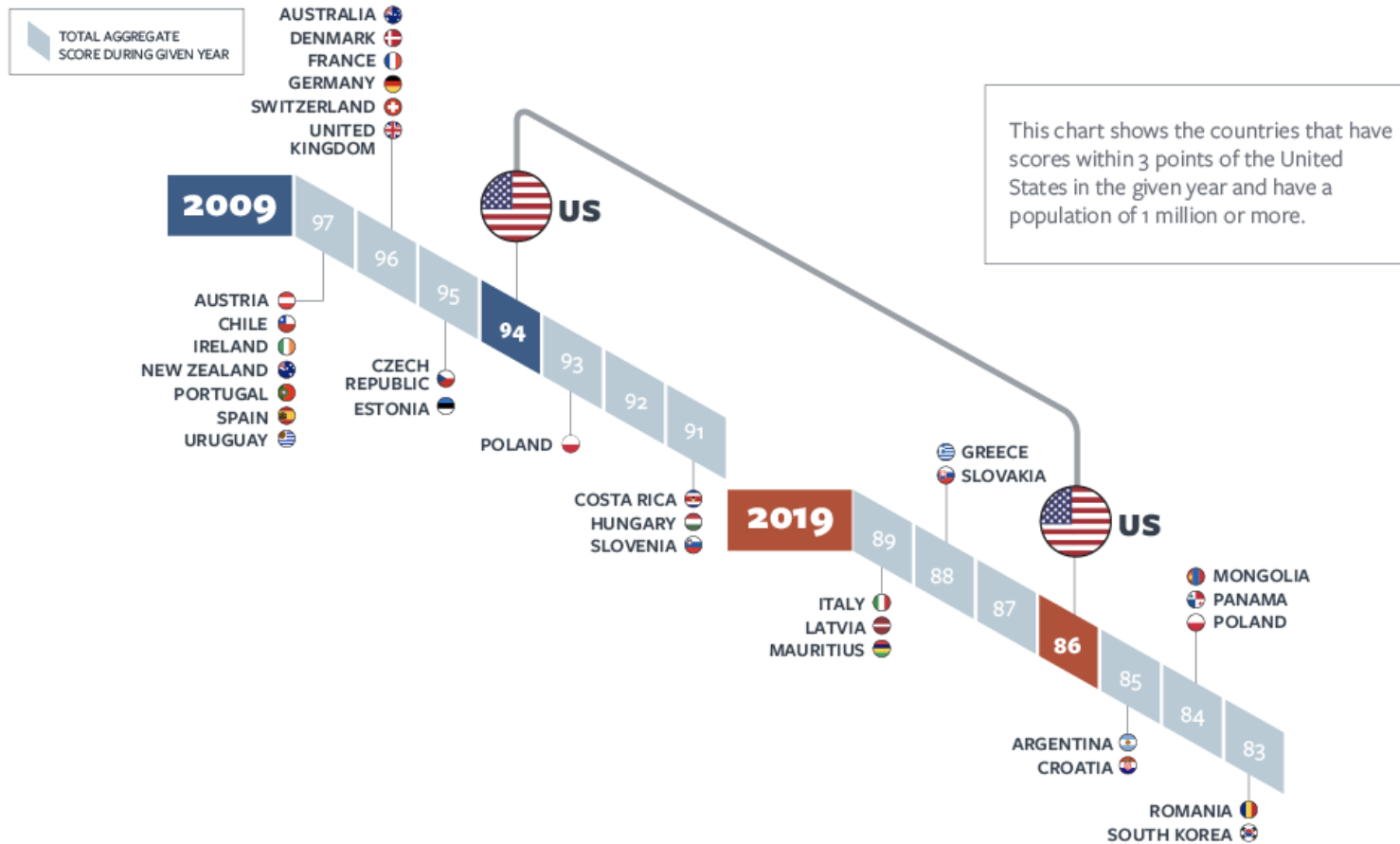


Note: This chart shows countries and territories with a population of 1 million or more.



How Does the United States Match Up?

After declining by eight points in 10 years, the US has fallen below its traditional democratic peers.



Note: *Freedom in the World* aggregate scores are on a scale from 0 to 100, where 0 is least free and 100 is most free. This infographic is from the *Freedom in the World 2020* report by freedomhouse.org



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COUNTRIES IN THE SPOTLIGHT

The following countries saw important developments in 2018 that affected their democratic trajectory, and deserve special scrutiny in 2019.



ARMENIA

Nikol Pashinyan's reform-minded alliance won snap elections after unpopular incumbent Serzh Sargsyan unsuccessfully attempted to extend his rule.



ETHIOPIA

Following protests, a new reformist prime minister lifted the state of emergency, released political prisoners, and permitted more open political debate.



BRAZIL

Right-wing candidate Jair Bolsonaro captured the presidency with rhetoric steeped in disdain for democratic principles.



IRAQ

Despite allegations of fraud and a controversial recount, competitive elections led to a peaceful transfer of power.



CAMBODIA

Leader Hun Sen secured near-total power in lopsided elections held after authorities dissolved the main opposition party and shuttered independent media.



POLAND

The conservative ruling party has laid waste to the country's legal framework in its drive to assert control over the judiciary.



CAMEROON

Long-time president Paul Biya extended his rule through deeply flawed elections, while the ongoing Anglophone crisis threatened to deteriorate into civil war.



SRI LANKA

President Maithripala Sirisena's unilateral dismissal of the prime minister threatened recent democratic gains, though the Supreme Court declared the move unconstitutional.



CHINA

Over a million ethnic Uighurs and others were forced into brutal "reeducation" centers, while President Xi Jinping's position was secured indefinitely.



TANZANIA

The government arrested opposition leaders, stifled protests, and pushed for legislation to further cement the ruling party's stranglehold on politics.



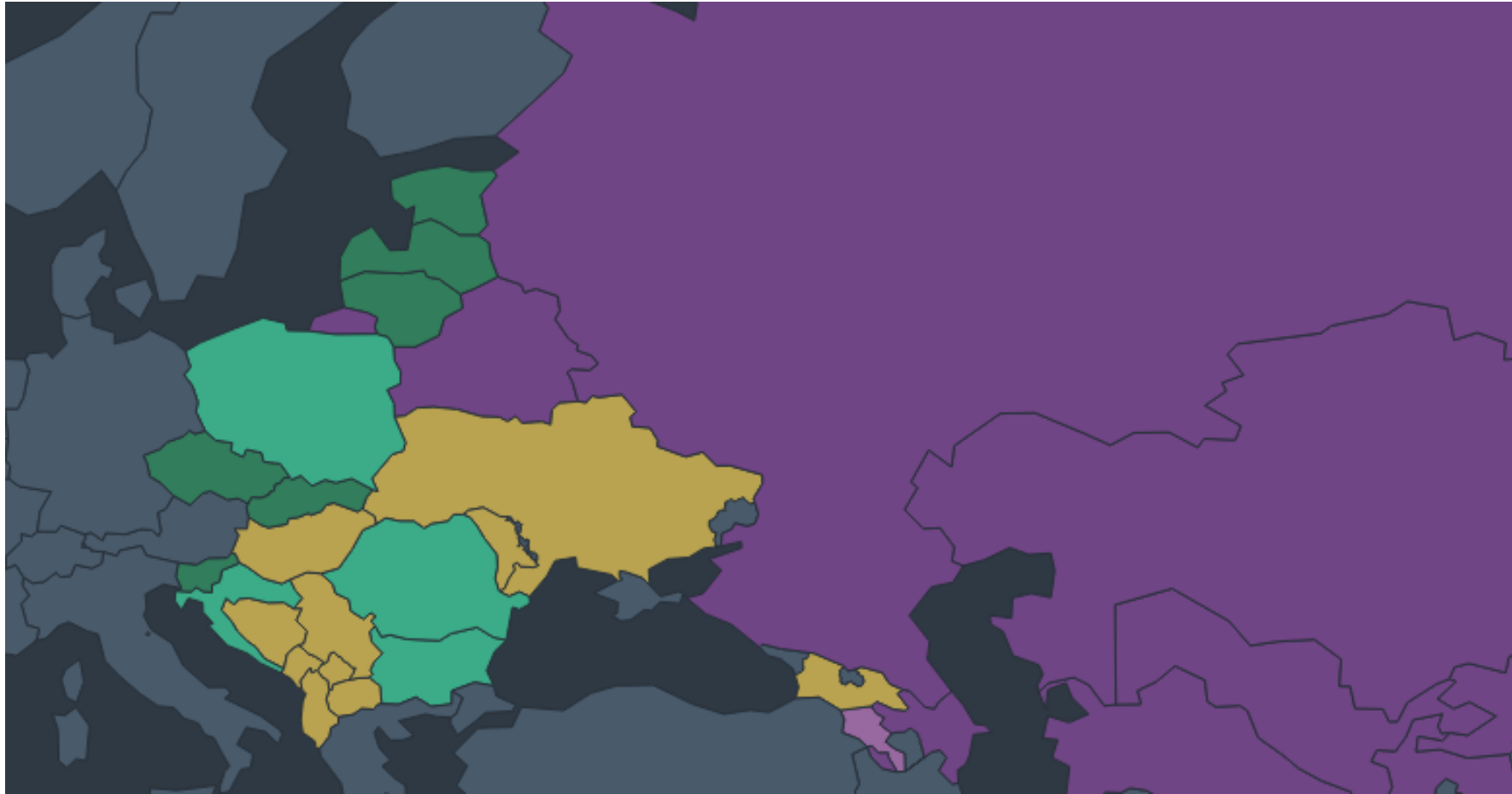
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Nations in Transit 2020



Democracy Status

In 2019, a record low 10 of 29 countries were classified as democracies.



Consolidated Authoritarian Regime



Semi-Consolidated Authoritarian Regime



Transitional or Hybrid Regime



Semi-Consolidated Democracy



Consolidated Democracy

Democracy Statuses are determined by the Democracy Score. [See the methodology.](#)



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Nations in Transit

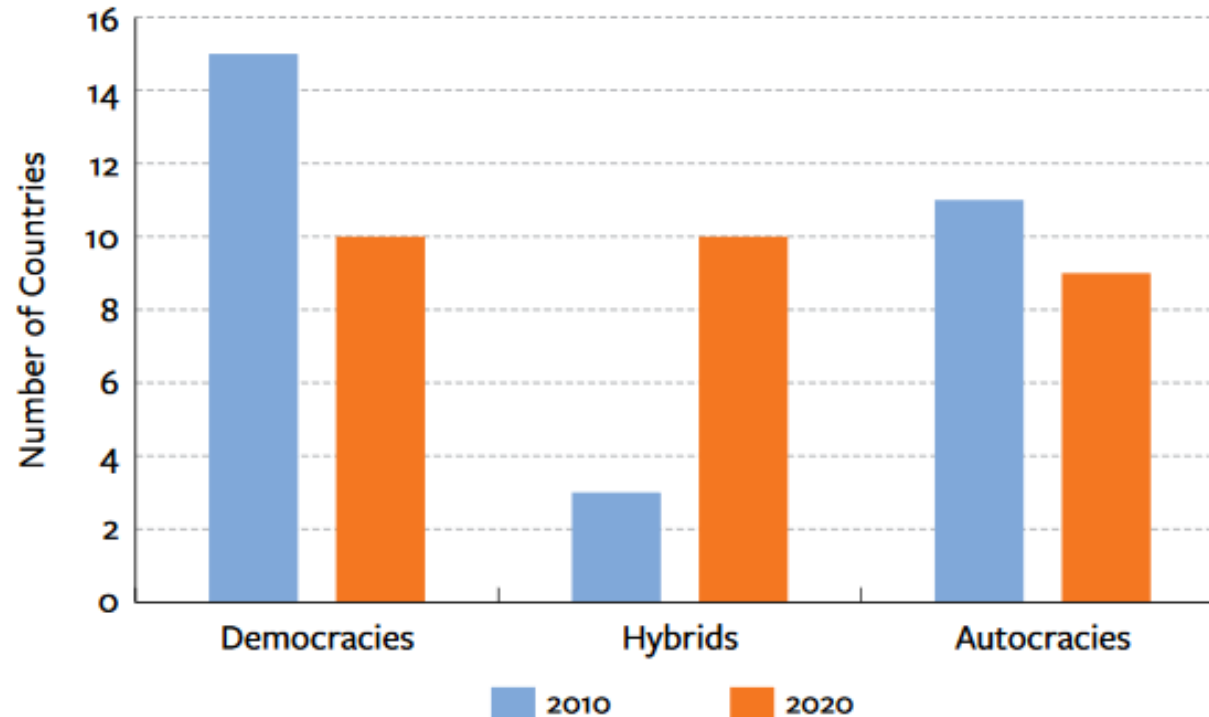
CHANGES IN DEMOCRACY SCORES SINCE 2007 IN EU MEMBER STATES AND CANDIDATES



Nations in Transit 2020

DEMOCRATIC DISINTEGRATION

There are 10 democracies in the region today, down from 15 in 2010, while the number of hybrid regimes has more than tripled in the past decade, rising from 3 to 10. There has been little movement on the authoritarian end of the spectrum, with 11 such regimes in 2010 and 9 in 2020.



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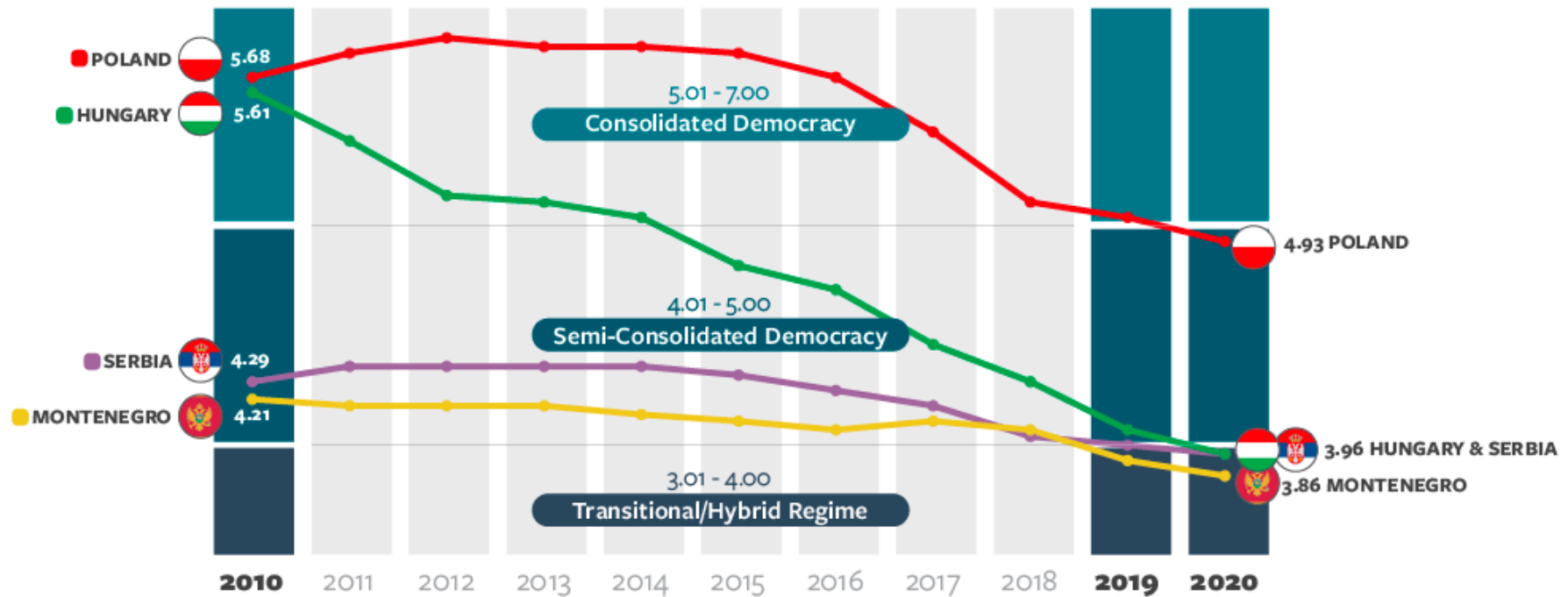
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Nations in Transit 2020

Leading the Democratic Decline

The breakdown of the democratic consensus has been most visible in Central Europe and the Balkans, which experienced the greatest gains after the end of the Cold War.



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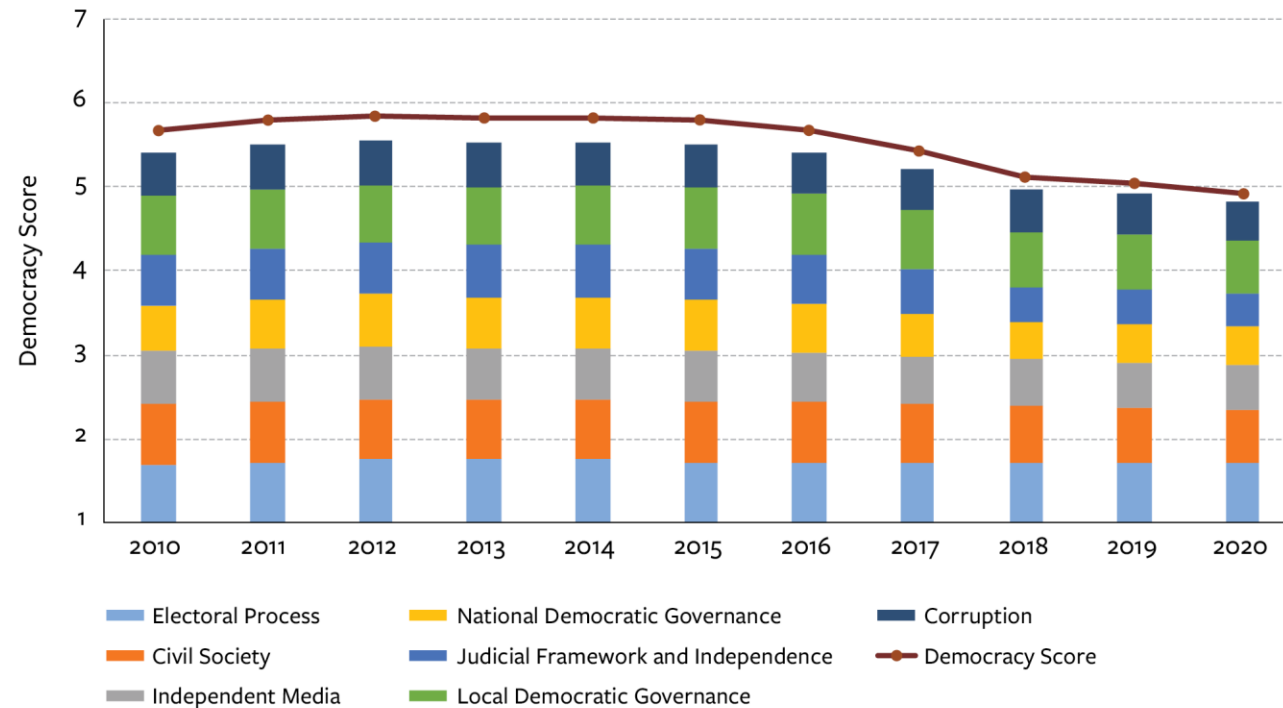
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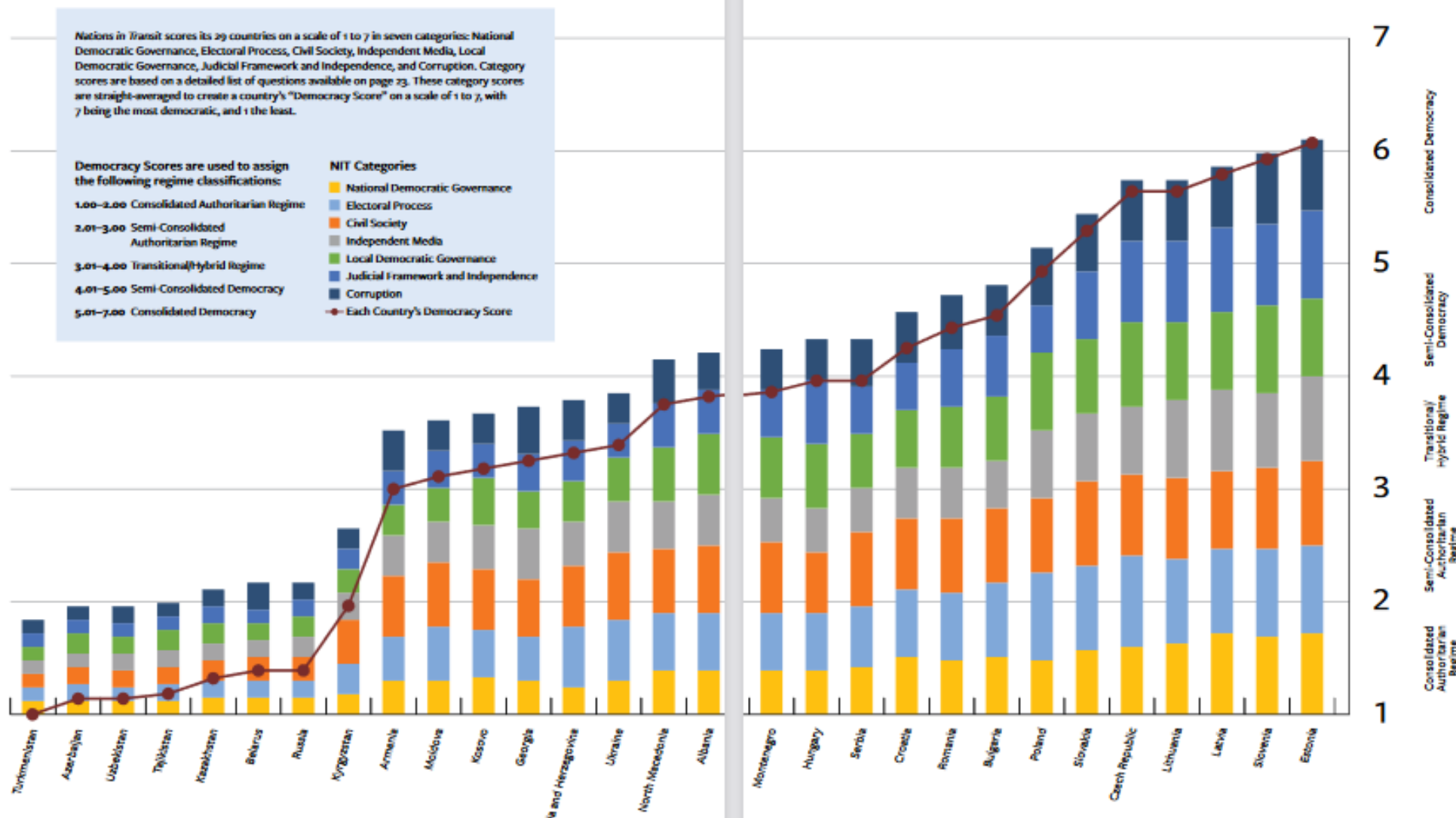


Nations in Transit 2020

POLAND'S TEN-YEAR DECLINE



NATIONS IN TRANSIT 2020 SCORES



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NATIONS IN TRANSIT 2020: OVERVIEW OF SCORE CHANGES

▼ Decline ▲ Improvement □ Unchanged

	Country	Democracy Score	Democracy %	NDG	EP	CS	IM	LDG	JFI	CO
BALKANS	Albania	3.89 TO 3.82	47%	▼	▼					
	Bosnia and Herzegovina	3.32	39%							
	Croatia	4.25	56%							
	Kosovo	3.11 TO 3.18	36%	▲			▲			
	North Macedonia	3.68 TO 3.75	46%		▲		▲			
	Montenegro	3.93 TO 3.86	48%						▼	▼
	Serbia	4.00 TO 3.96	49%							▼
CENTRAL EUROPE	Bulgaria	4.61 TO 4.54	59%		▼		▼			
	Czech Republic	5.71 TO 5.64	77%				▼		▼	
	Estonia	6.11 TO 6.07	85%				▼			
	Hungary	4.07 TO 3.96	49%		▼			▼		▼
	Latvia	5.86 TO 5.79	80%						▼	▼
	Lithuania	5.61 TO 5.64	77%		▲					
	Poland	5.04 TO 4.93	65%			▼		▼	▼	
	Romania	4.43	57%							
	Slovakia	5.36 TO 5.29	71%		▼				▼	
	Slovenia	5.93	82%							
EURASIA	Armenia	2.93 TO 3.00	33%		▲					▲
	Azerbaijan	1.07 TO 1.14	2%		▲	▲				
	Belarus	1.59	7%							
	Georgia	3.29 TO 3.25	38%						▼	
	Kazakhstan	1.29 TO 1.32	5%			▲				
	Kyrgyzstan	2.00 TO 1.96	16%							▼
	Moldova	3.04 TO 3.11	35%	▲						▲
	Russia	1.43 TO 1.39	7%			▼				
	Tajikistan	1.21 TO 1.18	3%					▼		
	Turkmenistan	1.04 TO 1.00	0%					▼		
	Ukraine	3.36 TO 3.39	40%	▲						
	Uzbekistan	1.11 TO 1.14	2%							▲

CATEGORIES:

NDG – National Democratic Governance
 EP – Electoral Process
 CS – Civil Society
 IM – Independent Media
 LDG – Local Democratic Governance
 JFI – Judicial Framework and Independence
 CO – Corruption

The NIT ratings are based on a scale of 1 to 7, with 7 representing the highest level of democratic progress and 1 the lowest. The NIT 2020 ratings reflect the period from 1 January through 31 December 2019.



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Nations in Transit 2020

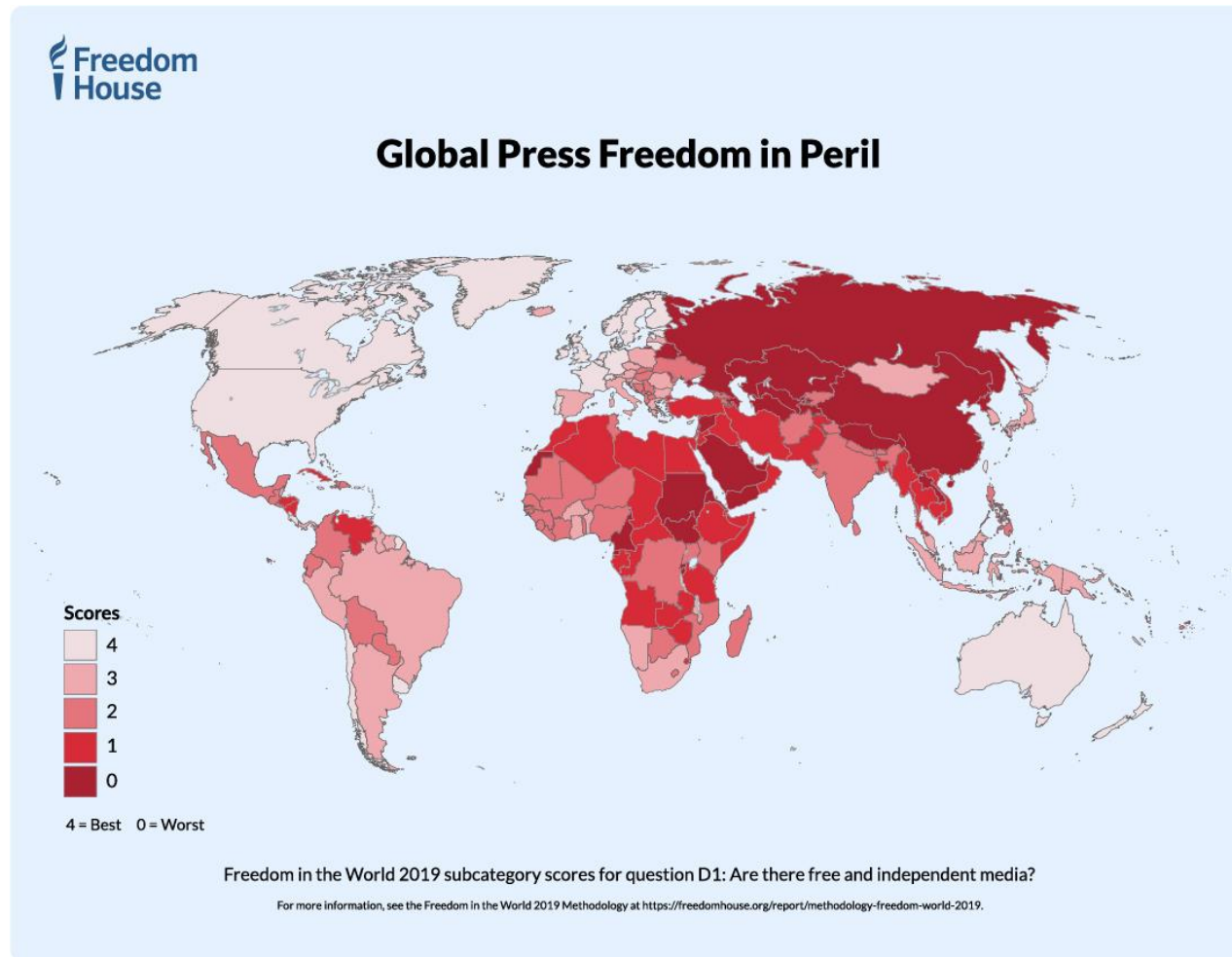
Country	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
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Central Europe

Bulgaria	4.96	4.93	4.86	4.82	4.75	4.71	4.75	4.64	4.61	4.61	4.54	▼
Czech Republic	5.79	5.82	5.82	5.86	5.75	5.79	5.79	5.75	5.71	5.71	5.64	▼
Estonia	6.04	6.07	6.07	6.04	6.04	6.04	6.07	6.07	6.18	6.11	6.07	▼
Hungary	5.61	5.39	5.14	5.11	5.04	4.82	4.71	4.46	4.29	4.07	3.96	▼
Latvia	5.82	5.86	5.89	5.93	5.93	5.93	5.93	5.96	5.93	5.86	5.79	▼
Lithuania	5.75	5.75	5.71	5.68	5.64	5.64	5.68	5.68	5.64	5.61	5.64	▲
Poland	5.68	5.79	5.86	5.82	5.82	5.79	5.68	5.43	5.11	5.04	4.93	▼
Romania	4.54	4.57	4.57	4.50	4.54	4.54	4.54	4.61	4.54	4.43	4.43	▼
Slovakia	5.32	5.46	5.50	5.43	5.39	5.36	5.39	5.39	5.39	5.36	5.29	▼
Slovenia	6.07	6.07	6.11	6.11	6.07	6.07	6.00	5.96	5.93	5.93	5.93	▼
Average	5.56	5.57	5.55	5.53	5.50	5.47	5.45	5.40	5.33	5.27	5.22	
Median	5.72	5.77	5.77	5.75	5.70	5.72	5.68	5.56	5.52	5.48	5.46	



FREEDOM AND THE MEDIA 2019: A Downward Spiral

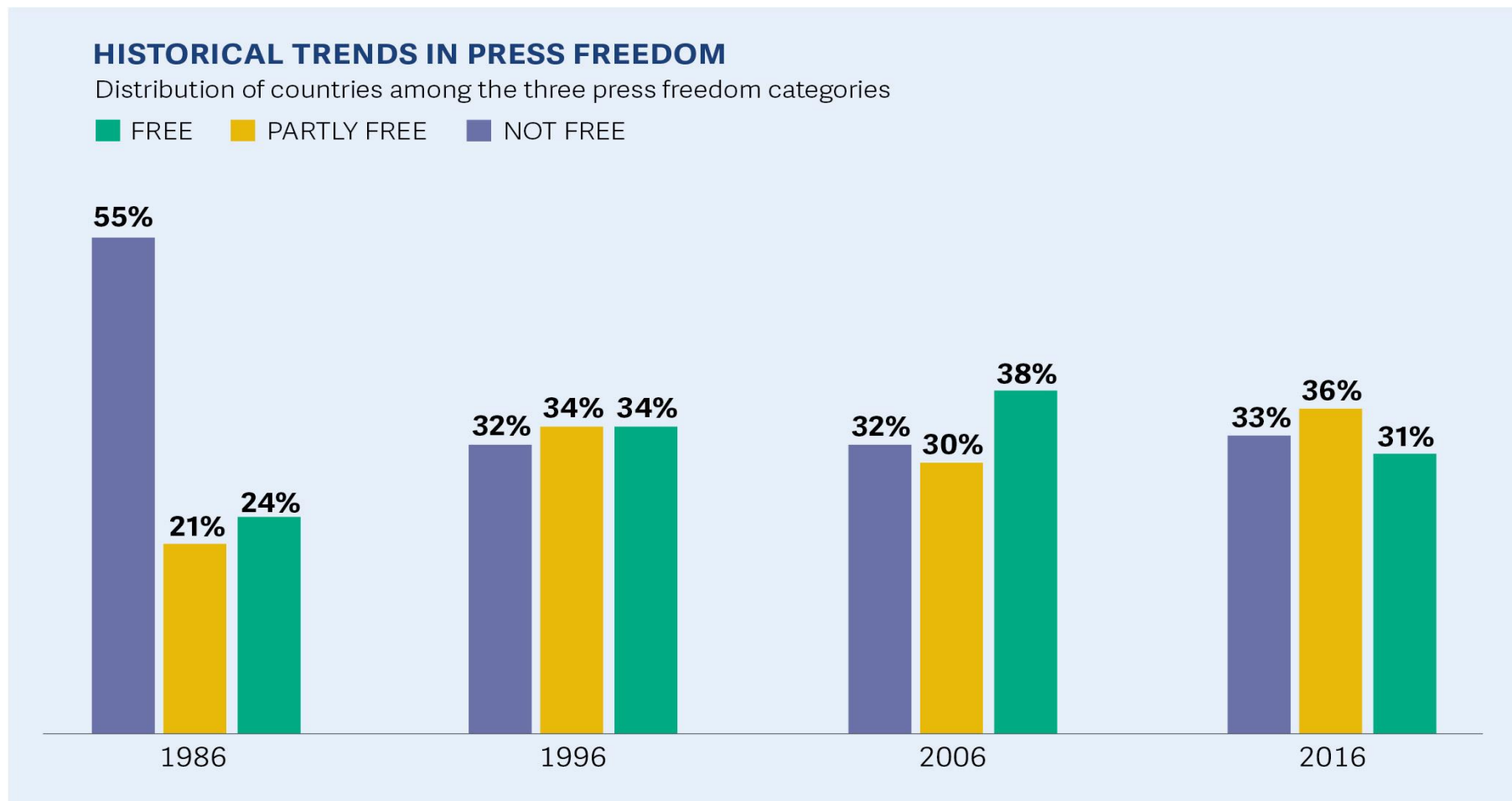


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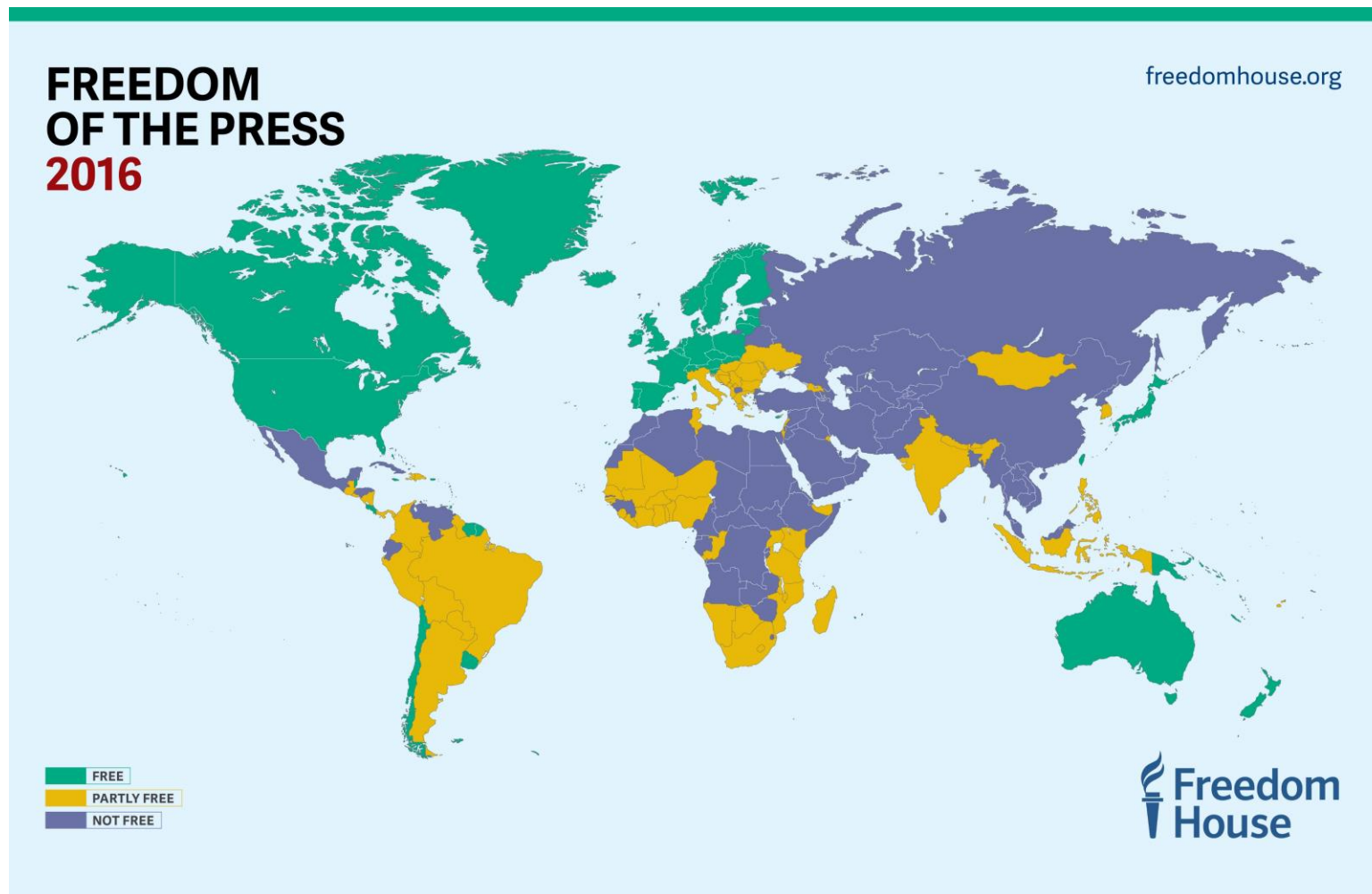
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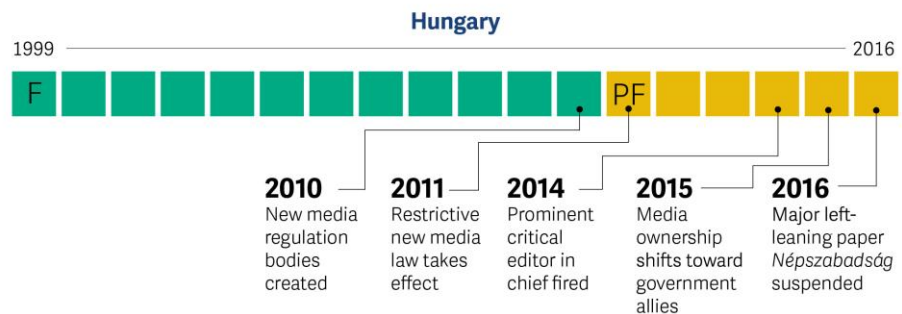
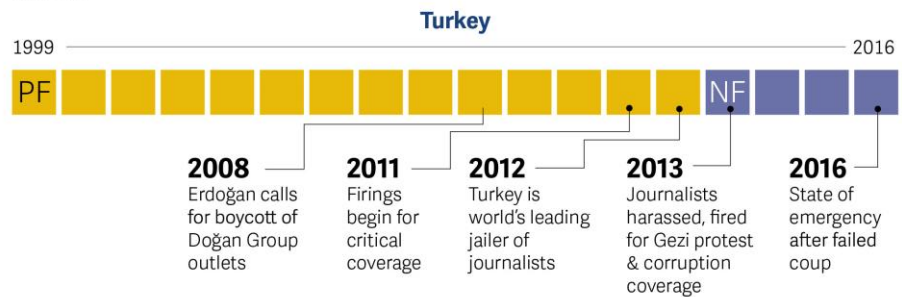
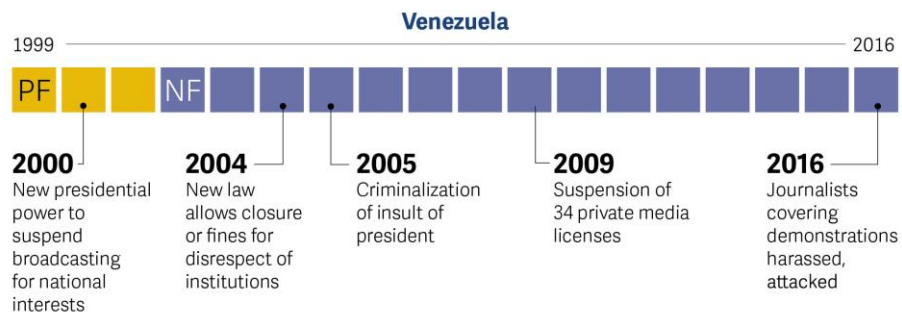
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MILESTONES OF DECLINE

Countries have followed a similar pattern as their press freedom has declined.

■ FREE ■ PARTLY FREE ■ NOT FREE



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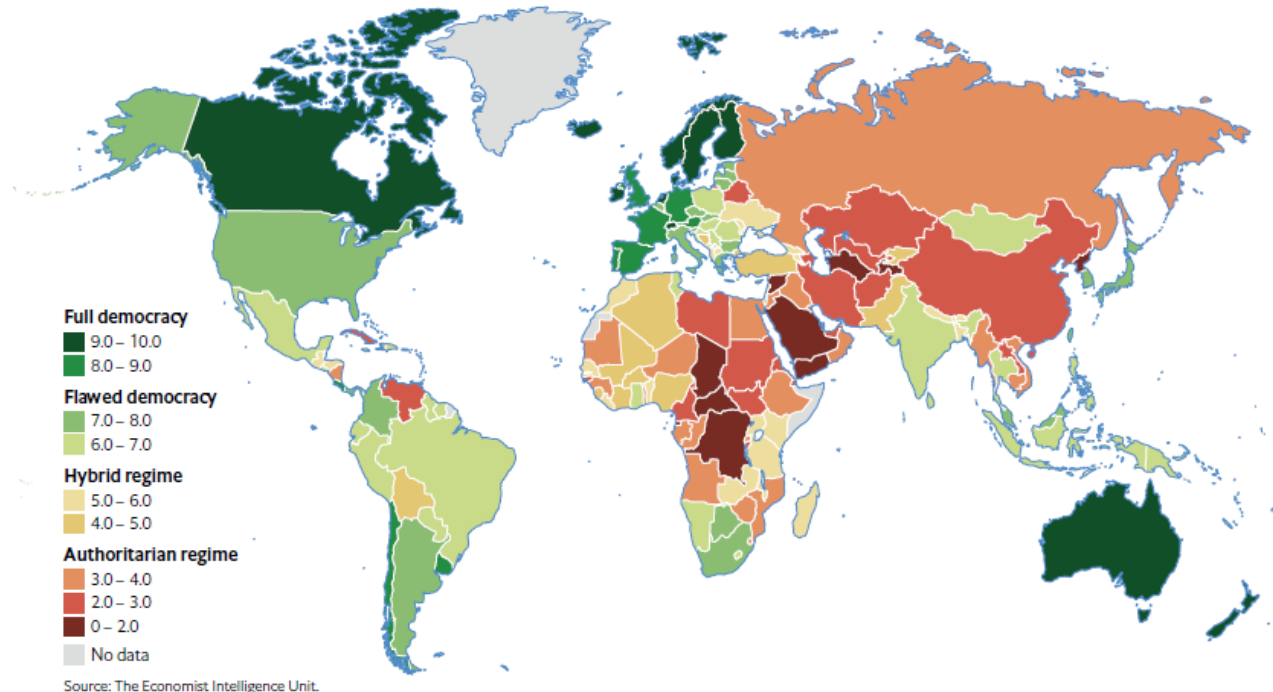
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The Economist Intelligence Unit first produced the Democracy Index in 2006.

Chart 1: Democracy Index 2019, global map by regime type



Democracy Index - Methodology

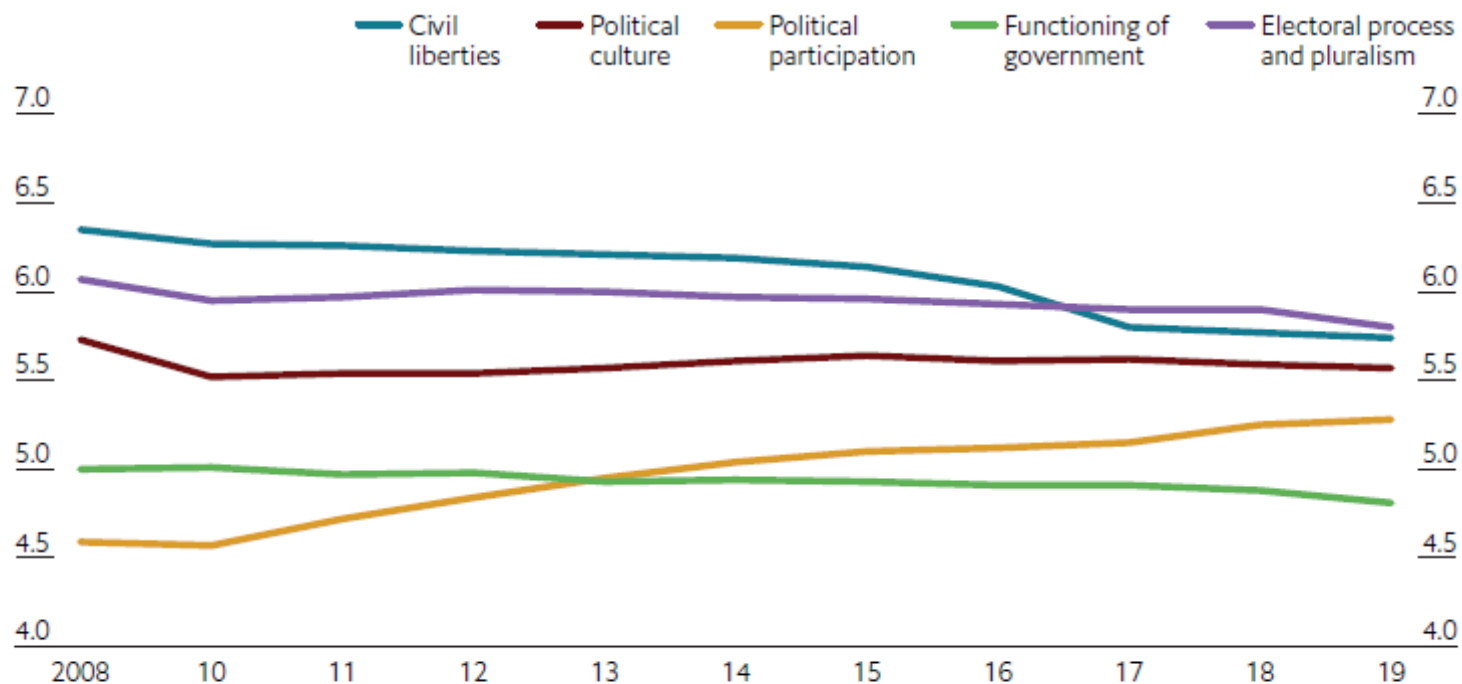
- The Economist Intelligence Unit's index of democracy, on a 0 to 10 scale, is based on the ratings for **60 indicators**, grouped into **five categories**: *electoral process and pluralism*; *civil liberties*; *the functioning of government*; *political participation*; and *political culture*. Each category has a rating on a 0 to 10 scale, and the overall Index is the simple average of the five category indexes.
- The index values are used to place countries within one of four types of regime:
 1. **Full democracies**: scores greater than 8
 2. **Flawed democracies**: scores greater than 6, and less than or equal to 8
 3. **Hybrid regimes**: scores greater than 4, and less than or equal to 6
 4. **Authoritarian regimes**: scores less than or equal to 4



Democracy Index

Chart 2: Evolution of democracy by category, 2008-19

(Index score out of 10, 10 being best)



Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit.



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Democracy Index 2019

Table 1
Democracy Index 2019, by regime type

	No. of countries	% of countries	% of world population
Full democracies	22	13.2	5.7
Flawed democracies	54	32.3	42.7
Hybrid regimes	37	22.2	16.0
Authoritarian regimes	54	32.3	35.6

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.



Democracy Index 2019

Table 5
Democracy Index 2006-19 by region

	2019	2018	2017	2016	2015	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010	2008	2006
Asia & Australasia	5.67	5.67	5.63	5.74	5.74	5.70	5.61	5.56	5.51	5.53	5.58	5.44
Eastern Europe	5.42	5.42	5.40	5.43	5.55	5.58	5.53	5.51	5.50	5.55	5.67	5.76
Latin America	6.13	6.24	6.26	6.33	6.37	6.36	6.38	6.36	6.35	6.37	6.43	6.37
Middle East & North Africa	3.53	3.54	3.54	3.56	3.58	3.65	3.68	3.73	3.62	3.43	3.54	3.53
North America	8.59	8.56	8.56	8.56	8.56	8.59	8.59	8.59	8.59	8.63	8.64	8.64
Western Europe	8.35	8.35	8.38	8.40	8.42	8.41	8.41	8.44	8.40	8.45	8.61	8.60
Sub-Saharan Africa	4.26	4.36	4.35	4.37	4.38	4.34	4.36	4.32	4.32	4.23	4.28	4.24
World average	5.44	5.48	5.48	5.52	5.55	5.55	5.53	5.52	5.49	5.46	5.55	5.52

Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit.



Table 12
Western Europe 2019

	Overall score	Global Rank	Regional rank	I Electoral process and pluralism	II Functioning of government	III Political participation	IV Political culture	V Civil liberties	Regime type
Norway	9.87	1	1	10.00	9.64	10.00	10.00	9.71	Full democracy
Iceland	9.58	2	2	10.00	9.29	8.89	10.00	9.71	Full democracy
Sweden	9.39	3	3	9.58	9.64	8.33	10.00	9.41	Full democracy
Finland	9.25	5	4	10.00	8.93	8.89	8.75	9.71	Full democracy
Ireland	9.24	6	5	10.00	7.86	8.33	10.00	10.00	Full democracy
Denmark	9.22	7=	6	10.00	9.29	8.33	9.38	9.12	Full democracy
Switzerland	9.03	10	7	9.58	9.29	7.78	9.38	9.12	Full democracy
Netherlands	9.01	11	8	9.58	9.29	8.33	8.75	9.12	Full democracy
Luxembourg	8.81	12	9	10.00	8.93	6.67	8.75	9.71	Full democracy
Germany	8.68	13	10	9.58	8.57	8.33	7.50	9.41	Full democracy
United Kingdom	8.52	14	11	9.58	7.50	8.89	7.50	9.12	Full democracy
Austria	8.29	16	12	9.58	7.86	8.33	6.88	8.82	Full democracy
Spain	8.18	18	13	9.58	7.14	7.22	8.13	8.82	Full democracy
France	8.12	20	14	9.58	7.86	7.78	6.88	8.53	Full democracy
Portugal	8.03	22	15	9.58	7.86	6.11	7.50	9.12	Full democracy
Malta	7.95	26	16	9.17	7.50	6.11	8.13	8.82	Flawed democracy
Belgium	7.64	33	17	9.58	8.21	5.00	6.88	8.53	Flawed democracy
Cyprus	7.59	34	18	9.17	6.43	6.67	6.88	8.82	Flawed democracy
Italy	7.52	35	19	9.58	6.07	7.78	6.25	7.94	Flawed democracy
Greece	7.43	39	20	9.58	4.86	6.67	7.50	8.53	Flawed democracy
Turkey	4.09	110	21	3.08	5.00	5.00	5.00	2.35	Hybrid regime

Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit.



Table 7
Eastern Europe 2019

	Overall score	Global Rank	Regional rank	I Electoral process and pluralism	II Functioning of government	III Political participation	IV Political culture	V Civil liberties	Regime type
Estonia	7.90	27	1	9.58	7.86	6.67	6.88	8.53	Flawed democracy
Czech Republic	7.69	32	2	9.58	6.79	6.67	6.88	8.53	Flawed democracy
Slovenia	7.50	36=	3=	9.58	6.79	6.67	6.25	8.24	Flawed democracy
Lithuania	7.50	36=	3=	9.58	6.43	6.11	6.25	9.12	Flawed democracy
Latvia	7.49	38	5	9.58	6.07	6.11	6.88	8.82	Flawed democracy
Slovakia	7.17	42	6	9.58	7.14	5.56	5.63	7.94	Flawed democracy
Bulgaria	7.03	47	7	9.17	6.43	7.22	4.38	7.94	Flawed democracy
Hungary	6.63	55=	8	8.75	6.07	5.00	6.25	7.06	Flawed democracy
Poland	6.62	57	9	9.17	6.07	6.11	4.38	7.35	Flawed democracy
Croatia	6.57	59	10	9.17	6.07	5.56	5.00	7.06	Flawed democracy
Romania	6.49	63	11	9.17	5.71	5.56	4.38	7.65	Flawed democracy
Serbia	6.41	66	12	8.25	5.36	6.11	5.00	7.35	Flawed democracy
North Macedonia	5.97	77	13	7.00	5.36	6.67	3.75	7.06	Hybrid regime
Ukraine	5.90	78	14	7.42	2.71	6.67	6.25	6.47	Hybrid regime
Albania	5.89	79	15	7.00	5.36	4.44	5.00	7.65	Hybrid regime
Moldova	5.75	83	16	6.58	4.64	6.11	4.38	7.06	Hybrid regime
Montenegro	5.65	84	17	5.67	5.36	6.11	4.38	6.76	Hybrid regime
Armenia	5.54	86	18	7.50	5.36	6.11	3.13	5.59	Hybrid regime
Georgia	5.42	89=	19	7.83	3.21	6.11	4.38	5.59	Hybrid regime
Kyrgyz Republic	4.89	101	20	6.08	2.93	6.67	3.75	5.00	Hybrid regime
Bosnia and Herzegovina	4.86	102=	21	6.17	2.93	5.56	3.75	5.88	Hybrid regime
Russia	3.11	134=	22	2.17	1.79	5.00	2.50	4.12	Authoritarian
Kazakhstan	2.94	139	23	0.50	2.14	4.44	4.38	3.24	Authoritarian
Azerbaijan	2.75	146	24	0.50	3.21	2.78	3.75	3.53	Authoritarian
Belarus	2.48	150	25	0.92	2.00	2.78	4.38	2.35	Authoritarian
Uzbekistan	2.01	157	26	0.08	1.86	2.22	5.00	0.88	Authoritarian
Tajikistan	1.93	159=	27	0.08	0.79	1.67	6.25	0.88	Authoritarian
Turkmenistan	1.72	162	28	0.00	0.79	2.22	5.00	0.59	Authoritarian

Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit



Table 3
Democracy Index 2006-19

	2019	2018	2017	2016	2015	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010	2008	2006
Lithuania	7.50	7.50	7.41	7.47	7.54	7.54	7.54	7.24	7.24	7.24	7.36	7.43
Moldova	5.75	5.85	5.94	6.01	6.35	6.32	6.32	6.32	6.32	6.33	6.50	6.50
Montenegro	5.65	5.74	5.69	5.72	6.01	5.94	5.94	6.05	6.15	6.27	6.43	6.57
North Macedonia	5.97	5.87	5.57	5.23	6.02	6.25	6.16	6.16	6.16	6.16	6.21	6.33
Poland	6.62	6.67	6.67	6.83	7.09	7.47	7.12	7.12	7.12	7.05	7.30	7.30
Romania	6.49	6.38	6.44	6.62	6.68	6.68	6.54	6.54	6.54	6.60	7.06	7.06
Russia	3.11	2.94	3.17	3.24	3.31	3.39	3.59	3.74	3.92	4.26	4.48	5.02
Serbia	6.41	6.41	6.41	6.57	6.71	6.71	6.67	6.33	6.33	6.33	6.49	6.62
Slovakia	7.17	7.10	7.16	7.29	7.29	7.35	7.35	7.35	7.35	7.35	7.33	7.40
Slovenia	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.51	7.57	7.57	7.88	7.88	7.76	7.69	7.96	7.96
Tajikistan	1.93	1.93	1.93	1.89	1.95	2.37	2.51	2.51	2.51	2.51	2.45	2.45
Turkmenistan	1.72	1.72	1.72	1.83	1.83	1.83	1.72	1.72	1.72	1.72	1.72	1.83
Ukraine	5.90	5.69	5.69	5.70	5.70	5.42	5.84	5.91	5.94	6.30	6.94	6.94
Uzbekistan	2.01	2.01	1.95	1.95	1.95	2.45	1.72	1.72	1.74	1.74	1.74	1.85
average	5.42	5.42	5.40	5.43	5.55	5.58	5.53	5.51	5.50	5.55	5.67	5.76



Table 2
Democracy Index 2019

	Overall Score	Rank	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
	Full democracy						
Norway	9.87	1	10.00	9.64	10.00	10.00	9.71
Iceland	9.58	2	10.00	9.29	8.89	10.00	9.71
Sweden	9.39	3	9.58	9.64	8.33	10.00	9.41
New Zealand	9.26	4	10.00	9.29	8.89	8.13	10.00
Finland	9.25	5	10.00	8.93	8.89	8.75	9.71
Ireland	9.24	6	10.00	7.86	8.33	10.00	10.00
Denmark	9.22	7=	10.00	9.29	8.33	9.38	9.12
Canada	9.22	7=	9.58	9.64	7.78	9.38	9.71
Australia	9.09	9	10.00	8.93	7.78	8.75	10.00
Switzerland	9.03	10	9.58	9.29	7.78	9.38	9.12
Netherlands	9.01	11	9.58	9.29	8.33	8.75	9.12
Luxembourg	8.81	12	10.00	8.93	6.67	8.75	9.71
Germany	8.68	13	9.58	8.57	8.33	7.50	9.41
United Kingdom	8.52	14	9.58	7.50	8.89	7.50	9.12
Uruguay	8.38	15	10.00	8.57	6.11	7.50	9.71
Austria	8.29	16=	9.58	7.86	8.33	6.88	8.82
Spain	8.29	16=	9.58	7.14	7.78	8.13	8.82
Mauritius	8.22	18	9.17	8.21	5.56	8.75	9.41
Costa Rica	8.13	19	9.58	7.50	6.67	7.50	9.41
France	8.12	20	9.58	7.86	7.78	6.88	8.53
Chile	8.08	21	9.58	8.57	5.00	8.13	9.12
Portugal	8.03	22	9.58	7.86	6.11	7.50	9.12



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Table 2
Democracy Index 2019

	Overall Score	Rank	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
Latvia	7.49	38	9.58	6.07	6.11	6.88	8.82
Greece	7.43	39	9.58	4.86	6.67	7.50	8.53
South Africa	7.24	40	7.42	7.50	8.33	5.00	7.94
Timor-Leste	7.19	41	9.58	6.29	5.56	6.88	7.65
Slovakia	7.17	42	9.58	7.14	5.56	5.63	7.94
Malaysia	7.16	43=	9.17	7.86	6.67	6.25	5.88
Trinidad and Tobago	7.16	43=	9.58	7.14	6.11	5.63	7.35
Colombia	7.13	45	9.17	6.79	5.56	5.63	8.53
Panama	7.05	46	9.58	6.07	6.67	5.00	7.94
Bulgaria	7.03	47	9.17	6.43	7.22	4.38	7.94
Argentina	7.02	48	9.17	5.36	6.11	6.25	8.24
Suriname	6.98	49	9.17	6.43	6.67	5.00	7.65
Jamaica	6.96	50	8.75	7.14	4.44	6.25	8.24
India	6.90	51	8.67	6.79	6.67	5.63	6.76
Brazil	6.86	52	9.58	5.36	6.11	5.00	8.24
Tunisia	6.72	53	9.17	5.71	7.22	5.63	5.88
Philippines	6.64	54	9.17	5.36	7.22	4.38	7.06
Ghana	6.63	55=	8.33	5.71	6.67	6.25	6.18
Hungary	6.63	55=	8.75	6.07	5.00	6.25	7.06
Poland	6.62	57	9.17	6.07	6.11	4.38	7.35
Peru	6.60	58	9.17	5.00	5.56	5.63	7.65
Croatia	6.57	59	9.17	6.07	5.56	5.00	7.06
Dominican Republic	6.54	60=	9.17	5.36	6.11	5.00	7.06



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Table 2

Democracy Index 2014

	Rank	Overall score	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
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



Democracy Index 2019

“Flawed democracies”: Poland slips behind Hungary

For the “flawed democracies” in the region, the changes in 2019 were minor. The scores for the Baltic states moved closer together, as Estonia—the leader—saw confidence in political parties decline, while Latvia—the laggard—saw the share of women in parliament increase. Estonia remained the highest-ranking country in eastern Europe, with a score of 7.90 and a global ranking of 27th.

The states of Central Europe are close behind the Baltics in the Democracy Index, but the gap between the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Slovakia on the one hand, and Hungary and Poland on the other, is now substantial. Moreover, in 2019 Poland fell below Hungary for the first time, as Poland’s ruling conservative-nationalist Law and Justice (PiS) party continued its efforts to turn the country into an “illiberal democracy”, including by constraining the independence of the judiciary and consolidating media ownership in Polish hands.

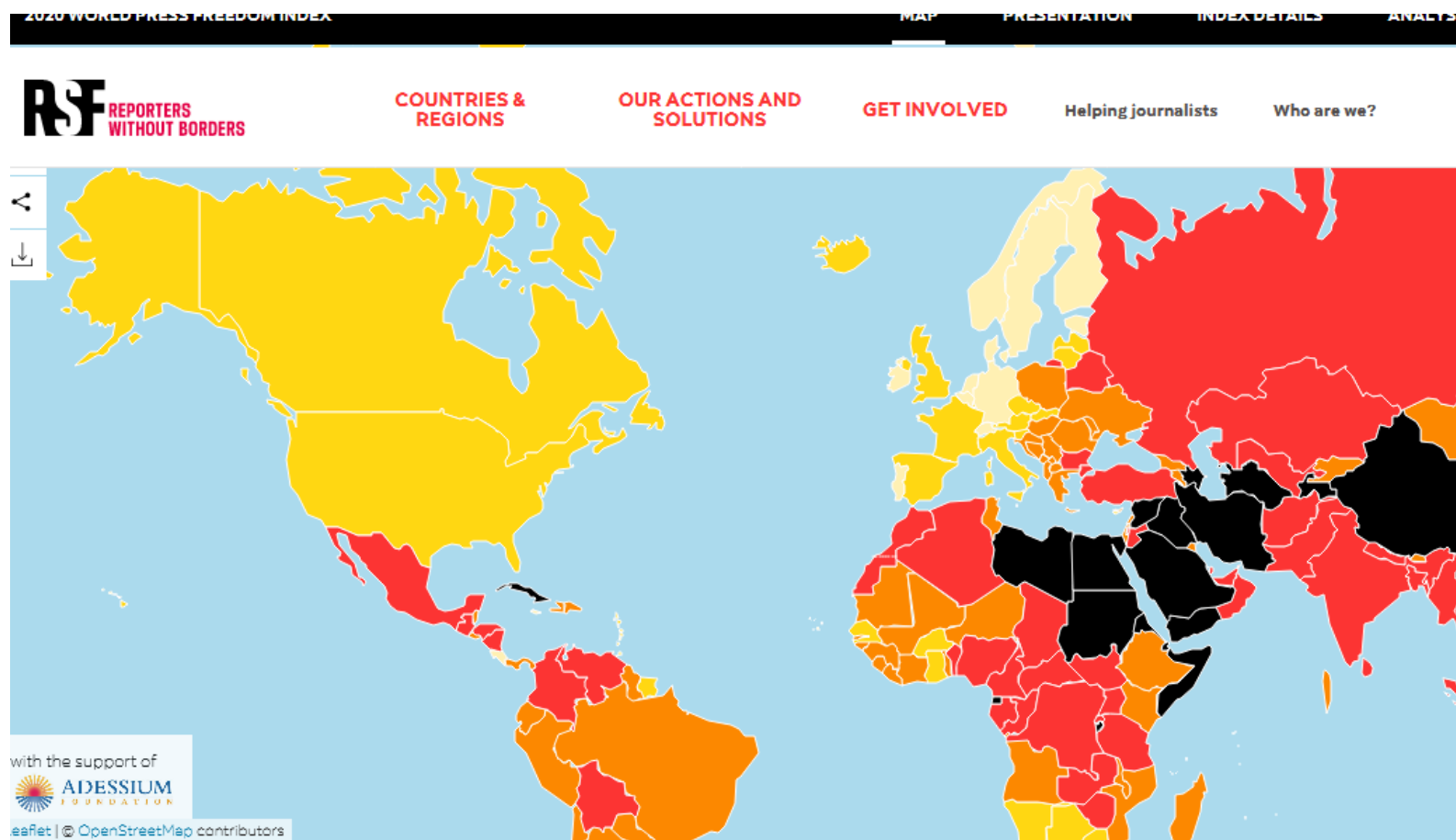


Według „democracy index” co roku „pełnych demokracji” jest:

DI 2019	- 22
DI 2017	- 19
DI 2016	- 19
DI 2015	- 20
DI 2014	- 24
DI 2013	- 25
DI 2012	- 25
DI 2010	- 26
DI 2008	- 30



2020 World Press Freedom Index – Reporterzy bez granic



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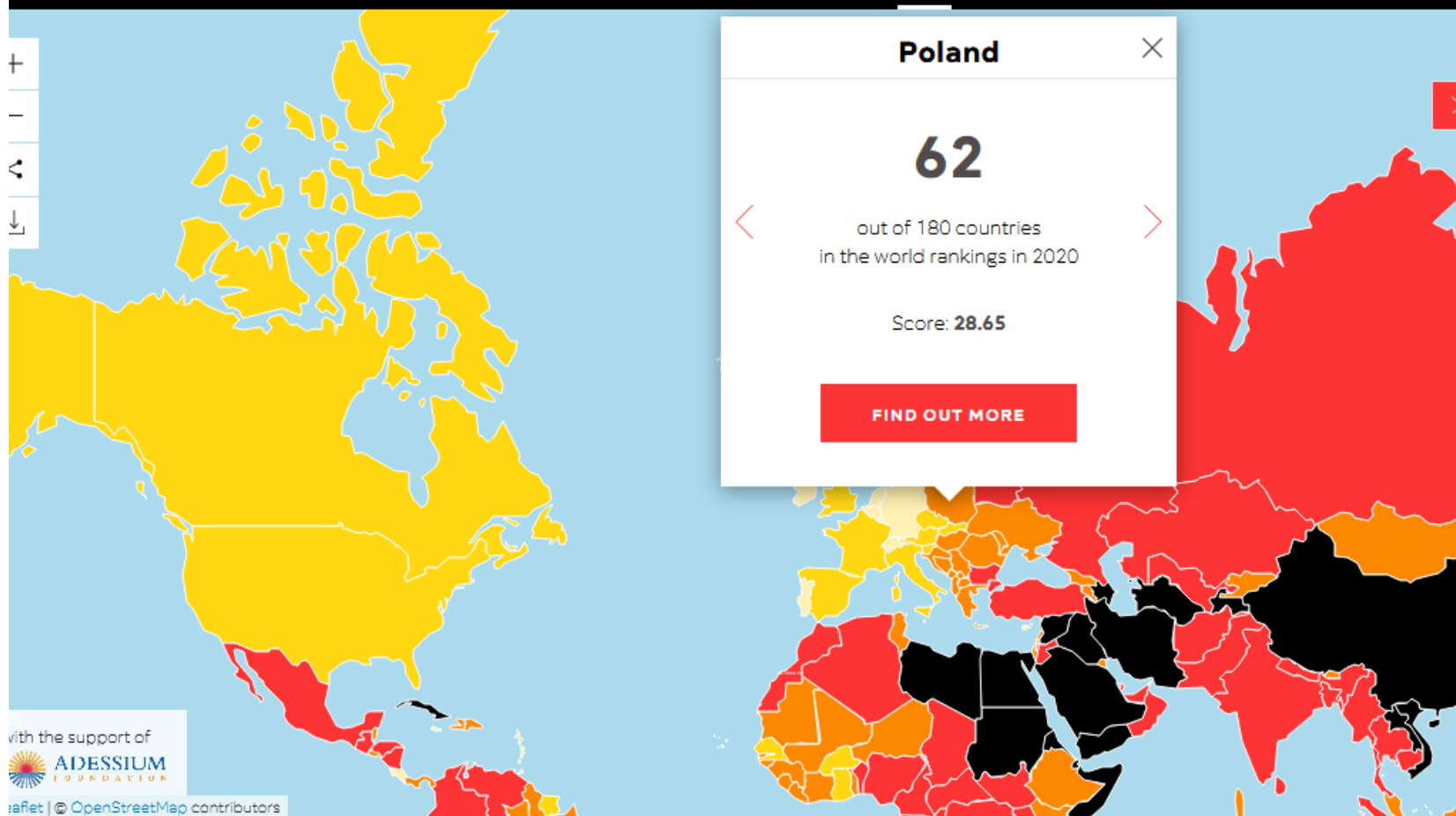
2020 WORLD PRESS FREEDOM INDEX

MAP

PRESENTATION

INDEX DETAILS

ANALYSIS



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Ranking since 2013



Year	Ranking		Year	Ranking	
2019	59 / 180	↓	2015	18 / 180	↑
2018	58 / 180	↓	2014	19 / 180	↑
2017	54 / 180	↓	2013	22 / 180	=
2016	47 / 180	↓			

CLOSE THIS WINDOW



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Poland

The government's drive to subjugate the judicial system and a growing tendency to criminalize defamation are beginning to have an effect on the freedom of expression of independent media outlets. Some courts are now using article 212 of the criminal code, under which journalists can be sentenced to as much as a year in prison for defamation, although the civil code offers citizens all the protection they need if they are defamed. Even if the courts usually content themselves with fining journalists, the use of article 212 encourages self-censorship by the independent media. The Warsaw daily Gazeta Wyborcza continues to be the leading target of government lawsuits.

Partisan discourse and hate speech are still the rule within state-

62

in the 2020 World Press Freedom Index

RANKING

↓ **-3**
59 in 2019

GLOBAL SCORE

↑ **-0.24**
28.89 in 2019

🕒 Ranking since 2013



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June 2017



Pluralism Under Attack: The Assault on Press Freedom in Poland

by Annabelle Chapman



The Economist INTELLIGENCE UNIT

Democracy Index 2017 Free speech under attack

A report by The Economist Intelligence Unit



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The rise of illiberal democracy
 Fareed Zakaria
Foreign Affairs; Nov/Dec 1997; 76, 6; ABI/INFORM Global
 pg. 22

The Rise of Illiberal Democracy

Fareed Zakaria



Dziękuję za uwagę

Illiberal democracy:
Poland, Hungary and the rule of
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Márta Pardavi & Dr Stanley Bill

12 November 2020



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